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# INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

By Y.B.CHAVAN

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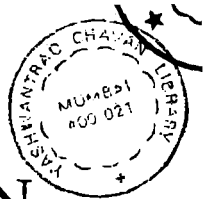
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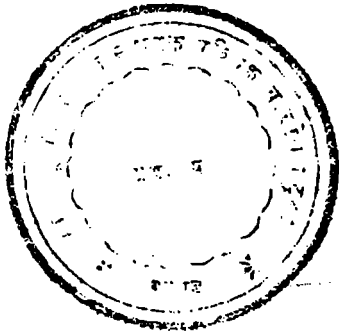
# INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

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# Contents

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<i>Frontispiece</i>	Facing p. iii
<i>List of illustrations</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>Introduction</i>	xiii
<b>PART I</b>	
<b>IN RETROSPECT</b>	
1. A WORLD VIEW FOR THE EIGHTIES: AN INTERVIEW	3
2. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF JANATA GOVERNMENT — A CRITIQUE	42
<b>PART II</b>	
<b>SOCIO-POLITICAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS</b>	
3. INDIA AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY	55
4. NEHRU'S INSIGHT INTO THE SPIRIT OF INDIA	63
5. APARTHEID: CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY	67
6. GANDHI: ENDLESS SEARCH FOR A BETTER WORLD	70
<b>PART III</b>	
<b>GUIDELINES FOR FOREIGN POLICY</b>	
7. SELF-RELIANCE IN FOREIGN POLICY	77
8. PEACE, FRIENDSHIP AND HUMANISM	83
9. SOLIDARITY OF PROGRESSIVE FORCES	88
10. ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST	91
11. A NEW DYNAMISM	95
12. MULTIPOLARITY OF WORLD SCENE	100
13. CONCERN OVER INDIAN OCEAN DEVELOPMENTS	105



**PART IV**  
**NON-ALIGNMENT IN A CHANGING WORLD**

14. CONTRIBUTION OF COLOMBO SUMMIT	111
15. ROOTS IN HISTORY AND TRADITION	121
16. A WAVE OF THE FUTURE	126
17. A PROGRAMME FOR MUTUAL ASSISTANCE	132
18. SOCIAL CONTENT: A BINDING FORCE	139
19. POSITION ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS	144
20. SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIC DECISIONS AT HAVANA	150
21. REAFFIRMATION OF SOLIDARITY, UNITY AND GOALS	154

**PART V**  
**UNITED NATIONS AND FRAMEWORK FOR NEW  
ECONOMIC GLOBAL ORDER**

22. INDIVISIBILITY OF WORLD PEACE	163
23. THIRTY-ONE YEARS OF U. N.: AN ASSESSMENT	172
24. FROM PRINCIPLES TO REALITY	176
25. INTERDEPENDENCE AND COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY OF HUMANITY	180
26. UNPRECEDENTED CHALLENGE OF THE FUTURE	184
27. POLITICAL WILL AND MECHANISM FOR PROCESS OF CHANGE	189

**PART VI**  
**BILATERAL RELATIONS**

28. ASIA IN WORLD AFFAIRS	203
29. INDO-SOVIET TREATY	209
30. MANY-SIDED COLLABORATION BETWEEN INDIA AND U.S.A.	216
31. INDONESIA AND ASEAN: OUR IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURS	219
32. INDIA AND INDONESIA	222
33. INDIA AND YUGOSLAVIA: SIMILARITY OF VIEWS	225
INTERVIEW WITH ZAGREB TELEVISION	227
34. CO-OPERATIVE RELATIONS WITH NEPAL	232
35. PARTNERSHIP AND COMMON PURPOSE WITH SRI LANKA	234

<i>Notes</i>	239
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<i>Appendix</i>	245
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# *List of Illustrations*

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1. Jawaharlal Nehru, Shrimati Y. B. Chavan and author in 1956 in Maharashtra.
2. A view of non-aligned summit in Colombo in August, 1976. Chavan with R. Parthasarathy.
3. Meeting with Dr. Kurt Waldheim, U. N. Secretary-General during the U.N. Assembly Session in October, 1976 in New York.
4. Addressing the seventh special session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York in September, 1975.
5. Conference of Foreign Ministers of non-aligned nations in Lima (Peru) in August, 1975. Chavan with Foreign Secretary Kewal Singh.
6. With President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania in New York in January, 1976.
7. With Soviet leaders in Moscow in June, 1976.
8. With Soviet leaders in Georgia (USSR) in June, 1976.
9. With President Suharto in Jakarta (Indonesia) in July, 1976.
10. With U.S. President Gerald Ford in Washington in October, 1975.
11. With President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia in New Delhi in January, 1975.
12. With King Birendra Shah of Nepal in Kathmandu (Nepal) in January, 1976.
13. With Anthony Crosland, British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, in London in October, 1976.
14. With President Tito of Yugoslavia in New Delhi in 1975.
15. With Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, in Frankfurt in January, 1977.
16. At a meeting with Dr. Henry Kissinger, U.S. Secretary of State, in New Delhi in October, 1974.
17. With the British Prime Minister, James Callaghan, in New Delhi in January, 1978.
18. With President Anwar Sadat of Egypt in Cairo May, 1975.
19. With a group of Bangladesh artists in Dacca in December, 1974.
20. With Nehru in Ahmednagar in 1957 in Maharashtra.
21. With Nehru at Pratapgad Fort overlooking the Pratapgad Lake in Maharashtra in 1958.

## *Acknowledgements*

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Source material on which edited versions are based is drawn from official documents in the author's private collection, printed reports of the *Lok Sabha* and the *Rajya Sabha* of Parliament, and files of *Indian and Foreign Review*, New Delhi, for 1974-77.

Some of the photographs in the book are from the author's private collection. Others are by courtesy of Photo Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi; U.N. Information Centre, New Delhi; British High Commission, New Delhi; Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, New Delhi, and Embassy of Yugoslavia, New Delhi.

# Preface

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In October, 1976 I made a proposal that the texts of my speeches, articles, statements, and radio and television talks during my tenure as Minister of External Affairs from October 11, 1974 onwards may be put together for publication in book form for record and reference. The typescript of the material, assembled and roughly classified under broad subject-headings, turned out to be quite voluminous, approximately 175 separate pieces of nearly 100,000 words. All this material, reflecting our thinking on international affairs, could in all probability be quite useful as documentation of current history and source material for study of contemporary Indian diplomacy.

The idea to compile this material, as I see it now, was in a way both intuitive and prescient, a premonition of later events. I may however add that my personal views at that time were formless and uncertain in the prevalent political ethos in the country. I recall that in those troubled months I was filled with foreboding and given to intense heart-searching. In retrospect the attempt at compilation of recorded material on foreign affairs for the period between 1974 and 1977 appeared to be an index of my mood, foreshadowing the many developments that followed in quick succession in the first three months of 1977.

My tenure of office ended on March 23, 1977. But there was no necessity for me to make any substantive statements on foreign policy after January 18, 1977, the date of the announcement of the general election, which caught up with me in Romania on the eve of my scheduled departure to Czechoslovakia. I cancelled the visit and returned home.

Recently, when I got adjusted to my present and novel experience in my political career of being in the opposition party, after an uninterrupted period of nearly 14 years on the treasury benches in Indian Parliament, I again looked at the material collected nearly two years ago.

I found there was no need to publish all the material collected verbatim or in full transcript. Yet I felt that there might be something in it of value to the historian and the student of Indian diplomacy, not merely for a comparative study of the conduct of foreign policy in 1974-76 but also for identification of changes in emphasis, imperceptible or otherwise, in the finer nuances of India's participation in international affairs in these years. Keeping these criteria in mind, I have selected thirty-three pieces for this collection which, I hope, will be pertinent to contemporary Indian studies by academicians who might examine and debate, now or afterwards, whether on the international horizon our foreign policy has undergone since 1977 a shift at micro-level in style or substance or has remained a continuous stream as in the preceding three decades.

I have added to these pieces, a rather comprehensive and long interview given by me on February 4, 1979. Another piece included in this collection is the speech I made in Parliament on April 2, 1979 during the debate on the budget demands of the Ministry of External Affairs on the foreign policy of the Janata Government. In a way, these two pieces are retrospective, though I have also attempted to look into the future.

The rest of the material falls into five categories. First, there are policy and keynote speeches, such as those made in Parliament in New Delhi and at the United Nations General Assembly in New York. In the second category are occasional articles and interviews given to national and international media network. The speeches I made at academic institutions and international seminars fall in the third category. The speeches linked with the visits of foreign dignitaries to India or my own visits to foreign countries form the fourth category. Lastly, there are "protocol" remarks at formal functions, welcoming or bidding farewell to foreign ministers and diplomatists. The material classified in the first and second categories is of substantial value and has been retained more or less wholly. But the material in the third category has been edited. Much of the material in the

fourth and fifth categories had to be omitted, as it was of a conventional nature.

For editing and rearranging the material in this collection, I formulated specific guidelines. I felt that paragraphs, references or quotations which had occurred in the text more than once need not be repeated in the interest of brevity. It was not however proper to preclude altogether the reiteration at times almost in an identical syntax, of Indian thinking on central questions which embody the crux of our foreign policy because in international affairs issues often overlap and repeat themselves. Introductory remarks relevant only to a particular occasion or to a specific policy, group or leadership have been omitted. Obsolete or anachronistic statements which had lost significance or had been outpaced by events have also been excluded. The quotes were taken mainly from statements by Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and world leaders who have passed into history. My endeavour has been to preserve material of enduring value, which transcends shifts in policies in the international field or fluctuations in the fortunes of leaders in various countries in the fast-changing power configurations in the world.

I fear that the grouping of the edited material into six parts does not follow any set geographical or thematic classification. Indeed it would have been impossible to do so as foreign policy premises negate all kinds of boundaries. However, the arrangement broadly reflects my own priorities in international affairs. But too much should not be read into the volume, size or wordage on a particular country, region or part of the world. India's foreign policy since Nehru's days seeks a harmonious and integrated view of our relations with our neighbours as well as those geographically removed from us. We are equally concerned with the progress made by all nations, whether African, Asian, American, European or the Caribbean and with the closeness of our relations with them. We have given wholehearted support to the liberation movements in Africa. We have been anxious that man, emancipated and responsible to himself, should realise his full potentialities and the essential unity of mankind.

The time, place and origin of the material as well as editorial emendations — or call them liberties, if you like — have been documented in the notes at the end. These notes also reproduce

some of my thoughts, supplement the main text, and amplify my views in a personalised style.

The responsibility for the compilation, collation and editing of the material for the book was undertaken by Shyam Ratna Gupta, a former chief editor of *Indian and Foreign Review*. He began work on this project in the autumn of 1976 and, after an interval of two years, completed it on his retirement and return from his posting as the deputy chief of the Indian mission in Dublin. My thanks are due to him for the painstaking efforts he has made.

I should also like to thank Dr. Rafiq Zakaria for his suggestions in the preparation of the manuscript. My thanks are also due to those who have helped me in various ways in bringing out this book.

Y. B. CHAVAN

*New Delhi*  
*March 12, 1979*

# *Introduction*

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In the following paragraphs I have attempted to make a ~~capsuled~~ assessment of India's foreign policy from 1974 to 1977, the period when I was the external affairs minister of India. I like to share with the readers my appraisal of the main premises of India's foreign policy and of the major developments during this period.

During India's struggle for freedom, Mahatma Gandhi had laid down the basic ideals of independent India's foreign policy — the ideals of peace, friendship and co-operation with all, and an unequivocal anti-colonial and anti-racial stance. After India attained independence, in the first seventeen years, Jawaharlal Nehru gave concrete shape to Gandhi's universality and humanism. Having formulated creatively, definitively and with utmost sensitivity the fundamental premises which governed India's responses to international events, Nehru became the acknowledged architect of free India's foreign policy. The principles enunciated by Nehru and inspired by Gandhi continue to serve as beacon lights to India whenever crises occur.

The content of India's foreign policy, with non-alignment as its creed, is the trinity of peaceful co-existence, self-reliance, and co-operation with immediate neighbours. The non-aligned movement is against colonialism and racialism in all forms. It has strengthened the political will of developing nations to grapple with problems which may be historical in origin but have been aggravated in the postwar period due to inequitable distribution of the benefits generated by industrial and technological revolutions in the world. The urgency of reducing the widening



gap between the affluent few and the poverty-stricken multitude of nations has been repeatedly discussed in international forums. For affluence amidst poverty is a threat to peace.

Another premise of India's foreign policy is that each country as a sovereign nation under its own leadership has to be given the fullest scope to develop its resources and potentialities in accordance with its own national genius under a system of inter-dependence of the nations of the world.

As stated earlier, the grand design of India's foreign policy was given a tangible form by Nehru. With his wide grasp of international affairs, he placed before India a world view which holds good and is relevant to this day. Indeed he gave a new dimension to the ancient precepts of India in international relations. As I see it, the primary responsibility of a foreign minister of India is to translate Indian ideals and principles into action by taking into account the developing situation and by articulating in current idiom India's hopes and aspirations in the international field and to interpret and implement in letter and spirit the ideology of Gandhi and Nehru in a dynamic way.

During my tenure of office as foreign minister, I attempted to express India's perceptions and sensibilities within this framework of policy, not rigidly or statically but with resilience and flexibility, never losing sight even for a moment of what Nehru would have felt in the context of the emerging challenges to our hopes about world peace, universal fraternity and global socio-economic equality. India's attitude to bilateral and international questions was shaped through consensus and with the realisation that India's problems are ultimately the problems of the developing world in general.

Each chapter of this book opens with appropriate excerpts from my speeches or articles which represent the totality of my views and form what might be called the "preambles" to India's foreign policy. The excerpts embody my hopes and aspirations for the future of man and for his fast-shrinking universe. These "preambles" acquaint us with the philosophy of our foreign policy and subserve the purpose of connecting the scattered pieces, imparting a measure of homogeneity to the material and pinpointing the dominant Indian strands in the tapestry of international events.

I like to claim that without deviating from the basic policies laid down by Nehru, India reached during the period between

1974 and 1977 a higher peak in the perilous and rarefied terrain of international relations. Not only did India continue the ascent but also consolidated its achievements and broadened its understanding with those who were geographically further away from India. Indeed, India's relations transcended changes in leadership or adverse developments in some of these countries.

From the lofty heights that India was able to reach in its relationship with other countries, a wider vista of co-operative endeavour on an international scale came into view. One of the planks of India's foreign policy was the assertion of the collective strength of the developing nations with enlightened self-interest. Some of the developments unfolding before us at the present time, as I shall point out elsewhere in these pages, could be traced to the stirrings in the mid-70s when we were able to stabilise our gains and set a course for further progress. Although ours was a steady progress, the path was not free from hurdles.

One of the developments that gave a new shape to international relations during this period was the emergence of the concept of collective self-reliance, which took shape at the conferences of the non-aligned and commonwealth countries and in the north-south dialogue in Paris. I recall that my view at that time, as indeed at the present time, was that notwithstanding the varied levels of our development, we of the developing world could face the challenges thrown up by the interaction of major powers or events only if we stood together and co-operated with each other.

It is my view that co-operation would bring confidence in collective strength regardless of our individual status as small, medium or big nations. Such co-operation implies qualitative adjustment in joint endeavours among developing countries, rising above regional considerations and short-term advantages. The ethos of collective approach with due respect for national characteristics in the democratic or socialistic setting is the only corrective to individual paranoia or ultranationalistic chauvinism. If we closely examine the pattern of inter-relations it will be found that there are many new ways to co-operate and strengthen collective self-reliance in various spheres — in industry, technology, agriculture, and physical and social sciences. The areas could be enlarged to include many disciplines. The meaning of collective self-reliance has unhappily been misunderstood in

some quarters as an "aggressive design" of disparate elements. This is not true.

During the period I was foreign minister, one of the important problems I had to deal with related to the law of the seas. This is an extremely complex issue to which a solution has to be found in the coming decade. Only at the peril of mankind can rivalry on land be extended to the seas and oceans. I have said repeatedly that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace, free from super-power tension. As land resources are being progressively tapped and depleted, equitable sharing of resources of the ocean is a compelling necessity. Such sharing can take place only if there is peace and global understanding.

Other important developments during the period were the election of Jimmy Carter as the President of United States and the rise of a new leadership in China after the passing away of Chou En-lai and of Mao Tse-tung. These events gave a new contour to international relationship, a manifestation of which was the U.S. decision to establish diplomatic relations with China. The U.S. move implied the acceptance of a political factor which India had recognised much earlier.

India's basic assessment of China has been at variance with that of other countries, particularly the super powers. We had continued to advocate admission of China to the United Nations even in the face of the rude shock we had when China violated India's territorial integrity in 1962. Even after 1962 India maintained her friendly attitude towards China and her readiness to discuss the border problems. The upgrading of India's diplomatic relations with China in April, 1976 was not a radical departure but a continuation of India's time-honoured policy towards China.

I should like to recall here that I had cautioned against euphoria, as it would be patently wrong to expect that all would be well in our relations with China or that there would be enduring and stable harmony as a result of the exchange of ambassadors.

No one would deny the desirability of China being in the mainstream of international life, permitting the winds of change from the east and west to reach China. If we have to narrow down areas of tension, we must face the problems when China participates not only in the United Nations security council and

other U.N. forums but also in the more complicated areas involving exchanges in the commercial, fiscal, scientific and technological fields. It is necessary for India to be cautious about certain facets of the role China is playing and the game of the super-powers in the south and west Asian regions.

certain facets of the role China is playing and the game of the foreign minister was Dr. Henry Kissinger, the U.S. Secretary of State. This was a coincidence. His visit took place within three weeks of my taking up the foreign affairs portfolio. Kissinger had visited India earlier, in July, 1971, as U.S. Presidential adviser on national security. He had made many personal forays into international negotiations, appropriately described as shuttle diplomacy, including overtures to China in his secret or not-so-secret incursions into Asian countries. But his visit to India after I became foreign minister was the first visit to India of a member of the U.S. President's Cabinet. Dr. Kissinger had by then acquired the reputation of being a high-ranking world politician apart from being an intellectual and an astute negotiator. I found in him a good and genial listener, and he was receptive to India's reading of the international situation.

It was after my meeting with Dr. Kissinger in October, 1974 in New Delhi that the United States agreed to supply nuclear fuel to India and modify its earlier stand after the Pokhran nuclear explosion in May, 1974. India and the United States were also able to expand areas of co-operation through the mechanism of joint Indo-U.S. committee devised by us to deal with specific subjects of concern to the two countries. In October, 1975 I met President Ford, when the direction of Indo-American relations was set on a friendly path. Expansion of areas of co-operation between the two countries has continued more or less uninterruptedly under President Carter, except for the difficulties in the area of supplying nuclear fuel for Tarapur. The mechanism of joint committees is yielding good results half-a-decade after it was devised.

India made progress in many directions in the relationship with the Soviet Union, especially in the continued Soviet acceptance of the philosophy and practice of non-alignment. My meetings with the senior Soviet leaders and more frequently with Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko in New York during the United Nations sessions were consistently fruitful. India's

dialogue with the Soviet Union on political, economic and other matters had hardly a pause or diversion.

We did not deviate from our avowed path of peace and friendship with close neighbours in spite of untoward incidents or provocations which occurred not very far from our borders. I have in mind the tragic end of the late President Mujibur Rehman and his family in Bangladesh in August, 1975 and the hijacking of an Indian civil aircraft to Pakistan in September, 1976.

India's response to these events was cool and mature. Our policy was to recognise political realities and we accepted the emergence of a new government in Bangladesh. Our friendship and co-operation with the Bangladesh people were also not allowed to be affected by our sorrow over the adoption of violent means to bring about a change of government in that country.

The hijacking of an Indian plane to Pakistan and other unseemly repercussions too were taken by us in our stride, and we saw to it that our relations with Pakistan did not turn sour as a result of such occurrences. We gave our support to a proposal of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany in the U.N. General Assembly in 1976 to evolve a common approach to meet such acts of terrorism in the air against innocent people. Farther away from our frontiers, we enlarged the circle of friendship and brought about a distinctly better understanding with Turkey and Romania, both of which had, for reasons of their own, been somewhat aloof from us.

To sum up, among the significant achievements of Indian diplomacy during my tenure of office was the initiation of the processes of normalisation of relations with China and better understanding on the basis of reciprocity with Pakistan. In bilateral relations with Pakistan and China, in spite of the many hurdles and irritants which hampered progress, we made a new beginning. With Pakistan, the new relationship was in the field of economic co-operation, trade and travel facilities. With China it was in the establishment of full diplomatic relations. These developments by themselves, initiated or supported by the former Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, were no mean achievements in the context of the past history of the relationships and the postures of the countries.

The success of the non-aligned summit in Colombo in August, 1976 was ensured by elaborate and intense preparations to resolve the political and economic questions of global magnitude. These were hammered out at meetings of the non-aligned countries at several levels. The more significant of them were those held in Havana, Lima and Algiers. In all these international gatherings the need was to reconcile the divergent tendencies coming to the surface. Such divergent attitudes were inevitable with the rapid spread of the non-aligned movement and the participation of representatives of more than a hundred nations as full members, observers or guests -- the largest assembly of nation-states outside the United Nations.

Such a large assemblage of non-aligned, sovereign nations, notwithstanding the voices of dissent, was near unanimous on most questions and worked as a cohesive force for the peace and progress of the developing countries and for the birth of a new economic order which should provide answers to the pressing needs of the poorest of the poor in the world. policy was geared to forging closer bonds of friendship with Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Thailand and the Maldives were milestones in its diplomatic relations. We believe that the oceans and the seas, with their almost unlimited resources, are the common heritage of man, and therefore we attached great importance in evolving a unity of approach.

I like to refer to an event of particular importance. The Indo-Soviet summit re-affirmed the understanding between India and the Soviet Union dating back to the pre-independence days which had acquired depth and maturity in political, technological and scientific fields. In our relations with the United States of America as well, the imbalance on their part was rectified in some measure, so that there was a degree of support by the U.S. leadership to the principles of India's foreign policy including non-alignment.

I have repeatedly emphasised in my speeches and articles during the years between 1974 and 1977 that India's foreign policy was geared to forging closer bonds of friendship with neighbours and with great powers separately but not at each other's expense. All this called for renewed and unvarying attention all the time to the changing political and economic contours of the world. Friendship and understanding have to be

guarded, broadened and deepened unceasingly in the stream of international relations, for there are hidden shoals and cross-currents which are thrown up by contemporary events none of which may be of one's own making.

I do not have the benefit of referring to official sources or documents for the interpretation of the conduct and practice of India's foreign policy between 1974 and 1977, and my assessment of international developments of the period is based largely on memory. I may submit that personal diplomacy with heads and foreign ministers of sovereign nations paid rich dividends during this period. Whether it was in south Asia, west Asia, Europe, the Americas, the Caribbean region or the Far East, I exchanged views with leaders of other countries in an informal setting and with utmost cordiality. I do not recall any dull moment in the dialogues with my counterparts in foreign countries whom I met in New Delhi, in their capitals, or at international gatherings in New York, Paris, Kingston, Lima, Havana, Algiers or Colombo. We attempted to understand each other's point of view, never forgetting our own perceptions and interests.

An amplification of some of my ideas on India's foreign policy will be found in the text of the interview which immediately follows these pages. The questions, devised within the framework of the themes dealt with in the anthology, refreshed my memory, brought back to my mind some of my views on crucial questions of my time, and encouraged me to think aloud on the future configuration of powers from which we cannot escape in this far-from-perfect world.

I hope the book in its present format will interest all those concerned with Indian diplomacy—general readers, political commentators and scholars in India and abroad. After all it is the inter-action of the views between the common man and the intellectual, the people and the thinker, one leading or following the other at varied points of time or in altered historical settings, which shapes policies and their application to international as well as to domestic affairs.

*Part One*

## IN RETROSPECT

*If one looks at the world as a whole, as Gandhiji and Nehru did, one has a permanent interest in improving the living standards of the poor all over the world. One should look at the world as a whole, with India only as a part of it . . . . The erosion of liberty anywhere and the impoverishment of people in any part of the world will have its repercussions in the other parts in some form or other . . . .*

*The compulsion of political events in international affairs should be such that they help to attain an ever-increasing level of understanding and friendship with other countries. We have to work towards the birth of a new economic order . . . within the framework of a harmonious and peaceful one world.*



## *A world view for the eighties : an interview*

---

*Q.* To begin with I should like to request you to give your personal analysis of the holographic epigraphs you have recorded from Gandhiji's and Nehru's writings. What, in your view, is the meaning of Gandhiji's humanism? What are its ingredients, and to which of these would you give priority in the emerging 1980s?

*A.* As you will notice from the Gandhian epigraph humanism is a unique combination of individual freedom and freedom of the human family. These two freedoms are the two faces of the same picture and they are in my opinion indivisible. As Gandhiji had pointed out, erosion of individual liberty will have immediate repercussions on national liberty and *vice versa*. In democratic and socialist systems of government, with its variations which a people might choose, humanism acquires many forms. In the field of foreign policy, it implies collective self-reliance for nations. There are so many ways in which we can enrich one another—our thought processes, our life-style and our economy. If we aggregated the resources of the developing world, it will be noticed that we have enough among ourselves to improve the living standards of our respective people within the framework of our national characteristics of governance and administration.

To paraphrase Gandhiji, I might say that humanism is a synonym for the ideal of progress towards universal brotherhood. From collective self-reliance we can gradually reach out towards developed world. This I believe is the interpretation of Gandhiji's humanism applicable for the coming years of the present decade.

In the eighties we should have to see that the content of individual and national liberty is enlarged quantitatively and qualitatively, and such weaknesses in the world system as apartheid exploitation, racism and discriminatory attitudes which are the black spots on humanity are erased.

Q.

*Humanism is often linked with human rights specially within the frame of various definitions of this term by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and other national or international organisations concerned with it. There are quite a few organisations today which seem to move towards the ideals of Gandhiji's humanism. What is your view on the question of human rights in terms of international relations?*

A.

When we are talking about Gandhiji's humanism, we do not identify the problem in the sense in which it is used in the him the independence struggle of India was also a manifestation Gandhiji's humanism was a more comprehensive concept. For him the independence struggle of India was also a manifestation of this humanism in South Africa, where human rights were trampled upon unabashedly. Humanism stands for liberation of mankind in the political, social and economic sense, complete absence of racial discrimination along with assertion of racial equality, abolition of political or economic exploitation of man by man, freedom of thought and organisation for the development of human personality.

Q.

*How would you like the voice of dissent to be heard in an organised society?*

A.

I think it is a basic right which is a part of humanism that there should be the right of dissent. But this should not imply the right of interfering in other country's affairs under the cover of human rights. Recently we saw a new development when all the European countries met in Helsinki. They came to an agreement which took cognizance of human rights. This would mean that every signatory of the agreement has undertaken the responsibility and obligation to implement the agreement in its own way. If anybody in the name of that pact wants to

interfere in some other country's internal affairs, I would say that it is not a proper interpretation of it.

Human rights, like freedom and peace, are indivisible. An abridgement of human rights anywhere is a matter of concern everywhere. Yet it is one thing to recognise the universality of human rights and quite another to invoke this universality in furtherance of global power politics. While all the nations must co-operate in enlarging the sphere of human rights, we must remember that no nation or society is perfect and that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones at others.

Q.

*Gandhiji had evolved the principle of "conscientious objection" to war in his struggle in South Africa. In the modern context, do you think this form of "conscientious objection" has relevance?*

A.

It has. It will always have. At the beginning of the second world war, Bertrand Russell and other eminent men had issued a statement against wars on the basis of conscientious objection. I think we would always have this kind of objection.

Q.

*In your opinion what is Nehru's world view? In what way did you translate it during your tenure in the field of international relations?*

A.

Nehru's world view found expression in independent India's foreign policy which he fashioned and conducted in an extraordinarily perceptive and balanced style. But Nehru's world view had emerged not after independence but even before independence in the many policy decisions that were taken during the national struggle on many of the international events like the Spanish Civil War. In many ways, Nehru's world view was an exposition of Gandhiji's humanism in a tangible form. Nehru talked about inter-relationship and inter-dependence of nations, and he emphasized that we must look at the world as a whole. He always looked at the world as one world and viewed even India's problems in that light. Today when we have split-second awareness of natural or man-made catastrophes, it is imperative that while we guard our own territorial integrity and life-style, we must also strengthen those forces which are fighting against racial and

economic injustice. For India mankind is one family and India's message throughout recorded history has been to devote time and attention to the well-being of not only to the people of India but to the people all over the world.

Q.

*You had attended the meetings of the Co-ordination Bureau of Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries at Havana, Lima and Algiers in March, 1975, August, 1975 and June, 1976. You had also attended the Colombo summit of non-aligned countries in 1976. Could you say something about these meetings in the context of the game of power politics?*

A.

Well, some of these conferences were meant for strengthening the cause of non-alignment. For instance, the non-alignment bureau meeting in Havana, the Foreign Minister's conference in Lima, and the Summit conference of non-aligned countries in Colombo, as well as the bureau meeting in Algiers were ultimately meant to take forward the non-alignment movement which had demonstrated the strength of its unity on the floor of the United Nations. The Western world, and I would say even the socialist world, have recognised the strength of the non-aligned movement. Therefore, it had become necessary to identify the problems which would require our attention in the days to come and arrive at some sort of consensus to be followed in the international conferences, including the United Nations.

There were certain trends that were encouraged by outside powers, which were calculated to weaken non-alignment. The non-aligned countries had to guard against these trends. I cautioned against these dangers and emphasized the trends that will unite us, not those that divide us. I remember one of the issues that was discussed rather with emotion and passion in these meetings was the desire of some of the countries which were parties to the military blocs to be associated with the non-aligned conference and to seek invitation as observers or guests. This created quite a controversy in the discussions at that time.

The other issue that dominated the discussions in these conferences was the question of a new economic order. It was raised at a special session of the United Nations, and the non-aligned conference wanted to take some sort of a well-organised position

about it. Naturally, this was also one of the issues that was discussed comprehensively. The Lima conference dealt with it in greater detail. So did the Kingston Commonwealth summit conference. As a matter of fact, the Kingston summit went so far as to appoint a committee of experts to prepare a sort of a report to be pursued for the purpose of establishing a new economic order.

Another issue which dominated the Kingston summit, if I remember right, was the situation or the problem of the struggle of the people in South Africa. The question of Rhodesian independence and the liberation of Namibia was taken up by the African countries. The United Kingdom and Canada, supported the thinking of other countries, though the United Kingdom was somewhat apologetic about its inaction.

Q.

*You have mentioned about two trends which may weaken the non-alignment movement. One is racial discrimination and the other military alliances. Do you think that these trends have been contained to some extent by the non-alignment movement?*

A.

Well, I would say that the non-alignment movement as such has highlighted and given moral support to the struggles and movements against racial discrimination and exploitation by imperialistic powers. To that extent, the non-aligned movement has done service to the cause. For example, the dismantling of the Portuguese empire was a very important development of the seventies, which started with the liberation of countries in Africa, like Mozambique and Angola, and, I would say, the liberation of Portugal itself from the fascist regime.

#### *Military Blocs Create Tension*

Q.

*Do you think that the teeth of the military alliances have been taken out?*

A.

Yes. I was coming to that. Your first question has also raised this point. Excepting perhaps NATO, the other alliances have lost their teeth. NATO has sharpened its teeth. Military alliances are a reality on the continent of Europe more than anywhere

else, though military agreements, and military blocs do exist outside Europe.

*Q.*

*Ultimately, does it really mean that the European continent is the one where the non-alignment movement should have greater support in the eighties?*

*A.*

They are finding solutions for their problems in their own way. But Europe has been the theatre of wars — two world wars. Their experiences are different, their socio-economic problems are different. Therefore, they will have to go about the political situation in their own way.

But one of the prominent countries of the non-aligned movement comes from Europe. I mean, Yugoslavia. Disarmament is the answer for them. The global expenditure on the arms race has exceeded the terrifying level of \$ 300,000 million, while hunger, social injustice and misery stalk the world. That is why we reinforced the appeal of the late Pope Paul, one of the greatest spiritual leaders of our time, on reduction of arms expenditure, as there is no sane alternative whatsoever to disarmament and peace in the world. Nuclear disarmament also calls for urgent attention. Mankind's development is linked with moral growth, social justice and equality and not with multiplicity of weaponry. Only then can we move towards elimination of tensions and enduring peace.

*Q.*

*Research is being conducted in many European countries on the problem of conflict and tension in society and its solution. These problems are being studied in Europe on what might be called a sociological, scientific basis. Do you think that India can contribute to thinking of this?*

*A.*

Yes, I think India can contribute not only in an academic sense, but can also contribute to the solution of these problems by analysing India's own socio-economic problems and finding out model solutions for them.

*Q.*

*What we find in Europe, speaking very broadly, is that there*

*is a highly intellectual approach to these questions, which in some cases has no moral support at all because somehow or other they continue to think in terms of balancing of forces in society, so that the evils of society are actually neutralised against each other. Gandhiji's humanism had a moral base. What are your views on these divergent attitudes towards containment of tension and conflict?*

A.

I think that is a very important aspect. That is where Gandhiji stood apart from others. Gandhiji's main contribution in this particular field is his insistence on the purity of both means and ends. He believed that the means are as important as the ends, and that if you have got the correct means, then the ends will be taken care of.

Q.

*In these non-aligned conferences, did the delegates from other countries bring up Gandhiji's ideals and Nehru's "one world" view?*

A.

Well, in some cases, yes. Particularly in the United Nations, I found special reference to them. There was a special committee on the South African issue and they wanted to make a special reference to Gandhiji's contribution to this particular matter. Some of the developing countries did make a reference to Gandhiji. But the non-aligned movement was a contribution by Nehru. And so Nehru's world view found its echo more in the non-aligned conferences.

#### *Non-aligned Movement and World*

Q.

*Among world leaders who do you think has given thought to Gandhiji's humanism and world view in its application to international questions?*

It would be very difficult to mention any particular name of any particular leader because several world leaders participated in these conferences and there were many who appreciated Gandhiji's and Nehru's contribution. I saw that some of the African leaders like Julius Nyerere and Zambia's Dr. Kaunda appreciatively mentioned Gandhiji and Nehru. Even in some of

the Caribbean countries, in my private conversations with their important leaders, I found deep appreciation of Gandhiji's and Nehru's contribution to the development of a new world and in the emergence of newly-liberated sovereign nations.

Q.

*In what are generally called Western democracies, did you find in their leadership people who had knowledge and also sympathy with and understanding of some of the principles of non-alignment?*

A.

Well, in recent years, they have spoken rather approvingly of the non-aligned movement, but I do not think it was with a sense of political conviction. There was hardly any Western country represented in the non-aligned conferences. Though in their own way they spoke approvingly of the non-alignment movement and showed interest in what the non-aligned movement was doing, I saw some sort of an undercurrent of worry whether the non-aligned movement was being exploited by the socialist world, because the socialist countries were showing rather more positive interest in it. The solidarity of the non-aligned also provoked angry criticism about the so-called tyranny of the minority.

Q.

*Do you think that the misgivings with regard to the non-aligned movement which had come to the surface, in the Dulles era have lessened considerably?*

A.

Yes, these misgivings considerably lessened after the Dulles period.

Q.

*Do you subscribe to the view of some of the Western leaders that non-alignment is somewhat in the nature of an ineffectual moral movement which has not really brought any concrete gains to the developing world?*

A.

I do not think that would be a proper assessment of the non-alignment movement, because it is a movement which has brought more than a hundred developing countries together. Despite a wide diversity in their systems of government it has given them a voice in the comity of nations which they could



not command individually. It has also given them a sort of particular faith to articulate their views on world events, world developments and enabled them to identify the new causes of humanity and to try to support them. These are the tasks that the non-alignment movement had put before it. We will have always to remember what exactly the ingredients of the non-alignment movement are. The first and foremost objective of the non-aligned movement is liberation and preservation of freedom. It is an anti-imperialist and anticolonial movement. Therefore, it gave priority to the problems of the peoples who were still under subjugation of imperial powers. Then came the problem of the developing countries, the problem of poverty and the socio-economic problems of the developing countries, the quest for evolving a more just and equitable international economic order and the cause of peace.

#### *Meetings with World Leaders*

*Q.*

*In your introductory article you have referred to perceived national interests, people's diplomacy and the cause of peace and international co-operation. Could you give any concrete illustrations of these abstract principles?*

*A.*

As I have no documents with me I can only rely on my memory in giving these examples. As you know, the first important visitor to India after I took over, was Dr. Henry Kissinger, the U.S. Secretary of State. He visited India from October 28 to October 31, 1974. My last official visit to a foreign country was to Rumania from January 16 to 19, 1977. In between, I had the privilege of meeting the heads of Governments and their Foreign Ministers of almost all the important countries of the world, in the capitals of many countries as well as in India. I had the opportunity of discussing broad policy questions on international relations. My conversations with everyone whom I met were invariably conducted in an atmosphere of cordiality, friendship and understanding. It was my endeavour to understand the points of view of others, even if they differed from my own.

A perceptible improvement in normalisation of Indo-US relations came about after Kissinger's visit to India. We established

joint committees to enlarge areas of co-operation between the two countries. I now find that we are continuing to go forward in this direction, though it is clear enough that the ties between these two countries which constitute two large geo-political opposite points may face occasional but temporary setbacks.

Q

*Do you recall any moment of embarrassment during your conversations with world leaders on international relations?*

A.

They had not commented in any way, but they naturally, in the course of our discussions, wanted to know our assessment of the political situation in the country. In the course of such discussions, we did make references to the causes of the emergency and the situation thereafter. But it did not attract any special comments from them.

Q

*Do you think that the common man is interested in the foreign policy of India and international relations between one country and the other? In your tours of various parts of India, you would have met many people in your own constituency and elsewhere. Did they discuss or raise foreign policy questions with you?*

A.

It is possible that most of them do not fully understand the manipulation in international politics. But over a period of time they see the implications of international relations in their own lives. There are today many mass communication media which transmit information, undoubtedly in a capsuled form. But world events are linked and have their impact on everybody's lives and sooner or later people have to face the consequences of the actions of those far away from them. The concept of Gandhiji's *daridranarayan*, or the later modifications of it in the form of *garibi hatao* and *antodaya* should have universal application. The poor in the developing world, the slum-dwellers in the backyards of New York, the under-privileged in Africa, the harassed and persecuted people in different parts of the world -- all these need sustenance and succour, as much as the poor in the remote and inaccessible parts of our own country. Our humanism should have a wider connotation and in the ultimate

analysis it implies the emergence of a better human being who conforms to a code of higher moral behaviour in the world.

*Q.*

*You had attended the Commonwealth summit conference at Kingston in 1975. Did this Commonwealth summit discuss questions relating to moral uplift of humanity as a whole?*

*A.*

It was a very interesting conference in which some developing countries of all the continents as well as some developed countries like Canada and the UK participated. I think as time passes the problems of the developing world are getting priority for discussion in these conferences. That is why I said in answer to another question that the question of a new economic order figured very prominently at the Kingston conference.

*Q.*

*While the non-aligned movement appears to include a group of nations which have shared problems, the Commonwealth countries do not necessarily have these shared problems. From that point of view, do you think that the Commonwealth countries have a uniformity of approach to the new economic order?*

*A.*

Excepting the developed countries, most of the members of Commonwealth are members of the non-aligned movement. With the exception of Britain, they were all once colonies of the British empire. As such they share many experiences and problems of pre-independence and post-independence periods.

### *International Organisations*

*Q.*

*Did the Commonwealth conference refer to any non-alignment ideologies?*

*A.*

The question of having a new economic order was a non-alignment ideology. The necessity of a dialogue between the South and the North, the question of transfer of resources from the developed to the developing world, the question of indebtedness of the developing world, the problem of transferring an appropriate technology from the developed to the developing

world were some of the ideas specifically discussed in the Commonwealth conference.

*Q.*

*What I was wanting to ask was whether, when there is a polarisation of views, the dialogue seems to run into difficulties. Whether it is the non-aligned conference or the Commonwealth countries conference, in the last analysis, it becomes a "north-south" dialogue. In between it looks as if the common stream of understanding becomes more and more remote. At least it appears so.*

*A.*

I see your point. It is somewhat true. I do not think these conferences have succeeded in making an impact on the problems I referred to, but they have certainly helped to create an understanding of the feelings of those countries. This at least has helped us to start a dialogue between the South and the North on specific issues at the Paris conference, though this conference also produced nothing. The developed world has not yet realised the significance and seriousness of the problems of the developing world. They still look at them as a problem of charity not as a question of sharing the basic economic prosperity and the benefits of trade and technology.

*Q.*

*Have you thought of the international organisations as a whole and the constant talk about re-structuring them in some form or the other, so that they can answer the challenges of today better than they have been doing so far?*

*A.*

I think it has been raised many times. As Finance Minister, I attended the conference of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, where we had asked for a re-organisation of international bodies, so that they should be more responsive to the problems of the developing world. Even the question of making alterations in the structure of the United Nations was also raised many times. In one of my speeches to U.N. General Assembly in October, 1975, I recall having emphasised that to bridge widening disparities we should have to enable U.N. agencies to function as really effective instruments in the realisation of our dream of one world.

*Q.* In these international meetings, it is generally assumed that there are postures and responses which countries adopt behind the scenes. Do you recall any of these postures and responses in the formative stages in behind-the-scene meetings?

*A.* Will you clarify this question? I could not follow it.

*Q.* Before the political, economic or sociological resolutions are put forward in international conferences is there a lot of activity that goes on behind the scenes?

*A.* No resolution as such comes before any conference. There is always a preparatory working group which sits and which does the real work of the conference. In these working group meetings which last for hours on end, they take behind-the-scene decisions and positions. The whole operation of their working group is a behind-the-scene operation. It is only after they come to some sort of an agreed draft that it comes before the conference. Naturally, there we come across different positions by different countries.

### *Joint Committees*

*Q.* What new forms of co-operation were developing with the Western democracies or other countries of the world during your tenure as Foreign Minister of India?

*A.* I think a specific form of co-operation that we have developed in recent years is that of having joint commissions with different countries. We have such joint commissions with Socialist countries, other developing countries, and with the United States, France and Germany. This is one specific form that I can very easily remember. The special form of co-operation, the aid consortium, which meets practically every year in Paris, is an old forum which is very helpful in getting an appropriation of aid from the World Bank and IMF.

*Indo-Soviet Relations*

Q.

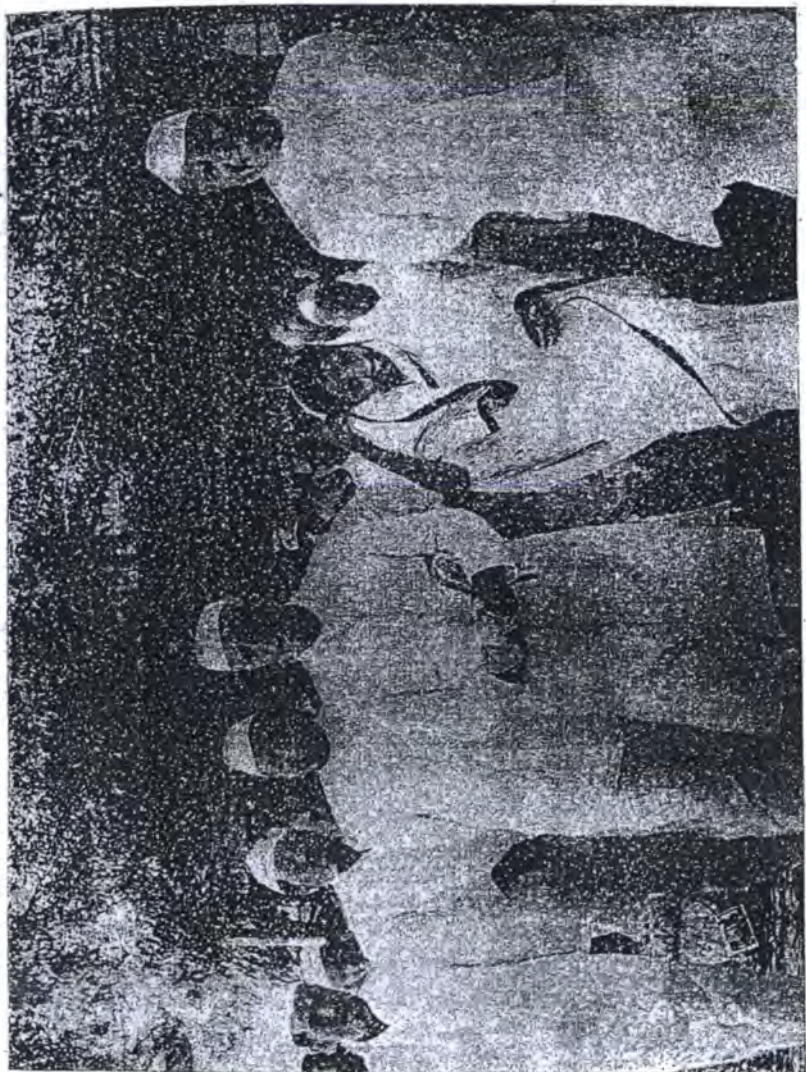
*India had signed in August, 1975 a treaty of friendship, peace and co-operation with the U.S.S.R. In what way were our relations with the Soviet Union strengthened during your tenure? You had visited the U.S.S.R. twice in 1976 — in June for very nearly a week, and again on your way to and back from Mongolia in September. Further, the Soviet and Socialist leaders had visited India and you had the opportunity of meeting them. Could you amplify your views on our relations with the Soviet and Socialist leaders in the context of world powers?*

A.

When India's relations are discussed in the world assemblies, one very important geo-political situation which is forgotten is that the Soviet Union is a part of both Europe and Asia. India and the Soviet Union have very close racial affinity, as in the Asian region of the Soviet Union the life-style of the people is in more ways than one similar to that of the people in India. The folklore and oral literary traditions in these Soviet republics and the Asian countries bear close resemblance to those in India. It is therefore natural for us to regard the Soviet Union as one of our close neighbours, as it indeed is.

The Soviet people, in accordance with their own genius, have designed a system of government. India has also designed its own system of government. This never has, and I think never will, imperil the wide range of co-operation between the two countries. The Soviet Union has invariably supported India's vital national interests, and whenever we have run into heavy weather they have stood by us. In turn, we also co-operated with them in many areas of world problems where we have an independent view. But this mutual friendship and co-operation were in the context of peace, and never at the expense of relations with any other country.

You have mentioned about my visits to the Soviet Union. Starting from 1964, I have visited Soviet Union more than half-a-dozen times. I have visited that country in my different capacities, as Defence Minister, as Finance Minister and as Foreign Minister. During all these visits, in the course of discussions with the leaders and informal chat with the people, I have found



1. Jawaharlal Nehru, Shrimati Chavan and the author in 1956 in Maharashtra.





2. A view of the non-aligned summit in Colombo in August, 1976. Chavan with R. Parthasarathy.



3. Meeting with Dr. Kurt Waldheim, U.N. Secretary-General during the U.N. Assembly Session in October, 1976 in New York.



a genuine bond of friendship between India and the Soviet Russia. During my period as Minister of External Affairs, I visited the Soviet Union along with the Prime Minister for a summit meeting. Besides giving our assessment of the world situation, we discussed our mutual problems of co-operation in the economic and technical fields. I have always found that they are basically responsive because there is an understanding of India's political and economic issues by the leaders of the Soviet Union.

My second visit during my tenure as Foreign Minister was when I visited Mongolia. On my way to Mongolia I stopped for a day in Soviet Russia, when I had very friendly and useful discussions with the Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko.

Q.

*Do you recall any personal experience in your meetings with Soviet leaders and the Soviet people in the long span of 15 years covering nearly a decade-and-a-half?*

A.

I found that there was a natural relaxation in the style of our talks. There is always a certain degree of formality in such discussions. But the general atmosphere I have found is an atmosphere of relaxation. I have come to notice one special feature about the Soviet leadership, that they attach great importance to the person-to-person relationship with the leadership.

Q.

*But is it not also fraught with danger, because the leadership changes in various countries?*

A.

It is much better that the changed leaders should meet again and again. This underlines the importance of personal relations.

Q.

*Do you remember any conversations on questions relating to ethnic, cultural or sociological aspects with the Soviet leaders — with Khrushchev, for instance, whom you had met?*

A.

As Defence Minister, I met Mr. Khrushchev. Naturally I was then interested to know his views about the security aspects of our region. He was very sympathetic to the problems of India.

He felt that China might not repeat what she did in 1962 in the near future, but he emphasised the necessity of strengthening our preparedness for national security. He also gave his assessment about the Chinese failure of economic planning. It was then, for the first time, that I came to realise that there are real differences between China and the Soviet Union, not only in their national relationship or ideological opinion but in the perception of the world situation.

*Q.*

*In your meetings with the present Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev, did you find this particular Soviet view of the world vis-a-vis China?*

*A.*

Yes, but the presentation is rather different. I would not like to go public about it. But I can say that while Khrushchev was somewhat forthright in his expressions about the references to China, Brezhnev was more sophisticated in his presentation.

### *Sino-Indian Relations*

*Q.*

*In your introductory article you mentioned that the upgrading of diplomatic relations with China to ambassadorial level was not something radical but a continuation of our time-honoured policy towards China. You have also stated that you had cautioned against euphoria in diplomatic circles on account of this limited move. In retrospect it seems to me that this was a very major advance in the recent developments between the United States and China. Could you give us the background of your thinking of upgrading relations with China?*

*A.*

During my visits to foreign countries and meetings with diplomats, representatives of governments and others in Delhi, we gathered the impression, piecemeal and fragmentary though it was, that China would be willing to respond positively to any moves we might adopt towards improving the Sino-Indian relations. At that time, hints were coming from Peking, from our *charge d'affairs*, that the time had come to formulate moves to improve further the normalisation of Sino-Indian relations. It was obvious that we had to give much thought to what such

move would be, and we ultimately decided that to begin with the exchange of ambassadors would be a good step forward to improve relations between the two countries. I remember that there was considerable scepticism in the Foreign Office, which was probably shared in segments of political circles over these moves. But we persisted because it was our conviction that whatever might be the response from China, we would have once again vindicated our avowed policy of forging and strengthening friendly ties with our neighbours, especially with China.

We could also sense the wind of change coming over China after the disappearance of the two great leaders of that great country, Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, both patriotic to the core, though their ideological thrust was, in my opinion, somewhat different.

During the quarter of a century of my work with the Government in Bombay and New Delhi, I have never had the opportunity to visit China. I am deeply interested in the developments taking place in that great country. I am often tempted to indulge in speculations about the changing face of China, which has been so close to India from ancient times and which should be so in the near future. For thousands of years, India and China had exchanged scholars, theologians and thinkers and there had been a lively dialogue between the two countries on philosophical, literary and cultural thought during those years. Unhappily, this long tradition of friendship and exchange of ideas was temporarily broken in October, 1962. Incidentally, it was this event which brought me to Delhi, as Nehru called me to Delhi to take up the Defence portfolio on November 20, 1962.

Many political commentators discuss the "ifs" of history as well the "as ifs" of philosophical premises. I think the 'new winds of change sweeping over China today resemble those to which we had been exposed under the Nehru era -- the change towards modernisation in order to derive the fullest benefit by our people. Nehru had embarked on the modernisation programme to enable us to make up for the time we had lost during the British regime when technological developments in the west bypassed us or did not reach us in full measure. Nehru's modernisation ideology had far-reaching consequences

to us and is exemplified in visible proofs such as heavy industries, irrigation dams, electric power houses, scientific institutes and other types of industries which have sprung up all over the country and have added shine to India's image.

It seems to me that in a way, China, is today following the Nehru line in their campaign for modernisation, though naturally in their own way. Some political commentators might say that in India however the reverse process is taking place today, as emphasis is being placed on village industries. Rural development will have always priority in the planning process in India, but rural development cannot be isolated from industrialisation and modernisation of other sections of our life. It is not as though that rural development was not given its proper place before. But having consolidated our gains in the industrial fields, it is just as well that we ensure that the benefits from advances in science and technology flow to the rural sector also in an ever-increasing measure.

We have been talking about barefoot teachers and doctors — an expression which does not appear to be a very happy one. But it does underline the fact that even at some sacrifice to individuals, we should ensure a greater degree of fulfilment of the needs and priorities of the common people who constitute about 80 per cent of our population in the rural areas. One might say as a general statement that China is following as far as modernisation is concerned the Nehru line of planning. I feel it was right for us to have taken steps towards modernisation of our country which is essential for regeneration of rural areas.

#### *China's "View"*

Q.

*Do you think that the internal developments in China today will generally lessen international tension and correct the world view of China?*

A.

Well, in all these developments I find one rather very dangerous aspect. Modernisation and similar other things are certainly good for China, and nobody can take any objection to them. But China's world view has not changed at all. It does not believe in *detente*. It believes in the inevitability of a third world war and its effort for modernisation is in support of this world

view. Therefore, there are dangers to world peace involved in this view.

Q.

*In the introductory article you have stated that India has to be cautious about certain vested interests and the role of China and also about the triangular game of super powers. Could you give us any concrete comment on the areas and the countries you have in mind?*

A.

At the present moment if you see the relationship between the United States of America and the U.S.S.R. on the one side and between the United States of America and China on the other, one feels -- if I can use the phrase that I just saw in the interview of Brezhnev -- whether China wants to make use of the United States card or whether the U.S.A. wants to make use of the Chinese card. The question is: who is using whom for what? Such a feeling ultimately does not lead to stabilised relationship. It creates suspicion and doubts. It may perhaps lead to further armament race and possibly take the world back to the cold war.

Q.

*Some of the internal developments in China appear to be extremely significant in terms of international relations. There is a "voice" which seems to be at variance with the general voice in China which has been published in their wall newspapers. Do you think this will perhaps make the Chinese leadership correct their wrong notions about the third world war?*

A.

I wish it does. But it does not seem to be going in that direction. The speeches Teng Hsiao-ping made in the United States and the interview he gave to one of the American magazines show China is convinced of the correctness of its basic world view and the other steps that they are taking in support of that view. They think that in the changing situation they can use the relationship with the United States and the Western countries to create cold war conditions in the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the Western world. That is the first impression that I get.

Q.

*One of the points which occurs to me is that there is an ethnic link between sections of the Indian population and the population in the Soviet Union, specially in the Central Asian region. Similarly, there are ethnic links between India and China. At least some of our people in the eastern region do have ethnic links with China. The Soviet Union also has ethnic links with China to some extent at least in the Central Asian region. How is it that these ethnic links have drawn India and the Soviet Union closer, while this has not happened in the case of India and China or, for instance, China and the U.S.S.R. ?*

A.

I think it is not true to say that because of the ethnic relations Soviet Russia and India have come together. They have come together because the national perception and the world view of the two countries are similar. I think we sometimes over emphasize this ethnic elements.

### *India's Neighbours*

Q.

*What are the important landmarks of India's policy of good neighbourliness? Could you give some ideas regarding India's relations with our close neighbours in 1974-77, beginning with Bangladesh ?*

A.

As India had played a very important role in the liberation of Bangladesh, there was a fund of goodwill in India for Bangladesh and the relationship was good. But the violent change-over in the Government of Bangladesh as a result of the assassination of Mujibur Rahman brought about some changes in the relationship between the two countries, and there was a degree of distrust on both sides. The question of the Farakka Barrage was an issue which created a feeling of tension between the two countries. The sharing of the Ganga waters was a very controversial matter and we were making efforts to solve it. We continued our talks with the Bangladesh Government and I am glad those talks ultimately succeeded in solving that problem, though at our cost.

Q.

*Soon after you took over as Foreign Minister you visited Colombo and about a month later Bangladesh. Could you give your personal impressions of these two goodwill visits and of your meetings with the leaders and peoples of these countries?*

A.

You will find that my choice for the first two visits fell on India's neighbours. One of my priorities in international relationship was to develop good relationship with neighbouring countries. Later I went to Nepal and Bhutan. I could not go to Pakistan and Burma. No occasion arose to go to Pakistan and Burma, though I was long preparing for such visits. My main point in telling you all this is to show that our priority was — and I think it will always remain — to improve and keep not merely good relations but positively friendly relations with neighbouring countries.

My visit to Sri Lanka was a goodwill visit, and it went off well. This was my first contact with Mrs. Bandaranaike, the then Prime Minister. She was also the Foreign Minister. She was very good and she arranged my going round and visiting their family village and family house. I fondly remember my visit to the simple and austere *samadhi* of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. It was some sort of gesture on her part — of establishing personal rapport. I met Indians — Sri Lanka citizens of Indian origin rather. It was a three-day visit, which helped me in the discussions with many senior Ministers etc. This was my first visit abroad as a Foreign Minister.

The main purpose of my visit to Bangladesh was to see what was the lay of land for the Farakka negotiations. I came back with the awareness of some of the difficulties inherent in the problem. But I came back also with optimism and felt that with goodwill, the difficulties were not insurmountable. I remember having said in Bangladesh that no friendly countries can take their friendships for granted and that they have to continue to nourish the friendship.

Q.

*We have some problems with the minority community in Sri Lanka. Have you any comments to make on this?*

A.

I think this problem is governed by the framework of the agreement that was reached between India and Sri Lanka during the days of Lal Bahadur Shastri. But its implementation needs to be very carefully watched, because it is the method of implementation that matters.

Q.

*In the field of Indo-Pakistan relations do you recall any event of significance during your tenure?*

A.

We continued to build upon the foundation of the Simla agreement, despite occasional strains. But there was no dramatic development except for the hijacking of the Indian plane in 1976.

Q.

*Would you like to comment on the Indo-Pakistan relations?*

A.

In fact we never allowed any adverse developments to give a setback to our relations. I remember my talk with Bhutto on the hot line when the plane was hijacked and there was a wave of anxiety in the country. We really did not know what was going to happen. So I thought, in consultation with the Prime Minister, we should make contact at the highest level. I talked to Bhutto and he assured me that he would take care of the passengers and see that the situation did not develop in a wrong way.

As far as the relations with Pakistan are concerned, I will merely confine myself to the period during my term.

Q.

*You had visited Bhutan in July, 1975 and had met the King of Bhutan. Could you give an appraisal of Indo-Bhutanese relations?*

A.

We had very good relations with Bhutan. We are taking keen interest in the welfare of the Bhutanese people and trying to see that the relationship grows into a mature one. I wanted to make a personal assessment of the position, and there were some minor things which also needed to be talked about.



Q. *Could you specify these minor things?*

A. No. They are very minor things.

### *South-East Asian Situation*

Q. *A little further away from us, though still very close to us, Vietnam has emerged. During your tenure of office, after the end of the tragic war India promised support for the reconstruction of the nation. Would you like to give your views on the present situation in South Asia, Vietnam, Kampuchea and other countries?*

A. Unfortunately Vietnam was not given the opportunity to concentrate on reconstruction. It had gone through the horrible experience of a war for a generation. It must have been a very agonising experience for the valiant people of Vietnam, but they ultimately succeeded in their struggle against a very big power. Their major problem remains, that is peace for the reconstruction of their economy and the life of the people. China does not seem to be thinking in the same way. The relations between Kampuchea and Vietnam have deteriorated and it has resulted in armed conflicts in the border areas. As a matter of fact, to begin with we welcomed the emergence of socialist Kampuchea and the Vietnamese success, and hoped that the socialist regimes in south east Asia will prepare a good base of peace and co-operation in this region.

The Kampuchean regime even then seemed to have been taking a very adventurous line in their reconstruction schemes. I remember to have had a long discussion with the Kampuchean Foreign Minister in Colombo. I had my own misgivings about the rather drastic methods they were employing in dealing with their socio-economic problems. I did try to find out from them what is the model that they were following. They had abolished currency and evacuated the whole city, their capital Phnom Penh. He tried to tell me that they were having their own problems and they were following their own methods. But I had my misgivings. One got the impression from other developments. For instance they

were not keen to have embassies opened in Phnom Penh even by friendly countries. When we tried to make enquiries at the earliest stage about opening our own embassy, they said, "Certainly, we will allow you, but not yet." We have so far no embassy because they were trying to keep themselves completely in isolation from the rest of the world, except perhaps China. There was a clear indication that they were doing so under the influence of China and were trying to follow some sort of Chinese model. It is a very small country which was already struggling under the civil war. I think this sort of isolation was not in their interest. They should have sought the co-operation and help of many other countries. Regarding the present development, personally my sympathies are with the new regime.

Q.

*Do you consider that the present conflict in Kampuchea has been very largely engineered by some powers from outside, or is it more an internal unrest?*

A.

Well, it is both. The old regime had succeeded in isolating itself from its own people by taking very cruel and drastic steps and committing what shall I say very crude actions against their own people. Therefore, they had isolated themselves from the people and the people were against them. They had also created un-necessarily bad relations with Vietnam, because it is said they even tried to violate the border of Vietnam. It is again the assertion of the Kampuchean people with the co-operation of may be the Vietnamese people that has brought about a change in their old regime. It was an inevitable development, but I am afraid that the last word is not yet said about the situation. Perhaps it is yet a developing situation if China takes an active part in this matter.

Q.

*Traditionally south Asia, specially south east Asia, had been the playground of several western powers, and this has added to the complexity of the problem. What are your views on it?*

A.

That is so. But now that the western powers have withdrawn from that area, China has come in and it perhaps thinks that it is its area of influence. There are two important aspects which have to be kept in view. First, it is my conviction that the doctrine

of "spheres of influence" is an anachronism in today's world and it should not be allowed to influence or distort international relations. Secondly, we should respect nationalist sentiments in south east Asia. Each country in the region, despite its pluralism, has its own national ethos and the aspiration to govern itself. Kampuchea, Vietnam, Laos — all these former Indo-China states should be allowed to develop their countries with such help as they are willing to accept from other countries, without any erosion to their national identities. I hope that soon these countries will grow and prosper as friendly neighbours, with the present feuds among them as a thing of the past. The international community should assist these nations to acquire greater economic strength and not push them into areas of tension and conflict.

#### *West Asian Development*

Q.

*India shares the Islamic philosophy and thought with many west Asian nations. Are we much closer to west Asia now than 30 years ago? Do secular ideas or secular thought impinge on our relations?*

A.

I would say that our relations with the Muslim world in west Asia are much closer than they were thirty years ago. Our position on Palestine is a heritage of our freedom struggle which has brought us both politically and emotionally together. With the pioneering role Nehru and Nasser played in the non-aligned movement the relationships with many leading Arab nations improved and later on most of the Arab nations joined the non-aligned movement. Our relations with Iran had also improved and I hope it will stay that way despite the present ferment there.

Q.

*The conflicting points in west Asia are Israel, Palestine and Lebanon. What are your views on the west Asian situation?*

A.

There are many difficult issues in that part of the world. The basic one is the question of Palestine. The heart of the problem is the demand of the Palestine people to have their own national state recognised and evacuation of the occupied territories by Israel. These are two fundamental things. I think India should

stand on principles on these issues. For that matter, India has to work for unity amongst the Arab countries themselves. Anything that disunites the Arabs is not only against the interests of the Arabs but also against the interests of all developing countries in Africa and Asia.

Q.

*There is an on-going revolution in Iran. What are your views on the new shape of things in Iran?*

A.

I think things seem to be going on in an inevitable way because historical forces are at work. I do not want to express any view about the internal situation of any country. But taking a general view, authoritarian regimes or monarchies seem to be incompatible with the new trends. Iran was swaying with the upsurge of modernisation, and it could not go well with the old style of authoritarian regime. It looks as though the change was inevitable, though we do not know what precisely is going to be the shape of things in Iran.

Authoritarian regimes must learn their own lessons from these developments. Any kind of autocratic or absolute monarchical system is an anachronism today. I would like to emphasize that the enlargement of individual liberty in these countries will be to their advantage. I think the time has come for the new Iran to join the non-aligned movement and take the enlightened position of a sovereign country.

Q.

*Do you think that the siting and expansion of military bases in west Asia will now become more difficult than before?*

A.

I hope it does become more difficult, but there are some countries still depending upon the means of war namely. arms supply. I think this is also one of the lessons for all the nations. The basic bankruptcy of military alliances has been exposed, something Nehru had the vision to foresee many years ago. The stockpiles of arms beyond functional requirements of a nation's security may be likened to active but temporarily dormant volcanoes. One never can tell when they might erupt and destroy the socio-political fabric of the nation in which they are sited.

*Q.*  
*In many speeches you have emphasized that military bases all over the world, specially the naval bases in the Indian Ocean, should be contained. Please comment.*

*A.*  
Not only contained but abolished. Diego Garcia was one, and in our discussions with our neighbouring countries as well as in the U. N., I said that we should evolve some sort of common outlook about the Indian Ocean being a peace zone. Opposition to military bases is one of the major planks of our foreign policy.

*Q.*  
*Many of the African, Latin American and Pacific nations are members of the non-aligned movement. Do you recall any new developments in that area during your tenure? Are there any personal impressions about meetings in Kingston and Havana?*

*A.*  
I do not think there was anything special. But certainly the process of consolidation of non-aligned movement was getting strengthened. I particularly remember my visit to Havana and talks with Dr. Fidel Castro.

*Q.*  
*You were in Lima to attend the meeting of the co-ordination bureau of Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries in May, 1975. I believe there was a coup in that country at that time.*

*A.*  
It was one of the dramatic situations that we had to go through. I remember the day of the *coup*. The previous day I had called on the President. It was a courtesy visit. He looked a very tragic figure because his one leg was amputated. But we did not see any sign of disquiet or discomfort or any sign of *coup* on the previous day. We were in the palace with the President for more than one hour. The next day we were in the conference hall. I got a chit from a French correspondent asking me whether we had heard of the *coup* that was taking place in the presidential palace. When I showed this note to the Foreign Secretary, who was sitting by my side, I saw the Foreign Minister of Peru, who was chairing the conference, quietly getting up and asking somebody else to look after the conference. He disappeared. I thought that was a proof of what was happening outside.

Q.

*This was a peaceful coup?*

A.

Absolutely peaceful *coup*. We did not discontinue our meeting. We completed the meeting till lunch time. When we came out on the roads, we did not see any sign of the *coup*. But when we reached the hotel, the hotel authorities told us that we should not make any haste to get out on the roads now. I also remember that it was during this conference that news came through about the death of the Ethiopian Emperor, Haile Salessie. Clearly, the old order was yielding place to new even in countries as far apart as Peru and Ethiopia.

Q.

*You had held a meeting of Indian envoys in the Latin American and the Caribbean areas in Mexico in 1975. Could you give an idea of India's closeness to the Latin American countries?*

A.

I was in Latin America for the first time. I thought that I should meet the ambassadors to the Latin American countries in a conference in Mexico. I saw a very close cultural affinity between Latin America and India. In Latin America there was great respect and interest for Indian culture, Indian leaders and personalities. Many of these countries were also members of the non-aligned movement. There was appreciation of India's international policy. But there was not much of economic or political follow-up of these basic advantages, the reason being the distance between India and Latin America. The second was the language problem. We are deficient in our knowledge of Spanish. At one stage we thought we should have Spanish publicity material emanating from India.

#### *Foreign Affairs Management*

Q.

*We have so far been talking about foreign affairs and international relations. Your meeting with Indian envoys in Mexico brings us to the question of management and administration in foreign affairs. May I add that not so long ago it was generally felt that foreign relations are political, esoteric or secret, and are not to be shared with the common man or the enlightened citizen.*

*What are your views on administration and management in the Ministry of External Affairs?*

A.

I think this is a very important question — the question of the mechanics of managing the foreign policy of the country. One of the instruments of foreign policy is basically the foreign services officers' cadre. One has to look at this cadre from a fresh angle. If administration is to be invigorated, some new thoughts will have to be introduced in this field. I had taken up this matter with the Prime Minister and I remember to have made the following points.

The basic task of any diplomatist is to interpret his or her country to the country of his or her accreditation or services, and interpret that country back home to the Government on its cultural, economic and political attitudes. This is his basic function. We find there are deficiencies in the matter of area and language specialisation. This has led to other disadvantages. We will have to emphasize these two aspects so that the diplomatists can develop a deeper understanding of certain areas, their geo-political problems, their economic problems and historic traditions, literature, art and culture. For example, sending only English-speaking people to the Arab world or to the Latin American world or even to the French-speaking Africa will lead us nowhere. Area specialisation and specialisation in different languages are very important.

Secondly, if the diplomatists have to have knowledge to interpret India correctly, I think it is necessary to bring them to India oftener so that they can review periodically their appreciation of resurgent India. I found that diplomatists were working outside India at a stretch for more than ten years, and when they had to interpret India, they interpreted half-heartedly the India of a decade ago.

Thirdly, there is only a very narrow training base in national problems before officers are given a foreign posting. They are supposed to do one-year service in the secretariat in the country itself. When we consider the constitution and functions of this cadre, we will have to see that their competence is enhanced by making them serve a little longer in India before they are launched abroad.

Fourthly, I find that we give less priority for posting better men to the neighbouring countries. There is some sort of competition to go to Europe and America, the reason being the advantage of language and facility and of getting better allowances. We keep repeating that we have to give priority to relations with Sri Lanka and Nepal. But there is less desire among the young officers to get a posting in these areas. Possibly we will have to make the posts in these areas a little more attractive.

Fifthly, in the management of foreign affairs, I find there is lack of continuous dialogue between the mission and the secretariat, except for a few cables on the immediate events or the replies to specific queries made. There needs to be initiative from the headquarters to know about a country from the ambassador in that country. This would possibly be helpful in preparing an assessment of the areas and in keeping options ready for the government for policy making processes.

Q.

*A survey was conducted not so long ago, and it indicated that heads of missions and senior officers had normally a tenure of two or less years in one country. What do you think is the ideal minimum period for a diplomatist in one country or one station?*

A.

There can be no rigidity about it. Some Indian diplomatists have served with distinction in one country or position for many years. But generally two to three years would be a normal tenure.

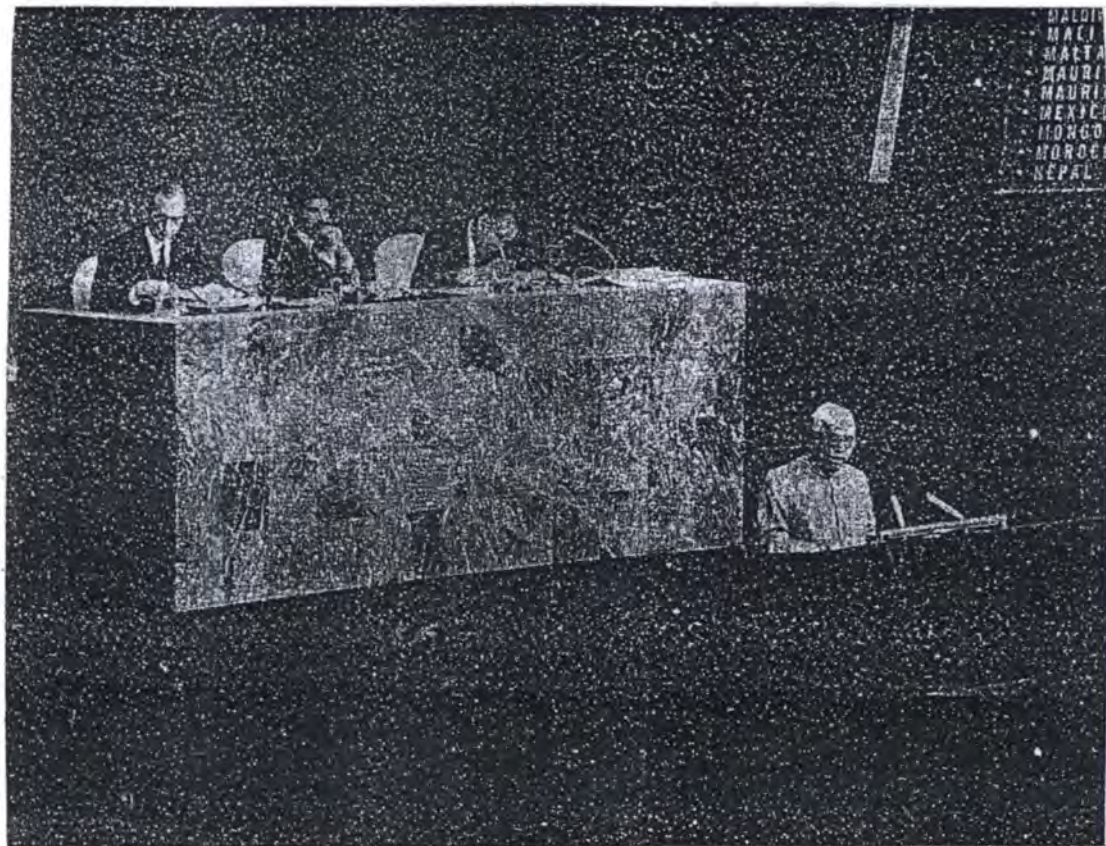
Q.

*There is an impression that we give inordinately high attention to political relations, sometimes at the expense of cultural relations. Do you think that India ought also to be presented in all its cultural dimension?*

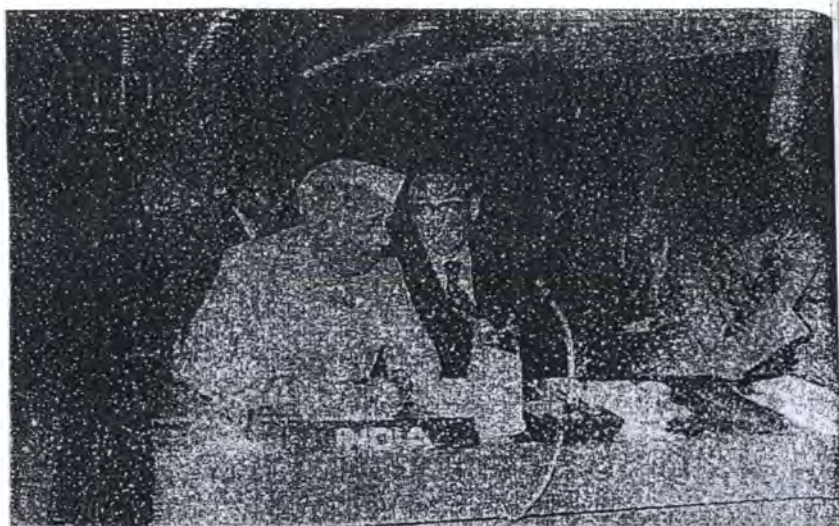
A.

I think the relationship with a country is incomplete if it is confined to political matters. It will have to include economic cultural and other spheres. When you mention cultural matters I would like to make a mention of other things. There are many countries in the Caribbean, in the Pacific and on the East





4. Addressing the seventh special session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York in September, 1975.



**Conferencia de Ministros de Relaciones  
Exteriores de los Países No Alineados**

LIMA-PERU 25-29 AGOSTO 1975

5. *Conference of Foreign Ministers of non-aligned nations in Lima (Peru) August, 1975. Chavan with Foreign Secretary Kewal Singh.*



6. *With President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania in New York in January, 1976.*

African coast, where there are sizable people of Indian origin. Some special cultural activity and institutional arrangement is necessary to keep contacts with them. This is one aspect which needs to be taken care of.

*Q:*  
*Should this cultural profile not be represented in the more advanced countries also?*

*A.*  
That goes without saying.

*Q.*  
*According to your experience in what way is the management of administration different in Defence, Home or Finance Ministries from that of the External Affairs?*

*A.*  
All of these are very crucial Ministries. In Home and Finance, the work is largely with domestic matters while in Defence and External Affairs it is with the world at large and particularly with the neighbours. A correct appreciation of the situation, anticipation and alert response are vital to the successful management of these Ministries. The problems are quite different in the functioning of External Affairs from those of other Ministries. It is a widely spread out area where the administration has to be looked after. Facilities for quick and safe communications become very important. We have much more to do in this respect.

Secondly, in External Affairs one has to depend on many things which are not under one's control. One will have to go by correct assessment and evaluation. The policy planning part of the External Affairs Ministry requires much more input, intellectual input. I think much more needs to be done in this field. There is a tendency to consider this as a sort of waste. It is not so.

*Q.*  
*Do you have any suggestions for improving the functioning of the Indian missions abroad?*

*A.*  
A large number of suggestions can be given. A successful mission needs leadership from the ambassador and competent team work. With the many facets of diplomacy today a mission



requires a variety of expertise. The political, economic and cultural strands have to be woven together before a wider understanding can emerge with foreign countries. As I have told you, if the people in charge of the missions are prepared better, the leadership has to be encouraged. There will have to be more live contact with the economic and cultural aspects of that country. The mission must be asked to shoulder its responsibility more fully. Naturally, they will need some means to do that. They should not be denied these means. We should be willing to spend a little more on these aspects.

Q.

*What are the procedures which are followed in the appointment of ambassadors and other senior officers abroad?*

A.

658

The procedures are not very well-defined. Seniority is taken into account. The length of service in the country and outside previous experience of the region where one goes — all these are taken into account. The basic assessment is on the general feeling whether a person would do well in a particular country. The procedure is that the Foreign Secretary makes the proposal in consultation with his colleagues and thereafter puts it up for approval of the Foreign Minister and the Prime Minister.

Q.

*Do you advocate a "closed-door policy" for lateral entries into the Indian Foreign Service?*

A.

No, I do not. I think in a big country like India, it must be open to the people having political or other experiences in public life to have an opportunity to represent India abroad. But this can be done without refusing proper opportunities to the career diplomatists.

Q.

*What are the gains of personal diplomacy in international relations or of personal equations in foreign affairs? Could you give any illustrations of this?*

A. It would be very difficult to give illustrations. But I am personally convinced that personal equation in diplomat

relationship is very important, as it removes inhibitions in dealing with one another. The relations have to be informal if they are to be more profitable. I remember when Brezhnev came to India how he explained to us in a half-hour rambling talk how important a lesson he had learnt when he first came to Moscow in his political career — the lesson being that personal relationship is very important to a career, particularly in foreign relations.

### *International Bureaucracy*

Q.

*The world is getting more and more crowded now. There are 142 nations which are members of the United Nations and the international field would appear to be governed by the laws of the jungle. In what way would you suggest that international conventions be evolved and established gradually in the eighties and at the end of the present century?*

A.

I would not say that the world is getting crowded. You cannot help if there are so many countries. You cannot reduce the number artificially. I am glad that even smaller nations, newly-liberated nations, are joining the international organisation. One would have to see how these conferences, or the United Nations itself, become more effective, if we can. There is lack of political will on the part of developed countries to come out with solutions which will cost them in economic terms. The real success of the United Nations will therefore depend upon the political will for co-operation between developing countries and big powers.

Q.

*Which international organisations have proved to be effective in their fields of work?*

A.

It is difficult to name any organisation but certainly the United Nations has proved its usefulness and I think so have its branches like the UNESCO and the World Bank. They have proved their utility. They have also demonstrated their weaknesses which need to be gone through very carefully. Their limitations are in their style of functioning. There is a tendency among the rich and powerful countries, particularly by the western countries and

more precisely by the United States where the headquarters of many of the institutions are situated to dominate the international organisations. The personnel selected for the administration are mostly from these countries and they try to dominate especially at the middle rung of the organisations.

*Q.*

*International bureaucracy has developed its own trade union ethics, in some cases even of self-aggrandizement. Their salary structures are said to be extremely high. It is often said that this does not necessarily reflect the standards of their competence. Could you give us your views on the administration of international organisations?*

*A.*

I cannot give any opinion about the administration but the facilities, perquisites and the salaries these personnel get are enormous compared to the national salaries, particularly in the developing countries. Therefore there is some sort of brain drain to these institutions. Once they go there, it becomes their vested interest to remain there.

*Q.*

*There was a suggestion at one time that there should be a United Nations cess to help developing countries on the budgetary allocations or on the salary structures in the United Nations and other agencies. Have you any views on such a graduated cess or levy?*

*A.*

I have not given thought to this question. I do not think very much of the idea. A U.N. cess is not going to solve the problem. The problem would have to be solved by positive economic and trade policies as a result of which there would be real transfer of resources from the developed countries to the developing countries.

*Q.*

*Do you think that the bureaucratic structure in India, or even in other countries are adequately aware of the political and sociological necessities of life today?*

*A.*

No, I do not think they are aware of it.

Q.  
*Could you elaborate on this?*

A.  
The bureaucracy gets satisfied with the work it is doing. That is why it is called bureaucracy. Unless it is supposed to run the machine without a basic awareness of what it is doing and its consequences, it is no good. One will have to see that the bureaucracy becomes aware of this particular thing. How you bring about this awareness is a question which has to be thought of.

Q.  
*Would you suggest any modification in the procedures of selection?*

A.  
Modification of procedures may help sometimes, but this will have to be constantly and continuously taken care of.

#### *Science and Technology*

Q.  
*I would ask some questions on a subject you are deeply interested in. I believe early last year you had written to the Prime Minister on development of science and technology. Could you tell us what are the possible ways in which the Government's policy in this field can be improved?*

A.  
Unfortunately they are giving up some of the major planks of our policy. The first thing that disturbed me was the dissatisfaction that I have noticed among the scientists. The scientists need to be taken into confidence in formulating policy matters. In one major area of self-reliance the efforts are being given up. For illustration, I would take the question of the present Government's policy on nuclear energy. The unilateral announcement about nuclear explosion by the Prime Minister amounts to giving up the basic right of the Indian people.

Q.  
*Are you in favour of continuing peaceful explosions?*

A.  
Yes. I am. It is our right. Whether I would go on doing it

is a matter of decision after detailed thinking. But I do not want to give up my right of having explosions. If it is found necessary in the interest of peaceful nuclear development in India, I would certainly go ahead and do it.

Q.

*Do you think that the benefits of peaceful nuclear explosions are really in proportion to the money that is being spent on it?*

A.

It did not require much of investment. Even the Pokharan explosion proved that it was not a costly investment. But unless we make experiments, how do we know about it?

Q.

*There was some problem with Canada regarding fuel supply for nuclear plants, and you had given a statement on the subject in Parliament. Could you give your views on nuclear fuel in this context?*

A.

After the Pokharan explosion, the nuclear powers have been trying to put pressure on India. Canada was the first country which took steps to discontinue their co-operation. This was the tactic of the developed countries, and the hesitation of supplies of nuclear fuel that we are now experiencing for Tarapur is a further illustration of the attitude of the developed countries. I think we will have to take it for granted that this is going to be the position and we will have to develop our own technology.

Q.

*Some western powers are very much worried about the disposal of nuclear wastes which fall out from development of nuclear technology. Would you think that if Gandhiji's ideology brought in before the world now, it would be...?*

A.

If Gandhiji's ideology is brought in, the first thing that would have to be done by the developed countries is to completely destroy the nuclear weapons. But if we are merely told about Gandhian ideology and asked to stop our own explosions, that would be discriminatory.

Q.

*This brings us to the question of the "shopping spree"*

for



*lethal weapons and arms by some developing countries. In what way we should go about to see that gradually progress is achieved in disarmament and limitation of nuclear weapons in the SALT negotiations?*

A.

As far as our policy is concerned, we have complete faith in disarmament, and we want nuclear weapons to be completely discontinued or destroyed. That is our basic faith. I think the NPT is one type of treaty to which we cannot subscribe because it is discriminatory. It allows the nuclear powers to go in for their nuclear weapons strength, and puts prohibition on those who do not have anything to make further progress about. SALT is a good development. It is one of the good things that I see in international relations.

As far as disarmament is concerned, there are limited talks going on. But I do not know with what results. A U.N. special session on disarmament was held last year. This is one of the basic problems which requires attention on a priority basis.

Q.

*Could you give some idea on technology flows and transfer of expertise from developed countries to the developing world?*

A.

As far as we are concerned, we have tried to bring in the new technologies, wherever there was gap in our own technology. But there was certainly unwillingness on the part of some of the developed countries to give us technologies. This is a handicap. We have pleaded that amongst developing countries themselves there should be a good movement of technology, appropriate technology, suitable for their economic situation.

Q.

*Could you broadly tell us what are the forms of trade which we might anticipate in the next decade between India and other countries?*

A.

I think the most important thing that I can say is that there is a natural trend of trade among the developing countries. The developed countries get raw materials from the developing countries. Now a stage has come when there should be some sort of trade of manufactured commodities, processed com-

modities, because the developing countries are also making progress in their industrial field and their technologies are also developing gradually. They should get a better share in the trade of the developed countries, not merely taking raw materials from developing countries and sending back the processed or finished goods.

### *Tasks for the Eighties*

Q.

*What are the areas in foreign policy which might require greater attention towards the end of the present decade and in the eighties? Do you anticipate any new developments in the dialectics of non-alignment?*

A.

I think the most important area for the coming decade will be what is called the "crescent of crisis", because the question of Middle East is still miles away from solution. On the other side, an adverse situation has developed in south east Asia. The new relationship between America and China will have to be carefully watched to find out whether it becomes a positive factor for peace or a negative factor. There is the South African question also.

Q.

*What about the dialectics of non-alignment? In what way non-alignment can improve the situation?*

A.

There are issues on which non-aligned movement will have to stick to its policy on the basis of principles. There is no question of any dialectics as such. There will have to be dynamism in it.

Q.

*What are the directions in which friendliness and co-operation between India and our very close neighbours can be promoted?*

A.

The permanent base for friendship between countries is the promotion of greater understanding among them. It can mainly be carried through cultural exchanges and economic co-operation on an ever-widening scale among them. I do not believe in the theory of permanent interests and by inference of impermanence

friendship elsewhere. If one looks at the world as a whole, as Gandhiji and Nehru did, one has a permanent interest in improving the living standards of the poor all over the world. One should look at the world as a whole, with India as a part of it. It is my unshakeable belief that the erosion of liberty anywhere and the impoverishment of people in any part of the world will have its repercussion in the other parts in some form or other. Nehru said: "You must keep looking at the world as a whole" — not fragmented, in the political language of today. There is no doubt that India needs assistance from the developed countries. But there is also not an iota of doubt that India can also help the developed countries in its own way.

To conclude, I think that the compulsion of political events in international affairs should be such that they help to attain an ever-increasing level of understanding and friendship with other countries. We have to work towards the birth of a new economic order which helps the transfer of resources from the developed to the developing countries within the framework of a harmonious and peaceful one world.

## *The foreign policy of Janata government: a critique*

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We live in a dynamic world where rapid changes are taking place. The rapidity and importance of these changes make it necessary for us to have debates in this House more often than once a year on the international situation. The debates need not always be on the initiative of the Government but could also be held on the request of private members.

This is the first occasion when I am speaking in this Lok Sabha on foreign affairs. Before I proceed further I would like to express my appreciation of Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee in his role as a minister of external affairs. I had earlier observed him expressing his views as a leader of the Jana Sangh. After watching him perform in the Lok Sabha during the last two years, I must say I have found he has a flexible attitude and an elastic mind that would justify him to have the legacy of Nehru's policy. While what I have said goes to the credit of Vajpayee it also is a credit to Nehru's policy.

We are today discussing the foreign policy of India in the year 1979. I hope the minister of external affairs would look at the problem not only as the policy for the year under review but also as a projection of the policy for the 1980s. I would like the foreign minister to consider what the policies in the next decade would be, what the world would be like what the shape of the world movements would be like, what India's policy would be in the context of its geographical location, size and importance, and finally what would be New Delhi's perspective and assessment of the decade to come.

Foreign policy is a subject that can be dealt with more easily

with a long-term perspective. I hope after listening to the debate Mr. Vajpayee will not merely answer the points made here and get away with his usual eloquence but will take us into confidence and give us his assessment of the problems with a perspective for the future, with the capacity to view things in their true relations and relative importance. That is what I mean by a perspective view.

There are several important criteria by which the foreign policy of a country like India can be examined. The first is its relations with the immediate neighbours and the second its relations with the countries of the region. If one takes the first factor into consideration, there is a certain sense of complacency in the mind of the leaders of the Government. The leaders would like us to believe that the relations with the neighbouring countries are very good and that the improvement in the relations has happened only after the Janata Government came into power. Both these impressions are misleading. If India has today good relations with the neighbouring countries diplomatically and in other spheres, this was so even before the Janata Government came into power. To give the impression that the relationship with the neighbouring countries are all right is also wrong. The neighbouring countries do not only include Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh. The term should include China also. I shall deal with China later.

### *Test of Friendship with Immediate Neighbours*

India's relations with Pakistan have somewhat improved, but the process started long before the Janata Government came into power. It was started during the time of the previous Government. When Bangladesh emerged, there was strife and conflict in the sub-continent. After its emergence and the end of the war that brought about the birth of the new country, there was a new phase. During this period the Simla agreement and thereafter a series of agreements between India and Pakistan came into being. The relationship between the two countries had steadily improved.

I am glad to note that the new Government has tried to carry the process of bilateralism forward. But let it not be under the impression that by getting agreements on minor matters, any substantial achievement has been made.

The other day, members of this House were trying to elicit information from the Government on what Pakistan was doing in the nuclear field and what agreements it had reached with China, France and other countries. They also wanted to know what Pakistan's intentions were. It is clear from the members' reactions that there is need for constant vigilance about Pakistan's intention and preparations. I hope the Government is fully aware of this need.

India's relations with Nepal have always been good. The country had misgivings about certain aspects of the relationship and was interested in some sort of a separate transit agreement. If one shows weakness and gives the Nepalese two agreements instead of one — an agreement for trade and another for transit — this might create problems. The Government should take care not to be led into a situation where it could sow the seeds of danger. The Government is, I fear, becoming unrealistic about India's relations with the neighbours. The neighbours may be small, but India should take into consideration the feeling they may have about India's size. India should no doubt be considerate, but let us not be swept of our feet by accepting unreasonable positions.

If one were to ask me what is the criterion of good relations and friendliness with Nepal, I would say the real test is their intention on the common river projects for Nepal and India. Every year when Parliament discusses agricultural demands, the question of floods in this country comes up. India has not been successful in working out details of river projects with Nepal. India has floods every year in the northern region. This question has been raised many times, and there has been some feeble response to it, but nothing further. No progress has been made.

When I visited Nepal in 1976 I raised this question with the highest authorities in Nepal and a letter of intent was exchanged between the foreign secretaries. When the present foreign minister visited Nepal, he also made mention on his return about further progress having been made on the river projects. The Government should concentrate on this aspect. If India wants to have good relations with Nepal, goodwill visits are not enough. I have nothing against goodwill visits. Personal contacts with the leaders of other countries are to be welcomed, but one should be sure about one's priorities. The test of good relationship will depend

on the attitude of the country concerned on major issues. The river project was mentioned because it is a major issue that has to be solved. The foreign ministry and the foreign minister should go into the priorities when they take up for discussion relations with Nepal.

The Government has informed the House that India's relations with Bangladesh are good. Certainly it was so during the previous regime also. As a matter of fact Bangladesh emerged as a result of the previous regime's contribution to the whole process. One cannot forget history. We are now told that the relations have improved because the new Government has given them more water — more water at the cost of the welfare of poor Calcutta. I sympathise with my friends from West Bengal. The test of good relationship would have to be applied with wider perspective, with the knowledge of the attitude of Bangladesh towards the question of refugees coming over to India and the question of treatment of the minorities in Bangladesh. All these are important questions. If one forgets them and declares from the house-top that India's relations with the neighbours have improved in the last two years, one is deceiving oneself.

### *China's World View*

China is India's important neighbour. I was not against Vajpayee's visit to China. I think it was good the Minister went to China. Referring to his visit to China, the foreign minister had jocularly said in a television interview that he would not go even to God, if God did not to invite him but that if Satan invited him he would go to Satan! Nobody can go to God without an invitation, and I personally wish that Vajpayee does not go to God for a long time to come. I would also advise him however to be careful of Satan. Do not rush to him only because an invitation is received.

One has to take a more cautious view on China. The process of improving bilateral and diplomatic relations with China was initiated during the regime of the previous Government — the Congress Government. At that time the Government had an awareness of the situation in China and most of the Asian region, an awareness based on a realistic assessment. We would like to know from the present Government if China has changed since we made the assessment. If one wants to make an assessment

of the situation in a country like China, one must not take a view merely on the joint statement issued in Peking at the end of the foreign minister's visit. China is one of the important countries in the world and it behaves like a big country. It is a big country from many angles. But what is China's attitude towards its neighbours, towards the world situation? What is China's world view? When one thinks in terms of relationship and friendship with China, one will have to take these aspects into consideration.

What is China's world view? It firmly believes in a third world war. It doesn't believe in *detente*. It is of the view that unless there is a third world war, there is no hope of a further resolution. Again, has China changed its attitude towards its neighbours? I do not believe it has. India had its experience of China's attitude in 1962. Vietnam had its experience in 1979. The Chinese mind has not registered any material change. Mao and Chou En-lai may no longer be there. 'Instead we have Teng, Hua and others. As far as its neighbours are concerned, the Chinese attitude has not changed at all.

I remember after the 1962 war, I had a talk with one of the ministers of a foreign country who had attended a conference to consider the Colombo proposals. The story he told me was that during his visit to China, he was told by Liu Shao-chi, the then President of the Chinese Republic, to tell the "Indian friends that if they do not learn lessons we will do it again, again and again". In other words, China would attack India again and again. That was an indication of China's mind towards its neighbours. China believes in teaching lessons to its neighbours, small and big. The Chinese leaders believe that China is a Middle Kingdom and is a country which should dictate terms to others. One should not forget the psychology the Chinese have, and it is with this knowledge one should try to improve bilateral relations.

China is considering a long-term programme of modernisation. They talk of four modernisations — modernisation of industry, modernisation of agriculture, modernisation of technology and modernisation of defence preparedness. They are working with the perspective of what China should be in 2000 A.D. What is the perspective with which India is working? Is India only working with the perspective that the foreign minister's visit



to China has made a good impression?

The Prime Minister has declared that India's relationship with China has improved. Will he repeat this even after the "lesson" the Chinese taught Vietnam? Do not merely quote a sentence from a statement and come to conclusions. I want to know what is the personal assessment of the Prime Minister? Does he think that the process India has initiated will give her any profitable and useful results? The statement made by the government leaders unilaterally gives an impression of a discussion between both sides and a proposal that there should be an agreement of peace and friendship. This has been the result of the "euphoria" created by the Government. I am making the limited point that people would be misled by the "euphoria" created by projecting the fact that Vajpayee's visit to China has brought about friendship between the two countries. There are many complex problems between India and China. China's attitude towards its neighbours in this region and its international policy will have to be taken into account. There has to be a very clear assessment. If one starts creating hopes and tries to go into the old "Bhai-Bhai" period, one would be repeating the same mistakes made in the past.

#### *Reservations on Non-alignment*

I am very glad indeed that after the visit of the foreign minister to China, the Soviet Prime Minister visited India. The Soviet Union and India have signed an agreement. They have done a good balancing act. I am prepared to pay compliments wherever deserved. In the beginning I had mentioned that there are several important criteria by which the foreign policy of the country has to be judged.

The policy towards the neighbours is one. The second is the work India is doing in the international sphere. India has two different roles: the first is as a sponsoring member of the non-aligned movement and the second is its work in the United Nations. The contribution India makes to the non-aligned movement is important. India has to find out how the movement is functioning and what direction it is taking. I have no grievance about the functioning of the Government in this respect in the last two years. The Government has participated in all important meetings of the non-aligned movement, the co-ordination

bureau and the foreign ministers' meetings. The summit meeting of the non-aligned is yet to take place. The Government has taken the right positions at the right time in the non-aligned meetings. It is good that the Government has in this regard been carrying on the policy laid down by Nehru.

While continuing to take part in the movement, the Government is doing it with certain reservations. They are constantly reminding the world and themselves that they are genuinely non-aligned. They have put the word 'genuine' before 'non-alignment' and go on repeating it constantly as some sort of mechanism to cover their tilt to the West. When the Government repeats this phrase so often and so many times, one is inclined to suspect their motives.

After all, non-alignment doesn't mean neutrality. It does not mean that there is Soviet Union on one side and America on the other and one has a friend here and a friend there. This is not non-alignment. Non-alignment is a positive concept. It has the content of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism and every step, every position the government takes will have to be judged by ascertaining whether it meets the test of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. India can make further contributions to the non-aligned movement, because there is something like an economic content in its foreign policy. The dialogue in the last decade between the developed and developing countries was continuously being frustrated by the attitude of the developed countries. Whenever the question of the transfer of resources or of giving concession in debt payment or reforming the monetary system suited to developing countries was raised, the developed countries had taken an adverse position. Therefore, the Colombo Conference of the non-aligned nations had to come to the conclusion that the non-aligned nations must work out a programme of self-reliance.

We speak of self-reliance on a national basis. When we talk of the non-aligned movement, we talk about the collective self-reliance of the countries. India is in a position to take a lead. It has a strong industrial and technological base. If the present Government forgets the principle of self-reliance and dismantles (of which I am afraid, there are possibilities) the scientific progress India has made, I would warn the Government that this would destroy this valuable base. If there is any such move,

would be disastrous for India. We will not allow the Government to do that.

### *Self-reliance in Foreign Policy*

Non-alignment is self-reliance in foreign policy, and self-reliance in science and technology which are essential for modernisation. We would like to know what position the Government takes on these important matters. We were told by the Prime Minister that he had made an unilateral declaration that there would be no peaceful nuclear explosion. Vajpayee has made statements contrary to this. The Government should make its position clear. We would like to know what exactly the government wants to do about this important matter. If the Government has taken the position not to resort to nuclear explosions, it has taken a position of not wanting to make any progress in nuclear technology. We like to tell you and the world at large that the people of India have not taken this position. We have the right to make every effort in the field of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

The next point is about the role India has played in the United Nations, which is one of the important forums where we can make a significant contribution. There is a section in the Foreign Ministry — I am not talking about the foreign minister — which believes in isolation as far as the U.N. Security Council is concerned. I feel we should take the opportunity to get into the Security Council. This is a position which will help India to influence important world decisions. India has earned the respect of the world because she has taken correct decisions on many occasions. India is not a military power, nor is she a big economic power in the sense in which the term is understood, though her economic power cannot be ignored. I would like to make the point that the Government should see that India's voice is heard with respect in the United Nations.

### *Global Interests of Big Powers*

India's relations with the United States of America are good. They are improving. The U.S. President came to India and the Indian Prime Minister went there. The Foreign Minister of India meets most of the Foreign Ministers when he goes to the United Nations. I would like to utter a word of caution here.

When one thinks of good relations with big powers, one should remember that big powers are like machines with no heart. They have only interests, not only national interests but also global interests. This is true of the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. and China. They all go by their own national and global interests.

How far is India important to the U.S.A. in its global assessment? As far as the U.S.A. is concerned, India has a very low priority. India started with the mechanism of the joint commissions with the big powers in cultural, economic, and industrial matters. This is a good beginning and the commissions are doing good work. But when it comes to matters of importance like nuclear technology, the big powers do not think about India with any warmth but instead give us "blunt and cold" letters, informing us of what we should do. Priorities are considered in terms of geo-politics. What is the priority India occupies in geo-political terms? Only after one determines this factor can one build one's relations with the big powers. Mere exchange of visits and commissions mean nothing. It is part of the game of world diplomacy and language of diplomacy everywhere.

Now we come to the question of Diego Garcia. If the U.S.A. is a true friend of any one of the littoral countries, then it should volunteer to dismantle its naval base in the Indian Ocean. It is stated that the Russians made a declaration that they are prepared to discuss the Indian Ocean with other countries. We are not against the general movement of their navy in the ocean. Every power can move about in the world. Indian Ocean is an open road. But the United States has a military base, and this is what India objects to. It is not only a threat to independent India but to the whole area. It has created a crescent of crisis. I look at it as some sort of an arc which includes Africa, the Gulf countries, India, Pakistan and South Asia. Diego Garcia is at the centre of this arc. It is a threat to African countries as well, a threat to countries on both sides of the Suez Canal, the Gulf countries. It is a threat to India, which is the most important country in this region.

When one raises this question, some people on the treasury benches in the House smile and say they have taken formal note of it. If they want to talk about genuine non-alignment, the position they take on Diego Garcia will be the test of their genuineness. Let them make the United States sit around with

them and discuss the issue. One will have to be careful in dealing with the big powers, particularly with the United States which has got a base at our backdoor. Someone has said that Russia has also got its presence in the ocean. Russia certainly has its presence. These big powers have their presence all over the world, not only in the Indian Ocean.

But the main point is this: who has got a base? The Soviet Union has not got a base there. It is the United States which has a base. This will have to be kept in mind and taken note of, and all the calculations about India's relationship should be only on this basis. I have not criticised the government for the sake of criticism but have only espoused the cause of national interest in regard to some aspects of India's foreign policy.



## *Part Two*

# SOCIO-POLITICAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

*There is wisdom, understanding and balance in the attitude and judgement of the common man in India, inheritor as he is of a great and ancient civilization. His wisdom and commonsense have been the main support of our democratic system.*

*India's foreign policy has international co-operation as one of its basic postulates. It has been actuated by a world vision which arose from its faith in the humanity and also from the fact that India is herself, with all her fascinating diversities, a world in miniature.*





## *India and international economy*

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National and international developments in the political field today are getting so complex that they defy the methods and tools of only one discipline of study. Political science therefore tends to become more meaningful when it engages in fruitful co-operation with related disciplines like sociology, economics, demography, law and culture. On the other hand, the very complexity of the developments tends to encourage more and more narrow specialisation.

A specialist is often described as one who knows more and more about less and less till he knows everything about nothing and nothing about everything. It is necessary that political science should evolve a multi-disciplinary approach if complete and meaningful understanding of human societies is not to elude its analytical tools. This is all the more necessary when one is dealing with the political system of a country of continental size and enormous diversity. This makes India perhaps one of the most exciting societies of the world for the political scientist to study, to analyse and understand.

I would like to offer my comments in some detail on two themes. (a) "Challenges to the Indian Political System" and, (b) "United Nations, 'Third World' and Developing International Political Economy". Before going into the specific challenges to the Indian political system, allow me to make a few general observations. The challenges before the Indian political system are both general and specific. In order to understand them, one must understand the unique freedom struggle through which India attained its independence, setting in motion the forces of liberation in Asia and Africa.

*Unity and Integrity*

No constitution is immutable and the Indian constitution has been amended in the last twenty-five years on many occasions to take into account the changes taking place in Indian society and polity. The founding fathers had foreseen the need for amending the constitution since they were aware that the socio-economic transformation of India and its planned development could not take place without a restructuring of the existing social and economic relationships. In fact, just when the Constituent Assembly was adopting the constitution, Jawaharlal Nehru had declared :

“A free India will see the bursting forth of the energy of a mighty nation. What it will do and what it will not, I do not know, but I do know that it will not consent to be bound down by anything. Some people imagine that what we do now may not be touched for 10 years or 20 years . . . . I should like the House to consider that we are on the eve of revolutionary changes, revolutionary in every sense of the word because when the spirit of a nation breaks its bonds, it functions in peculiar ways, and it should function in strange ways. It may be that the Constitution this House may frame may not satisfy that free India. This House cannot bind down the next generation, or the people who will duly succeed us in this task.”

We are a nation with great diversity of languages and religions and plurality of institutions and authorities. India has been the cradle of many religions, and many other faiths have been nurtured here in an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding. We have more than a dozen major languages, each with its own script and ancient literature. We have regions with varying levels of economic development. Naturally, our national policies and programmes have to take note of this variety of endowment. That is why secularism and democracy occupy a central place in our values. So does the objective of balanced development of all regions. Of course, we do recognise that different regions of India have much to contribute to enrich the national ethos. India has a tradition of synthesis of eclectic assimilation. To us, the holiest place is where many rivers meet. The *Vedic* invocation says :

अनौ भद्राः कर्तवी यन्तु विश्वतः\*

But the same philosophical system also emphasises the essential oneness of the whole universe. Behind the multi-coloured splendour of the rainbow, it sees the reality of the pure ray of light. Similarly, amidst the many-faceted diversity of India, we have to keep in view constantly the paramount primacy of maintaining and strengthening the unity, integrity and stability of the nation as a whole.

The Indian political system is not an island but an integral part of a larger universe. In the modern world of today, the unity and independence of a nation depend as much on its internal strength as on friendly external relations. That is why India has constantly followed a policy of good neighbourliness and peaceful co-existence.

We wish to promote a climate of confidence and trust in our region and establish a network of co-operative relations with all nations, big and small. The policy of non-alignment was conceived not merely to steer clear of the ideological rivalries and military blocs but also as an instrument for strengthening political sovereignty and economic independence of newly-emerging nations. The validity and relevance of this policy can be seen in the fact that today an overwhelming majority of the newly-independent nations have joined the non-aligned movement. It is in pursuance of this policy that we have taken several steps to strengthen our relations of friendship and co-operation with our neighbours and despite occasional and temporary difficulties, we are determined to pursue this path of co-operation.

Though we believe in the peaceful co-operation of nations with different social, economic and political systems and ideologies, as far as India is concerned, we are convinced that the system of parliamentary democracy is the best suited to our conditions and requirements. We do not believe that the democratic system in India can be or should be a replica of the system in some other country. Social and political institutions cannot be transplanted, and no one should be surprised if democracy in India develops features that are essentially Indian. As a developing

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\* A Sanskrit hymn, which states: "Let good thoughts come from all directions".

nation engaged in a massive socio-economic transformation, there are certain problems which are common with other developing democracies.

Yet the diversity of religious faiths and language, the multiplicity of land systems and property relations, and the sheer magnitude of the task involved in making democracy meaningful to the millions of our people set India apart in a class by itself. In a country where the constituent States are larger in area and population than sovereign nations in other regions of the world, we have to evolve a suitable form of participatory democracy. It is essential for people to have a genuine sense of involvement in the making of modern India.

The Panchayati Raj\* set-up or some other suitable form of democratic decentralisation can provide the necessary institutional framework for such participation. Even the process of planning and implementation of development projects needs to be carried to well-defined units below the State level. This raises the related question of transforming a colonial bureaucracy into development administration. It also calls for a re-orientation of our educational system.

### *Commitment to Socialism*

In India we cannot be satisfied with mere political democracy. It can be meaningful to the larger mass of our people only if it serves as an effective instrument for ushering in economic democracy.

Faith in socialism, a natural path for a nation which desires to ensure social justice for its poor people and weaker sections of society, goes back to 1936. It was then that Nehru, as President of the Indian National Congress, had declared:

"I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in socialism. And when I use these words I do so not in a vague humanitarian way but in the scientific economic sense. Socialism is, however, something even more than an economic doctrine; it is philosophy of life. And as such also it appeals to me. I see no way of ending the poverty, the unemployment, the

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\* Administration of rural areas by five-member village committees.

degradation and the subjection of the Indian people, except through socialism. Socialism is thus for me not merely an economic doctrine which I favour; it is a vital creed which I hold with all my head and heart. I work for Indian independence because the nationalist in me cannot tolerate alien domination. I work for it even more because for me it is an inevitable step to social and economic changes."

To translate the commitment to socialism, we have to consciously redirect our policies and programmes so that they benefit the masses. This is necessary because developing nations start off with an unequal distribution of wealth and income which tends to influence the economic activity towards further concentration.

### *No Fairy Tale Ending*

Apart from careful formulation of programmes and their constant monitoring, it is also essential to make sure that the voice of the poor and the weaker sections of society is heard in the councils where policies and programmes are made. Otherwise, the way remains open for organised sectors of economy to take away more than their proportionate share of the fruits of development.

I have spoken about the supreme challenge of working for the realisation of the ideals enshrined in our constitution. These ideals have evolved during the difficult years of our freedom struggle and through the last twenty-five years of trials and tribulation; they have been cherished by the broad masses and held dear to the heart by the architects of modern India. It is not as if we have to begin at the beginning. We have started on the journey long ago.

But, as we advance, the goals appear to recede because our perceptions and aspirations keep rising to higher levels. For instance, when we talk today of unity of India, we no longer have in our mind the picture of India dotted with hundreds of princely States. The stage is long past. In the meanwhile, our concept of national unity and integration has become richer. The goals of national life are like a mathematical limit that can be approximated evermore closely but never actually reached. There is no fairy tale ending of "living happily everafter".

It is this constant widening of horizons which makes the uphill march more exciting and fascinating. The greater the challenge; the greater is the sense of satisfaction from achievements.

### *North-South Dialogue*

Let me now turn to the other theme concerning "United Nations, 'Third World' and Developing International Political Economy". The United Nations Organisation has now been in existence for three decades of dramatic changes in the world. There have been many achievements to its credit though we are far from the full realisation of its lofty goals of peace and international security. Over the years, there has been a quiet revolution in its composition, its character and its vision of the world we all want to live in.

A majority of its membership now consists of developing nations which have recently discarded the shackles of colonialism. Inevitably, greater attention of the U.N. and its agencies has been devoted to problems of development. There is an almost uninterrupted dialogue within and outside the U.N. between the developed and developing countries. Many of the ideas and programmes have been discussed for more than a decade now. Yet, whether it is the question of indebtedness of developing countries or of greater access to the markets of developed countries, little progress has been registered.

The two special sessions of the U.N. General Assembly have raised the economic dialogue to a higher political level. The newly-found strength of some of the developing countries has given an impetus to this process, culminating in the so-called North-South Dialogue which is continuing in Paris for the last one year. This Conference on International Economic Co-operation, which has brought together the developed and developing countries for wide-ranging negotiations on economic questions on the global agenda, began on a note of high expectation. The developing countries have every reason to feel an acute sense of disappointment at the slow pace of negotiations and their meagre outcome. The developed countries must realise that the present unjust and unequal economic order cannot continue indefinitely without leading to an explosive situation.

It should not be too much to hope that in the last quarter of the 20th century, humanity will not wait for a catastro-

phic event before the job of restructuring the present economic order is seriously taken in hand. The situation of the developing countries in general and the most seriously affected countries in particular has already reached a critical stage. For instance, the indebtedness of developing countries has exceeded U.S. \$150 billion. Even a five per cent reduction in the military budgets of developed countries could result in the transfer of sorely needed resources and dramatically transform the opportunities open for development for two-thirds of mankind. Unless the developed countries collectively display a political will and translate their understanding of the situation into meaningful progress, a just global economic order based on inter-dependence and mutual benefit will continue to elude us.

### *Collective Self-Reliance*

While we must pursue the negotiations with the developed countries in the hope that wiser counsels will prevail eventually, the developing countries must continue to work for collective self-reliance. They have recognised the need for promoting co-operation amongst themselves and the success of the oil-exporting countries has opened up new possibilities for pooling the financial material and human resources of the developing countries on a significant scale.

The non-aligned movement has played an increasingly important role in focusing attention on the economic issues and in fostering collective efforts for mutual co-operation. The recent Colombo Summit has given a concrete shape to these ideals in the form of an "Action Programme" for economic co-operation among developing countries. What is necessary now is to advance from declarations to action.

You may have noticed that I have refrained from talking of the so-called "Third World". This is because we believe that our world is too small to be divided further. In this age, when the futurists are talking of "spaceship earth", it is no longer relevant to talk of the so-called "First World", "Second World" or the "Third World". The very basis of the demand for an international economic order is the realisation that peace and prosperity of the world are indivisible. In fact, this has been our consistent stand at various international forums.

What we need is not a further and arbitrary division of the

one world, but a deeper understanding of our inter-dependence. Then only can we progress towards evolving a world order based on equality and justice.



## *Nehru's insight into the spirit of India*

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Nehru was not just the architect of modern India. He was a writer of eminence and master of the art of living. He was sensitive to beauty, elegance and harmony. Even in the din and bustle of politics, he retained this delicate sensitivity. His love for children was unbounded.

Nehru's approach to art was simple, natural and deeply perceptive. He wrote in his *Discovery of India*:

"I know nothing about art, eastern or western, and am not competent to say anything about it. I react to it as any untutored layman might do. Some painting or sculpture or building fills me with delight, or moves me and makes me feel a strange emotion, or it just pleases me a little; or it does not affect me at all and I pass it by almost unnoticed; or it repels me. I cannot explain these reactions or speak learnedly about the merits or demerits of works of art".

And yet look at his insight into Indian art. He says:

"Beauty is conceived as subjective, not objective; it is a thing of the spirit, though it may also take a lovely shape in the form of matter. The Greeks loved beauty for its own sake and found not only joy, but truth in it; the ancient Indians loved beauty also, but always they sought to put some deeper significance in their work, some vision of the inner truth as they saw it".

He believed in the tremendous vitality of India's culture and civilization that had influenced minds in distant lands, and that had enabled India to retain her identity and develop enough strength, to use Gandhi's words, "not to allow any wind from anywhere to sweep us off our feet".

It was this deep insight into the spirit of India and the determination not to be "swept off our feet" which certainly were the primary factors that shaped the foreign policy which Nehru fashioned with the touch of an artist.

A corner-stone of India's foreign policy, fashioned by Nehru, is the ideal of peaceful co-existence and friendship with all. In building up the edifice of friendship between nations, politicians and diplomatists certainly have a role, but an equally important and perhaps more enduring role is played by writers, artists and people at large. Indeed, writers and artists have made a significant contribution to the promotion of understanding and consolidation of friendship between India and the Soviet Union.

### *Truth Is Complex*

To be a friend of the people, it is necessary to know them well — without exaggeration of their virtue, without oversimplification, without the ceremonious summarization of an after-dinner speech. How difficult is the job of portraying the entire reality about a people or even about a single soul, is illustrated by the words of Leo Tolstoy. Some one asked him once as to what he wanted to convey by his *Anna Karenina*. He replied:

"If I were to try to tell you the things which I really wanted to convey, I would have to re-write the novel. (in the sense of copying it) from the first to the last letter".

In short, truth is complex; truth is many-sided; and the seeker of truth must be aware of this. Leo Tolstoy said at one place that the life and character of a human being is like a river; narrow and swiftly flowing at one place, broad and placid at another; muddied at one spot; clean and enjoyable at another. It is the writer's job to show us the whole river of life of a people, not merely its fashionable beaches. Only then do we

fall in love with the river. It is desirable and realistic to base friendship on mutual interest and advantage, but friendship becomes lasting and reliable when it is based on shared feelings and emotions.

Writers are not the only ones to share the distinction of public recognition. Painters, sculptors and other artists have an equal place in this galaxy. Tyutchev, the Russian poet, was so doubtful about the capacity of the word to convey an idea that he declaimed: "Thought given to utterance becomes a lie."

Perhaps you and I do not share Tyutchev's extreme distrust of language, but it is true that the graphic arts arouse emotions which defy description.

Such is the mute ecstasy with which we admire the Himalayas reflected on the canvases of the Roerichs, father and son. This is the virtue of graphic art. And it is the privilege of the artist to represent symbolically in the best possible manner the friendship between our peoples which transcends generations and political philosophies. Roerich was born in Russia and adopted by India. Which of us shall claim him? The point can be settled by letting him represent both of us — peoples united in friendship.

I refer to Roerich as a handy symbol, but the symbol is not the whole. The whole is the galaxy which is shining around me today.

### *Nehru — An Artist*

The name of the great Jawaharlal Nehru is fittingly associated with these awards which are an eloquent testimony to Indo-Soviet friendship. Nehru's was the soul of an artist — also that of an ardent crusader in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The policies he enunciated, of non-alignment and of peace and friendship among nations, continue to be the bedrock of India's foreign policy. Nehru greatly valued India's friendship with the Soviet Union. In honouring the writers and artists, whose creative effort was inspired by love for the international brotherhood of men and children, who have shown their affection and interest in that great country, the USSR, the organizers have rendered a signal service to our mutual understanding.

Indo-Soviet friendship is based on the principles of mutual respect, equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutually advantageous co-operation. It emanates from India's

national ethos and sentiment, to which Jawaharlal Nehru gave expression and shape in defining the purposes and parameters of India's foreign policy. This sentiment found a ready response in the Soviet Union's own desire of establishing friendly relations and co-operation with other peoples. The two countries have a common stake in peace and stability. For it is only in such conditions that civilization can progress and human beings endeavour for fulfilment.

As history has shown, friendship between India and the Soviet Union is a factor for promotion of peace and stability. Indo-Soviet co-operation in various fields, economic, scientific, technological and cultural, which has developed rapidly in the last two decades, is an example of what international co-operation and understanding can achieve. Our bilateral friendship and co-operation is not directed against anybody; on the other hand, it serves to promote peace, mutual trust and understanding among nations.

## *Apartheid : a crime against humanity*

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It was India which first brought before the United Nations in 1946 the question of racial discrimination in South Africa. We claim no merit for it because, at that time, practically the whole of Africa and large parts of Asia were still under colonial domination. It was, therefore, India's duty on attaining independence to come to the United Nations and enlist the support of other Member States in the common struggle against colonialism and racism.

I would also recall that the struggle for India's independence owed a good deal to the experience gained by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa in the organisation and conduct of passive resistance campaigns against unjust laws. It was, therefore, natural that India should have come to the United Nations to internationalise the campaign against racial discrimination. I hope the fact that this was done during his lifetime must have been a source of some satisfaction to Mahatma Gandhi.

May I here recall a few experiences of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa, experiences which brought him face to face with the ugly realities of racism? At Maritzburg in South Africa he was attacked and forcibly ejected from a railway carriage reserved for whites. At Pardeburg he was brutally assaulted by an armed white policeman for walking on a footpath reserved for whites. At Durban he was nearly lynched by a white mob. At Johannesburg he was beaten nearly to death by a white official. During the Zulu war against the British, Mahatma Gandhi was told by a British doctor that no Europeans would nurse the

wounded Zulus, and so Gandhiji organised an Indian ambulance unit to take care of the wounded Zulus.

### *Gandhi — The Universal Man*

These early experiences shaped Mahatma Gandhi's eventual destiny as the father of the Indian Nation. It was in South Africa that he conceived the idea of militant non-violence as a political instrument against racism. Later in India he fashioned this instrument into an effective weapon for use by the masses against British rule.

The problem in South Africa is far from complex. It is artificial and was created by the white man. "Apartheid" is a word coined by the Afrikaner National Party as a political slogan, and refined into the un-natural ideology of separatism, on the basis of race. In 1963, the then Prime Minister of South Africa, said of apartheid: "It means that we want to keep South Africa white. Keeping it white means white domination, not leadership. It means white supremacy and control, and not guidance."

Neither science nor religion recognises any fundamental division of the human species on racial grounds. Nor do they postulate the superiority of any one race over others. Mahatma Gandhi defined race in the following words: "All those who can have children of one another belong to the same race."

The evolution of the jurisprudence of the United Nations on the question of racial discrimination makes interesting reading and I should like to recall some of the important stages. It is not often remembered that at its very first session the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution declaring that: "It is in the higher interests of humanity to put an immediate end to racial persecution and discrimination."

### *A Lost Cause*

India's initiative in 1946 in the United Nations established three conclusions. Firstly, that racial policies are not matters within the domestic jurisdiction of Member States; secondly, that racial policies impaired friendly relations between States; and thirdly, that the treatment of all racial groups within a State should be in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In 1952 India, together with 12 Asian and Arab countries,

declared in the United Nations that a race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policy of apartheid would constitute a threat to international peace and security. That view was widely accepted by the U. N. General Assembly nine years later in 1961.

Eleven years ago, in 1965, the U.N. General Assembly, for the first time, drew the attention of the U. N. Security Council to the fact that action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter was essential in order to solve the problem of apartheid. In 1967 the U. N. General Assembly condemned apartheid as a crime against humanity.

In 1968 the U. N. General Assembly recognised the right of the people of South Africa as a whole to self-determination and to majority rule based on universal suffrage. In 1970 the U. N. General Assembly recognised the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa to eliminate apartheid by all means at their disposal. The General Assembly also declared that the racist regime of South Africa was illegitimate and had no right to represent the people of South Africa.

The struggle in South Africa against apartheid is entering its final phase. There is no doubt that it will succeed. Apartheid is a lost cause, and it stands universally condemned. The struggle for freedom and racial equality began in the minds of men centuries ago. There is no substitute for freedom, and there is no alternative to equality.

## *Gandhiji : endless search for a better world*

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Today is a very important day in the history of India and, if I may say so, in the history of mankind itself. Gandhiji is not, and never was, the exclusive property of India. The accident of his birth in our country was a good fortune to India but, wherever he might have been born, his life, his thought and his teachings would still have had their impact on the people of India whose ancient history and tradition make them value moral force, as greater than physical force.

Mahatma Gandhi, as we can see now, was a farsighted person who reduced complex political, social and economic questions into fairly simple propositions that every man could understand. He emphasized that man and his moral sense, which he called "that small inner voice", had a continuing dialogue throughout life and only when man listens to his inner voice would he be able to resolve the conflict within himself. If he did not solve the conflict within himself, he could never even begin to understand the conflict outside himself. He put this to the test in a very simple fashion in an area where today the world's attention is concentrated, namely, Southern Africa.

### *A Flaming Light*

The greatness of Gandhiji lay in the fact that he would not accept the basic principle of colonialism, namely, that a group of men had the right to dominate others merely because of military, technical or industrial superiority. He had basic faith in that God created all men equal and that this equality should be translated into man's relations with his fellowmen. No insti-



tution however powerful, no government however strong and no race however skilled could long perpetuate a system in which this fact was ignored. In the South Africa of that time, Gandhiji found that there were different laws for different men, and he challenged them immediately with the basic belief that an unjust order of human society was anathema to God himself. The spark that he lit in the minds of subject peoples in Southern Africa of that period can be seen to have grown into a flaming light that illuminates the minds of the people in that area today. The eminent statesman, President Nyerere of Tanzania, said in a television interview broadcast in the United States:

"I really cannot say when apartheid is going to be ended in South Africa. What I am saying is that the oppressor has one weapon. It is ruthlessness. 'I will kill you if you demand your rights'. This power he loses the moment the oppressed says, 'Go ahead and kill'. The moment the oppressed says, 'Go ahead and kill', that power is gone and sooner or later he is powerless... the oppressor is virtually harmless."

### *Anti-colonial Movement*

This assertion of man's fundamental craving for freedom and equality could not be denied in various colonial areas of the world, and, therefore, we say, after World War II thanks to a series of freedom struggles in various parts of the world, all the former colonies became masters of their own destiny.

This process of de-colonisation owed not a little to Gandhiji's pioneering efforts in Africa where he fashioned his tools of non-violence and spiritual faith and transferred them to the struggle by the masses of India against the British colonial rule. Pockets of colonialism still exist in Southern Africa and today you witness a great movement among the peoples in that area towards self-determination, self-government and human equality.

Anyone who has studied the history of the last hundred years cannot but feel sure that this struggle will end in success. All that we can do today is to bring it about quickly and with as little violence as possible. It is only the manner of the birth of independence and self-determination of colonial peoples that can be changed -- not the end result.

If one looks at the history of man, one is struck by the fanta-

stic pace of development of technology and the transformation of man's relationship to his environment in the last two hundred years. It is said by many that in the whole course of human evolution of millions of years, man has not been familiar with the rapid pace of changes that have come about in the world during the last hundred years.

Our understanding of the nature of matter and of the universe has grown phenomenally. There is still a great deal to be learnt but the store of knowledge we have acquired is considerable.

### *Gandhiji's Life — A Message*

However, we have to examine whether there is anything in human nature that is constant in all these changes. Is there a moral or ethical sense which one could define, as perfect and constant, whatever be the environment in which man lives and whatever changes in the environment man brings about? This is the kind of question that Gandhiji asked himself. Gandhiji, when asked whether he could look forward to a perfect society, meaning a perfectly moral and just society, said that he could not say with confidence that he could achieve it but added: "I can certainly try and perfect this small corner of the universe, which is my heart and I will try to that."

This total conviction of Gandhiji that man, acting in accordance with his inner moral sense, could find a way to perfect himself had cataclysmic consequences when it was translated into social action. He was a living example and inspiration to millions of people, who reacted to social injustice and human inequality enforced on them. They derived hope and sustenance from Gandhiji's faith. If there are two issues that have agitated the world in the last hundred years and given rise to actions and movements that have changed the map of the world, one can say that they are colonialism and racism. It was Gandhiji's far-sightedness and insight into human affairs that led him unerringly to challenge both as long ago as 1890's in Southern Africa.

What can we do in our present-day situation that would justify our living in the same century as Gandhiji? Were he alive today, what would he expect of us or of the world which thought it had solved its problems at the end of World War II, only to wake up to realise that man's striving for a better world is endless? It is often said that people from India tend to

moralise and preach to the world. I do not wish to do that. I would rather speak about what an Indian could do in the same search as of Gandhiji's for a better world.

The struggle of man for perfection will go on. As I said, it is endless. Gandhiji's life and teachings are an inspiration, a beacon light to us. They should keep us on the correct path and remind us that the means are as important as the ends, and that man's motivations matter as much as his accomplishments. Gandhiji's ideas have continued to inspire people fighting for diverse causes in diverse lands, but, as I said, it was not merely that the words he preached were eloquent and, therefore, appealed to the people, but rather that the life he lived itself became a message to others.

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## *Part Three*

# GUIDELINES FOR FOREIGN POLICY

*The foreign policy of a country is dictated in the first place by its perceived national interests. It is also shaped by the nation's history, social system and tradition. In the case of India, the guiding principles of its foreign policy have been the striving for peace in the world, willingness to work on the basis of peaceful co-existence and friendly co-operation with all nations of the world, aspirations for an equal and just economic order at home and in the world at large, and unflinching support to the struggle for freedom and human dignity.*

*In this era of people's diplomacy, it is very right and necessary that the foreign policy of a country is viewed in the people's forum from time to time. We have tried to make our foreign policy a dynamic and flexible instrument for projecting India's views and safeguarding her interests. The objectives of Indian foreign policy are to promote the cause of peace and international co-operation, as we believe that this would secure the interests not only of India but also of the entire international community.*

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## *Self-reliance in foreign policy*

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The conduct of foreign policy is the prerogative of the government. But the issues and problems the foreign office has to grapple with are becoming more complex and those engaged in the application of foreign policy work under the pressure of day-to-day events. It is therefore desirable that these complex issues be studied in an unhurried fashion by persons who can take a long-range view of the events. It is from this point of view that I welcome the establishment of the Institute of International Affairs in Bombay. Very often when we look at the isolated events together, they reveal an underlying trend or current which is not apparent when we look at them separately.

With the advance of technology in communication, mass media, weapons system and transportation, we have reached a stage at which substantial changes can take place swiftly, upsetting the precarious calculations of academicians, diplomatists and practitioners in the field of foreign policy. In this fast-changing world, it is imperative for us to analyse and study the global and regional trends which are often contradictory.

### *Need for "In-depth" Study*

For instance, for the last two years or so, there has been an economic crisis in many industrialised countries, characterised by runaway inflation, mounting unemployment and recession. At the same time, one perceives a concerted effort on the part of these countries to get together to harmonise their economic policies and responses to the outside world.

There is relaxation of tensions and in fact mutual cooperation among erstwhile adversaries. But great power rivalries seem to erupt in far-away places. While some of the developing coun-

tries have been suddenly catapulted into overwhelming affluence, the gap between the developed and developing world continues to widen. I am enumerating some of the contradictory trends which appear to be operative in the world today. I am convinced that if our foreign policy is to remain in step with the evolving situation, we must analyse these trends in depth, and there should be a very broad-based dialogue between diplomatists, policy-makers and intellectuals.

Shrewd judgment and anticipation after deep study is the heart of policy planning and initiative in foreign affairs. In fact it is necessary to carry a basic understanding of these issues even to the masses. Such an understanding and support at the mass level for the fundamental tenets of our foreign policy have been among our strong points in international relations. I hope the Institute will contribute to this continuing process in the country.

I would now speak about some of the major global trends, certain very important events in our region and some of the mainsprings and concerns of our foreign policy. I have referred before to the trend towards relaxation of tensions or *detente*. A major landmark in this process is symbolised by the declaration at Helsinki and the "handshake" in space between the Apollo and the Soyuz astronauts recently.

There are many factors which have strengthened this process of *detente*, one of them being the climate for peaceful co-existence created by the non-aligned movement and its leaders. Public memory is proverbially short and those dark days when a catastrophic confrontation between the two blocs seemed imminent now appears too remote. But as a founding member of non-aligned movement, India will always remember the ceaseless efforts of our leaders in those days to build bridges of understanding between the two opposing blocs.

### *Paradox of Power*

Another major factor is what I choose to call the "technological imperative". The spectacular success in nuclear weapons technology has reached a stage where a nuclear war would spell disaster for humanity and decimation of life on this planet. This, in a way, is the paradox of power. Whatever the contributing factors may have been, we have always considered



*detente* as a very healthy and welcome phenomenon. At the same time, *detente* cannot be meaningful to us in Asia, Africa and Latin America if it is confined to the continent of Europe. The spirit of *detente* should envelop the globe, and this must not be transient but an enduring and lasting process.

Peaceful co-existence of differing, even conflicting, philosophies, ideologies or ways of life is not new to us in India who have been brought up in the belief that there are more than one ways to truth. Fortunately for us, in the formative years of independent India, our foreign policy was in the hands of Jawaharlal Nehru, who was steeped in our history and philosophy. Not surprisingly a major plank of our foreign policy, right from the beginning, has been the principle of peaceful co-existence — *and it is not merely a principle*. We have tried to translate it into practice. We have continued to follow a policy of peace and friendly co-operation towards all, particularly towards those in our region.

### *Bilateralism*

There is one more dimension, and that is one of bilateralism. It was on this basis that the Simla Agreement of July, 1972 was concluded between India and Pakistan and it is in pursuance of that agreement that recently we have achieved normalisation of relations with Pakistan. It has taken nearly four years for this process to complete. During these four years we persisted, despite occasional disappointment, in our policy of working for durable peace on the sub-continent. We believe that as neighbours who share so much of history, tradition and culture there is no rational alternative to friendship and co-operation between India and Pakistan. At the same time, we recognise that as close neighbours it is not unnatural for problems and difficulties to arise from time to time. What is essential is a commitment and determination to overcome these difficulties in a spirit of friendship, good neighbourliness and mutual recognition of the economic and geographical imperatives of the region as a whole.

With our other neighbour, China, we have taken an important step forward. Our ambassador already stands accredited to the People's Republic of China and we expect that their ambassador will soon be here. This would provide a channel of communication between the two Governments at a higher level,

and it could eventually lead to improvement in bilateral relations.

There is much that has happened in the last decade or so, and I do not wish to underestimate the difficulties in the way of such improvement. But all this constitutes an important step, with a potential for positive developments. Here, I would like to state that any such improvement in our bilateral relations with China will not in any way affect the bilateral relations with their own *rationale* of mutuality. For example, it would be a mistake to think that our time-tested relationship of trust, respect and friendliness with the Soviet Union will be diluted.

### *Close Neighbours*

I have spoken of some favourable developments in our relations with two of our close and important neighbours. We, on our part, are seeking a similar improvement with other neighbours. Despite problems, this is our quest in Bangladesh. I emphatically state that we want to build up a relationship of friendship, co-operation and trust with all our neighbours. There are certain unresolved problems, but we believe that there are no problems between neighbours which cannot be solved by understanding and negotiation if there is a willingness on both sides.

With our other close neighbours like Bhutan, Nepal, Afghanistan, Burma and Sri Lanka, we have traditional ties of friendship which have been strengthened further in modern times. The problems of Kachchativu Island and Stateless persons in Sri Lanka have been already solved in a satisfactory manner, and recently we have also settled the entire length of maritime boundary between India and Sri Lanka.

Moving a little further from our immediate neighbourhood, I would like to mention in brief our policy towards west Asia, south east Asia, and Africa. I am sure you are all aware of our long-standing and consistent support to the Arab cause. We firmly believe that there can be no lasting peace in west Asia unless Israel withdraws from all occupied Arab territories and the national rights of Palestinians are restored to them. Naturally, the present situation in Lebanon cannot but cause concern to us. We hope that Arab unity will be maintained and peace and harmony will return to Lebanon, ensuring its sove-



7. The author and Indira Gandhi with Soviet Leaders, Gomyko, Brezhnev and Kosygin, in Moscow in June, 1976.



*8. With Soviet leaders in Georgia (USSR) in June, 1976.*



*9. With President Suharto in Jakarta (Indonesia) in July, 1976.*



reignty, independence and non-alignment.

With the countries in the Gulf region and Iran, we have been successful in strengthening our economic co-operation. We attach great importance to such co-operation among developing countries which pool together our technology and manpower with the needs of industrialisation in them.

Coming to south-east Asia, an outstanding event of the year has been the reunification of Vietnam. We are confident that the emergence of a united Vietnam, inspired by nationalism and progressive ideology and devoted to a policy of non-alignment, will be a significant addition to the forces of peace in that region and in Asia as a whole. We have good economic relations with the members of ASEAN\* which is increasingly devoting its energies to evolving a pattern of regional economic co-operation. We welcome this development and will be happy to extend whatever co-operation we can.

#### *Indian Ocean: Zone of Peace*

On the continent of Africa, which lies just across the Indian Ocean, there are some remaining citadels of racism. We are confident that it is only a matter of time before the forces of liberation and freedom against racialist and minority regimes will emerge victorious, provided, of course, that there is unity in the liberation movements.

Since the days of Mahatma Gandhi, who raised his voice in the cause of human dignity, India has consistently and actively supported the liberation struggles in Africa. With the African countries, which have emerged from the chains of colonialism, we have an ongoing programme of economic and technical co-operation.

This brings me to the question of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. You must be aware of the initiative of Sri Lanka which has led to a declaration by the United Nations to this effect. Despite the overwhelming support of the littoral States, there has not been much progress towards realisation of this objective. In fact, with the functioning of a full-fledged naval base at Diego Garcia, the situation has, if anything, worsened. These new and persistent attempts to dominate strategic points

\* Association of South East Asian Nations, members of which are Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

in the Indian Ocean are inevitably seen by the littoral countries as unacceptable attempts at domination in effect, as a form of neocolonialism.

We are determined to work for elimination of foreign military bases from the Indian Ocean, so that it can truly emerge as a zone of peace. This is bound to be a major concern of the non-aligned countries which will be meeting at the summit level in Colombo in August, 1976.

### *Perceived National Interests*

I have not been able to touch upon all the facts of foreign policy, an intriguing but fascinating subject. But I hope that from whatever I have said so far, you will be able to perceive some of the major determinants of our foreign policy. The foreign policy of any country is dictated in the first place by its perceived national interests. It is also shaped by the nation's history, social system and tradition.

In the case of India, the guiding principles of our foreign policy have been the quest for peace in the world, willingness to work on the basis of peaceful co-existence and friendly co-operation with all nations of the world, aspiration for an equal and just economic order at home and in the world at large, and unflinching support to the struggle for freedom.

But the basic framework of our foreign policy has been provided by non-alignment. Though the non-aligned movement took a formal shape only at the Belgrade summit in 1961, it has been the basis of our foreign policy since 1946. We have always conceived of non-alignment as a positive policy with its thrust to end colonialism and racialism to safeguard peace and seek an end to the arms race. Above all, non-alignment meant courage to maintain independence of judgment or, in other words, self-reliance, so that we can stay away from power blocks, get on with our national tasks, and eliminate want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of world's population.

The non-aligned movement has played a very significant role on the international scene. It stands today at the crossroads. We feel that this is the time to reaffirm its basic principles, consolidate its unity and accelerate its action-programme which ultimately aims at the establishment of a new and just international economic order.

## *Peace, friendship and humanism*

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The broad national consensus on our foreign policy normally transcends party politics and cuts across party lines. As a matter of fact, the roots of our foreign policy can be found even in our movement for freedom. From that time onwards, we had laid down certain basic aspects of our foreign policy. Naturally, with the changing world situation, some more aspects were added to it, and sometimes the presentation was changed. But the basic approaches have remained the same. I think this is the reason why we have always come to correct judgements and correct assessment of situations.

The striving for peace in the world, willingness to work on the basis of co-existence and co-operation with all nations of the world, aspirations for an equal and just economic order, and unflinching support to the struggle to ensure freedom and human dignity — these are the guiding principles of our foreign policy which draw sustenance and strength from our cultural traditions and our freedom movement.

### *Nehru's Three "Epochs"*

Recently I came across the tribute paid to Nehru in 1965 by Martin Luther King, Jr. the famous leader of the black movement who as a matter of fact was also a leader of humanity. I was rather amazed at the insight of the man into Nehru's life. He said: "Jawaharlal Nehru was a man of three extraordinary epochs. He was a leader in the long anti-colonial struggle to free his own land and to inspire a fighting will in other lands under bondage".

This was his first epoch.

The second was: "He lived to see victory and to move then

to another epochal confrontation — the fight for peace after World War II. In this climacteric struggle he did not have Gandhi at his side, but he did have the Indian people, now free in their own great Republic. It would be hard to overstate Nehru's and India's contributions in this period. It was a time fraught with the constant threat of a devastating finality for mankind. There was no moment in this period free from the peril of atomic war. In these years, Nehru was a towering world force skillfully inserting the peace will of India between the ranging antagonisms of the great powers of East and West."

And the third epoch was — I will read this out — and I would like to invite your attention particularly to the third epoch. Martin Luther king said: "The third epoch of Nehru's work is unfolding after his death. Even though his physical presence is gone, his spiritual influence retains a living force. The great powers are not yet in harmonious relationship to each other, but with the help of the non-aligned world they have learned to exercise a wise restraint. In this is the basis for a lasting *detente*. Beyond this, Nehru's example in daring to believe and act for peaceful co-existence gives mankind its most glowing hope."

This is the basis of India's foreign policy and its international framework — this concept of non-alignment, of anti-colonialism, of anti-imperialism, of working for peace, and at the same time working for peaceful co-existence.

At present, the big powers are thinking in terms of *detente* because of many reasons. One of these is that the developing, non-aligned countries have created a certain force, a certain condition in the world. This is one aspect. Secondly, there is a certain technological imperative. Naturally, the success in technological development has reached a stage when nobody can say that they alone are the tallest. There may be descriptions of the world today as "bipolar" or "tripolar" or "five-polar". I do not know how many "poles" there are. Basically, there seem to be two. But both the "poles" have come to realise that if there is a war, a nuclear war, nobody is going to be a winner. Therefore, there is no other alternative but *detente*. The fact is that the technological revolution has created certain political compulsions in the international sphere. And one of them is that the powers with all-powerful weapons have come to realise that they just cannot make use of them.



Therefore, while we always consider *detente* as a very healthy development and welcome it, we say that *detente* should not really be confined to one particular continent or one particular situation. It should not become merely a technique of crisis management but should be a genuine movement which can be made applicable to all the continents and all the situations and all the tensions in the world. Therefore, when we think of non-alignment, I would like to say that we should think of non-alignment in a much more positive manner.

From the beginning, non-alignment was never a uni-dimensional concept. It was a composite policy consisting of a number of fundamental elements. In the words of Jawaharlal Nehru, the objectives of non-alignment are "the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with another major power or groups of powers but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue, the liberation of subject peoples, the maintenance of national and international freedom, the abolishing of racial discrimination and elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict greater part of world's population."

Nehru was thinking in terms of humanity. He wanted to make non-alignment a positive instrument in the hands of humanity. This particular aspect will have to be kept in mind.

### *Meaningful "Detente"*

With the changing world situation, it is only appropriate that different facets of non-alignment may receive emphasis at different times. However, to suggest that any element of non-alignment has become irrelevant to the contemporary reality is, to my mind, incorrect. I am making this point because there is a line of argument in the world today that the "cold war" era has come to an end. May be, yes; possibly, "cold war" may have come to an end but the point is whether the basic situation has changed. I would certainly put a big question mark before it in the sense whether there is a complete sense of stability in all the developing countries. Can we say that with confidence?

The world has changed since the first non-aligned summit in Belgrade in 1961. Yet we are far from a stage where the world is without war, without want and without conflict or tension. In this changed and constantly changing world, the versatile concept of non-alignment is even more relevant now than it was in 1961.

It is true that the powers which confronted each other earlier have now embarked on the path of relaxation of tensions. I have not used the word *detente* here because some people are becoming allergic to the word. We have welcomed this positive development.

In fact, we have expressed the view that to be meaningful, *detente* must extend to other continents and areas of tension and conflict. In our own region we are constantly striving to build a structure of durable peace and friendly co-operation. Military alliances are still a reality. In fact, some of the pacts which were so far dormant have been revived again. What is more important, impelled by a vision of global scarcity of basic resources, raw materials and energy, an economic dimension is being added to the military groupings.

Recent events in Africa and the intensification of efforts for domination of the Indian Ocean are symptomatic of the stress and strains to which *detente* is subject. It would therefore be premature and unwise to conclude that military pacts have become a thing of the past. The non-aligned movement has played a very important role in preserving the independence of the newly-liberated countries, in sustaining and strengthening the liberation movements, in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racialism. The movement has also been in the vanguard of the struggle for securing a new and just internal economic order. We welcome the growing strength and the increasing appeal of the non-aligned movement.

#### *"Aam" or "Khas" Friendship*

It is also essential to remember that the basic strength of the movement lies in unity and cohesion and not in mere numbers. We believe that this unity and cohesion of the non-aligned movement cannot be maintained if any of its fundamental principles are sacrificed in the interest of expediency. India's foreign policy is certainly aimed at looking after India's national interests. It cannot afford to do any thing else. But it has also an international framework. These two are organically inter-connected. One flows from the other.

One of the members who made a very good speech in Hindi this morning said—and I would like to use his words—that

with some countries we should have *khas maitri*\* and with others *aam maitri*.† I do not like to make this type of distinction in friendship. I am reminded of a similar type of thing the other day in the other House when one of the leading members of the Communist Party asked me: Select your friends. Really speaking, it means, on the other side: Choose your enemies also. I told him at that time that this was not our way. Because of some historical reasons, sometimes friendship can become more warm. But that is a different matter. We ourselves should not try to make such a distinction as *khas maitri* and *aam maitri*.

We do not want to become a power in the sense the word "Power" is used. We certainly want India to be strong. We certainly want India to live in peace and work for co-operation. But this can be done only through our participation in the technological revolution.

I think as human beings we all have talents and capacities as peoples of the developed countries have. But it is a question of time. They have got the advantage of an early start of 200 years. That is our initial disadvantage. I am sure that if we work hard towards that end and we gear up our economic, commercial policy and foreign policies, we will succeed ultimately.

I have said many times before and would like to repeat that ultimately the success and strength of our foreign policy depends upon the strength of our internal political, economic and scientific policies. Therefore, just as we take care of our foreign policy postures and our relations with the different countries, we have to take care of our internal policies as well, for these are the basic forces of strength for India. If we strengthen them, we will be strengthening India and the Indian people. And it is the strength of the Indian people that would make India's foreign policy strong and successful.

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\* An Indian terminology, "khas" (a Persian or Urdu term) implies "Special", and "maitri", (a Sanskrit or Hindi term) "friendship".

† Another Urdu or Persian term meaning "common".

## *Solidarity of progressive forces*

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The last two decades have been truly epoch-making in the world history. The peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, representing an overwhelming segment of humanity, have successfully asserted their will to be sovereign and not be mere objects of imperial and colonial exploitation. This is however only a beginning. With every passing year, the Afro-Asian movement, despite formidable obstacles, has grown. It has not only invigorated, inspired and strengthened the fight for independence in countries under colonial dominance but has also assumed a dynamic form and become the focal point of ideal and positive action with a view to achieving economic independence for the peoples of Africa, Latin America and Asia.

In the contemporary world therefore the countries from the developing world, dedicated to the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, have a part to play in the re-making of the world. Today there is undoubtedly widespread understanding and acceptance of the policy of non-alignment and its relevance and importance. The non-aligned countries have consistently worked to democratise international relations, both in political and economic spheres, and to move from confrontation and deadlock to the fields of co-operative and constructive endeavours.

It is noteworthy that the decisions taken by the foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries at Lima influenced the decisions taken and resolutions adopted unanimously at the seventh special session as well as the thirtieth session of the U.N. General Assembly towards achieving a new world order, based on justice and equality.

### *"Children of Revolution"*

And yet all the success which the non-aligned countries, supported by socialist and progressive countries, have achieved needs to be consolidated in the face of serious challenges from those who would like to see non-aligned and progressive forces weakened and divided. The need for forging unity and solidarity was never as imperative as it is today. We have to face the provocations of the forces of disruption trying to undermine the unity and stability of the newly-independent countries of the developing world which have taken to the path of democracy, secularism and socialism. We are the "children of revolution", as Jawaharlal Nehru often used to say. It is for us to be united at this crucial juncture in thwarting the attempts of those who would only be too glad to obstruct our march towards orderly progress, stability and much-needed development, to overcome as quickly as possible the economic, technological and intellectual consequences of long years of colonialism.

Mighty forces have been at work in the great continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They have moved millions of people and have created in their minds urges and passions for a change in their conditions.

The freedom movement in India from its inception maintained close ties with the independence movements in all the countries of Asia and Africa. Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru focused attention on and struggled for the cause of Indian independence. They also spoke for the people of Asia and Africa. The Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries heralded the emergence of a new Asia and Africa, of newly-liberated nations, marching towards fulfilment of their independence and conscious of their role in world affairs. This did not mean the creation of a new power bloc. The contribution made to the process of liquidating the remaining vestiges of colonial rule and of enlarging the areas of peace, understanding and co-operation throughout the world by countries of Africa and Asia has demonstrated the capacities of the new nations of Asia and Africa for practical idealism and constructive vision.

### *Era of Co-operation*

After the successful conclusion of the Helsinki Conference,

a new era of peace and co-operation has begun in Europe. We welcome it. But as we have said all along, *detente* to be effective and lasting must be universal in character and must come to all regions of the world. It is necessary not only to liquidate the remaining vestiges of colonialism but also to create a climate which would assure to the developing countries their freedom and sovereignty and the right and opportunity to exploit their natural resources for the progress and welfare of their own people.

In a world marked by wide economic disparities and unequal trade patterns, there is an urgent need to give practical and concrete shape to the solidarity of Afro-Asian people in order to bring about a new international economic order. Even today, the developing countries do not get a fair price for their raw materials and products. They get merely thirty million dollars for products which fetch ultimately a price of two hundred million dollars.

The recently-concluded seventh special session of U.N. General Assembly succeeded in evolving a consensus on the establishment of a new international economic order. Much however remains to be done. Enhanced co-operation among developing countries will be a very effective way of promoting our solidarity to the benefit of all concerned.

India has not only declared but has consistently worked in her relations with neighbours and others, for building durable peace, understanding and co-operation. India hopes that developing countries in this region as well as outside will be able to work out their destinies without any outside interference. What Nehru said at Bandung in 1955 is even more relevant in today's fast-changing world. He said:

"We are determined not to fail. We are determined, in this new phase of Asia and Africa, to make good. We are determined not to be dominated in any way by any other country or continent. We are determined to bring happiness and prosperity to our people and to discard the age-old shackles that have tied us not only politically but economically — the shackles of colonialism and other shackles of our own making."

We are determined to do all this and more.

## *Enlightened self-interest*

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The foreign policy of every nation is shaped by two broad sets of factors—its own ideals and interests and the perceptions and actions of other nations. The task of statesmanship is to create an international climate in which the nation can protect its interest and promote its ideals. The supreme objective of India is to bring about a massive socio-economic transformation through peaceful means and to build a secular and democratic society in which people of our different areas, religions and languages can live, work and prosper together as one nation. We have to promote a more rapid economic growth at home and, at the same time, keep our region free from tensions.

Having been subjected to five conflicts in the short period after independence, we cannot remain indifferent to events which may bring about yet more tension and conflict. We would, therefore, like to see the Indian sub-continent move forward with confidence to a new pattern of relationship based on mutual understanding, respect and co-operation.

### *Continuing U.S. Interest*

The American people have maintained a continuing interest in the affairs of the countries of the sub-continent, an area that has evoked the interest of scholars and travellers from time immemorial. India has in the past been studied from a variety of angles -- for her cultural richness, religious tolerance and linguistic diversity. When India waged a non-violent struggle for liberation from the British rule, there was considerable interest in America in the methods used by the Indian people and sympathy and understanding for their aspirations.

Since independence a new dimension has been added to this.

The bold adventure of a large country with a vast population like India embarking on a programme of all-round socio-economic development and trying to cope with a variety of problems ranging from age old poverty and illiteracy to modernisation of economy under democratic institutions has aroused widespread interest. We are aware that advances made in the techniques and methodology of social sciences have made it possible for scholars to probe into some of our problems in great depth.

Yet in spite of such study and analysis, why do scholars and others often seem to go wrong in their predictions about India? I am not a scholar. But I have grown with the national movement for freedom and have been associated with the Government of my state of Maharashtra and the Government at the Centre for the last twenty-eight years in different capacities. It seems to me that the answer may be found in a certain lack of completeness in approach and understanding.

### *Historical Perspective*

The aspirations of the Indian people and their ideals go back a long way into history. The intermingling of religions and the interplay of cultures have been taking place in this ancient land for over three thousand years of recorded history and possibly before. This has given a certain dimension of tolerance to Indian thought and practice. A great renaissance movement swept over India when Mahatma Gandhi led the nation in its struggle for independence. As a result, the people at large became increasingly aware of their unity and their right to be free.

I have referred to the freedom struggle in India because it provides the necessary perspective from which one can understand India's development as a democratic nation, engaged in enriching its political freedom with economic and social content.

Like any other social institution, democracy is inevitably conditioned by political history, traditions and circumstances of the country as well as by the political, social and economic problems and pressures facing the country. The democratic method is being applied to the gigantic and complex task of agricultural, industrial, technological and social transformation. Whether in India or abroad, people have not realised fully the magnitude, complexity and immense difficulties involved in this venture.



Freedom and democracy require eternal vigilance as well as individual and social discipline, particularly in a developing country. Our fundamental objective is the removal of poverty and inequality and establishment of a society based on social justice.

As a nation, we have dedicated ourselves to these objectives. Our achievements in the transformation of our society have been steady and substantial. In the race between production and population, production has achieved a slight edge over the growth of population. In a country like India, agricultural production is not merely a function of technological advance or of putting together a scientifically valid package of inputs but also of social, administrative and even psychological changes.

### *Policy of Peace*

Just as we are committed to peaceful democratic methods in our internal matters, we are committed to a policy of peace, friendship and co-operation in our external relations. Peace and stability in Asia, particularly in the subcontinent, are matters of great importance to India. It was with this vision of peace and co-operation in the sub-continent that the Simla Agreement was concluded with Pakistan in July, 1972. Subsequently, we have signed some other agreements on trade, travel and restoration of communications, though the path of normalisation has been rather zigzag and the pace has fallen short of our expectations.

We have close ties of friendship with Bangladesh and it is our policy to continue and strengthen this friendship. Our co-operation with other countries in the area such as Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Burma, Nepal and Bhutan, has continued to gain strength in recent years. The nations in Asia are experiencing a new surge of nationalism. They are determined to shape their destiny themselves. The urge to preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the countries of the region, the desire to prevent intervention from outside and the aspirations for improving the living conditions of the people and for creating a climate of peace are more compelling today than at any time in the past. These developments are in tune with the goals of peace and co-operation which India has consistently pursued since its independence.

We have welcomed and endorsed the proposal to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South East Asia as well as the United Nations resolution declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. It is in that spirit that we welcome the historic final act signed at Helsinki. However, *detente* in Europe can have real meaning for the rest of the world only if this process is extended to other continents, and particularly to the crisis situations of today.

## *A new dynamism*

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There have been several significant and hopeful developments in our foreign relations during recent months. The initiatives the Government of India have taken about relations with neighbouring countries have attracted favourable attention even abroad. This is as it should be, but it is in the immediate neighbourhood of a nation-state that developments vitally affect national interests, and a long-term effective foreign policy should be based on consolidation of peace and relaxation of tension on its borders. Indeed, this is the first imperative in the conduct of international relations.

We cannot however afford to stop with this in this technologically advanced age. The days of isolationism are long past. Developments in countries far away from us geographically have today an immediate physical impact upon our national life and on the daily life of the citizens as well.

In such a situation, when interdependence is not merely a political slogan but a fact of contemporary life, we have to be sensitive to the implications of political developments in distant lands. In other words, diplomatic initiatives in the last quarter of the twentieth century cannot be limited to one's own immediate neighbourhood or one's own region but must reach out to the farthest corners of the whole world.

During the last few months we have taken important initiatives towards the normalisation of relations with two of our close neighbours, Pakistan and China. Both these steps have been recognised by observers at home as well as abroad, as meaningful and purposive in the context of onward progress of our foreign policy for stable world peace.

But our efforts to this end were thwarted by actions or obstacles not of our making. Even when our relations with these two

countries deteriorated to what was looked upon by some as a point of no return, we maintained some type of a minimal dialogue directly and if that was not possible, through indirect channels. During all these years of divergence from friendship, of misunderstanding or actual antagonism with these neighbours, we endeavoured to exercise restraint.

### *Simla Agreement and After*

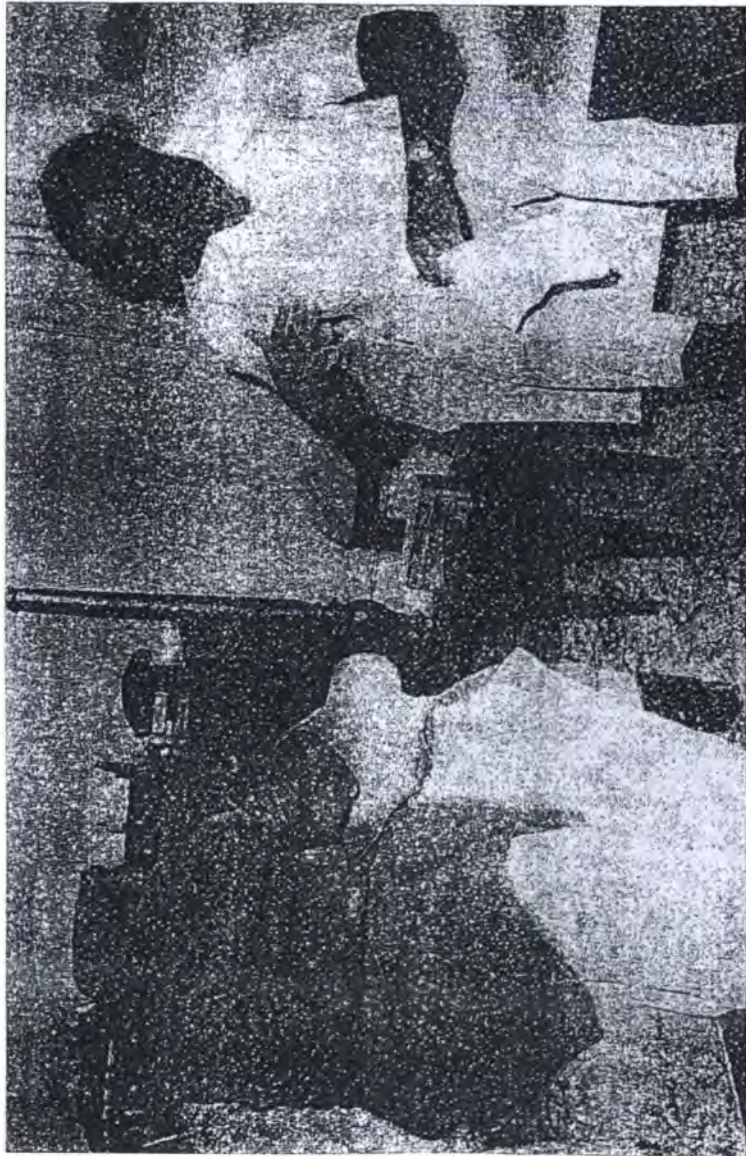
With Pakistan we have promoted a fairly steady though slow process of normalisation since the 1971 conflict. As soon as it was possible after the cessation of hostilities, it will be recalled, we took steps to bring back our relations to the path of normality under the historic Simla agreement. Many of the clauses of the Simla agreement were implemented in stages over the next two years. All the severed links — rail, road and air — between the two countries have by now been restored. Full diplomatic relations have been established and the two countries have senior ambassadors functioning in each other's capital, with a competent team of diplomatists to assist them in further developing political, economic and cultural relations to the mutual benefit of Indian and Pakistani peoples.

A development full of possibilities is the decision to throw open Indo-Pakistan trade to the private sector also. The re-establishment of these links has been carried out so speedily and with such little fuss that there is every ground for hoping that further development of Indo-Pakistan relations on positive lines would proceed at a reasonable pace. Certain political decisions taken on humanitarian considerations in regard to the divided families in both countries who would like to visit their relatives and friends on the other side of the border, will bring about immediate and tangible benefits and extend the area of harmony and understanding.

When countries like India and Pakistan with a complex history of cultural and social affinity and deep-rooted political differences behind them try to normalise their relations, there are bound to be difficulties, and dramatic changes cannot be expected overnight. All that we can say from our side in India is that we feel that a very good beginning has been made and that we are willing to work for developing our friendly relations, provided there is response from the other side.



10. With U.S. President Gerald Ford in Washington in October, 1975.



11. With President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia in New Delhi in January, 1975.

*Dialogue with China*

With China our relations have happily taken a turn for the better. For the last fifteen years the two countries have had no ambassadors in each other's capital. We had been feeling for some time that, even though our missions had been manned by comparatively senior diplomatists and there was no interruption in our diplomatic relations even during periods of intense strain, it would be useful to both countries to be represented at the level of ambassadors. Such a step by itself would not, we know fully well, lead to any immediate solution of problems or to the removal of irritants. But the on-going diplomatic dialogue could assume a more meaningful character. Perhaps a new atmosphere, a little more friendly, could be created in which it might be possible to have a realistic discussion on our differences.

We are happy that this development has taken place and we are hopeful that this will be followed by further constructive steps for improving relations in commercial, cultural and other fields. India and China are the two biggest Asian countries with a long history of cultural links and friendly contacts. The two countries also have had the experience of confrontation, hostility and conflict. It is necessary for both sides to exercise patience and understanding to explore the avenues of bilateral complementarity. It is still too early to say how successful this important diplomatic initiative is going to be, but we are happy that in this crucial sector of our diplomatic interest, we have succeeded in reducing tension to some extent and preparing the ground for improvement.

*Friendship with Neighbours*

To put India's policy towards her neighbours in perspective, these moves towards China and Pakistan should be seen as only a part of the deliberate pattern of friendship and accommodation with other countries close to us. Some of the most significant, if not also spectacular, successes in our diplomatic activity have been registered in recent years in solving minor problems well in time with our other neighbours. With Burma we have almost completed the demarcation of the border. With Indonesia and Sri Lanka, we have concluded maritime boundary agreements. With our northern neighbours, Nepal and Bhutan, our relations continue to be extremely friendly and co-operative.

With Bangladesh, which is our very important neighbour to the east, during the last year, we have had some difficulties which are due almost exclusively to its internal compulsions, in which we have no interest. Of course, we do have an interest in its stability and prosperity. On our part we have continued to pursue the goal of solving short-term and long-term problems on the basis of understanding and goodwill.

With the other countries in the south-eastern region as well, we are now fast developing our contacts and creating new avenues of co-operation. With the countries of south-east Asia we have been able to establish friendly, political understanding and economic relations which, I am confident, will be a precursor of what could turn out to be a major regional effort in developmental co-operation. This is equally true of our relations with the ASEAN states, and the heroic states of Indo-China which have just now emerged from the travail of war and destruction.

#### *Co-operation with West Asia*

With Iran and Iraq, both powerful new states in our region, now embarking on a large programme of industrial and economic development, we have an ever-growing, mutually useful, technical and industrial co-operation, progressing on parallel lines with our political friendship. An effective and sustained diplomatic effort has also been set in motion in this whole area to develop further economic contacts with all the countries of the region, including Kuwait, Syria, Jordan, the Gulf States and Saudi Arabia.

It is our conviction that this policy of bilateralism will not merely be of immeasurable value to India and the countries of the region but also provide a model for economic co-operation among developing countries elsewhere in the world.

With Afghanistan we have always had particularly friendly relations. This is the result of our historical cultural ties, a shared opposition to imperialism for a century and common commitment to non-alignment.

I hope I have succeeded in elucidating my own perception of the relative importance of our recent diplomatic initiatives in the regional and global terms. There are many other aspects of our foreign policy today which are potentially perhaps more important than those mentioned here. Despite the recent



difficulties in the north-south dialogue in Paris and the UNCTAD Conference in Nairobi, we intend to continue to play a positive, mature and non-confrontationist role in the dialogue between the rich and the poor countries, which is being conducted at so many levels, both in the United Nations and outside.

In the purely political arena the summit of the non-aligned conference in Colombo is bound to have far-reaching consequences. We have played an active role in the preparations for this conference. We are convinced about the increasing relevance of the non-aligned movement in a period of limited *detente*.

I have touched upon the new developments in India's foreign policy which I feel our public should know more about. In the final analysis a country's foreign policy becomes effective in direct proportion to its internal stability and strength. The fact that during the last one year our national life has achieved a certain vigour and purpose has imparted a new zest and strength to our foreign policy moves. This has given us a new dynamism and renewed our self-confidence in the conduct of our relations with foreign countries and with the international community.

In the years to come, we will continue to build bridges of friendship and understanding, to extend areas of co-operation and to work for peace and prosperity of the humanity as a whole.

## *Multipolarity of world scene*

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In this era of people's diplomacy, it is very right and necessary that the foreign policy of a country is viewed in the people's forum from time to time. I would like to point out that immediately after I took over, I had sent a motion for a discussion on the foreign policy of the country so that I could begin with some mandate, direction, instructions, and suggestions from this House and launch on my new duties with its support. The international situation as we see it today is at an important and crucial stage of evolution, and many developments that are taking place also vitally affect us.

As we all know, the present era is called an era of *detente*. There was an atmosphere of confrontation, which is being increasingly replaced by an attitude of co-operation. I am saying that it is a trend. It has not still become a reality. The world today is not bipolar, as it was before, but multipolar, and it is with the awareness of this situation that we have to watch the new developments.

As we see it, both the Soviet Union and the U.S.A., the two major powers, are adopting a policy of co-operation and with all the strains and difficulties in the way it seems that they are making a slow but definite progress in that direction which we welcome. Some people say that the *detente* is another way of managing the political crisis. It may be so, but the point is that a new trend of co-operation, instead of confrontation, has come to stay and we support it.

Another important factor in the international scene is the relationship of China with these two major powers. We see that there is a slow but definite understanding between China and the U.S.A. It may be halting, it may be sometimes ambiguous,

but I see, on the one hand, a definite trend of understanding between the U.S.A. and China. On the other hand, the relationship between China and the U.S.S.R., is clouded with suspicion and mistrust.

### *New Forces*

Nehru had made a very precise judgement of the new world that was emerging after World War II. He also laid down certain fundamental principles for the foreign policy of this country. I would like to quote a passage from the inaugural speech he delivered at the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi, held on 23rd March, 1947, the concluding paragraph of which said:

"All over Asia we are passing through trials and tribulations. In India also you see conflict and trouble. Let us not be disheartened by this. This is inevitable in an age of mighty transition. (Mark the words "mighty transition"). There are often creative impulses and a new vitality in all the peoples in Asia. The masses are awake and they demand their heritage. Strong winds are blowing all over Asia. Let us not be afraid of them, but rather welcome them, for only with their help can we build a new age of our dreams. Let us have faith in these great new forces and the dream which is taking place. Let us, above all, have faith in the human spirit which Asia symbolised for long ages past."

That was the assessment of Nehru twenty-eight years ago. What has happened since in Asia and Africa supports this. It has shown that people in Latin America, Africa and Asia, all peoples who were under the domination of imperialism, were on the march and struggling against these evil forces. We also see from year to year that these forces are marching forward from one triumph to another.

We have seen what has happened in Cambodia and what is happening in south Vietnam. We have seen what has happened in South Africa in the African continent and what had happened in Portugal. These are the new forces, the peoples' forces, in Africa and Asia which, certainly, have made a great impact on the international scene today. I mention it because this is the most important element which will play a vital role in shaping

our foreign policy or world trends in the years to come.

Another important event is the emergence of the "third world". It has been liberated and has come into its own. It has also organised certain institutional forums to assert itself. One feature is the non-aligned movement, one of the important forces the world has to work with, recognise and accept. We have seen that most of the non-aligned nations are developing countries and belong to the "third world". What have we seen in the last year? Both the special and the General Assembly sessions of the U.N. demonstrated that the "third world" and the peoples of the "third world" are not merely struggling to come into their own but are asserting their rights. They are asking for justice and are also finding out ways and instruments to achieve justice and equity.

These are the basic elements in the international scene today. Of course, there is another reality also which we have to take into account. And that is the very acute economic situation that has overtaken the world in the last two or three years, particularly in the form of inflationary conditions and their effect on the economy of those countries. This is a new reality we have to take into account.

### *Politico-Economic Matters*

There was a reference to "confrontation" between oil-consumers and oil-producers. Naturally India as a developing and a non-aligned country, took a line that even the oil-producing countries have a certain right as sovereign states to fix the prices of oil, though it certainly would cost us more. We took a principled position and supported it. At the same time, we pointed out to the world that this had a rather harmful effect on our economy. Instead of an approach of confrontation, we can certainly adopt an attitude of co-operation. It is on those lines that we have worked at different international forums. I hope that, with this approach of co-operation it might help us to go ahead.

I have mentioned economic matters because the present economic and monetary problems and economic crisis are a factor in the international scene which will influence policy-making in foreign affairs. You cannot separate economic and political matters.

In the non-alignment movement also, in order to maintain the

solidarity of the non-aligned countries, we will have to find out areas of co-operation, taking into consideration the complementarity of the economics of these countries. We could build bridges of co-operation with the non-aligned, developing and "third world" countries, so that there should be solidarity among progressive forces in the world.

Non-alignment is a movement. I was asked the other day whether non-alignment was not becoming a *mantra*,\* and I pointed out that "non-alignment is a dynamic, living organism". Notwithstanding the progress of *detente*, which all of us welcome and to which we subscribe in our own way, there is need for vigilance and solidarity among non-aligned countries in guarding against the tendency to carve out spheres of influences or settle matters over the heads of others.

The importance of solidarity was reiterated at the recent ministerial meeting of the co-ordination bureau of the non-aligned countries at Havana. The aims and principles of non-alignment continue to have great validity in the context of assuring genuine independence, peace and international security for majority of the world's population, and India will continue to play its due role in furthering these principles.

We have tried to make our foreign policy a dynamic and flexible instrument for projecting India's views and safeguarding her interests.

The objectives of Indian foreign policy are to promote the cause of peace and international co-operation, as we believe that these would secure the interests not only of India but also of the entire international community.

In the global context, we welcome the worldwide trend towards *detente* and reduction of tensions. It is in this atmosphere that humanity can achieve social, economic and political progress. It is also in this context that we can take steps in the direction of general and complete disarmament. At the same time, we advocate strongly the sovereign equality of nations, and we maintain that all countries, big or small, rich or poor, should have a voice in the working out of their destinies.

We attach paramount importance to promoting understanding and developing and strengthening bilateral co-operation in the

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\* A Sanskrit word meaning "incantation" or "hymn."

political as well as economic and cultural fields. The conduct of our foreign policy has been directed towards these objectives bilaterally, regionally and globally — of building bridges of friendship, co-operation and understanding.

## *Concern over Indian Ocean developments*

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India's policy on the Indian Ocean is a logical and natural outcome of its policy of peaceful co-existence and non-alignment — fundamental tenets of foreign policy set by the late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, when India became independent.

Only twenty-seven years ago the decolonisation process was initiated in the Indian Ocean region with the transfer of power to this country. Our memories go back to the closing years of the 18th and early years of the 19th centuries when naval rivalry among the then great powers resulted in their occupation of the entire Indian Ocean area. The interaction of the rivalries of external powers and the disputes and quarrels among the littoral States and principalities resulted in the establishment of British, French, Dutch and Portuguese colonialism over the peoples of Asia and Africa. It is, therefore, no wonder that there is extreme sensitivity among the littoral nations regarding great power rivalries and rival naval deployments.

### *4000-Mile Coastline*

India has for long worked consistently and steadfastly towards the goal of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, free from great power rivalry and military involvement. We have repeatedly expressed our position that large-scale presence of the navy of one great power is bound to attract the navies of other great powers, thus heightening tensions and creating problems for the littoral countries.

Most of the littoral countries of the Indian Ocean are develop-

ing countries, which wish to devote all their energies and resources to the immense task of economic development and which cannot but be adversely affected by the consequences of tension and rivalry in the Indian Ocean area. What happens in the Indian Ocean is of concern to all the littoral countries. India is particularly concerned as it is a maritime nation with a 4,000-mile long coastline and its major trade and communication routes traverse the ocean. It is significant that the concept of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace has gained greater support over the last two or three years, and countries like Australia and New Zealand have also begun lending support to the proposal of zone of peace.

However, taking into account the political and military realities, the onus for taking concrete action towards establishment of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace lies clearly with the great powers for it is they who have to curb their military presence and activity in the Indian Ocean and to eliminate existing bases and refrain from setting up new ones.

### *Mad Momentum*

It is in this context that India has voiced deep concern and anxiety over the projected expansion of the Diego Garcia military base, which will only aggravate the great power rivalry and tension. In our view, not only such great power rivalry and tension affect adversely the interests of the littoral States. But they are also counterproductive from the point of view of the great powers themselves. Very often balance of power considerations are urged to justify the build-up of bases and naval deployments of external powers. We have seen elsewhere in the world that there is a mad momentum in the armaments race again in the name of balance of power.

While peace is being strengthened by promoting *detente* and co-operation between the great powers in other areas of the world, the Indian Ocean should not become a scene of great power rivalry. This is not in consonance with the idea of relaxation of tensions throughout the world, not in keeping with the resolutions of the United Nations. It is also contrary to the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the littoral countries of the Indian Ocean.

In our day and age, there is no strategy more effective and no



concern more vital than that which serves the interests of peace and the welfare and progress of mankind. Unfortunately, one still hears of justifications for external naval presences in the Indian Ocean or bases there in terms of use of naval presence as an instrument of diplomatic leverage, a thesis reminiscent of the era of the "gunboat diplomacy".

In the present atomic age with its strategic compulsions, those who propose to wield such diplomatic leverage should not overlook the fact that their very actions may end as self-fulfilling prophecies. The manipulators may be drawn into local disputes and be manipulated. This was one of the lessons of the tragedy of Vietnam.

#### *Consensus of Littoral States*

In our view, those who flout the consensus of the Indian Ocean littoral states and the majority of non-aligned nations are not adding to their credibility in regard to their interest in arms control measures. We in India feel that the question of the Indian Ocean as a peace zone is intimately and inextricably linked up with other proposals to promulgate various categories of peace and neutrality zones in different parts of Asia.

As far as the Indian Ocean is concerned, not only the people of the region but also the world community as a whole have already expressed their views and concerns. The U.N. General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution in December, 1971 designating the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace for all time and called upon the great powers to halt further escalation and expansion of their military presence and to eliminate their bases, military installations and nuclear weapons from the Indian Ocean. The non-aligned nations conference in Lusaka in 1970 and in Algiers in 1973 declared themselves unequivocally for the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The ad-hoc committee, of which India is a member, which was established by the U.N. General Assembly, is also playing a valuable role in promoting the cause of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

It is not enough to pass resolutions or make protestations. It is time for action before it is too late. The U.N. General Assembly's call to the great powers to refrain from expanding their military presence in the Indian Ocean as an essential first step has to be heeded. The U.N. conference on the Indian

Ocean proposed by the U.N. in its resolution this year should also take place at the earliest possible date.

As far as India is concerned, I would once again appeal for sincere cooperation of all concerned in making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and tranquillity, which will not only contribute to the security, stability and progress of the region but also serve the wider cause of world peace. It is hardly necessary to emphasise that the Indian Ocean and what goes on in it, is not the concern of India alone but is also the concern of the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean and, if I may say so, is the concern of the international community as a whole.

Indeed, the movement for making the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace gained momentum only after the adoption of the December 1971 resolution by the U.N. General Assembly at the initiative of Sri Lanka.

## *Part Four*

# NON-ALIGNMENT IN A CHANGING WORLD

*If in the fifties and the sixties, the main thrust of non-alignment was against the division of the world into two "cold war" camps endangering world peace as well as the independence of countries, today it is directed against the iniquitous and explosive division of the world into the developed and the developing nations. To narrow and eventually to bridge this gap and to establish balanced and co-operative relationship between the developed and developing "world" is a principal objective of non-alignment. The establishment of a just economic balance between these two categories of nations is essential not only from the point of social justice and human equality but for the creation of peaceful and stable world order free from the threat of violent upheavals.*

*The Indian policy of non-alignment has not been one of equidistance or equal proximity to the great powers. It has been one of promoting international co-operation.*

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## *Contribution of Colombo Summit*

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Though non-alignment as a movement dates back to the first summit conference held in Belgrade in 1961, its policy and principles had been spelt out much earlier by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Even before India achieved independence, in his historic announcement on the future directions of India's foreign policy, made on September 7, 1946, during the days of the Interim Government, Nehru said:

We propose as far as possible to keep away from the power blocs or groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races.

In the three decades since this concept was put forward in a cohesive form by Nehru, the non-aligned movement had developed into a powerful and respected international forum, which has been able to make a significant contribution in the direction of world peace and stability, the elimination of evils of colonialism, racism and racial discrimination, and the establishment of a just and equitable international economic and social order.

In the early years, the impetus for creation of the movement came from two conferences, both of which were held on the continent of Asia. One was the Asian Relations Conference, held in New Delhi in 1947, and the other, the Bandung

Conference of Afro-Asian countries, held in Indonesia in 1955. These conferences showed the tremendous support given to the policy of non-alignment by the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa. They demonstrated widespread recognition of the importance of avoiding domination by or subjugation to either of the power blocs and the need instead to work for democratisation of the international political system.

### *Independence and World Peace*

As an expression of this growing momentum and support, the first non-aligned summit conference was convened in Belgrade in 1961.

At the first summit in Belgrade there were twenty-five countries present as members, of which thirteen were from Asia. Since then, however, the movement has been growing and through the subsequent summit conferences, held in Cairo (Egypt) in 1964, in Lusaka (Zambia) in 1970 and in Algiers (Algeria) in 1973, the number of non-aligned countries has been increasing rapidly. At the fifth summit conference, held in Colombo on 16-19 August, 1976, eighty-six countries participated as full members, ten as observers, and seven as guests. The rapid growth of the movement is in itself a striking indication of the effective role and importance of non-alignment and the extent to which its policies and programmes have been vindicated over the years.

What has the non-aligned movement worked for in the last two decades? What have been its aims and objectives? In a world recovering from the ravages of World War II, in a world characterised by a growing number of newly-emerging countries, the policy of non-alignment answered the deep yearnings of mankind for an enduring and meaningful peace. It met the national interests of the newly-independent countries, which lay in strengthening and consolidating their hard-won independence.

If non-alignment is of permanent significance today, it is because it springs from the determination of the countries belonging to the movement to safeguard their independence and to make this independence real and meaningful through efforts aimed at social and economic development. The concept of non-alignment, therefore, proved effective not only against the dangers of military blocs and alliances and against the imperialist and colonialist domination of earlier decades, but also as a shield to safeguard

national independence and ensure world peace.

The development of non-alignment over the preceding years has proved that it is by no means a passive, static or negative concept. On the contrary, the achievements of the non-aligned movement over these years have shown it to be responsive to the changing international situation.

### *Struggle Against Colonialism*

The non-aligned movement has proved its vitality as an active force in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism in all their manifestations and against the problem of unequal relations between states caused by varying forms of neo-colonial foreign domination. One of the most relevant and immediate contributions of this movement has been its ability to strengthen the resistance to the politics of external pressure and domination. Non-alignment, by upholding the right of all peoples and nations to pursue their own independent strategy for development, has imbued participating countries with the vigour and resolve to resist attempts at interference in their internal affairs, whether through the mass media or other political and economic agencies and institutions, with the aim of sowing seeds of confusion and chaos.

The importance of this aspect was unanimously recognised at the Colombo summit. In this context, the Colombo summit welcomed India's initiative in hosting the conference on the creation of a non-aligned news agencies pool, which, it is hoped, will herald a new international pattern in mass communication by reducing dependence on transnational news media and by "decolonisation in the field of information". The non-aligned news agencies pool is an example of the results that can be achieved through co-operation and pooling of resources of all non-aligned countries.

Among the most meaningful achievements of non-alignment in the post-war era has been the impetus provided by the movement for the liberation of countries under the yoke of colonialism. At the U.N. and other international forums the non-aligned nations have been united in their demand for the withdrawal of colonial powers from territories occupied by them and it is a mark of the successes achieved by the movement in this field that the process of decolonisation has today reached its final and concluding stages.

*Fifth Summit — Largest Ever*

The Colombo Summit welcomed the participation of the newly-independent countries of Angola, Cape Verde, Comoros, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and Seychelles and re-affirmed the resolve of the non-aligned nations to continue their struggle as long as the last vestiges of anachronistic colonial regimes remain.

In particular, the non-aligned countries are determined to pursue unremittingly their drive against *apartheid*, racism and racial discrimination, which continue to rear their ugly head in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The Colombo Summit strongly condemned the South African government for its illegal occupation of Namibia and for the brutalities being perpetrated by it at Soweto, Langa and other South African townships. With the continuous and united pressure of the non-aligned, we have confidence that the movement will be victorious in achieving its declared objectives in the entire region of Africa.

The fifth summit conference was the largest ever held of its kind. Attended by forty-two Heads of State or Government and by sixty-five ministers of foreign affairs, the summit gave a concrete demonstration of increasing international support for the objectives of the movement. The principles of peaceful co-existence, advocated by the non-aligned movement as the basis for international relations, have won widespread recognition from the world community. The conference served to emphasise the extent to which the policy of non-alignment has established itself as an independent and vital force for the solution of major international problems.

In fact, the united stand of non-aligned countries has become a determining element in the solution of many of these problems. Outstanding examples, in addition to the significant role of the non-aligned group in the efforts to bring down the racist regimes of Southern Africa I have mentioned above, are the role of the non-aligned in relation to the situation in west Asia on the question of Palestine, in Cyprus, in Korea and, nearer home, in creating a climate of opinion in favour of the implementation of the proposal to declare the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. On all these issues, the united voice of the non-aligned has become a solid force in the search for viable and practicable solutions. The aim now is to strengthen the integrity and soli-



clarity of the movement through closer co-ordination and co-operation and increase further its effectiveness for an impact on world peace.

### *Co-ordinating Bureau*

The Colombo conference provided a valuable opportunity for an exchange of views at the summit level on important international issues and for a review of the growth of the movement in the last 15 years. Significantly, though perhaps understandably, in the context of the increase of the size of the movement, organisational issues called for serious attention. India's views on the need to avoid a permanent secretariat, or even any kind of rigid institutional framework for the non-aligned movement found wide support among participating countries. It was unanimously agreed that instead the co-ordinating bureau should be strengthened and made more effective.

The bureau has emerged as the single most important body for co-ordinating activities and implementing decisions of the non-aligned countries in the period between non-aligned summits. Nonetheless, the mandate given to the bureau by the summit ensure flexibility of operation and avoids undue rigidity in working. Here again, our views regarding the expansion of the bureau and its composition on the basis of the principles of continuity, rotation and balanced geographic distribution were accepted. The size of the bureau has been expanded from 17 to 25 with 12 seats for Africa, 8 for Asia, 4 for Latin America and 1 for Europe. It was in recognition of the key-role which India continued to play within the movement that there was overwhelming support for her re-election to this body. The other countries represented on the new co-ordinating bureau are:

*Africa:* Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Chad, Guinea, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria, the Sudan, Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia.

*Asia:* Vietnam, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Syria, Iraq, Palestine Liberation Organisation (P.L.O.) and Sri Lanka.

*Latin America:* Cuba, Peru, Guyana and Jamaica.

*Europe:* Yugoslavia.

### *Principle of Consensus*

India's role at the Colombo summit was welcomed as con-

Structive and effective. Our main accent was on the importance of preserving the unity and cohesion of the movement. We stressed the need to give greater credibility to the decisions and resolutions adopted at the summit by adequate emphasis on their implementation. There was a clear realisation of the need to adhere to the principle of consensus. India greatly cherishes the principle of consensus as vital to the continued solidarity of non-aligned countries, and it was in this spirit that we agreed to the participation of some countries. At the same time, it did not mean any departure from the criteria for participation, the continuing validity of which was reiterated. For members and observers it was unanimously agreed that the criteria which were laid down at the first summit in 1961, be strictly adhered to.

The political declaration adopted at the Colombo summit covers a comprehensive range of international issues. Although discussions in the formulation of the Declaration were marked by a considerable degree of frankness and candour, the common realisation that non-aligned solidarity is crucial paved the way towards agreed formulations even on controversial problems. The display of a broad consensus on the large number and variety of issues contained in the political declaration was impressive.

Many of the ideas and suggestions proposed by the Indian delegation have been incorporated in the final document. We had been keen that the political declaration should emphasise in the correct perspective the essential character, basic principles and purposes of the non-aligned movement. Secondly, as the first summit being held on the continent of Asia, the political declaration should recognise Asia's role and contribution in the evolution of the non-alignment movement. These ideals find a place in the final document.

Among the other issues of particular interest for us was disarmament. The Colombo summit calls for the convening of a special session of the U.N. General Assembly devoted exclusively to the problems of disarmament not later than 1978. This would not be a substitute for the world disarmament conference but would consider, *inter alia*, effective measures and steps necessary for convening it.

### *Indian Ocean — Zone of Peace*

The Colombo Summit unanimously expressed its faith in the United Nations system and the determination of the non-aligned to employ their increased strength in the U.N. for the promotion of the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter.

India co-operated closely with other interested countries in an area which is of vital concern to us, namely, on the proposal to declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. The Colombo summit calls for the elimination of great power rivalries and competition from this area as well as for the removal of bases, military installations and nuclear weapons from the Indian Ocean. In condemning the base at Diego Garcia the Colombo declaration calls upon all littoral and hinterland States to desist from membership of military alliances and pacts conceived in the context of great power rivalry. It is emphasized that concerted action is now necessary for convening a conference on Indian Ocean with the participation of littoral and hinterland States as well as the great powers and major maritime users of the Indian Ocean.

The conference warmly welcomed the reunification of Vietnam. It hailed the victories of the peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam in their struggle against imperialism and reaffirmed support for the economic reconstruction of these countries which have suffered for a long time.

### *New Economic Order*

Among the more visible successes of the non-aligned group has been their growing co-operation in the struggle to establish a just and equitable international economic order. Since its very inception the movement has had a strong economic component based on the realisation that political independence without economic emancipation would remain incomplete. The non-aligned countries, no doubt, have widely different historical and political backgrounds and encompass, among themselves, a wide spectrum in their individual endowment of natural resources. Nonetheless, they have over the year developed a commonality of economic interests which have greatly facilitated joint and concerted action in various international forums.

In the wider group of all developing countries popularly known as the Group of 77, the non-aligned have acted as a

catalyst for the enunciation of new ideas and for the evolution of common policies.

There are three basic elements in the struggle of non-aligned countries for the creation of a new international economic order. These are the need to remove economic imbalances between the rich and the poor countries, the need for co-operation among developing countries in the face of pressure exercised by industrialised countries and the assertion by all developing countries of their sovereign right to determine their own plans and priorities for development. This had led to several concrete initiatives.

After the 1961 summit in Belgrade, it led to the first UNCTAD conference, held in Geneva in 1964, and after the fourth summit, held in Algiers, it led to the call for the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly of U.N. which adopted the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States as well as the declaration on the new international economic order.

### *Collective Self-Reliance*

The Colombo Summit proved to be a definite landmark in the struggle for greater economic independence. Almost all the general statements made by the Heads of States Government at the summit highlighted the growing realisation and importance of economic co-operation among non-aligned and developing countries. The emphasis was on collective self-reliance as an instrument of achieving the economic content of non-alignment and the new international economic order. The need for greater co-operation among non-aligned and other developing countries as a concrete expression of this spirit of collective self-reliance is reflected in the action programme adopted at the summit.

The specific items of co-operation, highlighted in the economic declaration and the action programme, which cover a wide-ranging field, are trade, monetary and financial co-operation for scientific and technological development, tourism and employment. In all these fields, the emphasis is on the need to exploit the complementarities existing within the economies of non-aligned and developing countries, thereby reducing the degree of their dependence on the developed countries.

An enormous potential does exist for such co-operation. India, on her part, is prepared and willing to play an active role in

this process. The action programme is to be implemented through the initiative of the co-ordinating countries in each field. Even before the Colombo summit, India was one of the co-ordinating countries in the field of financial and monetary co-operation among non-aligned and developing countries. At Colombo, India has in addition been nominated co-ordinator in the fields of scientific and technological development as well as technical co-operation and consultancy services. This was in recognition of the significant progress made by us in these sectors. The Colombo declaration envisages the setting up of project development facilities to enable developing countries to undertake feasibility studies and project reports with the help of consultancy firms in other developing countries so that the skills, equipment and know-how available among them can be used fully for their development.

In the field of industrial development the emphasis is on joint ventures and multi-action enterprises in developing countries; and in the field of agriculture on greater food production to reduce dependence on food imports from developed countries and to improve the structural balance of the economy of developing countries.

### *Co-operation*

In the analysis of the international economic situation, the Colombo Summit was unequivocal about the definite responsibilities devolving on the developed nations of the world for fairer terms of trade and for an equitable share in the process of development. By emphasizing the inter-dependent nature of the global economy, the Colombo summit has made it clear that the rich countries of the world can no longer resist or refuse the demands of the overwhelming majority which have been suppressed for a long time. However, even while expressing disappointment with the attitude of the developed countries, which has belied the expectations placed, for example, on UNCTAD-IV and on the Paris conference on international economic co-operation, the basic emphasis at the Colombo summit was on co-operation rather than confrontation.

Among the urgent problems where concerted action would be necessary to achieve quick results are the pressing debt problems of developing countries, particularly the most seriously affected

countries, the need to re-structure the present international monetary system and to make it more responsive to the needs of developing countries, and the need to implement the UNCTAD integrated Programme on Commodities, including the setting up of a common fund so that export earning of developing countries are protected. The Colombo summit also endorsed the creation of association of the producers of primary products in developing countries for raising their export earnings.

A council is to be set up for such a producer's association in order to facilitate exchange of experiences among them for evolving a common strategy.

### *India's Contribution*

India is recognised as one of the founding fathers of the non-aligned Movement. At each of the five summits held so far and in the years in between the summits, there has been a growing appreciation of India's efforts aimed at upholding the principles and policies of non-alignment and at increasing the effectiveness of the movement on the international scene. In particular, there is widespread realisation that India has been motivated by sincere commitment to the ideals of the movement. We have never sought to gain any advantage by using this forum to ventilate bilateral differences.

One of the key contributions at the Colombo summit made by India together with other like-minded countries was the support generated for the principle that bilateral differences among non-aligned countries need not be projected at summit conferences but should be solved by direct negotiations. The efforts made by India in this direction served the movement well in strengthening its unity, cohesion and solidarity.

## *Roots in History and Tradition*

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India's commitment to the policy of non-alignment had evolved years before she finally won her independence in 1947. Non-alignment was born from the throes of our freedom struggle, from the realisation that our independence would be meaningless if we aligned ourselves with or sought the protection of one or the other power bloc.

The concept of non-alignment is rooted in Indian history and tradition, and there are many strands which were brought together in the enunciation of this policy as formulated by its founding father, the late Jawaharlal Nehru. The precepts of non-alignment constitute not merely an ingredient of our foreign policy but represent the very essence and pervading spirit behind the evolution of this policy. Above all, non-alignment has served its purpose as a policy designed to safeguard and further our national interests.

Non-alignment is not an idealistic and romantic international posture, as some would like to believe. It is actuated by the very real objective of world peace, freedom and equality for all peoples and countries, and the need for equitable economic development on a global basis. Non-alignment implied neither non-involvement nor neutrality. It is an assertion of our freedom of judgment and action. The policy of non-alignment acquired particular relevance in the 'fifties for the newly-emerging independent countries of Asia and Africa. It was relevant as an assertion of these countries' hard-won sovereignty in the context of safeguarding international peace, which was an essential condition for the economic, social and political development of India and the other newly-independent countries.

*Identity and Validity*

The political, social, economic and technological changes that have taken place in the three decades since India won independence confirm the continuing relevance and validity of non-alignment. The global political situation, particularly the emergence of a fragile and limited *detente*, has emphasised the need to further strengthen the unity and cohesiveness of the non-aligned movement as an important factor in the process of stabilisation and democratisation of international relations.

The non-aligned countries have contributed in no small measure to the emergence of *detente*. They have provided an area of peace in a world divided sharply into blocs, and must now continue their efforts to ensure that the gains of *detente* are consolidated and spread to all parts of the world.

Given the continued relevance of our movement, our immediate interest lies in indentifying the areas of direct concern to the non-aligned, in assuring the contribution of our movement in these areas, and in a realistic appraisal of the tasks that still lie ahead.

On the political side, an important issue continues to be the question of decolonisation and the liberation of peoples still suffering the burden of racism, racialism and apartheid. The success of the movement in this area has been so far considerable. The phenomenal increase in the membership of the non-aligned movement from twenty-five at the first summit held in Belgrade in 1961 to eighty-four at the Lima Conference of Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries held in 1975, has been due in large measure to the liberation of a growing number of countries from colonial rule.

Colonial empires of the nineteenth century continue to crumble and the fifth summit, being held in Colombo in August, 1976, will see the admission of three more erstwhile colonies as full members, namely, Angola, Comoros and Seychelles. Nonetheless, pockets of colonialism remain scattered around the globe, though it is a matter of gratification that in some cases the colonial power itself has indicated its willingness to withdraw from the territory.

What is even of greater concern, however, is the ugly combination of colonialism and racialism existing in southern Africa



in complete defiance of world opinion and of the mandates of the United Nations. The non-aligned have now to consider the concrete and determined steps necessary in overcoming and countering this massive citadel of inequity and suffering, this anachronism in the modern world. Victory in this struggle must be ours. It would mark the fulfilment of one of the basic objectives of the non-aligned movement. India on her part has lent full moral and material support to the liberation of South Africa and other colonial régimes.

The last decade, in particular, has been marked by a steady expansion of our co-operation with African countries and liberation movements, thereby endowing our non-alignment with greater political fervour as well as substance.

### *Areas of Crises*

The non-aligned have, at each of their summit conferences, devoted considerable attention to the maintenance of world peace, including the questions of disarmament and international security. Despite the best efforts of non-aligned countries, despite their significant and constructive role in the discussion of these questions at the U.N. and other international forums, areas of crises and tension continue to exist around the world — in Cyprus, West Asia or in Latin America. We would no longer be satisfied with mere resolutions on these subjects, however well-intentioned or meaningful they may be. The emphasis by the non-aligned should now be on united action to implement these resolutions, enhancing our credibility and our role in the maintenance of world peace.

This applies equally to the increasingly serious problem of interference in the internal affairs of non-aligned countries, often amounting to subversion and attempts at destabilisation of established governments. The non-aligned, individually and collectively must determine how best to resist such pressures.

The continuance of multilateral military alliances, conceived in the context of great power rivalry and the induction of vast quantities of military hardware into countries belonging to these alliances, are a source of continuing tension and instability in the Indian Ocean. The expansion of the Diego Garcia base against the declared wishes of the littoral States of the Indian Ocean is of serious concern. In pursuance of the United Nations declara-

tion on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, India has been doing everything possible to co-ordinate action among non-aligned countries to ensure the peace of this vital region against the intrusion of great power competition and rivalries. The non-aligned should strengthen their efforts to ensure that the great powers and other major maritime users respect the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

Of primary significance in the global strategy for world peace is the need for meaningful steps towards disarmament, including nuclear disarmament. Disarmament will reduce the risks of war and enable a significant diversion of funds to the urgent problems of economic and social development facing non-aligned countries.

### *International Co-operation*

Perhaps the most meaningful achievement of the non-aligned and developing countries over the years has been to focus attention on the importance of international economic co-operation in overcoming the problems facing developing countries, including unfavourable terms of trade, extremely heavy debt burdens, scientific and technological backwardness and the age-old ills of poverty, hunger and malnutrition.

The solidarity and unity of the non-aligned group in this field has proved to be a catalyst in the largest forum of the Group of 77 and has already yielded results. The adoption of the U.N. Charter on Economic Rights and Duties in 1974 and the resolutions adopted at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly are examples. These were important milestones in our quest towards collective self-reliance and global inter-dependence and are indicative of the growing awareness amongst developed countries of the need to find urgent and constructive solutions to the problems of the under-developed majority of the world.

Unfortunately, actual implementation has fallen short of expectations. The hopes placed on UNCTAD-IV have been belied and many of the promises contained in the declarations of the World Food Conference and the second UNIDO Conference have yet to materialise. Rather than lose hope this should be taken as an indication of the continuing importance of maintaining unity and solidarity, even in the face of efforts to divide us. In addition, the non-aligned should not fail to explore the consider-

able scope for expanding technical and economic co-operation among developing countries themselves. Technological skills are available in some developing countries and financial resources in others. Future non-aligned conferences should give increasing attention to the prospects and possibilities in his area.

Both among non-aligned countries and between the non-aligned group as a whole and developed countries, the aim should be to evolve a meaningful dialogue rather than to get bogged down in the morass of confrontation.

Today more than ever before the non-aligned nations face new challenges and opportunities. Our ability to overcome these challenges and to make the maximum of the opportunities will depend on the extent to which we can preserve the integrity, cohesiveness and solidarity of the non-aligned movement, and on the extent to which we can withstand the attempts to dilute and weaken it by pressures from outside and within.

## *A wave of the future*

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Non-alignment is already a factor to reckon with in contemporary international life. The non-aligned nations constitute a majority of members of the United Nations and the combined population of non-aligned countries is more than half of mankind. The impact of non-alignment has been a tonic and a blessing to the newly-emerging independent nations. It has helped them to preserve and consolidate their hard won independence.

We can look back with satisfaction that the philosophy of non-alignment was prophetic and we are confident that even in this overarmed and turbulent world it represents the wave of the future. Since the Belgrade Summit of 1961 we can catalogue an impressive record. Decolonisation is virtually complete. Liberation movements of yesterday now rightly wield the reigns of power. Non-alignment has made a lasting contribution towards the maintenance of world peace, and prevention of global and local conflicts. It has been in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism.

It has focused attention on the major economic issues facing the world and has made a constructive contribution to building up a consensus for the evolution of a new economic order, based on the principles of justice and equality.

### *A World without War*

But there is no scope for complacency. It is not sufficient to dwell on the past. We have to understand the continuing challenges and threats. We must map out how non-alignment can help to steer in realising our aims of a world, free of military bloc politics, a world with independent nations, co-operating with each other to safeguard peace, a world moving towards disarmament, a

world in which the rich and the poor countries join hands in rectifying economic disabilities, under-development and social imbalances.

We are still far from a world without war, without want and without conflict or tension. It would, therefore, be unwise and premature for anyone to take a rosy view of the world and conclude that military alliances and confrontation have become things of the past. In fact, we find that some of the military alliances which were so far dormant are being revived again. Besides an economic dimension is being added to them so as to secure for the member countries of the alliances, a lion's share of the non-renewable resources and raw materials of the world.

India has welcomed the growing adherence to the policy of non-alignment by newly-emerging independent countries in all parts of the world. The non-aligned family has steadily grown in size and strength. Our doors are open to all those countries who are prepared to adhere to its principles and who fully meet the criteria laid down by the non-aligned Heads of Government/State at their first Summit Conference in Belgrade in 1961.

I think it would be useful for the record if I were to recall these criteria. They were:

- (i) The country should have adopted an independent policy based on the co-existence of States with different political and social systems and on non-alignment, or should be showing a trend in favour of such a policy.
- (ii) The country concerned should be consistently supporting the movements for national independence.
- (iii) The country should not be a member of a multinational military alliance, concluded in the context of great power conflicts.
- (iv) If a country has a bilateral military agreement with a great power, or is a member of a regional defence pact, the agreement or pact should not be one deliberately concluded in the context of great power conflicts.
- (v) If it has conceded military bases to a foreign power, the concession should not have been made in the context of great power conflicts.

The hard core of non-alignment still remains the commitment

not to get involved in the rivalries of great powers, not to subserve the interests of their block and not to join their multi-lateral military alliances, as well as the support for national liberation movements and the pursuit of an independent foreign policy.

### *Integrity and Identity*

These criteria have served us well over the last fifteen years. They have helped to preserve the unity and cohesion of our movement and our conferences. They need no modification or improvement. Indeed, I believe that on the eve of the Colombo Summit, it would be timely and desirable to reaffirm these criteria in unambiguous terms.

The non-aligned movement has been such a success that in recent years several non-member countries have expressed their desire to join it in some capacity or the other. We appreciate their desire to seek closer association with our movement. However, this growing community of interests on the part of some countries does not yet extend to non-involvement in multilateral military alliances of great powers. This is an important element and is, indeed, vital for the integrity of non-alignment.

We should welcome the participation in our movement of all the countries that have attained independence and fulfil our criteria. The movement can ill-afford any dilution of the established criteria for admission, whether as a member, observer or a guest, to the point where non-membership of a great power military bloc ceases to be regarded as essential for non-alignment. If we are not vigilant, the movement itself may face a serious crisis of identity.

Strict adherence to the fundamental principles of non-alignment should not, therefore, be dismissed as a rigid approach. More than ever before, it is necessary for the non-aligned movement to preserve its identity and integrity. Otherwise, there would be loss of cohesion and consequent reduction in its effectiveness. In the name of flexibility we should not reduce non-alignment into a shapeless concept.

This reminds me of a certain incident that befell Alice in *Alice in Wonderland*. She found three gardeners painting white roses red and inquired why. She was told that some white roses had

been planted by mistake in a garden of red roses and so the gardeners were painting them red. Well, let us be more careful than the gardeners in *Alice in Wonderland*.

As a group, the non-aligned countries have constituted a political reality, tearing through the harsh din of armaments, "cold war" polemics and angry clash of alliances. The value of such a force can and must be enhanced through our unity and integrity of purpose. In order that the movement retains its value as an instrument for achieving a more just and equitable system of international, political and economic relations, it must remain a well-knit movement with a clearly defined positive policy.

### *Consolidation of Peace*

The non-aligned countries constitute a movement and not a bloc. We should avoid locking ourselves into a strait-jacket of institutionalisation. It would bring in avoidable rigidities into the movement and may weaken its vigour, progressive orientation and dynamism. We need co-ordination of our efforts and our activities. This could be done without setting up any new institutions.

The problem of preserving and consolidating world peace is still a live one. Even with the silver linings of *detente*, crisis situations still persist in different parts of the world. We welcome *detente*. The Helsinki Conference on European Security and Co-operation has marked the beginning of an era of relaxation of tensions in that continent which had been the theatre of two world wars. However, *detente* still remains fragile and needs to be established and made irreversible. *Detente* is still limited, confined and circumscribed. *Detente* in Europe can have real meaning for the rest of the world only if it is extended to other continents and its benefits accrue to all the countries — big and small, developed and developing.

### *Build New Bridges*

Asia has not been able to rid itself of uncertainty and trouble, tension and conflicts. On the positive side, we rejoice in the historic victory of the peoples of Indo-China in their struggle for re-assertion of their independence and sovereignty. A re-unified Vietnam, subscribing to the policy of non-alignment, should be an important factor for peace, progress and understanding. The

people of Indo-China are facing a gigantic task of national reconstruction. India stands ready to play its part in any collective efforts in this direction by the non-aligned countries.

In our own part of the world, we continue to strive, with some results, to overcome barriers to understanding, eliminate hostilities and build new bridges for co-operation with neighbours — near and far. It is through our own efforts, as non-aligned countries that we can promote a climate of harmony and understanding which would usher in durable peace and growing co-operation among all.

We rejoice in the emergence of erstwhile Portuguese colonies in Africa into sovereign, independent nations. The heroic people of Angola have triumphed and we welcome Angola as a full member of the non-aligned movement. Despite grave economic burdens, Mozambique has acted with courage and determination closing its borders with Zimbabwe. This has tightened the noose around the illegal Smith régime. We should offer it our complete moral and material support.

The non-aligned countries should extend help immediately and in concrete forms. We, on our part, have already pledged a contribution equivalent to \$ 100,000 in goods and services.

The momentum of the national liberation struggle is increasing and the remaining citadels of colonialism, racism and apartheid will also soon crumble in Southern Africa. The non-aligned countries should reiterate their firm and unwavering support to the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa struggling for their liberation.

### *Pooling of Resources*

All those who care for peace and justice in the world, more specially the newly-independent and Non-aligned Nations, should speak up against outside presence and adventures and forces of destabilisation. Domestic changes should be decided by the peoples themselves and not dictated by the global strategies and compulsions of others. Non-aligned Countries should strongly repudiate any effort for extension of presence and/or of pressures. The resistance to pressures and infiltration is vital to the preservation of independence of the newly-emerging independent countries of the world. This is the reason for the determined opposition by all the littoral States to foreign bases like Diego



Garcia and military presence in the Indian Ocean which must be established as a zone of peace.

The success of non-alignment in the political field must be accompanied by steady progress towards the evolution of a new international economic order. The legacy of colonial exploitation and underdevelopment has left a wide gap between the developed and the developing countries, a gap which unfortunately has only been widened by economic crisis in recent years. The non-aligned and developing countries have still only a dismal share in world's trade, industry, finance and technology.

As a logical corollary to the policy of peaceful co-existence, they have sought co-operative solutions with the industrialised and affluent world to the pressing problems of economic development, reconstruction and transformation. But the response has almost always been slow and inadequate.

Although the moderate success of UNCTAD-IV has been a dim ray of hope in the otherwise deepening economic gloom, there is a notable absence of any significant and meaningful advance in the restructuring of international economic relations on the basis of equality, justice and mutuality of interests. No viable alternative to the policy of co-operation has yet emerged. This policy of co-operation should not, however, be mistaken as a sign of weakness. The question is not whether the developed countries can afford to help the developing countries. It is whether they can afford not to do so in this highly inter-dependent world of today.

Even more important for the non-aligned and developing countries is to increase co-operation among themselves. For the first time in modern history, developing countries possess unparalleled opportunities to rid themselves of the crushing burden of poverty, stagnation and under-development through collective self-reliance.

We have within our reach global resources, both human and material, which can enable us to meet the legitimate expectations of our people. To give only one example, if the balance of payments deficits of some oil-importing countries amounted to \$45 billion in 1975, our oil-exporting partners from developing countries earned surplus of almost that amount. Amongst ourselves, we have the financial, industrial, technological and natural resources, which can meet much of each other's needs. We ought to give the highest priority in pooling these resources.

## *A programme for mutual assistance*

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Today Latin America occupies a significant place in the community of nations, and it is a matter of particular gratification that the non-aligned movement has become firmly planted in the Latin American soil. The holding of the meeting of non-aligned conference in Lima is a tribute to the important role Peru is playing in the non-aligned movement.

We are assembled here at a point in contemporary history when both positive and negative impulses of far-reaching consequence have emerged, which could influence the future course of world events. It was fashionable in some quarters in the early years to criticise non-alignment as impracticable and even immoral. Today, there is wide-spread understanding and even acceptance of the relevance and importance of non-alignment. There is much greater perception of the positive and constructive role that Non-aligned Countries have been playing and will continue to play in working for universal peace and progress. We are faced by problems of grave dimensions in the economic sphere no less than in the political.

There still remain areas of darkness where the struggle for freedom and for the safeguarding of independence, sovereignty and progress continue to encounter forces of internal opposition and external intervention. Old crises and new tensions in different parts of the world threaten to disrupt the fragile fabric of peace. We are continuing to face many political obstacles in our efforts to build just international order, and recent economic crises of world-wide dimension have demonstrated the urgency of restructuring the world economic order based on sovereign equality of States.

This negative constellation of political and economic forces makes it imperative for us once again to assert our faith in our fundamental principles, to consolidate our unity, and to agree on lines of common action which would be of benefit not only to us but to the entire international community.

### *Frontiers of Liberty Extended*

We are happy to welcome amidst us as new members, friends of long-standing, representing people who have, through their own hard struggle, liberated themselves from the yoke of colonialism or foreign domination and intervention. The frontiers of human liberty have been further extended. The forces of national liberation have scored yet another glorious victory. We are confident that the new members will impart further strength and vitality to the Non-aligned Movement.

The *detente* between East and West, of which our Heads of State and Government had taken note with satisfaction at Algiers in 1973, has further developed, despite many strains. The Conference on European Security and Co-operation, just concluded in Helsinki, after many months of careful preparation, marks hopefully the end of an era of hostile confrontation. With faith and determination on all sides, it could usher in a new era of constructive co-operation.

To the extent that these trends of *detente* and understanding reduce the danger of a world war and contribute to the relaxation of tensions and facilitate normalisation of relations between States, they should be welcomed and further consolidated. The process of *detente*, to be meaningful and enduring, must, however, extend to all regions and areas of the world.

There still remain areas of foreign aggression where fundamental freedoms are denied to millions of human beings. Let us once again renew our pledge of all possible assistance so that occupied areas can be liberated and people under colonial or foreign occupation or domination by minority racist governments can attain their emancipation into full independence and sovereignty.

As I mentioned earlier, the non-aligned movement has obtained a most significant accession of strength from the policies followed by the countries of this continent. India would like to reiterate its solidarity with the Latin American people who are waging

a determined struggle to remove all vestiges of foreign economic domination.

### *Areas of Tension*

I had occasion to refer earlier to the tensions which still persist in many areas of the world. It is regrettable that while peace has returned to Indo-China ominous clouds of great power rivalry have thickened over the Indian Ocean. The non-aligned countries, together with the other littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, have been exerting every possible effort in the United Nations to make the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. It is unfortunate that against the express will of the littoral States, the base in Diego Garcia is being expanded. We have urged that this could not but result in a dangerous arms race.

The non-aligned countries should concentrate their efforts in future consultations in the United Nations and in other forums on the basic objective of eliminating great power rivalry, bases, and tensions in the Indian Ocean. We trust that a clear call would issue from this conference to all the great powers to leave the Indian Ocean in peace, and not to introduce the arms race into this area to advance their own narrow, national or strategic interests and ambitions.

658

Turning now to the global economic situation, we cannot help noticing that little has changed in the picture since we met at the sixth special session of the U.N. last year, which could give comfort or confidence to the non-aligned or developing countries. We remain a small shareholder in world trade, industry and technology. Prices of most of the commodities we export remain depressed, except for occasional but unsustainable and undependable increases.

Prices of most of the manufactured goods we buy maintain their steady rise reflecting the high rates of inflation in developed countries. The value of our reserves continues to be eroded both by inflation and by fluctuations flowing from decisions, in whose making we are not allowed to have a part. Nearly half of the countries present here have been officially recognised as most seriously affected by the exceptional rise in the prices of food, fuel and fertilisers.

The only major exception is that of the oil-producing developing countries which have been able to safeguard their interests,

and this is a tribute to the unity and the solidarity of the developing countries. But, for the majority of us, the scenario of vulnerability that I have described above is a fact of life.

### *Programme for Mutual Assistance*

As I am talking among friends, I hope that a certain candour on my part will not be misunderstood. It is in that spirit that I wish to share my thoughts on the principles which should govern the new world economic order, and a concrete programme for mutual assistance among the non-aligned nations.

In the re-structuring of the world economic order, we should promote all steps which would increase the capacity of every one of us to meet our basic needs. The new economic order, to which we are all committed, can have meaning and content only if it is beneficial to all of us and generates new impulses of growth in all the developing countries. Secondly, relief should be made available to countries suffering high costs as a result of the transition towards the new international economic order, eventually leading to reduction and then elimination of the negative flow of resources from poor countries to rich countries.

The decisions we take in Lima will shape the course of the U.N.'s seventh special session in New York. We have a special responsibility to ensure that the session, called in response to the resolution of our Heads of State and Government adopted in Algiers in 1973, yields some meaningful results. It should be our earnest endeavour to determine how best we can join our forces to obtain from the seventh special session a renewed commitment to the programme of action and to negotiate the means and the modalities for putting it and the charter of economic rights and duties into effect. Some of the more important points which need urgent consideration are:

- (i) Integrated programme for commodities, covering all primary products exported by developing countries which could bring about a progressive improvement in their prices.
- (ii) Measures for establishment of a central fund to provide financial support for buffer stocks, market intervention and mechanism for improved compensatory financing scheme.

- (iii) A special programme to augment food production and increase the share of developing countries in food processing and manufacturing industries.
- (iv) Mechanism to adjust the volume and conditions of capital flows to areas with development potential and capacity which will put to work idle human skills and unutilised material resources of the developing world.
- (v) Proper share in monetary management for representatives of developing countries who have financial resources and also of those whose need for it has become even greater.

Considering that developed countries as a whole have not yet accepted all the elements of the new international economic order, we have to devise means and mechanisms for mutual assistance in the light of these unexceptionable principles.

### *Specific Proposals*

Our unity and solidarity will be strengthened if problems faced by one country find alleviation in the policies of the others. Also, we should make all efforts to ensure that secondary effects of the economic measures taken by any one of us, whether in the field of commodity, trade, level and direction of investible resources, or industrial and technological collaboration do not hurt our own partners in the developing countries. Secondly, since all these are interconnected, we must develop a coherent and internally consistent system of mutual economic co-operation.

It is imperative that we go beyond pronouncements to the field of action and prove to the developed countries that we have the political will and the capacity to pursue our goals with united endeavour. I would, therefore, like to place before this august Assembly a set of specific proposals:

1. A new set of measures have to be defined among ourselves, based on a system of preferences, covering trade between developing countries and capitalising on existing or newer forms of specialisation. Such a system, to be effective, would have to include both tariff and non-tariff preferences, primary and manufactured goods.
2. A system of preferences, as mentioned above, would achieve a net benefit for each one of us if a comprehensive rather

than sectoral system of preferential arrangements could be negotiated.

3. A payment system among ourselves would help us to override the temporary constraints of balance of payments, from which most of us suffer.
4. As a beginning, the procurement policies of States and State-controlled enterprises could be oriented towards giving priority to developing countries.
5. Joint action by producing developing countries to regulate supplies coming on the world market could enhance their bargaining position in global negotiations either with other States or with trans-national corporations. Such co-operation could extend to the service sector to include shipping, banking, insurance, etc.
6. Some amongst us have made impressive advance in fairly sophisticated fields of industry and technology. Moreover, this technology corresponds better to the conditions encountered in developing countries, since in general it is capital-saving and labour-intensive. It would not only be cheaper but also more appropriate technology. It would also be effective demonstration of our solidarity if we were to make greater use of the competence available amongst ourselves in national development plans.
7. In areas where such technology is not available in the developing countries, we could institute joint programmes of research.
8. Capital exporting countries amongst Non-aligned Nations could divert their investments into projects of mutual interest in other developing countries which are in need of capital. This would have the twin advantage of releasing capital exporting countries amongst us from the risk of closer links with the capitalistic industrialised economies and, on the other hand, of assisting the weaker sections of developing countries.

I have refrained from going into details of some of the ideas, as I am sure that if we gave our experts a clear mandate they would work out institutional mechanisms and structural changes required in our national policies in a fairly short period of time.

We have faith in the establishment of a new international economic order because we feel it will be more just and respond better to the aspirations of all of our people rather than creating division in our ranks. Those of us who are handicapped historically or geographically, or those whose economies have been disrupted lately by unsuspected phenomena have every right to expect mitigating measures *from within our own group*.

To conclude, if I have spoken at some length and with candour, it is because I believe that forums like ours have a meaning only if they result in concrete action and in strengthening mutual co-operation. Then alone we would be able to safeguard our solidarity in the interests of all of us. This solidarity, resting on the firm foundations of mutual co-operation, will be able to resist successfully the military might or tactical pressure which can be and are brought to bear upon us to disrupt our unity.



## *Social content: a binding force*

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*Q.*

*The Lima Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned Countries is considered crucial in all parts of the world, particularly because of the U.N. session immediately after it, where the question of giving a practical shape to a new international economic order will come up for discussion. What are the issues before the Lima Conference and in what manner can the Conference contribute to make the forthcoming U.N. debate meaningful?*

*A.*

An important question for discussion at Lima will be joint action which Non-aligned Countries should take together with other developing countries for achieving concrete results at the seventh special session of the U.N. The developing countries of the "Group of 77" have been engaged in internal consultations in New York and Geneva. A position paper has been evolved, on the basis of which initial contacts with the developed countries are taking place. It is our hope that agreement can be reached at the seventh special session by a process of co-operation and conciliation on some specific goals and targets to be achieved for ushering in the new world economic order. Within the framework of this global agreement, more detailed negotiations can then be undertaken in the relevant U.N. forums.

The Foreign Ministers assembled at Lima will naturally review the progress made in the consultations at Geneva and New York. In the light of this review, they will establish further guidelines, along which the non-aligned and the developing countries should proceed at the Seventh Special Session.

The purpose of the Lima Conference is not only preparation

for the seventh special session. International economic problems will be considered in a comprehensive manner. Recent economic crises have placed a number of developing countries in a critical situation. India is one of the countries gravely affected by an unprecedented balance of payments problem caused by world shortage of essential items like food, fertilizer and fuel and escalating world prices. The non-aligned countries have been considering the manner in which co-operation amongst us can be promoted, and in devising means by which we can help each other, making fuller use of the resources and technology available with us for mutual benefit. We hope that the Lima Conference will be able to agree on a concrete programme of action. This will be a further affirmation and strengthening of our solidarity.

### *Basic Objectives*

*Q.*

*While there is a continuous expansion of the area of Non-alignment in the world, there are also signs of some confusion about what it actually stands for. What is the social content of non-alignment which acts as a binding force for its adherents?*

*A.*

The fundamental principles and basic objectives of non-alignment are the same as before. There is — and should be — no confusion about this. The non-aligned countries are determined to safeguard their independence and sovereignty against all foreign intervention and pressure. They are also committed to strive ceaselessly to promote world peace and security. This is the reason why they stressed the need for peaceful co-existence even during the days of the “cold war”, and continue to emphasise peaceful co-operation among all nations on the basis of sovereign equality. The endeavour of the non-aligned countries has always been to make a constructive contribution to the solution of world problems in a spirit of harmony and co-operation.

The non-aligned countries belong to different regions of the world and follow diverse political, economic and social systems. Nonetheless, they all share the same ideals and aspirations to which I have just referred. This is the binding force that keeps the non-aligned countries together.

*Q.*

*The Lima Conference will have to take “follow up” action on*

*the Coordination Bureau's recommendations regarding the membership of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Hanoi), Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam (Saigon), Democratic People's Republic of Korea (Pyongyang), and some other countries of Asia and the Pacific regions. What is India's position with regard to these applications? Since the question of the U.N. membership of North and South Vietnams has already come up before the U.N. Security Council, should not the Lima Conference express its opinion on this issue?*

A.

Together with other non-aligned countries, India will be happy to welcome in its midst any country which adheres to the principles of non-alignment and wishes to join us in our common efforts for world peace and co-operation. Ever since 1961, when the first non-aligned conference was held at Belgrade, we have been strictly following certain criteria for inviting countries to participate in our forums. These criteria reflect the essence of the principles of non-alignment. All requests from countries which wish to join the non-aligned conference will be considered in the light of these criteria. As you know, our practice is to reach decisions by a process of consultation and consensus.

The non-aligned coordination committee in New York has already publicly declared its support to the admission of both North and South Vietnams to the United Nations. I expect that the Lima Conference will also express itself in the same spirit.

*Co-operation with Latin America and Caribbean Region*

Q.

*There are visible signs of the Latin American countries taking bold steps to consolidate their political and economic independence. Recently, several issues have come up there which are of interest to the Non-aligned Countries, such as Panama's claim to its control over the Canal Zone, oil nationalisation by Venezuela, establishment of a new organisation for economic co-operation among the Latin American countries, and the revocation of the ban on Cuba in the OAS. How does India view these developments severally and collectively?*

A.

I am happy there is increasing awareness in Latin America about the desirability of working closely with non-aligned and

developing countries. India has always supported the idea of respect for the independence and sovereignty of all countries, big and small. We also favour strengthening the political and economic independence of non-aligned nations, including the right of every country to exercise sovereignty over its natural resources. By and large, the recent development in Latin America which you have mentioned are in accord with the interests of the people concerned and underline the correctness of the policies which we have been following towards this region.

Q.

*The recent visits to our country by the Presidents of Mexico and Guyana have once again underlined India's deep interest in developing co-operation with the countries of Latin America. What are the points of convergence which assure that this co-operation will be fruitful and meaningful for our peoples?*

A.

I am happy to note that India's relations with the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean have been developing in a satisfactory manner. I had the pleasure of visiting Cuba during the meeting of the Co-ordination Bureau and later paid an official visit to Guyana. More recently, in July the Presidents of Guyana and Mexico visited India. These visits were highly useful in strengthening understanding between the governments and increasing an awareness among the people of India and Latin America of the potentialities of co-operative action on bilateral and international issues.

The visit of the President of Mexico gave an opportunity for the two sides to exchange views on the current international situation with special reference to Asian problems as well as the problems faced by the developing countries, including raw materials, food, industrialisation and so on. India and Mexico have also signed two agreements -- one on cultural co-operation, which would strengthen relations in the field of culture, art, education, sports and mass media of information, and the other on co-operation in the field of science and technology. An understanding on liberalisation of visa procedures for Indians visiting Mexico has also been reached. The visit of the President of Guyana further strengthened all-round understanding between the two countries. We are considering the possibility of co-

operation with Guyana in the execution of several projects.

There are many points of convergence between India and Latin America which can assure fruitful co-operation. For example, as non-aligned nations, we are greatly interested in strengthening each other's economic and political independence. As developing countries, we both have a stake in strengthening our unity to safeguard our interests. As was agreed between India and Mexico, the two sides can also adopt common policies aimed at joint and coordinated action with regard to production of goods, including raw materials, and their sale in the world market to ensure just and suitable prices. The Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly would give another opportunity to India and Latin American countries to harmonise their policies and work out a common programme of action. On the bilateral side also, there is much that India and Latin American countries can do in the fields of trade, joint ventures, scientific and technological exchanges.

*Q.*

*Some time earlier you had visited Havana to attend the meeting of the Co-ordination Bureau. The Cuban mass media at that time expressed hopes of closer political, economic and cultural relations between India and Cuba. Would you kindly comment on the progress we have made in this regard and the future prospects of developing closer relations between our two countries?*

*A.*

India has watched with great interest and sympathy the progress made by Cuba in the fields of economic development, education, social justice and in developing a spirit of self-reliance. I was much impressed by what I saw during my visit to Havana to attend the meeting of the Co-ordination Bureau. There are good prospects of developing closer relations between the two countries. We would welcome exchanges of delegations to study the progress made in each other's country and to explore areas for specific co-operation.

## *Position on international questions*

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*Q.*

*Which questions will, in your opinion, be the dominant ones at the forthcoming ministerial meeting of the Non-aligned Countries in Lima?*

*A.*

The Lima Conference will be taking place two years after the fourth summit conference held at Algiers. It will naturally review the international situation — both in the political and economic spheres — and assess the further contribution that non-aligned countries can and should make for promoting international co-operation for achieving peace and progress.

The victory of the heroic people of Indo-China is a historic development; in this context developments in the whole of South east Asia will receive particular attention. The question of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace will also be discussed. The continuing crisis in west Asia and the situation in Latin America will receive high priority, in addition to other issues such as the situation in Cyprus and decolonisation. On the economic side, the need for further action to be taken to bring about a more rational and just world economic order will engage the attention of the conference. In this connection, the problem of the non-aligned countries seriously affected by the recent economic crisis and the need for promoting mutual co-operation among them will be given priority consideration.

*Q.*

*What can the non-aligned countries be expected to do for the solution of the middle east crisis?*

*A.*

The position that non-aligned countries have consistently taken



12. With King Birendra Shah of Nepal in Kathmandu (Nepal) in January, 1976.





13. With Anthony Crosland, British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, in London in October, 1976.



in regard to the situation in West Asia is well known. The Lima conference will, therefore, make an up-to-date assessment. Apart from reaffirming its solidarity with our Arab friends in their efforts to vindicate their rights, the conference will also consider concrete measures for achieving this objective. The non-aligned countries should continue to work together with the Arab countries in the U.N. and other international forum to achieve the evacuation of all Arab territories occupied by aggression by Israel and the restoration of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people..

Q.

*What is your view of the Cyprus problem ?*

A.

We are extremely distressed that the unhappy crisis through which the Government and the people of the Cyprus are now passing has not yet ended. Non-aligned countries have not only stood by Cyprus in its hours of travail but have also made a significant contribution to the efforts being made through the United Nations for an early and harmonious solution. We earnestly hope that the talks between the two communities will produce positive results soon. We would like to see the independence, sovereignty, integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus fully safeguarded.

*"Detente" & Decolonisation*

Q.

*How do you think the victory of the Indo-Chinese people will affect the activity and position of the non-aligned countries ?*

A.

As you are aware, the non-aligned countries have from the beginning been supporting the just struggle of the people of Indo-China. The people of these countries will now be able to turn to the task of national reconstruction, after the sufferings and ravages of over 30 years of bitter struggle. The non-aligned countries should not be found wanting in giving their full moral and material support to this endeavour.

Q.

*In what ways does detente affect the position and role of the non-aligned countries in the international community ?*

A.

The process of *detente* has been welcomed by the non-aligned countries. You will recall that ever since the first conference held in Belgrade in 1961 under President Tito's leadership, we have been advocating peaceful co-existence and the ending of the "cold war". Therefore, the current trends for increasing dialogue between the major powers and relaxation of tensions are positive signs.

The contribution which non-aligned countries like Yugoslavia have been making at the European conference is particularly significant. At the same time, many areas of crises and tension still persist in the world; *detente* will become meaningful and enduring only when it extends to all parts of the world and when all countries, small or big, are able to play their legitimate part in the making of decisions affecting their future.

Q.

*Which of the problems of decolonisation do you think will enjoy priority at the Lima meeting?*

A.

The dismantling of the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa is, indeed, a happy culmination of the valiant struggle of the peoples of these territories for self-determination. We must also pay a tribute to the statesmanship of the new leaders of Portugal. It is a tragic irony, however, that there are still vestiges of colonialism in various parts of the world. The process of decolonisation will not be complete until these have also been eliminated. The situation in Zimbabwe and Namibia also continues to cause great concern, and the people of these areas need our full support and co-operation in their continuing struggle for national liberation and independence.

Q.

*The Lima meeting will be held on the eve of the special and regular sessions of the U.N. General Assembly. Which will be the main areas of thrust by the non-aligned countries in the world organisation?*

A.

Over the years, the contribution which non-aligned countries have been making in the United Nations has been increasing. On various issues affecting peace and security, the non-aligned

countries have been able to give a constructive lead — for example, during the war in west Asia in 1973, and the crisis in Cyprus last year. So also on problems of development. Indeed, the sixth special session last year and the seventh special session to be held this year are themselves the result of non-aligned initiatives. The Lima Conference will undoubtedly assess the overall situation and identify the specific areas in which non-aligned countries could concentrate their actions in the General Assembly.

### *New Economic Order*

Q.

*What does India expect the non-aligned countries to do in order to help establish a new economic order in the world?*

A.

The non-aligned countries have made a significant contribution in energising the "Group of 77" in the U.N. in its efforts to establish a new, just and rational economic order. Initiatives taken by non-aligned countries have led to important decisions in the U.N. General Assembly. The non-aligned countries must, therefore, continue to persevere in their efforts to bring about a restructuring of the world economic order through greater co-operation. The process of dialogue and negotiation with the developed countries is a continuing one and non-aligned countries must do everything they can to develop greater understanding and co-operation.

At the same time, new vistas and possibilities for mutual co-operation among the non-aligned countries have been opened. Recent economic crises which have affected a number of non-aligned and developing countries provide a challenge as well as an opportunity to the non-aligned to lead the way for promoting co-operation among themselves and building collective self-reliance.

Q.

*The Lima meeting will discuss the draft statute of the Fund for Economic and Social Development of the non-aligned countries. What do you expect from the Fund?*

A.

You will remember that the idea of the Fund had been mooted at the fourth summit conference. Considerable effort has already

gone into the preparation of the draft statute. You may be aware that both India and Yugoslavia have been associated with this effort. We hope that questions like the quantum of initial subscription can be sorted out well in time so that the Lima Conference can adopt the statute and launch the Fund. It is our hope that at the Lima Conference indicative statements of contributions to the Fund would be forthcoming. It is expected that the Fund will finance meaningful projects for economic and social development in Non-aligned Nations — particularly the most seriously affected countries among them.

Q.

*What is your view of the proposed setting up of a special fund to finance "buffer stocks" of raw materials?*

A.

I think this is another very positive and useful initiative. It is true that UNCTAD is already considering the matter within the U.N. framework. However, there is no reason why non-aligned and developing countries should not also use resources available among themselves for setting up such a special Fund.

*Forerunner of Colombo Summit*

Q.

*Do you think that the ministerial meeting in Lima will draw the agenda for the non-aligned summit meeting in Colombo in 1976?*

A.

The Lima Conference will undoubtedly be a forerunner to the fifth summit, to be held in Colombo next year. The conclusions of the Lima Conference will, therefore, be of special relevance. The Foreign Ministers Meeting in Lima can be expected to lay down the broad guidelines along which further preparatory work for the Colombo summit should proceed. Our past practice has been to entrust this responsibility to a preparatory body. I presume we will follow the same course this time also.

Q.

*What role should the non-aligned countries play in the world between now and the Colombo summit? And how do you see their future role?*

A.

These are momentous times through which the world is passing. Therefore, the non-aligned countries must continue to keep a careful watch over developments. In the context of efforts that are being made to divide or create disharmony among non-aligned countries, we should remain alert and do everything possible to maintain our solidarity. In this connection, what I said earlier about developing mutual cooperation among ourselves in a concrete manner is particularly necessary and urgent. I am sure, we will not only be able to stand together but also through our combined efforts give a constructive shape to the course of world events.

Q.

*One last question. What is your assessment of the Indo-Yugoslav relations and of the co-operation of the two countries in the family of the non-aligned countries?*

A.

India and Yugoslavia are founder-members of non-alignment. This has been one of the many enduring and rewarding elements of our bilateral relations also. The leadership which President Tito has been giving to our movement has always been inspiring. I recall with special pleasure his discussions with me when I had the privilege of meeting him during my visit to your country in January this year. I am sure that our two countries will continue to work together within the family of the non-aligned countries for the realisation of our common objectives in the same spirit of close and friendly understanding that has characterised our relations in the past.

## *Significant economic decisions at Havana*

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The non-aligned bureau meeting of Foreign Ministers, held in Havana from 17 to 19, March 1975, took place one year after the earlier bureau meeting of Algiers in March, 1974. Important developments have taken place on the international scene in the political and economic spheres during this period, and the meeting provided a valuable opportunity for the ministers of the seventeen countries assembled at Havana to review and assess the situation. Apart from the members of the bureau, delegations from over twenty-four other non-aligned countries were present as observers.

As the meeting was taking place in Havana, special attention was naturally devoted to developments in Latin America and the Caribbean. While the Caribbean countries have only recently emerged into independence, the Latin American countries attained their independence over a century or more ago. However, it is not very long since the process of their economic emancipation has begun. In more recent years, with the entry into the non-aligned conference of more Latin American countries — Cuba was the first, there are at present six members — the trend towards increasing adherence to the principles of non-alignment has become manifest in Latin America. This is an important contemporary process which was noted with particular appreciation at the Havana meeting.

Ever since the non-aligned summit in Lusaka in 1970, the non-aligned countries have been expressing concern at the escalation of tension in the Indian Ocean area. Thanks to the initiative of the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, the United Nations

also adopted in 1971 the Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Since then, the non-aligned countries, both at the United Nations and in their own meetings, have been urging the speedy implementation of the objectives of the U.N. Declaration. The Havana meeting has noted again with deep concern the strengthening of air and naval military presence and of foreign bases in this region. The expansion of the base in Diego Garcia against the expressed wishes of the overwhelming majority of the littoral and hinterland States has been condemned as a negative development.

In view of this worsening of the situation in the Indian Ocean, the Ministers assembled in Havana have called for strict compliance with the U.N. Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. In my statement at the plenary session in Havana, I pointed out that the induction of arms into the countries belonging to military alliances in our neighbourhood is a grave development, which cannot but retard the process of normalisation and relaxation of tension in our area.

### *Economic Crisis*

One of the most important issues before the meeting was the problem facing the countries most seriously affected by the current economic crisis, which figured prominently in my conversations with my colleagues. In my statement, among other things, I drew particular attention to the enormous imbalances characterising the present deteriorating global economic situation. Apart from calling for speedy implementation, particularly by developed countries, of various decisions for remedial action, already adopted in the United Nations and related forums, I also stressed the urgent need for mutual co-operation among non-aligned countries to help each other.

The Declaration issued at Havana has an economic part, which analyses succinctly the present situation. In the field of co-operation among non-aligned countries, I am glad to state that the following important decisions were taken:

- (i) The importance of the measures for additional aid proposed in the Algiers OPEC summit declaration has been noted, and the need for their speedy implementation stressed.

- (ii) Trilateral co-operation using technology and resources available in different countries for development in a third country has been emphasised.
- (iii) Concrete follow up measures to be recommended in time for the Lima Conference on buffer stocks financing as proposed in the Dakar conference resolution.
- (iv) Recommendation to the Lima conference to adopt and bring into existence the non-aligned solidarity Fund.

It is my assessment that the OPEC countries are not insensitive to the problem facing the most seriously affected countries. Many of them have individually pledged support. The OPEC summit declaration of Algiers also represents a manifestation of their collective will. However, the balance of payments problem facing so many of the developing countries is so enormous that much more needs to be done and that too urgently. Therefore, while we are appreciative of all that the OPEC countries are doing we will continue to stress the gravity of the situation and the need for concrete measures being adopted on a priority basis to relieve the heavy burdens placed on several countries including India.

### *Significance of Havana*

As a founder-member, India continues to render important and useful service to the cause of non-alignment, as in the past conferences. The chairmanship of one of the main committees was entrusted to India. We were happy to receive full co-operation and understanding from other members in the consideration of several important issues.

In the economic committee, in particular, our views received a positive response from others as was reflected in the Economic Declaration — especially points relating to the most seriously affected countries.

The holding of the meeting in Havana was an event of special significance for Cuba, which is seeking to reinforce its links not only with Latin America but also with the non-aligned and developing world in general. It is important to remember that the growth and evolution of the non-aligned movement has been marked by a series of meetings since 1961. In between the summit conference, non-aligned countries have been meeting at the level



of foreign ministers, and have also held coordinating meetings at other levels. All these meetings have made important contributions to the development of the solidarity and unity of non-aligned countries. The Havana meeting was a significant stage in this continuing process. The decisions reached at the Havana meeting will undoubtedly provide a valuable basis for these forthcoming conferences of the non-aligned and contribute to the further consolidation of the sovereignty and independence of all non-aligned countries and the building of a new world order based on peace, equality, justice and progress for all mankind.

## *Reaffirmation of solidarity, unity and goals*

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We are beset with problems of grave dimensions. Our efforts to build a just international order based on the sovereign and democratic equality of all States and a balanced and co-operative relationship between the developed and the developing countries, are encountering many obstacles. Attempts have been made by some States to disrupt the solidarity of the non-aligned countries. It is therefore of paramount importance for us to meet together to review recent developments and reaffirm our solidarity, our principles and our goals.

The *detente* between East and West, of which our Heads of State and Government had taken note with satisfaction at Algiers in 1973, has continued, despite several stresses and strains. To the extent that *detente* reduces the danger of a world war, induces relaxation of tensions and helps to normalise relations between states, it should be welcomed and further consolidated, and also extended to all regions of the world.

### *Fragile Peace and Security*

The structure of world peace and security however remains fragile, especially in Asia where tensions and conflicts persist. In west Asia, as we call it, or in the Middle East, the situation continues to cause grave concern.

The comprehensive consideration of the question of Palestine in the last U.N. General Assembly session in which the PLO participated enabled the adoption of a resolution reaffirming the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine. This was a significant landmark in the long struggle to secure the vindication

of Palestinian rights, especially their right to national independence and their right to participate in the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East. We are gratified that today there is increasing recognition as well as support in the international community for the full restoration of these rights.

I referred earlier to continuing tensions in different areas of the world. In that context I would be failing in my duty if I did not emphasise with particular concern and urgency recent adverse developments in the Indian Ocean area. Despite the repeated calls made by all the Non-aligned Countries since the Lusaka conference, reaffirmed by the international community when it adopted the declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace in 1971, some powers continue to pursue the strategy of balance of power. The decision to develop the Anglo-American base facility in the island of Diego Garcia against the publicly expressed desire of the overwhelming majority of the littoral States of the Indian Ocean is a serious development.

It is our earnest hope that the great powers would respect the wishes of the littoral States of the Indian Ocean area and desist from actions resulting in escalation of tensions which go against the decisions of the international community to make the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. We hope all non-aligned countries will continue their efforts, both in the United Nations and elsewhere, in our common endeavour to secure the full implementation of the objectives of the United Nations Declaration.

Here, we must place on record our admiration for the valiant efforts of the peoples of Latin America, a vast and rich area, to give more concrete meaning to the political independence which they have enjoyed already for many years. Their continuing efforts to secure full sovereignty over their national resources deserve our full support. We note that more and more countries in Latin America are adhering to the principles of non-alignment. We welcome this trend and look forward to greater co-operation with them and further accretion to our strength.

### *Economic Situation*

The world economic situation is far from satisfactory. Indeed, it is on the verge of a crisis of global proportions, which can be averted only through the common endeavour of all nations. What are the principal characteristics of the present situation?

On the surface we see that peoples everywhere are being subjected to uncontrollable increases in prices, to shortages of essential goods, to deficit trade balances, to unemployment and recession.

This global phenomenon has been caused mainly by the policies of the developed countries, by their mass production technology, by their prodigal consumption standards, by their growth mania, by their diversion of resources towards a meaningless arms race, and by the rapid depletion of the world's non-renewable raw materials. In the result we have more and more missiles, hair-dryers and tape-recorders, and less and less food-grains, fertilizers and essential goods.

The modern industrial system based on cheap energy is on the way to destroying the very basis on which it was founded, and this should be a matter of serious concern for all of us, the non-aligned and developing nations, which constitute the vast majority of mankind. The time is ripe for evolving new patterns of consumption, and for designing new life styles better suited to the hard facts of life of today and tomorrow. This cannot be achieved by marginal adjustments and half-hearted changes in politics and goals but only by the conscious, collective and co-operative efforts of all nations, rich and poor alike. Mahatma Gandhi had said long ago: "The earth has enough to provide for every man's need, but not for every man's greed." This is indeed a wise advice relevant for all times.

What are the real interests of the non-aligned countries? The economic situation of the non-aligned nations are not all the same. Some have thrown off the shackles of economic imperialism and emerged into a new era of independence and prosperity. Some others are still in the stage of asserting their sovereignty in full over their natural resources. There are also those who had won their political independence at immense sacrifice but over which they have no control and for which they have no responsibility whatsoever.

But all the non-aligned countries have one thing in common — they are struggling against neo-colonialism which has many faces in many parts of world, the most common feature of which is the creeping paralysis of non-co-operation by the developed nations.

These developed countries are saturated with wealth and yet they continue to base their policies on their own national

interests. They have virtually rejected the new international economic order that was enunciated at the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, and this does not bode well for the future.

If the present situation were to continue unchanged, we shall see the rich nations getting richer and the poor nations poorer, while the earth's non-renewable resources rapidly disappear. The danger inherent in such a situation is not only confrontation between the rich and the poor, as is often suggested by the developed countries. It would also result in ruthless competition between the rich and the rich in their exploitation of the dwindling resources of the earth, while the poor nations stand by as spectators of this tragedy.

The question is, should we remain as idle spectators? The answer is clearly in the negative. We have also a responsibility for world peace and security as well as the obligation to see that the common heritage of mankind is not dissipated in any orgy of consumption by the few and the rich. Our diversity is indeed our strength, our vigilance is our security, and our solidarity is the basis for our salvation.

What does non-aligned solidarity mean? It may mean different things to different states depending on their narrow national economic interest. But one thing should be clear — the chain is as strong as its weakest link. So also a group or a movement is as strong as its weakest component. Solidarity of our group depends on a set of obligations and duties and not only on national rights. It is the independence of non-aligned nations that is the bedrock of our solidarity, which was forged in the struggle against our common political and economic enemies.

### *Self-Help and Co-operation*

How can we expect help or assistance from others, if we are not prepared to help each other? Self-help and mutual co-operation and assistance among the non-aligned countries should have pride of place in our programme of action. We must ourselves practise what we preach to others in the new international economic order. We must explore possibilities of the transfer of resources as well as technology among the non-aligned countries, bearing in mind each other's hardships caused by recent events.

We must develop trade with each other and strengthen our economic relations and position by forming producer's associations, by linking the prices of our exports to the prices of essential imports from the developed countries, by working together for better terms of trade, etc. In short, we shall have to apply first to ourselves the principle underlying the new economic order, the principle of mutual co-operation for our mutual benefit.

Our measures of mutual self-help will clearly be insufficient to redress the enormous imbalances that characterise the inequities in the present global economic situation. The prices of a wide range of primary products have been falling. For example, the prices of copper, rubber, zinc and wool dropped by more than 50%, cotton and vegetable oils by 30% to 50%, iron ore, lead, tea by 20% to 30%.

On the contrary, the prices of industrial goods, foodgrains, fertilisers and fuel have increased from 200% to 400%. As a consequence, we are paying more and more and importing less and less in keeping with the decreasing level of foreign exchange earnings through our low-priced exports. But the OECD countries will be spending about 7.5 billion less in 1975 in buying commodities from developing countries than in 1974. The level of aid from OCED countries has fallen sharply owing to the high rate of inflation. The ratio of their assistance has decreased from 0.5% of the GNP in 1961 to 0.3% in 1973 — as against the modest target of 0.7% by this.

The outstanding debts of the developing countries reached the astounding figure of 80 billion in 1973. This formidable imbalance needs to be tackled urgently and vigorously through the measures outlined at the Dakar Conference on raw materials. The developed countries have failed to carry out the obligations which they have themselves freely undertaken. Furthermore, their present postures are full of menace for the future.

### *Solidarity Fund*

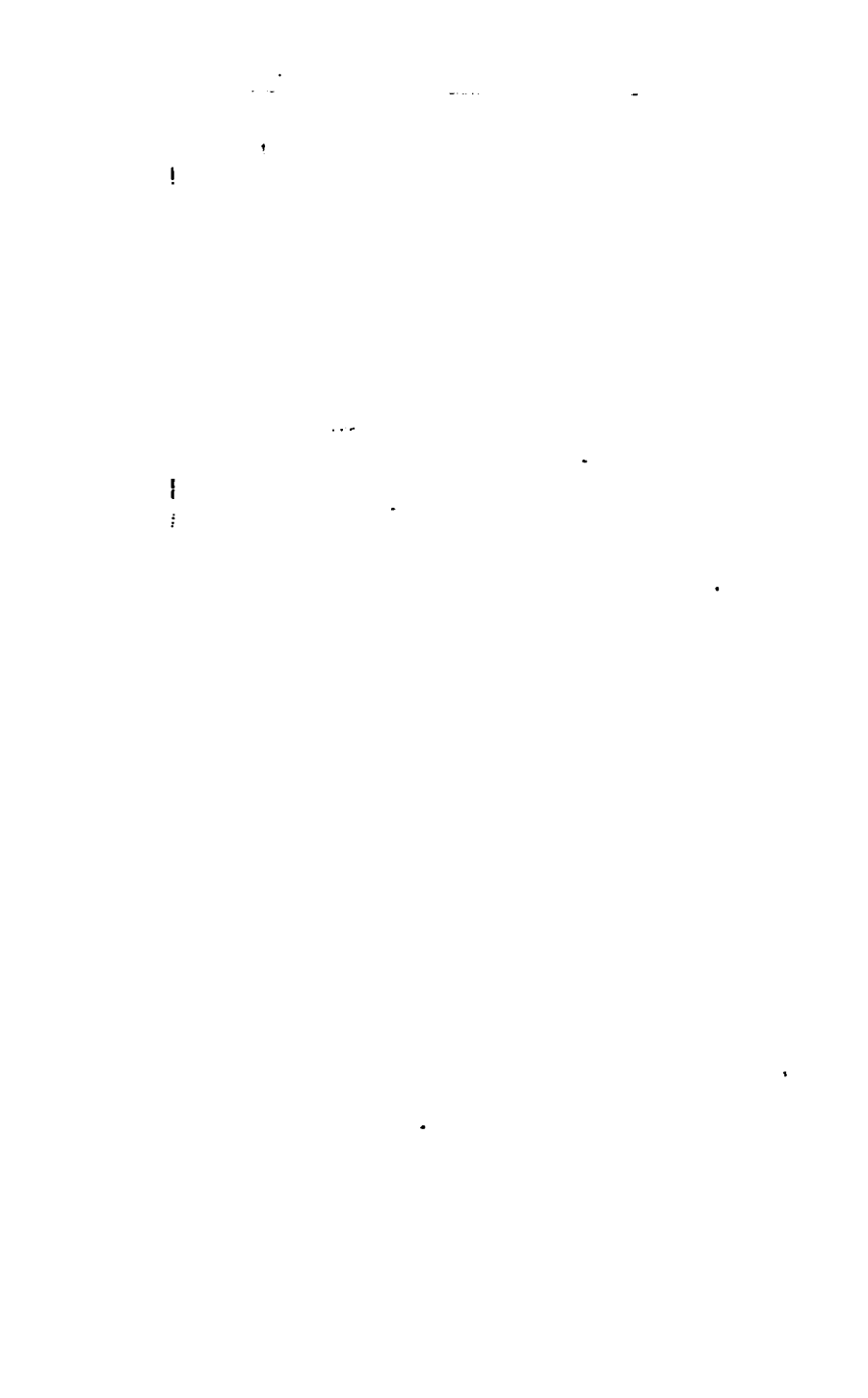
During the last year, we have had several international conferences devoted to a variety of questions ranging from the programme of action leading to the new economic order, to food, population and raw materials. I shall not go into the details of those conferences and their decisions but I should emphasise the importance of working together to secure their

speedy implementation and to win over the developed countries to accepting the new order as being just, fair and in the interests of world peace and stability.

I should like to repeat what I said earlier, namely, the vital importance of our setting a salutary example in mutual economic co-operation among the Non-aligned Countries. The Belgrade meeting of September, 1974 has produced a comprehensive action programme for our mutual economic co-operation. The Kuwait meeting of January, 1975 has produced a useful blueprint for a non-aligned solidarity fund. Let us implement these decisions quickly and imaginatively, for delay is not in the interests of our solidarity.

As I said at the outset, the world situation today is disquieting, and we cannot afford to be complacent. Our task is to explore ways and means by which the decisions already taken are implemented. We shall, no doubt, discuss, in the spirit of harmony and co-operation that has always characterised our meetings, the issues facing us and reach conclusions and decisions by our traditional method of consultation and consensus. We are confident that this historic meeting of the bureau in Havana will further strengthen non-alignment and also make a positive and constructive contribution to peace and progress.

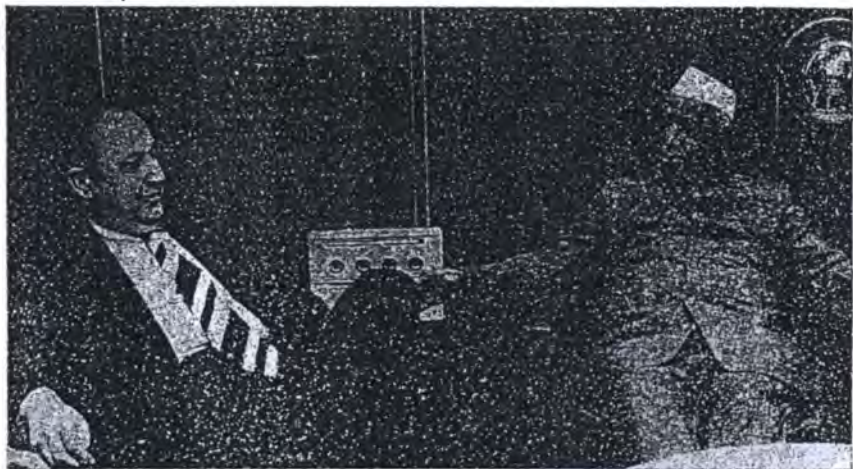
Our strength also casts upon us a great responsibility. We owe it to ourselves and to future generations to act with strength and purpose and wisdom and maturity. The enlightened vision of our leaders should be translated into concrete measures. A new world order based on sovereign democratic equality and devoted to peace and co-operative progress can be realised only through determined efforts.







*14. With President Tito of Yugoslavia in New Delhi in 1975.*



*15. With Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany in Frankfurt in January, 1977.*



*16. At a meeting with Dr. Henry Kissinger, U.S. Secretary of State, in New Delhi in October, 1974.*

## *Part Five*

# UNITED NATIONS AND FRAMEWORK FOR NEW ECONOMIC GLOBAL ORDER

*The United Nations stands for the promise of peace, equality, justice and full opportunities for the common man everywhere. A quiet revolution has been taking place during the last 30 years -- a revolution in the realm of ideas about the quality of peace and the quality of life for all in the future. The infamous policy of apartheid... is a flagrant violation of the concept of equality of human beings, regardless of colour or race.*

*The survival of mankind in all its many-splendoured diversity depends on planned expansion of areas of equitable interdependence. To that end we need to evolve a global ethic, a code of conduct and a set of principles for managing interdependence for the purpose of sustaining economic development.*



## *Indivisibility of world peace*

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The United Nations has now been in existence for thirty years, and it has seen dramatic changes in the world. It has survived the years of the "cold war" and has entered a period of *detente* between the great powers. It has managed to contain situations of active hostilities and in the process acquired useful experience in peace-keeping operations. Its membership which has increased rapidly, has become a hallmark of independence of the countries that have liberated themselves from colonial rule.

The United Nations stands for the promise of peace, equality, justice and full opportunities for the common man everywhere. When one examines the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on a wide variety of subjects, one sees that a quiet revolution has been taking place during the last twenty years — a revolution in the realm of ideas about the quality of peace and the quality of life for all in the future.

### *The Healing Hand*

The United Nations has been trying to cope with current problems and controversies. Sometimes these are issues that could be resolved outside the United Nations by the countries concerned. It is our belief that if the United Nations is to survive and grow into a co-operative organisation, equipped to deal with problems of the future, we should not unduly burden it with issues that lend themselves to solutions outside the United Nations in conformity with the principles of its Charter. After all, Article 2 para 3 of the Charter stipulates that *all members shall settle their disputes themselves by peaceful means* in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered.

There are other types of issues that concern a number of countries, and these seem to need the healing hand of the United Nations. The experience of dealing with even such issues indicates that in the final analysis it is necessary for the parties directly involved to sit together and negotiate practical and reasonable solutions to their mutual benefit. We wish to draw attention to this basic fact of life because it is often forgotten in the early stage of most problems. As a consequence, the credibility of the United Nations is placed under increasing strain.

Issues that directly pose a continued threat to international peace and security merit our attention as a matter of priority. The situation in the Middle East has been a source of grave anxiety. Another war in that region will affect all of us in one way or the other. It will almost certainly plunge the peoples of that region into disasters of unprecedented magnitude. The continuing civil war in Lebanon makes us sad, because of the heavy loss of life and destruction of property. It has added a new dimension to an already complex situation.

Peace must come eventually to that troubled part of the world. The essential ingredients for a peace settlement have already been set out in the U.N. Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. In subsequent resolutions the United Nations has recognised the national rights of the Palestinian people and affirmed the vital importance of the exercise of those rights for the maintenance of peace in that region. The root of the problem, of course, is the continuing occupation of Arab lands and territories by Israel. Ways and means must be found soon for implementing the Security Council resolutions, and a proper climate for their implementation should be quickly created by an early resumption of the work of the Geneva Conference.

### *Process of Decolonisation*

The process of decolonisation has maintained its momentum everywhere except in southern Africa. We had hoped that, after the withdrawal of Portuguese colonialism, white minority rules elsewhere in southern Africa would quickly yield to majority rule. But it would seem that our hopes were based on wrong premises. The national liberation movements have been left with no option but to resort to armed struggle. It is particularly sad that the peoples of southern Africa should have to make



many more sacrifices before winning their freedom, because it is within the competence of the United Nations to help them by taking enforcement action.

In Zimbabwe the time is overdue for the introduction of majority rule. The question of a constitutional safeguard for minorities must follow the establishment of majority rule. Diplomatic efforts are being made by frontline African States and others to resolve the problem democratically and peacefully through negotiations. The régime of Ian Smith clearly has no basis in law or in the will of the people, and it must yield to majority rule without any delay, if further bloodshed is to be avoided. The United Kingdom, whose legal responsibility continues in this regard, could play a helpful role at the present juncture.

It is necessary to remind ourselves that the territory of Namibia has international status and that South Africa's presence there is illegal. South Africa's open challenge to the authority of the United Nations has remained unanswered in effective terms. Almost every member of this organisation agrees that steps should be taken to retrieve in practice what the United Nations legally holds in trust, which is the territory of Namibia and the destiny of its people. But nothing has been done so far except to adopt recommendatory resolutions. Nothing could cause greater harm to the credibility of the United Nations than its failure to assume responsibility in practice for what belongs to it in law. The implications of this should be squarely faced by those countries that support the legal position but are not prepared to enforce it.

Here again, diplomacy seems to be at work to bring together representatives of the people of Namibia to discuss and agree upon the process toward their independence within a short period of time. The United Nations cannot afford to fail in Namibia because the members of this organisation have a collective legal responsibility for its independence.

### *Equality of Human Beings*

The infamous policy of apartheid, which is the device employed by the white minority regime in South Africa to perpetuate its rule, has been roundly condemned by nearly all members of the United Nations. That policy, racist in concept and rooted

in slavery, contains within it the seeds of its own violent destruction. It is a flagrant violation of the concept of equality of human beings regardless of colour or race. We see already the beginning of its end, and we hope it will be peaceful. We extend our sympathies to the victims of racist oppression in Soweto and Capetown.

We hope that the white rulers in South Africa, in order to avoid further loss of life and property, will give up the policy of apartheid and replace it with a forward-looking enlightened policy that will enable all persons, regardless of race or colour, to live together on a basis of complete equality. The intention of the white South African Government to grant so-called independence to Transkei and to create similar Bantustans is no solution. It is nothing more than the logical extension of the policy of apartheid and is intended to create satellite black areas without any real independence. It will intensify racial discrimination rather than eliminate it, and it should be rejected by the United Nations.

#### *Disarmament Measures*

Turning now to some important problems, may I mention that while we have welcomed the state of *detente* in East-West relations, we have always stressed that efforts to consolidate and intensify *detente* should respond positively to the anxieties and aspirations of the rest of the world. This can best be done through meaningful disarmament measures, through implementing agreed measures for securing a rational and equitable new order, and through non-interference in the internal affairs of developing countries. It is only through such steps that *detente* can spread to all regions and create its own momentum for establishing mutually co-operative and beneficial relations between all states.

The frightful dilemma facing mankind today is the incredible accretion of enormous military power by a few countries and their seeming inability to de-escalate the arms race. They seem to be under a strange compulsion to race faster and faster in order to remain in the same position of parity. The price of this parity is reported to be of the order of US \$ 300 billion per annum at present. Despite the astronomical waste involved in the diversion of vast resources for achieving the so-called balance



of strategic power or mutual deterrence, war continues to remain a likely consequence. It is significant that the United States Secretary should have cautioned that "any one of the current regional crises could blossom into a larger conflict."

### *Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy*

The rest of the world cannot remain insensitive to this prospect. It seems unlikely that there will be significant progress in social reform and economic development in developing countries as long as world military expenditure continues to grow at the present rate. We have been among the foremost to propose a variety of disarmament measures since 1950 but it is regrettable that little progress has been made. The need for a world disarmament conference has become increasingly urgent. It might be useful by way of preparation to have a special session of the General Assembly to be devoted exclusively to disarmament. If we can have world conferences on space, atomic energy, environment, human settlements, trade and development, and so on, there is even greater reason and greater urgency for organising a world conference on disarmament.

Several speakers have referred to the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. India has consistently supported efforts in the direction of achieving nuclear disarmament. We are surprised that attempts are continuously being made to confuse the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons with the legitimate right of all member-States to engage themselves in programmes involving peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We reject the thesis that access to the benefits of nuclear energy should be limited only to a few nations, or that only some countries can be trusted to behave in a responsible manner in embarking upon and implementing programmes in the area of the peaceful uses of the nuclear energy.

### *Non-use of Force*

The initiative of the USSR in proposing a treaty on non-use of force in international relations is a positive step and deserves the most careful consideration by the General Assembly. It is in fact an attempt to elaborate the principle already enshrined in Article 2 para 4 of the Charter that all members shall refrain from the threat or use of force in their international relations.

Another initiative of the USSR, which is of direct interest to us, is the statement made by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union the other day that his country has "No intention of building any military bases in the Indian Ocean area and that it is prepared, together with other Powers, to seek ways of reducing on a reciprocal basis the military activities of non-coastal States in the Zone of the Indian Ocean."

This is a welcome statement. We trust that it will be reciprocated by other great powers so that existing foreign military bases such as Diego Garcia are eliminated and the Declaration of the General Assembly that the Indian Ocean shall be a zone of peace can become a reality.

India attaches great importance to the work of the U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea. While it has succeeded in evolving a consensus on many important issues, the search for a consensus is still continuing on the remaining issues like the system of exploitation of the international sea-bed area and its resources which are the common heritage of mankind. The developing countries, which have suffered from the consequences of colonial domination and the arbitrary operations of an unjust economic order, cannot be deprived of their legitimate share in the vast sea-bed resources by technologically advanced countries unilaterally exploiting the resources.

I should like to say a few words about a problem that has been recently plaguing many countries and affecting the lives of all travellers. It is the pernicious practice of making hostages of innocent persons for political or other reasons. I feel sure that this practice deserves to be condemned by all States in the strongest terms. But what is more important is that we should all do something more to put an end to it. The initiative taken by the Federal Republic of Germany to propose an international convention against the taking of hostages is timely. The terms of such a convention should be so drafted as to secure the widest possible support.

### *Good Neighbourly Relations*

In our part of the world, India has been pursuing a deliberate policy of normalising and improving relations with all its neighbours. We intend to continue to persist in developing good neighbourly relations with all.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan referred the other day to the so-called dispute relating to Jammu and Kashmir, which is an integral part of India. He also referred to the resolutions of the Security Council of 1948 and 1949. Those resolutions were not implemented at that time because Pakistan did not fulfil certain essential pre-conditions that had been laid down in them. As a consequence the resolutions became obsolete and this was repeatedly made clear to the Security Council. In our opinion, it is now entirely unrealistic to hark back on those resolutions.

The Simla Agreement, however, provides practical and realistic basis for overcoming all impediments to friendly and co-operative relations between India and Pakistan. The implementation of that agreement has already resulted in a large measure of normalisation of relations in several fields. It is our intention to persist in this process because we believe that it can lead to stability and durable peace in the subcontinent.

With Bangladesh we wish to develop, on a basis of equality, close and friendly relations to our mutual benefit. Unfortunately, Bangladesh has chosen to bring before this General Assembly certain misconceived allegations concerning the equitable sharing of the waters of the river Ganga during the lean period of the dry season every year. We expressed our views on this issue when the question of the inscription of the item came up before the General Assembly. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate our firm belief that the discussion of this question in the United Nations will only serve to complicate the situation and come in the way of bilateral negotiations.

### *Square Deal for Developing Countries*

I should like to turn now to the struggle in the United Nations for a square deal for developing countries — a struggle that has already entered its second decade with no promise or even hope of an early solution. The grievances and expectations of developing countries have been clearly set out in previous sessions of the General Assembly and in various other conferences.

But we still seem to be convening one conference after another for no ostensible reason other than to repeat and re-affirm earlier resolutions. Developing countries find themselves in a state of political independence but in an economic environment over

which they have little control and which they have inherited through historical circumstances. They are in the grip of forces manipulated by developed countries largely for their own benefit. Such a situation is likely to lead to permanent impoverishment of developing countries, while developed countries continue to prosper at the expense of others. This state of affairs is both immoral and intolerable. Decisions already taken and measures agreed at earlier Conferences should be speedily implemented through constructive negotiations.

The indebtedness of developing countries has exceeded U.S. \$ 150 billion, with repayments increasing every year. Developing countries now face the dilemma of either not repaying their debts or suspending altogether the process and tempo of their national development. This problem can be resolved only if the international community as a whole draws up mutually agreed norms for affording realistic and immediate relief to debtor countries. Even a five per cent reduction in the military budgets of developed countries could facilitate the transfer of much needed resources and open for two-thirds of mankind vast opportunities for development.

### *Mutuality of Interests*

The survival of mankind in all its many-splendoured diversity depends on planned expansion of areas of equitable interdependence. To that end we need to evolve a global ethic, a code of conduct and a set of principles for managing interdependence for the purpose of sustaining economic development. We need the sort of interdependence among Nation-States that preserves their sovereignty, transcends political ideologies, harmonises the actions of States for common ends, strengthens the weak and prevents their exploitation by the strong, prohibits policies which beggar one's neighbour, and envisages an equal share in decision-making processes.

Recognition of this mutuality of interests and of the need to rearrange the present economic system on a more equitable basis should influence the attitudes of the affluent countries in such a manner that their people respond readily and positively to the modest national objectives of developing countries. Unfortunately, the response of the developed countries so far indicates a certain wavering of political will to meet the

full dimension of the challenges and opportunities inherent in the present situation, as evidenced by the slow progress made by the Paris Conference. Perhaps fear of the unknown future, or reluctance to reduce wasteful consumption, is at the root of their inadequate response.

Surely, they must realise that there can be no freezing of the *status quo* of dependence between the developed and developing countries. The present situation must inevitably evolve into a new order of equitable interdependence and mutual benefit. Self-serving short term remedies will not meet the long term requirements of the present situation. So far as the developing countries are concerned, they should be prepared to safeguard their own interests through a higher level of individual and collective self-reliance as well as mutual co-operation.

The strength of the developing countries rests, of course, entirely on their own unity and their sense of purpose. Theirs is not the strength that comes from numbers alone but rather from the shared awareness that they form the backbone of peace-loving nations. They represent not only the majority of the nation-states of the world but also the majority of the world's population. Their aspirations, therefore, acquire a special meaning for mankind's future, for they represent the hard core of suffering humanity. Their collective position should make an appropriate impact on the attitudes of developed countries and their peoples.

As the United Nations enters the fourth decade of its existence I would like to recall in conclusion the words of our former Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru who said on the first day of our independence: "Peace is said to be indivisible, so is prosperity and so also is disaster in a world that can no longer be split into isolated fragments."

## *Thirty-one years of the U.N.: an assessment*

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In its three decades of existence, the United Nations has kept pace with the ever-changing world situation and structure of international relations. It has become increasingly universal and representative of the vast segments of humanity. It has not only survived but has emerged as a forum for preserving and consolidating world peace, promoting decolonisation, reaffirming faith in fundamental human rights and promoting co-operation among nations.

India was one of the original signatories of the U.N. Charter when it was adopted in San Francisco thirty-one years ago today. Despite this passage of time, the purposes and the principles of the Charter continue to be of value and relevance. The Charter contains all the ingredients necessary for establishing and maintaining conditions under which men and women can live in peace, freedom and dignity. The U.N. Charter Day provides a fitting occasion for rededication by all its member-states to the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter.

Over the years, the U.N. system has demonstrated its indispensability. Its effectiveness however depends on what the Member-States make of it in the pursuit of the common cherished goals of peace, justice and progress. India's late Prime Minister Nehru said while addressing the U.N. General Assembly in 1960:

“The United Nations has played a great role and it is a little difficult now to think of this troubled world without the U.N. If it had defects, they lay in the world situation itself which inevitably it mirrored. If there had been no United Nations

today, our first task would be to create something of that kind."

The United Nations provides a forum where Member-States can have a free and frank exchange of views. Such discussions focus attention on important international issues and generate the necessary political will to find solutions for them. With the United Nations becoming increasingly universal, we have to work collectively and in a spirit of co-operation so that it becomes a more effective instrument for the establishment of world peace and a new international economic and social order based on equality and justice.

### *Achievements of U.N.*

Today is the thirty first anniversary of the signing of the U.N. Charter. Anniversaries provide a useful occasion for reflection and stock-taking and I would like to say a few words on the achievements of the U.N. over the years and the areas on which attention needs to be focused in the future.

The U.N. can claim considerable credit in the process of decolonisation. Indeed, the majority of the Members of the U.N. today are erstwhile colonies that have been liberated over the years. It is our earnest hope that the last vestiges of colonialism would be speedily eradicated and that the determined efforts of the liberation movements fighting for their freedom and independence would meet with success.

The recent wave of repression and killings in South Africa and the last-ditch struggle of the racist regimes all over southern Africa are a reminder to us that the momentum of the struggle for liberation needs to be stepped up so that southern Africa could be freed from the scourge of colonialism, racism and apartheid.

A principal aim of the U.N. has been the maintenance of international peace and security. We, in India, have always repudiated the concept of the "cold war", and along with the growing majority of newly-independent nations, followed the path of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence. In the U.N., non-aligned countries have consistently worked to move away from confrontation to co-operation and dialogue. We therefore welcome the *detente* between the super powers, as exemplified by

the Helsinki Agreement, though it still seems to be limited and rather tenuous. *Detente* can have real meaning for the rest of us only if its benefits accrue to all continents and countries, big or small, developed or developing.

Peace has come to the Indo-Chinese people after many years of their valiant struggle and suffering. But the situation remains critical. There can be no just and lasting solution until Israel vacates all the territories occupied by aggression and the national rights of the Palestinian people are restored. The U.N. has played a significant role in this area by securing greater international recognition for the P.L.O.

A major step towards peace has been the U.N. declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. It is unfortunate in this context that the expansion of the Diego Garcia base continues against the declared wishes of the littoral States of the Indian Ocean.

### *Need for Meaningful Steps*

India has consistently supported the cause of disarmament, and we hope that meaningful steps would be taken towards disarmament, including nuclear disarmament.

Perhaps the most significant achievement of the U.N. over the years has been to focus increasing attention on economic co-operation and the problems that face developing countries. The adoption of the U.N. Charter on Economic Rights and Duties in 1974 and the resolutions adopted at the Sixth and Seventh Sessions of the U.N. General Assembly are important landmarks in this context. We hope that actual implementation will not fall short of expectations and continuing efforts will be made towards the establishment of the new international economic order.

The United Nations has grown from its original 50 members to 144 today, of whom the vast majority are developing countries. This fundamental change in the character of the membership of the U.N. must reflect itself in the priorities and activities of the Organisation. The U.N. system today concerns itself not merely with "saving succeeding generations from these scourge of war" but equally with economic and social questions that vitally concern the interests of the vast majority of the world's countries and peoples. The success of the U.N. Organisation will be related



to the extent to which it succeeds in creating a new world order, which is not only free from war but also free from want.

The U.N. is at a crucial point of its history. There is growing awareness today of the interdependence between people and nations. But the problems posed by this realisation are only just beginning to be tackled.

India has firm faith in the U.N. System. We have always extended our fullest co-operation to it and we shall continue to do so. We shall always be active in the furtherance of the objectives of the United Nations, for its success in achieving the unity of man, and upholding the dignity of human beings.

In co-operation with other countries, we will continue to seek the fulfilment of our hopes and aspirations through the more effective functioning of the U.N. Let us all today rededicate ourselves to the ideals enshrined in the U.N. Charter and reaffirm our determination to work, at the U.N. and elsewhere, towards the goals of universal peace and economic and social betterment.

## *From principles to reality*

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The U.N. is the appropriate forum for the solution of the problems facing non-aligned and developing countries. Its imperfections and failings are an indication of our own inadequacies. Non-aligned and developing countries have to work collectively and unitedly so that the U.N. becomes a more effective instrument for the establishment of world peace and a new international economic and social order based on equality and justice. It is a unique instrument which can, with foresight and vision, be adapted to meet the unprecedented challenge of the future.

The U.N. is no longer an exclusive club but is the voice of humanity. The non-aligned and developing countries can be considered to be a distinct entity in that they have common aspirations and objectives. Consequently, we often find that for purposes of analysis these countries are often grouped together as the so-called "third world". We believe in "one world".

The emergence on the world stage of the developing countries, representing an overwhelming majority of humanity, is the most significant event of our time. We are all children of the revolution which has brought about political liberation of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbeans. We are participants in the efforts of the newly-liberated peoples to overcome economic, technological and intellectual consequences of colonisation. We want to bridge the ever-widening gulf that divides developed and developing nations. The developing world can no longer be a mute spectator, while decisions vitally affecting its destiny are being taken. All that they seek is that, like peace, prosperity should also be indivisible.

*Areas of Direct Interest*

I would now like to identify some of the areas which are of direct interest to non-aligned and developing countries. On the political side, an important issue is the question of de-colonisation. While the liberation movements in the erstwhile colonies have naturally been in the vanguard of this process, the U.N. organisation can also claim considerable success in this area. But pockets of colonialism still exist. Let us hope that, instead of engaging in a futile, last ditch struggle, the colonial rulers would see the writing on the wall. Whether they like it or not, the "new world" of today cannot tolerate colonialism or emergence of neo-colonialism in any part of the world.

A second area on which non-aligned and developing countries have succeeded in persuading the U.N. to focus attention is racialism and apartheid. The U.N. has taken a large number of concrete and useful measures, including adoption of the universal declaration of human rights, international covenants on economic, social, civil, political and cultural rights, and declaration on elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. All these documents stress the dignity and equality of human beings.

The U.N. has also specifically condemned the policies of apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa and urged Member States to maintain diplomatic, economic and social boycott of the racist regimes. It is a matter of regret, however, that the racist regimes in southern Africa still persist and refuse to face realities. But time is running out for them. The struggle for liberation is bound to be completed sooner than later. We hope that efforts by the U.N. in this direction will be successful.

Non-aligned and developing countries have also attained a measure of success in getting the U.N. to pay greater attention to the maintenance of peace and questions of disarmament and international security.

But perhaps the most significant achievement of non-aligned and developing countries at the U.N. over the years has been to focus attention on international economic co-operation and the variety of problems facing developing countries, including unfavourable trade patterns and extremely heavy debt burdens.

The spirit of co-operation that was manifest during the seventh

special session held last year is a testimony to the unity of the non-aligned group and its efforts to give a lead to developing countries in such matters. However, actual implementation has fallen short of expectations.

### *A Long Way to Go*

In this context, it should be mentioned that there is considerable scope for expanding technical and economic co-operation among the developing countries themselves. Technological skills are available in some developing countries and financial resources in others. We hope that the U.N. and international organisations will give increasing attention to the prospects and possibilities in this area.

Transfer of technology is another area where U.N. action would be particularly useful. We also hope that the proposed re-organisation of the economic and social sectors of the U.N. will strengthen the process of development and international economic co-operation.

The U.N. has yet to go a long way before it can be said that it has met the aspirations of non-aligned and developing countries in any significant measure. In the ultimate analysis, the U.N.'s effectiveness is related to the collective national wills of its Members. Non-aligned and developing countries have played a significant role in changing the political climate at the U.N. into one in which developed countries are beginning to take a serious look at a question that they had in the past preferred to avoid, and are beginning to accept their responsibilities in this context.

The organisation of two special sessions of the General Assembly, devoted exclusively to problems of development, the convening of the world conference on food, population, environment, industrial development, role of women, and employment are welcome evidence of the new priorities in the U.N. system. We hope that this process will gather momentum in the years to come. The non-aligned and developing countries have to remain united in continuing to endeavour in that direction.

Here, I cannot but refer to the misleading talk in some circles that the U.N. is being divided into two blocs. The poor countries do not constitute a bloc. Developing countries have stressed the co-operative, not the confrontationist approach. Otherwise the resolution at the seventh special session could not have been

adopted unanimously. They have expressed, and with moderation, their urges and hoped with the legitimate expectation that countries more fortunately placed would recognise it as their duty and obligation to help their less fortunate brethren.

We have to get away from the talk of confrontation and deadlock, move into new fields of co-operative endeavour, and continue our efforts to achieve a new world order based on justice and equality. Let us not confront each other but let us together confront the problems facing us.

### *Turning Point in History*

The policy of non-alignment has made a significant impact on world affairs. It was evolved as an assertion of our will to be independent and not be the puppet of colonial powers. Non-alignment made the concept of peaceful co-existence increasingly acceptable. It made a vital contribution to peace and relaxation of tensions. Non-alignment has not lost any of its relevance even when the "cold war" era has become a part of history. Non-aligned countries have taken significant and successful initiatives in directing the attention of the international community to the urgent need for establishment of a new international economic and social order.

The U.N. is at a turning point in its history. It is an instrument for shaping the destiny of mankind. Its mission, expressed in the Charter, is to secure peace and justice for all mankind. Its duty is to the peoples of all nations. Its objective is the moulding of one world, based on peace and co-operation, not its division into three or more "worlds" separated by conflict and inequality.

There is today a growing awareness of the interdependence between peoples and nations, each conscious and responsive to the basic needs and legitimate aspirations of the other. But the problems posed by this reality of interdependence are only just beginning to be appreciated. What U Thant described as "prosperous provincialism" is dangerous for world order; and as the present U.N. Secretary-General has said:

"We must now go forward from deliberation to action, from confrontation to co-operation and from eloquently expressed allegiance to principles to the far more difficult task of making these principles a reality."

## *Interdependence and collective responsibility of humanity*

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The imperative of international economic co-operation was never as inescapable as it is today. The more the frontiers of human knowledge and conquests of nature are extended, the more the world shrinks from a collection of unconnected, self-sufficient communities into a compact interdependent humanity. But while this is universally recognised, we nevertheless encounter numerous difficulties in translating it into a programme of concrete action. This I believe is the crux of the problem. Interdependence implies collective responsibility and calls for increasing demonstration of solidarity.

We can no longer remain helpless victims of the vagaries of nature or of the idiosyncrasies of market forces. I believe that our presence here is explicit recognition of our responsibility to stem those processes which perpetuate injustice and to launch those which lead to greater and more genuine equality.

The responsibility for ushering in a new era of a more just and equitable economic relationship belongs to us all. But I trust no one will disagree if I suggest that it lies more heavily in those who wield economic power. Problems ignored over a long period of time grew into intractable crises. No nation has escaped their consequences. Nothing has proved it more dramatically than the events of 1973 and of subsequent years. I feel convinced that one of the reasons we are assembled here to look at the entire range of economic problems is this new realisation of our interdependence and, therefore, collective responsibility.

### *Widening Disparities*

As we survey the scene today, we find that a small number of countries have at their command eighty per cent of the world trade, nearly ninety-five per cent of private investment, an overwhelming share of world industry, technology and the ability to command and consume seventy per cent of the global resources. Over two-thirds of the human race continues to live in conditions of underdevelopment, unemployment, illiteracy, disease and malnutrition.

We all know how this has come about, and I am not apportioning blame, but there is something obviously unjust in allowing these disparities to persist and even to get accentuated by sheer neglect. I sincerely hope that we will avoid the mistake of taking too little action too late.

I recognise that the developing countries must themselves accept primary responsibility for their economic growth. As a matter of fact, I do not think that they have been remiss in discharging it. However, it is only fair that the small section of humanity, which commands a preponderant portion of the world's economic resources, must be ready and willing to share them more equitably.

As far as India is concerned, we have during the last twenty-five years of planned development mobilised ninety-three per cent of the resources for development locally, with only seven per cent from abroad. Such benefits as have flowed to us in the field of trade and investment have been sporadic, erratic and minimal. The same, more or less, is the story of other developing countries. This is not to say that we are unmindful of this assistance, but it is becoming increasingly clear that not enough has been done to improve the pace of growth of these countries.

### *Emerging Consensus*

The international community has been facing a grave economic situation in the last two years. Economies of the poor developing countries have suffered a serious setback, and there are as yet no signs of respite or relief. The sharp rise in prices of their essential imports like food, fertilizer, machinery, equipment and fuel has created a situation in which they are hardly able to meet even the existing needs of their economies. The terms of trade have always been adverse to them, and have suffered

drastic deterioration. The development programmes of the most seriously affected countries have been thrown into disarray by these trends. It is comforting to note that there is an emerging consensus on priority for the solution of their problems.

It is, indeed a matter of gratification to all of us to have amidst us the Secretary-General of the United Nations. His presence symbolises the importance that the international community attaches to our deliberations. We should fully draw upon the U.N. system to assist in our work activity through its resources of wide experience, research and expertise.

May I now turn to the work of the four commissions which are being set up? The Commission on Raw Materials and Development will have the benefit of drawing upon the current deliberations in the various existing international forums. However, the Commission on Energy and, to some extent, the Commission on Financial Affairs will be breaking new ground. The linkage between growth and availability of energy is well recognised. It is important that the existing and potential energy resources of the developing world should be so planned and used as to facilitate the achievement of its rapid growth and durable progress.

### *Six-Point Plan*

I am sure all of us are here to ensure the success of the complex technical work before the Commissions. To this end, I would like to suggest the following for your consideration:

First, subjects in each commission should be sufficiently specific but not unduly inflexible to enable all the participants to raise problems which they consider urgent and important. It will be necessary for all of us to reflect on the various viewpoints expressed here and give clear guidelines to the Commissions so that they carry on their task towards meaningful conclusion.

Secondly, the work in the Commissions should proceed simultaneously and in a mutually reinforcing manner so that just and equitable results are achieved expeditiously.

Thirdly, we should draw upon all the knowledge and experience which is available to the international community within and outside the U.N. system, in such a way that the conclusions we reach are sound.

Fourthly, the progress achieved in the negotiations should be fed concurrently into the relevant forums where the international



community is engaged in on-going discussions and negotiations.

Fifthly, while accomplishing their tasks the Commissions should ensure that on-going work in other forums is not impeded but in fact accelerated.

And, finally, we should assume full obligation to adhere to the conclusions reached in these negotiations and to give practical effect to them.

It is only in this way that we can expect to achieve the aim of translating our work here on the whole spectrum of economic issues into a global compact.

The eyes of the international community are focused on our deliberations. We bear a heavy responsibility towards the present and future generations. We shall be less than worthy of our tasks if we did not carry out this responsibility with decisive determination.

## *Unprecedented challenge of the future*

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Anyone who has the privilege to stand at this rostrum to address the General Assembly must be keenly aware of the special sense of responsibility because the U.N. is an instrument for shaping the destiny of mankind. How we fulfil this responsibility will depend upon the perception of our common mission and our firm resolve in implementing our decisions.

Three decades ago, our founding fathers conceived of this organisation as a means for harmonising the views and actions of States in a common effort "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". An embittered world shattered by the destructive fury of war was soon enmeshed in the hostile confrontation of opposing military alliances. The "cold war" threatened to nullify the hopes enshrined in our Charter. Vast numbers of people still lived under colonial subjugation for whom the Charter could have no meaning until they were freed from foreign domination.

Many old empires have since been dismantled and colonial rule has been ended in most parts of the world, signifying the victory of the forces of national liberation. The United Nations has made its own contribution towards expediting this process. More than half the delegations present here represent countries liberated from colonial rule. We have watched with satisfaction the U.N. moving steadily closer to its goal of full universality.

### *Peaceful Co-existence*

Many newly-independent nations of the world, including

my own, repudiated the concept of the "cold war" and chose the path of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. Today, there is widespread understanding and acceptance of the policy of non-alignment and its relevance and importance. In the United Nations, the non-aligned countries have consistently worked to democratise international relations and to move from confrontation and deadlock into new fields of co-operative endeavour. The Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries meeting in Lima last month pledged themselves afresh to continue their efforts for achieving a new world order based on justice and equality.

This maintenance of peace must be our first objective and problems related to this question must continue to occupy our minds with a sense of urgency. Peace reigns today in Indo-China after many years of war and this is indeed, a matter of great satisfaction for all of us. However, the legacy of the past seems to cloud the vision of some. The rejection by the Security Council of the requests of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Republic of South Vietnam to join the United Nations adds to the sorry record of United Nations inertia on Vietnam. There is no doubt about their eligibility for admission; we should welcome them to this organisation, which will benefit from their co-operation. The international community should do all it can to heal the wounds of war and assist in the reconstruction of the shattered economies of the countries of Indo-China. India is willing and prepared to make its contribution to this effort.

The situation in west Asia remains critical. There can be no enduring peace in the region until Israel vacates all the Arab territories occupied by aggression and the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine are restored. Meanwhile, an agreement has been reached between Egypt and Israel for a limited further Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai. This will be an important and positive development, provided it contributes to the reduction of tensions in that area and leads to the speedy resolution of the basic problems.

It is the clear duty of the United Nations, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter, and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, to explore all avenues open to it for securing the removal of the Israeli presence from Arab territories. It is also our duty to continue our efforts to restore to the Palestinian people their national rights.

We firmly believe that the unity of the Arab countries, together with the continued supporting action of the international community, would enable them to regain their lost territories and secure the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people.

### *Liberation Movements in Africa*

The de-colonisation of the Portuguese empire has proceeded with commendable rapidity. We rejoice in the notable successes achieved by the national liberation movements. However, the process of national liberation is as yet incomplete and we must address ourselves to the problems in the remaining territories whose people are still living under colonial and foreign domination.

The transition of Angola to independence has been marked by violent clashes between liberation movements. We have followed these developments with concern, because in the last analysis it is the people of Angola who will be the victims of the struggle for power between political parties. We hope that the Organisation of African Unity will find it possible to establish a basis for peace and co-operation among the different liberation groups.

In Southern Africa we are nowhere near a solution of the triple problem of securing the independence of Namibia, the rule of the majority in Zimbabwe and eradication of the policy of apartheid. These are all inter-related questions and they have to be tackled together. The presence in Namibia of the administration of the white racist regime of South Africa has been declared illegal. The U.N. has been standing ready to take over temporarily the administration of Namibia pending transfer of power to the people. And yet the South African Government flagrantly continues to defy the U.N. There is no clearer case for intervention by the U.N. and we would call for effective and resolute U.N. action against South Africa.

The illegal régime of Smith in Zimbabwe evidently continues to be bolstered by the support of the South African Government. There is no honourable way out for this regime, except to release all political prisoners, convene a constitutional conference of the legitimate leaders of the people, and make arrangements for the inevitable transition to majority rule.

Unfortunately, even the imposition of sanctions by the Security Council has not brought about the desired result although they may have had some impact. There are reports that the Smith

régime is arranging meetings with national political leaders with the purpose of dividing them and compelling them to agree to unacceptable settlements. It is clear that the U.N. should continue to lend all support to the liberation movement in Zimbabwe.

The question of apartheid has been before the U.N. in one form or another since 1946, and the appeals of the General Assembly have had no effect whatsoever on the racist régime in South Africa. This régime has remained indifferent to the diplomatic isolation in which it finds itself. We deplore that the trade boycott and arms embargo imposed by the United Nations have been ineffective. As a result, South Africa continues to pursue its pernicious policy of segregating the tribal people in separate Bantustans, forcibly removing them from their homes and subjecting them to humiliating restrictions. South Africa's continued enforcement of the apartheid system in total disregard of U.N. resolutions had led to the rejection of the credentials of its representatives and their consequent exclusion from the General Assembly session. Even this has had little effect on the white racist régime in Pretoria, or, indeed, on its supporters. There is no alternative but to strengthen the hands of the fighters for freedom and liberation from this iniquitous régime.

### *Hopeful Developments*

I have referred to matters that are at present the focus of international tension where critical situations prevail. Certain hopeful developments in Europe may also be noted. We welcome the signature of 135 Governments in Helsinki of the Final act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which establishes the basis for the preservation of peace and further co-operation in that continent.

Since Europe has been the historical spawning ground for world wars in the past, this agreement has great significance. However, *detente* in Europe can have real meaning for the rest of the world only if this process is extended to other continents and particularly to the crisis situations of today.

The full potential of *detente* cannot be realised until there is a transfer of real resources from military expenditure to areas that are of vital concern for the General well-being of mankind. The very first resolution adopted by the first General Assembly of the U.N. concerned disarmament. That was only natural as the

question of disarmament was an important preoccupation of the League of Nations and it was inevitable that its successor, the United Nations, established in the wake of the last world war, should as a matter of first priority concern itself with disarmament.

In the thirty years following the creation of this organisation and despite the regular and annual appeals for disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, there has been virtually no progress. Instead we have been witness to an incredible arms race involving the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction on the scale that brings into question the sanity of such measures.

The global expenditure on the arms race is of the order of \$ 300,000 million per annum, when the world is crying out for resources to relieve hunger, poverty and social injustice. We are nowhere near even considering any serious measures concerning nuclear disarmament, which clearly deserve the highest priority.

Peace is the foundation for progress. At the same time, an enduring peace cannot be achieved until the growing economic disparities in the world are checked and removed. The Seventh Special Session of the U.N. has made a serious attempt to identify problems in detail, to locate some available resources, to pursue further studies of important questions and, above all, to engage in negotiations, with a view to exploring whether a meeting of minds is possible. The achievements of that session should neither be overestimated nor underestimated. Developing countries cannot look upon the final document of the Seventh Special Session with unmixed satisfaction. However, it is an opening and if the decisions are implemented in good faith and speedily, further fruitful dialogue can be continued on the outstanding issues so that the world economic imbalance can be redressed and the terms of trade for developing countries are really improved. The *status quo* should change in the direction of a new and equitable economic order, and proof of this has surely to come from the concrete actions of the developed countries.

The problem of under-development is as important in the economic and social field as de-colonisation in the political field. It constitutes a challenge facing the U.N. The United Nations is a unique instrument for fostering co-operation based to be adapted, with wisdom and vision, to meet the unprecedented challenge of the future.

## *Political will and mechanism for process of change*

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It was barely eighteen months ago when the historic sixth special session was called to meet an emergency situation that confronted the international community in the economic field. At that time, the U.N. General Assembly had by consensus agreed to work for a new international economic order, recognizing the interdependence of all States, and the fact that the world could no longer be ruled from centres of power and affluence.

Since the end of that session, unfortunately, there has been reluctance on the part of some States to implement the agreement reached — a drifting away from the concept of interdependence towards traditional colonialist attitudes that reflect the usurpation by a small minority of countries of the right to own wealth and wield power. There has been a sharp reaction from some developed States to the inevitable assertion of equality by developing countries and their right to a legitimate and fair share in the world's resources. If, the sixth special session was called to deal with a crisis situation, the seventh special session is faced with the failure of nations to deal adequately with that crisis, and the consequent responsibility for making a new attempt to resolve their problems.

In our view, the establishment of a new international economic order depends on global recognition and acceptance of the following fundamental principles. First, in a world of interdependence, the growth or decline of one nation or group of nations can have immediate and direct consequences on the fact of other nations or group of nations. Secondly, interdependence should inevitably mean collective responsibility, for only then

can inequality and injustice be removed. Thirdly, decision-making on the pattern of necessary change should be shared equally by all countries. Fourthly, national and global endeavours for development must be based on a recognition of sectoral interdependence.

It is axiomatic that, while the main burden of responsibility for national development rests on national governments, responsibility for changes in global structures chiefly rests with those who control the overwhelming percentage of international trade, investment, industry and technology. Briefly, the developing countries want to eliminate the economic disparities between developed and developing countries and to obtain their due share of the growth of the world economy. Therefore, institutions and structures which perpetuate or aggravate present injustices and inequalities must be dismantled and new ones created.

Having said this, I cannot but note that while no commensurate action has been taken to redress the injustices of the past, there has been a growing awareness on the part of most of the developed world that it is in their own interest to accept a new re-ordering of the world's economy, and that a new diffusion of power has to come into being which does not allow for domination by any nation or bloc. The fact that a series of intergovernmental conferences have been, and are being, held to deal with different aspects of development within and outside the United Nations is a refreshing sign of this awareness.

### *Just Social Order*

The themes of development and international co-operation form the core of this Special Session. International assistance and co-operation are imperative to bolster the efforts of each developing country to build for its people a more just social order. Mere awareness of and acceptance by the developed countries of the need for a new economic order will not raise the incomes of the poor countries or feed the hungry or improve the developing countries' terms of trade. In 1970, at the beginning of this Development Decade, all member-states agreed that

“The primary responsibility for the development of developing countries rests upon themselves, but, however great their own efforts, these will not be sufficient to enable them to achieve the



desired development goals as expeditiously as they must, unless they are assisted through increased financial resources and more favourable economic and commercial policies on the part of developed countries."

The international development strategy is to be subjected to a detailed appraisal in a few weeks and if that is to result in a positive, forward-looking, progressive outcome, this special session should give it the necessary political impetus.

International co-operation for development has been built on two main pillars: aid and trade. In the past there has been varying emphasis on the importance of one or the other. Lately, there has been considerable disappointment with the voluntary transfer of resources from the rich to the poor nations through aid. We find that in the case of most donors, the volume of assistance, instead of increasing, is beginning to shrink. Not only have the targets for aid set in the international development strategy not been reached, but there has been a gradual contraction in real terms. It has been said that there is a kind of malaise affecting development assistance and that further exhortation to provide more aid is unlikely to assist the developing countries in any significant way.

It is, however, our firm conviction that only through voluntary transfers can developing countries acquire a sort of buffer between their rising import bills and falling export earnings. It is true that these transfers depend on the uncertain factor of the political will of donor nations. For this very reason, exhortations should not cease. While it is true that the taxpayers in developed countries contribute to foreign aid, it is equally true that the purchasers in developing countries pay for the goods produced in the developed world. Furthermore, if international actions generally reflect our values it is a matter of grave concern that while official development assistance has barely exceeded U.S. \$ 7,000 million, the world's expenditure on the means of destruction has reached staggering proportions.

### *Removal of Trade Barriers*

That brings me to the second pillar of international co-operation, namely, trade. What has been said about aid can also be said to apply to the field of international trade. Developing

countries play a very small role in world trade, industry and technology. Prices of most commodities exported by developing countries remain either depressed or unstable. The import bills of most developing countries have increased to such an extent that even with a 100 per cent increase in export earnings there is no assurance that the imbalance will be corrected or even met half way. In spite of this, the bulk of the external resources of the developing countries accrue to them not through the process of aid but trade.

There is, therefore, urgent need to take definitive and concerted action in international trade in commodities, safeguarding the interests of both the importing and the exporting developing countries. Several schemes have been elaborated, and one amongst them is the integrated approach to commodities. Political agreement on the basic elements of the integrated programme is imperative so that agreement on the technical details can be reached next year in Nairobi. The idea is neither new nor revolutionary, having at least been partially applied in an agreement between some developing countries and the European Economic Community. An agreement on the application to all developing countries of the five basic elements of the programme — stocking mechanisms, a common financing fund, a system of multilateral commitments, a liberal compensatory finance mechanism, and a new approach towards processing and diversification — would enable UNCTAD IV to work out the technical details. Special attention should be paid to the weaker commodities.

Besides the question of commodities, which is being studied in great detail, there is the equally important question of trade in manufactured and semi-manufactured goods. The multilateral trade negotiations that are taking place under the auspices of GATT show very little sign of progress. There is need, therefore, to have a more managed approach to the problem of trade in manufactured goods which would deal not only with the removal of trade barriers, both tariff and non-tariff, but also with the question of supply and production, marketing and distribution. Furthermore, while the application of the generalized system of preferences (GSP) by developed countries is a welcome step, it is crucial that the commodity coverage of these schemes should be extended, that the depth of tariff cuts be increased, and that there be relaxation of non-tariff barriers.

*Monetary Reform*

Apart from the two foregoing areas, monetary reform is another issue in which developing countries have all along asked for an equal voice. There has been little or no recognition of the need for developing countries to have a greater say in the management of the monetary system. Developing countries have been continuously asking for the establishment of a "link" between the creation of new international reserve assets and development assistance, but without much success so far. It has been estimated that less than four per cent of the additional liquidity created in the past two decades has accrued to the developing countries which account for seventy per cent of the world's population.

We have, therefore, to look beyond the establishment of new forms of international liquidity, and into aspects such as a fairer distribution of the burden of the adjustment process, an early return to a system of stable and adjustable exchange rates, the replacement of gold by the special drawing rights (SDR) as the prime reserve asset, the validity of the definition for developing countries of short-term resources, and so forth.

In the field of finance, a problem which is of overwhelming importance is that of debt, which has developed into enormous proportions in recent times. Some attempts have been made to study the problem, but the slow movement in this area betrays a lack of awareness of the immediate problems faced by debtor countries.

While speaking in this forum at the sixth special session, we said that the developing countries needed additional liquidity to cope with their present situation and to adjust their economies to the changed economic environment. We said that devices contrived to meet the need for additional liquidity should bear in mind the need to avoid transfer of real resources from the developing countries, as the accumulation of short-term liabilities could add to their burden without mitigating their difficulties. It has been necessary, however, for many countries, including mine, to borrow heavily on relatively hard terms, even for consumption, not to speak of investment, in the absence of concessional financial transfers, thus pre-empting for debt servicing most of the aid which is received now and may be received in the future. In any programme of development finance, we must avoid net transfers in real terms from the poor to the rich

nations. Such programmes should also take into account the targets for net transfers set out in the special programme for the countries most seriously affected by the economic crisis. A vital element of the strategy which we have to formulate must necessarily consist in giving a further thrust to solving the problems of these countries. Plagued by the world-wide inflation, the recession in the West, monetary instability and the sharp rise in the cost of their imports, particularly of food, fuel, fertilizers and manufacturers, their growth has been seriously jeopardized.

### *World Food Problem*

No excessive sacrifice is expected or needed from any one nation, and if each nation does the best it can, the burden of all will be lightened. Our common and immediate effect should be to neutralize the rise in import costs so that no developing country is starved of essential development inputs, or is obliged to add to its unbearably heavy debt burden.

The World Food Conference held in Rome last year was a welcome attempt to view the food problem in all its aspects—production, trade, inputs, long-term investment and security. Several initiatives have emerged from the Conference. It should be our endeavour to follow these up with energy and speed, and implement the commitments undertaken in Rome. Without rapid and effective measures to increase food production in developing countries, the world food problem will continue to nullify a great deal of our developmental efforts in other sectors.

I shall now turn to one other issue which my Government deems of utmost importance and which we consider an essential part of the new international economic order. If, indeed, there is to be a diffusion of economic well-being through the entire world, there is need for the developing countries themselves to co-operate with each other, and to break away from the old colonial pattern of dealing with each other through a developed partner. I am not for one moment suggesting the exclusion of the developed world, but I am advocating a serious effort on the part of all developing countries to remove barriers of attitude and ignorance about each other so that they may participate in each other's development process, thereby helping each other to become economically stronger.

Among the developing countries we have today resources, expertise, know-how, skilled labour, etc., and it should not be an impossible task for them to share these to their mutual benefit. The first step in this direction was taken at a meeting sponsored by the non-aligned countries, held in Dakar, Senegal. Years of colonial history have connected developing countries, sometimes of the same region, through a "developed centre". This trend has to be reversed, so that the goals we set for ourselves can be reached, with the developed countries, if possible, but without them, if necessary.

The Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries at Lima agreed to examine and implement comprehensive and specific measures of co-operation among developing countries in the fields of trade, finance and technology, among others. Even while the international community as a whole deliberates on globally agreed solutions, developing countries must accelerate their efforts at mutual assistance and co-operation. Within the existing reservoir and potential of natural resources, technology and human skills, there is a vast area of complementarity, and we would want the active assistance and support of the developed countries and international organisations in forging new links between the developing and developed countries, and the United Nations system.

### *New Instruments*

We feel that there is a necessity to build up new institutions, mechanisms and instruments which would facilitate and promote exchanges among developing countries. There are two ways in which this co-operation can be utilised. One is by setting up through developed co-ordinated action, a countervailing power to the world, so that there can be equality in bargaining strength. On the other hand, trade and other exchanges can be intensified through preferential trading arrangements, and payments agreement.

The value of trade amongst developing countries accounts for only twenty per cent of their total exports, as against the developed countries accounting for 75 per cent of their exports to each other. New measures have to be defined, based on a system of preferences covering trade between developing countries, capitalising on existing or new forms of specialisation. Such

measures to be effective, would have to include both tariff and non-tariff preferences for primary and manufactured goods.

Joint action by producer-developing countries to regulate supplies coming on the world market could enhance their bargaining position in global negotiations with either developed States or transnational corporations. These are a few of the ideas that need to be explored through institutions which have yet to be set up.

At the last session we stressed the need for co-operation rather than confrontation. We stated that the problems faced not only by the developing countries but by the entire world as well would not be removed by creating conditions of chaos or of bitter confrontation between the rich and the poor. It is still our firm belief that only through co-operation and mutual accommodation can we hope to achieve a wiser and fairer use of the world's resources.

The world is facing today an economic crisis of un-precedented magnitude and one which has so many components that it is difficult to decide where to begin the process of resolving it. We cannot hope to solve all the problems immediately. Nor can we afford to delay consideration of any one problem in favour of others. While our priorities may be different, the need for a simultaneous, many-sided and integrated approach is generally recognised as essential.

### *Regulation of Transnational Corporations*

I have already referred to the several problems confronting developing countries, but there is one major feature of the world crisis that I should like to comment on briefly. The present institutional structures, national as well as international, have failed to deal effectively with the intolerable and growing inequalities in income and wealth today. Existing arrangements by which investment in resources and technology is channelled largely through transnational corporations have proved to be not only irrational but also in many instances detrimental to the sovereignty and the freedom of the developing countries in the management of their own resources for development.

The conduct of transnational corporations should be subject to greater regulation so that they serve better the interests of development and co-operation. The governments of developed

countries have a heavy responsibility in this regard. They should play a more direct part than hitherto in the process of facilitating transfer of resources and technology. There is an equal need for expanding and developing the science and technology potential of developing countries so that their resources endowments can be more effectively harnessed to ensure that mass poverty is eradicated everywhere. The international economic system has to be overhauled with imagination in the common struggle of developing countries against poverty.

The future of mankind is rightly the concern of the United Nations. But may I point out that this particular responsibility has to be discharged through the collective efforts of the sovereign States, Members of the United Nations, and not left to the unregulated activities of transnational corporations and private capital, whose past history of exploitation of developing countries does not entitle them to have a decisive say in the shaping of the world of tomorrow.

### *Indian Economy*

May I now say a word or two about the situation in my country in the context of the world economic situation? Twelve months ago, the world economy was in a situation of grave crisis characterized by enormous payment deficits, galloping inflation and a disturbing recession. The impact of these adverse developments on developing countries was very severe and affected them in many different ways. India too suffered in the process and is still feeling the adverse consequences of these developments. But we in India had to adopt certain tough monetary, fiscal and income policy measures. As a result, the overall price index has been steadily declining since October, 1974. India happens to be one of the few countries where the price level today is lower than what it was 12 months ago.

But the prices of most manufactured goods that we import continue to rise, reflecting the inflationary situation in the developed countries. Our import bill for energy has multiplied three-fold since 1972, and the prices of our imports have increased by about 60 per cent during the last year. Nearly 80 per cent of our export earnings are spent on food, fertilizers and fuel. There has been no corresponding increase in export earnings from tea, jute, tobacco and iron ore. We have taken several

steps to deal with this critical situation. Among them are a more rational and economic use of oil, the maximization of fertilizer production, and an increasing use of coal-based technology.

In our development plans we have assigned a high priority to measures for bringing about a more equitable distribution of essential goods, the expansion of education facilities, improved standards for health and nutrition, and greater involvement of women and youth in our development processes. The situation facing India concerns the future of over 560 million people. Although tremendous efforts are being made on a national scale to solve their problems, international co-operation and assistance in certain spheres will be vital for the attainment of our development goals.

I have just come from Lima after attending the conference of the Foreign Ministers of non-aligned States, which was attended by 107 delegations, including liberation movements. Together they represent the majority of sovereign nation States in the United Nations. Their united voice reflects the aspirations of the majority of the sovereign nation states in the United Nations. Their problems are immense and have a common historical origin in exploitation in the past by the former colonial powers. They are seeking justice, the redress of past wrongs and an honest basis for co-operation in the future.

On the one hand, they are willing to develop self-reliance and co-operation among themselves; on the other, they are searching for ways and means of obtaining assistance from developed countries that would enable them to guarantee for their peoples food, water, health, housing, education, and, above all, steady economic growth as well as freedom and security in an interdependent community founded on the sovereign equality of nations.

### *Exercises of Political Power*

These are all modest and worthy aims and I believe they can be fulfilled without any great sacrifice on the part of the developed countries. Political independence is not an end in itself. It is only the first step to economic independence; it provides the political power for the achievement of economic security and social justice. The exercise of political power, individually or collectively, by developing countries for the attainment of their



essential economic goals can by no means be regarded as hostile confrontation.

While the United Nations is the right forum for discussion of the basic problems of the developing countries, it has become clear that structural reforms are needed to enable an organisation of independent States to move in the direction of interdependence in their common interests. If the United Nations were to be established today it would be created in such a manner as to take into greater account the legitimate requirements and aspirations of developing countries.

It is unrealistic to divorce economics from politics. In its preamble, the Charter of the United Nations states; "We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to... promote social progress and better standards of life... (resolved) to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all people...."

The Government of the Member-States accepted the obligation that they are to be instruments for the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

The main objective of the seventh special session should be to set in motion the process of change, because the pattern of change has already been established by the sixth special session. At the current session, we should, therefore, address ourselves to two main purposes; first, the generation of political will in the developed countries to co-operate with developing countries in the replacement of the present system of unequal economic relations by a new international economic order based on equality and justice, and, secondly, the creation of negotiating mechanisms for finding agreed solutions to the many problems confronting today.

A new international economic order can emerge only from multiple negotiations aimed at the achievement of binding commitments. We must all accept the political necessity of negotiating seriously and without delay in order to reach agreement on each component of a new orderly-co-operative framework for peaceful co-existence.



## *Part Six*

# BILATERAL RELATIONS

*Our policy has consistently been to work for friendship with all countries, particularly with the neighbouring countries of our region. Recent developments are merely a continuation and fulfilment of this long-established policy of developing good neighbourliness. Wherever there are problems we have tried to isolate them, to get them under control and to solve them through direct contact.*

*India attaches great importance to its relationship with the countries of South-East Asia.*

*When the Indo-Soviet Treaty was concluded in August, 1971, both the countries made it absolutely clear that it was not directed against any third party and that they regarded it as a positive contribution to regional peace and stability. Indo-Soviet friendship has withstood the test of time and India has always valued the understanding shown by the Soviet Union in our most difficult moments.*

*The thoughts and deeds of great American leaders like Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln have left an indelible imprint on the thinking of our leaders. India and the USA share the common objectives of promoting peace, progress, co-operation and stability in the world. We also share a common faith in the democratic way of life.*



## *Asia in world affairs*

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Speaking to the Asian Conference in 1947, the late Prime Minister Nehru had expressed in his inimitable style the spirit that animates Asia in the following words:

“We stand at the end of an era and on the threshold of a new period of history. Asia, after a long period of quiescence, has suddenly become important again in world affairs. It was here that civilization began and man started on his unending adventure of life. Here the mind of man searched unceasingly for truth and the spirit of man shone but like a beacon which lighted up the whole world.... A change is coming on the scene now and Asia is again finding herself. We live in a tremendous age of transition and already the next stage takes shape when Asia takes her rightful place with other continents.... In this contemporary age, Asia will have to function effectively in the maintenance of peace. Indeed, there can be no peace unless Asia plays her part. There is today conflict in many countries. Nevertheless, the whole spirit and dialogue of Asia are peaceful and the emergence of Asia in world affairs will be a powerful influence for world peace.”

We must not lose sight of this historic canvas while dealing with the changing Asian scene.

When America was taking her first step towards independence a large part of Asia was about to be engulfed in a wave of European colonialism. India won her freedom after a long and difficult struggle but in the process also opened the way to liberation of other subject peoples of Asia and Africa. This was but part of man's intrinsic striving towards liberty, justice

and equality. However, for newly-independent countries political freedom was only the first step on a long and arduous journey towards economic growth and social justice.

Since the attainment of independence in 1947, India has set some major goals in national and international spheres. India's foremost concern is of course the preservation of her hard-won freedom and protection of her frontiers. We seek to achieve this through self-reliant growth as well as by promoting a climate of confidence in our region and establishing a network of co-operative relations with all nations, more particularly our neighbours. Our second objective, as important as the first and interdependent with it, is to bring about a socio-economic transformation of our society in order to tackle age-old problems of underdevelopment. Our democracy seeks to assure equality of opportunity to our people, irrespective of their religion, language, caste or creed.

Our third objective is to reduce tensions and promote peace and co-operation in the region, based on respect for national independence of each country and without any foreign interference. Fourthly, along with other developing countries, we seek to build a new world economic order, which is based on justice and equality and which permits developing nations an adequate voice in the management of international economic environment so that they can gain assured access to resources and technology necessary for their development.

Finally, we support all efforts towards *detente* which should be extended to all areas of the world if the world is to move from peace through nuclear terror to a more lasting structure of peace durably based on equality, justice and international co-operation.

### *Promotion of Understanding*

In pursuit of these objectives, we have made sustained and determined efforts to promote better understanding with other nations and build up good neighbourly relations with countries in South Asia. Our relations with most of the neighbouring countries are stronger today. We have made progress in improving relations with those countries with which we had difficulties in the past. We have successfully restored air, rail and communications with Pakistan and re-established diplomatic

missions in each other's capitals. For the first time in a decade, there is now a prospect for normal people-to-people exchanges. We are prepared to consider other measures to develop further our relations with Pakistan. This improvement, though rather halting, would not have been possible but for new approach of bilateralism, symbolised by the Simla Agreement and its corollary that problems between neighbours can be best settled through peaceful bilateral discussions and not through confrontation, propaganda or outside intervention.

Our relations with China have also shown improvement and in recent months the two countries have upgraded the relations to the ambassadorial level. This, too, is part of our policy of good neighbourly relations. We believe that large countries like India and China cannot afford to ignore each other for long or maintain a posture of hostility. Their common interest, as that of other nations, lies in promoting peaceful co-existence and friendly co-operation in Asia.

With other neighbouring countries of Asia also, we have developed fruitful relationship. We have rendered our contribution to economic growth of some of these nations in the form of financing of development projects, technical assistance and transfer of technology. In the last two years or so, the Indian technical co-operation programme provided training facilities to over 50 developing countries by deputing experts and receiving trainees in various fields.

Geographically and even historically, India has been the nerve centre of Asia. It is only natural therefore that India should have traditional ties of friendship with different sub-regions of Asia.

As regards West Asia, we have always consistently supported the Arab cause because we are convinced that there can be no peace in that area unless Israel withdraws from occupied Arab territories and the national rights of the Palestinian people are restored. We have also developed strong economic and trade links with many countries in West Asia notably Iran, Iraq and the Gulf states. We believe that this growing economic co-operation between India and the countries of West Asia will be a major step forward in forging collective self-reliance of the developing countries.

In South East Asia, the emergence of a unified Vietnam is a development of historic significance. We regard united, socialist

Vietnam pursuing a policy of non-alignment as an important factor for peace, stability and progress in Asia. We are also making sincere effort to promote greater economic co-operation with ASEAN countries.

*Non-alignment — Not a Bloc*

India is also at the strategic centre of the Indian Ocean. Naturally, we are greatly interested in the transformation of Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. This is the wish of littoral and hinterland countries which has found an expression in the declarations of the United Nations as well as of the recently concluded summit conference of non-aligned nations at Colombo.

It is unfortunate that some countries tend to perceive the policy of non-alignment in a somewhat unfavourable light. Non-aligned nations are neither a bloc nor a "third" "fourth" or "fifth" world, but very much part of our one world. Though the policy of non-alignment was partly aimed at keeping out of "cold war" and the two power blocs, it was mainly directed at strengthening the political sovereignty and economic independence of countries which had just emerged from colonial domination. It is also the guiding framework for strengthening relations between various countries on the basis of peaceful co-existence, irrespective of their political systems. Today the non-alignment movement encompasses a majority of nations of the world. The Summit Conference of Non-aligned Nations has convincingly demonstrated the continuing validity and relevance of the policy of non-alignment which allows each country to tread its own path of national destiny, unhindered by external pressures or rivalries.

It is necessary to bear in mind here that the achievement of independence by Asian countries was not the end but the beginning of a journey in terms of expectations, aspirations and objectives. Asia has been in ferment since the watershed of the end of World War II due to domestic, economic and political pressures as well as due to external involvements. However, it is a formidable challenge to us to remedy historical injustices of the past and adjust ourselves quickly to a fiercely competitive world that the Asian countries faced and continue to face, while there is commonality in their problems in terms of poverty and the pressure of people on land. These have in



turn generated some intense controversies and disagreement between Asian countries themselves.

In many cases these differences were an inheritance from the colonial past in terms of territorial claims and disputes. In others they arose from external military intervention or from political and economic pressures from outside. These continuing problems still affect Asia in the shape of military alliances, presence of foreign troops, existence of military bases and intensification of general arms race in the region.

### *Significant Improvement*

India does not visualise Asia as existing in a vacuum or a cocoon of isolation. It acknowledges interdependence of nations and the peoples of the world. Mutual need in terms of ideas, materials, technology, information, skills and markets between different parts of the world cannot be over emphasised. Realising this India has always worked closely with other countries of the region in international forums to strengthen efforts to reduce economic disparities and decisions caused by past injustices and exploitations, whether political or economic, and to fortify forces of peace. However, lasting peace can only be based on a just international economic order where all nations, big and small, are guaranteed a fair deal and full opportunity for development. A world economic order which does not take into account the expectations of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America will not have relevance to the needs of global peace and stability.

Although my subject is India and Asia, a word about Indo-American relations will be in order since convergence or divergence in our perceptions of Asia can impinge upon our relations. India and America have maintained a multifaceted relationship, stretching over many decades. In spite of occasional differences, these relations have steadily improved. The strength of our relationship lies in the maturity with which we can approach common problems, and the frankness with which we can discuss our differences.

In recent years we have also endeavoured to give more practical content to this relationship through the establishment of Indo-U.S. Joint Economic Commission to promote co-operation in economic, trade, technological and cultural fields. Our trade is improving and we remain each other's important trading partners.

Much more can be done not only in these areas but also in people-to-people exchanges.

India's economic development has co-relation with Asia's future progress and stability as a whole. India passed through a difficult period during the last three or four years but the country has now turned the corner. There has been a significant improvement in the economic situation. Inflation has been brought under control. Food production has risen to a record high of 118 million tonnes. We have built a food reserve of 18 million tonnes. The rate of economic growth over the next two years is expected to be between six to seven per cent. The production of coal, fertilisers, steel and power has registered significant improvements, thereby giving the necessary boost to industrial production.

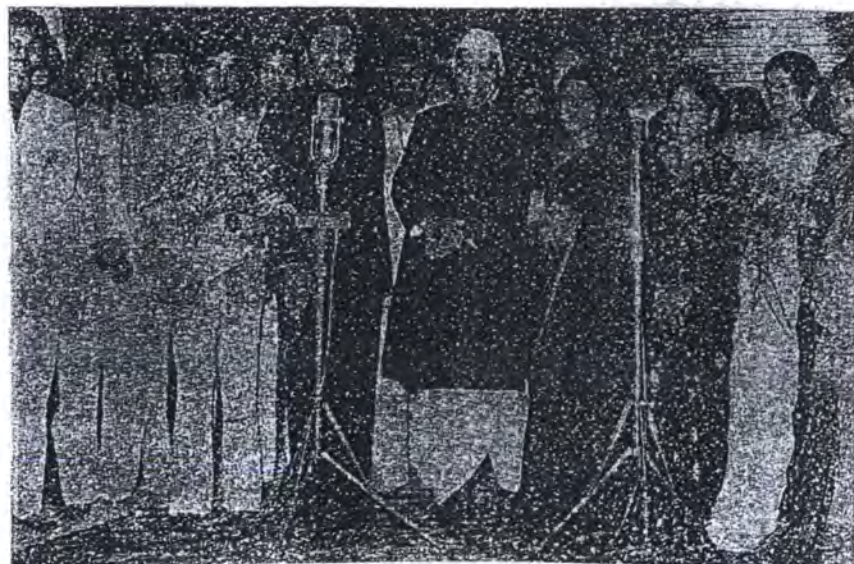
While these developments are a matter of gratification we are, of course, aware of the tasks ahead and are taking steps which would ensure long-term solution to the problems of population, production and technological development. Having missed the industrial revolution, India is determined to take full advantage of the contemporary technological revolution. We are convinced that the new purposefulness and discipline in our country will go a long way in the achievement of this objective and enable our democracy to meet the challenges of the future.



*17. With the British Prime Minister, James Callaghan, in New Delhi in January, 1978.*



*18. With President Anwar Sadat of Egypt in Cairo, May, 1975.*



*19. With a group of Bangladesh artists in Dacca in December, 1974.*



## *Indo-Soviet treaty*

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As you are all aware, friendship between the Soviet Union and India is neither new nor superficial. It has struck deep roots in the hearts of the people of the two countries. Even in the pre-independence era, there was bond of understanding between Tolstoy and Gandhi which transcended the barriers of geography and language. Gandhiji's high regard for Tolstoy can be seen from the fact that he named his farm in South Africa after Tolstoy. It is a fascinating coincidence in the unfolding of history that at about the same time when the Great October Revolution was sweeping away the old oppressive order in Russia, Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the Indian scene and transformed the struggle for freedom into a mass movement which, with its unique weapon of non-violence, ultimately led to the independence of India.

The birth and development of socialism under the leadership of Lenin has been truly an epoch-making event. The experience of Russia in building a multi-racial, multi-lingual State, which draws upon many ethnic and cultural strands, has its own relevance for India which also has blend of races, languages, religions and regional traditions. As early as in 1929, Nehru wrote about the Soviet Union in the following words:

“Russia interests us because it may help us to find some solution for the great problems which face the world today. It interests us specially because conditions there have not been, are not even now, very dissimilar to conditions in India. Both are vast agricultural countries with only the beginning of industrialisation, and both have to face poverty and illiteracy. If Russia finds a satisfactory solution for these, our work in India is made easier.”

This historic understanding between India and USSR blossomed further after our independence.

We have always believed that the world is for development and not for destruction. The leaders of independent India have always raised their powerful voice in upholding the cause of peace.

### *Peace and Friendly Co-operation*

In this quest for peace and co-existence, India and the USSR have been working together. We have, therefore, welcomed the determined and bold initiatives for peace and co-operation, which have been launched by the General Secretary Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders. These have culminated in the Helsinki Declaration. While welcoming and appreciating *detente*, India has underlined the need to stabilise, consolidate and extend this process to other parts of the globe.

India in its own way has been pursuing the goal of establishing a structure of durable peace and friendly co-operation with all her neighbours, notwithstanding difficulties which crop up from time to time. We are determined to overcome these obstacles and we are happy to have the understanding of Soviet Union in the task. The Indo-Soviet Treaty has been a valuable factor in strengthening the forces of peace and stability in our region. It is this deep commitment to peaceful co-existence and the determination to chart out an independent course of our own that has found its expression in India's policy of non-alignment. Over the years, the Non-aligned Movement has made a notable contribution to the cause of world peace. In fact, in the Indo-Soviet Treaty the Soviet Union has explicitly declared its respect for our policy of non-alignment and re-affirmed that it constitutes an important factors in the maintenance of universal peace.

The Soviet Union has shown great foresight in appreciating the progressive role of the Non-aligned Movement in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism as well as the initiatives for re-structuring international economic relations on the basis of equality and justice. On the question of Indian Ocean also, India and Soviet Union are in full agreement that Indian Ocean should remain a zone of peace. The Soviet Union has reiterated its opposition to foreign military bases in the Indian Ocean. The Soviet Union has restated its position that it does not have any intention to build military bases in the Indian Ocean.

India is a developing country with the elemental problems of mass poverty and socio-economic inequalities. Yet it has made many strides in developing advanced technology. It has a large pool of technical talent and considerable industrial base. The Soviet Union itself has had unrivalled experience within her own territories of organising co-operation between areas at different stages of technological development. Both are continental economies. It should, therefore, be possible for us to identify several new and perhaps even exciting modes of co-operation. As regards the new concept of production co-operation, particularly in fields like non-ferrous metallurgy, textiles, electronics and agricultural production, the Soviet and Indian experts are examining a number of specific proposals. We specially appreciate the quantum and scope of economic co-operation with the Soviet Union which has enabled us to establish self-reliance.

Indo-Soviet friendship has withstood the test of time and we in India have always valued the understanding shown by the Soviet Union in our most difficult moments.

### *Self-Reliance*

This is an important occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Indo-Soviet treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation. The 9th of August is a significant date in India's recent history.

My mind goes back to thirty-three years ago when, on this day, our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, launched the "Quit India Movement" which was to be the last stage of our struggle for freedom from the colonial rule. By a happy coincidence, in the month of August we are celebrating two anniversaries — one of independence from colonial rule and another of friendship with the Soviet Union.

The tradition of Indo-Soviet friendship, as it has manifested itself over the years, has relevance to both the countries. It brings to our mind the Soviet support and sympathy for India's struggle for freedom from colonial rule in our pre-independence days and the timely, valuable and continuing soviet assistance since our independence in our economic development programmes, geared to the achievement of self-reliance with the help of modern technology.

Indo-Soviet relations today are characterised by warmth, understanding and growing mutual co-operation. From small

beginnings in the early 'fifties, Indo-Soviet co-operation has steadily grown over the years and now encompasses a wide variety of fields — political, economic, commercial, cultural, technical and scientific. The steady and continuing growth of co-operation, both in depth and dimension, between the two countries is not an incidental phenomena. It is an outcome of the concerted efforts from both sides to promote bilateral relations based on equality and mutual benefit, mutual respect and mutual trust. The treaty constitutes an important landmark in the quarter century of our happy relationship. It gives a juridical basis to the multi-faceted relationship that has grown over the years.

### *Harmonious Relations*

The treaty has consolidated our friendship and provided a fresh momentum for the further growth of our relations. Ties of friendship with the Soviet Union are an integral part of the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence which India has consistently pursued since independence. We have championed the cause of ending the last vestiges of colonialism and racialism. We stand and strive for the accelerated development of developing countries. Above all, we have been following a policy of expanding areas of peace, friendship and co-operation between members of the world community. It has been our effort at all times to establish harmonious relations between nations and peoples which would contribute to strengthening world peace and bringing about relaxation of tensions.

The basic framework of our foreign policy envisages peaceful co-existence, equality, mutual benefit, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual non-aggression and mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. Our belief in a policy of peace, friendship and co-operation is not a matter of expediency. It is rooted in our tradition and way of life, and is the legacy of Buddha, Ashoka, Gandhiji and Nehru.

This is reflected in our approach for a peaceful settlement of world conflicts and in the relations that we have consistently striven to develop on the basis of friendship and understanding with all countries of the world.

The Indo-Soviet treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation embodies, as its very name suggests, three basic concepts that



epitomise the essence of Indo-Soviet relations — peace, friendship and co-operation.

### *Emphasis on Peace*

The priority given to the word “peace” is noteworthy. The four years that have elapsed since the Treaty was concluded have already shown that it serves as a shining example of how relations between two countries can, and should, be developed and how they can serve not only the interests of the two countries but be an important stabilising factor for strengthening peace and security in this region and throughout Asia and the world. The Treaty is not aimed against any third country. It is, in its true sense, a treaty of peace. It strengthens India’s policy of non-alignment, respect for which is expressly mentioned in the treaty. Both India and the Soviet Union have consistently pursued a policy of building, preserving and consolidating peace all over the world.

Both the countries have successfully co-operated in the United Nations and elsewhere for promoting relaxation of tensions and eliminating areas of conflicts in different parts of the world. Thus the emphasis on peace in the treaty is deliberate. It reflects that the foreign policies of the two countries are oriented towards promoting peaceful co-existence and ushering in a climate of enduring peace throughout the world.

In this context, we have all along appreciated the initiatives taken by the Soviet Union in promoting *detente* in Europe and among all States with different social and political systems. We are very happy indeed that these efforts have been crowned with success recently at Helsinki. We regard the successful conclusion of the European conference on security and co-operation at Helsinki and the historic documents signed there as a very positive step forward towards a new era of peace and stability in Europe.

### *Winds of Peace*

Our best wishes are with the Soviet Union and all the other countries in Europe in their dedication to the cause of making the process of *detente* irreversible.

It is at the same time our fervent hope that the winds of peace that are blowing in Europe will spread to other regions of the

world and the beneficial impact of *detente* will be felt by all the countries — developed and developing, big and small. *Detente*, to be meaningful and effective, needs to be made universal. It is in a climate of stable peace alone that we can usher in a new international economic and social order, which the world community has been striving for. Peace, progress and prosperity are indivisible and all go together. It is this principled approach which has inspired the evolution of Indo-Soviet relations and their co-operation in the cause of consolidating world peace and eliminating the last vestiges of racialism and colonialism.

As believers in peace, co-operation and understanding, we in our own way are making efforts in this part of the world to remove suspicions in the minds of any neighbour and trying to remove barriers to understanding. Our policy has been to build up relationship on foundations of confidence and trust and create areas of co-operation.

The emphasis on "friendship" in the Treaty is also significant. Indo-Soviet friendship has not only survived many stresses and strains but has come out stronger from them. We are aware of the sympathy of the Soviet Union in our struggle for freedom from colonial rule. The Great Revolution of 1917 in the Soviet Union was a source of inspiration to the freedom fighters in India who were deeply influenced and moved by the heroic efforts of the Soviet people to build a new social and economic order on the ruins of the Czarist tyranny. Thus, the friendship is not a recent or a transitory phenomenon. It has already become traditional and has acquired a solid base.

### *Largest Trading Partner*

"Co-operation" is the third key-word in the Treaty. The Soviet Union occupies a distinguished place among our friends who came forward willingly and generously to help us in fulfilling our goals for economic development after our independence. As Jawaharlal Nehru observed, "Bhilai is embedded in the national conscience of the people of India as the symbol of a new era," an era of planned development, of basic and key industries. The Soviet Union had helped us in the vital task of building the infra-structure of our heavy industry.

Steel, heavy electricals, machine-building, oil prospecting and refining are but a few examples of the fields in which the Indo-

Soviet collaboration has proved most fruitful. From the modest trade turnover in the early 'fifties, Indo-Soviet trade has shown a phenomenal increase.

The Soviet Union has emerged as India's largest trading partner, and under the new long-term trade agreement, which is at present being negotiated for the coming five years, it is expected to double the trade turnover by the end of 1980. What is even more important is that the composition of trade has undergone changes which reflect the growing sophistication, capability, and potential of India's economy.

The progressive diversification in our export to the Soviet Union has enabled us to export not only traditional but also many non-traditional goods, including manufactured and engineering goods, to the soviet Union.

Our cultural contracts have been regular and warm and have brought the people of our two countries closer to each other. There is considerable and growing awareness of each other's life, culture, urges and aspirations. The successful launching of a wholly Indian-made satellite ARYABHAT this year was yet another important milestone in the growth of our mutual co-operation and symbolises the new vistas of fruitful co-operation that lie before us.

We in India attach considerable importance to our friendship with the Soviet Union. It has emerged as a very important aspect of our external relations since independence. We rejoice in the fruitful co-operation that we have been able to forge between our two countries and our two peoples. Let us therefore rededicate ourselves on this historic anniversary to the task of continuing our joint struggle for strengthening world peace and promoting progress and co-operation.

## *Many-sided collaboration between India and U.S.A.*

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In this bicentennial year of the USA, in 1976, I would like to convey through the Asian Society the sincerest greetings of the people and the Government of India to the American people and their Government. It is an interesting feature of the bicentennial celebrations that the American people seem to be rediscovering the richness of their ethnic diversity under the homogeneity of one language, one banner and a federal system of government. In this respect, our two nations have much in common. Both the USA and India have emerged from the melting pot of races and religions. Unity amidst diversity and the versatility of a composite culture have been points of our strength, not weakness.

The first Americans to set foot on the soil of Asia were the missionaries and travellers who visited China, Japan and Korea. Merchants and entrepreneurs followed in their wake. The trans-Pacific traffic has continued ever since. But the route to India, Burma, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Singapore, which were then part of British Empire, was always *via* London.

This has a bearing on the habit that has unfortunately persisted — the habit of looking at the realities in this area through the eyes of others. Any U.S. effort to look at Asia independently is welcome. Hence the importance of the work of the Asia Society, which is dedicated to the cause of deepening American understanding of Asia and stimulating meaningful intellectual and cultural exchanges.

It is not enough that assessments of the changing roles and

relationship in Asia today are made in learned seminars and journals. Without a deeper understanding of the Asian people, their art, civilisation and culture as well as their contemporary urges and aspirations, the process of appreciation and analysis will remain incomplete.

To seek to promote an understanding of the complex Asian scene is a stupendous task indeed. Asia today constitutes half of the human race. It is the birth place of all the major world religions. Its river valleys have cradled three ancient civilisations. Its history of the last five thousand years is a testimony to the inner vitality of these civilizations which have waxed and waned and yet endured in the ethos of the peoples. It is a matter of satisfaction to us that the Asia Society should devote its energies to this challenging task of building of understanding between Asia and America.

### *Outmoded Stereotypes*

One very useful project, which the Asia Society has undertaken, concerns the evaluation of the treatment of Asia in American school texts. What often amazes an Indian visitor to the USA is the persistence of outmoded stereotypes which still remain associated with the image of India. India is still perceived by many as a land of the Maharajas, snake-charmers and god-men, or as a nation teeming with people and problems.

There is not much awareness of the many giant strides taken by India in attaining self-sufficiency in food production, in erecting a diversified industrial infra-structure, in building up a large reservoir of trained manpower and harnessing the prowess of modern technology for economic development. I guess it is not very different in the case of other Asian countries. I, therefore, consider this project as a step in the right direction. I am also aware of many other activities which the Asia Society undertakes for promotion of Indian art and literature.

It is gratifying to find that there is a growing interest in Indian culture among the intellectuals and the young people in America today. I understand that the centres of South Asian studies in several universities are doing excellent work. Some of your Indologists are scholars of repute. I am also happy to learn that there are 37 centres in the USA which teach Hindi and other Indian languages. Indian music and classical dance seem to be attracting

many admirers as also the practice of *yoga* and the tenets of Indian philosophy.

### *Media Coverage*

I am told that there are more Indian antiques and art objects in USA than in any other country outside India. On the other hand, the American achievements, particularly in the field of science and technology, have won the admiration of the Indian people. The thoughts and deeds of great American leaders like Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln have left an indelible imprint on the thinking of our leaders. The Indo-US Sub-Commission on Education and Culture is therefore operating under propitious circumstances. I understand that a new programme of seminars, exchange of fellowships, exhibitions, co-operation in museum techniques and projection of Indian feature films in the USA has been drawn up. While this activity must continue, I think it is of paramount importance to promote understanding not only of the excellence of our ancient culture and civilisation, but also of our present day reality and achievements. It is in this area that the all-powerful mass media could play a major role. But, apparently, it does not. Every time I visit New York, I am impressed by the massive size and weight of the newspapers here, as also the miniscule coverage given to momentous events that are taking place outside the confines of the affluent world. For instance, I wonder to what extent and in what manner the deliberations of the recent non-aligned summit conference have been reported in the western media. It was a major happening in Asia where representatives of 86 nations had gathered to demonstrate their unity and solidarity in their search for freedom, equality, peace and stability. It has been fashionable for the western media to distort, if not ridicule, non-alignment. But the fact that most of the States, which have achieved independence from colonial rule, have joined the non-aligned movement, is a sure indication of its continuing validity. The movement has become a force to reckon with on the international scene and most of the Asian States adhere to the policy of non-alignment. Without a sympathetic appreciation of this policy, it will be impossible to interpret the events in Asia today. It is here that organisations like the Asia Society could play a crucial role.

## *Indonesia and ASEAN: our immediate neighbours*

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India attaches great importance to its relationship with the countries of South East Asia. In keeping with our consistent policy to seek to enlarge areas of peace and friendship, it is our endeavour to cooperate with the countries of South East Asia in their economic development and their striving towards peace and stability.

The independence of India and Indonesia imparted a great momentum to the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The traditional ties between the people of India and Indonesia have been strengthened in modern times by our common struggle against these forces.

The relationship between India and Indonesia ever since the independence of our countries rests upon a firm foundation of friendship and co-operation. We have both been closely involved in the Non-aligned Movement since its inception. It is but natural that we share many common perceptions and approaches to the important issues on the international agenda, such as the need to keep the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, to promote and work for peace and stability in Asia and the world, evolution of a new and just international economic order and, above all, the urgent need for non-aligned and developing countries to co-operate amongst themselves in many more fields.

### *Shared Ideals*

Indonesia and India are immediate neighbours who share a common cultural heritage from times immemorial. In the more recent past, the peoples of Indonesia and India inspired one

another in a mutually reinforcing struggle against the forces of imperialism. We watched with admiration Indonesia's heroic efforts to liberate itself from colonial domination in the 'forties and we extended our wholehearted support to that struggle.

Following their emergence as independent States, both countries were inspired by the principles of *Panchasheela*\* at a time when the world was driven into two competing power blocs and there were very few newly-independent States. Indonesia and India found that we could safeguard and consolidate our independence most effectively by opting to pursue a policy of non-alignment. Such shared ideals prompted both nations to take the lead in mobilising Afro-Asian unity at the historic Bandung conference.

Since then, two decades have gone by and both our countries have passed through many vicissitudes. The countries of ASEAN, in whose formation Indonesia has played a leading role, are engaged in the task of establishing a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South East Asia with the objective of enabling the countries of the region to concentrate on their economic, social and political development, free from the tensions caused by great power rivalry and intervention.

India has welcomed and supported this constructive proposal and pledged its willingness to co-operate in the attainment of its objectives. The littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean have proclaimed the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, with a view to promoting the same objectives. The two proposals are, in fact, inextricably linked. Efforts to persuade external powers to comply with their obligations under the Indian Ocean peace zone and ASEAN proposals to establish South East Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality are but different facets of one and the same undertaking.

The "Panchasheela" principles were subsequently embodied in

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\* The "five" principles are:

- (i) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- (ii) Non-aggression;
- (iii) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- (iv) Equality and mutual benefit; and
- (v) Peaceful co-existence.



the ten-point declaration at the Bandung Conference of 29 Asian-African nations, held in April 1955. The ten principles are:

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small.
4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other countries.
5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself, singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
6. (a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the Big Powers.  
(b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressure on other countries.
7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
9. Promotion of mutual interest and co-operation.
10. Respect for justice and international obligations.

## *India and Indonesia*

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We in India are watching the efforts of the ASEAN countries to promote their objectives with sympathy and understanding and extend our full support to these efforts.

Both India and Indonesia are developing countries with vast populations and potentially rich resources. Both countries are engaged in the tasks of modernisation and industrialisation. In the pursuit of these goals. We can both benefit considerably from a sharing of our experience and by contributing to the development of one another. For a variety of reasons the close interaction that developed between our two nations in the first decade of our independence was somewhat retarded in the sixties. We are both at a level of development in which exchanges about our respective resources and capabilities and the opportunities that exist for mutual co-operation could contribute significantly to the development of the two countries.

Unlike in the fifties, when we were in the earlier phase of our industrialisation, today India has developed considerable sophistication in the industrial, scientific and technological fields and we have concentrated our efforts on methods which are relevant to the specific requirements of developing countries.

Indonesia also has in the recent years made remarkable progress in the development of its petroleum, mineral, timber and other resources. Indonesia has been particularly fortunate in the current energy crisis to establish itself as an oil-exporting nation. It is, accordingly, difficult to escape the conclusion that vast opportunities exist for close interaction and co-operation between our two countries, and I am confident that a variety of areas will be identified for close and mutually beneficial co-operation between Indonesia and India in the economic field.

*Developments in Indo-China*

Dramatic changes are taking place in the situation in Indo-China, and these developments will inevitably have their impact on the perceptions of both the nations of the region as well as the great powers. These developments in Indo-China are the culmination of a heroic struggle waged by the people of Indo-China to assert their independence and sovereignty and their determination to shape their destiny without external interference.

They represent the inevitable victory of forces of nationalism over attempts to undermine such forces through outside intervention, and constitute a gratifying vindication of the consistent position maintained by us on this question over the years.

Since 1971 fundamental changes have occurred in the sub-continent with the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent nation. West Asia too is in a state of turmoil. The tense situation in West Asia and the critical role played by oil in the strategic perceptions of various powers have tended to aggravate further the situation in the region. These various factors have an important bearing on great power behaviour patterns and attitudes towards South and South East Asia.

The interaction of the great powers in the strategic environments for both countries. As Non-aligned Nations our efforts of Indonesia and India has created a variety of security have been directed towards the attenuation, if not the complete elimination, of the effects of such interaction on our strategic environments. We are only too conscious that we still have a long way to go to attain our objectives. Our respective perceptions towards the great powers and their interaction with our environment derive from our respective historical experience. There is considerable scope for mutual exchange of our experiences and perceptions with a view to improving our understanding of each other's aims and aspirations, on the basis of which we can co-operate in promoting peace and stability in the region to which we both belong.

In India over the last thirty years, we have viewed the development of nuclear energy from an economic and technological perspective. Our experience has in a sense been unique and concerted efforts are being made to distort and misinterpret our policies which are based on sound and objective principles

which, I am glad to note, have been warmly endorsed throughout the "third world".

### *Independent Perceptions*

Both Indonesia and India have vital stakes in the current discussions on the Law of the Sea. We share a common concern to avoid exploitation of the resources of the ocean bed by a few technologically advanced nations. India and Indonesia have signed an agreement delimiting their Continental Shelf boundary which, we hope, will serve as a model for many others.

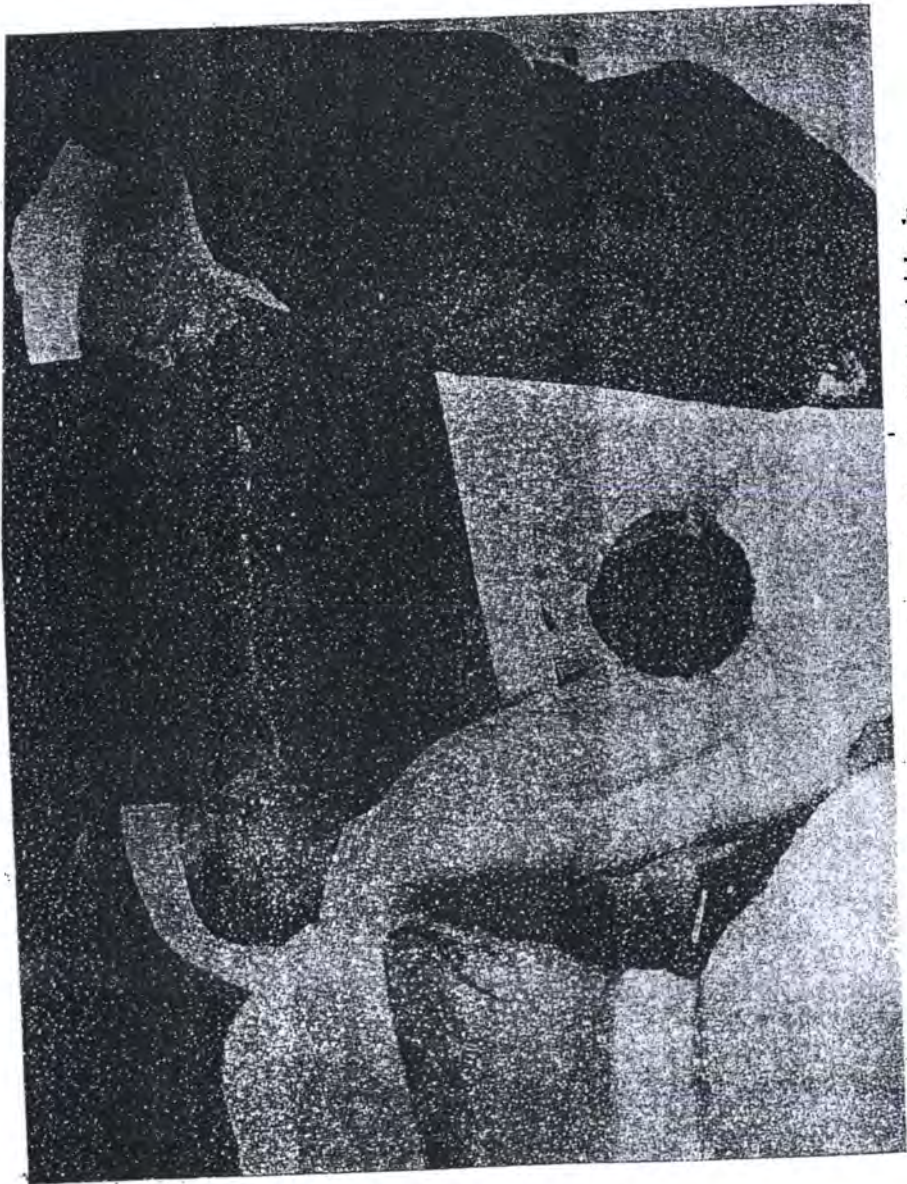
Till recently such dialogues and exchanges of strategic questions had unfortunately been an exclusive Western monopoly. The perceptions of our scholars, journalists and others tended to be influenced largely by the vast quantities of literature produced by western strategic sources. Academicians from the non-aligned world very often met each other in conferences organised under Western auspices. There are very few fields in which our academic dependence has been as great as in the field of strategic studies. Indonesia has developed the concept of national resilience. In India we have a philosophy of self-reliance. Both these approaches require that on strategic and international security issues we should develop our own independent perceptions unfettered by the biased strategic doctrines of western scholars. To some extent this was, in fact, the position in the first decade of non-alignment when both our countries rejected the concept of rigid bipolar world, though our perceptions at that stage were derived more from certain philosophical formulations rather than from a detailed analysis of strategic factors which affected our security.

Today, it is obvious that such an approach is grossly inadequate. It is necessary for us to independently compile relevant factual data, analyse them critically and derive our own conclusions. It is on the basis of these independent conclusions that our own national strategies have to be formulated.



20. *Wiih Nehru in Ahmednagar in 1957 in Maharashtra.*





21. With Nehru in Pratapgad Fort overlooking the Pratapgad lake in Maharashtra in 1958.

## *India and Yugoslavia: Similarity of views*

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It is a matter of great satisfaction and encouragement to us that Indo-Yugoslav relations have been characterised by close friendship and understanding between the top leaders of our two countries. Regular and frequent exchanges of our visits between the leaders of our two countries has been a positive and noteworthy feature of Indo-Yugoslav relations. Such visits have played a significant role in the growth of the traditional friendly relations between India and Yugoslavia.

India and Yugoslavia have a long tradition of consulting each other on major international issues, particularly on the eve of important non-aligned meetings.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that there has been a steady expansion and consolidation over the years of the mutually beneficial relations between India and Yugoslavia in all fields — political, economic, scientific, technological and cultural. The recently concluded 10th session of the Indo-Yugoslav Joint Committee on Economic Co-operation provided an opportunity for reviewing the state of our bilateral economic relations and identified new areas and forms of co-operation in the field of trade, industry, co-operation in third countries, shipping and so on.

### *Identity of Views*

India and Yugoslavia have a close similarity or identity of views, springing from their shared belief in the principles of non-alignment, on various world issues, both political and economic. This forms a concrete foundation for our long-standing friendship.

It is in pursuit of these principles that our two countries have consistently worked for the development of a new world based on equality among nations, non-interference and co-operation for the benefit of the vast underprivileged mass of humanity. These aims and principles have stood the test of time and have made a significant contribution to the lessening of world tensions and promoting co-operation among peoples.

India has followed with keen interest the moves in Europe towards greater peace and security. We welcomed the successful conclusion of the Helsinki conference, which has opened up prospects for the consolidation of peace in Europe and for more fruitful co-operation among European nations. However, *detente* in Europe has made little difference to conflicts in other parts of the world. Asia has not yet been able to transcend the period of suspicion and hostility. Peace and stability of nations in this continent are still under torment.

In our region, it has been India's consistent and principled policy to work for creating a durable structure of peace and co-operation based on mutual trust and equality. In recent months, we have concluded a number of agreements with our neighbouring countries in a sincere effort to settle outstanding problems and enlarge areas of co-operation in economic and other fields. It is our belief that such measures would create an atmosphere that will pave the way for mutual co-operation and stability which is vital for the economic advancement of the nations of this region.



# *Interview with Zagreb Television*

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## *Pursuit for Peace and International Co-operation*

*Q.*

*In her pursuit of peace and international co-operation India is committed not only to Non-alignment Movement, but also to the U.N.O. as well. How do you see the future of UNO?*

*A.*

It is correct to say that in the pursuit of peace and international co-operation, India is committed not only to non-alignment but also to the United Nations. India has consistently worked for strengthening the United Nations in the promotion of international co-operation and understanding, based on equality and in the interest of all the countries.

Given the political will the Member States can make the United Nations Organisation a very effective instrument not only for the preservation and consolidation of peace but also for promotion of mutually beneficial co-operation. The United Nations should help to promote a spirit of co-operation rather than confrontation. It is necessary for the United Nations to adapt itself to the changing conditions including the establishment of a new international economic and social order.

## *Peace on Indo-China Peninsula*

*Q.*

*During the past decade the Asian Continent was the site of wars and many Asian countries were not on friendly terms with each other. In 1975 wars ended, and in 1976 it seems the political climate of Asia has changed. India contributed to this develop-*

*ment, especially recently when normal diplomatic relations are being restored with China and some other countries. How do you evaluate the situation in Asia today and the role of India?*  
A.

It is, indeed, an unfortunate historical fact that the Asian continent has been a highly troubled one, witnessing several wars and conflicts, over the last decade or more. The biggest such conflict, in terms of human misery and extent of destruction wrought, was the one in the Indo-China peninsula generally, with the war in Vietnam in particular focus. It should be remembered that, in each of the countries in Indo-China peninsula the conflict was essentially one in which the peoples of the countries concerned sought to assert their national identity, safeguard their cultural heritage and manifest their love for freedom and independence. The brilliant victories recorded by the peoples of Indo-China were not only a natural phenomenon but also a manifestation of Asia's will to free itself of the legacy of imperialism and foreign domination.

The conflicts in Indo-China and the accompanying machinations of foreign powers contributed to preventing the development of a spirit of understanding and *rapprochement* among the countries of this continent.

The end of the wars in that area in 1975 definitely marks a turning point in the history of this Continent because, after several decades, there is universal or almost universal peace prevailing in Asia. This serves to release national energies towards the tasks of nation-building, and economic reconstruction comes to occupy the foremost place among the preoccupations of nations. We have, before us, the example of the European Continent, which, released at long last from a continual chain of wars and conflicts covering almost 100 years, has been able to record some impressive economic gains. Consequently, we too are hopeful that, released from the curse of wars, a similar future awaits Asia and its people.

Arising from this, it is only natural that in the changed political climate even those Asians who were hitherto barely on speaking terms should seek to reverse this unhappy state-of-affairs and atleast establish normal relations and avenues of contact. In South East Asia we have already witnessed a kind of break-through in the relations between Kampuchea (Cambodia).

and Thailand; I am optimistic about a similar achievement in the relations between the Indo-China States, on the one hand, and the rest of South East Asia on the other.

Consequently, it was right that India and China, too, should take a fresh look at their relations. India's initiative, in this regard has recently borne fruit in the decision of India and China to re-establish ambassadorial relations. We hope this will lead to normalisation of India-China relations. I am confident nevertheless, that if China, too, shows interest in the relations to this end, normalisation of our political relations is not an impossible target.

### *Relations with Pakistan*

India had in the past taken the initiative on several occasions to establish peaceful relations with Pakistan in spite of three wars being thrust upon her. After 1971, India took the initiative in proposing talks, and after the conclusion of the Simla Agreement withdrew its troops from the occupied areas of Pakistan to return their territory and also released the prisoners-of-war. This was followed by agreements aimed at normalisation of relations. In the same spirit India has once again as a gesture of goodwill suggested restoration of diplomatic relations and other severed links between India and Pakistan.

A state of peace and tranquillity in Asia would be the greatest achievement of this ancient continent, and its message of peace, like the messages of its earlier philosophers and religious leaders, would reverberate throughout the rest of the world.

Q.

*One of the important aims of Indian foreign policy is creating a zone of peace in Indian Ocean. What are your views on increasing presence of outside powers in Indian Ocean?*

A.

Our commitment to the implementation of the U. N. Resolution of 1971 declaring Indian Ocean as a zone of peace is well-known. We have in various forums, national and international, expressed our growing concern at the escalation of foreign military presence in the region against the express will of the people of littoral and hinterland States. We have thus tried to mobilise the world public opinion in favour of elimination of foreign military presence. We do not believe in the so-called vacuum theory or in

self-appointed international gendarmes. The littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean are quite capable of guaranteeing the security of sea-lanes and of international commerce as well as the freedom of the high seas. Bases like Diego Garcia are not necessary for these purposes but are meant to further the global strategy of the super power concerned.

Foreign military bases in our part of the world appear to us as a prolongation of colonialism, as if we were still in the era of western dominance. A quarter of a century after the resurgence of Asia and Africa became an established and accepted reality, it is amusing how some countries, instead of writing new chapters on international co-operation based on mutual respect, go on referring to the dusty, moth-eaten pages, irreversibly turned over by the march of history.

### *Indo-Yugoslav Relations*

Q.

*At the end, we would like to hear your opinion on relations between Yugoslavia and India. Our two countries are co-operating in many fields: political, economic, educational and cultural. Do you believe that the existing co-operation between Yugoslavia and India can be broadened, and what fields of co-operation you believe are the most important?*

A.

Taking the latter point first, it is difficult to say which is the most important area of co-operation between two such intimately friendly countries like India and Yugoslavia. Our relations, as you are well aware, have been developing and flourishing in many spheres and the search for exploring new avenues and exploiting fresh pastures is constantly on. New areas of co-operation are being identified keeping in view the rapid and impressive industrial, scientific and technological advances taking place in India and Yugoslavia.

The impetus for forging a closer relationship was first provided by the close identity in the way in which India and Yugoslavia looked upon the world. Their unflinching faith in non-alignment provided a sane alternative to the fierce rivalry of great power blocs, and made the growth of understanding and close relationship between them inevitable. It also established between India and Yugoslavia a mutuality of interest whose manifestation is

seen in the growing economic, cultural, scientific and technological ties between our two countries.

There is enormous potential for the further growth of such co-operation, which, as I said earlier, is encompassing more and more areas of economic activity and human endeavour. Both sides have an abiding interest in ensuring that this multi-faceted co-operation and relationship is further strengthened and it is my hope that the two countries of the world continue to make the necessary physical and intellectual inputs towards this end to their mutual benefit and in the interest of peace and international understanding.

## *Co-operative relationship with Nepal*

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The mighty Himalayas have inspired our two peoples since time immemorial. The wisdom and vision of our sages and their perception of the fundamental truths of life guide our conduct to this day. We are not only close neighbours in the usual sense of that expression; ties of blood and cultural tradition and history, going back to the hoary past, bind our two peoples in bonds of brotherhood — bonds which have endured beyond human memory and recorded history.

In recent times, at the level of state relations too, our two Governments have been forging fresh links, as between two sovereign, independent and equal nations, on the basis of mutual trust and respect, and for mutually beneficial co-operation in the interest of the well-being and advancement of our peoples.

### *Mobilise Human Resources*

On January 26, 1976, our country will complete twenty-six years as a republic. Freedom to us has always connoted liberation from colonial rule, but even more importantly it signifies a relentless struggle for social justice and balanced economic growth of all sections of our people, without which a nation must remain internally weak and vulnerable. Our national endeavour is to mobilise our human and material resources for the building up of a socialist society based on equality of opportunity, fairplay and justice to all.

Our belief in the quality of human beings leads us, naturally, to the conviction that nations, big and small, ought to conduct their relations as equals. It is a matter of considerable surprise.

and pain to us that some big powers should still go about, in the last quarter of the 20th century, in the belief that it is their destiny to dominate the world and reshape it in the mould of their own interests and ambitions.

Countries should regard one another as equals, irrespective of size, the level of their economic development, or the extent of their military power. Ours is a small world and its resources ought to be pooled, not for the prosperity of the privileged few but for the uplift of humanity as a whole. We, in India, are committed to a vision of the world at peace with itself, in which no small nation should feel threatened, and all should work together in harmony and co-operation for the common good of mankind.

In today's world international relationships, particularly among neighbouring countries, can best be nurtured through mutual co-operation on the basis of reciprocity and mutuality of interests.

#### *Deep and Complex Relationship*

The welfare of the people of India is closely linked with the well-being and prosperity of the people of Nepal. Economic development and the eradication of poverty, ignorance and disease are the common goals of both our countries. The scale of the development effort needed to improve the lot of our people rules out complete self-sufficiency as the aim of our planning. Interdependence among nations is unavoidable and might profitably be accepted as such and built upon as a positive asset. We regard mutual co-operation between Nepal and India as the key to the prosperity of our two peoples and a basis for a stable and durable friendship.

Although we are ourselves a developing country, with our resources always falling short of the needs, it is in this spirit that we have always been willing to contribute our mite to Nepal's economic development.

In a relationship as extensive, as deep and complex, as exists between India and Nepal, both sides must always be vigilant and make every endeavour to remove any misunderstanding and mistrust that may arise for whatever reason. We must always be ready to expand the areas of mutual understanding and co-operation. I have no hesitation in saying that there are forces whose constant effort it is to sow suspicion and distrust between us. We shall, with our sincerity and vigilance, foil their designs.

## *Partnership and common purpose with Sri Lanka*

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*Q.*  
*It is understood that this is your first visit abroad after you assumed duties as Foreign Minister of India. We would like you to throw some light on the purpose persuading you to undertake this visit.*

*A.*  
This is indeed my first visit abroad after becoming Foreign Minister. I am delighted to be here. Wherever I have gone, I have met with friendly smiles and warm handshakes. I believe this was so, not only because of the traditional hospitality of the people here but also because of the sense of partnership and common purpose that has grown so significantly between our two countries in recent years.

You asked about the object of my visit. Well, between close friends, visits need not necessarily be related to any specific purpose. But, as the new Foreign Minister of India, I very much wanted to take the first opportunity of acquainting myself with the leaders and people of your beautiful country, and to see something of the remarkable social and economic progress that you have made since independence. Since our two countries are faced with much the same problems—there may be differences of degree, but, essentially, the problems of development are the same—the exchange of information, ideas and experience can be of great mutual benefit.

I have come here to look and to listen. From what I have seen and what I have heard, I am more than ever persuaded that there are immense possibilities for furthering co-operation.



between our two countries not only to their mutual advantage but also in the interests of peace, stability and progress of the entire region.

Q.

*Are you satisfied with the present state of relations between our two countries? What are the special areas, particularly in the field of economic and technical exchanges, in which co-operation between the two countries could be developed in the future for mutual benefit?*

A.

I am satisfied in the sense that there are no outstanding problems between us and that both countries are sincerely desirous of strengthening and deepening relations between them. On important international issues, there is close similarity if not identity of views between our two countries, whether it is the question of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, the need to promote regional economic co-operation, of finding solutions to the problems of food, energy and raw materials, of restructuring world trade and economic order on a more equitable basis, on such specific issues as ending colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa, or the restoration of peace in West Asia, Cyprus and Indo-China.

I must confess, however, that in the field of trade and economic co-operation, there is still a great deal of ground to cover. Fortunately, an earnest effort is now being made in this direction.

A Joint Economic Committee has been established to study and make recommendations on expanding trade and economic relations. This committee has identified a number of areas for mutually beneficial co-operation. For a start, two animal husbandry projects and a rubber-based industry are to be set up shortly with Indian assistance and co-operation. A microwave link will also be set up shortly to make up the very serious deficiency in communication links between the two countries. This is a major project. I might mention that, in the last two decades, India has been able to expand and diversify its economy and to create a broad technological and industrial base. We would be happy to share with a close friend and neighbour like Sri Lanka whatever competence we may have acquired in the field of industry, science and technology.

There need be no apprehension about India wanting to flood other countries with its goods. Our own market is so huge that it can absorb everything that it can possibly produce or import. We are prepared to throw open our market to Sri Lanka for the products of its industries. What is holding up expansion of trade between us is lack of goods and products of interest to the other. Products produced jointly, especially, those which are already established in either country, offer one solution to the problem of marketability.

### *Food and Production*

Q.

*Food is a common problem in our part of the world, which has been aggravated by the current international energy and commodity crises. How is India coping with the problem?*

A.

The present difficult situation in a number of developing countries is due to a variety of factors, internal and external.

The external factor is the unprecedented rise in the price of all agricultural inputs, fertilisers, fuel, chemicals, pesticides, etc., as well as the shortage and high price of foodgrains for import. In India the situation became somewhat difficult because of prolonged drought in some areas and failure of timely rains in major grain producing areas. The situation is, however, manageable. The shortfall of 4 to 5 per cent of our total requirement will be made good by imports and more vigorous local procurement. Our public distribution system which handles 12 million tonnes of foodgrains will ensure supply to the cities, industrial centres and to vulnerable areas of deficit.

The problem facing Indian agriculture is that of finding funds for necessary inputs for growth—provision of irrigation facilities, exploitation of water resources, application of fertiliser and other nutrients. There is little doubt that even with existing technology, the farm yields can be increased for years to come. For example, in Indian conditions, one tonne of fertiliser can yield 10 tonnes of foodgrains, which is twice or thrice as much as that in countries where chemical fertiliser is already being used to saturation point.

If, as with wheat, a breakthrough is made in the development of high-yielding varieties of rice, pulses and edible oils—and

this is considered a distinct possibility — the rural scene can be rapidly transformed.

### *Indian Ocean*

*Q.*

*What further measures should be adopted by the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean to make the concept of a zone of peace a reality?*

*A.*

There is complete identity of views between India and Sri Lanka on this question. India had co-sponsored the Resolution adopted by the U.N. on the initiative of Sri Lanka declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace for all time.

I am glad that not only in the U.N. but also in the forum of non-aligned nations our two countries have always worked in close consultation and co-operation.

I think it is widely recognised that the momentum for creating the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace really gained momentum after the initiative taken by the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka in 1971. Meanwhile, thanks to the efforts, particularly of the littoral and hinterland countries of the Indian Ocean, there is a growing recognition and support for this objective.

The Resolution adopted last week by the U.N. General Assembly's Political Committee is another step forward. This Resolution calls upon the great powers to refrain from strengthening their military presence in the Indian Ocean as an essential first step towards the relaxation of tension and to promote peace and security in the area. Furthermore, it envisaged the convening of an international conference under U.N. auspices. What happens in the Indian Ocean is not only the concern of India and Sri Lanka but of the entire region. The Indian Ocean has been a relatively calm and peaceful Ocean, and there is no justification for any great power to act in a manner which heightens tension there. This would run counter to the spirit of *detente* in international relations and would be inconsistent with U.N. Resolutions. It is important to remember that the territory of none of the great powers is situated on the Indian Ocean or its hinterland. The peace and security of this Ocean should be the concern and responsibility of the States bordering it. All littoral and hinterland States must continue their efforts to

build up international opinion and support in favour of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace and tranquillity. The chances of success will to a great extent depend upon the unity of purpose and action displayed by them.

The process of peaceful persuasion may be slow but there is no other practical course open to us. The force of international opinion, if it is sufficiently strong and persistent, is bound to tell eventually. We have to press on with our endeavours till the goal is achieved.

# Notes

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## PART I

### IN RETROSPECT

1. The interview, given two years after the author ceased to be the foreign minister, deals with a number of questions of current interest.
2. The edited version of the author's speech made during the debate on the budget demands of the Ministry of External Affairs on India's foreign policy in the *Lok Sabha*.

## PART II

### SOCIO-POLITICAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

3. Inaugural speech at the thirty-sixth All India Political Science Conference on December 29, 1976 at Jodhpur (Rajasthan). Introductory and concluding paragraphs and outdated references omitted.
4. Speech at the Soviet Land Nehru Award function, held on November 15, 1976 in New Delhi. References to the institution of the Nehru Award and felicitations to the award winners omitted.
5. Statement at the United Nations special committee against apartheid on October 5, 1976 in New York. In the introductory paragraph, it was stated:  
"On behalf of the Government of India may I express my deep sense of appreciation to you and to the Members of the Special Committee against apartheid for the signal honour in convening a special meeting to commend my country for its contribution to the world struggle against apartheid in South Africa."
6. Speech on Gandhi Jayanti day, October 2, 1976 at the Gandhi

Memorial Centre, Washington, U.S.A. The speech has been condensed and references to outdated events omitted.

### PART III

#### GUIDELINES FOR FOREIGN POLICY

7. Speech delivered on July 30, 1976 at the Indian Institute of International Affairs, Bombay.  
India and China announced the appointment of an ambassador on April 15, 1976. In a statement in Parliament on April 15, 1976 India's "tradition and policy to endeavour to develop amicable relations with all countries, notably with our neighbours" was recalled, and it was mentioned that India was making an effort in this direction with China. "In pursuance of this policy, representations of the two Governments in Delhi and Peking discussed the question of restoring the level of diplomatic representation in both the countries to the ambassadorial status." It said, "On the basis of these discussions, it is our understanding that this initiative for raising the level of our diplomatic representations in Peking will be followed by a similar move by the Government of the People's Republic of China."
8. The edited version of the reply to the debate on the working of the Ministry of External Affairs in the *Rajya Sabha* (upper house of Parliament) on May 25, 1976. The speech has been condensed and references to specific points made by members of the *Rajya Sabha* omitted.
9. Inaugural speech on the occasion of the opening of the new office of the All-India Peace and Solidarity Organisation on November 10, 1975 in New Delhi. Opening paragraph of the speech is quoted below:  
"Since its establishment in 1952, the Organisation, as we all know, has been active in the country as well as abroad in promoting the cause of world peace, de-colonisation, assertion of fundamental human rights and co-operating among nations on the basis of equality and justice. I hope, therefore, that from its new office and enlarged facilities, the Organisation will continue its fruitful endeavours in the challenging times that lie ahead, not only for our country but for all the newly-independent developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean."
10. Based on a speech delivered at the National Press on October, 6, 1975 in Washington (U.S.A.). In the speech, it was further stated: "The Indo-U.S. joint commission, which was set up last year during the Dr. Kissinger, the U.S. Secretary's visit to India, has met and

reviewed the progress of work done in the three sub-commissions and has given appropriate guidelines and set targets for the future. This institutionalisation of relations is already proving useful. If various ideas thrown up during the last year are implemented, the joint commission could open a new era in our relations. Both our countries have come a long way from the relationship which existed in the fifties and early sixties. An approach based on narrow aid relationship is beneficial to neither country. We both have to adopt more mature and realistic attitudes towards each other. In pursuance of its policy, India seeks the friendship and co-operation of the United States on the basis of mutual understanding and respect that must exist among sovereign nations. Trade is an important area in our relationship."

11. Article published in *Socialist India*, New Delhi on August 14, 1975. Reference to the resolution of the impasse in India-Pakistan relations in the first half of 1975 and the high level of economic and technical co-operation under the Indo-Soviet treaty dealt with elsewhere have been omitted.
12. Edited version of the reply to the debate on the demand for grants for the Ministry of External Affairs on April 16, 1975 in the *Lok Sabha*. The speech has been shortened and outdated references, replies to interruptions and introductory paragraphs omitted.
13. Speech at the International Conference on the Indian Ocean, convened by the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation at the invitation of the All-India Peace and Solidarity Organisation on November 14, 1974 in New Delhi. In the opening paragraphs of the speech it was stated: "The response to this conference has been encouraging judging by the large number of distinguished delegates from abroad and from within the country who are present here." The fact that the conference is of a non-official nature does not diminish, but rather increases its significance; for, there is need for full public awareness in all countries of what is happening in the Indian Ocean and for more active support of the people in the common task of preserving peace and tranquillity in the Indian Ocean. The Government and people of India wholeheartedly endorse the objectives of this conference, namely the elimination of foreign military bases from, and preservation of peace in the Indian Ocean. This is so, not for any reasons of expediency but of principle and deep conviction.

#### PART IV

#### NON-ALIGNMENT IN A CHANGING WORLD

14. The article was published in a special brochure in August, 1976 by the All-India Congress Committee, New Delhi on the fifth summit

conference of non-aligned countries. A message for the publication said: "The brochure highlights the continuing relevance and validity of non-alignment as is evidenced by the evolution of the movement over the years as well as by its growing effectiveness on the contemporary international scene. India has received universal acclaim as one of the founding fathers of the movement. Since independence, Non-alignment has been the cornerstone of India's foreign policy. At the Colombo summit, India's deep and principled commitment to Non-alignment and our sincere concern with strengthening the cohesion and solidarity of the movement received wide appreciation and strong support."

15. The article was published in *Link-News* magazine, New Delhi, in its issue of August, 1976.
16. Excerpts from a statement made at the meeting of the non-aligned co-ordinating bureau, held on May 31, 1976 at Algiers. Introductory paragraphs and those which are outdated have been omitted and the text condensed.
17. Statement at the Lima Conference of non-aligned foreign ministers in August, 1975. References to the west Asian situation, conflict in Cyprus, emergence of new sovereign African states, dissolution of the erstwhile Portuguese Empire and conclusion of the struggle for national liberation in Indo-China have been omitted.
18. Interview with a correspondent in India of *Prensa Latina*, the Latin American News Agency, on August 13, 1975 in New Delhi.
19. Interview with Zagreb Television, Yugoslavia on June 19, 1975 in New Delhi.
20. Statement made in *Lok Sabha* on April 7, 1975 which has been condensed. The statement also made the following points:
 

"I took the opportunity of my visit to Havana to meet and hold important discussions with Cuban leaders, including Prime Minister Dr. Castro. These discussions have contributed to further strengthening of Indo-Cuban relations which are already very close and cordial. We agreed that efforts should be made for greater co-operation in the economic and technical fields.

I also made a visit to Guyana, another important non-aligned country in the Caribbean, with whom we have very close and friendly relations, based on a long history of association and co-operative relationship. My talks with Foreign Minister Ramphel and others were extremely valuable. We are confident that my visit will lead to expanding co-operation between India and Guyana in many fields.
21. Speech at the meeting of the co-ordinating bureau of non-aligned countries on March 17, 1975 at Havana.



## PART V

UNITED NATIONS AND FRAMEWORK FOR  
NEW ECONOMIC GLOBAL ORDER

22. Key note speech at the thirty-first session of the U.N. General Assembly on October 4, 1976 at New York. Opening paragraphs and references to the fifth-non-aligned conference held in Colombo in August, 1976, admission of Seychelles, and non-admission of Vietnam and Angola to the U.N. have been omitted.
23. Speech delivered on the U.N. Charter Day on June 26, 1976 in New Delhi.
24. Inaugural address at the seminar on "The United Nations and the Third World" on April 20, 1976 in New Delhi. The text of the speech has been condensed.
25. Speech at the ministerial conference on international economic cooperation on December 17, 1975 in Paris.
26. Address to the thirtieth U.N. General Assembly Session on September 2, 1975 in New York. The text of the address has been considerably shortened.
27. Statement made on September 2, 1975 at the seventh special session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York.

## PART VI

## BILATERAL RELATIONS

28. Excerpts from the address to the World Affairs Council of Northern California on October 11, 1976 in San Francisco (U.S.A.). In the opening paragraph it was stated:  
"Not many people perhaps know that the first United States Ambassador to India, appointed by President Truman to represent your country, after our independence in 1974, came from California. He was Henry P. Grady and in a way it was in the fitness of things that Mr. Grady should have been chosen as your country's first diplomatic representative to India because, at the turn of this century, California also had the distinction of being the home of freedom fighters from India. I am referring to the members of the "Gadar" party in this country. The first congressman from Indian community in the U.S., Sandhu also came from California. In the continuous process of Indo-American relations, therefore, California has consistently played a fruitful and important role. I also wish to offer my felicitations to the people of California in the 200th Anniversary of

American Revolution which has provided inspiration to many nations in their struggle for freedom. So it is with a genuine sense of fulfilment that I am here to speak to you."

29. Speech at the 4th Anniversary of the Indo-Soviet Treaty for peace, friendship and co-operation on August 9, 1975 in New Delhi.
30. Speech at the Asian Society on September 30, 1976 in New York.
31. Excerpts from a statement made in New Delhi on July 19, 1976 on the eve of departure for Jakarta.
32. Inaugural speech at the Indo-Indonesian Seminar, jointly sponsored by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta and Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, New Delhi on April 23, 1975 in New Delhi.
33. (a) Extracts from a speech at a function held in honour of the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia on April 15, 1976 in New Delhi.  
(b) Interview with Zagreb Television in New Delhi on May 3, 1976.
34. Excerpts from the reply to the Minister for foreign Affairs on Nepal on January 19, 1976 at Kathmandu. A statement on the eve of departure in New Delhi on January 19, 1976 for Kathmandu said:  
"It is a consistent policy of the Government of India to strengthen its friendly and co-operative relationship with its neighbours. In case of Nepal, our close relations have been fashioned by geography, culture and tradition. As developing countries, we both face the same challenge of overcoming poverty and inequality. It has been our privilege to be of assistance to the Government and the people of Nepal in their march towards prosperity and self-reliance under the enlightened leadership of His Majesty the King of Nepal. I am, therefore, looking forward to useful discussions on subjects of mutual interest and I hope that these discussions will contribute to the further strengthening of the friendly relations and co-operation already existing between India and Nepal."
35. Interview with Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation on November 20, 1974 in Colombo.

# Appendix

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## APPENDIX

### OFFICIAL VISITS TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES

October 1974 — January 1977

#### 1974

15-20 November	Colombo, Sri Lanka	Goodwill visit
7-10 December	Dacca, Bangladesh	-do-

#### 1975

19-24 January	Belgrade, Brioni Yugoslavia	Goodwill visit
16-21 March	Havana, Cuba	-do-
22-25 March	Georgetown, Guyana	-do-
29 April-6 May	Kingston, Jamaica	Commonwealth Summit to meet Indian Envoys in Latin American and the Caribbean region
9 May-11 May	Mexico, Mexico	
12 May-15 May	New York, USA	Goodwill visit
21 May-30 May	Egypt, Cairo	-do-
30 May-1 June	Damascus, Syria	-do-
17-19 July	Thimpu, Bhutan	-do-
22-29 August	Lima, Peru	Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference and visit to Peru
30 August-6 September	New York, USA	Seventh Special Session of the United Nations.

20 September—12 October	New York, USA	Thirtieth Session of U. N. General Assembly.
28 October—1 November	Kabul, Afghanistan	Goodwill visit
1 November—4 Nov.	Teheran, Iran	-do-
5 November—8 Nov.	United Arab Emirates/Kuwait	-do-
16 December—20 Dec.	Paris, France	Ministerial Conference on International Economic Cooperation.

## 1976

19 January—22 January	Kathmandu, Nepal	Goodwill visit
31 March—4 April	Ankara, Turkey	-do-
29 May—5 June	Algiers, Algeria	-do-
8 June—14 June	Moscow, USSR and Tiblisi, Georgia	-do-
20 July—25 July	Jakarta, Indonesia	-do-
10 August—20 August	Colombo, Sri Lanka	Colombo Summit of Non-Aligned Heads of State/Govt.
3 September—8 Sep.	Ulan Bator, Mongolia/Moscow, USSR	Goodwill visit
25 September—17 Oct.	New York and Washington, USA and London, United Kingdom	Thirty-first Session of U. N. General Assembly and bilateral visit to the USA and the United Kingdom.

## 1977

January	Bucharest, Romania	Bilateral visit
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