1972

January

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| 1995 | | | |
| 1993 | | | |
| | | | |
| Content | | | |
| | | | |
| Foreign Affairs Record Vol. XVIII | Jan 01, 1972 JANUARY No. 1 | | |
| C | CONTENTS PAGE | | |
| FEDERAL REPUBLIC (Joint Statement on Ind Consultations | OF GERMANY lo-Federal Republic of Germany Bilateral 1 | | |
| HOME AND FOREIGN President's Republic D | | | |
| HUNGARY Trade Protocol with H | lungary 4 | | |
| INDIA AND THE UNIT Shri S. I Sen's Letter to in Western Theatre | o U.N. on Withdrawal of Armed Forces | | |
| Shri Samar Sen's Speech at Security Council on African Problems | | | |
| Shri Samar Sen's Lette Allegations of Atro | er to U.N. Secretary General on Pakistan's ocities in Dacca | | |
| MAURITIUS Prime Minister Shrima of Mauritius Prime | ati Gandhi's Speech at Dinner in Honour Minister 9 | | |

| Reply by | Mauritius | Prime | Minister |
|----------|-----------|-------|----------|
|----------|-----------|-------|----------|

10

India-Mauritius Air Services Agreement

11

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS $\,:$ EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

(Continued Overleaf) PAGE

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Joint Communique on Indo-Bangla Desh Talks 12

President's Welcome Address to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman 14

Reply by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman 14

Agreement for Reactivating Bangla Desh Economy 15

POLAND

Joint Communique on-Polish Deputy Prime Minister's visit 15

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Contract for Korba Aluminium Plant 18

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Indo-American Text-Book Programme 19

(ii)

GERMANY HUNGARY INDIA PAKISTAN MAURITIUS USA POLAND

Date: Jan 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

joint Statement on Indo-Federal Republic of Germany Bilateral Consultations

Following is the text of a joint statement issued in New Delhi on January 27, 1972 at the end of the two-day bilateral consultations between the representatives of India and the Federal Republic of Germany:

The third round of bilateral consultations between, representatives of the Ministry of External Affairs of India and representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany was held in New Delhi on 20 and 21 January, 1972. The Indian Delegation was led by Mr. T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary, the Delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany was led by Mr. Paul Frank, Foreign Secretary. Participating in the talks were Mr. Gunter Diehl, Ambassador of the Federal. Republic of Germany in New Delhi, and Mr. Kewal Singh, Ambassador of India in Bonn, as well as high officials of the two Foreign Ministries and of other Ministries.

Mr. Paul Frank was also received by His Excellency the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Swaran Singh.

The two delegations discussed the entire range of Indo-German relations as well as international questions of mutual interest. They, noted with appreciation that cooperation between India and the Federal Republic of Germany in political, economic, industrial and commercial fields was proceeding satisfactorily. The two delegations considered that avenues of furthering this cooperation it, existing and new fields should be explored.

The German Foreign Secretary explained. the present state of the problem of Germany and Berlin and German relations with the countries of East and West Europe. He pointed out that the successful conclusion of the Berlin Agreement between the Four Powers and the subsequent arrangements between the competent German authorities had cleared the way towards a general arrangement on the special relations between the two states in Germany which would mark a crucial step towards detente in-Europe.

The Indian Foreign Secretary conveyed, the appreciation or the Government of India for the initiative undertaken by the leadership of the. Federal Republic and other Governments in the interest of detente, rapproachment and cooperation in Europe. The-German Foreign Secretary expressed the, appreciation of the. Government of the Federal Republic of Germany for the understanding of the Government of India in this regard.

The Indian Foreign Secretary explained the factors leading to the emergence of a sovereign independent Bangla Desh which had created possibilities for safeguarding. peace, progress and security in the subcontinent. He pointed out the urgent needfor recognition of the realities by all Governments of the world. The FRG Foreign. Secretary appreciated this approach.

The consultations once again proved the value of these regular meetings between representatives of the two Foreign Ministries. The talks were marked by frankness, friendliness and reciprocal understanding. Both, sides expressed satisfaction with the results achieved.

It was agreed that the next. meeting should be held in Bonn on a date to be mutually agreed upon.

1

GERMANY INDIA USA

Date: Jan 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

President's Republic Day Message

Following is the text of the Republic Day Message to the Nation by the President, Shri V. V. Giri:

On the eve of the 22nd anniversary. of the Republic Day, I am, indeed, happy to greet you, my fellow-citizens at home and abroad, and convey to you my best wishes for the future.

The Republic Day this year is of special significance and marks an important milestone in the history of our nation. Thanks to the unity and determination of our people and valour and bravery of our armed forces, we have emerged from the recent conflict with renewed hope and confidence in our national destiny. A ruthless military dictatorship in Pakistan forced us into a conflict which we did everything in our power to prevent. This conflict was one between Ideas and systems, between a people and their oppressors, and not between two countries. We have no quarrel with the people of Pakistan. We fought to uphold certain basic and fundamental values. The freedom and liberty of a people cannot be made the pawns of political power, and the spirit of man cannot be crushed by armed might. The emergence of the sovereign State of Bangla Desh wedded to the principles of democracy, socialism and secularism has demonstrated these truths more vividly than any other event in recorded history, and we welcome this development not only as vindirating our policies but as a guarantee of peace and progress among all the people of the sub-continent.

I would appeal to those now in authority in Pakistan to give up the attitude of ill-will towards us. Let us all awaken from the nightmare of the past, Let us, the people of India, the people of Bangla Desh and the people of Pakistan, together look forward to the establishment of friendly, co-operative relations for the common advantage of all our peoples and for the furtherance of peace and human freedom all over the world.

Since we attained independence twentyfive years ago, we have unceasingly supported in international forums the just struggle of people everywhere for the attainment of basic human rights and human liberties, and for freedom to live in peace and without fear of exploitation. The days of colonialism are gone and no amount of money power, or military might, can hold a people under; tyranny or subjection. The United Nations will serve its purpose only if it ceases to be an arena for partisan propaganda or power manipulation and channelises its energies and its resources for a durable peace and for universal welfare.

The recent conflict also proved beyound doubt the strength and vitality of our parliamentary system of government. Under the able and enlightened leadership which our country has been fortunate to have, this system has the essential strength to with stand pressures, strains and stresses, of what ever nature and in whatever form. For its policies and actions, the Government derives its sanction from the people and thus ensures the essential unity of the nation as a living and growing entity.

The people of India today are wide awake and on the alert. In the face of the national crisis, we have forged together a unity of purpose and action. - The task of reconstruction of our economy is the biggest challenge we are facing now. And in meeting this we have to evolve methods and mean which rely primarily on our own re-sources -- human, intellectual, moral and material. The Government at the Centre and in the States are 'the joint trustees for the welfare and progress of all our people. There is no room and no justification for friction among States or as between the States and the Union. The paramount consideration should be the unity and integrity of the country and the common good of all our people. There can be no compromise on this vital issue Let our emotions and energies be devoted entirely to constructive activity.

2

I would remind employers and the workers of my recent appeal to declare a moratorium on strikes and lockouts for a period of three years. I am sure my appeal will find a ready response both from the workers and the employers and there will be

a greater realisation that differences and disputes should be resolved through direct negotiations and conciliation rather by resort to direct action. While I believe that the right to strike is inalienable, it should not be used at a time like this. I am quite confident that both labour and management will rise to the occasion and increase production and productivity and thus help the nation in achieving the aim of self-sufficiency. I have full faith in my working class comrades that in this hour of destiny they will not fail the nation. I am quite sure the employers will-consider the workers as partners in the industrial system.

We have yet a long way to go in removing economic inequalities and social disparities. We must import a sense of purposeful urgency in. dealing with this problem. This is also closely linked up with the question of regional imbalances and regional disparities, which can be corrected only if we strike at the root cause of our economic and social ills. Starting from the base, our aim should be to build a prosperous and contended rural community. Pilot projects for maximum utilisation of all available land for agriculture and Organisation of agro-industries and other cottage industries, on a co-operative basis, should be encouraged. In the implementation of the Five-Year Plans we have to impart a greater sense of realism and change the emphasis from programmes to performance. We have to bring about a scientific transformation of our economy. I have immense faith in the ability of our young scientists and technologists to meet the challenge before them. We have to ensure that modern technology is adapted to suit our conditions and thus help in increasing the well-being of the largest number of our People.

To the youth of the country, more especially to students, I would appeal to observe rules of discipline in their conduct. The building of a new India requires the services of disciplined, well-trained and patriotic people and the participation of all sections. There cannot be a privileged class and an under-privileged class in the harmonious evolution of a society.

I would also like to stress that our administration should address itself to the tasks before us with patriotism, dedication and promptitude. The administrative machinery must be made responsive to the needs and aspirations of our people. Rules of procedure framed in an earlier colonial era can no longer be valid. We must seek to promote talent, idealism and vision. it is only through creativity and innovation in every field of national endeavour that we can usher in an era of social and economic change which our people demand. Let us an work together and work hard towards the achievement of our objective through disciplined conduct under democratic norms.

When I spoke to you last year on this occasion, the country was due to elect a new Lok Sabha. This time, most of the states are due to elect representatives to their Legislative Assemblies. I would like, to express my sincere hope that the elections will take place peacefully and without Tancour.

No country, far or near, need have any apprehensions about India's progress and strength. A strong, stable, prosperous India will benefit not only all the people of India but add to the strength, stability and prosperity of this whole region.

Republic Day is, indeed, an occasion great rejoicing, but it is also a time for calm introspection and retrospection. Let us on this sacred day renew our pledge to serve our motherland with greater dedication and determination. India today has a firm foundation for progress. Let us all, together, build on this a society in which our people can live a fuller and more abundant life.

Jai Hind.

3

PAKISTAN USA INDIA **Date**: Jan 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

HUNGARY

Trade Protocol With Hungary

Following is the text of a press Note issued in New Delhi on January 17, 1972 on the signing of a new Indo-Hungarian trade protocol:

A Protocol, envisaging a trade turnover of nearly Rs. 55 crores during 1972 was signed between India and Hungary here today. Shri K. K. Dwivedi, Deputy Secretary, Union Ministry of Foreign Trade and Mr. Tamas Huszar, Deputy Director General, Ministry of Foreign Trade of Hungary signed the Protocol on behalf of their Governments.

According to the Protocol the principal items of India's exports to Hungary will be railway wagons, mild steel tubes and fittings, medicinal and pharmaceutical products, textile machinery, builders' structurals, chemical products, tyres and tubes, cosmetics and toiletries, machine tools, automobile spares, ancillaries and accessories, wire ropes, asbestos concrete products such as tiles, pipes, etc., besides the traditional items such as de-oiled groundnut cake meal, tea, coffee tanned and semi-tanned hides and skins, leather footwear including chappals, finished leather and leather goods, jute manufactures, coir manufactures, cotton and woollen textiles, handicrafts and handloom products.

The main items of imports from Hungary will be steel and steel products,, wheels, tyres and axles for rolling stock and other railway equipment, aluminium billets, rods and wire bars, laboratory and testing equipment, machine tools, dumpers and dumper components, metal and non-metal material testing instruments for textile and.., other industries, micro-wave equipment, machinery components and raw materials for electric lamp industry, essential oils, drum and medicines in bulk, fertilisers, lulose, caprolactum, equipment for the alumina industry etc.

Hungary has shown interest in new non-traditional items and the 1972 Trade Protocol accordingly provides for increased scope for exports of non-traditional goods from India to Hungary and lesser exports of traditional goods.

Both the Delegations have noted with satisfaction the steady growth of mutual trade between India and Hungary. It has been agreed that in order to bring about further expansion and diversification in the two-way trade exchanges, possibilities of commercial, industrial and technical cooperation need to be fully explored by identifying spheres where bilateral collaboration as also cooperation in industrial and commercial spheres in third countries can be usefully undertaken.

HUNGARY INDIA USA RUSSIA

Date: Jan 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri S. Sen's Letter to U.N. on Withdrawal of Armed Forces in Western Theatre

Following is the full text of the letter dated the 11th January, 1972 addressed to the U.N. Secretary General by Permanent Indian Representative Shri S. Sen reiterating the willingness of the Government of India to open bilateral negotiations with the Government of Pakistan for effective with

drawal of armed forces in the Western theatre:

On the 21st December 1971 the Security Council adopted Resolution No. 307 dealing

with the recent armed conflict in the Indian sub-continent. On the same day the Foreign Minister of India made a statement before the Council giving India's views on this resolution soon after it had been adopted. In this statement he said, "the Government of India will give due consideration to the resolution of the Council and make further comments if they deem any necessary".

The Government of India have now further examined the resolution. They have confirmed all that the Foreign Minister said on 21st of December, and have asked me to send you the following additional comments.

The requirement of the resolution for a durable cease-fire has not been fully met. On behalf of the Government of India, I have already informed the Council of several breaches of the ceasefire by the Pakistani armed forces since 21st December, 1971.

In the western theatre, including the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Government of India are willing to open bilateral negotiations with the Government of Pakistan for effective withdrawal as soon as practicable of all armed forces. It is our hope that the Government of Pakistan win approach the remaining problems born of the events of last-year and the recent unfortunate conflict with a view to ensuring durable peace in the subcontinent.

As regards the withdrawal of Indian troops from Bangla Desh, both the Government of India and of Bangla Desh are seized of the matter. This is to assure you that the withdrawal of the Indian armed forces will take place as soon as the two Governments consider it practicable. I should like to repeat my Foreign Minister's assurance to the Council that the Indian 'troops will not be in Bangla Desh a day longer than neces-

sary". They are there at the request of the Bangla Desh Government.

The Government of India continue to refrain from any action which may "aggravate the situation in the sub-continent or endanger international peace." However, they cannot but note with regret that public declarations made in the recent past by some Governments do not contribute to the objective the Council has in mind. It is also to be noted that public discussion of the attitudes during the period of, hostilities as also certain fresh developments have tended to introduce new elements of concern in the region.

The Government of India are fully abiding by the Geneva Convention of 1949.

With the establishment of the Government of Bangla Desh and the speedy process of restoration of normaly in that country, the Government of India are glad to note that the Bangla Desh refugees in India, totalling nearly ten million on the 4th December, 1971, have started to return home. Until to-day, over a million refugees have already returned, and It is bur hope that with the proposed arrangements by the Government of Bangla Desh, most of the refugees will go back home in the course of the next two months. Such cooperation and assistance as the Secretary General can render for the rehabilitation of these unfortunate refugees will be greatly appreciated. Your special representative, Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, has recently visited India and Bangla Desh and he will no doubt inform you of his views on the solution of the humanitarian problems, not only as regards the refugees but for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the devastated land of Bangla Desh and for. the adequate protection of innocent members of the minority communities both in Bangla Desh and in Pakistan. We on our part will do everything possible to cooperate with the Governments concerned as also with the United Nations organs, for a speedy and satisfactory solution to all the humanitarian problems that have arisen as a result of the military and brutal repression of the people

of Bangla Desh for nine months by the Pakistan army and as an aftermath of hostilities.

It is requested that this letter may kindly be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

I take this opportunity to renew to you, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration,

5

INDIA PAKISTAN USA SWITZERLAND

Date: Jan 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Samar Sen's Speech at Security Council on African Problems

Following is the text of a statement made by Shri Samar Sen, India's Permanent Representative at a meeting of the UN Security Council held on January 12, 1972 to consider the question of holding a meeting in Africa in early 1972:

Mr. President,

Since this is my first appearance as a member of the Council permit me to offer a few brief tributes and congratulations. My delegation should like to associate itself with you and With other delegations in welcoming Secretary General Dr. Kurt Waldheim in this his first meeting of the Security Council. We respect him as a sincere believer in peace who comes from a country that has always stood for the enduring and abiding values of international life. We wish him every success in the heavy responsibilities of his

office. At the same time we should like once again to express our appreciation for his predecessor Secretary General U Thant whose great qualities as an international civil servant and as a human being will always remain an inspiring example. We should also offer our sincerest congratulation on your Presidency..... Your predecessor Ambassador Taylor Kamara of Sierra Leone has given an excellent example of devotion to duty and of endless wit in the face of many difficulties and we are sure that his Contribution to the Council's work as its President has raised the level of our debates and the value of our deliberations.

No SELECTIVE APPROACH TO CHARTER PRINCIPLES

We should like to express our appreciation of the work of the delegations of Burundi, Poland, Syria, Sierra Leone and Niearague. I should like to think that the new members will live upto the great tradition of the Council. We are particularly grateful for the welcome given by you and other members to the new comers. We in the Indian delegation reciprocate their sentiments for working in close cooperation. India returns to the Council after 3 years This period has been momentous in our country's history and we would hope that our contribution to the Council's work would uphold the Charter in all its principles. and purposes. We would wish to consider all problems independently and on merit and with a full consciousness of all the values written into the Charter. Selective approach to these principles as also group political considerations will not resolve many of our problems. U Thant has already drawn our attention to the conflicts of principles which have not infrequently bedevilled our work at the UN. We shall try to resolve these conflicts and not avoid them.

Now we should like to deal with the specific item on the Agenda. India has always supported the struggle against colonialism and discrimination in Africa. It is she people of the region and specially those who are suffering who are in the best position to determine how the struggle should be

waged. It would be as unrealistic, presumptous and wrong for us to decide either how the people of Africa should continue to pursue their objective what action they would like the Council to take. We shall be guided in all these matters by the wishes of the African delegations.

MEETING OF U.N. COUNCIL IN AFRICA

India voted for General Assembly resolution 2863(XXVI) which followed the request of a very large number of States, members of the O.A.U. for an early meeting of the Security Council in Africa, devoted to the African problems to which I have referred. Our support was based on the one hand upon our feeling of solidarity with the Struggle against colonialism in Africa and on the other, on our belief that the African countries and people were in the best position to judge how it should be carried out in the circumstances prevailing in Africa Further, our support was based upon an ap preciation of the logic which underlines this proposal. It is well known that the people of Africa have little reason to be satisfied with the action taken in the United Nations for removing the remaining vestiges of colo nialism and racial discrimination which continue to affict that continent. Year after

6 year, the debates and resolutions In these halls follow their course and still these evils remain.

Year after year, the frustration in Africa grows. And a stage is fast approaching when the ever suffering people there will lose all hope and faith in the efficacy of orderly international action for removing these evils. Indeed that hope and faith is already being undermined, if not completely lost yet. In that context, we consider that a decision of the Security Council to. meet early in 1972 in Africa will serve the important purpose of reaffirming its deep concern for the special problems of Africa and their bearing upon the maintenance of international peace and security. At the same time, we feel that this step should be carefully taken. If It is taken without due consideration of all possible consequences and If as a result it fails to lead to purposeful action, and if Instead of emphasising the real and abiding concern of the International community it only server, to underscore its impotence and ineffectiveness, then truly the African people-could lose faith In the United Nations. Then the step would have been counter productive, and the United Nations weakened. We, therefore, support the proposal for a subcommittee to work out all the implications. Careful consideration should not, and must. not, mean delay But careful considerations within the next three days and no more, does mean that legal, financial and other problems must be taken into account for what will be an unprecedented meeting of the Security Council outside Its Headquarters. The modalities should be so devised as to lessen the financial burden to the United Nations and to ensure the smooth functioning of the meetings. Above all, the venue and the timing of the meeting should be carefully selected so as to reflect the continued unity and solidarity of Africa In the face of problems to the considered. As India supported the General Assembly resolution No. 2683, it will equally support any proposal for its implementation which has the general concurrence of Africa.

INDIA SIERRA LEONE BURUNDI POLAND SYRIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Jan 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Samar Sea's Letter to EN Secretary General on Pakistan's Allegations

of Atrocities in Dacca

Following is the text of a letter dated January 14,1972 to the Secretary General of the United Nations, addressed by the Permanent Representative of India to the UN, Shri S. Sen describing pakistani allegations of large scale atrocities and mass murders in Dacca as false and untenable:

"Excellency,

With reference to your notes of 26 December 1971 and 1 January 1972 I would wish to inform you of the Position insofar as it relates to my Government on the various allegations made in the letters dated 21, 25 and 30 December 1971 sent to you by the Permanent Representative of Pakistan.

The allegations regarding large scale atrocities and mass murders, as well as, lawless elements being on the loose in Dacca are false and untenable. The recent international press reports form Bangla desh testify to the wildness and exaggeration of these allegations. The Government of India whose forces are at present in the area on the request of the Bangla Desh Government, are doing their utmost in cooperation with that Government to prevent the natural resentment of the people against their former oppressors from. erupting into violence. Their efforts in this respect have met with much success and full facilities have also been given to the International Red Cross to bring help and relief to those who are in need.

The people of Bangla Desh were subjected by the former Pakistan military regime and its collaborators to massive violence and all kinds of brutalities for many months. This continued unabated right up to the surrender of the Pakistan military occupation forces in Bangla Desh. Even in the week preceding the surrender, Pakistani troops, para military forces and armed organisations like the Badar Bahini and Razakars committed mass murders, rape and looting all over the country. They systematically liquidated professionals and intel-

lectuals in the cities of Dacca, Khulna and Jessore as late as 15 December 1971. Mass graves of these unfortunate people were discovered by the Bangla Desh and Indian forces soon after they reached these cities.

it is a measure of the success with which law and order is being restored in Bangla Desh that natural local anger and resentment over these recent horrible Incidents has not led to widespread violence. Instead, the consolidation of normalcy has received a powerful impetus, with the return of Prime Minister sheikh Mujibur Rahman to his people and we are gratified that the Government of Pakistan have at last released him-While there had earlier been some unfortunate incidents Which received much international publicity, it is noteworthy that they were both few and isolated. Even these few incidents need be seen in the perspective of widespread public resentment following months of massive repression. Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has moreover called on the people immediately on his return to Bangla Desh to exercise utmost restraint inspite of their understandable grievance against those who collaborated with the Pakistan army in its campaign of genocide.

Various officials of the former Pakistani military regime in Bangla, Desh had resigned and sought refuge in the neutral zones organised under the aegis of the UN during the course of the hostilities. After the termination of the hostilities they were taken into custody by the joint command of the Bangla Desh and Indian forces to safeguard them from possible mob violence and reprisals. According to declarations of the Bangla Desh Government, they and others responsible for repression, brutality and genocide would be tried according to the due process of law and provided with facilities for their defence as required by law. Pending their trial they will continue to be safeguarded from mob violence and reprisals.

In this connection the view of the Government of India is that such persons against whom there may be sufficient evidence of their having committed grave crimes such as genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity could not be given the immunity of the IORC or neutral zones organised under the aegis of the United Nations especially after the termination of hostilities. They are not entitled to any such

immunity under any of the Geneva Conventions. The joint command of the Bangla-Desh and Indian forces has the right to demand their evacuation on behalf of the Government of Bangla Desh so that they could be taken into custody pending appropriate legal action under the law of the land and under international law.

As regards the responsibility of the Government of India under the Geneva Convention Relating to Civilians 1949, In the view of my Government after the general termination of military operations since December 17, 1971 the Convention relating to civilians ceases to apply in view of the provisions of article 6 thereof.

The entire territory of Bangla desh is now within the effective control and administration of the Government of, Bangla Desh which India has recognised. Bangla Desh is not an occupying power in its own territory nor is India an occupying power in Bangla Dash. Indian forces are in Bangla Desh at the request of the Bangla Desh Government.

Subject to this general legal position the Government of India will continue to respect all humanitarian norms and protect life and property about which it has already given, unilateral assurances to all concerned. However, this responsibility has to be discharged within the practical limitations arising from the effective control of the Government of Bangla, Desh over its entire territory.

Under the Geneva Conventions whether relating to prisoners of war or relating to civilians no immunity is guaranteed to the prisoners of wars or to protected persons from trial by competent courts for the offences committed by them prior to capture or protection. It is well known that offences including war crimes and crimes against humanity were committed by the occupying armed forces of Pakistan and its officials and other agents in Bangla Desh during the period of hostilities between December 3 and December 16, 1971, and in the preceding months Pakistan, being a party to the Geneva Conventions, as well as, the Conven-

tion on Genocide, 1948 should be aware of its responsibility, as well as, of The responsibility of its armed forces, public officials or private individuals for these offences whether they are committed in time of peace

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or in time of war. Even if it is assumed that the status of hostilities between the occupying forees of Pakistan in Bangla Desh and the Mukti Bahini between 25 March 1971 and 3 December 1971 was that of a conflict not of an international character. Pakistan was still bound by the provisions of article 3 of the Geneva Convention relating to prisoners of war, as well as, the Convention relating to civilians. It is clear that the obligations arising under article 3 were violated in relation to the people of Bangla Desh and it would thus be within the sovereign right of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh to bring the guilty persons to account by trials in competent courts following fair procedures and ensuring the accused full opportunity for defending themselves.

It has been alleged that the Indian and Bangla Desh forces have surrounded the towns of Mohammadpur and Mirpur on the outskirts of Dacca to harass and commit violence against ethnic minorities Inhabiting these towns. This allegation is baseless. The fact is that a large number of collaborators of the former Pakistani military regime including members of Razakars and Badar Bahini organisations fortified themselves in these towns which are also Inhabited by ethnic minorities. There was an imminent danger of violence from the local population against these persons who had been responsible for carrying out genocide and repression over the last nine months.

The Bangla Desh and the Indian forces cordoned these towns in order to protect the population from mob violence and also to disarm the Razakars and Badar Bahini members. Food and medicines were and are being allowed to enter these towns through the International Red Cross, as well as, through other channels. The search ope. rations undertaken in these towns resulted

in the unearthing of huge quantities of ammunition grenades,. 2" and 3" mortars, machine guns, recoiless rifles and other arms. It should be noted that the refusal of the Razakars and the Badar Bahini members to surrender to the Bangla, Desh and Indian armed forces was in contravention of the instruments of surrender which the commander of the Pakistani forces signed while surrendering his troops and para military organisations to the Indian and Bangla Desh forces on the 18th December 1971.

While giving the above comments, my Government is of the view that the comments of the Government of Bangla Desh must also be obtained We, note: in this connection that the Special Representative of the Secretary General has recently visited Bangla Desh. We are convinced that for any fruitful discussion of such subjects the participation of the Government of Bangla Desh is essential.

It is requested that this letter may kindly be circulated as a Security Council document.

Please accept Excellency the assurances. of my highest consideration."

INDIA PAKISTAN USA SWITZERLAND UNITED KINGDOM CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Jan 01, 1972

Prime Minister Shrimati Gandhi's Speech at Dinner in Honour of Mauritius Prime Minister

Following is the full text of Prime minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's speech al the banquet given by her in New Delhi on January 25, 1972 at Rashtrapati Bhavan in honour of Mauritius Prime Minister Sir Seewoosagar Ramgoolam:

Prime Minister, Distinguished Guests.

It has been our privilege to receive many Prime Ministers and Presidents but Sir Seewoosagar Ramgoolam commands our affection in a very special way. We are very happy to welcome him and his colleagues once again to Delhi. We are honoured that he and his esteemed colleagues Mr. G. Duval and Mr. Jagatsingh are here with us during our national festivities. I have travelled to many countries and moved amongst the people of many lands storing memories of different landscapes and cus-

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toms. Yet my visit to Mauritius a year and a half ago has left a special imprint on my mind. I treasure the beauty of the island and even more the extra-ordinary friendship with which I was received. Rabindra Nath Tagore has said: This world is the world of wild storms kept tamed with the music of beauty. In the world of international relation it is the power of friendship which gives us the ability to ride the storm. I do not have to recount the story of India-Mauritian friendship. We share an ocean and we hope it will be an ocean of peace. We share common historical memories and links and we trust these will be links of unceasing goodwill and harmony. We share a common Outlook On life, faith in the rights of man and the conviction that diversity is a source of strength. Each of our country has evolved a distinctive national personality -- the Mauritian and the Indian.

Prime Minister, we in India have recently gone through a major historical experience fighting to defend our freedom and the freedom of a neighbouring country; fighting to defend the rights of man. During our Independence struggle Harindranath Chattopadhya wrote the words which inspired many of us young people: By fighting for our people we are fighting for the world. This war has reaffirmed the truth of the old saying that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Above all we have to fight in order to defend peace. Peace cannot co-exist with

violence and tyranny or when justice is trampled upon. There can be peace only when the small and the weak can live as equals of the big and the strong. So, you are specially welcome in the 25th year of our Independence - an Independence which we have had to defend for the fourth time. India's hand is always held out in friendship to its neighbours, near and far. it is our desire that our path should be one of cooperation instead of confrontation. There is scope for greater bilateral and multilateral economic cooperation.

May I once again assure you that the experience of India is at your disposal for such use as you might want to make of it. All our countries of Asia and Africa Still suffer from the ravages of the colonial age. If we work together in trust these scare will heal faster and we shall be able to give economic content to our political freedom.

Ladies and gentlemen, may I request you to join me in raising your glasses to the health and happiness of our esteemed guest of honour, Sir Seewoosagar Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius, to his distinguished colleagues and to the ever-growing success and prosperity of the friendly people of Mauritius.

MAURITIUS USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Jan 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

MAURITIUS

Reply by Mauritius Prime Minister

Replying Sir S. Ramgoolam said:

"Madam Prime Minister, Distinguished

Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: First of all, Madam Prime Minister, we thank you for having invited us to be in New Delhi for the great celebrations, celebrations which we have attended before but in this particular year they have a very great significance not only for India but for the people outside India, especially to the people of Mauritius.

You have in India gone through difficult and arduous times and you have come out with honour and justice with you and we feel very proud that we should be asked to come to the anniversary of the Republic at a time when you have just completed your sixth year of office as Prime Minister, during which year you have not only contributed towards the progress and development of India but also you have helped to bring about peace wherever you have been able to extend your influence. Especially in the Indian Ocean, you have extended not only your hand of friendship but by your economic cooperation and friendliness showed not only to us but to other people how India takes a very keen interest in contributing her utmost towards the development of other countries.

10

For us, when we come here, It is a sort of pilgrimage, visiting for most of us the country of our forefathers and seeing once more how this great India is progressing. We are very gratified that at this very moment we are having discussions with you and your Government In what way cooperation can be extended to the people of Mauritius, and not only that, India has already done a great deal towards the development - spiritual, political, economic and social - in Mauritius, and we are very very glad that this has been possible. As you know, my dear Madam Prime Minister, in Mauritius there is special affection for the people of India. I heartily reciprocate all the kind words that you have said and all the things that you have Just now mad with regard to the role of, India in the International field. We in Maurithus are trying to do the same. But, of course, we are a very small country and we have been living a life of coexistence in a country composed of people of various origins.

I and my friend, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and other Ministers in the Government a men of goodwill trying to fulfil our destiny in peace; harmony and love for one another. That I think has also been the aim of India from very very long and we are very glad we meet on the road with a great desire to conduct our affairs in a spirit of cooperation and love.

I and my colleagues who are here are again grateful to you. Wherever we have been, we have been received with great friendliness and we will never forget what we have seen in India and carry away with us very tender memories of the love and affection that we have, found here every where in every part of the country we have been.

I thank you again and may I now ask you to raise your glasses to drink to the health and happiness of the Prime Minister and the people of India".

MAURITIUS USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Jan 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

MAURITIUS

India-Mauritius Air Services Agreement

Following press note was issued in New Delhi on 28th January, 1972 on the signing of a new Indo-Mauritius Air Services agreement between India and Mauritius:

An Air Services Agreement between the Governments of India and Mauritius was signed here today by the Prime Minister of Mauritius, His Excellency the Hon'ble Dr. Sir S. Ramgoolam and the Union Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation, Dr. Karan Singh.

The agreement provides for operations by the airline designated by the Government of Mauritius from Mauritius to Bombay and, if desired, to agreed points beyond. Reciproeally, it provides for the operation by the airline designated by the Government of India of air services from India to Mauritius and, if desired, to agreed points beyond.

The agreement is expected to facilitate and promote closer understanding and contact between the people of India and Mauritius and thereby to strengthen the existing friendly bonds between the two countries.

Air India is at present operating a weekly service to Mauritius.

Speaking on the occasion, Dr. Karan Singh said that the air link is a symbolic link of deep ties between India and Mauritius. The agreement provides a firm base for further development of aviation and tourism between the two countries, he added.

11

MAURITIUS USA INDIA

Date: Jan 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Joint Communique on Indo-Bangla Desh Talks

Following is the text of the joint communique on the talks between the, delegations of the Bangla Desh Government and the

Government of India issued in New Delhi on January 9, 1972:

On the invitation of Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs of the Government of India, His Excellency Mr. Mohammed Abdus Samad Azad, Minister of Foreign Affair's of the Government of People's Republic of Bangladesh, paid an official visit to India from January 5, to 9, 1972. The Foreign Minister was accompained by the officials of the Ministeres of Foreign Affairs and Commerce and of the Planning Commission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

During his stay in New Delhi, the Foreign Minister laid a wreath at Rajghat, at the Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Foreign Minister called on the president of India, Shri V. V. Giri and the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. He also met and had discussions with the Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh; Minister of Agriculture, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed; the Minister of Finance, shri Y. B. Chavan; the Minister of Defence, shri Jagjivan Ram; the Minister of Industrial Development, Shri Moinul Huq Choudhury; the Chairman, Policy Planning Committee in the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri D. P. Dhar; and the Minister of Irrigation and Power, Shri K. L. Rao.

The delegations of the Governments of Banglaesh and India, which had started their deliberations under the shadow of the continued incarceration of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in Pakistan and directed their foremost attention to devising means for his immediate restoration to his people. They received with a tremendous sense of relief and joy the news that he was at last allowed to leave Pakistan and would soon be able to join his people.

The Foreign Minister of Bangladesh took the opportunity offered by this visit to thank again the Government and people of India for their contribution to the liberation struggle and for their efforts for the release and restoration of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Both the Governments also noted with appreciation the positive response to the realities of the situation in Bangladesh shown by the Governments and peoples of Bhutan, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, G.D.R., Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and USSR. They also noted with appreciation the role Played by France and the United Kingdom In this regard. It was also acknowledged that the overwhelming support given by world public opinion to the legitimate aspirations of the people of Bangladesh was an important factor in the success of their struggle for. liberation.

The Government of India were specially happy that the first visit of the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh outside his own country was to India. The visit symbolised the emergence of the independent Republic of Bangladesh from its long night of travail and the close ties binding the Governments and peoples of Bangladesh and India forged during the struggle against the attempted suppression of a people's will by brute force.

The Governments of India and Bangladesh earnestly hope that the fact that the sovereign, independent Republic of Bangladesh has been established will be readily acknowledged and recognised by the international community. Only those who wish to introduce an element of instability in the region, and imperil world peace, would persist in ignoring this reality. Both the Governments are convinced that any attempt to put back the clock of history will be defeated.

The Government of India paid its tribute to the extraordinary speed with which order and stability had been restored in Bangla-

12

desh, a land so recently plundered and devastated by ruthless force, a land from where ten million persons had been driven out to seek refuge in India, more than a million had been killed and where hundreds of in tellectuals were massacred on the very eve of liberation. They were gratified to note that the administration of the Government of Bangladesh had been firmly established

throughout the country, that the refugees had already started returning to the land of their birth and that the Government of Bangladesh were now working on the gigantic task of reconstruction of their country. The Government of India also noted that the non-Bengali speaking sections of the population had been afforded special-protection and that allegations of maltreatment were nothing but a propaganda device to bring the new State into disrepute. It was thus clear that this nation of seventy five million people was confidently poised to take Its rightful place as a responsible member of the comity of nations.

Detailed discussions Were held at the official level on economic and political matters of mutual, Interest. The economic reconstruction of Bangladesh necessitated by the vast destruction and devastation wrought by the West Pakistani Martial Law regime was acknowledged as a matter of immediate concern. The Government of India assured the Bangladesh delegation of all cooperation in the fulfilment of this task,

The Government of India assured the Bangladesh delegation that the shortage of essential commodities and supplies in Bangladesh caused by the devastation of war and the disruption of communication systems would be met by India to the maximum extent possible. It was agreed by both the Governments that immediate steps would be taken to restore trade and communication links between the two countries and to develop economic cooperation. The Government of India assured that it would support the efforts of the Government of Bangladesh to secure its rightful place in the international and regional economic and financial organisations concerned with the socio-economic Development of the developing countries of the world. The Bangladesh delegation ex-Pressed its appreciation of the friendship and cooperation shown by the Government of India in the vital task of national reconstruction which the Government and the people of Bangladesh are undertaking.

The Bangladesh delegation indicated the desire of its Government to arrange as a

matter of high priority the return, rehabilltation and resettlement of the refugees who had to flee to India In the wake of the reign of terror unleashed by the Pakistani military regime on March 25, 1971. The Government of India appreciated the importance being attached by the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to this urgent problem and assured the Government of Bangladesh of their full cooperation in this matter. The two Governments also took note of the concern expressed about this matter in the United Nations Security Council Resolution of the 21st December 1971 and agreed to utilise international assistance, including United Nations assistance, which might be forthcoming, to resolve this problem satisfactorily.

In the field of foreign relations, the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh reiterated the resolve of his Government to follow a policy of non-alignment. Both the Governments agreed to base their bilateral relations on the principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, noninterference in each other's affairs, and equality and mutual benefit. Both the Governments wished again to make it clear that the Indian Armed forces which had ioined the Mukti Bahini in the task of liberation at the request of the Government of Bangladesh would be withdrawn from the territory of Bangladesh whenever the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh would so desire.

The Foreign Minister of Bangladesh affirmed his Government's adherence to the principles and purposes of- the, United Nations Charter and the covenants and agreements governing international relations. Both Governments reaffirmed this determination to oppose racialism, apartheid, colonialism and neocolonialism in all its forms. This was seen as a reflection of the principles of democracy, socialism mid secularism to which both the Governments are dedicated.

The Government of India assured the Government of the People's Republic of

13

Bangladesh of their fullest support for their legitimate aspiration to become a member of the United Nations and its various agencies.

The Bangladesh delegation expressed particular concern over the fate of Bangladesh nationals now in Pakistani hands. It was agreed that every effort should be made to see that they did not come to any harm and that they return to their homeland soon. The Bangladesh delegation requested the Government of India to look after the welfare of Bangladesh nationals who may be on pilgrimage during the current Haj season. The Government of India gladly agreed to undertake this task.

Both the Governments agreed that the visit of His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh was an important, landmark in the relations between the two countries. Both sides declared their firm determination to work unceasingly for stability, progress, peace and prosperity in the region.

His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh extended invitations to Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India and to Sardar Swaran Singh, the Minister of External Affairs of India to visit Bangladesh at their, earliest convenience. The invitations; have been accepted.

His Excellency Mr. Mohammed Abdus Samad Azad expressed his gratitude for the friendly, cordial and warm hospitality. extended to, him and to members of his delegation by the Government and the people of India.

INDIA USA BANGLADESH CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC PAKISTAN BHUTAN BULGARIA NORWAY SLOVAKIA HUNGARY MONGOLIA POLAND FRANCE UNITED KINGDOM

Date: Jan 01, 1972

Volume No

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

president's Welcome Address to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

Following is the text of the speech by the President, Shri V. V. Giri, welcoming Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at the Palam Airport on January 10, 1972:

It gives me great joy and pleasure to welcome Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to our country. This is an event which my government and the people of India have looked forward to. You are the embodiment of the undying spirit of suffering and sacrifice in the cause of human liberty and human freedom. The emergence of independent Bangla Desh is itself a unique event in the annals of democratic movement in, world history, you have truly been acclaimed the Father of the new Nation, Bangla Desh. Your inspiring leadership, and the trust and devotion the 75 million people of Bangla Desh reposed in you, have led to the birth of Sonar Bangla, and we have no doubt that it will come to occupy a pride of place in the comity of nations.

Your Excellency's return to your country to be at its head at this historic juncture will heighten and ensure the prospects for the establishment of lasting and durable peace in the region. The task of reconstruction of Bangla Desh is immense, The rehabilitation of people Whose homes have been shattered, and those who sought refuge in India and are now, returning to Bangla Desh, will be one of the most urgent problems facing your country. Under your wise leadership, I have no doubt that the people of Bangla Desh will be able to devote wholeheartedly to the urgent tasks before them of rapid economic and social progress. our two countries, India and Bangla Desh, are bound in firm friendship, and both the nations are dedicated to the principles of democracy, secularism and socialism. I wish you and the people of Bangla Desh Godspeed in your efforts. May you be spared long to

lead your people and the nation to growing prosperity.

INDIA USA

Date: Jan 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Reply by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

Replying to President Giri's welcome address, Bangabandhu Sheikh, Mujibur Rahman said:

Your Excellencies and friends: For me, this is the most gratifying moment. I decided to stop over in the historic capital of your great country on my way to Bangla Desh, for this is the least I could do to pay a personal tribute to the best friend of my people, the people of India and to your Government under the leadership of your

14 magnificent Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who is not only leader of men but also of mankind. You all have worked so untiringly and sacrificed so gallantly In making this journey possible.

This journey is a journey from darkness to light, from captivity to freedom, from desolation to hope and I am at leg going back to Sonar Bangla, the land of my dreams, after a period of nine months. In these nine months, my people have traversed centuries. When I was taken away from my people, they wept, when I was held in captivity, they fought, and now when I go back to them, they am Victorious. I go back to the sunshine of their million victorious smiles. I go back now to a free, Independent and

sovereign Bangla Desh I go back to join my people in the tremendous task that now lies ahead, in turning our victory into the road of Peace, Progress and prosperity.

I go back not with any hatred in my heart for any one but with the satisfaction that truth has at lad triumphed over falsehood, sanity over Insanity, courage over cowardice, justice over injustice and good over evil. Joi Bangla - Jai Hind.

INDIA USA

Date: Jan 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Agreement for Reactivating Bangla Desh Economy

Following is the text of a press note issued in New Delhi on January 17, 1972 on the exchange of letter between India and Bangla Desh regarding assistance for Bangla Desh economic reconstruction:

Letters Were exchanged here today between Shri T. N. Kaul Foreign Secretary, Government of India and Mr. W. H. R. Choudhury, Head of the Bangla Desh Mission in New Delhi, regarding assistance for the reconstruction of Bangla Desh and particularly the more immediate needs designed for a quick revival of the economy.

A list has been framed of commodities and services, consistent with their availability In India, which can be supplied to the Government of Bangla Desh in the near future. The list includes petroleum crude and petroleum products, fertilizers, cotton, super fine yam, sugar, salt, baby food, oil-seeds, cement, steel and steel products,

chemicals including drugs and medicines, power generation and transmission equipment and vehicles.

The total cost of the commodities and services to be provided is estimated at Rs. 25 crores. These commodities and services will be made available as a grant from the Government of India as their initial contribution in the task of reconstruction of Bangla Desh.

With a view to making speedy supplies, petroleum and petroleum products would be supplied under the arrangements of the Indian 0il Corporation, fertilizers under the arrangements of the Fertilizer Corporation of India and all other commodities under the arrangements of the State Trading Corporation.

A loan of & 5 minion to meet immediate foreign currency requirement is also to be made. The amount will be repayable in fifteen equal instalments commencing five years after the date of disbursement of the loan.

INDIA

Date: Jan 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

POLAND

Joint Communique on Polish Deputy Prime Minister' visit

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued in New Delhi, January 15, 1972 on the official visit to India of Mr. Jan Mitrega, Deputy Prime Minister of the Polish People's Republic:

At the invitation of the Government of

India, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Mining and Power of the Polish People's Republic, Mr. Jan Mitrega, paid an official visit to India from January 6 to 15, 1972.

The Deputy Prime Minister of the Polish People's Republic was accompanied by Mr. Stanislaw Trepczynski, Deputy

15

Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Franciszek Adamkiewicz, Deputy Minister of Heavy Industry, Mr. Ryszard Strzelecki, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade; Mr. Stanislaw Wylupek, Deputy Minister of Machine Engineering Industry; Mr. Marian Grzymek, Joint Secretary, Planning Commission; Mr. Zdzizlaw Ilkow, Secretary to the Deputy Prime Minister's Cabinet and a group of experts and advisers.

The Deputy Prime Minister of the Polish Government and his Party were everywhere accorded a very warm welcome reflecting the feelings of sincere friendship and respect of the people of India for the Polish people and its leaders.

On behalf of the Government of the Polish People's Republic, Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Jan Mitrega paid homage to Mahatma Gandhi and laid a wreath at Raj Ghat.

During his stay in New Delhi, Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. J. Mitrega was received by the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

Mr. J. Mitrega held talks with the Minister of Agriculture, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, the Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Shipping and Transport, Shri Raj Bahadur, the Minister of Industrial Development, Shri Moinul Haq Choudhury, the Minister of Steel and Mines, Shri S. M. Kumaramangalam, the Minister of Irrigation and Power, Dr. K. L. Rao, and the Minister of Foreign Trade, Shri L. N. Mishra. The Ambassador of India in Poland, Shri Natwar Singh and the Ambassador of

Poland in India Mr. Wiktor Kinecki were present at these discussions.

During their stay in India the members of the Polish Delegation visited several industrial projects including those with Polish collaboration. The Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. J. Mitrega visited the Bokaro Steel Plant as well as the coal mines at Sudamdih and Munidih, being developed with Poland's cooperation, where he met Polish experts and had talks with officials of the National Coal Development Corporation.

Officials and experts accompanying the Deputy Prime Minister also met and had discussion with their Indian counterparts with a view to identifying new areas of cooperation in the economic and technical fields. They examined in detail the existing relations between the two countries and reviewed possibilities for their further strengthening and expansion.

The Indian delegation at the talks was led by Shri S. Mohan Kumaramangalam, Minister of Steel and Mines. The talks were held in an atmosphere of sincerity, friendship and mutual understanding, and reaffirmed that the cooperation between India and Poland in 'the various fields, continues to develop successfully. Both sides noted with satisfaction the steady increase of bilateral trade. It was- agreed that there were further possibilities in increasing and diversifying the trade exchanges.

The two delegations set up, Working Groups to study In depth the possibilities of cooperation in the coal mining industry, ship-building industry, engineering industry, chemical industry and trade. The Cabinet Secretary to the Government of India, Shri T. Swaminathan was closely associated with the coordination of the reports of the Working Groups which form part of the Protocol signed by the leaders of the two delegations at the conclusion of the discussions.

Taking into account the development of.. bilateral economic relations and the need to conduct systematic studies on further intensification of economic co-operation, both

sides agreed to establish an Indo-Polish Commission for Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technical Cooperation. Letters signifying the agreement on the establishment of the Indo-Polish Commission were exchanged between the leaders of the two delegations.

In the political discussions held by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. S-Trepczynski with the Chairman of the Policy Planning Committee, Shri D. P. Dhar, principal Secretary to the Prime Minister of India, Shri P. N. Haksar, Foreign Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri T. N. Kaul and Secretary (East) of the Ministry of External Affairs Shri S. K. Banerji, the Polish side noted with understanding the origins and the course of the national liberation struggle of the people of Bangla Desh for their independence and ex-

pressed Poland's appreciation of the peaceful policy of the Government of India, led by Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The Indian side expressed its appreciation of the principled stand adopted by Poland in regard to the recent developments in the Indian sub-continent.

Both sides are convinced that the establishment of the sovereign independent People's Republic of Bangla Desh and her taking her legitimate place in the family of nations will strengthen stability and peace in the region and contribute to the development of good neighbourly relations on the Indian sub-continent.

Both sides expressed their concern over the situation in South-East Asia, especially the resumption of bombings over the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and stressed the need for rapid withdrawal of all foreign troops from Indo-China in order to enable the Peoples of that region to live in peace and security and to decide freely their own future in accordance with their national interests and without any foreign Interference. They expressed the hope that a peaceful poltical solution of the Vietnam Laos and Cambodia questions would be found within the broad framework of the Geneva Agreements.

In this connection, they noted that the 7-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam constitutes a good basis for a peaceful political solution of the question of Vietnam.

Both sides noted that as a result of the recent developments. in Europe and particularly as a result of the-conclusion of the treaties of the USSR with the Federal Republic of Germany and also Poland with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1970 and the 4-Power Agreement of 1971, an atmosphere has been created for strengthening security and peace and for constructive cooperation among States with different political and social systems. They expressed their conviction that the convocation of an All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation is an important stop aimed it relaxation of tensions and will promote allround co-operation among European States and have a positive impact throughout the world. The Indian side expressed its appreciation of the contribution made by Poland towards this end.

Both sides declared their support for national liberation movements and called for the speedy and complete elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism in accordance with the UN Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples They condemned racist policies and practices as a gross violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Views were also exchanged in the course of the discussions on a number of other international issues of mutual interest. It was noted with satisfaction that the views of both sides were identical or very close. Both sides stressed the need for continuing efforts at preservation of lasting peace and security which can be accomplished only through prevention and elimination of conflicts, arresting the armaments race, through disarmament and peaceful settlement or controversial international problems, in accordance with the will of nations to live in conditions of peace and security.

Both sides expressed their readiness to

cooperate in the implementation of these objectives and agreed to hold annual consultations at the appropriate level on all matters concerning their bilateral relations as well as important international issues of mutual interest.

Both sides stressed the importance of the further exchange of visits at different levels between the two countries and agreed that the visit to India by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Mining and Power of Poland and his delegation had contributed to a closer mutual understanding and strengthening of co-operation between India and Poland.

The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Mining and Power of Poland, Mr. Mitrega conveyed to Minister Shri S. Mohan Kumaramangalam and to the Government and the people of the Republic of India heartfelt gratitude for the hospitality that he and the members of the Polish delegation were accorded in India.

The Deputy Prime Minister of Poland, Mr. Mitrega conveyed an invitation from the Foreign Minister of Poland, Mr. Stefan

17 Olszowski to the Minister of External Affairs of India, Sardar Swaran Singh. He also extended a cordial invitation to the Minister of Steel and Mines of India Shri S.

Mohan Kumaramangalam to visit, Poland. The Invitations were accepted with pleasure.

POLAND INDIA USA LATVIA VIETNAM CHINA LAOS SWITZERLAND GERMANY

Date: Jan 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Contract for Korba Aluminium Plant

Following is the text of a press Note issued in New Delhi on January 5, 1972 on the signing of two contracts, between India and U.S.S.R. for aluminium plant at Korba:

Two contracts for Supply of manufacturing documents and equipment from the Soviet Union for the first public sector aluminium plant at Korba in Madhya Pradesh, were signed here today by Lt. Gen. N. Sen Gupta, Chairman of Bharat, Aluminium. Company Ltd. and Mr. V. Perevodkin, Director of M/s Tsvetmetpromexport, Moscow.

The Korba Aluminium. Project with an installed capacity of 100,000 tonnes of aluminium metal per annum and a rolling mill for production of flat products and other fabrication facilities is being undertaken with the aid and technical collaboration of the Soviet Union under the Rouble Credit Assistance.

The cost of the Korba smelter and fabrication is estimated at about Rs. 152 crores. This includes a ceiling provision of Rs. 7 crores for township and foreign exchange content of Rs. 23.50 crores. The contract signed today is for a total of Rs. 9 crore assistance.

The bulk of the plant and equipment will be procured from indigenous sources based on the design and technical know-how available In the country. Even non-standard and specialised equipment costing about Rs. 30 crores will be manufactured indigenously based on Soviet drawings.

The plant is expected to be commissioned in phases starting from end of 1974.

Bharat Aluminium Co. Ltd. is taking up the two giant aluminium projects at Korba (Madhya Pradesh) and Koyna (Maharashtra), with a metal capacity of 100,000 and 50,000 tonnes each respectively. By bringing these units into production, BALCO would help the country to achieve not only self-sufficiency, but also move towards es-

tablishing a substantial foreign market, thereby earning valuable foreign exchange which, in turn, would assist our import requirements of other nonferrous metals like copper, zinc, etc. for which we have to continue to depend upon foreign imports for some years to come.

In 1970-71, India produced 1,65,000 tonnes of aluminium.

Import of aluminium, from various countries was worth Rs. 1.5 crores in 1970-71.

18

INDIA USA RUSSIA ITALY

Date: Jan 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Indo-American Text-Book Programme

Following is the text of a press Note issued in New Delhi on January 22, 1972 on Indo-U.S. agreement on subsidy for Text Book programme:

Publication of original works by Indian authors or approved adaptations or translations of standard American works for university-level education will, under a new agreement reached recently, be subsidized from funds set apart for the Indo-American Standard Works Programme.

With the object of making available suitable American text-books in various disciplines at low prices for Indian university students, the Government of India have been operating since 1960 a scheme known as the

Joint Indo-American Standard Works Programme in collaboration with the U.S. Government. As initially conceived, the programme covered only reprints in English of standard American books by Indian publishers in low-priced editions with subsidy from PL 480 funds operated by United States Information Service. In 1968, USAID made available a special grant of \$ 2 million to augment the programme for books on science and technology. Another grant of \$ 2 million was repeated in 1970 for the same purpose.

It has now been decided that a portion of this additional grant of \$ 2 million will be made available for extending subsidy to the publishing of original Indian books or approved adaptations or Indian language translations of standard American works on science and technology. A sum of Rs. 22.25 lakhs has been earmarked for this purpose.

The operation of the subsidy scheme has been entrusted to the National Book Trust, New Delhi, which is already operating a scheme for a similar purpose.

It has also been agreed that a portion of the funds from the special. USAID grant will be available for research and developmental purposes in the field of books. Accordingly, USAID has placed a sum of about Rs. 1 lakh at the disposal of the Federation of Publishers and Booksellers Associations in India for compiling and publishing a directory of 'the Indian book Industry containing. comprehensive information about Indian publishers, printers, binders, art services, libraries, book clubs, book exporters and importers.

It may be recalled that under this programme, USAID had, at the instance of the Government of India, also extended a rupee grant to the Federation of Publishers to finance the visit of a non-official six-member Indian printers and publishers mission to USA in the latter half of January, 1972, to study the development in printing and publishing in that country and to establish contacts with printers and publishers there with a view to having closer cooperation as part

of the International Book Year activity and also exploring what ways India's surplus printing and publishing capacity may be of use to U.S. publishers and others.

19

USA INDIA

Date: Jan 01, 1972

February

Volume No 1995 Content Foreign Affairs Record Feb 01, 1972 Vol. XVIII **FEBRUARY** No. 2 **CONTENTS PAGE AFGHANISTAN** 21 Trade Agreement Signed DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA Trade Talks Conclude 21 **DENMARK** New Danish Loan 22 INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS Permanent Indian Representative Shri Sen's Speech on Africa at

Addis Ababa Session of Security Council

Shri Samar Sen's Statement in Security Council on Draft Resolution on Apartheid Shri Samar Sen's Speech on South African Apartheid 32 Shri Samar Sen's Statement at Security Council on Lebanese Complaint against Israel 34 **MAURITIUS** Press Statement on Mauritius Prime Minister's Visit 35 PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH Joint Statement on The Talks Between Prime Ministers of India and Bangladesh 36 MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS: EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (Continued Overleaf) **PAGE POLAND** Indo-Polish Cultural Programme 38 **ROMANIA** Trade Protocol With Romania 38 (ii) AFGHANISTAN KOREA DENMARK INDIA ETHIOPIA SOUTH AFRICA ISRAEL MAURITIUS USA BANGLADESH POLAND OMAN ROMANIA **Date**: Feb 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

AFGHANISTAN

Trade Agreement Signed

Following is the text of a press release issued in New Delhi on February 20, 1972 on the conclusion of Indo-Afghan trade talks and signing of a now trade agreement:

Talks held in New Delhi between the Union Minister of Foreign Trade, Shri L. N. Mishra and the Afghan Minister of commerce, Mr. M. Aref Ghauzi concluded this evening with the signing of a new Trade Agreement.

The Agreement was signed by Shri L. N. Mishra on behalf of India and Mr.. M. AM Ghauzi on behalf of the Royal Afghan Government.

The new Agreement which will come into force from March 1, 1972 for a one year period, aims at expansion, diversification and further growth of mutual trade on healthy lines.

Under the new arrangement, the two sides have reaffirmed their resolve to promote and develop trade to mutual advantage and to eliminate concentration of Indo-Afghan trade in a few hands and to remove difficulties that have arisen in the existing system.

The two sides have also agreed to review the working of trade arrangement periodically.

The two Governments have agreed that they would provide facilities for setting up a plant in Afghanistan as a joint venture for the production of extracts of medicinal herbs and plants grown In Afghanistan. India has offered to make use of these extracts for its pharmaceutical Industry.

Afghanistan has expressed its desire to purchase medical And surgical instruments and other surgical supplies manufactured in India.

The two delegations have further agreed to import drugs and medicines manufactured in the two countries.

Date: Feb 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Trade Talks Conclude

Following is the text of a press Note issued in New Delhi on February 21, 1972 on the conclusion of trade negotiation between the delegations of Democratic People's Republic of Korea and India:

Trade negotiations have been held in New Delhi since February 7, 1972 between the delegations of Democratic People's Republic of Korea (D.P.R.K.) and India led by Mr. Kim Suk Zin, Director General (Foreign Trade) and Shri S. Than, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Trade respectively.

During these talks a review of trade exchanges between the two countries in 1971 was undertaken. Principal items of export from D.P.R.K. were magnesia clinker, special steel, graphite etc., from India principal Items included high speed diesel oil, motor gasoline, manganese ore, jute products, engineering goods etc. The total volume of import export transactions in 1971 was about Rs. 5 1/2 crores, which was much higher than the trade in 1970.

During the current discussions it has been agreed to by both sides that the level

21 of trade in 1972 should be further raised. Accordingly both sides have programmed for a three-fold rise in the trade exchanges in 1972 over the performance in 1971.

Items of import from the D.P.R.K. include magnesia clinker, basic refractories, anthracite, graphite, flourspar, hops, peppermint oil, special steel including high speed tool steel, carbon tool steel, stainles steel etc. India's export to D.P.R.K. cover pig iron, manganese ore, passenger wagons, auto buses, tyres and tubes, various chemicals, jute manufactures, paper products, cotton textiles, rayon textiles and various engineering goods including ball bearings, wire ropes, etc.

KOREA INDIA USA UNITED KINGDOM CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC RUSSIA

Date: Feb 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

DENMARK

New Danish Loan

Following press release was issued in New Delhi on February 14, 1972 on the signing of an Indo-Danish agreement for Danish financial assistance of Rs. 40 million to India:,

An agreement for Danish financial assistance to India of Rs. 4 crores was initialled here today. The agreement followed talks between a Danish delegation headed by Mr. Hans Jespersen of the Danish International Development Agency and Shri M. G. Kaul, Additional Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance.

The Danish loan of Rs. 4 crores, like an previous loans from Denmark since 1968, will be completely free of interest and will be repaid over 25 years, including a grace period of seven years. The new agreement also covers a larger list of items that can be imported from Denmark than hitherto. These include machinery for fertilisers, petro-chemicals and rubber industries, catalysts, electronic and electrical equipment, machinery and equipment for food processing, drying and storage and machine tools for small-scale, medium and large-scale industries.

Since Denmark started extending financial assistance to India in 1963, there have altogether been five loans. Three of these, totalling Rs. 7.5 crores, were general purpose loans while the other two, amounting to Rs. 6 crores, were food loans granted in 1966 and 1968. The total Danish financial assistance to India, excluding the loan for which an agreement was initialled today, has so, far been Rs. 13.5 crores.

Denmark has also been providing technical assistance to India since 1963. Several projects under this programme have been taken up in areas of agriculture, dairy development. family planning, leprosy control and small-scale industries in several States such as Mysore, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Kerala, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Tamil Nade. The progress of these technical assistance projects and programmes was also reviewed during the visit of the Danish delegation.

22

DENMARK INDIA USA

Date: Feb 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Permanent Indian Representative Shri son's Speech on Africa at

Addis Ababa Session of Security Council

Following is the text of the speech of Permanent Indian Representative to the United Nations, Shri Samar Sen on Africa at the Special Security Council. session in Addis Ababa on February 2, 1972:

This visit of the Security Council to Africa is indeed a pilgrimage of atonement. For centuries now the world has imposed pain and indignity on millions of Africans. It has perpetrated barbarous cruelties and unspeakable horrors: it has committed atrocities; it has exploited African resources; it has inflicted humiliating, agony, death, despair and intolerable insults. It is a measure of the greatness of the people of this continent that instead of attempting to show the outside world hostility for these crimes they, have greeted the Council with warmth and hospitality, and, particularly, have showered innumerable acts of kindness on all of us and thrown open their doors for us to enter. We are indeed grateful particularly to the Government and people of Ethiopia, led by their distinguished monarch, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I. It is therefore doubly appropriate that the Council's work in Addis Ababa should be done under the stewardship and guidance of our African colleagues. Mr. President, you and your colleague the Foreign Minister of Somalia, as also your Ambassadors, Mr. Abdalla and Mr. Farah, all deserve our congratulations. We are thankful to all of you for the skilful and admirable manner in which the work of the Council has been conducted

While as a member of the Council I must share the common guilt for the treatment of Africans, as a representative of the Government of India I have no reason to be contrite. India's record in the fight against apartheid, against colonialism not only in Africa but all over the world. and for human dignity is indeed so good that I might easily be accused of boastfulness if I were To detail all the steps India has taken in these fields ever since attaining its Independence 25 years ago.

In the last decade of the last century, when that naked fakir Mahatma Gandhi

raised his voice against the treatment of Vie coloured peoples in South Africa, he sent a message round the world which in its impact and significance was perhaps no less than that of the other great little man of Galilee, The Mahatma said: "It civilization worth the name which requires for its existence the very doubtful prop of racial legislation and lynch laws?" In 1946 India was the first country to bring the question of racial discrimination, before the Security Council, and later to the General Assembly. India was among the first voluntarily and unilaterally to stop all economic and commercial contacts with Pretoria, Lisbon and Salisbury. We have built up an effective programme for training those belonging to the liberation movements in Africa. We have just contributed to the Organization of African Unity assistance fund for the struggle against colonialism and apartheid. it is in keeping with this tradition that we are ready to do whatever more we can within our resources. Whatever Africa wants us to do, whether in the United Nations or outside it, it Will find a warm and willing response from India.

There is an understandable tendency to scoff at the attempts so far made in the United Nations to solve the problems and remove the evils the Council is now dealing with. We should not, however, forget that the achievement of the United Nations in these fields is not inconsiderable. The other day we heard our new Secretary-General, whom we once again welcome in Africa, say, in his first statement to this Council, "Here in Africa there wounds and there is bleeding." He added that the Western world tended to close its eyes to what was not an

23 immediate danger but that these wounds were of great concern to Africa and to the Council.

Addressing 'the International Seminar on Apartheid and Colonialism in July 1967, U Thant said:

"I make reference to the historical background because in the struggle against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism one may sometimes wonder whether the poor are not always with us, whether the strong will not always lord it over the weak; whether it is not part of human nature for men to attain success by exploiting their fellow men. These doubts and misgivings assail the best and most resolute of us with varying intensity and at different times."

Before U Thant, Hammarksjold, and before him Trygve Lie, expressed similar sentiments and concern. In the introduction to his report on the Organization for 1951-1952, Trygve Lie wrote:

"There are historic forces that will not be denied. . . . The question is whether by enlisting moderation and realism. on all sides we can find effective ways to answer this challenge by peaceful and evolutionary means rapid enough to prevent upheavals and widespread chaos that are likely if we do not."

Apart from those statements by successive Secretaries-General, the United Nations has demolished the doctrine of domestic jurisdiction, that pet dogma of all sovereign States in so far as apartheid is concerned. Yet another achievement of the United Nations has been - as, indeed, was pointed out by His Excellency President Mouktar Ould Daddah of Mauritania - the adoption of 128 resolutions on these subjects. Much debate and negotiation and exchange of views both in public and in private lie behind those resolutions. If they have not been implemented, or have not been implemented fully, the fault lies not so much with the United Nations as elsewhere.

During the last few days in Addis Ababa we have heard impassioned and moving pleas from many eminent representatives of African States and liberation fronts. Their eloquence, their feelings, their sense of urgency and their detailed analysis of the problem have been both impressive and convincing. Several broad conclusions can

be drawn from the large number of statements we have heard:

First, the evils of apartheid, colonialism, minority regimes and the forceful occupation of territories have been fully recognized;

Secondly, the actions of some countries, for whatever reasons, encourage these evils and there is no defence - not even when it is sophisticatedly presented - for such encouragement;

Thirdly, the history of United Nations actions to remove these evils has been considered by some speakers to range from trivial and nugatory to cynical and dangerously frustrating. This trend must be reversed, but not too many concrete and practical steps have been suggested, although everyone has rightly insisted on speedy and effective action. It is, therefore, for the Council to work out an effective and realistic plan of action Which can be can be carried out quickly and without shedding too much blood and without too great a burden in terms of money, resources and social cohesion. AR are agreed, however, that sacrifices will be necessary - not simply because of any Philosophical consideration that almost all worthwhile objectives can normally be achieved only by some sacrifice but because vested interests are so entrenched that no concessions can be expected from them save through sacrifice based on unity and determination;

Fourthly, if effective and speedy action is not taken, widespread and most painful consequences will follow; armed conflict and strife will take place, racial prejudice - ever, racial hostility - will increase, and the world may well lose all it has garnered over millenia of human intelligence, wisdom and energy;

Fifthly, it is, better to continue to suffer and make greater efforts to overcome wrongs than to pretend that temporary and doubtful palliatives will bring about just solutions.

24

It is in the light of those broad con

clusions that the Indian delegation will offer some suggestions foe action.

The facts regarding the problem we are dealing with are so well known and have been repeated so often that I shall not use up the time of the Council in going over them again. I should however, like to emphasize that in spite of the many moving speeches we have heard there is not as yet in the daily life of the men and women in the world outside adequate consciousness of the pain and agony of Africa and the danger the present circumstances have created. "The tragedy of Africa is greater than that in any other continent, whether it is racial or political," wrote Jawaharlal Nehru many years ago, and he continued, "It is up to Asia to help Africa to the best of her ability because we are sister continents". The great prime Minister was of course speaking as an Asian, but we in the Council must ensure that what he said about Asian responsibility is shared by all, the continents.

Those of us around this table who come from Africa, Asia land Latin America have some knowledge of the process of liberation. Oppression and discrimination of one kind or another are neither strange to us nor remote from us. All of us recognize that tyrant and an oppressor changes not by the eloquence of speeches but by the forces of liberation. It is in recognition of that principle that during the past few years the non-aligned countries have persuaded the United Nations to emphasize, first, that the problems of southern Africa, are a grave threat to international Peace and security and. secondly, that the United Nations system and the Member States must all provide

"moral and material assistance to all peoples struggling for freedom and independence in the colonial Territories and, in particular, to the national liberation movements of the Territories in southern Africa." (resolution 2878 (XXVI))

I am not one of those who consider that the large number of words we have used in discussing this problem has been a waste of time. We believe that the discussion over the years have focussed attention on the central issues. We are gratified that the present session of the Council In Addis Ababa has had the desired psychological effect not only in this continent but also in many other countries in the world. It is through discussion and debate that we can move on to action. However, I shall confess that we seem to have come to the end of the discussion stage and now stand at the end of the road. What new roads can we now tread? What actions can we take? The Council session in Addis Ababa will indeed be a success if we begin to break new ground in our deliberations here. The process can obviously not be completed, nor even seriously begun, in the course of a week's debate, but if we can make a fresh move with a stout heart in Addis Ababa, and continue our work with purpose and integrity In New York and elsewhere, we shah have achieved much

To our delegation the most important element in the problems we am discussing is the white Government of South Africa. That Government, condemned and ostracized in various degrees, is the principal agent for spreading the policy of apartheid, for maintaining the colonial hold of Portugal over Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), for sustaining Ian Smith in Rhodesia and for invading and illegally occupying the whole of Namibia. It is clear to us, therefore, that no satisfactory solution to-any of these problems will be found unless the Government of South Africa can be persuaded, if possible - and coerced, if necessary - to follow a civilized policy. Most. States recognize this, but, unfortunately, many powerful countries are not prepared to take the steps necessary to discourage South Africa effectively from following a suicidal and disastrous course. Although the Rhodesian problem is of immediate concern, it is the South African Government - and the South African Government alone - which has to be tackied most vigorously if we are to eradicate evils of southern Africa and shatter all dreams of the South African Government for hegemony over those areas.

Now I shall take up the specific problems before us and suggest various courses of action in respect of each. These suggestions are not formal proposals by the Government of India. They may, however, provide a base for further discussion and action. It

25

may even be possible that some elements of these suggestions will be included in the draft resolution we hope to adopt during this session of the Council.

On Rhodesia and Zimbabwe, it is clear that the people of Zimbabwe have overwhelmingly rejected the present proposals for the settlement of the problem. Those proposals have also been rejected by the United Nations as a whole. Whatever may be the findings of the Pearce Commission, the conclusion that those proposals are not acceptable cannot be changed. We hope, therefore, that the Government of the United Kingdom will keep this factor in mind.

The present proposals are so wrongly conceived and are so much against the interest of the black people of Rhodesia that the Council would be justified in calling upon everyone concerned to reject them. We have been repeatedly told that the British Government has neither the authority nor the means to enforce any decision, however trivial, on the Ian Smith regime. In the circumstances, would it not be advisable to call upon the United Kingdom to relinquish the legal fiction that it is responsible for the administration of Rhodesia? It would, of course, be more appropriate if the Government of the United Kingdom followed this course on its own initiative rather than through any decision of the Council. However, as long as the United Kingdom Government itself maintains that it has responsibility for Zimbabwe, we hold it to its commit. ment for carrying out all the recommendations and decisions of the United Nations. as also for measures necessary for the welfare of the people of Zimbabwe as a whole. Thirdly, we think that the sanctions already imposed against Rhodesia should be tightened and widened. The Council's Committee on Sanctions could be more vigorous and be

requested to make public all infringements. Governments might co-operate in giving publicity to these infringements through all media of information. We hear a number of private reports of these violations, and some of them may be so cleverly concealed that the offender may not be easily identified. None the less, we think that a comparative and careful study of the trade statistics of various countries will enable us to remove the loop-holes and plug 'the gaps. Fourthly, we would suggest the cutting off of all communications systems to and from Rhodesia. Ills boycott or ban should extend to passports, visas, postal services and transport and communications systems of all kinds. The ban should also extend - as indeed has been Proposed by several speakers, particularly by my friend and colleague from Ghana - to an cultural, social, sports or religious activities. In other words no white Rhodesian should be allowed to participate in any international event in 'these fields. He is a pariah and should be treated as such, unless he mends his ways. Fifthly, it is common knowledge that the so-called lice force of South Africa in Rhodesia is an army in disguise. We should study methods by which the South African army can be withdrawn from Rhodesia. Even accepting the British view that they have no control over anything Rhodesian we wonder why no steps have been initiate - at least publicly announced - by the Government of the United Kingdom for the withdrawal of South Africa's so-called police force from Rhodesia.

As regards Namibia, it would be appropriate for the Council for Namibia to assess taxes on foreign companies operating in Namibia and ask them to pay 'those taxes to a central United Nations fund. Should they refuse, the United Nations would be justified in suing these companies for the payment of taxes in the appropriate national courts. If, however, they would voluntarily pay the. taxes to the United Nations, money available through those sources could be spent for the benefit of the people of Namibia, after such administrative costs as might unavoidably be Incurred had been disbursed.

Similarly, the United Nations may consider keeping a ship outside the territorial waters of Namibia. The ship's captain would have authority to issue fishing licences in the territorial waters and beyond in the seas adjoining Namibia. Should South Africa not honour these licences, it would clearly be liable for damages through the International Court of Justice. We should also press that effective broadcasting should be directed towards South Africa. Many rich countries have powerful broadcasting systems, and it should be possible for them to allot time for the specific purpose of bringing to the attention of the people of Namibia the evils of

26 apartheid, the local oppression of their country by South Africa and the actions they may possibly take to liberate themselves. The dropping of leaflets to the population is another possibility. If countries friendly to South Africa would undertake this work in co-operation with the United Nations, we are reasonably certain that the South African Government would not shoot down the planes of these friendly countries. Lastly, as there have been many violations of the neighbouring areas by the South African forces illegally occupying Namibia, we should consider if an all-African border force should not be raised and posted along the borders of Namibia with the other African countries.

As regards apartheid, we shall have to take measured and progressive steps to remove this evil. We believe it is possible to Impose an effective trade ban on South Africa. We would, of course, support any move for an arms embargo on that country. Economic sanctions of other types should also be considered. We are encouraged by the action UNESCO has recently taken to discontinue the consultative status of various international nongovernmental organizations which retain branches or contacts with their South African affiliates. Similarly, diplomatic and consular contacts with South Africa should be broken off.

In order to terminate Portuguese colonialism over Angola, Mozambique, and

Guinea (Bissau), we would suggest an immediate declaration by the United Nations that these countries are independent and that Portugal has no authority whatever to be in these Territories. The Indian delegation has often maintained, and still maintains, that the very presence of the Portuguese in these Territories is a from of aggression, and therefore all activities from any quarter which are directed towards the removal of this aggression are both legitimate and moral. India will always be ready and willing to help in whatever way we can in the liberation struggles of the whole of southern Africa. it is, in our view, wrong to consider any of these Territories., including South Africa as a sovereign independent State until the full and equal rights of all citizens have been restored to the black people of these areas.

It is also our feeling that on our concern to deal exhaustively with all facets and aspects of the situation, in southern Africa in various places in the United Nations and elsewhere, we have permitted a certain avoidable fragmentation and duplication of approach and effort. This has already been recognized by the General Assembly. However, we all know that the essence of the problem in South Africa is the threat to peace and security. The Council as the organ charged with specific responsibility in this field-should do everything it can to focus attention and action in this regard. I suggest that the Council might usefully give some thought to devising appropriate arrangements for this purpose.

I know only too well that the lines of action I have suggested would not be readily acceptable to the Council. However, we must continue to try and encourage by all means at our disposal, not only through the United Nations but elsewhere, the fight again the evils which have been a scourge, for 30 million fellow human beings in this part of the world. I was most impressed the other day by the tableau which the National Theatre of Somalia staged for us on African unity. In it there was a scene depicting the view that the Africans are not fit to be free and equal because they lack money, are not

civilized, are not progressive and have no education. No wonder that the audience greeted such a view with cynical laughter and derisive hoots. We know only too well that these arguments are put forward for nefarious purposes. But the people who stand behind those purposes are rich and powerful, and the struggle against them will be a long one and a heavy toll may have to be. paid in death and destruction. But we are not discouraged, we stand firmly with the Africans in their struggle, and a day will come when, in the words of our poet Tagore. all their thorns will bloom into flowers and all their scars will change colour and become roses.

27

INDIA ETHIOPIA USA MALI SOMALIA SOUTH AFRICA PORTUGAL UNITED KINGDOM MAURITANIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC ANGOLA GUINEA GUINEA-BISSAU MOZAMBIQUE NAMIBIA ZIMBABWE GHANA

Date: Feb 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Samar Sen's Statement in Security Council on Draft Resolution

on Apartheid

Following is the text of the statement of the Permanent Indian Representative to the United Nations, Shri S. Sen, at the special session of the Security Council in Addis Ababa on February 3, 1972 on apartheid in South Africa:

Every country, every religion and every society is fighting all forms of discrimination in some way or another, in its own way with varying degrees of success, but it is only in South Africa that a form of slavery exists that is actively encouraged by its Government and is indeed elevated to its

present constitutional status under the sinister name of separate development of different races.

The Security Council has adopted four resolutions on the subject of apartheid in South Africa: the first one was adopted on 7 August 1963; the second was adopted on 4 December 1963; the third resolution was adopted on 18 June 1964; and the fourth resolution was adopted on 23 July 1970. It is most discouraging to see that, in spite of definite steps spelt out in the last resolution, we are again confronted with a situation which has not improved but has in fact deleriorated since then, that is to say, over the past 18 months. In fact the major trading partners of South Africa are fortifying the white minority regime of South Africa though their economic co-operation and are benefitting from high rates of return, because of the cheap "slave" labour made possible by the exploitation of the non-white workers. That might not have been the intention of those traders, but that indeed is the effect. The reluctance of certain Powers to indict South Africa - much less to take action agreed by the United Nations - has cast legitimate and serious doubts on the commitments these Powers always make on issues of racial equality and justice. In 1958 Nehru said:

"It surprises me that countries, particularly those who stood for the democratic tradition and those who voted for the United Nations Charter and for the Human Rights Convention, express themselves so moderately or do not express themselves at all about the racial policy of the South African Union."

The figures for the 10 most important trading partners of South Africa, from South African statistics, are illustrative. In 1960 South African imports from its, 10 major trading partners were to the value of 828 million Rands. In 1970 they reached almost 2,000 million Rands. In the corresponding 10 years, exports have gone up from 462 million Rands to more than 1,000 million Rands. New capital inflow to South Africa

has also reached a-record level of over \$ 1,000 million in the financial year 1970-71. This investment is almost wholly from the major trading partners of South Africa.

Would it be impertinent for us to ask what incentive the South African Government will have in coming to terms with the black people and civilization, if that Government obtains greater and greater benefit from its existing pernicious policies? Those who speak of greater need of communication may well ponder over this aspect. Is their present policy likely to induce South Africa to follow a different course?

As regards the armed strength of South Africa, the racist regime of Pretoria has adopted a military posture to maintain the white man's supremacy over South Africa by brute force. It has made preparations to strike against the independent countries to its north in terms of the doctrine of "anticipatory counter-attack". South Africa's military presence in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola is to maintain that military posture.

South Africa. now has military equipment worth more than \$2,800 million. its budget estimates for defence increased from 40 million Rands in 1959-60 to 271,600,000 Rands in 1969-70. When fully mobilized, South Africa's armed forces would total 85,000. In addition, there are about 58,000 commandos or part-time militia.

Perhaps it would be relevant at this stage to say briefly what my own country has done in response to Security Council

28

resolutions. Indeed, we initiated action against South Africa even before the United Nations took any steps. The High Commissioner for India in South Africa was recalled in 1946 - and I might remind the Council in this context that we became independent in 1947, and therefore some of the, credit should go to the British Government that we were able to withdraw our High Commissioner even when under the jurisdiction of the British Government. The Mission it-

self was withdrawn in 1954. In 1963 Indian ports were closed to South African ships, and Indian ships prohibited from calling at South African ports. In the same year we informed the International Civil Aviation Organization that the Government of India would not permit aircraft belonging to the Government of South Africa and to companies registered under South African laws to fly over India while operating scheduled international air services or to make non-scheduled flights through or over India.

India was the first country to sever trade relations with South Africa in protest against its racial policies. The decision to impose economic sanctions was taken in principle as early as November 1944. When towards the end of 1945 the Government of South Africa announced that fresh legislation would be introduced for carrying out and extending its policies of racial discrimination, the Government of India took immediate action. All exports to and imports from South Africa were prohibited from July 1946, and this boycott has continued ever since.

India took this decision in spite of the fact that it had a favourable balance of trade with South Africa. India had increased substantially its trade with South Africa in the course of the last world war. For a time it even ranked as South Africa's third most important source of imports. We lost the South African market in which we had earlier established ourselves and in which the demand for our products had been continuously growing.

In introducing this draft resolution which is before the Council in document S/10609, I find no better words than those of my Prime Minister. Mrs. Gandhi. who said:

"Equality is the dominant urge of man. Peace and justice can be achieved only when dignity of man without distinction of race or colour comes to be honoured. Racialism is a crime against humanity and all forms of racial discrimination must end. Millions of nonwhites in South Africa and elsewhere still live under tyranny of racial arrogance and prejudice. The people of India will always raise their voice for racial equality and peace until the goal is reached."

The draft resolution asks for no wars; it does not bar discussion or include any doubts or speculations about what the black people want - the three points on which several speakers were eloquent yesterday and on which we shall have comments to make when we examine all the five drafts before us - perhaps tomorrow. However, at the moment I am exclusively concerned with commenting on the draft resolutions I have mentioned. This draft resolution has been co-sponsored by Guinea, India, Somalia, Sudan and Yugoslavia, and I have been authorized by the co-sponsors to move this draft resolution. The co-sponsors are concerned about the fact that they had very little time, for technical reasons, for the usual consultations before submitting this draft resolution. I apologize for that, but at the same time I should like to make it clear that the co-sponsors would welcome any constructive proposals or amendments which would help us in achieving the main objective of the draft resolution, 'that is, to put an end to apartheid.

As far as the preambular paragraphs of this draft resolution are concerned, the text is self-explanatory, and I do not believe further comments will be necessary. We are all gravely concerned at the aggravation of the situation in South Africa and regard the policies and actions of the South African Government as seriously disturbing international peace and security in southern Africa, and all of us also deplore the persistent refusal of the South African Govenment to carry out the resolutions adopted by this Council in order to permit a peaceful solution in accordance with the Charter. Therefore I shall only deal with the operative paragraphs of this draft resolution, and I shall do so briefly.

29

South African Government for continuing its policy of apartheid In violation of its obligations under the Charter. We hope this paragraph will offer no difficulty to any one.

Operative paragraph I of Security Council resolution 191 (1964) and the second preambular paragraph of Security Council resolution 282 (1970) have already condemned South Africa for its policies of apartheid.

Operative paragraph 2 of the present draft, which reiterates the total opposition of the United Nations to the policies of apartheid of the South African Government, is also not new to the Security Council: the Security Council in operative paragraph 1 of its resolution 282 (1970), had already emphasized such opposition to those policies.

Operative paragraph 3 recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa In pursuance of their human and political rights as set forth in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This is in complete conformity with General Assembly resolution 2775 (XXVI).

Operative paragraph 5 of section F of that resolution reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa to eliminate, by all means at their disposal, apartheid, racial discrimination and similar ideologies and to attain majority rule in the country as a whole, based on universal adult suffrage.

In this connexion, I should remind the Council of its own resolution 182 (1963), the tenth preambular paragraph of which recognizes the need to eliminate discrimination in regard to basic human rights and fundamental freedoms of all individuals within South Africa, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

Operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution before you urgently calls upon the Government of South Africa to release all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions as a result of the policies of apartheid.

I do not think it is necessary for me to dilate here and-now on the repressive legislations of the Republic of South Africa. The Bantu Administration Act and Proclamation No. 400 of 1960, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Unlawful Organizations Act, the Public Safety Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Riotous Assemblies Act, the General Law Amendment Act, Section 21, and, above all, the Terrorism Act, have provided the racist regime with a vast and complicated machinery which can be freely used for massive suppression of the rights of the black people. Those arbitrary and repressive measures are used by the South African Government to silence and harass all opponents of apartheid. All those who had the courage to express their voice in support of human rights should immediately be released.

Operative paragraph 5, which calls upon all States to observe strictly the arms embargo against South Africa and to deny all military co-operation to the South African Government, actually reaffirms resolution 282 (1970).

I would particularly draw the attention of the Council to operative paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 282 (1970). It is necessary for me to repeat all seven clauses of that paragraph: It reads as follows:

"Calls upon all States to strengthen the arms embargo

"(a) By implementing fully the arms embargo against South Africa unconditionally and without reservations whatsoever;".

May I digress a little here and say that, in spite of various disclaimers put forth yesterday and before, we are not convinced that the record of some countries is as: white as it has been claimed to be.

"(b) By withholding the supply of all vehicles and equipment for use of the armed forces and paramilitary organizations of South Africa; "(c) By ceasing the supply or spare parts for all vehicles and military

and paramilitary organizations of South Africa;

- "(d) By revoking all licences and military patents granted to the South African Government or to South African companies for the manufacture of arms and ammunition, aircraft and naval craft or other military vehicles and by refraining from further granting such licences and patents;
- "(e) By prohibiting investment In or technical assistance for, the manufacture of arms and ammunition, aircraft; naval craft, or other military vehicles;
- "(f) By ceasing provision of military training for members of the South African armed forces and all other forms of military co-operation, with South Africa;
- "(g) By undertaking the appropriate action to give effect to the above measures;". (Security Council resolution 282 (1970)

Those seven measures were introduced and adopted by the United Nations, and when we hear, day after day that money given to Portugal is not used somewhere else or that arms have been sort of earmarked, in the sense of being assembled in such a way that their barrels can turn in only one direction, we are entitled to show a certain cynicism and sceptism.

Operative paragraph 6 of our draft before you urges Governments organizations and individuals to contribute generously and regularly to the United Nations Fund which are used for humanitarian and welfare purposes to assist the victims of apartheid.

I do not think that appeal requires any

elucidation on my part.

Operative paragraph 7 is also a humanitarian appeal to inter-governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations and individuals for the assisting and training of South Africans.

Operative paragraph 8 decides to establish a committee of the Security Council to study and report urgently, not later than 30 April 1972, on. ways and means to secure the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council on this question.

We have been discussing this subjet since 1946, and I think it is time that the Security Council took urgent action to ensure the implementation of its resolutions. I know only too well that all the problems which have been referred to will take considerable time for full implementation; but none the less, after hearing such eloquent assertions of positive abhorrence of apartheid, we should like to think - perhaps a little too hopefully - that the countries at present in the United Nations and all those outside will assert themselves once again to remove that evil.

It will be recalled that in June 1964 the Security Council adopted resolution 191 (1964), in Operative paragraph 8 of which it established an expert committee on the whole to consider the feasibility, effectiveness and implications of measures to persuade South Africa to abandon apartheid, with economic sanctions particularly in mind. I should like to draw the Council's attention to that resolution, and if our suggestion is adopted - that another committee of the Security Council should be established - we should like very much that that committee examine this aspect of the problem.

That Committee to which I have referred made a lengthy report at the end of February 1965. That report has never been considered by the Security Council. Since that time, the situation has changed considerably. We think it would be useful to set up a small committee to study the

whole matter anew, as indeed has been provided in operative paragraph 8 of our draft resolution. That committee would take into account 'the latest information and submit an urgent report to the Security Council.

The last operative paragraph requests the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance to the Committee established by the Security Council in the discharge of its task.

My delegation hopes that the draft resolution will not only obtain a unanimous vote

31 but will also initiate effective action to put an end to this modern and intolerable form of slavery.

In spite of all that is happening in South Africa, we have not lost hope in the basic goodness of human nature. On his release from gaol, Mahatma Gandhi, in July 1914, left South Africa. But before sailing, he sent a pair of sandals he had made in gaol to General Smuts as a gift. Recalling the gift 25 years later, General Smuts wrote:

"I have worn these sandals for many a summer since then, even though I may feel that I am not worthy to stand in the shoes of so great a man."

I am sure that the majority of white Africans have not lost those basic human values which were so well expressed by General Smuts about an Asian at that time; and if this Council and the world at large take effective measures, we are sure that the conscience of the white residents of South Africa can still be awakened. We hope it will not be too late, and that the Council will help in the awakening of that conscience.

INDIA ETHIOPIA SOUTH AFRICA USA MOZAMBIQUE ZIMBABWE ANGOLA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC GUINEA MALI SOMALIA SUDAN YUGOSLAVIA RUSSIA PORTUGAL

Date: Feb 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Samar Sen's Speech on South African Apartheid

Following is the text of the speech of the permanent Indian Representative, Shri S. Sen, at the 1635th meeting of the Security Council in Addis Ababa on February 4, 1972, on South African apartheid during discussion on question relating to Africa:

After the dramatic events of the last few minutes it does seem a little anticlimactic to talk about apartheid. But I do believe, as indeed I suggested before, that the root of all that is happening now - all that happened a few minutes ago - is the policy of apartheid of the South African Government.

That Government has created the poison, is continuing to spill it over its own territories and is spreading it all over southern Africa, and unless we can eradicate this particular poison, whether it is in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, the Portuguese colonies or South Africa itself, we shall not be able to make any progress.

With these introductory remarks I should like to draw the attention of the Council to document S/10609/ Rev.1, which contains the joint proposal of five delegations - Guinea, India, Somalia. Sudan and Yugoslavia - for the Council's action on the evils of apartheid. This is a revision of an earlier document, which I introduced yesterday, and there are not very many comments I have to make on it. Most of the paragraphs - in fact, all the paragraphs of the preamble - are unchanged.

However, when we come to operative

paragraph 5 we find a slight change.

The original paragraph read as follows:

"Calls upon all States to observe strictly the arms embargo against South Africa and to deny all military cooperation to the South African Government".

The last few words, "and to deny all military co-operation to the South African Government", have been dropped in the revised text. The reason is that we came across a view that to the extent that the South African Government is entitled to defend its own territories against external aggression or attack military co-operation should not be denied That Government. And since the main purpose of our draft resolution was to deprive South Africa of all means of creating further oppression of its own black people we thought that in a spirit of compromise it would not do us any harm to delete those few words.

Paragraphs 6 and 7 are identical with the old document. Paragraph 8 has now been deleted. That paragraph called for a committee of the Security Council to study

32

further all matters relating to apartheid most urgently. Again in the process of consultation, it was pointed out to us that so long as the Asian members, and the African members particularly, are keen to keep this subject under continuous study there is no reason whatever to fear that the Council will return to a state of doldrums and not continue its efforts to pursue its objectives, and therefore a separate committee was not considered to be particularly necessary. That is the honest explanation, and I hope that with that explanation the Council will have no difficulty in approving our draft resolution unanimously.

Since I have the floor and I have, already warned the Council that I shall take advantage of this intervention to make some general comments on behalf of the Indian delegation, I shall with permission, make

those comments now rather 'than speak on each draft resolution separately.

To begin with, on these draft resolutions there have been continuous consultations between some of 'the Western members of the Council and ourselves, and especially with our African colleagues, concerning the wording of all of them and the factors, elements and principles underlying these documents, these pieces of paper, or these declarations of intent. And in the course of consultations and negotiations it has sometimes appeared that the Western Powers have felt that we were pressuring or pushing them. All I can say is that none of us, including our African colleagues, has in the expression of the idealism of humanity said or written anything more radical, more progressive or more poetic than what has been said by Abraham Lincoln, Albert Schweitzer or even Bertrand Russell, each one of whom is quoted with reverence and approval by some representatives.

However, in the course of the debate three points have been brought out which I fear have not been fully answered. I shall not attempt to answer them fully now, but I shall mention them briefly. It has been suggested that a peaceful solution must be found. We agree. But there must be an inducement for both the Africans and their white rulers in southern Africa to seek such a solution. The trends of international Politics over the last 25 years have been such as to encourage the whiter, In every possible way and to discourage the blacks in many ways. We would hope that all countries, all States, all peoples of goodwill will help in reversing this trend as that peaceful solutions can indeed be found without further delay.

Secondly, on Rhodesia it has been suggested that at long last we shall know what the Africans think, that they have now an opportunity to communicate with the outside world and that we should finally be guided by the wishes of the people. Now, to us this seems rather sophisticated, if not cynical. Assuming that the black Rhodesians are human beings - and I have not yet heard any contradiction of that assumption

- their reaction to oppression, repression and suppression does not require any elaborate, dilatory or complicated machinery to determine. A British wit - I think it was Dr. Johnson - once said that you do not have to eat a whole or to know what the beast is like. That observation truly applies to the so-called test of acceptability.

Thirdly, much has been said about the' process of decolonization since the end of the Second World War, but as has been admitted. the situation in Rhodesia is a very special one. Its special nature lies in the fact that Rhodesia is the only existing and significant colony where a local white minority rules over a black majority many times the size of the white colony, The proms of decolonization has not been applied in a territory of this type. Indeed, we doubt whether the world has yet adjusted itself to the idea of a State in which the non-whites can exercise political power over minority white settlers. In such examples as we have - Australia, New Zealand, Canada and elsewhere - the white settlers could not tolerate even a few coloured people who had lived there for thousands of years. It is this dimension of the problem that is a source of concern to many of our black fellow-citizens - among whose number I may be permitted to persume to be counted.

In spite of those firmly held beliefs we have already voted in favour of three draft resolutions and shall vote in favour of the other two in a spirit of compromise and hope.

Further, I do not believe that we are united in our objectives and differ only on

timing and method. I believe that this assertion is false. We are divided in our ob-Jectives.

Finally, much responsibility has been placed on our new Secretary-General for the entire range of problems we have been discussing for the last week and indeed for the last 26 years or more. We have every confidence in him and shall look forward to a fruitful conclusion to his efforts

I have already mentioned a number of concrete measures which can be taken. I am gratified that some of those ideas have found some support even at this preliminary stage. We must continue our efforts in spite of all difficulties and frustrations. In the end truth will prevail and we shall win.

India believes - and it has always functioned at home and abroad, in its own Parliament and in the United Nations, on' this basis - that liberty on our small and spilling planet is indivisible; it is stored in the minds and hearts of men and is achieved by the determination and Perseverance of human beings.

INDIA SOUTH AFRICA ETHIOPIA USA PERU NAMIBIA GUINEA MALI SOMALIA SUDAN YUGOSLAVIA AUSTRALIA CANADA NEW ZEALAND

Date: Feb 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

She Samar Sen's Statement at Security Council on Lebanese

Complaint against Israel

Following is the text of a statement made by Ambassador Samar Sen at the meeting of the Security Council on the 27th February, 1972 called to consider the Lebanese complaint against Israel:

The present serious complaint by the Lebanon has been fully justified and yet it cannot be properly considered except in the context of what has been happening in West Asia. The broad facts are well known and several speakers have already referred to them. I shall, therefore, not repeat them but should like to make some general considerations and go a little into the basic cause which we have been asked to look into.

For the last three years or more whenever the Council has discussed the problem of West Asia the starting point has always been the resolution of 22 November 1967. This resolution gave an indication of how the problem was to be solved. While the Arabs have done all that was required of them, unfortunately Israelis have given the first impression that they do not wish to abide by this resolution particularly by its vital provision about withdrawal. This has created tension and frustration and what we have been witnessing today in the frontiers of the Lebanon and Israel is entirely due to this frustration and to Israel determination to retain by force what does not belong to her. This is the moral issue we face today and whenever the Security Council or any other forum of the United Nations Ignore or deviate from the moral issues and tend to confuse them with legal Technicalities and political expediency the problems become more complicated. The facts In the present instance are amply established. No one will object to Israel taking action in its own territory by sealing its legal borders with the Arab states, if necessary, but when she claims right to action sometimes most forcious and cruel action against Lebanon or any other states in order to maintain her hold on lands which do not by any standards belong to her she is clearly in the wrong and cannot expect either this Council or any impartial government not to find her completely at fault. On the one hand, she will not cooperate with the Jarring Mission and on 'the other hand she must decide how to deprive and punish the Arabs without any, respect for their rights. This is an intolerable situation and the Security Council has not only to take immediate action on the present complaint of Lebanon but has to decide how to give effect to the Council resolution. We in the Indian delegation cannot accept that it is ever unworthy to resist wrong which has been done by the Israelis towards the Arabs. We should of course like all the others prefer to see these wrongs removed by peaceful means but if Israel would not permit it or cooperate with Ambassador Jarring in achieving it then she must be held fully responsible for all The

consequences. We can only hope that Israel will realise the futility of the course she

34 is following and will reverse it. If she does not, all the great Powers must immediately exert their joint and private efforts to make Israel see reason and If they too fail the Council will have no option but to take the strongest possible action. We cannot and should not be partners in perpetuating a wrong. Meanwhile of course Israel must desist from all violent acts against the Lebanon and must withdraw her forces inside her established border - a border established by the UN a long time ago. We believe Israel will be extremely short sighted to ignore the clear denunciation by the Council on the ground of imagined or fancied grievance that the Council has been one sided. In fact the Council has taken everything Israel has said into fullest consideration and find the Israeli position entirely untenable. It is part of this untenability of the Israeli position that whenever complaints are received by the Security Council we are told that the particular incident is over and all is peace and quiet while, In fact, only some time is gained perhaps to inhabit action by the Council - until fresh action is planned and executed again to the detriment of the Arabs not merely in term of destruction of lives and property but in order 'to continue to deny the rights of the Arabs. We should like to think that none of the Members of Security Council will encourage Israel in this senseless and futile policy with all the gravest consequences to the world peace.

INDIA ISRAEL USA LEBANON

Date: Feb 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

MAURITIUS

Following is the text of the press statement issued in New Delhi on February 1, 1972 on the conclusion of the visit to India of the Mauritius Prime Minister the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam:

At the invitation of the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of Mauritius, Dr. the Right Hon'ble Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam paid a visit to India from January 20 to February 2, 1972. He was accompanied by the Minister of External Affairs, Tourism and Emigration, the Hon'ble M. Gaetan Duval, and the Minister of Economic Planning and Development, the Hon'ble Mr. K. Jagat singh. High officials of the Mauritian Government accompanied the party.

The Prime Minister of Mauritius visited Bombay, Bangalore, Belur and Madras. At New Delhi he witnessed the Republic Day celebrations of the 25th Anniversary year of India's independence as the principal guest of the Government of India.

The President of India and the Vice-President of India received the Prime Minister of Mauritius. Discussions were held with the Prime Minister of India on a wide range of issues of bilateral and general interest, and, in particular, on specific steps to expand further the content and extent of economic cooperation between India and Mauritius.

Earlier discussions between Economic Delegations of Mauritius and of India, headed by Minister of Economic Planning and Development, Mr. K. Jagatsingh, and the Indian Minister of Industrial Development Shri Moinul Haq Chaudhuri, respectively had identified a number of projects which showed promise of fruitful mutual collaboration. In the spirit of the deep and abiding friendship that has characterised the ties between the peoples of the two countries,

the Government of India have agreed to extend their cooperation in the implementation of a number of development projects to which the Government of Mauritius attach importance. The Government of Mauritius have expressed their deep appreciation of the cooperation offered.

The Prime Minister of Mauritius and the Indian Minister of Civil Aviation and Tourism, Shri Karan Singh, signed an Air Transport Agreement providing for air services between the two countries.

The Foreign Minister, M. Gaetan Duval, held discussions with India's Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, on a wide range of international problems. These discussions revealed the close understanding that exists between the, two Governments, and their deep desire to further strengthen and consolidate their friendly relations.

MAURITIUS USA INDIA

Date: Feb 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Joint Statement on The Talks Between Prime Ministers of India and Bangladesh

Following is the Joint Statement issued in New Delhi on February 8, 1972 an the talks between the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, and the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, His Excellency Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman:

On the invitation of the Government of India, His Excellency, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, paid a visit to Calcutta from February 6 to 8, 1972. The Prime Minister was accompanied by the Foreign Minister and senior officials of the Government of Bangladesh. He was received by the Prime Minister of India on arrival and by the Governor of West Bengal at the Raj Bhavan.

During his stay the Prime Minister of Bangladesh addressed a mammoth gathering of the people of Calcutta. He expressed gratitude on behalf of the Government and people of Bangladesh to the Government and people of India, especially to the neighbouring States of West Bengal, Tripura, Meghalava and Assam, for the hospitality and assistance given to millions of Bangladesh citizens and for the moral and material support given by the Government and people of India to the struggle for liberation. The Prime Minister of India reaffirmed that the people of India and the people of Bangladesh, having fought together in defence of human liberty, would continue to strive together to safeguard the ideals of freedom and the dignity of man.

The two Prime Ministers had detailed discussions covering every aspect of mutual relations between Bangladesh and India. They reviewed the tangible progress made in an spheres since their last meeting in New Delhi on January 10. They resolved to give practical shape to the legitimate and deeply felt aspirations of the common peoples of the two countries, guided by the principles of democracy, socialism, secularism, non-alignment and opposition to racialism and colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. Towards these ends, they expressed their determination to promote, in every possible way, cooperation between the governments and peoples of Bangladesh and India inspired by a vision of lasting peace, amity and good neighbourliness.

The Prime Minister of Bangladesh paid warm tribute to the armed forces of India and the part they played in the liberation of Bangladesh. The task having been completed, the two Prime Ministers felt that these armed forces should be withdrawn. The withdrawal of the Indian armed forces would be completed by March 25, 1972.

The two Prime Ministers reviewed the entire field of international affairs. They resolved to work together in the interest of world peace and stability. They agreed that in the achievement of this objective the governments and the peoples of the two countries would be inspired by the ideals, principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Prime Minister of Bangladesh solemnly reaffirmed his resolve to ensure, by every means. the return of all the refugees who hid taken shelter in India since March 25, 1971 and to strive, by every means, to safeguard their safety, human dignity and means of livelihood. The two Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction that the refugees were returning to Bangladesh and that nearly seven million had already returned in the short space of six weeks. The Prime Minister of India assured the continuance of all possible assistance to the Government of Bangladesh in the unprecedented task of resettling the refugees and displaced persons in Bangladesh. Taking note of the humanitarian contribution made by the international community, both Prime Ministers I expressed hope that these efforts would be enlarged and augmented so that the vast mass of uprooted humanity is enabled to live and work.

The two Prime Ministers reviewed measures for the rapid evolution of mutually beneficial economic relations between the two countries. It was agreed that regular talks, consultations and visits of delegations will take place between the two countries and that appropriate machinery will be set up, where necessary, to promote close cooperation in the fields of development and trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit so that the common people of both countries become the beneficiaries. The two Prime Ministers agreed that trade between the two countries should take place on a state-to-state basis as far as possible. It was

decided that the representatives of the Bangladesh and Indian Planning Commissions should meet periodically to identify areas of mutual cooperation in the developmenial processes of the two countries. The two Prime Ministers decided that some of the immediate problems concerning the trade between the two countries and, in particular, the traditional border trade should be discussed and solved as early as possible by appropriate delegations of the two countries. The two Prime Ministers agreed that effective measures should be undertaken by the two governments forthwith to prevent smuggling across the border between the two countries.

It was noted with satisfaction that the steps taken by the Government of Bangladesh were resulting in the reactivation of its industry and agriculture. Assistance rendered by India was helping in restoring communications and other infrastructure ravaged by war enabling the people of Bangladesh to revive as soon as possible their normal economic life.

The two Prime Ministers emphasised that the geography of the region provided a natural basis for cooperation between the 'two countries in the development and utilisation of the resources for the benefit of the people of the region. They discussed the problem of flood control, Farakka Barrage and other problems of development of water and power resources. The Prime Ministers desired that the two governments shall engage in exchanging ideas and in identifying areas of cooperation and in setting up suitable machinery for the formulation of appropriate programmes.

Conscious of the urge of the two peoples to enlarge 'the areas of mutual cooperation, both the Prime Ministers affirmed their resolve to promote such cooperation in cultural, scientific and technological fields.

Both the Prime Ministers noted the fact that the international community has increasingly recognised the establishment of the sovereign independent Republic of Bangladesh and reiterated the view that only those who desire to introduce instability in the region and imperil world peace would persist in ignoring this reality. They agreed to remain in close touch to review the international situation and the dangers to peace, stability and progress in the region.

37

The Prime Minister of Bangladesh renewed the invitation extended by him to the Prime Minister of India to visit Bangladesh and was assured of 'the eagerness of the Prime Minister of India to make-this visit at the earliest opportunity.

BANGLADESH INDIA USA

Date: Feb 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

POLAND

Indo-Polish Cultural Programme

Following press release was issued in New Delhi on 9th February, 1972 and the signing of the Indo_Polish Cultural programme 1.970-73 agreement at Warsaw:

The Indo-Polish Cultural Exchange Programme 1970-73 was signed in Warsaw on February 8 by Indian Ambassador Shri Natwar Singh and Ambassador Jan Druto, Director of the Cultural Co-operation Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland. Present were Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Adam Willmann Romuald Spasowski and Polish officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other Ministries.

This exchange programme which is the fourth in the series signed under the original Indo-Polish Cultural Exchange Agreement of 1957 is more or less on the lines of the pre-

vious such agreements. However, it provides for a specific observance of the 500th birth anniversary of the world famous Polish astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus in 1973 and for the exchange of scholars for studying the Indian nationalist movement with special reference to the role of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. This new programme also places increased emphasis on the scientific and technical information and personnel.

POLAND INDIA USA

Date: Feb 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

ROMANIA

Trade Protocol With Romania

Following is the text of the press release issued in New Delhi on February 17, 1972 on the signing of a Trade Protocol for 1972 and conclusion of talks between the Indian and the, Romanian trade delegations:

On the conclusion of talks between the Indian and the Romanian Trade Delegations, a Trade Protocol for 1972 has been signed here today.

The Indian Delegation was led by Shri H. Lal, Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Romanian Delegation by H.E. Mr. N. Nicolae, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade.

38

The Protocol envisages trade turnover between the two countries to reach Rs. 65 crores in 1972.

India's exports to Romania will comprise engineering goods such as machine

tools, wire ropes, steel pipes and fittings, chemicals, drugs and Pharmaceuticals, paints and pigments, leather, etc. besides traditional items such as iron ore, coffee, tanned and semi-tanned hides and skins, jute manufactures, pepper and de-oiled cakes etc.

Imports from Romania will include fertilizers, rolled steel products, synthetic fibres, caprolactum, dye intermediates for pharmaceutical industry, various chemicals, petroleum products, oil prospecting and drilling equipment, calcium carbide and carbon black.

Both Governments have noted with satisfaction the steady growth of mutual trade between India and Romania and have agreed to bring about further expansion and diversification in the two-way trade exchanges.

39

OMAN ROMANIA INDIA USA RUSSIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Feb 01, 1972

March

| | Volume No | |
|---------|-----------|--|
| | | |
| 1995 | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| Content | | |
| | | |
| | | |

Foreign Affairs Record Mar 01, 1972 Vol. XVIII MARCH No. 3

CONTENTS

PAGE

| A 1 | TOF | nn | A 7 | гт | |
|-----|-----|----|-----|----|---|
| ΔΙ | US | ıĸ | ΔΙ | | Δ |
| | | | | | |

| Wheat Gift For 19 | 971-72 | 41 |
|-------------------|--------|----|
|-------------------|--------|----|

BULGARIA

Agreement on Exchange of Radio and T.V. Programmes 41

DISARMAMENT

Indian Delegate's Speech at Conference of Committee on Disarmament 41

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA & THE FAR EAST (E.C.A.F.E.)

Shri L. N. Mishra's Speech on ECAFE Meet 44

FRANCE

Protocols on French Assistance 48

HOME AFFAIRS AND PARLIAMENT

President Giri's Address to Parliament 48
Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Reply to Debate on President's Address 53

INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

External Affairs Minister's Message 58

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS: EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

(Continued Overleaf) PAGE

JAPAN

Joint Statement on Indo-Japanese Bilateral Talks
Japanese Assistance in Agriculture

59

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Joint Declaration of Prime Ministers of India and Bangla Desh 60
Indo-Bangla Desh Treaty of Friendship and Peace 63
Prime Minister's Statement in Parliament on Treaty with Bangla Desh 65
Joint Communique on Trade Talks with Bangla Desh 65
Shri L. N. Mishra's Speech 66
Foreign Trade Minister's Statement in Parliament on Trade Agreement with Bangla Desh 67
Foreign Trade Minister's Reply to Rajya Sabha Discussion on Indo-Bangla Desh Trade Agreement 68

SOUTH EAST ASIA

External Affairs Minister's Statement on South Vietnamese Demonstration Before I.C.S.C. Headquarters in Saigon 70

THAILAND

Text of President Giri's Speech at State Banquet

President Giri's Speech at Public Reception in Bangpu

72

President Giri's Speech at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok

President Giri's Speech at the Luncheon by Indian Chamber of

Commerce, Bangkok

73

President Giri's Speech at Reception by Indian Community

in Bangkok

74

UNITED KINGDOM

Third Meeting of Indo-British Technological Group

75

New British Loan

77

Parliament Statement on Trade Arrangements with LLV

Parliament Statement on Trade Arrangements with U.K. 77

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Parliament Statement on Reference to Jammu and Kashmir in Sino-American Joint Communique 78

YUGOSLAVIA

Indo-Yugoslav Trade Protocol

79

(ii)

AUSTRALIA USA BULGARIA INDIA FRANCE JAPAN VIETNAM THAILAND UNITED KINGDOM YUGOSLAVIA

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

AUSTRALIA

Wheat Gift For 1971-72

Following is the text of a press release issued in New Delhi on March 24, 1972 On

the exchange of letters between India and Australia formalising gift of wheat to India for the year 1971-1972:

Australia's gift to India of 40,000 metric tonnes of wheat for the year 1971-72 was formalised today by an exchange of letters between the Australian High Commissioner, Mr. Patrick Shaw, and Dr. I. G. Patel, Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance. The wheat has been provided on a grant basis requiring no reimbursement. The full quantity of wheat has already been received. The two Governments have agreed that the rupee value of the wheat will be used in one or more of India's development projects.

AUSTRALIA USA INDIA MALI

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

BULGARIA

Agreement on Exchange of Radio and T.V. Programmes

Following press release was issued in New Delhi on March 20, 1972 on the signing of Indo-Bulgarian agreement On the exchange of radio and T. V. programmes:

India and Bulgaria have agreed to exchange radio and television programmes, to share information relating to their experience in sound and television broadcasting, and to extend all help to visiting radio and television personnel of the respective countries.

A three-year agreement to this effect was signed in New Delhi today between Mr. Ivan Slavkov, First Deputy Chairman of the Committee for Television and Radio at the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Shri S. K. Mukherjee, Director General, All India Radio.

BULGARIA INDIA UNITED KINGDOM

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

DISARMAMENT

Indian Delegate's Speech at Conference of Committee on Disarmament

Following is the text of the statement by Ambassador P. K. Banerjee, leader of the Indian delegation to the conference of the Committee on Disarmament, before the 552nd Plenary Meeting on March 23. 1972.

On behalf of the Delegation of India, I should like to welcome our new colleagues:

41

Ambassador Nisibori of Japan, Ambassador Polak of the Netherlands, Ambassador Ene of Romania, and Ambassador Martin of the United States.

In this tenth anniversary year of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, it would be appropriate to take a general stock of the situation that now prevails in the field of disarmament, so that we could have a better perspective on and understanding of specific problems and issues before the Conference.

It is indeed a most encouraging development that, despite the ever-spiralling arms race and a growing disappointment in regard to any genuine progress in disarmament, the thinking of the international community has now become clearer than ever before in regard to the general direction of progress in the field of disarmament. There are several elements on which an important consensus seems to be developing within the international community.

In the first instance, the realization is growing that lasting global security could only be achieved through disarmament, and that no matter how long and difficult the road, the international community has to persevere in its noble task of achieving lasting security. The so-called theory of the balance of deterrence cannot be a basis for achieving international security.

Disarmament in this nuclear age can only be conceived of in terms of the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The advent of nuclear weapons and the development of the other weapons of mass destruction have left the international community with no choice except total and comprehensive disarmament.

In view of the deep-seated mistrust and suspicion among nations and the existence of international tensions, only a step-by-step approach can be adopted in the field of disarmament. Hence the value of the so-called partial or collateral measures. And, such measures have to be genuine, balanced and effective, if they are to contribute towards the achievement of the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

The highest priority has to be accorded to measures In the field of nuclear disarmament, so that significant progress towards nuclear disarmament could be achieved as early as possible. Any effort to divert the attention of the negotiating body on disarmament from this task of highest priority would be looked at with suspicion by the international community and would not contribute to the achievement of the cherished goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

It is now almost universally accepted that the problem of disarmament, which is

of the fundamental importance to all the nations of the world and which at the same time raises highly complicated issues, should be tackled on two levels. In order that all nations of the world could have their say and make their contribution to the progress of disarmament, discussions on disarmament should be held in deliberative forums where suitable guidelines could be developed. The United Nations has provided such deliberative forums like the General Assembly, the First Committee and the Disarmament Commission. Meetings of these bodies have been very useful. In order that all countries without exception could have the possibility of expressing their views on the problem of disarmament, it has been proposed that world, disarmament conference be convened and we welcome the proposal. There is no doubt that the holding of such a conference would provide a great impetus to progress in the field of disarmament. However, it has been strongly recognized that there should be a small negotiating body which could take up the guidelines developed in the deliberative forums and conduct serious and detailed discussions on specific problems and issues with a view to exploring the possibility of negotiating internationally binding instruments for achieving progress towards the realization of global security based on disarmament.

The international thinking in regard to the essential need for and separate roles of the deliberative forums and a negotiating body has become so firmly rooted that it might well be considered as one of the most important trends that have emerged in international relations during the post Second World War period. Moreover, it is through

42

a process of trial and error that a negotiating body - the Committee on Disarmament - was established in 1962 and has had a decade of useful existence. Never before in the history of mankind has a negotiating body on disarmament survived so long and done such valuable work. The international community has, year after year, given guidelines to the Committee on Disarmament for doing continued work and achieving progress in the

field of disarmament.

Against this background the desire of the international Community for the participation of France and the People's Republic of China in disarmament negotiations has only become stronger with the passage of time. It is only to be hoped that such participation would become possible in the near future.

Recently, several suggestions have been put forward in regard to the future reorganization of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. All such suggestions would need to be carefully examined, because any changes that might be agreed upon should have sole objective of strengthening the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament with a view to making it a more effective instrument of negotiation on the problem of disarmament. The cause of disarmament will receive a set-back if the work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament disrupted. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to hold meaningful disarmament discussions if a proven forum were to be destroyed or changes made in it on the basis of preconceived expectations and wishful anticipation.

The 26th regular Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations has recently considered several questions in the field of disarmament and has adopted various resolutions. These resolutions provide guidelines for te work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament during its meetings in the current year.

The question of elimination of chemical weapons is to be a high priority item. The delegation of India together with the other members of the Group of Twelve last year devoloped a joint memorandum (CCD/352), which suggests the fundamental approach as well as the important elements that could provide the basis for future agreement on the elimination of chemical weapons. It is the hope of the Indian delegation that the joint memorandum of the Group of Twelve would be fully utilized by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament for its nego-

tiations on the elimination of chemical weapons.

As regards the question of a comprehensive test ban, the views of the Indian delegation have been stated In my statement before the First Committee on 29 November 1971. I would like to reiterate that for achieving progress towards the objective of comprehensive test ban it is essential that four main considerations be kept in mind. In the first instance, the provisions of the Partial Test Ban Treaty should be fully observed, and those nuclear-weapon States which have not yet adhered to that treaty should do so without any further excuse or delay. Secondly, whatever be the differences on the issue of verification of a ban on underground nuclear weapon tests and notwithstanding any other considerations, all testing of nuclear weapons in all environments must be immediately suspended. Thirdly, a comprehensive test ban has two aspects: (a) all nuclear weapon tests in all environments should be prohibited; (b) all nuclear-weapon States should be parties to it. Fourthly, negotiations should be undertaken for a separate treaty to prohibit all nuclear weapon tests in the underground environment and attention should simultaneously be focussed on the need to conclude an agreement on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

Recently, some suggestions for what have been termed "measures of restraint" have been put forward in regard to the question of a comprehensive test ban. It has been argued that since, despite the repeated calls of the General Assembly, a complete suspension of nuclear weapon testing has not taken place so far, it would now be very pragmatic to ask for a partial limitation-say, in the size and numbers - of nuclear weapon tests being conducted in the underground environment.

The delegation of India is firmly of the view that the position taken by the inter

43 national community over the years for a complete suspension of all nuclear weapon

tests in all environments is correct, as that is the only way in which suitable conditions can be created for achieving a comprehensive test ban. Suggestions for the so-called measures of restraint are only superficially attractive. They could only create an illusion of progress and would result in a legitimization of certain categories of nuclear weapon testing. A partial approach would be inadequate, unworkable and dangerous. There should be a truly comprehensive approach to the question of a comprehensive test ban.

It is the earnest hope of the delegation of India that the sessions of the Conference of the Committee-on Disarmament this year would lead to a deeper understanding not only of the overall situation in the field of disarmament but also of the basic issues involved in regard to the specific problems now under consideration. The need for patience an perseverance was never greater than today in the pursuit of the goal of disarmament.

Before concluding my statement, I should like to recall the following words of Jawaharlal Nehru, which he addressed in the Rajya Sabha of the Parliament of India on 15 March 1962 i.e. the day following the establishment of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva:

"In regard 'to foreign affairs or in regard to anything, the most important thing today, I have no doubt, is disarmament, looking at it from a world point of view, because if there is no disarmament, the world will naturally drift more and more towards conflict, towards war, and undoubtedly if there is war, it will be a nuclear war and possibly a war like that brought on without even a declaration of war Disarmament has become a very vital and urgent problem, and this conference that is being held in Geneva, the 18 Member Conference, is of the highest importance ... If this fails, then it will not be easy to come back to it. Some time or the other the world will have to come to disarmament - there is no doubt unless it destroys itself beforehand-"

Disarmament is a matter to which the

Government of India have consistently attached the highest importance. It is, however, a highly complicated subject. Our attempt has, therefore, been to put forward proposals which are not only idealistic and right in our opinion but which are also realistic and likely to be acceptable to others. India would continue to cooperate with all the countries of the world in the achievement of the cherished ideal of the human race: that of a lasting world peace based on disarmament.

INDIA JAPAN THE NETHERLANDS OMAN ROMANIA USA FRANCE CHINA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC SWITZERLAND

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA & THE FAR EAST (E.C.A.F.E.)

Shri L. N. Mishra's Speech at. ECAFE Meet

Addressing the plenary session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far east (ECAFE) at Bangkok on March 20, 1972 the Union Foreign Trade Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra, made the following statement:

May I begin by expressing my apologies to you and to the other distinguished delegates for being unable to participate in the earlier part of the deliberations of a session which marks the Silver Jubilee Anniversary of one of the important economic organisations within the U.N. family. I join my other colleagues in offering you my congratulations on Your unanimous election as our chairman. Even during my very brief stay here, I have learnt of the positive

44 directions in which you have guided the deliberations of this meeting. My Govern-

ment is grateful to the ECAFE Secretariat for hosting this meeting and the excellent preparations made for it under our distinguished Executive Secretary, U. Nyun. I also express my deep appreciation for the generous and traditional hospitality of the Royal Government of Thailand.

The XXVth Anniversary of any organisation is a historic event. It is a moment of reflection. This is particularly so in the case of an organization dedicated to the economic and social advancement of the people of the vast continent of Asia suffering through centuries of poverty, disease and ignorance and exploited by outsiders.

The Economic Commission for Asia and Far East was established on March 28, 1947 by the General Assembly of the United Nations for the purpose of assisting the reconstruction and the development of the economies of 'this region "by devising measures essential to sound and rapid economic and social growth." It was created in response to the desire of the Asian countries for a regional machinery to deal with the teething economic problems confronting this region and for meeting the Asian aspirations for better standards of life. It was created as a separate Organisation in recognition of the distinctive identity of the problems confronting the Asian continent, which although is the home of some of the world's eldest civilizations, had suffered a decline, for various reasons, over the last two centuries or so. The creation of ECAFE synchronised with the period when the European domination of Asia was drawing rapidly to a close, and when the Asian countries demanded full recognition of their status and dignity as an important part of the family of nations with many past achievements to their credit and with the vast economic problems which lay ahead of them.

Mr, Chairman, our Commission met for the first time in June 1947 in the ancient city of Shanghai. Since then the political and the economic fortunes of this continent have undergone far-reaching changes. Distinguished delegates will recall that ever since the first Asian Relations Conference was held the movement towards decolonisation and the independence of individual nations in this continent gathered momentum. During this period the continent also underwent a trend towards greater fragmentation and division. This continent has thus had a long but somewhat chequered history during the last twentyfive years of the existence of ECAFE. Fortunately the divisive tendencies of the past are now yielding place towards forces of stability and peace. We assemble here today with greater universality in the representation of nations. And it is in this spirit that we heartily welcome the distinguished representatives of the 800 million people of China whose participation had been constantly championed by India for the last twenty-two years. We also heartily welcome the distinguished delegate of Bhutan with which India has continued to have close and cordial ties over several centuries. My warm welcome also extends to the distinguished representatives of Tonga, Nauru and the British Solomon Island Protectorate, who are with us for the first time.

With normalisation of relations in this region and a momentum towards greater unity we can on this Twentyfifth Anniversary truly pledge ourselves for laying the foundation of co-operation among Asian countries which will bring peace and prosperity to the people of this region.

While the progress of the last twenty five years naturally provides us the broad perspective for this meeting we are no doubt obliged to review the progress we have made since we last met in Manila.

Mr. Chairman, the path of development through regional self-reliance has been identified for long. An integrated strategy for development of regional cooperation was given to us by the Third Ministerial Conference in 1968. We have since defined the regional contribution to the Strategy for International Development during the Second Development Decade. The Asian Council of Ministers provided further guidelines for implementing the regional schemes at their meeting in Kabul in December 1970. Several

important schemes for the integrated economic development of the region were endorsed at the last Annual Session of this Cornmission at Manila.

45

Important initiatives have been taken in pursuance of these directions. An Asian Trade Expansion Programme has started to gather momentum, and It is our expectation that speedy action would be taken for the establishment of the Asian Clearing Union. Useful industrial projects under the auspices of AIDC, including the Asian Highway, Trans-Asian Railway Network, and the Asian Tele-Community are progressing satisfactorily. Constructive recommendations are being pursued in the field of shipping and the ocean freight rates.

We have established a number of regional institutions in different sectors to assist these activities.

The most outstanding feature of regional development in Asia, for which a greater measure of credit goes to ECAFE, is the considerable development and accumulation of skills and expertise in different sectors in the countries of the region. It is of utmost importance that we make the maximum use of such expertise and skills, which- have relevance to varied need of the developing countries of this region. It is necessary to ensure a degree of regional identity both in the Organisation and in 'the projects and schemes which we have commissioned. This is not to deny the utility of such assistance from other sources. This is to further emphasise that in the first instance, the fullest oppurtunity must be given to the application of expertise in areas which have immediate relevance to the development of this region.

The different areas of activity of the ECAFE are Inter-dependent and of equal importance. However, because of the inevitable. resource constraints it becomes necessary to assign priorities. In my opinion, the regional organisation could play a vital role in the field of commodities which has considerable significance for the economy of the majority of the countries of this region. The need

for greater understanding among producers 'is more urgent now than ever before.

My country derives some satisfaction from the understandings we have reached on a number of important commodities with the other producers in the developing countries of Asia, Our cooperation with the neighbouring country of Ceylon to stabilise export earnings from tea, our cooperation in the shape of the Asian Pepper Community with Indonesia and Malaysia and the Coconut Community with Philippines and Ceylon are instances where cooperation of this kind has worked to our mutual benefit. There is clearly a need to further enlarge this area of cooperation.

An effective solution to the commodity problem could also constitute a positive step in finding helpful solutions to the difficult problems of the least developed among the developing countries.

With the landlocked country of Nepal with which we have age-old bonds of friend-ship and affinity, we have only sometime ago concluded a Treaty of Trade and Transit. The Treaty is working to the full satisfaction of both the countries. The emphasis quite rightly is on the economic development of Nepal through a system of non-reciprocal preferences of a unique nature. This treaty has been widely acclaimed in both the countries as a significant step forward in further strengthening the historic ties between India and Nepal.

As far as my country is concerned, over the last twelve months, we have continued our efforts in India to hasten our pace of economic progress along with devising measures for achieving a fairer distribution of income and wealth within and between different sections of our society.

These programmes, initiated under the determined and progressive leadership of our Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, have once again in the recent elections held in our Federal States only ten days ago received the overwhelming support of our people. The reflection of this confidence in the prog-

rammes being undertaken by our Prime Minister gives us greater courage and confidence in the intensification of our efforts for bringing about a radical transformation of our society and to achieve a greater degree of balance between economic growth and social justice. it is this balance between economic growth and social justice, which is the main, theme of this year's Economic Review.

In fact what the ECAFE Study has brought out in its learned report has been

46

the dominant theme of my party's election manifesto in order to ensure a better life to the people and to satisfy their legitimate aspirations for a just economic and social order. They also constitute a reiteration of our conviction that Justice, economic, social and political, in many developing societies require radical changes and a speedy removal of the obstacles would impede in a rapid economic and social progress.

While in India we have endeavoured over the last year to achieve greater balance between economic growth and social justice, I cannot hide from you, distinguished delegates, that the last one year was one of the most difficult years which India has faced since our Independence. The country's resources, physical as well as fiscal, were greatly strained by developments across the border, with the influx of nearly 10 million refugees and the outbreak of hostilities in December 3.971. 1 am happy to share with you our satisfaction that in the end, the Indian economy responded well to this challenge. The increased fiscal burden was fully met, the real resources required for refugee relief were mobilised well in time and the balance of payments were kept under reasonable control.

Mr. Chairman, we meet in Bangkok on the eve of the Third United Nations Conference on Trade and Development being held in Santiago next month. I have on earlier occasions shared with you our disenchantment. over the disappointing progress that has been achieved since the inception of UNCTAD in the field of international economic cooperation.

While my Government will go to Santiago with hope and expectation that the positive results achieved in April will arrest the receding hope of mankind in the value of International cooperation, I have no doubt that the problems of Asia would have to be solved primarily by the efforts made in the region itself through bilateral, sub-regional and regional measures, mutually reinforcing each other.

The reform of International institutions and the improvement in the global environment of 'trade no doubt impinges on the extent to which our regional efforts can be accelerated. It is therefore more urgent than even before to intensify our search for complementaries among the developing countries of the region for a fuller utilisation of our natural resources. the strengthening of our infra-structural facilities and the development of industry and commerce. The selection of well-conceived projects in these fields based on practical considerations of each other's needs and requirements and an allocation priorities on pragmatic considerations will give greater content to the concept of self-help and self-reliance in the region to which we have subscribed since long.

An exchange of information on the needs and requirements of the different countries of the region will assist the flow of trade. In this connection, I am happy to say that considerable progress has also been made in regard to the Third Asian International Trade Fair to be held in Delhi later this year. My Government is grateful for the support of member countries to this event and we are confident that the Fair will make a significant contribution to intensifying our mutual relations and understanding. It would also provide an excellent opportunity for export promotion, a field which deserves increasing attention in order to enable the developing countries to take the fullest advantage of any increase in access to foreign markets.

USA THAILAND CHINA INDIA BHUTAN NAURU TONGA MALI PHILIPPINES AFGHANISTAN INDONESIA MALAYSIA NEPAL CHILE

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

FRANCE

Protocols on French Assistance

Following press release was issued in New Delhi on March 24, 1972 on the signing in Paris of two financial protocols for French assistance to India:

Two financial protocols have been signed in Paris under which France will give India during the next financial year assistance totalling 150 million French francs (Rs. 20.25 crores) and a special credit of 35 million francs (Rs. 4.7 crores) for an atomic energy project.

in previous years, negotiations for bilateral credit' took place after the Aid India Consortium meeting. But the process has been reversed 'this year and the credit agreed upon will be reported to the Consortium when it meets later this year. France is the only country to indicate its credit for next year prior to the Consortium meeting.

The protocols were signed during the visit to Paris of Shri M. G. Kaul, Additional Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance.

Of the 150 million francs of assistance to be provided during the next financial year, 90 million francs (Rs. 121.15 crores) will be project aid and 60 million francs (Rs. 8.1 crores) non-project aid.

During the current financial year, which is coming to a close, French assistance totalled 150 million francs, of which 80 million francs (Rs. 10.8 crores) was project aid and 70 million francs (Rs. 9.45 crores) non-porject assistance. In addition, France gave 27.7 million francs (Rs. 3.74 crores) as debt relief. For the new financial year, the question of debt relief will be considered at the Consortium meeting after the World, Bank Report on the subject has been received.

The terms of French assistance continue to be the same except that 'the grace period for the repayment of loans has been raised by six months. Fifty per cent of the French assistance comes from the French treasury which carries 3 per cent interest; repayment is spread over 25 years including a grace period now raised to six years instead of the previous 51 1/2 years. The other 50 per cent is given through bank credit; in this case the repayment period is 10 years and the interest is based on the export credit rate which is at present 8.15 per cent.

The special French credit of 35 million francs (Rs. 4.7 crores) is to meet pail of the requirements of an atomic energy project. Forty-five per cent of this credit will come from the French treasury and 55 per cent from bank loans.

FRANCE INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

HOME AFFAIRS AND PARLIAMENT

President Giri's Address to Parliament

Following is the text of the address by the President, Shri V. V. Giri, On March 13, 1972 to the joint session of both Houses of Parliament:

Hob'ble Members of Parliament,

The nation has come through a great lest. It has shown unity and courage, compassion and clarity of vision in the face of the external threat. The world now has a clearer idea of the quality of our people. The life and liberty of 75 million people were at stake in Bangladesh. While 'the world wavered, India gave refuge to ten million fugitives from tyranny, and when attacked, met aggression stoutly, defended her own

48 freedom and went to the aid of Bangladesh in defence of human freedom.

Our armed forces fought with valour, ability and a sense of purpose. The co-ordination among the three services and other paramilitary forces was exemplary, as was the spirit of comradeship between officers and jawans. Many jawans and officers made the supreme sacrifice. Many more will bear for life the marks of their patriotism. As Supreme Commander of the Defence Forces I salute them and offer the nation's sympathy to their families. I acclaim the spirit of the people of our border areas who showed calmness and fortitude in the face of danger and the disruption of their normal lives. We are aware of our responsibility for the welfare and rehabilitation of those who have been displaced from their homes due to aggression. Civilians elsewhere also remained united and rose to the occasion.

The guidance of Parliament, the judgement and leadership displayed by the Government in its political, diplomatic and military policies and decisions, the effective functioning of the administrative machinery at all levels and the morale and determination of the people as a whole have contributed to our success. This has given the country a justifiable sense of confidence and pride.

When I addressed you last year, I called upon you to give undivided attention to economic and social transformation. We could not have foreseen that a war would be forced upon us. But every great challenge met, every risk taken for a high cause, every task well done, generates new capacity and strength. Our unity, strength and resolve have grown during the year.

We should use these now to enlarge our programmes of social justice and equality, to forge ahead in our quest for self-reliance, and to pursue even more actively our basic policy of response to friendship, resistance to pressure and dedication to national interest and world peace.

In the last twelve months, self-reliance made gains in spite of widespread floods in the north and east and drought in the Deccan and the influx of Bangladesh refugees which caused all manners of stress and strain and brought in its wake staggering administrative and organisational problems. The defence effort to meet Pakistan's unprovoked aggression imposed further burdens on the economy. The peace on our borders is still uneasy and vigilance cannot be-relaxed. With the liberation of Bangladesh we have to extend help to the new nation in its economic reconstruction. These factors have led to a re-aligning of our priorities in the short run as well as in the longer perspective.

Our economy showed resilience in coping with the unexpected strains of the year. The tempo of growth and development was maintained. Production of foodgrains rose by more than 8 per cent, reaching a record level of 108 million tonnes in the agricultural year 1970-71. In the current year production is expected to be even higher. As a result the Government has stopped concessional imports of foodgrains. Exports are looking up. Special measures for the creation of additional employment in rural areas and for the urban unemployed have made some progress. It is proposed intensify these measures. The interim report of the Committee on Employment has just been received and is being studied. The Planning Commission has been reconstituted and the plan as a whole reappraised.

The implementation of land reform measures has gained momentum. Assam, Bihar, Kerala and West Bengal have made headway in providing security of tenure and ensuring greater measure of equity in rentals. Assam, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal have enacted legislation lowering the previous ceilings on land holdings. A national policy providing for lower ceilings on agricultural holdings has been enunciated, based on the recommendations of the Central Land Reforms Committee. The State Governments have been advised to amend their laws suitably in the light of these recommendations.

Programmes for providing water, electricity and credit to farmers have made headway. Credit from public and cooperative institutions is flowing into development of irrigation, particularly ground water resources. The Rural Electrification Corporation has sanctioned Rs. .106 crores, of which Rs. 43 crores have been advanced to backward areas on concessional terms.

49

Slow progress in the industrial sector, however, has, been causing concern. A number of remedial steps have been taken to promote better utilisation of capacity and to improve the pace of licensing of new units. Special attention has been given to the claims of new and medium entrepreneurs. The lending policies of financial institutions have been specially oriented in favour of backward areas. The output of the small-scale sector has been increased significantly through larger allocation of raw materials and liberal imports.

Government have provided for greater outlays in the public sector, since such outlays largely govern the pace of industrial activity in our economy. Task Forces have been set up in each Ministry 'to assess progress, identify short-falls, and suggest changes to accelerate Plan Schemes. The Industries (Development and Regulations) Act has been amended to give additional powers to Government to take over closed industrial units. A Plan Investment Board

will soon be set up to provide a forum for the scrutiny of major public sector investment proposals through joint discussions.

My Government have been particularly anxious to revive industrial activity in West Bengal. Progress has been made in implementing a sixteen-point programme drawn up for this purpose.

In the wake of the recent emergency, I gave a call for a moratorium on strikes and lockouts to ensure that industrial unrest does not slow down industrial progress. The Prime Minister has also initiated a dialogue with the leaders of the trade union movement. I have no doubt that workers will fully contribute to the maintenance of industrial peace. They may rest assured that Government will ensure that the gains of increased productivity are equitably shared.

The tendency on the part of aid giving countries to use their credits as a lever to influence our policies adds urgency to our attainment of self-reliance. It is imperative that we should fill agricultural gaps, achieve full utilisation of installed capacity, avoid strikes and lock-outs and achieve increased productivity all round. Increased production of steel and fertilisers in the industrial sector and of commercial crops such as cotton and oilseeds in the agricultural sector and enhancement of our own technological competence hold the key to Arthik Swaraj. We should give the highest priority to efficiency in production and cost competitiveness Export promotion and import substitution should be pursued with grim determination.

Preliminary work is in progress on the new steel plants at Salem, Vishakhapatnam and Vijaynagar. Government have taken a decision to set up a holding company for steel and associated industries like coking coal, iron, manganese, etc., to achieve economics of vertical integration and ensure coordinated growth at minimum cost, Efforts to attain self-sufficiency in fertilisers are continuing. Two new fertiliser plants have gone into production, two more are nearing completion. Construction has begun on three

plants, two of them coal-based. Work on a third coal-based plant is expected to start shortly. Six new projects have been approved three of them in the public sector.

The Intensive Cotton District Programme has made progress in thirteen districts. In addition, a. special programme to spread a new high yielding variety of cotton - hybrid 4 - has also been taken up. A beginning has been made to introduce nontraditional oilseeds such as soyabean and sunflower. Under a centrally-sponsored scheme, soyabean cultivation will be extended over 4 lakh hectares by 1973-74. Trial and selection of suitable sunflower varieties as also been taken up.

The newly constituted National Committee on Science and Technology has initiated a number of studies on the contribution which indigenous research and development effort can make to self-reliance in different areas of our economy.

Simultaneously, with reduced reliance on external assistance, Arthik Swaraj requires greater mobilisation of domestic resources and stricter financial discipline all round. Steps are being taken in consultation with State Governments to bring about reduction in their overdrafts by the close of the current financial year. Measures need to be devised to tap for national development part of the additional incomes which are accruing to the affluent sections of the farming community. Government have appointed

50 an Expert Committee to examine the problem.

It is a matter for some satisfaction that despite the enormous increase in the Government's commitments on account of refugee relief and hostilities with Pakistan, the price situation did not get out of control. However, Government are not complacent, and will maintain a close watch over prices and distribution of essential commodities. The public distribution system will be strengthened and credit policy kept under constant review.

The Mid-Term Appraisal of the Plan has shown that social welfare schemes tend to be given low priority in the course of implementation. This is being rectified.

A scheme has been approved to provide Central assistance for house sites for landless rural workers. This will supplement the measures taken by State Governments to protect tenants facing eviction by landlords. Government have also approved a scheme for the improvement of urban slums. The urban reconstruction and renewal programme for the Calcutta Metropolitan area continued with full vigour. In the current year over Rs. 40 crores are expected to be spent on water supply, transportation, housing and other developmental activities in this area.

Eight States have so far favoured Central legislation on ceilings on urban property. The have been requested to get resolutions passed in their legislatures under article 252 of the Constitution. In the meantime, as recommended by the Housing Ministers' Conference, a study group is examining certain aspects of implementation.

In spite of the preoccupation with defence and the problem of refugees, Government proceeded with major reforms in the social structure. One of the notable events of the year was the abolition of princely privileges and purses. Parliament gave its approval to amendments to the Constitution to enable other steps towards the ushering in of a society of equals.

The Government gave effect to the reorganisation of the north-eastern region. The new States of Manipur, Meghalaya and Tripura and the Union Territories of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh have come into existence. The nation's good wishes come to the people of these areas. The North-Eastern Council will be established soon. I hope that the States and the Union Territories of the North-East will make rapid progress through close co-ordination of their development efforts.

Elections have just taken place in sixteen States and two Union Territories. The peaceful manner in which they were held has again demonstrated the maturity of our people and their enduring faith in parliamentary democracy. The new Governments which will take office in different States in accordance with the choice made by our people will receive the whole-hearted sup port of my Government in our common task of eliminating poverty and achieving social justice.

The emergence of Bangladesh under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is a landmark in the history of our sub-continent, indeed in man's search for freedom. We share the happiness of the people of Bangladesh in their triumph. We are gratified that our armed forces have been able to return from Bangladesh so speedily. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his colleagues have had a series of discussions with our govern. mental leaders on matters of mutual interest. Our Prime Minister is visiting Dacca for further discussions, and to convey the greetings of the people of India to the heroic people of Bangladesh. My Government are giving Bangladesh the fullest possible co-operation in the enormous task of rehabilitating its uprooted people and the reconstruction of its economy. We look forward to uninterrupted growth of co-operation in all fields between our two countries. The similarity in our ideals and outlook holds a good augury for the growth of such relations. A strong, peaceful and friendly Bangladesh will add to the strength and stability of the sub-continent as well as of Asia. We are confident that the new nation will be enabled to make an effective contribution to the community of nations.

We extend a hand of friendship also to the people and Government of Pakistan. We have taken the initiative in proposing direct

talks between our two countries without any pre-conditions. We hope that Pakistan will accept the changed situation on the sub-

continent and respond to our initiative in a spirit of goodwill. India has no territorial

designs on Pakistan or any other country. Our unilateral and voluntary declaration of a cease-fire on the Western sector, once the Pakistan forces surrendered in Bangladesh, confirmed this, if indeed confirmation were necessary.

Our foreign policy encountered, and successfully overcame, complex challenges in the past year. The correctness of our analysis of the forces at work on the subcontinent, and the restraint we showed in dealing with them, have been widely recognised. There has been a strengthening of our relations with most of our neighbours.

The signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation in August last year set the seal on a friendship that has been tested by time. It is a treaty of Peace against war. It is not aimed against any country.

We welcome the entry, though belated, of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations, a step which we had been consistently advocating. We hope that this will promote peace and stability in Asia and the world.

There was great disappointment in our country at the lack of sympathy displayed by the Government of the United States of America towards the struggle of the people of Bangladesh for their democratic rights and fundamental freedom. Public opinion in the United States of America has expressed this sympathy in abundant measure and has been critical of the policies of the erstwhile military regime of Pakistan. This gives us hope that our relations with the United States of America, based on mutual respect and understanding, will not be allowed to deteriorate.

One of the important international developments of the year was the move of the United States of America and China to rearrange their relations. We hope that this will lead to a true relaxation of tensions and not to a sharpening of divisions.

The configuration of world forces is

changing rapidly. Relations between super powers and between them and other powers, are also undergoing a change. However, there are certain basic points which have to be borne in mind by all States, big and small. There should not be any attempt to carve out spheres of influence by the application of the doctrine of balance of power in this region or to dictate to countries, big or small, regarding their relationships with other countries. India does not seek leadership or domination. Nor will it tolerate domination by any country. We want this sub-continent and indeed the entire South Asian region and the Indian Ocean area to be free from power rivalries or domination and to develop into an area of peace and co-operation rather than one of confrontation. India would also like to encourage and foster greater regional co-operation, particularly in the fields of technology, trade and transit, science and culture, first and fore most between the countries of the subcontinent and then with other countries of South Asia, South East Asia and West Asia.

My Government welcome the Four-Power Berlin Accord and hope that the process of detente in Europe will continue, leading to stable agreements among the countries concerned.

The emergence of Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates as free nations is a welcome development.

My Government deeply regret that the conflicts in West Asia and Vietnam are continuing. My Government hope that the attempts to arrive at a peaceful settlement in both 'these areas will bear early fruit. The intensified bombing in Vietnam is not consistent with the desire for peaceful negotiations.

With the steady implementation of the Indo-Ceylon Agreement on Citizenship and increased economic co-operation, our relations with Ceylon have been strengthened. The successful conclusion of a new Trade. and Transit Treaty with Nepal has removed a source of misunderstanding between the two countries and paved the way towards

an era of co-operation to our mutual benefit.

The sudden demise of His Majesty King Mahendra of Nepal has been a matter of deep sorrow to us. We extend our good

52

wishes and co-operation to the new King, and the Government and the people of Nepal. We should like to assure them of our continuing friendship and co-operation for strengthening peace, progress and stability in this region.

We have close relations with Bhutan and it was a matter of deep satisfaction that Bhutan was admitted as a member of the United Nations in September 1971. Our cooperation with Bhutan has been in keeping with our earlier assurances and is bound to grow in the interests of both countries.

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

The estimates of receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the next financial year 1972-73 will be presented to you for consideration shortly.

Government will bring before Parliament Bills for replacing the Contingency Fund of India (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972, the Administrators-General (Amendment) Ordinance, 1972, the Public Wakfs (Extension of Limitation) (Delhi Amendment) Ordinance, 1972, and the Indian Copper Corporation (taking over of Management) Ordinance, 1972. Government also intend to bring before Parliament the following legislative measures:

- (1) The Antiquities and Art Treasures Bill, 1972.
- (2) A Bill to establish Hill Areas University in North Eastern Region.
- (3) The untouchability (Offences) Amendment Bill, 1972.

- (4) Bill to provide for deterrent punishments for certain types of economic offences involving contravention of laws regarding Customs, Central Excise, Gold Control, Income Tax and Wealth Tax.
- (5) A comprehensive Bill to provide for amendments of Foreign Exchange Regulation Act.
- (6) Bill to nationalise General Insurance Companies.
- (7) Bill for the nationalisation of the Coking Coal Mines whose management was taken over by the Government.
- (8) The Air Pollution Control Bill.
- (9) The Disturbed Areas (Special Courts) Bill.

Honourable Members, in conclusion, may I remind you that the war against poverty is no less heroic than military action? This larger struggle demands hard work and unwavering adherence to the goal. Nothing great has ever been achieved without consistent endeavour and sacrifice. I call upon all sections and all parties in our great country to display the same spirit of unity in construction that they showed in combat. Let the nation heed the summons to greatness - a greatness not of conventional power but of the spirit.

USA BANGLADESH INDIA PAKISTAN LATVIA CHINA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC GERMANY BAHRAIN QATAR UNITED ARAB EMIRATES VIETNAM NEPAL BHUTAN

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

HOME AFFAIRS AND PARLIAMENT

Replying to the debate on the President's address, the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following statement in the Rajya Sabha, March 20, 1972:

Mr. Chairman. May I begin by apologising. The first days of Parliament have been exceedingly busy and it has not been possible for me to attend this debate as much as I should have liked to do and to hear all the hon. Members. But as the hon. Members know, I can listen to their speeches even in my office and a detailed note of every speech is given to me at the end of the day.

May I say how sad I was to see a group of our countrymen not only showing disrespect to our President, but not even paus-

ing in I their demonstration to join in the tribute which was paid to our gallant jawans and officers?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I also share this distress and I hope the whole House also shares it.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I am not an expert on Marxism. But I have read a little bit of it and I wonder whether these people have not strayed from the scientific humanism which Marx propagated.

Let me deal with some of the points made here. There were charges of rigged elections in West Bengal. Of course, some hon. Members have already replied very forcefully and effectively to these charges. But I should like to draw the-attention of the House to the fact that _ these charges underwent a curious enlargement as time went by. In the first allegation of intimidation, only 35 polling stations were mentioned; then, it became 35 constituencies and, later still, the charge has been extended to the entire State. I am sorry to say that the Jana Sangh also

seems suddenly to have decided to follow the same line, namely, that the elections have not been fair. We all know that due) processes of law are available to test the legality of such allegations. The question is whether Hon. Members are interested in fair elections or whether they Avant to look like martyrs when the people have turned against them,

One hon. Member - this, of course, is not a part of this debate - wrote to me about a particular incident which took place in West Bengal, accusing that the Police and the CRP were in league with my party against the CPM and that is why when in an incident bombs etc. were hurled at CPM workers the Police took no action. However when the incident was inquired into, a member of the same party made this statement that a police van fortunately came to the spot at the time of occurrence and that saved the situation from further deterioration. I think I should leave this matter there.

Now, our friends opposite, of the Jana Sangh, have a kind of obsessive desire to appear as super-patriots, as if the rest of us are not at all concerned with the advance of the country or the sovereignty of the country or the well-being of the people. But, fortunately, our people have seen through their propaganda and they have not been taken in by these. During the election campaign and, I believe, in this House also, mention has been made about their attitude towards our unilateral offer of cease-fire. It was shocking that someone even made the accusation that the cease-fire offer was made at the behest of the Soviet Union. Now, anybody is free to say whatever he wants. But, I think, there cannot be any clearer demonstration of the strength, unity and nobility of the Indian nation than this offer. During my very extensive travels in India, I saw for myself the thrill which the. people had felt not only for our achievements during the last year, but also in the fact that at the very moment of victory, we were able to rise above any petty considerations and were able to see the long-term interests of our country as well as of peace on the subcontinent. So, to state that the offer was made at the behest of foreign pressure,

whether by the Soviet Union or the United States of America, is, a calumny against the people of India.

During the last session of Parliament, I have already spoken regarding our discussions with 'the leaders of the opposition on this question. So have various members of the Opposition who were present at the meeting. Therefore it is not necessary to pursue this.

Shri Bhandari made the most fantastic charge that by not acting earlier in Bangla Desh, it is we who are responsible for the death of three million Bangla Desh people. I think his argument was that we should have marched into Bangla Desh in March or April last. The main people who are concerned are the people of Bangla Desh and I think this House has seen in the newspapers what their views are regarding this matter. Normally I would not have mentioned this at all. However some things said by Opposition parties are repeated in other countries and create a wrong impression about India or about our intentions and our policies. Neither the Jana Sangh nor any group or any individual should make the mistake of contending that the freedom of Bangla Desh is a gift from India. It is not. It is the achievement of the people of Bangla Desh themselves. It is an achievement of the

indomitable women and men, young and old; it is the fruit of the sacrifices which they have made.

We have read many stories of atrocities in our newspapers and in the foreign press. But they are as nothing to what one hears there. It is so horrible. Even though people have described me what they have seen, it is difficult to believe that any human being could act in such a way to another man or woman. The liberation was the achievement of the people of Bangla Desh. And it was only when Pakistan made the supreme folly of attacking us across our own frontiers that we had to defend our territorial integrity. From that point, the war of the people of Bangla Desh for attaining their freedom and

the war of the people of India to defend their freedom became one. Any hasty action at an earlier stage would have brought incalculable harm to India and possibly not led to the results of which we are now so proud.

I come now to the main Address. The President has given a realistic picture of our efforts as they have progressed year after year, for the transformation of our socioeconomic structure in accordance with our declared objectives. At no time we have claimed that all these objectives could be achieved immediately. We do realise the difficulties we are going to face and the hard work that has to be put in, I myself have been hammering this point all these years at every single meeting where I have spoken. In the President's Address, Parliament and the country have been kept informed of the slow progress, for instance, in the industrial field. But the theme of the Address is that in spite of the gigantic problems we have. had to face all along, and more especially the law and order problem, we have not made any excuses to slow down the pace of our socioeconomic programmes. The dominant theme of the Address is Arthik Swaraj'.

Some people have accused us of wishful thinking. I remember earlier how many times in India and abroad my father was accused of having his head in the clouds. But I should like to assure hon. Members that the call for self-reliance is not a mere slogan. It is not wishful thinking. On the contrary, it seeks to give sharp focus to a time-bound gramme of scientific measures which the, Government have already formulated in some detail and will implement with the same determination which we showed during the critical months of November and December.

in the contemporary world, "self-reliance" does not mean total self-sufficiency in all lines of production. It does mean that where we have the capacity, where we have the know-how, we should not take anything from outside, but should try to earn increasingly from our exports to pay for essential imports which may be needed to sustain the economy at a reasonably high level of productivity. It means the total emotional in-

volvement of all those engaged in the process of production - labour, management and governmental agencies at different levels - which are concerned with the regulation of the economy.

During the recent conflict, our people have demonstrated their ability to rise above their sectional differences and interests and unitedly face the national problems and work for national goals and objectives. I see no reason why the same spirit should not be generated to achieve this national objective. This is not only urgent for the wellbeing of the people but also even from the point of view of our defence and security. We have all along been stressing the point that it is we ourselves who shall have to bear the main brunt of the efforts needed to restructure and modernise our economy and that foreign aid can at best play only a supplementary and supporting role. We ourselves want to make a sincere effort to cut down on foreign aid, and fortunately some of the countries themselves are helping us in this effort.

The President's Address has identified some sectors in which increased production should contribute significantly to a reduction in our dependence on external aid. There was special mention of steel, fertilisers, cotton and oilseeds. These are the areas in which we have considerable domestic capability and yet we have been depending on imports. There is no reason why we should not be able to increase their production. In fact, some States have assured me that they have already taken up this programme and they think that within a short time we will be fully self-sufficient in these spheres also.

In his Address, the President has called for a moratorium on strikes and lock-outs.

55

The President himself is personally taking a great interest in this matter and has been speaking and meeting people. At any time for any country a hold-up in production would be unfortunate, but especially for our country at this particular cross-roads of our development it would be most unfortunate.

Unfortunate is a very mild word to use. I think history will not forgive us if we permit any interruption of production on account of strikes or lockouts in the present circumstances when our national self-respect demands that we should free ourselves from any dependence on others. I have full faith in our people and have no doubt that their sense of patriotism will assert itself in fields and factories. A major factor which aggravates our economic inequality is unemployment and under employment, and hon. Members have rightly stressed these points in their speeches. The Plan is an instrument to increase employment opportunities, and in the long term accelerated economic growth is the only effective answer. At the same time, it is but true that a proper strategy for development which is built around the problem of unemployment is necessary. We have taken certain supplementary measures to stimulate employment through specially designed programmes such as small farmers development programme, schemes for marginal farmers, landless labourers, rural works programme in drought-prone areas, schemes for dry farming areas, etc. and these programmes are expected to generate in the aggregate employment to the extent of two million man-hours per year. Our endeavour now is to ensure that these programmes are implemented more energetically. The 60-crore* crash programme for rural employment will, I am told, make a greater impact on employment in the rural areas in the remaining two years of the Plan. As hon. Members are aware, it always takes a little time for any scheme or programme to get going, that is, for the work to start. Before it can make an impact or show results some time is needed.

Under the Programme for alleviating unemployment among the educated, schemes have been sanctioned for the expansion and improvement of the quality of primary education through the appointment of additional teachers rural engineering surveys, agroservice centres, development of consumer cooperatives, preparation of road projects and rural water supply schemes and schemes for special support to small entrepreneurs. We have now decided that these 'programmes

should be continued in the remaining two years of the Fourth Plan. Government have also proposed to initiate other programmes for the training and absorption of personnel such as engineers, technicians and postgraduates. Further allocation is proposed to be made to State Governments on a matching basis for the formulation of special employment programmes. These new programmes will be taken up in 1972-73 and will be financed out of the lump sum provision of Rs. 125 crores which was indicated by the Finance Minister in his Budget speech. It is estimated that these special programmes will benefit about 3 1/2 lakhs** of educated unemployed.

* 1 crore=10 million.

Notice has been given of a number of amendments about monopoly houses, the functioning of the M.R.T.P. Act and the need to nationalise various industries specially those belonging to the monopoly houses. Now, I have indicated my views on a number of occasions in this House and elsewhere on the question of nationalisation. The Government is neither averse to nor afraid of nationalisation. But nationalisation has to fit into our overall scheme of priorities with reference to the changing conditions of our economy. We shall nationalise an industry or a unit if it is essential to strengthen the control of the public sector over the economy. That is why 14 major banks were nationalised, and later the General Insurance companies. We shall also not hesitate to nationalise any unit or industry when there is evidence that it is being managed to the detriment of the national interest. That is why we took over the management of certain coking coal mines and of copper. Nationalisation is one amongst many instruments at the disposal of Government to curb concentration of economic power in private hands, and we resort to it after a careful assessment of the efficacy of the other instruments available, in a given situation. We always consider that the extension of the public sector could be an effective countervailing force in checking concentration of economic power. The more active role which public financial institutions are new seeking in the

56

management of enterprises in which they have substantial financial interests is also directed towards the same end. So far as the industrial houses are concerned, our policy has been spelt out in the M.R.T.P. Act as well as in the industrial licensing policy. We have delineated the fields in which these houses will be allowed to expand further, and wherever there is a possibility of choice between a larger house on the one hand, and a medium house or a new entrepreneur on the other, Government have favoured the latter. But, sometimes no such medium house or a new entrepreneur is available, and there is also no immediate possibility of any public sector unit, and in these cases we have sometimes allowed the large industrial houses to come in because specially where the State is a backward one we find that there is a great deal of frustration and the feeling that they have" been discriminated against because other States earlier had opportunities which are now being denied them. The denial of licences for expansion in such cases would mean loss of production and perhaps involve larger imports to meet domestic need. We must simultaneously pursue a number of economic objectives, a fast rate of industrial expansion, economic self-reliance, industrial development of backward areas,- creation of Opportunities for employment of different types of people. But while doing so, we have also to keep in view the strain on resources. financial as well as managerial, specially the latter. Hon. Members will appreciate that economic policy-making has to strike a very delicate balance between the several, and sometimes conflicting, objectives keeping in view both the short-term and the long-term needs of the economy.

Having said all 'this I must confess that as a lay person - economists in this House may quarrel with me as those outside sometimes do - I do have a strong feeling that present economic thinking is not solving the problems of contemporary society anywhere, not only in India but in the world. What

other countries do is their concern, but we in India must devise an economic system which makes sense in our social setting. Our progress must be judged not by GNP or the various other criteria which are put forward such as the number of cars on the road. I mention cars not because I think them important, but recently I have read about three or four articles on China and other countries and a criterion for assessing standards is the number of cars, whether there are too few in some places or too many in other places and so on. Our progress must be measured by the extent to which our programmes and goods are able to reach the poorest and the most needy. Therefore, an entirely fresh outlook on economic theory and its implementation is needed.

I am not dwelling on the question of prices and so on because this has been talked about at great langth elsewhere. Hon. Members know that we are trying to hold foodgrain prices. They also know of the large sums which are spent on procurement and on ensuring fair distribution. I was amazed to hear that some Members have spoken about starvation. Now, we have been through periods of famine. We have tried to prevent starvation and I think the whole world has realised what a tremendous job was done in preventing starvation and in raising our food output. There is great poverty in India. Nobody denies it, but it is also true that 'there is no longer that degree of poverty which existed here before independence. We have moved forward and it is no use counting the paise* that people earn. It can be seen on the faces of the people when you visit villages and even remote areas, how they are dressed, how bright the children's faces are, what their reactions are when spoken to and so many other things. I would plead with the hon. opposition Members certainly they should criticise the Government. It is their main job to criticise the Government, its programmes and policies, but they should not in any way minimise the achievements of the nation, as this can only weaken national confidence and national determination.

Our foreign policy has been one of

friendship. It remains so. There is no weakness or drift in it. The President has clearly stated that, while we ourselves do not seek leadership or domination, we cannot tolerate any outside interference in our own affairs. Some nations have not always been friendly and have even sought to provoke us, but we have excluded none from the circle of our friendship. We. do not dwell on the past. We think that every day can bring new

57 opportunities and we have taken initiatives. We sincerely hope for a genuine response.

*1 Rupee = 100 Paise

The Congress party has secured major victories in the elections and this is naturally bound 'to give rise to feelings of sadness or disappointment in other parties, but I am sorry that this should lead to talk of the boycott of Legislatures. Although 'there is much that divides us, I personally believe that there is much that unites us. These are our main objectives. I think nobody will quarrel with the objectives of our national policy which is to eradicate poverty, to remove economic backwardness, to bring about social equality. In the external sphere, our objective is to have an India which stands strongly for its independence and sovereignty, an India which will not bow its head to any power, however big, an India which will keep intact its integrity and keep aloft its national pride. I think I have covered most of the points although I have not gone into detail. This is the time, when our major objectives have to be considered with a new outlook by the Opposition parties as well. I think they will notice that there is a mood of optimism, a mood of self-confidence, all over the country. We can use this feeling and this atmosphere to build. We are at a stage when we have the capacity to build. We have talked about self-reliance, we have talked about so many things. We have sincerely believed in them. But at no time have we had the capacity to go towards those goals as we have today. Before, these were the goals, but distant goals. Today, they are not distant goals; they are within our reach. And if we unite, instead of

quarrelling over various small points or just trying to belittle one another, I think this country has a great future and we can all share in building it and in taking it forward.

USA INDIA OMAN PAKISTAN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC CHINA

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

External Affairs Minister's Message

Following is the text of the message by the External Affairs Minister, Shri Swaran Singh, issued on the occasion of International Day for Elimination of Racial Discrimination on March 21, 1972:

March 21, which has been designated by the United Nations as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination once again brings to mind the cruel atrocities being practised on non-whites in Southern Africa, a barbarous instance of which was the killing of 69 unarmed African men, women and children at Sharpeville in South Africa in 1960.

The international community has recognised racialism as a crime against humanity and has declared as legitimate the struggle against apartheid. Millions of non-whites, however, continue to suffer under the tyrannical rule of racialism in Southern Africa, while powerful financial foreign interests support the regimes in Southern Africa in the face of the clear verdict of the world's conscience. We cannot but deplore all moves which strengthen the military and economic power of the racial and colonial regimes.

I India salutes again today the freedom fighters who have fallen in the struggle for their birthright. The Indian people will support the struggle for racial equality until final victory has been won.

58

USA INDIA

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

JAPAN

Joint Statement on Indo-Japanese Bilateral Talks

The following joint statement was issued in New Delhi on March 3, 1972 at the end of the Seventh Consultative Meeting of the officials of the Indian and Japanese Foreign Ministries:

The Seventh Consultative Meeting of the officials of the Ministry of External Affairs of India and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan was held at the Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi on March 2 and 3, 1972.

The Japanese delegation was led by H.E. Mr. S. Hogen, Deputy Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs and Leader of the delegation and included H.E. Mr. T. Kojima, Japanese Ambassador-designate to India; Mr. T. Kambara, Minister, Embassy of Japan; Mr. Y. Katori, Deputy Director-General, Economic Cooperation Bureau, Mr. Y. Nakae, Dy. Director General, Asian Affairs Bureau; Mr. M. Donowaki, Head of the Analysis Division, Research and Planning Department; Mr. K. Asomura, Deputy Head of the South-West Asia Division, Asian Affairs Bureau; and was assisted by other officials of the Japanese Embassy.

The Indian delegation was led by Shri S. K. Banerji, Secretary, (East), Ministry of External Affairs and included Shri V. H. Coelho, Ambassador of India to Japan, Shri V. V. Paranipe, Joint Secretary, Shri K. P. S. Menon, Joint Secretary, Shri D. S. Kamtekar, Joint Secretary, Shri A. P. Venkateswaran, Joint Secretary, Shri A. S. Chib, Joint Secretary, Shri A. K. Das, Deputy Secretary, and Shri Nirmal J. Singh, Deputy Secretary. In addition, Dr. I. G. Patel, Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Shri H. Lal, Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Trade, Shri K. Balachandran, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Industrial Development; Shri K, V. Ramanathan, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Steel and Mines; Shri G. C. Baveja, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Shipping and Transport; Dr. Shrimati Kapila Vatsyayan, Deputy Educational Adviser, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare; also participated in the discussions.

Mr. S. Hogen callen on Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs and also held discussions with Shri T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs.

The discussions covered a wide range of subjects of mutual interest as well as bilateral relations between the two countries. Among the matters dealt with were the international situation in general, the situation in Asia and Indo-Japanese cooperation in various fields. In reviewing recent developments in Asia, both sides re-affirmed the basic policy of the two countries to promote peace and stability in the region and agreed that for this purpose it was essential to maintain peaceful and good neighbourly relations among nations.

The discussions were held in a most frank and friendly atmosphere and greatly contributed to a better understanding of the policies and positions of the two Governments. In the light of the rapidly changing situation in Asia, the holding of the Consultative Meeting at this time was felt 'to be most opportune. In concluding the Meet-

ing, the two delegations reaffirmed their intention to maintain close consultations on all matters of mutual interest through diplomatic channels and also to promote closer contacts at all levels between the two countries.

It was agreed that the Eighth Consultative Meeting should be held in Tokyo on a date to be mutually agreed upon.

59

JAPAN INDIA USA

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

JAPAN

Japanese Assistance in Agriculture

Following press release was issued in New Delhi on March, 4, 1972 on the extension of Indo-Japanese agreement of March, 1968 regarding Japanese assistance to India in the field of agriculture:

The Agreement between the Government of India and Japan signed in March 1968 regarding Japanese assistance to India in the field of agriculture-was extended today for a period of three years until March 4, 1975 in respect of Arrah (Bihar) and Vyara (Gujarat) Japanese Agricultural Demonstration Farms.

Among the activities which are covered under the Agreement are research trials with the help of laboratories to solve problems of pests, soil testing, seed qualities, water and fertilisers as also of agricultural implements. Other activities covered are soil and water management practices, land

shaping, pest surveillance, establishment of model machinery hiring centres, training of Indian personnel in Japan and in India, mixed farming and multiple cropping in the light of Japanese experience and vegetable cultivation.

The extension Agreement was signed by Mr. T. Kambara, Japanese Charge d'Affaires in India and Shri T. P. Singh, Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.

JAPAN INDIA

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Joint Declaration of Prime Ministers of India and Bangla Desh

Following is the text of the Joint Dec-7aration signed in Dacca on March 19, 1972 by the Prime Minister of India Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman:

At the invitation of His Excellency the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rabman, the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, visited Dacca from the 17th to 19th March, 1972.

The Indian Prime Minister was accompanied by the Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, Professor S. Chakravarty, Member of the Planning Commission, Mr. P. N. Haksar, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary, Mr. P. N. Dhar, Secretary to the Prime Minister and other officials.

During her stay in Dacca the Prime

Minister addressed a mammoth public meeting and was accorded a civic reception. The affection and warmth shown by the people of Bangladesh on these occasions towards the Indian Prime Minister were symbolic of the close friendship and fraternal feelings that characterise the relations between the peoples of India and Bangladesh.

The two Prime Ministers discussed matters of mutual interest at length on several occasions during this visit. The Indian Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, also held separate talks with the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, Mr. Abdus Samad Azad, on bilateral relations and on the international situation.

The opportunity of this visit was utilised to have substantive discussions at the officials' level on all aspects of relations between the two countries and also to review the international situation with special reference to the problems that Bangladesh and

60
India face in the context of recent developments in Asia.

On the official level talks on political matters the Bangladesh side was represented by Mr. Ruhul Quddus, Principal Secretary, to the Prime Minister, Mr. S. A. Karim, Foreign Secretary, Mr. S. A. M. S. Kibria, Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bangladesh Ambassador to India, Dr. A. R. Mallick, Mr. Justice Munim, Law Secretary, and Mr. Nurul Islam of the Home Ministry.

At the talks on economic matters the Bangladesh side was represented by Dr. Nurul Islam, Deputy Chairman of the Planman Commission, Dr. Musharraf Hussain, Member, Planning. Commission, Prof. Rehman Sobhan, Member Planning Commission, Mr. Matiul Islam, Finance Secretary, Mr. 13. M. Abbas, Adviser to the Prime Minister on Irrigation and Flood Control, Mr. Nur Mohammad, Commerce Secretary, Mr. A. Samad, Transport Secretary, Mr. Al-Hussainy, Secretary, Power and Irrigation and other officials.

The Prime Minister of Bangladesh expressed admiration for the valiant armed forces of India who made supreme sacrifices in fighting shoulder to shoulder with all sections of the brave Mukti Bahini to end the tyrannical colonial rule of Pakistan in the sacred oil of Bangladesh. He mentioned with appreciation the impeccable behaviour of the Indian troops during their brief stay in Bangladesh. Having accomplished their mission, the last units of the Indian armed forces had withdrawn earlier than the deadline agreed upon.

Reviewing the international situation with particular reference to recent developments in Asia, the two Prime Ministers took note of the forces threatening the security, stability and territorial integrity of countries of the region. They affirm their solidarity in resisting these forces. Both the Prime Ministers express the confidence that the close and firm bonds of friendship between the peoples of India and Bangladesh would effectively counter efforts by interested countries to reverse the course of history.

In this context the two Prime Ministers, declare their determination to continue to adhere to the policy of non-alignment which has played a positive and constructive role in strengthening national sovereignty and independence and the forces of peace, stability and prosperity in international relations.

To give concrete expression to the similarity of views, ideals and interests between India and Bangladesh, the two Prime Ministers decided to sign a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and Peace.

The two Prime Ministers further decide that in order to strengthen cooperation between the two countries, regular consultations shall be held between the officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Planning Commissions and the ministries and departments dealing with economic, commercial, cultural and technical affairs of the two Governments. Such consultations will take place periodically, at least once every six months.

The Prime Minister of Bangladesh drew the attention of the Prime Minister of India to the plight of the Bangalee population in Pakistan and emphasised the imperative need for their early repatriation. The Prime Minister of India assures the Government of Bangladesh of all assistance in facilitating the process particularly in giving transit facilities for such repatriation.

The Prime Minister of Bangladesh apprised the Prime Minister of India of the steps taken by the Government of Bangladesh 'to expedite the trials of members of Pakistani armed forces and civil servants who are guilty of committing war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity in Bangladesh, in accordance with international law.

Both the Prime Ministers express the hope that these trials will bring the guilty persons to justice and also bring home to the world at large the enormity of the sufferings of the people of Bangladesh. The Prime Minister of India assures the Prime., Minister of Bangladesh that the Government of India will fully cooperate with the Government of Bangladesh in bringing those guilty persons to justice who are responsible for the worst genocide in recent times.

At the same time the two Prime Ministers agree that seriously sick and wounded prisoners of war, who are not guilty of war

61 crimes will be repatriated to Pakistan as a matter of priority by mutual consent.

In the context of the declared adherence of the Government and the people of Bangladesh to the Weals and objectives of the United Nations Charter, the Prime Minister of India assures the Government of Bangladesh of the Government of India's full support and cooperation for the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations and other U.N. agencies. Both the Prime Ministers agree that Bangladesh's joining the U.N. would be a significant step forward in promoting world peace and ensuring stability in South Asia.

The two Prime Ministers declare that the Indian Ocean area should be kept free of great power rivalries and military competitions. They express their opposition to the creation of land, air and naval bases in the area. It is their conviction that this is the only way of ensuring the freedom of navigation and safety of the sea-lanes in the Indian Ocean for trade and commerce which is vital to the development and stability of the littoral States. The two Prime Ministers further express their determination, to endeavour to make the Indian Ocean area a nuclear free zone.

Consistent with the decisions taken at the meetings of the Foreign Ministers of Bangladesh and India in January, 1972, and of the Prime Ministers early in February, 1972, to strengthen economic and developmental cooperation, the two Prime Ministers decide:

(A) To establish a Joint Rivers Commission comprising of experts of both countries on a permanent basis to carry out a comprehensive survey of the river systems shared by the two countries, formulate projects concerning both the countries in the fields of flood control and to implement them.

Experts of the two countries are directed to formulate detailed proposals on advance flood warnings, flood forecasting, study of flood control and irrigation projects on the major river systems and examine the feasibility of linking the power grids of Bangladesh with the adjoining areas of India. so that the water resources of the region can be utilised on an equitable basis for the mutual benefit of the peoples of the two countries.

(B) The Prime Minister of Bangladesh expressed his gratitude to the Prime Minister of India for the economic assistance extended so far and for assurances of future assistance according to the requirement of Bangladesh. The two Prime Ministers reviewed the progress of deliveries of supplies of foodgrain and other commodities under the economic assistance programme and re-

cognised the need to accelerate deliveries under this programme in view of the urgent economic need of the rehabilitation programme in Bangladesh.

(C) Both the Prime Ministers ap-Proved the principles of the revival of transit trade and the agreement on border trade.

They directed that these agreements as well as the general trade and payments agreements should be signed by the end of March, 1972.

Keeping in view the important role that science and technology play in accelerating economic and social development, the two Prime Ministers direct that experts and officials of the governments of Bangladesh and India shall have consultations and exchange information on:

- (I) Peaceful uses of nuclear energy,
- (II) Technological and scientific research for industrial development,
- (III) Utilisation of future space research for communication purposes.

Conscious of the close historical and cultural affinities between the peoples of India and Bangladesh, the two Prime Ministers decide that concrete steps should be taken by the appropriate agencies of the two governments to strengthen cultural relations between the two countries. The two Prime Ministers direct that the concerned authorities of the two Governments should undertake immediate discussions for the signing of a bilateral agreement on cultural, scientific and technological cooperation.

The two Prime Ministers are fully satisfied at the progress made and the concrete

results achieved during their talks at Dacca and express the hope that these understandings and agreements would constitute a sound and durable basis for cooperation between India and Bangladesh for the mutual

benefit and prosperity of the peoples of the

two countries.

The Prime Minister of India thanks the Prime Minister of Bangladesh for the hospitality, affection and kindness shown to her and her colleagues by the Prime Minister and Begum Mujibur Rahman, the Government and the people of Bangladesh during her visit to Dacca. The Prime Minister of Bangladesh expressed satisfaction that the Prime Minister of India found time in spite of her many pre-occupations to visit Bangladesh.

The two Prime Ministers express the conviction that the bonds of fraternity and friendship forged during the freedom struggle of Bangladesh and cemented by the sacrifices made by the peoples of both the countries, shall continue to grow and become a vital factor in strengthening the forces of peace and progress in Asia and the world.

INDIA BANGLADESH USA LATVIA UNITED KINGDOM PAKISTAN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Indo-Bangla Desh Treaty of Friendship and Peace

Following is the text of the Indo-Bangla Desh Treaty of Friendship and Peace between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of Bangla Desh signed in Dacca on March 19, 1972 by the Prime Ministers of India and Bangla Desh:

Inspired by common ideals of peace, secularism, democracy, socialism and nationalism,

Having struggled together for the reali-

sation of these ideals and cemented ties of friendship through blood and sacrifices which led to the triumphant emergence of a free, sovereign and independent Bangladesh,

Determined to maintain fraternal and good-neighbourly relations and transform their border into a border of eternal peace and friendship,

Adhering firmly to the basic tenets of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, mutual cooperation, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty,

Determined to safeguard peace, stability and security and to promote progress of their respective countries through all possible avenues of mutual cooperation,

Determined further to expand and strengthen the existing relations of friendship between them, convinced that the further development of friendship and cooperation meets the national interests of both States as well as the interests of lasting peace in Asia and the world,

Resolved to contribute to strengthening world peace and security and to make efforts to bring about a relaxation of international tension and the final elimination of vestiges of colonialism, racialism and imperialism,

Convinced that in the present-day world international problems can be solved only through cooperation and not through conflict or confrontation.

Reaffirming their determination to follow the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, the Republic of India, on the one hand, and the People's Republic of Bangladesh, on the other, have decided to conclude the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 1

The high contracting parties, inspired by the ideals for which their respectivepeoples struggled and made sacrifices together, solemnly declare that there shall be lasting peace and friendship between their two countries and their peoples, each side shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the other side.

63

The high contracting parties shall further develop and strengthen the relations of friendship, good-neighbourliness and allround cooperation existing between them, on the basis of the above-mentioned principles as well as the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

ARTICLE 2

Being guided by their devotion to 'the principles of equality of all peoples and states, irrespective of race or creed, the high contracting parties condemn colonialism and racialism in all forms and manifestations and are determined to strive for their final and complete elimination.

The high contracting parties shall cooperate with other states in achieving these aims and support the just aspirations of peoples in their struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination and for their national liberation.

ARTICLE 3

The high contracting parties reaffirm their faith in the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence as important factors for easing tension in the world, maintaining international peace and security, and strengthening national sovereignty and independence.

ARTICLE 4

The high contracting parties shall maintain regular contacts with each other on major international problems affecting the interests of both States, through meetings and exchanges of views at all levels.

ARTICLE 5

The high contracting parties shall continue to strengthen and widen their mutually advantageous and all-round cooperation in the economic, scientific and technical fields. The two countries shall develop mutual cooperation in the fields- of trade, transport and communications between them on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and the most - favoured nation principle.

ARTICLE

The high contracting pat-ties further agree to make joint studies and take joint action in 'the fields of flood control, river basin development and the development of hydro-electric power and irrigation.

ARTICLE 7

The high contracting parties shall promote relations in the fields of art, literature, education, culture, sports and health.

ARTICLE 8

In accordance with the ties of friendship existing between the two countries each of the high contracting parties solemnly declares that it shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other party.

Each of the high contracting parties shall refrain from any aggression against the other party and shall not allow the use of its territory for committing any act that, may cause military damage to or constitute a threat to the security of the other high contracting party.

ARTICLE 9

Each of the high contracting parties shall refrain from giving any assistance to any third party taking part in an armed conflict against the other party. In case either party is attacked or threatened with attack, the high contracting parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to take appropriate effective measures to eliminate the threat and thus ensure the

peace and security of their countries.

ARTICLE 10

Each of the high contracting parties solemnly declares that it shall not undertake any commitment, secret or open, toward one or more States which may be incompatible with the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 11

The present Treaty is signed for a term of twenty-five years and shall he subject to

64 renewal by mutual agreement of the high contracting parties.

The Treaty shall come into force with immediate effect from the date of its Signature.

ARTICLE 12

Any differences in. interpreting any article or articles of the present Treaty that may arise between the high contracting parties shall be settled on a bilateral basis by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.

DONE IN DACCA ON THE NINETEENTH DAY OF MARCH NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTYTWO

Sd/- Sd/-

(Smt.)Indira Gandhi Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Prime Minister Prime Minister For the Republic For the People's of India. Republic of Bangladesh.

INDIA BANGLADESH USA LATVIA

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Prime Minister's Statement in Parliament on Treaty with Bangla Desh

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, made the following statement in Parliament on March 20, 1972 on treaty with Bangla Desh and Joint Declaration:

I have the honour to lay on the Table of the House texts of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace and of the Joint Declaration which Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and I signed at Dacca on March 19, 1972.

I should like to emphasise that the Treaty embodies the will of the two Governments to pursue common policies in matters of interest to both countries and solemnises the close ties of friendship between our two countries and peoples cemented through blood and sacrifice. The Treaty and the Declaration will guide us on our journey into' the-future in quest of peace, good neighbour-liness and the wellbeing of our two peoples.

The Joint Declaration emphasises the importance of close coordination and cooperation between the two countries in 'trade and payments, economic development and transit. I should like to invite the attention of Honourable Members to that portion of the Declaration which deals with the exciting prospect of harnessing the waters of Brahmaputra, Meghna and Ganga to the benefit of the two peoples.

It is our earnest hope that the Treaty which affirms our common goals and ideals and reiterates our firm adherence to the policy of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence, will lead to lasting peace and cooperation not only between India and Bangladesh but in the sub-continent and the region as a whole.

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Joint Communique on Trade Talks with Bangla Desh

Following is the text of the Joint Press Communique issued in New Delhi on March 28, 1972 on the conclusion of the Irdo-Bangla Desh, Trade talks and signing of a Trade and Payments agreement between the two countries:

Trade talks were held in New Delhi on March 28, 1972, between a Delegation form Bangladesh led by His Excellency Mr. M. R. Siddiqui, Minister of Trade and Commerce, and an Indian Delegation led by Shri L. N. Mishra, Minister of Foreign Trade. The talks were held in an atmosphere of extreme cordiality and spirit of accommodation.

The Trade Agreement, which aims at development and promotion of Indo-Bangla

desh trade and enlarging areas of mutual cooperation between the two countries, envisages a 3-tier system.

The Border Trade Arrangement would facilitate trade in perishable commodities and articles of daily use among people living in rural areas on either side of the land customs frontiers between Bangladesh on the one band and Indian States of West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram on the other. These facilities will be available to persons, holding special permits, living within 16 kilometres of the land frontiers and will take care of day-to-day essential requirements of the people living in border

To meet the transitional needs arising out of the triumphant emergence of a free, sovereign and independent Bangladesh, the two Governments have agreed to an interim arrangement under which import and export of commodities and goods of special interest to the two countries produced and manufactured in India and Bangladesh - will be facilitated on a balanced basis by both sides, Exports from India to Bangladesh will cover, inter alia, cement, coal, asphalt, spare parts for machinery, pharmaceuticals, cotton yarn. unmanufactured 'tobacco, spices, ayurvedic and unani medicines, books, gramophone records, cinema films etc. The list of items for export from Bangladesh to India includes fresh fish, semi-tanned hides and skins, newsprint, furnace oil, raw jute, kapok, pharmaceuticals including ayurvedic and unani medicines, books, periodicals and cinema films etc. The Agreement provides for special banking and financing arrangements to give effect to balanced trade.

The two sides have agreed that imports and exports in excess of values specified in the Balancing Arrangement and commodities and goods not covered by it shall be permitted in accordance with the Import, Export and Foreign Exchange laws, regulations and procedures in force in either country from time to time.

The two Governments have agreed to make mutually beneficial arrangements for use of their waterways, railways and roadways for commerce between the two countries and for the passage of goods between two places in each country through the territory of the other.

The Government of India and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh have further agreed to accord to the commerce of each other Most-Favoured-Nation treatment. The Agreement provides for consultations to review its working and to remove any difficulty in, the implementation of the trade arrangement.

In concluding the Trade Agreement, the

two sides have recognised that the common people of both the countries should be the beneficiaries of close cooperation between India and Bangladesh in the fields of trade and development.

INDIA USA BANGLADESH TOTO CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC RUSSIA

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Shri L. N. Mishra's Speech

Speaking after the signing of the Trade Agreement, the Union, Foreign Trade Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra, said:

As we had anticipated this morning, we have succeeded without difficult,%, in negotiating the Trade and Payments Agreement between India and Bangladesh. The 28th of March, 1972 will be recorded in the history of our two countries as the day on which we took the momentous step in cementing the economic relations between India and Bangladesh,

Excellency, as we sign this Agreement, we cannot help feeling that we have emerged out of a long and dark night. The lives of our people have been disrupted and distorted for nearly a quarter of a century. We now put our seal to the pledge taken by Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and Smt. Indira Gandhi when they stated at Calcutta that the common people of both countries should be the beneficiaries of close cooperation between India and Bangladesh.

The future beckons invitingly. In both our countries we have strong and stable

democracies with Governments in power because of the overwhelming confidence reposed in them by their peoples. The Constituent Assembly is to be called in Dacca on the 11th of April to give to the people of Bangladesh their first ever Constitution based on the principles of peace, liberty, justice and the promise of economic prosperity. The mandate given to the Government of India has just been reinforced by State Assembly elections in which the people of India have unmistakably shown their trust and faith not only in the future of India but in the joint endeavours of our two countries to achieve what you, Excellency, so rightly described this morning as the search for peace in our troubled sub-continent.

The Agreement we sign today reflects each of the constituent elements of the cooperation between our countries which we, like you, Sir, hope will fructify into a model of its kind. First, there is the agreement on border trade. The beneficiary of this border trade will be the ordinary villager whose normal economic life had been sundered for several years because of political machinations. By our agreement, we give him the right to resume that which those of us who live further inland have always taken for granted - the right to a normal uninterrupted economic existence.

The Trade Agreement is a manifestation of our common will to discover and utilise the complementarities which exist between our two economies. It has to be admitted that the pattern of trade exchanges envisaged in Schedule A to this Agreement demonstrates that both our countries are poor countries. But as we sign this historic document, we know in our hearts and hope that the nature of these trade exchanges will evolve and diversify and grow more sophisticated as each of our countries progresses from economic bondage to a tomorrow of growth and social justice.

We have also agreed in this document that the beautiful waterways of Sonar Bangla, its railways and its roads, can once again be used by India for the benefit of the Indian people on either side of Bangladesh. We, on our part, Excellency, would be only too happy to provide the necessary transit. facilities for enabling commerce to take place between our friends in Nepal and our friends in Bangladesh. The port of Calcutta too is at your disposal.

This Trade and Payments Agreement marks not the culmination of our efforts but the commencement of our endeavours With faith in our future, with confidence in our progress and with conviction in the everlasting friendship of our two countries. We append our signatures to this, the first Agreement between the Government of Bangladesh and the Government of India.

BANGLADESH INDIA USA NEPAL

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Foreign Trade Minister's Statement in Parliament on Trade Agreement with

Bangla, Desh

Following is the text of the Minister of Foreign Trade, Shri L. N. Mishra's statement in the Lok Sabha on March 29, 1972 on the trade agreement between India and Bangla Desh:

I am glad to inform the House that a Trade Agreement has been concluded between India and Bangladesh following talks yesterday with a delegation led by His Excellency Mr M. R. Siddiqui Minister of Trade and Commerce, Government of the people's Republic of Bangladesh. The Agreement came into force immediately and will remain in force, in the first instance, for a period of one year.

A copy of the Agreement has been placed in the Parliament Library.

It aims at the expansion and promotion of trade between the two countries on the basis of mutual advantage.

It is set within the framework of the Joint Statement of the Prime Ministers of India and Bangladesh where it was recognised that the common people of both countries should be the beneficiaries of close cooperation between the two Governments in the fields of trade and development.

67

There will be three tier of trade consisting of:

- (i) A border Trade Agreement which would facilitate trade in perishable commodities and articles of daily use to meet the requirements of people living in rural areas on either side of 'the land customs frontiers. These facilities will be available to persons holding special permits, living within sixteen kilometers on the border on either side.
- (ii) To meet the transitional needs of Bangladesh the two Governments have agreed to an interim arrangement under which import and export 'of specified commodities and goods of special interest to the two countries, produced and manufactured in the two countries, will be facilitated on a balanced basis to the extent of Rs. 25 crores each Supplies from India to Bangladesh will cover inter-alia cement, coal, unmanufactured tobacco, cotton yarn, asphalt, etc. Items for import from Bangladesh under such balance trade includes fresh fish, raw jute, newsprint. furnace oil, jute, batching oil and naptha. etc. Transactions will be routed through a special account operated by the State Bank of India, Calcutta and a bank to be

designated by the Government of Bangladesh.

(ii) The two Governments have agreed that imports and exports of commodities which are not covered under the balancing arrangement, shall be permitted in accordance with the normal rules and regulations of the either country.

The two Governments have also agreed to make mutually beneficial arrangements for the use of their water ways, railways and' roadways for commerce between the two countries and for the passage of goods between two places in each country through the territory of the other. The two countries would accord to the commerce of each other the Most Favoured Nation treatment.

The two Governments will cooperate effectively with each other to prevent infringement and circumvention of foreign exchange and foreign trade regulations of either country. The agreement provides for consultations to review its working and facilitate the implementation of the agreement.

INDIA USA BANGLADESH RUSSIA

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Foreign Trade Minister's Reply to Rajya Sabha Discussion on Indo-Bangla Desh

Trade Agreement

Replying to the discussion in the Rajya Sabha on March 30, 1972 on the trade agreewent signed between India and Bangladesh, the Union Foreign Trade Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra said:

I have heard with deep interest the points made by the Hon. Members in their intervention on the Trade Agreement between India and Bangladesh. At the very outset, I would like to inform this House that the Trade Agreement was discussed between the two Governments in the larger context of our deep friendship and identity of common historical experience. The discussions were conducted within the framework of the Joint Statement of the two Prime Ministers, Smt. Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, where it was recognised that the common people of both the countries should be the beneficiaries of close cooperation between the two Governments in the fields of trade and development.

This Agreement also reflects the keen desire on the part of our Prime Minister to ensure that an,, arrangement of trade must serve the primary objective of not only expanding the mutual flow of trade between us but also prove conductive to a rapid reconstruction and rehabilitation of the economy of Bangladesh which had suffered so much of wanton destruction at the hands of the Pakistani Army.

68

I would like to reiterate our policy that our primary objective is to assist in whatever manner we can, a rapid rehabilitation of the Bangladesh economy and to enable it to embark speedily on the path of rapid economic development consistent with its goals and objectives. We do not look upon Bangladesh either as a market for our goods or a territory in which we have any economic designs. I would also like to appeal to the private sector to recognise these basic tenets of our policy towards Bangladesh. While negotiating the Trade Agreement, we were conscious of all these considerations, and lion. Members would be happy to find that our primary anxiety to help the rapid rehabilitation and reconstruction of Bangladesh has been fully reflected in the various provisions of this Agreement.

Mention has been made about the modality of trade. I would like to draw the

attention of the Hon. Members to paragraph four of the Preamble of the Trade Agreement, according to which the Government of India and the Government of Bangladesh are aware that the objectives in the fields of trade and development can best be secured by organizing trade between two countries on a State-to-State basis as far as possible. It will be our endeavour to fulfil this objective which is enshrined in the Joint Communique issued after our Prime Minister's visit to Bangla Desh and is reiterated in the Preamble of the Trade Agreement.

Within this broad framework, if the Government of Bangladesh decide to conduct the trade on selected commodities through private agencies or channelling their exports through the State organizations, we would like to respect their wishes.

These are. however, matters of detail, but as mentioned earlier, in any modus of trade the spirit of the Joint Communique and the Preamble of the Trade Agreement on state trading would be our main guideline.

In yesterday's statement before the Parliament, I had broadly outlined the three tiers of the Trade Agreement, namely. the border trading arrangement, the arrangement for balanced trade in bulk commodities of special interest amounting to Rs. 25 crores each way, and other trade under the normal import and export and foreign exchange regulations of the two countries. lion. Memebers who have seen the Trade Agreement, will share my view that the basic spirit behind the Agreement is the interest of the common man.

This is evident from a number of features of the Trade Agreement. First, there is the agreement on border trade, the beneficiary of which will be the ordinary villager, whose normal economic life has been sundered for several years because of political machinations. By our agreement we give him the right to resume that which those of us who live further inland have always taken for granted, the right to a normal uninterrupted economic existence.

Second, the use of waterways of Bangla Desh, its railways, its roads will benefit both the people of India and Bangla Desh on either side. We have also expressed our willingness to provide the Government of Bangladesh, if they so wish, the necessary facilities for enabling commerce to take place between our friends in Nepal and our friends in Bangla Desh.

Hon. Members who come from East India would be heartened to know that with a provision for imports of fish worth Rs. 9 crores from Bangla Desh, the common people of East India, specially West Bengal, will be readily able to purchase fish at cheaper prices while the tobacco growers from Andhra would be happy to know that with exports to Bangla Desh of Rs. 10 crores worth of un-manufactured tobacco will lend greater stability and incentive To the tobacco growers.

The Trade Agreement is already before this House. My statement to the Look Sabha yesterday and to the Rajya Sabha by my colleague, Shri A.C. George, has outlined the main features of the Agreement.

I have in my remarks today tried to briefly touch on some of the points raised by the Hon. Members. As I have mentioned before that the main beneficiary of the,.

Trade Agreement would be the common man. I visualise a long era of fruitful cooperation between India and the Government of Bangla Desh based on equality and mutual benefit in an effort to discover and utilise the complementarities which exist between our two economies. I also visualise a long era of fruitful cooperation between the Government of India and the Government of Bangla

69

Desh at various international forums particularly the multilateral economic forums like the ECAFE, the GATT, the UNCTAD, the ECOSOC, etc.

It is my hope and conviction that with early admission of Bangla Desh into the U.N. family, the cooperation between the two Governments will be unique example of both bilateral and multilateral cooperation between two friendly countries, which will give the people of bath India and Bangla Desh as well as the Hon. Members of this House reasons of feeling proud.

USA BANGLADESH INDIA PAKISTAN CHINA NEPAL RUSSIA

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

SOUTH EAST ASIA

External Affairs Minister's Statement on South Vietnamese Demonstrations Before Saigon

I.C.S.C. Headquarters in

Following is the tart of the statement by the Minister of External Affairs Shri Swaran Singh in the Rajya Sabha on 16th March, 1972 regarding the demonstrations before the headquarters of the International Control Commission at Saigon by a number of South Vietnamese to protest against the Indian Chairmanship of the Commission:

Consequent on the upgradation of our mission in Hanoi to Embassy level on January 7, 1972, on a reciprocal basis, a number of hostile demonstrations in front of the ICSC Headquarters and our Consulate-General in Saigon have taken place.

Two demonstrations had earlier taken place in front of the ICSC Headquarters on the 11th January, 1972, and 23rd February 1972. The latest Incident took place on the morning of March 14, 1972, when South Vietnamese local employees of the ICSC struck work and displayed slogans on the walls of the Indian Delegation building demanding immediate replacement of Indian Delegation on the ICSC.

As repeatedly pointed out earlier, India's decision to raise the level of its mission in Hanoi was not in any way directed against South Vietnam. It was a recognition of the realities of the situation and in exercise of our sovereign rights. The ICSC in Vietnam is an international body created by the nations participating in the Geneva Conference of 1954 and any attempt by any one of the parties to unilaterally alter its composition or prevent its functioning is totally unwarranted.

The Government of India would still hope that wiser counsels will prevail and the South Vietnamese Government would take effective steps to prevent recurrence of such incidents.

VIETNAM INDIA SWITZERLAND

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

THAILAND

Text of President Giri's Speech at State Banquet

Following is the text of the speech of the President, Shri V. V. Giri, at the State Banquet by His Majesty the King of Thailand, in Bangkok on March 27, 1972:

Your Majesties, Your Excellencies and Friends,

My wife and I have been deeply touched by the warm words in which Your Majesty has welcomed us to your country. It has been my desire for many years to visit Thailand. This visit now, at Your Majesty's kind invitation, has therefore been the fulfilment of a wish which my wife and I have long cherished.

centuries. In fact they go back so far that it has not been possible for historians to precisely identify the period when the first exchanges took place. I would not be wrong in saying that these relations extend beyond 2000 years at least. Since then, as is inevitable in relations between countries and peoples, the form and extent of our relations and exchanges have gone through their ups and downs. Yet -- and this is of greater significance -- in this long period of contact, there have been no conflicts between our two peoples, and our two countries have had no disputes. What better conditions could there be between two countries and two peoples with this rich legacy to work together for our common good?

The world, Your Majesty, has seen remarkable advances in science and technology in the last few decades and many developments in international relations in the recent past. These advances and developments have necessarily brought about changes both in respect of expectations amongst peoples and in relations between nations. In this fast-changing world, one fact has become more clear than ever before. Force can no longer be a means of finding solutions to problems. Mankind has no other alternative but to learn to live in peace, harmony and friendship. Any other means can only lead to destruction. Peace and progress in the world can be achieved only through cooperation.

Your Majesty, my Government has been working arduously towards providing a better way of life to our people in accordance with our tradition and native genius. We have had our own difficulties and there have been several obstacles. Some we have overcome and others we are trying to overcome. Yet in the 25 years of our Independence, there has been a marked progress In all fields - educational, social, economic and technological. In International relations, as Your

Majesty is aware, we have believed firmly ill the principle of friendship with all. We seek cooperation with all countries and particularly with those who tire our close neighbours like yours. For us cooperation implies exchanges which flow in both directions. We have no ambitions of domination of any kind whether it be military, political, economic or ideological. We do not seek that which does not belong to us. We Avant to share what we have with our friends. It is our desire to make what little contribution we can to the forces of peace, progress and common weal, in cooperation with other countries.

I have been very happy to see the prosperity and progress which your country has achieved. You have indeed been fortunate in remaining independent through the centuries. Your people enjoy one of the highest standards of living in this part of the world. Your country is endowed with vast resources. Above all, your people are most fortunate in having both tin enlightened and benevolent leader in Your Majesty. You are both loved and respected. I would like to take this opportunity of conveying to Your Majesties and the Royal Family our best wishes for your continued good health, long life and prosperity.

I am eagerly looking forward to our stay in Thailand. I share with Your Majesty the hope that this visit will make some contribution to the strengthening of relations between our two countries and peoples. I am convinced that there are vast openings and possibilities for increased cooperation between Thailand and India, This cooperation can cover diverse fields. Such exchanges would have to be on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. It is only thus that out, relations would develop and continue without stress and without strain.

May I take this opportunity to extend a warm invitation to your Majesties to visit India and see for yourself the deep affection of our people and the high esteem in which we hold Your Majesties.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

may I now request you to join me in a toast to the health and happiness of Their Majesties the King and Queen of Thailand and to the prosperity of the people of Thailand.

71

THAILAND USA INDIA

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

THAILAND

President Giri's Speech at Public Reception in Bangpu

Following is the text of the speech of the President, Shri V. V. Giri, on March 28, 1972 on the Occasion of the Public Reception at the ancient city of Bangpu:

This visit to the Ancient City of Bangpu, beautifully conceived and so magnificently constructed, has undoubtedly been one of the highlights of our visit to Thailand. This short tour of the Ancient City has brought out so vividly the past heritage we share. In appreciation of the very warm hospitality of the people of Thailand, and as a symbol of the age-old ties between us, I would be grateful if Your Majesty would accept from the people of India, a statue of the Lord Buddha, which I have brought with me as a token of their affection and esteem for their brethren in Thailand. This statue be. longs to the Mathura. School and dates back to the first century A.D.

For this ancient city which epitomises Thailand's cultural and architectural past, I would like to present a plaster casting of an Amaravati period sculptural adoration of Lord Buddha's sacred footprints. This, I hope, would become a constant reminder of our age-old ties.

May I now invite all of you, Your Highnesses, Your Excellencies, Friends to join me in a toast to Their Majesties the King and Queen of Thailand and to the welfare progress and prosperity of the people of Thailand.

THAILAND USA INDIA

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

THAILAND

President Giri's speech at Chulalongkorn University, Bannkok

The following is the text of the speech of the President, Shri V. V. Giri, at the Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, on March 28, 1972:

I am deeply moved by the honour which this great institution of learning has just conferred on me. I am conscious that this gracious gesture is an expression of the esteem in which India and her people are held by the people of Thailand. This University, named after one of your illustrious Kings, is known for its academic standards and scholastic traditions. Started seventy years ago as an institution to train officials for governmen't services, today it embraces faculties in Arts, Education, Science, Engineering, Architecture and Commerce. it has also a faculty for Political Science, a subject so intimately concerned with governmental functioning. I feel a sense of pride in becoming an alumnus of this centre of learning and am happy to join the ranks of all the fine products of this university, who have made a name both nationally and internationally.

Problems of education have always in-

Wrested me deeply. I have no claims to be an educationist as my life-long service has been to the cause of the workers. Yet, the problem of education of our people has often agitated my mind and I would on this occasion like to share some of my thoughts with you.

What, I have often asked, should be the content and purpose of education? I firmly believe that education should not be divorced from the vital needs of society. Therefore. we must lay great emphasis on the scientific and technological education- of our young people so that they make a worthy contribution to the nation's economic development, scientific and technological progress and social advancement. Knowledge of economic, scientific and technological subjects is of utmost importance. At the same time I often wonder whether we would not go wrong in placing knowledge before wisdom and material objectives before human and spiritual qualities. If in our pursuit of knowledge we fail 'to inculcate education which teaches us love and sympathy, understanding and tolerance, service and sacrifice, goodwill and charity, we may run the risk of making great economic progress but losing our souls. I am sure I do not have to expatiate on this point in this land of Buddhism.

Buddha did not want us to adopt theories which cannot be verified by observation. This freedom from dogmatism is a precious legacy which he has bequeathed to us. His

72

main object was to bring about reformation in the religious practices and a return to the basic principles. He aimed at the development of a new type of free man, free from prejudices and intent on working out his own future. His all-embracing humanism crossed racial and national barriers. Buddha's teachings have universal relevance and there can be no better guide for a new world order based on peace and harmony.

Education which used to be regarded as the means towards the development of an individual's personality is viewed today in a larger perspective, as something which not merely develops an individual but also contributes to the development of society. The education of the individual should lead to socially useful results and his contribution should serve social ends. This in turn leads to wider implications, when national objectives have to be harmonised with international objectives. We have already witnessed the beginnings of such changes in the functioning of international organisations like the United Nations and its specialised agencies. As the Philadelphia Charter of the I.L.O. rightly proclaimed years ago, "Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere".

While we should provide for such education which ennobles our young people and broadens their human sympathies and understanding, I have no doubt that we must educate our youth so that they make a worthy contribution to the nation's economic, social and cultural progress. They must be well equipped to serve the nation and the human society in one field or another on the strength of the knowledge acquired by them.

Every individual is capable of producing many times, more than his personal requirement. Why should we lose his productive capacities? The nation needs every hand in its enormous tasks of economic development and social progress. What justification have we to tell the young people that there is no work for them? A single individual unemployed is a sad commentary on national planning. I therefore strongly believe 'that the educational system and economic planning must ensure the fullest utilisation of human resources - the youth of our countries in the service of the nation and In the service of mankind. Otherwise, their frustration and bitterness can only lead to serious economic and social problems. In our own country we are struggling hard to root out the causes that stand as an impediment for the fuller growth of the human personality. Through planning we are trying to provide the basic minimum necessities to the vast millions of our people. We are on the march and we shall succeed. Universities have a vital role to play in this

onward march of the people. In my conception, the Universities not only belong to those who study there but belong to the entire community. Apart from the knowledge, skills and insights that it imparts to those who enter its portals, it also acts as the conscience of society. I am sure Universities in the developing countries would rise to their full stature and be the harbingers of a new life for the people.

May I thank you again for the honour which this University has conferred upon me this morning. May I wish all the members of this great University - all the professors and students - every success in their endeavours and to 'the Chulalongkorn University, a great future of service to the youth of Thailand and to international understanding and friendship.

THAILAND USA INDIA

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

THAILAND

President Giri's Speech at the Luncheon by Indian Chamber of

Commerce, Bangkok

The following is the text of the speech, of the President, Shri V. V. Giri, on the occasion of the Luncheon by the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Bangkok, on March 28, 1972:

President and Members of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Friends.

It gives me great pleasure to be with you all today and to get acquainted with the activities of the Indian Chamber of Commerce. I am happy to learn that you have,, played an important role in introducing India and the Indian way of lift, to the people of this great nation.

During the past two decades our economic development has enabled India to change gradually its image of an essentially agrarian economy to that of a progressive industrial

73 nation. Today, we in India have not only become self-reliant in many fields but have also developed the necessary skills and expertise which we wish to share with other developing countries. One of the outstanding features of our planning process has been a firm adherence to the promotion of social justice as a basic goal of our development. We strive always to ensure that the fruits of modern science and technology reach the masses in India. We shall have an important contribution to make in the evolution of a rapidly developing society based on a stable and just political and social order, maintaining its cultural norms and traditions, and determined to disburse equitably the benefits of scientific and technological advancement.

As far as you all are concerned - those that reside in this country - you have a special responsibility and an important role to play. It would be expected of you that make a contribution not only to increased bilateral exchanges between our two countries but also towards the economic deve ment of Thailand. You live in a country renowned for its hospitality - a country with which India has had close ties stretch ing over the centuries. All of you have done well here and you have considerable business acumen and experience in the fields of trade and industry. You are already making available both your capacities and your resources for the economic development of Thailand. I commend these activities of yours and would urge that they be intensified. You would thereby, in a wider manner, also assist in translating the ideals of economic cooperation between. Thailand and India into a living reality.

I wish you all success in your endeavours.

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

THAILAND

President Giri's Speech at Reception by Indian Community in Bangkok

Following is the text of the speech of the President, Shri V. V. Giri, delivered on March 28, 1972 on the Occasion of the Reception by the Indian Community, Bangkok:

I am indeed very happy to have this opportunity to meet you in Thailand. Relations between India and Thailand go back to about 2,000 years and they have been full of cultural and economic contacts. While we in India, both at the level of the Government and the people, would exert to cement these ties and develop new avenues for cooperation in this historic context, there is so much that you also can do in this here. You have the great advantage of mimate daily contact with the people of Thailand and perhaps India would be judged a more by your words and actions than ours. I am, therefore, gratified to learn that your relations with the Government and people of Thailand are informed by mutual respect, friendliness and co-operation. Your handsome contributions to local charities like at Thai Red Cross, both individually and elictively through your associations functioning here, for the relief of the victims of fields etc. have evoked appreciation. We, in India, have also noted the contribution you have made to the setting up of 'the Gandhi Memorial Room in the Municipal Library here. Such efforts on your part would go a long way to developing good relations not only between the people of Thailand and yourselves, but also between the two countries.

In India itself, we are entering into a new era of challenges and opportunities. As you are aware, we have gone through very difficult and trying times recently. Our most cherished goal of abolition of poverty seemed, at least temporarily, to be in danger owing to the burden of nearly ten million refugees and the threats of war by our neighbours which clouded our horizon for the greater part of last year. Although most of the refugees have now gone back home and we have succeeded in establishing the foundations of enduring good relations with Bangladesh on the basis of our common ideals of peace, democracy, secularism and socialism, we need to be cautious about the situation on our borders pending the establishment of a durable peace. The victory of last December has not yet led 'to such a

74

lasting peace. We have to ensure that the sacrifices of our people during the last year shall not have been in vain. We, in India, have appreciated your support time and again during the several crises which the country has suffered due 'to foreign aggression and are confident that you will again rise to the occasion should it be necessary.

Now that we have, at least temporarily, come out of the long night which beset us last year, our efforts will be concentrated on the promises made to the common man in India to abolish poverty, disease and ignorance - to quote Mahatma Gandhi's words, "of wiping every tear from every eye". Despite the tremendous progress made during the last 20 years of planning manifested in the extensive development of industries and the green revolution in agriculture, we have yet a long way to go. I wish to appeal to you to remember this-when you go about your daily tasks so that your efforts may be guided by the same sense of purpose as ours at home.

I wish to express my gratitude to all of you for gathering here to meet us - parti-

cularly to those who have given their time and labour to organise this function. Let us all on this occasion remember the "source" to which the people of Thailand refer when they think of India and dwell on the message of service which has been handed down through centuries of our cultural heritage. Let us work in that spirit both in India and Thailand for the progress and prosperity of both countries.

THAILAND INDIA BANGLADESH USA

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNITED KINGDOM

Third Meeting of Indo-British Technological Group

Following is the, text of the press communique issued in New Delhi on March 4, 1972 on the conclusion of the Third Meeting of the Indo-British Technological Group held in New Delhi from March 2 to March 4, 1972:

The Third Meeting of the Indo-British Technological Group took place in New Delhi from 2nd to 4th March, 1972. The Indian Team was led by Shri B. B. Lal. Secretary, Ministry of Industrial Development and the British Team by Sir Max Brown, Secretary (Trade), Department of Trade and Industry. The teams included representatives of Government and industry from both countries.

The meeting was marked by a cordial atmosphere and a wide range of subjects affecting Indo-British technological co-operation was discussed with candour and mutual understanding.

The British Delegation noted the con-

siderable progress of the Indian economy in recent years and particularly the diversification of India's industrial base and the expansion of her capabilities in producing sophisticated capital goods. It appreciated the social and economic aspirations of the Indian Government and respected its basic objectives of promoting greater self-reliance, increasing foreign exchange earnings and meeting effectively the problem of unemployment and under-employment. It was agreed that the country's industrial policy must of necessity be geared of these ends.

The Indian Delegation reiterated thepolicy of the Government of India that foreign investment is welcome in India in selected fields which have been identified asthose in which 'technological or critical production gaps exist.

It was agreed that, with the industrial capacity that had already been developed in

75

India, the future pattern of technological cooperation between the two countries might increasingly 'take the form of association between their industries through sub-contracting from Indian sources both for U.K. Industry and for third countries. Direct exports to the U.K. should also increase and there might be opportunities for co-operation in Projects, and joint ventures in third countries. The British Delegation pointed out the necessity of advanced marketing techniques being used in highly competitive world conditions and offered help in training in these techniques in the United Kingdom. The Confederation of British Industry undertook to draw the attention of its members to the prospects and possibilities of collaboration in these fields and, generally, to make them better aware of India's conditions and capabilities.

The meeting discussed the export performance of British subsidiary companies in India. While recognising the contribution that British companies had made to the expanding Indian export effort, the Indian side felt that with the access which British subsidiaries have to foreign markets through the

networks of their principals, they were in a position to make an even larger contribution to India's export drive. It was their view that these companys' earnings from export should be substantially higher than their outgoings on account of dividends, royalties, import of raw materials, etc.

The British side agreed that British companies should continue to play a full and increasing part in India's export drive. In this context, they drew attention to the stringent export requirements laid down by the Indian Government where a company wanted to expand its activities. The British side felt that these requirements were likely to discourage companies from expanding, and thereby increasing exports. The Indian side agreed to consider these views further.

The policy regarding the dilution of foreign equity holdings in foreign majority companies was discussed and the meeting noted the development of this policy over recent years. The guide-lines recently announced in regard to the capital structure of such companies with over 51% of foreign equity when expansion took place, were explained by the Indian delegation, and the British side appreciated the removal of previous uncertainty in this area. The area of foreign holding between 40% and 51% would continue to be dealt with on a case-to-case basis.

The Indian Delegation stated that in general, it has not been the practice to seek dilution of the foreign equity of such companies below 40%. If however it became necessary to raise loans from one of the Public Financial Institutions, the same rules of convertibility would apply. as for Indian companies.

The question of increasing Research and Development effort by foreign-owned subsidiaries and Indian companies Was discussed at length. It was agreed that R & D activity dealing with production problems and product and process adaptation should be based in the Indian units themselves, while basic innovations may have to be the subject of collaboration agreements. The need to

develop indigenous technology and for this purpose to allocate greater resources to R & D work in Indian units was recognised.

However, the British side felt that the cut-off of R & D payments by the British subsidiaries in India would deprive them of the continual updating of their products resulting from the centralised R & D activities of their principals, with adverse consequences for their export potential. The Indian side fully recognised the need to be associated with technological developments elsewhere but did not accept that the mechanism of continuing R & D payment to foreign companies was the right means.

It was agreed to set up a small Sub-Group to study this question more intensively and report back to the next meeting of the Group.

The effects on Indo-British collaboration as a result of British entry into the EEC were briefly discussed. It was the view of the British delegation that such collaboration should increase as a result of the expected faster growth of the British economy Britain had no intention of loosening relationships with her traditional partners. The CBI agreed to provide such published re-

76
ports on British Industry's attitude to the
Common Market as had been produced, and
would continue to send future reports on
this subject.

Both sides agreed that the discussions had been of considerable value and that the work of the Group should continue. The next meeting of the Group will be held in London.

INDIA USA UNITED KINGDOM

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

UNITED KINGDOM

New British Loan

Following press release was issued in New Delhi on March 17, 1972 on the signing of a new British project aid loan to India:

Britain will provide 112 million (Rs.22.76 crores) as a project aid loan to India under an agreement concluded in New Delhi today.

The agreement was signed by Sir Terence Garvey, the British High Commissioner, and Dr. I. G. Patel, Secretary in the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance.

The new loan, the U.K.India Capital Investment Loan 1972, is the fourth in the series and is intended to allow the purchase by firms in India of British manufactured capital goods which may be needed to aid India's economic development. The loan is to be distributed as follows:

- (a) œ5 1/2 million (Rs. 10.43 crores) for the import of capital items by private sector firms in India;
- (b) & 5 1/2 million (Rs. 10.43 crores) for the import of capital items by public sector units in India; and (c) & 1 million (Rs. 1.90 crores) for the imports through the National Small Industries Corporation of capital goods by firms in the small-scale sector.

Previous British loans to India in the current financial year 1971-72 were as follows:

- (i)) U.K. India Debt Refinancing Loan @ 7.5 million
- (ii) U.K. India Maintenance Loan œ 27.0 million

(iii) U.K. India Mixed Project Loan 271 ... æ 8.0 million

With the signing of the present agreement for a loan of æ 12 million, the British aid pledge of æ 54.5 million to India's economic development for the current financial year 1971-72 stands completely converted into loan agreements.

This total of & 54.5 million of loan agreements signed between the United Kingdom and India during 1971-72 is & 10.5 million higher than the total of such agreements signed during the Previous financial year.

All these loans have been given on the usual soft terms of lending. Repayment is spread over a period of 25 years, including an initial grace period of 7 years, and the loans are free of interest or any other service charge.

INDIA UNITED KINGDOM RUSSIA USA

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNITED KINGDOM

Parliament Statement on Trade Arrange meats With U.K.

The Minister of Foreign Trade, Shri L. N. Mishra, made the following statement in the Rajga Sabha on March 28, 1972 in response to the Calling Attention Notice reyarding "the reported unwillingness of the Government of United Kingdom to accede to India's request to continue till 1975 the existing special trading arrangements which make U.K. markets easily accessible to the Indian goods":

The question of UK's accession to the

European Economic Community and its effects on India's trade has been en-aging the attention of the Government of India ever since the negotiations began. We have

77

been pursuing with the U.K. as well as EEC the question of adequate safeguard measures for our exports. In response to questions raised in the Parliament, the Government have been making India's position known from time to time.

Recently, on the 21st February, 1972, an Aide Memoire was handed over by us to the British Government dealing with the problems that would arise for our exports in various sectors following the UK's accession to the Community and urging for early consultations with us with a view to finding suitable solutions for these problems.

In the Aide Memoire, while dealing with our problems in detail, we have also pointed out that in the case of Commonwealth countries of Africa and of the Pacific and the Caribbean regions it has already been agreed to continue the present trading arrangements until 31st January, 1975 by which time these Commonwealth countries would be expected to choose the type of relationship they would like to establish with the enlarged Community. India's exportsof various items to the UK, which at present enjoy preferential treatment in that market, would be adversely affected unless satisfactory solutions are found in their regard before the UK's accession to the Community. Therefore, as in the case of Commonwealth countries of Africa, and of the Pacific and Caribbean Regions, the present trading arrangements in U.K. should be continued as an interim measure for some of the principal items of India's exports which might be adversely affected till satisfactory solutions in, their regard are found.

We are awaiting the response of the-British Government to the various points made by us in the Aide Memoire.

Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Parliament Statement on Reference to Jammu and Kashmir in Sino-American

Joint Communique

Following is the text of the statement by the Minister of External Affairs Shri Swaran Singh in the Rajya Sabha on 14th March 1972 regarding the reference to Jammu and Kashmir in the Sino-American Joint Communique issued after President Nixon's visit to China and the reaction of the Government of India thereto:

The Joint communique issued at Shanghai on the conclusion of President Nixon's visit to China contained the following references to Jammu and Kashmir:

THE CHINESE SIDE

It firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the United Nations resolutions on the Indo-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their forces to their respective territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir and firmly supports the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle to preserve their independence and sovereignty and the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for the right of self-determination.

THE U.S. SIDE

Consistent with the United Nations Security Council resolution of December 21, 1971, the United States favours the continuation of the ceasefire between India and Pakistan and the withdrawal of all military forces to within their

78

own territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India. We have made this position clear in the UN and to the entire international community. Reference by any country inconsistent with this position amounts to interference in our internal affairs. The Chinese stands in the communique is particularly regrettable. It is also unfortunate that the US Government should have acquiesced in a reference being made to Jammu and Kashmir in the communique.

USA CHINA INDIA PAKISTAN

Date: Mar 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

YUGOSLAVIA

Indo-Yugoslav Trade Protocol

Following press release was issued in New Delhi on March 6, 1972 on the signing in Belgrade on March 4, 1972 a protocol extending upto the end of 1972 the existing trade agreement with Yugoslavia:

Mr. A. C. George, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, signed on March 4, in Belgrade a Protocol extending upto the end of 1972 the existing agreement with Yugoslavia on clearing basis. It was also agreed that from January 1, 1973, trade will be on convertible payment basis.

Trade lists for 1972 were drawn up and it is expected that there will be substantial

increase in both exports and imports. Problems connected with rupee and pound devaluation were reviewed and further consultation in New Delhi are envisaged later in the year.

79

YUGOSLAVIA INDIA **Date**: Mar 01, 1972

April

Volume No 1995 Content Foreign Affairs Record 1972 Vol. XVIII **APRIL** No. 4 **CONTENTS PAGE AFGHANISTAN** Joint Communique on Shri Swaran Singh's Talks in Kabul 81 ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT 82 Trade Talks at Cairo ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK Shri Chavan's Address to Board of Governors of Asian Development, Bank

ASIAN TRADE UNION SEMINAR

| | Prime Minister's Address to Asian | Trade Union | Seminar | 85 | |
|--------|---|-------------|---------|----|---|
| CEYLON | | | | | |
| 7 | Joint Statement on Indo-Ceylon Joint Committee for Economic | | | | 8 |
| | Co-operation | 87 | | | |
| CHILE | | | | | |
| | Trade Agreement with Chile | | 88 | | |
| | | | | | |

DENMARK

Danish Financial Assistance Agreement 89

FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

Deputy Minister of External Affairs' Statement in Reply to the Debate on Budget Demands 90

Reply by Shri Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs, to the Debate on Budget Demands 95

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS : EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

(Continued Overleaf)
PAGE

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Statement by Shrimati Leela Damodara Menon to Human Rights
Commission 104
Indo-UNICEF Addendum to Agreement on Teaching of Science at
School Stage 110
Indian Delegate's Address to UNCTAD Plenary Session 111

NEPAL

Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Speech at Banquet in Honour of Prime Minister of Nepal 118
Nepalese Prime Minister's Reply 119

PAKISTAN

Joint Statement on Talks Between the Special Emissaries of India and Pakistan 121

SOUTH EAST ASIA

Statement by Minister of External Affairs on Reported South Vietnam Assembly's Foreign Relations Committee Demand 121

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Prime Minister's Message to Chairman Kosygin on Twentyfive Years of Indo-Soviet Relations 122
Statement on External Affairs Minister's Visit to Moscow 123
Protocol for Co-operation in Agriculture and Animal Sciences 124
Air Services Talks 124

UNITED KINGDOM

British Aid to Mangalore Fertiliser Project 125

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Foreign Minister's Statement on Vietnam' 126
Deputy External Affairs Minister's Statement on Reported
Harassment of Indian Students in U.S.A. 126

(ii)

AFGHANISTAN EGYPT CHILE DENMARK INDIA NEPAL PAKISTAN VIETNAM RUSSIA USA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

AFGHANISTAN

Joint Conununique on Shri Swaran Singh's Talks in Kabul

Following is the text of the Joint Communique issued on April 3, 1972 in Kabul at the conclusion of the visit of Shri Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs:

At the invitation of the Afghan Foreign Minister, Mr. Moussa Shafiq, the Indian Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh paid an official visit to Afghanistan from March 31 to April 3, 1972. Both the Ministers led their respective delegations to the Indo-Afghan Joint Commission which met on April 1 and 2.

The preparatory meeting of the officials

of the two Governments took place from March 27 to 31.

During his visit the Indian Foreign Minister was received in audience by His Majesty King Mohammad Zaher Shah of Afghanistan. He also met the Prime Minister, Dr. Abdul Zahir and the Deputy Prime Minister, Dr. Abdul Samad Hamed.

Sardar Swaran Singh held discussions and exchanged views with Mr. Moussa Shafiq, Minister for Foreign Affairs. These talks were held in an atmosphere of warm friendship and understanding based on mutual respect and spirit of cooperation and covered a wide range of bilateral matters affecting the two countries and peace and economic cooperation in the region.

The Commission reviewed projects completed and under implementation, A hundredbed hospital in Kabul had now started functioning. A hydel scheme in Chardeghorband would he commissioned in a year's time. India is cooperating in an industrial estate in Kabul work or which is also in hand and some of its basic units would be functioning within a year forming the nucleus for the growth of small-scale industries in the country. India is assisting in agricultural research stations established in Bamiyan, Kandhar and Kabul for rice, wheat and potatoes. An Isotope Dispensing Unit is due to be located in Kabul in the near future. A training and technical assistance programme covering scholarship schemes and- assistance in teaching etc. were also progressing satisfactorily.

The Commission agreed to establish a planning and implementation committee for continuous supervision of various schemes and their implementation.

The Commission considered and accepted new proposals for implementation, including those pertaining to the Chardeghorband Microhydel Scheme, cooperation in furnishing technical assistance in mineral exploitation and setting up of some industrial joint ventures. The commission agreed on Indian technical assistance for projects like dams

and barrages to be undertaken with maximum utilisation of local material and manpower.

In the sphere of technical assistance the Commission agreed that an additional number of 60 teachers, technicians and experts would be provided in various fields such as planning, agriculture, industry, mining, irrigation and power, health, finance and industrial management. A corresponding number of additional technical training facilities in India would be made available to Afghan counterparts to ensure that they could rapidly take over functions being performed by Indian experts.

The Commission noted with satisfaction the increase in cultural exchange between the two countries and decided to explore new avenues for closer contacts in this field rang-

ing from exchange of professors, organisation of research and training in archives, restoration of Bamiyan monuments and exchange of exhibitions and cultural delegations.

The Commission considered questions relating to the providing of facilities, for tourism between the two countries. They also decided to provide further facilities in their respective countries for the progress of communication and transportation between them.

The Commission agreed to hold its next meeting in New Delhi in the beginning of 1973.

AFGHANISTAN USA INDIA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT

Trade Talks at Cairo

Following is the text of the press release issued in New Delhi on April 25, 1972 on mid-term trade review talks held in Cairo between Indian and Egyptian trade delegations from 16th to 22nd April, 1972:

Shri S. J. S. Chhatwal, the head of the Indian Delegation and Mr. Ahmad El Mantawi, the head of the Egyptian Delegation signed on April 22 agreed decisions as a result of midterm trade review talks held in Cairo from 16 to 22 April, 1972. During the talks there was cordial atmosphere and friendly exchange of views.

The salient feature of these agreed decisions is that the problem of outstanding contracts concerning the engineering goods has been amicably settled. Egypt has also agreed to offer rightaway 27 thousand bales of cotton for shipment before the 31st July 1972. India on her part has agreed to supply additional quantities upto a maximum of ten percent of the ceilings previously fixed for tea and jute.

EGYPT INDIA USA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

Shri Chavan's Address to Board of Governors of Asian Development Bank

Following are excerpts from the address to the Fifth annual meeting of the Board

of Governors of the Asian Development Bank in Vienna on April 21, 1972 by the Finance Minister, Shri Y.B.Chavan, who is Governor from India:

After the first five years of its existence. we must ask ourselves what difference the Bank can and should make to some of the larger questions that confront the continent of Asia at the present juncture. All over Asia, and indeed in the world at large, there is now increasing dissatisfaction with a mere mania for growth, for increase in the gross national product without regard to considerations of social justice, i.e. the impact on the poorest and the least privileged sections of society or indeed on the quality of life in general. The vast masses of the poor in Asia and elsewhere are no longer satisfied merely with securing a certain place in the league for growth or even in seeing giant plants and highways and harbours established.

82

They want improvement in the living conditions of the smallest man first, a feeling that inequalities are being narrowed and that the cultural and spiritual requirements of the vast masses are increasingly met. The Asian Bank, if it is to have relevance in this climate, must transcend its image as a bank for project-lending pure and simple and must get attuned to the deep-seated causes of the ferment in Asia.

Secondly, whether we recognise it or not, there is a new upsurge in Asia which yearns for a new unity and solidarity. The people of Asia wish to put behind them not only the poverty of the past so many centuries but also the humiliation of the memory of outside interference and the dissensions- and disunity caused thereby. Will the Asian Bank serve this larger reality and dream of Asia united as a whole not in antipathy towards anyone but in sympathy with its own real identity and aspirations? Or, will it get bogged down in responding to each passing initiative for dividing Asia into subregions? I hope the executive directors will reflect on these themes during the months to come.

As a banking institution, the Asian Bank has done well in the last year; and President Watanabe has given us an admirable account in his opening address of the tasks achieved and the challenges yet to be met by our young institution. A spectacular increase in loan commitments was recorded in 1970 and the year 1971 has been one of consolidation. Loans on ordinary terms have shown a marginal decrease over those during 1970. But this is perhaps due to the fact that operations in some areas had to be slowed down for extraneous reasons. I would advocate that this level of ordinary lending be maintained and not increased significantly during the next few years at any rate, as it would not be advisable to add to the debt burden of Asian countries with a large volume of loans on commercial tern-is. it would also be damaging for the image of the Bank if its activities continue to get concentrated in a few countries whose needs are by no means the most pressing. If the Asian Bank develops primarily as a sort of a middle-man to mobilise the resources of the capital markets of the world for the benefit primarily of those Asian countries who can afford to borrow on commercial terms there would be little justification for so many of us to gather Annually to discuss its affairs.

The major task for all of us should be to increase the proportion of the soft loans. In the grant of soft loans there has been a rise from \$ 33 million to \$ 51 million in 1971. But in relation to the needs of the region and particularly of the smaller and less developed countries this is not adequate. I had expressed my apprehension on the last occasion that if we do not pay adequate attention to the provision of special funds, the bilateral donors and other international agencies will take up the major burden of providing soft funds and the Asian Bank will be left the residual role of a lender of last resort. This danger still remnains.

SOFT FUND RESOURCES

A year ago at Singapore, when we considered the Directors, proposal for an increase in the ordinary capital of the Bank,

we asked the Directors to study the question of soft fund resources. It is disappointing that as yet the Board has barely begun a consideration of the problem. I am aware that recently working papers have been placed before the Board of Directors in this matter. While I would not like to anticipate further discussions on this subject in the Board of Directors as elsewhere, a few observations would not be out of place. The special operations are proposed to be increased from a level of \$ 52 million in 1971 to \$ 300 million in 1975 when they will be equal to the ordinary operations. As a target, this appears a satisfactory rate of progress. Among the terms for contribution to multi-purpose special funds, it has been suggested that contributions should be available for financing procurement in contributorcountries and in developing membercountries and that contributions should also be available for financing direct and indirect foreign exchange costs and local expenditure; these terms are sound. What is necessary now is to evolve a system, by agreement of planned contributions. We heard yesterday with great interest and appreciation the generous pledge of the honourable Governor from Japan to make available their contribution. And although he described it as onethird of the aggregate, I am sure we can confidently expect the other donors to overtop the other two-thirds by a large margin.

83

A meeting of the donor countries, in association with the Bank, as envisaged would be a desirable step in this direction.

DIFFERENTIAL RATES

We are still hopeful that the Bank will be able to mobilise soon sufficient resources to increase several-fold its soft-loan' operations. But if events belie this hope, we will have 'to seriously consider-some second-best expedients like using such limited special funds as we may get for softening the terms selectively for the ordinary loan operations. Differential interest rates charged to different borrowers according to their capacity to pay is a sound principle; and if there are not enough. soft loan funds separately avail-

able, we may also well have to consider such a device in relation to ordinary loan transactions without any significant element of subsidy in 'the aggregate.

On the criteria for soft loans, when soft loan resources are scarce and indeed meagre, we fail to see why any part of them should be used in countries which are relatively better-off. I cannot emphasise too strongly that in our judgement, the only criterion for eligibility for soft loans is the economic condition of the country concerned. The availability of special funds is limited; therefore, unless such a criterion is followed, the more deserving among the developing countries will receive much less than what they should by any criteria of equity or welfare.

Last year, I announced India's contribution of Rs. 300,000 to the technical assistance fund. I am glad that the contribution has been substantially utilised and we are now prepared to offer a further contribution of Rs. 400,000 to the same fund. Like our earlier contribution, this sum can be utilised for expenditure on Indian personnel and services, irrespective of whether such expenditure is in rupees or other currencies. BUT if most member-countries agree to untie their technical assistance contributions, at least in favour of all developing members, we would also make our contribution available in respect of experts and consultants from all developing member countries.

UNITED CONTRIBUTIONS

This is only part of the larger need to untie contributions to all funds. We have had declarations from developed countries in the DAC meeting in Tokyo in September 1970 and the OECD Ministerial meeting in June 1971 in favour of untying their future contributions to multilateral financial institutions. The contributions to multilateral financial institutions have always been taken to cover both general funds, including soft funds, as well as those for technical assistance. Apparently, there are suggestions now made that the declarations did not cover the field of technical assistance. This is very disappointing; and I hope such distinction

will not be pressed.

Mr. Chairman, international monetary and financial problems have loomed large during the last year. Major currencies of the world have now been realigned but long-term monetary reform is still in the making The Asian Bank cannot remain indifferent to changes of such a vast sweep and significance; and I hope that it will raise its voice where the vital interests of the members are concerned, as is obviously the case, for example, in matters like the link between the SDRs and development finance or the safeguarding of the value of the reserves of the developing member countries.

Even in its own immediate sphere, the Bank cannot but be affected by changes in international money and capital markets. I note that substantial problems still remain in the area of the Bank's financial policy such as those relating to liquidity, borrowings and investments. The last-named is of particular concern at the present time as the Bank is estimated to suffer- a loss of about six million dollars on its present investments. Perhaps this was not entirely avoidable. But in future it would be obviously desirable to diversify the Bank's investment portfolio.

May I now turn to another important subject, namely, the need to ensure economy in administration. While the management and the Board have given very careful consideration to all aspects, when proposals for increase in salaries or in the fees of experts and consultants have been under consideration, I feel that in this area more effort has to he made To ensure economies bearing in

84

mind the particular context of the Asian region. There is no doubt that the Bank has to be served by experts and staff of high quality. But it should be possible to work out methods of being able to recruit high quality staff while keeping down the overall rates of expenditure.

I have noted that in some of the documents prepared under the auspices of the Bank, proposals have been made in favour of a revolving aid fund; and there may be other similar approaches. We have to take particular care to see that where the needs and objectives of the Asian region as a whole can be covered, no purpose would be served by limiting the Bank's activities to any subregion as such. We have particularly to guard against the possibility that the initiatives for such action spring from political or semi-political considerations. After all, it is always open to the Bank to assist projects or activities not merely in one member country but also in a group of countries if economic considerations necessitate or justify this. But the Bank should have available for its operations only those funds which are free to be operated upon as the Bank may wish.

AUSTRIA INDIA USA PERU REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE JAPAN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

ASIAN TRADE UNION SEMINAR

Prime Minister's Address to Asian Trade Union Seminar

Following is the full text of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's speech inaugurating Asian Trade Union Seminar in Yew Delhi, April 24, 1972:

I warmly welcome my own countrymen and all those who have come from countries far and near. The solidarity of trade unionism and the upsurge of Asian consciousness have brought you together.

As Shri Mirajkar has remarked, great changes are taking place in the world and more specially in Asia. The war in Europe ended in 1945, but in these 27 years, hardly' a week has passed without fighting in some part of the Asian continent. Much, if not

all, of this fighting, has initially been due to the reluctance of imperialism to abandon its hold and lately to the resort to new forms of intervention.

Vietnam is a classic example of the old colonialism yielding place to new intervention. But the courageous resistance of the gallant Vietnamese is a historic object lesson for us all. The urge for freedom and the rise of nationalism gives strength and coherence to any people. A small nation has been able to withstand the world's mightiest power. Could there be a more glorious example of the immortality of the human spirit? I have no doubt that the people of Vietnam will triumph in the not so distant future. The peoples of the world, not least in the United States itself, sympathise with them and send their greetings.

Their heroic sacrifices will not be in vain if they succeed in convincing the big powers that intervention does not pay and that policies of deluding Asians to fight amongst themselves will not be tolerated.

Peace and stability can be achieved not by giving a new face to the old discredited doctrines of balance of power, but when all nations, whether big or small, acknowledge one another's right to exist on a basis of equality, and all pursue a policy of non-inter ference. Can anyone doubt that the split-up of Pakistan was caused by the policy of hegemony which attempts to prop up nations in order to serve big-power interests? This

85

policy gives a false sense of security to unrepresentative Governments, lulling them in to the complacent belief that national strength can be built on outside military equipment, bypassing their own people. The so-called friends of Pakistan who proved to be the undoing of Pakistan have, unfortunately, learnt nothing from disaster but persist in encouraging postures of confrontation. They continue to base their decisions on entirely erroneous assessments. Those who are responsible for the most prolonged and pointless conflict of modem times, for the killing of countless innocent civilians, not excluding

women and children, today presume to lecture us on the maintenance of peace.

Shri Mirajkar has referred to Bangla Desh. The victory of Bangla Desh has thrilled all freedom and justice-loving peoples. But what a price they have paid. Rarely has human history seen such concentrated cruelty in so short a time and space. The very brutality led to the exemplary unity of the people of Bangla Desh, and fanned the flame of freedom. The victory of the people of Bangla Desh is the victory of the principle of freedom, and defeat for the doctrine of spheres of influence.

Asian countries follow different systems of government and ideologies. Yet one sentiment is common to the majority of the people of Asia. And that is revulsion against an outside presence. We do not want any foreign presence. We know that the presence of one power attracts the presence of others and leads to competition in pressure.

Foreign presence or pressure can be counteracted only by one's own inner strength, which in turn must be based on a firm commitment to the objective of self-reliance and on social systems which genuinely endeavour to remove injustice and disparity. A discontented people cannot be strong. A people who look outside for help cannot be strong. The pursuit of economic self-reliance and social advance also acts as a deterrent to new forms of economic and political colonialism.

Industrial workers are amongst the most politically conscious sections of the population. In most countries the trade union movement and the nationalist movement have progressed hand in hand. It was no coincidence that Jawaharlal Nehru was president of the Trade Union Congress and of the Indian National Congress in the same year.

Trade union movements in developing countries must realise that the fight for dom is a continuing one. They should of their political duty to the country as whole and not merely in terms of economic

gain to themselves.

During the days of colonial rule when the trade union movement was making a modest beginning in Asian countries, it was understandable that it should look largely to the West for guidance. But after two decades of independence, the forces of neocolonialism and economic imperialism are still at work and have perpetuated an unnatural situation in which Asian countries have perhaps more intimate economic and cultural contacts with Western countries than with their own neighbours. This sorry state of affairs has to be redressed.

Opportunities for fruitful exchanges in various spheres amongst countries of this region should be consciously explored. So far as India is concerned, we should like to work with other countries on a basis of equality, friendship and cooperation.

In the affluent countries social conscience has been blunted by the emphasis on acquisition. Our working classes can ill afford to consider themselves distinct and separate from the rest of society. Trade unions must lead, educate and serve the progressive elements of the nation.

We in Asia are mostly agricultural societies. Compared to the majority of our people, agricultural labourers or small farmers, who live on the land, our industrial working class is in an advantageous position. Should trade unions not make a special effort to identify themselves with the aspirations of the poorer sections and to fight for the rights of all who are exploited?

The countries of our region are in various stages of development. We are in a desperate hurry to build our economies and to assure a decent standard of living to our people. In my own country, about 40 per

86

cent of the population does not have its minimum requirements of food, clothing, shelter and medical aid. The problem which confronts us is how to raise these fellow citizens above the poverty line. We are convinced that a better life for them can be assured through a fast rate of sustained growth with simultaneous emphasis on developmental programmes designed specially to meet their needs. We are equally determined that development should not be debased by any form of exploitation.

I find that you will discuss industrialisation, working class struggles and the interrelated problems of wages, prices and employment. These themes are important for better working and living conditions for industrial labour; for industrial peace and for increased productivity, and hence for national advance However, at each step we must re-examine our goals - what sort of Progress do we desire, what future world do we envisage and what is the quality of man we seek?

The Industrial Revolution has completed nearly two hundred years. We are witness to the convenience and comfort it has brought. We are also aware of the cost - the havoc it has played with all life, plant and animal, not excluding the human being. Is contemporary man, especially the industrial worker who is so conscious of his rights and so alive to his interests, willing to make do with a system which depletes nature and diminishes man?

I hope that your deliberations will be concerned not only with your own problems but with larger questions.

I have pleasure in inaugurating the Asian Trade Union Seminar and wish success.

USA VIETNAM PAKISTAN INDIA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

CEYLON

Following is the text of the Joint statement issued in New Delhi on April 8, 1972 on the Second meeting of the Indo-Ceylon Joint Committee for Economic Co-operation:

The Hon'ble T. B. Illangaratne, Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade, Government of Ceylon, paid a visit to New Delhi as a guest of the Government of India from April 4 to 9, 1972.

During his visit he was received by the President and the Prime Minister of India. He also called on the Minister of Planning, the Minister of Industrial Development, the Minister of Foreign Trade, and the Minister of External Affairs. During these meetings, matters of mutual interest were discussed and it was agreed that economic cooperation between the two countries should be further strengthened. The High Commissioners of the two countries were present at all these meetings.

The Hon'ble Illangaratne visited the Indian Agricultural Research Institute and the Nangloi village. He was impressed with the progress which India is making in agricultural production. The Minister of Planning offered to the Hon'ble Illangaratne any' technical assistance which Ceylon might need in her present efforts to step up her agricultural production,

The Hon'ble Illangaratne also visited the Okhla Industrial Estate where he saw some factories and was given information about all the arrangements which the

87

Government of India have made for the development of small-scale industries by private entrepreneurs. The Minister of Industrial Development offered the services of any experts or technical assistance which might be needed in connection with Ceylon's schemes for industrialisation.

Meetings of the Indo-Ceylon Joint Com-

mittee on Economic Cooperation were held between Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs, and Shri C. Subramaniam, Minister of Planning, on the Indian side, and the Hon'ble T. B. Illangaratne on the Ceylon side. The Ministers reviewed the progress made in economic cooperation between the two countries and agreed to increase this cooperation still further.

Officials of the two delegations held detailed discussions. The Indian side confirmed that they would buy copra, graphite, arecanuts, cloves, chanks and cocoa in the quantities which had already been agreed to and would also examine the possibility of buying tyres and tubes. The Indian delegation offered assistance for the preparation of project reports in two hydroelectric schemes and suggested that the power grids of the two countries should be linked together in their mutual interest. The two sides felt that communications between the two countries need to be improved and agreed to examine the practical aspects of the proposal that Ceylon and India should be linked with a micro-wave system. The two sides agreed to examine the possibilities of increasing tourist trade between the two countries. The Ceylon delegation expressed appreciation of the feasibility reports prepared by Indian experts for the setting up of industries, based on raw materials which were available in Ceylon, viz., glass, refractories, graphite, rubber goods, and mica. The two sides will now examine the practical aspects of setting up joint ventures in Ceylon for goods to be maketted in Ceylon, India and third countries.

INDIA USA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

CHILE

Following is the press release issued in Santiago (Chile) on April 18, 1972 on the signing of an Indo-Chilean Trade Agreement:

An Indo-Chilean Trade Agreement was Signed here today providing for facilitating exchange of goods between India and Chile and increased possibilities of industrial cooperation including the development of commercial infrastructure, like shipping for expanding trade, between two countries. The Agreement also mentions about International Commercial Policy with reference to economic co-operation among developing countries for efficient utilisation of the resources and acceleration of economic development.

The Agreement was signed by Shri L. N. Mishra, Minister of Foreign Trade and Leader of Indian Delegation to UNCTAD-III, on behalf of India and Mr. Clodomiro Almeyda, Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the Republic of Chile.

The Agreement provides for the export from India of engineering goods, railway equipment, pharmaceuticals and chemicals, textile and traditional products such as jute goods, tea, schellac and mica.

Imports from Chile envisaged in the Agreement are copper and other metals and minerals, wood pulp, newsprint and fertilizers.

88

Speaking on the occasion, the Foreign Trade Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra, said:

"The Trade Agreement that we have just signed is a logical outcome of the visit to Chile four years ago of our Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The lead which she had given in New Delhi to the Second UNCTAD has proved extremely fruitful. Under the guidance of President Allende and yourself, Chile has been pursuing radical policies to further strengthen

her relations with the developing countries. Chile's accession to the non-aligned nations last year and the invitation for UNCTAD to be held in Santiago now are very important steps in ensuring the common objectives of India and Chile.

Both our countries, are following socialist policies and trying to ensure a better deal for our peoples. This cannot be achieved without pursuing complementary policies in international affairs.

Relations between Chile and India go back a long time. Chile was represented at our independence on August 15, 1947 and shortly after that, the first Chilean Charge d'Affaires had arrived in New Delhi. A succession of gifted and active Chilean ambassadors has made your country well known in India. I have just seen for myself the extent to which India is known and loved by the people of your beautiful country. I am sure that this treaty will take us further along the same lines. -

There are many products which can be exchanged between our two countries in larger quantities than In the post. In the lists attached to this Agreement and forming a part of it, we shall have the possibility of sending you our engineering goods, our railway equipment, our pharmaceuticals and chemicals, or textiles and, of course, our traditional exports to Chile, jute goods, tea shellac and mica. We hope to get. some of your copper, other minerals and metals, your wood pulp, your newsprint and your fertilizers.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that 'the Agreement does not merely provide for facilitating the exchange of goods between the two countries, but refers to the possibilities of industrial cooperation as well as the development of commercial infrastructure like shipping for expanding trade between the two countries. The Agreement takes note of the evolving international Commercial Policy regarding the closer economic cooperation among developing countries for efficient utilisation of the resources and the acceleration of the rate of eco-

nomic development. We In India are committed to fostering closer economic cooperation among developing countries and to this end favour bilateral sub-regional, regional, intercontinental and global approaches.

Let the signing of this treaty, Mr. Foreign Minister, be yet another lead to other developing countries present in Santiago today to build up economic relations among them and to diversify their trade, a process which can contribute greatly to the prosperity of the peoples of developing countries".

CHILE INDIA USA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

DENMARK

Danish Financial Assistance Agreement

The following press release was issued in New Delhi on April 24, 1972 on the signing of the agreement between India and Den-Mark on Danish financial assistance to India: India and Denmark signed here today an agreement under which Denmark will provide financial assistance to India of Rs. 4 crores. The loan will be completely free of interest and will be repaid over 25 years, including a grace period of seven years.

89

The agreement was signed on behalf of India by Shri M. G. Kaul, Additional Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, and on behalf of Denmark by its Ambassador, Mr. H. A. Biering.

With the latest agreement, Denmark's financial assistance to India, which began in 1963, amounts to Rs. 17.5 crores. Denmark has also been providing technical assistance to India.

DENMARK INDIA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

Deputy Minister of External Affairs' Statement in Reply to the Debate on

Budget Demands

Following is the text of the statement made in the Lok Sabha on April 25, 1972, by the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri Surendra Pal Singh, while intervening in the debate on the demands for grants of the Ministry of External Affairs:

Nations and States, like individuals, come to crossroads of history sometimes when they have to take a decision as to which turn they should take. If they take the correct turn, it leads to the path of stability and success, and if a wrong turn is taken that leads to conflicts and problems. India found herself in such a situation and predicament not very long ago when we had to take a decision as to what turn we should take. I am happy to say that our wise and far-sighted leader and Prime Minister took the correct turn, and the country came out successfully in the crisis.

India occupies a very strategic and important place on the world map. She is at the crossroads of Asia, and she forms a kind of a bridge between Central Asia and South Asia, and Southeast Asia and West Asia; and by virtue of her size, her potentialities and

her geopolitical position, she can not live in isolation in the world around her. Nor can the world around her fail to take notice of India. And this position, while it gives us • great deal of advantage, also casts upon us • certain responsibility, and our country has to play a decisive role in this part of the world. That role is very well cut out for us by our history, by our culture and by 'the very compulsion of our socioeconomic problems, and that role is that we have to help and encourage all the countries, developing countries and backward countries, of Asia and Africa, to bring about a quick economic and industrial development inside those countries, so that they can become strong and are in a position to withstand any kind of pressure or domination from outside powers. We feel that unless and until that kind of a situation can be brought about, it will not be possible for the developing world to make rapid progress and to be able to have a position or voice in the affairs of the world.

It was with this idea at the back of our minds that we held the conference of our Heads of Missions from various parts of Asia. We had a very useful discussion with all our envoys abroad. We wanted to find out as to how and in what manner we can play this role, what role those countries want us to play and in what way we can bring about better and closer cooperation in the economic field and in other fields so that all the countries together can play a useful role.

It is rather sad and strange that while countries of Europe, which have suffered a great deal during the last two wars, have come to realise that wars and confrontations will not be in their ultimate interest, and are working for detente among themselves, and even the erstwhile enemies in Europe are coming closer together, we in Asia, unfor-

90

tunately, still have a number of wars in this region, a number of confrontations, and a lot of suffering all around. I am sorry to have to say that some of the countries in Asia still succumb to pressures and domination from outside, and there are some big

powers who play their imperialist game here and see that Asians keep on fighting Asians. This situation has to change, and we have to bring a stop to this.

This Conference of the Heads of missions, I referred to earlier on, was called here with this very purpose, to consider what we can do for 'this region, what kind of arrangements we can evolve, and how we can change the situation so that the countries of this region can play a more useful and purposeful role in , international politics and can have some say in the world affairs.

Apart from economic cooperation with those countries on a bilateral basis, we have also been playing a very considerably important part in the E.C.A.F.E. organisation in order to bring about this kind of cooperation between our country and other countries of the region. But, I am afraid, the success in the E.C.A.F.E. has not been very spectacular. All the same, we are moving forward in that direction. Our Ministry is also running a programme called I.T.E.C. (International Technical and Economic Cooperation) to help the countries of Asia and Africa in economic fields, under which we provide technical know-how, consultancy service, training facilities and preparation of feasibility surveys and reports etc. for the developing countries of Asia and Africa. Hon. Members will be happy to know that our expenditure on this scheme during the last three years has considerably increased. From Rs. 27.56 lakhs* in 1968-69. It has gone up to Rs. 106 lakhs* in the current financial year.

Since our emphasis in our policies is on economic and technical cooperation, and in order to bring this idea into fruition, we are gradually trying to increase the economic content of our foreign policy. Economics and politics, as hon. Members know, act and react on each other. They are inseparable, and sometimes they act as catalytic agents for each other. A number of steps have been taken by our Ministry to strengthen this scheme and to give more economic content to our foreign policy. For instance, our Economic Division In the Ministry has been

considerably strengthened by adding another Joint Secretary and supporting staff to the Division. An idea has also been mooted that perhaps a full-fledged Secretary should be in charge of this division and that matter is under consideration.

* 1 lakh = 100 thousend.

Proper training and orientation in economic work is given to all I.F.S. officers at all levels, and the idea is to change them from being diplomatic agents to trade agents as far as possible. All our Foreign Service officers have also been told very clearly that their promotion in future will depend on their performance in this field. Our heads of missions have also been told that they have to keep watch over the economic needs of the countries of their accreditation, and' they have to feed back information to headquarters so that necessary action can be taken from our side to implement whatever schemes they put up for our consideration. In fact, we have told them that they should act rather like commercial salesmen on behalf of a private firm, and they should not consider this work as infra dig or below their dignity.

While on this question of economic and technical cooperation, I would like to say something about our immediate neighbours also, because we are trying to implement this policy in regard to our neighbours also, The main pillars of our policy towards our neighbours is friendship, understanding and cooperation. It is said, and very rightly so, whether it is an individual or a country, our worth is judged by our reputation that we enjoy among our neighbours. I am very happy to say that, apart from Pakistan and China, our relations with our neighbours are extremely good, very friendly and very cordial. This does not, however, mean that problems or difficulties do not crop up between ourselves and our neighbours. That is, I suppose, inherent in the situation. When we are living so close to them, when our interests are bound to overlap, certain problems and misunderstandings are bound to arise. But notwithstanding this, there is no reason why with a basic understanding of each other's difficulties, problems and interests, even the

91

NEPAL

For Instance, we have the case of Nepal before us. Some time back, we had some problems with Nepal, as the House knows, and at one time, over the question of the treaty on trade and transit, we had many difficulties with that country, and there were a number of other problems also. But the House knows very well that ultimately we overcame all those difficulties. and we were able to sign a treaty with Nepal, and the other smaller problems have also been solved. This just shows that if an understanding is there between the neighbours, if there is understanding In regard to their interests and problems, and if there is a little bit of give and take among them, there is no reason why even the most difficult of problems cannot be solved successfully.

While on Nepal, I would like to say that the recent visit of the Nepalese Prime Minister to our capital and our country has been very helpful and useful in bringing about a better understanding between our two countries. He came here and had very useful and purposeful discussions with our Prime Minister. That has led to a great deal of understanding.

As the House is aware, we are playing a very important role in the development of Nepal. We are giving that country considerable assistance to the best of our ability, and Nepal herself is making considerable strides towards economic and industrial development. The House may be interested in knowing that during the period 1951-71, the last 20 years, we have given to Nepal nearly Rs. 81 crores* in the form of aid or grants for the development work. India is involved in more than 100 projects in Nepal. Recently, I think, an arrangement has been arrived at to carry out a preliminary survey for the construction of the Karnali Project which, if it comes through, will be very useful to people on both sides of the border. We have also undertaken to survey with an idea of constructing a portion of the east-west highway in Nepal. The border between our countries, as hon. Members know, is completely free and open, which symbolises our very close friendship with that country.

*1 crore = 10 million

SIKKIM

With our another neighbour, Sikkim we have very close and friendly relations, and we are also doing our very best to help Sikkim in her development programme. For her first three Plans, we gave Sikkim about Rs. 20 crores* and in the Fourth and current Plan the allocation is of the order of Rs. 18.5 crores.* It is, of course, true that the work, in regard to the construction of roads and bridges is undertaken by our own organisation for which Sikkim does not pay.

BHUTAN

About Bhutan, I would like to make a special mention becaues with that country we have very intimate and very close relations and very good understanding. The House already knows that Bhutan has already become a member of the U.N., and that event we have hailed as a great landmark; we are very happy about it.

Very recently, when our representative in Bhutan paid a visit and was met by 'the King, the King himself spoke in very friendly terms about India's support to Bhutan. He used words which I would like to quote for the benefit of hon. Members which go to show in a nutshell as to what the King of Bhutan feels about India's help and assistance to Bhutan. This is what the King said:

"Our fundamental policy of friendship with India has been further strengthened after our entry into the international scene. In fact, it has created another area of close cooperation between our two countries."

This in a nutshell sums up our relationship with Bhutan.

Bhutan is progressing very rapidly under the able and far-sighted guidance of her enlightened monarch, and we, on our side, are doing our very best to help Bhutan to join the mainstream of international life as quickly as possible. We are also giving considerable financial assistance for her development plans. In the current Plan, we are providing nearly Rs. 33 crores* to Bhutan for her development projects.

92

BURMA

Burma is another neighbour of ours with whom our relations are very friendly. We understand each other's problems. We not only respect each other's sovereignty and integrity, but we also cooperate fully to safeguard the same. We recently signed the Indo-Burma Boundary Agreement which is a land-mark in our growing relationship with that country. The hon. Members will be happy to know that the work of demarcation of the boundary is going on very satisfactory and according to schedule.

people of Indian origin in Burma and about their properties left behind, that is a matter which is under discussion between our two Governments and, though a very difficult and delicate subject, it is being discussed by our two Governments in an atmosphere of friendship and cooperation. We have been assured

As for the other question about the

delicate subject, it is being discussed by our two Governments in an atmosphere of friendship and cooperation. We have been assured by the Burmese Government that they will deal with this matter with utmost sympathy and compassion. We have every hope of a satisfactory solution coming out of these discussions.

CEYLON

Now, I will turn to our neighbour - Ceylon - about which one or two references have been made by the hon. Members who spoke just now. I would say that our relations with Ceylon are also very friendly and very close and they are getting better every day. The recent visit of their Minister of Internal and External Trade has gone a long way in bringing about better understanding. The hon. Members must have read in news-

papers what their Minister said after he got back to Ceylon. He admitted that his visit to India had opened a new chapter in the Indo-Ceylon relations.

Some time back, a propaganda had been started in Ceylon by some anti-Indian elements and also by some countries, in order to spoil the relations beween India and Ceylon, and it was said that India being a very big country, she has expansionist designs against Cevlon. I am happy to say that this Indian expansionist bogey, I think, is now giving place to a realisation in the minds of the Ceylonese that perhaps a time has now come when it will be better in their own interest and in the interest of India if both the countries can cooperate in the economic, technical and other fields. I am happy to say that some proposals have been put forward according to which India and Cevlon are going to put up joint collaboration projects in Ceylon. We welcome this very much. I take this occasion to assure our friends in Ceylon that we have absolutely no designs against their country. no ulterior designs, either economic or political or territorial. We want to see Ceylon, and for that matter all our neighbouring countries, economically and industrially strong. If they are strong and viable, it will be a source of strength to us. In the same manner, if India is strong and viable, industrially and economically, it should be a source of strength to these countries. Ceylon should not have any suspicion of any such designs from our side, because it goes against the very grain of the national character of this country. We want to live in peace and friendship with all our neighbours.

A MEMBER: Why did you send the Indian Defence Forces there?

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH: This question was dealt with by my senior colleague some time back. We gave reasons why we sent them. There is a legitimate Government in Ceylon, duly elected by the people, and when that Government was in difficulties, I think, it was incumbent On us to go to their help. I do not feel that we had done anything wrong in sending them

there.

An hon. Member mentioned about the Indo-Ceylon Agreement of 1964. He said that this was not being implemented properly, and that we should do something about it - to get the people from Ceylon as quickly as possible. As far as the delay is concerned. he is right in saying that there has been a delay. There were a number of factors for this delay. One was that Ceylon had no enabling legislation to give citizenship to the stateless people; they took a number of years 'to pass. a suitable Act for that purpose. The Act was passed in 1968, and they called in application!for citizenship some time towards the end of 1968. There were a number of other problems because a large number of people are involved in this. It was a big scheme. A number of administrative and other difficulties had to be overcome before it could start functioning properly. But I am happy to

93

say that all the initial difficulties have been got over now and both the Governments have geared up their machinery properly and it will be implemented very soon and properly, and we are hoping that we will be able to complete the whole scheme within the stipulated time limit of 15 years.

INDIAN OCEAN

I would like to say a few words about the Indian Ocean also because that has been talked about a great deal recently in our country and outside. Over the last few years, it is a fact that the presence of foreign naval ships has increased; not only conventional ships or warships have increased, but vessels which carry nuclear weapons have made their appearance in the Indian Ocean. This is a development about which we are very anxious. Not only India is anxious, but all the littoral countries of the Indian Ocean are anxious. This development is causing a great deal of anxiety. We feel that this development is full of potential danger, and that the big Power rivalry will lead to tension and generate a fear psychosis and an atmosphere of cold war which will impede the quick economic development of the backward countries of this region. Hon. Members can very well ask us as to what we are doing about this. We have taken up this matter at the international forums, and we have had bilateral discussions with a large number of littoral countries, and there is, I must say, a complete identity of views and approach in regard to this question with all the countries which are concerned with this matter.

At the Lusaka Conference, a Declaration was made on behalf of the non-aligned countries in September, 1970. It declared the Indian Ocean area as an ocean of peace and a nuclear-free zone. India was a signatory to that and subscribed to that declaration. I must say that the Lusaka Declaration symbolises the feelings and wishes of all the countries of the Indian Ocean littoral. There was also the U.N. Resolution which was sponsored by Ceylon in the United Nations Assembly and which we also supported. We have agitated this point considerably in the world forums, and we have been able to mobilise considerable public opinion in favour of this move, so much so that even the big Powers who are interested in the Indian Ocean and whose navies have made their appearance here not only recently but quite some time back, have begun to discuss this matter, and they are debating this point as to what should be done to bring about some kind of a check on this arms race in the Indian Ocean. We are very happy that this debate has started in their minds. And there is also some talk of a conference being held some time later on in which the big Powers may participate to decide this matter. We only hope that when this Conference takes place, it will not be confined or limited only to those who call themselves as big Powers but, I think, the smaller Powers and all the countries of the region. of the Indian Ocean will be allowed to participate where they can put forward their point of view, and whatever decisions are arrived at will be arrived at after taking into consideration our views on the subject. This is a matter which we are pursuing, and about which our position is clear.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

I would like to say a few words about

the cultural activities also. We attach a great deal of importance to our cultural relations with countries all over the world. I know that political and economic relations are also very important. Cultural relations are also important, and cultural links at people to-people level are more enduring than even economic and commercial relations. With that end in view, we are enlarging our activities in this field, and we have cultural agreements with a large number of countries all over the world and especially in those countries where there are large number of people of Indian origin. We are going to open two cultural centres in Fiji and Guyana where there are large population of people of Indian origin. That does not mean that we are trying to shut. out any kind of cultural activity on the part of foreign missions in our country. We are giving them full opportunities in our country to carry on their legitimate cultural activities, and we have set up a Central Cultural Committee in order to regularise and supervise the cultural activities of these missions here so that these cultural activities can go on smoothly and they fall within our rules and regulations, and no anti-national activities are indulged in. The Indian Council for Cultural Relations will be actively asso-

94 ciated with the working of these missions in this respect.

Sir, these are the only points that I wanted to highlight. An hon. Member made a mention about the Conference held recently. I agree with him wholeheartedly that we should put across to those countries our point of view that we want peace, that we have no ambitions or other designs. All these ideas were discussed with the participants of the Conference, and we are hopeful that in all these countries there will be an awakening in this respect that India is trying to give its fullest cooperation to all those countries.

INDIA USA PAKISTAN CHINA NEPAL CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC BHUTAN BURMA ZAMBIA FIJI GUYANA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

Reply by Shri Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs, to the Debate on

Budget Demands

The External Affairs Minister, Shri Swaran Singh made the following speech in reply to the debate on the Demands for Grants for the External Affairs Ministry in the Lok Sabha, on April 26, 1972: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir,

I am extremely grateful to the hon. Members who have participated in this debate.. After a long time, a consensus appears to have developed amongst all the parties represented in this House about the basic policies in the sphere of external affairs, and this debate has been remarkable as important leaders of various political parties have participated in it. If I may venture to remark, the debate has been of a high order and important issues have been high-lighted and analysed. Besides this analysis and appreciation of the problem, some hon. Members have also given thought to possible suggestions that could be profitably pursued in order to give content to this national consensus. There have been many notable speeches both from the opposition benches as well as from my own colleagues, and there is hardly any aspect of the international situation that has not been touched upon.

My colleague, the Deputy Minister, while intervening in the debate yesterday, did comment upon some aspects of our relations with our neighbours. He also referred to certain programmes of economic cooperation and technical cooperation that we are trying to implement in the mutual interest of some of these countries and of us. He

also touched upon certain other aspects.

Much as I would like to reply to all 'the points that have been raised, there are limitations and I will, therefore, try 'to confine myself in my reply to some of the important points of interest to the House, of interest to the country, and to a certain extent, of interest to other countries as well.

BANGLADESH

The most significant event since we discussed our budget demand last year has been the emergence of Bangladesh as a free, independent and sovereign country. We are very happy that a neighbour has emerged primarily by its own sacrifices, aided by us also to a certain extent. This is an event of great historical importance and significance to the sub-continent and this region. Here I should like to pay homage to the courage, heroism and bravery of the valiant freedom-fighters of Bangladesh, who bore untold suffering in the cause of their freedom. I should also like to pay homage to the people of India, to the military and paramilitary forces of India, who shared the hardships of their brethren in Bangladesh and cemented our ties of friendship with them through blood and sacrifice.

Bangladesh is the eighth most populous country in the world. It is rich in human talent and natural resources. It is a reality that has been recognised by more than sixty countries, including four permanent member of the Security Council. We appreciate the stand of the Soviet Union, Poland, Mongolia and Bhutan and most countries of Eastern Europe in the United Nations on the freedom. struggle in Bangladesh. We also appreciate the realistic attitude adopted by France, the United Kingdom and Denmark in the United Nations on this subject. We are glad

95 that most other countries have now com to recognise the reality of Bangladesh.

We welcome Bangladesh as a partner and brother in the common task of strengthening peace, stability, security and progress of the sub-continent. Our Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace 'with Bangladesh is a solemnisation of the close bonds and interests that bind our two countries together. It is not aimed against any third country, and it does not prevent either country from developing similar relations with third countries. It is, however, a warning to outside powers not to interfere in the internal affairs of either country, or to threaten their peace and security. In the strength and stability of own strength, and we hope that a strong and stable India will be a source of strength and stability for all our neighbours. It is in this spirit of friendship, equality and partnership that we have offered our cooperation to the Government of Bangladesh. We shall share our last loaf of bread with them, if necessary. I should like to thank the great leader of the people of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and his colleagues for the spirit of friendship and cooperation they have shown towards us, which we fully reciprocate. The visit of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to India and the return visit of our Prime Minister to Bangladesh have demonstrated the close ties of friendship and cooperation between our two countries and peoples. I am glad to inform the House that the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, Mr. Abdus Samad Azad, is arriving in Delhi today and we hope to have further exchange of views with him on the common problems that face US.

Some hon. Members have warned us against smuggling and illegal trade between Bangladesh and India. I should like to assure the hon. Members that we have already taken various steps to control such evil practices under the Trade Agreement that was signed with the Commerce Minister of Bangladesh in New Delhi towards the end of March. We want our border with Bangladesh to be a model of peace and friendship, and we will not allow smugglers, blackmarketeers, spies or other anti-national elements to exploit this border. This is the common objective of both India and Bangladesh.

PAKISTAN

Several hon. Members have rightly referred to the present situation between Pakistan and India. I would like to sail something about this important matter. What I have said about Bangladesh, I am sorry, I cannot say the same thing about Pakistan. Unfortunately, during the last twentyfive years, Pakistan had adopted an attitude of confrontation against India. We had to defend our territories against Pakistani aggression four times since Independence. It is our earnest hope that these trends will now be reversed, and we will be able to achieve durable peace, so that the people of India and Pakistan can live as good neighbours in friendship and cooperation.

It is with this objective in view that our Prime Minister has sent her emissary, Shri D. P. Dhar, to have a preliminary meeting with his opposite number in Pakistan. The Prime Minister has agreed to have a summit meeting with President Bhutto. We must ensure that such a summit meeting will lead to some positive and concrete results. The emissaries are meeting to Pave the way, and to prepare the ground, for a successful summit meeting. The meeting has started today in Murree and. I am sure, the hon. Members will join me in wishing the emissaries every success in their task.

One hon. Member, unfortunately, made some baseless and unjustified remarks about our emissary, Shri D. P. Dhar. I should like to take this opportunity of categorically rejecting the insinuation made by the hon. Member, Shri D. P. Dhar has a distinguished record of service to the country in various fields. He was a Minister in the State of Jammu and Kashmir for a long time. He was our Ambassador in the Soviet Union. In view of his intimate knowledge and experience, he was selected as 'the Chairman of the Policy Planning Committee in the Ministry of External Affairs. with Cabinet rank. The same hon. Member asked what was the status of Shri D. P. Dhar. On the analogy of the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, who was not always a member of the House or of the Council of Ministers and still had Cabinet rank, Shri D. P. Dhar was also given a similar

status. I categorically reject the insinuation by the hon. Member that Shri D. P. Dhar

96

has, in any way, created misunderstandings between India. and Bangladesh. Such uninformed talk is neither fair nor justified. it is not even in our national Interest.

The emissaries meeting is not just a routine matter. It is for this reason that we selected a person of Shri D. P. Dhar's experience to lead the delegation at these preliminary talks. We hope that this gesture will be appreciated by Pakistan and they will be as much interested as we are in bringing about lasting peace in the subcontinent.

Some hon. Members have asked: What is our attitude in these emissary-level talks? The hon. Members are fully aware of our attitude which has been clarified by the Prime Minister and by me on several occasions. We know what the outstanding issues are, and our views are also well-known one hone of them. It would not be wise for us to say more at this delicate stage. All I can say at this stage is that we would like to have a stable, durable and lasting peace on the sub-continent and resolve all the problems that stand in the way of achieving this objective.

Naturally, Bangladesh will be a necessary party to the settlement of issues that concern them also. In fact, we have kept them informed of the developments at all stages and will continue to do so in future.

One thing is clear that it is only by direct negotiations that we can settle our problems with Pakistan. Our experience has shown that third party intervention and raising the matter in the U.N. have only made the settlement of problems more, and not less, difficult in the past. Another lesson that we have learnt from the past is that it is not enough to resolve a few peripheral issues of less importance and leave the main issues or difficult issues for settlement at a later date. It is, therefore, our determination to try to resolve the basic as well as the simpler issues together, so that we may end

for all time the threat of another conflict And eliminate the resort to force for resolving unsolved problems.

It is tragic that there should have been four violent conflicts between India and Pakistan during the comparatively short period of 25 years after our independence. There are more things that unite the interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan than those that seem to divide them. We respect Mr. Bhutto as the democratically elected leader of the largest single party, in Pakistan. We have started a dialogue with film in a spirit of friendship and accommodation. Friendship is a two-way traffic. We hope that he will clasp the hand of friendship that we have extended to him. We hope a day will come when we shall be able to speak of Bangladesh, India and Pakistan as three friendly countries of the sub-continent working together for peace, friendship and cooperation for the common benefit of the 700 million people of this sub-continent it is only 'through-this common tripartite approach that-We dab bring about lasting peace on the sub-continent. I am grateful for the various suggestions made by hon. members, and we shall certainly bear them in mind in the course of our forthcoming negotiations.

VIETNAM

Several hon. members have drawn pointed attention to the problems that are faced by countries where shooting war is either going on or where there is uneasy peace, and the situation in Vietnam has been prominently referred to in this connection. We had about three hours' debate the other day on Vietnam, and there was unanimity in the House about our approach to the problem, and there was unmistakable expression of solidarity with the valiant freedom fighters of Vietnam; and there was also unanimous expression of our feeling of deploring the aggressive actions taken by the United States.

We regret that the conflict in Vietnam has been raging violently for the last so many years. It is a tribute to the courage and heroism of the brave people of Vietnam

that they have been able to stand up successfully against the might of a great military power. We are convinced that no solution can be imposed on Vietnam from outside and there can be no military solution to this problem. The people of Vietnam have a right to live 'the way they choose and no; other country has any right to interfere in their internal affairs.

97

All foreign forces, and particularly those of the United States who are in largest numbers, must be withdrawn from Vietnam at the earliest date possible, and the people of Vietnam must be left to decide their destiny in accordance with their own genius and the wishes of their people.

We are horrified at the indiscriminate, large-scale and inhuman bombing of the last few weeks over the territory of North Vietnam which, far from cowing down the people of Vietnam, has only strengthened their determination to resist with even greater valour and success than before.

We can see a my of hope In that the Paris talks are going to be resumed. We hope that these talks will result In a speedy and successful conclusion of the conflict in Vietnam and usher In an-era of peace, progress and stability in this whole region.

The liberation of Bangladesh was a great heroic event. The liberation of Vietnam will be an equally heroic and great event. We have every hope that the solution of the problem of Vietnam will also lead to the solution of the difficulties in Laos and Cambodia.

We believe that the solution to the present situation in Indo-China lies in a broad-based agreement within the framework of the Geneva Accord which respect the unity, territorial integrity, independence and neutrality of each of the Indo-China States.

Some hon. Members have criticised India for not taking the initiative as Chair: man of the International Control commis-

sion to resolve the situation. I would like to remind 'them that the functions of the Commission are defined in the Geneva Accord, that is, to supervise the implementation of the agreement by the parties concerned. Instead of being able to supervise the implementation of a peace accord, the Commission is a helpless witness to a violent war. In 'the circumstances, there is little the Commission can do, because it was meant to supervise peace and not war. However, India. Poland and Canada, In spite of the difficulties they are facing in Vietnam, are continuing to stay on there as a symbol of the Geneva Accord at the express desire and request of the parties concerned and the Co-Chairmen. No party has any right to change the composition of the Commission, and we categorically reject any interference, with the functions of the commission by any party. I would like to express my appreciation of the dignified, calm and patient manner in which the representatives of the three supervising powers have conducted, themselves in the face of serious difficulties In South Vietnam.

Hon. Members would no doubt be aware that a suggestion has been made on behalf of North Vietnam and the Representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government that the Paris peace talks may be resumed. This morning, we have seen the announcement that the United States is prepared to respond to this, and it is our hope that the resumption of these peace talks in Paris may open up the possibility of taking this problem from the battlefield to the conference table, and we would very much like that a peaceful solution of this problem is found and the people of Vietnam - who have faced such great difficulties for such it long time - are enabled to shape theirfuture according to their own desire and in accordance with their own genius.

CHINA

I would like to say a few words about China. Some hon. Members mentioned that, the present time was opportune for normalising our relations with China. Some other hon. Members thought that any unilateral gesture by us was not likely to succeed. As my colleague, the Deputy Minister, said yesterday, our relations with all our neighbours are friendly and cordial except with China and Pakistan. I have already mentioned our attitude to Pakistan.

As for China, geography has placed us as neighbours. The diplomatic missions of each country are functioning in the capital of the other. Whenever any possibility will happen for taking some concrete action to improve relations, we shall certainly 'take such steps as may be possible on the basis of equality, mutual respect and reciprocity, In spite of the hostile and bellicose statements made by China against us in the last conflict with Pakistan in and outside the United

98

Nations, we have deliberately refrained from being provoked In order not to Increase tensions.

In this connection, I would like to clarify that the Indo-Soviet Treaty does not stand in the way of our normalising relations with China. It is not directed against China or any other country. We cannot accept any conditions that the normalisation of relations with any country may deter us from developing friendship with any other country. The Soviet Union itself has been trying to normalise relations with China, and would be happy to see the normalisation of relations between India and China as we would be happy to see normalisation of relations between China and the U.S.S.R.

It is in this spirit that we welcomed the visit of President Nixon to China, because we had hoped that it would lead to a relaxation of tension without injuring the interest of any third country. However, we must say that we were shocked and surprised at the references to Jammu and Kashmir in the Joint Communique of President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai, because it amounted to interference in our internal affairs

Several hon. Members have raised some other issues and I would like to take this opportunity of giving very briefly our com-

ments on some of these issues.

INDIAN OCEAN

About the Indian ocean, there appears to be a general consensus that every effort should be made to keep it as an area of peace, free from big power rivalry and free for navigation. and also that the security of the littoral States should be ensured. This was exactly the objective when this matter was discussed at Lusaka. A vast majority of the littoral States surrounding the Indian Ocean were actually present there and they participated in these discussions. The absentees were those countries who are members of Defence Pacts and obviously they could. not be present at the Lusaka Conference.

Later on, this subject was again taken up in the United Nations at the initiative of the Ceylonese delegation, and a broad consensus emerged that every effort should be made to preserve the Indian Ocean area as an area free from big power rivalry and free from the deployment of naval armament and naval crafts carrying nuclear weapons. I know that this is a matter which will not be capable of easy solution. we have to continue our efforts. The positive feature of the situation is that the vast majority, or overwhelming majority of the littoral States are firmly of this view that every, effort should be made to keep this area free from tensions, and this in itself will go a long way in dissuading the countries, which have get the capacity to deploy their navies in this region, from going ahead with their designs of building permanent bases in this region or to send in their navies in larger and larger numbers. It is very interesting that where any country decides to send its navy in any considerable strength, they always say that they do it as a counter-measure to what has been done by the others. We have to break this vicious circle, and I think that the united action on the part of the littoral States will go a long way in creating that atmosphere.

A MEMBER: Has the situation worsened or improved after the Lusaka Con-

ference?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: It has not changed much, it has not changed for the worse; it has not changed for the better; it could be worse. We have, therefore, to continue with our efforts, both amongst the non-aligned countries and amongst the littoral countries and also in the United Nations, and it is our expectation that there will be growing pressure on the countries which have got big navies to desist from going ahead with their programmes. Even the experience of other regions where such rivalry started is not gratifying even to those countries which have stepped up their naval presence in those regions. For instance, in the Mediterranean and in the North Atlantic etc. where the rival navies are present in a big way, there are already talks of limiting their presence.

U.S.S.R.

I am glad to find that all hon. Members welcomed the friendly and mutually beneficial relations that so happily exist between

90

the Soviet Union and India. We are proud of our friendship with the Soviet Union, which is based on the principles of equality, mutual respect and cooperation.

We are grateful to the Soviet Government and people that they stood by us in times of need and difficulty while others wavered and hesitated and every went against us. We are not an ungrateful nation. Our relations with the Soviet Union have developed more particularly during the last fifteen years rapidly and satisfactorily. We have entered into various agreements in the economic, commercial, cultural, technical and other fields with the Soviet Union during recent years. These agreements are open and public, and there are no secret clauses to them. They have been tested by time and have proved their value in both countries and helped in 'strengthening peace, stability and security and progress in this region.

We regard the Soviet Union as a reliable friend. Some critics are deliberately and maliciously propagating the thesis that India has gone into the Soviet orbit. Such critics fox-get that a country with the traditions, culture and the size of India cannot be a satellite of any other country. The great people of India overthrew the mighty British empire. They refused to be dominated by the economic and military might of the U.S.A. They stood up as a united nation against onslaughts from other countries. India will not be a camp-follower or a client-state of any other country. India stands on her own strength and on the united will of her own people as a selfreliant and self-respecting nation. However, this does not mean that we. should spurn the hand of friendship of any country that extends it to us on a basis of equality and mutual respect.

I do not want to be apologetic. I would tell hon. Members, to whom it has become a usual pastime always to say things and put them in such a manner as to toe the line of some of our foreign critics, that we should know who our friends are. We should also be careful as to who are not friendly to us. This general attitude of trying to club everyone together is not in our national interest. It is not based on facts, nor on reality.

U.S.A.

I should like 'to say a few words about our relationship with the United States of America. We admire the principles of democracy, individual liberty and freedom which are enshrined in the American Constitution. We have warm feelings of friendship towards the people of the United States of America. However, We regret that this warmth has not been reciprocated in the attitude adopted by the U.S. Government towards India during the recent developments in the sub-continent in which they adopted a partisan and anti-Indian attitude. We are prepared to forget the past and start afresh. We, are prepared to have a dialogue with America on a basis of equality and mutual respect, and not on any other

basis. We do not see any basic conflict between the interests of America and India in this region. But we cannot be expected, as a self-respecting nation, to endorse the actions of any government that we consider detrimental to peace, stability and harmony in this region.

Our contacts with the U.S. administration through diplomatic channels have been continuing, but we do not yet see any concrete sign on the pail of the U.S. Government to improve relations. We can understand the pulls and pressures, internal and external, that may affect the policy of the U.S. administration for a temporary period. We make allowance for this, and hope that in the not too distant future the U.S. Government will begin to appreciate the peaceful, constructive and positive role that India wishes to play for the development, stability and security of this region, and not attribute wrong motives to us, for that is not the way to develop understanding. I must, however, make it absolutely clear that if the U.S. Government start rearming Pakistan, directly or indirectly, we shall take it as a deliberate attempt to disturb the peace of the sub-continent, to increase tensions and to hamper the chances of a lasting settlement.

The U.S. Government will, I hope, give due consideration to the feelings expressed by hon. Members of all parties in this House. This might help them in shaping a correct policy towards India and This region.

100

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Several hon. Members made reference to the idea of collective security in South-Fast Asia. Most of the observations were based on press reports that found their way to print after the last meeting of the Indian envoys in South and South-East Asia.

Sir, this idea of collective security is an idea which is a good one, because if the countries of this region can have the satisfaction, have the feeling of security, then obviously it is good for each country and also for the region. But an attempt has been made by several hon. Members here to connect it with the Brezhnev proposal which was put across by the U.S.S.R. leaders some years back. Again, some ideas have been suggested without any justification that we are in some way trying to put across the ideas which had their origin in the U.S.S.R. We are in touch with the leaders of the U.S.S.R., and the Government of the U.S.S.R. has not put forward any concrete proposal to any country in the region, not even to us. It is, therefore, wrong for anybody to suggest that we are in any way peddling about ideas which are not our own. But we are vitally interested in creating a general atmosphere in this region where the sovereignty and independence and freedom of action of these countries are assured. In this respect, each country derives strength by mutual cooperation with its next-door neighbour, with its near neighbour, with its distant neighbour; and with this cooperation in the economic field, in the cultural field and in every other field, and support of each other if the sovereignty of any country. is threatened - these are the connections that grow very strongly in favour of giving strength to those countries, and thus strengthen their sovereignty and their independence. There is no agreement as such. There is no concrete proposal as such which has; been put forward.

But let us remember that the whole situation in this region is undergoing a great change. Some hon. Members rightly referred to the vast changes that are taking place. If you have a careful look at the South-East Asian region, many countries in this region were members of a defence pact for which the main architect was the United States Government at the time of their anticommunist alliances.

The United States also was generally wont to look at these countries in I terms of black and white; they can never think of intermediate attitude among any of these countries. All these outmoded and old ideas received a jolt when the process of detente

started between the United States and Peking. In the initial stages, many countries put across ideas which showed a great deal of concern about this changing situation and they started looking elsewhere for their safety because, unfortunately, they had never developed enough internal strength by cooperation with neighbours which would give them the requisite confidence.

It was in this situation of flux that these ideas were put forward. They are good ideas, and if there is response from these countries then some concrete shape can be given. In a small way, we ourselves have a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace with one of our neighbours, Bangladesh. There could be similar treaties, if not in those terms, similar to this, among any other neighbours in this region, between any two neighbours or any two or three countries. This is the way in which the idea of collective security can be realised.

A MEMBER: This is bilateral security, not collective security.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: Bilateral action results in collective security.

A MEMBER: One does not see the process.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: Because there is no move at the present moment, and all the arguments were based as if there was any proposal put forward by any country. The insinuation was that the U.S.S.R. perhaps put forward the idea, and the others are trying to be roped into that. I should like to say that there is no such proposal at the present moment. These are ideas.

A MEMBER: Some country must take. the initiative.

101

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: In this case, it will not be very wise for any one country to take the initiative; it is something which has to grow out of appreciation by various countries of the problems they face, and what is the best solution for these problems.

They have already had an experience of a sort of defence arrangement, and they thought that this gave them collective security; it has not even solved the problems of the region. Even war has not been prevented. A shooting war is going on in Vietnam at the present moment. There has been trouble in Cambodia, even in Laos, and in several other countries. There can be re-thinking on this. It will not be wise for any country to take the initiative in this respect. That might create misapprehensions, and may defeat the very objective which should be before all of us - of the countries in this region. Their independence and security should be assured. In this process, it is not difficult to bring in even some of the big Powers.

An hon. Member said that perhaps by making this suggestion we are trying to bring them into pacts. That is not the idea. The point is whether some big countries can guarantee the sovereignty and independunce of these countries on the pattern, for instance, of the Geveva Accord, although experience of that has not been good. That is the type of thing that is visualised. It is not the conclusion of any multilateral treaty or any multilateral protocol to be signed by all the countries. It will not be proper for us, therefore, to criticise something which is just an idea. There is no concrete proposal as such. But there is interest in this. For instance, Malaysians have shown interest in it. Even a country like Australia, which is a member of defence pacts, has shown interest If ideas of collective security can develop, they would like to study them carefully. Whereas there are no concrete proposals as such, the ideas are there but the stage has not arrived when we could concretise them further. I would not like to take the initiative in this respect, because at the present moment it is liable to be misunderstood.

WESTERN EUROPE

I would like to say a few words about the situation in Western Europe. It is necessary for us to keep the European scene in front of us because, in our life time, we have seen two world wars and the origin of both was in Europe. We welcome very much the initiative and spirit of cooperation shown by U.S.S.R., Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany in signing the treaties of Moscow and Warsaw. They Initiated the process of detente. These treaties are still, pending ratification by the German Parliament. The hon. Members are aware of the difficulties that Chancellor Willy Brandt is facing in getting these treaties ratified. We also welcome the agreement concluded between the four powers about Berlin. These are all positive developments, and we hope that these steps will result in stabilising the forces of peace and that tension will be reduced. This is something in which the entire world is interested. We are interested in it because all our programmes of development and economic growth are depen-dent to a very large extent on the maintenance of peace in Europe.

PRAISE FOR THE MINISTRY

I am grateful to the hon. Members although it was objected to by certain others - who have said good words about the work done by the Ministry and by our Missions abroad. The encouragement given, by hon. Members from all sections of the House will go a long way in giving the officials in the Ministry and in the Missions abroad the encouragement to tackle the tasks with greater devotion and greater: earnestness. I am happy that even the efforts of the Publicity Unit of the External Affairs Ministry have also been praised, although unfortunately on earlier occasions generally they came in for a good deal of criticism. This will certainly encourage them to tackle the task with greater devotion.

WEST ASIA

There is one aspect about which I will have to say something. That is about West Asia, because several hon. Members have criticised the attitude of certain Arab countries and certain other countries of West Asia. there are always champions of Israel. So, it- is necessary to state our position clearly.

Our relations with countries of West Asia, from Afghanistan and Iran to the

102

Mediterranean, remain warm and friendly. some hon. Members expressed their dissatisfaction at the lack of response from Arab and some other countries in West Asia on Bangladesh. This disappointed us also, but we made every effort to explain the realities of the situation to the leaders of these countries, through visits by our Ministers and other high level delegations, through constant contacts with their governments, through our Ambassadors as well as in New Delhi through their diplomatic Missions and through 'the press and other information media. Bangladesh is a reality and this fact cannot be ignored in West Asia or in any other part of the world. It is our impression that this reality is dawning more and, more on countries of West Asia. Bangladesh has been admitted as a Member of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation. Some tentative contacts are being sought by some of the West Asian countries with Bangladesh. Time will, no doubt, make them recognise realities increasingly.

Our relations with countries of West Asia have been traditional. Our independence gave a new dimension to them, and our relations were established not only at the Political and cultural planes but led to a growing economic exchange between us, which has been of mutual benefit. No passing feeling of disappointment should mar these close relations which are in our mutual interest.

We have supported the Arab countries, in the United Nations and elsewhere, on the Arab-Israeli issue. This support, based on principles, continues. We also strongly support the Palestine refugees in their liberation struggle. We hope that this long-pending matter would be solved, not by force and conflict, but through discussion and negotiation.

We welcome the entry into the com-

munity of independent nations and to the United Nations of the States of Oman, Qatar, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates in the Gulf. They have been our close neighbours and our contacts with them go back to antiquity. We have established diplomatic relations with them at Embassy level. Resident Missions have already been established in Muscat and Bahrain, and will shortly be established in Qatar and United Arab Emirates. There are great possibilities of developing economic and commercial co-operation between them and India and we hope to develop these to mutual advantage.

AFRICA

Several hon. Members have mentioned about the freedom struggle that is going on in the continent of Africa against the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, and fight that is going on against the colonial regimes of Mozambique and Angola. Our support to the freedom fighters is consistent, and we are solidly with them in their freedom struggle and we have given them some help from time to time. In the United Nations, and also in the Non-aligned Conference, we are solidly with them, and all the African countries are fully aware of our consistent and determined stand in this respect, and this policy continues to be adhered to with firmness. We ourselves having attained our independence after a long struggle, our sympathies and our support are ungrudgingly available to all the people who are struggling for their freedom and independence, more so to those who are still groaning under colonial and racist regimes.

LATIN AMERICA

In Latin America many changes are taking place. Several hon. Members have rightly drawn our attention to the importance of the continent of South America. There are very significant changes, some freshness of ideas and some new approaches that are discernible in Latin America. We attach great importance to Latin America, and that is why our Prime Minister under-

took a tour of several countries in Latin America. We are taking every measure to consolidate our friendship with them, and also to develop economic and other relations with them so that the under-developed world as a whole, whether these are 'the countries of Latin America or Africa or Asia, should

103

march together and continue their struggle for freedom, not only from colonial rule, but also freedom from economic exploitation. In this we will carry on our struggle in a united manner.

Sir, I know that I have perhaps already taken a little more time. I am grateful to you and to the hon. Members who have given me this much time to clarify some of the issues.

USA BANGLADESH INDIA MONGOLIA POLAND BHUTAN FRANCE DENMARK PAKISTAN VIETNAM LAOS CAMBODIA CHINA SWITZERLAND CANADA MALI ZAMBIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC MALAYSIA AUSTRALIA GERMANY RUSSIA ISRAEL AFGHANISTAN IRAN OMAN BAHRAIN QATAR UNITED ARAB EMIRATES SOUTH AFRICA MOZAMBIQUE ANGOLA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Statement by Shrimati Leela Damodara Menon to Human Rights Commission

Following is the text of the statement by the Indian Delegate Shrimati Leela Damodara Menon, on April 6, 1972 at the meeting of the Human Rights Commission:

Mr. Chairman,

Speaking in the Indian Parliament, the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, declared only two days back, and I quote: "The Government of India have consistently spoken and wanted such normalisation of relations with Pakistan and we continue to want it. I took the initiative this time by saying that I would be prepared for talks and indeed we are in direct touch with Pakistan. One must certainly learn from past experience, but I do not think that one can keep on harping on the past, and I hope that India and Pakistan can both now turn their backs on the era of conflicts and confrontation. Whatever some short-sighted people might say or do. I think that this nation as a whole does desire to live in peace with Pakistan and indeed with all its neighbours. We have never had any quarrel with the people of Pakistan. They have long suffered and I think their only mistake was that they believed all the lies that were said to them about India, and therefore perhaps even now they do not have the correct appreciation of our attitude, of what we are doing in our own country, or our desire for friendship with our neighbouring countries. So I should like them to know that we do not propose to negotiate in any spirit of arrogance; we do not wish to humiliate' anyone. We should like to discuss matters in a spirit of friendship and co-operation. We have believed that triumphs of peace are greater than those of war. It is peace we seek, peace which is enduring, so that we can concentrate on our own affairs, on our own war on poverty in this country.

Negotiations cannot be conducted through speeches or public postures. The channels of communication are available for exchange of ideas. I believe that Pakistan, Bangladesh and India, working together in the spirit of co-operation and good neighbourliness, can be a source of strength to one another. We have not become independent to become pawns in other peoples' hands. If we work together, we can become stronger within our own country and contribute to the strength of the subcontinent, and I would say, to all developing countries."

Mr. Chairman, this summarises India's positive and constructive approach to the urgent need of bringing about peace and stability in the subcontinent. The distinguished representative of Pakistan in his

statement yesterday dwelt at length on the need for an objective approach which would be conducive to reconciliation and peace in the subcontinent. We could not agree more. The difference lies only in thesis or rather the anti-thesis which the distinguished representative of Pakistan built up to establish his case, not on the basis of the realities

104

as exist in the subcontinent today, but on an imaginary situation which, just, does not exist. Let us be quite clear that the socalled East Pakistan does not exist any more. As the Prime Minister of Bangladesh said as early as the 17th April, 1.971, and I quote: 'East Pakistan lies buried under a mountain of corpses." unquote. Pakistan has not been dismembered by any outside force. Pakistan has broken up entirely on account of what the military rulers of Pakistan did, or had failed to do. The world perhaps in recent years has not ever witnessed another parallel to the massive violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms which the brutal military repression committed In what was, Fast Pakistan over a period of nine months under a reign of terror. It is amazing to hear the distinguished representative of Pakistan trying to quote chapter and verse not only from the Geneva Conventions but also their commentaries. When the question of violation of human rights in Bangladesh was being brought up, time and again, in these very international forums, Pakistan had, at that time, conveniently forgotten the very existence of these Conventions to which she is incidentally a signatory. It is ironical indeed, to hear the distinguished representative of Pakistan talking about those who are living, but in fear of death, conveniently forgetting totally about neatly three million people - I repeat - three million who were killed in an orgy of. brutal murder, violence and rape. Sheikh-Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister of Bangladesh, said that even Hitler would have been put to shame if he had witnessed the atrocities committed in Bangladesh by the occupation army from Pakistan.. It was an awesome Panorama of destruction and damage and as an eyewitness of the World Bank Mission said, it was like a nuclear attack bringing

total destruction and death. I do not want to dwell on this any more. Humanity is put to shame by these atrocities.

The entire argument of 'the distinguished "('Presentative of Pakistan was based on the thesis that a united Pakistan exists and that the problems that have come up are only between India and Pakistan and the People's Republic of Bangladesh does not exist. This attitude ill-conceals an attitude of confrontation rather than conciliation, of fiction rather than reality. Let us look at the problems of the subcontinent from a realistic angle; in. terms of existing realities which are, that there are three independent sovereign states in the subcontinent, namely, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. This is not the first time we have pointed out this fact. The Foreign Minister of India, whom the distinguished representative of Pakistan quoted, said so in the month of December in the Security Council, and since then, the world community has increasingly recognised these realities as is shown in the recognition accorded to Bangladesh by nearly-60 countries; among them four major powers and permanent members of the Security Council. The distinguished representative of Pakistan waxed eloquent on the need of, understanding the emotional aspects of the situation, but would not take into account even at this late stage, the emotions and aspirations as already expressed freely in unambiguous terms by the elected representatives of the 75 million people of Bangladesh. To maintain that Bangladesh does not exist as an independent sovereign state, and is supposedly still a part of another state will not be acceptable not only to Bangladesh and India but also the vast majority of states that have recognised the new-born State of Bangladesh. He talked about the oft-repeated statement of the President of Pakistan to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman without saying who Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is, and we all know who he is. He is the Prime Minister of Bangladesh. I am sure if the desire is to meet the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, the way will be opened immediately for removal of tensions and beginning of a new era of peace and tranquility in the subcontinent. I would repeat what

my Prime Minister said only two days back once again: "Let us turn our backs on the era of conflict and confrontation." Let us turn a new page, to friendship and understanding. Pakistani Representative spoke about cessation of hostilities while quoting Article 118 of Geneva Convention.

105

But it is not understood why Pakistan has not yet withdrawn the declaration of the State of War and continues to bolster up tension.

The distinguished representative of Pakistan spoke about the need for expeditious repatriation of the prisoners of war. He quoted Article 118 of the Third Geneva Convention and reminded the Commission of the duties and obligations of the detaining power. But he has his own conception of who the detaining power is. He chose to describe the joint command as a legal fiction to whom the Pakistani military forces are "supposed to have surrendered". This does not correspond to facts. The Instrument of Surrender clearly indicates that the surrender by Pakistani forces in Bangladesh was carried out to the joint command. Neither the joint command nor Bangladesh is a fiction. Pakistan quoted Indian Commander having declared India's determination to abide by the Geneva Conventions. Yes. He did. In addition let me remind the Commission that likewise the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh has also declared its unequivocal and unqualified adherence to the Geneva Conventions although it is not still a signatory to it. Indeed according to yesterday's Press Reports Bangladesh has already acceeded to the Geneva Convention. The POWs are the responsibility of the two detaining powers, namely, India and Bangladesh, in so far as the Eastern sector is concerned. All that India has been saying is that in order to bring about repatriation of these POWs, discussions are necessary between all the States concerned to establish that durable peace as envisaged in the Security Council Resolution is ushered in and conditions to repatriation actually exist. Much concern has been expressed by the

distinguished representative of Pakistan about these POWs. He has talked about emotions of the people in his country. But does Pakistan want the speedy repatriation of the POWs. If Pakistan is really concerned and anxious to bring about repatriation without delay, why is it avoiding the issue? Why has it not responded to the oftrepeated call from India for bilateral talks to settle not only this issue but Indeed all the other related issues which have arisen in the aftermath of the recent conflict, both between India and Pakistan as well as between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. My Prime Minister has said again and again that India wants a durable peace, but that negotiations cannot be conducted through, speeches-or public postures.

India is for bringing about, an expeditious return of the POWs to their homes, to their families. Let Pakistan recognise the realities without hiding behind such legalistic arguments as some state or area being a non-party to a convention. Problems have arisen not because of what Pakistan wishes to describe as recent hostilities between India and Pakistan. They were indeed the culmination of a whole series of tragic events which took place in Bangladesh over a period of nine months. That background has to be remembered at all times to fully Understand not only the origin of the problem, the gravity of the situation, but also the emergent reality, which is as broad as broad-day light to all but to Pakistan.

In essence, the general problem of repatriation of the POWs is that there are three types of POWs; (1) Indian prisoners Captured by Pakistan; (2) Pakistani prisoners captured by India; and (3) Pakistani prisoners captured by the joint command of the forces of India and Bangladesh. The repatriation and exchange of the first two categories of prisoners concerns India and Pakistan. This and other bilateral issues between the two countries can and should be settled between them. As I have already pointed out, India has repeatedly proposed unconditional talks with Pakistan for the settlement of such outstanding issues between the two countries at any time, at any

level and without conditions. The third category of prisoners do not concern only India and Pakistan. As I have explained earlier, they also concern the state of Bangladesh, whose forces were a part of the. joint command to whom the Pakistani forces surrendered unconditionally. It is obvious

106

that arrangements for their repatriation require a full and equal participation of all the three states concerned. This factual situation should not be used as an excuse for Pakistan to make allegation against India of violating the Geneva Conventions or putting any pre-conditions for the repatriation of the POWs.

The Pakistani representative touched upon delays in the repatriation of sick and wounded POWs. The first exchange of only 17 Indian POWs and as many as 27 Pakistani POWs took place under ICRC auspices between February 25th and February 27th. Pakistan has chosen to make baseless allegations about obstructions placed by India in regard to this exchange. The fact of the matter is that the Red Cross plane transporting the Pakistani POWs developed engine trouble twice and a day's delay took place on that account. India is prepared to repatriate all seriously sick and wounded Pakistani POWs captured in the Western sector as and when arrangements are made by the ICRC for mutual exchange. However, regarding the sick and wounded POWs captured in the East, concurrence of the Government of Bangladesh is absolutely necessary. During the visit of India's Prime Minister to Bangladesh, the Prime. Ministers of India and Bangladesh agreed, and I quote from the joint declaration issued at Dacca on March 19th, 1972: "Seriously sick and wounded prisoners of war, who are not guilty of war crimes, will be repatriated to Pakistan as a matter of priority by mutual consent".

Following this agreement, the Bangladesh Government has authorised India to repatriate 99 wounded Pakistani POWs captured under the joint command. The distinguished representative of Pakistan has said nothing new when he chose the forum of the Human Rights Commission also to carry on a malicious and haseless propaganda against India. He spoke of torture and ill-treatment of the POWs and quoted selectively from the report of the ICRC dated March 9, 1972. He blames everyone else for selectivity, but forgets it conveniently when he himself chose to be selective. He spoke of the ill-treatment at a POWs camp 90 at Ambala. Here is what the ICRC report says about this camp:

- (i) The POWs are well fed and the rations sufficient. In fact, each month there is a surplus of rice.
- (ii) The meat, which is served three times a week, is "halal", that is, slaughtered in accordance with Islamic rites.
- (iii) All the soldiers, without exception, expressed full satisfaction with the detention conditions, the food; discipline, the attitude of Indian soldiers, medical care and hygiene. One sepoy, Mohd. Sulaiman from Sialkot, who spoke fluent English, confirmed-these favourable impressions during a completely private interview.
- (iv) The delegates conveyed to the Indian officers how well impressed they had been during the visit and their satisfaction at having been able to note a real effort to respect the letter and spirit of the Third Convention.
- (v) In conclusion, the general impression was very favourable, especially where food and other material conditions were concerned.

Some further excerpts from the report of the ICRC regarding their visits to other POWs camps are as follows:

- (i) Generally the prisoners were treated promptly and well from the time they were captured.
- (ii) The prisoners requested us to mention the fact they owe a great deal to the

Indian doctors.

(iii) Interrogation after capture was carried out with dignity, without undue pressure. Only the questions permitted by the Geneva Conventions were asked.

107

- (iv) The food is adequate, being identical (except for the difference of diets in keeping with the POWs' religion) to that provided for the Indian officers at the hospital.
- (v) The ICRC representatives were well impressed throughout the visit.

BAREILLY MILITARY HOSPITAL

- (i) The Indian doctors treated the POWs as assiduously as they did their own nationals.
- (ii) Nothing suggested that any of them had any serious complaints. The atmosphere was pleasant and all said they were satisfied with the treatment they received.
- (iii) The Indian Medical Officers with whom the ICRC delegates talked displayed a truly humanitarian attitude. The delegate was favourably impressed during his visit.

The distinguished representative of Pakistan referred to the recent shooting incident in one camp, the incident which arose entirely on account of indisciplined and insubordinate behaviour of the POWs - a fact recognised by their own senior officers. What is more, the ICRC delegate who visited this camp has to say the following:

"Following the tragic incident Which took place on March 7, 1972, in POW camp 92, two delegates of the ICRC visited the camp area for three days from March 10 to 14. They received all facilities to organise interviews without witnesses in the said enclosure and in

many others. After hearing both the camp authorities as well as the POWs, the delegates reached the conclusion that there was no intention either on the part of one side or the other to create this incident. There was a build-up of tension in 'this enclosure since morning and at about 0730 hours fire was opened by the guards from inside the enclosure when prisoners went out of control and advanced towards the guards. The delegates succeeded in easing the tension caused by this regrettable incident".

The version given by the Representative of Pakistan on the conditions in the Ambala Camp does not represent the official views of the ICRC. What he has quoted are private views which have been merely reproduced by ICRC without verification and' do not represent the opinion of ICRC. We wish Pakistan had resisted the temptation to deliberately misrepresent facts.

In his statement the representative at., Pakistan referred to the so-called illegality of transferring some POWs from India to Bangladesh. He charged India for almost casually agreeding to hand them over to a non-party to the Conventions. There is no question of handing over to any one. It. POWs have been detained in India, this is in exercise of functions to carry out the wishes of the Joint Command. The POWs were taken in Bangladesh under the joint,' command. The Joint Command, let me repeat, was not a fiction, but a fact, a factor which was recognised by the surrendering Pakistani army. The POWs taken in the' East continue therefore to be under the joint command, wherever they may be located, whether in India or Bangladesh. It is for the Government of Bangladesh to decide about the question of holding some of them to trial for war crimes. The representative of Pakistan himself admitted that a war of secession was going on well before the recent hostilities broke out. According to his own argument, therefore, if a war of secession was going on, and Pakistani forces were committing excesses, it is only legitimate and fair that the guilt should be punished by the Government of Bangladesh. And as everyone knows by now, it was not a war of secession but it was a liberation struggle; the demand for autonomy overnight turned into a demand for liberation on account of the brutalities committed by the Pakistani army on a scale unprecedented in the history of mankind in recent times, The Secretary-General of the United Nations described those events as a blot on the history of mankind. The mass grave after

108

grave which are still being unearthed in Bangladesh have tongues. They are grim reminders of the unspeakable atrocities perpetrated on millions and millions of defenceless men, women and children. It is shameful for me even to bring on my lips the mention of at least 200,000 women who are now facing the prospects of illegitimate births as a result of mass rapes committed by the occupation forces of West Pakistan. This is not a fiction. That is a grim fact. This kind of treatment meted out to women in our part of world is worse than death. Where was the concern of Pakistan, which now belatedly expresses the obligation of various Conventions on Human Rights, at that time?, Was it not a crime against humanity to have forced ten million people out of their homes and hearths to become refugees in a neighbouring state? All that the Government of Bangladesh is saying is that they would conduct fair and public trials by duly constituted courts under their national laws. Here is what an eminent lawyer Justice Krishna Murthy has to say on the legal aspects of the problem. "It may be pointed out here that by Law No. 10 of the Control Council for Germany the legal basis for prosecution was enacted and crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity were defined; so also the offenders and punishments.

The Charter of the International Military Tribunal for the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials laid down the jurisdiction and general principles for trial and Punishment of the three categories of crime. Thus the world community Proceeded to sentence 'genocidists'. The Charters constitute a landmark in the field of international criminal law branding

mass inhumanity to any civilian population Or Persecution on political, racial or religious grounds, before or during the war, "whether or not in violation of domestic law an international law crime. Leaders, organisers, instigators, accomplices and conspirators were made liable. The official position of the criminals, even heads of State, and the plea of acting to the order of superiors would not free the guilty from responsibility.

This law was, confirmed and clarified the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the crime of Genocide by the General Assembly; and Resolution 95(1) of the General Assembly affirmed 'the principles of International law recognised by the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal and the judgment of the Tribunal.' It directed codification of the law by the Committee on Codification, and later by Resolution 177(II) dated November 21, 1947, the International Law Commission was entrusted with the task. The Commission did formulate the Nuremberg Principles and the Commission on Human Rights and the ECOSOC Pressed for member-States implementing the Convention by legislation. The Law Commission defined crimes against humanity as covering murder, extermination and other inhuman acts done against any civilian population, or persecutions, political, religious and racial".

In any case, the essential point is that war crimes trials are entirely the concern of the Bangladesh Government. It is for the leaders and government of Bangladesh to decide how they would do it. The background which I have put before the Commission just now will explain that the crimes have arisen in the conflict which was going on for nine months and not during the 14-day war alone. Furthermore, the 14-day war also was imposed upon India by Pakistan in a desperate attempt to divert the attention of the world community from what they were doing in the so-called East Pakistan, now Bangladesh. What happened in Bangladesh during the 14-day war was that the forces of India and Bangladesh fought shoulder to shoulder against the aggressive army of occupation.

The representative of Pakistan said the Pakistan Government will see that war criminals are given their due punishment. How can the world believe it when some of the people responsible for ordering the biggest massacres are being given promotions and are being elevated to exhalted posts. Can we believe that justice will be done. The evil-doers can never sit on judgment on themselves and render justice.

The representative of Pakistan touched upon ethnic minorities in Bangladesh and referred to Winespeare's two visits. I would not merely refer to the two visits but would invite the attention of this Commission to read these reports carefully and see for themselves what the Secretary-General's

109

Special Representative had to say about what Pakistan chooses to describe as the desperate condition of ethnic minorities in Bangladesh. In any case, the question of ethnic minorities within Bangladesh is the concern of the government of that sovereign state. Any allegations made in connection with such a question can be discussed only with the parties primarily concerned. It is not useful or indeed fair to make such allegations or to discuss them in a forum from which the Government of Bangladesh is absent; unless of course that forum can hear the comments of that government's representative. In any case, I once again point out that the Secretary-General's Special Representative at length with this question in his two reports and it is to be noted that Pakistan has not yet responded to the various suggestions in that report, for solving this question.

Mr. Chairman, the problems of the sub-continent cannot be treated and should not be-, treated in a piece-meal fashion. My country has extended her hand of friendship to Pakistan. There is an opportunity for the three countries of the subcontinent namely, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, to usher in a new era of friendship and cooperation. All of us have to fight a war and it is not a war between ourselves, it is a

war against hunger and poverty. The earlier Pakistan gives up the unreal assumptions on which it is still arguing, the sooner would be the day for the settlement of all out standing issues of the sub-continent. Instead, of indulging in propaganda it is time Pakistan grasps the hand, offered to her by India, of friendship and cooperation with a view to bring about durable peace and, tranquility in the sub-continent. The peoples of the area - the peoples of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh - have a common enemy to fight and that is hunger and poverty

My delegation does not like to indulge in angry exchange of words. We plead with Pakistan not to be like the bourbon kings, unable to forget and to learn. Here is India's hand stretched in friendship to Pakistan. Accept our Prime Minister's gesture of cooperation. Let us together march ahead to progress and prosperity forgetting all anger and distress. That is what my delegation wishes to inform the distinguished representative of Pakistan.

INDIA MALI PAKISTAN USA BANGLADESH SWITZERLAND CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC GERMANY JAPAN

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Indo-UNICEF Addendum to Agreement on Teaching of Science at School Stage

Following is the text of a press release issued in New Delhi on April 10, 1972 on the signing by India and the United, Nations Children's Fund of the "First Addendum to the Plan of Operations for the Reorganisation and Expansion of the teaching of Science to Students throughout the School Stage in India":

The Government of India and the UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) signed here today the "First Addendum to the Plan of Operations for the Reorganisation and Expansion of the Teaching of Science to Students throughout the School Stage in India." UNESCO is also participating in the programme. The addendum has been signed under the original agreement executed with UNESCO in 1967. The addendum was signed on behalf of India by Shri T. P. Singh, Secretary, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, and for the UNICEF by its Deputy Director, Mr. John Grun.

The science education programme which runs concurrently with the Fourth Plan period now enters the third year. While the Ministry of Education is helping the State Governments in the preparation of new syllabi and textbooks, training of science teachers, the UNICEF is assisting the States by giving their teacher training institutions laboratory equipment-books and other materials and by providing new science kits to the participating schools.

110

So far, about 579 training institutions have been supplied laboratory equipment and about 1,100 schools science kits.

UNICEF has allocated so far a sum of \$3,014,000 (Rs. 2,19,38,906.00). This allocation has been spent in supplying the equipment to training institutions, science kits to schools and cash grants to States for training teachers and translating and printing textbooks, teacher-guides and other instructional material.

The addendum is intended to aid the wider introduction of new syllabi and other instructional material into the school system. Another 500 training institutions will be supplied science library equipment, 24,000 primary schools and 31,000 middle schools given science kits, 55,000 teachers trained, one mobile laboratory provided to each State and Union territory and paper arranged for textbooks and other instruc-

tional material.

For this phase, the UNICEF, at the request of the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, has approved an assistance of \$7,022,000 (Rs. 5,11,13,138.00), The Indian counterpart expenditure win be Rs. 68,00,000 to be shared between the Union Government and the State Governments.

Speaking on the occasion, Shri T. R. Jayaraman, Joint Secretary, said that the programme had been welcomed by the States which were taking keen interest in it.

Mr. Grun said that UNICEF was satisfied with the progress of the programme. He considered the programme important for rapid development of the country and sought cooperation of everyone in this challenging venture.

Shri T. P. Singh said that the programme was a useful and worth-while one and should be expanded and intensified. The work done so far was a pace-setter and more had to be done by the country itself.

INDIA USA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Indian Delegate's Address to UNCTAD Plenary Session

Following is the text of the address by Shri L. N. Mishra, Foreign Trade Minister, and leader of the Indian delegation to the plenary session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in

Santiago on April 15, 1972:

Mr. President,

Allow me at the out-set to congratulate You on your election as the President of the Third Session of UNCTAD. In electing you as President of this crucial session of the Conference, we have paid a tribute not only to your personal eminence and great qualities as a statesman, but also to the remarkable contributions made by your great country, Chile, to the shaping of many of the ideas which are going to be the main themes of this Conference. I am sure that under your distinguished and able stewardship, this Conference will prove to be an important milestone in the path of our common struggle to mitigate the sufferings of the masses in the developing parts of the world and to establish a just and equitable World Economic Order.

I would also like to express the gratitude of my Delegation to the Government of Chile for the excellent arrangements they have made for organising this Conference. I also take this opportunity to convey through you to the President of Chile, His Excellency Salvador Allende Gossens the great admiration which our Prime Minister and people have for him and the people of this great country.

From a historical point of view, we could not have selected a better venue than this charming city of Santiago, for convening the Third Conference. It is a matter of great significance that the Conference is being held in Latin America. We are witnessing a new spirit of awakening in this continent, a new vigour and a strongly reinforced desire to assert its identity. There

111

is evidence of an irresistible move in this continent to cast aside the past outmoded economic relations which have so far hindered real progress and to shape the destiny of the continent, based primarily on self-reliance, mutual cooperation among the countries of the region and the full exercise of the right of permanent sovereignty over

their natural resources.

Moreover, the struggle of the Latin American countries for their socio economic progress has reached a stage where it has to contend with many subtle external influences and highly sophisticated ramifications of the dominance of foreign capital and foreign political-power. The joint endeavours of these countries to eliminate these influences and domination is one of the most interesting and inspiring developments of our times.

Chile, our host country, has shown a remarkable spirit of defiance and determination in its attempt to attain social and economic progress through self-reliance and the participation of the masses, and without undue external influence or interference. We extend our best wishes for the success of the great tasks undertaken by this country.

We welcome the presence in this Conference of the representatives of the People's Republic of China as well as the new members of the United Nations, namely, Bhutan, Bahrein, Oman and United Arab Emirates who are participating in this Conference for the first time. Bhutan is our close neighbour and we have age-old historical and cultural ties with her. Ties of friendship, culture and commerce also bind us historically to Bahrein, Oman and United Arab Emirates.

Mr. President, this Conference is meeting at an extraordinary phase in the evolution of the International Economic System. Thanks to modern science and technology, now as never before, poverty and economic stagnation need not be the inevitable lot of the overwhelming majority of mankind. Yet, despite stupendous advances in scientific knowledge, two-third of mankind continue to suffer from acute poverty. This is largely due to the existing world economic order which has brought about inequitable relations between the rich and the poor nations. UNCTAD has, no doubt brought about a greater awareness of the extent to which the external unfavourable environment limited the pace of development which the poor nations can attain. UNCTAD has not only identified the principal tasks of cooperation for development but has also made available a large number of sound solutions. The International Development Strategy adopted by the United Nations only two years ago contains a comprehensive action programme for the international community. And yet, one cannot say with any degree of confidence that the commitments voluntarily assumed by the international community only a short while ago are being implemented with any degree of vigour and vitality Indeed, the events of the past few months have brought out sharply the extremly fragile basis on which international cooperation is based. We have witnessed the virtual crumbling of the World Monetary Payments System, brought about by unilateral actions taken in total disregard of the interests of other countries, particularly the developing countries. The World Monetary System evolved at Bretton Woods was primarily designed to serve the interests of the rich nations. In this system, the interests of the developing countries have always been a residual consideration, accommodated more as an exception than taken as an integral part of the system as a whole. This has been amply demonstrated by the events of the last few months. Developing countries have in no way contributed to this crisis and yet the manner in which the crisis was sought to be resolved, served as a grim reminder to us that the interests of the developing countries have been invariably accorded a low priority in the current process of decision-making concerning the future of the World Monetary System, in which the developing countries have a no less vital stake than the, developed countries. Decisions are taken by a small group of rich nations, which is a painful reminder of the unequal economic power of the various groups of countries. This is a state of affairs which cannot continue any longer if International Economic Cooperation is to have any real meaning.

What have these events demonstrated from the point of view of this Conference?

They have demonstrated that a quarter of a century after the establishment of the United Nations, there is nothing binding about International Economic Cooperation. Assistance to developing countries is still based on an appeal to the charity of richer nations, which is far from bountiful. It is so highly unpredictable and volatile as to be the first casualty of the twists and turns of the domestic policies of individual developed countries. These events have also demonstrated that trade measures are not taken as a part of an overall design to change the world commercial pattern and order on a systematic and progressive basis. They are reversed suddenly or given up to suit their convenience.

To give one example, till now there has been no positive response to the repeated requests of the developing countries and the numerous recommendations of inter national organisations to start negotiations for taking advance action on the removal of non-tariff barriers 'to the trade of the developing countries. The usual argument given has been that it is difficult to launch a new round of trade negotiations so soon after the completion of the Kennedy Round negotiations in the GATT and at a time when the European Economic Community is in the process of being enlarged. However, when the interests of the major economic powers were threatened by the unilateral action of one of their members, they had no difficulty in setting aside these considerations and agreeing to initiate negotiations for the removal of non-tariff barriers among them.

Recent events have demonstrated that the attitude of some of the major economic powers to the problems of development is determined by their design to maintain a certain balance of power in the world and by their desire to impose their own image of the world on economically weaker nations.

Mr. President, it has become trite to say that the primary responsibility for the development of the developing countries rests with those countries themselves. Recent events have given rise to a sombre realisation of the great significance of this Commitment of the developing countries to the international community and, above all, to their own peoples. My delegation would however like to dispel any misapprehension that the expression 'self-reliance', on which the developing countries have staked so much, is born out of any disillusionment or is simply a reaction to the great propensity shown by the developed countries to act unilaterally in defence of their own interests.

Self-reliance for us is not an insular idea. It is a positive concept involving for the governments and the peoples of our countries, immense sacrifice, hard and unpleasant decisions and considerable courage. First and foremost, it requires ensuring full participation of all the sections of our population in the development process. It calls for making sacrifices- of present amenities for future prosperity, and at the same time taking immediate steps to ameliorate the living conditions of those who are below the poverty line. As our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, stated in 'the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1968, the present age is the 'age of the people' and 'for the first time, "we the people" does not mean a few representing the many, but the masses themselves, each of whom is poignantly convinced of his individuality, each of whom is seeking to assert his rights and to voice his demands'. In our effort to develop on the basis of selfreliance, our first and foremost concern is to do the utmost to give the people their rights and meet their demands.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Mr. President, the recent traumatic experience in the international monetary. commercial and development assistance fields should not be allowed to cast any doubt on the essential validity and the ultimate triumph of the spirit of international economic cooperation. The developing countries have too great a stake in evolving a new world economic order to afford to give in to the present mood of uncertainty

and despondency. We must, therefore, keep on pressing energetically for the elimination of the inequities and the anomalies of the past economic relationships.

The world economic system, which we are trying to refashion, principally through the forum of UNCTAD, has become extremely complex, and is undergoing radical

113

transformations. The domination of the system by one economic power which has been one of its most important feature, is going to be replaced shortly by a number of equally powerful economic blocs. The national economies of many of the developed market economy countries are suffering from an imbalance of chronic nature. In the developing countries also many new trends have appeared particularly the most powerful assertions ever made of the social and economic urges of the people and an active search for new approaches and techniques of development to meet these urges. Finally, the socialist countries have for quite some years now shown both keenness and readiness to join the mainstream of the world economy from which they have so far been kept out through artificial barriers and discrimination.

Mr. President, we require extraordinary intelligence, sensitivity and sophistication to deal with such a complex system with its variegated trends and massive array of problems. It is axiomatic that these problems can be tackled only on the widest possible basis, indeed on a universal basis. Above all, we need a moral purpose and a spirit of human sympathy and compassion to deal with these problems. There can be nothing more alien to the basic characteristics of our complex society, than the flaunting of economic strength and the recourse to unscrupulous and narrow national self-interest that we have witnessed recently.

As this is the first world-wide conference on trade and development after the adoption of the strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, it provides a unique opportunity to give concrete substance and action-oriented content to many of the important provisions of the strategy. The tasks before the conference have already been clearly defined in the General Assembly Resolution 2820 of the 26th Session. It is within this broad framework that I would like to analyse the problems confronting us in different fields and suggest what this conference can do in discharge of the mandate given to it by the General Assembly.

In the field of trade, the recent agreement between the Governments of USA, EEC and Japan to conduct a new round of multilateral negotiations in 1973 under the auspices of the GATT, with a view to furflier reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers, has far-reaching implications. My delegation would like to emphasise that the prospect of these. negotiations must not be allowed in any way to prevent purposeful negotiations within the framework of UNCTAD on the trading problems of the developing countries. The primary role of UNCTAD in the liberalisation and expansion of trade of developing countries must be preserved; in particular, UNCTAD through its Secretary-General must be fully associated in working out the guidelines of the negotiations proposed to be conducted in 1973 under the auspices of the GATT. Meanwhile, this Conference must solemnly reaffirm its support to the principles of standstill and of a preferential reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers in favour of developing countries. Developing countries have by now enough experience to realise that nondiscriminatory multilateral negotiations on tariff and non-tariff barriers cannot provide effective solutions to their problems. In keeping with its mandate, the continuing machinery of UNCTAD must, therefore, continue to grapple with the problems of developing countries without being content with what goes on in other international organizations.

COMMODITY AGREEMENTS

In the field of commodities which are a vital source of foreign exchange earnings of developing countries, the progress towards stabilisation and expansion of export earnings from primary products must constitute an integral part of any viable development strategy. Fortunately, agreements have been reached on a number of principles relating to the field of commodities. The challenge to this conference will be to agree on a time-bound programme for dealing with the problems of individual commodities on the basis of recommendation 16(II) of the Second UNCTAD. Moreover, as provided in the Lima Declaration, we should also undertake a review of the existing arrangements to see if new concepts and principles have been applied to them, particularly the concept of market sharing.

At the Second UNCTAD, the Indian delegation had suggested the creation of a

11/

Special Fund for financing research designed to diversify the end-uses of natural products facing competition from synthetics and substitutes. Though there was no agreement in the second session on this proposal, it was pursued through the continuing machinery of UNCTAD and there has since been an, understanding that the financing of projects in this field could be provided by UNDP. My delegation is of the view that the scale on which this problem is being sought to be resolved is far from commensurate with its magnitude, We are convinced that this is not the way of achieving a break-through in this field in the foreseeable future. We would, therefore, like to revert to our suggestion for creating a special fund for this purpose, which should be provided with adequate resources, the size of which should bear at least some relation to the amount of resources being currently devoted to research on synthetics and substitutes.

The enlargement of the European Economic Community is going to aggravate further the commodity problems of these developing countries by enlarging the area of protection and discrimination and by depriving some of the developing countries of their existing advantages. The situation created by the enlargement of the community can be redressed only within the framework of a wider agreement on market

sharing. Another major thrust of our endeayour in this Conference should be the adoption of measures for the commencement of early negotiations for the removal of quantitative restrictions and other nontariff barriers to the exports of developing countries. This is an issue which has been ripe for action for a very long time but negotiations have been postponed again and again tinder one excuse or the other. If the problem of non-tariff barriers is not tackled on an urgent basis and in an effective manner in this Conference, we are afraid that the operation of the general scheme of preferences will be seriously undermined.

TRADE LIBERALISATION

It is not possible to realise the full potentialities of trade liberalisation measures, be it the general scheme of preferences, or the removal of non-tariff barriers, or Sharing of markets for primary products, until the developed countries bring about necessary structural adjustments in their economies. This again is an issue which has been discussed for a long time, but on which no agreement has so far been reached for taking specific measures for achievement.

This is again going to be an important premise for the policy measures during the second development decade. Therefore, one of the major tasks of this Conference is to further concretise this concept and to convert it into a series of commonly agreed measures, particularly for facilitating structural adjustments. Considering the importance of structural adjustments from the point of view of promoting forward-looking policies in the development countries, their overall impact on employment in these countries would only be marginal. Therefore, this Conference must agree on measures for anticipatory adjustment assistance to facilitate increasing exports from developing countries and set up a proper institutional machinery within UNCTAD to provide a framework of accountability regarding progress in this crucial field.

In the field of financing, it is important

to dispel many illusions and pretensions that have been propagated regarding so-called aid. Much of what goes under the name of aid consists of the inflow of private foreign capital, which is not only highly capricious and unpredictable but can also, if uncontrolled, introduce many distortions in the economic and social structures of the developing countries.

Moreover, whatever aid has been forthcoming, has been given under terms and conditions which have imposed a crushing burden of debt servicing on the developing countries. Aid which is invariably tied to procurement from donor countries raises significantly not only the cost of procurement but the future economic burden of our payments as well. International action for speedy untying of aid must therefore constitute an important theme of this Conference. The problem of an adequate quantum of net transfer of resources to developing countries would require urgent action to further soften the terms and conditions of development assistance: in line with the recommendations of the Second UNCTAD. Moreover the serious problems of external indebtedness of developing countries must

115

be tackled on a priority basis through a systematic approach for the rescheduling of debts. Rescheduling criteria must be such as to provide a genuine relief to the balance of payments so as to prevent the disruption of an orderly implementation of the development programmes of the developing countries.

Mr. President, it is not our intention to reproach any country for not fulfilling its commitments regarding aid targets and for taking unilateral retrogade measures which have clouded the overall prospect of attaining these targets. We would, however, like to point out that because of the setback during the first year of the decade and the uncertainty surrounding the coming years, there is already a slideback in the fulfilment of the goals and objectives of the Decade.

In the field of shipping, the trend towards declining share of developing countries in world shipping must be reversed and through appropriate policies they must be helped to acquire a reasonable share in world shipping by the end of the decade. Shipping must become a source of strength to the balance of Payments of the developing countries instead of being a drain on their foreign exchange resources. One of the most important issues before this Conference is the question of the code of conduct for liner conferences. The monopolistic functioning of these conferences, due to which vital trade interests of developing countries suffer, must be disciplined and regulated by effective international arrangements.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE:

The existing practice of the commercialisation of technology is yet another form in which the exploitation of the economies of the developing countries is taking place. In this process, the developing countries are unequal partners and the so-called free market forces are playing havoc with their economic destinies. The extent of the price extracted from the developing countries and of the domination of their economies, through the transfer of technology, has been brought out very eloquently in some of the studies prepared by UNCTAD.

Again, a serious threat is posed to the economic independence of the developing countries by multi-national corporations which are now controlling 'the great bulk of the world output; these corporations have wide networks of distribution of products all over the world, thwarting the efforts of the developing countries to expand their exports and in many cases, have a more powerful influence on the economies of the developing countries than even the policies pursued by the Governments of these countries.

The threat posed by the multi-national Corporations can be met only by a determined assertion of national sovereignty and multi-national cooperation among developing countries.

If any progress is to be made towards the goals of the second development decade, it is important to take at least a few bold measures in this Conference. Among these, we attach the highest importance to reaching agreement on the establishment of a link, between the special drawing rights and the provision of additional development finance. The idea of the 'link' has been strongly recommended by two UNCTAD expert groups and has been endorsed by the Committee for Development Planning, the Pearson Commission, the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress of the United States and the United Kingdom House of Commons Select Committee on Overseas Aid. It would be no exaggeration to state that the 'Link' has now received the support of all except the Governments of most of the developed market economy countries. However, in terms of the decision of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers) Conference, of the Board of Governors of the IMF and the World Bank and the provision in the International Development Strategy, the Governments of these countries have at least agreed to consider the question seriously in 1972. It is, therefore, incumbent on this Conference to discuss the question seriously. We hope that it will be possible to take a decision, in principle, in favour of establishing the 'link' and to lay down the procedure for further studies and Consultations that would require to be undertaken subsequently. There should not be any insurmountable difficulty in reaching an agreement in principle because almost all the objections raised against the 'link' have been effectively met and there is an

116

assurance that most of the concerns and apprehensions that have been voiced regarding the establishment of the 'link' can be adequately taken into account.

LAND-LOCKED COUNTRIES

Mr. President, my delegation is fully aware of the responsibility that rests on this Conference to adopt for implementation during the decade, an action programme consisting of special measures for the least developed among the developing countries. We lend our full support to the programme outlined at Lima. We would be glad to cooperate actively in the further elaboration of the programme and in the efforts of this Conference to reach agreement on it. We are also aware of the difficult nature of the problems of the land-locked countries and the need for special measures to ameliorate their difficulties.

The General Assembly resolution establishing the UNCTAD has assigned to the Conference the task of "reviewing in the light of experience the effectiveness and further evolution of institutional arrangements with a view to recommending such changes and improvements as might be necessary." The experience gained during the last 8 years after the establishment of the UNCTAD provides an adequate basis for this Conference to take hard look at the effectiveness of its institutional machinery.

During these years, many issues of the trade and development of the developingcountries have been analysed, diagnosed and discussed. Various solutions have been offered for resolving them and to this end a large number of extremely important decisions have been adopted. Though one of the important tasks of UNCTAD would continue to be the analysis and discussion of new concepts and issues with a view to finding solutions for them, it can be stated without any exaggeration that, the first, phase of the work of UNCTAD is largely over and it has now embarked on the next Phase of seeking a speedy implementation through time-bound commitments of measures already adopted.

With this change of emphasis in the purpose of the Organization, it has become necessary to bring about changes in the institutional arrangements of UNCTAD to serve these purposes. We would therefore suggest that the institutional machinery of UNCTAD should now be geared more and more to providing opportunities and facilities for negotiations and consultations in

order to ensure the implementation within the prescribed time-limits of measures already agreed upon. It would also be necessary, as has already happened in a few cases such as the general scheme of preferences, that every measure to be adopted by UNCTAD, should have a built-in procedure of accountability as regards its implementation.

Mr. President, as we are meeting in this Conference, the world seems to be deluged with slogans relating to the protection of the human environment and with various prophecies of gloom and destruction. Computerised studies based on the projection of past trends have sought to bring out "the limits to growth". Not only this, we have now already quite a few "blueprints for survival".

HUMAN ENVIRONMENT

We fully appreciate that human environment is the common heritage of mankind and that every effort should be made to protect and enrich it. It is in this spirit that India is going to participate in the forthcoming U.N. Conference on Human Environment. We are however constrained to point out that many of the solutions suggested to the problems of environment, in so far as they apply to developing countries, reflect the chauvinism of modern industrial-scientific societies. There are a number of measures accepted in this forum and in many other forums of the United Nations, the adoption of which can contribute substantially to the solution of the environmental problems, for example, a move towards a wider diffusion of industrial activity from large urban agglomerations in the developed countries to developing countries can go a long way towards solving the problem of industrial pollution and otherwise safeguarding the environment.

Similarly, the re-cycling of production might more appropriately begin with the increasing substitution of synthetics by

117 natural products imported from developing

countries and undertaking research on a massive scale to improve the cost efficiency of the production of natural products and to diversify their end-uses. This would involve removal of non-tariff barriers, structural adjustments in the economies of the developed countries and moves towards an optimal international division of labour.

Mr. President, I have tried to present a realistic analysis of the recent trends and developments in the world economic and system, as we see them. Let me underline that in spite of all this, the third Conference is not an occasion for doubts and despondency.

There are many positive elements which should encourage and inspire us to move forward. In a number of developed countries of Europe, the cause of development has become a basic ingredient of the national policies of these Governments. The concern for the poverty of the peoples in the developing parts of the world is now deeply embedded in the conscience of the peoples of these developed countries, particularly of their youth. To quote again from the statement made by our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at the 1968 General Assembly of the United Nations, "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 door-step, but it is not too far from theirs." We are also guided by the high idealism and moral purpose echoed in the statements of the leaders of developed countries in the first and second UNCTAD and in this Conference. We, therefore, approach the task of this Conference in the same spirit of idealism and moral purpose, which is the only way to approach it.

INDIA CHILE USA CHINA BHUTAN OMAN UNITED ARAB EMIRATES MALI JAPAN PERU TOTO

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

Following is the text of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's speech at the banquet given by her in honour of the Prime Minister of Nepal, Shri Kirti Nidhi Bista and Shrimati Bodh Kumari Bista at Rashtrapati Bhavan on April 18, 1972:

Your Excellency the Prime Minister, Shrimati Bista, Distinguished guests:

The visit of a close friend and neighbour is a special occasion. We are glad that you have been able to accept our invitation and to spend a few days with us. On behalf of the Government and people of India and my own behalf, I extend a hearty welcome to you, to Shrimati Bista and to your colleagues.

Nepal and India have lived and grown under the shadow of the Himalayas. From ancient times the wisdom of great sages has inspired us in common. Being near neighbours, it is but natural that we should be intensely attentive to each other.

Our talks have brought out the similarity in our views at a time when great changes are taking place in the world. They have highlighted the desire on the part of both countries to work closely together at a time when we are both on the threshold of rapid advance.

His Majesty King Birendra Bikram Shah has just ascended the throne in your country. Through you we extend our warm greetings to the King. It is our earnest hope that his reign will be a long one, during which Nepal. will grow strong and prosperous. For our part we want our two

118 countries and peoples to come closer in trust and co-operation.

This August, our country will complete twenty-five years of its existence as an independent sovereign nation. Freedom to us has always connoted not only liberation from colonial rule but release from the and economic forces 'that constrain the human personality. The vast programmes of social and economic regeneration which we have undertaken are a part of our continuing struggle. Through two decades of endeavour we have laid the foundation of self-reliant growth of our agriculture, industry and science and technology.

Self-reliance does not mean isolating ourselves from others. It is a prelude to more fruitful economic exchanges with others on a basis of equality. In political matters as well as economic, 'true interdependence can be built only on the foundations of full independence. We have sought friendship with all countries in a of brotherhood and peace. We have stayed away from blocs and alliances, not only to admit no limitation to our independence of action but because we are convinced that the politics of confrontation imperils the desire of the bulk of the world's peoples to lead a better life in conditions of freedom, justice and equality.

The map of mankind has changed considerably in the last 25 years when nation after nation has emerged into freedom. Freedom is inseparable from equality. But many big powers seem to go about in the belief that they could still dominate the world through convenants and spheres of influence. Repeatedly, the small nations have demonstrated that the big powers are not omnipotent, but the elementary lessons of living in the New Age do not seem to have been learnt.

Countries should regard one, another as equal, irrespective of size, stage of economic development or extent of military power. No small or weak nation should feel threatened, and no large nation should imagine in arrogance that it has a right to dictate to others.

The best way of withstanding pressures is by developing internal strength. Economic cooperation on a basis of equality and mutual benefit helps the process of developing inner strength. It is out of this spirit that we are ready to share our skills and resources with neighbours, although we are by no means an affluent country. Our countries are developing countries, and our resources can be put to more purposeful use if we co-operate with one another.

The welfare of the people of India is closely interlinked with that of the people of Nepal. The object of Indo-Nepal cooperation is that Nepal should develop rapidly on the path of self-reliant economic progress and India in its turn will have a prosperous and contented neighbour. I want to assure you, Prime Minister, of India's desire to be a reliable neighbour and good friend to you. The border between us is a border of peace and friendly feeling.

You and Madam Bista are no strangers. I hope that your tour of the country will give you a glimpse of our progress and also enable you to discover for yourself the deep regard and affection that our people have for your country.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, may I request you to join me in a toast to the health of His, Majesty the King of Nepal, to the health of His Excellency the Prime Minister of Nepal and Shrimati Bista, and to the everlasting and unbreakable friendship between the peoples of India and Nepal.

NEPAL USA INDIA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

Nepalese Prime Minister's Reply

Replying the Prime Minister of Nepal said:

Your Excellency prime minister Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Chief Justice, Hon'ble Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I express my deep sense of appreciation and gratitude for the kind words that you have just now said towards the Government and people of Nepal. I on my part, heartily reciprocate similar feelings and sentiments towards the Government and the people of India.

I am indeed very happy to be able to come again to this great and hospitable

119

country at your kind invitation and my wife and I have been deeply touched by the warm welcome, and profuse goodwill shown to us by the Government and the people of India. I have no doubt that this goodwill that I have witnessed and experienced here is meant for the people of Nepal as a whole.

As you have so rightly noted the relations between Nepal and India have always remained cordial and intimate. These relations, I may add, extend to many areas of national life as old as history itself. A great measure of goodwill and fellow feeling informs our relations and we have been deeply moved by the feeling of sympathy expressed widely and spontaneously in India at the sudden demise of our late King. In fact, it is in the nature of these relations between our two peoples that there should be goodwill, understanding and cooperation. I have, therefore, heard with special pleasure the fresh assurance you have made just now of India's continued goodwill and cooperation for Nepal.

As we have pledged ourselves under the youthful leadership of His Majesty King Birendra to the multifarious tasks of development with new vigour, we stand in need of such goodwill and cooperation from more and especially from India. As a matter of fact, India is already at the top of the friendly countries who have shown interest in our development and have found it possible to assist us on a large scale. We are grateful to India for this generous assistance and with progress and development, conditions for easier trade become necessary.

We believe that the recently concluded Treaty of Trade and Transit between India and Nepal, with its new potentiality for smoother trade bilaterally and for easier transit internationally will take adequate care of development in this direction. The Treaty is an example of mutual understanding and accommodation.

Nepal is a peace-loving country. Our adherence to the principle of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence is dictated by our interest in peace, Peaceful coexistence presupposes respect of each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and abstension from interference in each other's internal affairs. These considerations have been uppermost in our mind when we made our decision to adjust to the new reality in the South East Asian sub-continent brought about by the emergence of Bangladesh as a new sovereign nation. The happy relations of friendship that Nepal has enjoyed with its neighbours and with the international community as a whole are the product of its humble but sustained efforts in the cause of peace, justice and cooperation.

We are glad that India, under your determined and dynamic leadership, has recently made great advance in its political and social goals. Our people have watched this development with genuine admiration and are greatly impressed by your supreme dedication to the cause of raising the living standards of the Indian people. We wholeheartedly wish you full success in this noble but challenging task.

Finally, I have no doubt that the reason why friendship between India and Nepal has survived through the vicissitudes of history is that the relations are based on mutual cooperation. The spirit of give and take has permeated 'the Indo-Nepalese relations through the ages, apart from the other kinds of extensive exchange and accommodation in many vital areas between the two countries. Large programmes of economic development through the Indian Cooperation Mission and the Kosi and Gandak agreements are examples of mutuality of give and take distinguishing our relations.

With these words, may I propose a toast to the health and wellbeing of His Excellency the President of India and to Your Excellency, Madam Prime Minister and to the enduring friendship between Nepal and India.

120

NEPAL USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC BANGLADESH

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Joint Statement on Talks Between the Special Emissaries of India

and Pakistan

The following joint statement was issued on April 30, 1972 on the talks between the Special Emissaries of the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan which concluded on April 29, 1972 in Rawalpindi:

The Special Emissaries of the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India met at Murree and Rawalpindi from 26 to 29, 1972. Shri D. P. Dhar, Special Emissary of the Prime Minister of India was assisted by Shri A. S. Chib, Joint

Secretary, Shri P. L. Sinai, Director, Shri S. P. Jagota, Director, Col. A. J. M. Homji, Staff Officer, Shri J. N. Bhat, Press Officer, Shri N. Dayal, Under Secretary and Shri R. K. Kapur, Senior Research Officer of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. Mr. Aziz Ahmed, Special Emissary of the President of Pakistan, was assisted by Mr. Rafi Raza, Special Assistant to the President, Mr. Iftikhar Ali, Foreign Secretary, Ambassador Sajjad Hyder, Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan, Director General and Mr. Abdul Sattar, Director General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan. This was the first occasion on which representatives of India and Pakistan were able to meet and communicate directly with each other on behalf of their Governmerits since the tragic developments of last

The Special Emissaries held several sessions. These were marked with cordiality and a readiness on both sides to appreciate each other's point of view.

Shri D. P. Dhar also called on His Excellency the President of Pakistan. He conveyed to the President the greetings of the Prime Minister of India and took-the opportunity to thank him for the gracious hospitality accorded to him and the members of his Delegation. The Special Emissaries have accomplished the task entrusted to them. They have settled the modalities for the forthcoming meeting between the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India and have defined the subjects to be discussed by them. In this connection they considered several matters, including in particular those bearing on the establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent. The two Emissaries wish to place on record their satisfaction that ground has been prepared for a meeting between the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India. The meeting will be held towards the end of May or the beginning of June at New Delhi. A mutually convenient date will be announced in due course.

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

SOUTH EAST ASIA

Statement by Minister of External Affairs on Reported South Vietnam Committee Demand

Assembly's Foreign Relations

Following is the text of the Statement by Minister of External Affairs Shri Swaran Singh in Lok Sabha on April 21, 1972 regarding reported news about the South Vietnam National Assembly's Foreign Relations Committee asking the South

121

Vietnamese Government to immediately expel the Indian Delegation to the International Control Commission and also to use the law in a severe but 'just' fashion towards Indian nationals:

Government have seen press reports regarding the suggestion of the Foreign Relations Committee of the National Assembly of South Vietnam to take certain anti-Indian measures bath against the Indian members of the I.C.C. and the Indian nationals in South Vietnam. Government is enquiring from its Consulate General and the Chairman of the ICSC in Saigon about the matter and are awaiting their report.

The Consul General of the Republic of Vietnam was called by the External Affairs Ministry. He reported that he had no authentic information on the point but that he would ascertain the position from Saigon and let us know.

The Government of South Vietnam claim that they support and respect the International Commission. The Commission

is a composite body and any action against any one of the component members of the Commission would be tantamount to action against the Commission as a whole. The Government of the Republic of Vietnam have already re-validated the visas of all the members of the Commission, including the Indian Delegation, for a period of six months starting April 1, 1972. There is absolutely no justification to discriminate against the Indian Delegation to the ICSC by expulsion or otherwise.

As regards the Indian nationals in South Vietnam, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam had, through their note of January 21, 1972, clearly assured us that they had issued strict instructions to the appropriate authorities to take adequate measures to protect the life anti property of the Indian community throughout the Republic of Vietnam.

The Government of India expect that the South Vietnamese Government will abide by all these assurances and not allow any prejudicial or hostile action to undermine the friendly relations between the Indian and the South Vietnamese people or to injure the legitimate rights of the Indian community in South Vietnam.

VIETNAM INDIA USA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Prime Minister's Message to Chairman Kosygin on Twentyfive Years of

Indo-Soviet Relations

Following is the text of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's message to Chairman Kosygin on the 25th anniversury of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and India:

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between India and the Soviet Union, my colleagues in the Government of India join me in sending you our warm felicitations. It is a matter of deep satisfaction for the Government and people of India that the relations between our two great countries and peoples have grown in spite of our differing political and social systems. The friendship between India and the Soviet Union has deepened and its range has widened during the last 25 years. In 1950, the trade between our two countries was merely Rs. 25 million. It is now Rs. 3500 million annually. And there are even greater opportunities for further develop-

122

ment of economic and. commercial relations on the basis of. equality and mutual benefit. The signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation in August 1971 is an expression of the will of 800 million peace-loving peoples of our two countries to cooperate with one another for the relaxation of tensions in Asia and in the rest of the world and thus serve the cause. of peace and progress. As in the past, so in the future, our two countries Will work together in the cause of peace, for the elimination of racialism in all its forms and against imperialism and colonialism. It is out, firm conviction that none of the problems of the contemporary world can be solved by promoting conflicts or by creating spheres of influence. Viewed in this light, the friendship between our two countries makes a positive contribution to the cause of international peace and cooperation.

INDIA USA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Statement on External Affairs Minister's Visit to Moscow

The following is Me text of the statement issued simultaneously in New Delhi and Moscow on April 6, 1972 on the visit to the USSR of Sardar Swaran Singh; Minister of External Affairs:

The Minister for External Affairs of India, Sardar Swaran Singh paid a visit to Moscow from April 3 to 5, 1972 as a guest of the Soviet Government.

Sardar Swaran Singh was received by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Mr. J. I. Brezhnev. He had a meeting with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. A. N. Kosygin. Sardar Swaran Singh held talks with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. A. A. Gromyko.

The meeting and talks were held in a warm. and cordial atmosphere. A wide range of questions on Soviet-Indian relations, the situation on the Hindustan Peninsula and current international Problems of mutual interest were discussed.

Both sides noted with deep satisfaction their determination to further develop Soviet-Indian relations, and to widen the cooperation between the Soviet Union and India in the Political, economic, scientific, technical and other fields. This is proved by the fruitful development of relations between the two countries ever since the establishment of diplomatic relations whose 25th anniversary falls on April 13, 1972. The treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and India concluded in August 1971 has become an important factor in strengthening international peace, security and cooperation. Cementing the traditional friendship between the Soviet and

Indian peoples, this Treaty has opened up new horizons for widening and deepening comprehensive Soviet-Indian Cooperation. An exchange of opinions was held on further concrete steps for developing and strengthening Soviet-Indian ties in various fields.

In the course of discussions concerning the situation on the Hindusthan Peninsula the two sides expressed themselves in favour of an early peaceful political settlement of the problems obtaining in the area through direct negotiations between the Governments of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. The Soviet Union and India believe that the normalisation of the situation on the sub-continent which genuinely takes into account the political realities of today would meet the vital interests of the peoples of the area, and serve to promote and strengthen lasting peace. They are convinced that every effort should be exerted to make the sub-continent an area of peace, friendship and good neighbourliness.

The exchange of views confirmed the identity of stands taken by the USSR and India on a wide range of current international problems. It was emphasised that, acting in the spirit of harmony and mutual understanding, the USSR and India will continue their active efforts for the purpose of eliminating hotbeds of military tensions ensuring free and independent development of nations, developing peaceful co-operation of States on the basis of equality and consoli-

dating the foundations of international peace and security.

The two sides are convinced that the visit by the Minister for External Affairs of India, Sardar Swaran Singh to the Soviet Union will contribute to the further development of relations of friendship between the USSR and India and fruitful cooperation of the two countries in the international field, in the interest of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Protocol for Co-operation in Agriculture and Animal Sciences

The following press release was issued in New Delhi on April 10, 1972 on the signing of the Protocol for the work plan for development of Scientific and Technical Co-operation in the fields of agriculture and animal sciences between the Governments of India and the U.S.S.R.:

The Protocol for the Work Plan for development of scientific and technical cooperation in the fields of agriculture and animal sciences between the Governments of India and U.S.S.R. was Signed here today. The Protocol which consisted of 9 Articles was signed by Shri T. P. Singh, Secretary Union Department of Agriculture, and Dr. R. N. Sidak, Soviet Deputy Minister for Agriculture on behalf of their respective governments.

The Protocol is a follow-up of the original agreement concluded between Governments of India and U.S.S.R. on June 1.8. 1971. The Agreement envisaged that cooperation will be by way of exchange of visits of scientists and specialists, exchange of samples of seeds, planting materials, strains, preparations and chemicals, technical documents, information as well as by means of organising bilateral scientific and technical symposia and discussions.

The Agreement further provided 'that the country borrowing Scientists and Specialists would bear the local expenses while the lending country would provide for the International Travel cost.

The conditions on which the scientists and specialists will be deputed by one side on the special request of the other side with a view to render assistance or other services to the latter will, however, be defined by corresponding contracts.

For the purpose of successful implementation of Agreement and to achieve the utmost cooperation, the Agreement provided formulation of Annual Work Plans by mutual discussions between the competent authorities of the two countries. The Annual Work Plans should indicate the fields of Cooperation and the programme of work to be undertaken during a particular year. For preparing the work plans and for reviewing the results of implementation of the Agreement, the competent authorities of two sides will periodically hold meetings in Moscow and Delhi alternatively.

The proposals for inclusion in the Work Plan for 1972 have since been finalised in consultation with the Soviet Delegation now in Delhi led by Dr. Sidak, Deputy Minister of Agriculture of the USSR Government.

INDIA USA RUSSIA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Air Services Talks

Followings press release was issued in New Delhi on April 26, 1972 on the conclusion of the air services talks between India and U.S.S.R. and the signing of protocol on development of air services between the tow countries: Talks between India and USSR on civil aviation matters concluded here today with

124

the signing of protocol on development of air services between the two countries.

The Soviet delegation was led by Mr. Burov N.V., Deputy Chief of Foreign Relations Department in the Soviet Ministry of Civil Aviation and the Indian delegation by Shri N. Khosla, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation.

The two delegation reviewed the aspects of development of further cooperation between the national air carriers of the two countries - Air India and Aeroflot. It was reaffirmed that their operations between India and USSR shall be based on the principle of equal distribution of traffic and revenues.

The talks were held in a spirit of goodwill and cordiality.

The national air carrier of the USSR, Aeroflot, is at present operating three flights a week via Delhi and one via Calcutta with traffic rights and one transit service. Air India operates two fights per week via Moscow.

Air India and Aeroflot are operating flights under a revenue pooling agreement, whereby all revenues earned by the two airlines from the carriage of direct passengers, cargo and excess baggage between India and USSR are pooled in accordance with average tariffs agreed between the airlines.

An Air Transport Agreement between the Government of India and the Government of USSR was concluded at New Delhi on the June 2, 1958 which provides for consultations between the aeronautical authorities of the two Governments.

Intergovernmental consultations between the Civil Aviation authorities of the two countries have taken place from time to time. Such consultations were last held in

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC RUSSIA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNITED KINGDOM

British Aid to Mangalore Fertiliser Project

Following press note was issued in New Delhi on April 14, 1972 regarding finalisation arrangements for allocation of British aid to Mangalore Fertiliser Project:

Under arrangements finalised here today, the British Government will allocate & 10.5 million from their financial aid to India too meet the sterling costs of a fertiliser complex at Mangalore in Mysore. The complex, which will come into operation in 1975, will have a rated production capacity of 34,000 tonnes of urea per annum.

The project is being set up by Mangalore Chemicals and Fertilisers Ltd., Bangalore, and the main contractors for the project will be Messrs Humphreys and Glassgow Ltd., London and Humphreys and Glasgow Consultants (Private) Ltd., Bombay.

This is the third fertiliser complex in India to which the British Government has given aid. Previous allocations have been to the Indian Farmers Fertiliser Co-operative Ltd. complex in Gujarat and to Southern Petrochemical Industries Corporation Ltd. complex at Tuticorin. The total

125

British aid for fertiliser projects in India amounts to over & 25 million.

The output of the Mangalore fertiliser

project will give a further boost to India's drive to attain self-sufficiency in inorganic fertiliser production. It will thus have a direct impact on India's agricultural development.

INDIA UNITED KINGDOM USA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Foreign Minister's Statement on Vietnam

Following is the text of the statement in Lok Sabha on April 10, 1972 by the Foreign Minister, Shri Swaran Singh regarding the reported launching of massive air and naval operations and threat of use of nuclear weapons by U.S.A. against North Vietnam:

The Government of India feel gravely concerned over the recent turn of events in Vietnam. Till the end of last year, the two sides were engaged in conducting negotiations at Paris and there was hope that a peaceful settlement would be arrived at.

President Nixon's 8-point proposal put forward in 1971 was an advance over the earlier U.S. position. However, at the end of December, 1971, the American side resumed bombing raids over Vietnam. On February 1, 1972, in reply to President Nixon's 8-point proposal, PRG gave two elaborations which, we thought, were constructive in nature and could have helped in seeking further avenues of a peaceful settlement. However, there was no positive response from the American side. On March 23, 1972, the American side decided not to participate in the Paris peace talks, and the

U.S.A. intensified the bombing raids on the ground that they apprehended an attack. This was followed by a large scale offensive by the Vietcong forces south of the DMZ. Since the first week of April, intensity of U.S. bombings from land bases and aircraft carriers has again been increased.

Government of India have always opposed these bombing raids and they hope that these bombings will stop immediately, all foreign forces withdrawn form the vietnamese soil and the people of Vietnam left free to decide their own future.

USA VIETNAM INDIA FRANCE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Apr 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Deputy External Affairs Minister's Statement on Reported Harassment of

Indian Students in U.S.A.

Following is the text of the statement made in Rajya Sabha on April 6, 1972 by the Deputy Minister of External Affairs, Shri Surendrapal Singh, on the reported harassment, intimidation and, inhuman treatment meted out to Indian Students and immigrant in Some parts of the United States and the steps taken by the government to protect their interests:

We have seen press reports about harassment and intimidation of Indian and

126

other foreign students in Detroit, for alleged violation of US immigration rules regarding gainful employment. Our Embassy in the United States is ascertaining the facts regarding this matter. An Indian official from New York has been sent to Detroit to meet

Indian students and local immigration authorities. We are awaiting the report of our Mission. Press reports indicate that the U.S. State Department itself, as well as two distinguished Senators are seeking explanations from the Immigration authorities concerned.

127

USA INDIA

Date: Apr 01, 1972

May

Volume No 1995 Content

Foreign Affairs Record 1972 Vol. XVIII MAY

No. 5

CONTENTS

PAGE

AFRICA DAY

Prime Minister's Address on 'Africa Day' 129 Shri Swaran Singh's Message on 'Africa Day' 130

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Uma Shankar Dikshit's Speech at World Health Assembly 131
Statement by Foreign Minister on U.N. Secretary General's Remarks 133
Foreign Trade Secretary's Speech in Committee No. 6 of
UNCTAD III on Problems of Land-locked Countries 134

PAKISTAN

Statement by Minister of Defence on Kaiyan Incident 136

Defence Minister's Statement on Pak Ceasefire Violations 137

Reciprocal Action by Pakistan to Stop Anti-Indian Programmes 137

PARLIAMENT

Defence Minister's Reply to the Debate on Budget Demands 138

SWEDEN

Swedish Grant of Paper to India 143

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUB LICS

Indo-Soviet Trade Protocol for 1972 143
Foreign Minister's Statement on Circulation in Western Countries of Erroneous Soviet Maps 145

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Foreign Minister's Statement on Developments in Vietnam 145

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS: EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

INDIA PAKISTAN SWEDEN USA VIETNAM

Date: May 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

AFRICA DAY

Prime Minister's Address on 'Africa Day'

Following is the text of Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's speech at a meeting organised in New Delhi on May 25,1972, to celebrate 'Africa Day':

This is an occasion when we declare our solidarity, our friendship and our support for the people of Africa. Our President, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, has already spoken on behalf of our political party. My colleague, the Foreign Minister, has expressed the Government's point of view. I want merely to send my greetings and those of the people of India. You know that we are about to celebrate the 25th Anniversary of Indian Independence and our minds are very much on our own freedom struggle and naturally when we think of that we think also of all the other peoples of the world who are still struggling for freedom. We think also that all of us some who are free and some who are not, we still are subject to one type of colonialism or another. It may succeed or it may not succeed but the effort to have this sort of pressure whether through economic means or other threats and so on is a constant one for those who live in Asia, for those who live in Africa and for those who live in Latin America.

The struggle for freedom, the sort of freedom that all of us had envisaged when we were fighting and when we gained freedom how sure we were that we had arrived at the end of a struggle. And from then on it was only our effort which could take the Indian people forward, we feel now after the experience of so many years that that battle is not ended and that everywhere where people are not free that battle is on not just for the freedom of an area or a country but the freedom of the human spirit. We think that the ills of the world today are not just for a mistake made in the manner in which science was used or that technology is being exploited. The basic sickness of the world is this that in the mind of man there is still this feeling that some are better than others; that some are higher than others and that some are more capable than others. We have heard the story. For many years in my time when we were fighting for Independence it was very prudently put as the 'white-man's burden'. Today that phrase is no longer used but it is expressed in many different words and the meaning to us who live in Asia and Africa is clear enough. And what we learn from it? Only this that the struggle must go on. That even those of us who have attained our Independence have a duty to those who have

Sardar Swaran Singh put very clearly that political independence has no meaning unless there is economic stability and economic strength. And we know that this cannot be attained unless all of us get together. We cannot get this each by ourselves because forces which are against us. are so powerful and so entrenched not only because of their strength but because of our own weaknesses. We have been so long under colonial rule that many of us still are unable to assert ourselves and see through the blandishment, if I can put it that way, which we sometimes receive in different forms. The world today is facing crisis or perhaps it always had faced one crisis or another but I think today it is a deeper crisis. But I do not think anyone of us here are depressed or cowed down by this because we know when there is a flame of freedom or desire of freedom in any people that is bound to prevail. It does not matter how much you have to struggle; how much you have to suffer; how much you have to sacrifice but if you really have a wish for freedom there is no power on earth which can deny it. We have seen it in countless ways

129

in many countries - the most recent was the example of Bangladesh only last year. We have before us the example of Vietnam - a small country, a country which nobody would have called strong. The people there are delicate, gentle-looking yet they have faced the world's strongest and mightiest army for years and years and years and they are still fighting with the same courage and same determination. So, our sympathies, our good wishes and our greetings go out to, all the people of Africa. I would like to pay homage to all those who have sacrificed their lives in a long struggle, to all those who are today still suffering whether in prison or in other conditions and tell them that our prayers are with them and more than our prayers all the support which we can give.

We, in India;' have a special debt to South Africa because it was in South Africa that our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, was Inspired and found a new way of struggle or of facing tyranny and power. In a very very small way I also have a debt - personal - to South Africa because perhaps some of you may have heard the story that as a very very shy and retiring student I was returning from England terrified of speaking publicly or even in a small group of strangers. The African community and some Indians had a function for me in Durban. When I heard I was so scared I did not know what to do. And I said look I will come to your function but I am not going to speak, I cannot speak in public. They said people will talk, they will give flowers to you, you must at least say 'thank you'. I said I cannot say a word in front of a stranger. They said now that the meeting is announced please come and sit on 'the dias. I said I will do that. But between this conversation and the meeting something happened and that I went to the areas where the African people were living and straight from there I came to the meeting and at the meeting the African gentleman who was presiding he said we are sorry but Miss Nehru will not speak. And I said that she will speak, she will speak. And I immediately got up and I think that was perhaps my first adult public speech and I spoke very impassioned because I simply was so full of something that just had to be said and if there had not been a meeting I think I would have addressed a street-corner meeting because I just had to say.

Many a thing have happened in our world and are happening today about which no thinking, sensitive and right-minded person can keep quiet. It is not enough merely to speak. We must speak when the occasion for- speaking comes but - we must also act, because the occasion for acting is here and now. So, I express on behalf of the people-of India, and on my own behalf, our very very warm, fraternal greetings to the people of Africa. I also would like to express my appreciation of the works of OAU because unity is the only way in which any struggle can succeed and, I hope, that in this unity the people of Asia will have their full voice and whatever strength and help they can give.

May I express my gratitude to all our guests here who have come from Africa and Asia. I think the values have always been there. They still are there but we do not act up to our ideas and our values. This is what is needed. We have the ideas and values but can we be united because the struggle is not only of the African people, the struggle is of all those who have been oppressed for hundreds of years, of those who still are oppressed and even those who are not oppressed but are being threatened with dire consequences if they persist on standing on their own feet, of keeping their way of life, of fighting for what they cherish most.

INDIA USA BANGLADESH VIETNAM SOUTH AFRICA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: May 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

AFRICA DAY

Shri Swaran Singh's Message on 'Africa Day'

Following is the text of the message sent by the Foreign Minister, Shri Swaran Singh, to the Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity on the accasion of Africa Day on May 25, 1972:

On the 9th Anniversary of the Charter of Addis Ababa which established the Organisation of African Unity, on behalf of the Government and people of India I send you and through you to the O.A.U. and the peoples of Africa warm greetings. Please accept our best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of all the peoples of Africa.

The high aims of the O.A.U., to defend the integrity and independence of African States, to improve the living standards of the African people, to eradicate various forms of colonialism and to promote international co-operation, all rest on the foundations of unity and solidarity among African States. We follow with deep interest and admiration the achievements of the O.A.U. in promoting these objectives.

Our full sympathies and support go out, as hitherto, to the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea, struggling to throw off the yoke of racism and colonialism. Lasting peace will elude the world until the dignity of the man, without distinction of race and colour, comes to be honoured everywhere.

ETHIOPIA INDIA USA SOUTH AFRICA ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE NAMIBIA ZIMBABWE GUINEA

Date: May 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Uma Shankar Dikshit's Speech at World Health Assembly

Following is the text of the speech by the Minister of Health & Planning, Shri Uma Shankar Dikshit, while addressing the 25th Session of the World Health Assembly in Geneva on May 10, 1972:

We who are gathered here represent governments which are the custodians of the present and future well-being of our respective peoples. May I, Mr. President, as one representing a nation of more than 550 million people, offer you my sincere congratulations on your election to this high office? I have no doubt that under your able guidance we shall be able to address

ourselves effectively to the tasks which bring us together. Our congratulations go also to the Vice Presidents and the Chairmen of the two main committees. On behalf of my delegation, I should also like to compliment the outgoing President, Sir William Refshauge, for the manner in which he has conducted the Assembly.

The Director General has presented a wide-ranging report which not only lists WHO's achievements for the year - and they are considerable - but also outlines the health problems which still confront the family of man.

As a nation which shelters a seventh of humanity we are very conscious of the duty of our Government to create conditions in which all our people can live a life free from want and worry. Prompt medical attention and programmes which improve the level of health of our people occupy a key place in our design of national development. The main ingredients of the public health programmes of India and most other developing nations, at the present time, are the prevention of communicable diseases, provision of safe water, nutritious food and medical care for the masses, and the regulation of the growth of population.

As a result of our endeavours during the last two and a half decades, the general death rate has come down from 27.4 per thousand Population in 1946 to 17.0 in 1971. The infant mortality rate has also declined considerably. A child born today in the country can expect 'to live for 52.6 years as compared to 32 years during 1941-50.

Our public health programmes have resulted in an appreciable reduction in morbidity and mortality caused by communicable diseases. There has been a steady decline in the number of cases and deaths due to smallpox. Malaria had once been our principal killer, but Malaria cases have shown a reduction by 99 per cent. But our malaria eradication programme has taught us that in matters of health there

should be no complacency or premature relaxation of effort. In some places, we have found that new mosquito strains resistant to D.D.T. and other insecticides have made their appearance. As a result we have rephased our programme. I would suggest that international research organisations should also take up an earnest study of the problem of malaria recrudescence. Our programmes on control of tuberculosis, leprosy, filariasis, trachoma etc. have started vielding dividends. In regard to cholera and other gastrointestinal diseases, our emphasis has been on the improvement of environmental sanitation and safe water supply under the National Water Supply and Sanitation Programme.

One of the most complex challenges that face us is that of a fast expanding population. This tends 'to dilute the results of our economic development and leads to other social tensions. Family Planning has, therefore, been accepted as a national imperative and is an acknowledged objective of national policy. The programme has been integrated with the basic health services and maternal and child care. Both in urban areas and in our half million villages, the people have come to recognise that smaller families make for improved levels of living and also for greater opportunities for education and employment of the younger generation. We have succeeded in breaking through traditional and psychological barriers and we now expect a fairly rapid acceleration of the programme.

I should like to remind the Assembly of a gigantic challenge which we had to encounter in the year gone by. The struggle and upheavel in our neighbouring country led to an influx of ten million people who took refuge in India before their motherland became a free and sovereign country, Bangladesh. You can imagine the extraordinary problems of providing housing, sanitation, water, food, clothing and medicines for such a vast number. Severe outbreaks of cholera due to Eltor vibrio occurred in some of the refugee camps. However, owing to timely and coordinated action undertaken by our Central and State

Governments and voluntary organisations. the disease was fully contained and did not spread to the local population. I may mention, with some legitimate pride, that most of the necessary supplies of vaccines and rehydration fluid needed for the relief measures were provided from within the country. At one state grave forecasts had been made of large-scale deaths of children owing to malnutrition. In fact the possibility was first apprehended by our own experts and we were able to take effective steps to! avert such a tragedy.

I should like to record our appreciation of the sympathy and help extended to us by several international institutions, especially the World Health Organisation, in meeting this problem. However, the operational control, the manpower and the main effort were our own.

The refugees have gone back. But the health problem faced by Bangladesh today are immense and require urgent national and international efforts and co-operation for their redress. We hope that the W.H.O. will render all possible help and assistance to the Government of Bangladesh and will participate in her health programmes.

Mr. President, the Director-General's report has highlighted the increasing share of W.H.O's concern and attention devoted to diabetes, drug misuse and drug dependency and heart trouble. There is certainly need for undertaking greater research into these ailments and directing public attention towards them. Many advanced countries have indeed taken up this work. But the major health problem of the majority of mankind still consists of illnesses caused by poverty and economic backwardness, namely communicable diseases, malnutrition, sanitation. The developing nations are unable to command the resources and personnel that dynamic health programmes would require. An international organisation like W.H.O. has a special contribution to make to redress this imbalance, and I would strongly urge the W.H.O. to accord higher priority to 'the needs of the underprivileged.

Such concern cannot come about as long as the policy making posts of this Organisation are predominantly held by persons belonging to developed countries. A complete change in the recruitment policy to bring in persons for the higher posts from developing countries is essential. There is no shortage of competent personnel. Such

132

a change would also ensure that the programmes of W.H.O. so drawn up as to meet the immediate needs of the larger sections of humanity which live in the developing countries. These people are in greater need of assistance from W.H.O. than people who live in countries with abundant material and organisational resources.

Mr. President, before I conclude, I should like to mention that the Government of India have always upheld the principle of universality of membership in international organisations and particularly in humanitarian organisations like W.H.O. Therefore, we believe that all nations should be represented in this Assembly regardless of their Internal social systems. This year, we are happy that the People's Republic of China has been included, but I would urge that the German Democratic Republic and Bangladesh should also be included in the community of nations represented here.

May I in conclusion reiterate the hope and 'trust that India has always reposed in the World Health Organisation? From the earliest times, the people of India never equated welfare with their own prosperity, but prayed for the well-being of all. The World Health Organisation is one of the institutions which symbolise the unity of man. I do hope that the present session will take it a step nearer its ideal.

INDIA SWITZERLAND USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC ECUADOR BANGLADESH CHINA

Date: May 01, 1972

Volume No

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Statement by Foreign Minister on U.N. Secretary General's Remarks

Following is the text of the Statement by the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Swaran Singh in Lok Sabha on May 17,1972 regarding the reported remarks made by the United Nations Secretary General about India withholding cooperation to U.N. Observers in Kashmir:

The UN Secretary-General has submitted a report on May 12, 1972 to keep the Security Council further informed under paragraph 6 of the Resolution 307 (1971). In an earlier report submitted on January 29, 1972, the Secretary-General had stated that the Chief Military Observer was trying to secure the requisite cooperation of India and Pakistan to enable the machinery of UNMOGIP to discharge its function of reporting to the Secretary-General on the observance of the cease-fire and that the discussions had been satisfactorily completed with the Pakistan military authorities and were continuing with the Indian military authorities. In his latest report the UN Secretary-General has stated that the situation concerning the functioning of the UN Military Observation machinery in Jammu and Kashmir remained as described in his earlier report and that as a result of this, he has not been in a position to keep the Council fully informed. The Secretary-General has also added that "the machinery of UNMOGIP, which reports to the Secretary-General on the observance of cease-fire in its area of responsibility, continue to be available to the parties, if desired".

UNMOGIP was entrusted under the Karachi Agreement of 1949 with the task of supervising the cease-fire line which was established in Jammu and Kashmir as a result of Indo-Pakistan Agreement. That

cease-fire line was violated by Pakistan in December, 1971 and no longer exists. A new cease-fire line came into existence on the 17th December, 1971, as a result of the unilateral offer of cease-fire by the Prime Minister which was accepted by General Yahya Khan.

The UNMOGIP was entrusted with a particular role in respect of a specific cease-fire line existing at that time, as a result of the Agreement of 1949. While we appreciate the desire of the Secretary-General that UNMOGIP may still have a role, it is quite clear that there is no subsisting agreement for this. This has already been explained to the Chief Military Observer as well as to the UN authorities.

The armed conflict of 1971 has created many problems and it is our desire to resolve them bilaterally so that durable peace may be established.

133

The UN Secretary-General in his report has referred to the efforts being made by the Governments of India and Pakistan to open direct high level negotiations to resolve their differences including the recent meetings of the Special Emissaries of the two countries at Murree and Islamabad which resulted in the Joint Statement of 30 April. With the Summit Meeting shortly due to take place we hope that the cease-fire will be observed strictly thus helping in creating a proper atmosphere for the success of the meeting and in establishing lasting peace between India and Pakistan.

INDIA PAKISTAN USA

Date: May 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Following is the text of the speech by India's Foreign Trade Secretary Shri H. Lall in Santiago (Chile) on May 3, 1972 in Committee No. 6 of the UNCTAD III dealing with special measures relating to the particular needs of the land-locked developing countries:

My Delegation has been following with keen interest the statements made by our colleagues from other delegations on this item. The landlocked developing countries suffer from the particular handicap of the natural opening to the sea and to this extent their difficulties of development aggravated. Their problems have to be fully appreciated and constructive means found to solve them. I am glad to find that there is a general measure of agreement both among the land; locked countries and the transit countries on this important issue.

I would like to join the other delegations in complimenting the distinguished Secretary-General and the Secretariat on the action programme contained in document TD 136. In the small space of seven pages, this document covers all the essential aspects of this subject and also indicates a number of fresh approaches.

My Delegation finds in this admirable document much that it can readily support, particularly where it incorporates or elaborates the Lima Programme of Action. This document brings out the need for an integrated approach to the problems of the landlocked countries. It has made several useful suggestions including such measures as industrial diversification by producing high bulk, low-value goods as a measure of import substitution, the utility of regional cooperation, and the need for technical and financial assistance to identify and overcome the impediments to development. The document also shows an awareness of the need for solving transit problems through consultations and cooperation between the respective landlocked and transit countries. In respect of multinational action, it also recognizes the need for the concurrence and cooperation of all parties concerned.

There are, however, certain other aspects in which it is not easy to agree with the conclusions or the suggestions in the action programme. For instance, there is far too much stress on what experts can do in this field. These questions are predominantly bilateral and can be settled mainly through mutual understanding; the experts can make studies and can make suggestions about the possibilities of improvement, but obviously they cannot be actively involved in the negotiation that may take place between the two countries.

In fact the document itself recognises the complex nature of this problem. It accepts the position that the problems are not purely technical but are, I quote "complicated problems of political and economic relations between the landlocked countries, and their transit neighbours". These are crucial aspects outside the field of technical experts.

Mr. Chairman, I should now like to say something about our own experience as a transit country. We have been fortunate in having long and friendly relations with our neighbouring countries of Nepal and Bhutan, which have been of great help in solving the problems of transit trade. We have heard the distinguished representative of Bhutan who observed that his Government had no problems of transit with the

134

Government of India. The Prime Minister of Nepal during his recent visit to India has also commented on the smooth working of the trade and transit treaty which was concluded last year.

Mr. Chairman, one point I would like to stress is that the problem of transit are not simple or uniform ones which can be solved solely on the basis of general principles. The problem of each set of landlocked and transit countries is different from that of others. This fact is recognised in the secretariat document on action programme. It states "with the concurrence of all parties concerned it will be necessary, to survey in depth the' situation of each landlocked country vis-a-vis each of its transit neighbours".

The distance from the - land-locked countries to the sea is one of such variable factors, the type of transport system available is another.

The customs arrangements between the landlocked and the transit countries are always determined by the economic systems and the export import regimes of both countries. The nature of the border and the existence of absence of a customs cordon are also of great relevance. The exportimport policies followed by the different countries would constitute an important factor that would have to be taken into account when deciding upon the methods, the routes and the formalities of transit trade.

These are only some of the various factors that affect the transit arrangements between any land-locked country and its transit neighbour. As recognised in the report of the Secretariat, it is obvious that no uniform or ready-made solution could meet the specific needs of every set of landlocked and transit countries. Each set of countries had to work out in a spirit of understanding and cooperation detailed solution suited to the particular situation of those countries, bearing in mind the need to ensure that the transit procedures are evolved with a view to serve the interests of country in a manner which is not inconsistent with the interests of transit countries. while emphasising the bilateral nature of transit arrangement, my delegation would like also to stress the dependence of the land-locked countries on the route to the sea in order to develop their economy and there. fore it casts a corresponding obligation on the transit country to provide this outlet.

All the facilities needed for the smooth flow of transit traffic, consistent with the

avoidence of any injury to the economic interests of the transit countries, must be provided. The problem of transit, as part of the process of development of the land-locked countries is a matter of joint interest to both the land-locked and the transit countries. To try to treat it simply as the problem of the land-locked countries alone is to ignore the joint responsibility for the development of the region as a whole and of the neighbouring country in particular. It is only if the problem is seen in this context that we shall be able to find adequate solutions to these problems.

This is what the document before us has rightly described as the "integrated approach" which will require that the transit strategy should provide adequate benefits to the transit country as well as the land-locked country.

While making the above points we fully subscribe to the general guidelines given in the UN development strategy and the lima Programme of Action. In fact, we have already adopted and implemented many of the recommendations made in that document.

It is against this background, we have to consider how the international community can now take further action to meet the particular needs of the land-locked developing countries. A good deal of information has already been gathered. In those cases where further information and investigation is required, the services of experts might be useful, but in the last analysis what is required is a realistic approach which takes fully into account the essential interests of the countries concerned. The international community and the international financial institutions must also be willing to consider the problems of the land-locked countries on the basis of priority, and more particularly, the problem of providing the infrastructure and adequate systems of transport and communications, with the consent of both the countries and in consultation with 'them plans for the improvement of transit routes can also be prepared and implemented.

There must be a fuller realisation of the backwardness of the land-locked countries and the reasons that have been responsible for it, so that international assistance is readily forthcoming for their development. The Government of India have, on their own, provided resources to assist in the development of their land-locked neighbours, and would certainly adopt a very positive approach towards any project framed in this direction and would be happy to offer their fullest cooperation.

INDIA CHILE PERU USA NEPAL BHUTAN MALI

Date: May 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Statement by Minister of Defence on Kaiyan Incident

Following is the text of the statement made by the Minister of Defence, Shri Jagjivan Ram, in the Lok Sabha on May 9, 1972:

Since the declaration of ceasefire between India and Pakistan at 7.00 p.m. on 17th December, 1971, there have been a number of violations and some border clashes along or across the actual line of control. These disputes and differences have largely been resolved by local commanders.

Of late, the number and intensity of Pakistani violations and intrusions have shown an increase, particularly in J and K area. The attack on May 5 by Pakistani troops supported by artillery on our posts in the Kaiyan area, South East of Tithwal in Kashmir, is the strongest intrusion so far committed by Pakistan.

Kaiyan area measuring 13.2 square miles in Lipa valley, it will be recalled, had been captured by our troops in the Tithwal sector during the 14 day war. Pakistanis have been firing at our posts across the line of actual control in this area off and on and our troops have from time to time returned the fire.

At about 3.00 a.m. on May 5, 1972, Pakistani troops in battalion strength, supported by artillery, made a surprise attack on one of our posts in this area. This post, situated 10 miles South-East of Tithwal, was held by about 70 Indian troops. Our brave jawans who were outnumbered 10 to 1, fought back and inflicted heavy casualties on the intruding forces. However, they had to withdraw from this post at about 7 a.m.

Again at 1.45 p.m. on May 5, 1972, Pakistani troops, in more than battalion strength, attacked another post in the same area held by about 120 of our troops, 10 1/2 miles South-East of Tithwal. In spite of the overwhelming strength of the Pakistani attack, our jawans fought bravely and after inflicting heavy casualties, withdrew from this position at 6.45 a.m. on May 6, 1972.

I regret to inform the House that in those actions we suffered about 80 casualties, including 20 killed. The Pakistani casualties are estimated to be much higher.

As we did not want to escalate this conflict, our Army Headquarters contacted the Pakistani Army Headquarters on May 6, 1972 and offered a ceasefire to be followed by a flag meeting between the local commanders to discuss, demarcate and restore the actual line of control. As a result both the Army Headquarters ordered a ceasefire which came into effect at 7.30 p.m. on May 6, 1972. Efforts for arranging a flag meeting are continuing.

136

PAKISTAN INDIA USA

Date: May 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Defence Minister's Statement on Pak Ceasefire Violations

Following is the text of the statement in the Lok Sabha on May 12, 1972 by the Minister of Defence, Shri Jagjivan Ram:

Last Tuesday, I informed the House of the Pakistani attack on two of our posts in Kaiyan area near Tithwal in Kashmir. During the last one week starting from May 4, 1972, Pakistani troops have considerably increased their activity all along the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir. They have committed as many as 49 ceasefire violations during this period. The sectorwise details are as follows:

Guraiz Sector - 7 violations
Tithwal Sector - 9 violations
Gulmarg Sector - 1 violation
Poonch Sector - 15 violations
Nowshera Sector - 15 violations
Jammu Sector - 2 violations

During the same period, there have been only a few incidents along the ceasefire line along Punjab, Rajasthan and Gujarat.

The above list of violations includes two serious incidents of firing by Pak troops in Nowshera Sector, approximately 11 miles Northwest of Nowshera. As a result of these two firings we suffered the following casualties:

Killed - 1 Officer and 1 other rank. Wounded - 1 JCO and 3 other ranks.

As I have already stated in this august House on earlier occasions, our troops have instructions to deal effectively with all Intrusions and ceasefire violations by Pakistani troops. In this process, Pakistani troops have suffered some casualties.

In a number of cases where clashes have occurred along the line of control, flag meetings have been held by local commanders to identify the points of dispute and settle them on the spot. This process will continue so that the chances of clashes along the line of actual control are minimised and needless loss of human lives on both sides avoided.

PAKISTAN USA

Date: May 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Reciprocal Action by Pakistan to Stop Anti-Indian Programmes

Following is the text of a press Note issued in New Delhi on May 26, 1972:

The External Affairs Ministry, in an announcement here today, says:

A few days before the Emissary-level talks were scheduled to begin at Murree the Prime Minister had issued orders that programmes broadcast over Radio and T.V. networks in India should faithfully reflect our desire for a durable peace with Pakistan and not, in any way, create ill will between peoples of India and Pakistan. India's emissary at the meeting in Murree informed the emissary for Pakistan about the Prime Minister's unilateral decision and expressed the hope that Pakistan Government would take reciprocal action. Later, the Pakistan emissary informed us of their intention to take reciprocal action to "taper off" pro-

grammes against India on their Radio and T.V. networks and to stop it altogether on a date to be fixed later.

In pursuance of this an Aide Memoire was received from Pakistan Government on May 22, through the Swiss Embassy in India, in which Pakistan had declared its intention to implement this proposal effective from May 25. The Government of India have' welcomed Pakistan Government's decision.

137

PAKISTAN INDIA USA

Date: May 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PARLIAMENT

Defence Minister's Reply to the Debate on Budget Demands

The Defence Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram, made the following speech in reply to the debate on the Demands for Grants for the Defence Ministry in the Lok Sabha on May 2, 1972:

The Budget of my Ministry is being discussed this time after spectacular achievement of the Armed Forces in safeguarding our borders, and helping in liberation movement of a neighbouring country which has emerged as a sovereign, secular, democracy. I feel elated to hear encouraging words of appreciation for me personally and for the officers and men of the Armed Forces for this victory, this achievement.

The House is fully aware of the exceptional nature of the crisis we had to face last year, of its manifold dimensions and of the manner in which it was deliberately es-

calated by Pakistan into a dire threat to our security, both in the east and in the west. We tried, at each stage, to defuse the crisis. Our response to it was characterised by selfrestraint and dignity. We were careful to avoid over-reaction on our part, and our policies and postures were carefully tailored to meet the requirements of the situation as it unfolded itself from time to time. The military junta in Pakistan, however, refused to look back on the disastrous course it had chosen on March 25, 1971. There is now a growing realisation, even in Pakistan, that the responsibility for the disastrous events rests on the military junta. Unmindful of the warning I had given in this House on November 15, President Yahya Khan carried out on December 3, 1971, his earlier threats to unleash a total war on India.

I am grateful to the House for their generous appreciation of the manner in which the Defence Services responded. Thanks to the precautions we had taken, the pre-emptive strikes at our airfields failed in their purpose. Our forces on the eastern frontier established close links with Bangladesh liberation forces, and the combined operations were executed with skill and determination. Defying a forbidding terrain and bypassing many of the strong points which had been established by the Pakistani forces, the advance elements of the Indian Army reached the outskirts of Dacca on the eleventh day of the conflict. The absence of the Pakistani Air Force in Bangladesh, which was completely eliminated by our Air Force in the very early stage, very much expedited the advance of our ground forces. On the western frontier, fierce battles were fought and repeated Pakistani attempts to pierce through our defences were broken up. The war was carried, as I had promised the House, into enemy territory. On December 16, Pakistani army in Bangladesh surrendered to the Joint Command and Dacca became the free capital of a free country. On December 17, Pakistan reversed its decision to continue the war and accepted our offer of a unilateral ceasefire.

The House will recall that we enjoyed only a marginal superiority over Pakistan,

especially on the western frontier. In fact, in certain categories of equipment, thanks to external aid and assistance, Pakistan had an edge over us. The success of our arms in, this situation, reflects credit on our gallant officers and men, on our brave airmen, on the Commanders in the battle field, on the Chiefs of Staff and on higher management. The performance of our Defence Forces constitutes, as I have said before, a glorious chapter in the annals of military history. The daring and skill with which the operations were planned and executed, the care and foresight with which our limited resource,.; were husbanded, improvised, deployed and utilised, the attention paid to logistics, provisioning, repairs and maintenance, and the manner in which diverse activities were integrated and coordinated are matters on which much has been said and written. I am thankful to the hon'ble Members for their appreciative observations.

138

Mr. Frank Anthony, however, thought that coordination amongst the Defence services was fortuitous. I do not know whether, before making this observation, he cared to study our Annual Report which contains a chapter on "Planning and Management". Shri H. M. Patel was good enough to draw attention to it and say that it contains an objective account of the careful planning and thought which went into the building up of an efficient fighting machine. I am perhaps being not unfair to Mr. Anthony if I suggest that in making his observations he has ignored the experience of the last conflict and has drawn upon outdated experience. The naval operations which neutralised Pakistani advantage of interior lines, the role of the Indian Air Force in protecting Indian airspace against Pakistani air attacks and in destroying their ranks, armoured vehicles and storage depots, and the bombardments from the air of centres and lines of communications on the western front are examples of an endeavour which could not be attributed to inadventitious circumstances. These were the end results of a reasonably well developed system which enabled the three Services to integrate their plans and to function as a wellknit team. It is not merely inter-Services cooperation, in peace time and in war time, which is needed for safeguarding our security, coordination is equally essential, at political and administrative levels, with those responsible for foreign policy, internal public order, and for numerous activities connected with transportation, communications, supplies and production. I do not say that the system which has been evolved, and which has stood the test of the gravest threat to our security, is perfect. We propose. to strengthen and streamline it in the light of our actual experience. I am, how ever, certain that 'the type of structural changes Mr. Anthony has in mind do not conform to our needs and do not accord with the requirements of our democratic processes.

Some references were also made, during the course of the discussions, to matters relating to the Chiefs of Staff. The conventions in this House do not rightly look with favour on discussions of this nature. The present team of the Chiefs has furnished an outstanding example of joint leadership during a difficult period. The position of our western borders, as pointed out by many hon'ble Members, continues to be uncertain. It was, therefore, incumbent on us to reconcile our respect for service traditions and conventions with the requirements of the present situation. I would, however, wish to assure Shri H. M. Patel that there habeen no indecision on our part and the position is fully understood by all concerned.

Shri H. M. Patel made a detailed analysis of the present political situation in Pakistan. He drew the attention of the House to the large accretions of strength to the Pakistani forces since December 17. References were also made by many hon'ble Members to some actions of Pakistan which are not conducive to durable peace on the sub-continent - like cease-fire violations, bellicosity at some points on the lines of actual control, fresh raisings of military and para-military forces, the establishment of two Divisional Headquarters and one Armoured Brigade Headquarters, and the further acquisition of tanks, guns and com-

bat aircraft from foreign countries. Reference was also made to the possibility of certain elements in Pakistan preparing themselves to revert to the politics of confrontation and conflict.

India is firmly committed to peace, peace throughout the world, peace in Asia, and more particularly, peace on the sub-continent. The House has extended all its support to this policy of peace of the Government. In pursuance of this policy, we declared our willingness to enter into discussions with Pakistan without any preconditions. The preliminary discussions at the level of emissaries have just been concluded in Murree, and the President of Pakistan was good enough to receive our Prime Minister's emissary. The modalities for a summit meeting between our Prime Minister and President Bhutto have been agreed upon.

It is right that at this moment attention should be focussed on opportunities for constructive cooperation for the benefit of the peoples of Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. I would not, therefore. wish at this stage to dwell at length on the reported actions of Pakistan. to which my attention has been

139

drawn by hon'ble Members. I would only like to tell the House that I am keeping a watchful eye on the acquisition of arms and equipment by Pakistan, directly or indirectly, through gifts, transfer or purchase, and on the training and deployment of their forces. We shall not relax our vigilance, and I may assure the House that our Defence Forces will remain in a state of preparedness to deal with all acts of misadventure on our borders.

Although active fighting ceased on December 17, a number of consequential responsibilities devolved on the Defence Forces. In the wake of the liberation of Bangladesh, attention had to be paid to speedy restoration of normalcy. In this effort, substantial success was achieved. Search and seizure of arms, with which hostile elements had been equipped by the retreating Pakistani army, was organised;

roads were cleared of mines; damaged bridges were repaired; construction of new bridges and of diversions was undertaken; a jetty at Faridpur was built; ferry services and railway communications were restored; telecommunication links were repaired and revived; airfields were repaired; navigation channels were swept of mines and harbours were re-commissioned. Assistance was also provided in restoring and reviving the channels for civil supplies, The tasks assigned to our Defence Forces were nearly completed in less than 3 months. The phased withdrawal of our forces which had commenced on the morrow of December 17, was completed 13 days ahead of schedule, i.e., on March 12, 1972. The parade at which the Prime Minister of Bangladesh bade our forces a farewell was marked by touching expressions of affection and regard. The country is justly proud of the dedication with which our armed forces carried out unusual task; we are grateful to Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the people of Bangladesh for their generous appreciation and for affectionately describing our forces as the Mitra Bahini. Indeed, their role in the liberation of Bangladesh and in the restoration of normalcy has served to strengthen the bonds of comradeship between our two peoples.

When we called upon the Pakistani Army in Bangladesh to surrender, we had promised to provide protection to ethnic minorities and to treat those who surrender with honour. These promises have been fulfilled. The evacuation, custody and management of 91.634 prisoners of war and civil internees has proved to be a task of considerable magnitude and complexity. Their transfer to India was completed speedily. They are now being taken care of in 50 camps, set up in 14 locations. The treatment which is being meted out to them conforms to our traditions and to the laws of war. The International Committee of Red Cross have been given full facilities to visit these camps and meet the prisoners. The Committee have paid tributes to the arrangements we have made and to the full observance by us of the provisions of the Geneva Conventions in this regard.

The number of Indian prisoners in Pakistan's hands is small. We have been concerned about their welfare We have devised measures to keep in touch with them and send them gifts. We have been assured by the International Committee of Red Cross that they are now being looked after properly. We have been able to get back the seriously sick and wounded, and we are assured that there are no more Indian prisoners of this category in any P.O.W. camp in Pakistan. Some instances of illtreatment of Indian prisoners had come to our notice. The International Committee of Red Cross have been requested to investigate. Their report is awaited.

It is against the background of these. responsibilities and the continuing need for preparedness that I would like the House to consider the Budget demands of my Ministry. Last year, on July 12, 1971, when I rose to- reply to the debate on the Defence Budget for the year 1971-72, dark clouds, emanating from what is now five and independent Bangladesh, were gathering together to pose a threat to our security and our stability. Nevertheless, there was some hope, and we did the best we could in the circumstances to ensure that these clouds get dispersed through a political settlement between Pakistan and the people of Bangladesh. In this hope, I had asked for only the minimum and inescapable increases in our expenditure. In view of our awareness of the developmental needs of our economy and of the commitment we had made to our people, we even effected a marginal decline in the proportion of our defence expenditure

140

in the total budget as compared with the previous year. The House was good enough to assure me then of their preparedness to sanction such increases as might become necessary to meet the threats to our security. I am grateful to the House for having approved the supplementary grant of Rs. 177 crores* in the month of March. I now find that the supplementary grant was based on an under-estimate. The actual expenditure

on transportation, operational works, procurement of stores and stockpiling of raw materials and vital components has been higher. The circumstances in which this expenditure had been incurred have been, it will be appreciated, of an exceptional nature. I do not wish to make a guess in regard to the excess of expenditure: actuals would be available only after financial accounts are closed. I shall then come up for regularising it by a vote of Parliament. I can only assure the House that every care has been taken to observe the utmost economy. I am sure the House will find that we have succeeded in overcoming the gravest threat to our security with a very modest outlay of additional funds.

Coming to the Budget Estimates of 1972-73, I am grateful to the hon'ble Members who have suggested the provision for a larger outlay to replace our losses in equipment and to modernise it more speedily. It is thought that the Estimates now before the House would constitute 3.8% of the Gross National Product. Out of 56 countries of the world for which data on defence expenditure is readily available, 34 countries spend on their defence budget a larger percentage of their Gross National Product-, 13 have mutual security arrangements with one or the other Super Power. None of these countries, over the last 25 years, encountered external threats so persistently or faced external aggression as frequently as India. There is no obvious abatement in the threat to our security. The continued interest of some Great Powers in maintaining tension in the sub-continent is a matter of common knowledge. The rivalry amongst the Great Powers in the Indian Ocean has added a fresh dimension. The recent extension of The jurisdiction of the U.S. Seventh Fleet is a matter of some concern. I have noted the desire of the House to see the deficiencies In our Navy, Air Force and Army remedied as quickly as possible. I propose to do my best in this regard within the constraints imposed by the technological and financial availability or resources and the imperative requirements of the war on want and poverty.

*1 crore =10 million.

The House is aware of the introduction of a number of modern weapon systems in the Services. I am referring to 75 24 Pack How, 130 mm guns, and Vijayanta tanks. A few other weapon systems, including the 105 mm towed guns, are likely to be introduced soon. The number of armoured personnel carriers has been increased. Development action is in hand to manufacture them in the country. For meeting the Army's requirements of an AOP helicopter, the SA-135 helicopter of French origin is to be produced by H.A.L.

Shri Chandrakar has urged that the Navy should be more modernised and more funds, should be made available. Shri Brij Raj Singh has suggested addition of more missile boats, antisubmarine vessels and long-range reconnaissance planes. Shri E. R. Krishnan has referred to the need for more Survey Ships. I can only say that a larger percentage of the budget, i.e., 8.5%, has been devoted to the Navy in the Estimates for 1972-73. It may be possible to raise the Navy's share in subsequent years. A number of steps have been taken to strengthen the Navy. For instance, the Fleet strength is being increased by new acquisitions, quicker replacement of old ships by new ones and improving their fire power and missile capacity. Our submarine fleet is being reinforced. Some more patrol boats will join the fleet in the near future. The first Leander Frigate. I.N.S. NILGIRI, will take her place in the Western Fleet before the monsoons strike Bombay. The programme for the construction of frigates is being accelerated. We are in the final stages for planning construction of Patrol Boats. Indigenous capacity to construct Seaward defence boats, Survey Vessels, Tugs, Dredgers, etc. has been established and is proposed to be expanded and utilised. The Naval Aircraft Wing has been strengthened. The Sea King Helicopters have improved our anti-submarine capabilities. We are aware of the urgent need for increas-

41

ing the ocean surveillance capacity of the

Navy. A number of proposals are being examined in this regard.

The House is aware of the dexterity with which the I.A.F. utilised their holdings of variegated types of aircraft to achieve unchallenged air supremacy in the Eastern Theatre of war and to acquire air superiority over the scattered fronts in the West. We am now engaged in deriving lessons from our experience and in incorporating them into our plans. We will soon be undertaking the manufacture of MIG-21M's. We propose to design improved versions of the GNAT and HF-24. We are also experimenting With the modified versions of HS-748. We have yet to discover solutions for remedying our deficiency in' deep penetration strike capability. We have improved the ground observation system. Our deficiency in low looking radars is being remedied. Our air defence capabilities have been strengthened. progress is being made with the installation of the Air Defence Ground Environment System.

The House is already aware of the Five year Defence Plan on a roll-on basis. During 1971-72, because of our preoccupation with immediate threats and active operations, we were forced to take a Plan holiday. The Ministry of Defence and the Services Headquarters are now busy in updating the Plan in the light of the changes in the strategic and technological environment. As the year 1972-73 has been dedicated by our Prime Minister to self-reliance and self-sufficiency, we propose to lay particular stress on indigenisation, both in procurement and production. My colleague, Minister in charge of Defence Production, has already spoken At some length on this aspect of the matter. I would only draw the attention of the House to the vital role of our R. & D. Organisation in this effort, We do not propose to stint on the expansion and development of its capabilities.

Special attention is being paid to the introduction into our working, methods of modern management concepts in regard to programme formulation and evaluation, begeting, operational research cost effec-

tivness and electronic data processing. Apart from these technical disciplines, a comprehensive knowledge of domestic and international economic and political environment is sought to be Imparted. These objectives are being achieved through a number of Institutions like the National Defence College, New Delhi, the Staff College, Wellington, College of Combat, Mhow, the Institute of Defence Works Study, Mussoorie and the Institute of Defence Management, Hyderabad. The electronic data processing systems have been introduced in the fields of personnel management, inventory control, communication and production planning. A Central group under the guidance of the Scientific Adviser is working on the introduction of E.D.P. techniques in the field of mobile application. As many as 17 project Management Groups are functioning in various fields of employment, selection, development, productionisation, induction and installation of modern weapons systems.

The members of our Armed Forces have proved to the world that in the final analysis it is the man behind the machine who counts. It is his valour, dedication, determination, morale and skill which brought success to our arms. It is his conduct and his regard for human values, which earned us and our forces a good name from our friends in Bangladesh and from foreign observers. It is to him, his welfare and his problems that I would now like to turn. Some hon'ble Members have given expression to the feeling that his problems receive attention mainly when the security and integrity of the country are threatened. Later they tend to be forgotten. I am determined to see that this does not happen.

There has been a growing demand for a change in our policy in regard to nuclear weapons. It has been suggested by some hon'ble Members that India should have nuclear powered submarines. The need for the acquisition of tactical nuclear weapons has been urged. Attention has been drawn to the danger of nuclear blackmail. I have pondered over these observations and I have come to the conclusion that the develop-

ments in the international situation do not warrant any change in our present policy which is to utilize nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only. The challenge in this field is most satisfactorily met by making

142

our country strong both economically and by developing our technology and science. In the field of atomic energy, we are already amongst the advanced countries of the world. The Atomic Energy Commission has drawn up proposals for a programme which includes the development of 2,700 Megawatt of nuclear power before 1980. The Commission is also studying the technology to conduct underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

The problem of national security is multi-dimentional. The Defence Forces have been able to discharge their duties only with the support of all sections of the people. I have had occasion to express my gratitude to them on earlier occasions. We will continue to depend on their cooperation and on the nation's sense of unity And purpose. I request the House to approve the modest demands which have been submitted for consideration.

In the end, Sir, may I express my thanks to the hon'ble members of the House for the kind words they have said about me personally, about the three Chiefs, the officers and men of the Armed Forces, our civilian employees in the forces and the factories, and assure them and the nation that it shall always be our endeavour to jealously guard the sanctity and security of our Borders.

USA PAKISTAN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC INDIA BANGLADESH LATVIA SWITZERLAND RUSSIA NEW ZEALAND

Date: May 01, 1972

Volume No

SWEDEN

Swedish Grant of Paper to India

Following press note was issued in New Delhi on May 17, 1972 on the signing of an agreement between India and Sueden for the grant of 20 thousand tons of paper to India:

India and Sweden signed here Today an agreement under which Sweden w-ill provide 20,000 tons of paper to India worth Rs. 35 million (S. Kr. 23 million).

The agreement was signed by the Swedish Ambassador Count A. Lewenhaupt on behalf of the Royal Swedish Government and Shri R. Tirumalai, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, on behalf of the Government of India.

The sale proceeds of the paper will be spent on development and other schemes included in the Five Year Plan.

The Royal Swedish Government has also earlier presented 45,000 tons of paper for printing school text-books.

SWEDEN INDIA USA

Date: May 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Indo-Soviet Trade Protocol for 1972

Following press release was issued in

New, Delhi on May 5, 1972 on the signing of Indo-Soviet Trade Protocol for 1972 in Moscow between the Minister of Foreign Trade of India and Soviet Union:

India's demands for increased supplies of newsprint, fertilisers and non-ferrous metals have been met in Indo-Soviet Trade Protocol for 1972 signed here Today.

The Ministers of Foreign Trade of India and Soviet Union, Shri L. N. Mishra and Mr. Nikolai Patolichev Signed the document at a brief official ceremony in the ornate

143
House of Receptions of the Soviet Foreign Office.

The Protocol visualises sale of Soviet tractors to India worth upto Rs. 5 crores as a prelude to cooperation in building Indian capacities in tractor manufacture.

The two countries agreed to set up a joint committee including the two Ministers of Foreign Trade and officials to further expand and enrich trade which is already targeted to touch Rs. 500 crore mark this year.

This year's turnover is expected to exceed the volume of 1970 by thirty per cent.

Summing up results of his talks here, Shri Mishra said these were very successful. The Soviet attitude was extremely helpful and cooperative and they showed high appreciation of India's problems. He acquainted the Soviet side with his plans of structural changes in India's foreign trade which will place greater reliance on trade with the USSR, other centrally planned economies of Eastern Europe and developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Zinc and copper are among items which India will get in larger quantities in 1972. The allocation of copper has been increased nearly fourfold from 400 to 1500 'tons.

The newsprint quota agreed upon is over 50,000 tons.

Soviet Union will supply over 200,000 tons of fertilisers which is regarded as generous, considering this year's acute domestic shortages here, brought about by had weather and the need to resow and refertilize large areas.

The Soviet Union also supply fishing trawlers which are expected to be PUT to use immediately for increasing catch of prawns and Similar exportable sea food.

Yet another item included in the Protocol in fulfilment of Indian demand is kerosene, of which Soviet Union will supply 500,000 tons in 1972.

Among the items which are considered traditional Soviet exports are power and electrical equipment, mining and oil drilling equipment, excavators, lift trucks, cranes, transport machines, air transport equipment as well as rolled steel products.

In its turn India will increase consumer items in its exports to the Soviet Union including garments, hosieries and cosmetics. The value of cosmetics alone is 'to be over Rs. 8 crores. - Indian industrial items in the list include garage equipment, accumulators, power cables, wire ropes, chemicals and paints.

At the signing ceremony Mr. Patolichev said Soviet Union was aware of India's progress as well as its problems and he had no doubt foreign trade would be one of the effective levers in overcoming these problems.

In specific reference to political crisis in the sub-continent last year he said that like always Soviet Union was on Indian side. Soviet Union had been and would remain India's reliable friend, he added.

Speaking in Hindi, Shri Mishra said the Protocol he had signed was historic not so much for the quantities it stipulated as for the goodwill behind it and for the desire it reflects of the Soviet Union to help Indian development. Indian Ambassador in USSR, Dr. K. S. Shalvankar, Soviet Ambassador in India, Mr. N. M. Pegov and officials of Foreign Trade and Foreign Ministries attended the ceremony.

Shri Mishra, reached Moscow on Thursday and is scheduled to return to India on Sunday night.

144

RUSSIA INDIA USA

Date: May 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Foreign Minister's Statement on Circulation in Western Countries of

Erroneous Soviet Maps

Following is the text of the statement by the Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swran Singh, in Lok Sabha on May 25, 1972 regarding the reported possibilities of extensive circulation in western countries of erroneous Soviet maps of India depicting large. portions of Indian territory in NEFA and Aksai Chin as part of China:

The Government has seen in the press the reported deal between an American commercial firm and the USSR Government regarding the publication of the English of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia. Our Missions concerned have been asked to send fuller details on the subject.

The reference in the newspaper report appears to be to volume I of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, printed in November 1969, which contains a map on page 280 depicting wrongly India's external boun-

daries. When this map came to the notice of the Government, we had raised this issue with the Soviet Foreign Office. The Soviet, authorities had assured us that this was a matter dealt with in a technical manner by their cartographers and specialists and did not have any political significance. They further told us that the wrong depiction of boundaries in such maps did not in any way affect or reflect the Soviet Government's understanding of and respect for India's frontiers.

While the reported deal with an American firm would lead to a larger circulation on commercial basis of the-Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, this does not reflect any change in the Soviet position.

USA INDIA CHINA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: May 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Foreign Minister's Statement on Developments in Vietnam

Following is the text of the statement by the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Swaran Singh in Parliament on May 10, 1972 regarding recent developments in Vietnam:

As the House is aware, President Nixon declared on May 8 that he had ordered the following measures which were already being implemented:

- (i) All entrances to North Vietnamese ports will be mined to prevent access to these ports and North Vietnamese naval operation,; from these ports.
- (ii) US forces have been directed to

take appropriate measures within

the internal and claimed territorial waters of North Vietnam to interdict the delivery of any supplies.

- (iii) Rail and all other communications will be cut off to the maximum extent possible.
- (iv) Air and naval strikes against military targets in North Vietnam will continue."

At the same time, aerial and naval action on a large scale both in North Vietnam and in those areas in South Vietnam which are under the control of the PRG is being taken. Heavy bombardment of Hanoi, Haiphong and a number of other inhabited

145

localities both in North and South Vietnam has been going on for the last several weeks. Hundreds of thousands of human lives are being lost and more are being rendered homeless and destitute. No one sensitive to human suffering can be indifferent to this situation. There can be no justification for this escalation. It will serve neither the cause of peace nor achieve the objectives President Nixon has set out in his statement while ordering the latest military action.

It is a matter of deep regret that the US Government should have unilaterally broken off the peace talks in Paris which had been resumed only recently. What is even more grave is the growing danger of an escalation of the Vietnam war into a bigger and wider conflict.

I am sure this House will join the Government in condemning this latest escalation.

146

Date: May 01, 1972

June

Volume No

1995

Content

Foreign Affairs Records 1972 Vol. XVIII JUNE

No. 6

CONTENTS

PAGE

147

BULGARIA

Indo-Bulgarian Programme of Cultural and Scientific Exchanges 147

CANADA

Development Loan Agreement

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Arrival Speech in Prague 148 Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Convocation address at

Charles University, Prague 149

Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Farewell Speech at Prague

irport 152

Joint Indo-Czechoslovak Communique 153

HUNGARY

Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Speech on Indo-Hungarian

Relations 156

Joint Indo-Hungarian Communique 158

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Prime Minister's Address at U.N. Conference on Human Environment 160 Shri Samar Sen's Statement on Cyprus at Security Council 165 Shri Samar Sen's Speech at Security Council on the Situation on Lebanon-Israel Border 166

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS : EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

(Continued Overleaf)

PAGE

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

Shri Khadilkar's Address at ILO Conference 168

IRAQ

Foreign Minister's Statement on Nationalisation of Iraq Petroleum Company 170

ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

Prime Minister's Greetings to OAU 171

PAKISTAN

Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Speech at Indo-Pakistan.

Summit Conference 171 Pakistan President's Reply, 171

Text of Joint Statement After First Meeting 172

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

Indo-Bangladesh Co-operation in Educational Development 172 First Meeting of India-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission 175

PERU

India-Peru Trade Agreement Ratified 176 Foreign Trade Minister's Speech 176

SWEDEN

Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Speech at Banquet in

Stockholm 178

Prime Minister's Talks in Sweden 180

(ii)

BULGARIA CANADA NORWAY SLOVAKIA CZECH REPUBLIC HUNGARY INDIA CYPRUS USA ISRAEL LEBANON IRAQ PAKISTAN BANGLADESH PERU SWEDEN

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

BULGARIA

Indo-Bulgarian Programme of Cultural and Scientific Exchanges

Following Press Note was issued in New Delhi on June. 1, 1972 on the signing of the Indo-Bulgarian Programme of Cultural and Scientific Exchanges for the years 1972 and 1973 between India and Bulgaria:

The Programme of Cultural and Scientific Exchanges between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of Bulgaria for the years 1972 and 1973 was concluded here today. The Programme was signed by Professor D. P. Yadav, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education, Social Welfare and Culture on behalf of the Government of India and His Excellency Professor Stefan B. Stanchev, First Vice-President of the Committee for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries on behalf of the Government of Bulgaria.

The Programme finalised today envisages co-operation between the two Countries in the fields of Science, Education, Culture and Art, Radio and T.V., Agriculture, Health and Sports, etc. It provides for the exchange of scientists, educationists, writers, journalists, artists, and sportsmen besides the exchange of dance and music ensembles, art-exhibitions, books, radio & T.V. broadcasts, etc.

BULGARIA INDIA USA

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

CANADA

Development Loan Agreement

The following press release was issued in New Delhi on June 10, 1972 on the signing of a development loan agreement between India and Canada:

A development loan agreement for about Rs. 35.7 crores (\$ 50 million) was signed here today between India and Canada. This loan, which is the largest development loan Canada has so far extended, will be Utilised to finance the import of industrial commodities, fertilizers and fertilizer materials over a period of two years instead of one year as in the case of earlier development loans. This is a new feature and would help in planning imports from Canada satisfactorily.

The agreement was signed by the Canadian High Commissioner, Mr. James George, and Dr. I. G. Patel, Secretary, Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance.

The allocation for imports during the first year is \$ 30 million but this may be increased to a higher value depending upon the availability of resources. A second loan will be signed in 1973 to increase the funds available during 1973-74. The loan is on

147 the same terms granted for all Canadian

development loans to India during the last six years.

The loans are free of interest and service or commitment charges and are repayable in 50 years, including a 10-year grace period.

This is the eleventh commodity and fertilizer loan provided by Canada since 1967. Under the loan, Canada will provide India with asbestos, copper, ferro-alloys,

lead, zinc, newsprint, nickel, rubber, sulphur, woodpulp, potash and N.P.K. The rapid utilisation of earlier loans as well as an Increased demand for fertilizers and industrial raw materials are evidence of the matching of India's requirements with availability from Canada and the full understanding which has been established between the Governments of India and Canada.

Canada has been providing industrial commodities and fertilizers to India since 1953 when copper and aluminium were first provided under grant assistance. Since then, Rs. 230 crores (\$ 321.5 million) worth of commodities and fertilizers have been provided.

CANADA INDIA USA

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Arrival Speech in Prague

Following is the text of the speech by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at Prague airport on June 17, 1972 replying to the address of welcome by the Czechoslovak Prime Minister, Dr. Lubomir Strougal:

It is indeed a pleasure to come once again to this historical and beautiful city and to this country which is justly celebrated for its cultural achievements and its industrial progress.

You have already referred to my previous visits to Prague. To come here is to revive old memories. I had the privilege of accompanying my father to Czechoslovakia in 1938. The visit was a milestone

in his life-long battle against tyranny and injustice. And for me it was an experience which did much to mould my thinking and left a lasting impact. The tribulations of the people of Czechoslovakia in the thirties at a time when we ourselves were fighting imperialism stirred us deeply. My father had deep admiration for the great fortitude of the people of Czechoslovakia which I share. In 1955 we came again and this time my father was the Prime Minister of Free India.

In the 25 years since we achieved independence we have built a distinctive political system and have undertaken a vast programme of social transformation. We have sought friendship with countries near and far irrespective of their systems. It is natural that our relations should be specially close with some countries and Czechoslovakia is one of them.

SUPPORT FOR OUR CAUSE

You have viewed our problems with consistent understanding and sympathy. The prompt support which you gave to our cause last year and to the people of Bangladesh has been greatly appreciated in my country.

Over years our development projects have benefitted greatly from Czechoslovak assistance. The growth of our machine-tool and electrical equipment industries is partly due to your enlightened policies of economic

148 cooperation with countries of Asia and Africa. We welcome the increasing trade between our two countries.

Humanity can live and prosper only through friendship and cooperation. The World can no longer afford confrontation. our friendship has strengthened the international climate for peace to which we both remain dedicated.

I am very happy to be amongst you and hope that my visit will be yet another step in the consolidation of our good relations. I bring to the Government and people of Czechoslovakia warm greetings of the Government and all the people of India.

NORWAY SLOVAKIA CZECH REPUBLIC USA INDIA PERU

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Convocation address at Charles

University, Prague

Following is the text of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's address to the address of welcome by the Czechosuniversity of Prague after receiving degree of Doctor of Laws on June 19, 1972:

It is a privilege to come to this ancient and famous university. I thank you for the honour you have conferred upon me.

In its history of more than six centuries, your university has embodied the spirit of the Czechoslovak people and left its mark on events. We in India have a special affection for the university because of its contribution in making India known to Europe. I recall in particular the names of two indologists who taught here - Winternitz and Vincenc Lesny. Professor Lesny was a friend of Rabindranath Tagore and of my father. By sending me books on Prague, he aroused my interest in your beautiful city when I was a small girl. I met him only once much later and was impressed by his scholar-. ship and his deep attachment to the great human values which transcend geographical boundaries and the limits of time. I hope there are many in Czechoslovakia who still nurse friendship for a country which is geographically far and so different from your own.

I first came to Czechoslovakia with my father in my student days during one of the dark periods of European history, when the forces of evil were about to invade your land, bringing terror and destruction. For me it was a political education, giving me an insight into the labyrinthine way of international diplomacy, and acquaintance with well-known personalities. I got a glimpse of the manouevres behind the scene, which were to influence the geography and the future course of history in this part of the world. An important truth itched on my mind: How much depends on courage. You regained your freedom through great sacrifices. Not long afterwards my own country liberated itself from colonial rule.

India is technologically backward. But it was not always identified with poverty. From the earliest centuries the prosperity of India brought traders to our ports and its philosophical and scientific knowledge attracted scholars to our universities. Were you to see the illustrated treatises on surgery written by a famous teacher in the University of Taxila about twenty centuries ago, You would be impressed by the number and variety of the surgical instruments which were then in use. Scholars from all parts of India came to study Buddhism in the ancient University of Nalanda.

India's riches - the product of its earth and the skill of its craftsmen drew Europe to our shores, resulting in a subjugation which brought about economic, social and political degradation something akin to the spirit of the "good soldier Schweik sustained our people through the long difficult years when we pledged to fight for our freedom" so that the people of India might enjoy the fruits of their toil, and have the necessities of life and full opportunities of growth".

This darkest period of our history produced an astonishing number of great

149 and brilliant men and women in many walk of life - not in politics alone but also in

literature, in philosophy and in social reform. These were the stalwarts who led our renaissance, our revolution and our liberation.

This year we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of our freedom, vet we feel that the struggle for the freedom we had envisaged is not yet over. We have still to overcome the economic and cultural consequences of colonialism. The necessities of life and full opportunities of growth have still to reach every section of our society.

These have been years of travail but by dint of hard work and determination we are attempting to benefit from modern knowledge without losing our distinctive personality or diminishing that which has given Indian civilisation its amazing strength and continuity over thousands of years. During those years we have laid firm foundations for progress.

Carl you imagine the magnitude of the task of improving the levels of living of 550 million people and the scale of the effort required? But through our plans of economic development, we have faced this very challenge. In this task of transforming our subsistence economy into a modern economy, we have profited from the skill and knowledge of Czechoslovakia in machine-building and machine-tool making.

I do not wish to dwell on the vast changes which have been effected in India during the short period of 25 years of our independence, but would rather speak about the ideas and values which we cherish. Being human, we may not always be able to live up to them, and when we fall below standards, we have a sense of guilt, but these ideals remain our inspiration.

Tolerance has run like a thread linking the different phases of our civilization. By tolerance we mean the acceptance of reality in its manifold forms, a distrust of oversimplification, a respect for other people's beliefs, Indeed, a recognition of the right of all living beings to their place in the universe. For us there can be no true progress if we are alienated from this tradition.

These must be the roots of our development.

Our concentration on the welfare of people has not been without interrupt Four times in the last 25 years, we have been invaded and forced to defend our free. dom, and to divert a larger share of our national income from development. Pressures have been exerted to involve us in to other people's quarrels. But we have kept aloof from these confrontations and have ourselves remained in the camp of peace seeking friendship with all countries regardless of their attitudes and systems of Government.

Our struggle for freedom was distinctive in many ways. It contributed a new dimension to contemporary thought. No nation can live by the experience of others. Some ideas must be borrowed, but if they are not fused with a nation's own Ideas and adopted to its needs, they will remain life-less appendages. We adopted the concepts of nationalism, rational progress and socialism from European thought, but Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Jawaharlal Nehru reinterpreted them in our own idiom and remoulded them in the light of India's long historical experience and philosophical exploration. The major achievement of these men, so different in temperament but so united in their purpose, was to release nationalism from Chauvinist limitations and to raise socialism above doctrinal particulars.

Our philosophy accepts the equality of all individuals but in actual fact, over the centuries, our society became rigid and stratified, not only denying equality but introducing certain customs which were barbarous and inhuman. It was natural that our national movement should be part of a social revolution in which there was systematic assault against all such evils. By giving life to the aspirations which had laid dormant in the hearts of people, Mahatma Gandhi was able to convert millions into active partnership in the freedom struggle. The participation of women in large numbers and at all levels paved the way for their position and contributed to public affairs in post-independence India, Mahatma Gandhi became the symbol of the urges and limitless energy of our nation, He was the crest of the wave but the people themselves were the wave. The idea of non-violence was not unknown in the world but it was the

150

genius of Mahatma Gandhi which gave it life and translated an abstract principle into a powerful political weapon.

Many in our country and in other parts of the world doubted the ability of a suppressed people to fight imperialism by nonviolent means. In our circumstances it was the only way. We proved that a people's best weapons are its determination and' unity.

After the attainment of freedom again there were people who doubted the successful working of our political system in a country so vast and varied, and the consolidation of unity with SO many religious and major languages. We feel that our diversity adds to the richness of our cultural life and is an added source of strength to our unity. We have found that the best way of keeping together different segments of society and of countering centrifugal pulls is by the willingness to sit together to discuss problems and to remove basic causes of suspicion or fear.

There have been many prophets of doom. They forecast that we would not be able to work planned development in our kind of system. But three Five Year Plans have been completed and we are about to complete the fourth. European experts predicted that we would not be able to feed our growing population and that there would be dire famine in the early seventies. Those were the very Years when we achieved record harvests and self-sufficiency in cereals.

These experts and others have been wide off the mark because they try to explain every society from the European point of view and have tried to fit India into their Preconceived theories and models. They do not take into account the extraordinary

resilience of our people, and their deep reserves of faith and fortitude.

We in India have consciously attempted to avoid an extreme position, we have to take note of the many varieties of every situation, the nuances of shading in the chiarescuro. We try to keep in mind one of the greatest truths proclaimed by our forefathers; that truth is one but the wise describe it as many. This belief that there can be various paths to reality is the basis of our Policy of co-existence. Every nation should have the right to follow its social system and must make allowance for the right of others to follow the truth as they-envisage it.

A large number of countries in Asia and Africa as well as from other parts of the world, have adopted a foreign policy similar to ours, subscribing to peaceful coexistence and non-alignment with blocs. It is now more clearly appreciated that world order depends on cooperation and on the recognition that every small country has equal rights and that the world is larger than the largest nation.

The size of a country is not important. A small country was once able to overrun us. There are examples of small countries successfully resisting and thwarting the will of mighty powers. A classic example of, this is the, struggle of the Vietnamese people, which has demonstrated the limitations of power. We have the greatest sympathy for the agony of the people of Vietnam and admiration for their unparalleled heroism. Nearer to us, sacrifice and suffering conquered brutality and oppression in the emergence of Bangladesh. Every country must have many shining examples. to show that the spirit of man is unconquerable.

In the long perspective of history, the description "affluent" and "backward" do not make material difference. Man is not just a statistic nor can a nation be assessed by figures of per capita income and number of cars per population, for these do not give the true picture of progress or of the fundamental changes which are taking place.

International averages may often be irrelevant to the specifies of local situation. India should be judged not by the living standards of affluent countries but by what she has been able to achieve and by the size and temper of the struggle she is waging against tremendous odds. We are concerned not merely with material goods and services, urgent as they are, but also with the equality of the men and women who will use them.

Quality is not to be judged by wealth or rank or the present conception of efficiency, but by the quality of the mind, its sweep of comprehension, its depth of compassion - by its maturity and sense of responsibility. In the midst of vast changes which are taking place in our own contem-

151

porary world, when science and technology are stretching man's reach to the moon, there is an uneasy feeling that ignoring the experience of the past years and the increasing evidence of restlessness we may once again continue along what seems to be the easier course of a one dimensional economic material advance.

I sincerely hope that as centuries-old centre of learning, this great university will send into the wide world, men and women imbued with the spirit of humanism dedicated to the unceasing quest for knowledge and understanding, inspired to fight injustice and always to hold aloft the banner of the brotherhood of man.

NORWAY SLOVAKIA CZECH REPUBLIC USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC VIETNAM BANGLADESH

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Following is the text of the speech of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at Prague airport before her departure for Budapest on June 20, 1972:

Every visit must come to an end. I am told that I brought sunshine and as you see I am leaving it for you. These have been three very pleasant and memorable days for me. The people of the city of Prague and of Czechoslovakia have welcomed me with warmth. I am grateful for their affection.

I have had cordial, interesting and useful talks with you, Prime Minister, and with the esteemed President of Czechoslovakia, His Excellency General Ludvik Svoboda, and the Secretary-General, Dr. Gustav Husak, as also with your Government colleagues. These have helped towards a better understanding of the dynamic policies of your Government in building up your economy and in working for international peace. You have always had friendship and sympathy for India, and I hope that as a result of our discussions you have a deeper appreciation of our problems and priorities.

Our talks also served to highlight our desire to strengthen our mutual relations and to place them on an even firmer basis. We look forward to greater trade and economic cooperation in the coming years.

A dynamic country such as Czechoslovakia and a vast country such as India have much to give to the world, especially in the all-important task of defending international peace. The course of international politics is at a turning point. We welcome the moves which you and your neighbours have made for the normalisation of conditions in Europe. This detente and some other developments suggest that European nations are gradually realising the incalculable harm of the arms race and of the disastrous consequences of large scale confrontation. Yet the world is not at peace. Asia is wrecked by vicious wars and uneasy truce. We ourselves were victims when we were attacked

recently and were forced to defend ourselves. But we ordered a unilateral cease-fire and initiated the proposal to hold talks, not to prove our superiority or to humiliate any country but in the long-term interest of better relations. We wished to forget the past and to lay the foundations of a new relationship of friendship and cooperation with our neighbours. I hope that these talks, which are due to be held next week, will take us towards the objective of durable peace on the sub-continent.

A Joint Communique sets out in brief, what we have discussed and agreed upon. I need not go into details. You will see that there is a remarkably close similarity ofviews on international questions, and complete identity on the need to further develop Indo-Czechoslovak bilateral relations.

Your Excellency, Prime Minister Strougal may I once again thank you for the hospitality, affection and honours showered upon me by the Government and people of Czechoslovakia. I leave with pleasant memories of beautiful Prague, the city of spires and aspirations. I shall especially cherish the memory of the dignified and solemn ceremony at the Charles University yesterday.

I carry with me the conviction that friendship and cooperation between our two

countries will grow ever stronger and will contribute to our common objective of an international order based upon peace and

justice.

I look forward to receiving you and Mrs. Strougal in India. I wish you, Prime Minister, your Government and the people of Czechoslovakia success in your endeavours and the fulfilment of your objective

NORWAY SLOVAKIA CZECH REPUBLIC HUNGARY USA INDIA MALI CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Joint Indo-Czechoslovak Communique

Following is the text of the Joint Indo-Czechoslovak Communique issued on the conclusion of the visit of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on June 20, 1972:

On the invitation of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, paid a State-visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic from June 17 to June 20, 1972.

The Prime Minister of the Republic of India and her Party received a warm and cordial reception in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic reflecting the traditional relations of sincere and deep friendship inspired by mutual respect between the two Governments and peoples.

In the course of her stay in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Shrimati Indira Gandhi was received by the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, General of Army Ludvik Svoboda and the Secretary General of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Gustav Husak. The Charles University in Prague conferred on Shrimati Gandhi Doctorate of Laws Honoris Causa.

The Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi had wide ranging discussions and exchange of views With the Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Dr. Lubomir Strougal.

Taking part in the talks were: On the Czechoslovak side:

- The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ing. Bohuslav Chnoupek.
- The Minister of Foreign Trade, Ing. Andrej Barcak, C.Sc.
- The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ing. Miloslav Hruza,
- The Ambassador of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the Republic of India, Dr. Zdenek Tehlik,
- The Head of Department for Foreign Affairs and of Protocol of the Prime Minister's Office, Ing. Vratislav Vik.
- The Head of Department of the Minis" of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Martin Macuch.

On the Indian side:

- Shri P. N. Haksar, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister,
- Shri S. H. Desai, Ambassador of India in Czechoslovakia,
- Shri S. Than, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Trade,
- Shri A. P. Venkateswaran, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs.

The exchange of views and discussions were held in an atmosphere of friendship, cordiality and complete mutual understanding and covered both the bilateral Indo-Czechoslovak relations as well as important international questions of mutual interest.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that the relations of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between the two friendly countries are steadily strengthening and developing successfully in the political, commercial, economic, cultural and other fields. They discussed the possibilities of promoting further cooperation in various fields and agreed to strengthen this manysided co-operation which meets with the wishes of both countries and serves the interests of peace and security in the world.

153

They agreed that, in the interest of facilitating the development of mutual relations, it will be useful for the Republic of India and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to conclude an agreement on legal assistance, an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation, an agreement on the prevention of double taxation. They further agreed to expand and diversify the Indo-Czechoslovak economic relations and to continue the search for new fields of mutually advantageous co-operation on a long term basis. In this context, the two Prime Ministers felt that periodic meetings between the Planning Commissions of Czechoslovakia and India will be beneficial for evolving long-term perspectives in the economic, industrial, scientific, technological and commercial fields.

The discussions on international questions revealed closeness of views reflecting the common interests of the people of both countries in the struggle against imperialism, against colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, against any kind of discrimination, for freedom, independence and equal rights of nations and for peace and progress in the world.

In their foreign policies, both States proceed from the principles of peaceful co-existence among States with different social systems. Both sides are of 'the opinion that the policy of nonalignment pursued by the Republic of India and an increasing number of independent developing countries plays an important role in achieving the above-mentioned objectives, is conducive to a relaxation of international tensions, solving of disputes through Peaceful means and in the developing of international cooperation beneficial to all.

Both sides re-affirmed their conviction that the task of paramount importance at the present time is to work actively for the maintenance and consolidation of world peace. The Prime Minister of India outlined the recent developments on the Indian subcontinent. The Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic supported the efforts of India aimed at achieving a durable peace and good-neighbourly relations among the States in 'that region. Both sides stressed the need for speedy normalisation of the situation in the sub-continent and for a peaceful democratic and progressive development in that part of the world.

Both sides consider the emergence of the Sovereign Independent People's Republic of Bangladesh as a result of the national liberation struggle of the people of Bangladesh and agree that attempts to ignore the new realities will only add to tension and instability in the region.

Both sides expressed the hope that Bangladesh will 'soon take her legitimate place in the United Nations and other international organisations.

The Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic explained the Czechoslovak view on the situation in Europe. Both Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the favourable atmosphere for European detente created, in particular, by the conclusion of the treaties between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany, between the People's Republic of Poland and Federal Republic of Germany, the four-Power agreement on West Berlin as well as by the exchange of views between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany on the normalization of relations on a basis of full equality of rights and regard them as important factors contributing to constructive cooperation amongst all European States.

In keeping with its endeavour to contribute to the improvement of the international situation, the Indian Government highly appreciates the proposal to convene an all-European conference on security and co-operation as a significant step towards a relaxation of tension in Europe and in the world.

The Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic explained the Czechoslovak policy aimed at the normalisation of relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and the reasons that led the Czechoslovak side to demand that the Federal Republic of Germany should recognise the non-validity of the Munich Agreement ab initio.

154

The Prime Minister of India recalled that at the time of the signing of the Munich Agreement the entire Indian national movement had unequivocally characterised that agreement as a deliberate betrayal of democracy. Consistent with that position, India regards the Munich Agreement to be unjust, and the Prime Minister expressed her understanding of the feelings of the Government and people of Czechoslovakia in this matter. The Prime Minister expressed the hope that in the context of the movement for European detente, the efforts now being made by Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany for normalisation of their relations would meet with success.

Both parties expressed their deep concern over the escalation of the conflict in Vietnam. Both sides deplored the bombing and the blockade of the D.R.V.N. which they consider a gross violation of generally recognised principles of international law. They are convinced that the situation in Indo-China can be solved only on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that region and respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Indo-China to decide their fate freely, without any external interference. They expressed their support for the 7-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam which they consider as a realistic basis for a peaceful political settlement in Vietnam.

Both parties expressed their grave concern about the situation in the Middle East. They agreed that establishment of permanent and equitable peace in that part of the world can be achieved only through the con-

sistent implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967.

Both sides stressed the need to strive for general and complete disarmament covering both nuclear and conventional types of weapons under strict international control. In that connection they expressed themselves in favour of an early convening of a world conference on disarmament with the participation of all countries which strive to achieve a realistic and generally acceptable solution of the topical problems of disarmament.

Both sides declared their support for national liberation movements and called for the speedy and complete elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism, in accordance with the U.N. Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. They resolutely condemned all racist policies and practices as gross violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Both sides declared their support to the United Nations and the need to Increase its effectiveness in the endeavour to preserve peace, to guarantee security and develop international cooperation in accordance with, the principles of the Charter. They underlined the need for a speedy realisation of the principle of universality of the organisation's membership.

Both sides expressed complete satisfaction over the results of their discussions and voiced their conviction that the visit of the Prime Minister of India to Czechoslovakia will make a significant contribution to the further strengthening and deepening of the ties of friendly cooperation between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Republic of India.

The Prime Minister of India expressed her appreciation of the hospitality shown to her and to the members of her delegation during their stay in Czechoslovakia. She extended an invitation to the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Lubomir Strougal to visit India at a mutually convenient time. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

155

NORWAY SLOVAKIA USA INDIA CZECH REPUBLIC MALI BANGLADESH GERMANY POLAND VIETNAM CHINA

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

HUNGARY

Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Speech on Indo-Hungarian Relations

The following is the text of the speech delivered by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at a reception given by His Excellency President Losonczi, Prime Minister of Hungary and Members of Parliament in Budapest on June 20, 1972:

I am touched by the warmth and friendliness of your words of welcome. I thank you and the Government of the Hungarian Peoples Republic for your gracious invitation. I bring to the Government and the people of Hungary the warm greetings of the Government and people of India.

My visit to Hungary fulfils a longstanding wish, and I hope it will strengthen the bonds that have been forged over the years. Our exchange of views has enabled me to glimpse the thinking which guides your policies. I shall also have the occasion to witness how this is 'translated at the practical level in farm and factory.

There are no problems between India and Hungary. Our first trade agreement was signed in 1954. Our first cultural agreement was signed in 1962. The years that followed have shown fruitful activity in

many areas. There has been sustained effort by both sides to build up trade and economic collaboration in the technical, scientific and cultural fields. We value your friendship and goodwill towards us.

The sacrifice and hardship of our struggle for liberation is still a vivid personal experience for many of us. We cannot think of compromising our freedom of judgement or action. That is why we are determined to strengthen our country in every way. The first and the most urgent task is to eradicate poverty, to eliminate disparities between different sections of the people and to modernise our economy and our society. Our industry is growing and has been diversified. It is the consistent effort of the people and the Government of India over the last years which, has enabled India to achieve self-sufficiency in cereals and has laid 'the basis for more rapid economic progress. There is a new sense of selfconfidence amongst our people. It is our aim to be as self-reliant as possible. This does not mean isolation. But it does mean, that co-operation should be accepted on the basis of equality and mutual-benefit. Conditions - political, economic and social in our two countries differ greatly. Yet I am sure that your experience in industry as well as in agriculture holds lessons for US.

Indo-Hungarian economic relations can help the development programme of both countries. Our experts should undertake a careful study of each other's changing requirements, keeping in mind our own pace' of industrialisation and the implications of Hungary's membership of the Comecon for its trade, industry and technology.

Equally valuable is the political understanding which you have consistently shown towards us. Last year, when events in, Bangla Desh confronted us with an unprecedented challenge, you stood by us. The emergence of a free and sovereign Bangla Desh proves that wishful thinking or policies based on an unrealistic assessment of a situation cannot succeed. We had hoped that the obvious failure of the calculated confrontation with India would result in re-

thinking and the opportunity for a new era of understanding, leading to friendship and co-operation between the countries on our sub-continent. It is this for which we have worked these twenty five years and we shall continue to do so. If today there is no fighting on the sub-continent it is because in consonance with our long-standing principles, we offered a unilateral ceasefire and have initiated the proposal for talks. Recent public statements and events raise doubts whether our neighbour is once again being, drawn into the vortex of alignment and mili-

156

tary blocs. Will the welfare of the people of the region once again become subservient to foreign Interests? India has stood and continues to stand for friendship and peace. But no country can tolerate interference with its principles, its policies, its way of life or a threat to its security. The forth-coming talks with the President of Pakistan can succeed only if Pakistan also is genuinely concerned with securing a durable peace in the area - a peace which will enable us both to work for the masses of our people with singleness of purpose.

The scars left on Europe by the last world war are far from healed. India welcomes the spirit of reconciliation which is now in evidence and appreciates the significance of the treaties which have been signed. We welcome such moves and exchanges. We are deeply Interested in peace in Europe.

I come from Asia and I cannot but draw attention to the fact that this spirit of peace is not being extended to the conflicts in Asia. The valiant people of Vietnam have been fighting for their very survival for several long years. West Asia remains a boiling cauldron. On the Indian subcontinent also, there is only an uneasy truce. It is tragic that Asia should still be an outlet for armaments and a testing ground for new and diabolical weapons.

Such Policies are undoubtedly based on the assumption that nations which command huge Military and economic resources can dictate the course of world history. Events have proved otherwise. In our complex and interdependent modem world, 'the force of Arms cannot achieve what it might have done in the colonial period. Conflict cannot be limited, nor its course or effects predetermined. Our poet-philosopher, Rabindranath Tagore, was my teacher. He had visited Hungary and was an admirer of the Hungarian people, once wrote: power has to be made secure not only against power but also against weakness... 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...

It is for thinking People to consider whether today's world can remain divided into categories of the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, the white and the coloured. The affluent and militarily powerful nations tend to accord a lower priority to the problems of others.

The majority of mankind cannot for long be compelled to live in conditions of poverty and misery. Indifference towards underprivileged nations is as unjustifiable as the indifference of the rich to the poor within a country.

We in India have endeavoured for cooperation among nations, irrespective of their political systems or their economic status. Our policy of nonalignment is based on the belief that as inhabitants of a common planet we should avoid mutual destruction. A joint effort by the world community is necessary to evolve a constructive way of life which is dominated not by conflict but by the arts of peace. The predatory nationalism of power politics is out of date. Even nationalism that sees its interests as separate from the interests of other people is no longer valid. We must find positive and effective ways of ending racism, exploitation and power politics.

In Our Policies, we seek the support of all progressive and enlightened peoples and governments. We are concerned with the substance of peace. We look for cooperation in trade and industry. in science and technology. We hope that the great economic powers, the countries of North America and Europe, and Japan, will not function as a rich nations club but will adopt outwardlooking and far-sighted policies. In the contemporary world, it is necessary to have a world-wide cooperative approach which aims at ensuring faster and more stable economic growth in the developing countries. The various attempts made in forums like the United Nations or in affiliated organisations like the UNCTAD have had only limited success. Neither the proposal that the affluent nations should set aside one per cent of their gross national product to help developing nations nor the proposal for nonreciprocal trade concessions has been fully implemented. International bodies such as the World Bank are hampered by the national policies of individual countries on whose support they depend.

157

My people, like other under-privileged peoples, have an urgent need for greater production and equitable distribution of national income. We need more industries, better agriculture, more hospitals, schools, housing. We know that in Hungary striking success has been achieved. We admire the enlightened laws which enable women workers here to fulfil their dual responsibilities as workers and mothers of families.

I am grateful to you, Prime Minister, for giving me this opportunity of sharing some of the ideas which are of concern to my people and my Government. I thank His Excellency the President of Hungary for honouring me with his presence this evening. I know that this warmth and friendship is not for an individual but for what India stands for and is struggling to achieve.

HUNGARY USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC PAKISTAN VIETNAM JAPAN

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

HUNGARY

Joint Indo-Hungarian Communique

The following is the text of the Joint Indo-Hungarian communique issued on June 24, 1972 on the conclusion of the visit of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to the Hungarian People's Republic:

At the invitation of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, paid an official visit to the Hungarian People's Republic from June 20 to 23, 1972.

The Prime Minister of India and members of her party received a warm. and cordial welcome reflecting the feelings of sincere friendship and respect between the two Governments and peoples. During her stay in the Hungarian People's Republic, the Prime Minister of India visited industrial and agricultural establishments, met industrial and agricultural workers, representatives of intellectual life and got acquainted with the life and the creative work of the Hungarian people.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was received by Mr. Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and by Mr. Pal Losonczi, President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The Prime Minister of India had a wideranging exchange of views with Mr. Jeno Fock, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, covering both the bilateral Indo-Hungarian relations, as well as important international questions of mutual interest. Both sides noted with satisfaction that the ties of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries are developing successfully in the political, economic and cultural fields. They discussed further cooperation in these fields.

Both sides agreed that there are further possibilities for the mutually beneficial expansion. of the economic, industrial and technological cooperation and of trade relations. The two sides agreed to take speedy steps to set up an inter-Governmental Commission on economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that on the basis of the existing agreements, cultural relations and scientific cooperation between the two countries were developing favourably. They agreed to continue to encourage the many-sided development of these relations and to take necessary steps towards this end.

The Prime Minister of the Hungarian Peoples Republic nignly appreciated the consistent efforts by the Government and people of India aimed at the social and economic progress of their country, and the recent achieved by India in national construction despite the great difficulties of the recent past. The independent and nonangned policy pursued by India and the active role of an increasing number of developing countries in international life, in

158

cluding in the U.N. and in its specialised agencies is a significant contribution in promoting world peace and the peaceful solution of international problems.

The Prime Minister of India highly appreciated the achievements of the Hungarian People's Republic in socialist construction as well as the fact that the Hungarian foreign policy is based on peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems, and dedicated to the interest of world peace.

The discussions on important questions concerning the international situation re-

vealed that the positions of the respective Governments were identical or very close. They reaffirmed that in our age, the relations between countries with different social systems and controversial issues should be settled on the basis of the Policy of peaceful co-existence, and wherever it is possible, on the basis of active cooperation and that the relations between states should be based on the principles of equal rights. non-interference and mutual advantage.

Both sides agreed to have periodic consultations between the two foreign Ministries to promote closer cooperation An areas of mutual interest.

The two sides attach great importance to the efforts aimed at strengthening peace and security in Europe. They noted with satisfaction that, as a result of consistent efforts by the forces of progress, conditions were coming into being for the convening of an All European Conference on peace and security. They expressed the hope that this conference will lessen tension not only in Europe, but in other regions as well and favourably influence the solution of conflicts and tensions in other parts of the world.

The conclusion of the treaties between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany and between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, of the quadripartite agreement on the status of West Berlin, as well as the agreements reached - on the basis of international law - between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic are considered as highly important factors contributing to constructive cooperation amongst all European States. Both sides would welcome the admission of the two German States to the U.N.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic highly appreciated India's contribution to the solution of the crises in the region of South East Asia and especially the 1971 crisis of the Indian sub-continent. Both sides agreed that the People's Republic of Bangladesh is an important constituent of peace and security of the Indian sub-continent and of South-East Asia. Both sides consider the emergence of the sovereign independent People's Republic of Bangladesh as a result of the national liberation struggle of the people of Bangladesh and agree that any attempts to ignore the new realities will only add to tension and instability in the region.

Both sides expressed the hope that Bangladesh will soon take her legitimate place in the United Nations and other international organisations.

In analyzing the situation in Indo-China, the two sides expressed their profound sympathy and respect for the struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam. They deplored the bombing of territories and of the blockade and mining of the ports of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They are convinced that the situation in Indo-China can be solved only on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that region and respect for the inalienable rights of the peoples of Vietnam to decide their future free from any outside interference. They expressed their support for the 7-point proposals put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam which they consider as a realistic basis for a peaceful political settlement in Vietnam.

The two sides expressed their deep concern about the protracted crises in the Middle-East. They emphasized that, the full implementation of the United Nations Security Council's resolution of November 22, 1967, would help to ensure lasting peace in the area.

Both sides called for the cessation of the arms race and the achievements of general and complete disarmament, covering both nuclear and conventional types of

159

weapons, under strict international control. In this context they welcomed the proposal for the convening of a World Disarmament Conference, with the participation of all countries.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Prime Minister of India unequivocally condemned imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism. They stressed the necessity for the speedy liquidation of all vestiges of colonialism, and the full implementation of the United Nations resolutions concerning the independence of colonial countries and peoples.

Both sides agreed on the importance of exchange of visits at different levels between the two countries and noted that the visit to Hungary by the Prime Minister of India and her delegation had contributed to still closer mutual understanding and cooperation between Hungary and India.

The Prime Minister of India expressed her gratitude for the hospitality shown to her and to members of her delegation during their stay in Hungary and conveyed an invitation to the Prime Minister of Hungary H.E. Mr. Jeno Fock to visit India at a mutually convenient time. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

HUNGARY USA INDIA GERMANY BANGLADESH CHINA VIETNAM

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Prime Minister's Address at U.N. Conference on Human Environment

Following is the text of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's address to the Plenary Session of the UN Conference on Human Environment at Stockholm on June 14, 1972: It is indeed an honour to address this Conference - in itself a fresh expression of the spirit which created the United Nations - concern for the present and future welfare of humanity. It does not aim merely at securing limited agreements but at establishing peace and harmony in life - among all races and with nature. This gathering represents man's earnest endeavour to understand his own condition and to prolong his tenancy of this planet. A vast amount of detailed preparatory work has gone into the convening of this Conference guided by the dynamic personality of Mr. Maurice Strong, Secretary-General of the Conference.

I have the good fortune of growing up with a sense of kinship with nature in all its manifestations. Birds, plants, stones were companions and, sleeping under the starstrewn sky, I became familiar with the names and movements of the constellations. But my deep interest in this our 'only earth' was not for itself but as a fit home for man.

One cannot be truly human and civilized unless one looks upon not only all fellow-Men but all creation with the eyes of a friend. Throughout India, edicts carved on rocks and iron pillars are reminders that 22 centuries ago the Emperor Ashoka defined a king's duty as not merely to protect citizens and punish wrong doers but also to preserve animal life and forest trees. -Ashoka was the first and perhaps the only monarch until very recently, to forbid the killing of a large number of species of animals for sport of food, foreshadowing some of the concerns of this Conference. He went further, regretting the carnage of his military conquests and enjoining upon his successors to find "their only pleasure in the peace that comes through righteousness."

Along with the rest of mankind, we in India - in spite of Ashoka - have been

160

guilty of wanton disregard for the sources of our sustenance. We share your concern at the rapid deterioration of flora and fauna. Some of our own wild life has been wiped out, miles of forests with beautiful old trees, mute witnessess of history, have been destroyed. Even though our industrial development is in its infancy, and at its most difficult stage, we are taking various steps to deal with incipient environmental imbalances. The more so because of our concern for the human being - a species which is also imperilled. In poverty he is threatened by malnutrition and disease, in weakness by war, in richness by the pollution brought about by his own prosperity.

It is; sad that in country after country, progress should become synonymous with an assault on nature. We who are a part of nature and dependent on her for every need, speak constantly about "exploiting" nature. When the highest mountain in the world was climbed in 1953, Jawaharlal Nehru objected to the phrase "conquest of Everest" which he thought was arrogant. Is It surprising that this lack of consideration and the constant need to prove one's superiority should be projected on to our treatment of our fellow men? I remember Edward Thompson, a British writer and a good friend of India, once telling Mr. Gandhi that life was fast disappearing. Remarked the Mahatma - "It is decreasing in the jungles but it is increasing in the towns"!

We are gathered here under the aegis of the United Nations. We are supposed to belong to the same family sharing common traits and impelled by the same basic desires, yet we inhabit a divided world.

How can it be otherwise? There is still no recognition of the equality of man or respect for him as an individual. In matters of colour and race, religion and custom, society is governed by prejudice. Tensions arise because of man's aggressiveness and notions of superiority. The power of the big stick prevails and it is used not in favour of fair play or beauty, but to chase imaginary windmills - to assume the right to interfere in the affairs of others, and to arrogate authority for action which would not normally be allowed. Many of the advanced countries of today have reached their present affluence by their domination

over other races and countries, the exploitation of their own masses and their own natural resources. They get a head start through sheer ruthlessness, undisturbed by feelings of compassion or by abstract theories of freedom, equality or justice. The stirrings of demands for the political rights of citizens, and the economic rights of the toiler came after considerable advance had been made. The riches and the labour of the colonized countries played no small part in the industrialisation and prosperity of the West. Now, as we struggle to create a better life for our people, it is in vastly different circumstances, for obviously in today's eagle-eyed watchfulness, we cannot indulge in such practices even for a worthwhile purpose. We are bound by our own ideals. We owe allegiance to the principles of the rights of Workers and the norm enshrined in the charters of international organisations. Above all, we are answerable to the millions of politically awakened citizens in our countries. All these make progress costlier and more complicated.

On the one hand the rich look askance at our continuing poverty - on the other they warn us against their own methods. We do not wish to impoverish the environment any further and Yet we cannot for a moment forget the grim poverty of large numbers of people. Are not poverty and need the greatest polluters? For instance, unless we are in a position to provide employment and purchasing power for the daily necessities of the tribal people and those who live in or around our jungles, we cannot prevent them from combing the forest for food and livelihood, from poaching and from despoiling the vegetation. When they themselves feel deprived, how can we urge the preservation of animals? How can we speak to those who live in villages and in slums about keeping the oceans, the rivers and the air clean when their own lives are contaminated at the source? The environment cannot be improved in conditions of poverty. Nor can poverty be eradicated without the use of science and technology.

Must there be conflict between technology and a truly better world or between

enlightenment of the spirit and a higher standard of living? Foreigners sometimes ask what to us seems a very strange question, whether progress in India would not

161

mean a diminishing of her spirituality or her values. Is spiritual quality so superficial as to be dependent upon the lack of material comfort? As a country we are no more or less spiritual than any other but traditionally our people have respected the spirit of detachment and renunciation. Historically, our great spiritual discoveries were made during periods of comparative affluence. The doctrines of detachment from possessions were developed not as rationalization of deprivation but to prevent comfort and ease from. dulling the senses. Spirituality means the enrichment, of the spirit, the strengthening of one's inner resources and the stretching of one's range of experience. It is the ability to be still in the midst of activity and vibrantly alive in moments of calm; to separate the essence from circumstances; to accept joy and sorrow with some equanimity. Perception and compassion are the marks of true spirituality.

I am reminded of an incident in one of our tribal areas. The vociferous demand of elder tribal chiefs that their customs should be left undisturbed found support from noted anthropologists. In its anxiety that the majority should not submerge the many ethnical racial and cultural groups in our country, the Government of India largely accepted this advice. I was amongst those who entirely approved. However, a visit to a remote part of our north-east frontier brought me in touch with a different point of view-the protest of the younger elements that while the rest of India was on the way to modernization they were being preserved as museum pieces. Could we not say the same to the affluent nations

For the last quarter of a century, we have been engaged in an enterprise unparalleled in human history - the provision of basic needs to one-sixth of mankind within the span of one or two generations. When we launched on that effort our early plan-

ners had more than the usual gaps to fill. There were not enough data and no helpful books. No guidance could be sought from the experience of other countries whose conditions - political, economic, social and technological - were altogether different. Planning in the sense we were innovating, had never been used in the context of a mixed economy. But we could not wait. The need to improve the conditions of our people was pressing. Planning and action, improvement of data leading to better planning and better action, all this was a continuous and overlapping process. Our industrialisation tended to follow the paths which the more advanced countries had traversed earlier. With the advance of the 60's and particularly during the last five years, we have encountered a bewildering collection of problems, some due to our shortcomings but many inherent in the process and in existing attitudes. The feeling is growing that we should re-order our priorities and move away from the singledimensional model which has viewed growth from certain limited angles, which seems to have given a higher place to things rather than to persons and which has increased our wants rather than our enjoyment. We should' have a more comprehensive approach to life, centred on man not at a statistic but individual with many sides to his personality. The solution of these problems cannot be isolated phenomena of marginal importance but must be an integral part of the unfolding of the very process of development.

The extreme forms in which questions of population or environmental pollution are posed, obscure the total view of political, economic and social situations. The Government of India is one of the few which has an officially sponsored programme of family planning and this is making some progress. We believe what planned families win make for a healthier and more conscious population. But we know also that no programme of population control can be effective without education and without a visible rise in the standard of living. Our own programmes have succeeded in the urban or semi-urban areas. To the very poor, every child is an earner and a helper. We are experimenting

with new approaches and the family planning programme is being combined with those of maternity and child welfare, nutrition and development in general.

It is an over-simplification to blame all the world's problems on increasing population. Countries with but a small fraction of the world population consume the bulk of the world's production of minerals, fossil fuels and so on. Thus we see that when it comes to the depletion of natural resources. and environmental pollution, the increase of

one inhabitant in an affluent country, at his level of living, is equivalent to an increase of many Asian, Africans or Latin Americans at their current material levels of living.

The inherent conflict is not between conservation and development, but between environment and 'the reckless exploitation of man and earth in the name of efficiency. Historians tell us that the modern age began with the will to freedom of the individual. And the individual came 'to believe that he had rights with no corresponding obligations. The man who got ahead was the one who commanded admiration. No questions were asked as to the methods employed or the pi-ice which others had had to pay. The industrial civilisation has promoted the concept of the efficient man, he whose entire energies are concentrated on producing more in a given unit of time and from a given unit of man-power. Groups or individuals who are less competitive and, according to this test, less efficient are regarded as lesser breeds - for example the older civilizations, the black and brown peoples, women and certain professions. Obsolescence is built into production, and efficiency is based on the creation of goods which are not really needed and which cannot be disposed of, when discarded. What price such efficiency now, and is not reckless a more appropriate term for such behaviour?

All the 'isms' of the modem age - even those which in theory disown the private Profit Principle - assume that man's cardinal interest is acquisition. The profit motive, individual or collective, seems to overshadow all else. This over-riding concern with self and today is the basic cause of the ecological crisis.

Pollution is not a technical problem. The fault lies not in science and technology as such but in the sense of values of the contemporary world which ignores the rights of others and is oblivious of the longer perspective.

There are grave misgivings that the discussion on ecology may be designed to distract attention from the problems of war and poverty. We have to prove to the disinherited majority of the world that ecology and conservation will not work against their interest but will bring an improvement in their lives. To withhold technology from them would deprive them of vast resources of energy and knowledge. This is no longer feasible nor will it-be acceptable.

The environmental problems of developing countries are not the side affects of excessive industrialisation but reflect the inadequacy of development. The rich countries may look upon development as the cause of environmental destruction, but to us it is one of the primary means if improving the environment for living, or providing food, water, sanitation and shelter, of making the deserts green and the mountains habitable. The research and perseverance of dedicated people have given us an insight which is likely to play an important part in the shaping of our future plans. We see that however much man hankers after material goods, they can never give him full satisfaction. Thus 'the higher standard of living must be achieved without alienating people from their heritage and without despoiling nature of its beauty, freshness and purity so essential to our lives.

The most urgently and basic question is that of peace. Nothing is so pointless as modem warfare. Nothing destroys so instantly, so completely as the diabolic weapons which not only kill but maim and deform the living and the yet to be born; which poison the land, leaving long trails of

Ugliness, barrenness and hopeless desolation. What ecological project can survive a war? The Prime Minister of Sweden, Mr. Olof Palme has already drawn the attention of the Conference to this in powerful words.

It is clear that the environmental crisis which is confronting the world, will profoundly alter the future destiny of our planet. No one among us, whatever our status, strength or circumstance, can remain unaffected. The process of change challenges present international policies. Will the growing awareness of "one earth" and "one environment" guide us to the concept of "one humanity"? Will there be more equitable sharing of environmental costs and greater international interest in the accelerated progress of the less developed world? Or will it remain confined to a narrow concern, based on exclusive self-sufficiency?

The first essays in narrowing economic and technological disparities have not

163

succeeded because the policies of aid were made to subserve the equations of power. We hope that the renewed emphasis on selfreliance, brought about by the change in the climate for aid, will also Promote a search for new criteria of human satisfaction. In the meantime, the ecological crisis should not add to the burdens of the weaker nations by introducing new considerations in the political and trade policies of rich nations. It would be ironic if the fight against pollution were to be converted into another business, out of which a few companies, corporations, or nations would make profits at the cost of the many. Here is a branch of experimentation and discovery in which scientists of all nations should take interest. They should ensure that their findings are available to all nations, restricted by patents. I am glad that the Conference has given thought on this aspect of the problem.

Life is one and the world is one, and all these questions are interlinked. The population explosion, poverty, ignorance and disease, the pollution of our surroundings, the stock-piling of nuclear weapons and biological and chemical agents of destruction are all parts of a vicious circle. Each is important and urgent but dealing with them one by one would be wasted effort.

It serves little purpose to dwell on the past or to opportion blame, for none of us is blameless. If some are able to dominate over others, this is at least partially due to the weakness, the lack of unity and the temptation of gaining some advantage on the part of 'those who submit. If the prosperous have been exploiting the needy, can we honestly claim that in our own societies, people do not take advantage of the weaker sections? We must re-evaluate the fundamentals in which our respective civic societies are based and the ideals by which they are sustained. If there is to be change of heart, a change of direction and methods of functioning, it is not an organisation or a country - no matter how well intentioned - which can achieve it. While each country must deal with that aspect of the problem which is most relevant to it, it is obvious that all countries must unite in an overall endeavour. There is no alternative to a cooperative approach on a global scale to the entire spectrum of our problems.

I have referred to some problems which seem to me to be the underlying causes of the present crises in our civilization. This is not in the expectation that this Conference can achieve miracles or solve all the world's difficulties, but in the hope that the opinions of each nation will be kept in focus, that these problems will be viewed in perspective and each project devised as part of the whole.

On a previous occasion I have spoken of the unfinished revolution in our countries. I am now convinced that this can be taken to its culmination when it is accompanied by a revolution in social thinking. In 1968 at, the 14th General Conference of UNESCO the Indian delegation, along with others, proposed a new and major programme entitled "a design for living". This is essential to grasp the full implications of technical advance and its impact on different sections and groups. We do not want to put the clock back or resign ourselves to a simplistic

natural state. We want new directions in the wider use of the knowledge and tools with which science has equipped us. And this cannot be just one upsurge but a continuous search into cause and effect and an unending effort to match technology with higher levels of thinking. We must concern ourselves not only with the kind of world we want but also with what kind of man should inhabit it. Surely we do not desire a society divided into those who condition and those who are conditioned. We want thinking people, capable of spontaneous selfdirected activity, people who are interested and interesting, and who are imbued with compassion and concern for others.

It will not be easy for large societies to change their style of living. They cannot be coerced to do so, nor can governmental action suffice. People can be motivated and urged to participate in better alternatives.

It has been my experience that people who are at cross purposes with nature are cynical about mankind and ill-at-ease with themselves. Modern man must re-establish an unbroken link with nature and with life. He must again learn to invoke the energy of growing things and to recognise, as did the ancients in India centuries ago, that one

164

can take from the earth and the atmosphere only so much as one Puts back into them. In their hymn to Earth, the sages of the Atharva Veda chanted: I quote "What of thee I dig out, let that quickly grow over, Let me not hit thy vitals, or thy heart." So can man himself be vital and of good heart and conscious of his responsibility.

INDIA SWEDEN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC USA PERU

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Samar Sen's Statement on Cyprus at Security Council

Following is the text of the statement on Cyprus made before the Security Council, on June 15. 1972. by India's Permanent Representative at the United Nations, Shri Samar Sen:

We welcome the Secretary-General who has just returned from his last journey abroad, or at least the latest Journey abroad. For our present debate his return is as timely as his journey was significant. We had earlier studied his report on the United Nations operations in Cyprus, contained in document S/10664, and his Special Report on recent development there, contained in document S/10564. These reports gave us an informed assessment of the developments in Cyprus, and of the role and the scope of the United Nations presence there during the last six months. They also confirmed our view that the situation in Cyprus is indeed complex. We have now been fortunate to receive, at the beginning of our present discussion, the Secretary-General's report on his recent visit to the area, during which he had personal contacts with the parties concerned and was also present at the first meeting of the renewed talks among them. This shed further light in coming to the decision we have taken.

My delegation is pleased that the perseverance and the dedication of the Secretary-General and of his predecessor in their efforts to find suitable means for reopening the talks between the parties has now been successful. We should welcome this development with relief, and congratulate the Secretary-General and his colleagues, both here and in the field, for their work. The co-operation shown by all the parties is a significant factor for current, yet subdued, optimism.

In his report (S/10654) the Secretary-

General has cautioned us, as indeed he has done again this morning, with regard to the difficulties which still remain in the achievement of a return to normal and peaceful conditions. While keeping these in mind, we also note the several indications given in the report of some welcome developments which have taken place during the period under review. It is encouraging that the military situation in Cyprus has remained quiet, if not completely satisfactory: the period covered by the report has seen the smallest number of shooting incidents since the establishment of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. The Secretary-General has noted "an encouraging improvement in the cooperation extended to UNFICYP" and the increasing trend towards making efforts to decrease tension in the interest of maintaining peace. Some of the outstanding problems mentioned in the last report have been settled, and in other instances certain improvements are also noticeable. The Secretary-General has praised the restraint shown by the Government of Cyprus in limiting to the utmost the impact of the most serious incidents during the period. There has also been continued co-operation in United Nations sponsored development projects.

If I have mentioned these developments it is not to present a one-sided or over-optimistic picture of the situation. I mention' them because we hope that they will be further consolidated at a time when the prospect of progress has again been opened. The simple fact of the resumption of the talks and the successful overcoming of the difficulties described in chapter IV of the Secretary-General's report give legitimate basis for this hope. The accommodation, understanding and restraint, of which the resumed talks are a result, need to be further expanded and encouraged to ensure their success.

Cyprus, like many other countries, has a multiracial and multireligious society and

165

its people have lived together in their island for centuries. They will have to do so in the future, and that future can only be safeguarded by continued efforts at all round co-operation. The time has come when all the people in Cyprus can and should, consciously and conscientiously, seek solutions to their problems in a spirit of co-operation and conciliation and firmly abandon any move which may produce division and discord, We would hope that all the communities in the island would realize not only that this is in their best national interests, but also that through co-operation alone can the best results be achieved for their social and economic progress.

India has consistently supported the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. We believe that a harmonious and just resolution of the relations between the different interests is essential for safeguarding, peace and security, not only within the island but also in the region as a whole. We believe that 'this can best be achieved through negotiations between the parties, without external pressure or interference. Any successful conclusion of the problem of Cyprus will have a very healthy effect on areas far beyond its shores.

It is in this spirit and in this hope that my delegation voted for the draft resolution, the text of which is contained in document S/10699. We have once again extended the mandate of UNFICYP for six months and all the Governments concerned have accepted this extension. Finally, we join other delegations in hoping that an early agreement on the current resumed talks will soon make it unnecessary for UNFICYP to continue to be in Cyprus.

INDIA CYPRUS USA **Date**: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

Following is the text of the statement of the Permanent Indian Representative at the United Nations, Shri Samar Sen during the Security Council debate on the situation on the Lebanon-Israel border on June 24, 1972:

We are glad that this meeting is taking place formally, openly and in accordance with the established procedures. We are discussing a problem which has an important bearing on international peace and security, and it is appropriate that it should be faced and discussed and its solution sought, in accordance with the Charter and the rules of the Council. Of late there have been tendencies to deviate from these normal practices, and we have expressed our concern and reservation at them.

Our views have been based not only on purely legal considerations, which are important, but also on our conviction that the effectiveness of the Council's decisions can best be ensured by arriving at them through proper and comprehensive discussions in which all those States can participate that are entitled to do so under the Charter. To avoid discussion on the ground that a debate might be long and acrimonious does not appear 'to us to be desirable. For instance. on the problem of hijacking one reason given for avoiding such a public debate - given in the corridors, no doubt - was that it might touch upon some aspects of the middle East problem. Now we are inevitably obliged to discuss this problem in a much wider context. The basic concept of the United Nations that this is a forum where final decisions are arrived at openly and after open discussion, with the maximum relevant participation of its membership on a given problem, must be upheld. We are glad, therefore, that the Council has shown its readiness to discuss a serious situation as it should be discussed, in a formal meeting.

We meet here today on a specific com-

plaint by the Government of Lebanon, followed by a counter complaint by the Government of Israel. As the distinguished Ambassador of Lebanon has pointed out, this pattern of approach to the Council has been evident for some time past now.

The problem of the Middle East, like many other problems of international concern, has to be viewed in its totality. It is not enough to cite the principle of selfdefence, without at the same time taking

166

into account the principle of non-admissibility of acquisition of territory by force of arms and the principle of right of dispossessed people to be restored to their lands.

We do not have to go again into the depth and detail of the Arab Israel conflict over the last quarter of the century, to understand the present situation. The broad facts are, of course well-known. and are to form the background of our analysis. After the long simmering Arab Israel conflict once more erupted into a full scale war in June 1967, and the Security Council worked out, with painstaking care and most detailed consideration, its resolution 242 with contained A solution to this grave problem. This solution was generally Acceptable to the parties, and massively endorsed by the United Nations. If that solution has not become effective, it is solely because all attempts to ensure the withdrawal of Israel from occupied Arab. territories have been frustrated.

In these circumstances, how can we deny to the Arabs, particularly the Palestinian Arabs, -their right to reclaim their own territories?, What is the extent to which any Arab Government can or should restrain its people, when they are so blatantly denied what is justly theirs? This is not to say, of course, that Israel does not have the fullest right of self defence in its own territory as defined and recognised by the United Nations. But that right surely cannot be exercised by such theories as "preemptive" or "preventive" strike or by. a desire to teach the Lebanese such a lesson

that they will no longer care or dare. There would be a little more understanding of the Israeli position if indeed its existence as a state was threatened. After the events of June 1967, it is clear even to the most uninitiated that Israel can now have no such fear. One has simply to look up any of the Standard books on armaments to see that Israel is many many times more powerful than the Lebanon, and that the Lebanon is Indeed totally helpless If faced with Israelis massive military strength. The figures given in the latest year book of Sipri of Stockholm tells their own story. Such an imbalance of power lends greater anguish to the sense of Injustice and the loss of life and property to which the Lebanese are frequently subiected.

It is those general principles and that comprehensive approach which have informed the Government of India's policy to the Arab Israeli problem, and we see no reason to abandon our principles or to modify our policy. We want to see peace and justice established in the Middle East, and there cannot be any justice unless Israel withdraws from the Arab territories occupied after the June 1967 conflict. and the dispossessed people of Palestine regain their rights, It is again these principles and policy which we shall apply in considering any action by the Council in relation to the specific complaints of Lebanon. The facts about these complaints have not been challenged, but an attempt is made to justify them by 'the principle of self-defence. But, as I have pointed out this principle cannot be isolated from other principles, including the principle of self-determination, which apply to the West Asian problem. Such solution is even less justified when the Arabs have lost so much and have much more to fear in the future. We should hope, that in spite of-the experience of the last five years, the parties will once again renew their negotiations through Mr. Jarring so that the Council resolution 242 (1967) can be fully and speedily implemented and these unnecessary yet deliberate killings of so many men and women, and the wanton destruction property. can be completely eliminated. There is no element of compulsiveness in the killings and these acts of destruction, as has been claimed. This conclusion is further strengthened by the information which has just now been circulated in document S/7930 Add. 1647 and Add. 1648.

167

INDIA ISRAEL LEBANON USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC SWEDEN

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

Shri Khadilkar's Address at ILO Conference

Following is the text of the speech by Shri R. K. Khadilkar, Minister of Labour, at the 57th International Labour Conference in Geneva on June 12, 1972:

Mr. President, may I first congratulate you on your election to the high office which you occupy. It is a striking tribute not only to your remarkable personal qualities but also to the immense experience which you have acquired of our organisation and the distinguished services which you have rendered it over many years. We are grateful to the Director-General for the imaginative selection of the theme for his report this year. The growing dangers to our environment are being currently debated in a separate International Conference elsewhere. But it is only appropriate that our Conference should also consider the connected issues which touch the very core of ILO's primary concern.

We have now reached a stage where the application of technology has to be subjected to conscious social control of the future of civilisation if man himself is to be saved. Technology is man's own creation and it must not be allowed to operate as a kind of Frankenstein's Monster destroying man's natural habitat or disrupting his social environment and robbing him of his freedom and individuality. Apart from the harmful effects of industrial use of technology, we are witnessing today the far graver and more tragic application of technology for the destructive purposes of war - a fact which I am sure we will all deeply deplore.

I agree with Dr. Jenks that though the problem is yet to present itself in its starkest form to people in the developing parts of the world, they cannot afford to wait till they are actually overtaken by it. Their efforts to accelerate development do inevitably call for increasing use of technology, but they cannot afford to concentrate only on development without thinking of the consequences that unguided development may entail. They will have to draw upon the experience of others who have followed this course in the past, and plan their development in such a way as to forestall in time its undesirable and harmful consequences.

The developing countries are in an unhappy position. Many of them, like mine, have to carry a heavy over-burden of unemployment and under-employment. The bulk of their population languishes below the poverty line and the pressure of population Is increasingly intense. In such a social situation, a democratic system can survive only if development moves forward at a fast enough pace, so that poverty can at least be relieved if not eradicated and a minimum standard of living ensured for all. In our hurry to provide this minimum, there is a clear risk of following the wrong path of development. The ready model available for emulation is that of the advanced societies of the world but 'these have themselves started entertaining grave doubts whether the lines of development that they have chosen have been wholly worthwhile from the point of view of human well being.

It is good that the Director-General has pointedly called attention to the basic truth

that importing of sophisticated technology from advanced countries to speed up development may not be the right thing to do for the developing regions of the world where labour is in abundance, capital in short supply and the market for the disposal of products limited in size.

There is an element of historical irony in the situation in which the developing countries are placed today. Until The other day many of them were parts of the world colonial system - which explains the retarded growth of their economy. The metropolitan countries which had the advantage of captive markets and better technology were able to develop their economies, but created in the process a technological and

168

developmental gap in the colonial regions. Now that these countries have come into their own and are eager to skip the centuries and emerge direct into the modern world, they are understandably impatient and are groping their way towards a sound and practicable strategy of development. It is only now that a new consciousness is being forced upon many of them, including my own country, that we have to take hard decisions of our own in selecting our course. We in India have had experience of planned development for over two decades now, and have achieved a good deal during this period. Yet it has been a disconcerting discovery that the social balance has been disturbed in the process in a manner not fully to the advantage of the weaker sections of the community. The basic programme of my Government today is to correct this, imbalance and' make the benefits of development more fully available to these weaker sections. We do need a rapid and substantial increase in our GNP, but the traditional preoccupation with the growth of GNP to the exclusion of other important factors having a bearing on healthy social growth will have to be given up. A wider diffusion of purchasing power through a steadily rising level of employment should become the prime concern of economic policy. The implementation of such policy will require suitable structural changes in the technological base of development.

The Director-General has rightly pointed out that the application of technology without giving. adequate thought to its possible social consequences has had the effect of creating pockets of affluence within the poverty-ridden regions leading to intensification of social tensions. Remedies can be found only if one begins to think of an appropriate technology relevant to the social situation of countries in the earlier stages of development.

But whatever may be the technology We follow for Promoting development, it is inevitable that a good deal of social dislocation will come in its wake. If social and economic stagnation is to be broken and a serious attempt made to eradicate poverty, advantage has to be taken of modern technology for accelerating the development Process.

The question is one of selecting the right type of technology and of adopting a social policy which takes care of the disturbances created by the 'transition from a stagnant society to one that is dynamic and growing.

When the ILO was brought into being more than 50 years ago its basic purpose was to repair the social damage caused by the industrial revolution and to take care of the casualties of the industrialising process. Since then industrialisation process itself has undergone almost a sea of change. With the rapid development of technology and the growth in the size of establishments, particularly in the advanced countries of the world, while automation is becoming a factor of rising importance in 'the production process, workers themselves are being reduced to a position of automata in that process. With the overflowing affluence outside, the inner world of man is being denuded of meaning and purpose. Technology which is the creation of man is dominating the scene and man himself has become a victim. In the so-called consumers' society, the pattern of consumption also is being commanded by those who have established their command

over technology. If the less developed countries are not to follow the same path blindly, the ILO must give them the necessary guidance in the selection of technology and in its intelligent and constructive application. Here I would make a suggestion for the consideration of the Conference. The most valuable form of technical assistance that the developed countries can render at 'the present juncture is in the evolution of the most appropriate forms of technology for application in the developing countries. This requires a considerable amount of research on types of processes and plants. and such research is best organised through the agency of the ILO.

So far as the advanced countries are concerned, the ILO's role, as far as one can see, consists mainly in calling attention to the danger of destroying the environment and disturbing the ecological balance and urging them to take active steps to neutralise he pollutants that come out in profusion from their production process. But in the developing parts of the world the ILO's responsibility is different and far larger. It has

169

to make its contribution In the sharing of social policy which alone can ensure a sound selection and application of appropriate technology. The nature of action here is one of averting the dangers which have appeared in the advanced parts of the world.

NEW TYPE OF ECONOMIC ORDER

I often think that we have been led into this serious predicament by basing our productive endeavour and our habits of consumption mainly on the acquisitive instincts of man. Man has other instincts which can prove equally potent in promoting economic development without exacting a terrible price in terms of human suffering and social tension.

We in India ire now busy giving shape to our Fifth Five Year Plan and our Prime Minister in defining our approach to planning has called for rethinking on the strategy of development. ILO may not be able to determine the social frame work of its member countries, but discussions held in this forum where Governments, employers and workers participate, cannot go unheeded. As the Director-General has emphasised, if there is a greater involvement of the workers' and employers' organisations in the process of development and if they cooperate with Government in carrying out the common task of development, we can confidently look forward to a new type of economic order emerging in the less developed regions of the world. If participation of the people is basic to the politics of a free society, willing participation of the workers is an equal necessity for the successful operation of the productive apparatus of society. Involvement of the workers' as well as the employers' organisations in the planning process as well as in the process of production is bound to result in the selection of the right type of methods for accelerating economic growth. This freedom to participate will result in the freedom to guide and it is only then that technology will result in a broadening of freedom rather than in Its curtailment.

I have every hope that the discussions in this Conference will throw up ideas and Practical suggestions which will prove to be of immense assistance to the developing regions of the world in the shaping of their economic and social policy.

SWITZERLAND USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC INDIA

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

IRAQ

Foreign Minister's Statement on Nationalisation of Iraq Petroleum Company

Following is the statement of the Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh issued in New Delhi on June 13, 1972 on the nationalisation of the Iraq Petroleum Company:

Government of India have had traditionally close and friendly relations with Iraq and are developing fruitful collaboration in many fields. India hopes to strengthen this cooperation further, particularly in trade and commerce as well as in the economic and technological sphere. As regards the nationalisation of the Iraq Petroleum Company, India appreciates and supports the Iraqi Government's desire to exercise control over their natural resources. among which oil plays a vital part in the economy of the country. An Indian oil delegation was in Iraq a few days ago and good pi-ogress has been made in the purchase of crude for our immediate needs. There is considerable scope for the development of our trade in this and many other fields which will bring increasing benefits to Iraq and India.

170

IRAQ INDIA

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

Prime Minister's Greetings to OAU

The following is the text of the message sent by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, on June 12, 1972 to His Excellency Mokhtar Ould-Daddah, President of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity, Rabat: On behalf of the Government and people of India and on my own behalf, I send warm greetings to the 9th Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity. May I also add my personal felicitarions to Your Excellency. I have no doubt that under your distinguished Presidentship the Assembly will record further progress on consolidating the unity of African peoples and States.

We have followed with great interest the efforts of the OAU to achieve the high purposes it has set for itself. These objectives of promoting the unity and solidarity of African States, of developing cooperation to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa, are of special significance at the present time when the divisive forces of neocolonialism are also at work. We are confident that the unity and determination of African States will meet these challenges.

We in India have observed with satisfaction that the OAU and Its organs have Peacefully resolved a number of disputes among African States, and thus contributed to the solidarity of the non-aligned world.

Please accept our best wishes for the success of the present session of the OAU.

MOROCCO INDIA USA

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Speech at Indo-Pakistan Summit

Conference

Following is the text of the speech by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi,

welcoming the Pakistani delegation at the first meeting in Simla On June 28, 1972 of the Indo-Pakistan Summit Conference:

May I welcome you all. I am glad that you were able to come. This meeting is not perhaps easy for either of us. Yet I Personally feel, and my country feels confident that it should mark a new beginning in our relationship. We-welcome the trend of your broadcast, namely to forget the past and look towards the future. Many changes have come about all over the world and there is no reason why we cannot look at our problems afresh.

PAKISTAN USA

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Pakistan President's Reply

Replying to the welcome address
Pakistan President, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, said:
I would like to thank you, Madame
Prime Minister, on behalf of my entire delegation and on my behalf for your hospitality.
I hope that our past contacts will prove beneficial. But before we leave to have this discussion, I want to say a few words. Believe me, we are interested in Peace. That is our objective and we will strive for it.

171

We want to turn the corner: we want to make a new beginning. We are dealing with a very difficult situation, with many past prejudices. The situation is extremely difficult. I am sure it is difficult for you as well. We have to make a sincere effort. A little experience of the past might be help-

ful to understand our problems.

I want to begin with this assurance to you and to your delegation and to the people of India that we would forget the past bitterness, and hostilities and will strive to attain peace with honour. We will try and work it out, and in that you will have my country's, my people's and our fullest cooperation.

PAKISTAN USA INDIA

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Text of Joint Statement After First Meeting

Following is the text of Joint Statement at the end of first meeting of India and Pakistan delegations at the Summit Conference on June 28, 1972:

The summit talks between India and Pakistan began at 5 p.m. in Simla today. At the opening session the prime Minister of India extended a warm welcome to the President of Pakistan and his delegation and expressed the hope that the talks would mark a new beginning in the relations between the two countries. The President of Pakistan thanked the Prime Minister for her words of welcome and hospitality extended to his delegation and reciprocated her sentiments.

The Prime Minister and the President of Pakistan than met separately in a restricted session. They nominated their respective delegations to commence discussions on the agenda finalised at Rawalpindi on April 29, at the conclusion of the emissary-

level talks.

The delegation headed by Shri D. P. Dhar and Mr. Aziz Ahmed began their discussions at 7 p.m. The talks were held in a cordial and constructive atmosphere and continued for two hours. it was decided that the two delegations would report to their respective leaders and resume their discussions on Thursday, 29th June at 10 a.m.

PAKISTAN INDIA USA

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

Indo-Bangladesh Co-operation in Educational Development

The following is the text of a Press Note dated June 11, 1972 on the decisions arrived at a meeting held in New Delhi between Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, Union Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture, and Prof. Mohd. Yusaf Ali, Bangladesh's Minister of Education and Culture, and

India will share experience in educational planning, reorganisation and reconstruction with Bangla Desh which proposes to set up shortly a commission for remoulding its system of education. In this context, two joint seminars, one in Bangla Desh and the other in India, will be organised. The Bangla Desh education commission members will be invited to India to study problems of educational reform and the existing system. If required by the Government of Bangla Desh, the services of eminent Indian educationists will be placed at the disposal of the commission in an advisory capacity.

India will also supply books, reports and studies on the Indian educational system and send experts in specific fields at the request of Bangla Desh.

These decisions were taken at a meeting held here yesterday between Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, Union Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture, and Prof. Mohammad Yusaf Ali, Bangla Desh's Minister of Education and Culture.

HIGHER EDUCATION

A Bangla Desh-India Joint Commission on Higher Education will be set up. This commission will meet periodically in the two countries to identify areas of cooperation in education, science and technology.

The Government of India has offered facilities, including Scholarships, to Bangla Desh students for studying oceanography, marine biology, metereology, metallurgy, geology, mining engineering, aeronautics, automobile engineering, nuclear engineering, nuclear chemistry, jute technology, statistics, forestry. archaeology, actuarial studies, sports goods manufacture technology and Precision mechanics and any other subjects to be mutually agreed upon. India will extend research facilities to Bangla Desh scholars in the Indian Institutes of Technology, Delhi School of Economics and other similar institutions of advanced learning.

The Bangla Desh Government has offered two scholarships in each of its six universities to Indian students in specified subjects such as study of existing records and archives, Bangla desh's history' and research in jute, tea and rice. In the field of higher education, the Bangla Desh Government will give research facilities to Indian scholars in Bengali language and literature, Bangla Desh's history, archaeology and folklore, developmental economics and for joint study of international relations. Both countries will exchange specialists and professors on short-term and long-term visits in disciplines to be determined by mutual consultation.

Visiting professor-ships will be instituted by the two countries and, in the first phase, one Chair will be created in each of the six universities in Bangla Desh.

There will also be an exchange of delegations of university level teachers between the two countries. Scholars will also be exchanged for participation in seminars organised by institutions of higher learning and academic bodies promoting higher studies.

SCHOOL STAGE

In the field of school education, the meeting noted that the occupation army in Bangla Desh had caused tremendous damage to institutions at the university and school levels. The major requirements of Bangla Desh in the field of school education were of two types: (1) equipment such as exercise books, laboratory notebooks geometrical sets, laboratory equipment and teacher training equipment; and (2) teacher training facilities in pedagogy.

It was decided that India should gift samples of school science kits and one mobile science laboratory and other educational aids to Bangla Desh. Depending on the response of the teachers there, India would Present or supply these aids in large numbers and, if desired, assist in setting up industrial units for their manufacture. A sample of such goods and aids was presented to the Bangla. Desh Minister. One or two experts from the National Council of Educational Research and Training win be sent to Bangla Desh to demonstrate to science teachers there the working of the kits and mobile laboratory.

In regard to educational equipment, It was decided that samples will be sent to the Bangla Desh High Commissioner who will get in touch with the Ministry of Foreign Trade for further requirements.

Both countries will hold workshops and seminars on school education with a view to exchanging ideas and experience, particularly in the matter of textbooks and curriculum reform. India will also provide training facilities to educational administrators and planners in various institutions and organisations. Both parties agreed to encourage cooperation between scientific and technological institutions, exchange scientific

173

literature, including periodicals, permit participation of scientists in science congresses, seminars and conferences and allow visits to scientific and cultural centres. Specific areas of cooperation will be determined by mutual consultation and a protocol signed in due course.

ATOMIC ENERGY

The two countries have agreed to cooperate in the peaceful uses of atomic energy and space research. For this purpose, detailed consultations will be initiated soon.

Regarding library and book facilities, the two countries will exchange books and periodicals, including back numbers of journals and micro-films. To meet the dearth of books written by Rabindranath Tagore, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee and other eminent writers, Prof. Nurul Hasan agreed to Prof. Yusaf Ali's suggestion that Bangla Desh could publish works of these and other Bengali writers. He, however, wanted the Bangla Desh Government to keep India informed well in advance of its plans in this regard so that it might be possible to take necessary steps to facilitate their programme.

ART AND CULTURE

In art, archaeology and culture, India will offer training facilities in universities and national institutions. Both countries will exchange musicians, musicologists, writers, translators, theatre personnel, drama scripts, technical know-how, artistes and art exhibitions. Cooperation between academies of music, dance, fine arts and literature of the two countries will be promoted. There will be exchange of information, manuscripts, published material, journals and micro-films,

expertise and experience in museology, archaeology and archives.

On the Bangla Desh Minister's observation that there was a great shortage of musical instruments in his country, Prof. Nurul Hasan said that he was happy to gift a set of instruments and would be glad to present a few more.

SPORTS AND GAMES

In the area of sports, it was agreed that a Bangla Desh-India commission for development of sports would be established during the current year. The two countries will endeavour to participate in the sports meets held in each other's territory. India will provide training facilities to coaches at the National Institute of Sports in Patiala and reserve a few seats in the Lakshmibai College of Physical Education in Gwalior.

A standing Joint Sports Council consisting of representatives of the Bangla Desh Sports Control Board and the AU India Council of Sports will be constituted to work out details of various aspects of cooperation. On the suggestion of the Bangla Desh Education Minister that India should co-operate in the setting up of a sports goods industry in his country, it, was agreed that the Government of India would facilitate negotiations between the Bangla Desh Government and entrepreneurs and representatives of the Indian sports industry.

MEDICAL EDUCATION

India has agreed to provide facilities for post-graduate training and research in medicine and super specialities like cardiac surgery and tropical medicine and for training of nurses and para medical staff. India will also send, if required by the Government of Bangla Desh, teachers and specialists in medical subjects and in public health for research work in Bangla Desh. Information about the availability of equipment, books and drugs likely to be useful in medical colleges and laboratories will also be placed at the disposal of Bangla Desh Government. It was decided that a delegation of Bangla

Desh experts might visit India to see the facilities available for training teachers for the physically handicapped and to make suggestions on the use of these by the Bangla Desh Government.

174

BANGLADESH INDIA USA RUSSIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

First Meeting of India-Bangla Desh Joint Rivers Commission

The following press note was issued in New Delhi on June 26, 1972 on the Conclusion of the first meeting of the India-Bangla Desh Joint Rivers Commission held in New Delhi on June 25, and 26, 1972:

The first meeting of the India-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission, established under the agreement arrived at between the Prime Ministers of India and Bangladesh, was held at New Delhi on June 25 and 26, 1972. Mr. B. M. Abbas A. T., Adviser to the Prime Minister of Bangladesh on Flood Control, Irrigation and Power, who is the Chairman of the Joint Rivers Commission, presided. Those who attended the meeting included Mr. N.G. K. Murti, co-Chairman, Mr. Shafiqul Haq, Mr. Gulam Kibria and Mr. V. N. Nagaraja, Members, besides other experts.

The Commission considered river development works in the Ganges-Brahmaputra-Meghna system in general and will take it up in detail in its next meeting.

The Commission considered the current

flood situation in the Eastern region and decided on a joint study group to immediately assess the flood situation in the Sylhet area in Bangladesh and Cachar and other adjoining areas in India and to formulate possible short-term and long-term measures for reducing the flood damage in this area. In this connection, the Commission noted that a project for the construction of a storage reservoir on Barak river has been investigated to reduce flood peaks. The Commission feels that this project is an important one and recommends very early formulation of the project after taking into consideration the conditions in Bangladesh.

The Commission reviewed in detail the proposals for a Master Plan for flood control in the Assam Valley which was under formulation.

The Commission reviewed the progress made in the Action Programme which was drawn up during the last visit of the Union Minister of Irrigation and Power to Dacca in April 1972, in consultation with the Bangladesh Ministers for Flood Control and Water Resources and for Power Development. Flood warnings and forecasts have already started from various stations in India to the recently established Flood Warnning and Forecasting Centre in Bangladesh.

The Commission constituted joint working groups of experts to study at site the flood problems on some of the border rivers and formulate plans for their solution.

These include the Dantbhanga Beel in Khulna and 24-Paraganas, the problem of the Matabhanga river affecting the Ganges-Kobadak Project areas around Sagarkauli Dam and the drainage of rain water of Agartala town in Tripura.

The Commission prepared rules of business and other procedural matters for its working. The Commission will visit the Central Water and Power Research Station, Poona, on June 28, 1972 to assess the research facilities available there for the solution of many river control and training problems that would be dealt with by the Commission.

The Commission decided to hold its next meeting at Dacca in late August or September next.

175

BANGLADESH INDIA USA LATVIA

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PERU

India-Peru Trade Agreement Ratified

Following is the text of a press Note issued in New Delhi on June 6, 1972 on the exchange of the Instruments of Ratification of India-Peru Trade agreement, between India and Peru:

Instruments of Ratification of India-Peru Trade Agreement were exchanged here today between the Minister of Foreign Trade, Shri L. N. Mishra and the Ambassador of Peru at New Delhi, H.E. Rene Hooper-Lopez. With the exchange of Instruments of Ratification, the Trade Agreement between the two countries has come info force.

The Trade Agreement between the two countries was signed at Lima on November 4, 1971, when the Minister of Foreign Trade, Shri L. N. Mishra, visited Peru in connection with the meeting of the Group of '77'.

This is the first trade agreement between the two countries and is an expression of their desire to usher in a new era of economic and trade cooperation between them. It marks also a step forward towards a more effective utilisation of complementary resources of the respective countries.

Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation's recent three years contract for the import of 54,000 tonnes of copper from Peru is one of the examples of the mutual desire for trade expansion embodied in the Trade Agreement.

Trade between India and Peru has so far been on a small scale. Exports from India to Peru during the period 1967-71 averaged Rs. 63 lakhs and imports Rs. 210 lakhs per year. India chiefly exports jute goods to Peru and imports raw cotton.

There have been encouraging signs of expansion in the two-way trade with Peru following the signing of the Agreement in 1971. During 1971-72 trade is estimated at Rs. 3 crores. The major Items of India's exports to Peru are jute goods, cycle tyres and tubes, shellac etc. The main items of import are raw cotton and antimony ore.

With the coming Into force of the new trade agreement, trade exchanges; between the two countries are expected to expand and diversify further. Besides cotton and antimony, ore, India is likely to import copper, zinc, lead, tungsten etc. and export, apart from the traditional goods, a wide range of industrial items, such as bicycles and parts, handtools. wire ropes, mining machinery, textile machinery, railway and telecommunication equipment etc.

It is also expected that the two countries would cooperate in setting up joint industrial units and joint shipping lines to their mutual advantage.

The Trade Agreement provides for reciprocal extension of most-favoured-nation treatment by the two countries in matters of trade and tariffs. It also provides for the exchange annually of lists of goods in which the two countries are specially interested and for periodical consultations for the harmonius development, diversification and expansion of trade between the two countries. The Agreement shall remain in force for a period of three years and thereafter for successive periods of one year at a time

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PERU

Foreign Trade Minister's Speech

Speaking after the exchange of Instruments of Ratification of the Trade Agreement between India and Peru in New Delhi, on June 6, 1972, the Union Foreign Trade Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra, said:

It is indeed a very happy moment for me to exchange the Instruments of Ratification of the Indo-Peruvian Trade Agreement which I had the privilege of signing at Lima on November 4, 1971 during my visit to that great country, in connection with the meeting of the Group of '77'

It is gratifying to note that the Agreement, has been ratified within such a short

176

time after it was signed. This is a clear evidence of the keen desire on the part of the two Governments to forge closer and enduring links between the two countries. I sincerely hope that the Agreement would usher in a new era of economic and commercial cooperation between the two friendly countries.

We have been deeply concerned about the present low volume of Indo-Latin American trade. At the same time, we are also aware of the immense potentialities for the growth in our trade with Latin American countries and are confident that the level of trade exchanges can be significantly raised if we go about this task with determination and bring about increased aware-

ness of the existence of mutually profitable trade opportunities.

Looking at the statistics of India's trade with Peru, I find considerable scope for the strengthening and expansion of the commercial relations between the two countries. It is not only that the level of trade exchanges between the two countries has been extremely low, the trade has been confined to only a few traditional commodities on both sides. Just as our exports have consisted predominantly of jute manufactures, our imports from Peru have been largely of cotton and non-ferrous metals like zinc. This is not a happy situation for either side and cannot be the basis for sustaining and increasing the trade between the two countries in future.

Both sides, therefore, need to take determined steps to diversify the trade in the direction of non-traditional items. I am happy to note that a delegation led by Shri P. Sahai, Chairman, Projects and Equipment Corporation, recently visited your country and concluded a three-year contract for the import of 54,000 tonnes of Peruvian copper valued at about Rs. 500 million. As Your Excellency perhaps knows, we have been making efforts to diversify our sources of supply of various essential items our economy needs. We regard Latin American countries as a very promising sources of supply of materials to us. I sincerely hope that we would increasingly meet our import requirements from Peru and other Latin American countries in future.

I am also glad to note that our exporters have made an entry into your market in the field of non-traditional items such as hand tools, bicycles and parts, steel wire ropes etc. We are aware that Peru has decided to embark on a large industrialisation programme and I am grateful that our collaboration has been sought. I can assure you, Excellency, that. we will be very happy to participate in your various development programmes especially in the fields of mining, railway expansion, tele-communication etc.

DIRECT SHIPPING

The absence of a direct shipping link should not be an insurmountable obstacle. The Indian shipping lines which call regularly at the Pacific West Coast ports of North America could be made to call at the West Coast ports of South America on a regular basis if they are assured of adequate cargo. In this field there appears to be a good scope for mutually profitable collaboration between the shipping lines of the two countries.

I need hardly stress that trade promotion is in the mutual interest of India and Peru and other Latin American countries. In the context of the attitude adopted by some of the developed countries at the recent UNCTAD-III, developing countries like ours, cannot afford to ignore opportunities for increased mutual trade and economic cooperation. It is my hope and conviction that the Agreement which comes into force from today, will, in the years to come, benefit the economies of both the countries and be a precurser to more such agreements between India and other countries in the region.

I am personally grateful to you, Excellency, for all the interest you have taken in the conclusion and early ratification of the Trade Agreement between the two countries. I am confident that with your continued support and efforts, the Agreement would lead to a further deepening and widening of the commercial ties between the two countries.

177

PERU INDIA USA RUSSIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Speech at Banquet in Stockholm

Following is the text of the reply by Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at the banquet given in her honour by the Swedish Prime Minister at Stockholm on June 14, 1972:

No countries could be farther apart than Sweden and India not only in distance in miles but in every other respect. Yet tonight your perceptivity has brought them together. It is also a measure of the deep humanity which moves you and enables you to see other people and their problems unencumbered by differences in history, geography, tradition and other circumstances of social existence. Perhaps you were helped towards this understanding of India and her people during your tour in our country when you went out of your way to be with the people and shared the discomforts of a train journey in what you call Gandhi class when most others would have preferred to go by air. You must have seen the faces of our people. I see them in their millions. They are real people, not statistics, and quite different from the abstractions drawn by scholars or journalists. They are poor but they have pride and self-respect.

We are told that our people are bound by tradition and resist change. This is so only in a limited sense. Every people needs an anchorage. But this does not prevent them from journeying into the future. I may be partial but I believe that the people of India have wisdom, a sense of discrimination and a shrewdness derived from the centuries old civilization of which they are the inheritors. They do change when they are convinced that the change is to their advantage. Although rooted in tradition, They can and have adapted themselves to the needs of modern agriculture and industry. So far as ideas and values are concerned, the transformation is even more striking. When you visit us, Prime Minister, which I hope you

will do soon, you will see the vast changes social, economic and cultural - which are taking place in India. We have been accused of being soft. But I think there are examples enough in history to show that ruthlessness or coercion generates its own reaction. This may take time to build up, but in the end there is danger of its exploding and nullifying the gains. A slower change with the consent of the people is often more thorough and longer-lasting.

Like you, we are not bound to any set dogma for the transformation of our social, economic and political system. We also are dogma for the transformation of our social, inspired by a vision of society organised around the humanist core of socialism. We admire the achievements of your country and the sense of equality which forms your social polity. We both realise that the change in the material conditions of the people is only one aspect of the problems we have to solve. The deeper and more fundamental problem is to give our people that indefinable something which can best be described as spiritual well-being, a sense of belonging and participation rather than higher standards resulting in alienation.

Through the vicissitudes of our long history, India's cultural processes have been based on the recognition that diversity is the essence and the substance of our lives. Any imposition of a single mould of thought and pattern of living would weaken our fabric. Mahatma Gandhi said that he did not want his house to be walled in. He wanted the winds to blow in from all sides but refused to be swept off his feet.

We have much to learn from Sweden. It is a land of statesmen and scholars. Through their work and their thought they have demonstrated that abundance does not mean an insular closing in. Swedish thinkers and organisations—and your Governmentare deeply involved in the issues which affect the future of man, issues such as peace and disarmament, the elimination of poverty, and the subject which is currently looming over the horizon—the ecological crisis. It is natural that the land of Swedenborg and

Linnaeus should have a special feeling for the animal kingdom and the plant world Your work in this and other fields has given the world new insight.

It is said that the true sign of culture is to be concerned and detached at the same time.

Although your country early achieved mastery over modern technology, it has stood outside the struggles of the big technological powers. We in India, who have recently cast off the colonial yoke, have adopted a policy of non-alignment, refusing to be involved in the confrontation between the powers. Non-partisanship has been somewhat more difficult for developing countries because of their economic weakness. They have been regarded as stalking grounds for the dominant countries. Theories of power vacuum are propounded to justify intervention and the carving of spheres of influence.

No nation which has struggled and sacrificed for freedom will ever wish to lose that freedom. We have not fought imperialism in order to accept any other's protective umbrella. However backward our economies and weak our military strength, we have resisted temptation and threats and have Preserved our independence of judgment and action. That is why our two countries found themselves involved in Korea, in West Asia and in the Congo for the promotion of peace. The struggle for peace based on the acceptance of the sovereign equality of all nations has not ended.

Time and again the weak have shown that they can frustrate the designs of the strong. In a part of Asia a small nation of seemingly fragile men and womenfor years has withstood the onslaught of the mightiest power. The resilience of the poor, proves that far more enduring than the economic and military strength is the inner spirit that can make or mar a nation.

Sweden's help in Our development has

been understanding and imaginative. We are grateful for your support to our programmes of industrialisation and education.

Not affluent by any means, we have in turn assisted our neighbours and other developing countries. Last year we were called upon to shelter ten million people from Bangla Desh. They converged on areas which were already over-populated and afflicted by many kinds of deprivation. Yet the poorest of our poor cheerfully bore that extra burden out of a feeling of brotherhood How pointless was this tragedy caused by the short-sightedness of those who attempted to fit events into their neat calculations of self-interest.

Contrived balances of Power or parities of terror cannot bring peace. Nor can the world survive except on the basis of equality among nations whether they are large or small, rich or poor. In the search for ways to strengthen the inner defences of mankind, Sweden and India should continue to work together.

I thank You once again for your invitation which has given me the opportunity to glimpse the thinking of Swedish statesmen on world problems. I hope I have helped to give you a better appreciation of our endeavours and aspirations in India.

May I request you, ladies and gentlemen, to join me in a toast to the health of His Excellency Mr. Olaf Palme and to the continued prosperity of the Swedish people.

179

SWEDEN INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC KOREA CONGO

Date: Jun 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

SWEDEN

Prime Minister's Talks in Sweden

Following is the text of a press release issued in New Delhi on June 16, 1972 on the conclusion of talks in Sweden during the official visit of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi:

At the talks held during the official visit to Sweden of the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the two sides had discussed ways and means to strengthen and develop commercial, industrial and technical ties between India and Sweden.

The Swedish and Indian Governments have accordingly agreed to take steps to set up a joint commission on economic, industrial and technical co-operation. Both the sides also agreed to maintain continuous direct contacts on bilateral as well as international questions of common interest.

180

SWEDEN INDIA USA **Date**: Jun 01, 1972

July

Volume No 1995 Content

| Vol. XVIII | JULY | No. 7 |
|------------|------|-------|
| | | |

CONTENTS

PAGE

| Δ | \mathbf{F} | G | Н | Δ | N | IC | Т | Δ | N | |
|---|--------------|---|---|---|---|----|---|---|---|--|
| | | | | | | | | | | |

Banquet Speech by His Majesty The King of Afghanistan in Honour of President V. V. Giri 181 Reply by President V. V. Giri 182

Speech by Mayor of Kabul at Lunch in Honour of President V.V.Giri 184

Reply by President V. V. Giri 185

BULGARIA

Press Statement on Indo-Bulgarian Official Level Talks 185

CYPRUS

President Giri's Speech at Nicosia on the Occasion of Unveiling of Statue of Gandhiji 186

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Ambassador Sen's Speech in Security Council on Syrian and
Lebanese Complaint Against Israel 187
Shri N.P.Jain's Statement at Economic and Social Council in Reply
to Chinese charges on Tibetan Refugees 189

MAURITIUS

Air Agreement with Mauritius Ratified 190

NEPAL

Air Services Agreement 190

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

(Continued Overleaf)

PAGE

NETHERLANDS

Netherlands Credit for India 191

NIGERIA

Indo-Nigerian Joint Communique on Visit of Foreign Minister Shri Swaran Singh 191

PAKISTAN

Agreement on Bilateral Relations Between India and Pakistan
President Bhutto's Farewell Message to Shrimati Gandhi
President Z. A. Bhutto's Parting Message
External Affairs Minister's Statement in Parliament on Simla
Agreement
194
Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha
195
Minister of External Affairs' Statement in the Rajya Sabha
200

POLAND

Indo-Polish Joint Communique on the Visit of Indian Foreign Minister, Shri Swaran Singh, to Poland 206

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Agreement on Bhilai Expansion 208

YUGOSLAVIA

Joint Communique on President Giri's Visit to Yugoslavia 209 Press Release on Indo-Yugoslav Bilateral Talks 210

(ii)

AFGHANISTAN BULGARIA CYPRUS USA INDIA SYRIA ISRAEL MAURITIUS NEPAL NIGER NIGERIA PAKISTAN POLAND YUGOSLAVIA

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

AFGHANISTAN

Banquet Speech by His Majesty The King of Afghanistan in Honour of

President V. V. Giri

The following is the text of the speech by His Majesty the King of Afghanistan at a banquet held at Dilkusha Palace in Kabul on July 11, 1972 in honour of His Excellency the President of India, Shri V. V. Giri:

Your Excellency,

It gives me great pleasure, on my behalf and on behalf of the people of Afghanistan, to welcome you in this gathering as our distinguished guest and as the President of the friendly country of India.

Your present visit to Afghanistan, which is a link in the series of exchanges of visits between the leaders of the two States, accords with the age old spirit of friendly relations between the two countries and further strengthens these ties.

The friendly links between our peoples are deeply rooted in the many thousands of years of history and direct contact of our two nations, and they emanate from the exchange of ideas and the sharing of major human values. Happily these ties are being further strengthened in the modern age due to the efforts of our two governments.

A quarter of a century ago when your country acquired independence through the efforts of the wise and valiant sons of India. this event was greatly welcomed by the people of Afghanistan. On that occasion the memory was revived of the joy expressed by the people of India on Afghanistan's regaining its independence. These past events have made Afghanistan and India natural Supporters of the struggle by peoples and nations for the achievement and defence of their freedom. Such support has been fully expressed at the different gatherings of Asian and African countries and non-aligned nations, in which the governments of both the countries have participated.

Afghanistan shall continue its persistent policy of supporting the principle of freedom for the peoples and shall take part in safeguarding international peace in accordance with its policy of positive and effective nonalignment and free judgement in its approach to world affairs. World peace is closely linked with the economic development of human society. The link between the two has become much more evident during recent years as a result of individual studies by scholars and experts and learned research carried out in different countries of the world on a collective basis.

I observe with pleasure that the friendly country of India has taken great strides in the field of economic and industrial development and renders technical and economic assistance to a number of countries of this continent and the continent of Africa.

The completion of the Children's Hospital in Kabul with the assistance of the Government of India is a manifestation of the feelings of friendship which your people have for the people of Afghanistan. I avail

myself of this oportunity to express my appreciation for the valuable cooperation rendered by India and the efforts of Indian experts in constructing and setting up this Institute. The foundation stone of this Hospital, which will be inaugurated tomorrow, was laid by one of the distinguished leaders of India, the late Dr. Zakir Hussain. Happy memories of his visit, like those of the visits of other Indian leaders, are dear To our people,

181

Excellency, your visit to Afghanistan takes place at a time when the mass of people of the sub-continent which neighbours us have turned over a page in their contemporary history which was unhappily characterised by armed conflict and sufferings of the masses. The people of Afghanistan have very close ties with the inhabitants of the sub-continent and wish that a durable peace is established among them. The recent meetings and talks held at Simla have brought the universal hope that finally the efforts for direct talks and understanding shall replace continued tension and the fear of trying to resolve disputes by non-peaceful means. We sincerely hope that with this first auspicious step after long years of tension it will be possible to find ways of solving the differences between the two countries in conformity with their national interests and to the benefit of peace in this region. We also hope that the countries of this region, in pursuance of the principle of mutual understanding and friendship, shall seek peaceful means for the solution of their mutual disputes on the basis of realism and justice, thereby providing opportunities for effective economic cooperation between themselves without any discrimination. This is the only way which can lead the countries of this region towards joint efforts in order to reach their vital objectives, and provide protection and safeguard to their national interests in accordance with the demands of our contemporary world.

It must be noted with regret that unhappy situations exist in a few parts of the Asian continent. In Indo-China the continuation, and even escalation, or armed con-

flict is a source of deep concern for the people of Asia as well as all the people of the world. The cessation of all foreign intervention in Vietnam and other parts of Indo-China as well as the application of the Geneva Agreements are the basic requisites for bringing this long and dangerous war to an end.

In the Middle-East, Israel has not only refused to return Arab territories and recognise the established rights of the people of Palestine, but it has also recently renewed its aggression against Arab territories. The support of all the peace and justice loving countries of the world for the rights of the Arabs, especially the brave people of Palestine, is of great importance. The establishment and continuation of peace in the Middle-East depends, above all, on the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people and the return of the occupied territories to the Arab inhabitants. Afghanistan has always supported the cause of its Arab brethren and shall continue to do so in future.

Excellency, while expressing my sincere good wishes for the peace of the world, I wish you and your companions a happy and pleasant stay in this-country and propose a toast for the health and well-being of Your Excellency and the continuance and further strengthening of the friendship between Afghanistan and India.

AFGHANISTAN USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC CHINA VIETNAM SWITZERLAND ISRAEL

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

AFGHANISTAN

Reply by President V. V. Giri

Replying President Giri said:

Your Majesties, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

May I, at the outset, express my deep appreciation for the warm and friendly welcome I have received in Kabul. This is a manifestation of the friendship between India and Afghanistan which has been nourished by centuries of contact, and which has continued to flourish and develop.

It is a moving experience for me to be here in Afghanistan. Several years back, when I was Governor of Mysore, it was my privilege briefly to play host to Your Majesty. On that occasion I had a glimpse of the high virtues and noble dedication towards the welfare of your people that Your Majesty embodies. This contact only increased my desire to come to this country, which, in common with all my countrymen, I have known as a land of a brave and indomitable people, whose history has been

182

linked with our own since time immemorial. To be here today fulfils for me a long cherished desire.

Coming here, I observe afresh how the bonds of friendship between our two countries have remained constant in the past and how they continue unimpeded today. From and through Afghanistan have come many of the ideas and cultural influences which we now regard as most typically Indian. From India various ideas and thoughts have spread through and beyond Afghanistan, most notably the religion of the Buddha. Our shared past is a long history of the intermingling of men and ideas.

What is perhaps very significant is that even in this modern age, this traditional relationship has remained alive and continues to expand. Despite difficulties we have increased our trade with each other and evolved Joint programmes of economic cooperation. In these endeavours, we have

been able to respond to each other with friendly concern and quick understanding. This is not surprising, for there is no conflict of interest between our countries; but the real challenge is to find the means to put into effect the cooperative schemes for development that both of us desire. This is the challenge for the future, and it provides an exciting area of opportunity for both India and Afghanistan. The Indo-Afghan Joint Commission for Economic Co-operation is the agency established at high level by our two countries for this purpose and I hope that its endeavours will not only benefit the people of Afghanistan but also bind India and Afghanistan ever more closely together.

I would like to make a reference to one of the cardinal principles we hold in common, our allegiance to the policy of non-alignment. India has made this the basis of her approach to the world in the firm belief that it represents a means of extending the area of peace and cooperation for the rapid development of countries such as ours in the developing world. We salute Afghanistan as the originator in this part of the world of a policy of independent development, free from the overbearing influence or control of any foreign power. Such an Independent, non-aligned approach has distinguished Afghan policy since the time of her Independence more than fifty years ago and has always commanded the respect of other countries. There has been fruitful cooperation between our countries within this framework of non-alignment, and I am confident that we will continue to work with understanding in the noble cause of harmony in the world.

Afghanistan and India belong to the same region and share many of the problems of the region. We are conscious that peace and prosperity are indivisible, and that the problems of the sub-continent affect also our Afghan brethren. We have just emerged from a troubled passage in the affairs of the sub-continent. It has been our principal endeavour to resolve these differences honourably, peacefully, equitably and permanently. It is in this spirit that my Prime Minister met president Bhutto in Simla and I am

happy to say that the agreement signed between them opens UP the possibilities of friendly relations with Pakistan. This is the hope of every Indian and particularly of those millions in the sub-continent who have recently undergone immeasurable hardship and suffering. We see in a durable peace the brightest prospects of economic collaboration in our sub-continent and we have great hopes of consolidating further the traditional intimate relations with Afghanistan. I trust and sincerely hope that we are now on the threshold of an era of peace and constructive activity which will bring benefits to all the peoples in the area.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I now invite. you to join me in a toast to the long life and health of Their Majesties the King and Queen of Afghanistan, to the welfare and prosperity of the people of Afghanistan, and to the further strengthening of the friendship between Afghanistan and India.

183

AFGHANISTAN INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC PAKISTAN

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

AFGHANISTAN

Speech by Mayor of Kabul at Lunch in Honour of President V. V. Girl

Following is the text of the welcome speech by Mr. Nooristani, acting Mayor of Kabul, at Luncheon in honour of Shri V. V. Giri, President of the Republic of India, at Paghman on July 11, 1972:

Your Excellency, Mr. President,

I have the honour to welcome Your Excellency, the distinguished guest of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, and your companions at this friendly function, on behalf of Members of the Municipal Council and the citizens of Kabul.

Your visit to Kabul manifests the desire for the consolidation of the friendly relations existing between our two ancient countries and peoples from this part of Asia, who are bound by age-old historical and cultural ties. Your visit, Mr. President, also revives the memories of the previous State visits that took place in Kabul and Delhi.

For the People of Kabul this visit brings a reminder of the hearty and sincere welcome accorded to His Majesty the King of Afghanistan by the People and leaders of India and the citizens of Delhi during His Majesty's visits to India. We are fully aware that such exchanges of visits are highly effective in strengthening the cordial relations between the two countries.

The enthusiastic interest that the people of Afghanistan and the citizens of Kabul take in the history and culture of India is evidence of the ancient historical ties which exist between our peoples. Our two countries have many things in common. In contemporary times, the people of India showed consistently keen interest in Afghanistan's struggle for freedom and supported it during its different stages; similarly, the people of Afghanistan also looked at the ending of foreign rule in India, and watched the epic deeds and endeavours of the sons of India with great sympathy and interest.

Today the names of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru as well as other distinguished sons of India have become a part of modern history and they are respected by the people of the world. The people of Afghanistan have a closer acquaintanceship with them as compared to others, for the close contact of our two nations has made the lives and deeds of the leaders of the other country familiar to each.

The citizens of Kabul are happy to wel-

come Your Excellency as one of the distinguished leaders of India's struggle-forfreedom and as a supporter of democracy and social justice.

During these days we shall see another manifestation of the great interest taken by the government and people of India in this country when the Children's Hospital, which has been constructed with the technical and financial assistance of the friendly country of India, will be opened by Your Excellency. Your country's friendly gesture in setting up this hospital in Kabul will be deeply appreciated, especially by the parents of the children of Kabul and also the other citizens of this city.

Kabul and Delhi have been linked in friendly contact for the last 1,000 years, and these contacts between the capitals speak of the bonds between the two countries which have stretched over thousands of years. I hope, Your Excellency, when you return to your country at the conclusion of this short and friendly visit, you will carry with you the warm feelings of friendship of the people of Kabul towards the people of Delhi.

On my own behalf, and on behalf of the Members of the Municipal Council and the citizens of Kabul, I convey most sincere wishes for the health and prosperity of our distinguished guest, and I pray that you may continue to render valuable service for the progress and advancement of your great country.

Long live friendship between Afghanistan and India.

184

AFGHANISTAN INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

Reply by President V. V. Girl

Replying President Giri said:

Your Excellency, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I am deeply grateful to the Mayor and citizens of Kabul for the honour they have done me today. This function is a reminder of the fact that the links between India and Afghanistan are not merely confined to State and official level but involves the common people. The friendship between our countries has roots among the people and it has been nurtured by centuries of intimate contact between them.

During my stay in Kabul, I find ample evidence of the friendly ties between our two peoples. I see a number of Indians in this historic city engaged in different trades and professions, contributing to the progress of modern Afghanistan. Indian cultural manifestations find an extremely ready and enthusiastic response in this country. Elsewhere, too, Indian music and dance find discriminating audiences, but it is in Afghanistan that a strong popular response to these expressions of Indian culture exists. Such signs indicate that there is real understanding and an instinctive response to each other between our countries and peoples.

We in India are conscious that Afghanistan, and especially the city of Kabul, enshrines much that is of permanent value in our past. One of the important symbols of this shared history is the tomb of the first Mughal Emperor Babar. I greatly look forward to visiting it during my stay.

In recent years, the friendly relationship between India and Afghanistan has acquired a new dimension through increasing joint effort in development projects. A significant manifestation of the friendly cooperation between our countries, is the Institute of Child Health in Kabul, a major Indo-Afghan joint undertaking, which will be inaugurated tomorrow. I hope this is only the first of several such important projects which will keep alive and further develop the friendship between our countries.

I will invoke the name of Babar once again in reminding all of you that even while he lived in Hindustan, his heart continued to yearn for the flowing waters and green valleys of Kabul. Coming here today, in this beautiful setting, I come to understand the strong hold that this fabled land can come to exert on the hearts of men. I shall carry with me the most pleasant memory of this beautiful spot and this very pleasant function. For this as well as the fine gift that you have given me, I would like to express my warmest thanks to Your Excellency, the Mayor and through you to the citizens of this historic city.

I have great pleasure in announcing on this occasion, a token gift of a baby elephant for the Kabul Zoo, and a few chandeliers and a water pump to be used in the Babar gardens and mausoleum. I fondly hope that these will add to the enjoyment of the citizens of the beautiful city of Kabul, and of its visitors. Also as a token of the historical ties binding our two countries, I would like to present this souvenir to the people of Kabul. This casket contains coins of the time of Sher Shah Suri and enlarged photographs of his mausoleum. As with Babar, Sher Shah shares a cherished place in the history of India.

AFGHANISTAN INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

Press Statement on Indo-Bulgarian Official Level Talks

The following is the Press statement issued in Sofia on July 14, 1972 on the conclusion of consultations between an official Indian Delegation led by Shri S. K. Banerji and a Bulgarian Foreign off ice Delegation led by Mr. Stefan Petrov:

An official Delegation of the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India

185

led by. His Excellency Mr. S. K. Banerji, Secretary (EAST), visited Sofia from July, 12 to 14, 1972 as guests of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria. During their stay, the delegation were received by His Excellency Mr. Peter Mladenov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. They also held discussions with a delegation of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs headed by His Excellency, Mr. Stefan Petrov, Secretary General.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of warm friendship and understanding and covered a number of important international questions such as the situation in Indo-China and the Middle East, the developments in the Indian Subcontinent, in the Balkans and Europe as well as co-operation in the U.N. and other international organisations.

An identity or close similarity of views on the matters discussed was revealed.

Both sides noted that their relations were developing well and that there were possibilities for the further strengthening of these relations particularly in the economic and scientific spheres.

The two sides agreed that the consultations had proved to be useful and decided to have regular consultations of this kind in the future. The Indian side extended a warm invitation to the Secretary General of

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to lead a delegation to the next consultations to be held in New Delhi at a mutually convenient date.

His Excellency Mr. Banerji thanked the Secretary General His Excellency Mr. Stefan Petrov for the generous hospitality shown to his delegation during their stay in Sofia.

BULGARIA USA INDIA CHINA

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

CYPRUS

President Giri's Speech at Nicosia on the Occasion of Unveiling of Statue of Gandhiji

The Following is the text of the speech by President GM, in Nicosia, (Cyprus) on July 10, 1972 on the Occasion of the unveiling of the statue of Gandhiji:

I deem it a great privilege to be called upon to unveil the bust of Mahatma Gandhi in his beautiful city. It shows the high esteem in which people of Cyprus hold the Father of our nation. This great leader more than any single individual in human history was responsible for liberating us from the century old bondage.

Gandhiji gave us the watchwords truth, and ahimsa, nonviolence and fashioned thread by thread the fabric of India's freedom. I am therefore grateful to the esteemed President of the Republic of Cyprus to have invited me to this place and he has assigned me the honour of unveiling the portrait of one of the greatest men that the world has produced. Your President luckily combines in himself the spiritual wisdom

and political statemanship of Mahatma Gandhi and indeed Cyprus is very fortunate at this great juncture that he should be the Head of State leading the destinies of this nation. The simplest lesson of all that Gandhi tried to teach us and the greatest was the lesson of love. Love and compassion were to him not theoretical concepts. It was something that became such innate part of his being that a negation of this quality spurred him to immediate action. So it was with the oppressed in South Africa and was again With the exploited in India whether by foreign power or by the privileged few. Where there was injustice and terror, he stood most staunchly against it. But at the same time he taught that those 186

whom we Opposed deserve as much consideration as those whose cause he championed. Similarly, he taught that only right means could lead to right ends and indeed from this love of his which knew no differences great philosophy, with ramifications covering different aspects of the social life flowed. Moulded in the tradition of spirituality Gandhiji dedicated his entire energy and strengthened his faculties towards paving a new order of society, free from violence and exploitation. He spared no pains reminding the mankind of the profound implications of the tenets of Jesus Christ, Lord Budha, Prophet Mohammad and other great religious leaders. The choice before mankind today is between a humane world of Gandhiji's dreams and a nightmare of mutual strifes and ultimate destruction. I would like to recall the immortal tribute that Professor Albert Einstein paid to Gandhiji, a leader of his people unsupported by any outward authority, a politician whose success rests not upon craft nor mastery of technical devices but by simple convincing power of his personality, a victorious man of wisdom and humility, of resolve and inflexible consistency who has devoted his strength to the uplifting of his people and betterment of their lots. A man who has confronted brutality of terror and dignity of a simple human being and has at all times risen superior. Generations to come will scarcely believe that such a man as this ever did walk in flesh and blood on this earth

Gandhi was a great believer in negotiations. To him there was no human problem which was intractable. As a trade unionist coming under the spell of Gandhiji I gained a reputation of being a good negotiator. I used to tell my comrades, workers, whenever there was industrial dispute that there never was such a thing as the last word in negotiations. We live and learn and what is important is the greatest common good to the entire community and the mankind whom we seek to serve. In dealing with problems facing any country, complex and difficult situations may arise in arriving at a satisfactory solution but there is nothing which is beyond human endeavour which concerns the well-being of the people. I hope and trust that this memorial to Gandhiji which is being set up today will serve as a direct inspiration to the people of Cyprus to find a lasting peace, concord and amity among them.

Let me once again offer my heartfelt thanks to all of you for according me the opportunity to participate in this memorable function.

CYPRUS USA INDIA SOUTH AFRICA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Ambassador Sen's Speech in Security Council on Syrian and Lebanese

Complaint Against Israel

Following is the text of the, statement by Ambassador Sen made, in the Security Council on July 20, 1972 during the debate on Syrian and Lebanese complaint against Israel:

Since this is the first time I have spoken this month before the Council on a substantive question, I should like to congratulate you most cordially, Mr. President, on your accession to the Presidency of the Security Council. The dynamism and skill with which you have been discharging your many responsibilities as President have already earned our admiration. We are confident that the work of the Council will benefit from your direction. and my delegation would like to assure You of our full support in carrying it out.

It was only recently, on 23 June 1972 that the Council had to meet to consider once again another aggravation of the situation in West Asia. I indicated during that debate (1649th meeting) the genera, principles and the comprehensive approach which inform the Government of India's policy towards this problem.

187

However today we are not meeting for a general discussion. we are concerned today with a clear-cut situation expressed in the letters addressed by Syria and Lebanon to the President of the Security Council on 5 July. It relates simply to the full implementation of the last resolution adopted by the Security Council. After resolution 316 (1972) was adopted on 26 June 1972, I said:

". .. we most earnestly hope that the resolution will be fully implemented so that the present difficulties can be overcome. Such implementation will help the renewal of the Jarring mission for the application of resolution 242 (1967), which alone can contribute effectively towards a permanent solution of the problem of West Asia."

(1650th meeting, p.552)

Despite the efforts of both the President of the Security Council as well as of the Secretary-General and many others in the past days, paragraph 3 of that resolution has not yet been implemented by Israel. The representatives of Syria and Lebanon had requested the Security Council to deal with

this urgent and pressing question nearly two weeks ago. The patience and forbearance which they have shown in the intervening period deserves to be noted. But it must have its limits. The Security Council also has its responsibility under paragraph 4 of resolution 316(1972). There is no doubt that this responsibility must now be discharged without any further delay.

It is in the context of the need for present action and the past record of Israel's persistent non-compliance with Council resolutions that we must view the straightforward issue of the return of the Syrian and Lebanese personnel abducted by Israel. No attempts should be permitted to confuse this issue with the other issue of the return of combatants captured by the different sides in the course of war. No amount of sophisticated and unnecessarily complicated argument can change such kidnapping to something else. We are, therefore, opposed to attempts to obscure this matter by linking it with issues which are not relevant to it.

We hope that this question will be faced squarely within the clearly defined parameters of the relevant provisions of resolution 316(1972): that is, the non-com pliance of Israel and the need for further action was specified in those provisions. It is on this basis that my. delegation will support the draft resolution (S/10742) submitted by the Ambassador of Somalia on behalf of his delegation as well as of the delegations of Guinea, Sudan and Yugoslavia. Indeed, there are elements in this draft resolution which we would have liked to be strengthened, but we realize that the present wording has been arrived at as a result of negotiations. We would have indeed been ready to co-sponsor the draft resolution, but it is nearly 5.30 in the morning in New Delhi now and there simply has not been time to obtain formal approval of my Government for such co-sponsoring.

May I conclude with a general observation. Even a cursory examination of the many statements of the representative of Israel - absent today - shows quite clearly

that Israel has developed an acute persecution complex. Given the experience and achievement of the Jewish race over the years, this is understandable, but it seems to us that these are the very reasons why we can expect them, and the Israelis in particular, to demonstrate sympathy, understanding and acceptance of the difficulties which the Arab countries face because of the Israeli action in 1967. Once Israel realizes that it has to live in peace and co-operation with the Arab world, it will make it possible for Israel, even at this late stage, to participate fully in the efforts of Mr. Jarring for the full implementation of resolution 242 (1967), including full withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Arab countries. This and this alone will reduce tension and bring about conditions in which they can all come to live in peace. Meanwhile, time is against us and we must do all we can to remove such temporary irritants such as the abduction of Syrian and Lebanese officers and men - not officers only - abducted from Lebanon on 21 June. The next step will then be the revival of the Jarring mission, and through this machinery all the elements of the resolution of 22 November 1967 ran be negotiated and settled.

188

INDIA SYRIA ISRAEL CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC USA LEBANON MALI SOMALIA GUINEA SUDAN YUGOSLAVIA

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri N. P. Jain's Statement at Economic and Social Council in Reply to Chinese charges on Tibetan Refugees

Following is the text of the statement by the Deputy Permanent Representative of India, Shri N. P. Jain at the Plenary meeting of the Economic & Social Council in Geneva oil July 27, 1972 in reply to the Chinese Delegate on Tibetan refugees:

I did not have the intention, at this late hour, to take the floor although my delegation would have liked to associate itself with the appreciation expressed by many members of the Council for the very valuable and magnificent work done by the office of the UNHCR, led by His Highness Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan.

My delegation, Mr. Chairman, was frankly surprised and a little taken abackthat after such a moving discussion of the problems of rendering aid to the unfortunate refugees in the Southern Sudan, opportunity has been taken, for reasons best known to the distinguished delegate of China, for bringing in, what we consider as extraneous and political issues. I would like to invite your attention, Mr. Chairman, to what UNHCR has to say in para 75, page 36 of his report on the focal point for assistance to refugees in India. It reads and I quote: "It is not the purpose and it would be outside the scope of this report to reflect on the socio-political events which led such a large population to leave every thing behind and seek refuge in another country". If I have quoted this it is not in connection with the problems to which this report refers, but essentially to stress the point that in the entire activities of the UNHCR which we are discussing in the Council here, the emphasis has been, and indeed if I may say so, emphasis in all its past activities has been on the humanitarian side of the problem, on the sympathy which it sought to evoke when unfortunate refugees were uprooted from their homes and on the principal task then of the international community, and the challenge to it as to how best to mitigate their sufferings and distress.

Mr. Chairman, in the recent history as well as long history of my country, the tradition of my country has always been essentially a humanitarian tradition. The people of India have always been moved by the distress and sufferings of the people in any part of the world, and have, despite their own

difficulties, tried to do what they can in the circumstances to be of assistance. This does not and should not be construed as interference in any one's affairs. India has rendered help and aid to refugees wherever they have come from and it is not for me to say from this country or that country. If a refugee comes to the doors of my country, in search of food and shelter, my country has kept its doors open for such unfortunate human beings. We have not stood and started but we have cared and deeply cared for people in such unfortunate circumstances of the type which we have considered in the Council today and expressed international sympathy, and concern, and have shown adequate response in every possible

Mr. Chairman, my delegation would have wished that this matter would not have been brought up in this manner only to provoke a discussion which has no purpose or relevance to the atmosphere and the discussion we have been having in the Council at this late hour. India has never believed, nor has it interfered in the internal affairsof any country. Perhaps those who are used to interfering in the internal affairs of other countries can always warm up on the subject.

Chinese delegate in counter reply repeated his charges.

In further exercise of right to reply, Shri N. P. Jain stated as follows:

Mr. Chairman, in the first place, I would like to request you that the statement which I had just made should also appear in full in the records of the Council. It is not my intention to engage in fruitless polemics, despite very serious provocation. I would only and very briefly say that I strongly and very categorically reject the baseless and unfounded charges which are being made and they do not have any meaning only by the fact that they are being repeated.

189

INDIA SWITZERLAND USA SUDAN CHINA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

MAURITIUS

Air Agreement with Mauritius Ratified

Following press release was issued in New Delhi on July 29, 1972 on the exchange of Instruments of Ratification of the Indo-Mauritius Air Agreement:

An agreement between the Government of India and the Government of Mauritius on air services which was signed in New Delhi oil the 28th January 1972 came into force formally on the 28th July 1972 as a result of the exchange of Instruments of Ratification in Port Louis between His Excellency Shri Krishna Dayal Sharma, High Commissioner of India in Mauritius and His Excellency Dr. The Right Honourable Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius.

Air India, the designated airline of India is at present operating a weekly service through Mauritius. The Agreement also provides for the operation by the airline designated by the Government of Mauritius from Mauritius to Bombay and, if desired,, beyond.

The ratification of the Agreement is expected to further promote the closer contact between the people of the two countries and thereby strengthen the existing friendly bonds between the two countries.

MAURITIUS USA INDIA

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

NEPAL

Air Services Agreement

Following press release was issued in New Delhi on July 25, 1972 on the signing of an air services agreement between India and Nepal:

An air services agreement was signed here today between India and Nepal for extension of the services by the airlines of the two countries.

The revised agreement provides for the operation of services by the Royal Nepal Airlines to Varanasi in addition to the points in India already being, Served by the Airline, namely, Delhi, Patna and, Calcutta. Further, the Royal Nepal Airlines will also, have the opportunity to operate some international air services through Calcutta and Delhi. Reciprocally, provision has been made for Indian air services to operate international services through Kathmandu.

The Indian delegation to the talks was led by Shri N. Sahgal, Secretary, Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation. The delegation of His Majesty's Government of Nepal was led by Mr. R. C. Malhotra, Secretary, Ministry of Public works and transport. The leaders of the two delegations signed the agreement on behalf of their Governments.

190

NEPAL INDIA

Date: Jul 01, 1972

1995

NETHERLANDS

Netherlands Credit for India

Following press release was issued in New Delhi on July 20, 1972 on the signing of an agreement between the Government of India and the Netherlands Government for a credit for India's development needs:

An agreement between the Government of India and the Netherlands Government for credit of 58 million guilders equivalent to Rs. 141.67 million for India's development noods was signed on July 19, 1972 at the Hague by the Indian Ambassador Lt. Gen. Yadavindra Singh and Mr. P. C. Mass, President, Netherlands Investment Bank for developing countries.

The credit forms the financial contribution which the Netherlands Government has undertaken to make to India for the year 1972-73. This is repayable in 30 years with 8 years grace period and two and half percent interest.

INDIA THE NETHERLANDS

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

NIGERIA

Indo-Nigerian Joint Communique on Visit of Foreign Minister Shri Swaran Singh

The following is the text of a joint

Communique issued in Lagos on July 19, 1972 at the conclusion of the visit of the Indian Foreign Minister Shri Swaran Singh to Nigeria:

The Minister of External Affairs of India, His Excellency Sardar Swaran Singh paid an official visit to Nigeria from 15th to 18th July, 1972. During his stay in Lagos, His Excellency Sardar Swaran Singh was received by His Excellency Head of the Federal Military Government Commander-in Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria.

He also called on His Excellency the Federal Commissioner for Finance, His Excellency the Federal Commissioner for Trade and His Excellency the Federal Commissioner Mines and Power and held discussions with the Commissioner for External Affairs on matters of mutual interest and other international issues. The discussion was marked with the utmost cordiality and understanding.

The Minister of External Affairs of India and the Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria reviewed with great satisfaction the development of relations between their two countries in all spheres. They agreed that concrete measures should be adopted to strengthen and further develop the relations in political and economic spheres as well as in the fields of science, technology and culture. They were happy to note similarities in the policies followed by the respective countries and resolved to further strengthen the cooperation in joint pursuit of them including in the international organisations.

The Minister for External Affairs of India expressed his deep admiration for the progress of Nigeria in her efforts towards national reconciliation reconstruction and

19

development. He expressed satisfaction that this will enable Nigeria to play its rightful role in international affairs in general and in Africa in particular.

The Minister for External Affairs of

India outlined the recent, developments in the Indian subcontinent. The Commissioner for External Affairs noted the efforts of India aimed at achieving a durable peace and good neighbourly relations. The existing cooperation between India and Nigeria in commercial as well as technological fields was discussed. The invitation of the Foreign Minister for a broad based economic delegation led by Mr. Shehu Shagari, Nigerian Finance Minister was accepted.

The Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh discussed with Nigerian personalities the possibilities of economic cooperation between the two countries in the fields of industry, minerals, agriculture and agroindustries. The Foreign Minister assured the Nigerians of India's desire to buy more goods needed by her from Nigeria. He suggested that new industrial units could be established in Nigeria with Indian cooperation to manufacture such items.

NIGER NIGERIA USA INDIA RUSSIA

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Agreement on Bilateral Relations Between India and Pakistan

Following is the text of the Agreement on Bilateral Relations between the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan signed at Simla, July 2, 1972:

1. The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred the relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship

and the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their peoples.

In order to achieve this objective, the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan have agreed as follows:

- i) That the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries.
- ii) That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organisation, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations.
- iii) That the pre-requisite for reconciliation, good neighbourliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful coexistence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.
- iv) That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedevilled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means.
- v) That they shall always respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality.

192

vi) That in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other.

- 2. Both Governments will take all steps within their power to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other. Both countries will encourage the dissemination of such information as would promote the development of friendly relations between them.
- 3. In order progressively to restore and normalise relations between the two countries step by step, it was agreed that:
- i) Steps shall be taken to resume communications postal, telegraphic, sea, land including border posts and air links including over-flights.
- ii) Appropriate steps shall be taken to promote travel facilities for the nationals of the other country.
- iii) Trade and cooperation in economic and agreed fields will be resumed as far as possible.
- iv) Exchange in the fields of science and culture will be promoted. In this connection, delegations from the two countries will meet from time to time to work out the necessary details.
- 4. In order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agreed that:
 - (i) Indian and Pakistani forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border.
 - (ii) In Jammu and Kashmir the line of control resulting from the cease fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or the use of force in violation of this line.
 - (iii)the withdrawals shall commence

upon entry into force of this Agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereafter.

- 5. This Agreement will be subject to I ratification by both countries in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures and will come into force with effect from the date on which the Instruments of Ratification are exchanged.
- 6. Both Governments agree that their respective Heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that, in the meanwhile, the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.

(Indira Gandhi) (Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto)
Prime Minister President,
Republic of India Pakistan.

PAKISTAN INDIA USA MALI

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

President Bhutto's Farewell Message to Shrimati Gandhi

Following is the text of the message from the President of Pakistan Mr. Bhutto to the Prime Minister of India Shrimati Indira Gandhi at the time of leaving India on July 3, 1972:

Madam Prime Minister,

On behalf of my Delegation and on my own behalf I convey to Your Excellency, to your Government and the people of India our sincere thanks for the great hospitality extended to us during our stay in Simla. The arrangements left nothing to be desired. The Agreement we signed last night represents a breakthrough in our relations. I return home with firm conviction that we can embark on a new era of peace. If we

193

Implement the Agreement with sincerity and goodwill, we can give to our people the peace with honour and progress which we have not found for so long. Today we have that opportunity. I have no doubt that we can set the foundation of a durable peace which we owe to our People. As I leave India I wish to convey to the People of India my good wishes for their happiness and prosperity. We have no doubt that under your judicious leadership they will prosper and progress.

PAKISTAN INDIA USA

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

President Z. A. Bhutto's Parting Message

Before boarding the helicopter the President of Pakistan Mr. Z. A. Bhutto issued the following statement:

I would like to thank the people of Simla for their hospitality during our stay at this beautiful hill resort. But, above all, I wish to express my thanks to them for their patience and forbearance in the face of security cordons, which, though necessary, caused inconvenience and marred their holidays. But everyone accepted these difficulties, for which my delegation and I are thankful.

I cannot but take this opportunity also to address a few words to the tens of thousands of our prisoners of war and civilian internees who are in camps in India. They have remained uppermost in our minds. Their relations and friends, as indeed all the people of Pakistan, are deeply interested in their well-being and early repatriation. We have no doubt that this problem, which essentially a human problem, will be resolved before long. We now have an agreement which should lead to their early return home. Meantime our thoughts and prayers remain with you.

PAKISTAN USA INDIA

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

External Affairs Minister's Statement in Parliament on Simla Agreement

Initiating the debate on the Simla Agreement, Minister of External Affairs Sardar Swaran Singh said in Lok Sabha on July 31, 1972:

I have the honour to lay on the table of the House a copy of the Agreement between the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan signed at Simla by the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan on July 2, 1972.

The Agreement is a first step towards

establishing durable peace on the sub-continent. It provides a framework which, if faithfully worked out, can bring about an altogether new relationship between India and Pakistan. The experience of the past 25 years shows that outside agencies and third party involvement have made the solution of problems betweeen India and Pakistan extremely difficult. Recognising this, it was agreed by both sides that They will settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between the parties. This trend of bilateralism, which is showing itself in other areas of the world is a healthy trend and we welcome it. The idea of providing for a "self executing machinery" which would automatically bring in involvement of third parties or outside agencies, has thus been given up.

Another important feature of the Agreement is that both sides have agreed that the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedevilled relations between the two countries during the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means. Both sides have further agreed that they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of each other. Both Governments have agreed that pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries

194

neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation. They have further undertaken that both sides shall prevent the organisation, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations.

A number of steps have been proposed for the normalization of relations under Article 3 of the Agreement. They include communications, travel facilities, trade, cooperation in economic and other agreed fields and exchange in the fields of science and culture.

Once these principles for the establishment of durable peace were accepted by Pakistan and Pakistan further agreed that

in Jammu & Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971, shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of either side, we agreed to the withdrawal of Indian and Pakistani forces to their side of the international border. Action regarding withdrawals to the international border the delineation of the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir will have to be taken simultaneously. A smooth implementation of this will generate the necessary confidence for the growth of friendly and peaceful relations between the two countries.

I would like hon'ble Members to look at the Agreement in the proper perspective of history. This Agreement comes after a long period of conflict and confrontation between the two countries and opens up the possibility of establishing normal and cooperative relations on the sub-continent. The Agreement is based on the principle of equality of sovereign nations and not in the spirit of a victor dictating his terms to the vanguished. We have kept our promise which we had made before, during and after the last war that we do not have any designs on Pakistan's territory. We hope that Pakistan appreciates this and will reciprocate by adhering faithfully to the letter and spirit of this Agreement. The Agreement is only a first step, a beginning in the process of establishing peace, friendship and cooperation. The success of this agreement and of the processes it has initiated will depend on its faithful implementation. As far as India is concerned, we are prepared to treat the new Pakistan as a friend. The things that unite the interests of the people of India and Pakistan are far more important and lasting than the things that seem to divided us. It is in this spirit and in an effort to serve the longterm common interest of the people of the sub-continent and this region that we have signed this Agreement and it is in this spirit that we would like it to be judged.

PAKISTAN USA INDIA MALI

Date : Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Prime Minister's Statement in Lok Sabha

Intervening in the debate, Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi said in Lok Sabha on July 31, 1972:

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is hardly any need for me to intervene in this debate because I find that from our own side and from Members of the Opposition there has come solid support for this Agreement. And the only arguments, if one can call them arguments, which were put forward by the Jan Sangh, have been very ably refuted by Members from all sides of the House.

This morning, we witnessed what I can only call an utterly deplorable and ridiculous demonstration on the floor of the House. I do not think that any Member of the House, no matter on which side or which policy he stands for, will say that such doings have anything whatsoever to do with democratic functioning and that is why it is astonishing that the same Members had the cheek to talk of democracy in this House today. One could have called such an action childish. But it would be an insult to the children of India to call it so.

I must repudiate very strongly - I do not think there is any need to do so but these things must go on record - the constant allegation that the Government of India is acting at the behest of some outside power. I think - I am sorry for these

195
people I can only say that they must be suffering from some deep inferiority com-

plex. They must be suffering from an utter lack of confidence in the people of India. (Interruption) I am not going to yield. I am capable of taking care of myself... (Interruption) I am not yielding to this gentleman at all. They have made enough demonstration of their behaviour, their sagacity and their experience, as they call it, this morning. The House has had enough of it. I hope, Sir, you will not in future permit such behaviour on the floor of the House. When foreigners have visited this House and when I have gone abroad it is sad to hear comments on this sort of behaviour taking place inside the House. This is no compliment to Indian democracy or to Indian unity.

Mr. Vajpayee spoke also of Indian unity. I know something about the unity of this country and the unity of the people. Let me repeat what I have said before, that unity is for a purpose. You do not have unity just for the sake of unity. You have unity to make the country strong; you have unity to take the country forward. You do not have unity to take the country down, to show meanness, to show pettiness and to show lack of statesmanship. Today Mr. Vajpayee was right in saying that he had some lakhs of people with him. He does have. But let me remind him that the population of India is 60 crores, and those crores are not with Mr. Vajpayee. He may have a few lakhs but there are still the crores of people. Are we going to listen to the voice of the crores or are we going to listen to the voice of the small, whining minority? It is not a minority that speaks up with strength; it is a whining, weak, full-of-inferiority minority. He has not only no confidence in the people of India, he has shown utter disregard for the people of Kashmir. How dare he say that we are leaving the people of Kashmir to the tender mercies of the Pakistanis? Do not blame the people of Kashmir who have stood by us in all times of turmoil. At a time when there was no Indian military to help the people of Kashmir, it was their own militia who met the Pakistani attack. (Interruption) How dare he challenge their bravery? How dare he challenge their solidarity with India?

This country, and this Government, is keenly aware of where it is going and where it wants to go. There was a time - not very long ago; only last year - when the same hon. Members did not believe me when I said that we knew what was going to happen in Bangla Desh, that we were going to solve the problem, that we were going to see that the refugees were returned with honour and safety. Mr. Vajpayee said to me, 'I do not believe you'. I said, 'Mr. Vajpayee, I am not concerned with whether you believe me or not: I am concerned with what is going to happen'. And today it is not I who am saying what happened. Can Mr. Vajpayee deny that there is Bangla Desh today? Can Mr. Vajpayee deny that the refugees have gone back to Bangla Desh? And still he says, 'I do not believe you'. Let him not believe me; it matters little to the people of India whether he believes or does not believe; it matters little to the people of the world whether he believes or does not believe. But history will show whether what has happened has been for the good of India.

I have made no tall claims for the Simla Agreement; I make no tall claims now. All I say is that it is a beginning; it is a small beginning perhaps, but it is a good beginning. Why do I say so? I am not concerned with whether we can trust the President of Pakistan or not; I am only concerned with whether we can trust ourselves or not. Do we trust ourselves or not? Have we confidence in our strength or not? Have we the strength to handle the situation or not? This is what concerns me. Are we afraid? May be the Jan Sangh is afraid of Pakistan...

SHRI HUKUM CHAND KACHWAI: No.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Why do you shout like this if you are not? Interruption) It is no use saying anything now. (Interruption)

I appeal to the members of my Party, I am not like the leaders on the other side; I am fully able to defend myself; I do not need support from others. Every time when Mr. Vajpayee got up, eight of his members felt it necessary to support him. But this is not necessary on our side of the House.

Now we have a certain national pride. And when I use the word 'pride', I do not mean any false pride, I do not mean any

196

feeling of arrogance, but pride in this nation and what it has stood for, pride in the Indian people and what they are capable of doing, pride which makes you want to do your best, to give your utmost, no matter what is costs, for the good of the country. Perhaps it is a sentiment that cannot be understood by some of our friends opposite. We cannot blame them. They are no less than Pakistan, creatures of partition. They had no place in India before, and perhaps they fear that they will have no place when there is complete peace. That is why they are so concerned that the spirit of confrontation should continue.

What is the basic issue before us? May I take the House into confidence? No, I must digress a moment - we have been blamed by all sides for not consulting the opposition. Now, we held a meeting of the leaders of the opposition on the 19th of May where we told them whatever it was possible to say before the Simla talks actually took place. We put our points before them. our friends from the CPM refused to attend the meeting, but we cannot be blamed for that. The others, including the Jan Sangh, were present. There was nothing more we could have said had we met even one day before the talks. Therefore, it is not true to say that we did not put our views before them. Naturally, we could not know the details. We did not know the details ourselves. We did not know how things would proceed.

The very first remark that I made to Mr. Bhutto was that we have to decide, Pakistan and India have to decide, whether the interests of these two countries are complementary, or are they always going to be conflicting? This is a major issue to decide. If we think that our interests conflict, then you can have one agreement or a hundred

agreements and you will not have peace. But, if we believe as India has believed and India does believe today, that our interests are largely the same, that the major problems we face are the problems of the poverty of our peoples, of the economic backwardness of our countries and the incessant effort of the foreign powers to pressurise us - we all know and most of us have been involved in the freedom struggle, what deliberate attempt there was to create friction within ourselves. Why? So as to weaken the freedom struggle. They knew that if all the religions and all the communities kept together, then their unity would create a strength that nobody could move, not even the great British Empire. But they knew also that if they could divide us on any issue, whether it is language or religion or anything else, well, then they would have a chance of defeating us. That is why their effort was to create dissensions.

After Partition, they could not do it in the same manner. Therefore, the attempt of those forces who were interested in keeping the sub-continent weak, was to see that this confrontation should continue between the different parts of the sub-continent so that we would be more involved in this sort of quarrel than in tackling our basic problems and trying to become strong in ourselves.

This is what we have to study. When this is the state of affairs, do we permit it or should we say, 'Enough, we have had enough of the traps of others. Today we must realise what is in our real interests.' There is no doubt that the real interests of this country, as of Pakistan, lie in peace between the two countries.

Now, will there be peace or not? I am neither an astrologer nor do I consult astrologers. I do not know. All I know is that I must fight for peace and I must take those steps which will lead us to peace. If they do not work out, we are prepared. It is not as if we are disregarding the interests of the nation. We are not saying, 'No. no. We thought there would be peace. Even if somebody attacks us, we are not ready'.

That is not our attitude. We are prepared to face any threat or any kind of aggression, should it take place. But we must all consider, as our friend hon'ble Member Shri Anthony has said, whether this is really within the realm of possibility or whether it is a remote consideration of thing.

In a situation like this, when we obviously have the upper hand, we are in a position to guide affairs. Had we stood up saying as when two children are quarrelling, 'You have taken my toy, I must have it before I speak to you' or something like that, if we had that kind of attitude, what would have happened?

197

It may be that the talks would not have broken down, we could have said, 'Mr. Bhutto, go back and we shall meet again.' And the same would happen next time, We could keep on meeting and have very pleasant meetings or perhaps not so pleasant. What would have been achieved? Would India have been stronger? Would we have been able to relax more than what we can today, for instance? We would not. As some historian has said, had the countries of Europe treated Germany with the understanding that India has shown to Pakistan, there would not have been a Hitler and there would not have been a Second World War.

So, it is a question of the manner of dealing with things. A situation has been created whereby it is, I am not saying impossible, but difficult for Pakistan to do very much against us. It is for us, by our action, by our behaviour, to see that this situation is maintained. This is not done by taking up a hard attitude or soft attitude, but by assuming a situation whereby the capacity for Pakistan or any other country acting against us is minimised.

Several Members have pointed out that the situation has changed in Pakistan. I think the leadership of Pakistan and President Bhutto of Pakistan are fully aware of the change. We in India are fully aware that the situation has changed in India also. It is not the situation which per-

tained at the time of Tashkent; it is not the situation which pertained at the time of previous agreements; it is a different situation. Today we have the whole Indian public, and, in spite of the Jan Sangh, it is a united public, it is united on the main issues, it is united in guarding its interests. I do not think it is feasible for anybody to go against the interests of the people.

SHRI HUKAM CHAND KACHWAI (in Hindi): Go amongst the people, then you will know.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I do not need Shri Kachwai's advice on what I should do, nor do the people want his advice.

As I said, we are not afraid of Pakistan; we are not afraid of any other people either also. But, we do realise that the danger is not so much from Pakistan as it is from those forces who envisage confrontation on this sub-continent, or confrontation in Asia, to be in their interest. As I have said on a previous occasion, Asia is a continent; which has given great richness to the world. it is to the exploitation of Africa and Asiathat today the affluent countries owe their wealth and their riches and their industrial advance.

But we remain where we are. Why? Because, we are caught up in past thinking. Somebody provokes us and we get provoked into saying, 'All right, let us fight amongst ourselves.' We do not see that the third parties are taking advantage of us.

The time has come when Asia must wake up to its destiny, must wake up to the real needs of its people, must Stop fighting amongst ourselves, no matter what our previous quarrels, no Matter what the previous hatred and the bitterness. The time has come today when we must bury the past. We should see in what way we can make the people of Asia, who were rich not only in wealth, not only in talent, but in culture, in heritage, once more regain - I won't say past glory, because I don't believe in that kind of glory, but certainly a status in the world, where the- can guide the destinies of

the world, they can also mould the future in order to make the world a fit Place for man to live in.

This is the vision of the future which must guide us today. If we get entangled in petty quarrels then we have to say goodbye to such a future and we will always be enmeshed in conflicts. That is why we must now look not to the past, but to the future. If we say we must look to the past, how can we ask Pakistan not to look to the past? We have to choose - either both look to the past or both say, 'Good-bye to the past. Let us try to build a new future'. It is easier for us to say good-bye to the past because we have never preached hatred. At the worst times, we have expressed our concern for the people of Pakistan, have expressed our sorrow at their being deluded by their leaders, by their military dictatorship and so on. We have never preached any hatred against Pakistan. So, for us, it is a little easier; but in the case of Pakistan which has promoted a hate-campaign, and which has attacked India so many times, is it realistic to expect a sudden wishing

198

away of past attitude and adoption of new? These things do not come about by wishing or wanting. I think that President Bhutto is making a sincere effort to take his people go towards a new future. Whether he will succeed or not, I do not know. But at least, he is making an effort; and I think that it is in our interest that his effort to turn the face of Pakistan from its past hatred and bitterness to a new future of peace and friendship is very much worth supporting.

During the debate, it was also said that certain remarks here were not made for political purposes. This is a ridiculous statement. There is nothing in the world which is not political. The people who consider themselves as non-political are usually those who do not want change, but they are no less political than those who do want change.

We also remember that at the time of Bangla Desh also, while everybody was with us and broadly supported us, there were parties which tried to take political advantage of the situation. They did raise the sort of issues which they thought would catch the public imagination, which would show the Government in a poor light, whether it was the question of the refugees or the question of marching our Army in to Bangla Desh or anything else. Therefore, let us not get pulled by these soft words or imagine that these things were not political. All of us in this House are political beings, and we are very conscious of the political action taken by others. Had there been no political motive, there would have been no reason to have the sort of tamasha held on the border - that is the only word that describes it. It was as a tamasha that the people regarded it also - or to have the sort of tamasha that we witnessed here.

There is one other point to demonstrate how little regard these people have for truth. Almost every day, there is some story or other in their newspaper which is completely fabricated and baseless. Today there was one which caused me some worry, something about a Pakistani attack on Naya Chor. I have enquired and am told that it is absolutely baseless. It is completely fabricated. So you see that there is constant effort to renew an atmosphere of confrontation, of giving out news That would incite people.

I do not want to say anything more at this stage. But there is one point - some Members from my own Party talk about hope in the leadership and so on, but this leadership has always stood for one thing, and that is hope in the people of India, confidence in the people of India. Let us not lose that because that is our strength. I think that is India's strength. We are with the people. My colleague Shri Swaran Singh reminded me of another point. It seems that apart from the other heavy work that the Jan Sangh has, they indulge in eavesdropping on telephone conversations - imaginary ones. I have not phoned to anybody while I was in Simla, neither privately nor officially.

I do not remember whether the hon'ble Member said that I phoned or Sardar Saheb phoned or Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan phoned or Shri Jagjivan Ram phoned or Shri F. A. Ahmed phoned or somebody else did so on our behalf. That is what I am replying to. It is immaterial whether they took my name or not. The question is whether anybody spoke to Moscow. I categorically declare that nobody spoke to any foreign country at all. We did receive a large number of messages from various countries hoping and wishing that the talks would be successful, but nobody gave us any advice as to what we should do for the good reason that they know that our reaction to such advice is not very good. We like advice on some occasions, but not on all occasions, because each country must make its own decisions. it is only the country itself and the leaders of the country who can judge what is in the interest of the country. Nobody from outside, however great a friend or enemy, can tell us what is in the true interest of India. We know, as I have said earlier, that nobody from outside can be interested in our strength; it is only we ourselves who are concerned.

Therefore, I plead with the hon'ble Members of the Jan Sangh not to be the voice of outside reaction as well as of reaction inside the country. Today they are repeating what the enemies of India outside are saying. That is what the Jan Sangh is propagating.

I know that the House has supported the agreement and the entire world has supported it. Let us do so with grace and dignity.

199

PAKISTAN USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC UNITED KINGDOM GERMANY UZBEKISTAN RUSSIA

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

Minister of External Affairs' Statement in the Rajya Sabha

Replying to the debate, Minister of External Affairs Sardar Swaran Singh said in Rajya Sabha on July 3, 1972:

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am extremely grateful to the hon. Members who have participated in this debate. It is a unique occasion in the sense that as many as 34 Members have participated in this debate. The quorum is only 24; so it is much more than the normal quorum. Then again, there was massive support to the Simla Agreement by as many as six Parties which sit in opposition to us. Their spokesmen have supported the Simla Agreement, the strength behind it and the objectives that are sought to be achieved. I would not like on such an occasion to introduce any heat in my reply and I will try to be as brief as possible. There are several reasons why it is possible for me to be brief. For one thing, the opposition from certain hon. Members has been, if I may say so, more subdued, and then the points that were raised by some hon. Members who criticised the Simla Agreement and put forward their own viewpoints have been very amply replied to by several hon. Members from this side, as well as from the Opposition benches. Prime Minister's intervention raised the level of the debate, and in all humility I would like to pay a tribute to this august House for fielding some of the important Members. And generally the level of the debate, if I may say, has been very high, and I am grateful to the hon. Members. If I may say, this gives us greater strength to be able to take further steps for implementing this Agreement. The support of Parliament we are at the final stage now - will go a long way in telling the whole world that the entire country is behind the Agreement. And this will enhance our ability and our capacity to take follow-up action in a purposeful manner, and will further enhance the prestige of our country. I have no hesitation in saying that this Agreement has been universally hailed throughout the world, and by all parties in the world. It is not only the Governments of those countries. but even those who are opposed to Governments in other countries, they have also hailed this Agreement.

I would like also to take a somewhat charitable view of the critics who have put forward their viewpoints in this House. I have carefully tried to understand as to what is the real thing that appears to be bothering them and what are the essentials of this Agreement about which they feel worried. After very carefully listening to the arguments and suggestions, I have no hesitation in saying that we don't adopt the attitude that no one has got the right to criticise us or criticise the Agreement. This is part of democracy and we welcome it, and I would like to assure Mr. Goray that that is not the spirit in which we approach this problem. In a democratic set-up, it is our duty to listen to the Opposition point of view and also try to benefit if there is any benefit that we can derive. If some of the hon. Members on this side used rather strong words, they were rather feeble as compared to the exhibitionist attitude that was adopted by a certain Party, not only in this House but in the other House also. It was not that we were not prepared to listen to any points that might be urged. But this type of attitude which the entire House would agree is not consistent with the smooth functioning of democracy, is something which did enrage some of the hon. Members. In spite of that, the counter-attack has been comparatively mild, and therefore there can be no reasonable grouse on this score.

Sir, after a careful consideration of the various points put forward by way of criticism, I can say that anything that is contained in this Agreement is not objected to. I would like to repeat that all the clauses in the Agreement and the essentials of the Agreement are not being objected to. That does not appear to be the central point in the criticism. The criticism is only this that they have fears that what has been agreed upon may not be implemented.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Not only that.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Kashmir.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Now, I will come to that. Be a little patient. I will try to enunciate as to what are the points about which there is agreement. Can there be

200

any disagreement that all differences should be settled by peaceful means? None whatsoever. Can there be any disagreement that this peaceful settlement should be through bilateral negotiations? No dissent. Now, can there be any disagreement, on the point that neither side shall Unilaterally alter the situation? There is no dissent. Both sides shall prevent the organisation, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations. No dissent. Both sides agree that they have a commitment to peaceful coexistence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's Internal affairs. No one can object and no one has objected. Then, the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedevilled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means. There is no dissent. They shall always respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality. How can there by any objection? There is none. What is then objected to and what is the essence of their argument is that although the Pakistan President has said that there should be settlement by peaceful means and there should be bilateral and mutual agreement in order to arrive at a settlement, is he likely to stick to it? This is the argument. Now, if the Head of the Government of a country enters into an agreement, signs that agreement and then also gets it ratified by his own Parliament by an overwhelming majority, by near-unanimity, then it is not an individual act. It is an act which binds the country, binds the people of that country. The moral approval of the people of Pakistan has been obtained by President Bhutto. I am mentioning this because some remarks

unfortunately were made by an hon. Member sitting over there, Mr. Sen Gupta, in which he tried to ask: Who is this Mr. Bhutto? What did he do in 1965? What did he do at the time of the Tashkent Declaration? He may have done many things. I am not, an apologist for him. It is for him to defend himself in his own country, and if there are critics then it is for him to answer those criticisms; but here he has entered into this Agreement as the President of Pakistan. As President he has been inducted into that office because he commands an overwhelming majority in the Pakistan National Assembly. The election were conducted not by Mr. Bhutto, but by the military regime against whom every day President Bhutto is making statements which are not very flattering to the erstwhile military regime, including to the ex-President, Gen. Yahya Khan. So, we are dealing with Mr. Bhutto who represents the majority opinion in Pakistan, who is the President of Pakistan, and who has got this Agreement approved by his Parliament, a democratically elected Parliament. What else do you want? I am not at all concerned with the earlier history of Mr. Bhutto. In fact, if you ask me, perhaps no other Indian knows Mr. Bhutto more than I do. I have dealt with him on numerous occasions, in bilateral talks, international talks, talks in other capitals, in New York, in London, in Dacca, in Karachi in Islamabad in Delhi and Calcutta. There are so many places where we have discussed several matters.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is not necessary to go into that subject.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I know your views on this, but there are people sitting behind you who are doubters, and also on your side, Mr. Sen Gupta. In fact, I was amazed when he used this type of language.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Do you remember what he said some time back in the U.N.?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I thought "Bhai" was a soft word, but he has become

unnecessary militant. I am saying that we are dealing with the Head of a Government who has got this Agreement approved by Parliament. Should we proceed on the basis that the person who signed the Agreement - notwithstanding the approval of the Pakistan Parliament and his own personal history - should be the guiding factor for us for judging the possibility or lack of possibility of implementation of this Agreement? I would plead with the hon. Members that this is not the way to have an approach to an international agreement. International agreements have a certain sanctity and the hon. Members must be aware I hat even when Governments have changed, not even by constitutional means, the first declaration that is made by any new Government who style themselves as a revolutionary Government, perhaps the first announcement on the

201

radio, is that we will abide by the International. agreements entered into by the earlier Government'. This is something which does not depend on individuals, does not depend on the case history of any individual who may be signing the agreement. It binds the country, it binds the people. Therefore, we should view it in that context.

Then again, is there anything in this Agreement which, having been approved, would be repugnant to the normal thinking of the people of Pakistan? Is there anything in this Agreement which-would not be liked by the people of India? That is a certain guarantee to which we look. If the Agreement gives an impression to the people of Pakistan that it is something which is unjust to them, or if it gives an impression to our people that it is unjust to India, then also there is an inherent weakness in it, and history is replete with such instances where countries who were in a: dominant position dictated treaties. What was the fate of those treaties? The world knows that at that time they might have been satisfied with obtaining the signature on a piece of paper or on a document which they thought served their interests and that perhaps it would serve their interests for all times to come. But what is the judgment

of history in such cases? They have not proved to be durable. In fact, they lay the basis for eruption of fresh trouble, fresh conflict, and fresh misunderstanding which ultimately again develop into conflicts. Therefore, the important thing in this connection is, as was pointed out by my friend Shri Nawal Kishore opposite,, that we did not sit in this summit as conquerors or as those who had obtained a decisive military gain or military victory. Of course, that fact is there and even if you do not tomtom or announce it, everybody knows that. But what should be the approach? Some people say, 'You were in a position to dictate terms, why did you not dictate terms?' We did not want to dictate terms, I want to be quite clear. We were in search of not only durable peace but a just peace, and where just peace is involved there is always an element which we have to take into consideration: the reactions of what we decide upon the people of the other country and our own people. Our predominant consideration was the effect of this Agreement on our own people, because it is our basic duty to see that our own interests, our country's own interests, are safeguarded, At the same time, if while adhering to this basic consideration we can also arrive at an agreement which gives satisfaction to the people in the neighbouring country, that is worth pursuing and, trying. And this is what we have tried to, achieve in this Agreement.

Then, Sir, what has been the thrust of the criticism? it is not that anybody is opposed to the Agreement in principle, but that there is little likelihood of it's being, implemented. This was the main point that was urged. And it was a very interesting spectacle that a great deal of research was done in culling out sentences from President Bhutto's speech, and they were quoted in a very selected manner. And I have no intention to quote other paragraphs because I presume that the hon. Member who has taken such pains to select three or four sentences and omitted completely what followed or what preceded those few sentences, when he goes back and studies them again and again, as Shri Goray has done, I am sure he will be convinced that the basic

Agreement which was signed by President Bhutto has not been departed from in his speech, If you take the speech as a whole. If you point out this sentence or that sentence, other sentences can be pointed out; but I have no intention to do that because that will be a public document. And when the records of the discussion appear in print, then certainly people can judge as to what he has said or what he did not say. It is not for me to defend President Bhutto's position. I do not accept that everything that he has said is even entirely consistent with the Agreement. There are parts in his statement which cannot be fully understood in terms of this Agreement. But it you take the speech as a whole, I find that basically he has tried to stick to the basic elements of the Agreement, although being a great speaker, an electric speaker, he has on many occasions used language of overstating the case or understating the case; but the essential thing, I think, has not been departed from in his speech.

Then, the main point that was said was about Jammu and Kashmir, Now, what is there in this Agreement which. to the slightest degree, compromises our stand that

202

Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India? I claim that there is not a single word in this Agreement which to the slightest degree compromises our stand on that.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: The words final agreement.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Now, a great deal of research appears to have been done by the hon. Member on this. (Interruptions) Listen, do not be in a hurry now. What have we said in this Agreement? The words are 'final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir'. Now, for one thing, we have not used the word 'dispute'. Then, I put it in all earnestness to all those who are critics - because no one else has got this doubt in his mind -- I put it to the critics - Is there nothing to be settled about Jammu and Kashmir? Many things have to be settled. (Interruptions) Please. Then, is that outside Kashmir?

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Pakistan's occupation....

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Therefore, there is something to be settled. Why do you say that nothing is to be settled?

The main point is, why is this tamasha being carried on by means of these demonstrations in the House, and those demonstrators - these great conquerors - going into that territory, some one going to Gadra and the Maharani Saheba has gone. And what was most amusing is that Mr. Joshi from Maharashtra has gone to Punjab across Gurdaspur as if we do not know what is happening in Gurdaspur and Shakargarh. You see, even after losing this debate this is the respect for democracy which this Party has. They carried on a big debate here. Then Mr. Joshi goes to Amritsar, addresses some of his followers who are greatly worried because most of them are commercial people. They are looking forward to a period of relaxation of tension. They want to have trade with the Lahore people. But Mr. Joshi goes there, makes a speech that Sardar Swaran Singh and the Prime Minister should resign because they have indulged in a sell-out of India, I am amazed that they are so isolated from the people that they cannot. understand even what is in the interests of the people. When the guns are pointed, when the border areas are bombed and when people die, it is not Joshis or Atal Beharis Who go there, it is the great Punjabis who face all that. At that time they come to Delhi and want to live here. Now they go to Shakargarh. What is Mr. Joshi doing in Shakargarh? It is amazing that now he is leading the brave Jan Sangh volunteers to Shakargarh. I bow before their bravery, if this is bravery.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: Mr. Vice-Chairman, If you allow me, I presume that the hon'ble Minister is very sincerely serious about explaining things. I want to know only one thing. In this Agreement, we have talked about the settlement of the Kashmir problem. I admit there is some problem, That problem is about one-third of the

portion of Kashmir being in their possession. Can we raise that issue now when the settlement mentions that no fresh Issues can be raised? The Government of India so far has never taken the stand that one-third portion of Kashmir should be vacated. Can you raise that issue now in view of the clause that no fresh issues can be raised?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Where is the clause that no fresh issue can be raised? There is none. Where is the clause. Mr. Pitamber Das, where we have said that no fresh issue can be raised? In fact, the clause is that all issues, all differences between the two countries will be resolved by two means: (1) peaceful, and (2) bilateral. So, whatever may be the differences which may be raised or which may arise at any time, present or future, this is the Agreement. I am amazed that all this misrepresentation is being made. So, I would appeal to the hon'ble Members that in a matter where such vital national issues are involved. where there is not much objective served just by heightening tension by making strong speeches, by criticising Heads of Governments of other countries, whom you may not like, I would strongly urge that we should resist that temptation. It may be very tempting to use that strategy. But while dealing with people who are democratically elected - I do not like all the people who have been elected on the Jan Sangh ticket because they oppose me always but still I listen to them with the greatest care and I show all possible respect and regard to them - we should be more careful, no matter what we do internally, since we say harsh things, sometimes unjustified things,

203

about those who are elected by their people. He is the Head of a Government. We have to deal with a country which geography has placed next door to us. We have got a long border, roughly about 1,800 miles or so. And all along the border, we have to create a situation where there may be trade between the two countries. Their followers, the commercial people, settled in the major cities, are looking forward to an era where there may be trade between the two

countries. It is a tragedy That sometimes the leaders do not know what their own followers, even Jan Sangh followers, want. So, this is the type of Agreement that we have arrived at.

Then, the speech of Mr. Bhutto has been very copiously quoted here. I am glad, I think he is paying me a compliment because I started the game in the other House. But I am not going to quote those speeches here, because if anybody wants to study them he can study them. Some of them are very good pieces. If, for instance, Something had been quoted here which is also consistent with his support, for a peaceful settlement, his support for bilateralism, his support for settling all the differences by peaceful means, I would have said that perhaps he is making a fair presentation. But it was not even a fair presentation of the speech from which he quoted so copiously. Now, I have been thinking what he was trying to prove by quoting certain portions. Was he trying to prove that what he has said there is correct? Now, if what he says in his speech is correct, then all other parts also should be taken as correct. Or does he want to say that what he quotes is the correct position and all the rest of it is incorrect?

Therefore, I submit that the Agreement that has been arrived at is in the best interest of peace and it should be given a trial. We are determined that it should be given a trial.

There are one or two points which I would like to mention. I would appeal to the hon. Members who, perhaps in a fit of ideological refinement, continue to talk about a confederation, that nothing can cause a cloud on the friendly relations between us and our neighbours more than the talk of a confederation. I will be quite frank, because the country has been divided. They are sovereign independent countries, and any suggestion that there should be a confederation, whatever may be the intentions, means that you want that their sovereignty may partially be compromised. I would strongly appeal to the hon. Members that we should desist from this because this does not

show India in any good light. Bangla Desh has emerged as a sovereign Independent country and we respect their sovereignty. We have accepted them as a sovereign independent country. Even to friends, we should not talk of a confederation, because this is something which is not good, and we should be quite clear that by doing so, we are not advancing either our reputation or our prestige amongst our neighbours.

Several hon, friends had said that with Pakistan we should have relations as between good neighbours, and the case of Canada and U.S.A., Norway and Sweden, etc., was cited. I would like hon. Members to come nearer home. We have established such fine relationship, for instance, with Nepal. Between Nepal and India, as you know, there are no passports, there is no restriction on travel and there is no restriction on movement of goods, etc. So, we need not look to Europe or other countries for building good neighbourly relations. We have built the best of relations with our neighbours, Burma, for instance, and now with Bangla Desh. So, in this region, a new picture is emerging, a picture of sovereign equality. irrespective of the size of a country, where we respect their sovereignty, we respect their independence. And, if this process could result in the creation of that type of relationship that we have with our eastern neighbours and with some, of our neighbours in the mountains like Bhutan and Nepal and Bangla Desh, this is something of which I think we should be happy. We should see as to what we are doing to create an atmosphere of equality, of acceptance of the sovereign rights, of friendship, of understanding, because we always point out that India's strength will never be used to the detriment of any of our neighbours, and that all our neighbours have everything to gain if India is strong and no one should have any fear. Unless we succeed in creating this feeling, we will always be committing a mistake. And I can claim in all humility that this atmosphere, by and large, has al-

204

ready been created with regard to a fairly large number of countries in our neighbour-

hood and this is the process towards which we should move. And any sarcastic remarks, and doubts, and always trying to say: 'Well, because I have some doubt as to whether the other party would be genuinely interested in peace or not, therefore, I will always be hostile to him, I will always create a situation where the other side, even if they want to revert to peace, should not proceed in that direction', will not be wise in our own interest. Therefore, I would appeal to the honourable Members that perhaps it was a try on by Jan Sangh to boost up some of their sagging morale; they have seen the reaction in Parliament, they have seen the reaction amongst the people, amongst the other political Parties, and they will be well advised to revert to the path and fall in line.

Another thing was mentioned by an honourable Member here and I would like to repudiate that. After the signing of this Agreement, to talk of unrest in Sind, to talk of unrest in the Frontier Province, to talk of unrest in Baluchistan, is totally inconsistent with the spirit of this Agreement. Those are their internal matters and it is absolutely wrong for anyone in India now to say anything which is purely internal. Let us be quite clear about our obligation. Whatever the matters between the people of Sind and the Central Government of Pakistan, or the people of Baluchistan and the people of Northern Frontier Province with their Central Government, they are their internal matters. We will not interfere in their internal affairs and we would not like them. by any means, to interfere in our internal affairs.

I would, therefore, appeal to the honourable Members from all sections of the House that this is a futile thing to do, we will not get anything except making speeches. You create suspicion without achieving anything. I would ask my brave friends of the Jan Sangh: What will they do in Baluchistan? What will they do in the Frontier Province or even in Sind? What is the use of adopting this type of attitude? There is a certain code of international conduct. We as a mature country should adhere to it and should not be swept off our feet because you

feel what somebody else is doing is not palatable to us. Even if it is not palatable to us, even then, we should set an example, and I am sure that there will be response. We are-in a strong position. We should set that example by correct international behaviour, a good neighbourly behaviour. And I am sure that this will not go unheeded because it is also in the interests of the people of Pakistan to achieve peace. We have lived with this problem for 25 years. Now, personally, on many occasions, I feel greatly worried because I was a party to Partition, and after that our expectations were not realised. We did not get peace. I want to pay a tribute on behalf of the entire House to our young men, our Army, Air Force, Navy, for their bravery, for their valour, for their great devotion and the great sacrifices that they have done. I pay them my homage. We owe it to them also. Do you want to keep them perched on the mountain tops which are 25,000 ft. high and 27,000 ft. high? Do you want to keep them all the time in the fields, in marshy lands and water, or do you want them also to feel that the two countries have, by political means, taken some steps where they can come back to their families? It is easy to talk about the thinking of the Armed Forces. I have been a Defence Minister for four years and many of my relations are in the Armed Forces and I know their thinking. We know that the soldiers do not want just to be in that condition of no peace and no war. They want either to fight or to settle down and do their training and other important things, because we have to keep ourselves in trim even to fight. It is not best for the morale of the Army that they should all be scattered in the fields where there are not even tents on many occasions. These brave Jan Sanghis - who lead these jathas to Shakargarh and other places from air-conditioned rooms and cars - do not know what is the thinking of the members of the Armed Forces. We know it. To the next generation at least, we should give durable peace so that people of India and Pakistan....

DR. BHIM MAHAVIR: Those who sacrifice....

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: He is talking of sacrifices. He does not know what sacrifices are. To achieve peace we should be prepared to make sacrifices..

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: We have done more sacrifices than you.

205

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: In the long run this sacrifice is much less than the sacrifices that war demands and for which we have been willingly giving sacrifices. If we have sacrificed many things for the sake of war, we should be equally prepared to sacrifice for peace, and it is in that spirit that we have signed this Agreement.

PAKISTAN USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC UZBEKISTAN INDIA UNITED KINGDOM CANADA NORWAY SWEDEN NEPAL BURMA BHUTAN

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

POLAND

Indo-Polish Joint Communique on the Visit of Indian Foreign Minister, Shri Swaran Singh, to Poland

The following is the text of the Indo-Polish joint communique issued in Warsaw on July 11, 1972 at the conclusion of the visit of Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh to Poland:

At the invitation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish Peoples Republic, Stefan Olszowski, the Minister for External Affairs of the Republic of India, Sardar Swaran Singh paid a visit to Poland from July 6 to 9, 1972.

Minister Swaran Singh was received by the First Secretary of Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, Edward Gierek and by Prime Minister Piotr Jaroszewicz and called on the Chairman of the Council of the State, Mr. Henryk Jablonski.

Minister Swaran Singh had talks with the Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Jan Mitrega, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Stefan Olszowski and the Minister of Foreign Trade, Mr. Tadeusz Olechowski.

The talks and meetings were held in an atmosphere of friendship, frankness and complete mutual understanding.

Taking part in the talks were: On the Indian side, Shri Natwar Singh, Ambassador of India in Poland, Shri Than, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Trade, Shri A. P. Venkateswaran, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Shri S. K. S. Bhatnagar, First Secretary Embassy of India, Mr. Ai-if Oamarain, First Secretary, Embassy of India; on the Polish side Mr. Jan Czapla, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Romuald Spasowski, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Jan Bisztyga, Director, of the Department Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Henryk Jaroszek Director of the Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Julian Wrorog Deputy Director of Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Both sides reviewed all aspects of the present state of development of Indo-Polish Bilateral relations and discussed their further expansion.

They expressed their satisfaction at the growth of Indo-Polish relations which meets the interest of the Peoples of both countries and stated their firm intention to promote and strengthen this mutually beneficial manysided cooperation.

Both sides reaffirmed their conviction to develop their relations in political and economic spheres as well as in the fields of science, technology and culture on a longterm basis.

Both sides were satisfied that the expansion of their relations meets the wishes of the peoples of both countries and serves the interest of peace and security in the

whole world.

IDENTITY OF VIEWS

Minister Swaran Singh and Minister Stefan Olszeowski reviewed the present

206

international situation - the exchange of views revealed identity or closeness of the positions of India and Poland on the Issues discussed. Both sides agreed on the primary importance of the implementation of the principles of peaceful co-existence between all states as well as full respect for the rights and interests of all countries and stressed the importance of refraining from the threat or use of force in any form in international relations.

Both sides expressed their satisfaction in particular regarding the growth of the Indo-Polish economic relations and the possibilities that exist for their further expansion and diversification. They discussed the developments in this regard subsequent to the visit to India by the Polish delegation led by the Dy. Prime Minister Mitrega in January 1972. They agreed to continue the cooperation in the economic, scientific, technical and cultural fields between India and Poland and that favourable conditions exist for developing mutually advantageous cooperation on a long term basis.

The Polish side welcomed with satis. faction the readiness of the Indian side to participate in the celebrations of 500th anniversary of the outstanding astronomer, Nicolaus Copernicus.

Both sides decided to convene meeting of the Indo-Polish Commission for Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technical Cooperation towards the end of the year.

Both sides reaffirmed their conviction that the task of paramount importance at the Present time is to work actively for the maintenance and consolidation of world peace.

In the conduct of their relations both

countries are guided by the principles of Peaceful coexistence and mutual respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of states.

Both sides agreed that the policy of non-alignment plays an important role in the lessening of international tensions and in consolidation of peace and security in the world.

The Minister of External Affairs of India outlined the recent developments in the Indian sub-continent. The Foreign Minister of Poland supported the efforts of India aimed at achieving a durable peace and good neighbourly relations among states in that region and in this connection welcomed agreement signed between Heads of the Government of India and Pakistan on July 2, 1972.

Both sides expressed the hope that all problems will be settled peacefully and bilaterally in the spirit of the agreement. They also stressed the need for speedy normalisation. of the situation in the sub-continent and peaceful democratic and progressive development in that part of world.

Both sides expressed the hope that Bangladesh will soon take her legitimate place in the United Nations and other international organisations and agreed that any attempts to ignore the realities will only add to the tension and instability in the region.

CONCERN FOR SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Both sides reviewed the situation in South-East Asia and recorded their profound concern at the intensification of the conflict in Vietnam. They strongly deplored the bombings of the D.R.V.N. territory and mining of ports.

They resolutely condemned the outside interference and called for immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Indo-China so that the peoples of the region may be enabled to shape their future in accordance with their national interests.

The Foreign Minister of Poland outlined the present situation in Europe. Both sides took note of the favourable atmosphere which now prevailed in Europe as a result of the treaties concluded by Poland and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics with the Federal Republic of Germany. The Polish side explained the step being taken for normalisation. of relations with F.R.G. Both sides agreed that these steps will contribute to constructive cooperation among all European states.

Both sides stressed importance of normalisation of relations between the two German states. They hope that the two German states will be admitted to the United Nations organisation in the nearest future.

207

Both sides expressed their conviction that a convocation of an all-European conference on the security and cooperation will facilitate further the normalisation of the situation in Europe and expressed the hope that it will lead to a relaxation of tensions not only on the European continent but throughout the world.

The Foreign Minister of Poland informed the Minister of External Affairs of India about the results of Polish American talks recently held in Warsaw. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of India and Poland expressed their conviction that these talks contribute to world peace and security.

Both sides believe that elimination of the arms race and achievement of general and complete disarmament covering both nuclear and conventional weapons under an effective international control are of primary importance for the preservation of peace and security. In this context, they welcome the convening of the World Disarmament Conference with the participation of all countries.

Both sides declared their support for the national liberation movements and called for a speedy and complete elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism in accordance with the U.N. Declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and the peoples. They resolutely condemned all racist policies and practices as a gross violation of the human rights and the fundamental freedoms.

Both sides agreed on the importance of exchange of visits at different levels between the two countries and noted that the visit to Poland by the Minister of External Affairs of India and his delegation had led to a closer mutual understanding and strengthening cooperation between India and Poland.

The Minister of External Affairs of India extended an invitation to the Foreign Minister of Poland, Mr. Stefan Olszowski to visit India at a convenient time. The invitation was accepted with great satisfaction and cordial thanks.

POLAND INDIA USA PAKISTAN MALI BANGLADESH VIETNAM CHINA GERMANY

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Agreement on Bhilai Expansion

Following press release was issued in New Delhi on July 4, 1972 on the signing of an Indo-U.S.S.R. protocol in Moscow for the expansion of Bhilai Steel Plant:

A protocol for the expansion of the Bhilai Steel Plant was signed in Moscow on July 3, 1972, by Mr. V. A. Sergeev, Deputy Chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and Shri Ambadi Damodaran, Minister-Coun-

sellor in the Embassy of India.

The Agreement provides for the increase of the capacity of the plant to four million tonnes of steel per year.

208

INDIA RUSSIA USA

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

YUGOSLAVIA

Joint Communique on President Giri's Visit to Yugoslavia

The following is the text of the Indoyugoslav Joint Communique issued in Belgrade on July 9, 1972 at the conclusion of President Giri's five-day visit to Yugoslavia.

At the invitation of the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, the President of the Republic of India Varahagiri Venkata Giri paid a state visit to Yugoslavia from the 5th to the 9th July, 1972. Besides Belgrade, President Giri visited the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and stayed on the island of Brioni.

The President of the Republic of India and his party received a warm and cordial reception in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, reflecting the traditional relations of sincere and deep friendship inspired by mutual respect between the two Governments and peoples. The two Presidents held talks in the course of which they noted with satisfaction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries are steadily developing in various fields. They reaffirmed the readiness of

Yugoslavia and India to continue and further Promote fruitful cooperation on the bilateral plane paying particular attention to the strengthening and expanding of economic relations between the two countries.

The two Presidents exchanged views on the world situation and on important international issues, and reaffirmed the stands expressed in the joint Communique issued at the end of the visit of the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to India in October, 1971. They welcomed the move towards negotiations and detente which had found expression more recently in the relations between the Great Powers in particular, and which has already yielded some results in Europe. They voiced their concern over the fact that such developments had not yet contributed to any significant extent, to the settlement of the problems in the crisis spots in the world. The two Presidents underlined the fact that global security and lasting solutions for major world problems can be achieved only through the equal and constructive participation of all peace-loving countries, on the basis of the strict observance of the principles of Independence, sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs and abstaining from the threat or use of force.

The two Presidents noted that recent developments in international relations had confirmed the validity and realism of the Policy of nonalignment and the objectives for which the nonaligned countries have been striving for the last two decades. They devoted special attention to the necessity for further strengthening the activity of nonaligned countries, in cooperation with other like-minded countries for consolidating their Independence, safeguarding peace and accelerating their economic development and creating more favourable conditions for the positive solution of international problems on the basis of equality of all states. In this connection, the two Presidents stressed the readiness of Yugoslavia and India to cooperate Closely at the forthcoming Ministerial meeting of the non-aligned countries to be held in George Town, Guyana, from August 8 to 12, 1972, so as to ensure the

objectives of this significant international action.

The two Presidents recognized the fact that with growing inter-dependence in the world, there is increasing need for non-aligned countries to promote mutual cooperation on the political, cultural, scientific, technical and, in particular, economic plane, which is a vital pre-requisite for consolidating the foundation of solidarity and defence of common interests. They agreed that all countries which subscribe to the well-established principles of non-alignment should be invited to future non-aligned meetings.

209

The two Presidents reaffirmed the stands expressed in the joint communique issued at the end of the visit of the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to India in October, 1971, with regard to the situation in Indo-China and the Middle East as well as their firm support to liberation movements, particularly in Southern Africa, in their struggle against colonial and racial domination and for the realization of the right to freedom and independence.

The two sides reaffirmed their readiness to contribute to a more intensive and coordinated activity in the United Nations of non-aligned and other peace-loving countries With a view to accelerating the solution of outstanding problems with-which the world organisation is dealing and thereby strengthening its role and impact on international events in accordance with the charter of the United Nations.

The two Presidents agreed that it is necessary to render decisive support to the continuation of the initiatives taken by the Third U.N.C.T.A.D. in the direction of a more equitable participation of developing countries in the settlement of pressing monetary and trade problems in the world. They agreed that new efforts should be exerted for the fullest implementation of the decisions adopted at the Ministerial meeting of the Group of 77, to which the non-aligned

countries should offer every help and assistance.

President Giri informed President Tito about the latest developments in the Indian sub-continent and explained to him the initiative which the Prime Minister of India had taken to start a dialogue with Pakistan for resolving Indo-Pakistan differences leading to the recent Summit meeting between her and President Bhutto at Simla The agreement on bilateral relations signed in Simla has endorsed the principle that the use of force should be given up for the solution of Indo-Pakistan differences, which should be solved peacefully and bilaterally through negotiations between the two countries. President Tito sincerely welcomed the results of the Simla meeting which he considered to be a good beginning. He positively appraised and warmly welcomed the Indo-Pakistan dialogue as being in the interests of both countries and peace in the world.

The two Presidents expressed complete satisfaction with the results of their discussions and voiced their conviction that the visit to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by the President of the Republic of India and his associates had contributed to a still closer mutual understanding and cooperation between the two countries. The identity of views of the two sides on the various international issues as well as their readiness to continue their present cooperation in the interest of safeguarding peace and further promoting friendly relations between the two countries in all fields has been confirmed during this occasion also.

The President of the Republic of India expressed his sincere gratitude for the hospitality shown to him and the members of his delegation during their stay in Yugoslavia and extended a cordial invitation to President Josip Broz Tito and Madame Broz to visit India. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Date: Jul 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

YUGOSLAVIA

Press Release on Indo-Yugoslav Bilateral Talks

The following press release was issued in New Delhi on July 13, 1972 on the Indo-Yugoslav bilateral consultations which, conchided in Belgrade on July 11, 1972:

The delegation of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and the Indian Ministry of External Affairs headed by Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Jaksa Petrie and the Secretary in the Indian Ministry of External Affairs Mr. S. K. Banerji had regular political consultations in Belgrade on 10 and 11 July, 1972. The talks were held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

210

Both delegations noted with satisfaction that the visit of the President of India, Shri V. V. Giri to Yugoslavia which had just taken place constitutes one more manifestation of the friendship between the two countries and a significant contribution to the development of mutual cooperation in all fields.

In the course of the exchange of views the most important questions concerning international relations of interest for the two countries were discussed: Europe, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, Indian Subcontinent, Southeast Asia and the Far East. Special attention was devoted to the activity of the non-aligned countries and cooperation between Yugoslavia and India in the preparations for the forthcoming ministerial meeting of the non-aligned countries, to be

held in Georgetown, as well as to the cooperation in the United Nations and in other international organisations. There was Identity or close similarity of views on all significant international issues discussed.

The two delegations reviewed the bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and India and concluded that these relations are developing favourably, in conformity with the traditional friendship between the two countries. They noted that there exist possibilities for the further promotion of these relations in all fields and, in particular, in the economic sphere.

The two sides agreed that the consultations had proved to be of great mutual advantage. The Indian side extended invitation for the next consultations to be held in New Delhi.

In the name of his delegation, Mr. S. K. Banerji thanked Mr. Jaksa Petric for the warm and generous hospitality extended to them during their stay in Belgrade.

211

YUGOSLAVIA INDIA USA GUYANA

Date: Jul 01, 1972

August

Volume No 1995 Content

| Foreign Affairs R | Record 1972 | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| Vol. XVIII | AUGUST | No | o. 8 |
| | G 0.1 (FFF) (FFG | | |
| | CONTENTS | DACE | |
| | | PAGE | |
| | OF NON-ALIGN ster's Speech at Co | ED NATIONS onference of Non-align | ed Nations 213 |
| HOME AFFAIRS | S | | |
| | 's Independence I | Day Message on Silver 218 | Jubilee |
| Prime Minister's Speech at Midnight Session of Parliament 220 | | | |
| | er's Independence | | 221 |
| Shri Dhillon's Speech at Midnight Session of Parliament Vice-President Shri Pathak's Speech 223 | | | |
| Vice-i residen | it Siii i athak s Sp | CCCII | 223 |
| INDIA AND TH | E UNITED NAT | IONS | |
| Indian Delegate's Speech at Security Council on Namibia 224 | | | |
| Shri N. P. Jain's Statement at Security Council on Bangla Desh Membership 226 | | | |
| Shri Samar Sen's Speech at U.N. Security Council Pleading for Bangla | | | |
| Desh entry | | 229 | 8 8 |
| Shri Samar Sen's Statement on China's Veto Against Admission of Bangla Desh to U.N. 232 | | | |
| Builgiu B vi | 511 (0 0 11 \). | | |
| PAKISTANI | | | |
| Prime Minister's Statement on Simla Agreement in Rajya Sabha 233 Reply to Lok Sabha Debate on Simla Agreement by Minister of | | | |
| External A | | Simia Agreement by w | imister or |
| | | Indo-Pakistan Talks | 247 |
| Foreign Minis | ster's Statement, or | n Indo-Pak Talks | 249 |
| MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS : EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION | | | |
| GOV | VERNMENT OF | | |
| | (| (Continued Overleaf) PAGE | |
| PARLIAMENT | | | |
| | Foreign Minister | on India-China Relation | ns 250 |
| PEOPLE'S REPU | JBLIC OF BANG | GLADESH | |
| India-Banglad | lesh Agreement or | n Travel Procedures | 253 |

UGANDA

SWITZERLAND

REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Indo-Swiss Air Talks

Statement by Shri Surendra Pal Singh on Asians in Uganda

Press Release on Visit of Foreign Minister of Republic of Korea 256

256

257

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

Prime Minister's Speech at Dinner in Honour of Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic 258

Reply by the Yemen Arab Republic Prime Minister at Dinner 259

Joint Communique on Visit of Prime Minister of Yemen Arab Republic 260

(ii)

USA INDIA NAMIBIA CHINA PAKISTAN BANGLADESH KOREA SWITZERLAND UGANDA YEMEN

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED NATIONS

Foreign Minister's Speech at Conference of Non-aligned Nations

Following is the text of the statement by the Foreign Minister, Shri Swaran Singh, at the conference of Non-aligned nations at George Town (Guyana) on August 10, 1972:

Nil.. Chairman,

On behalf of my Government and my delegation, first of all I would wish to thank the people, the Government and the leaders of this beautiful country for the warmth of their welcome and hospitality. We are full of admiration and appreciation for the excellent arrangements that have been made for our stay in this friendly capital and for the deliberations of this conference.

Mr. Chairman, we were deeply impressed by the inspiring address of Prime Minister Burnham and would like you to convey our sincere thanks to him for giving such a good start to our deliberations.

We would like to welcome the entry of the United Arab Emirates and Bahrein into the family of non-aligned nations. That the non-aligned states are holding a conference of this size and significance, for the first time on the soil of South America, that representatives of non-aligned states coming from all regions of the world are here, is in itself proof - if proof were needed - of the continuing validity and vindication of the principles of non-alignment. It is proof, indeed, also of the fact that non-alignment cuts across many barriers - racial, political, regional and continental. In this connection we welcome the emergence of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and their adherence to the principles of non-alignment.

We are here, Mr. Chairman, to assess the changes that have occurred in the world since our heads of state and Government met in Lusaka in 1970, also to chalk out the path that needs to be taken by us, in our own interest, as well as in the interest of world peace, and to ensure peace in prosperity which alone can secure a better and fuller life for future generations.

Between 1970 and today, the world situation has changed significantly. In this change itself there are seeds of further change. It is right to remind ourselves that the philosophy and concept of non alignment was born when bi-polarism, both in terms of military power and economic strength, was threatening freedom and independence of choice and action. The heyday of bi-polarism is already past. Multipolarism has been building up. There are new centres of power in the world. The old configurations are changing. In fact, the period of change is still with.. us, and how ultimately it will turn out to be, is our concern today.

Conflicts and confrontations between the Great Powers are gradually yielding to consultations, and it is our hope and endeavour that this should lead to the building up of international cooperation. Nationalism in its best sense is successfully resisting domination by Great Powers. We know that their cynical efforts at keeping alive military alliances will not disappear either altogether or suddenly, but we see every sign that the world at large is rejecting the concepts of spheres of influence under the guise of balance of power, and domination of small powers by the mighty ones of the world. The days of imperialism, colonialism and gunboat diplomacy are numbered. These trends should not, however, make one lose sight of the fact that the forces of colonialism and imperialism, of political and economic domination, with new faces and new cosmetics, are continuing to regroup them-

213

selves. It is this awareness which has led many non aligned countries to seek the creation of zones of peace and cooperation free from great power military rivalry and domination. The declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, and similar efforts in other areas owe much to initiatives of non aligned countries the forces which have a vested interest in weakening national independence, political freedom, economic self reliance of the smaller countries of the world, must be resisted and not permitted to succeed.

In this period of flux, one significant development that must hearten all of us is the strengthening of bilateralism. For almost two decades and more, the great power centres of the world have attempted, with varying degrees of success, to interfere in every situation around the globe to mould every dispute and to fashion every development, not in accordance with the interest of the people concerned, but with their own somewhat predatory concepts of how balance, had to be struck, and checks established on a global, regional and even subregional basis. In north Africa, in West Africa, in South Asia and in East Asia recently, a number of problems have been agreed to be settled without the interference of outside powers, not even through any advice or encouragement from them, but bilaterally through the statesmanship and sagacity of the governments and the countries concerned. The ending of bi-polarism, the building up of multi-polarism are thus also strengthening the trend towards bilateralism but bilateralism should be confined to bilateral matters only and not

impinge on third countries. We must also guard against the danger of being dominated by the new centres of power that are being built up.

Mr. Chairman. by and large, most countries have already emerged into political independence. And, yet some pockets of Colonialism, imperialism and racialism continue entrenched in various parts of the world. It has to be the effort and objective of the non-aligned states to remove these pimples from the face of our planet, in the shortest period possible. Our own freedom and independence will be incomplete as long as there are any pockets of colonialism and imperialism left in the world.

For this, it is not enough mere pass resolutions in the United Nations non aligned conferences we have all to a common line of action and a practical programme amongst ourselves, to give political, moral and material support to the struggle of the people still suffering under domination such as those in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and South Africa. National liberation movements against colonial and racist domination must be given our whole hearted support.

The continuing occupation of Arab territories by Israel is a serious threat to international peace and security, we stand firmly by Security Council resolution 242 of November 22, 1967 and demand the vacation by Israel of all occupied Arab territories. We fully support the inalienable right of the people of Palestine to return to their homeland. We are against the acquisition of territory by military conquest.

We stand firmly against interference of outside powers to determine the destiny, or to choose forms of Government for people who should be free, as in the states of Indo China.

Mr. Chairman, we have been talking about disarmament for over two decades now and yet we see the sad spectacle of huge

arsenals of conventional as well as nuclear and thermo nuclear weapons of mass destruction being stock piled by the industrially developed countries. The progress so far towards general and complete disarmament and in particular towards nuclear disarmament is disappointing. While we welcome the SALT talks between the United States and U.S.S.R., we would like to see concrete steps taken not only for the freezing of the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons but also their progressive reduction ending up with their total destruction; we are against discrimination as between nuclear weapon powers and the non nuclear weapon powers. At the same time we would like to see nuclear energy being used exclusively for peaceful purposes. We have unilaterally declared our policy to do so. We support. the idea of convening of a world disarmament conference in which all the countries

214

of the world must participate. Disarmament is of vital interest to all countries and peoples of the world and to be effective disarmament must be universal.

Brave and valiant people of Vietnam have our fullest sympathy and support in their struggle for freedom and independence. We cannot but condemn the bombings of innocent men, women and children, their hearths and homes and the indiscriminate destruction of fields and forests. War cannot solve this problem. A peaceful solution has to be found. We believe that the 7 point proposal of the PRG of South Vietnam provides a reasonable basis for a peaceful political settlement of the problem. The independence, neutrality and unity of each of the Indo China states is vital to the peace and progress of Asia and these must be ensured.

Mr. Chairman, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania declared in April 1970 that non alignment is not a concept of neutrality or non-involvement. Jawaharlal Nehru held that non-alignment is not a concept of passive neutralism and that, through non alignment we are not attempting to forge a fragile link between the opposing

forces. He declared that non alignment is a vital, vibrant and dynamic concept, betokening our determination to assert our own rights in refashioning a brave new world of peace and cooperation and total freedom of choice.

Non alignment for us is not the road to non involvement, rather, it is our chosen path to dynamic involvement based on the concept of equality of sovereign nations, respect for territorial integrity of all independent countries, non interference in internal affairs and active opposition to the forces of colonialism, imperialism and racialism in all their manifestation.

Mr. Chairman, it has been suggested by some distinguished delegates that there should be permanent institutional arrangements to continue the work-of consultation, information and preparation in between our conferences. We are in favour of an informal machinery to Provide for consultations and exchange of information, and for preparatory work. We would, however, caution against formulising such arrangements we already have an informal arrangement at the United Nations where our permanent representatives meet from time to time as and when necessary. Perhaps such meetings could be held more frequently and regularly and an informal meeting of the Foreign Ministers of non aligned countries could be held at the beginning of each U.N. General Assembly session at the United Nations Headquarters. Apart from this at the present stage, we do not feel that any institutional arrangements would be either desirable or feasible.

Non alignment, to us, is a concept of active cooperation, amongst the non aligned countries themselves, between them and other developing countries, and between the developing and the developed countries, on the basis of equality and mutual respect some efforts at economic cooperation among non aligned countries have already been launched. integration groupings like the CARIFTA, informal marketing arrangements such as that for tea between India and Sri Lanka, the granting of tariff preferences

to each other by 16 developing countries under the auspices of the trade negotiations committee of the GATT, the tripartite agreement for economic cooperation between India, Yugoslavia and Egypt are instances in point. What is needed is a broadening of their scope and extension of their coverage. Non alignment cannot be, and must not be, a doctrine of feebleness or retirement from action, or a policy of begging favours from the affluent countries.

In order to play our proper role in world affairs, non alignment must be based on inherent strength and self reliance and on the determination of each one of us to defend freedom and independence for us all, and for the oppressed people of all colonial and non self governing territories.

Mr. Chairman, unless we can ensure a future of prosperity and self respect for our countries, it would be impossible to banish the scourge of war from our globe. We must, therefore, exert ourselves for rapid economic development, based on social justice. Our efforts in this direction have not so far produced results with which any one of us could be pleased or satisfied. The Lusaka declaration on non alignment and economic progress had underlined the need for self reliance amongst developing coun-

215

tries. The fields in which cooperation amongst the non aligned was possible and practicable, were described in some detail. The same thought was carried further in the Lima declaration. The third UNCTAD also deliberated on this concept without producing any substantial results. Millions of words have been written and spoken during recent international meetings on developmental strategy, and yet the situation we face today remains as dismal as it was, if not more so.

Most of the countries of the developing world are non-aligned. In the economic field, in a collective sense the situation has not improved. In fact, it has deteriorated the per capita GNP of the developing countries has grown at a rate well below the

target of the international development strategy. During the same period, progress of the developed countries has continued to be much faster. The quality of life in the developing world has shown signs of deterioration. Rapidly increasing population, and slow rates of economic growth have meant more unemployment, overcrowding and malnutrition than two decades ago. Frustration in the youth in developing countries, due to a lack of any hope of economic betterment is rising dangerously. The developed world has failed to solve its problems steaming from the excesses of affluence, while in the developing world human beings cannot be assured even the basic necessities of life. And yet the economically powerful fail to show any earnestness in tackling the problems in a long term perspective. The question, as Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said in UNCTAD II, is not whether the developed countries can afford to help the developing countries, the question is whether they can afford not to do so. And whether they do or don't, we must bestir ourselves and compel them to give us what is our due and not take from us what is not their due. This is the only way we can avert the threat to international peace and security posed by the growing disparity and imbalance between the developed and the developing world.

In world trade, the share of developing countries is declining, because, with the exception of petroleum, world trade in primary commodities, which are the main exports of the developing countries, is expanding far less rapidly than trade in manufactures which still is the happy hunting ground of the developed countries. In the decade of the sixties, international trade in primary commodities grew by 60 %, while trade in manufactures grew by 160 %. In important export commodities like copper, coffee, sugar, cotton, rubber, tea and jute the world market has tended to remain stagnant. This state of affairs cannot continue it must not be allowed to continue. The non aligned and developing countries must get together and chalk out practical and concrete plans of action to remedy this situation speedily.

The developing world has to pay more and more, for imports of developmental goods from the industrialised developed countries, and for debt servicing. At the same time, the inflow of development assistance from the developed to the developing countries has never come anywhere close to the target laid down in the international development strategy.

The international monetary situation is disturbed and we the non aligned have been affected adversely by it in recent months as the value of the reserves held by us has been hurt by the fluctuating fortunes of the international reserve currencies. Also the uncertainty in the world exchange markets has had an unhealthy effect on our trade. The international monetary crisis has not been due to anything we have said or done and yet its effects have been adverse to our interests. We have a vital stake in international monetary reforms and must ensure that, in future, the process of decision making does not ignore our interests. We must participate in the evolution of a new world order, in this sphere of work also. In this context, the setting up of the group of twenty in the IMF will, we hope, prove to be a step in the right direction.

Then there is the growing trend of restrictionism in trade amongst the developed countries. This trend towards restrictionism has come in the wake of the attempts of the developed countries to protect their own balance of payments but this too affects our interests adversely. Trade with developed countries is a factor in our economic growth and we have, therefore, a stake in ensuring that restrictionism amongst developed countries is checked, and that access for the products of the developing countries to the markets of the developed countries improves

significantly and rapidly. We must ensure that the trade negotiations, which are to be held next year under the auspices of the GATT, will have more positive results, for us, than the earlier Kennedy round did.

The time has come for us to take

concrete action instead of merely leaving it at the level of expressing hopes and aspirations. Our present meeting must consider a positive and operational programme of economic cooperation amongst all non aligned countries on a bilateral, sub regional, regional and inter regional basis. Such an initiative will boost cooperation amongst the larger group of seventy seven. Several integration groupings, negotiations for grant of preferences to developing countries, clearing units, joint marketting arrangements already exist in different parts of the developing world. What is required now is to broaden their scope, in terms of coverage as well as area, and to strike out in new directions so that non aligned states become a significant economic force.

Initiatives in several new directions are possible since some countries have moved further along the path of industrialisation than others, fruitful exchanges can take place among developing countries themselves with regard to the supply of equipment and technology and know how. India for instance, can supply knowhow and equipment in many industrial fields, such as sugar, cement, textiles, light engineering goods as well infrastructure such as power and water resources, industrial, mineral and geological surveys and preparations of feasibility and detailed project reports. Such exchanges have already taken place to mutual benefit between India and several non aligned countries either through joint ventures or through commercial transactions, or under technical cooperation programmes.

Similarly, if an effort is made, markets can be found among ourselves for many of our export products. For instance, India has emerged as a major importer of cotton and is negotiating for the import of surplus ammonia from some of the gulf oil producers. Agreements between countries can provide stability to both supplier and importer.

The world cannot co-exist peacefully if more than half of the world's population is hungry and sick, over crowded and underfed while wealth and means of pro-

duction are concentrated in a few countries that use it to keep the rest of the world under economic subjugation. This poses the most serious threat to international peace and security. We must, through our inherent unity and potential strength, change the existing state of affairs which poses a challenge not only to the present but also to the future. As Prime Minister Indira Gandhi stressed in her address to the U.N. conference on the human environment, poverty is the greatest environmental problem for developing countries, and that if this earth is to be saved for all humanity, development of the poorer countries is one of the best instruments of pollution control. While a control of excessive affluence may be a solution to the environmental problems of developed countries, precisely the opposite is the solution for developing countries.

Mr. Chairman, we the non-aligned states have so far successfully maintained our freedom of choice and action in the face of heavy odds. We adhere to our basic conviction that peace, progress, prosperity and freedom are indivisible and facets of but one concept. We are glad that non aligned countries are moving away from confrontation and conflict to peace and cooperation, not only among themselves but also in their relations with other countries. India sincerely desires to solve her problems and differences with her neighbours bilaterally and peacefully without any interference from outside it is in this spirit that India took the initiative for the Simla Summit. We sincerely hope that the Simla Agreement will lead to the establishment of durable peace, normalisation of relations and the development of peaceful, friendly and cooperative relations between the three countries of our subcontinent. The ideals and principles which have guided us in this are the same which have led us, with hope and anticipation, to this conference of non aligned states. May our labours and deliberations here lead to concrete and fruitful results for the benefit of all our peoples and of all mankind.

CAYMAN ISLANDS GUYANA USA UNITED ARAB EMIRATES BANGLADESH ZAMBIA INDIA ZIMBABWE ANGOLA GUINEA MOZAMBIQUE NAMIBIA GUINEA-BISSAU SOUTH AFRICA ISRAEL CHINA VIETNAM TANZANIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC SRI LANKA EGYPT YUGOSLAVIA PERU RUSSIA MALI

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

HOME AFFAIRS

President Giri's Independence Day Message on Silver Jubilee Anniversary

Following is the text of the President, Shri V. V. Giri's Independence Day message to the nation delivered from the Central Hall of Parliament on the night of August 14-15, 1972:

Twenty-five years ago this day, almost at this hour, the Constituent Assembly met in this Hall to herald India's freedom. That was an event which was unique in world history and which had no parallel in the political annals of any country, ancient or modern. A mighty Empire had bowed down to the indomitable will of an unarmed nation whose sole strength lay in the abiding faith of her people, in the power of spirit and of peaceful persuasion. Truth and nonviolence, the Father of our Nation had insisted, were strong and sufficient weapons for a backward, poor and unorganised people to win them their birthright of freedom, both political and economic. This firm foundation prepared us for a life of dedication and hard work so that India may rediscover her greatness and march towards her manifest destiny of a peaceful, prosperous and progressive existence in the comity of nations. We can claim, in all humility, that, despite the periods of extreme stress and strain, we have emerged today as a stable, well-knit and selfreliant nation.

When India got the right and the power

to govern her-self, we inherited an administration which had no direct relevance to the enormous task of bringing about a rapid transformation of an economically backward and industrially undeveloped country into a modern state. Independent India's Constitution laid great emphasis on the promotion of the welfare of the people by securing and protecting effectively a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of national life. In elections to our Legislatures, adult franchise was deliberately introduced so that the Governments formed would have the widest possible representative character. It also meant that the people's needs and the peoples voice should be the dominant consideration in all affairs of State. Our parliamentary system provides the necessary means and machinery for a process of orderly change and a revolution by general consent.

Politically we have proved ourselves a mature nation. All external threats to our national integrity, and attempts at internal disruption, have been dealt with firmly the united will of our people. Our strict adherence to the rule of law and the preservation of a judicial system capable of responding to the needs of a changing social order are manifestations of good government. In the making of laws concerning the well-being of the people, we have rightly emphasised that considerations of the general welfare should prevail over the rights of individuals.

In a country as large as India with its social diversities and with a growing population, the problems of reconstruction are bound to be colossal and the needs whether in the spread of education, growing of sufficient food, provision of housing or other basic amenities to the people, are continuous and everincreasing. But in meeting these needs our unshakeable aim is the building of an equitable society and an economic System in which there will be no exploitation of man by man.

We have yet a long way to traverse before we can make any claim to success. We have resources in land, water and minerals such as very few countries have. Even making allowance for the vagaries of the weather, the country is capable of achieving self-sufficiency in regard to the basic requirements of our people. An integrated service-oriented programme is an essential pre-condition for this. I have always advocated that planning for development. to be realistic, has to start from the. village level. I am glad that there is today an increasing realisation of the need for this. Plans and programmes are not intended to be mere assessment charts or arithmetical

218

projections of national resources. Our commitment to the gigantic but inescapable task of the removal of poverty is a mandate from our people, and it has to be fulfilled in the quickest possible time and in the smoothest possible manner. The task must be tackled on a war-footing and this calls for collective effort and collective wisdom on the part of every group and every individual in the country.

The resources of the country, whether at the disposal of the States or at the disposal of the Union, are the common assets of the nation. Whether in the matter of sharing inter-State waters or power, or in the equitable distribution of essential commodities including food supplies, or in. distribution of cement and steel for construction activities, to cite only a few examples, the guiding principle should be that we do the maximum good to our people as a whole. The prosperity and progress of every part of India is the concern of the whole nation. Every Indian born in this country has a right and a claim to an equal share in that prosperity and progress. The State has a duty to take special care of the weaker sections of the community and the backward areas in different parts of the country. In helping to build them up, the approach should be not one of continuing patronage or conferment of special privilege but a positive programme by which they will come up to the level of the rest of the community and will no longer be dependent upon an favoured treatment.

In industry, it is now well understood that to ensure better production, both qualitative and quantitatively, the worker and the technician should receive not only their due share but their due place in management and decision-making. The worker can no longer be looked upon as a mere wage earner but as a free citizen rendering his best for the reconstruction of the nation. I would urge upon my trade union comrades that it is they who hold the key in a large measure for India becoming self-sufficient in industrial goods of all kinds, and creating, in the process, wider employ ment opportunities.

The problem of unemployment has been a continuing sore on our body politic. The youth of the country is understandably impatient. The State and private enterprise have both a definite duty here. Putting all available land to agricultural activity and the Organisation of a vast net-work of cottage and small scale industries will help in enabling a considerable section of the people to be self-employed. The basis for this programme has essentially to be co-operative community effort backed by State support and guided by specialized knowledge.

The attainment of India's freedom in 1947 was the beginning of the end of the colonial rule in different parts of the world. In my tours abroad I have been greatly touched by the amount of goodwill and the fund of affection shown towards our country. There is today a better appreciation and a closer understanding of our problems and our point of view in international affairs.

In our relations with countries and peoples we have steadfastly sought friendly association and mutual respect. We recognized that the problems of man wherever he may be situated are alike in all parts of the world; and we believe in upholding human dignity and human freedom. it is in this spirit that we have striven, and we shall continue to strive, to establish lasting peace between India, Bangladesh and Pakistan acting together as joint partners in the common endeavour to raise the standard of living of all the peoples in this subcontinent.

On this solemn occasion, I would like to pay my humble tribute and homage to all those who suffered or laid down their lives in the cause of our freedom movement and also those members of the armed forces who have made the supreme sacrifice so that India's honour and integrity may be protected and preserved.

India is on her onward march. A clear purpose and a sense of urgency must govern all our actions. Let us on this day rededicate ourselves to the service of the people of our great country. JAI HIND.

219

USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC BANGLADESH PAKISTAN

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

HOME AFFAIRS

Prime Minister's Speech at Midnight session of Parliament

Following is the text of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's speech at the midnight session of Parliament on August 14-15, 1972:

We have gathered from all parts of the country to live again a moment of history when out of the long gloom of feudalism and foreign rule, India awoke to freedom and democracy. We have come To remember with gratitude the long succession of those who have gone before us. The Father of the Nation reinterpreted our ancient values and traditions and transformed ideals that seemed unattainable into powerful instruments of political action. His message reached out village and town, inspired the educated,

brought understanding to the simplest and awakened long suppressed aspirations.

Our movement was a non-violent one. it released unthought of qualities in our people and revealed the many faces of courage. By participating in a cause larger than himself, every Indian grew in stature. Some groups followed the more familiar path of armed confrontation. Many were the instances of individual daring and self-sacrifice. I recall also the work of the Indian National Army away from our shores.

My mind goes still further back, beyond personal memory, to the great rising of 1857. The immediate cause does not matter. Perhaps deep in the subconscious, underlying sentiments of caste and religion was another stirring, the search for identity.

It was a remarkable century. The darkness of oppression was illumined by great intellects. Men of religion were also revolutionaries, Poets, scientists, indeed people of all professions, were one in a great objective the resurgence of the nation.

Ultimately, success was achieved by the countless men and women, unknown and unsung who served our cause by their numbers no less than their dedication.

What was our strength? Oppressed and humiliated as we were, our leaders raised us above fear and hate. Transcending all hardship, we focussed our gaze on a vision of the future. We had faith that a people who moved with dignity and courage could not be cowed; that Indian awakened could never again be subdued.

We have always believed that freedom is indivisible. We have been in touch with; movements for liberation everywhere and have contributed to them. Today we reaffirm our solidarity with the many Asian and African countries which became free with us or soon after, the latest of whom is Bangladesh, and with all those who are still struggling for freedom or development.

At the moment of independence, our

energies turned from the tension of struggle to the immediate problems of partition and the vast new responsibilities which we had assumed. That night, Jawaharlal Nehru said in a mood of prophecy: "The future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we may fulfil the pledges thatwe have so often taken". A quarter of a century has since elapsed, during which we have had our share of failure and success, of tragedy and triumph. And yet we can take pride in the undeniable fact that despite the long sequence of challenges, we are today stronger - politically, economically. and socially. Our national unity, democracy, secularism and socialism remain strong and firm

Our quest has been friendship with all, submission to none. Our fight was not for ourselves alone but for all mankind. Nor was it merely for political independence in its narrow sense. We were determined to change the old order, to eradicate poverty, to emancipate society from rigid stratification, evil customs and superstition.

The struggle for freedom began when the first man was enslaved and it will continue until the last man is freed not merely of visible bondage but of the concepts of inferiority due to race, colour, caste or sex. Only those who are free in spirit can be the torch bearers of freedom and pioneers of the future.

The greatness for which we strive is not the arrogance of military power or the

220

avarice of economic exploitation. it is the true greatness of the spirit which India has cherished through millennia. Man in the nuclear age stands at a crucial crossroads in his destiny. Let us rededicate ourselves not only to the service of India and her great people, but beyond to the broader goals of world peace and human welfare so that genenations yet unborn can live with dignity and fulfilment, as part of the great world family.

Volume No

1995

HOME AFFAIRS

Prime Minister's Independence Day Message

Following is the text of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi's Independence Day Message issued on August 15, 1972 on the occasion of Independence Day anniversary-

This month we celebrate the twenty-fifth year of India's tryst with Freedom. It has been a quarter century packed with trial and challenge, by overcoming which the nation has emerged stronger, more cohesive and more determined to reach its goals.

Democracy has come to stay and has proved itself. But economic freedom in the shape of the economic self-reliance of the nation and also improvement in the daily lives of our common people has yet to be achieved.

The fight against poverty and inequality demands the united endeavour of all our people. It was the faith and deep involvement of the masses of our people which won us political freedom. Our objective is clear and unambiguous. But since no country has undertaken a task of such vast magnitude in such complex conditions, we have to chart our course as we go along and have to face known and unknown obstacles.

Let self-confidence and courage be our companions on this journey towards a new creative society, which ensures justice and equality of opportunity to all, where every citizen is able to grow to his full height, where all men and women are involved in democratic functioning and are equally conscious of their responsibility to their fellow human beings.

USA INDIA

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

HOME AFFAIRS

Shri Dhillon's Speech at Midnight Session of Parliament

Following is the text of the speech of Dr. G. S. Dhillon, Speaker, Lok Sabha, at the midnight session of Parliament on August 14-15, 1972: Esteemed Rashtrapatiji, Mr. Vice-President, Madam Prime Minister and Hon'ble Members of Parliament,

It was at the stroke of the mid-night hour on the 14th-15th August, 1947 that the Constituent Assembly of India, meeting in this historic Hall of Parliament, assumed power for the governance of the country, on behalf of our people. It was here that we framed our Constitution and declared ourselves a sovereign democratic Republic.

As we celebrate this happy event tonight, our thoughts naturally go to the architect of our freedom, the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, who was our beacon-light, our guide and philosopher for several decades during our struggle for Independence. Let us pay our respectful homage to this great soul, whose message of truth, non-violence, love, tolerance and peace is as relevant today as it was in those eventful years of struggle.

Let us also on this occasion bow our heads in gratitude to all those myriads of men and women, known and unknown, who, by their heroic sacrifices and sufferings, brought the dream of freedom into the realm of reality and bequeathed it to us as our most cherished heritage.

We are at this hour reminded of our great leaders like Dr. Rajendra Prasad, under whose inspiring stewardship our Constitution was framed and who was rightly our first President, Shri Rajaji, our last Governor-General, Sardar Patel and a host

221

of others, whose courage, dedication and sacrifice shall always kindle and sustain in us a spirit of service to our country.

We were indeed fortunate that during the momentous period following the dawn of our freedom we had at the helm of affairs a man of vision, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He laid firm the foundations of our democracy, initiated social change and guided our steps towards industrial and economic development.

He was succeeded by a worthy successor, Lal Bahadur Shastri, a man of peace and high integrity.

Our present Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, has been hailed throughout the country and the world as a statesman dedicated to the cause of peace and progress, a person of rare qualities who understands intuitively the feelings of the masses and provides dynamic leadership.

As we look back, our achievements during the two and a half decades of our Independence have been substantial and encouraging. We have without doubt progressed in all directions - Political, economic, industrial and social - and there is every reason to think that we are poised for accelerated progress.

We have held five general elections involving hundreds of millions of people - all in a free and peaceful atmosphere. This experiment with an electorate, which is perhaps the largest in any democracy, has

proved beyond doubt not only the political maturity of our people but also their confidence in themselves and faith in democratic processes.

The Parliamentary form of Government at the Central and State levels has enabled us not only to give expression to the wishes and aspirations of our people but also to translate them into living realities. The basic soundness, stability and vitality of our democratic system has been amply proved in many a moment of crisis. It was the inherent strength of the Indian democracy that enabled the Nation to stand like a rock during the critical days of the Chinese invasion in 1962, and later during the Indo-Pakistan conflicts in 1965 and 1971. We have during all the years of our Independence stood for righteous causes in international forums and our stand has always been for peace, amity and friendly cooperation among: nations.

Our achievements in the economic field have also been considerable and noteworthy. We have implemented almost four Five Year Plans and are formulating the Fifth. From a country depending on imports for her food, we have reached the stage where we could be practically self-sufficient, given the normal weather and rains. We have also advanced significantly in the industrial field. having well laid out the infra-structure for heavy, medium and small-scale industry thus paving the way for accelerated develop ment and diversification. All this has been possible because of the hard work put in by our peasantry and the industrial workers the toiling masses who form the backbone of our country.

In the social sphere, we have taken several measures, legislative and others, to remove the manifold ills and inequalities afflicting our society and uplift and down-trodden sections thereof.

Much has thus been accomplished, though much admittedly remains-. We have still many miles to go, many promises to keep. Our hope lies in the rising generation - the youth of our country, who have to shoulder the responsibilities of carrying the nation forward to its cherished goal in the days ahead.

Let us all work together to make India a home worth living. Let us dedicate ourselves to remove social disparities, bring up Harijans and backward classes to full and equal economic and social status and make our democracy truly socialist and secular above casteism and social barriers.

Let us, on this historic occasion, dedicate ourselves to the challenging tasks ahead. Let us resolve in the words of Mahatma Gandhi that we "shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice, an India in which there shall be no high and low class of people, an

222

India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony". Let us remember the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that the "future is not one of ease or resting, but Incessant striving so that we may fulfil the Pledges we have so often taken The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer". Let us, therefore, at this sacred hour, pledge ourselves to serve these millions, "wipe out every tear from every eye" and build the India of the common man's dreams.

USA INDIA PAKISTAN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

HOME AFFAIRS

Vice-President Shri Pathak's Speech

Following is the text of the Vice

President, Shri G. S. Pathak's speech at the midnight session of Parliament on August 14-15, 1972:

Esteemed Rashtrapatiji, Madam Prime Minister, Mr. Speaker and Hon'ble Members of Parliament,

This is a unique occasion. At this hour twenty-five years ago our nation was reborn with new hopes, new faith and new confidence, amidst nation-wide jubiliation. Our people experienced the thrill of the newfound freedom. This hall witnessed the historic ceremony which will be a vivid memory for long long years to come. Jawaharlal Nehru's words spoken on that occasion are still reverberating. It may be easy to recall the scene but it may perhaps not be quite so easy to recapture the high spirits of that magic moment and the unprecedented enthusiasm which prevailed. The future Presented a long vista of promises. But there were difficult and complex problems also demanding the exercise of uncommon skill and energy. The nation expressed its determination to accept the challenge and a solemn pledge of dedication to the service of the motherland and to the cause of humanity was taken in this hall.

At that time commanding figures bestrode the national scene. They were patriotic leaders who had made tremendous sacrifices in the service of the nation. They had kindled new light and galvanized new forces among the People and, indeed, altered the Course of history. Towering above them all was the Father of the Nation. Then there Was his political heir, Jawaharlal Nehru There was also a veritable galaxy of shining stars who were staunch followers, of Mahatmaji and valiant soldiers of freedom. Besides these there were many among the people of this land who followed the leaders and took part in the freedom fight enduring untold hardships in the service of the country. It is but meet and proper that we should, on this occasion, pay our humble tribute and respectful homage to all those to whom we owe our freedom and the blessings of independence.

Mahatmaji and Jawaharlal Nehru had a clear vision of India's destiny. We may recall Jawaharlal Nehru's words uttered in 1946: "My vision of a free India involves something bigger, more magnificent than just political freedom. It is a freedom in which four hundred million people can live the life which man should live, in which every individual ... shall have the door of opportunity open to him; in which every person will be provided with the necessities of life, and those who have leisure can explore the regions of science and the mind and start again on the great field of adventure which was embarked upon in this country so many thousand years ago." He declared that he stood for socialism. It was obvious that there could be no democracy without socialism.

In the year 1947 India was at the crossroads of history. A new era had just dawned: the nation had to make a choice and it chose a socialist democracy. Our Constitution was based upon the principle that the people were sovereign. It was so framed as to secure political, social and economic justice to each and all. It also provided a democratic machinery through which the ideal of justice could be achieved. Jawaharlal Nehru nurtured and developed the parliamentary form of Government with assiduous care so that this system might be firmly rooted in the hearts and minds of the people. The heavy burden of fulfilment of the high purposes and magnificent ideals set out in the Constitution fell upon Jawaharlal Nehru

223

and his dedicated colleagues. Shastriji followed his policies loyally and served the nation with unflinching devotion till the last breath of his life. Inspired and informed by a pervasive sense of national destiny, our people have evinced a remarkable will to change and shown an admirable capacity to absorb new ideas and adapt themselves to new conditions. They have demonstrated great political acumen and the determination to remove the ills of society.

It is a matter of great pride and satisfaction that during these twenty-five years

we have progressed in many directions. We have effected notable changed in our society. Liberalism, freedom of religion, equality before the law, socialism and secularism have exerted and are exerting profound influence on our mode of life. But a great deal still remains to be done. Poverty and illiteracy must be eradicated. Social inequalities and economic disparities must go. Harijans must be fully accorded the position of respect and dignity which is their birthright. Tribals, must be completely absorbed in the unified nation.

The year 1972 is another turning point in the history of our country. We have emerged into an era of multiple revolution and great transformations. Speed is a special mark of the times. The tempo of progress has not only to be maintained but also accelerated. It is essential for us to come abreast of the most highly developed nations. We have to build the future on the foundations of our past through modern techniques and innovations. Our cherished, ideals and values will provide us with the right direction and purpose. The claims of the peremptory present are very exacting We have to develop the capability and dynamism to match the needs of the day. We have to remember Gandhiji's exhortation: "... In progress towards the goal we can see more and more enchanting scenery Satisfaction lies in the effort... Full effort is full victory." An abiding faith in the great destiny of our nation is the perennial source of our strength. Let us on this historic occasion recapture the high spirits and the enthusiasm which marked the dawn of freedom twenty-five years ago and dedicate ourselves to complete the unfinished talks and to reach the promised land.

JAI HIND.

USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Indian Delegate's Speech at Security Council on Namibia

The following is the text of the statement by Shri A. N. Haksar, Charge d'affaires of the Indian Permanent Mission to the United Nations in the Security Council on August 1, 1972 on the subject of the U.N. Secretary General's report on the question of Namibia:

Mr. President, we recall with admiration your initiatives and labours as representative of Argentina which contributed so much to the adoption of Security Council resolution 309(1972) at Addis Ababa. It is fitting that the Council's discussion of the Secretary-General's report which follows from that resolution should now commence under your presidency. We are glad, that an open and formal discussion is taking place. It is only appropriate that a subject of such vital importance to the future of so many people should be discussed in this way. Any other method would have left room for doubts and ambiguities which could only hamper the pursuit of the goal to which we have all subscribed. That goal is clearly indicated in numerous resolutions of the United Nations, as also in the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.

224

We recall, in particular, Security Council resolutions 264(1969), 301(1971), 309(1972) and 310(1972).

Resolution 309(1972), under which we are proceeding today, does not prejudice the other resolutions and also reaffirms the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Namibia as well as its national unity and integrity. There can and shall be no compromise on these basic principles. The processes initiated under resolution

309(1972) are directed towards the realization of these principles. There is no scope in it for making any concessions or adjustments to accommodate any other point of view.

India has reaffirmed these principles in clear and unequivocal terms in the Security Council, in the General Assembly and in the Council for Namibia, of which we are a member. It is in the light of that position that we shall also consider the present efforts in relation to the question of Namibia.

We have heard the Secretary-General today and also studied his report with close attention. We appreciate deeply the dynamism and dedication with which he has responded to the mandate given to him under resolution 309(1972) and the persevering efforts made by him and his Collaborators. We. appreciate also the co-operation and assistance extended by the group of three States members of the Security Council, which is acknowledged in the Secretary-General's report and its annexes.

We realize fully the complex nature of the Secretary-General's efforts in the pursuit of his mandate. Moreover, they have just begun and are still by no means complete. A further report is promised in November. By then we hope our information will increase and many considerations will become clear. We would then be in a better position to comment more fully. It would thus be proper to wait until November.

However. at this time it would only be fair to us, to the members of the Council, to the Secretary-General and, above all, to the people of Namibia if we once more clearly emphasized that self-determination and independence for Namibia must be viewed in absolute terms and only in the context of the whole of Namibia. Any so-called self-rule, home rule, or self-determination on the line of Bantustans is a negation of this and must be unacceptable.

In this context we view with concern the statement reported to have been made by the Prime Minister of South Africa following the release of the Secretary-General's report. As mentioned in paragraph 49 of the Secretary-General's report (S/10738), the Secretary-General had conveyed to the Government of South Africa his concern regarding the developments in respect of the Eastern Caprivi and Ovamboland in further application of South Africa's so-called homelands policy and had expressed the hope that the South African Government would not proceed with any measures which could adversely affect the outcome of the contacts which he had initiated.

The Prime Minister of South Africa, in his statement to which I have referred, has described these developments as "simply Part of the process by which the peoples concerned are being politically prepared to exercise at the appropriate time their right of self-determination". Many of us with our own experience of having suffered under colonial domination cannot fail to take note of the ambivalent connotations of this. In the same statement the Prime Minister of South Africa has mentioned that trust and confidence are essential prerequisites in the search for a solution. Not only do these need to be reassured - and measures such as the restoration of fundamental rights and the release of political prisoners are also relevant to this - but it is also necessary to ensure that there is complete clarity regarding definitions and terminology. We have no doubt that this should be borne in mind in the implementation of resolution 309(1972).

It is in the light of these considerations that the Indian delegation will participate in the Council's decision on the present report. We note the Secretary-General's intention to continue to discharge his mandate

225

in consultation and close co-operation With the Security Council and its group of three. We hope that, as in the present report the continued efforts will include all the parties concerned, including also the other relevant organs of the United Nations such as the United Nations Council for Namibia others mentioned in the report.

The responsibility of the United Nations with respect to Namibia is clear and must be fully discharged.

INDIA NAMIBIA USA ARGENTINA ETHIOPIA SOUTH AFRICA

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri N. P. Jain's Statement at Security Council on Bangla Desh Membership

Following is the text of the statement by the acting Indian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Shri N. P. Jain on August 10, 1972 at the U.N. Security Council in support of Bangla Desh's application for U.N. memberships:

I am taking the floor to express the satisfaction of my delegation at the adoption of the agenda for today's meeting. I wish to pay a warm tribute to the deft, imaginative and skilful manner in which you, Mr. President, have organized an immediate response on the part of the Security Council to the application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for admission to membership in the United Nations.

The Government of Bangladesh, as we all know, has requested immediate consideration of its request, and it is the hope of my delegation that the Security Council will ensure prompt consideration and indeed a final decision which would enable the People's Republic of Bangladesh to take its due place among the Member States of the United Nations as soon as possible.

The Government of Bangladesh has al-

ready solemnly declared that it accepts the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and undertakes to fulfil them. Indeed, on more than one occasion. ever since it came into existence as an independent, sovereign State, it has expressed willingness and enthusiasm for the carrying out of those obligations and has demonstrated its ability to do so. In recent years -- and more particularly last year during the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly - as we are all aware, significant developments have taken place which have contributed to making the United Nations more and more universally representative, more and more representative of the voices of millions and millions of human beings who had not been represented before. Admission of the new-born State of Bangladesh would be yet another significant step in making the United Nations more universal, more representative and thereby more effective.

With an area of 55,000 square miles and a population of 75 million, Bangladesh is the eighth most populous country in the world. It has dedicated itself, as we know from its pronouncements, to the basic principles of democracy, socialism, secularism and the establishment of an egalitarian society in which there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex or creed. The People's Republic of Bangladesh is a reality to be recognized. It has come to stay. It has been recognized already by 84 countries, representing all continents and regions of the world. Nearly two thirds of the total membership of the United Nations has extended recognition to this State. It is not for me to point out - for it is self-evident that as many as 10 members of the Security Council, including four permanent members, have established diplomatic relations with Bangladesh. As has been pointed out by speakers before me, Bangladesh has already been admitted to membership of a number of specialized agencies of the United Nations by a thumping majority and without any negative votes. It is already a member of the International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organization, UNCTAD and the International Monetary Fund and is on its way to joining a number of other international organizations and agencies. The admission of Bangladesh to these international organizations reflects not only the readiness of the people and Government of Bangladesh to play their due role in the various fields of international co-operation but also the confidence of the international

226

community in their willingness and ability to do so as an independent, sovereign State.

My delegation is fully confident that once Bangladesh becomes a Member of the United Nations it will be able to contribute significantly to the achievement of the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. indeed, in its very proclamation of independence the People's Republic of Bangladesh declared:

"We further resolve that we undertake to observe and give effect to all duties and obligations devolving upon us as a member of the family of the United Nations and by the Charter of the United Nations."

As early as April 1971 the Prime Minister of Bangladesh said:

"We now appeal to the nations of the world for recognition and assistance, material and moral. Every day it is delayed 1,000 lives are lost and more of Bangladesh's vital assets are destroyed. In the name of humanity act now and earn our undying friendship."

It was moving, it was gratifying, that the United Nations and several of its Member States responded to the urgent humanitarian and relief needs of the people of Bangladesh, and, as we are all aware, one of the biggest operations in the humanitarian and relief field ever undertaken by the United Nations is the current operation in Bangladesh. Therefore, Bangladesh is not new to the United Nations. Bangladesh is not something about which no information is available. It is not a country about which there is a lack of information, a lack of knowledge. It has kept its doors open for people to come

and see for themselves how, in difficult circumstances and in the face of very challenging problems, it is trying to confront those problems and to dedicate itself to the task of peace, prosperity and justice for its people.

It is therefore quite clear that since we have involved ourselves in extending a human response to the needs of the people of Bangladesh, we should not hesitate now to give them what is their due - the recognition of their status as an independent, sovereign State - so that we can draw them into the world community and enable them to play their part responsibly, to meet all the challenges which membership of the United Nations offers and to face the task of fulfilling all the obligations deriving therefrom.

Let us first give them that opportunity before we talk about what they may have done or what they may not have done, about what we may have decided - without consulting them - about them and for them,

Even before it has joined the United Nations as a Member State, it is common knowledge, and I therefore do not have to give any details here, that Bangladesh has extended every posssible co-operation -- and I stress "every possible co-operation" - and help to the United Nations and its representatives in carrying out humanitarian and other tasks in that area. There are a number of reports of the Secretary-General available to prove and establish that point, and that should be an indication, if one is needed at all, of the sincerity of purpose and the spirit of enthusiasm and dedication - I repeat "the sincerity of purpose and the spirit of enthusiasm and dedication" which has inspired the Government of Bangladesh to seek membership of this august Organization. Let us hope that this august body will be able to take a decision in the very month of August to welcome this newborn State in its fold.

The President of the Council has already set in motion the procedure for the consideration of the application of Bangla-

desh, and we are very glad to see that this has been done very expeditiously. Since the application is simple and straightforward, my delegation would have been happy had the Council taken an immediate decision on it and admitted Bangladesh to the United Nations. However, we hope that the procedure that will be followed now will be equally expeditious so that the Government of Bangladesh will be enabled to join the United Nations and make its effective contribution at the forthcoming twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

I would add that the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations, apart from being an acknowledgement of a reality,

227

would also serve to consolidate peace and stability in other parts of the world and to strengthen the trends of friendly and harmonious relationships and the establishment of durable peace in the Indian subcontinent so that all the constituents of this subcontinent might henceforth - and I quote from the Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan - "devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their people".

The decision we take should not be a hasty one, but it would be regrettable if we did not take timely action and postponed a decision with no justifiable basis for that.

The agenda we have adopted is precise and clear. Let us therefore address ourselves specifically to the request of Bangladesh without getting diverted to other issues. There have been and always will be occasions - if they are needed - to discuss such issues, to exchange views, to answer and to counter-answer. Here is a solemn occasion: a country has declared adherence to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In that sense, to borrow the words of the Ambassador of Somalia, it is a unique and significant event when any country applies for membership of the United Nations. The application for membership itself, the declaration of adherence to the Purposes and Principles of the

Charter itself, is a contribution to peace, and surely, the first responsibility of this organization, particularly that of the Security Council, is to give an equally solemn, positive and dignified response.

Some of the previous speakers have raised certain points concerning my country. My delegation does not consider it necessary or desirable to reply to these charges. I could reply to them and establish clearly and convincingly that they have no basis, but I am sure that you. Mr. President, and the members of the Council will agree that this is not the occasion for any one of us to indulge or try to indulge in or provoke any polemics or recriminations. Let us stick to the consideration of what has been adopted today and not get sides tracked into matters which are not relevant to today's agenda.

A lot has been said about the need and importance of bilateral consultations between India and Pakistan and between Pakistan and Bangladesh; we welcome it Indeed we are very proud that India and Pakistan have already been able to set an example by the conclusion of the Simla agreement; that we can with determination seek to solve our mutual problems; that we can make a determined bid to close the doors to the hostility and confrontation of the past and usher in an era of mutual understanding, co-operation and friendship. Surely, the same thing can be done between Pakistan and Bangladesh and between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. We could not agree more with the sentiments expressed by some of the preceding speakers. And this is what we can encourage in this Council today. Here is a-wonderful opportunity for us to encourage these three countries - in a con tinent where the winds of peace and detente are already blowing, where new trends, very, healthy trends, have been set in motion here is a wonderful opportunity to encourage these trends - to support these trends, by: admitting Bangladesh in the United Nations, by giving it the status that is due it, so that, we can then call upon Bangladesh also to respond to this spirit of co-operation and friendship so that all the problems in the subcontinent which concern Bangladesh can

be solved.

The attitude of my delegation, indeed the attitude of the Government of India, in this respect has been expressed on a number of occasions by the Prime Minister of India and other distinguished leaders of India. We believe in the victories of peace. in a period in the world today when relaxation of tension is the order of the day, let us welcome the efforts made here, there and everywhere - wherever they take place - for the parties themselves to get together and settle their problems. Let us not merely welcome them but do something positive here to encourage those trends and to strengthen that phenomenon. If we do so - and here I am sure I speak on behalf of my delegation and my Government - the Security Council will already have made an effective contribution to the cause not only of peace, not only of stability, but also of justice, progress and prosperity, so that the people of the subcontinent can tackle unitedly, in co-operation and full understanding, the real problems of fighting poverty and underdevelopment and can fully exploit their resources for the maximum benefit of their populations.

228

INDIA USA BANGLADESH CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC PAKISTAN MALI SOMALIA

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Samar Sen's Speech at U.N. Security Council Pleading for Bangla, Desh entry Into U.N.

The following is the text of the speech by the permanent Representative to the United Nations, Shri Samar Sen, at the U.N, Security Council on August 24, 1972 during debate on the question of admission of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh to the United Nations:

We ale meeting once again to consider the application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for admission to membership in the United Nations.

At our last meeting we agreed to refer this application to the Committee on Admissions, though on that occasion a number of delegations had pointed out that it should have been possible for the Security Council to take a decision right away.

The Committee has examined this question, and its report is before us. The discussion in the Committee was comprehensive and its report gives a factual account of the various views expressed. The report clearly indicates that the attitude of the overwhelming majority of the members of the Committee favours Bangladesh's immediate admission. As for the few remaining members, two of them stated, as mentioned in the report, that no delegation had opposed the application as such or per se. Nothing should now stand in the Council's way for taking an immediate decision.

During earlier discussion, both in the Council and in the Committee, attempts have been made to link the consideration of the present application with extraneous and irrelevant preconditions and issues, such as bilateral relations between different States and the implementation by Bangladesh of General Assembly resolution 2793 (XXVI) of 7 December 1971 and Security Council resolution 307 (1971) of 21 December 1971. These attempts, which have their latest reflection in the draft resolution contained in document S/10768, have already been repudiated by an overwhelming majority of the members of the Council.

Let us, however, examine this attempt little further. The conditions for admission are given in paragraph 1 of Article 4 of the Charter, and its provisions are absolutely clear and categorical. An advisory opinion on this Article was sought from the International Court of Justice by the General

Assembly in 1947, and this became available on 28 May 1948. The Court held that the enumeration of conditions in Article 4, paragraph 1 of the Charter is exhaustive and that no State is "juridically entitled to make its consent to the admission dependent on conditions not expressly provided by paragraph I of the said Article".

In order to make this position completely convincing, without a shadow of doubt, I should like to quote a little more fully from the Court's judgement. Commenting on paragraph 1 of Article 4 of the Charter, the Court stated:

"The natural meaning of the words used leads to the conclusion that these conditions constitute an exhaustive enumeration and are not merely stated by way of guidance or example. The provision would lose its significance and weight if other conditions, unconnected with those laid down, could be demanded. The conditions stated in paragraph 1 of Article 4 must therefore be regarded not merely as the necessary conditions, but also as the conditions which suffice.

"Nor can it be argued that the conditions enumerated represent only an indispensable minimum, in the sense that political considerations could be superimposed upon them, and prevent the admission of an applicant which fulfils them. Such an interpretation would be inconsistent with the terms of paragraph 2 of Article 4, which provide for the admission of 'tout Etat remplissant ces conditions' - 'any such State'. It would lead to conferring upon Members an indefinite and practically unlimited power of discretion in the imposition of new conditions."

It is incontestable, therefore, that the admission of a new Member State cannot be

229

made conditional on anything other than Article 4 of the Charter. This is nothing new, and the same principle has been upheld in this Council on the applications for membership from other States which have since been admitted. It would be invidious to name States which are now Members of the United Nations, but I may refer to the 1034th meeting of the Security, Council, when various arguments regarding its bilateral relations with its neighbours or its multilateral obligations did not stand in the way of the admission of a New Member State. I could give many examples, but these are hardly necessary in view of the clear opinion of the Court.

As regards the argument about the presence of foreign troops in the territory of an applicant State, there are innumerable examples of Members of the United Nations which had foreign troops stationed in their territory at the time of their admission and which continue to have them even now. This consideration, like the others I have mentioned, is also completely irrelevant. In the present case, moreover, it is doubly irrelevant as the People's Republic of Bangladesh has categorically stated that there are no foreign troops on its soil. Thus the provisions of the draft resolution contained in document S/10768, both in its preambular and in its operative paragraphs, are entirely outside the scope of our debate.

Much has been made of the resolutions of the Security Council of 21 December 1971 and of the General Assembly of 7 December 1971 Now. to begin with, there is not a word in the Assembly resolution - I shall not discuss the circumstances in which it was passed - which applies to Bangladesh. Even as regards Security Council resolution 307(1971) I could ask how it can possibly apply to Bangladesh. it is well known that when it was adopted Bangladesh was denied a hearing despite its own request and the repeated requests of some Members of the United Nations. Not once during the extensive debates which preceded its adoption did any delegation point out that it applied to Bangladesh. In fact, the delegations which now speak of these two nesolutions did not even acknowledge the existence of Bangladesh during those debates. They do Bangladesh during those debates. They do

not do so even to this day. How can They speak of these resolutions with reference to a State the existence of which they How can they speak of international conventions with reference to this State when, according to them, this State simply does not exist. Bangladesh has indeed acceded to the Geneva Convention of 1949 and has said so publicly. But those conventions apply to States, and they should not be quoted by, those delegations which maintain that there is no such State as the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Such obligations as Bangladesh has in respect of this Convention and in relation to other States can arise only when those States deal with Bangladesh as a State and not as a conglomeration of private individuals. This is a basic concept of international law and has been adequately written into the Vienna Convention on the Law, of Treaties.

The People's Republic of Bangladesh indeed exists. It is the eighth largest State in the world. It is recognized by over 86 countries, more than 80 of which are, Members of the United Nations. It has already been welcomed into various specialized agencies of the United Nations. It has proclaimed solemnly that it accepts the obligations of the United Nations Charter and undertakes to fulfil them, has affirmed since its inception a policy of non-alignment. and peaceful relations with all States, and is an important State in Asia and a significant member of the developing world.

On those objective merits its application for membership in the United Nations should be judged - and not on the basis of preconditions which find no place in our Charter. This has been restated convincingly in the letter dated 23 August addressed by the representative of Bangladesh to the President of the Security Council, which has now been circulated to all members. With that background and for those reasons my delegation, together with the delegations of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia, has introduced the draft resolution contained in document S/10771. It is a Simple and straightforward draft resolution, just as the application is simple and

straightforward, and the sponsors commend it to the Council.

We would urge an immediate decision on our draft resolution. Bangladesh's appli-

230

cation has been before us since 8 August. We have had ample time to examine it fully. The view has been expressed from time to time that a further delay may be preferable. This view comes from different sources and for different reasons. There are those who wish to impose preconditions on the applicant and disguise denial in the garb of delay. I have already pointed out that that does not conform with the Charter. Sometimes the argument for delay appears to be based on some desire to exercise a kind of pressure upon the applicant in respect of its present or future bilateral relations. This is inadmissible. However, there are others who have expressed the hope that a further delay may contribute to the consolidation of peace and stability in South Asia. We respect the sincerity with which this hope has been expressed, but we would point out with equal sincerity our conviction that any further delay, whether limited or unlimited, whether conditional or unconditional, can only contribute to increasing tensions in the subcontinent and making more difficult the realization of a durable peace and harmony among the countries of the area towards which the first steps were taken last July in the Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan. We are convinced that any moves for postponement with a view to avoiding complications, real or imaginary, in the Council can only be at the cost of Bangladesh, at the cost of the relative calm prevailing in the subcontinent by imperilling the existing trends towards negotiations and settlement of all the problems among the countries of the region.

Bangladesh has requested that the Council speedily and favourably pronounce itself on the application. I referred earlier to the 1034th meeting of the Security Council, at which another State was admitted to the United Nations despite arguments for delay. The delegation of Norway, which

was a member of the Council at that time, stated on that occasion - and I shall not name the State in question:

"... we feel that it is not up, to the Council to exercise judgement with regard to when to deal with the application for membership submitted by [the State], since in exercising its sovereign rights, [it] is maintaining its application and has declared that it wishes that application to be dealt with at this time in order that it may be admitted during the forthcoming ... session of the General Assembly". (1934th meeting, pp.42-45)

We believe that to be the correct attitude. In the present case the delegation of France took a most realistic view on a further proposal for a limited delay. I quote from the report of the Admissions Committee before us:

"The representative of France also said that he would have been able to support a proposal for a limited adjournment provided that such an adjournment could be justified by new developments indicating that the difficulties between the parties might soon be eased. That not being the case, he was ready to declare himself immediately in favour of the admission of Bangladesh." (S/10773, para. 9)

In these circumstances, to delay decision without any justification is simply to be fatalistic and certainly is not in conformity with the high sense of responsibility the Council is expected to exercise.

India believes that the admission of Bangladesh to its rightful place in the United Nations not only is its legitimate due but will contribute to further progress towards normalcy And peace in South Asia. It will also contribute to the further consolidation of the principle of universality which is so vital for the effectiveness of the United Nations. The principle of universality has been pursued by the Indian delegation ever since the United Nations was

established. It pains us, therefore, to see that attempts are now being made to delay, if not to prevent, the admission of an Asian State, a developing State of 75 million people. May I add parenthetically that Bangladesh has a larger population than have seven members of this Council put together - and that applies not only of the present Council but to all the Councils since the establishment of this body.

Some of the arguments we have heard over the last two or three weeks remind us cruelly of identical arguments used not long ago to prevent the exercise of the

231

legitimate rights of a much larger and more powerful Asian State. Can we wonder, then, if the outside world looks upon the United Nations with a degree of cynicism?

If we all practised what we preached, perhaps the world would be a better place to live in. We invoke principles, speak about peace, progress and justice, sometimes even of revolution, criticise great-Power hegemonistic tendencies and seek a world free of discrimination,- exploitation and domination. The phrases "third world" and "developing countries" often become interchangeable. In these circumstances, people everywhere will judge us not by what we say but by what we do.

It is in that spirit that we recommend that Bangladesh's application be accepted without delay. It is in that spirit that we, along with the delegations of the USSR, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia, have presented our draft resolution, which, I know request, should be put to a vote.

INDIA USA BANGLADESH SWITZERLAND TOTO AUSTRIA YUGOSLAVIA PAKISTAN NORWAY FRANCE

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Samar Sen's Statement on China's Veto Against Admission of Bangla Desh to U.N

The following is the text of the statement made by India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Shri Samar Sen, in the U.N. Security Council on August 25, 1972 after the veto by China of the four-power resolution on admission, of Bangla Desh:

I should like to explain our vote briefly and also comment, with your permission, Mr. President, on some of the matters covered in our discussion.

Despite many different attempts, for many different reasons, to prevent the Council from coming to a decision, we have at long last been able to vote on the draft resolutions before us. We have already discussed at length why there was so much reluctance in the Council to come to a point of decision. It is not necessary for me to go into them again. Essentially, many members felt that faced with a veto some other way should be found. What do our decisions show? The draft resolution contained in document S/10768 has not been acceptable to the majority of the Council. The considerations contained in it for linking the application of Bangladesh with extraneous preconditions have been repudiated by the same vast majority, on the basis of the Charter. It is clear that the inadmissibility of the arguments advanced by the supporters of that draft resolution has been affirmed by the Council's decision on it.

On the other hand, the draft resolution contained in document S/10771 received affirmative votes from eleven of the fifteen members of the Council. It was not adopted only because a single permanent member, voted against it. Even though it was not adopted, the decision clearly shows that the

vast majority of the Council is in favour of the admission of Bangladesh and believes that Bangladesh satisfies the requirements of the Charter. This view is indeed shared by the vast majority of the members of the General Assembly which have already recognized Bangladesh.

Although the Council is at present unable to make the necessary positive recommendation to the General Assembly, it is our hope that the objection will be withdrawn even before the Assembly meets on 19 September.

The sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document S/10771 would wish to express their appreciation to the delegations which supported it. This support, which was never in doubt, affirms the adherence of those delegations to the principles of the Charter, to the universality of the United Nations and to the cause of peace and justice. As for the delegations which did not vote for our draft resolution - in fact, only one voted against - we have nothing to say. We leave it to the Members of the United Nations and, indeed, to history to draw their own inferences and conclusions.

232

It is for the People's Republic of Bangladesh alone to express its views about, the council's decision on its application for admission to the United Nations, in so far as it is concerned. However, in so far as the interests of that region are concerned, we are one of the three States of the region, and we are bound to say that this decision will not make any positive contribution to the realization of peace and co-operation and harmony which all of us desire and for which all of us are working. These efforts have the best hope of success if they are carried out in the full mutual acknowledgement of the sovereignty and equality of the three States of the subcontinent. This acknowledgement has today not been encouraged. We shall of course persevere in our efforts with all sincerity, but the decision of the Council cannot be considered a welcome development for the future either of the subcontinent or of the United Nations.

Listening to the representative of China, I felt that his was probably the longest explanation of vote I had ever heard in the Council or in the General Assembly. To put it colloquially, I think he never bad it so good. However, India is fortunately not accountable for its actions or the facts to the Chinese delegation, just as that delegation is not accountable for the manners or the methods of the presentation. I think we can easily leave it to history and the, men and women of the world to decide what has happened and what is happening.

I shall conclude by simply saying that we are extremely fortunate that, although there were four sponsors of the draft resolution, India and the Soviet Union attracted the special attention of the Chinese delegation.

Finally, may I just point out a common feature of the two resolutions to which so many references have been made. They simply say:

"Calls upon all Member States to refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation in the subcontinent or endanger international peace."

INDIA CHINA USA BANGLADESH CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Prime Minister's Statement on Simla Agreement in Rajya Sabha

Intervening in the debate, Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi said in Rajya Sabha on August 2, 1972:

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it is a little difficult to speak here on this occasion because almost the entire House is with us on this matter, whereas....

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Why is it difficult?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: It is difficult because all points have been made and all the questions you have asked have been answered, not once but many times over. The member who himself started off by saving that we do not listen to the voice of the people, that it is only the Congress which is trying to promote a particular point of view, ended his speech - I think one of the hon. Members from this side said that when a speech is long, there is bound to be contradiction - on the note that they stand alone and isolated.. It did not begin on that note. It began on a very brave note as if the whole world was behind them and the Congress alone was trying to propagate another point of view. But he ended on this other note, as was only natural.

233

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: In this House we are alone; we know that.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Sir, it is the hon'ble Member who again and again advises us to listen with patience, to be quiet, has not the courtesy or the decency to listen to a single speech patiently. Not one criticism can be made against them. They can use the most abusive words, they can use violence, they can make the sort of vulgar and ridiculous demonstration as they did in the other House. That is all right for them. But, if anyone from here says anything about them, they bob up, not one but six or seven of them. Yesterday, I noticed that, when their leader was speaking, it was not enough that he was speaking, all the rest of them had to stand up and not allow even his voice to be heard. This is their idea of decency, this is their idea of decorum. It is not our idea. This is another reason why I say it is difficult to speak. Then, he spoke about Sardar Saheb - I think he was trying to have a dig at him - that he cannot understand what he says. Now, our Foreign Minister has travelled to the far

corners of the world. Nowhere has there been any difficulty amongst high people, Heads of States, amongst low people, ordinary people, in understanding him. So, if there was something wrong in the manner of his presenting our case, surely some other people would have complained, 'We cannot understand him'. But nowhere have we heard this before. Only this one party has objected that they do not understand him. Does the fault lie with Sardar Saheb or with those who do not understand him? Sir, here the question is one of a basic difference. It is not concerned with words or events; it is not even a question merely of the Simla Agreement. It is a question, as I said the other day, of the manner in which this Party has been born, the circumstances in which it was born. The hon'ble Member made a cheap jibe at the birth of my Party. No matter what the Jan Sangh says, the Congress, was born more than 80 years ago. The policies which the Congress is following today - as you can see from the resolutions of the Congress - not from what I say or anybody on this side or that side might say - are the policies laid down by our great leaders. To make such a cheap jibe only demonstrates the lack of any other argument. Sir, I have not got up to answer arguments. As I have said, this is a matter of basic difference. My hon, friend opposite also spoke about temper. He rightly remarked that those who have no arguments show anger. Now, Sir, it is true that When I spoke the other day, I spoke firmly and strongly, but I did not speak with temper in my voice or in my words. I should like this House and the public to judge whether my speech was a show of temper or the action of the hon. Member's Party was a show of temper. It is not my opinion against their opinion. The whole Parliament was witness. The records are witness to what happened. It may be that the Member insists they are right and all others are wrong. If that be so, it would mean that not only is the Congress wrong, not only are all the other political parties of this country wrong, but all the countries of the world are also wrong. This is an issue on which the entire world seems to be united. There has been tremendous enthusiasm for this Agreement and for the new spirit that they see awakened on our sub-continent. Where is the enthusiasm less? I wonder if my honourable friends have taken the trouble to examine this. Nobody has been quiet. But whose appreciation or enthusiasm has been muted? It is those people whose enthusiasm has been muted whenever there has been any question of the interest or strength of India - I would even say that it is those people who have been actively against our interests. Those are the voices in the world today which are not so strong and enthusiastic in favour of this Agreement. Would it be wrong if we say, as some honourable friends have said, that this Party is echoing those outside voices? I have no hesitation in repeating that what the Jan Sangh wants in India is what the military regime in Pakistan had wanted in Pakistan. History has shown that this policy has failed. (Interruption) It is no use shaking your head. This is the picture, a picture of confrontation. When I spoke of toys, I did not mean that land was a toy. (Interruption) I was speaking about the conception or the attitude of demanding a tooth for a tooth, and an eye for an eye. That is not a mature attitude, nor an attitude which in today's world can be advantageous to our country. Neither is the spirit of bargaining, which another honourable friend has advised. We

234

are not out to bargain. We are a mature people who have only one aim before us and that is how to make our country strong. And by strength we do not mean merely military strength. I think that is a small part of a country's strength. When we talk of strength, we mean the strength of the people. And that can come only when the people have understanding, when they have maturity and when the affairs of the nation are dealt with a certain amount of sagacity and foresight. Nobody has made the claim for the Simla Agreement that all problems are solved. In fact, I would say that this is simply not possible at any time anywhere in the world. Problems will always remain. Our endeavour is to take each step so As to be in a better position to face the new problems that must arise. With

the Simla Agreement, India is in a better position to face the future. In fact, I would say that the Simla Agreement is in pursuance of the domestic and the international policy which India has followed all these years. Since independence, and even before independence, this is what the Congress Party has believed in. It believed even then in friendship with all countries. It believed even then in peace in the world and a cooperative endeavour to end the poverty and the misery of the underprivileged of the world- At a time when we had no strength in our hands or in our voices, we had no wealth, no armaments or anything, even at that time, we stood solidly by all those who were equally oppressed. We did not make the excuse that we had our own struggle and never could help the people of Africa, that we could not pay attention to what was happening in Asia. On the contrary, we stated this even though we were poor, we were weak, but whatever we had, the strength of our voice, our moral support or whenever we can give more than moral support, that would be at the disposal of all those who were in similar situations. Whatever our relations with China today, India was the first and the only country which sent a medical team to China at that time. And in what conditions did this team live? I saw some of the members when they left and I saw them on their return. I could not recognise them when they came back. They looked more like skeletons. This was because of lack of food and lack of sleep. They could have refused to stay in such conditions and said: 'We cannot work'. But they had gone to do a Job and they did it. This was the spirit. This was the spirit of our policies and it is in this spirit that we act today also.

Shri S. D. Misra saw a change in our foreign policy because I mentioned Asia and said it was time for Asian countries to cooperate more closely. Maybe I shall disappoint him. But there is no change in our Policy. Why should we change when the rest of the world is coming round to our way of thinking? If it is necessary, and if we find that this policy no longer serves the Interests of India, then we shall not stick

to it. We shall be the first to change. But what do we see today? We see that the countries which had opposed us and which had abused us, are one by one coming round to our policy. I think it was hon. Member Shri V. P. Dutt who spoke of this. They may not use the word 'non-alignment'. But What does 'non-alignment' mean? It means that regardless of the political system of a country and regardless of the attitude of a country, you can build bridges with that country. Between no two countries was there greater enmity than the United States of America and China. In fact, if there was a certain amount of tension between us and the United States it was on this ground namely, our friendship with China and the Soviet Union. What do we find-now? We are left behind and they are more 'bhai-bhai' than anybody else. The best food is Chinese food and the best medical treatment is Acupuncture. In the United States and many parts of Europe, everything you can think very best today is Chinese. Soon after, a journey to the Soviet Union was arranged and there were some more embracings; and hand-shakes. What for? any vindication or proof is necessary - I do not think it is necessary - this show, ours is the right policy. On one point I agree with Dr. Bhai Mahavir and I have said in my public meetings, not only now - but from the beginning, that I stand for certain things. I am very happy if the people are with me. If they are not, yet I consider my stand to be the right one. I must stand alone. We stand for particular policies. Today, a great change is taking place all over the world. More and more people are acceptin certain realities. May be the U.S. Administration, in spite of the new fourfriendship with some countries, is not chang-

235

ing. But we cannot ignore the fact that the young people of America are giving deeper thought to these matters. So the world is changing, We have been told by some hon'ble Members that there have been other Agreements with Pakistan, what has happened to them? And, in spite of previous talks about peace, have there not been wars? There have been wars. We cannot

deny this. But we cannot deny also that today the situation in India has changed. Today, there is more political cohesion and greater unity amongst the-people. In every way the country is stronger; and I think that our people have better understanding of the problems of the country and are willing to sacrifice, to fight and to face the challenges of the future. There is a great change in Pakistan. It maybe that the Pakistanis did not want that change. But the change is there regardless of whether they desire it or not. They cannot ignore that change. when we look at the situation, we cannot also ignore that this change has taken place. Even President Bhutto himself has admitted that he was the father of the policy of confrontation with India. He himself now acknowledges that the situation has changed today and that the need of the times is peace. So, things have changed. Some opposition Members have taken me and Sardar Saheb to task because we have not categorically asserted that we know that there will be no war, that we know that President Bhutto is a different man. I don't do so; I am not used to making such categorical statements. I can only describe our assessment of the situation, and I can also say with some assurance that so far I have not often been wrong in my assessment. So, what I say is my assessment of the situation.

Some of the questions which are being put today, 'How do you know that this will not happen?', 'Peace will not be peace', etc., those same questions were posed at the time of Bangla Desh also. It was said very categorically, 'You say that the refugees will return. But we know that they will not return and we know that you will not be able to send them back'. They did not think that Bangla Desh could be freed. But, all those events did happen, this is obvious to all. A hundred and one events are taking place every day which are equally true, equally relevant, which are not so tangible to the opposition, even to some of us. Nevertheless, these things are happening. There are vast forces at work in India, in Pakistan and all over the world. The question before us is this: Do we encourage these good forces or do we put a spoke in its wheel? To

my mind, this is a straightforward question before us. It is possible that one makes the best effort possible and yet one fails. But is that reason to say that we should not make that effort? So, we have made an effort and I believe that we have succeeded in so far as we can, in the first step. I do not know whether at the second step we can go very much further. But I know that a beginning has been made from which it will be difficult for anybody to go back. If something untoward does happen, as I have said in the other House and at other places, if there is war, well, we are ready. Then we cannot say, 'No, we have accepted peace an therefore, we are not ready for this attack.' But, we will do everything possible to see that peace succeeds and succeeds with honour. Why? Because -I have said many times - Peace is an ideal and we do believe in ideals. But peace is also a necessity.

I have always believed, and I do believe even today, that India's major enemy is not Pakistan, it is not even the big powers which are interested in their spheres of influence. India's greatest enemy is the economic backwardness of the country. It is the poverty of the country. If we did not have that heavy handicap, we could have done many things in the world. But we have this handicap and nobody is going to help us to overcome it except we ourselves, and we cannot overcome it unless we have peace. Therefore, peace is essential for our country, and I believe that it is essential for Pakistan. I also believe that tension between the three countries of the sub-continent will always be a weakening factor and one which may be exploited by outside forces. So, the second question before us is this: Do we want interference by outside forces or do we want to settle our affairs ourselves, however difficult they may be? We have believed that we must settle differences amongst ourselves however complex they may be and a beginning in that direction has also been made.

I am sorry, I have diverted from my point about Asian unity. I have spoken about Asia. I should like the countries of Asia to be united. But, unity for what purpose? You cannot have unity by giving up your ideals, values or-your basic principles. In Asia, we follow a certain policy. Why? Not because we do not like America and so if America does something we want to be perverse and criticize America. Not at all. Personally I am not against America or any other country. But, we do disapprove of what the U.S. Administration are doing in Vietnam. We believe that this U.S. action is not only against the interests of the people of Vietnam, it is against the interest of every country in Asia and every country in the world. But, there are countries in Asia which are supporting this American policy. What can we do? We want to be friends with them. But we can't have that close friendship with them as we can have with countries which agree with our policy.

Just a few months back, hon. Members opposite were very anxious that we should be friends with Taiwan. I do not know whether their enthusiasm is as great today. The enthusiasm of the western countries in this matter is not only waning, it has completely collapsed. The situation is developing as we had always thought it would one day. We could not prophesy that it would happen in 1970, 1971 or 1972. But we knew that it would happen.

We want the countries of Asia to stand together - not against Africa or Latin America. We want them also. But when we can look after our own home first, only then can we be effective in a larger circle. From that point of view, what happens in Asia is our more immediate concern. But we are equally interested in the peaceful development and progress of under-privileged and developing countries of Africa and Latin America. But Ave can play a greater role in Asia and, therefore, we must at least try to solve the quarrels and tensions of Asia is soon as we can.

Hon. Members, I hope, will forgive me if I digress a little. If you look back into history, you will see that every country started with small units, gradually increas-

ing. India is one country. We know that each of our States has some problems with neighbouring States. Now, they can quarrel and they can go to war as did the old rajas on all kinds of small and big matters, or they can settle these matters peacefully. One State may suffer a little or another may suffer a little. But in the process, we evolve something by which we can all become much stronger. And it is this that makes a nation. Fortunately, in our country we have that spirit in the States now. A number of long standing problems of the States are being gradually solved, because each realises. that by not coming to an agreement both suffer equally and the whole country suffers.

So, we have to look at the problem of friendship with Pakistan from that angle - not on 'Can we get something from Pakistan? Can Pakistan take something from us?', but, 'Can we create an atmosphere and a situation in which we can together face the far greater outside dangers that threaten us?

The other point raised was: How was it that at first no agreement could be reached and then suddenly at the end there was agreement? Now, nothing happens so suddenly. There is preparation for whatever happens. You can say that war was won on a particular day. But we did not arrive at it suddenly; we were working towards that end all the time. The battle is on before the war; the preparation is there. As Kesriji said, factories are working, people are working and training is going on. All that goes into the ultimate winning of the war. When you are having talks, you proceed gradually. Immediate decision does not come because naturally during the talks you do make certain points and so on. But the preparation is there all the time. With every meeting you are moving. The Agreement was signed at a certain time. Well, that was because of circumstances. A dinner had been arranged. It was a formal dinner; it could not be postponed. A Press Conference had been arranged; that could not be postponed. Obviously, the final thing had to wait until after all this was over. If we could have said, 'Let us postpone those and finish the business'. well, that business could perhaps

have been completed by six O'clock. it need not have waited for so long. These are all small points.

It is not my intention to compare this Agreement with the Tashkent one because,

237

as I have said, the situation, the circumstances in both the countries, the attitudes of the people, all are entirely different. But since my possible friend opposite has quoted President Bhutto at such length, I shall also refer to a remark President Bhutto has made that he had not accepted the Tashkent Agreement. He did not accept it while he was in Tashkent. He went back and told his country he had not accepted it and, according to him, his country also did not accept. Well, whether it was so or not I do not know. He has said this. But the Simla Agreement he has accepted and other Parties in Pakistan there have accepted it. Whether we like him or not, he has also got elected with a fairly big majority. His Party has the majority there, but even in the places where he has not, other Parties have accepted the Agreement. President Bhutto is trying, and I think trying with success, to get the people of Pakistan to accept it. Just as there are some voices in India against it, there are voices in Pakistan against it. So, this is also a big difference between the Agreements.

Now, I do not want to go into the business of the United Nations. Ouite honestly, I am not bothered whether they go to the United Nations or whether they do not go to the United Nations. I am sure or ourselves, I am sure of whatever delegation we send there. If Pakistan goes to the United Nations, we can meet them there. I have no fear of their getting away with anything at the United Nations. If they want to go to war - as I said, we do not want to go to war, we should like to do everything possible not to have war - but if they attack us, we are prepared for that also. I am not afraid of that. I have full confidence in our armies; I have full confidence in our people. These are all false bogeys or red herrings to divert us from

our real path.

Mention was also made of opportunity. This was the very first opportunity we have had of making a new beginning towards peace and we have grasped that opportunity. If we had let this opportunity pass, I do not think it would have come our way again at least in this generation. So we have not let any opportunity go.

In his brilliant and lucid speech, the hon. Member, Shri V. P. Dutt, said that we respond to situations, Of course, respond to situations, but I hope he will concede that we also take some initiatives: we also make moves which create new situation: We do not always wait for a situation develop. From the beginning we have taken a number of steps, and we do not intend to let the initiative out of our hands. As in this country, so also abroad, our tactics have not; been the tactics of confrontation, even with the Jan Sangh much as they would like to provoke us. Occasionally, some of our Members do get provoked, but I do not think, that this gains us anything and I have never supported this sort of thing. My way of handling situations is entirely different here or anywhere. It is to move for a situation which is conducive to certain thinking and action. Now, the Jan Sangh was very vocal against socialism; we do not hear that now. The Jan Sangh was very vocal against nonalignment; we do not hear that now. And not only the Jan Sangh, you will not hear such things from almost anybody in public now. A situation is created, public opinion is created, in which such remarks are not acceptable. It is in our hands to create a situation where on a larger screen, even in international affairs, certain things do not happen. I cannot prophesy that all will go as we want, but we do have a certain strength, a certain initiative in our hands, and if we can use it to good purpose that is a much better way than to aggravate the atmosphere of confrontation. Now, if I say something about the Jan Sangh they may be very upset, but one thing has to be said because it is too important to let pass; otherwise, I do not like provoking anyone. Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee drew our

attention to a valid point. During the Bangla Desh struggle the Jan Sangh were not really concerned with the people of Bangla Desh, they were interested in how they could exploit the situation for party ends. I am sorry that they have dealt with the present situation of some of the refugees who have come over to Rajasthan and Gujarat in the same manner. Some words have been uttered, as They were in the other House, which can bring great harm to those people. They do not affect me in any way: they do not affect our Party in any way; but they can cause trouble for the people living there. This is why I asked the hon'ble Member not to utter them.

238

I was also sorry regarding the manner in which Shri Misra spoke about Kashmir. Here also it is not a question of what I say about the people of Kashmir or what the hon. Member, who actually comes from the valley, says. What is the test of a people's loyalty? The test is that every time there was an invasion of Kashmir, the people of Kashmir stood solidly by India. Does this not show that they are with us? To doubt their loyalty and sincerity is not good. I am not saying that the hon. Member is deliberately echoing the remarks of some foreigners, some enemies of India. For an Indian to say such a thing does not help the situation in any way. I should like to express my deep appreciation of the fact that in spite of religion being evoked - and we know that when religion is injected into any arguments people sometimes tend, to lose their rationality - the people of Kashmir have been solidly with us in every crisis and I have no doubt they will remain so. I am not afraid of any speeches. The actions which the hon. Member considers necessary are such as we might take if we were afraid. We are not afraid. We know we can face the situation. We think that this is a better way to handle people, rather than being frightened or giving the impression that we are frightened.

There was some talk about our relations with our smaller neighbours. We want to have good relations with all our neighbours

and we have done everything possible to convince them of our friendship for them, of our concern for them and of our desire to help them; but whether the sort of jingoistic and chauvinistic speeches which are sometimes made in the House or outside will inspire confidence in these small countries, is for the hon. Members themselves to consider. If the feeling is created that we are out to get what we can in a chauvinistic manner, will these countries be confident of their safety? I am just posing the question.

I think it was Shri D. P. Singh who said that I have changed the President. I make no such tall claim. Events have changed him and it is in our hands to see and guide events in such manner that he remains changed, that he remains convinced that peace and friendship are in his interest and in the interest of Pakistan.

So, Sir, the basic issue before us is, what sort of world do we want? Are we concerned with the world, or are we-concerned only with India, and do we think that India can develop isolated from the world? The Jan Sangh, although born much later than our Party, lives somewhat in the past and, if I may say so, they look further back, into the more remote past. We live in the present and we look to the future. It is only by looking towards the future and endeavouring to shape the future that the present can be made livable. And to make it livable, we must have peace. We must have a constructive and creative attitude. The Simla Agreement, with all its faults, is a good step. I know that would get a wry face from Mr. Bhai Mahavir.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: No, but there are the faults.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Everything has faults. Nothing is perfect. It is not only the Poet who has said it. In the world, nothing is perfect. There is no rose without a thorn. There is no solution which does not create problem. This is part of life itself. There is no life without death, There is no point in using the word 'perfect'. Nothing in life is Perfect, unless you are

willing to settle for something much less and call it 'perfect', which I am not willing to do. My sights are rather higher. So, we are looking towards the future and we believe that the Simla Agreement has taken us a step in the right direction. We are in a position to go further along that road. So far as we can make out - I have also read Mr. Bhutto's speech very carefully - on the whole the speech does not give the same impression that some isolated excerpts had conveyed to me when I first read the reports in our newspapers. So it seems that President Bhutto also believes that his future and the future of Pakistan lies in peaceful neighbourly relations. This is all we can hope for. We cannot hope to convert him that peace is an ideal situation, or that he must be friends with India for the sake of friendship. That is far too much to hope and we are not hoping. We are only hoping that conditions will be such that he will realise - as he does seem to do - that this is the only way for them. Actually, even between the debate in the Lok Sabha and the debate in the Rajya Sabha I think there

239

has been some slight change in the Jan Sangh attitude. (Interruptions) Tactics? Even their substitute motion which they had given is an indication. So, I sincerely hope that since they have come this little way, they will go a little further and will join the whole country and prove that they also want peace, cooperation and - friendship with all our neighbours so that together we can work towards a better world

PAKISTAN USA INDIA CHINA VIETNAM TAIWAN UZBEKISTAN UNITED KINGDOM CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Replying to the debate, Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh. said in Lok Sabha on August 1, 1972 an the Indo-Pakistan Simla Agreement:

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have, first of all, to thank the Parties represented in this House for lending such massive support to the Simla Agreement. It is true that the friends opposite, the Members of Jan Sangh, did indulge in some histrionic exhibition, but they must have by now realised that they have been completely isolated. As a matter of fact, after carefully listening to the speeches that have been made from all sections of the House, except the solitary speech made by the Jan Sangh leader, there is very little that is left for reply, and I will not, therefore, take very long.

I would like to say that the universal support that the Simla Agreement has received amongst the people of our country, amongst all Political parties except, of course, the incorrigible Jan Sangh, is one more proof that the Jan Sangh leaders are not quite in touch with what the people think. I was touring my constituency a couple of days ago and I was amazed to hear this from one speaker who said, 'Why don't you tell the Jan Sangh leaders that when the bombs were falling and the war was on they ran away from the border, but now that peace is there they go towards the border'. It is for the Jan Sangh leaders to give an answer to the person who made the speech.

The Agreement has been welcomed by all sections of the People - all the people living on the borders and all the people farthest from the borders - and there is complete unanimity about this thing: some have supported it with more enthusiasm, some have supported it with less enthusiasm and some with lukewarm enthusiasm, but I am happy that there is support for the Agreement. This is consistent with the

traditions of our great country, traditions of laying down new standards for peace, just.as we had achieved great success when war was forced on us.

There is one aspect about which I would like to make a mention, before I come to some of the points that I would like to answer. In the international sphere, even those sections of the international community which are not always charitably disposed towards us, even those countries which at the time when the Indo-Pak war was on, took positions which were somewhat tilted against India, and adopted attitudes which were not based on a correct appreciation of the facts but were somewhat biased, some for want of proper information and others, perhaps, to take an attitude in support of Pakistan, even those countries have unequivocally said that the Indian leadership, Pi-imp Minister Indira Gandhi's leadership, has set a new record that within six months, of such an armed conflict, she had the courage to invite the opponent and the two talked and, within a few days, they produced an agreement which can be a model for restoration of peace in any tormented part of the world. This is the unanimous opinion amongst the leaders of all countries. I have not come across a single statement made by any party, in any part of the world, which is critical of this Agreement. All States are in favour of this Agreement...

SHRI B.P. MAURYA: Except Jan Sangh.

SHRI SWARAN SINCE: This is not International opinion. But this is confined only to a few people here. I have not heard any criticism of this Agreement, an Agree-

240

ment which is so uniformly applauded by the entire international community. Even those countries which may have some sort of a desire to have a finger in the pie even those countries who may not have always shown a charitable disposition towards us, countries which took a definite attitude hostile to us even at the time of the conflict, all those countries, with one voice, have praised the Indian initiative and they said that it is a unique thing that within such a short time of such a big war, the two countries were able to agree upon a framework of peace. So, from the international point of view, this is some-thing which is universally applauded in all parts of the world.

It was just a matter of coincidence, it was not pre-planned but it so happened that I had to go abroad to a fairly large number of countries in West Africa immediately after the signing of this Agreement. During this visit, I had to visit two European countries and I also visited Cairo. Whether it was Eastern Europe, Western Europe, northern part of Africa or southern part of Africa, wherever I went, the first thing that was offered to me was that India has shown great wisdom, India has come up to the expectations of the entire world and has demonstrated to the world that if they could fight well, they can also make peace well. For that reason they said that it was even a more courageous act to bring about the settlement of peace.

Inside the country, it has been amply demonstrated by this two-day debate, in which all sections of the House participated, that there is massive support for the Agreement. The one effect, and perhaps the overwhelming effect, of this massive support has been that the main architect of its opposition did not have the courage to hear the speech of the Prime Minister yesterday. He knew full well that I have to reply to the debate this evening and still we, do not find the gentleman here to listen to what other people have to say. . . (Interruptions)

SHRI HEMENDRA SINGH BANERA: He has gone to Bombay to attend a meeting.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: The importance that the Jan Sangh party attached to this matter can be judged from the fact that after making such a speech in which he thought he was laying. down some new philosophy, at the time when the Prime Minister spoke he was absent. This morning he got up and, in a feeble manner, be said that he wanted to offer a personal explana-

tion. Again now he is not here. I don't know whether when he reads the speech or it is communicated to him, he will again come forward and offer some more personal explanations. We don't want these personal explanations. This is much too serious a matter and I would like the Members of Jan Sangh here, and the supporters outside, to seriously ponder over what they are doing, whether the demonstration that they made yesterday, when they surrounded the members of the staff here and shouted, was the correct thing to do. The great wrestler of the Jan Sangh is not here. It was reported that he snatched the mike from the Secretary's table. Are these the traditions that they want to establish? Is it for this purpose that they are trying to project to the people that they stand for certain values? Is this the type of unity that they want? Do they want to destroy this apparatus of democracy which has been built up so assiduously with the sweat and toil of the people of India? Do they want that we should unite with them and surround the staff here and create noise and not permit the functioning of the democratic processes? This is their cowardice. They have not got the courage to hear when their points are being replied to. Sir, this is what the Jan Sangh is.

Before I go further, I would like to, say, this afternoon, immediately after the lunch hour, the leader of the Jan Sangh Party made a statement in which he said he wanted personally to explain, but on going, through the record, I find that he did say this thing, which I read from his statement. He said (in Hindi): "Softening of the border' means - leave Kashmir to the mercy of Pakistani infiltrators." This is precisely what the Prime Minister had said. To accuse us that we will take any steps which will leave the people of Kashmir to the tender mercies of the aggressors or the infiltrators, is something which is totally unacceptable, because it is the people of Jammu and Kashmir who laid down their lives to defend themselves against aggression. How can we leave them to the tender mercies of the infiltrators and others?

Therefore, I don't know what was the personal explanation about. The objections or the confusions that were tended to be raised do not stand the test of scrutiny at all.

As a matter of fact, after the intervention of the Prime Minister yesterday, when she raised the level of debate to a very high standard, it is not necessary to go into all the minor points. There are certain slogans which are uttered, there are certain arguments which are employed to mislead the people. Therefore, it is necessary to clarify some of the doubts that are attempted to be raised either here in this House or outside.

One favourite argument that is attempted is that we had thought of a package deal but that we have not got a package deal. For one thing, what is a package? Mr. Krishna Menon, in his characteristic, incisive manner, did build up a good case which can be regarded as almost a complete answer to this point, which has been mentioned by some Members.

How do we define package? What is the content of that package? How will the condition be satisfied as to whether it is a package deal or whether it is a piecemeal deal? What are the various things that are there in this Agreement? If we look at the Agreement we shall find that it is a good package.

Firstly, there is agreement that all differences between the two parties will be resolved by peaceful means. Secondly, it says that it will be done by bilateral negotiations. Thirdly, it says that neither side will unilaterally alter the situation. Fourthly, it says that both shall prevent the organisation, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations. Fifthly, it says that neither side will interfere in the internal affairs of the other. Then, about withdrawals also, it is a complete packet in the sense that Indian and Pakistani forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border and further that in Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control will be respected. So, there are several important points upon which there is agreement. This package is perhaps too big for my hon. friends opposite to understand or to swallow.

When we said that it was going to be a package deal, it. may be that it was not a solemn statement made here, but our approach has always been that we shall not deal with just one aspect or two aspects, but we shall try to deal with the problem as a whole, and I claim that in this Agreement we have tried to deal with the problem of differences between India and Pakistan as a whole and have tried to agree upon something, and we have also succeeded in agreeing upon a method by which the other differences might be resolved.

There is another point about which mention has been made, and that is about bilateralism and peaceful means. A good deal of argument was built on these cases when it was said that President Bhutto had signed on bilateralism her but then certain speeches made by President Bhutto in the National Assembly have been quoted to show that he does not believe in bilateralism. I do not know whether Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee had access to these speeches, and I do not know which text was in his mind when he was making reference to this.

I have examined the relevant parts of the statement made by President Bhutto. I do not offer any apology for him. There are several parts in his speech which judged from the point of view of the spirit of the Agreement should have remained unsaid, and whatever may have been the internal compulsions which President Bhutto had, and whatever may have been his desire in order to get it ratified by his National Assembly, he certainly could have avoided the use of several superfluous and additional thoughts and ideas which he had tried to inject in his speech when he spoke for about three hours there. But I have carefully examined the speech and on all essential matters, on all points covered by the Agreement, he had tried to stick to the Agreement upon which he had put his signature at Simla.

I would also like to add one word of caution. If there is an agreement, we should have a look at the agreement. We should examine it carefully to see whether we have slipped up anywhere, whether there is any phraseology which is capable of being interpreted in a manner different from what we understand. If, for instance, on any

242

agreement, a construction is put which is completely against the text of the agreement, then that might be anybody's opinion or anybody's argument, but certainly it does not bind us and I am not bothered about the manner in which President Bhutto presents this Agreement to his own National Assembly or to his own people. That is his concern.

SUM R. V. BADE: Why is he defending him?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: I am trying to put some sense in his Party.

I will quote what President Bhutto has said in his speech about bilateralism. He said:

"I have struggled for bilateralism. I have not surrendered the concept of bilateralism. I have actually vindicated my own position on this concept of foreign affairs. So, to agree to bilateralism now is in no way a deviation from my own concepts and my own beliefs".

I think there could not be a clearer commitment to bilateralism, although he wants to say that this had always been his policy and 'by agreeing to bilateralism I have not deviated from any policy'. Well and good. This only shows that bilateralism was something in which he believed and therefore, when he signed it, he signed in, accordance with his own thinking and philosophy. There is, therefore, this additional guarantee that what he signed is also consistent with what was his own thinking in this respect.,

Then again, it has been said that al-

though he has talked of bilateralism here, he has also said that he can still take this matter, to the U.N. Even in that part of the speech, what he said is this. First, he has given what I consider to be a fairly good assessment of the functioning of the UN and its Security Council. If we remember that the last encounter President Bhutto had with the Security Council was the one in which I also happened to be present, and the way he tore the agenda papers of the Security Council and virtually threw them in the face of the members of the Security Council when he said 'I have absolutely no faith in the Security Council', this is the President, Mr. Bhutto, about whom now it is said that he might, notwithstanding this bilateralism, still go to the UN.

But what does he say about the UN? I would again quote from his speech about the UN. This is what he said about the UN and its Security Council:

In the beginning, we are excited at the concept of the United Nations. We thought that the United Nations was a super government and that it would answer all our problems. That is not the position.

You know very well what we got from the United Nations. In 1948, the first resolution was passed ... That was the day, that was the moment, when you jeopardised the right of self-determination in Jammu and Kashmir.

After that, every successive resolution - please study them, Sir - went against the concept of self-determination, went against our basic position So much so that in 1964 the United Nations was not even prepared to give a resolution to Pakistan... And what did the President of the Security Council say? He said, "We can say India and Pakistan must have bilateral negotiations".

This is what he told the National Assembly. I do not know, what object is served in quoting out of context certain

sentences that were attempted to be quoted by the critics of the Simla Agreement. As an abstract proposition, no one can prevent anybody from going to the UN just as nobody can prevent any country from going to war. Even if any country signs a peace agreement, still if it feels that it is in its national interest to go to war, it can; it can also go to the UN. We fully realise that. As the Prime Minister very rightly pointed out yesterday, it is the interest of the country, it is their capacity, it is the implications of any action that they take, whether they go to the UN involving other parties or even taking the extreme step of going to war it is all these matters which will be decided upon by a country after taking into consideration the relevant factors, their capacity, the correctness or righteousness of their decision

243

and whether it serves their interests. It is true, as was pointed out by several Members, that the past 25 years of history between India and Pakistan do not, at first sight, create the right type of confidence and that if the same attitude is to continue there will not be a reasonable prospect of peace. We are fully conscious of this. It was only when we came to the conclusion that there appears to be a genuine desire to alter the 25 years. of confrontation and conflict that we thought that the first step has been taken. There is no use citing the era of confrontation. Undoubtedly, there was confrontation between the two countries. There is no doubt that the main preoccupation of Pakistan had been to be to the chanceries of the world and to the international community and to say things against India, right or wrong, and this was their main preoccupation in international affairs. Not only that. We had wars, with Pakistan, started by Pakistan. If you base our views on the past and then try to judge the present, in the context of the past, we have no case, but the whole case is that they have. taken a decision to alter the past. They want to start a new chapter. If the Jan Sangh Party asks us to tell them, 'No; you have quarrelled with us for 25 years and therefore you must quarrel with us, now', that is not wise. This is not in our national interest. Was this

only a sort of assessment or is there something more in that? That has to be seen.

A most telling reply was given by the Prime Minister yesterday that the situation has changed. The whole geopolitical situation has been completely altered. Even their forces of dictatorship and militarism are no longer there, and as Shri Shyamnandan Mishra pointed out, there are democratic forces here, and there are emergent democratic forces there also. It is this altered situation not only in the strength, not only in the relative position if we take into consideration the economic and the military strength and the unity of the people, but also the whole situation appears to be changing there. It has already changed beyond recognition. A major part of what used to be Pakistan one day is now a free, independent, sovereign Bangla Desh. These are big changes of a very vital character, which it is easy for anybody to see unless one ties a bandage on one's eyes.

It is in this context that we have to examine as to whether there is any change in this position. Even the Pakistani leaders are conscious of the fact that they have adopted a certain policy, and I would say that when talking of the original confrontation, we must remember that President Bhutto also has got his Jan Sangh, because he has got his bitter critics in his own country; precisely the same type of words are used: "sell-out, that you have surrendered, and there is capitulation". Much worse expressions were used by the opposite number of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee in the Pakistan National Assembly against Mr. Bhutto. They taunted him by saying that 'you have been talking of a thousand years of war, and you have been always in favour of confrontation, and what is your position now'. I can do no better than quote him, where he says:

'If the Indians want to know what Bhutto's intentions are, I tell the Indians of my intentions, that I cannot do it' -

that is in the context of war with India -

'in the next 5, 10 or 15 years. So, all I can do is to build Pakistan. If you want to be jingoistic, if you want to be Buonopartistic, somebody else will have to go into it. I will not do it, because I know it will be the end of my country'.

This is a realistic assessment of where the country of Pakistan stands today.

Then, he talks of the futility of war. He says:

We might not have gained anything by peaceful means, but how much have we gained by war? The gain by war is that we lost half the country; the gain by war is that we have 93,000 prisoners of war there in India. The gain by war is that we have lost some of our tehsils which we are going to get back as a result of the Simla Agreement; the gain by war is that we have established for the moment at least that India has militarily an upper hand. If we have gained nothing by peaceful means, we have certainly not gained by war."

I am quoting Mr. Bhutto for the benefit or those who quoted him as arguments against me.

SHRI PHOOL CHAND VERMA: You are defending Mr. Bhutto.

244

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: There appears to be a national agreement that India wants peace. Even those who criticise us cannot have the courage to say that India does not want peace. The criticism is: India wants peace, but does the other side want peace? It is for this reason that it is necessary for us to know how the mind of their leader works.

I have already said that there are parts of the speech which from my point of view need not have been and should not have been made. Because in his anxiety to get this thing approved, he did make certain statements which do not stand the test of scrutiny if you judge it against the terms of the

Agreement. But as Mr. Indrajit Gupta pointed out, you cannot expect him after signing the Agreement to go back to his country and say: 'I sign on anything that India wanted me to sign.' That was not our attitude either. Our Prime Minister said that we were not approaching this conference in the attitude that India is the victor and Pakistan is the vanquished. We are anxious for a just settlement, for just peace. This statement was made by our Prime Minister more than once.

Is it in the interest of Pakistan to have peace? There should be no doubt in the mind of anybody that it is in their interest to have peace, to be assured that there would be peace, so that the type of programmes on the basis of which President Bhutto had won the election should be implemented. What does he say about the past?

Let us forget the past, let us forget our follies, let us forget all the wrongs that we have done. We live in the same geographical area, we cannot get out of the sub-continent, we cannot change geography since we live here, let us find some method of living together, some modus vivendi. Let us live on the principle of live and let live. I think then we will be able to bring to the people peace that has been denied to them for centuries.

'Let us do it for your children, for my children, for everyone's children, so that they can build their country, build hospitals, build schools and can give education to their children.'

These are the imperatives of the situation. This is what he recommended among other things to his National Assembly. The compulsions of the situation, geographical compulsions and power and strength in the sense of military and economic strength and the interests of the people do point out, I use the word advisedly, to a possibility of a new leaf being turned, and that possibility can be explored if this Agreement is implemented: all differences to be settled peacefully,

bilaterally; non-interference in the internal affairs, not doing anything to alter the situation, not doing anything which alters even the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir. These are the essentials of this Agreement and any departure from it will certainly be a violation of the Agreement.

In the speech delivered here by the Socialist leader, he pledged his Party to the path of peace. I welcome that. But he was talking about some, concrete mechanism to implement it. I am afraid his mind is still going to a mechanism outside the two countries. It is that type of mechanism which we have buried for all time to come. We do not want this mechanism, an outside mechanism, or an outside authority. Our approach is bilateral, and the mechanism is clear.

The essential point in this Agreement is, as I have said, bilateralism and peaceful settlement of all issues between India and Pakistan.

Another matter has been raised which has been effectively replied to by many of my colleagues from the Congress benches and the opposition leaders who have participated in the debate. This is about Kashmir. It is a very strange and funny argument that is trotted out. On Kashmir our position is clear. As Mr. Krishna Menon rightly pointed out today, this has been our consistent position, Kashmir has acceded to India and Kashmir is part of India. So, the sovereignty over Kashmir is not negotiable. We have made that position clear. The accession is complete and final. There is nothing in the Agreement which in any way derogates from this position which we have consistently adopted. But what is the position in Kashmir? Let us not forget the hard realities on the ground. The reality on the ground is that part of it is still under the illegal occupation of Pakistan. To say that

245

we should never talk about Kashmir or that we should do nothing about Kashmir is to forget this reality, which we do not accept. So, what we have done is to safeguard our position and also to get their agreement that all these matters will be solved bilaterally, not by going to outside agencies, our friends or those who are opposed to us or even to the U.N. And this will be settled peacefully and bilaterally. So, we have not compromised our position in any way. So, I do not know why this argument has been trotted out.

SHRI R. V. BADE: You have done nothing about Kashmir.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: He is a lawyer. The Jan Sangh leader did not consult him, and that is why he made a rather unwise statement about acquired territories. I am told he is a criminal lawyer, but the point is so simple that even a criminal lawyer will know it. Because, once we accept the validity of the argument that any area of any country which is under the occupation of another country becomes the acquired territory of that country, then all our stands on various issues fall to the ground. This argument that the territory which is under our military occupation is territory about which a constitutional amendment is required to vacate our army is internationally dangerous, and by any standards, international or ethical, is absolutely criminal, apart from being, as my colleague says, absurd in law. it is something which is totally untenable. and still so much heavy weather was made about it as if some very bright constitutional point had been unearthed.

It has been said that a firm guarantee for peace should have been obtained. I have applied my mind very carefully as to what could be a firm guarantee for peace. A guarantee is a guarantee and it does not become more firm by saying that it is a firm guarantee. The guarantee is threefold: that the two sides will settle everything peacefully, that they will settle all issues bilaterally and that they will not use force for the settlement of issues. This is the guarantee. I do not know when a guarantee becomes infirm and when it becomes firm. I fail to understand what exactly it means. if, for instance, previous history between the two countries is the only stumbling block because of which a guarantee

becomes infirm, then make your present treaty as firm as you like, still, if the past is to govern it, then it becomes infirm straightway. It is only a reversal of the 25 years' trend which introduces an element of possibility that a new situation has developed and there is willingness to appreciate. this change to take new attitudes and approaches.

It has been mentioned that Pakistan's continuation in SEATO and CENTO is there. Although one statement was there that they want to leave SEATO, or have left it, again it was contradicted. Obviously, they - will take some time before they adjust themselves to the new situation. So far as we are concerned, as the Prime Minister said, we on our side also are taking every possible measure to build up the strength of our country in every way. That will continue, because the real guarantee is this strength, unity, preparedness and consciousness on our part that weak nations can never maintain peace. We have to be strong in order to be able to defend peace.

Mr. Shamim made an excellent speech and I would like to congratulate him. In his rhetoric he brought in this idea that perhaps the Prime Minister has got something up her sleeve in regard to Kashmir. I wish he had not brought in this idea. I want to say categorically that the position of Kashmir is quite clear to all of us. There is a democratically elected Government responsible to the legislature and they are functioning like any other State of our country. Therefore, there is nothing by way of taking any particular action in relation to Kashmir. It is necessary to say it, lest it should cause some misunderstanding in some quarters who may be on the lookout for something which may not exist there.

In conclusion, I would like to appeal to hon. Members about one point that has been raised that the act of ratification should have awaited this debate or the ratification should have been approved by Parliament. On this, I would like to assure my friends opposite that it has never been in our mind to show the slightest disrespect to Parlia-

246

we were faced with this proposition that under the Constitution, it is the obligation of the Executive to ratify it. In fact, by ratifying it and by not involving Parliament in it, we have shown the highest respect to Parliament. We are doing the duty which Parliament asks us to do. If we did not do our duty under the Constitution, if we did not do what is our prerogative, we would be failing in our executive duty. You could have charged us saying, 'Why did you come here? You do not require our approval'. In a matter like this, when it is the responsibility of the Executive, we should take that responsibility. After all, much bigger issues of peace and war are decided by the Executive, and it is our responsibility.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: No action of the Executive can be above Parliament.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: Nor is Shri Mishra above Parliament. If Parliament by law or by Constitution prescribed that the Executive should do a particular job, if we do not do that job, then we are not respectful to Shri Mishra or to Parliament. It is our prerogative and our responsibility to discharge our duty in accordance with the Constitution and while discharging that constitutional responsibility it is farthest from us to be disrespectful to Parliament in any way.

I would say that we have lived in this atmosphere of confrontation for 25 years. There have been wars. This is an occasion on which we should pay tribute to our armed forces, our Army, Navy and Air Force, who, on all occasions, have defended the sovereignty and integrity of our country in an admirable manner. They have always been backed by this Parliament, by the unity in the country. I would say that wars have to be fought when they are thrust on us but, if there are opportunities of establishing peace, if there are opportunities of winning peace, let us win that peace in the same united manner that we fought this war.

I would like to clarify one point. No Soviet diplomat was present in Simla at the time of the talks. I had mentioned that earlier. I would like to say emphatically that to say that any suggestion was made, or any pressure was put on us at Simla is not, to say the least, fair to us.

SHRI SHYAM NANDAN MISHRA: What do the government propose to do with those 100,000 refugees?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: I am glad he has reminded me of this question. I would like to say that this is a human problem which is engaging our very earnest attention. I would divide them into two groups. There are those Persons who are still in Pakistan territory which is in our occupation. Then there are some who have come over to Rajasthan or Gujarat. Obviously, all of them are Pakistani nationals. Our Prime Minister and our delegation pointed out very strongly to the Pakistani delegation at Simla that it is their responsibility to ensure that these refugees return to their hearths and homes in conditions of security and safety, and they had assured us that they themselves would take some steps to persuade them to return. But we will take a humane view of it. We know that there are human aspects. While we continue to make Pakistan responsible for taking all of them and also to ensure that they go there in position of safety, at the same time, in accordance with the traditions that India has always shown, we will take a humane view and will not take any step which might in any way be regarded as harsh or hard on anybody.

PAKISTAN USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC UNITED KINGDOM INDIA EGYPT

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

Joint Statement to the Press on Indo-Pakistan Talks

Following is the text of the Joint Statement to the Press issued in New; Delhi on August 30, 1972 on the conclusion of the meeting of the representatives of India and Pakistan held in Neu, Delhi from August 25 to 29, 1972:

In pursuance of the recent exchange of letters, between the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, the representatives of the two sides met in New Delhi from 25th to 29th August 1972. The Pakistan Delegation comprised Mr. Aziz Ahmed, Special Envoy of the President of Pakistan, Mr. Rafi Raza, Special Assistant to the President of Pakistan and Mr. Abdul Sattar, Director-General, Ministry of Foreign

247

Affairs. The Indian Delegation comprised Mr. P. N. Haksar, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister of India, Mr. T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary, Mr. S. K. Banerji, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs and Mr. A. S. Chib, Joint Secretary.

The two sides reviewed the developments since the signing of the Simla Agreement and the need to resolve Any doubts that may have arisen on either side and to ensure the smooth implementation of the Agreement. They reaffirmed the determination of the two Governments to implement the provisions of the Simla Agreement in letter and in spirit for the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent.

The two sides made the following recommendations to their respective Governments:

(i) The line of control in Jammu & Kashmir resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 will be delineated along its entire length and respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised positions

of either side. Maps showing this line will be exchanged by both sides. The inviolability of the line of control will be ensured by both the sides in accordance with paragraph 4(ii) of the Simla Agreement. It was agreed that the delineation of the line will be completed by the 4th of September, 1972.

(ii) In view of certain practical difficulties that have arisen, it may not be possible to complete the process of withdrawals within the period specified in the Simla, Agreement. Accordingly, the withdrawals, to the international border will be completed by the 15th of September, 1972.

Political leaders from Tharparkar will visit the areas of Sind occupied by the, Indian Forces in order to assure the in. habitants of the area that they will be welcome to remain in or return to their homes in Pakistan in safety and dignity., from camps in India in accordance with the Plan given by the Director of Military Operations of Pakistan to the Director of Military Operations of India on August 21, 1972 (vide Annexure). The Indian side will: give the necessary facilities to ensure full implementation of the Plan.

ANNEXURE

OUTLINE PLAN FOR THE RE-SETTLEMENT IN SIND OF SECTIONS OF THE MINORITY COMMUNITY DISPLACED AS A RESULT OF WAR, HANDED OVER BY THE D. M. O. OF PAKISTAN TO THE D. M. O. OF INDIA ON 21.8.1972.

- 1. The President of Pakistan is anxious that all persons displaced as a result of war shall be rehabilitated in their homes as soon as possible and that the lives, properties and rights of the affected minorities are to be fully safeguarded to enable them to resume life where it was disturbed by war.
- 2. To this end, under the direction of the President, necessary machinery has been set up, plans made and material resources allotted to enable speedy resettlement of displaced persons.

- 3. This plan, in outline, is based on the following:
 - (a) That Indian authorities have agreed in the first instance that they will arrange for as many as possible of the displaced Pakistani nationals who left for India during and after the war to return to their homes before vacating areas in Sind.
 - (b) That the remaining Pakistani nationals who are unable to return for any reason in the first instance are kept temporarily in camps on the Indian side.
 - (c) That as soon as Indian forces vacate areas in Sind, Pakistan forces shall move forward to reoccupy these areas. Immediately afterwards the Civil Administration shall be established which will. have a special component organised

248

- to implement resettlement and rehabilitation.
- (d) Simultaneous with re-establishment of the Civil Administration, Police and para-military forces will establish a network of Posts with mobile reserves at Union level for enforcing necessary authority to curb any hostile activities against the returning minorities.
- (e) Relief Committees, social welfare bodies and teams consisting of members of the National and Provincial Assemblies of all denominations from the affected area and other notables will move in to ensure harmony between all sections of the people.
- (f) The next step will be to establish reception centres at suitable places near the border inside Pakistan to receive the balance of displaced persons held in Indian camps.

- (g) Displaced persons resolved in these Reception Centres will be gradually moved to their homes.
- (h) As far as possible, only after steps in para 3 (a) to (f) have been completed that displaced persons of the majority community presently held in camps in the interior of Sind, who belong to areas where the minority community is also living, will be brought forward and resettled.
- (i) The strength of Police Command, other law enforcing agencies is to be substantially increased in the affected area with a view to providing more effective protection to the minority community.

Footnote regarding para 3(b) above.

The Indian authorities will be intimated when these Reception Centres, are ready to receive.

PAKISTAN USA INDIA

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Foreign Minister's Statement on Indo-Pak Talks

The following statement was made by the Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh in Parliament on August 30, 1972 regarding the meeting of the representatives of India and Pakistan:

The Prime Minister sent a letter to the President of Pakistan on August 19 suggest-

ing that representatives of the two governments might meet to exchange views on the developments that have taken place since the Simla Agreement was signed and to resolve any doubts about the future prospects of settling the outstanding problems in the spirit of mutual confidence as contemplated in the Simla Agreement. In response, the President of Pakistan sent a reply on August 22 that Pakistan is determined to ensure that the Simla Agreement is implemented in its letter and spirit and that the Agreement should constitute the basis of future relationship between our two countries. He suggested that his Special Envoy, Mr. Aziz Ahmed, assisted by the special Assistant to the President, Mr. Rafi Raza and a small team of senior officials from the Foreign Office would arrive in New Delhi on August 25.

Mr. Aziz Ahmed and the Members of his delegation held frank and comprehensive discussions from August 25 to 29, 1972 with the Indian delegation led by Shri P. N. Haksar, Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, on the developments since the Simla Agreement with a view to resolving any doubts that may have arisen. The text of a Joint Statement to the press issued on the conclusion of the discussions is laid on the Table of the House.

I should also like to inform the Honourable Members that the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister had written to the Special Assistant to the President of Pakistan, Mr. Rafi Raza on July 14 regarding the need to ensure the safety of the person and property of the Pakistani nationals who had been affected by the war and who had remained in the territories of Pakistan occupied by our forces in Sind or crossed into the territory of India. When no reply was

249

received, I wrote on this subject to the Minister of Political Affairs and Communications of the Government of Pakistan, Mr. Gulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi, on August 4. Mr. Jatoi sent me his reply on August 22 stating categorically that the President of Pakistan and his Government are most keen

to ensure that the persons affected by the war return to their homes in Pakistan at the earliest possible opportunity. Pakistan has decided to send Rana Chandar Singh, a member of the Sind Provincial Assembly and two Members of Parliament from Thaparkar to visit the area even while it is under the occupation of the Indian Army, to reassure the people who are still residing there and also to invite a number of their prominent leaders who are currently in India, so that they could speak to them with a view to persuading the affected persons to return. The President of Pakistan has also. assured our Prime Minister in his letter that these affected persons would not only be welcome to return to their homes but would be assured of safety of life and dignity as Pakistan nationals. The Government of India have agreed to this suggestion in the hope that this will create the necessary atmosphere and conditions to enable the affected persons to remain in or return to their homes in Pakistan and live there in safety of person and property.

Some differences had arisen in the discussions between the Indian military commander and the Pakistan military commander regarding the delineation of the Line of Control in Jammu & Kashmir resulting from the ceasefire of December 17, 1971. The discussions held between the Indian and Pakistani delegations have resolved these differences and it has been agreed that the Line of Control in Jammu & Kashmir will be delineated along its entire length and maps showing this line will be exchanged by both sides. The delineation of the line will be completed by September 4, 1972. The inviolability of this line will be ensured by both sides in terms of the Simla Agreement. Withdrawals in terms of the Simla Agreement will now be completed by September 15, 1972 as mutually agreed by the two delegations.

As for the question of return of prisoners of war and civilian internees, we have reiterated to the Pakistan delegation that, this question cannot be settled without the participation and agreement of the Government of Bangladesh. We have impressed on the Government of Pakistan that any delay in

the recognition of Bangladesh by them will hamper the process of durable peace and normalisation of relations and delay the achievement of the objectives set out in the Simla Agreement. It is out earnest hope that Pakistan will not further delay the recognition of the realities of the new situation on the sub-continent. It is in the interest of the three countries of the sub-continent to resolve their differences by mutual discussions.

PAKISTAN USA INDIA BANGLADESH MALI

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PARLIAMENT

Statement by Foreign Minister on India-China Relations

Following is the text of the statement by the Foreign Minister, Shri Swaran Singh in the Lok Sabha on August 16, 1972 on India-China relations:

I have listened with a great deal of interest to the expression of different points of view and different emphasis that has been laid on this question.

Shri Samar Guha appears to have talked with a great deal of insight into the intentions of the Peoples' Republic of China. I am not sure whether China has changed or

250

not, but, there is definitely a change in Mr. Samar Guha. It is a welcome change, whatever may be the background and the reasons for this change.

We should continuously go on assessing the situation. There is no fixed position and if the international situation changes, then we should also be prepared to adjust our attitudes and our approach to the changing situation. That is the essence of any foreign policy and we should take note of the changes and take appropriate steps in order to keep pace with these changes.

So far as the broad policy of the Government of India is concerned, we have always been of the view that the people of India and the people of China are great people and they are neighbours - geography has placed them together - and whatever may be the differences or disputes between the two countries, I cannot see any escape from the ultimate emergence of a situation where the people of India and the people of China would live in peace and as good neighbours. In the meantime, we have always been of the view that relations between India and China should improve. There is no doubt that relations between the two countries deteriorated very much; there was an armed conflict between the two countries. After that also, the general attitude of China has not been one of expressing any friendly feeling or friendship towards India. In fact, we have noticed, as Mr. Samar Guha mentioned, their support to certain disruptive elements in India. There is also their general propaganda line of trying to project a picture of India as a disintegrating India, highlighting our troubles either on the labour front or on the front of industrial production or food production; this, unfortunately, has been the attitude of China. At one time Mr. Samar Guha used to summarise all these things in an admirable manner and he used to urge us to take a more militan attitude towards China. We had, however resisted that temptation and always took an attitude which we thought was in our best interests.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: if I am a realist, am I wrong? if I find changes, I also change.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: When the praise comes, take it in good spirit. Don't feel rattled when you are praised. While keeping our objective to do everything possible to

improve relations, our main effort has been not to do anything which unnecessarily exacerbates relations between India and China. But, at the same, we have to take a realistic view of the situation as it is today.

I have made several public statements; I have made statements on the floor of the Houses expressing our desire, our willingness, our readiness, to improve relations with China. Unfortunately, unless Mr. Samar Guha has some inside information, we have not received a good response. Our attitude still continues to be to do everything to improve relations, to remove misunderstand-. ing. But, the latest propaganda blast which China has undertaken in several respects is not a very good development and I do not see any noticeable change in their attitude towards India and their attitude of highlighting our difficulties, and their trying to paint a picture which shows India in unfavourable stance still continues.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: What is your opinion about their vetoing Bangladesh's admission in the United Nations?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: On the question of Bangladesh, the entire House knows the attitude of the Chinese representatives. We know their attitude when the situation in Bangladesh was developing and also when the Pakistani attack came on us. And also, their attitude in the U.N. These are all facts, known to every one. Surely, even if you give a most charitable interpretation, you cannot even say that they were unbiassed in this respect. Their attitude was tilted in favour of Pakistan, and, unfortunately, in favour of a military regime, Yahya Khan regime, which had unleashed that terror and violence against the people of Bangladesh.

Even today, our neighbour Bangladesh is recognised by four out of the five permanent members of the Security Council. Over 80 members of the United Nations have already recognised Bangladesh, which means that the majority of the membership of the United Nations has recognised Bangladesh. But still the Chinese attitude in the

United Nations appears to be to block the entry of Bangladesh. It is all the more, I should say, tragic that a country like the People's Republic of China. whose own

251

entry to the United Nations had been blocked by others is now adopting an attitude against the majority view of the U.N. members and threatening to exercise the exceptional right which permanent members of the Security Council have, to veto her entry into the United Nations. The power of veto is a power which is very sparingly exercised when issues of peace and war are involved. To keep a country of 75 million out and to, threaten the use of veto is certainly not a very encouraging feature, which holds out great possibilities of normalisation of relations; in the attitude of China in relation to the countries of the India sub-continent.

I am not quite sure whether President Bhutto is making their attitude more strong or whether it is the Chinese attitude which perhaps is encouraging Mr. Bhutto again to adopt an attitude which, according to our assessment does not appear to be in the. best interests even of Pakistan or of President Bhutto. But this is a fact which we cannot ignore and we cannot explain it away and we cannot wish it away by any argument. Whatever may be various axes, whether it is friendly between Peking and other countries or an unfriendly attitude between Peking and third countries, we should carefully assess our own position and our own attitude. We were hoping that relations with China would improve, and to be quite frank, I had a feeling that they were moving though very slowly towards improvement, before the situation in Bangladesh developed. We should take a realistic view, with the Chinese attitude in relation to the events in Bangladesh, in relation to the movement of about ten million refugees from Bangladesh into India, in relation to the Pakistani attack on us, in relation to their general appreciation of what was happening in this sub-continent where human rights of millions of people were actually trampled under the military pressure and military atrocities the Chinese attitude was

not such as could by any imagination be regarded as impartial. In fact, it was heavily Weighted in favour of the military which was crushing the urges of the people of Bangladesh for their own independence and for the preservation of their human rights.

This attitude again caused a setback to the slow process of improvement that was taking shape before the events of Bangladesh took the shape which they did.

I am not yet clear as to whether there has been a clear reversal or a change or even a softening of the attitude in this relationship. Whereas our ultimate objective is clear, still we cannot improve the relations unless there is a response from the other side. As they say, you cannot achieve such a thing by unilaterally expressing your viewpoint. After all, there have to be two to strengthen friendship as also there are two if there is going to be trouble. Notwithstanding our willingness to improve relations, at the present movement, I do not see any clear response from the Chinese side.

What should we do in this situation? We should not do anything which unnecessarily exacerbates relations. At the same time, we cannot continue to go on repeating this thing without a proper response. So we must as a mature nation watch the situation and should carefully see as to how the things are emerging. We have to safeguard our interests; we have to safeguard the basic interests of peace in this subcontinent, of our relations with Bangladesh and with Pakistan in this neighbourhood, and it is only in the light of this that we can take further steps to normalise relations.

With your permission, I would like to answer very briefly the three questions put. To the first by Shri Reddy, my reply is that there has been no effort made by any third country to take initiative for bringing about improvement of relations between India and China. Our approach in this respect has always been that whenever the relations between these two great countries, India and China, being neighbours, being large coun-

tries, improve, they will improve only by bilateral effort and any friendly association or friendly move by a third country is not likely to yield any useful result.

The question of sending an ambassador or raising the diplomatic representation to ambassadorial level is only a question of raising the level of representation. We have got a resident mission in Peking and the Chinese have got a resident mission in Delhi. Either country on any occasion can notify the other that it has decided to upgrade the level of representation. No wide or impor-

252

tant principle is involved in this. If we find that by upgrading the level of representation our contacts there can be established at a higher level to some useful purpose, we will not hesitate to do so. As I said, there is no question of any wide principle Involved one way or the other in this respect.

I have already answered one question asked by Shri Deb. The other is about trade relations. We are prepared to have economic relations with China. If they are prepared to buy anything, we are prepared to sell it to them. If we require something from China, we are prepared to purchase from them. Political differences need not come in the way of economic relations.

Another question asked was about our invitation to them for their participation in the Trade Fair. We did extend an invitation to them, that they should participate in the Trade Fair being organised. We have not got any response from them.

I am glad the CPI (M) member has quoted the example of President Nixon's flight to Peking. As you know, we have always welcomed the relaxation of tension in any part of the world, and between any two adversaries. We have also to remember that behind President Nixon's flight was a long period of informal contacts and most of the things, according to our information, had been achieved even before President Nixon went to Peking, as a result of several contacts, about which the whole world now

knows, that were established at a fairly high level between China and the USA.

CHINA INDIA USA BANGLADESH PAKISTAN MALI CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

India-Bangladesh Agreement on Travel Procedures

The following is the text of the joint press release issued in New Delhi on August 3, 1972 on the conclusion of Indo-Bangladesh talks in Dacca about the procedures governing travel between the two countries:

The discussions between the Governments of Bangladesh and India for finalising the procedures governing travel between the two countries were successfully concluded on Thursday, 3 August 1972.

On the invitation of the Government of Bangladesh, an Indian delegation led by Shri Avtar Singh, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, visited Dacca for this pur-Pose from 31 July to 3 August 1972. The Indian delegation included representatives of the Ministries of External Affairs and Horne Affairs, as well as representatives of the Border Security Force and inland water transport organizations of the Government of India.

The Bangladesh delegation to these discussions was led by Mr. Taslim Ahmad, Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, and included representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs and Trade and Commerce of the Government of Bangladesh.

The travel procedures finalised during these discussions are embodied in the agreed minutes initialed by the leaders of the two delegations.

Both delegations also mentioned that their Governments were considering the establishment of appropriate number of offices in each other's territory for implementing the travel procedures. India is expected to open an Assistant High Commission at Chittagong by the middle of August 1972. Bangladesh already has a Deputy High Commission at Calcutta.

The delegations also exchanged views on extradition arrangements, travel problems

253

connected with border trade, and the methods by which district authorities of the two countries should cooperate with each other. Discussions were also held for strengthening anti-smuggling operations and for preventing illegal movements across the border.

The discussions were held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere and they reflected the spirit of the close cooperation and trust existing between the two countries. The agreements reached reflected close identity of approach between the two Governments on the problems discussed.

AGREED MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF TWO DELEGATIONS

The Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Government of the Republic of India have agreed to introduce a passport/visa system to regulate travel between the two countries. This system will come into effect from I September 1972.

A. PASSPORTS

A passport called "Bangladesh Special Passport" and a passport called "India-Bangladesh Passport" will be issued by the Government of Bangladesh and the Government of India respectively which will be valid for travel only between the two countries. An international passport issued by the two Governments to their respective nationals with appropriate endorsement will also be valid for travel between Bangladesh and India.

B. VISAS

Nationals of Bangladesh and India travelling to the other country will be required to have a valid visa.

Visas will be granted by the competent authorities designated by the respective Governments. Visas will be given gratis.

- 1) CATEGORIES OF VISAS: There will be the following categories of visas:
 - A) Diplomatic and official visas -These will be granted in accordance with international convention and practice.
 - B) Short-term single journey visa This type of visa is to be availed of within one month of its issue and shall be valid for stay upto 3 months from the date of entry. Such visa may be extended in appropriate cases for a further maximum period of 3 months without any requirement of registration and residential permit.
 - C) Long-term multiple journey visa
 -- This type of visa may be granted
 to nationals of the two countries in appropriate cases. Such visa will have to
 be availed of within one month of its
 issue and shall be valid for stay upto a
 maximum period of one year from the
 date of first entry. This visa will be
 valid for more than one journey. The
 number of journeys may be specified on
 the visa by the issuing authority.
 - D) Transit Visa Nationals of one country transiting through the other country by land, river or air routes will be required to have a transit visa to be availed of within one month of its issue, valid for a stay upto a maximum of 15 days from the date of entry.

There will be no visa required for direct transit through an airport seaport.

- E) Re-entry visa Nationals of one country on a visit to the other country on a valid visa may be granted a re-entry visa as appropriate.
- 2) All categories of Visas will be valid for travel to and stay in any part of the country concerned except for those areas designated by the respective government as protected, restricted or prohibited areas.
- 3) ISSUING AUTHORITIES: Diplomatic missions and Consular posts of the two countries and other agencies designated by the two governments will be authorised to issue visas. A list of visa issuing authorities designated by one government will be communicated to the other government through normal diplomatic channels.

REGISTRATION

Nationals of one country visiting the other country on a valid visa who wish to stay for a continuous period exceeding six months will be required to register with the appropriate authorities and obtain residential permit.

254

G) SEAMEN

Seamen of both the countries holding a valid continuous discharge certificates (CDC) bearing a photograph and other prescribed particulars will be accorded the following facilities:

- A) A seaman of one country visiting a port in the other country as a member of the crew of the ship which brings him need not hold a passport or a visa. He will be issued a landing permit on deposit of his C.D.C. if he wishes to land.
- B) A seaman who arrives at a port in the other country as a member of the crew of the ship

which brings him and who is discharged at the port, will not require passport/visa. He will be issued a landing permit for a specified period and will also be allowed to travel to the country of which he is a national.

- C) A Bangladesh seaman, who has signed on Bangladesh articles and desires to join his ship at an Indian port, will require an Indian visa on his CDC. Similarly, an Indian seaman, who has signed on Indian articles and desires to join his ship at a Bangladesh port, will require a Bangladesh visa on his CDC.
- D) In all other cases, a seaman will be subject to the normal requirement governing travel between the two countries.

E) INLAND WATER TRANSPORT PERSONNEL

Ranking personnel and ratings of an inland vessel belonging to one country visiting or transiting through the other country will call at designated check points on the route. Such personnel will not require a transit visa.

F) ENTRY INTO BANGLADESH AND INDIA

Bangladesh and Indian nationals holding valid travel documents will be required to leave one country and enter the other only through designated check-posts. Both sides agree that corresponding check-posts of the two countries should be located as near as possible to each other.

G) BORDER TRADE

Holders of border trade permits issued by the two Governments to their respective nationals under the provisions of the Trade Agreement of March 1972 between the

two countries will be exempt from passport and visa requirements for the purpose of border trade as stipulated in their permits.

H) BANGLADESH NATIONALS IN INDIA ON 1 SEPTEMBER 1972 AND INDIAN NATIONALS IN BANGLADESH ON 1 SEPTEM-BER 1972.

Nationals of Bangladesh and India who are already in India and Bangladesh respectively when the above arrangements come into force can continue to stay in the country concerned on the basis of their existing travel documents upto 30 September 1972.

If they wish to prolong their stay in the other country beyond 30 September 1972, they will have to obtain passports and visas as stipulated in the procedures described above by 30 September 1972.

I) REVIEW

Both sides agree that the arrangements set out above will be reviewed after a period of one year or as and when desired by either party, at one month's notice.

The agreed minutes were signed on behalf of the Government of Bangladesh by Mr. Taslim Ahmad, Home Secretary to the Government of Bangladesh, and on behalf of the Government of India by Shri Avtar Singh Secretary (West), Ministry of External Affairs.

255

BANGLADESH INDIA USA

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Press Release on Visit of Foreign Minister of Republic of Korea

The Following press release was issued in New Delhi on August 21, 1972 at the end of the visit to India of Mr. Yong Shik Kim, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea:

At the invitation of His Excellency Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs of the Republic of India, His Excellency Mr. Yong Shik Kim, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea, accompanied by officials of his Government, paid an official visit to the Republic of India from August 17 to 21, 1972.

During the visit, the Korean Foreign Minister paid courtesy calls on His Excellency Shri V. V. Giri, President of India, and Her Excellency Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India. He held talks with the Minister of External Affairs and other leaders of the Indian Government.

The two Ministers of Foreign Affairs had useful discussions in a friendly and cordial atmosphere on a wide range of subjects regarding bilateral relations between the two countries as well as recent international developments. The two Ministers reviewed and expressed satisfaction at the development of economic relations between the two countries, and it was agreed on both sides that every effort should be made to promote greater collaboration between the two countries in the fields of trade and culture.

The Korean Foreign Minister apprised the Minister of External Affairs of recent developments on the Korean Peninsula and, particularly, of the South-North Korea Joint Communique of July 4, 1972, regarding the peaceful reunification of Korea and of the Red Cross meetings for the reunion of divided families. The Indian Government welcomed the moves initiated by the Koreans themselves towards bridging their differences and achieving peaceful unification of their country as well as for easing the tension on the Korean Peninsula.

The Korean Foreign Minister cordially extended an invitation to the Indian Minister of External Affairs to visit Korea, which the latter accepted with thanks. The visit would take place at a mutually convenient time.

The Korean Foreign Minister thanked the Indian Government for the warm welcome and generous hospitality extended to him and his party during their stay in India.

KOREA INDIA USA NORTH KOREA

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

SWITZERLAND

Indo-Swiss Air Talks

The following is the text of the press release issued in New Delhi on August 28, 1972 on the conclusion of Air Services talks between India and Switzerland:

Talks between the delegations of the aeronautical authorities of India and Switzerland have concluded. The two delegations reviewed the operation of air services between the two countries.

The Indian delegation was led by Shri N. Khosla, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation and the Swiss delegation was led by Mr. R. Kunzi, Chief, Legal Service. Federal Air Office. Air India is at present operating three services a week via Geneva, one with Boeing 747 and the other two with Boeing

256

707 aircraft. Swissair, the national air carrier of Switzerland is operating six services a week via Bombay, with DC-8 aircraft.

Both Air India and Swissair are entitled to operate a total of six services per week in both directions to and through each other's territory.

SWITZERLAND INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UGANDA

Statement by Shri Surendra Pal Singh on Asians in Uganda

The following is the text of the statement by Shri Surendra Pal Singh, Deputy Minister for External Affairs in the Parliament on August 11, 1972 regarding Asians in Uganda:

The House will be aware that on August 4, 1972, President Amin of Uganda made an announcement that British passport-holders of Asian origin in Uganda would be required to leave the country within a period of three months. On August 9, President Amin called a meeting of the High Commissioners in Kampala of the U.K. and India and of the Envoy of Pakistan to apprise them of his Government's decision. Although we are awaiting from our High Commissioner in Uganda a full report on this meeting, it is understood that nationals of India, Pakistan

and Bangladesh would also be included in the scope of his earlier announcement, but that certain categories of persons whose details have yet to be specified would be exempt.

As far as British passport-holders are concerned, the House is aware that it has been the principled stand of the Government of India that U.K. nationals are the entire responsibility of the U.K. Government and are entitled to free entry into the U.K. without any discrimination. We are aware that the Governments of Uganda and the U.K. have had discussions on these matters and we hope that large-scale panic, dislocation or hardship will be avoided, and the practical and human issues satisfactorily resolved.

Meanwhile, Government have considered it necessary to take steps to prevent the entry into India, in haste and panic, of large numbers of British passport-holding persons. With immediate effect, therefore, a visa system has been put in force to regulate the entry into India of citizens of the U.K. and Colonies who are ordinarily resident in Uganda. Government are not oblivious of the fact that many of the affected persons have social, cultural and traditional links with India, and the visa system will make adequate provision for these requirements.

As regards Indian nationals resident in Uganda, the number registered with our High Commission is about 3,000. Details are awaited as to how many of these would come within the purview of the Ugandan Government's new decisions. We have always viewed with understanding the aspirations of African countries to regulate their internal affairs in the best interests of their citizens. We are in touch with the Ugandan authorities and I can assure the House that we shall do everything we can to protect the interests of Indian nationals there and ensure that those of them eventually affected are treated equitably, humanely and with dignity.

257

Volume No

1995

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

Prime Minister's Speech at Dinner in Honour of Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic

The following is the text of the speech by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at the dinner given by her in honour of His Excellency Mr. Mohsin Ahmed Al-Aini, Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic at Rashtrapati Bhavan on August 10, 1972:

Your Excellency, it is a very great pleasure for us to have you and your colleagues with us here tonight. This is the first time that a Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic has visited our country and we are specially glad that you have come at a time which is of significance for us, that is the 25th Anniversary of our independence. We hope that this visit of yours will be just a beginning and that there will be many more exchanges between our two countries

India has had close contacts with the Arab countries over the years and your own civilisation has had close dealings with the East as well as the West. But in between there was the advent of colonial rule all over Asia and during this period, our friendship and our exchanges suffered an eclipse. Now we are once more trying to re-discover these old links and to revitalise them.

We have watched with great interest what you are doing in Yemen. We are happy that all sections are now united and this is the best way of going forward and I am sure that with the efforts that Your Excellency, your government and people

under the able leadership of your President Al-Qadi Abdul Rehman Al-Iriani are making, your country is achieving notable progress.

While you are here, I hope that you will have some opportunity even during your short visit to see the results of our achievements in science and technology and what we are trying to do to overcome our own under-development. You were telling us this afternoon how your country in the past, years had been rather isolated and also had got somewhat left behind in the development of even basic necessities for your people. Perhaps we can exchange our experiences and help each other in this matter and bring about a transformation in various fields.

India has firmly supported the Arab cause not out of ally sentiment but because we felt it was the cause of justice and we shall continue to do so. In our external affairs, we have, as you know, followed the path of co-existence and non-alignment and we feel that recent years have proved the validity of this policy and this path. So today when we want to renew our friendship and re-strengthen our friendship with your country, we feel that the past and the present are both on our side - the old links and the present trends which call for closer cooperation between different countries regardless of their economic or social system and regardless of their beliefs.

We had last year suffered very greatly. Our next-door neighbour, as you know, went through a period of great difficulty, great sufferings, atrocities and finally a desperate aggression provoked an armed conflict. But we do not believe in continuing confrontation and it is our sincere hope that we will be able to change this confrontation of so many years - twentyfive years -- into friendship and a more cooperative attitude because it is in peace and friendship and cooperation that we can progress and all the countries of our sub-continent can progress.

So, we are facing the 26th year of our Independence with self-confidence and with hope and faith that perhaps a new life begin for our people. We know from our own ex-

perience that no matter how good a stop you take or bow much you achieve, or what you do, the next step always brings its own difficulties and problems. But we can only hope that with each step we are more prepared to face the difficulties and the problems and in this the more people, the more

258

countries who stand together trying to help one another, the greater the chances of our succeeding. So we feel that a new beginning has been made. Naturally like any new journey that you undertake, nobody knows exactly where it will take you. But if we face the future with courage, I have no doubt that we will be making the best of whatever does happen.

You have also certain problems but I am sure that you also face them with confidence and courage and that we, the people of Asia, can join together, can try to change the pattern which has got very set, that is the pattern of quarrelling amongst ourselves, to move towards a new world.

I was very Interested to hear of your recent travels. You gave us very useful, valuable information and also the talks which we had, though brief, gave us a far better understanding of your country, some of its history and of your aspirations for the future. As I said we have had some similar experiences and perhaps by sharing our experiences we can be of assistance to each other.

I would like to request you all, ladies and gentlemen, to drink to the health and welfare of His Excellency the Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic and to the abiding friendship between the two countries.

YEMEN USA INDIA

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

Reply by the Yemen Arab Republic Prime Minister at Dinner

Replying, the Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic said:

Madam Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and gentlemen,

It is a great honour for me - and also for my friends who have come with me to come to India for the first time as Prime Minister of Yemen and I would like, first of all, to thank You very much for the invitation that you extended to me, for the warm welcome that we got this morning, for your generous hospitality and for this gathering that gives us the chance to see the personalities of India. And, in fact, we came trying to express to you, to His Excellency the President, to the Government and people of India the feeling of our people - our people who are not too far from India, from the thinking, from the principles, from what you were raising since long time. Because if we had some exchanges, if we have some links in civilisation since long time we cannot but remember always the leadership and the principles of Mahatma Gandhi that had the influence everywhere in the world and then the policy and the leadership and the influence of Jawaharlal Nehru and then your self. This was the influence that the small nations as ours were the first to get the benefit of because the non-alignment, the positive neutrality and co-existence that you raised from India, all these principles were the guidance of all the small nations. I would like only to mention here that our people in the Yemen Arab Republic will not forget the support that we got from the first days of our revolution in Yemen at a time when a large majority of the Big Powers and some other western countries did not want to recognise our Republic and our revolution. We will remember always that your father

was one of those great leaders who lent their support to our people. At the same time we are a part of the Arab world who look always with gratitude to the attitude of India in supporting the Arab cause, the just because of the Palestinians who are trying to recover their country, the cause of the Arab countries whose territories are occupied and who want only to liberate them.

I would like to say that we came this time, as I said this afternoon, in fact to introduce Yemen to India because we spent centuries isolated from the rest of the world and while everybody was talking against colonialism and imperialism some people in Yemen were trying to say what is the meaning of colonialism or imperialism because they knew the isolation, they knew that they were not part of the developments of this world. So, we feel that with this isolation we would not have known and we did not know the others. So, we came this time to spend a few days here. We would like only to make our country known and at the same time to know India and we feel that it is just the time for our country to start developing its relations with India, with all the

259

friendly countries because while we stopped fighting, while we started to concentrate our efforts on the internal problems we need friends. We are a very sensitive people, about our independence. We are always afraid of the Big Powers. We have suspicion. But we like very much to be in contact with India and with all the friendly countries who suffered from colonialism and-who are raising always the independence and equality and cooperation.

So, I would like only to say thank you very much for all we got and I would like ony to assure you that we will do our best from our side to make this visit a real beginning for an era of cooperation and I would like to say that we are admiring the way that you are dealing with all your problems and while we feel despaired sometimes from our problems, we do know you are facing all these difficulties smiling and just solving them one after another and

we feel that the Indian people is a people of civilization, people who can overcome all the difficulties. We are also happy that difficulties are over and that we know that with; your ability you will be able to create an atmosphere of friendship and cooperation in this sub-continent. We are always willing very much to see the pi-ogress of India because we will get the benefit out of it as. friends and as brothers and as Asians. I would like only to convey to His Excellency President Giri, to you and to the Government the best wishes and regards of President Al-Oadi Abdul Rehman Al-Iriani, the Government and the people of the Yemen Arab Republic and our thanks to you, again, Madam Prime Minister and to you all.

Thank you very much and I hope that the future will prove that we started really a time of friendship and of cooperation. I would like you to raise the glass for Her Excellency the Prime Minister and for the friendship between Yemen and India.

YEMEN INDIA USA

Date: Aug 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

Joint Communique on Visit of Prime Minister of Yemen Arab Republic

The following is the text of the Joint Communique on the visit of the Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic Mr. Mohsin Ahmed Al-Airi to India issued in New Delhi on August 19, 1972:

At the invitation of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic, His Excellency Mr. Mohsin Ahmed Al-Aini, paid a state visit to India from August 10 to 19, 1972. The Prime Minister of Yemen Arab Republic was accompanied by: H.E. Al Qadi Abdul Salaam Sabra, Adviser to the Republican Council; H.E. Mr. Abdulla Abdul Majid Al-Asnag, Minister of Economy; H.E. Mr. Ghalib Ali Jameel, Permanent Under Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and H.E. Mr. Yahya Al-Mutwakkil, Yemen Arab Republic's Ambassador to Egypt.

During their stay in India, the Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic and his delegation visited Delhi, Agra, Srinagar, Bangalore and Bombay. They saw places of historical and cultural interest. industrial establishments and scientific institutions. They were accorded a warm and cordial welcome by the Government and the people of India which was a manifestation of the traditional ties of friendship existing between the two countries.

The two Prime Ministers discussed a wide range of subjects concerning the international scene and bilateral relations. The talks were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendliness and revealed an identity of views between the two countries.

The Prime Minister of India expressed her appreciation of the great efforts being made by the Yemen Arab Republic under the wise and distinguished leadership of H.E. President Al-Qadi Abdul Rehman Al-Iriani and H.E. Prime Minister Mohsin Ahmed Al-Aini for the stability, progress and development of the Yemen Arab Republic with the participation of all elements in the country. The Prime Minister of India wished the Government and the people of the Yemen Arab Republic all success in these efforts.

The Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic expressed his appreciation of the progress and development achieved by the

260

Government and the people of India under the leadership of their Prime Minister. The Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic recognised the reality of the emergence of a new nation on the subcontinent. He welcomed the recent trend of reconciliation and hoped that affairs of the sub-continent would soon be settled peacefully between the countries concerned, thus leading to wider cooperation in the region as a whole in which the Yemen Arab Republic is deeply interested.

The two Prime Ministers expressed their conviction in the continuing validity of the policy of non-alignment which has made a positive contribution to the cause of peace and international cooperation. They also stressed the importance of the acceptance of the principle of peaceful co-existence.

The two Prime Ministers expressed deep concern at the continuing crisis in West Asia and the occupation of Arab territories by Israel. They stressed that a comprehensive solution of this problem could only be found by the implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November, 1967, and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied territories. They reiterated the full support of their Governments to the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

The two sides expressed their profound sympathy and admiration for the struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam. They were also convinced that the situation in Indo-China could be solved only on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that region and of respect for the inalienable right of the people of Vietnam to decide their future free from outside interference.

The two Prime Ministers expressed the solidarity of their Governments with all Countries and organisations struggling against the racialist and colonialist policies pursued by South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal. The declared their resolve that these policies which are in direct contravention of the U.N. Charter should be brought to a speedy end.

The two Prime Ministers reaffirmed their support to the Declaration made at Lusaka in September, 1970, and to the UN General Assembly Resolution of December 16, 1971 calling on all States to consider and respect the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

The two Delegations discussed in detail technical and economic cooperation between the Yemen Arab Republic and India. It was agreed that India would provide certain experts an irrigation pumping equipment immediately required by the Yemen Arab Republic. The Government of India also offered to provide other experts required by the Yemen Arab Republic as well as provide training facilities and scholarships in India for Yemeni nationals. The Government of India also agreed to survey and identify, specific projects in the Yemen Arab Republic in cooperation with the Yemen Arab Republic Government which would be implemented with economic and technical assistance by the Government of India.

The Prime Minister of India welcomed the decision of the Government of the Yemen Arab Republic to establish an Embassy in-India. This would further consolidate the increasing cooperation between the two-countries in all fields. The Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic expressed the hope that the Government of India would, in the near future, appoint a Resident Ambassador in Sanaa.

The Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic extended a cordial invitation to the Prime Minister of India to visit the Yemen Arab Republic at any time convenient to her. The Prime Minister of India gratefully accepted The invitation.

261

YEMEN INDIA USA EGYPT ISRAEL VIETNAM CHINA SOUTH AFRICA PORTUGAL ZAMBIA LATVIA

Date: Aug 01, 1972

September

Volume No

Content

Foreign Affairs Record 1972 Vol. XVIII SEPTEMBER

No. 9

PAGE

ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT

New Indo-Egyptian Trade Arrangement 263

ETHIOPIA

President Giri's Speech at Banquet by the Ethiopian Emperor 263

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Indian Delegate's Speech at Committee on Outer Space 265
Shri Samar Sen's Statement at Security Council on Complaints of
Israeli Aggression against Lebanon and Syria 268
Shri Samar Sen's Statement on Situation in Southern Rhodesia at the
Security Council 270

INDO-CHINA

I.C.S.C. Resolution on Shifting of Indian Delegation Headquarters to Hanoi 273

MAURITIUS

Credit to Mauritius 274

MONGOLIA

Indo-Mongolian Bilateral Talks 275

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

(Continued Overleaf)

PAGE

POLAND

Indo-Polish Trade Talks 276

SUDAN

Trade Talks with Sudan 277

UGANDA

Foreign Minister's Statement on Asians in Uganda 277

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Indo-U.S.S.R. Bilateral Talks

279

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

President Giri's Speech at Banquet in Zanzibar

280

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Finance Minister Chavan's Address at the National Press Club in Washington 281

(ii)

EGYPT ETHIOPIA INDIA ISRAEL LEBANON SYRIA CHINA VIETNAM MAURITIUS USA MONGOLIA POLAND SUDAN UGANDA TANZANIA

Date : Sep 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT

New Indo-Egyptian Trade Arrangement

The following press note was issued in New Delhi on September 23, 1972 on the conclusion of trade talks between the Indian and Egyptian delegations held in New Delhi from September 16 to 23, 1972:

A new Trade Arrangement between India and Arab Republic of Egypt (A.R.E.) for the period October 1, 1972 to September 30, 1973 has been drawn up as a result of high level trade talks held in New Delhi from September 16 to 23, 1972. The A.R.E. Delegation was led by H.E. Mr. Mahmoud Abdel Hamid Shalaby, Under Secretary of State, Ministry of Economy and Foreign Trade. The Indian team was led by Shri Mohammad Yunus, Special Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Trade.

The new Trade Arrangement provides for Indian exports worth Rs. 317 million

during the next twelve months. India would, during the same period, be importing cotton and some other goods from A.R.E. of about the same value. Of the traditional exports from India, jute and tea figure prominently while a provision of about Rs. 75 million has been made for engineering goods.

A major breakthrough achieved during these negotiations was that A.R.E. have, given an assurance that Indian firms will have full freedom to participate in A.R.E.'s imports against free foreign exchange. This opens, for the first time, a door for additional flow of Indian goods into A.R.E. over and above the provisions made in the Trade Arrangement. Another important achieve ment of these negotiations is that A.R.E. have agreed to execute contracts worth about Rs. 100 million for various goods belonging to the old Plan during the new Plan.

The new Trade Plan drawn up is bigger in size as compared to the last Plan. It is hoped that as a result of the new avenue explored, the flow of trade between the two countries will increase.

EGYPT INDIA USA

Date : Sep 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

ETHIOPIA

President Giri's Speech at Banquet by the Ethiopian Emperor

Following is the text of the speech by the President, Shri V. V. Giri, at the Banquet given in his honour by His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellasie I, Emperor of Ethiopia on September 25, 1972 at Addis Ababa:

It is a source of very great pleasure for

me to have been able to accept the kind invitation of Your Imperial Majesty to visit Ethiopia. My presence here is a renewed token of the esteem and friendship in which the people of India regard Your Imperial Majesty and the people of Ethiopia, The generous words with which Your Imperial Majesty has welcomed me and my party we regard equally as signifying Ethiopia's deep friendship for India. I thank Your Imperial Majesty most sincerely for this kind gesture.

263

I have been greatly touched by the warmth and cordiality of the reception which has been accorded to us here. May I say bow deeply I value this opportunity of acquainting myself with Ethiopia at first hand and acquiring some understanding of this country and its people?

The name of Your Imperial Majesty has been renowned in India for close-on half a century. It is a famous name, but more importantly with us, it is regarded as belonging to a good and heroic personage. Your Imperial Majesty signifies determination in adversity, resolution in defeat, fortitude in exile and generous statesmanship in victory. The kingdom of Ethiopia, among the oldest in today's world, owes to Your Imperial Majesty every stride it has made to adapt to the needs of the day. In the comity of African States, Your Imperial Majesty's role has been truly unique, and this historic capital, Addis Ababa, has emerged as a natural focus for the States of this continent for all that moderates, all that harmonises, if not all that unites. It is our ardent hope and prayer that Your Majesty will be spared for years to come to complete the immensely rewarding tasks of national development and continental cooperation.

We remember warmly Your Imperial Majesty's visits to India. Your Imperial Majesty is well acquainted with the aims, the objectives and the endeavours of our Government and people. India has recently completed 25 years of its new Independence. To us, this Anniversary is a reminder that in the task of raising the lot of the common

man, and of ensuring equal opportunity and reward for-all men, we have made progress and learnt not a little, but must prepare ourselves for a long road ahead. We need peace and stability in our region. It is of vital importance that the States of our region come to develop beneficial ties among themselves based upon the recognition of the equality of States and the elimination of foreign domination. All those who wish us well will lend their encouragement and their support to these causes.

The relations between our two countries are of friendship and understanding and these are deeprooted and longstanding. The community of interests which permeate our relations are of high importance in today's world of rich nations and poor nations, of powerful nations and not so powerful Over the years, beneficial cooperation between our Governments and our peoples have developed in many directions. It is our common duty to see that these intensify and made to blossom. Your Imperial Majesty is well aware that our cooperation is based upon our desire for the true prosperity of Ethiopia, and in the fullest measure that our developmental experience, our resources and our technology permit, India's cooperation and assistance are available for Ethiopia's development. Thus may we enrich the ties that have joined us in our endeavours, both for our respective peoples and for a better world at large.

Our two Governments have upheld the fundamental principles of international life. namely, non-alignment in the politics of milltary power blocs, non-intervention in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty, equality and integrity. India has stood shoulder to shoulder with all Governments in Africa and elsewhere that have upheld the dignity of man against racial oppression and colonial overlordship. India's support to these causes will continue stout and strong. There is need to remain vigilant that we hold these values untarnished not only as precepts, but as operative principles of State action. This is so as new forms of oppression, racialist as well as colonialist, are rearing their head today. Our actions no less than our ideals

must manifest the claim that we lay to a birthright of equality without discrimination

Your Imperial Majesty, may I express my profound gratitude for this splendid hospitality and abundant consideration that my party and I have enjoyed here?

Your Excellencies and Distinguished Guests, may I request you to raise your glasses and to drink a toast for the good health and prosperity of His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Sellassie I, and to the ever-growing friendship between the peoples of Ethiopia and India?

264

ETHIOPIA INDIA USA

Date: Sep 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Indian Delegate's Speech at Committee on Outer Space

Following is the text of the speech of the Indian Delegate, Shri S. K. Chakravarti at the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space on September 7, 1972 in New York:

Mr. Chairman, may I at the outset offer to you my delegation's warm congratulations on your election to the chairmanship of this committee and also express our firm hope that under your, able leadership the Committee will be able to carry out the mandate given to it by the United Nations General Assembly. My delegation would also like to convey its gratitude to your distinguished predecessor, now the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for his continuing interest in the activities of this Committee and

also for the message he gave us in his opening address, wherein he emphasized the role expected of this Committee in ensuring that the exploration of outer space will take place in an orderly and peaceful manner, in the interest of all nations regardless of their economic development. My delegation also wishes to congratulate Ambassador Datcu of Romania on his election to the vice-chairmanship of this Committee.

We are living in an age where the uses of outer space have brought about what a distinguished British international lawyer called "a reduction of the scale of the earth and its neighbourhood". The new technology required for increasingly difficult space missions has been advancing at a tremendous rate. We stand on the threshold of space exploration that is truly spectacular and fascinating. While it is true that the great benefits to come from space activities are probably still unseen and unpredictable, the over-all picture is one of definite promise.

Corresponding to the astonishing progress made in the field of space technology in the last decade or- so, the United Nations has been able to establish milestones in what the Chairman of the Legal Sub-Committee called in his statement "the international law of outer space" as is evidenced in the 1967 Space Treaty, the 1968 Astronaut Agreement and the 1972 Liability Convention. It cannot perhaps be said that in this field law has not kept pace with the new advances in science and technology.

While the penetration of time and distance barriers by astronauts - the envoys of mankind - unfolds immense practical benefits for the international community in general, there is at the same time the challenging task of building up durable international threads of co-operation and peaceful coexistence that bind nations together and create new systems of law and order. The conquest of space should not become a source of new frictions or a symbol of new power positions; rather, it should promote international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. My delegation welcomes

the United States-Soviet Union agreement of May 1972 concerning the exploration of space, in particular the joint docking of American and Soviet spacecraft and stations envisaged for 1975. We also congratulate the United Kingdom and Japan on their successful launching of scientific satellites, and the Soviet Union and the United States of America for their continuing exploration of the planets Mars, Venus and Jupiter.

We have before us the reports of the Legal Sub-Committee and the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee. Taking up first the report of the Legal Sub-Committee, my delegation is happy to note that commendable progress was made by the Legal Sub-Committee at its eleventh session in the formulation of draft international agreements concerning the moon and registration of space objects, and, as the Chairman of that Sub-Committee said, "much was done and much was achieved".

The Soviet Union and Argentine deserve to be congratulated on their commendable initiative in drawing our attention to the pressing questions arising out of the explo-

265

ration of the moon and the consequent need for their legal regulation. The Soviet delegation, in particular, submitted to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly an elaborate draft international treaty concerning the moon. This draft treaty, together with a number of substantive proposals submitted by other delegations at the last session of the Legal Sub-Committee, constituted the basis for the Legal Sub-Committee in preparing the text of a draft moon treaty consisting of a preamble and the provisions of twenty-one articles, including the final clauses.

Mr. Chairman, you have already drawn our attention to the outstanding issues concerning the moon treaty. My delegation's position on some of these fundamental questions was generally made known at the eleventh session of the Legal Sub-Committee. We believe that it is now an accepted norm of international law that outer space, in-

cluding the moon and other celestial bodies, is not subject to national appropriation, and that the natural resources of the moon and other celestial bodies are the common heritage of mankind. Any other view is incompatible with the nature of the moon and other celestial bodies, which are the province of mankind. Any other view is also incompatible with the affirmation and reaffirmation by the United Nations that the benefits deriving from space exploration shall be extended to States at all stages of economic and scientific development. My delegation, together with the delegation of Egypt, therefore submitted a joint working paper in the Legal Sub-Committee, which is contained in document A/AC.105/101 at page17.

The other important question on which agreement has not yet been reached pertains to the scope of the treaty, namely whether the treaty should be made applicable to other celestial bodies as well. While my delegation would favour the extension of this treaty to other celestial bodies, we are willing to consider, as a compromise solution, a suggestion made in the Legal Sub-Committee according to which

"The provisions of this treaty shall apply to celestial bodies in addition to the moon until such time as provision is made by other treaties in relation to specific celestial bodies. To the extent that provision is so made, the treaty shall then cease to apply to those bodies."

My delegation would also wish to offer its sincere congratulations to the delegations of Canada and France for the timely initiative they took in submitting a joint proposal in the Legal Sub-Committee for a convention, on registration of objects launched into outer space. An adequate and effective international system of registration of space, objects would contribute significantly to the identification of space objects and would facilitate the application of the Convention on International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects and the Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of

Objects Launched into Outer Space. We hope that this item will continue to receive priority consideration in this Committee and its. Legal Sub-Committee.

In retrospect, we notice that on the preparation of a draft moon treaty the Legal Sub-Committee has come "remarkably close to conclusion" (110th meeting, p. 27). Mr. Chairman, my delegation associates itself with the expression in the statement made on 5 September of

"... a moderate amount of optimism on the chances of finalizing this treaty, perhaps in the course of this session, and transmitting it to the twentyseventh session of the General Assembly for final approval."

What we need is the continuation of the spirit of compromise and accommodation that pervaded the deliberations of the Legal Sub-Committee in evolving agreement on a number of fundamental questions concerning the moon treaty. Our task is not mainly that of a draftsman of international agreements; we are called upon to make, in the words of Professor Manfred Lachs, "law progress and move". In discharging this task we should not think in terms of the distinction often drawn between space Powers and non-space Powers. It is appropriate in this connexion to bear in mind what Mr. C. Wilfred Jenks, a distinguished international lawyer, said:

"Another danger which must be watched with special care during the formative stages of the development of the law on outer space is that States

266

which are at present space Powers may be apt to think of themselves too exclusively as space Powers rather than as States which may some day be affected by the space activities of others, while States which are, not. at present space Powers may be too apt to think of themselves as potential victims of the activities in space of others rather than as potential participants in such activities. These instinctive attitudes do not necessarily reflect the longterm interests of the States of either group."

Having said that, I should like now to make a few observations on the report of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee on its work at its ninth session. My delegation is thankful to the Chairman and the members of the Sub-Committee for the tribute they have paid to the memory of the late Mr. Vikram Sarabhai, who has made significant contributions to outer space technology.

I am happy to note that the Sub-Committee has expressed its satisfaction with the successful continuation of the United Nations programme on space applications. My delegation fully endorses the Sub-Committee's appreciation of the outstanding work carried out by Professor Ricciardi, the first United Nations Expert on Space Applications. My delegation is indeed grateful to Professor Ricciardi for the help and assistance we have consistently received from him in respect of the programmes on space applications conducted in India. I might add that Professor Ricciardi ungrudgingly placed his expert knowledge and competence at the service of the developing countries. It is a matter of regret that Professor Ricciardi could not stay with the United Nations for some time more, but I hope that his expert knowledge and advice will still be available To the United Nations and that his successor will be able to maintain the very high standard set by him.

In paragraph 18 of its report, the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee refers to the report of UNESCO on satellite broadcasting for education and training and to the importance for Member States of assessing their precise requirements for frequencies for the satellite broadcasting service in advance of the regional planning conferences which the ITU will call in accordance with the decisions of- the World Administrative Radio Conference for Space Telecommunications. This will involve a detailed investigation of future radio and television needs, and UNESCO has indicated

its preparedness, on request and in cooperation with ITU, to send advisory missions to assist in carrying out such surveys, in assessing future frequency requirements. It must be pointed out that in relation to satellite broadcasting allocation of frequencies, is of vital importance, and I hope that the developing countries will take advantage of the offer made by UNESCO in getting their future radio and television needs assessed with a view to the allocating of radio frequencies.

The Sub-Committee has rightly expressed its appreciation of the statements made by representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States on the programmes on manned laboratories in space. My delegation looks forward with very keen interest to further information on progress concerning this important programme. We have no doubt that, as a result of the placement of manned laboratories in space, it will be possible to extend the frontiers of knowledge and also to accelerate the application of outer space technology to problems on earth.

My delegation expresses its appreciation of the offer of fellowships made to the United Nations by Brazil, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Japan in the area of space applications. This will certainly make it easier for the nationals of developing countries to get necessary training in space technology.

We are grateful to the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee for the appreciation it has expressed of the work being carried out at the ranges in India in relation to the use of sounding rocket facilities for international co-operation and training in the peaceful scientific exploration of outer space, Its recommendation that the United Nations should continue to grant sponsorship to the TERLS Range in India and the CELPA Mar del Plata Range in Argentina is particularly welcome.

267

I should like at this stage to mention briefly the programmes on space applications

being conducted in India. With the active co-operation and assistance of Professor Ricciardi, a Panel Meeting on Satellite Instructional Television Experiment is being organized in India in December of this year. This Panel, it is hoped, will illustrate to the other developing countries the immense possibilities of using satellite communication facilities for instructional and educational purposes.

India has been fairly active in the field of outer space technology. I do not wish to go into the details of the programme of our activities, but in document A/AC.105/106 will be found a summary giving particulars of rockets launched from the United Nationssponsored Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station (TERLS) in India during the period January-June 1972. These programmes have been made possible because of the co-operation and assistance that my country has received from the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany, France and Japan, and we are sincerely grateful to them.

The Indian Space Research Organization has been conducting a number of space experiments at the different stations in India. A Satellite Meteorological Centre was recently established in New Delhi, with five Automatic Picture Transmission Units set up in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Now Delhi and Poona for obtaining cloud pictures from the weather satellites. The pictures of the major cyclones which affected India and the countries neighbouring it were well received through the systems. Some of the other programmes undertaken relate to study of vertical distribution of ozone, study of infra-red radiative fluxes in the atmosphere, surveys of ocean surface temperature, under-water topography of coastal belt, soil surveys, crop classifications, tree diseases, and so on.

India has been making considerable efforts to provide training in satellite communication technology at the Experimental Satellite Communications Earth Station in India. Several developing countries have made use of the training facilities provided

by the Experimental Satellite Communication Earth Station, and we expect to hold further training programmes in the future.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC OMAN ROMANIA JAPAN EGYPT CANADA FRANCE BRAZIL ITALY ARGENTINA GERMANY

Date: Sep 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Samar Sen's Statement at Security Council on Complaints of Israeli Aggression against Lebanon and Syria

Following is the text of the statement made by the Permanent Representative of India, Shri Samar Sen, in the Security Council on September 10, 1972 on complaints by Lebanon and Syria of aggression by Israel:

Mr. President, we offer you our congratulations on being the President of our Council for the month of September. The event is of more than ordinary significance in that a representative of China is presiding over the Council for the first time in the last 23 years of the existence of the United Nations. My delegation will extend to you its full co-operation in your conduct of the business of the Council.

May I on this occasion express our great admiration and appreciation for the work done by the representative of Belgium, Ambassador Longerstaey, who guided our work for the whole of August with such skill, determination and patience.

Now we are met here to discuss two specific complaints brought to us by two Member States. Those complaints of aggression by Israel are not new, and this year alone we have dealt with similar complaints on three. different occasions.

The pattern of Israeli activities has been clear for some time, and we have drawn repeated attention to it. Briefly, the Israeli attitude seems to be that, either the Arabs must accept Israeli terms for peace and security in the Middle East - and some consider them terms of surrender - or Israel must maintain by force what it has gained by force.

268

The Council, as well as the Assembly, has discussed this problem repeatedly, and as a result a framework-for a solution was worked out in resolution 242 (1967). That resolution has not been carried out, and yet a cease-fire was arranged and has now been repeatedly, blatantly and even cynically broken by Israel.

No one has questioned the fact that on 8 and 9 September the Israeli armed forces rained death and destruction on several parts of Syria and Lebanon. We do not know what, if any, justification Israel has for this conspicuous violation of international law and of the cease-fire. But this morning's statements by some speakers showed that somehow those actions have been taken as a reprisal for the tragic events at or near Munich a few days ago.

Let us examine a little this new application of the old and totally untenable doctrine of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.

Should there be any doubt about the Indian reaction to the events in Munich, let me read out some of the statements made by the Indian authorities.

On 6 September, when he first heard of these events, the official spokesman of the Ministry for External Affairs said:

"The act resulting in this tragedy was senseless and condemnable. It remains so, whatever the disappointments and frustration leading to it. There is no justification for dragging terrorism

into the arena of sports. India's support for the Arab cause is well known, as we believe that justice is on their side. The vast majority of the nations of the world also support the Arab cause, including the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. But terrorist activities of this type are deplorable, and damage the very cause which is sought to be advanced."

"This shocking and senseless violence cannot but be condemned in strongest terms. Such a dastardly act of hatred can never solve any problem."

I have many similar statements in front of me from various other people, but I think what I have said is enough to show our sympathy for the victims of Munich and for their families and friends.

It is equally clear that we condemn those activities, and we do not see how the Arab cause, however just, can be served, far less furthered, by such methods. But those who would concentrate only on this linkage obviously cannot ignore that the present situation in the Middle East is due to a whole series of events beginning even from those days before Israel was established.

Now, it is not possible for us to select only two links in a long chain and neglect the others. If we are to consider the entire chain of events, we are ready to do so, but that will take time and certainly will not prevent the immediate threat that Lebanon and Syria face at the moment.

Secondly, the tragedy at Munich took place six days ago. Yet no attempt was made then to bring it before the Security Council, nor are we certain that this is a subject for the Security Council, since that subject is terrorism by private groups and not by States. In any event, only recently the Secretary-General has suggested a new item for consideration by the forthcoming session of the General Assembly, and there will be ample opportunity to deal with this subject at a proper time. Meanwhile, we should do nothing which would divert atten-

tion from the gravity of the threat Lebanon and Syria are encountering and are likely to continue to encounter.

We condemn terrorism, but one has to recognize also the frustration and desperation that lie behind such terrorism and has to take action to remove their causes. Besides, the Arab terrorists do not perhaps forget the terrorism which has bedevilled the history of the Holy Land, particularly in the second quarter of the twentieth century. We also have to be realistic and remember the political situation in the various territories in that part of the world.

Lastly, we must draw a distinction between the acts of terrorism by private

269

groups and the acts of military vendetta by organized governments. Surely we have the right to expect a better standard of behaviour from governments than from fanatics, however devoted they may be to their causes.

It is for those reasons that we shall vote for the draft resolution submitted by Somalia and co-sponsored by two other delegations.

The amendments proposed to that draft resolution suffer from some of the defects I have mentioned. The United States draft resolution is unbalanced for reasons I have given, and is entirely silent on the recent Israeli attacks.

Those are the views which will guide our voting.

After the voting on the resolution, Shri Samar Sen made the following statement:

I have already explained at some length our general attitude to this problem. We are not against establishing a cause and effect chain. In fact, one can ask why Munich happened. We can go backwards and backwards and backwards and backwards between the immediate problem of the

Lebanese and Syrian complaint and I shall explain my votes on the three amendments moved by the European Powers.

We abstained on the first paragraph because, as I have said, while we deplore terrorism and violence and all breaches of the peace, this amendment would have balanced the two actions, although one came from private groups and the other from a Government.

When it came to substituting "all parties" for "the parties" we agreed, because in our view "all parties" is more comprehensive and possibly applies to people who are not even in that area. We opposed the last subparagraph partly because of this balancing feature of the sentence and mainly because it implied that the Governments are in a position to prevent all terrorist activities.

INDIA ISRAEL LEBANON SYRIA CHINA USA BELGIUM CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC GERMANY MALI SOMALIA

Date: Sep 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Samar Sen's Statement on Situation in Southern Rhodesia at the Security Council

Following is the text of the statement made by the Indian Ambassador, Shri Samar Sen, on September 29, 1972 at the Security Council on the situation in Southern Rhodesia:

Over the last few years we have had many occasions to discuss the problem of Zimbabwe. The basic problem is known by now not only to the Council, but to many others besides. The question for us is simply this: what can we in the Council do? Un-

fortunately, and perhaps even cynically, the answer is simply: very little.

It is not at all clear how far each of the great Powers is prepared to go separately towards finding a solution to the problem We are facing. What is clear, however, is that there is no agreement among them to take effective steps to bring about in Zimbabwe an overthrow of the illegal regime of Ian Smith and install, in its place, a government based on majority rule. If there were such an agreement among the great Powers. a large number of steps - ranging from the blockade of ports to utmost exertion of pressure on Portugal and South Africa - could have been taken. Such measures would have solved the problem not only of Zimbabwe. but also of Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), and also perhaps the problem of apartheid. However, it is clear that in the absence of great Power agreement, the progress towards the solution of the Zimbabwe problem must necessarily be

270 slow, very slow, and the cost in human and material terms very great indeed.

It is because those realities were fully accepted by the Organization of African Unity and by the Conference of Non-Aligned States recently held in Georgetown that the recommendations of these bodies were extremely modest and moderate. Great Powers were not present either at the meeting of the Organization of African Unity or at Georgetown, but their attitudes were fully known. In these circumstances, if the Council cannot uphold even the decision of Georgetown and the Organization of African Unity, it not only will fail to provide acceleration for the process of majority rule in Zimbabwe, which we all desire, but will in fact tend to retard its progress.

The debate over the last few months has established certain facts which perhaps no one in the Council need challenge. The first of these facts is that no outside power or group of individuals need worry about the economic and similar consequences for the black people of Zimbabwe of measures they

may take. Representatives of black people have made it absolutely clear that they are prepared to pay the necessary price for majority rule, and for achieving the end of the illegal regime of Ian Smith. No one, therefore, can claim that he has the interest of the black people of Zimbabwe more at heart than those people themselves. The second fact is that the regime of Ian Smith is being maintained primarily through the co-operation and connivance of Portugal and South Africa, and unless and until an end can be put to this co-operation and this connivance, the difficulties will remain and even perhaps continue to grow. The third fact is that the system of apartheid is in fully. operation in Zimbabwe and therefore any argument that measures of the type contemplated at the time when the Pearce Commission was established will prevent and inhibit apartheid is not valid. Fourth, large-scale violations of the sanctions have taken place, sometimes openly and sometimes surreptitiously, and some major Powers have been guilty of some of the violations, and some other Powers are equally culpable. Fifth, several economic interests, not necessarily of South Africa or Portugal, are giving support and sustenance to the illegal regime.

Those five facts are, I think, fully established

At this point I should mention that the Government of India has scrupulously imposed the sanctions approved by the United Nations and has not been a party to any surreptitious deals. We have done our best to ensure that no private trading by Indian merchants has violated in any way the sanctions against trade and commerce with Zimbabwe, Portugal or South Africa. We have issued necessary orders, and firm laws have been adopted, and we have established effective administrative supervision so that sanctions against these countries are fully respected. If, in spite of these measures, any committee or study reveals that further tightening is possible, we should be very glad indeed to undertake necessary measures. According to our information, no goods from South Africa, Rhodesia or Portugal have

entered India either directly or indirectly.

The various speakers have indicated the kind of action the Council may take for bringing about a solution to the Rhodesian problem. We have been gratified and honoured by the presence of so many Ministers for Foreign Affairs, particularly from African countries, addressing us on this occasion on a problem to which both they and we attach the greatest, importance. We believe that some of the steps the Foreign ministers have indicated can be taken and that a resolution in that sense would be most welcome.

Further, we consider that the utmost publicity should be given to all violations of sanctions. In this context I would recall the specific measures the Indian delegation suggested at Addis Ababa for the furtherance of our goal. In the giving of publicity to violations it is not necessary to limit ourselves to those facts which are established by the Council's Committee on Sanctions. The United Nations and its publicity media could easily undertake to disseminate those reports which come from responsible organizations. They simply have to indicate the source of such reports. Communication, travel and immigration of all kinds can be cut. The United Nations can, and in our opinion should, encourage freedom fighters by every possible means. It is the people themselves who must fight and achieve their

271

own independence, but those outside can certainly give them considerable help. We believe that the Council can consider the setting up of a suitable machinery to examine the kind of help that is necessary and how best it can be channelled and extended.

The responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom in this matter cannot, in view of the repeated British declarations, be discharged by the use of force; but short of the use of force there are many measures which that Government can take in order to bring about its declared intention to see the end of the illegal regime of Ian Smith and the adoption of majority rule.

Lastly, all countries, and particularly the countries of the region, can undertake well coordinated programmes of publicity and information for encouraging the black population in the fight for freedom. The Organization of African Unity can consider wider and more effective steps in that direction.

If the white Rhodesians are not prepared for negotiations and for justice, it is pertinent to ask what means could be made available to the blacks to achieve the objectives which we all support. If the Council can help the people of Zimbabwe in these directions, we believe that, in spite of the limitations the lack of agreement among the great Powers necessarily imposes on us, some progress can be made.

Finally, it is well to recall that no great objective can be achieved if we are constantly thinking of our pockets and our skins.

With that background, I should like to comment briefly on the two draft resolutions which were submitted on behalf of the cosponsors by the representative of Somalia just before the morning meeting was adjourned.

The draft resolution contained in document S/10804 is generally acceptable to us. We would have liked some reformulation of the preambular paragraph which begins with the word "Condemning", but apart from that we do not have any major comments to make.

However, we have several ante to suggest on the draft resolution co in document S/10805. I am not proposing them formally, because I believe that this draft resolution, like the other, will subjected to some consultations and negotiations.

With respect to the preambular paragraph which begins "Having noted the rejection by the African population. . . ", we would have liked it to read "Having noted

with satisfaction the rejection by the population of Zimbabwe...".

Secondly, it seems to us that operative paragraph 4, which starts off with the words, "Calls upon the United Kingdom Government to create the conditions...". is unrealistic. The United Kingdom Government has repeatedly made it clear that it does not have any power to bring about the various objectives mentioned in that paragraph. Why it still continues to claim responsibility for the area is a different matter, but the fact, that it has no power to bring about any of these objectives. In these circumstances we would have liked a modification of the language of the opening sentence of operative paragraph 4, to read something like this: "Calls upon the United Kingdom Government to try its utmost to bring about conditions necessary...", because it is, I repeat, unrealistic to think that the United Kingdom can bring about those conditions, particularly those in sub-paragraphs (a), (b) and (c). All that we can expect the United Kingdom to do, and would be right in expecting it to do so long as it claims responsibility for the area, is to try its best in whichever way it can to achieve these goals.

Lastly, operative paragraph 6, which "Condemns the United Kingdom..." is not acceptable to my delegation, and for three good reasons. We are reluctant to condemn any Government, for the simple reason that condemnation is somewhat of a divine prerogative and we do not claim to be gods or anywhere near it. I do not think that this kind of condemnation will do the Council much good.

Secondly, since the United Kingdom Government has repeatedly made it clear that it cannot bring about the fall of the illegal regime in Zimbabwe short of using

272

force - and it has repeatedly told us it will not use force - it is difficult for any delegation to say that, in these circumstances, the United Kingdom Government should be condemned. Thirdly, if any condemnation has to be pronounced on the United Kingdom Government the question will arise in our mind: What has the Council done? The Council, ill a sense, has failed to agree on measures that could bring about the fall of the illegal regime in Zimbabwe and is, perhaps, equally responsible or that failure. Why, therefore, select the United Kingdom for special condemnation?

For those reasons we shall not be able to vote for operative paragraph 6.

Those are preliminary remarks and in the course of the discussion, depending on how the negotiations develop, we may have to speak again. I hope that contingency will not arise, but I do not completely rule it out.

INDIA USA ZIMBABWE PORTUGAL SOUTH AFRICA ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE NAMIBIA GUINEA GUINEA-BISSAU GUYANA ETHIOPIA MALI SOMALIA

Date: Sep 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDO-CHINA

I.C.S.C. Resolution on Shifting of Indian Delegation Headquarters to Hanoi

Following is the text of the unanimous resolution adopted in Saigon on September 28, 1972 by the representatives of India, Canada and Poland on the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam:

The International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam noting:

the decision of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam not to extend the visas of the Indian Delegation and the Indian component of the International Secretariat beyond September 30, 1972, conveyed in Note No. 1579/PDVN/VP of August 3, 1972, of the Mission Incharge of relations with the International Commission for Supervision and Control in the Republic of Vietnam,

considering that India is Chairman and is the member of the Commission with special responsibilities in the Headquarters operations of the International Secretariat,

decides to transfer until further notice the headquarters of the Chairman and Secretary-General from Saigon to Hanoi by September 30, 1972, and

resolves to convey this decision to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference of 1954 for any action they may consider desirable and feasible.

An Indo-Polish Joint Statement issued at Saigon on the same day said:

The Indian and Polish Delegations to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam have viewed with growing concern the attitude and measures adopted by the South Vietnamese Government since 8th January 1972, which have rendered the working of the Commission in South Vietnam extremely difficult.

The two delegations note that the Indian Delegation is being made the target of discriminatory measures. The Chairmandesignate, Mr. L. N. Ray, was given a visa but the South Vietnamese Government declared on January 8, 1972, that he would not be allowed to land in South Vietnam. The Commission was thus forced to function without its full complement. Another obstruction is the denial of diplomatic bag facilities to the Indian Delegation. The latest in series of discriminatory measures is the decision of the South Vietnamese Government not to extend the visas of the Indian members of the I.C.S.C. beyond September 30, 1972. In its Note No. 1579/PDVN/VP dated the 3rd August, 1972, the Chief of the South Vietnamese Liaison Mission informed the Commission that on the expiry of the visas of the members of the Indian Delegation on 30th September, 1972, "no demand for extension from them will be taken into consideration by the Mission".

As Secretary-General of the Commission, India is charged with the responsibility of the International Secretariat of the I.C.S.C. Any restriction placed on the Indian component, amounts to restrictions on the working of the Secretariat and, therefore, on the Commission as a whole. The I.C.S.C. is a composite body and restrictions placed on any one of the Delegations amount to a violation of Article 35 of the Geneva Agreement of 1954. Furthermore Article 27 stipulates: "The signatories to the present Agreement and their successors in their functions shall be responsible for ensuring the observance and enforcement of the terms and provisions thereof". The South Vietnamese authorities have thus violated both Articles 27 and 35 of the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam. They have refused to allow one delegation to continue in South Vietnam and thus made it impossible for the Commission as a whole to function in South Vietnam. They have also failed to carry out their responsibilities as a successor Government.

The unilateral denial of facilities clearly stipulated in the Geneva Agreement to Indian members of the I.C.S.C., constitutes a clear violation of and disrespect for the Geneva Agreement. India's membership and chairmanship of I.C.S.C. was decided by the Geneva Powers and no one but the Geneva Powers can change this position. It is beyond the competence of the South Vietnamese Government to-unilaterally and arbitrarily arrogate to itself the powers to dictate what the composition of the Commission should be.

The Indian and Polish delegatations to the I.C.S.C., therefore, condemn the attitude adopted by the South Vietnamese Government and record their firm protest against it as it violates the competence and normal functioning of the Commission.

Under Article 43 of the Geneva Agreement, the Commission is obliged to bring any hindrances its working to the notice of the Geneva Powers and both the Delegations, therefore, would like to bring this serious situation to the attention of the Geneva Powers through the Co-Chairmen, and request immediate remedial measures.

The Resolution in its present form does not adequately meet the views of the Indian or the Polish Delegation but for the sake of unanimity, they have agreed to accept it in its present form without prejudice to their respective stands as stated above. This statement should, therefore, be forwarded to the Co-Chairmen along with the Resolution.

CHINA INDIA VIETNAM USA CANADA POLAND SWITZERLAND CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date : Sep 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

MAURITIUS

Credit to Mauritius

Following Press Note was issued in New Delhi on September 5, 1972 on the signing of an agreement between the Governments of Mauritius and. India for an Indian credit to Mauritius:

An agreement between the Government of India and the Government of Mauritius under which India will make available to the Government of Mauritius a credit of Indian Rs. 32.10 million was signed in Port Louis on September 4. The agreement was signed by Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius, and Shri Krishna Dayal Sharma, High Commissioner for India.

Before signing the agreement, the Prime Minister Sir Seewoosagur referred to it as "an extension of very substantial assistance which the Government of India is eager to give to the Government of Mauritius for the implementation of development projects".

He expressed his gratitude to the Government of India and asked the High Commissioner to convey his thanks for this gesture of friendship and assistance to Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi. He hoped that this assistance would give further substance

274

to the close ties that bind Mauritius and India.

The credit agreement is the result of talks which took place in January this year when a Mauritius delegation under the leadership of the Prime Minister of Mauritius visited New Delhi to discuss Indian assistance for various development projects. The loan is payable in 20 years.

MAURITIUS USA INDIA

Date: Sep 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

MONGOLIA

Indo-Mongolian Bilateral Talks

The following is the text of the joint communique issued in Ulan Bator on September 14, 1972 on the conclusion of the visit of the Indian delegation to the bilateral talks with Mongolia led by the Foreign Secretary, Shri T. N. Kaul:

At the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's

Republic, a delegation from the Indian External Affairs Ministry, headed by Shri T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, visited the Mongolian People's Republic between 11th and 14th September, 1972.

During its stay the Indian delegation visited some industrial enterprises and cultural institutions and noted with admiration the progress and achievements of the Mongolian people in the socialist construction.

A Protocol on Cultural Exchange for 1973-1974 was signed by the two sides. On behalf of India it was signed by Shri T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary, and on behalf of the Mongolian People's Republic by Mr. Erdembileg, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Shri T. N. Kaul and other members of the delegation called on Mr. S. Luvsan, Member of Political Bureau of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary People's Party Central Committee, First Vice-President of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural and Mr. L. Rinchin, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Mr. D. Erdembileg, Deputy Foreign Minister and Shri T. N. Kaul exchanged views on bilateral relations and current international issues of mutual interest. From the Mongolian side taking part in the talks, which were held in an atmosphere of friendship, cordiality and mutual understanding, were - Mr. P. Tserentsoodol, Mr. D. Tserendorj, members of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department Directors, Mr. B. Dashitseren, Mongolian Ambassador-designate to India and Mr. B. Wangchindorj, Deputy Director of Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From the Indian side taking part in the talks were - Shri Sonam Narboo, Ambassador of India to Mongolia, Shri V. V. Paranjpe, Joint Secretary (Director-General for East Asian Affairs) and Shri A. P. Venkateswaran, Joint Secretary (Director-General for East European Affairs), Indian Ministry of External Affairs.

The Mongolian side expressed its admiration for the achievements made by the Government and the people of India in national development and social progress and India's foreign policy for peace and security in Asia and the world and for development of international cooperation.

Indian side noted with admiration the achievements of the Government and people of Mongolia in socialist construction and the contribution made by the MPR and its foreign policy to peace and security in Asia and the world and to international cooperation.

The two sides noted with deep satisfaction that the traditional bonds of friendship between Mongolia and India have been strengthened in the interest of the peoples of the two countries as well as in the interest of progressive forces fighting for world peace, against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. They expressed their desire to further promote and cement the friendly relations between the two countries.

275

Both sides agreed that periodic meetings between State and government leaders of the two countries are of paramount significance.

The Mongolian side welcomed the Treaty on Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed in August, 1971, between India and the Soviet Union and the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace concluded in March, 1972, between India and Bangladesh as an important contribution towards strengthening of friendship, cooperation, peace and security in Asia.

The two sides agreed that the development of bilateral and multi-lateral cooperation among Asian countries based on the principles of respect for territorial integrity, equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs was conducive to security and stability of the region.

The two sides expressed their sympathy and support for the peoples of Indo-China fighting heroically for their independence and reaffirmed that the solution of the Vietnam problem should be reached only through peaceful and political means in the interest of the Vietnamese peoples on the basis of the Geneva accords of 1954.

Both sides considered that the Middle-East issue should be settled on the basis of the United Nations Security Council resolution of 22nd November, 1967.

Noting with satisfaction the welcome steps taken recently in regard to the strongthening of European security, the two sides expressed support to the proposal for holding an All-European conference on security and cooperation in the nearest future.

The two sides fully supported general and complete disarmament, including nuclear and other types of weapons, under effective international control and also welcomed the holding of a World Conference on Disarmament as soon as possible.

Both sides expressed their satisfaction at the fact that the views exchanged on all matters were identical or very close and agreed that the visit of the Indian External Affairs Ministry delegation to Mongolia was a further contribution to the strengthening of the relations of friendship between Mongolia and India.

MONGOLIA USA INDIA BANGLADESH CHINA VIETNAM SWITZERLAND

Date : Sep 01, 1972

POLAND Indo-Polish Trade Talks

Following is the text of the press release

issued in New Delhi on September 20, 1972 on trade discussions between the delegations of India and Poland in Warsaw:

A trade delegation led by Shri S. Than, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Trade visited Poland for discussions with representatives of the Polish Foreign Trade Ministry. These discussions were useful and constructive.

As a result it was decided to increase substantially the trade turnover between India and Poland during the next three years. In addition to the traditional commodities, Poland will import from India textiles, leather, footwear, bags, garments, vaccum flasks, textile machinery, automobile components, castings, tools, air conditioning equipment, refrigerators, deepfreezers and other electrical household goods.

An Indian delegation is visiting Poland shortly in order to finalise a contract for the additional supplies of railway wagons to Poland. Poland will export to India urea, sulphur, mining machinery, textile machinery, machine tools, equipment for power

276 projects, chemical industry etc. Shri Than also had a fruitful meeting with the Polish Minister of Internal Trade, Mr. Edward Sznajder.

Minister Sznajder is likely to visit India in November this year in order to finalise substantial purchases of a large number of consumer goods for Polish domestic market.

POLAND INDIA USA **Date**: Sep 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

The following Press Note was issued in New Delhi on September 2, 1972 at the end of trade talks between the Delegations of India and Sudan:

Indo-Sudanese mid-term Trade Review Talks were held in New Delhi from August 29 to September 1, 1972. The Sudanese Delegation was led by H.E. Sayed Ibrahim Moneim Mansour, Minister of Economic & Trade assisted by Mr. Mohamed Abdelmagid Ahmed, Permanent Under Secretary of Economic & Trade. The Indian Delegation was led by Shri L. N. Mishra, Minister of Foreign Trade, assisted by Shri Mohammed Yunus, Special Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Trade. These talks were held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere.

Sudan is India's biggest trading partner in the developing world with over Rs. 100 crores of annual trade between the two countries. As a result of these talks, it was decided that during the remaining period of the current Trade Plan which expires on December 31, 1972, India will be exporting to Sudan a variety of goods worth about Rs. 17 crores. These exports will consist of jute manufactures, tea, space pads, chemicals, machines and some essential oils etc. In return, India will be importing additional 100,000 bales of Sudanese long staple cotton during the same period.

A unique feature of the decisions arrived at during the Sudanese Trade Delegation's visit to New Delhi was to earmark Rs. 4.5 crores for goods which were manufactured for Sudan prior to the difficulties which had recently cropped up in the working of the current Trade Plan, as a result of which Government of India in mid-July had to put a temporary halt on further Indian exports to Sudan. This temporary ban on exports to Sudan will now be lifted.

Date: Sep 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UGANDA

Foreign Minister's Statement on Asians in Uganda

The Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, made the following statement in the Parliament on September 4, 1972 on Asians in Uganda:

The Deputy Minister for External Affairs made a statement in the House on August 11 on the subject.

After President Amin's speech of August 9 announcing the expulsion of Asians of foreign citizenship within 90 days a decree was issued on the same day cancelling entry permits and certificates of residence of all persons of Asian origin who are citizens of the UK, India. Pakistan or

277

Bangladesh. A statutory order Issued the same day listed the following categories of persons who would be exempt from these orders:

- (a) Persons in the employment of Government, International organisations and para-Governmental organisations,
- (b) Professionals such as teachers, school owners, lawyers, medical practitioners, auditors, accountants, surveyors, technicians in industrial, commercial and agricultural enterprises, owners of industrial and agricultural enterprises, managers and owners of banks and insurance companies.

We have been informed by the Uganda Government that they are now, preparing lists of exempted persons who will shortly be notified.

On August 19, President Amin declared that citizens of Uganda of Asian origin would be required to quit as a second phase operation. However, on August 22, President Amin announced that citizens of Uganda of Asian origin would not come within this order of expulsion within 90 days, but that citizenship documents would be carefully scrutinised.

We strengthened the staff of the High Commission in Kampala by six officials in the second week of August. Shri M. A. Rahman, Additional Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs was deputed to Uganda from August 26 to 31. He held discussions with the Ministers of External Affairs, Home, Defence and of Finance- as well as with senior members of the Foreign Office. He also met representatives of the Indian community.

There are four categories of people of Asian origin in Uganda:

- (a) Ugandan citizens
- (b) British passport holders,
- (c) Indian nationals, and
- (d) Stateless persons.

We naturally accept responsibility for Indian citizens in Uganda. I had written to Uganda's Minister for Foreign Affairs pointing out that while we recognise the Uganda Government's right to regulate their internal affairs according to their best judgment, we would expect that Indian nationals who are required to leave their country are enabled to do so under conditions conforming to humane and equitable standards under international law and usage. As long as Indian nationals remain in that country, their honour and safety and the security of their property are a responsibility of the Uganda Government. We have also Impressed on the Uganda Government that they should announce urgently their regulations in respect of sale of properties, realisation of assets, transfer of assets out of the country and administration of residual assets-. -

There are about 4,500 Indian nationals in Uganda who have notifed themselves to the Indian High Commission. Of these we have collected detailed statistics regarding 3863, and information on the remainder will be completed within the next few days. As far as these persons are concerned, we have already initiated arrangements for their shipping and airlifting and for extending Customs and Import Control concessions. We are concerned at the repatriation of their assets. We consider that the present facilities for the repatriation of cash and moveables are wholly inadequate in relation to their long residence in Uganda as well as for starting a new life. We have urged that they should be allowed to bring all their personal belongings, while the repatriation of their residual assets should be on a fair and equitable basis.

As the House is aware, the United Kingdom Government have accepted full responsibility for persons of Asian origin in Uganda holding British passports. We have noted with satisfaction the clear and forthright approach of the UK Government. to this problem. We are in touch with the UK Government and understand that arrangements for the movement of these persons into the UK are being made by them.

According to present, information, the scrutiny by the Uganda authorities of the documents of citizens of Asian origin is scheduled to be completed by September 10. We have in the meantime, made our stand known to the Uganda Government that state-

278

less persons and those whose citizenship is revoked would continue to be Uganda's responsibility under international law and convention.

In today's world, considerations of compassion. and generosity must needs govern the spirit in which thousands of persons who have lived in that country for decades are uprooted, and are required to start afresh in new surroundings. To be compelled to leave in haste can only add to their sufferings.

Many aspects of human rights and fundamental freedoms are involved. To proceed on considerations of ethnic origin and discriminate against people of a particular race or region is likely to weaken the struggle against racial discrimination in other areas.

India has always responded with sympathy and humanity to those who have suffered and sought shelter here. We cannot deny it to our own kith and kin. We must stand firm in support of human rights and freedom, the dignity of man and equality of all races.

UGANDA USA INDIA PAKISTAN UNITED KINGDOM BANGLADESH CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Sep 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Indo-U.S.S.R. Bilateral Talks

Following is the text of the "Information for the Press" which was issued on September 11, 1972 at the end of the Indo-Soviet bilateral talks held in Moscow from September 5 to 10, 1972:

In the spirit of mutual understanding the representatives of the Ministry of External Affairs of India led by the Foreign Secretary Mr. T. N. Kaul, were in Moscow from the 5th to the 10th September, 1972, for political consultations.

The Indian representatives were received by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers

of the U.S.S.R., Mr. A. N. Kosygin. They had meetings and talks with the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. V. V. Kuznetsov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. N. P. Firyubin and leading officials of a number of Soviet Ministries and departments.

In the course of the discussions a friend-exchange of opinions took place. The two sides expressed satisfaction at the successful development of bilateral relations, which meets the national interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and India and serves the strengthening of peace in South Asia and throughout the world. The firm conviction was expressed that new prospects for the strengthening and further expansion of fruitful and mutually beneficial co-operation between the two countries have opened especially after the signing in August, 1971 of the Soviet-Indian Treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation.

Both the sides have noted with deep satisfaction the coincidence or closeness of their points of view on a wide number of international problems of mutual interest that were discussed. The meetings and the talks were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding which are characteristic of the friendly relations existing between the two countries.

279

USA RUSSIA INDIA

Date : Sep 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

President Giri's Speech at Banquet in Zanzibar

The following it; the full text of president Giri's reply to the banquet speech given by the First Vice-President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Aboud Jumbe, in Zanzibar on September 29, 1972:

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to you for inviting me to visit Zanzibar during my all too brief stay in Tanzania. I believe I have the privilege. to be one of theof State to, visit these islands after the burdens of your present office fell on your shoulders. There is significance. in this fact. Over centuries these millions of palm trees have seen dhows and ships from many lands anchored off your shores. Arabs, Persians, Portuguese, British, all recognised the importance of these islands. But as you say, Mr. Chairman, our forefathers were amongst the earliest to come here and barter their wares in exchange for ivory and spices for which Zanzibar has long been famous. And even today there are I believe reminders of Zanzibar's old trading and cultural links with India.

All this is part of history. What matters today is that destiny of these islands and the destiny of Union of Tanzania is in the hands of true-born citizens. Colonialism and feudalism, imperialist exploitation and slavery are now for ever part of the past. As in India the burden and the challenge to rebuild our respective nations is upon us sons of the soil and no longer with any outsiders.

Our struggle started with protest against racial discrimination in Africa; it will only be considered complete with eradication of pockets of colonialism from the rest of this continent.

I have today had a glimpse of the progress made in Zanzibar in a short span of eight years under the leadership of the Afro-Shirazi Party. New roads, new houses, pew factories, new crops, new townships - a new life throbs in these rich and beautiful islands. You, like us, are building a new nation to bring dignity and social justice to your people. Let me reciprocate your goodwill and say that, in your quest for progress

if you feel India could be of help, we would by only too willing to cooperate with your plans. We have no pre-conditions and we have no ulterior aims; we cherish all relationships based only on goodwill, equality and mutual respect. We already have some technical teachers in your schools. We would be willing to look for other experts whenever you ask us to do so. Our experience of development is at your disposal to draw upon. May I repeat, Mr. Chairman, what I said in Dar-Es-Salaam vesterday that India cherishes with deepest respect the quest of Tanzania on path of progress and in building of socialism. Therefore I fully share your hope and my Government looks forward to exploring avenues for further cooperation between us.

HISTORICAL KINSHIP

Mr. Chairman, you still have amongst your residents many families whose forefathers originated in India. Most of them now are your people. They are your citizens. We do not disown our historical kinship. Just as we would rejoice in their welfare and progress which will come to these islands, we may share in their concerns and anxieties. But even as we recognise their religious and cultural kinships with India, we enjoin them to bear true allegiance to land of their domicile and render, in all honesty, obligations of their citizenship. We ask of you nothing more than respect for their cultural personality and welfare.

Mr. Chairman, across these same waters which lap your shores is our own country. This ocean must not be looked upon is that which separates us but as the cheapest highway which joins us together. Along this highway I agree there is immense scope to revitalise our old trade connections.

280

Nations which border this ocean are of diverse stocks but all of us, now awake from long night of colonialism, are determined to rectify the disabilities inherited from our imperialist masters. We must of course guard these waters so that they are free

from conflicts and tensions; they must be used only to facilitate trade and peaceful cooperation. The challenge is to our determination to preserve peace and to forget sinews of friendship which can bind us all in mutual respect and economic complementarity.

I am most appreciative, Mr. Chairman, for this welcome. We can draw inspiration from our old connections and heritage of our cultures. But we can do more in reshaping the future; we can demonstrate dedication of new Africa and Asia to work together transcending race, religion and geography. With goodwill and determination I am confident we are opening a new chapter in our old relations.

TANZANIA USA INDIA

Date : Sep 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Finance Minister Chavan's Address at the National Press Club in Washington

Following is the text of the speech of the Finance Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan, at the National Press Club, Washington, on September 27, 1972:

Mr. President,

I greatly appreciate your invitation to address the National Press Club today and your kind words of welcome. I was scheduled to meet you last year when I came to Washington to attend the annual meetings of the Bank and the Fund. Unfortunately, the appointment could not be kept because of a strike here.

Had I been speaking to you on that occasion, I would have talked about the tragic events on our eastern borders and the turmoil through which we passed in order to secure freedom and dignity for large masses of people. Happily all that is behind us. A new nation has been born and the hapless millions have returned to their homes.

The year 1972 marks the 25th Anniversary of India's Independence, and a silver jubilee is at least a good occasion to reflect on the kind of the world one has helped create for one's grandchildren.

During these 25 years, we have faced many crisis and problems. We have had more than our share of natural calamities of droughts and floods. We have been repeatedly attacked by our neighbours and faced conflicts. Time and again, gloomy prophesies have been made about-India's future. About 12 years ago, Selig Harrison wrote that "the odds are almost wholly against the survival of freedom". Neville Maxwell of London Times thought that our parliamentary election in 1967 was the last that was going to be held. There were forecasts of chronic starvation in India, as population kept outstripping food supply. There were those who thought that India would disintegrate into a number of small linguistic units. India was sometimes described as a 'soft state'.

Yet throughout these 25 years, we have made steady progress on all fronts, though we have had occasional setbacks. Indian democracy has not only survived but has taken deep roots in the soil. Despite all the differences of race, religion, language and culture, India's unity and integrity is not in doubt.

With food production doubled, we are now able to do without the import of foodgrains. True. the monsoons do affect our

281

crops in areas where the irrigation systems had not been adequately developed. We shall overcome this deficiency. Meanwhile, with substantial stocks of foodgrains in the hands of Government, the drought conditions in some states this year have created no atmosphere of crisis.

Industrial production has been trebled. What is even more striking is the change in the structure of our industries, the diversification of products, and the development of technological capabilities.

Our per capita income has gone up by approximately 50 per cent in real terms compared with what it was at the time of independence. If the rate of population increase could be slowed down, improvement in the standard of living would be much faster. India has, therefore, launched what is the largest official programme of family planning in the world. More than 2 million vasectomy operations were performed in 1972. If the population still continues to rise, as it will for some time, it is because with the improvement in health facilities the death rate has been falling dramatically, raising the expectation of life from 32 years in 1950 to 55 years today.

If I speak of the progress we have made, it is not because I want to boast of our achievements. We are acutely aware of the fact that despite all the growth, India has one of the lowest per capita incomes in the world. While this calls for measures to step up the rate of growth, we are ever more conscious of another disquieting feature of the progress that we have achieved.

The growth process has undoubtedly made a difference to the lives of hundreds of millions. But there still remain nearly 200 million people in India whose standard of life, measured in any way, leaves much to be desired. Only a small percentage of our people are fairly well off, and there is also a sector which is unfairly well off.

ATTACK ON POVERTY

We are now facing up to these problems of making a direct attack on poverty, of securing greater employment and of removing the evils associated with the concentration of wealth in a few hands in a society whose resources are very, very scarce. Call it socialism, if you will, by whatever name you call it, it is necessary programme in a country like India. There is widespread recognition in the world today, voiced only a couple of days ago so eloquently by the President of the World Bank, Mr. Robert McNamara, that countries cannot develop by the growth of GNP alone, and that social justice is an essential ingredient of progress.

The strategy of our development is being reshaped in the light of the experience gained. Prosperity cannot be brought to the people by some process of slow percolation from the top. We have to attack poverty at its very base. We are providing credit to the small man, to the artisan, to the craftsman, to the farmer and to all those who want to set up a business on their own. We are creating employment opportunities in rural India - away from the urban industrial centres.

At the same time, we do not shut our doors to new technology and to new ideas. On the contrary, our success in agriculture has been due to the adoption of modern techniques. The Indian farmer, often depicted as a tradition-bound conservative, was quick to respond to the stimulus of change which was congenial and beneficial to him. We are going to use a massive television network with the help of satellites to spread education and innovation in the countryside.

PEOPLE'S INVOLVEMENT

Since we have deliberately chosen the path of democracy and of an open society, we cannot bring about changes by compulsion. Even if this means a somewhat slower rate than an authoritarian regime can achieve, we want to carry the people and involve them actively in the development process. Our industrial revolution has to go hand in hand with a social revolution.

RETHINKING ON ASSISTANCE

We have always recognized that in this task of raising the standard of living of hundreds of million of people international

comperation can play an important role. Even though the bulk of our investments for our devolopment have been made out of our

282

own resources - 80 percentage in the past and 90 percentage currently - we have benefited from and appreciated the credits on concessional terms that we have received from International institutions as well as friendly countries - the largest contribution being that of the United States.

But there is need today for the richer nations to reconsider and reorientate their whole approach and to make the task of banishing poverty from the world a common human endeavour. This is not a plea for just more of what has been commonly referred to as aid.

When we speak of international economic cooperation, when the developing countries of the world speak of it, we are talking of something far deeper, far more meaningful and far more comprehensive than credits which soon create an intolerable debt problem. It is a matter of the richer nations deliberately and consciously setting aside a proportion of their annual increase in resources to contribute to the welfare of nations less fortunate. Aid to be effective must come as a means of promoting genuine economic development rather than being used as an instrument of coercion for changing, on non-economic grounds, the basic policy of debtor countries. At the same time, aid must not remain subject to the same kind of vagaries - of periodic droughts as Ave associate with the monsoons. It is also equally necessary for the developed countries to pursue trade policies which will enable the poorer nations to pay for the imports they need for their development through a rising level of exports - by giving their products preferential treatment rather than limiting their inflow by quotas and others restrictions. In the UNCTAD, no less than in the meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund which I am currently attending, the developing countries are asking for a radical rethinking on questions relating to trade, payments and capital

movements so that the majority of mankind may not continue to live in conditions of poverty and squalor.

One of the essential conditions of creating a world without poverty which, in terms of the technological and material resources is perfectly possible, is peace. Peace and prosperity go together. There have been welcome signs of a reduction in world tensions. We are glad that peaceful coexistence, which India always advocated, is now being endorsed by Super Powers. We have welcomed the seating of the People's Republic of China in the U.N. and the many-summit meetings of Great Powers to resolve their differences and to reach agreement on widening areas of cooperation.

It is unfortunate that the developing countries themselves have often been involved in conflicts of one kind or another. Some of these conflicts have been the result of local tensions - often the legacy of the colonial rule from which they have recently emerged. We believe that these can be and must be resolved by their talking to each other. What makes these local tensions dangerous is when they get internationalised and when they reflect tensions between far more powerful countries.

SIMLA SUMMIT - A HOPEFUL EVENT

We in India have been involved in battle with Pakistan and with China. One of the most hopeful events that has taken place, as the first quarter century of our independence was drawing to a close, was the Simla Summit between President Bhutto of Pakistan and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India. We are encouraged to believe that this marks a new turning point in the history of the sub-continent and the end of a quarter century of confrontation and conflicts. The dialogue between the elected leaders of two countries to resolve their differences and settle their disputes through peaceful negotiations is something which we trust the world community will encourage and support.

It is a matter of regret for us that we

have not had any encouraging response from China so far. Even after China attacked us in 1962, we did not break diplomatic relations with China, nor did we change our support for the People's Republic of China being seated in the U.N. We still entertain the hope, as our Prime Minister said recently, that "some day China will appreciate that cooperative and friendly relations between the 560 million people of India and 700 million people of China are in our mutual interest".

283

Our relationship with the Soviet Union has, over the years, evolved- on a friendly basis culminating in the signing of a treaty of friendship a year ago. Many voices were raised in criticism of that treaty, alleging that we had abandoned non-alignment. There were no such misgivings among the nonaligned countries themselves. Such criticism was mainly voiced by those who, in the past, criticised us for being non-aligned. Let me say this quite categorically. We did not fight for our freedom from British rule to surrender our freedom of choice and action to any other country - however powerful and however friendly. The Soviet Union knows that we continue to be nonaligned and in fact that treaty itself specifically recognises that India has been and will continue to be nonaligned.

ABIDING WARMTH

With the United States our relations have, much to our regret, not been as smooth or happy as we should like them to be. I feel quite convinced. that there is a certain abiding warmth in the relations between the two pre-eminent democracies of the East and the West which must assert itself. A couple of days ago I had the pleasure to respond to a very warm toast from the Acting Secretary of State, Mr. John Irwin, at a function in the Indian Embassy to celebrate the 25th anniversary of our independence. I should like to conclude today, as I did that evening, by quoting what our Prime Minister has recently said in an article: "We do not believe in permanent estrangement. We admire the achievements of the American people... We are grateful for the assistance from the

United States in many areas of our development. We are ready to join in any serious effort to arrive at a deeper appreciation of each other's point of view and to improve relations".

Mr. President, I opened my remarks today by a reference to the doubts and misgivings that have been expressed so often about our policies, performance and prospects, during the last 25 years. I hope what I have had to say will help you to look at them in a longer perspective. If we have solved many problems and made some tangible progress in the last quarter of a century, we know only too well that we have to do even more, move even faster in the years to come. I hope and trust that as India faces the many challenges that lie ahead, she will have your understanding and support.

284

USA INDIA UNITED KINGDOM LATVIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC CHINA PAKISTAN

Date: Sep 01, 1972

October

| | Volume No | |
|---------|-----------|--|
| 1995 | | |
| | | |
| Content | | |

Foreign Affairs Record 1972 Vol. XVIII OCTOBER

No. 10

CONTENTS

PAGE

AUSTRIA

Debt Relief Credit from Austria 285

BELGIUM

Agreement on Belgian Loan 285

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Press Communique on establishment of Indo-GDR Diplomatic Relations 285

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Text of Foreign Minister, Shri Swaran Singh's Speech at U. N.

General Assembly 286

Indian Delegate's Speech at U.N. Sixth Committee on Report of

International Law Commission 29

Shri Maurya's Speech at U.N. Sixth Committee on International

Trade Law 294

Shri Pant's Speech in General Assembly on Decolonisation 296

Samar Sen's Speech at Security Council on Violation of Senegal's

Borders by Portuguese 299

President Giri's U.N. Day Message 300

Shri Surendra Pal Singh's Speech at U.N. Day Function 301

India Replies to Portugal's Allegation at U.N. 303

IRAQ

Indo-Iraqi Joint Communique 304

KUWAIT

Trade Agreement with Kuwait 305

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

AUSTRIA USA BELGIUM INDIA SENEGAL PORTUGAL IRAQ KUWAIT

Date: Oct 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

AUSTRIA

Debt Relief Credit from Austria

release issued in New Delhi on October 10, 1972 on the Signing of an Indo-Austrian agreement for debt relief credit:

An agreement giving India a credit of over 56 million Austrian schillings was signed on October 9, 1972 in Vienna by Mr. Walter Wodak, Secretary-General of the Austrian Foreign Ministry and Ambassador V. C. Trivedi.

The credit offsets repayments from India falling due on the 1st of July this year and the 1st of January 1973. Since 1968 Austria has been extending debt relief assistance to India and the present agreement is the fifth one to be signed between the two countries.

AUSTRIA USA INDIA

Date: Oct 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

BELGIUM

Agreement on Belgian Loan

Following is the text of a press release issued in New Delhi on October 25, 1972 on the signing of an Indo-Belgian agreement for a Belgian non-project loan to India of 225 million Belgian, Francs:

An agreement was signed on October 24 in Brussels between India and Belgium providing for a Belgian non-project loan to India of 225 million Belgian francs.

The agreement was signed by Shri B. R. Patel, Indian Ambassador to Belgium on behalf of the Government of India and by Prof. A. Vlerick, Belgian Finance Minister and Mr. H. Fayat, Belgian Foreign Trade

Minister, on behalf of the Government of Belgium.

The loan is in fulfilment of Belgium's commitment under the Aid India Consortium to give assistance to India during 1972-73. One-third of the loan (i.e. 75 million Belgian francs) is for debt relief, i.e. to be utilized towards repayment of past obligations falling due during 1972-73. The balance of 150 million Belgian francs is for the purchase of Belgian goods and services.

The loan carries an annual interest rate of two per cent and is repayable over thirty years with a grace period of ten years.

BELGIUM INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Oct 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Press Communique on establishment of Indo- GDR Diplomatic Relations

The following is the text of the Press Communique issued in New Delhi On October 10, 1972 on the establishment of Indo-G.D.R. diplomatic relations:

The Government of India have noted with great satisfaction the successful development of relations in all fields between India and the German Democratic Republic. Consistent with their desire to further expand and strengthen the friendly and mutually beneficial relations existing between the two countries, the Government of India and the

285

Government of the German Democratic Republic have decided to establish diplomatic relations and to raise the status of respective

Missions in New Delhi and Berlin to the level of an Embassy with effect from 8th October, 1972.

The Government of India have followed with keen interest the Initiatives taken in Europe directed towards promoting detente and constructive cooperation amongst all European States, and in particular the efforts made to normalise relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. The Government of India are confident that the establishment of diplomatic relations between India and the German Democratic Republic not only meets the basic national interests of the two countries, but also makes a positive contribution to the consolidation of international peace and security.

INDIA USA GERMANY MALI

Date: Oct 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Text of Foreign Minister, Shri Swaran Singh's Speech at U.N. General Assembly

Following is the text of address by the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Swaran Singh, to the 27th Session of the United Nations General Assembly on October 3, 1972:

Mr. President, I offer you on behalf of India our most cordial congratulations on your election as the President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. By electing you, the Member States have recognized your own skill and wisdom and have also honoured the struggles and achievements of the Polish people. India has had close and friendly relations with Poland, and I wish

to assure you of our fullest cooperation in the discharge of your responsibilities.

I should also like to pay a tribute to our outgoing President, Foreign Minister Adam Malik of Indonesia, for the patience and devotion with which he guided our work during the last session.

COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS

We recall the long years of dedicated service which U Thant gave to the United Nations and for which he will always be remembered with affection and admiration. At the same time, we greet our distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim. His dynamism and his high sense of purpose had been recognized even before his election at the end of our last session. Since then his tireless efforts in the exercise of his duties have earned him high respect. We wish him continued success.

In India, we are celebrating this year the twenty-fifth anniversary of our independence. As a result of the long struggle of our people, we became independent in the year 1947. In the years that followed, the freedom of most countries from colonial domination was achieved and a community of interests for justice and progress began to grow among the newly independent countries. In the quarter of a century that has since passed, we have had our share of difficulties and successes. Today we are more united and determined than we have ever before been in the last 25 years. Our faith in our democracy has become deeper, our goals for the betterment of our people are clearer and our resolution to achieve them has become firmer. We realize that basically we must rely on our own values and resources in order to strengthen our economy and to accelerate the pace of our development. The bulk of the burden must fail on us - as indeed it has fallen on us in the past. At the same time we believe that international co-operation is vitally necessary if humanity as a whole is to be freed from poverty and want. Our unfinished revolution in India will not be

completed until full economic and social justice is assured for all our people. In this spirit, we seek nothing but co-operation and friendship with all, on a basis of equality.

COOPERATION AS EQUALS

India adheres firmly to the policy of nonalignment and peaceful co-existence. This does not and cannot mean an exact middle position between any two extreme views on matters of international concern. India's policy of non-alignment is based on the need in the modern world to maximize the area of peace, reduce tension and ensure stability with justice. We believe in the sovereign parity of all nations: we accept the supremacy of none. Our friendship is open to all countries on the same terms. We trust in co-operation as among equals and not on the basis of domination by one country over another. This policy determines our attitude to all countries, and will continue to govern our relationship with our neighbours.

The last year has been marked by significant detente among nations, big and small. The meetings of leaders in Moscow and Peking, the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States, especially for the limitation of strategic arms, are helpful changes from the earlier and sterile, and at times dangerous confrontations. In Europe many prospects for the reduction of tensions have opened up. Some of the recent events in Asia encourage the hope that our part of the world might also soon be moving towards greater understanding and co-operation. Our purpose in this improving situation will be to ensure that the momentum towards an ever-expanding area of understanding and accommodation is maintained.

The world at large is rejecting more and more the concepts of spheres of influence. under the guise of balance of power and of domination of smaller Powers by the mightier ones. In this context the Secretary-General has noted, in his thoughtful introduction to the Annual Report, that the idea of keeping peace and security through a concert of great Powers is outdated, if not outmoded. The current processes of detente can produce

healthy and abiding results only when they do not ignore the interests of countries that are yet to participate in them. Non-aligned countries have long striven for such contacts and consultations as are now in fact taking place. At the same time they have repeatedly emphasized the risks to true independence if agreements are not concluded by broadbased consultations.

A recent encouraging development has been the greater and more determined pursuit of bilateralism in search for solutions to many international problems. In the past there were many instances when the interests of outside Powers prevented the settlement of problems which could have been achieved by mutual consultations among the parties directly concerned. Examples of this kind are not altogether absent in our time. Nevertheless, in areas as widely separated as Central Europe, North Africa, West Africa and Asia, agreements have been reached for solving a number of problems through efforts of the countries directly concerned. Settlement of problems mutually and bilaterally can, we think, strengthen peace security and independence.

INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Looked at from this Point of view, the recent developments in relations between India and Pakistan mark a significant departure from past years, when hostility and suspicion were unfortunately the dominant features. Direct negotiations have provided a more dependable means by which we can settle and solve our problems to the benefit of the vast population of the region. In a sincere search for durable peace and goodneighbourly relations, we opened negotiations with Pakistan last February, culminating in the Simla Agreement of July 3, 1972. The two Governments have agreed that all problems between them should be settled by peaceful means through mutual consultations.

The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India have pledged full support and expressed their complete determination for the faithful implementation of the Simla Agreement. For this purpose, further accords are to be arrived at by mutual consultation and discussion. The use of force has been totally abjured. They have also agreed that in Jammu and Kashmir the entire line of control as it existed at the time of ceasefire on December 17, 1971 will be respected by both sides. The two Govern-

287

ments have been taking steps to carry out this agreement and when some doubts and difficulties arose a few weeks ago, these too were resolved by direct negotiations. The military commanders have been meeting from time to time to work out the delineation of the line of control. Agreement on delineation has been arrived at practically everywhere except for a few small pockets where the total area involved is only a few square miles. We have offered to the Pakistan side to have joint inspection and survey, whereever necessary, in order to complete the delineation. We hope that the military commanders of the two sides will meet without any further delay to finalize delineation in the remaining small pockets by holding joint meetings, joint inspections and surveys wherever necessary. We hope that very shortly the entire line will be delineated. The completion of this task will, as already agreed, be followed by mutual withdrawal of troops. In the meantime, exchanges have been taking place of sick and wounded prisoners of war and of those civilians who came to be under the custody of India or Pakistan at the outbreak of hostilities on the Western Sector.

There are naturally several problems arising out of the armed conflict, and the two Governments have agreed that these problems, as also other basic unresolved matters between the two countries, would be settled by mutual agreement. A series of meetings at various levels is envisaged to achieve this objective. The welcome accorded to the Simla Agreement by the international community will sustain the efforts of the two Governments and their leaders to work patiently towards a durable peace.

The Simla Agreement is the first major fruitful step in the search for mutual under-

standing and co-operation between India and Pakistan. Its full and effective application should bring about conditions in both countries which will enable their peoples to utilize their resources and energies for the pressing task of advancing their welfare. The peoples of India and Pakistan have many common interests and aspirations and they would wish to live as good neighbours. The Simla Agreement has therefore been widely supported by the people of both the countries.

BANGLADESH AS EQUAL PARTNER

The emergence of Bangladesh as a sovereign country is destined to be of vital importance in strengthening peace, stability, security and progress in the subcontinent. We welcome Bangladesh as an equal partner in this common task of the countries of the region. The heroism and fortitude of the people of Bangladesh will be an invaluable asset in the reconstruction of their country.

We deeply regret that Bangladesh was not enabled to take its place at the opening of this session of the General Assembly. A country with 75 million people, it has been recognized by over 90 other sovereign States and has already found Its rightful place in many international forums. The earliest admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations will further strengthen the United Nations system, will reinforce the principle of universality of our Organization, and will contribute to the more expeditious normalization of relations among the countries of the subcontinent and the achievement of peace and harmony in the area. We are convinced that this General Assembly can do much to bring this about, through reconsideration of Bangladesh's application by the Security Council.

We sincerely hope that, in the shortest possible time, Pakistan and Bangladesh will be able to solve all the problems between them with understanding and as equal sovereign States.

We view with deep satisfaction the fact that India's relations with other neighbouring countries continue to grow in depth and so serve to help strengthen the forces of peace and progress in South Asia. The relations between China and India have not shown the necessary and expected improvement. On our part, we continue to be ready, as indeed we have indicated in the past, to resume normal relations with China and to improve them in our mutual interest and with mutual respect. Against the background of normalization and detente that have taken place in Asia and in other parts of the world such an improvement in Sino-Indian relations is, in our opinion, all the more desirable

Naturally, I have taken a few minutes to explain at some length the significant

288

developments in the Indian subcontinent, the state of our relations with some of our immediate neighbours. and the hopes of peace and progress they inspire. These issues are nearest to us. I must now deal briefly with some other vital international problems.

RAMPANT RACIALISM

The presence in this hall of 132 States should make us doubly conscious of the absence of representatives of many large areas of the world which are still under colonial rule. Nor can we ignore the fact that in several countries rampant racialism is being preached and practised. The solution of these problems will require a degree of awareness and co-operation which are unfortunately still lacking. The Indian delegation will do its utmost to work out, together with the others, all such practical means as the United Nations can pursue. We shall continue to support the struggle for independence being carried out by the people of all colonial Territories including Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). We will not relax our efforts to eliminate racial discrimination, whenever and whenever it appears. The meetings of the Security Council last spring at Addis Ababa provided an opportunity for focusing attention on these problems. We look forward with interest to the outcome of the Secretary-General's efforts with regard to Namibia and for more effective use of the Commissioner and the

UGANDA - A HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM

The situation that has now arisen in Uganda cannot but cause concern to all of us. The problems facing the Asians affected by the expulsion order are essentially humanitarian in character and can be solved only in a spirit of compassion and understanding. The people facing deportation should be afforded reasonable time to be able to wind up their affairs in an orderly manner and depart in safety. A vast majority of than have lived there for generations and they should be allowed to take with them their Personal belongings and a reasonable amount of assets to enable them to re-start their lives in other lands with some measure of hope and confidence. We hope that the Government of Uganda will respect these human considerations and do everything possible to discharge its responsibilities towards the person and property of these unfortunate people and so lessen their hardship. Any help other countries can give in over. coming this problem will, of course, be mostwelcome; India, on its part, is doing all it can.

We must ensure that our solidarity in the common struggle against racial discrimination and colonial domination is not undermined. Since we all agree that racial discrimination is an evil to be fought, we, all of us, cannot but oppose it, whatever form it may take.

TENSION IN MID-EAST

Tensions and frustrations continue to mount in the Middle East and indeed, as recent incidents have shown, are rising to unprecedented heights of senseless and savage reprisals and terror. The efforts of Ambassador Jarring and of our Secretary-General have not yet borne fruit and meanwhile Israel is persistently consolidating its position to the total detriment of Arab and Palestinian rights and interests. Israel has consistently obstructed all attempts at progress towards a peaceful solution of this problem as laid down in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and has created the situation, where

threats to international peace and security are increasing daily and at times ominously. We also would ask why the permanent members of the Security Council have failed to meet for months in the face of this deteriorating situation and this grave problem.

PRG PROPOSAL A REASONABLE BASIS

India stands firmly against interference of outside Powers aimed at preventing any people from determining its destiny or choosing its form of government in accordance with its own wishes. The tragedy in Viet Nam is the prolonged denial, in the most brutal manner, of this basic right of the people. We cannot but strongly deplore and express dismay at the continued and ever-increasing bombardment and aerial bombing of innocent men, women and children, their cities, villages and homes, and the indiscriminate destruction of ports, industries, crops, forests and all other means of existence. We have consistently held and expressed the view for a long time that force and foreign military intervention cannot bring this problem to an end. This view is shared by a large and ever-increasing number of countries. Recent indications are that the

289

United States of America has also come to accept this view. We believe that the 7-point proposal put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam provides a reasonable basis for peaceful negotiations. The continuance of bombing with savage intensity in Indo-China in these circumstances must command our utmost opposition.

We regret the attitude of non-cooperation by Saigon which holds out little hope of progress towards a peaceful settlement of this problem. The independence, integrity and non-alignment of the three States of Indo-China are vital to the peace and progress of Asia. The Geneva accords provided the framework within which these objectives could be achieved. The decision of the Saigon Government to refuse a visa to the Chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control is in clear violation of its obligations.

We are disappointed that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has not been able to finalize even limited measures during the past year's deliberations. Bearing in mind the link between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and economic development, we expect that the objectives of cessation and reversal of the arms race, especially in nuclear armaments, the elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control will be vigorously pursued. Our general views supporting the convening of a world disarmament conference, after adequate preparation, and with the participation of all States, have been made known and we look forward to a constructive debate during this session.

On the question of the strengthening of international security and related subjects, we are confident that our discussion-, will enable us to give effect, in a more practical and fruitful manner, to the ideas embodied in the Declaration itself, with such further elaboration as may be necessary.

The adoption of General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace is a welcome follow-up of the Declaration on the strengthening of international security. The creation of zones of peace and co-operation, free from great Power military rivalries and interventions, and the removal of bases conceived in that context, must be seen as-part of legitimate regional efforts towards strengthening international security. My delegation would support the taking of further steps to give fuller meaning and substance to the Declaration and would cooperate with other delegations for this purpose.

LESSON OF STOCKHOLM

The Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm last June has awakened hopes and fears at the same time. The prevention of pollution is a matter of common concern to the entire human race. But the developing countries cannot accept any

line of reasoning which makes the prevention of pollution an excuse for slowing down growth in the poorer countries.

Addressing the Conference, the Prime Minister of India pointed out that

"... the environment cannot be improved in conditions of poverty nor can poverty be eradicated without the use of science and technology."

To the bulk of the human population poverty continues to be a much bigger menace than pollution. The true lesson of Stockholm is that we must start the quest for a world without poverty and without pollution. We consider that the programmes should be formulated on a world-wide basis in order to assist the countries to meet effectively the requirements of growth of human settlements and to improve the quality of life in existing settlements by creating a human settlement development fund.

The peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the utilization of the vast and as yet untapped resources of the sea-bed in the interests of mankind remain a matter of importance to us. We cautiously hope that the preparatory work entrusted to the United Nations Committee on the sea-bed will result in the early convening of a conference on the law of the sea.

WORLD MONETARY SYSTEM

Recent developments in the world economy and monetary field have caused grave concern to us all and have pointed to "he need for the establishing of a more durable

290

and equitable world monetary system. Let us not forget that the world economy will not be restored to health by focussing only on the payments problems of the Prosperous countries. Monetary, trade and development problems are all closely interrelated and the developing countries have a vital stake in all of them. The developing countries must therefore participate fully in any decision-making process affecting the future of the

international monetary system, so that their legitimate interests may be fully safeguarded.

Last week the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Washington showed some awareness of the problem by setting up a committee of Governors in which the developing countries have increased representation. We consider that the link between the special drawing rights and additional development, finance, which we have always advocated and the need for which has now been widely realized, should be established soon.

India participated, with great expectations, in the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in Santiago earlier this year. The need for taking speedy follow-up action on the decisions taken at that conference cannot be overemphasized. It may be too early to attempt a final evaluation of the results of the conference, but clearly many trade and allied issues of great concern to the developing countries have remained unresolved. Continued efforts from all sides are therefore necessary if the high hopes that were entertained in respect of that conference are to be realized

DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Two years ago my delegation had occasion to emphasize the great importance of the adoption by the General Assembly of an international development strategy for the 1970s. It cannot, however, be said with any degree of confidence that the commitments voluntarily assumed by the international community only a short time ago are being implemented with any vigour and vitality. If anything, there has been a slideback in the fulfilment of the goals and objectives of the decade, and the interests of the developing countries have been given only residual consideration. During the remaining years of this decade, therefore, it will be necessary for all of us to catch up with the time loss and to evolve effective and concrete programmes of international cooperation in the economic field.

At the same time, the continuous and wen coordinated review and appraisal of the implementation of the development strategy will need to be equally emphasized. We hope that the two newly established committees of the Economic and Social Council, one on review and appraisal and the other on science and technology, will be able to make an effective contribution in this field, in close co-ordination with the useful work already being done by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the United Nations International Development organization.

Our agenda has nearly a hundred items on it, and I have commented on only a limited number of issues. However, we are conscious that many other problems, whether or not they are included in our agenda, create anxieties and difficulties in many parts of the world. The Secretary-General, in the introduction to his report, has given his views on salient aspects of the international scene as it is today, and on the perspective for the future.

In order to complete my presentation I should like to touch upon the Indian experience over the last year or so.

As I said here twelve months ago the year 1971 opened for us with great hopes and yet throughout the year we faced endless, and at times nearly insurmountable, difficulties. Confronted with the most appalling difficulties and human tragedies, the Indian People showed remarkable unity and determination. Within three months of the cease-fire nearly all of the 10 million refugees had gone back to their homes in the newly independent Bangladesh. Despite our limited resources we have co-operated fully with Bangladesh in the Herculean task of relief and reconstruction.

The Indian people are now engaged in increasing their agricultural and industrial production. The Government of India has introduced programmes in order to achieve greater social justice and more satisfying human values for the Indian people as a whole. In that great experiment the Govern-

ment and people of India look to the United Nations as a continuous source of inspiration and a vast field of co-operation.

Yet our Organization is constantly being enfeebled, if not undermined, in a number of ways. Some seek in it partisan support-, others make an issue of money and finance-, still others try to use it to underwrite their domestic policies. All of these may appear to some to be legitimate, but developing countries such as India look upon this Organization as a bastion where inter-national peace and justice can be protected and where progress can be assured. For that purpose the great principles of the Charter cannot be pursued selectively: they should be taken in their totality, and applied realistically in a given situation. U Thant has already drawn attention to this problem, and we are anxious that in the coming years it should be possible to work out a viable system in which the seeming contradiction in Charter principles would no longer prove to be a hindrance in solving several international problems of our time.

Such a step, taken together with move massive and co-operative utilization of modern science and technology, may well fulfil the dream for which this Organization was established. There is need for vigilance and study to decide how we can make our Organization more representative, more effective and more responsive to the multitude of needs of people all over the world.

Finally, I would simply, say that in spite of many setbacks and disappointments the millions and millions of people of India look to this Organization with faith and hope, and wish that this session of the Assembly may take yet another step, however modest, towards achieving the goal of peace, justice and progress.

INDIA POLAND INDONESIA MALI USA RUSSIA PAKISTAN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC BANGLADESH CHINA NAMIBIA ZIMBABWE ANGOLA GUINEA GUINEA-BISSAU MOZAMBIQUE ETHIOPIA UGANDA ISRAEL SWITZERLAND SWEDEN CHILE

Date: Oct 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Indian Delegate's Speech at U.N. Sixth Committee on Report of International Law Co

Law Commission

The following is the text of the statement by Shri B. P. Maurya, member of the Indian Delegation to US. on October 4, 1972 in the Sixth Committee on the Report of the International Law Commission on the work of its 24th session in New York:

My delegation wishes to place on record its deep satisfaction and gratitude for the progress made by the International Law Commission at its 24th session. This progress is in no small measure due to the outstanding leadership provided to that body by Ambassador Kearney of the United States. My delegation is also grateful to Ambassador Kearney for the brilliant exposition that he gave to this Committee on 29th September 1972 of the work done by the Commission during its last session.

Mr. Chairman, the Commission submitted to this Committee in the past draft conventions on different aspects of international law which subsequently became the basis for the conclusion of important international conventions. The international community as a whole considers these conventions as landmarks in the progressive development of international law and its codification.

What emerges from the Commission represents in our opinion the coordinated and conceited work of legal experts from different parts of the world. These jurists harmonize and synthesize the different, if not, conflicting, legal interests and positions of various sections of the community of nations. The work of the Commission

therefore demands the highest respect from this Committee.

My delegation also considers that the work of the Commission has received added authority and weight as a result of the fruitful cooperation developed between the Commission and other important legal committees such as the Asian Africal Legal Consultative Committee, the European Committee on Legal Cooperation and the Inter American Juridical Committee. We are particularly happy to note that the membership of the Asian African Legal Consultative Committee has steadily been expanding, and its activities have proved of considerable value not only to

292

the African and Asian States but also to the international community as a whole.

My delegation also wishes to express its thanks to the International Law Commission for holding international law seminars during the sessions of the Commission, and also the various Governments which made scholarships available to participants from developing countries. We believe that these seminars not only prove, as Ambassador Yasseen said the other day, a close link between the younger and the senior generation of international lawyers, but also reveal to young officials of Government departments. mainly Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the importance and the quality of the work done by the Commission.

SUCCESSION OF STATES

Mr. Chairman, the Commission submitted to the Committee a complete set of draft articles on two important subjects, succession of states in respect of treaties and the protection and violability of diplomatic agents and other persons entitled to special protection under international law. The Chairman of the International Law Commission has explained to us the reasons why the Commission concentrated on these two items.

My delegation wishes to pay a special tribute to that outstanding jurist, Sir Humphrey Waldock, who not only acted since

1967 as the special rapporteur for succession in respect of treaties but also contributed to the completion of the Commission's task in regard to draft articles on this subject. My Government will study the draft articles prepared by the Commission on succession of states in respect of treaties with the attention that this important subject deserves. A preliminary study of these articles would show that they contain elements of progressive development as well as codification of the law on the subject. State practice and academic works reveal a number of different theories of succession. The Commission has done well in not lending its support to any one of these different theories. My delegation has noted that the Commission took the provisions of the 1969 Vienna Convention on The law of treaties as an essential framework of the law relating to succession of states in respect of treaties.

My delegation is confident that there would be general support for the draft articles dealing with the principle of self-determination and the law relating to succession in respect of treaties. As the Commission pointed out, "the traditional principle that, a new state begins its treaty relations with a clean slate, if properly understood and limited was more consistent: with the principle of self-determination".

The Commission has shown commendable foresight in providing provisions in the draft articles concerning succession of states arising from the uniting, dissolution and separation of states. We recognise that it is in this area. future problems of succession are likely to arise.

Part V of the draft articles deals with the delicate and important subject of effect of succession of states on the boundary regimes or other territorial regimes established by a treaty. These articles, in our opinion, embody the accepted legal principle of respect for established boundaries, and constitute a useful supplement to article 62 of the Vienna Convention on the law of treaties.

CRIMES AGAINST DIPLOMATS

Mr. Chairman, the Commission also should be congratulated for presenting within a short time a complete set of the draft articles on the prevention and punishment of crimes against diplomatic agents and other internationally protected persons.

We have noted that while some members of the Commission doubted whether a convention of this nature would be really useful in providing protection, a majority of the members of the Commission considered that the question of the utility as well as the scope of draft articles on the subject had been determined by Resolution 2780 (XXVI) of the General Assembly. The draft convention is being examined by my Government in all its aspects.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation will support the general approach that has been taken in these draft articles. We are also in agreement with the view that the formulation of a convention on the lines presented To us by the Commission is a first step however modest in the process of formulation of legal rules to effectuate inter-

293

national cooperation in the prevention, suppression and punishment of terrorism. The distinguishing feature of the draft articles is that they seek to ensure that safe havens will no longer be available to a person as to whom there are grounds to believe that he has committed serious offences against internationally protected persons.

Under Article 2, a violent attack either upon the person or liberty of an internationally protected person or upon the official premises of the private accommodation of such a person are required to be made a crime by each state party under its international law attended by severe penalities. My delegation may state here that the acts referred to above are ordinary crimes under the Criminal Law of India, and they are subject to severe punishment. Under Article 6, the obligation of the state party in whose territory the alleged offender is present, if it does not extradite him, is to submit the

case to its competent authorities for the purpose of prosecution. My delegation considers that this is a welcome provision which seeks to fill a lacuna in the existing international customary and conventional law on the subject. These are some of the preliminary observations of my delegation on this subject, and we reserve the right to offer more comments in the course of this session of the Committee. I may also hasten to state in this connection that the proposed convention should be drawn up in such a way as to secure the widest possible agreement.

My delegation is happy to note that the Commission intends to consider at its 25th session, as matters of priority, the topics of state responsibility and of succession of states in respect of matters other than treaties. We hope that after completing its work in this regard, the Commission would immediately take up the items relating to treaties concluded between states and international organisations or between two or more international organisations and the most favoured nation clause.

INDIA USA AUSTRIA

Date: Oct 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Maurya's Speech at U.N. Sixth Committee on International Trade Law

The following is the text of the statement made on October 18, 1972 in New York by Mr. B. P. Maurya, member of the Indian Delegation, in the Sixth Committee, on the report of the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law on the work of its fifth session:

Mr. Chairman,

At the outset, my delegation would like to offer its sincere congratulations to Mr. Jorge Barreragraf for giving us an excellent introduction to the report of the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law on the work of its fifth session. The report shows distinct progress in all areas of the Commission's activities. My delegation is particularly happy to note that the decisions taken by the Commission in the course of its fifth session were all reached by consensus.

Mr. Chairman, as members of this committee are aware, my country is a member of The United Nations Commission on International Trade Law. We attach great importance to the activities of this body in the field of progressive harmonisation and unification of the law of international trade. It is gratifying to note that the Commission has been able to complete the work that it began at its second session on the subject of uniform law on prescription in the international sale of goods, and present to us the text of a draft convention on it. We believe that the initiative taken by the Commission in establishing working groups and drafting parties contributed greatly to the satisfactory completion of the mandate given to the Commission, and hope that the Commission would continue its present procedure of work.

COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS

Mr. Chairman, the draft convention on prescription in the international sale of goods differs on many points from the Indian law on the subject. Among other things, we

294

may draw attention to Article 21 of the draft convention dealing with modification of the limitation period by the parties. We were opposed to such a provision because we considered that limitation was a matter of public policy and not just a question of parties' autonomy. On these and other issues, my delegation accepted compromise solution in a spirit of accommodation and in the interests of general agreement.

The Commission could not reach a consensus on certain provisions in the draft convention, and placed these provisions within square brackets for final consideration by an international conference of plenipotentiaries. It is not my intention here to set out my country's position on these provisions. Our position on them has been made clear by our delegation in the Commission's deliberations. We have no doubt that the Commission's draft makes a significant contribution to the field of international trade law, and offers a sound basis for the adoption of a convention on prescription (limitation) in the international sale of goods by an international conference of plenipotentiaries. My delegation is happy to note that there is general support in this Committee for the recommendation of the Commission that the General Assembly should convene an international conference of plenipotentiaries to conclude this convention. The adoption of this convention by such a conference would show positive progress in the work of U.N.C.I.T.R.A.L.

My delegation also expresses its general satisfaction for the progress achieved by the working group on the international sale of goods as revealed in the progress report of the group. While progress on this difficult and complex subject is bound to be slow, we hope that this group would in future register greater progress in its work. My delegation also hopes that the Commission's directive to the working group that it should, until the new text of a uniform law or the revised text of U.L.I.S. has been completed. Submit only progress reports on its work to each session of the Commission would have the desired effect of accelerating the work of the group.

MODEL CONTRACTS

Turning now to the question of general conditions of sales and standard contracts, my delegation hopes that the Commission would carry out its work in this regard in consultation with the regional Commissions, regional inter-Governmental bodies, trading and other organisations, and that model or standard contracts or general conditions of delivery will soon be evolved for Inter-

national trade in specific commodities including those of special interest to the developing countries. It may be of Interest to note here that the Asian African Legal consultative Committee, of which India is a member, has also taken keen interest in the question of drawing up standard mode) contracts for specific commodities of special Interest to Asian and African countries. The Committee has recently circulated to its member Governments a "draft standard form of contract for sale of consumer goods on F.O.B./F.A.S." basis for their comments.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation also fully supports the decision of the Commission concerning the future work programme of its working group on international legislation on shipping. We are particularly happy with the decision of the Commission that the working group should give priority in its work to the basic question of the carrier's responsibility. We also welcome the establishing of working group of international negotiable instruments at the fifth session of U.N.C.I.T.R.A.L., and hope that it would prepare a final draft uniform law on international bills of exchange and promissory notes with all deliberate speed- The Commission has rightly stressed the desirability in this connection of close cooperation and consultation with interested international organisations, including banking and trade organisations.

On the subject of international commercial arbitration, my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to Mr. Ion Nestor of Romania who, as the special rapporteur of the Commission, submitted significant reports which constituted an excellent basis for further work in the field of international commercial arbitration. My country has taken a keen interest in this field. The Government of India had appointed a committee on commercial arbitration which submitted its report in 1964. This Committee suggested amendments in the Indian law with a view to promoting commerical arbitration. India is a party to the 1958 United Nations Convention on the recognition and enforcement of foreign arbitral awards of 10 June 1958, and,

to implement this convention, it has enacted the Foreign Awards (Recognition and Enforcement) Act, 1961. The Indian Council of Arbitration, a private body, was set up in India in 1965. The main object of this body is to encourage the use of commercial arbitration and to impart to traders, especially those engaged in foreign trade, knowledge of the benefits of this mode of settlement of disputes arising in the course of their dealings. This council has advocated the regular use of standard contract forms for concluding trade contracts and the insertion of an arbitration clause in all contracts.

Mr. Chairman, it is a matter of general knowledge that most of the developing countries are not satisfied with certain present practices relating to international commercial arbitration. For example, we are of the view that the present practice of deciding the venue of arbitration entirely on the basis of the bargaining power of the parties must be substituted by objective criteria. International commercial arbitration must be developed in a way which besides promoting international trade, inspires confidence among the developing countries of Asia and Africa in this institution. My delegation hopes that comments of states members of U.N.C.I.T.R.A.L. on the proposals made by Professor Nestor in his report would help in further clarification of the subject of the law of international commercial arbitration.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation wishes to express its general satisfaction with the work done by the Commission at Its fifth session, and also extend its full support for all the recommendations for future work contained in the Commission's report.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC OMAN ROMANIA

Date: Oct 01, 1972

Volume No

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Pant's Speech in General Assembly on Decolonisation

The following is the text of the speech by the Indian Delegate, Shri K. C. Pant at the United Nations General Assembly on October 20, 1972 during debate on the question of implementation of the Declaration on the granting of Independence to colonial countries and Peoples:

The debate this year on the problem of decolonization is particularly important because of the new difficulties which we have faced during the past 12 months. The fact that we have decided to discuss this subject in plenary is a measure of the importance the United Nations attaches to this subject. Further, it is our hope that the discussion in plenary will give us a total picture of the problem and perhaps indicate the directions in which we can move forward.

These discussions and debates in the United Nations have, over the years, succeeded in creating a climate of world opinion which has put the colonial countries on the defensive and has provided moral support for those struggling for independence. The last 25 years have seen the emergence of a large number of countries from bondage into freedom. The composition and tone of the United Nations itself has undergone a change. The resolution on this subject which the General Assembly adopted last year had 96 supporters, with only 5 opponents and 18 abstentions. This year again, we may draw satisfaction by adopting a similar resolution, but the question we should ask ourselves is whether this is enough and whether this will help us to move ahead with speed and determination.

We are all aware of the historical forces that led to the subjugation of many countries throughout the world by colonial Powers and we are also aware of the systematic exploitation of colonial peoples, the impoverishment of some lands and the enrichment of others at their cost. A network of vested interests and machinations have underpinned the structure of colonialism for decades, even centuries.

All that has fortunately changed in the last quarter of a century, and most of the former colonial countries are now independent sovereign nations. Colonialism is very much on the retreat today. It may seek to assume new cloaks, but in its crude and naked political form, The out-and-out aggression on and subjugation of lands and peoples,

296

the dimensions of colonialism have shrunk in the last few decades. We should perhaps, at a suitable time, examine economic and other forms of pressure that are still being exerted on the developing nations. Last month, my Prime Minister said:

"The world has changed greatly during this quarter century. The most notable feature of this period has been the emergence of free and sovereign Asian and African countries. Although colonialism has been on the retreat, there are persistent attempts to interfere with the internal affairs of Asian and African nations and to subject their economies to pressures. All our countries must develop their own internal strength and co-operate among themselves and with others in order to promote the cause of peace and equality among peoples."

The immediate problem before us is that, in spite of the Declaration on independence to colonial countries and peoples being adopted by the Assembly over 10 years ago, there are still over 40 countries, with a combined population of more than 45 million, which have not yet attained independence. Of these, about 36 million people live in countries African Territories alone. The attainment of freedom by other dependent countries in no way reduces the sufferings of those who are not yet masters of their own destiny. Countries which have emerged from colonial rule in the last quarter of a

century have a special responsibility and duty to assist those who are still in bondage.

Here we must stop and assess what the United Nations has done to bring comfort to these countries and to help them in bringing their independence nearer. Many distinguished speakers, not only in this Assembly but elsewhere, have explained at length, and at times with understandable passion, the hard facts that stand in the way of colonial countries, particularly in Africa, achieving their independence. I do not have restate these facts, which indeed have not been questioned, any more than I have to analyse in detail the situation as it is Today. My purpose is simply to explore what action we can take at present to further the cause to which most of us. practically all of us, are committed. The traditional pattern of colonialism of a metropolitan Power ruling over a distant people has now a companion in the shape of settler colonialism. This is especially true for Namibia and Zimbabwe. Further, colonialism and racism in southern Africa have become complementary reactionary forces, one aiding the other.

Sanctions have failed. Many countries which will stoutly deny that they are violating the sanctions are in fact known to have been guilty. Unfortunately, public protestations seem to have no significance when narrow national interests are concerned, even of countries which claim a progressive and revolutionary outlook. We have to take into account direct and indirect supply of arms to colonial countries for the suppression of liberation movements within them. We must also take note that economic encouragement given to the colonial Powers and to their colonies, as also to South Africa, continues to be a main source of difficulty.

In this situation, the struggle of the peoples still under subjugation, is bound to be long and hard. It is their organization their devotion to the cause of freedom, and their spirit of sacrifice which will finally decide the speed and the circumstances in which their freedom can be won.

Those countries which are neighbours

of these colonial Territories have a particularly important contribution to make, in the sense that they can support the liberation movements in a variety of ways. The international community must also be prepared to make some sacrifice for the achievement of independence by our struggling brethren. Unless the spirit of sacrifice prevails, our action and many of the noble sentiments we may express here and elsewhere in the United Nations will have little significance.

In this context, we were indeed privileged to hear the statement which the Secretary-General of the PAIGC, Mr. Cabral. made in the Fourth Committee. We have also noted with interest other statements which liberation leaders have made in the Fourth Committee. The significant feature of all those statements was the emphasis on the fact that it is the people themselves who must, through their struggle and suffering, bring about Their independence. We are glad that the liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies is making considerable

297

headway. We are equally glad to note that the Rhodesian people as a whole rejected the mandate given to Lord Pearce. We look forward to fruitful results from the efforts the Secretary-General is making in respect of Namibia, and we believe that the Council for Namibia, as well as the Commissioner for Namibia, will have much vital work to do in the months ahead.

The problem of apartheid in South Africa, as indeed in several other Territories of southern Africa, has defied solution. The Committee for the abolition of racial discrimination in whatever form and in whatever place it may exist, is doing useful work. None the less, the Convention on this subject has not been subscribed to by many countries, and we hope that with greater adherence to that Convention the Committee will be able to establish suitable machinery to ensure the elimination of racial discrimination within a time-limit.

South Africa will continue to be intransigent and offensive, not only to the United

Nations but to the conscience of mankind. Sooner or later we shall have to decide whether sanctions should not be imposed against South Africa. We should like it to be sooner.

As you know, India cut off trade with South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia - not without significant financial loss to us, but we did so gladly - and we think that if all Members of the United Nations were prepared to take similar steps, not only would the problem of Portuguese colonies in Africa be easier to solve, but South Africa would be obliged to change its insane and disastrous course.

Apart from resolutions which we may adopt in general terms, reaffirming what we have tried to achieve in the past few years, my delegation would suggest for the consideration of the Assembly - particular of its African Members - a few concrete steps to further our common struggle against Colonialism.

First, we would suggest that a declaration, perhaps in the form of a resolution, should be considered, denying Portugal any authority over Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Such a declaration would give greater legal validity to our assertion that the Portuguese presence in those Territories constitutes aggression. It would further encourage the liberation struggle in those areas and enable the neighbouring countries to extend greater aid to the people of those colonial Territories.

In principle, the United Nations has already accepted the validity of such aid, but we shall be fully justified in declaring openly and publicly that Portugal has no right whatever to be in those Territories or to pretend to manage their affairs.

Secondly, in order to give greater publicity to violations of sanctions, we would suggest that the Secretary-General, on behalf of the Security Council, should regularly publish and widely disseminate reports of all instances of violations. In our opinion, the legalistic approach, which would demand un-

shakeable evidence to establish violations, is not necessary. An intelligent analysis of the trade figures of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Portugal and of other countries that have accepted the United Nations resolution on sanctions, could easily establish where violations and leakages are taking place. This should be given wide publicity. At the same time, many reliable reports from outside sources can be made available to the Secretary-General, and those, too, could be published after indicating their sources.

Thirdly, arms supplies to South Africa and Portugal should be controlled and licensed. If the defence of Portugal is of immediate concern to some countries, it should not be difficult to ensure that the total amount of arms supplied to Portugal is kept within its borders and not exported. Similar restrictions could also be applied to South Africa. We should like a suitable machinery - perhaps under the aegis of the Security Council - to be established for this purpose.

In this context, it may also be useful to prepare statistics to show how investments are being made in the Colonial Territories and in South Africa, and the sources of those investments. A more accurate analysis should also be possible to determine to what extent economic and other forms of assistance to Portugal and South Africa release their resources for oppressive and repressive measures in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia and Zimbabwe.

298

Fourthly, we should concentrate on stopping motivated white immigration to all those five Territories in southern Africa.

Fifthly, as far as Zimbabwe is concerned, we should recommend the cutting off of all communications and transport, including passports and visas, between Zimbabwe and the outside world.

While discussing these measures, we should also not overlook the need for greater co-ordination in our own work at the United Nations in this field. At present, a large

number of organizations, together with their secretariat staff, deal with these problems. Our efforts are fragmented, even when they are not obstructed by interested Powers. We believe, however, that with greater coordination and a more coherent approach to this problem, not only will our work be more effective, but some of the duplication, either of debate or of action, will be eliminated

Before I conclude, I should like to emphasize once again that while the steps which I have suggested, and other steps which the Assembly may take, would undoubtedly help, the final struggle must depend on the people themselves, and in this context we believe that the Organization of African Unity can continue to contribute in ever-increasing measure. Perhaps the time has come for that organization to examine whether more attention should not be paid to assisting the liberation struggle in the countries themselves.

In co-operation with African countries, India will do whatever it can to help the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples.

INDIA USA PERU CHINA NAMIBIA ZIMBABWE SOUTH AFRICA PORTUGAL ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE GUINEA GUINEA-BISSAU

Date: Oct 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Samar Sen's Speech at Security Council on Violation of Senegal's Borders by Portuguese

The following is the text of the statement by Indias Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Shri Samar Sen, at the Security Council on October 20, 1972 during debate on complaint of violation of Senegal's borders by Portuguese:

Apart from the urgent need to comment briefly on the subject before us, I have taken the floor because it also gives us an opportunity to pay our compliments and congratulations to you on your assumption of the Presidency of the Council for the month of October. We are confident that the Council will benefit from your experience and wisdom. The relations between our countries are close and cordial and I should like to assure you of the fullest co-operation of my delegation in the discharge of your responsibilities.

We are not discussing a new situation. The Council discussed it last year and many limes before. Once again a legitimate complaint have been put forward by the Government of Senegal. Though there is a different form of response from Portugal on this occasion this does not really change the essential elements of the situation. Previous speakers have commented on them at some length since the Foreign Minister of Senegal — to whom we extend our warmest greetings — eloquently explained them yesterday.

The basic situation is that the continued oppression by Portugal in Guinea (Bissau) and the continued denial by Portugal of the rights of the people of that Territory have repeatedly created circumstances in which the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Senegal have been violated by the Portuguese armed forces.

All attempts by this Council to remedy these injustices have failed. Last year the Council sent a Special Mission to the area, but the Portuguese Government did not cooperate with it. The findings of the Mission and its recommendations were approved by the Council; again Portugal paid no heed to them.

Separately, the President of Senegal himself took the initiative to outline a plan for bringing peace and respect for the right of self-determination in the area: this too has met with stony silence from Portugal.

The Declaration on the Strengthening

of International Security emphasized the links between threats to international peace and security and situations where colonial-

299

ism persists and inalienable rights of peoples are suppressed. What has been happening in Guinea (Bissau) and on the frontiers of Senegal shows further the validity of these links. Clearly, so long as Portuguese colonialism continues in Africa we shall face, again and again, instances of threat to international peace and security.

In those circumstances the Council's action has to take fully into account the terms of resolutions 294 (1971) and 302 (1971) and to try to move forward. The Council will naturally consider Portugal's response to the present complaint, even though we have not been extended the courtesy of an oral explanation by the delegation of Portugal. None the less, this latest response of Portugal strengthens our belief that, in the explosive situation of Guinea (Bissau), even acts which are described as not deliberate can lead to breaches of international security. The explanation of "mental agitation" offered for these acts cannot condone the crime nor remove its fundamental causes.

We cannot attach the slightest value to the Portuguese statement that the Government of Portugal is willing to give all necessary guarantees to the Senegalese Government. These guarantees have not been explained and quite evidently they are not in any way related to furthering the independence of Guinea (Bissau). Besides, these incidents which infringe the territorial integrity of Senegal and several other African countries have been going on for some time, with consequent threat to international peace, and yet the guarantees - whatever they may mean - are being offered only after the incident of 12 October, when an alleged mentally agitated Portuguese officer entered Senegal with a number of armoured cars and killed some Senegalese and inflicted other injuries and damages.

The letter from the Portuguese delega-

tion (S/10810) seems to have only one purpose - to prevent a meeting of the Security Council on the complaint of Senegal.

Once again, the facts are clear and we shall support any action by the Council which seeks to remove the basic cause of these conflicts; in other words, to bring to an end the Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

INDIA SENEGAL USA PORTUGAL GUINEA GUINEA-BISSAU CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Oct 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

President Giri's U.N. Day Message

Following is the text of the message by the President, Shri V. V. Giri, on the Occasion of the 27th Anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations on October 24, 1972:

Today is the 27th anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations which is observed as United Nations Day by member-States throughout the world,

The United Nations came into being as in expression of the collective will of mankind, after the terrible experience of the Second World War, to build anew for itself a world free from want, suffering and fear. The United Nations was envisaged as a symbol of the hopes and aspirations of mankind to make common their endeavour towards the establishment of lasting and universal peace on earth. The Charter of the United Nations is a symbol of this dedication of the peace-loving peoples of the world.

Since we live in an imperfect world, we: cannot design perfect institutions. Neverthe-

less, the UN is committed to a process of evolutionary transformation; consequently, the outcome of its efforts is often visible long afterwards. Nonetheless, its record of successes in certain political and in particular in the economic, humanitarian, social and cultural fields is worthy of note and confidence. In the short span of 27 years, which is a period in which a new generation comes into being, the Organisation has found itself being gradually metamorphosed from an organisation established to maintain peace to one responsible for emphasizing the dignity of man and nations alike. The fact that this change has found rapid acceptance is itself indicative of our times. Today's world does not take kindly either to the exploitation of a nation by another nation or man by fellow man. It is also a tribute to the resilience and flexibility of the UN

300

system that the altered composition of its membership has made possible the ever increasing importance which it bestows upon its role in bringing about the gradual, but certain, elimination of all forms of economic and social injustice.

We have consistently espoused the principle of universality of membership. This is a basic prerequisite to the UN's continuing effectiveness. We were, therefore, gratified to see at the last session that China took its rightful place in the United Nations thus bringing within its fold the most populous country in the world, representing one of the most ancient civilizations on our planet. We hope that other nations and States, not yet represented in the UN, will also find their rightful place soon. It was, consequently, with a sense of dismay and regret that we noted that the attempt to seat Bangladesh in the U.N. was frustrated. To deny to 75 million people of Bangladesh their inherent right of membership of the UN is tantamount to a severe breach in the principle of universality. It is our fervent hope and desire that Bangladesh will soon join the Organisation as a fullfledged member. This will greatly contribute towards a lessening of tension in the sub-continent and help towards the achievement of durable peace,

stability and progress towards which my Government has been making sincere and persistent efforts. In this connection I must mention the efforts being made by the Government, of India towards establishment of stable peace and normalisation of relations with Pakistan through the principles of bilateralism as provided in the Simla Agreement. Our untiring efforts in this direction of a bilateral nature are also guided by the principles embodied in the UN Charter.

We in India have always had as one of our basic tenets the establishment of universal peace and brotherhood. This has not been a matter of mere political expediency. We have been conditioned by our historical and cultural Impulses and philosophical traditions to believe in the oneness of man and in the Incontrovertible truth that peace and harmony are the sine qua non of man's progress on earth. We have stressed the dignity of man, the uplift of the poor through collective and cooperative efforts and the eradication of fear from man's mind. It is, therefore, not surprising that we have been steadfast in our support for the UN Charter which enshrines these tenets.

We rededicate ourselves on this day to the United Nation and its ideals which are our own ideals. We take pride in joining others in reaffirming our collective determination to strengthen the world Organisation so that it may serve as an efficient body moulding a better future for mankind, a future in which peace, progress and prosperity reign, and where the assurance of full freedom and fundamental rights to people everywhere becomes a living reality.

INDIA USA CHINA BANGLADESH MALI PAKISTAN

Date: Oct 01, 1972

Volume No

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Surendra Pal Singh's Speech at U.N. Day Function

Following is the text of the speech of the Deputy Minister of External Affairs, Shri Surendra Pal Singh at a meeting in New Delhi on October 24, 1972 to celebrate the United Nations Day:

We are gathered here today to celebrate the 27th anniversary of the founding of the United Nation. The United Nations was created out of the holocaust of the Second World War and was the expression of the determination of nations of the world not only to eliminate from the face of the earth the scourge of war but also to strive for peace, progress and prosperity for mankind. The UN therefore is a symbol of man's first universal endeavour to tackle the basic problems confronting humanity.

Quite understandably, 24th October is regarded as a day set aside for stocktaking. In that sense, like any other creation of man, it is representative of his fallible self. I particularly mention this because it has become common to denigrate the UN for what people call its failure to provide solutions for the various political and economic problems that the world faces today. Little do the detractors of the world body realise that, in spite of best of intentions, no collection of

301

different peoples from different nations can ever expect to achieve complete unanimity on all occasions. In this light the record of the UN not only commands our respect, especially in the economic, educational, health and cultural fields, but also deserves our support for Its endeavour to alleviate human suffering and backwardness. No doubt the way is long; this is because problems facing the world today cannot be solved overnight. Tension and conflict continue to bedevil the earth; doubt and mistrust exist among nations and peoples; envy and selfishness are not uncommon attitudes amongst

various sections of the world population. What the UN does and should continue to do in the circumstances is to call for greater cooperative effort and a greater wish to sink differences for the sake of such an effort. This is a principle and a basis that we cherish and support.

The United Nations was founded on the principle of the universality of representation of States in it. Through the years, with the effort of many nations in the world body. we have seen it translating this principle into practice, with the result that today its membership of 132 nations is in itself a tribute to its usefulness and effectiveness. Last year we saw the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the world body. While we regret the fact that the People's Republic of Bangladesh has yet to gain admission, we are firm in our belief that the world body, which is striving for universality of character, will take right step in admitting Bangladesh into it without further delay. Needless to say, India wholeheartedly supports the legitimate right of Bangladesh to entry into the UN; a nation of 75 million people cannot be ignored in any world forum, much less in the United Nations.

In its various areas of endeavour, the United Nations has achieved considerable success. I would, in particular, like to mention its activities in the developmental field. The Second UN Development Decade is now running its course and the world body has engaged itself fully in meeting the tasks that the Decade has put forward. Of particular significance is the effort being made by it to review the progress in connection with the Development Decade. Such a review will pin-point not only the activities of the world body itself but also of developing nations who, on their own are involved in the gigantic task of achieving progress and prosperity for themselves. In this connection I would like to refer to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. The third session of the Conference, which was held this year, has been criticised by many as not responding effectively and meaningfully to the needs of the

developing countries. We had believed that the Conference could have come to many more positive conclusions, but this short-coming, in our opinion, continues to be overshadowed by the fact that the Conference provides a forum for a large number of developing and developed countries to meet and talk to each other, and formulate concrete plans on the basis of mutual cooperation. This in itself is an achievement which would not be possible, but for this organisation.

In the field of science and technology, which is now one of the major concerns of the developing countries, the United Nations has not only focussed world-wide attention on the needs of such countries, but has helped concretely to formulate plans and policies. The world body is closely concerned, through its organs such as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation, and the newly established Committee on Science and Technology for Development, with problems confronting the developing countries. These problems are of a diverse nature and hinge primarily on the inadequacy of their scientific and technological structure. The United Nations is making an effort, on the stimulus provided by the developing countries mainly, to activate a movement of science and technology from the developed world to the developing one. It is true that this is a long and involved process and cannot be assured of quick success. However, the progress made deserves the plaudits of the world.

Similarly, the achievements of the UN in the field of natural resources are worthy of mention. The effort of developing countries to raise their standards of living and provide their peoples with a decent and comfortable existence focus many a time upon their ability to commercially exploit their resources. To the extent the United Nations has helped them achieve success,

302

however limited, in this field, there is no doubt in my mind that it is making a worthwhile contribution to the endeavours of the developing countries.

The UN's primary political concern is with the maintenance of peace and security in the world. Peace cannot be ensured unless the inherent legitimate rights of all peoples are guaranteed. Sections of humanity still struggling against colonialism, racism and similar means of oppression of the weaker sections by the stronger few continue to turn to the UN for succour. The fact that the world body is still a beacon of hope for the oppressed peoples and races of the world is in itself a testimonial to the UN. While it is true that the UN has the primary responsibility of ensuring that these forms of exploitation must end, it is equally true that the countries who practise such exploitation should forthwith cease to do so. The part that the UN has played in these can become meaningful only when the parties concerned accept the legitimacy of the observance and preservation of the rights of the peoples and nations concerned in such conflicts. It is our view therefore that, on the one hand, colonial countries and countries who practise the evils of racial discrimination, should return to the ways of civilisation, and humanity; and on the other, the United Nations should continue to focus world attention on the problem and take measures that it considers useful to solve it. A point of special importance that I would like to mention here is the increasing involvement of the United Nations with emerging world problems. This expresses with sufficient emphasis the active nature of the world body as well as its capacity to generate concern for humanity as a whole within itself and also to act upon it. Perhaps sometimes the United Nations, on account of The differences of opinion amongst its members, is not in a position to act quickly and decisively on such matters. We ourselves would like it to move with greater effect and speed. But it must be realised that without the agreement of its component units, the world body is powerless. It is in this light that I suggest your consideration of my earlier remarks on the nature of the success of the world body as contrasted with its lack of success on certain occasions.

When I spoke of the concern of the United Nations with emerging world problems, I was thinking of the problem of the deterioration of the human environment. The recent UN Conference on the Human Environment which was held in Stockholm was a proof of the world body's involvement with human problems as they come up. While most developing countries are probably not deeply and immediately affected by this problem, it is difficult to assert that they will not, in the future be assailed by it. Hence the consideration of it by the United Nations is a happy augury for the future.

My Purpose in trying to enumerate the activities of the United Nations and to evaluate, to a certain extent, and in a very general manner, its successes and failures is to remind ourselves that the world body remains our best hope for the future survival and prosperity of mankind. 27 years ago the world decided that such a body was needed, today the need is as urgent as it was soon after the Second World War. It is in this spirit that I would say we should rededicate ourselves to the ideals of the United Nations, as enshrined in its Charter, and reaffirm our faith and resolve to strengthen the UN system so that it plays its rightful role in the common endeavour of mankind to achieve the cherished goals and objectives which were envisioned by those who created it.

INDIA USA CHINA BANGLADESH SWEDEN

Date: Oct 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

India, Replies to Portugal's Allegations at U.N.

Following is the text of statement of Shri N. P. Jain, Deputy Permanent Representative of India on October 24, 1972 in the U.N. General Assembly exercising his right of reply to Portuguese allegations in the plenary meeting in the course of a debate on the problems of decolonisation:

I am taking the floor to reject the baseless allegations invented by the represen-

303

tative of Portugal against my country. It is not even necessary for me to go into them as India's bloodless revolution and nonviolent struggle for complete independence from the final vestiges of colonial rule is a part of world history of which India can be justly proud. Colonial exploiters of the type represented by the representative of Portugal tend to see others in their own light but those who live in glass houses should not throw stones at other. It is unnecessary for me to say this, as the Assembly has a number of times recorded its strong disapproval and condemnation of the policy of colonial exploitation on the part of Portugal. Only yesterday the Security Council adopted yet another resolution condemning Portugal for its aggression. One cannot succeed in misleading - indeed one should not even try to mislead - others in vain efforts at self-deception.

India has a proud record in the struggle against colonialism and in the liberation struggles against human oppression. If in his wisdom the representative of Portugal has chosen to single us out for his invective remarks, all I would say is that it only indicates that India has all along been in the forefront of the struggle against liberation from colonial domination - a trend which has not appealed to the representative of Portugal because his country has not seen the writing on the wall, even though the trend has established itself firmly and is a part of history.

INDIA PORTUGAL USA

Date: Oct 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

IRAO

Indo-Iraqi Joint Communique

Following is the text of the Indo-Iraqi Joint Communique issued at the end of the visit of Shri D. P. Dhar, Union Minister of Planning to Irag, from September 28 to October 1, 1972:

At the invitation of His Excellency
Dr. Jawad Hashim, Minister of Planning of
the Republic of Iraq, the Indian Minister
of Planning, Shri D. P. Dhar visited friendly
Iraq from September 28 to October 1, 1972,
at the head of a delegation comprising
Shri M. S. Pathak, Member, Indian Planning
Commission, Shri B. Mukerji, Permanent
Under Secretary of the Ministry of Petroleum
and Chemicals and Shri B. K. Sanyal,
Additional Permanent Under Secretary of
the Ministry of External Affairs. At Baghdad, the delegation was joined by H.E. Shri
K. R. P. Singh, Ambassador of India.

During this visit the delegation was graciously received by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Iraq and called on His Excellency Dr. Saadoun Hammadi, Minister of Oil and Minerals; His Excellency Dr. Fakhri Qaddouri, Member of the Economic Bureau of the Revolutionary Command Council and other dignitaries.

The Iraqi delegation comprised the following.

- 1. H.E. Dr. Saadoun Hammadi, Minister of Oil and Minerals.
- 2. H.E. Dr. Fakhri Qaddouri, Member of the Economic Bureau of R.C.C.

- 3. H.E. Mr. Mahdi al-Obaidi, Permanent Under Secretary, Ministry of Economy.
- H.E. Mr. Ali Hadi al-Jaber, Vice-President, Iraq National Oil Company.
- 5. H.E. Mr. Khalil al-Daghistani, DG, Economics, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- 6. H.E. Mr. Abdul Jabbar Saadi,Director General, Iraqi Railways.7. H.E. Mr. Sabah Kachachi, Ministry of Planning.
- Mr. Abas Abdul Majid, Head, Planning Department, State Organisation of Industrial Design & Construction.
- 9. Mr. Adib Kakos, Deputy Director General (Sulphur), National Iraqi Minerals Company.
- 10. Mr. Adnan al-Janabi, Director. Marketing, Iraq National Oil Company.

304

Both delegations considered matters of mutual interest for the promotion of commercial, economic, technical and scientific cooperation in an atmosphere which was marked by cordiality and frank exchange of views. In this, context, specific areas of closer cooperation and collaboration between the two countries were broadly delineated. It was agreed that as a prelude to finalising a comprehensive agreement for economic and technical cooperation, joint committees of experts would be set up on the following subjects in order to study in depth the feasibility of programmes within their respective spheres for consideration of the two governments:

- 1. Trade.
- 2. Oil aria Minerals.
- 3. Development Projects.
- 4. Agricultural Development; and
- 5. Technical and Scientific cooperation.

It was further agreed that both sides

would take active steps to complete these studies as far as possible within the month of October 1972, In or-der that adequate data is available for initiating appropriate action for the fulfilment of the common objective of furthering and strengthening the wide ranging relations that exist between the two countries.

In recognition of the rapidly growing and multi-faceted cooperation developing between Iraq and India, the two sides agreed to recommend to their Governments the desirability of entering into an agreement in order to set up a high level Joint Commission on Economic, technical and scientific cooperation. Such a Commission it was recognised would be able to ensure the rapid implementation of the decisions taken by the two sides.

The Indian Minister Planning expressed his and his delegation's thanks to the Iraqi side for the kind hospitality accorded to him and his delegation. He renewed the cordial invitation to the Iraqi Minister of Planning, H.E. Mr. Jawad Hashim, to visit India as soon as possible, which was accepted.

IRAQ INDIA UNITED KINGDOM USA

Date: Oct 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

KUWAIT

Trade Agreement with Kuwait

Following is the text of the press release issued in New Delhi on October 6, 1972 on the conclusion of trade talks between the delegations of India and Kuwait:

Talks between delegations of India and

Kuwait concluded here with the signing of Agreed Minutes on the discussions held during the last few days.

His Excellency Khalid Suleman Al-Adsani, Minister for Commerce and Industry, Government of Kuwait, led his country's delegation to these discussions. The Indian delegation was laid by the Union Foreign Trade Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra.

The major conclusions reached during the current discussions are:

UREA FERTILIZER: The Kuwaiti Delegation indicated that it should be possible to set apart the undermentioned quantities of Urea Fertilizer for supply to India:

- (a) July 1973 to June 1974 100,000 to 150,000 tonnes.
- (b) July 1974 to June 1975 100,000 to 150,000 tonnes.
- (c) July 1975 to June 1976 150,000 to 200,000 tonnes.

The Indian Delegation expressed keen interest in purchasing from Kuwait 150,000 tonnes of Urea Fertilizer annually for three years subject to mutually satisfactory agreement on such issues as price formulae and delivery schedules etc.

SUPPLY OF AMMONIA FROM KUWAIT:

The two sides rioted that negotiations for

305

the conclusion of an agreement for the supply of Ammonia from Kuwait to India have reached final stages. It was agreed that a formal agreement in this respect should be concluded as early as possible.

SUPPLY OF SULPHUR FROM KUWAIT: The

Kuwaiti side explained that since they consume internally a large part of their Sulphur production, there was very little quantity left for export. They, however, agreed to explore the possibility of supplying some quantity of sulphur from 1973 onwards.

PETROLEUM PRODUCTS: It was noted that there is already a long term agreement for the supply of Petroleum products from Kuwait to India up to the end of 1974. The Kuwaiti side expressed satisfaction over the working of this agreement which has helped in building cordial relations between their National Petroleum Company and the Indian Oil Corporation. They suggested that it would be to the mutual advantage of both countries if India's long term requirements of petroleum products were indicated to them at an early stage as possible. It was agreed that the concerned organisations of both the countries would exchange information in this respect from time to time.

In response to the Indian Delegation's enquiry regarding the possibility of obtaining Naptha supplies to meet its immediate requirements, the Kuwaiti Delegation said that, unfortunately, their existing commitments prevented them for offering any Naptha now. However, they agreed to offer crude oil to India on a long-term basis as and when their present explorations met with success.

JOINT VENTURES: It was agreed that possibilities should be explored for establishment of joint ventures with mutual benefit of both countries. It was noted that some preliminary discussions had been held between the concerned organisations for setting up of a fertilizer plant in Kuwait and it was agreed that further discussions in this regard should continue.

MEASURE FOR EXPANSION OF TRADE:

While there were distinct possibilities of India purchasing Urea, Ammonia, sulphur and Petroleum products, which would step up Indian imports from Kuwait, the Indian Delegation urged that Kuwait should similarly increase its volume of imports from India. The Kuwaiti side appreciated this and agreed to study ways and means for securing from India as large a part of their requirements as possible. In this connection it was also suggested by the Kuwaiti side that the possibility of Kuwait, India and some other countries entering into triangular deals should be examined.

TECHNICAL TRAINING IN INDIA FOR PERSONNEL FROM KUWAIT: The Kuwaiti side welcomed the Indian offer to extend facilities for Kuwaiti personnel for training in different fields in India. The Kuwaiti side indicated that they would let the Indian side know as to their requirements.

INDIAN TECHNICAL PERSONNEL FOR

KUWAIT: The Kuwaiti side welcomed the Indian offer of continued availability technical personnel to meet Kuwait's needs to the extent possible. In this connection, the Kuwaiti side praised the services ren dered by Indian personnel in Kuwait and stated that they would soon get in touch with the Indian authorities for further securing services of competent Indians in different fields.

306

KUWAIT INDIA USA **Date**: Oct 01, 1972

November

| | Volume No | |
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| | | |
| 1995 | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| Content | | |

Foreign Affairs Record 1972 Vol. XVIII NOVEMBER

No. 11

CONTENTS

PAGE

CANADA

COLOMBO PLAN CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

Prime Minister's Inaugural Address at Meeting of Colombo Plan

Consultative Committee 30

Finance Minister's Address to Colombo Plan Consultative Committee 310

Indian Delegate's Address to Colombo Plan Consultative Committee

on Problems of Indebtedness of Developing Countries 312

Text of Press Communique Issued at End of 22nd Colombo Plan

Consultative Committee Meeting

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Indo-Czechoslovak Trade Protocol

320

315

Prime Minister's Message on 25th Anniversary of Diplomatic Ties

between India and Czechoslovakia

320

Foreign Minister's Message

321

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Trade Protocol with GDR

321

GUINEA

Indo-Guinean Talks

322

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS: EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

(Continued Overleaf)

PAGE

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shrimati Savitri Nigam's Address at United Nations Social and

Humanitarian Committee 32

Indian Delegate's Speech on Definition of Forms of Aggression 325

Shri Laskar's Speech in Fourth Committee on Question of Southern

Rhodesia 326

Shri Samar Sen's Address to U.N. General Assembly on Non-use

of Force 328

Shri Samar Sen's Speech at U.N. General Assembly on Bangla Desh

Admission 331

331

Dr. S. P. Jagota's Speech at Sixth Committee on Terrorism 333

Shri Samar Sen's Speech at Security Council on Portuguese Colonies 337

Indian Delegate's Speech on Mandatory Code for International

Shipping 339

INDO-ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT-YUGOSLAV TRIPARTITE ECONOMIC COOPERATION GROUP

Text of Press Release on Deliberations of Working Group III 341

ITALY

Indo-Italian Trade Talks 341

PAKISTAN

Foreign Minister's Statement on Delineation of. Line of Control in

| Jammu & Kashmir | 342 | | |
|---|------------------------------|----------|--|
| Parliament Statement on Release of P | OWs Captured on Western Fr | ront 343 | |
| Announcement on Pakistan Response | | 343 | |
| Repatriation of POWs Captured on Western Front 34 | | | |
| | | | |
| Repatriation of Families of Pakistani | internees and FOWS 34 | 4 | |
| DADITAMENT | | | |
| PARLIAMENT | 1 5 1 | | |
| Foreign Minister's Reply to Rajya Sal | | | |
| Situation | 344 | | |
| | | | |
| (ii) | | | |
| | | | |
| | PAGE | | |
| | _ | | |
| PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLAD | | | |
| Indo-Bangladesh Protocol on Inland V | Water Transit and Trade | 356 | |
| Indo-Bangladesh Bilateral Talks | 356 | | |
| President Giri's Speech of Welcome | on Arrival of Bangla Desh | | |
| President | 357 | | |
| Reply by Bangla Desh President | 358 | | |
| President Giri's Speech at Banquet in | Honour of Bangla Desh | | |
| President | 358 | | |
| Reply by Bangladesh President | 360 | | |
| President Giri's Speech Bidding Farev | | 361 | |
| Reply by Bangladesh President | 362 | 301 | |
| Reply by Ballgladesh Flesideht | 302 | | |
| SWEDEN | | | |
| Joint Commission for Indo-Swedish (| Co-operation 362 | | |
| | | 363 | |
| Indo-Swedish Agreements on Develo | pment Co-operation | 303 | |
| THIDD ACIAN INTERNATIONAL TR | ADE EAID 1072 | | |
| THIRD ASIAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR 1972 | | | |
| Prime Minister's Inaugural Address | 363 | 266 | |
| Foreign Trade Minister's Welcome Sp | | | |
| President Giri's Message on the Open | = | 368 | |
| Vice-President's Message | 368 | | |
| Prime Minister's Message | 368 | | |
| Kurt Waldheim's Message | 369 | | |
| U Nyun's Message | 369 | | |
| | | | |
| UGANDA | | | |
| Foreign Minister's Statement on Ugan | ida 370 | | |
| | | | |
| UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPU | | | |
| Indo-Soviet Collaboration in Applied | Science and Technology | 371 | |
| Indo-Soviet Trade Protocol for 1973 | 373 | | |
| | | | |
| UNITED KINGDOM | | | |
| Agreements for British Loans to India | a 373 | | |
| | | | |
| UNITED STATES OF AMERICA | | | |
| Prime Minister's Message to Mr. Rich | ard M. Nixon on his Re-elect | ion | |
| as U.S. President | 374 | | |

(iii)

CANADA SRI LANKA INDIA NORWAY SLOVAKIA GUINEA USA EGYPT ITALY PAKISTAN BANGLADESH SWEDEN UGANDA YUGOSLAVIA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

CANADA

New Canadian Development Loan

The following press release was issued in New Delhi on November 23. 1972 on the signing of an Indo-Canadian agreement for a new Canadian development loan to India:

An agreement for a new Canadian development loan of \$ 1.9 million (Rs. 1.33 crores) was signed here today. This loan will provide for the Purchase of fertiliser bulk handling equipment for the port of Haldia. An earlier loan of \$ 1.7 million for similar equipment for the port of Kandla was given in August last year.

In addition to these two loans for a total sum \$ 3.6 million. Canada has expressed its willingness to consider similar assistance for Bombay, Madras and other Indian ports.

The bulk handling equipment for fertilisers results in savings on account of elimination of bagging and a quicker turn-around of ships.

The loan granted is on the soft terms which have applied to all Canadian loans to India during the last six years. They are repayable in 50 years, including a ten-year grace period, and there are no interest, service or

commitment charges.

In addition to the development loan for the Haldia port, the Canadian International Development Agency has engaged the services of Howe International Ltd. as consultants for the Calcutta Port Commission in the layout, design, procurement, and installation of the various equipments to be purchased in Canada. These services are covered by grant aid and therefore involve no cost to India.

The agreement was signed on behalf of India by Shri M. G. Kaul, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Finance, and by Mr. J. Gerin, Vice President of the Canadian International Development Agency.

Another agreement signed today provides for a Canadian grant of \$ 300,000 (Rs. 21 lakhs) for a feasibility study of the Hindustan Copper Limited's Rakha project in Bihar. The grant will be used to engage the services of a Canadian firm of Consulting Engineers (Watts, Griffis & McQuat) to recommend development of the mine and production operations at the Rakha project. This will further promote India's drive for self-sufficiency in non-ferrous metals.

Hindustan Copper Ltd., along with many other organisations in the public and private sectors, has already taken advantage of the Canadian General Line of Credit to purchase specialised mining equipment in Canada.

307

CANADA INDIA USA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

Inaugurating the 22nd Meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan in New Delhi on November 6, 1972, the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, said:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished delegates, Ladies and gentlemen,

It is indeed a privilege for me to welcome members of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan on behalf of the Government and the people of India. The, Committee is meeting in India after many years and amongst you are representatives of nations, who, like us, are engaged in the challenging task of development, and of other nations who have had historical links with this part of Asia.

From the first day of freedom we in India have consistently followed a policy of co-operation and friendship with all nations. We have refused to join any military bloc or exclusive political groupings which might seek to divide a world which ought to be united. We have favoured and practised the policy of co-existence amongst nations irrespective of their internal political systems. In fact even before we regained our sovereignty we were deeply conscious of the need for free India to co-operate with all nations to enlarge human freedom - not only the political independence of nations, but freedom from hunger and want.

The Colombo Plan represents a joint attempt of countries with differing systems to help one another in the fight against economic backwardness. That is why we have valued our membership of the Colombo Plan and have actively participated in its work. We have benefited. But it is gratifying that we have also been able to contribute significantly to the programmes of the Plan and to share our experience and skills with other countries of the region.

The Colombo Plan organisation has just

completed 20 years. It has done good work. but I know that it will not claim that all its hopes have been fulfilled. Development has proved to be a harder and far more complicated process than had been envisaged in the early 'fifties' when there was inadequate knowledge of the inter-relationship of social, political and technological forces and their impact on growth.

Undoubtedly every one of our countries can point to impressive advance in terms of the use of natural resources, the construction of dams, power houses, factories, roads and railways, and school built and deaths prevented.

In our own country, we have been able to double our agricultural production and have begun manufacturing and building a wide range of industrial equipment, from sophisticated transistor tubes to power generators and supersonic aircraft. The life span in India has increased by nearly 25 years in these 25 years. The number of children at school has gone up from 23 million to 83 million. This is one aspect of the changes which have and are taking place. In fact all the countries of Asia are today producing commodities which most of them would have had to import from the West only 20 years ago. This progress is hardly appreciated in anticipation of some miracles which will solve the many problems of poverty and economic backwardness at one blow and so while conditions are improving, though far more slowly than they should, or we would wish them to do, simultaneously restlessness, greater expectations, frustrations - all these attitudes of mind are also increasing, as perhaps all of you have experienced in your own country.

What is the meaning of development from the point of view of the individual citizen, as distinct from the governmental and national view points? Every individual hopes for more and better food and clothing, adequate shelter, protection from disease, better education. employment and better returns for his labour. Personal hopes rise faster than national achievement. The size and diversity of our country adds to the

complexity of our problems. The smallest change at field level Involves huge expenditure and effort at the national level. A single extra book for a primary school means the supply of several hundreds of thousands of copies, and they have to be in fifteen languages. We are now working on the outlines of our Fifth Five Year Plan. The expenditure we envisage is 510,000 million rupees - 510 billion is an impressive figure, yet it works out at only 170 rupees per head per year! This gives some idea of the scale of effort required to make modest gains available to our people. Other developing countries are probably in a more or less similar situation.

For centuries, most of our countries have suffered from feudalism, foreign rule and delay in acquiring modem science. The ills accumulated over such a long period will need a faw decades of ceaseless effort to remedy. The endeavour that is required of the entire people cannot be sustained merely by a vision of the future. There has to be a visible improvement of conditions. The fruits of economic growth cannot be allowed to accrue to a small section of the people only. Better distribution of incomes thus becomes an important condition of a healthy and vibrant society. The causes of poverty are two-fold: economic backwardness and inequality. If poverty has to be removed, the development of resources must go hand in hand-with distribution policies which ensure greater equality.

Enduring growth can be sustained only on internal strength. Hence beyond a point self-reliance becomes A necessary condition of growth. In the last twenty years, there has been considerable recourse to external assistance for development. But the flow of aid will not continue as long as we wish it or Perhaps even need it. Already there is a climate of aidweariness. The reduction of dependence on external resources is inescapable.

But self-reliance does not mean a lessen-

ing of international co-operation. On the contrary such cooperation should increase. Affluent countries could help to remove existing impediments to the efforts of developing countries to help themselves - impediments some of which have been placed across our path by the present pattern of world trade.

Developing countries are losing even the limited place they had in the world economic order. So far they were subject to economic hazards such as fluctuating prices and inelastic demand for their exports, adverse terms of trade and limited access to the markets of developed countries. Now one more has been added - international monetary instability. This Conference will have to take account of known ways of solving the problems of poverty and hunger, and also to think of new and imaginative ways of doing so under these different cir cumstances.

The very concept of progress is undergoing a change. Many people in advanced countries, especially the young, are deeply concerned with the Increasing encroachment on the environment and the quality of inner life. Young people in our developing countries are also concerned with the quality of life. They cannot understand why unemployment and hardship should persist Twenty-five years ago our people's aspirations were vague, born out of idealism and the euphoria of independence. These twenty-five years have sharpened their awareness of what has remained unachieved. The expansion of education in all Asian countries has led to growing impatience. Unless quick results in development are achieved, there is danger to stability.

It is in this context that the application of science and technology to development assumes a crucial role. The question is not one merely of the transfer or transhipment of technology. There has also to be self-reliance in technology if solutions are to be found for problems which are specific to a particular society. Why should we 'think that there are no approaches other than those tried by the advanced countries of to-

day? Or that we must traverse the same path.

There are more experiences and situations common to the nations of this region than they have with the advanced countries of Europe and America. They would gain much by pooling their own skills and expertise in many fields and helping one another. in this way the limited resources which are distributed through the Colombo Plan would have a far greater impact on the development of the Colombo Plan countries.

309

Once more, I welcome you all here and I hope that you will have an Interesting as well as enjoyable stay in our country, No doubt, you will be made to work hard, as in all conferences, but I hope there will be some time for you to see a little bit of our country, the changes which are taking place and the forces which are motivating our people and which are conditioning our future progress.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating your conference. I wish you success in your deliberations and my good wishes to you all. Thank you.

SRI LANKA INDIA USA RUSSIA PERU

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

COLOMBO PLAN CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

Finance Minister's Address to Colombo Plan Consultative Committee

Following is the text of the Finance Minister Shri Y. B. Chavan's address to the twenty-second meeting of the consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan - New

Delhi on November 6, 1972:

The Colombo Plan Organisation has over its life of more than twenty years served a very useful purpose. Not only has it served as an important channel for assistance from the developed country members to the developing country members of the Organisation but developing country members have also contributed significantly in providing such assistance to each other. Furthermore it has served as a clearing house for new ideas and new approaches to the problems affecting the economic growth of the developing countries of this region. This is evident from the fact That each year we select a special topic for a special study. The problem of "brain drain" which is the special topic for this year, is of great interest to most of us in this region. The development of skilled manpower in developing member countries, is one of the objectives which the Colombo Plan has been most successful in achieving. It has been our common concern to ensure that such skilled manpower contributes to the growth of the countries in the region, rather 'than ending up as often happens to skilled manpower in affluent surroundings. I am looking forward to a discussion of this important problem and I hope that we would be able to evolve practical suggestions 'to tackle it effectively.

There are even more momentous problems affecting all of us at this time, one of the most important being the international monetary instability of the past few months. It is now universally recognised that there is an urgent need for a fundamental reform of the international monetary system. However, it is absolutely essential that in any such reform the problems of developing countries must, receive adequate attention. In particular, the reform of the world monetary system must create conditions conducive to the realisation of the trade and aid objectives of the International Development Strategy. The stake of developing countries in an orderly functioning of the monetary system is in no way, less than that of developed countries and It is therefore indefensible that a small group of

rich countries should attempt to decide by themselves the fate of the world monetary system. The Committee of Twenty recently set up in the International Monetary Fund has among its members, I am happy to say, a number of developing countries. It is my hope that the developing countries will be allowed to play their appropriate and legitimate role in the evolution of the new monetary order, and that the new system will be equally responsive to their needs as to those of developed countries.

A watershed seems to have been reached in the field of economic development. The growth of import substituting industry in developing countries is bound to reach a limit and Industrial growth can proceed on a more continuing basis only if markets, internal and external, are widened either through exports or through the development of mass consumption. Many countries seem To be suffering from industrial stagnation because of limitations in terms of the domestic market. In agriculture, also, the initial optimism generated by the rapid strides made by the new agricultural strategy is yielding place to greater cautiousness. It is being realised increasingly that the 'green revolution' can spread beyond its present narrow confines only if sustained

310

activity in the field of research supplies and organisation is undertaken by the countries of this region. Also, the unintended side effect In the form of increased social tension is receiving greater attention. The second generation of problems arising from the 'green revolution' is, I believe, one of the major issues scheduled for discussion at our meeting. I look forward to an interesting exchange of ideas on this subject.

In the postwar period, most countries have undertaken development programmes to ensure a better life for their peoples. There was a great deal of optimism among the newly independent countries of this region that if a rapid development of natural resources is undertaken, the standard of living in these countries could be raised quickly.

Today, we are a little wiser because of the experience of the last two decades. While many societies have achieved rapid growth, the fruits of this growth have not been distributed evenly over the whole of society. Large masses of people still continue to be victims of misery and privation. There are large pockets in many countries where poverty seems to be endemic. If a better life has to be ensured to all the citizens of our countries, a conscious effort will need to be made to ensure that these poorer sections also benefit from the development of a country's material resources, rather than hope that this will somehow take place. Growth without social justice breeds- tensions which endanger the very fabric of society.

It is of course easy to state the problem, but not so easy to find solutions. And even where solutions are available, implementation becomes difficult because of the nature of the societies in this region. Economists have always told us that there are fiscal ways of redistributing incomes and These have certainly to be employed to the full. Fiscal policy has no doubt a major role to play in promoting economic growth as well as greater social justice. Yet the task of transformation of social and economic structure of developing countries is so huge and complex that (fiscal) policy cannot be expected by itself to achieve the desired results. It has to be recognised that instruments evolved in countries with highly organised productive structures, with welldeveloped banking habits, and highly monetized systems, may yield less satisfactory results in societies where these conditions do not prevail. Fiscal measures have to be complemented by other positive measures to generate more employment opportunities and by the institutional reforms designed to speedily reduce Inequalities in income, wealth and opportunities. The task is not an easy one but we have to face it effectively if we are to-survive as free nations. it is easy to conceive of specific programmes for eliminating unemployment, but in order to implement them we would need to greatly strengthen and transform the organisational capabilities of the countries of the region. It would not be wrong to say that one of

the things we have discovered in the past twenty years is that economic development is not achieved merely, by the injection of capital into our societies; human beings and the effort they make have an equally important, if not more important, role to play. Not only do they have to acquire valuable technical skills, but institutions in our society also have to be refashioned for achieving better results. This is not an easy task considering the inertia of decades, if not centuries, has to be shaken off. But unless we build institutions which are positive in their responses, innovative in their outlook and capable of evoking wide support, our progress will be unnecessarily slow. Perhaps, the Colombo Plan could usefully debate on some future occasion the question of administrative and public organisation most suited to development in the countries of the region.

Another lesson we have learnt in the past twenty years is that while each country must endeavour to develop its own natural resources as fast as it can, there is a great need for simultaneously cooperating with other countries in the region. Thereby some of the inherent disadvantages which national economies have in one form or another may be overcome, anti the development of all the countries participating in any cooperative arrangement can receive a stimulus far greater than what would be the case if each country made self-contained effort. Of course, there are various levels at which such cooperation is possible anti there are various objectives for which such cooperation is desirable. Some initiatives have already been launched in this field under the auspices of the ECAFE and the result has been clearly encouraging. Yet a great deal more needs to be done. The

311

Colombo Plan is a symbol of a certain kind of cooperation and I am sure our endeavours here will lead to fruitful results in other forums and in other areas.

The Colombo Plan spans in its membership most countries in this region and many

important countries from other parts of the world. It is a fine example of cooperation among developing and developed countries to achieve certain developmental objectives. Till recently similar cooperation was to be seen in the field of bilateral and multilateral assistance for development on a global scale. In recent years, however, progress in this field has not been commensurate with the increase in the need for assistance for developing countries. While some developed countries have been making efforts to increase the volume of their aid, and soften the terms of their assistance the target for development assistance embodied in the International Development Strategy of the United Nations Second Development Decade is still as far as ever from achievement. The need for assistance is growing in spite of the successful efforts which developing countries are themselves making to mobillse domestic resources. This is for two reasons: one is the rapid increase in population, and the other is the mounting burden of debt. A slackening of. the aid effort at the present time would give a setback to many developing countries which are in sight of achieving self-sustaining growth.

The recently held U.N. Conference on Human Environment had this slogan: Only one World. This implied that everything must be done to preserve this planet of ours for a decent life to ourselves, and our posterity. This is possible for developing countries only if the pace of development is hastened. Otherwise, while a small part of the world will have clean air, clear skies and transparent lakes, the other and by far the larger part will have bad drinking water, insanitary living conditions, and a great degree of malnutrition and disease. You will agree, Gentlemen, that it is our duty to ensure that this is not the type of the world into which our grand children and their children should be born.

SRI LANKA USA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

COLOMBO PLAN CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

Indian Delegate's Address to Colombo Plan Consultative Committee on problems of Developing Countries Indebtedness of Developing Countries

Following is the text of the speech of the Secretary for Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Dr. I. G. Patel during discussion in New Delhi in the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan on the problem of indebtedness of developing countries on November 8, 1972:

I am very happy that the distinguished leader of the British Delegation, Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Wood, started the discussion on this subject because I think it is only appropriate that it is a creditor country rather than a debtor country which should have the first say on the problem of indebtedness of the developing countries. There is very little that I would add to the reasons which have led to the problem. But I think there are one or two factors which perhaps I can highlight as to what has led to this problem which Mr. Wood pointed out in terms of facts and figures as a very serious one, taking into account the strategy of the developing countries.

When you have debt and debt service which grow at the rate of 14 per cent per annum, the export earnings can hardly be expected to increase more than, say, 6 or 7 per cent per annum which has been the experience in the past. One point is clear that debt service repayment will be increasingly absorbed in larger and larger proportions of export earnings, and this is a situation which sooner or later is bound to reach rather uncomfortable proportions.

In our own case of India, it is only a very short period since 1958 that we have

started borrowing abroad in a significant manner and yet by about 1968-69 we had already reached the situation that something of the order of 30% of our export earnings had to be devoted to the repayment of debt, both amortisation. and interest charges. And today also, if I may put it in another way, more than three-fourths of the aid we get in a given year is given back

312

in terms of repayment. We get about 800 million dollars of aid and our repayments are already of the order of 625 million dollars so that this is just the magnitude of the debt problem which is something which calls for a solution.

Now, Sir, how has this problem come about? Partly, as Mr. Wood rightly pointed out, it is of course a matter of the earlier loans having been contracted on terms which were not as concessional as one would have liked them to be. There was a certain urgency about going ahead with development and therefore at that stage the need for concessional credit was not so well appreciated around the world so that one had to; contract debts at such terms as one could get them, and this has created partly the problem and I think it is one part of the problem.

What has also made the problem of debt relief as such rather important at the present juncture is the fact that there is a certain degree of what I would call disenchantment that you have regarding the quantum of aid that can be mobilised from year to year. The subject matter of our discussion, rightly so, is the problem of indebtedness of developing countries including the terms and quantum of aid.

Let me explain. if you take a simple arithmetical example, let us say a country gets 100 million dollars of aid. If the net transfer of \$ 100 million is to be maintained, the debt begins to mount UP: You will have to negotiate every year over 100 million dollars worth of aid; the next year it will be still more and the year after it will be still more. In other words, if there is to be

no debt relief and if debt repayments are to be made on schedule, and since debt payment including interest payment will mount up from year to year, you will have to mobilise more aid from year to year.

Now for some years it was possible for the developing countries to think that the climate was such that one could hopefully look forward to more and more every year in order to maintain the same net transfer of resources. But this is no longer possible because the sentiment for foreign aid around the world is not such that you could borrow from year to year in order to maintain the same level of net transfer of resources. When that is not the case and the new aid that you can mobilise is not likely to increase, then either the net transfer of resources has to fall precipitiously or something has to be done on the debt side.

I think this point needs to be emphasised that irrespective of the harshness and hardness of the terms in the past, when you reach a stage when the international goodwill or public opinion is not of an order that new aid mobilisation can increase significantly from year to year, then the net transfer of resources will decline sharply unless separately something is done about the debt problem itself. This, I think, Is one of the reasons why the problem, of debt has become so urgent for countries like India. I mean for the last several Years the level of gross, aid to India has not only remained static, it in fact has come down and It comes down almost every year with the result that you cannot possibly maintain even the minimal net transfer of resources of 200 million dollars or something like that unless something is done on the debt side.

Then I think there are two or three other factors which I would like to mention. It is not simply a question of need alone, there is also an equity aspect and that arises in this way. Practically, all the bilateral aid is tied. You have got to use it in the country from which you get the aid and you have to use it for the Purposes which are prescribed from time to time. on the other hand, repayments, at least to the Western

countries, are not tied. They have to be made in free foreign exchange. This aid prima facie is not equitable because the dollar you get in terms of aid or a pound you get or a mark you get or a franc you get in terms of aid when you get because it is tied, is worth less than the dollar you have to earn and franc or the pound you have to earn in order to make repayment of one dollar or one pound or one mark.

This is the situation which has to be corrected sooner or later. That is to say, if for some reason, we could not have an equitable situation regarding repayment being of the same nature as the aid, then sooner or later this inquity or lack of symmetry has to be rectified. In other words, there has to be an element of debt adjustment, debt reduction in the process of debt

313

relief; it has not been a question of postponement and this, I think, you should not forget.

I would, Sir, also mention one factor or two more factors, if you like. One, I think, is that we all had a perspective which is rather ambitious. As I said aid around the world started gathering momentum only around the latter half of the fifties or towards the end of the fifties as a matter of fact, and somehow in order to create a climate for aid, we all thought that in 10 or 15 years the developing countries would be free from the need for aid. Just as the Marshall Plan countries were free from aid in four or five years, the developing countries, it was thought, would take 10 or 15 years. This, I think, is a much too narrow and optimistic perspective if you bear in mind the extreme poverty of the developing countries, and I think one has to accept that if you really believe in aid then the perspective over which the aid in the sense of net transfer of resources will have to continue is not a 10-year or 15-year perspective, it is a much longer perspective. The mechanism for net transfer of resources will have to include some element of debt relief.

Sir, finally, I would say that there is a problem of sheer practical business in this matter. No country, not even the richest in the world, is going to give up its national objectives which are vital. As we say in India, you cannot get blood out of stone; if you want to get something out of the countries to whom you have given money then you will have to ensure that they earn money in a reasonable way; otherwise they cannot repay and I think time and again history has shown that if the burden becomes intolerable, people will throw it off. They are not going to say that the burden is something which somebody has contracted for and ordered to pay.

We all talked of inequity of reparations at Vie time of the first World War. Recently, we had the example of saying that convertibility into gold cannot be maintained; the world community will have to accept the fact that it cannot be maintained and it need not be maintained. I think Mr. Wood was right in pointing out a number of things, saying that it is not merely directly a problem of postponement or reduction of debt payments but something must be done to help the developing countries to earn larger amounts by way of exports. I would certainly agree with him that there is problem also, of, shall I say, a certain degree of restraint in the matter of contracting short-term debts. I would say that of all the concessional forms of aid, I regard the aid which carries no rate of interest as the most desirable. There are formulae whereby you describe the concessional nature of aid in certain standard form but I think they are all misleading. The aid which carries no rate of interest is the most desirable because it avoids that arithmetical monster of having to borrow more and more every year in order to maintain the same set of resources.

If there is no rate of interest, then at least I am free from that anxiety of having to borrow more and more every year to maintain the same set of resources and if we were thinking in terms of what kind of improvement will be necessary, I would first of all pitch only one improvement and say: 'please make all your loans interest-free and

make all your past loans interest-free.' If you accept the principle that loans in future should be interest-free, I do not see why loans in the past should not be interest free; otherwise, it would not be concessional aid.

Let us not even use the word 'aid' because as I said there is a certain liquidity in the basic arrangements for it. I would not agree with Mr. Wood so readily, not that I have any serious disagreement but I know from experience that it works differently. It is true that there must be discussion. It is true that all creditors must take counsel together but I think if you ask for equality of treatment, you are asking for the moon. If you think of an arrangement for debt relief where all the creditors will make equal sacrifice, you are only asking for trouble because I have heard in the debate in the Consortium and I hope my Japanese friends would not mind it, every time they have been told that your terms in the past were harder because you charge a higher rate of interest, they privately come to me and say 'Tell me, Mr. Patel, did you find Japanese equipment better than other equipment or not? Did you find that we finish the job early enough than others or not? So, what would you find expensive, Japanese money or other money?'

314

I would not wish to say that I accept this argument of, the Japanese friends wholeheartedly but there is some truth in it. What I am driving at is that the comparison of each aid, at high concessional rate or how much concessional rate, is an extremely difficult job and we know from our experience that there should be some degree of equity which should be attempted. To try to be fussy about too much equity that it cannot be established as to what would be the equal terms of all the creditors, merely amounts to the undue postponement of the solution of the problem, merely amounts to more or less, lowest denomination beingadopted and I hope, therefore, that we do not insist on concepts of equity beyond a point when it comes 'to how much sacrifice would each creditor country make in the

solution of a particular debt problem.

Mr. Chairman, if I were to make one or two additional points which were not made by Mr. Wood, I think that is necessary also in that whereas in the individual cases under the leadership of the World Bank, the problem of debt has been at least taken in hand, there are, I think, improvements possible in one or two ways. I have already said that we have to specifically recognise that what we are after is a genuine reduction in the burden of debts and not merely a postponement of debt. Postponement itself is a reduction if it is on better terms than in the past, but there has to be willing acceptance 'that when a situation reaches a certain proportion, then you will have to accept a certain amount of debt burden reduction as an objective; otherwise, I do not see how the net transfer of resources can be maintained even at a minimal level, for a country like India, at \$ 100 million or practically nothing.

The second point is the arrangements for debt relief today are from hand to mouth; they are from year to year and this is certainly no way of solving the problem. One of the major difficulties about aid has been that the promise that it would be given in advance over a fairly long Period to enable a country to plan has never been fulfilled. I remember President Kennedy tried it hard when at the beginning of the Second Plan we thought we will get somewhere; for a year or so we got some indication for a period, but after that It Just bogged down to year to year basis.

I know that recently the British, for instance, have agreed to give in the project-side commitments which extend over a number of years. By and large, the parliamentary processes of budget appropriation, etc., are such that on the aid front we have not been able to advance beyond year-to-year commitments. I hope that at least on the debt side the parliamentary problems are not of the same order; one could have aid arrangements which could last for three to five years. But, unfortunately, that has not been the case. If there

is to be real relief, the arrangement must extend over a fairly long period of at least 3 to 5 years and not this year-to-year basis. I do not want to say that this is not a problem which arises simply because the terms of aid in the past were harsher or harder. I think that is an over-simplification.

I think the ultimate goodwill that we wish to achieve around the world by international economic cooperation, including cooperation through aid, will be totally lost if country after country begin to feel that burden of debt was so great that theoretical assistance on bearing it fully is merely retarding the progress. The poor pays debts more honourably than others do. But this has happened time and again in history that you can only get out of the debtor-creditor situation something if everybody is progressing. If everybody is not progressing, you do not get much out of it, no matter how you define it.

SRI LANKA INDIA USA PERU CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC JAPAN FRANCE

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

COLOMBO PLAN CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

Text of Press Communique Issued at End of 22nd Colombo Plan Consultative Committee Meeting

The following is the text of the press communique issued on November 8, 1972 on the conclusion in New Delhi of the 22nd meeting of the consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South East Asia:

I. The 22nd Meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan for Co-

operative Economic Development in South and South East Asia met in New Delhi from November 6 to 8, 1972. The meeting was inaugurated by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, who, in her address, called for the application of science and technology to development and stressed the importance of self-reliance. She also called for new and imaginative ways of solving the problems of poverty and hunger and for ways of improving the quality of life. The Consultative Committee met under the Chairmanship of Mr. Y. B. Chavan, Finance Minister of the Indian Government and Leader of the Indian Ministerial Delegation. A meeting of Senior Officials of Member Governments took place from October 30 to November 3, 1972 under the Chairmanship of Mr. M. G. Kaul, Leader of the Indian Official Delegation.

- II. The Consultative Committee agreed to the admission of the people's Republic of Bangladesh and Fiji to membership of the Colombo Plan.
- III. The Consultative Committee Meeting exchanged views on the following four major issues of concern to the Colombo Plan countries:
- 1. The Economic and Social Implications of Drug Abuse.

The Consultative Committee concluded that drug abuse is of growing concern to the Member Governments. It was agreed that the Colombo Plan Bureau should employ a drug abuse adviser who would consult with Member Governments on the economic and social implications of drug abuse, assist governments in holding seminars, workshops and similar activities to discuss these problems, and assist in development of cooperative programme designed to eliminate the causes and to ameliorate the effects of drug abuse. The Consultative Committee further decided that a Report on the subject should be discussed at the 23rd Meeting of the

Colombo Plan Consultative Committee to be, hold in New Zealand in 1973, and that a special item should be included in the agenda for this purpose.

2. International Cooperation in Agriculture and the Second Generation Problems of the Green Revolution

Ministers noted that. while as a result of the 'Green Revolution' 'there had been a significant breakthrough in agriculture production in several countries of the region, these countries were, however, now faced with what might be called 'second generation problems' such as changes in the social order, trade and marketing arrangements, and storage and distribution facilities. It was also noted that one of the side-effects of the Green Revolution had been to accentuate economic inequalities in rural areas. In this context, Ministers recognised that the problem of devising suitable administrative and institutional arrangements particularly in regard to land reforms, agricultural incomes and prices and trade in agricultural produce, deserved special attention. There was an urgent need for spreading the green revolution to all the crops and improving the quality of the diets available to the people of the developing countries. It was also felt that the first generation problems such as provision of adequate inputs in the form of proper supplies of water, fertilisers, and pesticides and provision of credit had assumed added significance in the context of the 'Green Revolution'. The importance of continuing international cooperation in agricultural research suited to soil and climatic conditions and consumer preferences of different countries was emphasised.

3. The Development of an Appropriate Technology for Utilisation of Human Resources, and the Use of Science and Technology for Economic and Social Development.

Ministers agreed that the development problems of the region depend, to a large extent, on the efficient utilisation of available human resources in the formation of new industries to maximum human employment opportunities. At the same Lime they noted that technological

316

stagnation must be avoided, but the development of technology best suited to the local needs and environments and its selective application so as to maximise gainful employment was important. Lack of employment opportunity and under-employment is not only wasteful and detrimental to the progress of development but also create social unrest. Recognising this problem, Ministers called for continued assistance specifically oriented to encourage the full utilisation of available human resources.

The Consultative Committee noted that the better application of Science and Technology to development would not only speed up economic and social progress in developing countries but may well prove to be a breakthrough in the process of modernisation. Such application would help to increase production in agriculture and industry. It can also assist in changing the people's attitude to life and make it possible for them to participate intelligently in national development programmes. Teaching of Sciences should have a higher priority in the scheme of development. The developing nations should aim at greater selfreliance in technology and more effort to pool skills and expertise among the regional members.

4. The Problem of Indebtedness of Developing Countries, including the Terms and Quantum of Aid.

A serious problem confronting some of the developing countries in the region is that of mounting indebtedness and rising debt servicing payments. In order to achieve a tolerable level of economic growth, some countries have had to borrow from abroad, both from donor Governments and from commercial sources on terms which were too hard. The concessionality element in aid was in the past not very high and both developed and developing countries had too narrow a time perspective within which developing countries had hoped they would attain self-sustaining growth. They (the developing countries) were thus faced with a situation where due to rising debt service payments, increasingly larger aid flows are necessary to secure the same transfer of net resources for development. The meeting considered that the problem could be mitigated in the future if the developed countries were prepared to open up more of their markets to the products of developing countries and to increase the availability of soft aid finance, particularly grant aid. At the same time the need for the developing countries to exercise restraint in accepting hard commercial credits was stressed, as also the need to use their capital resources to maximum developmental effect. The meeting recognised the desirability of a better international reporting system for locating potentially explosive debt situations and the need to organise debt relief in individual cases in order to reduce the burden of indebtedness.

IV. Problems resulting from the "brain drain" (the migration of trained personnel) were discussed as a Special Topic at this meeting. While both "push" (domestic) and "pull" (external) factors were involved, the pull factors were considered more important by those developing countries whose progress was retarded by the migration of highly qualified scientists and technologists to the developed countries. The developmental process was likely to be impeded if this drain

was not controlled. Ways to control this loss of talent were considered, and methods to be employed by both the developed and developing countries to minimise this loss of talent were suggested. Revised national development programmes, new educational patterns, proper recognition of professional expertise and establishment of more regional centres; of excellence for research and development were some of the ways mentioned in which the developing countries could help to alleviate the problem. Developed countries could help through establishment of manpower programmes which would reduce the "brain drain", assistance in locating talent needed by the developing countries and exploration of types of technical assistance which would minimize talent transfers.

317

V. During the review of progress in development in the Colombo Plan region the following points were highlighted:

1. OVERALL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT:

The overall rate of growth in the developing countries of the region witnessed a certain decline both in 1970 and 1971. The slower rate of growth in gross national product was mainly on account of slackness in the agricultural sector which had to face adverse weather conditions after an unusually favourable run in the preceding few years. As elsewhere the Colombo Plan countries also had to face the adverse consequence of the international monetary crisis.

2. AGRICULTURAL & INDUSTRIAL GROWTH:

Agriculture continues to be the dominant sector in the economies of the countries of the Colombo Plan region. Under the impact of the 'Green Revolution' there was a real breakthrough in agricultural production in a number of countries. But the poor performance of agriculture during the period under review in some of these countries revealed that new techno-

logy has not yet become as widespread as it was hoped. There was need for continued research and concerted action to deepen and broaden the impact and sweep of the 'Green Revolution'. Countries of the region registered some recovery in industrial production in the course of 1971.

3. TRADE BALANCE:

The overall trade deficit of the countries in the region widened to \$3,300 million in 1971, the highest in recent years. It was noted that the import restrictions and other protective devices by some developed countries can limit opportunities for trade in primary commodities. Both the developing and developed countries have a natural interest in the early dismantling of tariff as well as non-tariff barriers which restrict expansion of world trade.

4. EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE:

The available data for 1969 and 1970 suggest that the net transfer of resources to the Colombo Plan countries declined both absolutely and as a percentage of the total net transfer to developing countries. There has also been some hardening of the overall terms of assistance. The total cumulative flow of official aid (capital and technical) since the inception of the Colombo Plan amounted to about \$ 32,000 million. The total disbursements of technical assistance under the Colombo Plan amounted to \$ 174.2 million in 1971. The cumulative total expenditure on technical assistance since the inception of the Plan reached to about \$1,700 million spent in the proportion of 18 per cent on 81,156 trainees and students, 51 per cent on 15,310 experts and 31 per cent on technical and research equipment. The number of trainees and students awards made under the Colombo Plan in 1970 exceeded any previous year and in 1971 the total was even greater.

This would indicate that technical cooperation has lost none of its importance, though it seems necessary to devise new forms to meet adequately changing requirements in this field.

5. POPULATION POLICY:

During the last two decades world population expanded by as much as it had in the one century between 1850 and 1950. For the second development decade, all indications suggest a growth in population higher than in any preceding decade. The population of the developing countries in the Colombo Plan region increased by 60 per cent between 1950 and 1970. The intensity of the problem is not the same in all member countries. It is, for instance, less marked in Bhutan and Burma than in the Philippines and Thailand. One of the most formidable problems facing member countries is the alarming rate at which their populations are growing, and this brings sharply into focus the imperative need for the adoption of appropriate policies to retard the

318

population growth rate, by bringing down the birth rate.

VI. The Consultative Committee agreed to the establishment of a regional centre for technician teacher training to be located in Singapore and designated The Colombo Plan Staff College for Technician Education.

VII. Member governments welcomed the invitation extended by the Government of New Zealand to host 'the 23rd Consultative Committee meeting in Wellington in 1973.

VIII. The Committee approved the subject of "Joint ventures: their role in economic development and their relationship to aid programmes" as the Special Topic for discussion at the 23rd meeting of the Consultative Committee in 1973.

IX. The Consultative Committee noted with satisfaction the prospects of peace in the Indo-Chinese peninsula and expressed its appreciation at the measures contemplated by some of the developed countries to assist in the post-war economic reconstruction of countries in that peninsula.

X. The Conference of Information Officers of member countries of the Colombo Plan met in New Delhi on 1-2 November 1972. The main theme of the Conference was the "Role of Communication in Development". It was acknowledged that the mobilisation of public opinion in support of development was the concern of both industrialized and developing countries; that development was a global concept. The Conference paid close attention to the use of communication techniques in support of development schemes and projects and drew the attention of the member-countries to the need to pay greater attention to this subject in development planning and country programing.

XI. The Consultative Committee recommended that information services be given a higher priority in the development programme of the regional members. It felt the two-way flow of information between the industrialised and the developing nations and between member countries of the Colombo Plan needs to be Improved and assisted. A suggestion was made that the exchange of Information about development would be facilitated by proposals for the establishment of an Asian News Agency and an Asian TV exchange programme.

XII. Afghanistan, Australia, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burma, Canada, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Khmer Republic, Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Republic of Maldives, Nepal, New Zealand, The Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, the United Kingdom, the United States and Republic of Vietnam participated in the meeting. The Colombo Plan Bureau attended the meeting as a participating body. The Federal Republic of Germany, and the following organizations attended as Observers: The Asian Development Bank, Asian Institute of Technology, Asian Productivity Organi-

sation, the Commonwealth Secretariat, United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Labour Organisation, United Nations Development Programme and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

XIII. Annual Report: This 19th Annual Report adopted by the 22nd Meeting of the Consultative Committee will be printed by the Colombo Plan Bureau and released in the capitals of member countries as soon as possible.

XIV. The Consultative Committee placed on record its appreciation of the services rendered by Brig. Gen. A. B. Connelly, Director, Mr. L. B. Goonetilleke, Principal Information Officer, and Mr. Byuk Hak Lee who on retirement will be shortly leaving the Colombo Plan Bureau.

XV. The Consultative Committee expressed its appreciation of the excellent arrangements made, the efficiency of the secretariat, and the warm and generous hospitality extended by the Government of India.

319

SRI LANKA INDIA USA BANGLADESH FIJI NEW ZEALAND PERU BHUTAN BURMA PHILIPPINES THAILAND REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE AFGHANISTAN AUSTRALIA CANADA IRAN JAPAN KOREA LAOS MALAYSIA MALDIVES NEPAL VIETNAM GERMANY UNITED KINGDOM

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Indo-Czechoslovak Trade Protocol

The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on November 2, 1972 on the conclusion of high-level talks between India and Czechoslovakia and the signing of a trade Protocol for 1973:

At the end of high-level discussions held between India's Foreign Trade Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra and the visiting Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, H.E. Mr. J. Gregor, a Trade Protocol for 1973 has been signed here today.

The Protocol envisages a trade turnover of Rs. 130 crores between the two countries In 1973, an increase of about 18 per cent over the 1972 estimated level.

In their discussions, both Ministers are understood to have agreed to explore further possibilities for stepping up trade and economic relations between the two countries. Shri Mishra expressed satisfaction that Indo-Czechoslovak trade has become diversified and is no longer confined to traditional items. He emphasised that following Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's direction, structural changes are being brought about in India's foreign trade. It is Prime Minister's keen desire that India should develop her trade links with 'the countries of East Europe and developing countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia.

Mr. Gregor is understood to have said that his country is interested in finalising long-term arrangements with India. A good base, he said, has been built through the mechanism of Indo-Czechoslovak Joint Committee.

Today's Protocol was signed by Shri Y. T. Shah, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Trade, on behalf of the Government of India and by H.E. Mr. Ivan Peter, the Czechoslovak Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, on behalf of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Besides exports of various traditional commodities like deoiled cakes, cashew kernels, tea, coffee, cotton yam, cotton textiles, jute manufactures, etc., from India to Czechoslovakia, there are a number of engineering and non-traditional items, including consumer goods, such as, ready-made garments, linoleum, textile machinery, machine tools, drugs and medicines, wall tiles, hand tools and small tools, sanitary fittings, pipes and fittings, toileteries and cosmetics, synthetic detergents, in the Trade Protocol.

The principal items of import into India from Czechoslovakia during 1973 will be components and spare parts for tractors, machine tools, steel and steel products, newsprint, components and raw materials for Czechoslovak-assisted industries, shunters, refractories, printing and polygraphic machinery, etc.

NORWAY SLOVAKIA INDIA USA RUSSIA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prime Minister's Message on 25th Anniversary of Diplomatic Ties between India and Czechoslovakia

The following is the text of the message sent by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi to Dr. Lubomir Strougal, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries on November 18, 1972:

Your Excellency,

Please accept my warm greetings on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the

320

establishment of diplomatic relations bet-

ween our two countries.

It is indeed a matter of great satisfaction to us that the relations between our two countries and peoples have developed so satisfactorily over the years.

My recent visit to Czechoslovakia and our very useful discussions confirmed that the areas of cooperation between our two countries will continue to expand to our mutual advantage and in the Interest of peace and understanding in the world.

NORWAY SLOVAKIA INDIA USA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Foreign Minister's Message

The Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, in a message to H.E. Ing. Bohuslav Chnoupek, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, said:

Your Excellency,

I have great pleasure in conveying sincere greetings on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between India and Czechoslovakia. I am happy to note that over these years cooperation between our two countries has been growing steadily in many fields. I am confident that our cooperation and friendship will be further strengthened in the years to come to our mutual benefit as well as in the interest of peace and progress in the world as a whole.

I look forward, Excellency, to con-

tinued cooperation between us in this noble endeavour.

NORWAY SLOVAKIA USA INDIA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Trade Protocol with GDR

The following is the text of the press release issued in New Delhi on November 2, 1972 on the signing of a trade protocol between India and GDR:

At the end of discussions held between Foreign Trade Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra, and the G.D.R. Minister of External Economic Relations, Mr. Horst Soelle, here this morning, a Trade Protocol envisaging a trade turnover of Rs. 69 crores between the two countries in 1973 was signed here today.

Besides exports of various traditional commodities like deoiled cakes, cashew kernels, tea, coffee, cotton textiles, jute manufactures, etc., a number of engineering and non-traditional items, including consumer goods have been included for exports to the G.D.R. Some of these items are cotton ready-made garments, linoleum shoes and chappals, leather goods and garments, sports goods, electrical motors and switch gears, hand-knitting machines, machine tools, wire ropes, aluminium cables, castings and forgings, etc.

The principal items of India's imports from the G.D.R. during 1973 will be printing machinery, steel and steel products, textile machinery, optical and scientific instruments, X-Ray films, cinematographic colour

films, chemicals, muriate of potash (fertilizer grade), potassium chloride, etc.

Views on other matters of mutual interest for expansion and diversification of

321

trade between the two countries were also exchanged.

The Protocol was signed by Shri Y. T. Shah, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Trade, on behalf of the Government of India, and by H.E. Mr. F. Clausnitzer, the G.D.R. Deputy Minister for External Economic Relations, on behalf of the Government of the G.D.R.

Speaking after the signing of the Protocol, Shri L. N. Mishra referred to the big transformation in India's foreign trade in the last few years. India has expanded trade with other developing nations of the world and countries of East Europe at a rapid pace. India and G.D.R., he said, will work together for promoting the interest of developing nations of the world and particularly in breaking the monopoly of big market economies of the West.

The G.D.R., he said, is held in India in high esteem and relations between the two countries have been for long abiding.

The G.D.R. Minister expressed his country's desire to develop trade and economic cooperation with India to the maximum extent.

The G.D.R. Ambassador to India, Mr. Herbert Fischer, was present at today's signing ceremony.

INDIA USA RUSSIA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

Indo-Guinean Talks

The following is the text of the Press Note issued in New Delhi ox November 24, 1972 on the conclusion of the visit to India of a delegation from the Republic of Guinea:

A high level Delegation from the Republic of Guinea visited India from 16th to 23rd November, 1972. It was led by His Excellency Mr. N'Famara Keita, Member of the Political Bureau of the Democratic Party of Guinea and Minister for Social Domain in the Republic of Guinea. The Delegation called on the Prime Minister, Ministers for External Affairs, Foreign Trade, Planning, Irrigation and Power, Industrial Development and Railways.

As a result of the talks between the Guinean and Indian Delegations, the two Governments have agreed to co-operate with each other in economic and technical spheres. Guinea would like India's assistance in certain sectors of her development plan. India will soon send to Guinea teams of technical experts in the relevant spheres viz, Railways, Industries, Mining, Irrigation, etc., to carry out technical studies of Guinea's precise requirements. Based on these studies, the two Governments would further explore the precise forms of cooperation possible. The Indian Delegation was led by Shri M. S. Pathak, Member, Planning Commission.

322

GUINEA INDIA USA LATVIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shrimati Savitri Nigam's Address at United Nations Social and Humanitarian Committee

Exercising her right of reply to the Pakistan Delegate's statement on Pakistani journalists in detention in India, Shrimati Savitri Nigam of India made the following statement in U.N. Social and Humanitarian Committee on November 1, 1972:

Mr. Chairman,

For reasons not difficult to understand, the distinguished representative of Pakistan injected into our debate day before yesterday the question of prisoners of war detained in India on behalf of the joint command of Bangladesh and India. In this context he cited Article 118 of the Geneva Convention of 1949. Let me, in reply, read the opinion of Openheim, perhaps the most renowned international lawyer in our times. Openheim has this to say:

"The phrase cessation of active hostilities in Article 118 refers not to the cessation of hostilities in pursuance of an ordinary armistice which leaves open the possibility of resumption of the struggle but to a cessation of hostilities as a result of the total surrender or of such circumstances or conditions of armistice as render it out of question for the defeated party to resume hostilities."

Bangladesh's concern and involvement in this issue are established without any doubt, and yet, Pakistan, by refusing to deal with Bangladesh on the basis of sovereign equality continues to destroy the legal basis on which Article 118 could be pursued and eventually fully applied. By Pakistan's persistent refusal to accept the new realities in the sub-continent, she is open to the criticism that she is more con-

cerned with agitation, rather than action, on this Problem of mainly humanitarian, political and legal aspects, which can only be solved by the three countries negotiating as equal partners. This Pakistan has refused to do until the present.

If indeed Pakistan were anxious to ensure the return of POWs and to solve all other problems, progress could be achieved by speedy implementation of the agreements already arrived at so that an era of cooperation rather than the confrontation may be brought about.

The Simla Agreement provides for discussions on further "modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including the questions of the repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees." We are anxious that the POWs question be settled within the framework of the Simla Agreement: At least this policy we are following by whatever initiative we can.

Mr. Chairman, as far as India is con. cerned, we have fulfilled and will continue to fulfil, at much cost to ourselves- our international obligations, humanitarian or otherwise. Our POW camps have been repeatedly visited by the representatives of the international Red Cross and they have confirmed that the Geneva Convention for the treatment of POW is being observed. In addition, we have returned and exchanged several batches of sick and wounded prisoners. As for the civilian internees, here too we have released and returned nearly 900 persons and are willing to continue this process reciprocally and through bilateral negotiations. Since we are specifically speaking of journalists, may I point out that even until today we do not fully know what has happened to our two important journalists, Surjeet Ghoshal and Deepak Banerjee who were last seen in the custody of Pakistan army. They certainly have not returned to India.

According to existing provisions of the Geneva Conventions, journalists are to be given the same consideration as other civilian internees. Pakistan Government's atti-

tude regarding the two Indian journalists.

Messrs. Surjeet Ghoshal and Deepak Banerjee of the Amrita Bazar Patrika, shows their own

323

callous disregard for prisoners in their custody and speak of humane treatment or any special consideration for the profession of the two victims. The Pakistan Government have not even cared to inform the International Press Institute, through whom enquiries were made by us, whether these two journalists were alive, or as feared, were murdered while in Pakistan Army's custody. The fact that they were alive when taken into custody is borne out by their having been interviewed on Pakistan. IV, which was witnessed by Foreign Missions in Pakistan including our High Commission officials last year.

Mr. Chairman, against this, the Pakistani journalists in our custody, are being treated humanely, and facilities are available to them on par with those available to other Pakistani civilians in custody. The I.C.R.C. Delegates have been regularly visiting these camps. The visits are confined to the I.C.R.C. delegates in accordance with the Geneva Conventions.

I cannot speak for Bangladesh just as the distinguished representative of Pakistan cannot speak for it. However, we have reports that tens of thousands of Bengalees, ex-army men, ex-civil servants and ordinary civilians and their families - totalling nearly 400,000 people are detained in Pakistan. We cannot ignore these unfortunate people. Surely also, these and other problems between the two states of Pakistan and Bangladesh can be discussed and raised by direct negotiations on the basis of equality. So long as Pakistan does not do so, problems will remain and only polemics will prevail.

After the delegates of Pakistan, China and Turkey addressed the Committee, Shrimati Nigam spoke again. She said:

Mr. Chairman,

I shall be brief. The discussion which the distinguished delegate of Pakistan has unnecessarily provoked is most unfortunate - it has injected a note of acrimony and fruitless polemics into our debate and matters which have no bearing on the subject the Committee is considering have been introduced. I would not like to follow his example. I will not show similar disregard to our order of business and lack of consideration to the members of the Committee. The various allegations which have been made by the delegate of Pakistan in his interventions are unfounded, baseless and irrelevant. I am sure the members of the Committee are already aware of this and I don't need to explain the point further.

In regard to the fate of journalists -which is the subject under consideration-the delegate of Pakistan has merely harped on what he had said earlier. And I regret to say that he has not volunteered any information or explanation about the fate of the two Indian journalists while waxing eloquent about alleged ill-treatment of journalists in detention in India.

As for the shooting incidents in POW camps to which he has referred again, I am sorry to note that the spirit in which he has raised them reveals his interest in polemics rather than humanity. These incidents have been investigated by the I.C.R.C. and none of the baseless charges that Pakistan has made have been substantiated. On the other hand, the I.C.R.C. reports have consistently recorded the fact that the conditions of the POWs and their treatment are more than satisfactory. Nothing that the delegate of Pakistan says here can wipe out the fact.

I wish to repeat with all emphasis that we are committed to the Simla Agreement and we shall do everything to implement it in its letter and spirit. It is our earnest hope that Pakistan will show a similar constructive approach and thus help in resolving the problem in a peaceful manner within the framework of the Simla Agreement. In the meanwhile, as provided under the Simla Agreement we would wish that hostile propaganda will be eschewed and nothing said

or done which would hamper the process of normalisation and durable peace in The subcontinent.

324

INDIA PAKISTAN BANGLADESH SWITZERLAND USA MALI CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC CHINA TURKEY

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Indian Delegate's Speech on Definition of Forms of Aggression

The following are excerpts from a statement made by Shri B. P. Maurya, M.P., Indian Representative on the Sixth Committee on the report of the U.N. Special Committee on the question of defining aggression on November 3, 1972:

I wish to express the deep appreciation of the Indian delegation to Mr. Aly Ismail Teymour of Egypt, the Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the question of defining aggression for the manner in which he presented the report of the Committee on the work of its session held in New York from January 31 to March 3, 1972.

It is encouraging that the working group of the Special Committee felt that the report submitted on behalf of the informal negotiating group "constituted a step forward in the process of formulating a generally acceptable definition of the concept of aggression". This fills our minds with the hope that the Special Committee would at its next session be in a position to consolidate the progress hitherto achieved and also reach agreement on the outstanding issues concerning the definition of aggression.

My delegation would, therefore, support the unanimous recommendation made by the Special Committee that the General Assembly invite the Special Committee to resume its work in 1973 with a view to overcoming existing differences and difficulties and devote its utmost efforts to ensuring the success of its task. In this connection, I wish. to draw attention of the distinguished representatives in the Sixth Committee to General Assembly Resolution 2734 (XXV) of 16 December, 1970, wherein member states of the United Nations were called upon to "support the efforts of the Special Committee on the question of defining aggression to bring its work to a successful conclusion thus achieving the definition of aggression as soon as possible". The need for early agreement on the definition of aggression also finds reflection in the Lusaka and Georgetown declarations adopted by the non-aligned countries.

INDIA'S BITTER EXPERIENCE

Mr. Chairman, permit me to indicate the general approach of my delegation to the question of definition of the concept of aggression. We consider that aggression must be comprehensively defined. It cannot be denied that the problems involved in this task are complex and many sided. Aggression by its nature can be direct or indirect armed in nature or without the use of any arms whatsoever. We have had bitter experience of all these forms of aggression against us. We do not, therefore, share the view that the proposed definition of aggression should limit itself to armed aggression alone.

Mr. Chairman, the stand of my delegation that aggression has to be comprehensively defined is not a mere question of preference with us. It is a matter of crucial importance to my delegation that the definition of aggression takes into account the various forms of aggression including those by methods other than armed force. My delegation was gratified to find that this thought was expressed by other delegations also. To quote by way of illustration from

the statement of one delegation, "If however gave threat by one state is caused to the livelihood of the population of another state which can be on occasions more destructive and devastating than that caused by an open armed attack, there is no good reason why such an act should not be regarded as constituting an act of aggression as much as an armed attack."

We consider that the words "use of armed force" in the general definition of aggression are limited in scope. We would therefore suggest the deletion of words "armed" from the definition. In respect of "acts proposed for inclusion" in the definition of aggression, my delegation would generally support the proposal in its present form including the words retained in square brackets up to clause D. We would also support the contents of clause E. This clause speaks in terms of "agreement" and "permission" of the receiving state. My delegation feels that the element of request on the part of the receiving state is also an important aspect which should be taken into account in drafting this clause.

325

We believe that the section dealing with "indirect use of force and minor incidents" should be deleted. What is sought to be covered by this section would obviously be taken into account by the Security Council in exercising its powers in this regard. On the question concerning "legal uses of force, including the question of centralisation", we believe that alternative two is not necessary. It would suffice to state that "nothing in this definition should be construed as enlarging or diminishing in any way the scope of provisions of the Charter concerning cases in which the use of force is lawful". My delegation would, therefore, support paragraph one of alternative one. Para two of alternative one is highly abstract and is capable of misinterpretation in the context of the precise definition of aggression.

MOTIVATIONS

The alternatives concerning "questions

of priority and aggressive intent", cover important aspects and have a direct bearing on whether or not certain acts constitute aggression. Nevertheless, my delegation considers that it is not possible and even desirable to refer to the elements covered in these alternatives in a detailed manner as proposed. We believe that the United Nations while exercising its powers under the Charter would obviously bear these questions in mind, namely, who acted first in committing any aggressive acts and with what motivations. Since these questions are likely to result in allegations and counterallegations it may be sufficient to define aggression in terms of objective acts rather than creating presumptions of priority of use and motivation for such use of force.

Turning now to the question concerning the right of peoples to self-determination, my delegation is in favour of alternative two the substance of which is in keeping with the provisions of the U.N. declaration on principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among states. My delegation supports the principles embodied in the formulations concerning legal consequences of aggression. In particular, we are of the view that the element of the inviolability of the territory of state must be emphasised in the definition of aggression.

It should also be provided that the territory of a state shall not be the object of military occupation or acquisition and that any such territorial acquisition shall not be recognised. Similar provisions have already been made in the declaration on friendly relations and it is essential to refer to these principles in the definition of aggression.

INDIA EGYPT USA ZAMBIA GUYANA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Shri Laskar's Speech in Fourth Committee on Question of Southern Rhodesia

The following are excerpts from a statewent made by Shri N. R. Laskar, M.P. in the U.N. Fourth Committee in New York on November 8, 1972 on the question of Southern Rhodesia:

While here in this Committee and other organs of the United Nations the question of Zimbabwe is agitating the international community, the racist minority regime in Salisbury has resorted to repression in order to consolidate its position. In June, the Rhodesian regime published the Emergency Powers Regulations, 1972, and designated the African National Congress to come under their purview. This prevents the A.N.C. from obtaining funds from foreign sources. The regime had, earlier in the year, banned the A.N.C. from selling its member-ship cards to raise funds. Mr. Joshua Nkomo has now been in continuous political detention for more than 8 years, carefully separated from the thousands of Africans who still regard his as their chosen leader - and a "Black Martyr". With the renewal of the Rhodesian state of emergency, the majority of the people of Zimbabwe has been deprived of all means of protest and their political activity has been effectively stopped. Resigned to a prolonged stalemate over the question of independence, Rhodesia's minority regime is preparing to move firmly towards the road to apartheid and is going to introduce measures which will turn this country into another South Africa. New laws are to be introduced to establish strict segregation of

326

residential areas and recreation facilities. in the long term, the regime is planning to transform the tribal trust lands where three-fourth of 'the African population lives into "Bantustans", racial attitudes are hardening swiftly and now few African nationals be-

lieve that a violent racial confrontation can eventually be avoided. The situation poses a challenge and we feel it is time to reexamine the assumptions which have guided our actions so far and concentrate on the consideration of measures which can help to solve it. In recent years, the main efforts in the United Nations towards solving this problem have been directed in two channels. The first has been the exertion of pressure on Southern Rhodesia through the establishments and elaboration of the system of sanctions. The second has consisted of repeated exhortations to the United Kingdom to discharge its primary and acknowledged responsibility to enable the people of Southern Rhodesia to achieve their inalienable right to freedom and independence.

We do not believe that it is beyond the ability of sincere governments to curb the activities of unscrupulous merchants and firms who have helped the Smith regime to evade sanctions on a massive scale. It is an established fact that some countries which blandly inform us that they are observing sanctions have surreptitiously traded with Southern Rhodesia. A part of the dollar's 220 million of clandestine exports which Southern Rhodesia has succeeded in effecting has also been due to the indifference of other Governments towards sanctions which is also highly regrettable.

Whatever the Security Council committee on Southern Rhodesia might do to assist, ultimately the success of sanctions depends on firm international political will to make them work. We hope that the Governments which have not been serious in this respect would reconsider their attitude and scrupulously discharge their obligations in future. My delegation has, on a number of occasions, made specific suggestions for strengthening and extending sanctions. We feel that extensive publicity should be given to all violations of sanctions and in this, it is not necessary to limit ourselves only to violations established by the Security Council Committee on sanctions. The United Nations and Its publicity media could undertake to disseminate all reports which come from responsible organisations, indicating in each

case the source of these reports.

Apart from commercial transactions, the boycott of the illegal regime should be extended to communications, passports and postal services as well as all cultural, social and other activities. Many other delegations have also made a number of useful suggestions. We feel that these could contribute towards ensuring the effectiveness of sanctions.

While deploring the clandestine trade which some countries which claim to observe sanctions have been conducting with Southern Rhodesia, we would like to make it clear that we cannot accept that violations of sanctions can in any way be condoned because it is done openly. The fact that a state is prepared to give quarterly statements to the Security Council Committee on Southern Rhodesia about its imports from Southern Rhodesia does not in any way mitigate the damage it does to the system of sanctions by its violations. It is not the quantum of the trade involved, which is important enough, but the underlying principle of it which has a severely debilitating effect on the entire international political will to make sanctions effective.

We are happy that the liberation struggle is gathering momentum. Those outside can certainly give them considerable help. We believe the United Nations should consider the setting up of suitable machinery to examine the kind of help that is necessary and how best it can be channelled and extended. Till the time the activities of the liberation movements made the position of the minority racist regime totally untenable and force it to negotiate with these movements on their own terms, it is the responsibility of the international community to ensure that the Ian Smith regime is kept in a state of total diplomatic isolation and not given acceptability in any form. Economic pressure should be maintained and increased on the illegal regime to ensure that it is unable to consolidate itself. India on its part has scrupulously imposed the sanctions approved by the United Nations. We had, in fact, even before the imposition of

mandatory sanctions by the United Nations, terminated the consular representation and sizeable trade we had with that colony. We believe that we have taken the necessary legislative and administrative measure to ensure that sanctions are fully respected. Resolutions of the U.N. have repeatedly stressed the United Kingdom Government's responsibility for the present state of affairs in Southern Rhodesia and its obligation to ensure that justice is done. My delegation feels that it is necessary now to reassess this aspect of our actions as well as Britain's ability to change the policies of Ian Smith. This responsibility of the United Kingdom cannot, in the view of my delegation, be discharged by any step short of achieving majority rule for Southern Rhodesia. And short of using force, it Is not clear to us bow Britain is going to bring about this desired result. Britain has repeatedly told us that she will not use force. In the circumstances, the emphasis on the responsibility of the United Kingdom as the administering power has an increasing air of fiction and unreality about it. Whatever may be the reason for Britain herself to continue to claim this role and some delegations have commented on this - my delegation wonders whether it will be useful for us to continue to construct resolutions mainly based on this fiction.

There is much, of course, that Britain can do to bring about its declared desire to see the end of the regime of Ian Smith and its replacement by majority rule. She could as a first step, refrain from further attempts to arrive at settlements with the minority regime which would indefinitely leave the 5 1/2 million Zimbabwe Africans as unwilling wards of a regime they do not trust and which has made amply clear its determination to keep them under subjugation. Some time back, in the period between the conclusion of Lord Goodman's negotiations and the report of Lord Pearce, the very continuance of sanctions by Britain had been in some doubt. After these proposals had been decisively rejected by the Zimbabwe people - and here we must commend the Pearce

Commission for its objectivity - We were glad to note the British Government's announcement that sanctions would continue. These are due to be renewed shortly, and it would enhance their effectiveness if the United Kingdom Government could make them permanent rather than extending them on a year to year basis. In the meanwhile as a member of the Security Council, my delegation has been glad at Britain's cooperation with the Council's Committee on Southern Rhodesia in providing it with information on suspected cases of sanctions' violations. We hope this cooperation will be continued and extended.

INDIA USA ZIMBABWE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC SOUTH AFRICA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Samar Sen's Address to U.N. General Assembly on Non-use of Force

Following is the text of the speech of India's Permanent Representative, Shri Samar Sen, in the U.N. General Assembly on November 13, 1972 on draft resolution submitted by USSR on non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of use of nuclear weapons:

Ever since the United Nations came into existence about 27 years ago - and indeed for many decades before then - we have been discussing the best framework in which international peace and security can be fruitfully pursued and a satisfactory world order achieved. We may never achieve that ideal, and even men with strong faith and long memory need to be reminded from time to time of the great tasks that he ahead of us, of the Purposes and Principles of the

Charter, to which we have solemnly pledged ourselves and of the efforts and energy that will be required of us in our slow and painful march for a better and fuller life for all of us.

Complaint is frequently heard that much of our debate on the subject before us becomes repetitive, unrealistic and, cynically, even propagandist. Yet, the main articles of our united faith can, as always, bear repetition. The realism of international politics and policies changes from time to time, making it necessary for us to review the situation as it is today and obliging us to work out the direction in which we must move. If this is propaganda, so is the daily

328

exhortation about the Sermon on the Mount and many others besides, and no one has doubted the great merit of such repeated reminders of what we are about, and how, why and where we have failed.

The greatest and most significant change in the international political scene today is the spirit of detente to which many Foreign Ministers and others drew our attention in the general debate. From Tokyo, to Peking, to Moscow, to Germany, to Washington and to New York, relaxation of tension is noticeable. In our part of the world, particulary in the subcontinent, we are striving continually to bring about an atmosphere of conciliation and negotiation in place many years of barren conflict and confrontation. Even in Viet-Nam, years of horrible killing and destruction are expected to end - we hope without further delay. On October 3, 1972, the Foreign Minister of India said in the General Assembly:

"Our purpose in this improving situation will be to ensure that the momentum towards an ever-expanding area of understanding and accommodation is maintained. (2051st meeting, page 23-25)

In these circumstances, the Soviet proposal to prohibit the use of force in international relations seems to us to be both timely and opportune.

But there is much more than correct timing to commend the proposal to this Assembly. The United Nations has, through the Declaration on international security of 1970 and the resolution on friendly relations of 1971, laid down certain guidelines in elaboration of 'the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. These measures will not, however, by themselves bring about any significant changes unless the basic causes of threat to international peace and security are diagnosed and remedies prescribed. In any serious and fruitful discussion of the subject, we shall have to keep three considerations always in mind, because they are really most major considerations.

First, we have to recognize that all the principles of the Charter, as also the elaborations which the Assembly has given to them from time to time, will have to be taken together. When there is any conflict between these principles or in their application, as there often is, conscious efforts have to be made to remove these conflicts or contradictions or inconsistencies in such a manner as would enable the United Nations to take action in the light of all available data and all basic considerations. If instead of this approach, the United Nations tends to be selective in the application of its high principles - as has often been the practice in the past - either because the Member States decide arbitrarily on some kind of priority or, more frequently, they find that the task of resolving the conflict of principles is too arduous or time-consuming, then many of the actions we may take will fail to solve the problems we face. Secondly, for years now we have been struggling for satisfactory and generally acceptable definitions of aggression. force and the like. On our part we should like those definitions to be comprehensive and precise so that all aggressive actions, direct or indirect, can be identified at the earliest possible moment and the various measures available to the international community can be applied in a timely and effective manner. Thirdly, quite clearly the use of force or the threat to use it is directly related to the

means available. Any discussion of the nonuse of force is, therefore, closely linked to disarmament and indeed it is a facet of the problem of general disarmament under international supervision. Those who do not wish to work for disarmament for whatever reasons cannot obviously be interested in any arrangement which would prohibit the use of force in international relations.

The proposal before us deals specifically with the third consideration I have set forth. With a number of agreements including those relating to nuclear explosions as also to other forms of mass destruction; it becomes all the more necessary that the prohibition for the use of force should not be limited only to nuclear weapons. Such a prohibition must extend to other forms of force and has to include all weapons of mass destruction and all types of conventional weapons which continue to be more and more sophisticated with each passing day and the use of which may make the restriction on the use of nuclear weapons more tenuous to maintain. The division between nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction has been blurred and if we are not to be brought to nuclear brinkmanship, every

329

time tension or crisis in international relations develops to a dangerous level, we shall have to ban the use of force altogether.

While, as a general principle this proposition may be acceptable to many, if not most delegations, there are certain specific problems and situations where the theory of non-use of force cannot apply. For instance, for areas still under colonial domination, those struggling for liberation and independence cannot be denied the right to use all means at their disposal, including force, to achieve their objective. This right becomes absolute when the colonial Powers do not or will not allow the application of Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Charter and of the relevant decisions of the Assembly, particularly resolution 1514 (XV) on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Similarly, the right of self-defence cannot be reduced or modified. by the principle of non-use of force. That right is both basic and inherent and has been clearly stated in Article 51 of the Charter. I have already referred to the difficulties of defining certain terms of international usage such as aggression of all types; but whenever aggression occurs and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States are threatened in any manner whatever, the States have the unqualified duty and the absolute right to protect themselves.

Furthermore, there are specific problems such as in the Middle East where the United Nations has rightly denounced the illegal acquisition of territory by use of force, but has not yet been able to restore those Territories to the States to which they belong. Such specific problems have to be excluded from the principles of non-use of force if this Organization of ours is not merely to secure peace but also serve justice.

Apart from these exceptions, we cannot also overlook that in international life today there are certain dangers and dominations which would require relief and redress if we are to achieve full sovereign equality and allow for equal worth and dignity for all States, big or small. Apartheid, racial discrimination, intolerable economic exploitation - past, present or future, of land, sea and even of air - Would require special attention. Besides, we have concluded a number of international conventions, and adopted several important declarations on such vital matters as human rights and genocide and yet failed to provide effective machinery for determining when and why they are violated, and for providing timely remedy. All those deficiencies will no doubt make for increased tension from time to time, but perhaps not to the extent when it would be permissible for States to remove those tensions and difficulties by use of force, until and unless all other means for correcting specific situations have demonstrably been exhausted. My purpose in raising those problems is simply to indicate that they require much more serious and objective studies than we have given them until the present.

Not unnaturally, some of the exceptions I have mentioned and the problems I have briefly raised are not dissimilar to those which we are discussing in the Sixth Committee on the question of terrorism.

After indicating some of the limitations and qualifications which the principle of nonuse of force in international relations must necessarily be subjected to, at least at present, the great importance of the proposal before us is that it develops further the commitments assumed by Member States under the Charter. For the first time, an attempt has been made to bring together the concept of non-use of force with a firm prohibition on the use of nuclear weapons. Such an integrated approach should remove some of the difficulties we have faced in the problem of disarmament and may contribute to equal security for all countries. This is an objective the non-aligned countries especially have highly valued and was clearly stated as early as 1964 when they met in Cairo.

In presenting these views to the Assembly, the Indian delegation has been greatly influenced by the prevailing climate of understanding, particularly among the great Powers. If the various European treaties already signed are faithfully carried out and if similar developments take place in other parts of the world, especially in Asia, then the ban on the use of force, in spite of all the difulties, will be a great step forward towards universal peace and to-

330

wards total disarmament under international supervision. In examining the draft resolution before us and such other suggestions and modifications as may be forthcoming, my delegation will apply the criteria I have indicated in this statement.

Finally it is our conviction that if we, all of us, think like men of action and act like men of thought on this and other related

matters, we can achieve much in bringing about the kind of world which I like to think we all desire.

INDIA USA RUSSIA GERMANY JAPAN EGYPT PERU CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Samar Sen's Speech at U.N. General Assembly on Bangla Desh Admission

Following is the text of the statement made by the Permanent Representative of India, Shri Samar Sen at the plenary meeting of the United Nations General Assembly on November 20, 1972 on the item on admission of new members into the United Nations:

We appreciate your efforts, Mr. President, in having the two resolutions adopted without debate or voting. We welcome in particular your reference to the desire that the parties concerned should make all possible efforts, in a spirit of co-operation and mutual respect, to reach a fair settlement of the issues that are still pending. We are also grateful for the efforts of various delegations in this respect. We fully acknowledge the anxiety of the international community about the prisoners of war. In fact this concerns us very much indeed. It formed the subject of long discussions between ourselves and Pakistan during the Simla summit meeting. At first Pakistan wanted the immediate release and repatriation of the prisoners of war. We informed Pakistan that we could not agree to that without the concurrence and consent of Bangladesh, as the prisoners of war had surrendered not to India alone but to the joint command of India and Bangladesh.

After a long exchange of views the problem of the prisoners of war was made the subject of a special agreement, mentioned in paragraph 6 of the Simla Agreement:

"Both Governments agree that their respective Heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that, in the meanwhile, the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalization of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations."

The Simla Agreement was a solemn undertaking entered into by two heads of Government and ratified by their Parliaments. In fact it was the Government of Pakistan that insisted on ratification by Parliament even though that procedure was not necessary under the Constitution of either country. According to Paragraph 6 of the Simla Agreement, Pakistan agreed that the question of prisoners of war would be discussed along with the other questions. Pakistan assured us that it would recognize Bangladesh by the end of August.

When the Delhi meeting was held at the end of August India stated that Bangladesh was - as it still is - a necessary party to the discussion of the repatriation of Pakistani prisoners of war and civilian internees and that the recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan would facilitate further progress on that problem. Pakistan took note of the Indian view and said that the question of recognition of Bangladesh was under serious consideration. In view of that explicit statement by Pakistan, we should like to know why Pakistan has not yet recognized Bangladesh. We should imagine that if Pakistan were anxious to have the prisoners of war back it would not have delayed recognition of Bangladesh, which could pave the way for the discussion and solution of this problem.

We are glad that the preamble to the second resolution, and your own statement, Mr. President, note with satisfaction the Simla Agreement. The Prime Minister of India took the initiative in convening the

331

Simla summit meeting and we were glad to receive a positive response from the President: of Pakistan at Simla. My Prime Minister signed the Simla Agreement with full faith and conviction that all our problems in the sub-continent should and could be solved peacefully through bilateral discussions. We firmly adhere to that approach. Any outside interference would not only complicate the situation but make the solution of the outstanding problems more difficult.

We do not understand why the Government of Pakistan has not taken any step which would lead to mutual recognition by Pakistan of Bangladesh and by Bangladesh of Pakistan - and is still resisting that vital step which would facilitate the opening of discussions for the solution of the problem of prisoners of war, and indeed of all the other problems. The United Nations Charter is based on the sovereign equality of nations and it would be a violation of the Charter if it were sought to put pressure on Bangladesh or India through the instrumentality of the United Nations, in utter disregard of the realities of the situation and in violation of the principle of sovereign equality.

What are the implications of Pakistan's non-recognition of Bangla Desh? It is important to bear in mind that not to recognize the reality of Bangladesh would be tantamount to denying the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bangladesh. It would also imply that according to Pakistan the hostilities had not ceased and that there would accordingly be a constant threat to Bangladesh as a sovereign and independent State. How can the relations be normalized in the sub-continent until Pakistan recognizes Bangla Desh? We should like to know why Pakistan is not following the example of

more than 90 countries of the world in this matter.

We do not wish in any way to underrate the efforts that have been made by several delegations to secure an amicable settlement of the present situation. However, we must make it clear that even more important than the return of prisoners of war is the establishment of durable peace, for the return of prisoners of war without the removal of the threat of resumption of hostilities would only create an illusion of normalization and peace and might lead to an increased threat of resumption of hostilities. That important aspect has to be kept in mind. We are not opposing the resolution in document A/L.685 in the hope that Pakistan and Bangladesh will accord mutual recognition to each other unconditionally and thus contribute to the restoration of normalcy in the sub-continent.

This Assembly has, we are glad to say, stated that the problem of the return of civilian and military personnel is important for the establishment of a climate of tranquillity and peace in the area. In that connexion we welcome the statement of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh that he is willing and ready to return all the civilian personnel, including their families, in his country who wish to go to Pakistan. We regret, however, that the Government of Pakistan, instead of reciprocating that gesture and allowing Bangladesh nationals in Pakistan who wish to return to their homeland to do so, is putting obstacles and difficulties in their way. We regret, further, that, instead of fully reciprocating the joint offer made by India and Bangladesh to repatriate the families - that is, the women and children - of both civilian internees and prisoners of war, the Government of Pakistan has responded with an offer to return only 10,000 members of the families which are detained in Pakistan, a very small fraction of the total number involved. We should like the Assembly to note that the Bangladesh nationals in Pakistan are neither prisoners of war nor civilian internees. They have committed no crimes for which they are being detained. They must be allowed

to return to their homeland without delay and without restrictions. We hope that the 'Government of Pakistan will give urgent consideration to this important matter and not allow human beings to be counted or treated like head of cattle.

Every sovereign government has the duty to safeguard and defend its territorial integrity, and so long as Pakistan does not recognize Bangladesh that threat will continue, not only to the integrity of Bangladesh but also to the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent. That is indeed the crux of the problem. If Pakistan desires peace in the sub-continent and normalization of relations it must recognize Bangladesh without delay. We appeal to the Government of Pakistan to give urgent consider-

332

ation to this matter in its own interest and in the interest of peace and the normalization of relations in the sub-continent.

We have noted the President's statement that the simultaneous adoption of these two resolutions should be viewed as constituting an interdependence between two viewpoints. We interpret this to mean that so long as Bangladesh is kept out of the United Nations and so long as Pakistan refuses to recognize Bangladesh, the solution of pending problems will be difficult, if not impossible. It is, therefore, essential for Pakistan to recognize Bangladesh if it wishes to achieve the normalization of relations, the establishment of durable peace, and solution of all pending problems, including the return of prisoners of war.

There can be no other interdependence or interrelationship between these two aspects. The admission of Bangladesh into the United Nations cannot, obviously, be subject to the fulfilment of any conditions other than those specified in Article 4(1) of the Charter. This self-evident principle has now been endorsed by the Assembly. The resolution contained in document A/L.683 just adopted by the Assembly affirms in an unqualified manner the eligibility of Bangla-

desh for membership of the United Nations. This is indeed a refutation of the arguments used to block the application of Bangladesh. We earnestly hope that the desire expressed in that resolution about the admission of Bangladesh will be realized without any further delay and that the Security Council would recommend the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations forthwith. I should, in this context, recall that as early as November 1949 - I repeat, as early as November 1949 - the Assembly adopted resolution 296 K (IV), which requested the permanent members of the Security Council to refrain from the use of the veto in connexion with the recommnedation of states for member-ship of the United Nations. Since we all wish to abide by the resolutions of the Assembly, let us also keep that resolution in mind.

INDIA USA PAKISTAN BANGLADESH MALI PERU

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

S. P. Jagota's Speech at Sixth Committee on Terrorism

The following is the text of a statement made by Dr. S. P. Jagota, Representative of India, in the U.N. Sixth Committee in New York on November 20, 1972:

Acts of increasing violence against innocent persons have aroused widespread concern all over the world. One could doubt whether this is the proper time for a calm and in-depth consideration of this subject, particularly when the emotions are so high. On the other hand, it is in view of the anxiety and concern shown in this matter all over the world, that it would be necessary to examine the question in its various aspects. The problem is a highly complex and delicate one. On the one hand, violence may be explained by some as justified by good cause. On the other hand, the taking of innocent life is insupportable and highly reprehensible. Such use of violence shocks the conscience of humanity and may often lead to further violence. Prompt action is, therefore. necessary to understand the underlying causes of such violence and to break the ominous cycle of its manifestation. The Secretary-General of the United Nations recognised the immense complexity of the problem of terrorism and violence, to which, he said, there were no short-cuts and easy solutions. He also recognised that the United Nations will be criticised if it acted in the matter and also if it did not act at all, and risked such, criticism by taking the initiative in the matter rather than by keeping aloof therefrom. The item has been correctly elaborated to include a study of the underlying causes. India has supported the Secretary-General in his initiative and agreed to participate in the discussion on the subject with a view to finding a timely and fair solution to this complicated problem.

We also commend the manner in which this problem has been taken up by you, Mr. Chairman, in informal discussions with various groups in this Committee. My delegation appreciates, in particular, the report submitted by you, Mr. Chairman, in docu-

333

ment L/866, on the results of your discussions with the various groups and individuals in this committee, and we will, as desired by you, offer our views on the points indicated in that report, in particular in Part II thereof.

In organizing our views, we have benefited a great deal indeed from the study of the subject prepared by the Secretariat in document 418 and I do wish to express our deep appreciation for the excellent work done by the Secretariat in providing us with the background materials and an analysis

thereof within the very short period of time given to them.

PROTECTION AGAINST HIJACKING

Mr. Chairman, the subject of terrorism is not a new one. It has been considered on a number of occasions over a long period of time and in various regions of the world. More recently, the subject has been fruitfully covered by conventions to ensure the safety of civil aviation against "hijacking" and other acts of unlawful seizure of or interference with aircraft, including acts of violence against persons on board the aircraft. The International Law Commission has prepared draft articles on protection of diplomatic agents and other persons entitled to special protection under international law. The various resolutions, declarations, conventions and other decisions taken in the matter have been referred to and the text set out in the Secretariat Study (Doc/418). There is, therefore, ample background material and worldwide experience to assist the focussing of our attention on this urgent problem. We will not have to start with the subject ab-initio. However, the world community would still have to address themselves to an analysis of the current problem in all its aspects and to indicate the ways and means of effectively controlling it. In this effort, we would have to be realistic. clearly identify the mischief, and while finding solutions for remedying it, take adequate care that the attempted solution does not create new problems and does not aggravate those conditions which breed violence and resort to terrorism. In other words, the underlying causes must be clearly identified and a solution sought for them. The major concern of the world community must be not to ignore but to condemn the acts of terrorism and violence which continue to be perpetrated by the colonial powers and by other states engaged in alien domination of peoples to maintain the people under their subjugation and control and to deny them their inalienable right of self-determination. Such use of terrorism and violence must be condemned with all seriousness and solemnity by the General Assembly of the United Nations. When the basic cause which provokes individuals to desperation disappears and a rapid solution is found therefor, the manifestation of terrorist acts which have today aroused the world conscience would also diminish and disappear.

SANCTITY OF LIFE

Mr. Chairman, it is inconceivable that persons in their endeavour to achieve laudable objectives, would intentionally cause violence to innocent persons. India has deplored terrorist acts and activities and has openly expressed the view that such acts damage the very cause which is sought to have been advanced. Both in India's own struggle for independence, as well as in its support to all other countries in their struggle for independence and liberation, India has throughout tried to make a distinction between the evil to be fought and the sanctity of innocent human life. India also recognises that while attaining the desired objective, the basic framework of the safety of civil aviation and of transportation and communication should not be placed in jeopardy nor should the very basis of orderly international relations be adversely affected by committing violence on diplomats and other similar persons.

Terrorist acts may also be resorted to by an individual or a group of individuals for private gain. In so far as the offence is strictly personal and purely criminal, there should not be any complications. in dealing with it effectively. There is no complication here of dealing with the underlying causes. Any definition reached regarding international terrorism should therefore be applicable to such offenders and the idea of preventing, suppressing and punishing such offenders, and of co-operation in bringing them to book, should not cause much difficulty.

Nevertheless, the principal problem in this entire exercise will have to be that of

334

definition and approach. As indicated at the outset, some aspects of terrorist acts have

already been covered or are under the process of development, namely those. relating to the safety of civil aviation and those relating to offences against diplomats and other persons entitled to special protection.

INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER

In so far as the diplomats and other privileged persons are concerned, a definition would not create much difficulty because the offending acts are committed against persons who represent their state abroad and. are entitled to special protection under international law. Acts against such persons, by itself, establishes the international character of the offence. The offence has been defined as the international commission of a violent attack upon the person or liberty of the protected person and his family or his official premises or private accommodation. In so far as the safety of civil aviation is concerned, the offence is connected with the location of Its commission, namely, on board an aircraft or in relation to an airflight, and includes acts of violence against a person on board the aircraft.

The legal definition of terrorism in the residual category may, however, cause some difficulty. The major concern in such a definition will be not only to indicate the acts which are to come within its scope but also to clarify the nature of the offence so as to make it assume an international character. The international character of the offence may arise in several ways: the perpetrator and the victim may both be foreigners in the territory in which the act is committed: either or both of them might escape to another country after committing the offence: the offence might be a continuing one starting in one country and continuing and completing in one or more countries: the acts may be committed in one country, with effects in another: some acts of preparation, complicity, etc., may be committed in countries other than the country where the offence is committed and may involve citizens of several states: the offence may be committed with the object of exterting advantage from a third state, an international organisation or a group of people: and so

forth. The definition or clarification of the offence will, therefore, need careful consideration and elaboration.

DEFINITION OF TERRORISM

Apart from the elements or ingredients of the offence, the following further questions will arise:

(1) Should the scope of "terrorism" be comprehensive and include acts for which states are responsible or should it be limited to offences committed by individuals or groups of individuals? The wider question which imposes a duty on every state to refrain from organising terrorist acts in another state or acquiescing in organised activities within its own territory directed towards the commission of such acts, has already been covered by the declaration on friendly relations, declaration on the strengthening of international security and is implied in the provisions of the charter of the United Nations. It is also referred to as the foundation of the draft convention proposed by the United States Government in Document L/850. If the offence to have an international character, is so defined as to have as a necessary element, the damaging of the interests of or exerting advantage from a state or an international organisation, it may, perhaps, be desirable to have a wider scope of the definition of terrorism. On the other hand, if the definition relates only to the acts of individuals which may or may not attract the duty or responsibility of a state per se, the definition may restrict itself to the criminal acts of an individual or a group of individuals and establish a framework for the prevention, suppression, and punishment of such acts. In other words, the definition would then create a new crime under international law for which the individual perpetrator will be liable. The states will co-operate in suppressing the new crime since the crime, in its essential nature. Will be a crime against basic human rights, such as the right of life, personal security and enjoyment of human freedoms.

(2) As stated above, careful consider-

ation will have to be given to ensure that the offence is realistically defined so as not to effect the exercise of the right of selfdetermination and the legitimacy of struggle against colonial and racist regimes and other forms of foreign domination.

It would also be necessary to consider carefully about the steps to be taken on an international level to ensure the effective

335

suppression of evil. This would involve development of procedures for co-operation in detecting, preventing, supporting and punishing the offenders. The major difficulty here would appear to lie in establishing the jurisdiction of states. Ordinarily, a state has criminal jurisdiction in respect of all persons and events occurring on its territory, that is, it has full territorial jurisdiction. It may also have jurisdiction in respect of its own nationals for offences committed abroad. In some systems, courts will not have jurisdiction to try foreigners for offences committed by them abroad. Therefore, the main point would be whether some sort of universal jurisdicton should be established in respect of these offences, as has been done under the conventions relating to the safety of civil aviation. It is Well-known, however, that a provision of universal jurisdiction might not by itself resolve the question of effective suppression of the offences.

These and other questions concerning the ways and means of effectively dealing with the problem will require careful examination and scrutiny by the competent authorities of the member governments.

U. N. RESOLUTION SUGGESTED

In view of the above, my delegation is of the opinion that the General Assembly should at the present session indicate its awareness of the problem, and may adopt a resolution which shows a generalised framework for effective action by the member governments and by the United Nations. We would, therefore, suggest that reasonably worded resolution should be prepared under

which the General Assembly would:

- (A) Express grave concern over the increasing acts of violence by individuals or groups of individuals against innocent persons, imperilling life, personal security and the enjoyment of human rights;
- (B) Reiterate the inalienable right of self-determination of all peoples and upheld the legitimacy of struggle against colonial and racist regimes and other forms of foreign domination:
- (C) Urge member states of the United Nations to devote their immediate attention to indicate fair and peaceful solution to the underlying causes which breed terrorist acts;
- (D) Condemn the continuation of repressive and terrorist acts by the colonial and racist regimes in denying the peoples their legitimate right of self-determination and other basic human rights;
- (E) Urge states to take immediate measures at national level to combat terrorist activities, and inform the Secretary-General of the measures so taken by them;
- (F) Invite states to become parties to the existing international conventions in this field;
- (G) Invite states to consider the question urgently and submit comments and concrete proposals for finding effective solution to the problem;
- (H) Request the Secretary-General to submit a report, analysing the comments and the Proposals received from the Governments and indicating the measures taken by them in this regard; and
- (I) Decide to include the item in the agenda of the 28th Session of the General Assembly.

This, by and large, explains, Mr. Chairman, the views of my delegation on the points you have raised in Part II of your report in Document L/866. To sum up, we

agree with the need to take urgent steps and measures for adequately preventing and controlling the commission of terrorist acts involving innocent lives. Our approach to the problem is positive. Our Government would give to the subject its urgent consideration. In our views, the issues involved would require time for deliberation by the competent authorities of our Government, and consultations with likeminded nations.

If, on the other hand, there is a general agreement for referring the question immediately to an Inter-sessional Committee, or to the International Law Commission, we would be prepared to go along with it. In our view, the Inter-sessional Committee or the International Law Commission should

336

await the observations and the concrete proposals made by the various Governments and their analysis by the Secretariat before starting their work.

Meanwhile, the states should be invited and encouraged to take adequate steps to prevent the. occurrence of violence affecting innocent lives. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Samar Sen's Speech at Security Council on Portuguese Colonies

The following is the text of the statement made by the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations,-Shri Samar Sen, on November 22, 1972 in

the Security Council debate on the Portuguese territories in Southern Africa:

Madam President, in offering you our warmest and sincerest congratulations on being the President of the Council for the month of November, I cannot say that your elevation to this office has come as any surprise to us. I come from a country where women have always held some of the highest positions and commanded deep respect. I recall a statement by Mrs. Indira Gandhi at Columbia University two years ago: she said that only when she was outside her country did people want to know how it felt to be the Prime Minister of a country like India. She added that that question had never been asked of her by anyone in India. For nearly 27 years - or ever since the Council was established - there has been no women President of the Council. Madam, your own qualities and capacities make up to a great extent for that omission. You can always depend on the Indian delegation for its fullest co-operation in your work.

It simply remains for me to record our appreciation once again to the outgoing President, Ambassador de Guiringaud of France, for his skill and devoted work in finding solutions to some of the problems which we faced last month.

Turning to our business at hand, it seems to us that since the Council debated the problem of the Portuguese colonies in Africa a few months ago in Addis Ababa, no change of a fundamental nature is noticeable. This is not to say, however, that new developments have not taken place. Only recently we discussed in the Council Senegal's complaint against Portugal, which emphasized that Portuguese aggression continues, not only in the colonies but also in the neighbouring territories. The current discussions in the General Assembly, both in the Fourth Committee and in the plenary, have brought about a new sense of urgency. The admission to the Fourth Committee of representatives of liberation movements as observers ensures that the voice of the people of those colonial Territories will be heard in all the appropriate forums of the United Nations.

The statement of Mr. Cabral of the PAIGC has given us a new insight into the difficulties of Guinea (Bissau). While these debates and discussions have not broken any new ground, they do indicate in a vivid manner the gathering strength in support of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies. It is in this context that we are most grateful to have listened to the careful analysis prepared by the Foreign Ministers of Sierra Leone and of Liberia, by the representatives of the liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), and by several other African representatives. Their statements not only have brought us up to date on the situation in the Portuguese colonies but have emphasized the need for urgent action. However, it is regrettably true that we are in a vise: on the one hand we have the veto, and on the other hand we have a complete lack of co-operation from Portugal.

In this situation our views remain unchanged. Briefly and finally, we have to depend on the freedom movements in those colonies rather than on any change of heart in Portugal itself. In keeping with this attitude we have urged, and emphasize once more, that the United Nations should declare those colonies as independent countries and that Portugal has no legal authority in them. We have repeatedly held that the Portuguese presence in those Territories is a form of aggression, and that whatever means are adopted for removing Portuguese presence

337

from those Territories are both legitimate and moral.

In our willingness and readiness to help the liberation movements in those Territories we shall continue to be guided primarily by the wishes of the African countries, particularly of the Organization of African Unity.

Much has been said about the supply of arms to Portugal. We have noted with interest that several countries supplying arms to Portugal have tried to ensure that those arms not be used in the colonies. But, as many speakers have pointed out, this supply of arms to Portugal, despite the restrictions, does in fact release Portuguese resources for carrying out oppression and repression in the colonies, and thus helps Portugal to deny the right to independence to the people of its Territories.

In our view, any form of assistance military or economic, direct or indirect given to Portugal is certain to increase Portugal's capacity for carrying out wars in African Territories, not only in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) but also in the countries bordering those areas. We strongly feel that all forms of assistance to Portugal should be suspended. The supply of arms should be controlled and licensed. Further, we would recommend investigation in Portugal itself to ensure that arms supplied to it are not exported. Those countries which supply arms to Portugal have already undertaken and given assurances that they would be the first to cut off the supply of arms to Portugal if any breaches were in fact committed. Therefore, we feel that there should be no objection to suggesting investigation in Portugal itself to ensure that these conditions are actually being fulfilled.

We know that South Africa and Zimbabwe will continue to help Portugal, and it is because of this important factor that we have suggested, time and again, that complete and comprehensive sanctions should be imposed against South Africa, Zimbabwe and Portugal. This may not be acceptable to the Council, but without such drastic sanctions we do not see much possibility of arriving at any peaceful solution.

Meanwhile, much has been said - with logic and sincerity, I concede - about the need for negotiations between Portugal, on the one hand, and the liberation movements, on the other. We continue to believe that methods of negotiation and conciliation are to be pursued to the utmost; but at the same time we cannot ignore our own experience in dealing with the Portuguese: for 12 or more years we in India waited patiently for negotiations with Portugal and had no res-

ponse whatsoever. I should like to emphasize this fact for the benefit of all our African colleagues and many others. Given this background, we do not see much prospect of a negotiated-settlement with Portugal.

Secondly, the question would arise over the subject matter of negotiations. We do not think that the question of independence can or should be negotiated. What can be negotiated is its timing and its method of achievement. While the need for negotiations has been advocated, we would hope that, in spite of our experience, they would produce results. We are glad to note that substantial Territories have already been liberated, and that administrative structures for economic and social development have been established under the control of peoples' representatives. This has been confirmed by the Special Mission of the Committee of Twenty-Four on Guinea (Bissau) and by several statements we have been privileged to hear. We think these gains will produce a situation in which the liberation movements would be in a strong negotiating position.

We have also beard with satisfaction that several countries of Western Europe are prepared to influence Portugal to change its disastrous course. We wish them success, but if experience were any guide, we do not entertain much hope that the Portuguese authorities will listen to them. The three evils, which we regularly and understandably face in the Council, are all related to colonialism, mainly of Portugal, minority regimes in South Africa and Zimbabwe and apartheid of various kinds and degrees, in spite of all the sophisticated statements we have heard, in the whole of South Africa, Namibia, Portuguese colonies and in Zimbabwe.

Our attitude to the draft resolutions before us will be determined by the considerations I have set forth in this brief statement. We shall support the draft resolutions

338

in the hope that the steps the Council is urged to undertake would bring about some

change in the outlook and attitude of the Government of Portugal. However, we should make it clear, beyond any shadow of doubt, that should these measures fail - and the objective indications are that they would fail - then we would be prepared for much more determined action by the Council. Meanwhile, we would continue to co-operate fully with the liberation movements in their struggle and in their sacrifices to achieve independence for their countries and to throw off the shackles of colonialism which has exploited their resources and placed an intolerable burden of humiliation and degradation for so long, and in so tragic a manner.

INDIA USA FRANCE ETHIOPIA SENEGAL PORTUGAL GUINEA GUINEA-BISSAU CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC LIBERIA SIERRA LEONE ANGOLA MOZAMBIQUE SOUTH AFRICA ZIMBABWE NAMIBIA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Indian Delegate's Speech on Mandatory Code for International Shipping

The following is the text of statement on the draft resolution on a Code of Conduct for the Liner Conferences by Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy in the Second Committee of the UN on November 27, 1972:

Of the subjects taken up for discussion at UNCTAD III, perhaps none was of more immediate relevance, intrinsic importance and ultimate significance to the developing countries than the draft resolution on a code of conduct for the Liner Conferences for although the bulk of the world trade moves by sea routes, the distribution of world tonnage is extremely uneven with the lion's share being owned by a handful of developed maritime countries. The develop-

ing countries account for an insignificant portion of world shipping while a very large proportion of their exports, particularly of the bulky primary commodities is carried by the shipping of developed countries. This asymmetry in the supply and demand for shipping is further compounded by the fact that although the developing countries are making efforts to set up national merchant marine services, their rate of growth has been much lower than rate of growth of world shipping as a whole. This, apart from further increasing the gap between the developed and the developing countries in this sector, has created a number of other problems for the developing countries. Firstly, given the dependence of many developing countries on the exports of primary commodities, the present pattern of shipping constitutes a very serious drain on their foreign exchange resources.

Now, it is sometimes argued that the developing countries should take into account the costs and benefits of increasing national shipping, and given the fact that shipping is a highly capital intensive industry, such critics stress the need for caution and full economic justification, before embarking upon further investment in this sector. There are grounds for believing that many developing countries will have a clear competitive advantage in this field with thier lower wage costs and the existence of a long standing maritime tradition.

U.N.C.T.A.D. RESOLUTION

Consideration of the present oligopolistic situation led to the adoption of section A to J of Paragraph 53 of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. This is the culmination of international efforts since the first conference of UNCTAD in 1964. Moreover, during the period since the strategy was adopted, the developing countries have further considered the issue at the Lima session of the Group of 77 and at UNCTAD III were able to crystalize their viewpoint in a common draft which was finally adopted as UNCTATD Resolution 66(III).

It is the follow-up action to this resolution which we are asked to consider here in the General Assembly. There is now a general movement towards the acceptance of the view that the vital sector of shipping cannot be left entirely unchecked in the hands of international cartels.

CALL FOR MANDATES

We believe such recognition has some clear implications. In the first place, the

339

experience of efforts at the national level to regulate the functioning of domestic monopolies leads one to believe that monopolies do not regulate themselves without the mandatory force of national will as reflected in appropriate Governmental decisions. The analogy at the international level is evident. We have yet to hear a single persuasive argument for a binding, enforceable legal instrument will do anything but perpetuate the present grossly inequitable system in a new form.

Unless there is, therefore, early progress on this issue of vital importance, developing countries may well be forced to take action at a national level. If this means a proliferation of national legislation to regulate conferences, with all the attendent complications, this would clearly be a retrogate step and mean not only that eight years work will have been cast aside but represent a serious setback for international cooperation in this field.

Certain delegations have, in favouring the non--mandatory approach to this problem in the form of a resolution or recommendation emphasised that in their view such an approach would avoid prolonged delays and the other complications involved in the drafting and subsequent ratification of an international convention. This argument is vitiated by the fact that the same delegations were unreservedly in favour of a convention approach in the fields such as combined transport and ocean dusting, both areas

which have exercised international concern for a very brief period as compared to the nearly century old experience with the Liner Conference system. We do not believe that inordinate delay would be involved in drafting a convention. The view that a convention would impose an unnecessarily rigid straight jacket on a complex reality with widely varying national and regional differences is not well founded. For we believe that it is entirely possible to devise a legal instrument which while binding is sufficient flexible in its operation and implementation.

FLEXIBLE APPROACH

Finally, it has also been suggested that a convention approach under which participating states undertook to enforce the code on conferences would inevitably lead to a conflict between the laws of different states. leading to incompatible requirements which conferences cannot simultaneously fulfill. These fears are in my delegation's opinion, also not important, for in practice, a flexible approach towards implementation should lead to entirely satisfactory results, and the small number of cases of conflict can be suitably resolved by conciliation procedures. In any event, such rhetorical arguments ignore the fundamental point that the alternative to a common international regime is the proliferation of national legislation in this field, which would result in infinitely greater possibilities of inter se conflict than a common code.

Some delegations have commended to our attention the so-called CENSA Code. Apart from the fact that this code will operate on the totally unrealistic basis of self regulation, equally important, the code was prepared without the Participation or involvement of the developing countries. In other words, the fundamental objection of developing countries to the present system, the result of the deliberations of a few developed countries in the late nineteenth century, is to be perpetuated with even less excuse.

We would, therefore, affirm in the strongest possible terms that the developing

countries must be directly associated and involved in our collective efforts, to establish an equitable regime in this crucial sector of the international economy.

340

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC PERU

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDO-ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT-YUGOSLAV TRIPARTITE ECONOMIC

COOPERATION GROUP

Text of Press Release on Deliberations of Working Group III

Following is the text of a press release issued in New Delhi on November 18, 1972 on the meeting of the Working Group III of the Tripartite Economic Cooperation:

Working Group III of the Tripartite Economic Cooperation among India, Yugoslavia and Arab Republic of Egypt met in New Delhi from November 13 to 17. The Working Group on shipping and commercial infrastructure recommended that machinery for coordinatio should be set up at Bombay, Cairo and Rijeka with resident representatives of the shipping lines drawn from each partner country. The Working Group agreed to exchange experience, Information and documentation by the national shipping lines on modern shipping technology such as containers, combined transport, etc.

The Group also recommended cooperation in the utilisation of shipping repair facilities available in the member countries for the supply of stores and provisions to visiting vessels of these countries on competitive rates.

The Working Group generally endorsed

the concept of Tripartite Joint Shipping Cooperation. Since the shipping operations continued to be conducted via Cape, it was agreed that the three countries should wait for a more opportune moment for taking Practical measures regarding joint shipping operations by the national lines of the three countries.

The meeting was attended by nine delegates from Yugoslavia, led by Mr. Vinko Stalio, Counsellor, Federal Secretariat for Transport and Communications, and six delegates from the Arab Republic of Egypt headed by Mr. E.M.M. Sobhi, Chairman. Martrans Ministry of Maritime Transport. The leader of the Indian delegation, Shri G. C. Baveja, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Shipping & Transport, was unanimously elected Chairman of the Group.

RATIONAL SHARING OF CARGOES

The Group recommended that steps should be taken to remove various practical difficulties in bringing about a more appropriate sharing of cargoes between the national lines of the three countries. The three Partners recognised the need for respecting the right of each country to utilise their national fleet to the maximum extent possible. While doing so, each partner would desist from such activities as would prejudice the interests of the other two partners.

Discussing the tramp cargoes, it was agreed that the chartering organisations of the three countries would give due weightage to the offers of the fleet-owners of the partner countries whenever national tonnage was unable to meet the full requirements. The Working Group recommended that the question of liberalisation in the matter of extending Government on Suppliers' Credit and easier repayment terms regarding procurement of ships by a member country from the other should be taken up in the next ministerial meeting of Tripartite Economic Cooperation of the three countries.

EGYPT INDIA YUGOSLAVIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

ITALY

Indo - Italian Trade Talks

Following is the text of the press release issued in New Delhi on November 28, 1972 on the conclusion of discussions between the official delegates of India and Italy on expansion of Indo-Italian commercial relations:

Discussions have concluded in New Delhi between official delegations of Italy

341

and India on expansion of Indo-Italian commercial relations.

The two sides have agreed that considerable scope exists for a substantial increase in Indian exports to Italy, both in traditional and non-traditional items, by using various techniques including technical cooperation, market research, exchange of experts and direct contacts between the leading trading organisations, particularly those from the Public Sectors of the two countries.

Very interesting prospects have also been identified in selected sectors of industrial collaboration involving Italian technical and or financial assistance in joint ventures between enterprises of the two countries, especially in export-oriented industries, whose production could be particularly tailored to suit the needs of the Italian market. These techniques are also expected to result in an increase of Italian exports to India, especially where sophisticated machinery and equipment would be required for

setting up of export-oriented industrial ventures designed to export their production to Italy and selected third countries.

The two delegations have favoured the conclusion of a formal Agreement on Indo-Italian Commercial Development Programme between, the Governments of India and Italy, with the object of promoting trade and in dustrial collaboration between the two countries.

The Italian economic delegation was led by Dr. Armando Fracassi, Director-General in the Ministry of Foreign Trade of Italy, and the Indian delegation by Shri V. S. Misra, Joint Secretary, Union Ministry of Foreign Trade.

During their stay in Delhi from November 22 to 26, 1972, the Italian Mission had also a series of meetings in the various economic Ministries of the Government of India. The delegation held discussions with Shri P. N. Dhar, Secretary to Prime Minister; Shri Mohammed Yunus, Chairman of the Asia'72 Steering Committee; and Shri G. L. Mehta, Chairman of the Indian Investment Centre; on the scope of Indo-Italian economic cooperation.

The Italian Mission also visited the Asia'72 Fair. Earlier, the President of the Italian Institute of Foreign Trade, Rt. Hon. Prof. Dante Graziosi, had also visited New Delhi on the occasion of the celebrations of the Italian Day at Asia'72.

ITALY INDIA USA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Foreign Minister's Statement on Delineation of Line of Control in Jammu & Kashmir

The following statement was made by the Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, on November 14, 1972 in the Rajya Sabha on the question of delineation of the line of control in Jammu & Kashmir:

Hon'ble Members would recall my statement in the House on August 30, at the conclusion of the meeting between the representatives of India and Pakistan, wherein I had conveyed the agreement of both sides to the delineation of the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir along its entire length. I had also stated that maps showing this agreed line would be exchanged by both sides and that delineation of the line would be completed by September 4, 1972 and withdrawals to the international border would be completed by September 15. In accordance with the Simla Agreement the line of control had to be mutually respected, therefore its deli-

342

neation has to be agreed so that its inviolability may be ensured by both sides.

The Senior Military Commanders of India and Pakistan, who were entrusted with the task of delineating the line of control on maps, have so far held 9 rounds of discussions. By the 7th round, which was completed on October 18, an agreement was reached on 19 maps delineating the entire length of line of control from the Chamb area on the international border to Partapur sector in the North. These maps were to be signed in the 8th round. On that occasion, however, Pakistan's Senior Military Commander raised a fresh controversy over a pocket approximately 1 1/2 square miles in area which is in Pakistan's occupation but separate from the line of control. Several messages have been exchanged between the Chiefs of the Army Staff of India and Pakistan on this issue and as a result further meetings took place between the Senior Military Commanders on November 7 and 9. However, these discussions failed to iron out the differences. It is now being considered

whether the stage has been reached for a meeting at another level to resolve this question.

Honourable Members would appreciate that as the talks are still in progress, it would not be in our national interest to discuss this matter in greater detail. The major task of delineation of the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir, in terms of the Simla and Delhi Agreements has been completed on maps. It is hoped that the remaining problem will also be resolved by further bilateral discussions. After the delineation of the line of control is approved by the two Governments the withdrawal of troops to the international border will be completed in the shortest possible time. We hope that Pakistan Government will view this matter in a realistic and constructive manner.

PAKISTAN USA INDIA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Parliament Statement on Release of POWs Captured on Western Front

The following is the text of the state, ment by Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, in Lok Rajya Sabha on November 27, 1972 regarding release of POWs:

According to a broadcast of Radio
Pakistan the Government of Pakistan are
reported to have decided to release 617
Indian prisoners of war. These prisoners of
war were captured on the western front.
Government of India have not received any
official communication on this subject. It will
be recalled that during the Simla Conference

the Government of India had offered to release all the Pakistani prisoners of war numbering 540 who had been captured on the western front, but the Government of Pakistan at that time did not show any interest in this offer. The Government of India reiterate their offer to release all those Pakistani prisoners, of war who were captured on the western front.

PAKISTAN INDIA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Announcement on Pakistan Response to Repatriation Offer

Following is the text of the announcement made simultaneously in Dacca and New Delhi regarding repatriation of Pak Bangladesh women and children under detention made on November 26, 1972:

The Governments of Bangladesh and India note that the Government of Pakistan has announced its decision to permit, as a first step, 10,000 Bengali women and children to leave Pakistan for Bangladesh. While they regret that, in response to the joint Indo-Bangladesh proposal, Pakistan has not agreed to the repatriation of all families (women and children) of Bangladesh nationals in Pakistan regardless of numbers and purely on humanitarian grounds, they have noted that Pakistan has described their response as "a first step" in this direction.

Consequently, arrangements could be made for commencing repatriation of all families (women and children) of Pakistani civilian internees and POWs detained in India to Pakistan via the land check post at Wagah. The date on which the repatriation will commence can be settled by mutual agreement. The Embassy of Switzerland in New Delhi is being requested to obtain Pakistan Government's concurrence in this regard. Regarding the repatriation of families of Bangladesh nationals from Pakistan to Bangladesh, the Pakistan Government is requested to inform the Swiss Embassy in Islamabad of the travel arrangements which they propose to make for their repatriation.

PAKISTAN USA INDIA BANGLADESH SWITZERLAND

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Repatriation of POWs Captured on Western Front

The following is the text of the official statement made in New Delhi on November 28, 1972 on the repatriation of POWs captured on Western Front:

In pursuance of the statement made by the Foreign Minister on November 27, 1972 in both Houses of Parliament, announcing the Government's decision to release all the Pakistani prisoners of war who had been captured on the western front, it has been decided that the repatriation of these prisoners will take place on December 1, 1972. Arrangements are being made to send these prisoners numbering 540 to the Indo-Pakistan border at Wagah where they will be released to the Pakistan authorities. The Embassy of Switzerland in New Delhi are being requested to send a representative to

the border check-post to be present on the occasion.

PAKISTAN INDIA USA SWITZERLAND

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Repatriation of Families of Pakistani Internees and POWs

Following is the text of Indo-Bangladesh joint announcement on the repatriation of families of Pakistani internees and POWs issued in New Delhi on November 30, 1972:

As a humanitarian gesture, the Government of Bangladesh and India have decided to repatriate to Pakistan, families (women and children) of Pakistani civilian internees who sought protection with the Joint Command of the India-Bangladesh forces and families of prisoners of war who had surrendered to the Joint Command.

It is hoped that the Government of Pakistan will act in the same humanitarian spirit and allow the families of all Bangladesh nationals who are detained or held up in Pakistan to return to Bangladesh. On receiving positive response, arrangements will be made to give effect to this proposal on both sides expeditiously.

PAKISTAN INDIA BANGLADESH USA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

PARLIAMENT

Foreign Minister's Reply to Rajya Sabha Debate on International Situation

Replying to the debate in the Rajya Sabha on November 30, 1972, on the motion regarding the international situation, the Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, said:

Mr. Deputy Chairman. Sir, it has been an interesting and useful debate. I have benefited greatly by the observations made by hon. Members from this side and from the Opposition benches. Several matters have been touched upon, clarifications have been given and also some criticism has been voiced. Some very constructive suggestions have also been made. As a matter oil fact, in a debate of this type and in the atmos-

344

phere in which It has been conducted, much of my task has been made light by very effective replies given by hon. Members of this House to some points of criticism that were raised. And I am happy to note that these replies to the criticism were given not only by colleagues of our party but also by several Members who sit on Opposition benches. I would, In this background, resist the temptation of picking up points and then trying merely to give counter-arguments or give a defence against the criticism. That has been very effectively done by several hon. Members who have participated in the debate and I need not hammer home this point too much. This does not mean that I have no observation to make. In fact, it is a very important occasion and I would like to utilise this opportunity to bring the information of the hon. Members up-to-date on some points, and I would also venture to offer comments on some important matters that have been raised.

Taking the world as a whole, I broadly agree with the point mentioned by several hon. Members from the Opposition benches as also from the ruling party, that by and large positive developments in the world today are significant. These positive developments are not confined to any one particular region, but they encompass Europe, Asia and also Africa and Latin America. These new developments can broadly be described as developments in the direction of developing an atmosphere of a detente, of relaxation of tensions. I do not want to give an impression that all the difficult problems have been solved. That is not correct. But new attitudes have been brought about and a certain atmosphere of friction, cold war, of confrontation, is slowly giving way to an atmosphere of relaxation of tensions and of trying to explore avenues where agreements may be arrived at, if not on very important and basic issues, at any rate, on some of the issues. And from that point of view I would say that this is a welcome development, I do not want to go into the details because these have been mentioned in the House and outside on more than one occasion. Taking Europe, for instance, the significant moves which brought the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union nearer to each others, which resulted in the signing of the Moscow Agreement between the FRG and the USSR, and the Warsaw Treaty between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, acceptance by the Federal Republic of Germany of the existing frontiers in Europe, creating relaxation between the FRG and the German Democratic Republic which ultimately has resulted in the signing of treaties and agreements between the two German States, the FRG and the GDR, which paves the way for admission of both the GDR and the FRG to the United Nations next year, these are very significant events and we have to take note of all these developments. Several honourable Members have drawn attention to a new Europe that is taking shape, Western Europe, the entry of the, United Kingdom into the European Community, a big economic entity, somewhat inward looking at present. It is the hope and expectation of the developing countries that this bigger European Community

would view the problems of the developing world in a more imaginative manner than what was visible in the UNCTAD Conference since Santiago. Whether it has come about or not, only time can tell. But there is no doubt that the European Community, by its new economic process of integration, is a very big economic unit and can play a very significant role not only to the mutual interest and advantage of the European countries, but, with an imagination, with an enlightened self-interest, and to consolidate the forces of peace, can take steps which might, to a certain extent, be in the direction of lessening the differences between the rich and the poor.

Take Asia where the situation is more disquieting, has been more disquieting, as compared to Europe. And there are several sensitive and difficult areas in Asia. But even in Asia, if we have a broad sweep of the situation, things are appearing to be moving in the right direction, The admission of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations may cause temporary irritation to several countries. This may create some temporary problems. But there is no denying the fact That the international situation, the situation in Asia has significantly changed by seating the rightful Government of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations

345

In fact even those countries which do not like the Chinese attitude on concrete issues do feel - and this is commonly said in the United Nations lobbies - that the People's Republic of China had been kept out of the United Nations for too long. It would have been better for the international community and better for China if the legitimate and rightful government of the People's Republic of China had been seated in the United Nations much earlier. The negative attitude of several countries started melting away last year and this has facilitated the seating of the Government of the People's Republic of China. This is a very significant event because the Chinese representatives can put across the Chinese viewpoint

to the international community and they have also to listen to what others have to say about the Chinese policies and how they conduct themselves in the, international sphere. Under the circumstances, it is all the more surprising that of all the countries China should be the one country which should exercise its veto to keep Bangla Desh out. Bangla Desh may not lose anything by remaining out of the United Nations. But the international community will definitely lose, if Bangla Desh is not admitted into the family of the United Nations and is not afforded an opportunity to play its rightful role in that organisation. It is no favour to Bangla Desh to admit it to the United Nations. As a free, independent and sovereign country, it is entitled to be in the United Nations and the United Nations and the international community will be the poorer if they keep Bangla Desh out. In this connection the remarkable sentiments expressed by the President of Bangla Desh yesterday when he addressed the Members of both Houses of Parliament are very significant. That shows the direction in which the mind of the people of Bangla Desh is working.

Apart from the admission of the Government of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, President Nixon's visit to Peking also has altered the situation. We are in favour of relaxation of tension in all parts of the world. Any step taken in any part of the world which results in relaxation of tension is welcome to us. That is in line with our thinking and it is in line with our policy which we have steadfastly pursued all these years ever since our Independence. The visit of President Nixon to Peking has to be evaluated in this context. But It has altered the geopolitical situation of that part of Asia, particularly amongst the neighbouring countries of China. Several countries which had formulated and had pursued a policy dependent only on an attitude or atmosphere of confrontation between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America were temporarily swept off their feet. They did not know what to do. Slowly they are recovering and realising the realities of the situation or are reformulating their attitudes and readjusting themselves to the new realities that are taking shape in this context.

A reference has been made to the reconciliation that has been initiated between Japan and the People's Republic of China. This again is a welcome development and we welcome it. So long as all these developments move towards relaxation of tension and are not at the cost of third parties, we always welcome them and it is our hope that none of these moves will be at the cost of any third party. The parties concerned are at pains to tell the world that these moves are not at the cost of any third party. Let us hope so and we would, like to believe that they are genuine when they say that.

Moving a little south of Japan, we see the new moves taken by the two Koreas, North Korea and South Korea. They have had bilateral talks and we see the efforts that are being made by both of them to bring about, what they describe as, a peaceful reunification of the two Koreas. Again, these are all positive steps and we should not ignore them.

Then, we conic to Indo-China, The situation there, as you know, has been a matter of the gravest concern to the international community. We in India have always been deeply involved in what hag been happening in Vietnam and the Prime Minister of India, myself and the other hon. Members of this House, have expressed their views in no unmistakable terms on several occasions and I do not want to go into these things and into the whole history. What is the present position in Indo-China? This is an important matter and I would like to say a few words.

The situation in Indo-China continues to be fluid and complex and has so far eluded

346

a satisfactory solution. The month of October raised high hopes of a DRVN-US accord. However, the hopes were soon belied by the Saigon Government's raising difficulties with the result that the signing of the agreement which, according to the DRVN, was scheduled for 31st October, was postponed. It is a good augury, however that the secret talks in Paris were resumed on the 20th November and although the first round of talks has proved Inconclusive. the talks are again scheduled to be held on December 4. In the reported accord reached in October, it would appear that both sides had given some significant concessions. Credit should be given to the DRVN for its initiative to put forward on October 8 a draft agreement which formed the basis of subsequent negotiations and resulted in the finalisation of the agreement within a matter of about three days or so.

The question of Laos and Cambodia is intimately connected with the question of a peace settlement in Vietnam. The problem has, however, become more complicated by the conflicting interests of the great powers. In Laos, we are happy to see the resumption of talks in Vientian between the Pathet Lao and the Laotian Government. Although the progress of these discussions has been slow, it underlines the desire of both the sides to come together and settle the problem bilaterally and peacefully. We hope that these talks are continued and that they become fruitful.

More complicated, however, is the problem of Cambodia. As far as Laos and Cambodia are concerned, an end to the Vietnam conflict would create conditions for a solution of the problem of these two countries.

The people of both these countries inherited a rich cultural heritage and are most peace loving by nature. India has always held them in high esteem and extends to them her fraternal support. India would like to see that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of These two Slates are safeguarded in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Agreement of 1954.

Whereas I cannot say that the war in Vietnam is over - bombing still continue, I cannot say that the problem of Laos and

Cambodia has been solved - it is still awaiting final settlement and final solution - I venture to say that the trends are somewhat positive, and every effort should be made to ensure that this positive trend continues to yield concrete results.

In Asia, West Asia has also been another area to which hon. Members have made a reference. Some oblique references have also been made and an opportunity was also seized to offer some criticism, though mild, about India's attitude to this problem. I would like to say quite clearly that in the Arab-Israeli conflict, we have stood on the Arab side because we firmly believe, and we continue to believe, that justice is on the side of the Arabs. We have been totally opposed to the acquisition of territory by aggression And so long as Israel continues to be in possession of territories, got hold of by Israel and occupied by Israel as a result of aggression, we will continue to support the Security Council Resolution that all those territories should be vacated, and that these should go under the control of the governments of the countries concerned, whether it is Egypt or Syria or Jordan. The Israell aggressive war cannot be condoned. The continued defiance of the unanimous Resolution of the Security Council is a matter of grave concern, and we continue to support the Arab cause because, justice is on their side.

Some observations were made as to why we should continue to support them when the Arab appreciation of the developing situation in Bangladesh was not in accordance with the realities of the situation. I have no hesitation in expressing my disappointment that the attitude of several Arab countries in this respect was not based on realities. It was not a correct appreciation of the situation. I won't be surprised if they were moved by extraneous considerations. But that does not mean that we should alter our attitude on the Arab-Israeli dispute when we see justice on the side of the Arabs. It will be very wrong for a country like India to change its stand which was taken after a great deal of consideration. It will be very Unwise to change that stand merely because

subsequently the attitude of certain countries was not to our liking. It will not be a healthy thing and it will certainly not strengthen us, and it will be wrong on merits

347

and it is also against our enlightened selfinterest. We should view It in that context.

Some vague expressions have been made as to why we do not recognize Israel. I want to make it clear that we do recognize Israel as a State. There is no doubt about it....

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: What about diplomatic relations?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Israel has also got some sort of presence in our country. It is not that we treat them as untouchables. But we have to have normal diplomatic re presentation depending on our mutual interests. Even in the Arab world, there is no identity of views and it is wrong to equate all the Arab countries together. There are different shades of opinion even among the Arabs and I have no hesitation in saying that in several cases the real position of some of the Arab countries may not be the same which appears to be from their statements made from time to time. In international life, one should get reconciled to the realities of the situation. Sometimes the real positions are different from the outward opinions or statements that are made by certain countries.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: It seems to be so in your case also.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: If you ask me any specific question, I will be able to tell you.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: I am asking with regard to Israel.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I have already made a statement with regard to Israel. We recognise Israel. Israel has got some sort of representation also in India. I am firmly of the opinion that at the present

juncture no useful purpose will be served and no national interest will be served by upgrading the level of representation or having regular ambassadors in each other's country.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: May I ask a question?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I cannot enter into a running debate. This is a game at which all of us can play,

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: We can understand a little better....

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: When you spoke, you said a number of things. I had a strong temptation to ask questions....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Suppose we had relations with Israel, you would have been the ambassador there.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: That is reserved either for the ruling party or the loyal Opposition of the ruling party.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I do not think that a highly Intellectual person like Dr. Bhai Mahavir can be wasted in an ambassadorial position in Israel.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: This is a compliment to me, Sir, but this is a left-handed compliment to the ambassadors appointed in different countries. That is not my question. I only mentioned that we had not even invited Israel- to a commercial venture like Asia 72 Fair.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: It is a minor matter. Ask Mr. Yunus who was handling it. It is much too small a matter to be referred to in a serious debate like this.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: You are treating them as untouchables.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am enjoying. Twenty-five years ago, it was all America. Now it has become Israel.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: For you it is

Russia and Russia alone all the time.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Even the confirmed critics of the Arab countries can see that two Arab countries have already recognised Bangladesh. They are Iraq and South Yemen. There are other Arab countries whose attitude about the happenings in the Indian sub-continent is undergoing a very significant change. Is it in our national interest to facilitate that change or do you want to pin them down to a position which they took, based maybe on mistaken understanding of the situation or maybe due to some extraneous considerations? Our national interest requires that we should per-

348

mit these countries to move towards the realisation of the realities in the Indian subcontinent rather than pick up some earlier statement and say, "You said 18 months or 14 months ago a particular thing. Even if you say a different thing now, even then we are not going to be impressed. We will held you guilty because you said certain things about 12 months ago." This is a normal way of functioning in the international sphere. We should do everything to convert others and bring them round to our viewpoint and not have this punitive attitudes and try to, blacken any institution or any persons who happen to be our critics. Otherwise, you will increase very much the number of these critics and you will not be doing the right thing in the interest of our country.

I mention these things in the context of Asia as developments which can be regarded as positive. I do not think, however, that the present situation in West Asia is such which can be described as having moved towards a positive direction.

I am sorry, this is the present situation, and I must tell the House in all frankness the reality of the situation. But if we look to Asia as a whole, China-Japan relations, North Korea and South Korea, new trends in Indo-China and, finally, happenings in the Indian sub-continent, the total picture is one of a distinct improvement in the situation judged from the international point of view

and from the point of view of peace and of strengthening the forces of progress in Asia.

Take the Indian sub-continent. Prophets of gloom can always draw long faces, but what is happening- today? Let us project ourselves to a position exactly a year ago and compare it with what the situation today is in the Indian sub-continent, and no other speech or no other statement is necessary. We are proud that yesterday we welcomed the President of Bangla Desh in the Central Hall of our Parliament when the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and all the distinguished Members of Parliament of both Houses, belonging to all parties, had the occasion to listen not only to a highly emotional but also a very constructive speech made by the President of Bangla Desh. We happen to be discussing the international situation when the President of Bangla Desh is touring our country, who was our distinguished guest during the last three days and he has gone out and he is visiting Several other States in our country. This is symbolic of a new atmosphere that is taking, shape, that is developing in the Indian subcontinent, an atmosphere of friendship and good-neighbourly relations between what used to be at one time historically the eastern wing of Pakistan, which is now independent sovereign Bangla Desh, and India. That is obviously a matter of immense gratification to us. It is a positive development in the international situation.

Bangla Desh is now recognised by about 95 countries of the world including four permanent members of the Security Council When the question of Bangla Desh's admission to the United Nations came up before the Security Council, it is a matter of great satisfaction that out of the fifteen member. of the Security Council there was only one negative vote; three countries who are traditionally friendly to Pakistan did not dare to oppose the admission of Bangla Desh in the Security Council; they just abstained And there were eleven positive votes in favour of Bangla Desh's admission to the United Nations. Bangla Desh has already been admitted to a large number of specialised agencies belonging to the United Nations family and the United Nations Organisations, Bangla Desh is already a member of the Commonwealth and is also a member of the Colombo Plan countries. Bangla Desh has been admitted already by the Secretary-General of the United Nations with Observer's status in the United Nations. These are very positive developments and we can look forward to an era of greater cooperation and strengthening of firendly and close and good-neighbourly relations between Bangla Desh and India.

Already in several important spheres of economic cooperation, technological cooperation, significant agreements have been concluded between Bangla Desh and India. A treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation was concluded when our Prime Minister paid a visit to Dacca in March last. These are the developments in the Indian subcontinent.

Take our relations with Pakistan. I know, if we apply a critical eye, we can pick holes here and there. We can always make

349

out a case even when there is no case but if we look at the present India-Pakistan relations. I think it is a matter which should afford some satisfaction to us. Let us not forget that the real problems that face the Indian sub-continent, people of India, the people of Bangla Desh, the people of Pakistan, are the socio-economic problems to raise their living standards, to increase the economic and industrial strength of these countries so that the benefits may be available to the vast millions of people that inhabit this area. I would like to sound a note of warning here that it is becoming rather fashionable, I should say, using the expression not in the correct sense, i.e., talking of military strength and military might. Of course, we have to be militarily strong because we have discovered that to maintain peace also it is necessary that a country like India should be militarily strong. But to say that everything depends on our military strength perhaps will not be a very correct appreciation of the situation. Talk on any

matter, there is a tendency among certain quarters to say that nothing can happen if we are militarily strong, let us be militarily strong. Nothing can happen in the Indian Ocean, let us have more of naval strength. There is some dispute which delays settlement between the military representatives of India and Pakistan, again at once we come back that the only way to solve this problem is 'military strength'. Military strength is very important. Strength of the country is important. Economic strength, unity amongst the people, strength in industry and agriculture - all these are very important. But we must not miss the central theme and the central theme is that India should be the central country in South Asia which should be the torch-bearer for establishing durable peace in this region which, I am sure, will result in the establishment of durable peace in a greater part of Asia. This is the vision which should never become dim. We will be committing all types of mistakes if we miss this central objective that we should always pursue. It is true that peace is elusive, can be elusive, but it has to he pursued. It has to be searched for assiduously. carefully and in a determined manner, not that we should slide back again to some sort of Chauvinism or Jingoism if we feel that there is a little setback. Our attitude should be to go ahead, to remove that difficulty that comes in the way of etsablishment of durable peace. Do not always think of using a sledge hammer even for killing a fly. That is a very dangerous attitude in private life, it is all the more dangerous in international relations.

We should understand these problems in the true perspective and not lose sight of the basic objective if we face any difficulties.

It has now been accepted by the whole country except of course one political party whom we have not been able to convince - the people of India feel and I believe 'the people of Pakistan also have the same feeling - that the signing of the Simla Agreement is a distinct departure from the past. The past was one of confrontation,, both militarily and politically one of friction and that atmosphere of confrontation should

change into one of good neighbourly relations. The Prime Minister has made the position clear and I have also mentioned on more than one occasion that we do regard that the Simla Agreement is a distinct step in the direction of altering that atmosphere, that attitude of confrontation into one of co-operation and good neighbourly relations.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Tashkent was also one like that.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I do not see why Tashkent is decried. There was nothing wrong in the Tashkent Declaration. I have never said so; you can look through all my statements. I reiterate that Tashkent Declaration was a good agreement because in Tashkent the two sides had agreed to do away with the effects of war. They had also entered into several agreements to strengthen the relations between the two countries but after signing the Agreement the followup action on the side of Pakistan did not come up according 'to what was agreed to in the Tashkent Declaration. I would request hon. Members to view these solemn Agreements arrived at between two countries with a little more seriousness than I notice when in a very casual manner objections are just aimed without understanding their implications. It will be a bad day for any country if international agreements that are entered into by accredited representatives - in this case and also in the case of the Tashkent Declaration they have been broadly approved by Parliament - are taken very casually

350

and if one always tries to find an excuse for wriggling out of these agreements. It has never enhanced the prestige and honour of any country if that country always thinks of excuses for getting out of agreements. There can be difficulties, there can be setbacks, there can be complications, there can be knots; these have to be got over. They should not become the excuse for scrapping the agreements or saying 'that they should be buried. The Simla Agreement is very much alive. We adhere to it and we will ensure that Pakistan also adheres to it. That should be the attitude and that is precisely

the attitude that we have.

Now there are two matters of recent occurrence about which I should like to inform the House and bring their information up-to-date. One is about the last meeting of the Chiefs of the Army Staff. Hon. Members will recall my statement in the House on the 14th November where I stated that the senior Military Commanders of India and Pakistan, who were entrusted with the task of delineating the line of control on maps have so far held 9 rounds of discussions and an agreement had been reached on 19 maps delineating the entire length of the line of control from the Chamb area on the international border to Partapur sector in the North. I also mentioned that the Senior Military Commanders were unable to reach a settlement on a controversy over a pocket approximately 1 1/2 square miles in area and it was being considered whether a meeting at another level should be held to resolve this question. In response to a message received from the Government of Pakistan suggesting a meeting at the level of the Chiefs of the Army Staff of the two sides, India agreed to this and the meeting was held at Lahore on 28th November. They failed to resolve the controversy over this issue and as mentioned in the communique they decided to refer the matter back to the Governments as their interpretation of Para IV of the Simla Agreement was at variance.

Hon. Members would recall that I had also stated in this House, during the same debate, that, if no agreement was reached at the Chief.; of Staff level, the issue could be taken up at another level. While the Lahore meeting has failed to settle the question of this controversy. We have taken note of the Pakistan Government's view that this is a minor Issue. This is what they have mentioned in various statements. Government will, therefore, consider the possibility of another meeting with Pakistan at the same or different level. This is in conformity with the Government's stand of solving differences bilaterally and peacefully in accordance with the provisions of the Simla Agreement.

Another event of importance is the

resolution about the admission of Bangladesh into 'the United Nations and I would like to bring on record the facts of this development. The General Assembly of the United Nations has unanimously adopted two resolutions on the question of Bangladesh. Both the resolutions were adopted without a vote and the President of the Assembly read a statement proposing such unanimous adoption. The first resolution was a 22-member resolution initiated by Yugoslavia which, considering that Bangladesh is eligible for membership of the United Nations, "expressed the desire that Bangladesh will be admitted to the U.N. at an early date." The second resolution, co-sponsored by nine delegations, was on the initiative of Argentina as a compromise proposal in order to avoid acrimonious debate on the Yugoslav resolution, as well as to avoid farreaching amendments by Pakistan and some other delegations. This resolution refers in its preambulary paragraphs to the United Nations Charter and the Security Council resolution No. 307 of 21st December, 1971, as well as notes "with satisfaction the steps taken so far to facilitate 'the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the Asian subcontinent, notably the Simla Agreement." it expresses "the hope that all parties will refrain from any act which could jeopardise prospects of a settlement" and "the desire that the parties concerned will make all possible efforts in a spirit of co-operation and mutual respect to reach a fair settlement of issues still pending" between them. The resolution also "calls for the return of prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention and the Security Council resolution." In his statement asking for the adoption of these resolutions. the President said that the consensus of the Assembly was in favour of the admission of Bangladesh and that the Assembly was also in favour of the implementation of the Security Council resolution. He added that the admission of Bangladesh should be viewed along with the

351

overall solution of the existing political, legal and humanitarian problems and that it was essential to view the "simultaneous adoption of these two resolutions as constituting the inter-dependence between 'these viewpoints. A peaceful solution on the sub-continent should be promoted." This is from the statement of the President. In explaining the Indian position on the two resolutions, our permanent representative, according to Government instructions, welcomed the President's reference to the desire of the parties concerned to make all possible efforts in cooperation and with mutual respect to reach a settlement on the issues that are still pending. He also welcomed the reference to the Simla Agreement in the second resolution. On the question of prisoners of war, our permanent representative referred to the discussions 'during the Simla Summit and explained the point of view of India regarding their surrender to the joint command and the need for the association of Bangladesh in the matter.

He also quoted paragraph 6 of the Simla Agreement which referred to further discussion between the representatives of the two sides for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations including repatriation of prisoners-of-war and civilian internees. He added that this solemn agreement was ratified by the Parliaments of the two countries.

I would like to recall to the hon. Members that the question of the settlement of the prisoners-of-war question has also been covered by the Simla Agreement and our complaint has been that Pakistan, by its continued non-recognition of Bangla Desh, is coming in the way of the implementation of that part of the Simla Agreement and is thwarting the discussion that should be held on a trilateral basis for the final settlement of the question of the prisonersof-war. Similarly, at the Delhi meeting of the representatives of the two sides, the Indian side stated that Bangladesh was a necessary party to the discussion of the repatriation of the prisoners-of-war and civilian internees and that its recognition by Pakistan would facilitate further progress. The Pakistani side noted the Indian view and stated that the question of recognition of Bangla Desh was under serious consideration. This was the Delhi Agreement. Our

permanent representative further said that he failed to understand-why Pakistan had not still taken any step towards, mutual recognition of each other by Pakistan and Bangla Desh. He pointed out 'that the implication of non-recognition of Bangla Desh by Pakistan was tantamount to denying the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bangla Desh which was accepted by over 90 members of the United Nations.

Finally, we pointed out in our statement that the reference to inter-dependence made by the President was seen by us as indicating that as long as Bangla Desh was kept out of the United Nations and as long as Pakistan refused to recognise Bangla Desh, the solution of the pending problems including the implementation of the Security Council's Resolution would be difficult, if not impossible.

This overwhelming and unanimous support to the basic approach that the countries in the sub-continent should intensify their mutual efforts to come to a settlement of all the problems that still remain unsolved, is very significant, and I would like to commend this to the critics of the Simla Agreement. It is not only in the mutual interest of both India and Pakistan that the Simla Agreement should be implemented but it has also the unanimous support of the international community, and they are expecting that all the countries in this region should adhere to the principle of mutuality and should make every effort to settle all outstanding problems by mutual discussions and by mutual agreements. This is a significant development.

In this context, therefore, I would say that the situation in the Indian sub-continent also can be described as something which definitely has moved towards the relaxation of tension. A new situation has developed - the emergence of Bangla Desh and the signing of the Simla Agreement - and the endorsement of the basic principles of the Simla Agreement by the international community is something which is very significant. There can be a strong temptation amongst the members of the international

community to put their fingers in any dispute going on in any part of the world which, sometimes, may be with the best of intention. But in this particular case, we have

352

it in the form of this Resolution that primarily the countries in this region, India, Bangla Desh and Pakistan, should put their heads together and should try to resolve all their differences by mutual agreement. This Is a vindication of the basic concepts of the Simla Agreement, and I fail to understand why some hon. Members continue to hammer this negative note and continue to criticise the Simla Agreement without understanding our interest in this respect and the interests of peace of the sub-continent, and also of strengthening of the forces of peace throughout Asia.

This Mr. Deputy Chairman, is the international situation that we face. In this context what should be our attitude?

Several hon'ble Members have said that we should reassess the situation. Of course, the Foreign Office would not be doing their duty if they do not reassess the situation. It is one of their duties always, to take all these aspects into consideration and to adopt attitudes and to make their contribution so that the process of strengthening of durable peace is further reinforced. This is the function of the Foreign Office and we will be badly failing in our duty if we were not to take a good note of what is happening in our neighbourhood, what is happening in other parts of the world, what is happening in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. We have to keep all that in view. Having kept all that in view I am firmly of the opinion that the policy that we have been pursuing, a policy of judging issues independently on their merits-, a policy of adherence to peace, a policy of not being tied to one power bloc or the other, a policy of independent action and independent judgment on any issue of importance, is the correct policy.

Hon'ble Members have mentioned: Where is non-alignment when countries that were engaged in the game of cold war are themselves getting nearer to each other and are relaxing in a manner in which the original hard attitudes are disappearing. If anything, that is an indication of the policy of non-alignment. If other countries who Were first engaged in cold war and in confrontation are getting nearer, is that a reason that we should give up non-alignment and should get aligned? And aligned to whom when, according to your assessment. 'they themselves are getting nearer to each other? The fallacy of this argument is very difficult to understand. I do not think that those hon'ble Members who put forward that idea, although they are in a microscopic minority, ever gave ally thought to what they are saying. If the politics are crumbling, if the process of detente has been initiated, If the old adversaries are trying to get nearer to each other, Is that the time to give up nonalignment and be aligned? There is no answer to this second question. Therefore, the policy that we have pursued in the international world 'in looking after our own national interests is the correct policy.

Again, a yardstick was put across by several Members, not many, two or three from the Opposite side. They had a simple formula. Our self-interest is the sole criterion and everything should be done to see that our self-interest is safeguarded. Of course, who can dispute that thing? But even our enlightened self-interest, India's own interest cannot be divorced from the rest of the world. India stands to gain if the forces of peace in the world are stabilised and strengthened. India and the entire underdeveloped world stand to lose if peace is disturbed. If the world is engulfed by conflagration and the resources of the world and the thoughts of the world go towards war and conflict, India with the rest of the developing world, the non-aligned nations, will suffer.

So, to imagine that India's interest is not in consolidating the forces of peace is a very shortsighted approach and is not in our self-interest. Let us not forget that it is also in our self-interest that we should have some clear principles in front of us. Adherence to principles gives greater strength in the international community, and also internally, as compared to acquisition of some symbols of material strength, whether they are economic or even military. If we waver on principles, that weakens us more than the loss of a few tanks or a few aircraft. These can easily be secured in the world today. Luckily, on account of certain forward planning undertaken by us, we can easily strengthen our defence potenial, by and large, by our own effort. The industrial base that we have developed with the help of friendly countries, particularly the socialist countries, is such today that it gives us confidence that, by and large. even in the military sense we Can look after our requirements. It is not small achievement. And having secured

353

that, our pursuit to resolve our differences with Pakistan in a peaceful manner should continue. That is the best bet and I would say that any distraction from that path is not either in our self-interest or in the larger interest of peace.

There are two other matters, rather three, about which I must make a few observations before I finish. One is the Indian Ocean. Several hon. Members have made mention about this and I would like to say that we are pursuing a certain policy in this respect which is a correct policy, and which is the policy to which most of the littoral countries surrounding the Indian Ocean are veering round. This policy is 'to keep the Indian Ocean area free from big power rivalry, free from foreign bases and free from nuclear weapons. Now, I do not know whether we will succeed at the first step. But this is the direction in which we must move. This was our effort in Lusaka- This was our effort during the last U.N. General Assembly session. This has been reiterated in the present General Assembly session. And, by and large, an atmosphere is building up where even the countries who have got big naval power will have to listen to the views of 'the littoral countries. It is a correct policy that we are pursuing....

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA: Do you propose to take the initiative to call a con-

ference of the littoral countries of the Indian Ocean?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: That is a suggestion which can be considered. As a matter of fact, the vast majority of them, excepting those who are members of Pacts, did attend the Lusaka Conference, and there were groups of the littoral countries....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Some day some alternative idea should come. You may not give it now. Ultimately we will have to evolve a system of Asian security in order to make this zone free from the threat of war.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I see the point that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has mentioned. I am at the present moment on a smaller issue, the Indian Ocean which is important. In this connection. I would like to say that Our friendly neighbour, sri Lanka, is taking the initiative. It is good that they are taking the initiative. We are giving them all possible support to ensure that the Indian Ocean area emerges as an area of peace form big power rivalry.

Two other matters have been raised and they are engaging the attention of the Government - our relations with China and our relations with the United States.

I think that my intervention in this debate will not be complete unless I were to say something on these two important issues. In this matter we should not be sentimental, We should see what our best interest is and we should pursue a policy which is in our interest, in the interests of peace and also in the interests of progress and development.

So far as America is concerned, I have no hesitation in saying that we have much in common with that great country and its people. We cherish common values of an abiding nature such as our belief in democracy and democratic way of life, individual liberty and human dignity. There is no basis conflict between the interests of India and the United States in this region or elsewhere. This does not, however, mean that we look

at various problems in an indentical manner. The view from New Delhi is bound to be somewhat different as compared to the view from Washington because of our geographical and historical position and our traditions and policies. It is necessary that both countries should understand and respect mutual differences of points of view within the broad framework of our common values and on the basis of mutual respect. There is no reason why our relations with the United States should not only be normalised, but also become friendly and cooperative. If. countries like the United States and China which have different political, social and economic systems can normalise their relations, if countries like the United States and the Soviet Union, who are rivals in certain ways, can normalise their relations, there is no reason why our two countries which have much in common should not be able to normalise and strengthen our relations. There have been differences in the past few years, differences that were vita, to our interests, which have given rise to some strains in our relations with America. However, these differences are of a temporary nature. If America is prepared of make a fresh start on the recognition of realities of the new situation this area. I have no doubt that

354

our relations can again become normal and friendly. The conflict in Vietnam which had given rise to some differences between our two countries is on the way to a peaceful solution. Once peace is restored in Vietnam, India, along with America and other countries, can cooperate in the important task of the reconstruction of this war-torn region and in the stabilisation of peace therein. In the past the US military assistance to Pakistan has been one of the main reasons for the strained relations between India and America because it had not only encouraged the anti-Indian and militaristic policy of Pakistan, but also increased tension on this sub-continent. The attitude of the United States in the struggle for freedom of Bangla Desh was another source of tension between our two great countries. It is a matter of gratification that Bangla Desh has emerged as a sovereign, stable, democratic and independent country. We are glad that the United States of America has recognised Bangla Desh and is cooperating in the task of reconstruction in Bangla Desh. We hope 'that in the light of past experience America will take no steps to upset 'the trends towards normalisation of relations on the sub-continent. We have every reason to believe that it will encourage and support the new policy of bilateralism enshrined in the Simla Agreement Against this background I can assure this House that we shall do everything in our power to try to normalise and strengthen our relations with America on the basis of recognition of the new realities and on the basis of equality, reciprocity and mutual respect.

As for China, geography has placed us as neighbours of this great country. We cannot wish away China any more than China can wish away India. Border problems have existed between neighbouring countries throughout the ages. The countries concerned should settle such matters through peaceful negotiations and not by resort to force.

We see no reason why two great countries like India and China should not be able to do the same. It is our firm belief that India and China can and must normalise their relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence which our two countries were the first to subscribe to, we are glad that china has also given expression to this view. However, to translate this desire into concrete terms, it is necessary that positive steps must be taken by both sides for this purpose. We are willing and ready to hold bilateral discussion with China on the problems that bedevil our mutual relations. Some hon. Members have referred to the desirability of exchanging ambassadors. Although mere exchange of ambassadors does not always lead to improvement or normalisation of relations, we are ready and willing to consider this matter also. We would be happy to normalise our economic, cultural and other relations with China if she is willing to do so. For normalisation of relations, it is necessary that there must be. a desire on both sides. We hope and believe 'that the time is not far off when in the interests of the two countries and in the larger interests of peace and stability in Asia, India and China will be able to take positive steps towards normalisation of relations on the basis of mutual respect, equality and reciprocity.

We can assure China that we have no desire or intention to interfere in her internal affairs. We regard Tibet as part of China and any allegation that we are encouraging fissiparous tendencies in Tibet is totally unfounded and baseless. We hope that-China will also respect our territorial integrity and sovereignty and not encourage any fissiparous elements in our country. Some people seem to think that our friendly relations with the USSR is an obstacle in the way of our normalising relations with China. This is not correct. Our friendship with any country is not based on enmity against any third country. Our hand of friendship is open for any country to grasp provided there are no conditions attached with regard to our relations with any other country. We want to be friendly with allcountries and we will not accept any conditions from any third country with regard to our bilateral relations with any other country. We are glad that the spirit of bilateralism and detente is spreading to various parts of the world. There is no reason why India and China --- two great countries of Asia - should not be able to solve their mutual problems bilaterally and peacefully in their mutual interests and in the larger interests of peace, stability and progress in Asia and the world.- Thank you.

355

USA RUSSIA POLAND GERMANY CHILE CHINA JAPAN KOREA NORTH KOREA INDIA VIETNAM FRANCE CAMBODIA LAOS SWITZERLAND ISRAEL EGYPT JORDAN SYRIA BANGLADESH IRAQ YEMEN PAKISTAN SRI LANKA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC UZBEKISTAN YUGOSLAVIA ARGENTINA MALI ZAMBIA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

Indo-Bangladesh Protocol on Inland Water Transit and Trade

Following is the text of a press release issued in New Delhi on November 4, 1972 on the signing of Indo-Bangladesh Protocol on Inland Water Transit and Trade:

The Protocol on Inland Water Transit and Trade recently signed between the Governments of India and Bangladesh provides for the use of their waterways for commerce between the two countries, and for passage of goods between two places in one country through the territory of the other.

The routes thrown open for the service will be as follows:

- (a) Calcutta-Raimangal-Khulna-Barisal-Chandpur-Goalundo-Serajganj-Bahadurabad-Chilmari-Dhubri.
- (b) Calcutta-Raimangal-Barisal-Chandpur-Narayanganj-Bhairab Bazar-Ajmirganj-Markulir-Sherpur-Fenchuganj-Zakiganj-Karimganj.
- (c) Dhubri-Chilmari-Bahadurabad-Serajganj-Goalundo-Chandpur-Barisal-Khulna-Raimangal-Calcutta.
- (d) Karimganj-Zakiganj-Fenchuganj-Sherpur-Markulir-Ajmirganj-Bhairab Bazar-Narayanganj-Chandpur-Barisal-Raimangal-Calcutta.

Inland Vessels registered in India may be bunkered at Khulna, Barisal, Narayanganj, Dacca or Goalundo in Bangladesh. Likewise, vessels registered in Bangladesh may be bunkered at Calcutta, Budgebudge, Haldia, Karimganj, Dhubri, Pandu or Neamati in India.

The two countries will establish a comprehensive system for the settlement, clear-

ance and remittance of all sums, claims or dues on account of goods supplied, services rendered or facilities afforded to the vessels of one country in or by 'the other.

For evaluating and reviewing the working of this Protocol and for the purpose of improving inland water transportation between the two countries, there shall be a Standing Committee. This Committee will include representatives of the Ministry of Shipping and Transport in India, and the Ministry of Shipping, Inland Water Transport and Aviation in Bangladesh. The representatives of the Ministries of Finance of India and Bangladesh, the CIWTC of India and the BIWTA of Bangladesh, the concerned Collectors of Land Customs, and two representatives of the operators - one from each country - will also be Included in the Standing Committee.

BANGLADESH INDIA USA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

Indo-Bangladesh Bilateral Talks

The following is the text of joint press statement issued in New Delhi On November 9, 1972 on the second bilateral talks between India and Bangladesh:

In pursuance of the decision of the two Prime Ministers that regular consultations be held to ensure cooperation at all levels, the second bilateral discussions between senior officials of the Foreign Offices of the two countries were held in New Delhi from November 7 to 9, 1972. The first round was held on the occasion of the Indian Prime The delegations comprised:

INDIA: Shri T. N. Kaul, Foreign Secretary;Shri V. C. Trivedi, Secretary (East);Shri K. P. S. Menon, Joint Secretary(BD); Shri A. S. Chib, Joint Secretary(Pak); Shri S. K. Singh, Joint Secretary(XP); Dr. S. P. Jagota. Joint Secretary(L& T); Shri P. L. Sinai, Director

356

(EBD); Shri J. N. Dixit, Deputy High Commissioner, High Commission of India, Dacca; Shri A. K. Gupta, Director (BD); Shri A. K. Budhiraja, Deputy Secretary (BD); Shri S. M. S. Chadha, Deputy secretary (UN); Shri Ranjit Gupta, Under Secretary (BD) and Shri S. Pal, Attache (BD).

BANGLADESH: Mr. Enayet Karim, Foreign

Secretary; Dr. A. R. Mullick, High Commissioner of Bangladesh in Delhi; Mr Anwarul Haq, Deputy High Commissioner of Bangladesh in New Delhi; Mr. Shamsul Alam, Director-General U.N.; Mr. A. K. H. Morshed, Director-General, Sub-continent and Far East Affairs and Mr. Abdul Quayyum, Director, India Desk.

The consultations covered bilateral relations, a review of the international situation with Particular reference to the sub-continent and also developments in international forums.

The two sides expressed satisfaction at the further consolidation of their mutual relations in all fields since their last meeting. They reviewed the Progress achieved and agreed to have close and continuing cooperation on matters of common interest.

Both sides were in complete agreement on the approach to normalisation of relations and the establishment of durable Peace on the subcontinent. They were convinced that the first step towards the attainment of these objectives was the recognition of the existing realities. They deplored the fact that a large number of Bangladesh nationals are still being held in detention as political hostages in Pakistan in increasingly worsening conditions and are being prevented from returning to their homeland.

The two delegations made a tour d'horizon of the international situation and noted with satisfaction the increasing support to Bangladesh and thereby to-the concept of peace in the region. They also welcomed the fact that Bangladesh has already become a member of several international organisations of the U.N. family and of the Colombo Plan. They further agreed that the admission of Bangladesh to the U.N. would make a positive contribution to the normalisation of relations and to stability in the region.

The Bangladesh delegation called on the Foreign Minister and the Minister of Planning and expressed their thanks for the warm hospitality extended to them. It was agreed that the next round of consultations would be held in Bangladesh at a mutually convenient time.

BANGLADESH INDIA USA CHAD MALI PAKISTAN SRI LANKA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

President Giri's Speech of Welcome on Arrival of Bangla Desh President

Welcoming the Bangladesh President Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury on his 9-day State visit to India, President Giri on November 27, 1972 said:

On behalf of the Government and the people of India and on my own behalf, I

have great pleasure in welcoming you to India, Mr. President, Begum Chowdhury, and members of your delegation.

You are no stranger to India, Mr. President. However, Your visit to India takes place at an auspicious time, when we celebrate the 25th Anniversary of our Independence. You will have an opportunity to observe the radical transformation that has occurred in our country and amongst its people, since your distinguished student days in the metropolis of Calcutta.

You will also have an opportunity, during your visit to some parts of our country, to observe and experience the deep sympathy and goodwill that your country and its people enjoy among people from various parts of India.

We have admired the manner in which the people of Bangladesh, under the inspiring leadership of their distinguished President and beloved Prime Minister, have been building up their newly-born nation as a democratic, progressive and socialist nation. As a free, sovereign and peace-loving peoples, you are now engaged in the superhuman

asks of economic reconstruction of your beautiful country, so cruelly devastated during your gallant struggle for liberation.

We have welcomed the People's Republic of Bangladesh as a non-aligned nation and rejoiced in its joining us in various international forums like the Colombo Plan and the Commonwealth of Nations. We look forward also to the day when Bangladesh will secure its rightful place as a full-fledged member of the United Nations.

Bangladesh and India have developed close ties of friendship and good-neighbour-liness between our two peoples. We are confident that your visit, Sir, will further enrich our friendship.

May I, again, Mr. President, bid you and Begum Chowdhury and the members of your delegation a warm welcome to our country, where you and your people have so many friends and well-wishers.

BANGLADESH USA INDIA SRI LANKA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

Reply by Bangla Desh President

Replying the Bangladesh President said:

I bring you the warmest greetings and best wishes of the 75 million people of Bangladesh for the continued peace and prosperity of the people of India. I am deeply touched by the emotional significance of this occasion. I am overwhelmed at this cordial reception you have accorded me and the very brotherly sentiments you have just now expressed for my people. I am grateful for this honour.

It is only fitting and logical that my first visit after our national liberation is to India, the first country to take up the just cause of Bangladesh at a time when the very existence of her people was imperilled by the worst genocide of history, the country which provided food and shelter to 10 millions of our uprooted men, women and children fleeing from death and destruction. Since those critical days, your great nation has stood by us through thick and thin, through the glorious conclusion of our war of liberation and through the post-war days laden with heavy, insuperable problems of restoration, rehabilitation and tackling acute shortage of essentials. The bond of friendship between our two countries thus forged through toil, tears and blood will, I am runfident, last for ever. It has opened the doors

of a bright new era of deep understanding and fruitful co-operation for the betterment of the lot of our two countries and the peoples.

On this happy occasion my heart is overwhelmed with the memory of. the great martyrs of India and Bangladesh who-laid down their lives so that their fellowmen could live a better and fuller life free from tyranny and injustice.

The message I bring to you is that of our unshakable faith in the ideals of democracy, socialism, nationalism and secularism which our two countries cherish and share equally. Above all, it is a message of faith in the freedom of man and of peace among nations. I confidently look forward to further strengthening of the deep ties of friendship between our two countries by this visit which gives us an opportunity of understanding each other better through closer aequaintance and exchange of views. I thank you for this opportunity.

Long live Indo-Bangladesh friendship.

BANGLADESH INDIA USA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

President Giri's Speech at Banquet in Honour of Bangla Desh President

Following is the, text of the Speech by President Giri at a banquet in honour of the President of Bangla Desh, Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury at Rashtrapati Bhawan on November 27. 1972:

On behalf of the Government and the

people of India, I am very happy to welcome you, Mr. President, Begum, Chowdhury and members of your Delegation to our country.

This is your first State visit to India as President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. However, you are no stranger to our country. You have had a distinguished

358

academic career in Calcutta University. You were in your time also the General Secretary of the Presidency College Union at Calcutta.

Our delegation at the United Nations and our representatives abroad have had the honour and opportunity to cooperate with you, when you served as the Special Representative of the Bangladesh Government for the Overseas countries and 'the United Nations, and as the Leader of the Bangladesh Delegation to the United Nations, during those grim days when your country was so courageously fighting for its liberation. As you are aware, the fullest sympathy and support of the people and Government of India has all along been on the side of your country and its bravo people in their struggle for freedom.

It was in the fitness of things that, in recognition of your deep patriotism and distinguished career, both as a jurist and as an educationist, you were Installed as the first President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh in January this year. We have been looking forward eagerly to your visiting our country at the earliest opportunity and we are happy that you have been able to do so before this eventful year comes to an end.

We were also glad to have the occasion to play host briefly to your great national leader and Prime Minister, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, when he passed through New Delhi. The Prime Ministers of our two countries had also met in Calcutta in February 1972 and in Dacca in March 1972, and held useful and fruitful consultations. These meetings paved the way for the closest co-operation between the peoples of Bangladesh and India which will cement

the friendship forged in blood and sacrifice.

We are particularly happy that well within the short span of less than a year we see notable co-operation in flood control, economic development and education. The visits of your distinguished Finance and Commerce Ministers and their colleagues had laid well the foundations of economic and commercial relations between our two countries; and we envisage the consolidation of trade to our mutual benefit and further exchanges in the fields of culture, science and technology and the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The guiding principle in our economic relations has been to ensure that each. of us proves a staunch and-reliable friend to the other.

Our people have seen with admiration the success your country has achieved so rapidly in establishing democratic political institutions and a stable and popular administration, in undertaking the rehabilitation of nearly 30 million refugees and displaced persons, and the bold steps 'taken to achieve the economic reconstruction of Bangladesh. We have been immensely impressed by the fact that, in its devotion to the democratic process, the Bangladesh Government has succeeded so soon in adopting a Constitution, with the four guiding principles of Nationalism, Socialism, Democracy and Secularism, ideals which have inspired our own people. Your goal of establishing a socialist society, free from all exploitation, through the democratic process, is shared by us. We have noted with interest that, to achieve socialism, your Government has nationalised most of the major industries of Bangladesh, administering them under newly-established public sector corporations. Indicative of the buoyant mood of confidence felt by your people, despite the trials and tribulations faced by them, your Government has announced that general elections will be held in Bangladesh in March next year, and that your First Five Year Plan will also be launched next year.

India has striven to contribute whatever it can to assist you, whenever requested, particularly in the critical emergencies immediately after liberation, whether in the shape of foodgrains or essential raw materials. The administrative agencies of our two countries have been geared to ensure timely deliveries and supplies to the poor and the needy. Our engineers and technicians have been at your service to restore your disrupted communications system.

We are proud of the fact that India was the very first country to establish diplomatic relations with Bangladesh. It has gratified us to note how gradually over 90 countries from all parts of the world have accorded recognition to Bangladesh, and how Bangladesh has gained its rightful place in several international agencies, as well as the Commonwealth and the Colombo Plan. We are

359

distressed by the unfortunate circumstances under which Bangladesh was denied membership of the United Nations, but we are sure that the day is not far off when the United Nations will become richer by Bangladesh taking its legitimate place in that Organisation.

Our talks on different occasions with your distinguished Foreign Minister and his colleagues have underlined the identity of our approach to world problems. We look forward to a world order based on peace, cooperation sovereign equality and mutual reciprocity. We are convinced that a beginning towards these objectives on the Sub-continent can be made by the acceptance of existing realities.

Your visit to India, Mr. President, has come at a significant period in our national life, when we are celebrating the 25th Anniversary of our Independence. Our minds go back to the heroic deeds of the men and women of the past, in our country and in ours, and it shall be our endeavour to build a future worthy of them. In your all too brief visit, you will still have an opportunity to see something of the institutions and developments in various parts of our country. Above all, you will be able to gauge at first hand the vast fund of goodwill and friendship for your country and people from distant

corners of our land.

The welfare of the people of India is closely intertwined with that of the people of neighbouring Bangladesh. The border between us is a border of peace and goodwill. It is our earnest desire that Bangladesh should advance rapidly towards a self-reliant economy and all-round progress, so that India will have a strong and prosperous neighbour, the veritable "Sonar Bangla" of your dreams.

I have no doubt, Mr. President, that your present visit to our country will contribute to greater mutual understanding and co-operation, and a further strengthening of our relations in all fields.

May I request you, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to rise and drink a toast to the health of the President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh; to the prosperity and happiness of the brave people of Bangladesh; to the further strengthening of Bangladesh-Indian friendship; and to the consolidation of peace and security in our Subcontinent and in the world as a whole.

BANGLADESH USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC SRI LANKA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

Reply by Bangladesh President

Replying the President of Bangladesh said:

My wife and I have been delighted and Indeed overwhelmed at this generous hospitality. I have been deeply moved by the very generous words that you have just addressed and sentiments you have expressed for the continued friendship and goodwill between our two countries.

Mr. President, I am deeply touched by your kind words about me personally. I may only say this to you, Mr. President that you have your sagacity, wisdom, varied experience to contribute to the wellbeing and prosperity of your people and to this great democracy of the world. As far as I am concerned, Mr. President, I have only my youthful exuberance to serve my people. Mr. President, you have been kind enough to make a reference about the privilege that I had of working with many distinguished Indians abroad during the grim struggle of the people of Bangladesh. Those were indeed very dark days. But I shall never forget the kindness, sympathy, support that we received from your distinguished Prime Minister, your other Ministers, the diplomats and officers with whom I had the privilege to work for my country. Some of them are present here, many of them are absent, but as long as I live, I shall remember all of them.

In you, Mr. President, we find one of the long and distinguished line of statesmen who dedicated their lives for the cause of their people and inspired them with the ideals of freedom and justice. You took part

360

In the great saga of Indian Independence struggle marked as it was by enormous personal sacrifices. You symbolize the simplicity and devotion of the life of your countrymen. The noble ideals of Mahatma Gandhi find expression in your everyday life.

Your Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was in Bangladesh last March and she was received with great warmth and cordiality by our people. Our regret, however, is that her visit was much too short. Mrs. Gandhi and Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman concluded a Mutual Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between India and Bangladesh in consonance with the wishes of our people.

Our friendship, Mr. President, is not based on expediency but shows our agreement on common values of freedom and human dignity. India and Bangladesh have fought as comrades-in-arms during and after our liberation struggle. We have fought together as true and sincere friends. Our friendship is based on mutual understanding. equality and sovereignty, and therefore I assure you, Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen that nobody will be able to subvert our friendship. Our friendship, Ladies and Gentlemen, you are well aware, was baptized in fire and has been purified by the sacrifices made by our peoples in this common struggle and endeavour.

Mr. President, there were some people who doubted the viability of Bangladesh as an independent state. What was perhaps overlooked by them was that the people of Bangladesh had been imbued with a steely resolve to secure national independence. We, of course, have had difficulties inherent in the situation of a war-ravaged country. But today, having overcome the initial difficulties, we have a steelier resolve, under the inspiring leadership of Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rarman, to preserve and consolidate our independence at any cost. As a nation of- seventy five million people with a rich heritage of our own, we have supreme confidence in our destiny. And, we have, Mr. President, a gracious friend in India and the Government and the people of India are helping us in achieving a better standard of living for our people who have sacrificed to a measure unknown in human history. You have, Mr. President, rightly referred to various aspects and fields in which we are working together for the good of the people of this war-ravaged country. We gratefully acknowledge the ready assistance made available to us.

Mr. President, I have been to India previously in my personal capacity and everytime I came it opened a new vista of understanding for me. I am going to other parts of India and I feel very happy that I shall be able to see so many areas of your great and fascinating country.

We have had the privilege of having Mrs. Gandhi in our country last March and some other Indian leaders have also visited us. I am glad, ladies and gentlemen, to tell you that Mr. President has graciously accepted my humble invitation to visit Bangladesh on a date convenient to His Excellency and we are looking forward to his State visit in Bangladesh and our people will be very happy to have His Excellency the President of India amongst us.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, may I now request you to rise and drink a toast to the health and happiness of President Giri, to the progress and prosperity of the Indian people and to Indo-Bangla friendship!

BANGLADESH USA INDIA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

President Giri's Speech Bidding Farewell to Bangladesh President

The following is the text of the speech made by the President of India, Shri V. V. Giri at Palam Airport on November 30, 1972 bidding farewell to the President of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh:

Mr. President, as you, Begum Chowdhury and your Delegation leave the capital of India, may I say how greatly we have appreciated having you with us. We have met not simply as neighbours, not merely as Heads of State, but as friends and representatives of two brotherly countries.

You go now to other parts of our land. There you will see that our friendship for you is shared in equal measure. You will also see again the admiration that people from all parts of India feel for your great country and its courageous people, whose

361 gallant struggle for liberation has left an ever-abiding impression on the hearts and minds of our people.

I would like 'to take this opportunity to request you to convey to the people of Bangla Desh and our esteemed friend, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and his colleagues in Government, the good wishes and fraternal greetings of the people of India, and the assurances of my Government in the strengthening of the existing bonds of our deep and abiding friendship and our continuing cooperation for peace and progress in our countries, in our sub-continent and in the region.

May I wish you, Mr. President, Begum Chowdhury and the members of your Delegation, Bon Voyage!

Joy Bangla! Jai Hind,

BANGLADESH INDIA USA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

Reply by Bangladesh President

Replying the Bangladesh President said:

Mr. President, Madam Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

As I leave Delhi this morning for Agra

my mind is full of very pleasant memories of the past three days. It has given me opportunities to come in contact with your people, to get better acquainted with you and to see your institutions. We found the experience very rewarding and satisfying.

The remaining part of my visit will take me to Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Mysore and West Bengal which will give me further opportunities of knowing your great and vast country. With so many linguistic and ethnic groups united and inspired by common ideals, India is indeed a fascinating country. It is an example to the world as to how unity can be achieved in diversity and how that unity emanates right from the well of the people's heart. So the more areas one can see in India, the happier he has reasons to be.

Our countries have the warmest of relations and friendliest of feelings for each other'. And whatever we have seen and heard during the past three days has strengthened our conviction that India and Bangladesh will march forward on the road of progress and prosperity in mutual co-operation. We have found an identity of views on the problems facing the sub-continent and we share values of freedom, democracy, truth and justice. We hope our visit to India will further strengthen the spirit of understanding and co-operation between our two neighbouring countries and peoples.

Mr. President, I thank you most sincerely for the cordial reception given to my wife and myself. I am grateful to you,' your Government and the people of India for the warm hospitality shown to us.

BANGLADESH INDIA USA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

Joint Commission for Indo-Swedish Co-operation

The following is the text of the press release issued in New Delhi on November 11, 1972 on the exchange of letters for the setting up of a Joint Commission an Economic, Industrial, Technical and Scientific Cooperation between Sweden and India:

The Foreign Minister of Sweden, Mr. Krister Wickman, and Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs, exchanged here today letters for the setting up of a Joint Commission on Economic, Industrial, Technical and Scientific Cooperation between Sweden and India.

During the visit of Shrimati Indira Gandhi to Sweden in June 1972, it was agreed by the Prime Ministers of India and

362

Sweden to establish a Joint Commission on Economic, Industrial, Technical and Scientific Cooperation for further strengthening the already close and cordial relationship between 'the two countries.

The Joint Commission will investigate and identify the areas for closer cooperation between India and Sweden in the economic, industrial, technical and scientific fields. It will also seek cooperation and exchange of ideas and information regarding the economic development of the two countries.

The exchange of letters has a special significance as this is the first time that India has established such a Joint Commission with a developed country in western Europe. India's economic and commercial relations with Sweden have grown in recent years but there is great scope for further expansion.

The Joint Commission will, from time to time, review the economic, Industrial, technical and scientific relations between the two countries. It is expected that the first meeting of the Commission will be held next year.

SWEDEN INDIA USA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

SWEDEN

Indo-Swedish Agreements on Development Co-operation

Following press release was issued in New Delhi on November 11, 1972 on the signing of two Indo-Swedish agreements on Development Co-operation between Sweden and India:

Two Agreements on Development Cooperation between Sweden and India were signed here today by Mr. Krister Wickman, Foreign Minister of Sweden, on behalf of the Royal Swedish Government and by Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister for External Affairs on behalf of the Government of India.

By the Agreements, Sweden has committed Economic and Technical Assistance of Rs. 38.5 crores (Skr. 255 million) which can be utilised by India over a three-year period. An amount of Rs. 6 crores (Skr. 40 million) is earmarked for the current year. This is to be utilised for a variety of purposes like imports of certain commodities, machinery and equipment and maintenance requirements of spares and components. A number of technical assistance schemes, including some in the family planning programme, will also be supported.

The amount earmarked for technical assistance schemes and import of commodities will be a grant to India, while the

amount meant for import of capital goods, etc., will be a loan on soft terms with a repayment period of 50 years including a grace period of ten years. The loan is untied to source of supply. It is interest free and carries only a service charge of three-fourth of one per cent per annum.

SWEDEN INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

THIRD ASIAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR 1972

Prime Minister's Inaugural Address

Following is the text of the address of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, inaugurating the Third Asian International Trade Fair in New Delhi on November 3, 1972:

On behalf of the people and the Government of India, I welcome you to our country and to this Fair.

"Asia 72" is the most ambitious exhibition so far undertaken by my country. We are indeed grateful for the response and support which we have received from nearly fifty countries of Asia and other parts of the world. Participants who are accustomed to the speed and precision of advanced societies might feel impatient, but we have tried to overcome our limitations.

363

This Fair has particular significance for us in the developing countries. According to the traditional pattern of trade, the poorer countries export raw material and primary products to industrialised countries in exchange for modern goods for 'the consump-

tion of small, affluent and elite groups, The people of the poorer countries as a whole do not participate in or benefit from this trade in any substantial way. This pattern is now changing but far too slowly. Despite great odds, developing countries are making determined efforts to diversify and modernise their economies. The very process of our development calls for and depends upon our increasing participation in world trade. Indeed neither growth, public welfare nor self-reliance is possible without an increase in our countries' capacity to export. Unfortunately, prevailing conditions in international life and trade do not favour the growth of trade for developing countries. While the volume and value of world trade have considerably expanded in the last two decades, the share of the developing countries has steadily diminished. Urgent efforts are necessary to arrest this trend, otherwise the share which is already as low a-, 17 per cent might further decline, even though twothirds of mankind live in these developing countries. The richer countries have to change their present attitudes and policies and make possible the increasing participation of the developing countries in world trade. But we, in the developing countries cannot afford to be helpless onlookers for much devolves on our own endeavours. There is scope for expansion of trade, economic cooperation and regional integration between our countries. Some progress has been achieved, but we still have a long way to go and greater efforts are necessary....

Fairs, such as this Asian Trade Fair, bring together many countries and enable each one to appreciate progress that is being made in different fields in the other countries and draw attention towards mutual benefit that can be derived. Even today the affluence of many nations is built on materials produced in and by the poorer nations but the commerce is one-sided. Everywhere man, individually and in groups aspires for equaility without which there can be no ending of tensions. He hopes that the small can coexist with the big, that the frail individual will be able to prevail against the might of governmental systems, that his still small voice will not be drowned in the

roar of power. It was hoped that aid would help to bridge this yawning gap. But aid, which is supposed to be impelled by idealism, has come to be too closely identified with the short-term policy objectives of donor governments. It seems as if trade which has been regarded as more mundane and practical is more likely to promote international cooperation. Trade implies mutual need and mutual benefit. This nexus should prompt the two or more sides concerned to take a longer view of the development of natural and human resources in various parts of the world for the good of the human community as a whole.

A Fair like this, juxtaposing the technological accomplishments of various peoples, highlights the important role which technology plays in national development. For developing countries, there is much to be gained from the selective acquisition of technology from industrialised nations. However, if such a transfer of technology is to make a genuine and lasting contribution to development, the developing countries must have the capability to select the technologies most appropriate to 'their needs, as also the indigenous skills and institutional structures to absorb the transferred technology and develop it further.

Unfortunately the trend to connect technology with aid policies and the inadequacy of national, regional or international machineries which would enable developing countries to import the relevant technologies on reasonable terms, has severely inhibited the efforts of many developing countries to use technology as the means to self-reliant development. However, I am convinced that progress can be made and accelerated through technological exchange between developing countries themselves, Such exchange should enable us to profit from each other's experience in generating technology indigenously and also in acquiring foreign technology. The idea of the Asian Trade Fair authorities to hold a seminar on the transfer of technology is an excellent one.

This Fair coincides with the completion of 25 years of our rebirth as a free nation.

A People's political freedom can be secure only when their economy is stable and

364

strong. The ultimate test and justification for freedom come when its benefits can reach the individual citizen. It has been our experience that there are limits to economic progress if it is not accompanied by social justice. In these two and a half decades, the goal of our political and economic programmes has been to provide the bare necessities of life to all sections of our people. And old, unequal society is in the process of becoming an egalitarian, modern one, without, I hope, abandoning the wisdom and abiding values of its ancient culture.

Poverty has shadowed our people for centuries. We have somewhat eased its burden but we have not overcome it.

Deprivation and injustice still exist. All that we claim is that we are forging the instruments and acquiring the capacity to attack these evils. We are now able to give our children a somewhat better chance - longer life and better health, wider opportunities to learn and to do and a larger share of hope. Our agriculture has been modernised. The supposedly insoluble problem of feeding our millions has been found manageable.

Many new industries and technologies have been planted on our soil. Until just the other day India, the world's second largest nation, was not producing any machinery or basic industrial goods worth mentioning. Now we have the ability to design and build our own aircraft, our own steel mills and our own atomic power-houses.

To you who come as visitors, this Fair will give a glimpse of what we have been able to achieve, but to us who live here, our progress has to be viewed in the perspective of the problems which confront us. When so many millions are still to be provided work, we want machinery not to supplant but to supplement the human hand and to lead to a fuller harnessing of all our resources, natural as well as human. Side by side with industrialisation, we are trying hard to revive our great craft traditions. We have

more weavers and craftsmen now than at any earlier time in our own history, but the tendency is to produce luxury articles and I must confess there is no longer that close and satisfying bond between the person, his work and the society around him. And it was that which gave a feeling of fulfilment, of belonging and of involvement. We are deeply aware that we must seek some way of changing the structure of our society through the introduction of new tools without diminishing, the perception of our craftsmen. The solution has to emerge from the very tension of the confrontation and the consciousness of the vast dimensions of the problem.

We do not want development in India to reproduce the harmful environmental and psychological effects of the classical industrial revolution. We do not wish to replace one kind of bondage with another, more subtle but nonetheless insidious, which sows seeds of alienation, lulls our young people into taking the easier path of imitation, lutes them with the glitter of the 'acquisitive society, veils the real challenge we face and saps their will to help their fellowmen. Progress should not mean increasing complexity but greater simplicity of tools and of living itself. The processes of industry should lead to an improvement in the quality of articles of daily use, Work, education and art should not be parallel activities but integrated into a spontaneous act of growing. But can our country succeed in a new way of life in isolation, if the rest of the world races ahead in the present direction?

The struggle is not 'ours alone. Most countries of, Asia; of Africa and, Win America are beset with the same problems. In the very year of our freedom, Delhi played a host to the Asian Relations Conference, the first gathering of the nations of our continent. Speaking there my father Jawaharlal Nehru said: "Far too long have we of Asia been petitioners in western courts and chancelleries. That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own legs and to cooperate with all others who are prepared to cooperate with us. We do not intend to be play-things of others."

Although the old empires have receded, Asia remains an arena for the contest of world powers. Most of the conflicts since World War II have erupted on our continent. Many have been the outcome of the interference of outriders and not one has helped the people of Asia in any way. Many concepts are sought to be tested with Asian blood. And so the world's largest continent' the home of more than half mankind, the cradle of the world's most ancient cultures, the

365 fount of all the great religions has not been able to shake itself free from exploitation.

Must this continue? Asia should cast aside its differences and unite, not in opposition to other continents and regions, not in any spirit of pan-Asian chauvinism, but solely for the welfare of its peoples who have so long been harried and impoverished and who so desperately need peace and the wherewithal to live in decency and honour. We have no quarrel with other continents. How can we, when the plight of Africa and a large part of Latin America is similar to ours? We do not grudge the affluence of the advanced regions of the world. Progress follows a remorseless logic: those who have are in a position to get more, pushing aside those who are most in need. Recently we have been told that even in agriculture, 80 per cent of all increase in production occurs in the advanced countries!

We have no wish to compete nor are we rivals of any country. We do believe that progress and peace in India are linked with peace and progress in the world. We work not merely for our own salvation but for a world where all may live in harmony.

For some time it has been recognised that the very advance of technology makes international cooperation a vital necessity. Through history, land has been broken up into this nation and that, but the oceans and the air have been pure and open to all. But the tremendous advance of science in many countries has polluted the soil, the air and the seas so that they have become sources of

peril, not merely for the polluters but for us all. A new consciousness is awakening that a total view should be taken of the Earth's resources and their conservation and equable utilisation. Nations must cooperate, the advanced with the backward, the rich with the poor, the big with the small, the Asian with European, American, African, Australasian, if this Earth, our only home, is to become not a plundered planet but one of peace and plenty.

Let us say with the ancients:

Earth, whose heart is irk eternal heaven, wrapped in truth, immortal,

May she give us lustre and strength....

I have great pleasure in declaring open the Third Asian Fair. I hope that it will reveal not merely the old and new manual and technological skills of Asian and other countries, but also their desire and determination to reach out to others in friendship and in the common endeavour to solve the problems of mankind and to create conditions in which all can flourish.

INDIA USA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

THIRD ASIAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR 1972

Foreign Trade Minister's Welcome Speech at Asia'72 Inauguration

Following is the text of the welcome address by the Foreign Trade Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra, on the opening in New Delhi of Asia 72 on November 3,1972:

Madam Prime Minister, Excellencies,

Distinguished Guests and Friends:

It is my privilege to welcome all of you to this opening ceremony of the Third Asian International Trade Fair. We are grateful to you Madam Prime Minister for having consented to inaugurate this Fain This is symbolic of your keen interest in fostering institutions and programmes for securing closer cooperation among the developing countries of the world. We are honoured by the presence of a number of distinguished guests from friendly countries who have spared their valuable time to be present on this occasion and 'to share with us our enthusiasm and determination in using the medium of trade for enhancing economic prosperity.

As many as forty-seven nations of the world and nineteen international firms are participating in this Fair.

The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East devised the Asian International Trade Fair as an important instrument in promoting closer regional cooperation among the countries of this region. ASIA 72 is thus the third step in pursuance of this effort,

366

the earlier ones at Bangkok in 1966 and Tehran in 1969 having established the utility of this institution "for implementing the new and dynamic phase of development in Asia".

This Fair is being held during the Silver Jubilee of India's Independence. During the last twenty-five years the structure and volume of our foreign trade have undergone far-reaching changes. Exports, after their stagnation in the early fifties, have continued to rise steadily during the sixties. In 1970-71, exports showed a spectacular rise and since then have continued to move along a rising curve.

A fair degree of diversification in our product structure and geographical distribution has been achieved. During the past ten years, exports of engineering goods, chemicals and allied industrial products have increased rapidly and have achieved global acceptance.

However, the share of the developed countries in our export endeavour has declined while our exports to socialist countries have shown significant increase.

In our difft endeavour to rapidly augment our export earnings, the socialist countries of East Europe and the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have played a positive and constructive role. The presence this morning of many distinguished guests from the socialist countries is further testimony of their abiding interest in our economic prosperity.

ASIA'72 reflects in a microcosm the basic characteristics of the Continent. It focusses our attention on the problems and possibilities of the countries of this region in achieving rapid break-through towards greater economic prosperity. In Asia we see for ourselves the unfortunate situation in which countless millions live in conditions of abject poverty amidst pockets of high affluence. In this Fair, we shall discover what we can contribute to each other's progress for giving greater, substance to the programme devised by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. And to implement the directions given by the Council of Ministers for Asian Economic Cooperation. It brings out the numerous useful avenues for joint and concerted action in all spheres of economic and social life; in industry and agriculture, trade and finance, employment and education, heath and housing, and science and technology. This would impart greater relevance to the "Strategy of Integrated Regional Cooperation" towards the creation of a "New Asian Identity". The Hall of Nations which displays the manufactures of 22 nations, enhances our understanding for wider cooperation among ourselves, while the Hall of Industries represents the efforts made by India since Independence as a member of the developing world to broaden and diversify its industrial infrastructure.

The Nehru Pavilion will permanently house Charles Eame's Exhibition on "Nehru and New India". This is only in consonance

with Panditji's vision of world cooperation particularly of developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. You will recall that speaking to the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1961, Panditji had said "Co-operate or Perish". He called upon the General Assembly to adopt a new approach towards cooperation based on the practical necessity of survival. Eleven years after, the world is still struggling to give wider dimensions to his ideas. ASIA'72 is an endeavour towards that end.

ASIA'72 captures the new sense of freedom and restlessness which pervades our Continent. The Continent which has been struggling for an economic breakthrough for the past few decades and in the normal circumstances should have been way ahead in the path of development is now reasserting itself with new vigour and determination. It is endeavouring to break away from the shackles of its past economic relationship and to chart out a course of development based on self-reliance and mutual cooperation among the countries of this region. It represents the hope and promise in which the countries of this re-ion can share their needs and surpluses.

For too long have we talked of the need for regional cooperation. Madam Prime Minister, I have the honour to request you to inaugurate this Fair in the hope that this Fair represents a positive effort on the part of the countries of ECAFE to move from a phase of deliberation to a phase of imple-

367

mentation in effecting closer cooperation among themselves. This Fair is a modest endeavour to give more concrete substance to the pledge undertaken by you, Madam Prime Minister, at the Silver Jubilee of the United Nations during the adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade. You had cautioned us and I quote "Whether this Strategy succeeds or not, the developing countries should not remain passive spectators. It is imperative for us to intensify our efforts vigorously and develop trade and economic cooperation with one another". With

these words I request you to inaugurate this Fair".

INDIA USA IRAN

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

THIRD ASIAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR 1972

President Giri's Message on the Opening of the Asia'72 Trade Fair

The following is the text of the president, Shri V. V. Giri's message on the opening of the Asia'72 Trade Fair on November 3, 1972:

I welcome the Third Asian International Trade Fair. as a splendid opportunity for representatives of many Governments and businessmen to come together and explore the possibilities of enlarging trade contacts between their countries. There is much scope for expanding exports and imports among the countries belonging to the region covered by the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, between developing countries themselves and as between the developing countries and the developed countries of the world. Asia'72 provides a forum to increase knowledge of one another by mutual contacts.

I do hope that the planning and labour invested in making this Fair a success will lay a firm foundation for expansion of international trade.

USA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

THIRD ASIAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR 1972

Vice-President's Message

The following is the text of Vice-president, Shri G. S. Pathak's message on the opening of the Asia'72 Trade Fair on November 3, 1972:

The Third International Trade Fair that is being inaugurated by the Prime Minister on November 3, 1972, in New Delhi, is a significant step in fostering closer economic ties not only between the Asian countries, but also between the developing countries of the world. The scope of these fairs, which are held in Asian capitals once in three years, is truly international, and they highlight the economic relationship between the developing world and the developed world.

We, in India, are happy to host this important Fair during the Silver Jubilee Year of our Independence. I do hope that the international as well as Indian participants in the Fair will establish contacts with each other on an enduring basis, bringing mutual economic benefits, in the years to come.

INDIA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

THIRD ASIAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR 1972

The following is the text of prime minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's message on the opening of the Asia'72 Trade Fair on November 3, 1972:

The countries of Asia are heirs to ancient civilizations but most of them have regained independence only in the last three decades. It has been their endeavour to make up for lost time and to bring to their people the benefits of modern technology. We in India are striving to combine the new with the best of the old.

The Third Asian Trade Fair coincides with the 25th anniversary of our Indepen-

368

dence. I hope that it will provide glimpses of the progress made by India and will also enable 'the people of India to know what is happening in the rest of Asia and the world.

My greetings and good wishes to all the international and national participants who have accepted the Invitation of the Government of India. May the Fair prove an essay in, understanding and co-operation.

INDIA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

THIRD ASIAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR 1972

Kurt Waldheim's Message

The following is the text of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim's message on the opening of the Asia'72 Trade Fair on November 3, 1972:

I wish to express my appreciation to the Government of India for organizing - the Third Asian International Trade Fair, at New Delhi in 1972 as part of the celebrations of the Silver Jubilee of Indian Independence, On this auspicious occasion I am pleased to join the participants in the Fair in wishing the Government and people of India continued progress and development. The arrangements for this Fair, organized under the auspices of ECAFE, are essentially carried out by the host country, and reflect India's consistent support for the activities of the Commission.

The first two Asian International Trade Fairs, held in Bangkok in 1966 and in Tehran in 1969 were not only successful in creating greater interest in commerce among countries within the ECAFE region, but also with developing and industrialized countries outside of the region.

I am confident that the forthcoming New Delhi Fair, the first to be held during the Second United Nations Development Decade, will be an outstanding success, stimulate trade both within and outside the region and assist in achieving the targets set for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

May I express the hope that the Third Asian International Trade Fair at New Delhi would not only produce direct economic benefits to the participants but also result in closer relations among nations, and thus help bring about peace and prosperity in Asia and the rest of the world.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC IRAN

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

THIRD ASIAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR 1972

U Nyun's Message

The following is the text of the Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and Far East, U Nyun's message on the opening of the Asia'72 Trade Fair on November 3, 1972:

On behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and on my own behalf, I wish to congratulate the Government of India on its organization of the Third Asian International Trade Fair. The timing of this Fair is most propitious, as it coincides with the Silver Jubilee of the Independence of India. I am sure that all of us participating in this Fair are delighted to share with the people of India the plea-sure of observing the remarkable progress that this great country has achieved during two decades of strenuous efforts toward economic and social improvement and self-help. As a result of the success of the First Asian International Trade Fair held at Bangkok in 1966 and the Second Asian International Trade Fair at Tehran in 1969, the Asian International Trade Fair has become an established institution, serving as a practical and effective means of promoting regional economic co-operation, an objective to which all the Asian countries fully subscribe. That this Third Fair will further strengthen trade ties, not only among countries in the ECAFE region but also those between the Asian countries and the rest of the world, is made evident by the wide participation of developing countries of the region and major trading nations of the world, as well as African and Latin American countries.

369

The Fair will, in addition, complement the effort to be made by ECAFE developing countries to increase trade among themselves under the recently launched Asian Trade Expansion Programme, for which mul-

tilateral negotiations under ECAFE auspices are being organised.

Finally, may I express my deep appreciation of the Government of India's concrete contribution, through the organization of this Fair, towards the achievement of the objectives set for the Second United Nations Development Decade. I wish the Fair very success.

INDIA USA IRAN

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UGANDA

Foreign Minister's Statement on Uganda

The following statement was made in the Rajya Sabha on November 15, 1972 by the Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh regarding the situation arising out of the seizure of the entire property of the Indians expelled front Uganda and incidents of insult meted out to them:

Since I referred to the matter in my statement to the House on September 4, 1972, Government have been constantly pursuing the question of the assets of Indian nationals expelled by the Uganda Presidential Decree of August 9, 1972.

By the beginning of September, data had already been collected by our High Commission in Kampala from all Indian nationals being expelled giving the nature and value of their assets in Uganda. In the last week of August, a special representative of Government of India went to Uganda and discussed this matter with the Uganda Foreign Minister and Finance Minister im-

pressing Government's views on the need for just and equitable ways of handling the problem and early announcement of procedures to ensure that the expellees are not deprived of their assets, On a number of occasions since then we have been taking this matter UP with the Uganda authorities; last week I addressed another letter to the Foreign Minister of Uganda and again sent a representative to discuss this question stressing the need for an early decision particularly on the quetion of fair evaluation of such properties, their just and equitable disposal and early steps to reimburse their owners, On these important matters we have been informed that the Government of Uganda has not yet formulated rules and regulations which they state are still under their consideration. We are continuing our efforts with the Uganda Government and are maintaining our contacts with the Indian nationals concerned from whom, further details have been requested of the latest position in relation to their assets at the time when they actually left Uganda.

In the meanwhile the evacuation of Indian nationals has been completed except for an estimated 600 persons who have been exempted from the expulsion decrees and are staying on in Uganda. Those who have left have been allowed by the Uganda authorities to take with them ∞ 50 in cash and ∞ 450 worth of personal belongings per family subject to a weight limit of 200 kilos. This is of course extremely inadequate. We have been assured that those who are exempted and have remained in Uganda will be given all the facilities for remittances and terminal benefits which they were entitled to before the expulsion decrees.

Honourable Members may be aware that the Government of Uganda have issued two Decrees relating to the subject of assets left behind by expelled Asians. The first or

370

October 4, 1972 refers to the registration and declaration of such assets and the nomination by the owners of agents to look after them on their behalf. A further Decree of October 25 states in essence that such pro-

perty for which agents have not been appointed or which is not being properly look after will be taken over by an Abandoned Property Custodians Board consisting of Ministers of the Uganda Government. In both cases, an evaluation is to be made by assessors appointed by the Government of Uganda and sale is to be effected on which the agent of the owner can be represented.

On this question President Amin in his letter of October 3 to the UN Secretary-General gave. assurances in the following words:

"All those people who are going are being allowed to take personal belongings as well as reasonable amounts of cash with them, which as I explained in my letter, have to be delimited by our financial resources. Special forms have been prepared by my Government and on these, the people who are going have set out details of their property which they are leaving behind. All this pro-. perty will be sold in due course and the proceeds credited to the account of the owner of the property; their bank accounts are equally protected. Those who are leaving have been asked by Government to specify agents who will, not only look after their property till sale, but who will also rep-resent them at the time of sale. It is not the intention of my Government contrary to what has been alleged by our detractors, to seize the property of any departing Asian without compensation, and there has not been any single instance of confiscation of property."

We have still to see how far this assurance is going to be implemented by the Government of Uganda.

We have made clear from time to time as well as in my correspondence with the Foreign Minister of Uganda our distress at reports of humiliating treatment and harassment suffered by Indian nationals leaving Uganda. Our High Commission in Kampala has done whatever was possible to protect their personal safety by insisting- on proper

protection by the Uganda authorities which in some cases was given. Our High Commission officials have personally accompanied trains leaving Uganda and convoys of evacuees going to the air-port at Entebbe, and themselves paid visits to all important centres in the countryside where Indians were living. The atmosphere created by pronouncements about expulsion had however generated tensions and led to acts of highhandedness and harassment with repeated checks and controls throughout the country. long and rigorous examinations of documents and personal belongings and reported thefts and misappropriation of money and personal effects. Specific cases of theft and harassment have at once been brought to the notice of the Uganda authorities for immediate rectification; in one or two cases at least such stolen belongings were restored to the owners. In general, however, it is clear that there has been considerable intimidation and harassment in an atmosphere which was unfortunately not free from the poison of racial discrimination.

UGANDA INDIA USA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Indo-Soviet Collaboration in Applied Science and Technology

The following in the text of the press release issued in New Delhi on November 14, 1972 on the programme, of Scientific exchanges for 1972 and 1973-74 in pursuance of the agreement on co-operation between. USSR and India in the field of Applied Seience and Technology:

In pursuance of the Agreement on Co-

371

field of Applied Science and Technology which was signed in Moscow on October 2, 1972, with the Soviet Government, by Shri C. Subramaniam, Minister of Industrial Development and Science and Technology, a programme of scientific exchanges both for 1972 and 1973-74 was drawn up. According to the agreed programme for 1972, India will shortly be sending to the USSR the following teams of experts:

- 1. A team of Indian experts to USSR for studying Remote Sensing Systems and the Organisation of airborne mineral surveys in the USSR. The team would also identify the possibility and scope of getting the required sensors and other equipment involved in Remote Sensing, a central national facility for all scientific organisations in the country engaged in exploration of our natural resources. The team will consist of specialists in remote instrumentation, representatives of agencies engaged in the survey of natural resources.
- 2. A team of Indian experts to study methods and processes of the transfer of innovations and technical knowhow from laboratories and research institutes to industry. Since, like the Soviet Union, industrial research in India has also been mainly organised in the public sector, and a large sector of Indian industry is also in the public sector, it is felt 'that Soviet experience in the transfer of technology from research laboratories to industrial undertakings would be of great value and benefit to India.
- 3. A team of Indian experts to study Soviet techniques of mass construction of prefabricated low-cost housing and equipment needed for such construction.

This is also a field which of late has been exercising the concerted

attention of scientific planners in India and a panel appointed by the National Committee on Science and Technology in cooperation with the Ministry of Works and Housing is, engaged in an intensive appraisal of India's technological capability in this field.

It is felt that Soviet experience of the techniques of mass construction of pre-fabricated low-cost housing would be valuable input into the labours of this Committee.

4. A team of specialists in corrosion problems to visit the Soviet Union to work out a programme of study with Soviet experts on corrosion problems under tropical conditions,

The enormous loss caused by corrosion to national assets in hardware, machinery and equipment has been the subject of considerable national concern and the National Committee on Science & Technology has already been thinking of a National Board on Corrosion which would coordinate the work of a large number of organisations and Government departments in India engaged both in research and operational problems of corrosion prevention.

The proposed team of Indian experts on corrosion which would be drawn from the main Indian organisations working in this field would confer with Soviet experts and evolve joint programmes for the development of corrosion inhibitors, corrosion resistance coatings both for ferrous and non-ferrous materials and for adapting Soviet work to tropical conditions.

The personnel of these teams is being finalised and the Soviet Government is being consulted regarding convenient dates and duration of visit of these teams.

Similarly the Soviet side will

notify the organisations and specialists for each area. The specialists on both sides will discuss and decide on plan of action detailing the terms and conditions time frame for each project. Such detailed programmes will then be put up to the Joint Commission for approval before they are undertaken.

372

INDIA USA RUSSIA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Indo-Soviet Trade Protocol for 1973

The following is the text of the press release issued in New Delhi on November 25, 1972 on the conclusion of Indo-USSR trade talks between the delegates of USSR and India and the signing of a trade protocol for 1973:

On the conclusion of trade talks which took place in New Delhi between Trade Delegations of India and USSR from November 13 to 25, 1972, a Trade protocol for 1973 has been signed today.

The Trade protocol envisages a trade turnover of Rs. 410 crores between the two countries during 1973.

The protocol also envisages a 15 per cent stepup in India's exports to Soviet Union in 1973 over the anticipated level in 1972.

The Union Foreign Trade Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra, and His Excellency Mr. Pogov, Soviet Union's Ambassador to India, were present at today's signing ceremony.

The protocol was signed by Shri Y. T. Shah, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Trade, on behalf of the Government of India and by Mr. I. T. Grishin, the Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, on behalf of the Government of the USSR.

Besides exports of various traditional commodities like deoiled cakes, cashew kernels, tea, coffee, spices, tobacco, cotton textiles, jute manufactures, handicrafts, etc., from India to USSR, there are a number of engineering and non-traditional item, including consumer goods, such as, ready-made garments, linoleum, garage equipment electric motors, storage batteries, power cables, wire ropes, dye-stuffs, detergents, hand tools, cosmetics, surgical instruments, vacuum flasks, footwear, cigarettes, etc., in the Trade protocol.

The principal items of import into India from the USSR during 1973 will be plant and machinery, Petroleum products, industrial raw materials such as asbestos, zinc, nickel, copper, palladium, fertilizers, newsprint, refractories, etc., besides components, spares and raw materials for Soviet-assisted projects.

The talks were held in friendly and cordial atmosphere. Views on matters of mutual interest for the purpose of expanding and diversifying trade relations between the two Countries were also exchanged.-,"

INDIA USA RUSSIA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNITED KINGDOM

Following is the, text of the press release issued in New Delhi on November 9, 1972 on the signing of agreements for two British loans to India:

Agreements for two loans allocating a total of nearly Rs. 78 crores (œ41 million) of British aid to India were signed here today.

The British Minister for Overseas Development, Mr. Richard Wood, who is visiting India for the meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan, signed the agreements on behalf of the British Government, and Shri K. R. Ganesh, Minister of Revenue and Expenditure, signed for the Government of India.

373

The first loan (the UK/India Maintenance Loan 1972) is for Rs. 47.42 crores (125 million), covering the import from Britain of non-project goods. Among these are raw materials, spare parts and components required to service India's agricultural and industrial production.

The second loan (the UK India Mixed Project Loan 1.972) is for Rs. 30.35 crores ((pond) 16 million). It will finance the import from Britain of goods and services required for certain large projects agreed by the two Governments. This loan is a part of the project aid totalling & 72 million (over Rs. 136 crores) which the British Government indicated it would commit to India in the four financial years 1970-71 in 1973-74.

AGREED PROJECTS

Projects which have already been agreed by the British and Indian Governments include three fertiliser plants at present under construction. They are of the Indian Farmers Fertiliser Co-operative at Kandla and Kalol in Gujarat, the Southern Petrochemical Industries Corporation at Tuticorin in Tamil Nadu, and Mangalore Chemicals and Fertilisers at Mangalore and Mysore. Other projects under implementation include the construction in Britain of three bulk carriers for the Shipping Corporation of India and the Scindia Steam Navigation and a mixed products tanker for the Great Eastern Shipping Corporation, the naphtha cracker plant of the Indian Petrochemicals Ltd. in Gujarat, and components for three 120 MW boilers to be built by AVB Boilers, Durgapur, for the Damodar Valley Corporation and the Madhya Pradesh Electricity Board.

These two loans transform into firm aid commitments the major part of the pledge made at the Aid India Consortium meeting earlier this year by the British Government to allocate Rs. 119.498 crores (æ 63 million) of fresh aid to India in the financial year 1972-73. Further loans are under negotiation and will be finalised shortly.

All these loans are on the soft terms of British lending to India. They are interest-free and are to be repaid over 25 years with an initial grace period of seven years.

INDIA SRI LANKA UNITED KINGDOM USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Prime Minister's Message to Mr. Richard M. Nixon on his Re-election as U. S. President

The following is the text of the message of November 9, 1972 of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to Mr. Richard M. Nixon on his re-election as President of the United States of America:

My colleagues in Government of India Join me in sending you our warm felicitations on your election as President of your great country. We hope that during your fresh tenure of office, the friendly relations between our two countries and peoples will be further strengthened. I send you our best wishes for your personal health and for the prosperity and welfare of the friendly people of the United States of America.

374

USA INDIA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

YUGOSLAVIA

New Agreement on Indo-Yugoslav Trade

The following is the text of a press release issued in New Delhi on November 4, 1972 on the conclusion of a new agreement on Indo-Yugoslav Trade:

Following discussions held between Delegations of India and Yugoslavia here today, both countries have reached an accord providing for continued trade relations on the basis of payment in convertible currency.

It has been agreed that the Trade & Payment Agreement between the Government of India and Government of Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia concluded on October 13, 1962 at Belgrade, the validity of which was extended from time to time upto 31.12.1972, governing trade and payment relations between the two countries, shall expire on 31.12.1972.

From January 1, 1973, unless specifically provided, all trade and payment transactions between the two countries shall be in freely convertible currency.

Both sides expressed satisfaction over

the level of Indo-Yugoslav trade exchanges in 1972. It was estimated that India's exports to Yugoslavia during 1972 would be of the order of Rs. 17 crores. Yugoslav exports to India in 1972 would be approximately Rs. 12 crores.

Arising out of the proposed introduction of convertible currency payment system in their trading relations from January 1, 1973, both sides have agreed that within the frame work of GATT regulations they should continue to accord to each other the most-favoured nation-treatment thereby and give preference to the mutual trade of the two countries.

It has also been agreed that in terms of convertible currency trading, all possible steps should be taken not only to sustain the level of trade but for further expanding the same.

Among the measures recommended by both sides for this purposes are: exchange of commercial information between Chambers of Commerce of both countries, exchange of trade delegation, promotion of direct contacts between the commercial communities of the two countries, participation in International Fairs, expansion of "Common List" items under the Tripartite Cooperation Agreement, continuance of indo-Yugoslav Joint Committee within the new frame-work and establishment of Joint Ventures in both countries and in third countries.

375

YUGOSLAVIA INDIA USA

Date: Nov 01, 1972

December

Volume No

1995

Content

Foreign Affairs Record 1972

Vol. XVIII DECEMBER No. 12

CONTENTS

PAGE

AFGHANISTAN

Vice President Pathak's Speech at Banquet in Honour of Crown

Prince and Princess of Afghanistan 377

AUSTRIA

Credit from Austria 378

BHUTAN

Parcel Post Agreement with Bhutan 378

Shri Bahuguna's Speech 379

Her Royal Highness Ashi Dechen Wangmo Wangchuk's Reply 380

CANADA

Assistance for Second Earth Satellite Station 380

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Indo-Czechoslovakian Air Talks 381

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Indo-FRG Agreement for Assistance to India 381

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Samar Sen's Speech on Namibia in Security Council 383

Samar Sen's Speech in Debate in United Nations General

Assembly on Middle East 385

Samar Sen's Statement on Cyprus at Security Council 386

Samar Sen's Statement at UN on Implementation of the Declaration

on the Strengthening of International Security 383

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS : EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

(Continued Overleaf)

PAGE

| IR. | A. | N |
|-----|----|---|
|-----|----|---|

India-Iran Air Talks 391

IRAQ

Visit of Iraqi Minister of Planning 391

JAPAN

392 Indo-Japanese Collaboration Agreement Extended

NORWAY

Agreement for Technical Co-operation 392

PAKISTAN

Prime Minister's Message on Anniversary of Cease fire 393 Foreign Minister's Statement on the Thako Chak Issue 394 Foreign Minister's Statement on Finalisation of Line of Control in J&K

Joint Statement by the Governments of India and Pakistan 396

PARLIAMENT

Foreign Minister's Speech Initiating Debate on International

Foreign Minister's Reply to Debate on International Situation

Sardar Swaran Singh's Statement on Resumption of U.S. Bombing

on North Vietnam

Statement by Deputy Minister of External Affairs in Lok Sabha Regarding Bombing in Vietnam 409

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Joint Communique on State Visit of President of Bangla Desh to

India 410

President and Prime Minister's Messages to Bangla Desh Leaders on

Victory Day 411

Prime Minister's Message on Bangla Desh Victory Day 412 Indo-Bangla Desh Joint Rivers Commission Meet 412 Indo-Bangla Desh Cultural Co-operation Agreement 413

ROMANIA

Indo-Romanian Trade Protocol 414

(ii)

SEMINAR ON TRADE WITH EAST EUROPE

Sardar Swaran Singh's Address at Seminar on Trade with East

Europe 414

Planning Minister's Address to Seminar 416 Shri L. N. Mishra's Speech at Seminar on Trade with

East Europe 419

SPAIN

Indo-Spanish Trade and Co-operation Agreement 421

Joint Communique on Visit of Spanish Foreign Minister 422

TANZANIA

Indian Credit to Tanzania 423
Trade Agreement with Tanzania 423

THIRD ASIAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR

President Giri's Speech at Asia'72

Closing Ceremony 424

Foreign Trade Minister's Speech at Asia'72

Closing Ceremony 425
Foreign Trade Minister's Address at Regional
Trade Conference 427

UGANDA

Shri Surendra Pal Singh's Statement on Expulsion of First Secretary of Indian High Commission in Kampala 429
Lok Sabha Statement on Expulsion of First

Secretary in Kampala 429

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Prime Minister's Message on Fiftieth Anniversary of USSR 430

Sardar Swaran Singh's Message 431

UNITED KINGDOM

British Loan for Debt Relief 431

(iii)

AFGHANISTAN AUSTRIA USA BHUTAN UNITED KINGDOM CANADA NORWAY SLOVAKIA GERMANY INDIA NAMIBIA CYPRUS IRAN IRAQ JAPAN PAKISTAN VIETNAM OMAN ROMANIA SPAIN TANZANIA UGANDA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

AFGHANISTAN

Vice President Pathak's Speech at Banquet in Honour of Crown Prince and Princess of Afghanistan

The following is the text of the speech by the Vice President, Shri G. S. Pathak, at the banquet in honour of the Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Afghanistan at Rashtrapati Bhavan on December 4, 1972:

It gives me great pleasure to welcome Your Highnesses and other members of your party to this country on behalf of the Government and people of India. We remember with pleasure the visit that you paid to India two years ago. When our President visited Afghanistan in July this year, he received a very warm and cordial welcome. Such visits carry on the immemorial tradition of friendship between our two countries. Many of the ideas and mores which are today a part of Indian culture have come to us from or through Afghanistan. Similarly, Indian thought has greatly influenced Afghanistan. Our shared past is a long history of the intermingling of men and ideas.

This common approach of the two countries in the past finds its echo in the present day world, when our two countries, both non-aligned, are striving to work for peace and stability in this part of the world and to bring about greater co-operation between our two countries. Under the enlightened leadership of His Majesty the King, Afghanistan is progressing rapidly and becoming a factor for peace in this area.

It is gratifying to us to note that trade exchanges and economic and technical cooperation between our two countries are growing rapidly. The setting up of the Joint Indo-Afghan Commission for Economic. Trade and Technical Cooperation in June, 1969, during the visit of our Prime Minister to Afghanistan, was a landmark in the deve-

lopment of relations between our two countries. Technical personnel from India work in Afghanistan, and I believe their work- is appreciated. There are many Afghan students in India, and we welcome them. There is also a continuous and useful exchange of scholars and scientists betweenour two countries.

The Government and people of India have the highest respect and admiration for His Majesty the King as well as for Your Royal Highnesses. Your Highnesses' short sojourn in this country will, for the people of India, be a symbol of the desire of our, two countries to know each other better. We hope Your Royal Highnesses too will enjoy seeing something of the diversity of India. We greatly value this diversity of cultures, languages, modes of dress and religions in our country. At the same time, a basic common approach to problems, a certain quality of Indianness, and loyalty to the motherland unite all our people.

Thus, we heartily welcome Your Highnesses to India both because of the high esteem in which Your Highnesses are held in India and also because of the close and fraternal ties binding India and Afghanistan. We wish you a happy and useful sojourn in India. Wherever you go, you will find evidence of the feelings of our people for Afghanistan and for Your Royal Highnesses. Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, may I invite you to join me in a toast to the long life and health of Their Majesties the King and Queen of Afghanistan, to Their Royal Highnesses the Crown Prince and the Crown Princess of Afghanistan, to the welfare and prosperity of the people of Afghanistan and to continuing friendship between Afghanistan and India.

377

AFGHANISTAN INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC USA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

AUSTRIA

Credit from Austria

Following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on December 23, 1972 on the signing of the Indo-Austrian agreement for a credit to India:

An agreement giving India a credit of 12.15 million Austrian Schillings equivalent to Rs. 3.6 million in convertible currency Was signed on December 22 in Vienna by Austria's Foreign Minister, Mr. Kirchschlaeger, and the Indian Ambassador, Shri R. Jaipal.

This credit will be used for import of commodities and capital goods of Austrian origin.

The credit bears an interest of 2 per cent per annum and is repayable in 25 years ineluding grace period of seven years.

AUSTRIA USA INDIA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

BHUTAN

Parcel Post Agreement with Bhutan

The following is the text of a Press release issued in New Delhi on December 16, 1972 on the signing of an agreement on Parcel Post between India and Bhutan:

An Agreement on Parcel Post between-India and Bhutan was signed here today. The Agreement was signed by Shri H. N. Bahuguna, Union Minister of Communications. on behalf of India and Her Royal Highness Ashi Dechen Wangmo Wangchuck, Representative of His Majesty the King in the Ministry of Development, Bhutan, on behalf of Bhutan.

Bhutan is a Member of the Universal Postal Union from March 7, 1969 but is not a signatory to the Universal Parcel Post Agreement, This necessitated the execution of a bilateral agreement for the exchange of parcels between India and Bhutan.

The important features of the agreement are:

- 1. The exchange of parcels will be performed exclusively through the Offices of Exchange set up for the purpose. From the Indian side, the Office of Exchange will be Calcutta and in Bhutan it will be Phuntsholing.
- 2. The Postal charges between the two countries shall be the same as are applicable to the inland service of the originating country.
- 3. The parcels shall be subject to customs, import export and exchange control regulations in force from time to time in the two countries.
- 4. The parcel service between the two countries is likely to be introduced from February 1, 1973.

378

BHUTAN INDIA USA **Date**: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

Shri Bahuguna's Speech

Speaking at the signing ceremony, Shri Bahuguna said-

We have just witnessed a very historic event. The signing of the Parcel Post Agreement today is yet another landmark in the long 'history of mutual cooperation between the Postal Services of India and Bhutan. The Postal Service plays a dominent role in the economic and social life of a people. I am quite sure that new venture, the further extension of postal facilities between our two countries, will help further cement the ageold bonds of friendship and cooperation between our two countries.

The Agreement, which we have signed today, will enable the exchange of postal parcels between our two countries. The Parcel Post Services will help to bring our people closer to each other and lead to a greater degree of exchange of a variety of goods. It will also meet a long-felt social and cultural need. It will, doubtless, be made use of by business and trade, Government Departments and educational institutions and a wide variety of individuals from every walk of life. In view of this, and the very special relations that exist between our two countries, it has been agreed by both of us that parcels sent from either country to the other, will be charged for at inland rates and fees. We expect that the Parcel Post Service will be introduced with effect from 1st February, 1973 though we would have liked to start it even earlier.

This Agreement has been preceded by some important events in the history of the postal services of our two countries. Even long before Bhutan became a member of the Universal Postal Union in 1969, our two countries had been having special relations in the field of postal services too. Apart from our cooperation in the establishment of tele-

phone and telegraph services, we have entered into special bilateral agreements for the exchange of unregistered articles in 1962, registered letter mail articles in 1967 and money orders in May 1967. The telegraph money order service was recently introduced between out, two countries from 1st April. 1972. The mails exchanged between our two countries are given transmission by surface as well as by air. First class and surcharged second class mail are conveyed by air and the daily air services are made use of. We also exchange surface mail at a number of exchange points along our borders.

With this background, I am confident that the Parcel Post Service will prove to be popular and useful to the people of our two countries. History and Geography and traditions built by centuries of our close contacts have built up impregnable bonds of friendship and brotherhood between our two people. There have been close social, cultural and economic ties between us. I glad to be able to say that the postal services of our countries too have played a great role in the forging of this friendship. Be he the postman or the mail carrier, be he a jeep driver or a postmaster, we find him devoted to the post. Rain or shine, these men are always there, shouldering a wide variety of responsibilities and keeping up the selfless traditions of the Postal Services of our two countries.

Today, when we are entering a new phase' when we are embarking on a new venture, we do so with complete confidence in the men and women, who run our services, who value above all, the call of duty. I am quite certain that these men and women will strive and maintain an excellent post and telecommunication service between our two countries.

Your Royal Highness, it is indeed a great honour and privilege to be a partner in this new venture. It will be our endeavour to further the cooperation between the Postal Administrations of our two countries, and to provide for an efficient and useful postal service between India and Bhutan.

As members of the Universal Postal Union and friendly neighbours, it will also be our endeavour to cooperate mutually and promote the interest of international post.

Before I conclude, I would like to say that it has been an honour and a great pleasure to us to have Your Royal Highness and other distinguished members of your Delegation with us here, today. May I extend to Your Royal Highness and through you to His Majesty the King of Bhutan and the people of your country our very best wishes.

379

BHUTAN USA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

BHUTAN

Her Royal Highness Ashi Dechen Wangmo Wangehuk's Reply

Replying, Her Royal Highness said:

I am glad to have the Parcel Post Agreement signed today between India and Bhutan, which will be put into force with effect from February 1, 1973. The signing of this Agreement has been made possible today with the timely cooperation as extended by the people and the Government of India. I am satisfied that the contents of the Parcel Post Agreement have safeguarded the mutual interests of our two countries.

On this happy occasion, I take the opportunity to convey the good wishes and sincere greetings of our Government and people to you all gathered here and the people and Government of India.

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

CANADA

Assistance for Second Earth Satellite Station

The following is the text of a press release issued in New Delhi on December 30, 1972 on the signing of an agreement between India and Canada for a Canadian development loan of \$ 1.742 million and a grant of \$ 250,000 for meeting the foreign exchange needs of the Second Satellite Communications Earth Station:

Canada has agreed to give financial assistance to meet the foreign exchange needs of the Second Satellite Communications Earth Station to be set up at Dehra Dun, Uttar Pradesh.

An agreement for a Canadian Development Loan of \$1.742 million (Rs. 1.22 crores) and a grant. of \$250,000 (Rs. 0.17 crores) was signed here today.

The loan will be utilised for the purchase of goods and services under a contract signed with RCA of Canada. The grant will be used to secure additional equipment and services and to meet training installation engineering and other expenses.

The agreement was signed on behalf of India by Shri N. G. Kaul, Secretary, Department of Economic Affair-, and on behalf of Canada by the High Commissioner, Mr. Bruce M. Williams.

The first satellite earth station at Arvi (Poona) was also set up with Canadian assis-

tance of \$ 4 million. The equipment and services were also provided by RCA of Canada.

The second station will have considerably less imported equipment compared with the one at Arvi. Some of the major subsystems and some portions of the multiplex equipment which were imported earlier will now be available from indigenous sources.

The second earth station project is scheduled for commercial operation in 1975. It will further improve the international telecommunication facilities, will provide a standby to the Arvi earth station and will enable international T.V. relay to 'the northem region of India.

The loan from the Canadian International Development Agency is on the usual soft terms which Canada has been extending for the past six years. It is repayable over 50 years, including a ten-year grace period. and there are no interest, service or commitment charges.

380

CANADA INDIA USA **Date**: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Indo-Czechoslovakian Air Talks

The following is the text of the press release issued in New Delhi on December 6, 1972 on the conclsion of the talks between the air delegations of India and Czechoslovakia:

A memorandum relating to the operation

of air services between India and Czechoslovakia was signed here today between the air delegations of the two countries.

New arrangements concerning commercial cooperation between the two national carriers, Air India and Czechoslovak Airlines (CSA) have been arrived at to the mutual benefit of the two airlines.

The Indian delegation was led by Shri B. S. Gidwani, Deputy Director General of Civil Aviation and the Czechoslovak delegation by Mr. Stanislav Kreb, Director General of Civil Aviation of the Ministry of Transport, Czechoslovakia.

Under the agreement CSA will be permitted to operate on sectors Czechoslovakia-India, Athens-India, Beirut-India, Tehran-India and points beyond India to Singapore, Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur. Revenues on these sectors will be shared and the commercial partnership under the formula evolved between the two countries here today.

When Air India commences its operations to Prague, it will operate to Moscow or points through western Europe to U.K. and U.S.A. These operations will also be under a commercial partnership.

Earlier the delegation called on the Minister for Tourism and Civil Aviation, Dr. Karan Singh.

Dr. Karan Singh hoped that the agreement will pave way for new relationships between the two countries. India and Czechoslovakia, he said, had a long history of mutual friendship. The regular flights between the two countries will increase the flow of tourist traffic and establish new bonds of cooperation.

The leader of the Czechoslovak delegation said that they could now look forward to a new era of 'friendly cooperation'.

The ledaer of the Indian delegation, Shri B. S. Gidwani, Deputy Director General of Civil Aviation said that the agreement will help Air India to reestablish its commercial flights to Czechoslovakia. IleHe hoped that Air India will start operating to Czechoslovakia soon.

NORWAY SLOVAKIA INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC GREECE IRAN LEBANON REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE INDONESIA MALAYSIA RUSSIA CZECH REPUBLIC UNITED KINGDOM USA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Indo-FRG Agreement for Assistance to India

The following is the text of the press release issued in New Delhi on December 15, 1972 on the signing of an Inter-governmental agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and India for the extension to India by F.R.G. of assistance totalling DM 280 million:

The Federal Republic of Germany has extended to India assistance totalling

381

Rs. 63.28 crores (DM 280 million) for the year 1972-73. An inter-Governmental Agreement was signed at Bonn on December 14, 1972, at the end of the talks that were held between the delegations of the Government of India and of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. The Agreement was signed by the head of the Indian Delegation, Shri R. Tirumalai, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Finance (Economic Affairs Department), and Shri Saad M. Hashmi, Charge d'Affaires of India, on behalf of India, and by the Ministerialdirigent in Helga Steeg, head of the German Delegation, and Dr. Muller, Ministerialdirigent in the German Foreign Office, on behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The total amount of Rs. 63.28 crores will consist of the following components:

- i) Assistance for commodities for purchase of goods and services......Rs. 13.56 crores (DM 60 million)
- ii) Assistance for capital goods imports approved by the Indian Inter-Ministerial committee for capital goods. Rs. 6.78 crores (DM 30 million)
- iii) For projects to be mutually selected and for procurement of imports on an international bidding basis. Rs. 6.78 crores (DM 30 million)
- iv) Assistance for granting loans to small and Medium undertakings by the Industrial Finance Corporation, Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India and the National Small Industries Corporation . . Rs. 4.52 crores (DM 20 million)
- v) Debt relief and rescheduling. Rs. 31.64 crores (DM 140 million)

The total amount of debt relief of Rs. 31.64 crores (DM 140 million) consists of the following segments:

- (a) Rescheduling of debts by deferment of certain repayments of principal in respect of certain earlier West German credits maturing between April 1, 1972, and March 31, 1973.
- (b) Towards reduction of interest payments falling due between April 1, 1972, and March 31, 1973.
- (c) By way of liquidity assistance for meeting India's import requirements from any source.

TERMS OF ASSISTANCE

The amounts in items (i) to (iv) totalling Rs. 31.64 crores (DM 140 million) will be repayable in 30 years, including a grace period of 10 years, carrying a rate of 2 per cent.

The Agreement signed this year is marked by several important features of liberalisation following the declaration by the Federal Republic of Germany at the UNCTAD Session at Santiago. The rate of interest for new credits extended this year has been brought down from 2 1/2 to 2 per cent. The period of grace has been increased from 7 to 10 years. The debt relief afforded has increased from DM 110 million to DM 140 million. The terms and conditions for this debt relief have also been further softened.

The financial assistance under this Agreement is afforded within the framework of the Aid India Consortium. Opportunity was also availed of the Indian Delegation's visit 'to discuss other economic matters of mutual interest with the desire to strengthen the economic ties between the two countries.

The assistance of the Federal Republic of Germany is utilised by India for import of raw materials, components and other maintenance requirements for the economy and capital equipment for various industries like automobiles, chemicals, engineering, power and steel. Among the important projects now being implemented with the German Assistance are the Gujarat Aromaties Project, the Mico-Bosch Expansion Scheme the, Bihar Alloy Steel Project and

382

further projects posed for German assistance include the Travancore-Cochin Chemicals Caustic Soda Plant and the Modi Rubber Tyres and Tubes.

In addition, schemes for technical assistance were also reviewed and meaures to expedite the implementation of the on-going schemes were also formulated.

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Samar Sen's Speech on Namibia in Security Council

The following is the text of the statement by the Ambassador of India to the United Nation, Shri S. Sen, President of the Security Council, made in his capacity as the representative of India, in the Security Council debate on Namibia on December 6, 1972:

A close study of the evolution of the problem of Namibia discloses two important and closely related trends. The United Nations has decided, supported by an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, that no claims of the Government of South Africa can be sustained as regards Namibia and that, consequently, the United Nations should take over the territory and administer it. Along with this it was also decided that the United Nations' control over Namibia would be of temporary nature and that as soon as the proper machinery and other arrangements have been satisfactorily worked out, the United Nations will fade out of the picture and the Namibian people as a whole would be independent and exercise their full right of self-determination. In this context, we have listened to all the speakers who analysed the problem in depth and detail and we have been particularly impressed by the statements of various African Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors and of the President of the Council of Namibia and of the representative of SWAPO and of course of OAU. They all show a common concern

which we share. We have, of course, examined the report of Ambassador Esher and the Secretary General's written and oral comments on it with utmost care and sympathy. I do not think it is necessary at this stage to make detailed scrutiny of these papers. I shall rather confine myself to some general observations.

In the view of my delegation, Resolutions 309 and 319 while based on U.N. approach, did not make it clear either to 'the Secretary General, or subsequently, to his representative - directly or indirectly which of the two aspects of this problem was to be negotiated with the Government of South Africa through the contacts the Secretary General and his representative, was authorised to establish. In the circumstances, such contacts as were established were used for working towards a number of arrangements which might eventually and hopefully mean that the people of Namibia would exercise their inherent right of selfdetermination and independence, free from all coercion and through full political process of free discussion, free movement of people and without any or even distant implication that South African theory of homelands or of apartheid would be accepted.

U. N.'s DILEMMA

Once, we assume this interpretation of Resolutions 309 and 319, we may conclude that some progress on methodology, as reported by the Secretary General first and then later by Ambassador Esher has been made. However, there has been Do acceptance of the totality of the U.N. approach to this problem by the Government of South Africa and we are in a dilemma: on the one hand, we have to decide if without such an acceptance, further pursuit of the present

383

contacts on negotiations would not help the Government of South Africa rather than the United Nations, and on the other hand, we do not wish to give the Government of South Africa the possibility of suggesting that while it was prepared to move in a so-called pragmatic sense in the right direction, U.N. did not allow it an adequate opportunity.

In the view of my delegation this dilemma has been overcome by the present text of the draft resolution. Not only the wording of the resolution, but also the discussion that has taken place in the Council would make it absolutely clear to the Government of South Africa, that unless the approach of the United Nations to the problem is accepted, the scope for negotiations would indeed be limited if not completely eliminated. By fixing a time limit for the South African Government to make its position known to the Council in unequivocal and categorical terms, we help the Secretary General in pursuing such contacts as the Council is authorising him to undertake. If at the end of the process, the Council come to the conclusion that the regime at Pretoria will not abandon any of its obstinate obsessions, we would be in a much stronger position to say that all our efforts to bring South Africa to its senses through the new approach have failed and that we shall then have no option but to pursue other methods to achieve our goal and resolve. It is in this spirit that my delegation will support the draft moved by the distinguished Ambassador of Argentina. Meanwhile, we would hope that all states friendly to the Government of South Africa would influence that Government to realise that if she persisted in opposing the United Nations in every facet of this problem, she would not only be justly condemned by the world community as a whole but could expect much greater active opposition by the liberation movements in Namibia itself and such stronger action by the United

ARRANGEMENTS FM NAMIBIA

While we are discussing the fundamental nature of this problem, we in our delegation think that time has come to take a more careful look-at the various organisations and arrangements which are now concerned with the problem of Namibia. On the one hand, we have the Council for Namibia which is charged with 'the task of administration and at the same time expected to be concerned with the future developments towards independence and self-deter

mination. Then we have the Commissioner for Namibia to carry out simultaneously the wishes of the Secretary General and such mandates as the Council of Namibia realistically may give to him. In addition, we have authorised the Secretary General and his representatives to establish contacts with the Government of South Africa for eventual self-determination and independence for the people of Namibia as a whole. Furthermore, we have the Security Council together with its sub-committee to exercise total supervision over the entire situation. Lastly, there are the Committee of Twentyfour and other related bodies which, from time to time, discuss the problem of Namibia. My delegation does not believe either that the division of work in the various places has been worked out and coordinated satisfactorily or that the present diffused arrangements can bring about the kind of solution we all desire. I mention this problem not in the hope of finding a solution immediately, but simply to bring it to the notice of the members of the Council, so that in the near future and with the full cooperation of the Secretary General, some better and more effective arrangements could be worked out.

In conclusion, as I have stated already we shall vote for the resolution and are confident that the Secretary General's next report will give his views clearly and categorically in a way which would help us decide if South Africa has mended its course and its attitude or whether she is bent on flouting the general will of the international community, regardless of the cost she and others, particularly the Namibians, may have to pay. Finally, we wish the freedom movements of Namibia greater success and assure them of our total support.

384

INDIA NAMIBIA USA SOUTH AFRICA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Samar Sen's Speech in Debate in United Nations General Assembly on Middle East

The following is the text of the statement by Ambassador, Shri Samar Sen, in the Middle East debate in the U.N. General Assembly on December 7, 1972:

I ask myself why so many delegations are taking the floor on a subject on which, despite repeated discussion, there has been no progress and on which the facts are wellknown and well-established. Is it because of the feeling that silence on a matter of such vital interest to international peace and security might be misconstrued as lack of interest or sympathy? Or, is it because recent developments require reaction? Or, is, it because the delegations feel that, even in the gloomy and frustrating atmosphere in which the United' Nations finds itself, there is still-some hope for action by the Assembly? I believe that these questions and their answers are very much in the minds of all those who are speaking on this problem.

Lack of efforts is certainly not the reason for absence of progress for the past so many years. Last year when the Assembly adopted its Resolution 2799, a delegation of four African Heads of State, mandated by the O.A.U. were visiting the Middle-East. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General, following the Assembly's Resolution 2799, established contact both with the Chairman of this group as also with the Chairman of the Committee of 10 African Heads of State to whom the group of four reported. Apart from these efforts, there. were also further discussions in the Security Council. However, all attempts to make progress were frustrated by Israel's attitude. She refused to give a clear and categorical reply to the memorandum Mr. Jarring had

submitted on February 8 of last year. Egypt replied to this memorandum both positively, and in detail. Israel interpreted the proposal made by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, in a manner that made it meaningless and futile. Israel also did not co-operate with - and in fact obstructed - the work of the African Heads of State.

OBSTACLE IN SEARCH FOR PEACE

This intransigent attitude of Israel had been clear even in the past and was further confirmed by the developments last year. Speaking in the general debate on this subject last December, we said: "In essence, Israel is not prepared to give a commitment that it will withdraw from Arab territories occupied by it. The representatives of Israel have themselves said so. It is clear for all of us to see that that is the main obstacle today in the search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle-East."

This position remains unchanged. Behind its powerful military shield and the large financial contributions and investments coming mostly from outside, a perpetual Israeli presence is very much in the minds of the Israeli authorities by settling its citizens there and by providing them with assistance and services which they use in exploiting the resources of these territories. Recently, the Prime Minister of Israel has been reported as saying: "We can come to an agreement with our Arab neighbours if the principle is accepted that the 1967 border will not be restored." Similar statements have been heard also in other responsible Israeli quarters, even to the extent of suggesting that should the General Assembly adopt the resolution which 19 powers have proposed, Israel would no longer consider itself bound by the Resolution 242 of the Security Council.

Since the time of Ambassador Jarring's February memorandum, Israel has clearly been attempting to resile from the commitments it made under that Resolution. It appears to us that Israel is now trying to transfer to the General Assembly the onus and the opprobrium of what she wishes to

do. Only a few days ago, the representative of Israel declared from this rostrum: "This year the General Assembly might even bring about a destruction of the only agreed basis for United Nations effort. It might create a complete void as fat, as the United Nations action for peace in the Middle-East is concerned." This attitude of Israel makes the crisis in the Middle-East even more serious. Resolution 242 has generally been accepted as providing an equitable framework for the solution of this problem, and by challenging it now, under whatever pretext. Israel would not only destroy the possibility of any progress through IN, United Nations

385 but would simply be claiming for itself a free hand.

Along with this negative and destructive attitude of Israel, she is persistently consolidating her position in the occupied territories to the total detriment of Arab and Palestinian interests. The- consequent threats to international peace and security, which are increasing daily and at times ominously, are evident everywhere. The military lines as they exist today cannot, 'therefore, in these circumstances, be considered as being secure from erupting into active hostilities.

Addressing the Assembly on the 3rd of October, the Foreign Minister of India asked: "Why the Permanent Members of the Security Council have failed to meet for months in the face of this deteriorating situation and this grave problem?" We believe that the Permanent Members have a responsibility to safeguard the solution envisaged in Resolution 242 and to promote it in every way. Now that detente is clearly evident in the relationship between the Big Powers, its beneficial effects should also extend to all other regions of the world, in particular the Middle-East. Their co-operation in bringing about a just and lasting peace in accordance with Security Council Resolutions is both necessary and urgent. We on our part continue to believe that the problem of West Asia cannot be solved without respect for the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and the

principle of restoration of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

TRAGEDY OF PALESTINE

The precarious situation in the Middle-East remains in perpetual movement, full of hazards. The unforeseen and the unexpected seem, more often than not, to have the upper-hand in the development of this most complex of problems. The tragedy of Palestine goes beyond its geographical borders and require more than ever a just and equitable solution. Failure to act and to leave matters to work themselves out could have serious tragic consequences with and beyond the Middle-East.

If, after more than five years of the Israeli attack on Arab lands, we still look to this forum for a solution, we do so in the hope that the possibility of peaceful solution provided for in the Charter and Resolution 242 could yet be applicable. We believe that the General Assembly understands and acknowledges this. Consequently, we should like to think that the Assembly, in one more effort to make Israel follow, a path of peace and reason, will readily adopt the resolution suggested by 19 Powers, together with the accepted amendments.

INDIA USA ISRAEL EGYPT CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Samar Son's Statement on Cyprus at Security Council

The following is the text of the statement by the Permanent Representative of India, Shri S. Sen, in the Security Council

on December 12, 1972 on the U.N. operations in Cyprus:

As no other delegation wishes to speak on this subject, I should now like to make a statement in my capacity as the representative of India.

We have carefully studied the Secretary-General's latest report on the United Nations operation in Cyprus, and listened with great interest to comments of the principal parties as also of the Members of the Council. During our meeting on this subject in June, we had welcomed the re-opening of the talks between the parties. We then expressed the hope that the cooperation, understanding and restraint shown by the parties, which had made this development possible, would be further expanded to ensure success of the resumed talks.

We are glad to note from the Secretary-General's report that Ibis welcome atmosphere continues to prevail. Several rounds of talks have already taken place, and some more are planned. Understandably, only limited progress has been achieved while a

386

number of Important issues is still to be solved, existing difficulties are being approached in a reasonable and resolute manner. And most important of all, a genuine desire exists to settle differences through peaceful negotiations.

The observations of the Secretary-General on the progress of the talks so far are most encouraging. We wish sincerely that the spirit of co-operation among the parties will grow with great speed. We have always believed that in the specific problem of Cyprus a genuine desire to settle differences through peaceful negotiations, and direct contacts between pal-ties concerned for this purpose, provide the best means for solving problems. The Secretary-General and his representatives and all his officers and others working in Cyprus or on the problem of Cyprus deserve our appreciation for their efforts to this end. With the continued co-

operation of all the parties, we should like to think that these efforts would bring about a Much more significant progress.

At the same time, we must keep in mind the difficulties which still remain and the new difficulties which may appear and further complicate our common search for a solution. To guard against any sliding back, we consider it essential that all efforts should be made to reduce, if not altogether remove, the existing tensions, and to ensure that nothing should be done which may exacerbate the atmosphere both in and around the island. We should like any kind of confrontation to be replaced by a sincere spirit of co-operation and conciliation in order that normalization of conditions in the island can be achieved, and so helping the efforts of 'the Secretary-General. We note in this context that the Government of Cyprus has indicated its readiness to implement the policy of general, reciprocal de-confrontation.

We Share the Secretary-General's con viction that a great majority of the people of Cyprus long for peace and desire fruitful and satisfactory outcome of the inter-communal talks. Harmony and co-operation through peaceful discussion of existing differences is, indeed, the only way for the people of Cyprus, who have always lived together in their multi-racial and multireligious society, like the people of many other countries.

We have always supported the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. We continue to believe that a just and harmonious resolution of different interests is essential for preserving peace and security, not only within the island but also in the region as a whole. A successful solution of the problem in Cyprus will have a healthy effect in areas far beyond its shores. The best path for such a solution lies through negotiations between parties, without external pressure or interference.

In this spirit and in this conviction, my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in Document S 10847. In the existing atmosphere of renewed hope,

but continuing hazards the Secretary-General has recommended that the United Nations peace keeping forces in Cyprus should be maintained for a further limited period. The Governments concerned have concurred with this recommendation. We join other delegations in hoping that an early and agreed satisfactory conclusion of the current talks will soon make further extension of U.N.F.Y.C.I.P. unnecessary.

INDIA CYPRUS USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC MALI

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Samar Sen's Statement at U N on Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security

Following is the text of the statement made by Ambassador S.Sen at the U.N. First Committee, on December 12,1972,on the subject of "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security".

The subject before us is so fundamental and so closely related with the purposes and principles of the Charter 'that practically all speakers referred to it directly or indirectly during the general debate that took place at the beginning of our current session. My Foreign Minister indicated on 3rd October the Indian view on the atmosphere of understanding spreading over several continents and particularly among the great powers.

387

He made three special points:

First, our Charter, our many declarations relating to peace, security and friendly

relations and the various resolutions we adopt in this field, should be considered in their totality and must be related to all the basic considerations underlying the solemn documents we have adhered to.

Secondly, he pointed out a recent encouraging phenomenon has been the greater and more determined pursuit of bilateral solutions to many perennial international problems. There are many examples of this in areas as widely separated as Central Europe, North West and Central Africa, South and East Asia where agreements have been reached for solving a number of problems through the efforts of the countries directly concerned. Such settlements reached in full accordance with the mutual interests of the parties directly concerned and bilaterally in accordance with the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter can, in certain cases, be of better service in strengthening peace, security and justice.

Thirdly, our Foreign Minister emphasised such specific problems as disarmament, colonialism with racial discrimination as its handmaid and the serious problem of development including the urgent need to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor countries - all these problems were mentioned in the context of international peace, security, friendly relations and co-existence.

My purpose in taking the floor this morning will be to review briefly out work in the light of developments which have taken place in the last three months and indicate again briefly the lines which, in our opinion, we may profitably pursue in the near future it being understood, of course, that the momentum which has developed in working towards better international relations has to be maintained by all possible means. This is why we consider that annual discussion on the implementation of the declaration on the strengthening of international security is a useful contribution for keeping up the speed and direction of the present welcome trends.

For the last two years many speaker have emphasised the political significance of

the declaration. This declaration, along with other documents in related field adopted at the 25th Session, can be regarded as a body of principles towards which the community of nations could move in a peaceful and organised manner.

While there is a close interdependence between all these declarations and resolutions and while each document maintains its own identity, the basic declaration on the strengthening of international security is unique in that it goes beyond generalities and attempts to provide recommendations of a concrete nature.

Resolution 2880 (XXVI) went a little further and emphasised the need for the declaration to be implemented in its entirety through U.N.'s machinery and capabilities and identified some of the continuing problems related to international peace and security.

The tendency to view international life as one which is amendable to bi-polar or multi-polar balances downgrades the initiatives towards international peace and security which he outside the strategic calculations of the super and great power relationships. With a view to defining the new quality of relationship between State Members of the UN, the Lusaka Declaration of the Third Conference of Heads of State or Governments of non-aligned countries stated the democratisation of international relations is, therefore, an imperative necessity of our times and further that they would take measures "to assert the right of all countries to participate in international relations on an equal footing which is imperative for the democratisation of international relations". Implicit in this proposition is the recognition that an absolute power in a military and economic sense does not confer on anybody absolute responsibilities. Nor does it confer on any country or even a group of powerful countries the role or roles of guarantors of international order in line with global perspectives as perceived or defined by them.

Specifically, in our part of the world in a sincere search for durable peace and

good neighbourly relations and on the basis of the realities of the Sub-continent we opened negotiations with Pakistan which culminated in the Simla Agreement of July 2, 1972. This Agreement proves that direct

388

negotiations provide a more dependable means by which problems can be solved to the benefit of the vast population of the region. The two Governments agreed that all problems between them should be settled by peaceful means through mutual consultations. The leaders of India and Pakistan have pledged full support and expressed their complete determination for the faithful Implementation of the Simla Agreement. For this purpose, further accords are to be arrived by a mutual consultation and discussion. The use of force has been totally abjured. An overwhelming majority of distinguished Chairmen of Delegations had, in their addresses during the general debate, welcomed the trends towards peace in the sub-continent resulting form the Simla Agreement.

Since the conclusion of the Simla Agreement, some of the outstanding problems have been solved. The line of control in Jammu and Kashmir has been agreed upon and the task of delineation on the ground is completed through many rounds of consultations between the military and other authorities of India and Pakistan. The withdrawal of each others' troops to agreed areas, we are confident, will take place soon. There has been a significant exchange of prisoners and affected civilians between the two countries.

The Assembly has taken some steps during this session to contribute towards the establishment of peace in the area. Thus, it has considered without a vote that the People's Republic of Bangla Desh is eligible for membership in the United Nations, and has expressed the desire that it will be admitted to membership in the U.N. at an early date. This reflects the reality that nearly 100 countries have recognised the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bangla Desh. So long as Bangla Desh is

not recognised by Pakistan, the solution of the other pending problems including the return of civilian and military personnel which is important for the establishment of a climate of tranquility and peace in the area, is difficult to accomplish. The simple truth of the matter is that negotiations among the three parties can only take place on the basis of mutual recognition of each others' sovereignty and equality and steps toward. this end are yet to be taken. In this context, so long as Bangla Desh is kept out of the U.N. for whatever reason, the full restoration-of peace in the area would be retarded and we depend upon the international community to rectify this situation.

The admission of Bangla Desh to the U.N. would be a further step in the direction of universality towards which important pi-ogress was made last year. Other developments in Europe appear to make us hope that the exclusion of important States such as the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic would no longer continue to detract from further attainment of the purposes and principles of the Charter. In these circumstances, it should be a matter of deep concern to all of us that the eighth largest nation in the world and an important non-aligned developing Asian country has not yet been able to take its rightful place in the U.N.

The adoption during this Session of the First Committee of the resolution establishing an ad hoc committee to examine practical issues relating to the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace is a contribution to the creation of areas which will be free from great power military rivalries and intervention and which will bring about the removal of military bases conceived in that context. This legitimate regional effort for strengthening collective international security without military alliances responds to our sincere wish that Permanent Members of the Security Council, other major maritime users of the Indian Ocean, interested littoral and hinterland states, would cooperate in the work of the proposed committee in order to give meaning and substance to 'the declaration.

In the Middle-East, threats to international peace and security are increasing daily and at times ominously. They illustrate clearly the relevance of the principles contained in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. We remain convinced that the problem cannot be solved without respect for the principle of the restoration of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Because these principles have still to be applied and respected that the Middle-East. situation remains precarious and full of increasing hazards. We hope that the beneficial effects of great powers detente would also extend

389

to other regions of the world and, in particular, to the Middle-East. In one more effort to make Israel to follow the path of peace and reason, the General Assembly adopted Resolution No. 2949 (XXVII) with an overwhelming majority only a few days ago. We consider that this widely supported Resolution gives Israel yet another opportunity to change its negative and destructive attitude and to find a peaceful solution in accordance with the Security Council Resolution 242.

In the field of colonialism and racialism, the specific recent recommendation of the Security Council and also the Resolution on Zimbabwe in the Assembly, held out some hope of progress but much will clearly depend on the attitude first and foremost of Portugal and South Africa and, to a great extent, on their friends and allies.

The slow pace of efforts towards general and universal disarmament especially nuclear disarmament under effective international control is tending to be offset by heavy investment in technically superior weapons of destruction and by a fierce race for armaments which shows no signs of slackening and is, indeed, using up our resources more and mole, resources which could be used beneficially for the good of mankind. A world disarmament conference with proper mind adequate preparation would contribute to these objectives and we welcome the steps

taken at this Session to bring about such a conference.

The provisions of the Charter and the different mechanism included in it should be seen as forming part of an integrated whole. All aspects of the U.N. Charter are interrelated as is evident both from the preamble and the first chapter. Indeed, an examination of the conflicts facing the international community or of explosive situations show that in the past unfortunately there has been a tendency to cite the Charter selectively in order to suit this or that State without analysing the problem as a whole and from all aspects. Such an approach does not encourage the harmonising of actions in the solution of specific and difficult problems. For this purpose also the principles of universality should be strengthened and at the same time it is necessary for the organs of the U.N. to reflect more equitably the composition of its membership so that their effectiveness may increase.

In this background in which I have deliberately left out such well-recognized problems as the 2nd development strategy, the ever widening gap between the developed and developing countries that a group of non-aligned countries and a significant number of Latin American States have drafted the Resolution contained in Document A/C 11640, some Socialist countries have also indicated their welcome co-sponsorship to this Document. The Resolution while reaffirming the continuing validity of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and the need for its full implementation is also timely for it is in time with the evolving contemporary international situation. In singling out the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the sponsors have no intention of detracting from the great importance of other major declarations such as on friendly relations and others.

We hope the processes envisaged in the Resolution would receive general support. We are confident that with the termination of military hostilities in Vietnam which have continued for so long and so cruelly and unnecessarily, the pattern for peaceful co-existence for which we have been striving so long would become a greater reality.

Finally, a new equation of relationship among states is emerging all over the world and many national Governments are adjusting their policies to this changing situation. While all this is welcome and healthy, we would do well whenever we can to keep in mind the basic principles of our Charter and Declarations and Resolutions and move forward without international conflict but in a spirit of co-operation and co-existence for carrying out the tasks for which this great organisation was established 27 years ago. And these tasks still remain unfulfilled.

390

INDIA USA ZAMBIA PAKISTAN PERU GERMANY CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC ISRAEL ZIMBABWE PORTUGAL SOUTH AFRICA VIETNAM

Date: Dec 01, 1972

India-Iran Air Talks

The following is the text of a press release issued in New Delhi on December 14, 1972 on the conclusion of the air talks between the delegations of India and Iran:

The delegations of the Government of India and Iran have drawn up an agreed text on an air transport agreement to replace the old agreement of 1960 which ceased to be effective from February 1971, in their meetings held here from December 11 to 14, 1972. The route schedule to be annexed to the agreement and other associated documentation will be drawn up at a later meeting.

The Indian delegation was led by Shri N. Sahgal, Secretary, Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation and the Iranian delegation by Mr. Ezedine Kazemi of the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

IRAN INDIA USA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

IRAO

Visit of Iraqi Minister of Planning

The following is the text of the Press Note issued in New Delhi on December 23, 1972 on the conclusion of the visit to India of H.E. Dr. Jewad Hashim, Minister of Planning of the Republic of Iraq:

HE. Dr. Jewad Hashim, Minister of Planning of the Republic of Iraq, visited India from 17 to 23 December, 1972, at the invitation of Shri D. P. Dhar, Minister of Planning, Government of India. He was accompanied by Dr. Amer Khayatt, Director General, National Centre for Engineering and Architectural Consultancy, Mr. Hamed Y. Humadi, Director General, National Centre for Consultancy and Management Development, and Mr. Qahtan Lutfi Ali, Director General of the Ministry of Planning.

H.E. Dr. Jewad Hashim was received by the President of the Republic of India, and called on Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister for External Affairs, Shri H. R. Gokhale, Minister for Petroleum & Chemicals, Shri S. Mohan Kumararnangalam, Minister for Steel & Mines, Shri C. Subramaniam, Minister for Industrial Development, Shri L. N. Mishra, Minister for Foreign Trade and Shri Mohan Dharia, Minister of State for Planning.

The discussions were centred on mutual cooperation in the fields of planning and economic development. It was agreed that a Joint Planning Committee would be set up with the objective of studying and utilising the planning activities of the two countries for mutual benefit.

It was agreed that the consultancy organisations in India and Iraq, which had preliminary discussions during this visit, would hold further discussions with a view to arriving at specific collaboration arrangements for mutual benefit.

The Iraqi side indicated their requirements for experts in planning and other fields. The Indian side agreed to assist to the maximum extent possible to meet the Iraqi requirements.

The Iraqi Minister for Planning expressed his appreciation of the hospitality and cooperation extended to them in India.

391

IRAQ INDIA USA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

JAPAN

Indo-Japanese Collaboration Agreement Extended

Following press release was issued in New Delhi on December 5, 1972 on the exchange of letters between India and Japan extending the Indo-Japanese collaboration agreement on Khopoli and Mandya Projects: India and Japan today exchanged letters for extending the validity of the Indo-Japanese Agreement on Khopoli (Maharashtra) and Mandya (Mysore) projects at a special function held here at Krishi Bhavan. The letters were signed by Shri T. P. Singh, Union Agriculture Secretary, and Mr. T. Kojima, Ambassador of Japan to India, on behalf of their respective countries.

The Governments of India and Japan have jointly collaborated in setting up four extension centres located at Arrah (Bihar), Vyara (Gujarat), Khopoli (Maharashtra) and Mandya (Mysore). The agreements for these centres - one for Arrah and Vyara and the other for Khopoli and Mandya -- were signed in 1968. The term of the centres Arrah and Vyara was extended for a period of three years through exchange of letters held in March, 1972.

The term of the other two centres at Mandya and Khopoli is expiring this month. It has been agreed to extend the period of collaboration for these centres by another period of three years upto December, 1975.

Under the present agreement covering the two centres at Mandya and Khopoli, the aim of the extension centres is to promote agricultural production by conducting trials on agricultural techniques and extending their results; giving technical training to Indian agricultural instructors, technicians and farmers, and conducting trials and demonstrations through improved machinery and implements and extending the results of such trials.

However, a new direction is proposed to be given to the joint collaboration programme by taking up additional activities like adaptive research trials with the help of a properly equipped laboratory to solve problems of pests and soil testing, seed qualities, water and fertiliser as also problems and trials of agricultural implements;, evolving soil and water management practices for adoption by farmers; land shaping, levelling and layout for irrigation on a pilot basis for farmers; pest surveillance to promote prophylactic measures on the basis of

pest and disease forecasting and plant protection measures; establishment of model machinery hiring centres to promote mechanised farming on small farms; training of Indian personnel in Japan and India; training of farmers and extension workers in modern farming methods and use of agricultural machinery, and mixed farming aid multiple cropping, wherever possible and necessary according to local needs and in the light of Japanese experience.

JAPAN INDIA LATVIA USA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

NORWAY

Agreement for Technical Co-operation

The following is the text of the Press Note issued in New Delhi on December 6, 1972 on the signing of a general Technical Co-operation agreement between Norway and India:

A general Technical Cooperation Agreement between Norway and India was signed here today to facilitate the flow of technical assistance to India for various development projects.

Under the agreement Norway has agreed to provide the services of Norwegian experts, ancillary equipment and training

392 awards for Indians selected for training in Norway.

The agreement, which will be valid-till March 31, 1977, was signed on behalf of Norway by Mr. R. K. Andresen, Director

General, Norwegian Agency for International Development, and on behalf of India by Shri J. R. Hiremath, Joint Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs.

A Norwegian Team has been in the Indian capital for discussions with various Ministries in regard to evaluation and future scope of development assistance by Norway in the fishing industry and the family planning sector. The discussions also covered the supply of certain commodities like fertilizers.

In the last two decades, the Government of Norway has been providing assistance for the development of fisheries--in Kerala, Mysore and Tamil Nadu. These projects have been taken over by Indian authorities since April this year.

The Governments of Norway and India are now considering new programmes of cooperation on a four-year cycle basis from 1973 to 1976. The new proposals include Norwegian assistance for the supply of equipment for fisheries development and for construction of survey and research vessels in India. Norway is prepared to supply fertilisers and provide financial support for the postpartum and mother - child health programmes launched by the Government of India in various States.

NORWAY INDIA USA **Date**: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Prime Minister's Message on Anniversary of Ceasefire

The following is the text of the Prime

Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhis message to the nation on the anniversary of ending of armed conflict with Pakistan on December 17, 1972:

On this day last year, the armed conflict with Pakistan was brought to an end on our initiative. At present our Armed Forces are engaged in withdrawal in accordance with the Simla Agreement. The ceasefire last year and the withdrawal of our forces this year symbolise the deep desire of this country to live in peace. We hope that military conflict and confrontation will be a matter of the past. Lot us dedicate our effort to building a structure of durable peace on the sub-continent based on absolute equality, mutual respect and cooperation. While we bend our energies in a united manner to solve the problems of the development of our country, let us recall something of the discipline and sense of dedication which all sections of our people showed in the face of the unprecedented crisis which faced us barely a year ago. I should like 'to take this opportunity to convey the appreciation of the Government to all members of our Defence Forces and of our paramilitary forces. Their valour and sacrifice in defence of our land and for the cause of human liberty will long be remembered. The nation is proud not only of their professional skill but of their devotion 'To human values, their dedication, to national duty and their discipline in war and peace. I should also like to pay homage to all those who lost their lives or limbs We share in the sorrow of their families.

My best wishes are with our Defence Services, para-military Forces and Defence workers. Let our entire people devote themselves to the cause of our social and economic advancement. Jai Hind.

393

PAKISTAN USA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Foreign Minister's Statement on the Thako Chak Issue

The Minister of External Affairs Sardar Swaran Singh made the following statement in the Lok Sabha on December 8, 1972 on the Thako Chak issue:

I told the House yesterday that serious efforts were being made to settle the outstanding differences in regard to the delineation of the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir. I can now inform the House that these efforts have been successful. The Army Chiefs of India and Pakistan met at Lahore yesterday. At the end of the meeting they issued the following joint statement and I quote from it:

"General Sam Manekshaw met with General Tikka Khan once again at Lahore on December 7, 1972. The meeting lasted 'three hours and was held in an atmosphere of goodwill and mutual understanding.

"The two Chiefs were able to compose the differences that existed and are directing their senior military commanders Lt. Gen. P. S. Bhagat and Lt. Gen. Abdul Hameed Khan to meet at Suchetgarh on December 11, 1972 and finalise the delineation of the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir as adjusted by them (two Chiefs). This line of control will commence from Chhamb Sector and end in the Turtok Sector (Partapur Sector)."

Honourable Members will appreciate that what was involved in the negotiations which concluded in Lahore yesterday was not a territorial question. It involved the acceptance by Pakistan of a position which India had held all along, namely, That there was a basic difference between the border dividing the State of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan and the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir.

We are naturally glad that in the interest of not merely the Simla Agreement but of future relations between the two countries in the spirit of this Agreement, Pakistan has recognised, at least by implication, the validity of our stand. The consequence of this fact is likely to be lost if we think merely in terms of territory. In Lahore, our Chief of the Army Staff insisted that the question of Thako, Chak had to be settled in terms of its own merits.

The Honourable Members will appreciate that the delineation of the line of control consisted in the acceptance or rejection by either side of claims made on the basis of military positions on the day of the ceasefire, namely, 17th December 1971. Once Pakistan agreed to settle the question of Thako Chak, our Chief of the Army Staff reviewed some of the claims which Pakistan had earlier made. As a gesture in the interest of peace, we settled some of these claims and this also resulted in the rationalisation of the line of control, by minor adjustment.

Finally, the Hon'ble Members will appreciate that the essence of all negotiations being conducted by us is not to depict the solution of problems in negotiation as total victory or total defeat for one side or other. In fact, it is wiser to say that in the interest of further implementation of the Simla Agreement, the Agreement reached in Lahore yesterday is a victory for both, and if I may add defeat for none.

PAKISTAN USA INDIA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

PAKISTAN

Foreign Minister's Statement on Finalisation of Line of Control in J & K

The following is the text of the statement of the Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh in Lok Sabha on December 12, 1972 on the finalisation of the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir:

Mr. Speaker Sir,

Hon'ble Members will recall my statement in the Lok Sabha on December 8 regarding the outcome of the meeting between the Chiefs of Army Staff of India and Pakistan held at Lahore on December 7, 1972. In pursuance of the decisions taken in that meeting the senior military commanders of the two sides completed the task of finalising the maps showing the delineated line of control in Jammu and Kashmir

394

and submitted their agreed delineation of the line of control to their respective Governments for approval. The approval of the Pakistan Government was received in the evening of December 11 and approval of the Government of India was transmitted to them the same evening. The following announcement was made in New Delhi and Islamabad

"The line of Control has been delineated in Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with the Simla Agreement of July 2, 1972 and that it has 'the approval of both Governments. Adjustments of ground positions will be carried out to conform to the line of control approved by both Governments within a period of 5 days from the date of this announcement.

The broad description of the line of control resulting from the ceasefire of December 17, 1971 in Jammu and Kashmir as delineat-

ed on maps along its entire length is laid on the Table of the House. This line has been delineated on 19 Mosaic maps commencing from the Chhamb sector on the international border and ending in Turtok-Partapur sector in the north. This line of control in Jammu and Kashmir has been determined through bilateral negotiations between India and Pakistan. As Hon'ble Members would recall in accordance with the terms of the Simla Agreement, this line will be respected by both sides, neither side shall alter it unilaterally and both sides shall refrain from the threat or use of force in violation of this line.

I informed the House on December 8 that the controversy over the small pocket of Thako Chak about 1 1/2 square miles in area in the occupation of Pakistan, had been resolved. Once Pakistan agreed to withdraw its troops from Thako Chak, we agreed, as a gesture of goodwill, to rationalise the line by minor adjustment of mutual claims. In the process, we withdrew our earlier claim in respect of the villages of Dhum and Ghikot, situated along the line of control, amounting to about 0.45 square miles in area.

BROAD DETAILS OF THE LINE OF CONTROL

- (a) From MANAWAR TAWI NW 605550 the Line of Control runs North West upto a point 3 miles West of JHANGAR (with CHHAMB inclusive to PAKISTAN), from where it turns North Eastwards to MITHIDHARA NR 2619, thence North and North West-wards upto PUNCH River at NR 052669 (approximately 6 miles South West of PUNCH).
- (b) From there the Line again turns North
 Eastwards and thence North upto
 JARNI GALI (inclusive to INDIA) in
 GULMARG Secter, thence Westwards
 passing through MINDI GALI (inclusive
 to INDIA) upto PIR KANTHI (inclusive to PAKISTAN), thence Northwards
 passing through CHHOTA KAZI NAG
 (inclusive to INDIA) approximately
 7 miles North West of URI, upto

KAIYAN in LIPA Valley (inclusive to INDIA) thence the Line of Control runs Westwards upto RICHHMAR GALI with KATRAN XI GALI inclusive to PAKISTAN and the WANJAL Ridge and CHAK MUQAM Heights inclusive to INDIA.

- (c) From RICHHMAR GALI, the Line of Control runs Northwards passing West of TITHWAL upto 3 miles North of KERAN, thence turning North Eastwards upto LUNDA GAI I (inclusive to INDIA), thence Eastwards to HAR-MARGI Village in KEL Sector (inclusive to PAKISTAN), DURMAT in KANZALWAN Sector (inclusive to INDIA) and heights 14236, 15460 and KAROBAL GALI in MINIMARG Sector (all inclusive to INDIA), thence along NERIL (inclusive to INDIA), BREIL-MAN (inclusive to PAKISTAN), and North of CHET in the KARGIL Sector, upto CHORBATLA in TURTOK Sector.
- (d) From there the Line of Control runs North Eastwards to THANG (inclusive to INDIA) thence Eastwards joining the Glaciers.

395

PAKISTAN INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PAKISTAN

Joint Statement by the Governments of India and Pakistan

Following is the text of the Joint Statement issued by the Governments of India and Pakistan at 2100 hours IST on

December 20, 1972:

This is a Joint Statement by the Indian and Pakistan Governments being issued simultaneously in New Delhi and Islamabad.

The Chiefs of Army Stiff of India and Pakistan have reported to their respective Governments 'that their forces have been withdrawn to their sides the international border in conformity with the Simla Agreement.

As reported on December 17, 1972, adjustment of ground positions of both sides to conform to the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir had been carried out with the exception of a few positions in the northern area of Jammu and Kashmir where it was held up due to heavy snowfall. Adjustment of these positions will be carried out as soon as the weather conditions permit.

PAKISTAN INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PARLIAMENT

Foreign Minister's Speech Initiating Debate on International Situation

Following is the, text of the speech of the Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh in the Lok Sabha on December 7, 1972 on international situation:

Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House do consider the present international situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto."

The international situation over the last year or so has definitely been moving towards relaxation of tension, and a general atmosphere of detente has been introduced almost in all important centres where formerly there was an atmosphere of conflict and confrontation.

EUROPE

The most important region in this respect is Europe. In the European context, there was general atmosphere of confrontation between the socialist group of countries and Western Europe. There were the pacts which were very active, namely, the N.A.T.O. and the Warsaw Pact, and-there was the question of two Germanys. These were matters which were the focal point for tension and of confrontation. Over some months now, the situation has radically changed in Europe. The main credit for this goes to the policy first initiated, and then vigorously pursued, by the Federal Republic of Germany under the leadership of Chancellor Willy Brandt. The signing of the Moscow Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the U.S.S.R. and, later on, 'the conclusion of the Warsaw Treaty, paved the way for relaxation of tension; and, acceptance of the existing boundaries in Europe removed one sensitive source of continued tension and uncertainty. The subsequent events have shown that this policy pursued by Chancellor Willy Brandt had been approved not only by the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany, but there has been people's support to this, as demonstrated by the massive victory that Chancellor Willy Brandt has achieved in the recent elections that have taken place. The agreement between German Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of Germany

396

has already been concluded, which has the status of a Treaty, and this is likely to be signed in Berlin, or may be at some other place, between the Chancellor of Federal Republic of Germany and the leaders of German Democratic Republic.

Europe has been, unfortunately in his-

tory, the place where two major wars were fought in the lifetime of most of us, and any relaxation of tension in Europe is a matter of satisfaction, and it strengthens the forces of peace. There is now the proper atmosphere for convening 'the European Security Conference in Helsinki, and preparations are afoot to make this Conference a success so that peace might be stabilised and there may be cooperation amongst the various countries of Europe.

ASIA

In Asia, the situation is not as good as it is now in Europe. But the trends are in the same direction. I would not like to mention details, but the relaxation of tension, which has followed the summit meeting at Peking between President Nixon and the Chinese leaders, has definitely resulted in lowering of tensions in East Asia.

The Asian countries, who had all these vears looked to the United States of America for what they regarded as support to their policies, have suddenly found that they have to readjust their thinking and have to adopt other postures as a result of the new atmosphere that took shape after President Nixon's visit to Peking. Taiwan, in the new situation, has now been progressively dropped by many countries which had even formal diploma-tic relations with Taiwan; for instance, a country like Japan has decided to close their mission in Taiwan. This morning, there was a news item that the now Government of Australia have taken a decision to close their Embassy in Taipeh. Similarly, several other countries, which were recognising Taiwan as the legitimate Government of China, are now progressively accepting the reality in this part of the world. They are anxious to establish normal diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and, in this process, the consequential effect of this on Taiwan is obvious and need not be elaborated further.

Then again, 'the summit meeting which was held in Peking between the Prime Minister of Japan and the Chinese leaders has definitely altered the situation in that

part of the world, and the hostility and animosity that had existed between Japan and China for such a long time is now being changed into an atmosphere of cooperation and understanding. And this again is a significant development in this part of the world.

The divided country of Korea also is at the present moment going through a very difficult process of what may be described as national reconciliation. North Korea and South Korea are undertaking bilateral discussion with the commonly agreed objective of exploring the possibility of peaceful reunification. Whether ultimately they succeed in this or not, only time will tell. It is not likely to be an easy process. But by these bilateral discussions between North Korea and South Korea, the atmosphere of tension has yielded place to one of relaxation of tensions, and there is a likelihood of the situation being progressively eased in that part of the world also.

INDO-CHINA

The position in Indo-China, however, does continue to give concern not only to the people of Indo-China, but to the whole world. The new well-known nine-point programme that had resulted from the talks between the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the United States of America has not yet been formally signed by the two Governments. The situation in Viet Nam, both North Viet Nam and South Viet Nam, continues to be a source of great concern. Even at this stage secret talks are taking place in Paris between the plenipotentiary of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Le Duc Tho, and President Nixon's Representative, Dr. Kissinger. These talks have been prolonged, and the news that is coming out about the progress of these 'talks also is not very full. But it is commonly accepted that these secret talks in Paris at the present moment are in a crucial stage, and it appears that agreement has teen arrived at on a fairly large number of aspects, and efforts are continuing from both sides, the D.R.V.N. side as also from the American side, to conclude an agreement which might result in

cease-fire and might pave the way for political settlement, so that the people of Viet Nam may have a government and institutions in accordance with their wishes without any outside interference.

As the stage of negotiations at the present moment is at a very crucial and critical stage, I would not like to make any comment on the substantive issues involved. But one pragmatic approach can be that whatever is acceptable to both sides - and it appears that the two sides are desperately trying to arrive at an agreement - should, we hope, result in the establishment of temporary peace in the beginning and might pave the way for final settlement in this region.

The situation in the other two countries in Indo-China, Laos and Cambodia, is still confused. It is true 'that in Laos, some talks are taking place between the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao leaders. Several talks have already taken place, but from the reports that have come to us it appears that significant progress has not yet been made. We have always taken the view that the situation in Laos, for a satisfactory solution, will have to await a settlement in Viet Nam. The situation in Laos is so much dependent on happenings in Viet Nam that to think of any easing of the position in Laos without a settlement in Viet Nam does not appear to be either probable or practical. A great deal depends upon the settlement in Viet Nam, and it is only thereafter that the situation in Laos can move towards a settlement. We have always supported the view, and this appears to be the desire of the people in Laos, that the sovereignty, integrity and neutrality of Laos is something which is in the interest of the Laotian people and we have always supported that objective.

The situation in Cambodia is even more confused. There does Dot appear to have been any serious effort made by the parties principally concerned to establish any direct contacts, and it will take some time before we can say that the situation in Cambodia

is now moving in a direction where peace may be in sight and efforts Duty be directed towards finding a satisfactory solution of the terrible situation that has prevailed now for quite sometime in Cambodia also. We have great admiration for the people a Cambodia, peace-loving people who, on account of external pressures, had been subjected to untold hardship and sufferings. We earnestly hope that peace would prevail in that region.

INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT

About the Indian sub-continent, positive aspects in the situation at the present moment predominate. There are no doubt some negative features also, but if we compare the situation with what existed a year ago - at that time the armed conflict between India and Pakistan was in full swing - we can say that very significant events have taken place in this part of the world; the emergence of Bangla Desh as a sovereign, independent country, the effective manner in which the situation has been controlled by the present leadership, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his party who enjoy such overwhelming support in their National Assembly, the fact that Bangla Desh - today we are having this discussion on the 7th December - was recognised, by India on the 6th December last year, it being the first country to accord recognition to Bangla Desh; within one year over 95 countries of the world have accorded recognition to Bangla Desh, including four permanent members of the Security Council. We had the honour and privilege, just recently, of welcoming the President of Bangla Desh in our midst and we were impressed by the manner in which he displayed confidence about the stability of Bangla. Desh, about the manner in which the problems facing Bangla Desh are being successfully handled by the Government which enjoys the confidence of the people. Bangla Desh as an independent, sovereign country is now well-established and well set on their goal of serving their People and consolidating their sovereignty and independence in an unmistakable manner. Our relations with Bangla Desh are very close and very friendly. We cooperate with them in several fields -- economic, cultural, technological, political, etc. - and we are highly satisfied with our cooperation with the Government of Bangla Desh. It is also a matter of great satisfaction that, within such a short time, the Constituent Assembly of Bangla Desh has adopted a democratic, socialist, secular Constitution. and we have all our, sympathy and support for the people and Government

308

of Bangla Desh for going ahead and marching forward on their chosen path of strengthening themselves by adhering to a democratic way of life.

PAKISTAN

India's relations with Pakistan have passed through a chequered career even after the cease-fire which became effective on the 17th December, 1971. We took the initiative to start bilateral talks with Pakistan which resulted in the conclusion of the Simla Agreement. That has been debated here and I have no desire to go into 'the details thereof. The implementation of the Simla Agreement is in progress. The delineation of the line of control has been the subject-matter of discussion between the military representatives of the two sides, and even today a meeting is taking place in Lahore between our Chief of Army Staff and Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff so that the matter which is still not settled may be settled or a serious effort may be made to settle that also. As soon as this settlement is arrived at and it is approved by the two Governments, the hurdle in the way of restoration of normalcy in our relationship would be removed, and it would be possible to withdraw the troops in accordance with the Simla Agreement in a matter of, say, two weeks after this agreement is arrived at.

I would like to say that the question of prisoners-of-war, about' which there is a great deal of anxiety amongst the international community, is also a matter which was before the Summit Conference in Simla; and it was agreed in one of the clauses of

the Simla Agreement itself that there will be subsequent meetings to take a final decision about the question of prisoners-of-war.

It is our view that the continued nonrecognition of Bangla Desh by Pakistan is coming in the way of the implementation of that clause of the Simla Agreement in accordance with which the question of the prisoners-of-war had been agreed to be discussed between the parties. We have made the position clear in Simla that with regard to the prisoners-of-war, who came into our custody on the eastern front, including those who surrendered in Bangla Desh to the Joint Command of India and Mukti Bahini of Bangla Desh, for a final settlement of the question of those prisoners-of-war-the association and agreement of the Bangla Desh Government is essential and necessary. Obviously, Pakistan cannot expect Bangla Desh to participate in any serious discussion on any matter, much less on such a vital question as the future of the prisoners ofwar, unless the Bangla Desh Government feel that they are entering and participating in those discussions on the basis of equality with Pakistan. Obviously, unless Pakistan agrees to recognition of Bangla Desh, the attitude of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Government of Bangla Desh in this respect is understandable. They have taken a decision. which we support, that they would not enter into any discussion with Pakistan unless the representatives of Pakistan talk to them. in terms of equality. So long 'as President Bhutto and the Government of Pakistan continue not even to take notice of the reality that has emerged, namely, the sovereign, independent Bangla Desh, 'and they continue to describe it as "Muslim Bengal" and the "authorities in Dacca", certainly that is not conducive to the creation of a situation where Bangla Desh can reasonably be expected to participate in any discussion. Therefore, so far as that category of prisoners-of-war - who can be described as having been taken into custody on the eastern sector - are concerned, trilateral discussion and trilateral agreement between the Governments of Bangla Desh. India and Pakistan are essential, and continued nonrecognition of Bangla. Desh by Pakistan is a negative factor in the situation which is not only delaying the final settlement of the question of prisoners-of-war, but is also coming in the way of stabilising peace in the Indian sub-continent.

Of late, President Bhutto and some of his other colleagues have been making statements which do give the impression that they are perhaps preparing their people for extending recognition to Bangla Desh. Hon. Members of this House must have noticed that the political party, which is the predominant party in Pakistan, President Bhutto's own party, the Pakistan People's Party, on the political plane has already started talking of extending recognition to Bangla Desh; but it is still to be done by the Government, which is controlled by that

399

political party. If the approval by this political party, which is the majority party in Pakistan, is the first step for Pakistan Government to accord recognition to Bangla Desh, we welcome that step, because we are desirous of establishing durable peace in the Indian subcontinent. Therefore, we would welcome any steps that are taken by President Bhutto and the Government of Pakistan for recognising Bangla Desh and for strengthening the forces of peace and cooperation in the Indian sub-continent. We on our side, notwithstanding these various difficulties, want to implement the Simla Agreement in letter and spirit, because we believe that the basic concept, the foundation on which the Simla Agreement is based, namely, agreement to settle all differences between India and Pakistan peacefully and bilaterally, is an excellent one; if it is implemented by both sides, it will help the situation in the Indian sub-continent, and this first step 'towards reversing the unfortunate atmosphere of confrontation and conflict is likely to create an atmosphere of good neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan. This is the spirit in which we look at the Simla Agreement.

We have many points upon which we can express our strong dissatisfaction over how President Bhutto has been dealing with this problem. We believe that if he had dealt with this problem in a straightforward manner, and had explained to his people the implications of the Simla Agreement, some of his present difficulties may not perhaps have been as pronounced as they are at the present moment. But, if we take a view of the Indian sub-continent as a whole, there is distinct improvement and movement towards peace, and it will be a continuous endeavour on the part of India to strengthen this process of consolidation of peace and to establish normal good neighbourly relations with Pakistan.

WEST ASIA

The situation in West Asia still continues to be a source of anxiety, and the Israeli forces still continue to be in illegal occupation of the area that came in their possession as a result of their aggression. We have supported throughout, and we continue to support, a unanimous Resolution of the Security Council in this respect which has called upon Israel to vacate aggression. The situation there in the Arab-Israel conflict, at the present moment, is highly unsatisfactory, and there is no significant move which has been initiated recently that might raise some hope that a solution of this problem is in sight.

India's relations with neighbourly countries - Ceylon, Burma, Bhutan and Nepal are very close and friendly. Bangla Desh I have already mentioned. If our efforts 'to normalise relations with Pakistan succeed then we can look forward to a period of peace, stability and cooperation in the Indian sub-continent which will be a very desirable development, and which will enable us to have our programmes of far-reaching socioeconomic revolution in our part of the world implemented in a more effective manner. For the good of millions and millions of people here, and also in our neighbouring countries, we are co-operating with our neighbours in their developmental programmes, and we are desirous of deepening and broadening these areas of cooperation in the economic fields, in the cultural and technological fields, with all our

neighbours.

Sir, the general situation at the present moment is this. Whereas one can say that it has moved towards detente, there are several imponderables in the situation, if I may use that expression. The attitudes of countries are shifting from time to time; may be, a number of these shifts are in the positive direction. Who could have said four or five months back, that Japan and China would come closer to each other? Who could have said President Nixon would initiate farreaching changes in his approach towards China, and who could have visualised that President Nixon's visit to Moscow would result in the conclusion of several agreements in the matter of arms limitation, in the economic field and in several other fields? The consequential effect of these changes in the attitudes of principal powers, main powers, has its inevitable effect upon other countries; whether we look at Europe or South-East Asia or South Asia or even West Asia, all these changes that have taken place are having their impact upon several countries and some of the old frozen attitudes are changing. We have to adjust ourselves

400

to these changes and to take action so that our contribution for strengthening the forces of peace is effective and our own national interests are safeguarded.

AFRICA

The situation in Africa, broadly speaking, can be described in three categories; the situation in the northern part of Africa, i.e., the Arab world; then, the situation in the areas where the freedom fighters are carrying on a relentless struggle against the Portuguese colonial forces, whether it is Portuguese Guinea or Angola or Mozambique and also the countries where racist, apartheid regimes are functioning, i.e., South Africa and Rhodesia; and then, we have got the countries north of South Africa and south of the Arab world where many of these African countries, the newly independent countries, are trying to consolidate their position. Our support to the forces that are

fighting to end colonialism, racism and the Apartheid regimes is 'total, and we have supported their cause stoutly in all forums, and this support continues.

With regard to the countries north of that region, we have faced, and persons of Asian origin have faced, problems in Uganda about which I have made statements from time to time, and I have nothing more to add except to say that very few persons of Asian origin have been left in Uganda. I think, their number cannot be more than 2000 or so, and the main problem now is of assets left behind. We are in touch with the Government of Uganda and are making serious efforts to salvage as much as we can. I am not very optimistic; however, this effort has to continue.

In relation to other countries, the situation is more or less normal. We are very happy that our economic relations with several of these countries are being strengthened. We have a mission from Tanzania here, and we hope that as a result of this visit, and as a result of our President's visit to Tanzania, the basis for a fruitful cooperation, which is in the mutual interest of both India and Tanzania, will be arrived at, and we will be cooperating in their economic and industrial development in a number of ways. We want to strengthen this process of more purposeful and meaningful cooperation with other African countries as well. We know these African countries - although they have attained their political freedom continue to face economic problems, and they are also facing pressures from former colonial powers, and we have, therefore, to strengthen them in every possible manner.

CHINA

Regarding our relations with China, I am not sure whether I can give any useful information on that. I will certainly come and report to this hon. House as soon as I see that there is any improvement in the relations.

At the present moment, I can say that we, on our side, are desirous of normalising

our relations with China. But, obviously, this can be brought about only If there-As the same desire on the part of China as well. If the strident note that we see in the Chinese speeches in the United Nations on the situation in the Indian sub-continent, if the hostile statements that are made by the Chinese leaders in Peking at the time of visit, of several visiting dignitaries,' are any indication, then one does get a feeling that the Chinese perhaps are not desirous of improving relations with India. But, so far as we are concerned, we have been more than, willing.

I think I am voicing the feelings even of the Opposition parties that we are desirous of improving relations with China, and we have made this position clear on a number of occasions. We have avoided being drawn into polemics, but having done all that, it does not appear that China at the present moment is responding positively to these various suggestions and various statements that we have made. That does not mean we should give up our effort.

I would say, Sir, in all seriousness, that China is our neighbour and geography has placed us together. We have to live as good neighbours. There are some differences. There are some unfavourable attitudes and postures of China on certain matters which are vital to us. We continue to hope that China will appreciate the desirability and the necessity of normalising relations with India so that the two countries, India and China. can live as good neighbours. We have that objective in view and we will continue to work for that. That, in a nutshell, is our approach towards China.

401

USA INDIA POLAND GERMANY RUSSIA FINLAND TAIWAN JAPAN AUSTRALIA CHINA KOREA NORTH KOREA FRANCE CAMBODIA LAOS PAKISTAN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC UNITED KINGDOM ISRAEL BHUTAN BURMA NEPAL MALI ANGOLA GUINEA MOZAMBIQUE SOUTH AFRICA UGANDA TANZANIA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PARLIAMENT

Foreign Minister's Reply to Debate on International Situation

Replying to the debate in the Lok Sabha on December 8, 1972, the Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, said:

Mr. Deputy 'Speaker, Sir:

I will try to be as brief as possible and I will confine myself mainly 'to replying to some of the points that have emerged in the course of the debate.

Before I do that, I would like to say that this debate has been, as usual, of a very high order. Leaders of political parties, important members of the Opposition. and very senior members on our side have participated in the debate. This process helps us in the Ministry to formulate our policies, taking into consideration the various suggestions that are thrown up in the course of such a debate. It is particularly useful because, at the present: moment, very significant changes are taking place in the attitudes of many countries in different parts of the world, and it is in the fitness of things that our Parliament should have an opportunity of discussing this matter and should utilise this opportunity for making their comments about these happenings and also make suggestions, valuable suggestions, so that we may keep note of these when we formulate our attitudes and decide about our position with regard to these important matters.

Some points have been raised by my friends who sit in the Opposition benches and by the members from our side. Several senior members on our side have participated in the debate; Shri B. R. Bhagat and

Shri Dinesh Singh, with their background and knowledge of External Affairs, having themselves been at one stage or the other in charge of External Affairs, had some valuable suggestions to make. I have also no hesitation in saying that the projection from my friends from the Opposition benches has also been, on the whole, constructive. Even the traditional critics adopted an attitude of trying to understand the basic problems, and I could see some slight shift in the attitude of such a strong critic as Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee because I heard from him, for the first time, that he is not opposed to the basic objectives and basic elements in the Simla Agreement, his main fear is whether it is being implemented from the Pakistan side in a proper manner.

My distinguished friend, Shri Hiren Mukerjee, whom it is always a pleasure to hear not only for the substance which, of course, is always the result of deep study but also for the fine inimitable language that he uses, attracts our immediate attention. All of us hear him with the greatest respect.

Of all the people, my hon. friend, Shri Samar Guha, who at the present moment is not here, for a change, was not his usual sarcastic self; notwithstanding his gesticulations and circular movements of his hand which he indulges- in plenty, he was not entirely negative. His main point was what he described as trilateralism between India, Bangla Desh and Pakistan. Of course, for the interest of peace in the Indian sub-continent, all 'the three countries have to work in close cooperation in order to reverse the trend of conflict and to establish a durable peace, but it will perhaps be not quite practical, not even quite proper, to talk always of trilateralism. For instance, I pose a problem; if everything is to be discussed on the trilateral plane, how will we react in India if Pakistan were to say that, in India's relations with Bangla Desh, Pakistan should also have a voice. If we examine this in depth, you will agree that there are several matters in which all the three countries will have to sit and arrive at appropriate agreements -- on the question of prisoners-of-war, on the question of trade and transit, on

economic relations, communications, overflights; there are several matters in which a trilateral agreement will be necessary. But our relations with Bangla Desh are of such a nature that we can never think of any element of trilateralism; this will be entirely opposed to any proper way of handling this situation which is of a special character. There are several other matters which I do not want to spell out in detail, but we have to approach this problem in The background of what I have said.

On our side, senior members of our party like Dr. Henry Austin, Shri Goswami,

402

Shri Stephen, have participated in ibis debate and have made important contributions. And I would commend some of the points mentioned by Shri Shamim to my friends from the Jan Sangh Party to appreciate the circumstances in which President Bhutto is functioning today. It is not for us to offer any defence for what President Bhutto says or does. I agree with Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu that, while dealing with the Head of Government of a State, friendly or unfriendly, whatever may be our state of relationship, we have to observe certain decencies, certain decorum; howsoever much we might differ from the policies pursued, we have to show the necessary courtesy and due consideration to the position that is occupied by any Head of Government or Head of State, more so if we keep this in the background of our thinking that President Bhutto was thrown up by a democratic process. He is the elected leader of the Party with overwhelming majority in the National Assembly of Pakistan and which controls roughly about 70% of the seats. He is the head of that Party. It is for any country and any Party to choose anyone as the leader of their party. Therefore, while we have differences, by all means we should mention those difference, we should put them forward with all the vehemence, with all the logic, with all the cogency, but, at the same time, we must not say things which will unnecessarily rub the people of any country the wrong way. I would, for instance, like to say, like to recall how sensitive was Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee

when Tass News Agency - which, according to the Soviet sources, is a non-official body - said that they were happy that Shrimati Nandini Satpathy had succeeded in the election and that it was a victory for progressive forces. He took umbrage at this, saving: 'Why should this news agency of the U.S.S.R. express satisfaction on the result of an election?' which all of us know was a victory for the progressive forces. There was no doubt about it, but Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee said that the true facts should not be mentioned by any outside newspaper agency, whether it is Tass or some other agency. Well, if that is the concept, that means that you expect others to observe such a high degree of discipline and meticulous adherence to what. according to him, was a matter of high principle. But, while reciprocity demands that similar considerations should be extended in other spheres, you talked and there are several others also who talked and mentioned about. President Bhutto in terms which--are not at all consistent with the normal standards that are expected to 'be observed in such cases. It is necessary for us to show the proper courtesy as we expect others to show reciprocal courtesies, and we should not be too sensitive about our susceptibility. We should also show some consideration for the susceptibilities of other countries. I would, therefore, like to say that these aspects should always be kept in view.

U.S.S.R.

There is one aspect which was put across in a very forceful manner by my very dear friend, Shri B. R. Bhagat, about-our relationship with the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries. This was also mentioned by Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, and even by Shri Bhattacharyya and Shri Atal Bihari vajpayee, and there appeared to be a consensus in favour of recording our view that, we greatly appreciate the consistent friendship shown by the U.S.S.R. to India in all vital matters. The Soviet Union had cooperated with us in extending help in vital sectors of our economy when we were not getting adequate technical know-how and collaboration in very sensitive areas like machine-building, designing, oil exploration and oil refineries. and we got cooperation from the Soviet Union in these vital matters. This is a record of relationship between India and the U.S.S.R. which has already become the envy of many countries and, at the same time, it is based on principles and on certain attitudes. The two countries have cooperated in their international activities in the United Nations and elsewhere to strengthen the forces against colonialism, to render stout support to the freedom fighters engaged in the laudable task of attaining freedom. It is in this background that we have to asses, our relationship with 'the U.S.S.R. Shri Bhagat was only voicing the sentiments of the entire country when he said that this is not only a friendship between the governments of the two countries but this is a relationship in which the people, generally in India and in the U.S.S.R. are involved, and this was reciprocated by several members from the Opposition Benches as well

I would like to say that our friendship and our cooperation and our understanding with the U.S.S.R. is one of the basic pillars

403

of our external relations, and it has now been placed on a juridical basis when the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation was signed last year. The Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation was the natural culmination of the process of cooperation in various fields - economic, cultural and technological and other spheres, and this was embodied in a juridical document, the development of relations of close cooperation and friendship between India and the U.S.S.R.

We made it clear when we signed the Treaty that there were no secret clauses outside the Treaty. We also made it clear that this is a Treaty for peace and not of war. We further made it clear that it is not ed against any third country. And, in spite of all these clarifications, if certain quarters continue to raise objections which have no validity, I cannot help it. But our relationship is on a sound basis, and we intend to strengthen this relationship in every way.

In the economic field, it is known that there has been a progressive rise in the volume of trade between India and the U.S.S.R. I do not have the figures with me, but it is something of the order of Rs. 300 crores* now, and it is hoped on both sides that this can increase even further.

I feel somewhat dismayed when a note of, what I should say, some sort of equidistance is imported into these discussions these catch phrases like placing all the eggs in the same basket. These trite expressions, to say the least, are very irritating at times, but we must not confuse and compound our basic friendship with a tried friend merely in order to get some sort of superficial satisfaction of the so-called equi-distance. This is a wrong approach, not in our national interest. We should never think on these lines. We owe no apology to any third country, friendly or unfriendly, and we do not stand in need of offering any defence while we value this relationship. It is based on principles. It has worked to the mutual benefit and satisfaction of both the countries and, therefore, we intend to strengthen it and we attach a great deal of importance to it. Let this be understood by everyone inside our country and outside our country. It is not at the behest of any third party. We will not permit any third party to have any say in our relationship with any country, much less about. our relations with the U.S.S.R. This is our-basic approach in this regard, and I have no hesitation in stating it in no unmistakable terms.

* Rupees 3,000,000,000,

PAKISTAN

On our relations with Pakistan, I have nothing very fresh to say. But I would like to touch upon one aspect which was raised by 'the Jan Sangh leader, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. He made mention of the two Resolutions which have been recently adopted by the U.N. on the question of admission of Bangla Desh and the Resolution in which it was suggested that the question of the

prisoners-of-war should also be settled. I would like to clarify the position and would take 'this opportunity to put the matter straight.

As the hon. Members are aware, General Assembly of the United Nations adopted two Resolutions on November, Both the Resolutions were adopted without a vote, and the President of the Assembly read a statement proposing such adoption by consensus.

The first Resolution was a 23-power Resolution initiated by Yugoslavia which considering that Bangla Desh was eligible for membership of the United Nations, expressed the desire that Bangla Desh will be admitted to the U.N. at an early date.

The second Resolution, co-sponsored by sixteen delegations and submitted on the initiative of Argentina, was, in fact, a compromise proposal designed 'to avoid acrimonious debate on the Yugoslav Resolution. The hon. Members may be aware that Pakistan was intending to move amendments to the Yugoslav Resolution which would make the admission of Bangla Desh to the United Nations dependent on the release of the prisoners-of-war. The adoption of the Argentinian Resolution had the effect of preventing such amendments.

The Argentinian Resolution does not make the question of the admission of Bangla Desh to the U.N. conditional upon the release of the prisoners-of-war. Therefore, the statement made by Shri Atal Bihari Vaj-

404

payee is not justified. In fact, that Resolution does not refer to the question of the admission at all. At the same time, the Argentinian Resolution makes specific mention of the Assembly's satisfaction at the steps taken so far to facilitate the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the Asian subcontinent, notably the Simla Agreement. While calling for the return of prisoners-ofwar, this Re-solution also expresses the hope that all parties will refrain from any act which could jeopardise the prospects of settle-

ment and render more difficult eventual reconciliation.

Long negotiations in the United Nations resulted in an understand Resolutions, namely, the Yugoslav Resolution expressing the desire for the admission of Bangla Desh to the U.N. at an early date and the Argentinian Resolution, were adopted without a vote and without opposition by any Member.

As far as the question of prisoners-of-war is concerned, I have already referred to it in my opening statement and we have made this position clear in the United Nations as well. In particular, we have drawn the attention of the General Assembly to paragraph 6 of the Simla Agreement which refers to further discussions between the Representatives of the two sides for establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including repatriation of prisoners-of-war and civilian internees.

Our position that in discussions concerning the repatriation of the prisoners-of-war Bangla Desh was a necessary party was also made clear in the United Nations.

The President of the General Assembly referred to the inter-dependence between the view points as expressed in the Resolutions. We believe this to indicate that as long as Pakistan refuses to recognise Bangla Desh, and Bangla Desh is kept out of the United Nations, the solution of the pending problems, including the repatriation of prisoners-of-war, would be difficult, if not impossible.

I should like to take this opportunity to place on record our satisfaction in the manner in which Shri Samar Sen, our Permanent Representative to the U.N., handled the situation and conducted talks with various groups of delegations resulting 'in. the satisfactory outcome of the debate. We have also been gratified to receive reports from other delegations of the excellent work of our Permanent Representative and of the Indian Delegation, and I should like to share with the House the information that the distinguished Foreign Minister of Bangla

Desh has also expressed to us his great appreciation of the work of our Permanent Representative in the matter. We should not be unnecessarily pessimistic in these matters and we should view the things in proper perspective.

There are one or two other matters about which I would like to take a little more time.

I told the House yesterday that serious efforts were being made to settle the outstanding differences in regard to the delineation of the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir. I can now inform the House that these efforts have been successful. The Army Chiefs of India and Pakistan met at Lahore yesterday. At the end of the meeting, they issued the following Joint Statement and I quote from it:

"General Sam Manekshaw met with General Tikka Khan once again at Lahore on December 7, 1972. The meeting lasted three hours and was held in an atmosphere of goodwill and mutual understanding.

The two Chiefs were able to compose the differences that existed and are directing their senior military commanders, Lt. Gen. P. S. Bhagat and Lt. Gen. Abdul Hameed Khan, to meet at Suchetgarh on December 11, 1972, and finalise the delineation of the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir as adjusted by them. (that is, the two Chiefs). This line of control will commence from Chhamb Sector and end in the Turtok Sector (Partappur Sector)."

Hon. Members will appreciate that what was involved in the negotiation, which concluded in Lahore yesterday, was not a territorial question. It involved acceptance by Pakistan of a position which India had held all along, namely, that there was a basic difference between the border dividing the

405

State of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan and the line of control in Jammu and

Kashmir.

We are naturally glad that in the interest of not merely the Simla Agreement., but of future relations between the two countries, Pakistan has recognised the validity of our stand. The importance of Pakistan's agreement to withdraw from Thako Chak is likely to be lost if we think merely in terms of territory. In Lahore, our Chief of the Army Staff insisted that the question of Thako Chak had to be settled in terms of its own merits.

Hon. Members will appreciate that the delineation of the line of control consisted in the acceptance or rejection either side of claims made on the basis of military positions on the day of the cease-fire, namely, the 17th December, 1971. Indeed, it has been our view that such a delineation is quite different from the controversy over Thako Chak. Since Pakistan agreed to settle the question of Thako Chak, our Chief of the Army Staff reviewed some of the claims which Pakistan had earlier made. As a gesture, in the interests of peace and in order to rationalise the line of control, minor adjustments have been made. Finally, the hon. Members will appreciate that the essence of negotiations is not to depict the solution of problems under negotiation as a total victory or a total defeat for one side or the other. In fact, in the interest of peace and in the interest of further implementation of, the Simla Agreement, the agreement reached in Lahore yesterday is a victory for both and, if I may add, defeat for none.

Unfortunately, some of my friends opposite are more impressed if there is some note of satisfaction expressed in Pakistan over the outcome of any agreement. We should, on merits, consider if what has been agreed to is satisfactory, whether it meets our viewpoint or not; if it does, and if it is also satisfactory to Pakistan and they express satisfaction, that should not be the basis for raising this controversy as, unfortunately, my Jan Sangh friends -- who are always great experts in pinpointing some statement made by Pakistan, whether it be radio or any other statement do and then

try to belittle what we have achieved. It will be a had day for the country if. in order to judge as to whether a particular decision which we have arrived at is good or bad, the touchstone is the satisfaction or non-satisfaction in Pakistan. I would say 'that that would be a very immature way of approaching this problem. We should be happy that Pakistan is also satisfied. Why should this be a matter of grievance?

I would, therefore, like to say that 'this is an agreement which has been arrived at after a great deal of bargaining, great deal of negotiations, and if it has- emerged in a form in which it is broadly acceptable to both sides, no side can say that everything that they wanted to achieve has been achieved; for, in that case, there is no need of negotiation, and I can send some telegrams to the other side or make some statements and leave it to the other side to accept or reject the same.

Let us remember the essentials of the basic new relationship that we are trying to develop. The basic new relationship is that there will be differences. The essence of differences is that, on several issues, we shall say one thing and Pakistan will say another thing, and ultimately the basic approach is that we shall sit together and try to-- iron out these differences and will arrive at an agreement which is mutually acceptable to both sides.

I would like to warn that if either India or Pakistan proceeds with these bilateral discussions in the spirit that whatever Pakistan says on any matter will be accepted by India, or whatever India says will be accepted by Pakistan, that is certainly not the spirit, not even the letter of the Simla Agreement. The Simla Agreement has been entered into on the explicit understanding that there-will be differences, and these differences will be solved, firstly - peacefully, and I would add, secondly - by mutual agreement and consent. There will always be some element of give-and-take in the agreements that are forged as a result of these discussions. So, whether it is this point or any other point in future, our approach should be to keep

the outside forces away from the Indian subcontinent. The best way to keep outside forces away from the Indian sub-continent, particularly in our relations with Pakistan, is to approach these problems in a new spirit, the new spirit of willingness on either side to see the viewpoint of the other side also and then try to accommodate that viewpoint, without sacrificing any basic interest of either country, which is in the long run to

406

the good and in the mutual interest of both countries. This is the essence of the Simla Agreement.

If in any negotiations we are going to be held responsible that India took such and such attitude on a particular issue in thebeginning and at the end of the negotiations, it would not be fully vindicated. I would like to say that many other occasions will arise when I will go to the negotiating table with a particular stand, and as a result of these discussions and, negotiations, there will be some change in that stand, because without give-and-take, there is no point in saying that we shall settle all these differences bilaterally and by peaceful means. What will be the result if this attitude is not adopted? Then the end result will be that we take one line, the other side takes another line, then there will be a deadlock, and again both sides will run to various other capitals in the world or to the United Nations, and all of us know what the outcome of those approaches will be.

Therefore, I would like to appeal to this House, which has always lent such massive support in our efforts to change the unfortunate trends that have gripped the relations between our two countries, to view this Simla Agreement, not in terms of this particular clause or that particular clause, but as a basic philosophy which, according to us, is a good basis for ironing out our differences with Pakistan.

I would also like to say that this type of answerability has also to be viewed in its proper perspective. For instance, it is easy for any negotiator not to raise any claim which is of doubtful validity, because if we expect miracles then such a negotiator will always be under this fear that 'I should not raise anything doubtful because if I raise anything doubtful, then people will say that I have given up that claim', and, therefore, he would be answerable as to why he had raised that doubtful claim and, afterwards, why that position was given up. That is not the way in which these delicate and difficult negotiations can be conducted. The negotiators must have a certain responsibility, and also discretion, to get the best possible terms. That is the perimeter with in which any sensible negotiations can be held. For. we shall be hitting our vital interests in a very mortal manner if were to insist that India should never in any negotiations raise any claim unless it is dead certain that it is going to be accepted by the other side. Is that commonsense? Is that in our interest? Is that a modus operandi by which we can safeguard our Interest?

Therefore, I would appeal to the House, and to the whole country, that we should view this problem in its proper perspective, and not pick these little points in order to raise merely argumentative points or points for trying to bring in the earlier attitudes merely to criticise the ultimate agreements. There will be many occasions when, if we want to settle difficult problems with a country like Pakistan, we shall have to Adopt an attitude of give-and-take, and it is better that we elaborate this position clearly. For, otherwise, what is the alternative?

I was listening very carefully to see if I could get some light in the form of alternatives from any other quarter in the course of the debate. Only one hon. Member speaking from the Opposition Benches had an alternative and it, again, was from Shri Vajpayee. What was his alternative? He said: Scrap the Simla Agreement and again try to have an agreement between the three countries. Now, if you start any new negotiations by scrapping an earlier agreement - all that I can say is that perhaps, for reasons which I can understand, this is based on a complete lack of experience in international affairs. Any country which starts any fresh

negotiation by scrapping, an earlier agreement will certainly not be in an advantageous position. If anything, the basic 'tenet of international law and relations is that even if governments change, the first statement that they have to make is that 'we abide by international agreements'. That is the usual statement that is made by any country. But he wants me to start by scrapping the Simla Agreement and then sit with the same people to work out another Agreement. How can I inspire any confidence in the other party when I start my negotiations by scrapping an Agreement which was signed at as high a level as 'the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan? This is certainly not an alternative. So, there is no use raising the dust without clearly visualising the direction in which we are moving, without having any alternative line of approach, without offering anything constructive as to how this is to be handled. Hence, the advice that is given

407

against our national interests. I would, therefore, say that the best method of handling our relations with Pakistan is to adhere to the Simla Agreement, and also to pin the other side down to the implementation of the same and also to carry out their responsibility under the Simla Agreement.

is, on the face of it, hollow. unpractical, and

U. S. A.

There were sonic other matters raised, but since time is running out, I have no intention to take much time. I would like to say only this much that a word of caution has been uttered by my hon. friend for whose judgement I have great respect in fashioning our relations with the United States. The previous case history has been cited. It is known to us: all of us know it. It is known to the other side also. I had made a statement, more or less a public statement, which has been widely reported in the press, after taking into consideration all these aspects. I would like to say that whatever newspapermen in their enthusiasm may like to describe it, as a 'love call' or any such thing, there is nothing in that; it

is just a down-to-earth assessment of the situation in making moves which might open the way to improvement of relations. I did not hear any voice which was against improvement of relations, if it is possible. Even the critics did not say that it is not desirable to improve relations, if it is possible. Only words of caution were uttered. I would like to say that we have taken a good look at these aspects of caution and still we feel that we should indicate our desire to improve relations. If the government statement in this respect is carefully studied, the answer to some of the doubts will be there. The essential thing is the acceptance of mutuality of interest between the two countries. If that mutuality of interest is basically accepted, that will be the basis for a move towards normalisation of relations.

I would also like to say that such statements are studied very carefully in foreign offices, particularly in the foreign offices of the countries concerned. We should be glad to note that our desire to normalize relations with the United States of America has met with a positive response. I am not talking of the newspapers. I would like to say that, by and large, the newspapers and other information media in the U.S.A. had definitely a more correct appreciation of the situation ever since the problem of Bangla Desh took the shape it did last year. But we have noted with satisfaction that Secretary of State William Rogers made a statement on December 1, in which he welcomed our statement concerning friendly and cooperative relations between our two countries. Public and press reaction in the two countries has also been favourable. So if there is a chance of improvement of relations within the broad framework of what I had said, we will welcome that, and I have no apology to offer in that respect.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

A view was expressed about the situation in Viet Nam. We share the concern which was expressed by Pro. Hiren Mukerjee about the continued military action and bombardment, continued massive military action, against the people of Viet

Nam. We earnestly desire restoration of peace, and from all reports it appears that the negotiations are at very delicate stage. All that we would like to say is that we would strongly urge early conclusion and signing of the agreement.

A MEMBER: In the debate yesterday, Mr. Goswami suggested that in the Asian context we should try to develop more friendly relations with countries like

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: I am glad he reminded me of it and I shall take a few minutes in order to elaborate this point. Shri Goswami, and also Shri Dinesh Singh and Shri Bhagat, said that we should pay greater attention to economic, technological and cultural cooperation with countries in Asia. I fully accept that approach. As a matter of fact we have been pursuing this policy and quite purposefully. We have very excellent cooperation in the economic field with Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and Bangla. Desh; within our resources, we are trying to expand this. I reported yesterday that in Africa we had entered into an agreement with Tanzania to participate in the task of economic development there. Similarly, we are desirous of entering into similar agreements with other countries in South Asia and South-East Asia. Our relations with these countries are growing in every respect - economic, cultural and in technological field, and we shall pursue this Policy.

Japan has been specifically mentioned. Japan, as you know, in the economic sense,

408

is a super-power. Their economic strength is immense. They have accumulated foreign exchange reserves -- I do not remember those figures now -- perhaps more quickly than almost any other affluent country today. In fact, it is one of the matters of concern for them: how they should shed some of their vast accumulated foreign exchange holdings that Japan has got. We should like, therefore, to cooperate with them. I should like to add that this cooperation with Japan, or any other affluent

country, has to be held in the context of our own development plans. It has to fit in with our own philosophy about industrial development; it has to fit in with our views about the public sector and public control over the critical and essential sectors of our economy. We shall certainly do everything possible to involve Japan and other countries, who might be willing to participate in our economic development, to do so. It is in our interest to extend this area and get more and more countries to do so: It is our basic objective that critical areas in which we want control should be in the public sector, should be maintained in the public sector. Within this perimeter, we welcome cooperation and collaboration from all countries, including Japan. It is quite likely that Japan, after achieving its high affluence, may start having a second look at 'their general economic involvement in the region; I have no hesitation in saying that. So far, their attitude has been mostly commercial: out for high profits. Now that they have achieved such a great success, if they alter a little of this attitude of trade to look at the problems of the developing countries in a more sympathetic and responsive manner, it will be a good change and we shall certainly try if we can succeed in achieving that.

USA PAKISTAN UNITED KINGDOM INDIA YUGOSLAVIA ARGENTINA MALI CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC AFGHANISTAN BHUTAN NEPAL SRI LANKA TANZANIA JAPAN

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PARLIAMENT

Sardar Swaran Singh's Statement on Resumption of U.S. Bombing on North Vietnam

Following is the text of the Statement of the Foreign Minister Shri Swaran Singh in the Lok Sabha on December 19, 1972 on resumption of U. S. bombing of North Vietnam:

At the end of October this year, substantial accord had been reported at the Paris Peace Talks and high hopes were raised of an early peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question. These hopes were further strengthened by the resumption of talks in the month of November, and with a prolonged second round which began on the 4th December. The whole world was waiting for the good news of restoration of peace to this war-torn land when suddenly the news of the fresh deadlock was received. It has given a serious setback not only to the settlement of the Vietnam problem but also to the problem of restoration of peace to the entire Indo-China. Even more distressing is the news of the resumption of massive U.S. bombing raids of Vietnamese territory and mining of the DRVN territorial waters. While the world was waiting for Christmas to bring cheer and news of peace, it has brought news of renewed destruction and bitterness.

The Government of India feels sorely disappointed at the tragie turn of events and hopes that wiser counsels will prevail, that there will be immediate stoppage of all bombings and acts of war, that there will be no shifting of positions likely to retard the progress of Paris talks which we believe have not been called off and that an early accord on peace settlement in Vietnam would be signed without any more delay.

USA VIETNAM FRANCE CHINA INDIA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PARLIAMENT

Following is the text of the statement by the Deputy Minister of External Affairs, Shri Surendrapal Singh, in Lok Sabha on December 22, 1972 regarding bombing in Vietnam:

The Foreign Minister had already made a statement on the subject of Vietnam on the 19th instant. We had then expressed distress at the resumption of bombing raids and acts of war in Vietnam and conveyed our grave concern at the tragic turn of events.

Since then many countries of the world have raised their voice against these bom-

409

bing raids which are evidently not confined only to military targets as claimed. According to reports several Embassy premises situated in the heart of Hanoi have been damaged or destroyed. I regret to have to inform the I-louse that we have just received information from our Ambassador in Hanoi that in yesterday's raid, our Chancery buildings and staff quarters were damaged, though happily all our officers and staff are reported to be safe.

We cannot but raise our voice in protest at such indiscriminate bombings particularly of civilian areas and even diplomatic quarters. We had protested to the U.S. Government on the last occasion on 12th October and then the U.S. officials had expressed their regret and described the raidsas 'unfortunate' and unintentional. Now we again witness repetition of the same indiscriminate bombing. Such ruthless bombings involving civilian life and property on a large-scale are a matter of the gravest concorn 'to us. The Government of India would like to record its strongest protest at this bombing of cur diplomatic premises in Hanoi.

Words fail to describe the appaling tragedy which is being re-enacted in Vietnam. Over the last one year, as the Honourable

Members ate aware, Government of India. have raised their voice on many occasions in condemnation of acts of large-scale war, against a tiny country and its heroic people, However, these words have had little effect-and in dis-regard of the feelings not only of this Government but of all the peace-loving people, of the world, more massive bombings are being resorted to.

It appears to us that all the lessons of history, recent and remote, have gone unheeded. As recently as last year, brutal force was used in Bangla Desh to suppress the will of the people but it did not succeed. It has been clear to us from the beginning that the Vietnam problem cannot be solved through military means and we have deplored this in no uncertain terms. We are convinced that no amount of military pressure will deter or deflect the heroic people of Vietnam. In fact, if anything, it would only redouble their determination to fight the war till the bitter end and they would have the sympathies of the whole world.

Even in this tragic hour, we earnestly hope that wiser counsels will prevail and that instead of resorting to brutal force, negotiations would be immediately resorted to, to find a settlement which meets with the wishes of the brave people of Vietnam.

VIETNAM USA INDIA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Joint Communique on State Visit of President of Bangla Desh to India

The following Joint Communique was issued in New Delhi and Dacca on December

5, 1972 On the State visit to India of the President of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh from November 27 to December 5, 1972:

At the invitation of the President, of India, Shri V. V. Giri, the President of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh, Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury, and Begum Chowdhury, paid a State Visit to India from November 27 to December 5, 1972. The President of Bangla Desh was accompanied by Dr. Mafiz Chowdhury. Minister for Power, Natural Resources and Scientific and Technological Research of the Government of Bangla Desh. Professor D. P. Chattopadhyaya, Union Minister of State of the Government of India, accompanied the President of Bangla Desh as Minister-in-waiting during the visit.

The President of Bangla Desh visited Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Jaipur, Ajmer,

410

Bangalore, Calcutta and Shantiniketan. In Delhi, the President of Bangla Desh met the President, Vice-President and the Prime Minister of India. The President of Bangla Desh also addressed a joint session of the Indian Parliament. The President attended a Civic Reception at 'the Red Fort accorded to him by the people of Delhi and visited the Asian International Trade Fair in which Bangla Desh has a pavilion. In Delhi and other parts of India the President visited several industrial installations, educational institutions and historic monuments, and was thus able to see the impressive progress made by India in various industrial sectors as well as some aspects of the rich cultural heritage of India.

During the visit to Shantiniketan and Calcutta, the Viswabharati University and the University of Calcutta were proud to confer Doctorates honoris causa on the President of Bangladesh.

On behalf of 'the Government and the people of Bangla Desh, the President of Bangla Desh, in his talks with the President of India,. conveyed a message of goodwill and

friendship to him and through him to the Government and the people of India. The President of Bangla Desh also expressed profound gratitude to the Government and the people of India for their open-hearted generosity and- assistance during and since the war of Independence of Bangla Desh. The President of Bangla Desh noted that the close friendship and understanding existing between Bangla Desh and India was not based on expediency but reflected their common approach to the principles of freedom, justice and human dignity. The President was confident that the relations between India and Bangla Desh would continue to grow in future not only to promote the mutual interests of the peoples of the two countries but also in the interest of durable peace in South Asia.

The President of India, while welcoming the President of Bangla Desh, expressed great satisfaction over the fact that the President of Bangla Desh paid his first State Visit to India. On behalf of the Government and the people of India, the President of India expressed admiration for the Government and the people of Bangla Desh for their heroic struggle in achieving freedom and independence. The President was also confident that India would continue to cooperate with Bangla Desh in its massive task of reconstruction and rehabilitation of the war-ravaged economy in a spirit of goodwill and mutual understanding.

The two Presidents expressed their firm conviction that the common border between Bangla Desh and India would always remain a border of peace and goodwill. They also expressed their confidence that the Governments and the peoples of Bangla Desh and India would continue to cooperate in future in their common quest for improving the living standards of their peoples and for promoting peace, stability and progress in this region, Asia and the world.

The President of Bangla Desh cordially invited the President of India to visit Bangla Desh at his convenience. The President of India was very happy to accept the invitation.

The President of Bangla Desh expressed sincere thanks for the cordial reception and warm hospitality extended to him and his entourage during his visit by the Government and the people of India.

INDIA USA BANGLADESH

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

President and Prime Minister's Messages to Bangla, Desh Leaders on Victory Day

The following are the texts of messages by the President, Shri V. V. Giri and the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to the President of Bangla Desh, H.E. Mr. Justice abu Sayeed Chowdhury, and the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh, H.E. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman respectively on December 16, 1972 on the First Anniversary of the liberation of Bangla Desh:

SHRI GIRI'S MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT OF BANGLA DESH

On behalf of the Government and people of India and on my own behalf, I send you

411

my warmest felicitations on the occasion of your celebrating the first anniversary of the liberation of Bangla Desh as Victory Day on the 16th December, 1972.

I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the valiant 75 million people of Bangla Desh for their unsurpassed courage in winning freedom for their country, under the leadership of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and the inspiration of yourself, Mr. President, and other leading figures of the liberation. We are proud of our cooperation with the people of Bangla Desh in their grim struggle.

Your Constitution, which comes into effect today, embodies the ideals to which we are also committed. Our common dedication to the welfare of our peoples forms a firm foundation for friendship between our two countries.

SHRIMATI GANDHI'S MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER OF BANGLA DESH

My colleagues in the Government of India join me in sending to you and to your colleagues as well as to the people of Bangla Desh our sincere good wishes and felicitations on the occasion of the commemoration of Victory Day on December 16, 1972. May I take this opportunity of paying homage to the millions of your countrymen who, under your Inspired leadership fought and sacrificed their lives to liberate their motherland. The Government and people of India were privileged to share in the agony of that grim struggle.

We share your pride on the consolidation of the independence of Bangla Desh, reflected in the adoption of the Constitution which comes into force today. Our two peoples are inspired by the principles on which the Constitution is based. We look, forward to mutual cooperation on the basis of sovereignty, equality, mutual respect and reciprocity.

USA INDIA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

The following is the text of the recorded message of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi greeting the people of Bangla Desh on December 16, 1972 on their Victory Day:

Brothers and sisters of Bangla Desh,

On behalf of the people of India I give you my greetings on your Victory Day.

Under the inspiring leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman you saw a vision of freedom. You realized it through suffering and sacrifice rarely surpassed in human history. The Government and people of India were privileged to share the agony of your travail as well as the joy of your achievement.

Our two peoples subscribe to the same ideals of freedom, equality and human dignity. These great ideals are enshrined in your Constitution as in ours, and are cherished by our two peoples. A great task beckons to us both - to remove the burden of poverty which oppresses our people and to give them the opportunity of full growth. I am sure that we shall be together in this quest also.

Indo-Bangla Desh friendship and co-Operation, based on sovereignty, mutual respect and mutual benefit, will strengthen the cause of peace and progress in our part of the world. Once again I give you and your great leader the good wishes of India.

INDIA USA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Indo-Bangla Desh Joint Rivers Commission Meet

The following is the text of the press release issued in New Delhi on December 13, 1972 on the conclusion of three-day meeting of the Indo-Bangla Desh Joint Rivers Commission:

The Indo-Bangla Desh Joint Rivers Commission which concluded its three-day meeting here today has decided to consider a framework for preparation of long-term plans for the development of major river basins common to India and Bangla Desh.

While emphasis at present is on problems of individual areas, the Commission dis-

412

cussed the best approach to long-term planning for major river basins and requested both the Governments to make available various data like flood control and water resources projects, and possible future programmes, for coordinated action. The Commission also called for detailed maps prepared in both the countries, depicting various aspects of development such as physiography, temperatures, rainfall, soils, land use, cropping pattern and density of population.

The Commission also recommended a programme for joint survey of the river Ganges from Farakka up to Gorai off-take to enable the planning of development works of mutual interest. The Commission had detailed discussions on this, programme with officials of the Survey of India, Survey of Bangla Desh and hydrographic organisations of the two countries. The officials of the two countries will meet again in Dacca later this month to finalise the details of the survey.

With regard to the preparation of a comprehensive plan for flood control, irrigation and drainage in the Sylhet, Cachar and adjoining areas of India, the Commission has recommended that the two Governments set up requisite field organisations and nominate officers for investigating the problem jointly and preparing the outline of the scheme.

Two groups have been set up for the study of certain rivers in Bangla Desh and India, on possibilities of augmenting winter discharges in these rivers. The Commission also received basic data on works executed or under execution in the Ganges-Brahmaputra-Meghna river basin and decided that this should be supplemented further.

The New Delhi meeting was presided by Mr . B. M. Abbas, Adviser to the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh and attended by Shri N. G. K. Murti, Co-Chairman, Mr. Shafiqul Haq, Shri V. N. Nagaraja, Mr. A. K. H. Morshed, Dr. Azizur Rehman Khan, Dr. A. K. Sengupta, Members and Mr. A. M. M. Ghulam Kibria as Adviser.

The Commission will meet in Dacca in the last week of March next year.

INDIA USA LATVIA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLA DESH

Indo-Rangla Desh Cultural Co-operation Agreement

The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on December 30, 1972 on the signing in Dacca of a Cultural Cooperation agreement between the People's Republic of Bangla Desh and the Republic of India:

A Cultural Cooperation Agreement between the People's Republic of Bangla Desh

and the Republic of India was signed in Dacca today.

Inspired by the high ideals of the UNESCO, the Agreement provides for the promotion and development of the relations and understanding between Bangla Desh and India in the realms of culture, art and education including academic activity in the fields of science and technology.

Under this Agreement both the countries will endeavour to promote and stimulate cooperation between educational institutions and will encourage exchange of representatives and delegations in the fields of culture, education, science and art as well as exchange of cultural, scientific and educational materials, books, periodicals, publications and archaeological specimens.

Both the parties agreed to grant scholarships for students on mutual basis.

This Agreement will also pave the way for exchanges in the fields of sports, physical education, mass media film, tourism and performances by artistes, etc.

For the fulfilment of the objectives of the Agreement a joint commission may be set up in due course for periodical review of the working of the Agreement in the two countries.

413

INDIA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

ROMANIA

Indo-Romanian Trade Protocol

The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on December 4, 1972 on the conclusion of annual talks between the trade delegations of India and Romania and the signing of a trade Protocol for 1973:

On the conclusion of annual trade talks that took place in New Delhi between Trade Delegations of India and Romania, a trade protocol for 1973 has been signed today.

The Trade Protocol envisages a trade turnover of Rs. 760 million between the two countries during 1973. This represents an increase of 16 per cent over the previous year.

The Protocol was signed by Shri L. N. Mishra, Union Minister of Foreign Trade, on behalf of the Government of India and by H.E. Mr. Ion Patan, the Vice-President of the Council of the Ministers and Minister of Foreign Trade of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on behalf of the Government of Romania.

Besides exports of various traditional commodities like iron ore, ferro-manganese, deoiled cakes, cashew kernels, tea, coffee, cotton yarn, cotton textiles, jute manufactures, etc., from India to Romania there are a number of engineering and non-traditional items, including consumer goods, such as readymade garments, textile machinery, machine tools, drugs and pharmaceutical products, small hand tools and wire ropes, in the Trade Protocol.

Principal items of import into India from Romania during 1973 will be fertilizers, oil prospecting and drilling equipment, rolled steel and steel products, capital goods, machine tools, tractor components, ball, roller and taper bearings, chemicals, electronic television components, dye intermediates, wheel sets and other components for railway wagons, etc.

The talks were held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere. Views on matters of mutual interest for the purpose of expanding and diversifying trade relations between the

two countries were also exchanged.

OMAN ROMANIA INDIA USA RUSSIA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

SEMINAR ON TRADE WITH EAST EUROPE

Sardar Swaran Singh's Address at Seminar on Trade With East Europe

Following is the text of the Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh's speech at the Seminar on Trade with East Europe in New Delhi on December 2, 1972:

I am happy to have this opportunity of giving the valedictory address to this Seminar on the important question of Trade with East European countries. The "Alliance of Young Enterpreneurs" which has organised the Seminar under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, has held Seminars in the past on important topics, which have been useful for the dissemination and crystallisation of ideas in business and commercial circles in India. I wish the "Alliance" well in the years to come.

414

Our external trade has necessarily to adjust itself to the changing requirements of India's economy. The items exchanged must be in accordance with our national needs and priorities. In our present stage of development we are in a position to export various sophisticated manufactured items, I am glad to say that, our trade with Socialist countries has continuously been adjusting itself satisfactorily on these lines. This has enabled India to utilise idle capacities in various industrial sectors and led to the starting of new export-oriented industries, opening new

avenues of commercial cooperation such as the cotton conversion deal. You will have made an appraisal of all these aspects during the Seminar and I am informed that your deliberations have been quite fruitful. I am sure the Seminar will make its contribution not only to the promotion of increased trade with East Europe but to the larger perspectives of growth of friendship and mutually-beneficial cooperation with those countries.

As Foreign Minister, I am deeply conscious of the impact that closer economic ties create not only at the governmental level but also at the people's level. In the case of the trade with East Europe, the increase in its volume and its growing importance adequately reflects our growing bonds of friendship and cooperation with these countries in very many other spheres of governmental and popular activity. There is also a converse effect. The fact that the Socialist countries of East Europe have become a region of major trading interest for us has contributed to the intensity of the relationship we enjoy with these countries in other fields.

Trade with East Europe under the mechanism of the Trade and Payments Agreements and the annual Trade Plans with the basic philosophy of balanced trade and all transactions being settled in non-convertible Indian rupees, has led to augmentation and diversification of trade and additionality of exports. The inter-acting process of exports paying for our imports has provided us possibility of obtaining sonic of our essential requirements without expenditure of scarce foreign exchange resources, and has enabled us to enter into several credit agreements for the supply of capital goods for our nation-building projects. While these agreements have helped us to finance and equip major projects in this country, we are enabled to repay principal and interest for these credits through increased exports from India.

SOLID INDUSTRIAL BASE

The composition of trade exchanges has undergone a change over the years, in tune

with the transformation of our fast changing economic fabric in this country. India is no longer basically a producer of traditional agricultural products only, We have built a solid industrial bast, since India's independence and have made a name already as an exporter of quality manufactures and semimanufactures. We have, therefore, sought to stabilise the exports of traditional commodities under the Rupee payment arrangements at their current levels with a view to lessening pressure on production constraints in the agricultural sector and protecting supplies for our world-wide markets. We hope to have the full understanding of the East European countries in this endeavour. We appreciate that the East European region has provided a stable market for India's traditional goods, has led to increasing global levels of exports, and, for several commodities, has helped in the stabilisation of unit prices at higher levels.

Our search continues for a progressive widening of the range of new commodities that can be exported to this region. Thepercentage of non-traditional exports items to East Europe shows a rise in the past few years and future trade plans will attempt to fix them at even higher percentage. East Europe, region-wise, is already lifting more industrial and consumer goods from us than nearly any other areas and it is noteworthy that in regard to several manufactured and engineering items, our first regular exports were made to East Europe.

On the import side also there has been a considerable change in pattern. Our major requirements are no longer the capital goods and machinery for plants that they were two decades ago, Our needs have shifted to nonferrous metals, ships, petroleum products, industrial raw, materials, intermediates and fertilizers. We place a great value on acquiring such items from the East European countries. The import from East Europe of these items and other essential goods, including special supplies for industrial and

415 strategic programmes, has provided us with a source of resources at times of critical

national needs and also at normal times, and enabled us to limit out, expenditure in hard currency.

DECLARATION OF INTENT

In international forums concerning trade and development, the Socialist countries of East Europe have proved sympathetic land cooperative. In their joint declaration of intent of October, 1970, they have shown considerable awareness of the needs of the developing countries in respect of tariffs preferences and the application of other preferential measures. These countries have displayed a readiness to move towards adaptation of the present structure of international trade to meet the aspirations of the developing countries. We must try to profit from the facilities already available in this region for our exports.

The establishment of Joint Commissions with the Socialist countries has been a new and positive feature in our relations in the economic, industrial, scientific and technological fields. The Joint Commissions provide the ready machinery by which problems which arise in any of these fields can be settled speedily by mutual consultations, Moreover, by providing the opportunity for regular consultations on economic matters, these Commissions will facilitate the identification of new areas in which our relations can be developed and strengthened.

I am convinced that we are still in the formative stages of our commercial relations with East Europe. There are new avenues to be explored in joint marketing and joint ventures and joint tenders in third countries; in multilateral commercial deals; conversion arrangements; vacation of areas of production against long-term import programmes, establishment of export-oriented industries for East European consumption; the transfer of technology and techniques; exploitation of the concept of international division of labour; and increasing cooperation in merchant shipping and air freights. There is much new ground to be broken. These are aspects which will have attracted your attention in the Seminar, and the focus you have

brought to bear on them will, I trust, induce an even faster and multifaceted momentum in our economic relations with the countries of East Europe.

USA INDIA RUSSIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

SEMINAR ON TRADE WITH EAST EUROPE

Planning Minister's Address to Seminar

Following is the full text of the inaugural speech of the Planning Minister, Shri D. P. Dhar, at the Seminar on Trade with East Europe in New Delhi on December 1, 1972:

I am grateful to the National Alliance of Young Entrepreneurs for asking me to inaugurate the National Seminar on Trade with East Europe. The organisers deserve congratulations on the initiative they have taken in bringing together various organisations, institutions and governmental agencies for a wide-ranging discussion of the problems connected with our trade with the East European countries. Asia 72 has, naturally provided the immediate motivation. but may I suggest another advantage in the timing of the seminar. We are at present engaged in the exercise of formulating the broad approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan of the country. In the exercises we have made so far, our foreign trade occupies a pivotal position not only from the point of view of the balance of payments positions, but also from that of its crucial role in accelerating the process of industrial and agricultural development. It is necessary, therefore, to view the problems of our trade with East Europe in the perspective of our

development strategy in the seventies.

I need not stress the historical background of our foreign trade policy as it emerged after we embarked on the process of planned economic development. A transformation of our foreign trade relations existing at the time of independence was necessary in order to break away from the pattern of trade which had been imposed on us by the structure of our colonial economy. The historically important task of socioeconomic modernisation of the country in-

416

volved a radical departure from the status of an exporter of primary commodities and importer of manufactured goods. The high priority that we accorded to rapid industrialisation alongside development of scientific agriculture dictated a quite different pattern of imports. We needed capital goods and modern technology, and not the manufactured consumer goods from the advanced countries. In our effort to develop along a non-capitalist path, we found a great deal that was common between us and the East European countries which had made substantial progress in industrialising and modernising their societies.

Throughout our long history of subjection to colonial rule, we had no access to any markets other than those within the sphere of influence of the foreign ruling power. Therefore, there was a complete absence of any pattern of trade and economic relations with the socialist countries. Naturally, it took us sometime to devise appropriate arrangements to enter into economic relationship with these countries. Beginning with 1953, the mechanism of trade agreements began to play an important part in expanding trade between India and East European countries. Not only did the trade agreements envisage payment in rupees, but in the course of development of trade relations, the vitally important concept of bilateral balancing of trade became the cornerstone of a mutually beneficial pattern of trade. It is difficult at this time to visualise what an important, and radically different, arrangement it was. Nowadays nobody

questions the essential soundness of the arrangements that exist between us and the community of socialist countries in Europe. But there was a time when people criticised the Government for departing from the orthodox principles of foreign trade and for surrendering our national interests in the trade agreements that we had concluded. It was difficult for the people to realise, at that time, that the received wisdom on international trade was detrimental to the interests of developing countries, that foreign trade was not a matter of treating as eternally valid the concrete historical situation resulting from imperialist domination of Asia and Africa and that for countries like India foreign trade was a powerful tool to be utilised for building up a self-reliant modern economy. The trade agreements with East Europe fell in line with this way of thinking, and have thus contributed substantially to our industrial pi-ogress. By reducing substantially the draft on convertible foreign exchange reserves and by bringing trade in harmony with the policy objectives of planned development, the "rupee payment agreements" have enabled India to forge ahead rapidly in basic industries without which it is impossible to conceive of a self-generating process of development.

It is necessary to look at the deeper significance of the Indo-East European trade from the vantage point of the present. When these trade agreements first came into being, there was no precedent for organising trade relations on the principle of bilateral balancing of trade. If the East European countries had insisted on payments in free convertible currencies, and if they had, in accordance with practices then current, made no provision for balancing the trade, we would have been obliged to run sizeable deficits in our balance of trade. Apart from the adverse repercussions on our foreign exchange position, such a development would have grievously harmed even our traditional export lines, The stability of prices of our traditional exports depended, to an extent not commonly realised, on the new markets we had entered.

But an even greater benefit of the new concept of balance of trade was in the sphere

of development of an independent national economy. It is not sufficiently known that the main thrust of the balance trade agreements, which were backed up by far reaching projects of industrial collaboration, was to build up India's capacity in fields which are indispensable for economic independence. I need not recount the rapid strides which we have made in areas like steel, heavy machinery, oil exploration, etc. We in this country cannot forget the friendly assistance of socialist countries, especially of the Soviet Union, for their magnificent contribution in this respect. Today when we are engaged in a redoubled effort to achieve self-reliance. this aspect is specially worthy of note.

Why has this relationship endured? Why has this pattern of trade become an integral part of our long term thinking about our ties with the East European countries? There is no mystery about it. The answer is plain and simple. Both we

and they stand to gain from it. There is an underlying basis of mutuality of benefit that governs this relationship. And this element grows stronger every day. The Socialist countries will be the first to acknowledge this.

But we have a habit of getting involved in phoney controversies. For an unconscionably long time, we have carried on a debate about our trade with East European countries in an idiom which is archaic. Some people in this country have argued that there is a qualitative difference between the way we conduct our trade with the socialist countries, and the way we do business with other countries. They further go on to deduce from this proposition, which is selfdent to 'them, that we are losing in the process. Now this is quite an extraordinary way of dealing with our problems. We are well aware, or at least we should be, that other countries are rapidly abandoning dogmatic positions. They are going ahead with forward looking arrangements. But some of us continue to debate the issue without any comprehension of the changes that have taken place in the last twenty five years.

This manner of thinking not only misses the lasting benefits that have accrued to us and to the East European countries as a result of the trade relations over these years, it also overlooks the potential for growth, for development in future. Should we not look at facts? Should we not analyse the past trends and look into the future on the basis of results?

The results of this' progressive enlargement of our trade horizons are impressive. We exported goods worth only Rs. 7.9 crores in 1953-54 to East European countries; in 1971-72 we exported goods worth Rs. 343.48 crores. The share of these countries in India's export thus increased from 0.9 per cent in 1953-54 to 21.1 per cent in 1971-72. Similarly, our imports from these countries have grown tremendously raising their share from 0.4 per cent to approximately 14 per cent. Looked at in another way, the Indo-East European trade during the last 10 years grew at the rate of 8.6 per cent as against only 1.1 per cent in the case of trade with the rest of the world. It is obvious that without this phenomenal expansion of trade with East European countries, we would not, have been in a position to go ahead with the implementation of projects on which rests the industrial strength of our country today.

This does not mean that we should not expand our trade relations with other countries. Our relationship with the East European countries does not, in any way, Imply this. We have to think of our trade with other countries in accordance with the basic requirements of our development strategy, We have to fashion our policies in a manner that is best calculated to serve our national interests. There is no contradiction between trading more With the Eastern Europe and trading more with the other countries. There cannot be, in the world of the seventies and the eighties of the century, a philosophy of touch-me-notism in so far as trade is concerned. Since this is a seminar devoted to the problems of trade with East European countries. I have been concerned with delineating its special significance for us.

Not only has this trade been conducive to our development as an industrial power, it has also increasingly reflected the change-in India's capacity to produce sophisticated, industrial goods. When we started the trade agreements, we relied primarily on our traditional exports like jute, tea, coffee, oil cakes, etc. In subsequent years we have begun to export, in increasing quantities, non-traditional items. Thus our trade relationship has not been a static one.

It is this aspect of the trade relationship that calls for sustained and more qualified attention. Even though the exports of primary products such as coffee, tea, etc., which constituted nearly 93.3 per cent of India's exports in 1953-54 declined to 45.2 per cent in 1970-71, efforts have to be made continuously to diversify the composition of trade. The high levels of cooperation and collaboration already attained have to be carried further. In fact, the whole relationship has to be expanded in scope and content to give it a deeper meaning. For it has to be recognised that the trade relationship with East European countries is a part of a much wider relationship of cooperation, friendship, understanding and common endeavour. It is a recognition of this reality that, has prompted the setting up of the Indo-Soviet joint Commission. The economic, scientific and technical cooperation and collaboration between India and East European

418

countries has to evolve in new direction that will correspond to the changing needs and changing levels of development of the trade partners. From this point of view the time has come to refashion the instruments that we have adopted. We have also to take a look at India's trade prospects with the socialist countries in a longer time frame. The development of the economies of India and the East European countries, the changing situation in Western Europe, the emergence of closely knit trading communities, and the new initiatives in international relations, have cast upon our exporters, our industrial organisations and our governmental machinery new responsibilities. We have to realise the significance of the changing

framework of economic and trade relation ships in different parts of the world. Any tendency to deal with the problems of our trade with East European countries on the basis of concepts, ideas and mechanisms appropriate for the early stages of our development would create problems for us. We have to be prepared for far more flexible responses to the changing economic situation in Europe as a whole.

In this context it appears to me axiomatic that expansion, diversification and strengthening of our trade and economic relationship with the socialist countries would continue to be one of the central concerns of our foreign economic policy. The nationally accepted goals of achievement of self-reliance and removal of poverty call for a tremendous expansion of productive capacity in strategic industries. The investment effort for undertaking a rapid growth of such industries, the problem of making available capital goods, intermediates and important raw materials for this rapidly advancing sector, the problem of obtaining appropriate technologies and other such factors make it incumbent upon us to evolve a new pattern of trade that can be effectively integrated with the new perspectives of development both in our country and in the socialist economies.

Already conversion deals and triangular deals have been contracted. They take into account the increasingly important role of the sophisticated capabilities India has achieved in many industrial fields and of her capacity to supply the growing needs of the East European countries. But innovation is still limited, and inhibited by a variety of factors. We have to make a breakthrough here on the basis of elements of complementarity between the Indian economy and the economies of the East European countries as a whole. In this matter it is important to think realistically in terms of larger grouping of nations, because the nature of modern technology, the requirements of growth, and the development of existing and new resources have combined to bring about a closer integration of economic systems which have a similar social and

political base. To ignore this development is to risk obsolescence.

Indian industry, whether in the public or the private sector, has to make a significant contribution to the successful working out of a new pattern of trade with the Socialist countries. On it will fall the main burden of diversifying India's exports. Therefore, in terms of continuous improvement of technology, rigorous enforcement of standards of quality and of widening the range and attractiveness of goods, it has to adapt itself to the changes that are occuring in the East European markets. I have no doubt that it will face this challenge with competence and confidence.

I am sure that the Seminar will identify, in concrete terms, different aspects of our evolving trade relationship with East European countries in the context of the pattern of India's economic growth in the seventies. I look forward to the deliberations of the Seminar with 'the hope that they would be of great help to the policy makers and to the industry. I wish the Seminar success.

INDIA USA RUSSIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

SEMINAR ON TRADE WITH EAST EUROPE

Shri L. N. Mishra's Speech at Seminar on Trade with Fast Europe

Following is the text of the Foreign Trade Minister's address at the Seminar on Trade with. East Europe in New Delhi on December 1, 1972:

I am happy to have this opportunity to speak to you on trade with East Europe,

which, as you are aware, is the fastest growing segment of our foreign trade. The National Alliance of Young Entrepreneurs have done well to organize this Seminar because it would assist, in creating wider public awareness of the pivotal role which trade

419

with East Europe has played in the expansion of our foreign trade. It would also help to create a wider understanding of the problems and possibilities of increasing the flow of trade between India and East Europe during 'this decade.

The economic relations between the East European countries and the developing countries have a historical origin. Prior to the Second World War, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) countries and the majority of the developing countries had no trade or economic relations with one another. Most developing countries were still colonies and there was no possibility of establishing direct commercial links with third countries. Even financial transactions related to commerce were carried through the metropolitan centres. The economic and technological growth of these colonies were wholly dependent on the policies of their colonial masters. Mono culture was a basic characteristic of most developing countries. With the independence of developing countries after the end of the war, there was understandable desire on their part to bring about rapid transformation of their economic and financial dependence on the metropolitan countries and to foster closer relations with countries of East Europe.

It is now well-known that the growth of India's trade to the East European countries has been spectacular. As the proportion of our global exports has increased from 7.3 per cent in 1960-61 to 23 per cent in 1971-72. Over the years, we are also meeting a larger part of our import requirements from this region. Today nearly 12 per cent of our global imports emanate from this area.

In terms of the composition of trade

apart from the classical products and their newer adaptations, wider avenues of trade have emerged with the growing consumer orientation of the economies of the East European countries. The Western cynicism about "the enbourgeoisment of the proletariat" is an over-simplification of the changes in the economic processes of centrally planned economies. It is, however, within the framework of coordinated and planned economic growth that after the establishment of the basic infra-structure the society moves forward to mass consumption and thereafter towards wider consumer affluence. It is understandable, therefore, that among the non-classical products thereis growing demand in the East European countries of a wide variety of processed consumer goods. Similarly, our own import requirements and procurements from those countries have been adapted to the evolution of our economic processes. The earlier stages of our planning was devoted to the construction of basic infra-structure while meeting the needs of the common man. This was fundamental to the Mahalanobis model of the Second Plan. Over the years, the sustenance of our industrial infrastructure has naturally called for greater imports of industrial raw materials.

I have had the opportunity of visiting the Capitals of a number of East European countries. Last year, I had far-reaching discussions with the Soviet authorities when I had gone to Moscow in connection with the trade talks. As a result of my discussions, I am convinced that there are important and unexplored areas of cooperation through a more rational and optimum international division of labour to our trading pattern. In the long run, we need to move towards a greater adaptation of industrial structures in consonance with changes in comparative costs. Industrial pursuits in many areas may be rendered unproductive in the East European countries by increasing labour costs. Conversely speaking, developing countries like India have the factor endowments, the necessary expertise and the abundance of skilled inexpensive labour for the establishment of various industrial structures. The optimisation of international division of

labour need not be restricted to conversion deals. In the very immediate future, conversion deals in areas like woollen textiles and knitwear, automobile ancillaries, nuts and bolts, can "trigger off" the fusion of our planning process with the East European countries. This is only the beginning of wider areas of complementarity particularly through the diffusion of technological knowhow and processes. Individual enterprise.in both countries need to intensify their direct cooperation seeking the application of inter-governmental, agreements to actual conditions within their field of competence. This cooperation can take new forms like establishment of joint companies for designing. construction and production purposes in the developing countries as well as for joint marketing efforts. Cooperation over wider

420

avenues like these has "direct trade-creating effects", since deliveries of complete plants and materials for projects undertaken with socialist countries' assistance constitute a component of latter's merchandise exports. Apart from direct and primary trade effects, the multiplier effects of such cooperation extend to the "tertiary sector" and have spread effects over the rest of the economy.

In spite of some critics, the bilateral trading relationship between the East European countries and the developing countries has been a dynamic factor in the economic advancement of the third World. The choice between bilateral and multilateral payments mechanism is not arbitrary., The choice depends on the level of the economic development, international competitiveness of the interested countries and their overall economic policies. Under the present structure of the world economy, the alternative for the developing countries is not a choice between bilateralism and multilateralism. Developing countries face a more chronic problem of meeting their balance of payments deficits which hinders the achievement of the desired rate of growth and curtails their efforts to reduce their technological dependence on the metropolitan countries. Within this framework, direct bilateral relations have promoted not only

commercial transactions but have acted as a vehicle in quickening their pace of economic, scientific and technological advancement. The choice of trading patterns cannot be an academic one. In the context, of deteriorating environment of external trade, pragmatism would suggest that during the Seventies developing countries must increasingly rely on widening and diversifying their trading relationship, with countries of East Europe.

INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC RUSSIA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

SPAIN

Indo-Spanish Trade and Co-operation Agreement

The following is the text of a Press Note issued in New Delhi on December 14, 1972 on the conclusion of a Trade and Economic Co-operation agreement between India and Spain:

India and Spain today concluded a Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement, providing for most-favoured-nation treatment to their mutual trade.

The agreement was signed by Shri L. N. Mishra, Union Foreign Trade Minister, on behalf of India, and Mr. Gregorio Lopez Bravo, Foreign Minister of Spain, on behalf of his country.

Attached to the agreement are two lists of items for export from each to the other country: list for export to Spain comprises 97 items: the other list relates to items available for export from Spain to India and comprises 77 items.

Both countries have agreed that there are considerable possibilities of economic cooperation between the two countries in fields, such as (a) Establishment of joint ventures in India and Spain, (b) Supply of engineering and other services, plants, machinery and equipments to each other and to third countries and (c) Joint execution of contracts, provision of services and establishment of joint ventures in third countries.

Both countries have also agreed to explore the possibilities of cooperating with each other in the above and any other fields to the mutual advantage of both sides within the framework of their respective rules, laws and regulations.

421

The agreement has specified certain areas where there should be possibilities of cooperation. These are: (a) Fertilizers and Fertilizers plants, (b) Petro-chemical industries. (c) Crude Oil Refineries, (d) Electronics and electrical equipment, (e) Railway equipment, (f) Shipyards and Ship building industry, (g) Agricultural equipment and (h) Leather industry.

It has been decided to set up a joint committee consisting of representatives of two Governments, in pursuance of the objectives of today's agreement.

The agreement will remain in force for a period of two years and shall be automatically extended for periods of two years unless terminated by either party in accordance with the provisions of the Agreement.

SPAIN INDIA USA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

Joint Communique on Visit of Spanish Foreign Minister

The following is the text of the Joint Communique issued in New Delhi on December 19, 1972 on the visit to India of the Spanish Foreign Minister, Don Gregorio Lopez Bravo, and Senora de Lopez Bravo from the 13th to the 19th of December, 1972:

At the invitation of the Indian Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, the Foreign Minister of Spain Don Gregorio Lopez Bravo, and Senora de Lopez Bravo, paid an official visit to India from the 13th to the 19th of December, 1972. The Spanish Foreign Minister was accompanied by Sr. Rodriguez Porrero, Director-General, Political Affairs in the Spanish Foreign Affairs Ministry, and Sr. Martinez Caro, Head of the Cabinet of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Spanish Foreign Minister was received by the President of India, Shri V. V. Giri, the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation, Dr. Karan Singh, and the Minister of Foreign Trade, Shri L. N. Mishra.

The Foreign Ministers of Spain and India availed of the opportunity of the Spanish Foreign Minister's presence in India for an extensive tour d'horizon of the international situation. The Foreign Minister of Spain explained his country's viewpoint on European questions, on the question of peace and security of the Mediterranean and on Middle East problems. The Foreign Minister of India elaborated on Asian problems and India's relations with her neighbours. These exchanges brought out the essential similarity of their approach on many international issues and of their overwhelming desire for peace and detente. Both Foreign Ministers were keen to develop further Indo-Spanish economic relations. In this connection the Foreign Minister of Spain offered possibilities of trade expansion and economic collaboration particularly in new and sophisticated branches of industry and this offer was warmly welcomed by the Foreign Minister of India.

The Foreign Minister of Spain and the Indian Minister of Foreign Trade signed a trade agreement which provides for a new framework for increased trade and commercial exchanges between the two countries.

The two Foreign Ministers looked into the prospects of cooperation in the cultural and scientific fields between the two countries, and agreed that during the next two years efforts should be made to bring about closer cultural cooperation and exchanges between Spain and India. In this connection, they agreed on a programme of exchanges for the next two years.

In the distinguished presence of the Foreign Ministers of Spain and India, Shri Homi N. Sethna, Secretary of the Indian Atomic Energy Department, and H.E. Mr. Guillermo Nadal, Ambassador of Spain in India, exchanged letters extending the Indo-Spanish Agreement for the peaceful uses of atomic energy of 27th March, 1965, for a further period of five years.

The Spanish Foreign Minister and his party visited Agra, Bangalore and Bombay. They were able to see some of India's modern industries.

422

The Spanish Foreign Minister expressed his particular happiness at visiting India on the 25th anniversary of India's independence. He showed deep appreciation of the efforts being made by India to create a spirit of detente and amity among the countries of the sub-continent.

Mr. Lopez Bravo, expressed his gratitude for the hospitality that the Indian Government and people had shown him during his visit.

The visit has brought to light not only the cordial links of friendship that unite both countries, but also Vie necessity to increase them and extend them to other fields of cooperation.

The Foreign Minister of Spain extended a warm invitation to the Foreign Minister of India to pay a visit to Spain at a time convenient to him. The Foreign Minister of India accepted this invitation with thanks.

SPAIN INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC USA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

TANZANIA

Indian Credit to Tanzania

The following is the text of a press release issued in New Delhi on December 6, 1972 on the signing of an agreement between India and Tanzania for the grant of an Indian Credit of Rs. 50 million to Tanzania:

An agreement for an Indian credit of Rs. 50 million to Tanzania was signed here today. This is the first agreement of its kind with Tanzania, a country with which India has the closest of relations.

The agreement was signed on behalf of India by the Finance Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan, and on behalf of Tanzania by its Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr. A. H. Jamal.

The credit will be available for the purchase of machinery from India to set up projects in the field of power, industrial estates, small-scale industries and such other fields as are mutually agreed to by the two Governments. It will also be available for the provision of expert services from India.

The loan bears interest at 5 per cent

per annum and is repayable over a period of 12 years.

TANZANIA INDIA USA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

TANZANIA

Trade Agreement with Tanzania

The following is the text of a press release issued in New Delhi on December 12, 1972 on the signing of a trade agreement between India and Tanzania:

India and Tanzania today signed a Trade Agreement providing for Most-Favoured-Nation Treatment to each other.

Today's agreement was signed by Union Foreign Trade Minister. Shri L. N. Mishra. and Mr. A. H. Jamal, Minister of Commerce and Industry of Tanzania.

The agreement, will be in force for one year. The working of the agreement will be reviewed comprehensively at the end of six months from now.

423

Provision has also been made in the agreement for both countries to take all measures to facilitate the objective of achieving a steadily increasing and more balanced trade.

The agreement has been signed following discussions between the high-level delegation from Tanzania led by Mr. Jamal with specialists in India in various fields. During these discussions, possibilities of Indian assistance to Tanzania in regard to technical

know-how, supply of equipment, technical personnel and training facilities in various fields were discussed.

Trade between India and Tanzania has been growing in volume over the past few years. The trade turnover both-ways has been of Hie order of about Rs. 20 crores annually.

In recent years, non-traditional products from India have also been exported to Tanzania.

SHRI MISHRA'S SPEECH

Speaking immediately after the signing of the agreement, India's Foreign Trade Minister described it as "a fitting finale" for the delegation's visit which has contributed greatly to mutual understanding and cooperation.

Shri Mishra added: "In signing this Trade Agreement, we look forward to closer economic and commercial ties with your country and a closer participation in more specific ways in the developmental process of your country. I hope that this agreement will act as an instrument for fulfilling some of the objectives which have been detailed in The Lusaka Declaration of "Non-alignment and Economic Progress".

India's Foreign Trade Minister referred to the entry of the United Kingdom into the Common Market and stated that it is essential to carry out a comprehensive reassessment in regard to trade between the developing countries. Shri Mishra said that this has to be done with a view to converting trade into a far more effective instrument of economic development.

Warmly reciprocating Shri Mishra's sentiments, Mr. Jamal said that his country hoped to go along with India in friendly and fruitful cooperation. India and Tanzania share many anxieties and hopes. He agreed with Shri Mishra that solutions to several problems concerning the developing countries have to be sought from initiatives not only on a bilateral basis but in world forum

TANZANIA INDIA USA ZAMBIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

THIRD ASIAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR

President Giri's Speech at Asia'72 Closing Ceremony

Following is the text of the President, Shri V. V. Giri's, speech at the Third Asian International Trade Fair (Asia'72) closing ceremony in New DOM on December is, 1972:

My Government has had the privilege of hosting the Third Asian International Trade Fair for the last 45 days, Asia'72, as it is popularly known, has been a memorable event. The Fair represented a milestone in more than one sense. It symbolised the coming together of nations from different parts of the world for mutual benefit, for strengthening the existing trade links and for exploring a new era of economic cooperation. Asia'72 has marked a big step forward realising this objective.

For us the Fair had an additional and deeper significance. Coinciding as it did with the 25th Anniversary of our Indepen-

424

dence, it provided an opportunity to assess the strength of our industrial base and impressively project it in an international forum. The Fair has also enabled other developing countries to project their achievements and aspirations. We are happy to see this. Many of the developed countries, who enthusiastically participated in this Fair, have also demonstrated their desire to cooperate with us in our efforts to build a better life for our people. We welcome this endeavour.

Along with Asia'72, my Government in collaboration with the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation organised an international Seminar on Transfer of Technology. I had the, pleasure of inaugurating this Seminar, which was attended by all the participating countries in this Fair. The Seminar reached some positive conclusions. They merit serious consideration both by the developed and developing countries.

As on earlier occasions, the Economic Commission for Asia and Far East had also organised intra-regional trade promotion talks to coincide with the Third Asian International Trade Fair. I was glad to hear that there were more participants on this occasion and 93 bilateral discussions took place. I hope these talks will lead to increase in cooperation and contribute to the development and welfare of the region.

A number of delegations from several participating countries visited the Fair and concluded useful agreements with us. Trade Ministers from most of the participating countries along with their senior officials and representatives of trade and industry also came here to see the Fair. They have all made new contacts and have carried with them high impressions of what they saw. This association has created a new atmosphere of good-will and we want these Fairs to become a permanent feature of our future trading. We want to use them for further expansion of trade among the developing countries and with the developed countries who participate in our Fairs.

Trade Fairs are recognised institutions all over the world. They not only mirror in economic progress, but also emphasise the inter-dependence of nations in an age where travel, trade and communications have annihilated space. Asia'72 has brought home this truth. It was a good Fair but all good things must come to an end.

I, now, declare 'the Third Asian International Trade Fair as closed.

USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

THIRD ASIAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR

Foreign Trade Minister's Speech at Asia'72 Closing Ceremony

Following is the full text of the Foreign Trade Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra's speech in Knee, Delhi on December 18, 1972 at the Closing ceremony of the Third Asian International Trade Fair:

I have the honour to welcome all of you to this closing ceremony of the Third Asian International Trade Fair. We are honoured by you, Rashtrapatiji, for having consented to grace the occasion which marks the finale of a spirited national endeavour.

Throughout the phase of construction and ever since its opening, we have derived abiding inspiration from keen interest and the guidance which our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, has imparted to this Fair in making this truly representative of the new India we wish to create.

The Third Asian International Trade Fair hosted by the Government of India and organised under the auspices of the Economic Commission of Asia and the Far East, has secured wider participation than the earlier ones held in Bangkok and Tehran. The increased participation is an indication of greater consciousness among the countries of the ECAFE for fostering programmes of closer cooperation among the developing countries.

The Fair has been popular and nearly six-and-a-half million people visited it during the short span of 45 days. A very large

425

number of high-value contracts have been concluded during the currency of this Fair.

It is widely accepted that the commercial success of fail's and exhibitions cannot be judged through spot commercial transactions. ASIA'72 has triggered off a wider awareness of potentialities and competence of India as a viable exporter and a mature industrial nation. The large number of commercial enquiries received so far and the creation of conditions for even larger number of enquiries to follow bears testimony of this awareness.

The participation of so many diverse, nations with different stages of economic growth is an example of constructive international cooperation for "Closer Partnership for Progress". The Fair provided an opportunity for many developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to participate for the first time on the soil of India.

We trust they found their participation rewarding and we look forward to their being with us in future endeavours of this kind.

The participation of the East European countries has been particularly impressive. Many of the developed countries have also shown enthusiastic interest in this Fair and have demonstrated their belief that international economic progress is the shared and concomitant responsibility of different nations of the world.

INDIAN PARTICIPATION

The Indian participation has been heartening to all. State Governments, major industries, both from public and private sector, various Ministries of the Government of India have united to project the image of a pulsating and dynamic country engaged in the common march towards rapid prosperity for all. The Fair, gave us an opportunity to represent in a microscopic form the gigantic achievements in industry and agriculture, in trade and commerce, in science and technology, which our country has achieved during the last 25 years of our freedom.

Art does not necessarily imitate commerce. Economic prosperity also involves an improvement in the quality of our lives.

CULTURAL PROGRAMMES

The evening cultural programmes in theatres Hamsadhvani, Shakuntalam, Yuvvani and Rural India Complex have been the scene of some of our best artistic performances.

Musicians, dancers and folk artists of India have lent an artistic dimension to this Fail-. A number of participating countries presented special cultural programmes on their National Days lending to greater appreciation of the varied forms of ail. To all these cultural 'troupes from abroad and to the artists from India, I would like to express our deep appreciation.

The Cultural Delegation which came front Fiji, the troupe of fire-walkers kept us spell-bound with their skill and dexterity it left our imagination live on areas where art and aesthetic forms blend inexplicably with the mystic.

Unfortunately, on the 13th December, the high priest of the fire-walker, His Holiness Semi Raikadra Nalota suddenly took ill and died two days later. On behalf of the organisers of this Fair and on behalf of the Government of India, I would like to convey our sincere condolences to the Government of Fiji and the members of the Fijian Cultural Delegation on this tragic bereavement.

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

The Fair represents the collective work of a large number of Indian architects, interior designers and artists. Several agencies have given us their unstinted cooperation. Ministries of the Government of India, the Central Public Works Department, the Delhi Administration, the Municipal Corporation, New Delhi Municipal Committee, the Delhi Development Authority, the district officials of Delhi, the law and order and traffic police, the transport undertaking, the electric supply undertaking and my own officials in the Ministry of Foreign Trade have rendered service with dedication and loyalty.

In building this Fair, some 40 to 50 thousand workers, both skilled and unskilled, have worked round-the-clock towards the

426

successful end. The monuments that we see around us are the product of their hope and inspiration to build a new India based on freedom and equality.

In her inaugural address at the commencement of the Fair 45 days ago, our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, had said and I quote:

"Everywhere man, individually and in groups, aspires for equality without which there can be no ending of tensions. He hopes that the small can co-exist with the big, that the frail individual will be able to prevail against the might of governmental systems, that his still small voice will not be drowned in the roar of power".

It is our expectation; Ladies and Gentlemen, that the throning multitudes, big and small, their good humour, their excitement, the orderly behaviour of the millions, the dedication of-thousands of workers, the precision of our architects, the aesthetic flight of our artists, the rush of trade, the blending of the national with the international, has, in a large measure, contributed to the fulfilment of this hope expressed by our Prime Minister.

It is on this note of hope and the promise of what the future holds for us that I now request you Rashtrapatiji to formally close this Asian Fair.

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

THIRD ASIAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR

Foreign Trade Minister's Address at Regional Trade Conference

Following is the text of the Foreign Trade Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra's address in New Delhi on December 4, 1972 while inaugurating the Intra-Regional Trade, Talks under the auspices of ECAFE:

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you on behalf of the Government of India and on my own behalf to the 10th series of Intra-Regional Trade Promotion Talks sponsored by the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. I find it gratifying that we are gathered here in New Delhi on a doubly auspicious time. This year we are celebrating the Silver Jubilee of India's Independence, which happily also coincides with the 25th Anniversary of ECAFE. To my mind, the fact that New Delhi is the venue for these talks, as also for the Third Asian International Trade Fair, is a powerful re-affirmation of India's faith in the aims and objectives of ECAFE.

It has been recognized for long in ECAFE that the Promotion of Trade within the region forms an essential element in the economic development of member-countries. When the Trade Promotion Talks were first organized in 1959, the response was most encouraging. Subsequent series were hold annually till 1966 when it was decided to hold them in conjunction with the Asian Trade Fair every three years. These talks organised primarily as bilateral discussions between

the member-States have proved to be a useful forum for identifying concrete possibilities of Trade expansion.

As at Bangkok and Tehran, it is hoped that the talks would give a practical direction to the programme of Regional Trade Expansion. Distinguished delegates would be able to see for themselves the potential for trading in a wide range of products at the Third Asian International Trade Fair. The theme of the Fair is "Peace and Progress for Asia through Economic Cooperation" and we hope that it projects "the new and dynamic phase of development in Asia". I would, therefore, suggest that the Fair be viewed as a spectrum of the outstanding problems and possibilities of our continent. It reflects the aspirations of countless millions of our peoples and highlights the difficulties and desires of the new Asian drive towards prosperity for all.

The response from participants in Asia'72 has been a source of great satisfaction to us as well as to ECAFE. As many as forty-seven countries, both within the Region as well as some from outside, and nineteen international firms display their wares at the Fair. In its totality, the Fair

represents the wide spectrum on which development has taken place in the participating countries. It is indicative of the reservoir of skills and know-how in the different sectors of the countries in the

region.

To the people of India, ASIA'72 naturally has a special significance. It symbolises for them the fruits of a quarter of a century of freedom and planned development. Progress, though not even, has been continuous, and, particularly during the last five years, we have witnessed a period of sustained growth averaging 5 per cent annually. This was made possible, thanks largely to a significant break-through in our agricultural production. Growth in the industrial sector, though not as spectacular, has also been steady with an impressive increase in pro-

duct diversification. This has brought about

substantial changes in the volume and-structure of our Foreign Trade. Our exports, which had tended to stagnate in the fifties, improved considerably in the last decade and are rising along an upward curve. Export performance particularly remained good in 1970-71. Increase in exports is coupled with greater diversification both in terms of products as well as in the direction of our trade. While the share of the affluent countries in our exports has declined, an increasing proportion of our products now goes to countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

While the dynamism shown by the different sectors is gratifying, we derive some satisfaction that our overall objective of economic growth is to achieve greater prosperity with a wider diffusion of the fruits of progress. Towards this end, the drive to self-reliance is an important plank of our policy. We do not interpret selfreliance as an insular concept, but rather as a practical requirement for every nation that wishes to take its place among the comity of sovereign self-respecting nations. Growth for the sake of growth is also foreign to our way of thinking. If progress is to have any meaning, it must be progress for all. The sharing of the fruits of economic advancement and the creation of an egalitarian society, therefore, form an integral part of our planning for development.

We feel that the objective of our economic policies is consistent with the concept of Regional Co-operation. Self-reliance for the Region as a whole is, therefore, fundamental to our approach. At the same time programmes for joint and concerted action within ECAFE in all spheres of economic and social life must seek to raise the lives of our masses to levels commensurate with human dignity.

It is in this spirit that India lends her support to the initiatives taken in ECAFE for co-operation in the Region. While there has been useful progress in delineating the areas of cooperation, we need to devote increased attention to unfinished tasks of implementation. Several proposals are- under consideration and their speedy implemen-

tation will be a measure of seriousness in pursuing the aim of regional co-operation.

I trust that your discussions here, bilateral as well as multinational, would prove to be free, frank and fruitful. To the developing countries present here, I would express the hope 'that these talks would lay the foundation for the discussions next month in the Trade Negotiations Group under the Asian Trade Expansion- Programme.

In our discussions we can derive inspiration from the inaugural speech of the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at the ASIA'72 where she said "Asia should cast aside its differences and unite, not in opposition to other continents and regions, not in any spirit of pan-Asian chauvinism, but solely for the welfare of its peoples who have so long been harried and impoverished and who so desperately need peace and the wherewithal to live in decency and honour".

I now declare open the Tenth Series of ECAFE Intra-Regional Trade Promotion Talks.

428

INDIA USA IRAN

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UGANDA

Shri Surendra Pal Singh's Statement on Expulsion of First Secretary of Indian High Commission in Kampala

The following is the text of the statement made in the Parliament on December 21, 1972 by Shri Surendra Pal Singh, Deputy Minister of External Affairs,

regarding the expulsion of Shri N. N. Desai, First Secretary in the High Commission of India in Kampala:

The House will be disturbed to learn of a further incident that has occured in 'the last two days concerning our relations with Uganda.

We have received information that our First Secretary in our High Commission in Kampala has been asked to leave the country. Shri N. N. Desai, the First Secretary, was summoned by the Minister of Defence of Uganda at 8.30 A.M., last Tuesday, the 19th of December. Our High Commissioner who had requested that he should be present at the interview was not permitted to do so. At this interview Shri Desai was shown a letter signed by him which he had addressed to the local National Transport Company and in which he had made inquiries on behalf of the High Commission about the ownership of certain cars belonging to expelled Asians in order to determine whether their owners were Indian nationals. The Defence Minister of Uganda stated that in addressing a letter to the transport company on this matter, Shri Desai had acted in an improper manner and not in conformity with his diplomatic functions. Shri Desai's explanation that these were normal consular inquiries was summarily rejected. The Minister then informed him that he should leave the country within 48 hours in view of these improper activities.

For the information of Honourable Members, I might explain that a number of cars belonging to those expelled had been taken out of Uganda by the National Transport Company and had reached Mombasa from where the Uganda Government had ordered them to be brought back on the plea that they had been wrongly exported. In making inquiries on this matter, particularly where Indian nationals were concerned, our High Commission was obviously exercising its legitimate functions of safeguarding the interests and residual assets of Indian nationals. The High Commission in fact had already addressed a similar Note to the Uganda Foreign Office.

Our High Commissioner has lodged a strong protest with the Foreign Office of Uganda and has sought an interview with the Foreign Minister. Similar protests were also made with the Acting High Commissioner of Uganda in Delhi who till yesterday stated that he had no information on this matter.

Yesterday a Note was received by our High Commission from 'the Uganda Foreign Office reiterating that Shri Desai should leave Uganda by 9.00 A.M. this morning. Shri Desai left Uganda yesterday.

The House is aware of the considerable restraint Government has exercised over the past months in relation to the distressing events that have taken place in Uganda. At this stage I should like to assure the House that we are pursuing this matter and will take whatever action is necessary in our best interests.

UGANDA INDIA USA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UGANDA

Lok Sabha Statement on Expulsion of First Secretary in Kampala

Following is the text of the statement by Deputy Minister of External Affairs in Lok Sabha on December 22, 1972 regarding expulsion of Shri N. N. Desai, First Secretary in the High Commission of India in Kampala:

The House is aware of the statement which I made yesterday on the subject of

the expulsion by the Government of Uganda of Shri N. N. Desai, First Secretary in our High Commission at Kampala. I have taken note of the deep concern of the House about this incident and the feelings about this action of the Government of Uganda.

In the note which our High Commissioner sent to the Ugandan Foreign Office on 19 December, he strongly protested against the unfounded and unsubstantiated allegations they made against Shri Desai and stressed that the expulsion orders given to Shri Desai were on a flimsy pretext and without any justification. He also stated categorically this could not but have repercussions on the existing relations between Uganda and India for which the responsibility would rest entirely with the Government of Uganda and further that the Government of India reserved their right to react as deemed appropriate.

Our High Commissioner later sent a second protest note to the Ugandan Foreign Office demanding that the allegation against Shri Desai of improper action and behaviour not in keeping. with his diplomatic accreditation should be either substantiated urgently or withdrawn categorically in the interest of Indo-Ugandan relations.

The High Commissioner is awaiting a reply from the Ugandan Government to his two written protests.

In New Delhi also we have taken up the matter strongly with the Acting High Commissioner of Uganda, adding that the Ugandan Government bears full responsibility for all the consequences which may result from their action which is contrary to all diplomatic norms.

Our High Commissioner in Kampala has also sought an interview with the Foreign Minister of Uganda at the earliest possible moment to convey our strong feelings and views concerning this incident. In due course after our High Commissioner has met the Foreign Minister he will send us a full report about his talks.

The situation which has arisen as a result of the expulsion of our First Secretary has caused us very serious concern. We have to examine all aspects before we take a final decision. As I informed the House yesterday we are keeping a close watch on developments in Uganda and will take whatever action we consider appropriate to safeguard our interests.

UGANDA INDIA USA **Date**: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Prime Minister's Message on Fiftieth Anniversary of USSR

The following is the text of the message of greetings and good wishes sent by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi to His Excellency Mr. A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the occasion of 50th Anniversary of the formation of the U.S.S.R:

On behalf of the Government and people of India I offer you our warm felicitations on the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Soviet people can be justly proud of their economic, scientific and cultural achievements during these five decades and of their sustained contribution to peace and to the battle for human equality. We are confident that the friendship and co-operation which has developed between our two countries over the years will be further streng-

430

thened in the future to our mutual benefit and in the interest of International peace and progress.

My Warm greetings and good wishes for the greater prosperity of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and for the welfare and happiness of the friendly people of the Soviet Union.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

USA INDIA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Sardar Swaran Singh's Message

Following is the text of the Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh's message on the occasion of the release of the special commemorative stamp on December 30, 1972 to mark the 50th Anniversary of the formation of U.S.S.R.:

The establishment - of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been a significant event in world history. Today we in India mark the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with the issue of a commemorative stamp. A few days ago I was present in Moscow for the celebrations connected with the 50th anniversary and had the opportunity to experience once again the warmth of the friendly feelings which the Soviet people entertain towards the people of India. I am confident that the friendship and close cooperation which exist between our two countries will be further strengthened in the years to come to our mutual benefit as well as in the interest of international peace and security. Our greetings and good wishes go

to the friendly people of the Soviet Union for their further successes in the future.

USA INDIA RUSSIA

Date: Dec 01, 1972

Volume No

1995

UNITED KINGDOM

British Loan for Debt Belief

Following is the text of a press release issued in New Delhi on December 11, 1972 on the signing of an agreement between India and U. K. for a British loan of (pond)8 Million as debt relief aid:

Britain is to lend (pond)8 million to India as debt relief aid under an agreement signed here today.

The loan represents the British contribution to the debt relief scheme for 1972-73 agreed by members of the Aid India Consortium following negotiations earlier this year.

The loan is not tied to the purchase of goods and services from Britain. Like all British loans to India since 1965, this loan is interest-free and repayable over 25 years, with no repayment due for the first seven years.

The British High Commissioner, Sir Terence Garvey, signed the agreement for the British Government, and Shri M. G. Kaul, Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Union Ministry of Finance, for the Government of India.

Speaking on the occasion, Sir Terence Garvey said Britain attaches great importance to the alleviation of the burden of debt carried by the developing countries. Up to the mid-1960's, the repayment terms of the aid provided by Britain were much less easy than they are today and this has given rise to the need for adequate debt refinancing. With the loan agreement signed today, he

431

said Britain will have committed (pond)49 million out of its pledge of (pond)63 million. The remaining (pond)14 million is earmarked for a Capital Investment Loan and he hoped that negotiations on this will soon be completed.

Shri M. G. Kaul, in reply, expressed appreciations Britain's liberal aid terms over the last few years and said these could be held up as a model to, other donor eountries. Shri Kaul Aid it would be helpful for the formulation of India's development programmes during the next Five Year Plan if Britain could give an indication of the quantum of its likely aid over the next three or four years.

432

INDIA CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Date: Dec 01, 1972