

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That the amendments made by Rajya Sabha in the Bill be agreed to."

*The Motion was adopted.*

**SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS  
FOR GRANTS (GENERAL),  
1986-87—Contd.**

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House will now take up further discussion and voting on the Supplementary Demands for Grants in respect of the Budget (General) for 1986-87.

Now Dr. Rajhans.

[Translation]

DR G.S. RAJHANS (Jhanshapur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, there are certain points in the Demands for Grants, which require detailed discussion. The point is that despite presentation of the annual Budget, supplementary demands are brought as a regular feature. There are many demands which could have been considered by the Government and included in the Budget but it was not done and as a result, supplementary demands have to be brought before the House.

I would like to touch two or three more aspects of the supplementary demands. You have made a provision of Rs. 1228 crores for the public sector.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : You stop here ; you can continue next time. The House stands adjourned for lunch to meet at 2 P.M.

13.01 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned for lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at seven minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

[SHRI ZAINUL BASHER in the Chair]

**STATEMENT RE : DISTRIBUTION  
OF OBJECTIONABLE  
MAPS BY PAKISTANI PAVILION  
AT INDIA INTERNATIONAL  
TRADE FAIR, 1986**

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI K. NATWAR SINGH) : Sir, at the 7th India International Trade Fair, Pakistan has been distributing a tourist guide as well as brochure entitled "Pakistan—Northern Areas" which contain maps showing Jammu & Kashmir in an unacceptable manner.

As soon as this came to the notice of Government, the Minister in the Pakistan Embassy was summoned to the Ministry of External Affairs on 19 November, 1986 and a protest was lodged. It was pointed out that the distribution of such objectionable material violated Indian law and was in contravention of accepted diplomatic practice. In conveying Government's displeasure over this incident, it was made clear to the Pakistani official that the objectionable material be immediately withdrawn.

The Ministry of External Affairs was assured that the maps had been withdrawn.

Instructions have also been issued to the concerned authorities to ensure that, if any effort is made again to distribute such material, action under the relevant provisions of the law will be instituted.

14.09 hrs.

**DISCUSSION ON THE STATEMENT  
MADE BY PRIME MINISTER  
RE : SECOND CONFERENCE OF SOUTH  
ASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR  
REGIONAL COOPERATION  
(SAARC)**

[English]

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Guwahati) : I take it as a privilege for

having this opportunity to raise a discussion on the statement made by the Prime Minister in this House on 19th November, 1986 regarding the Second Summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) held in Bangalore on the 16th and 17th November, 1986.

The hon. Prime Minister in his brief statement has described the Second Summit as an important step in the evolution of the world's largest and the most recent regional association. He has also conveyed to us as well as to the people of the other countries that the Summit reaffirmed the faith of the countries in promoting the common good of the people of this region through cooperative solutions to shared problems. The Prime Minister has also assured that after taking over as the Chairman of this Summit, he shall endeavour to consolidate the gains while giving new dimensions to interaction and enriching our cooperation with new content.

One has reason to feel happy at the outcome of this Summit though I will not take up such a position that we should have too elated feeling that we have crossed a milestone or a leap forward. We must realise that the Summit was held in an atmosphere of mutual mistrust and suspicion and not much advancement has been achieved in the ground level in spite of the fact that various committees and the Foreign Secretaries identified a wide grounds of cooperation. We must also remember that India's proposal to include in the area of cooperation trade, industry, energy and money, did not find favour with the smaller nations that attended the Summit. It may be because these nations still harbour some suspicion about the size and the shape of India. They fear that if this cooperation is extended, then these countries may be swamped by the volume of Indian export and business. We also should remember that the Summit could not come to an agreed definition of terrorism and the matter was left in a very vague state. We also must remember that though the purview of the SAARC

does not encompass bilateral issues for discussion or contentious issues are not expected to be taken up at the SAARC conference, yet President Jayewardene in his remarks made rather strong criticism to put it mildly against India on the Sri Lanka issue. I am happy that the Prime Minister did not hit back because I believe that by hitting back or by making strong comments against one another he might have scored debating points but it could have affect the very atmosphere of the SAARC because SAARC, at the present moment, is in its infancy. But in spite of all these limitations, one must remember that when this Summit was held, there was lot of scepticism on the ground that because of the recent acquisition of arms by Pakistan, the news of Pakistan going nuclear, because of the ethnic question of Sri Lanka, this Summit may prove to be an anti-climax and no result might be achieved. But that has proved to be wrong and some positive results have definitely been achieved and we should hail it. We should remember that SAARC is still in its infancy. It was only in 1980 that the President of Bangladesh, Jia-ur-Rahman mooted this idea. At the initial stage it did not find favour, or to put it in other words, the attitude of most of the nations was indifferent but later on in between 1982-83, in fact, from 1981 itself, SAARC or Regional Cooperation of South Asia became a dominant feature of diplomacy of this region and there was number of conferences and meetings of different Secretaries and also experts to review the areas in which cooperation can be achieve. We have two Summits up-till now. We should also remember now that there are large number of obstacles for cooperations in this region and if we do not take into account these obstacles and make concerted attempt to overcome these obstacles, SAARC will not be able to become a reality in the sense or in the manner in which we want it to be a reality. What are these obstacles? I will try to put six items which I consider are obstacles for regional cooperation in this region. The first one is the inhospitable political climate which has arisen from inter-regional disputes, from conflicting response to geo-political changes, from divergent political foreign policies of different countries in this region and also for

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mechanisation of the imperialist powers. We know that when the second Summit has been held, the relationship between India and Pakistan is rather at an unhappy stage. We have seen for ourselves Weinburger's visit and the aftermath—the acquisition of AWACS—though it has been denied by the Pakistan Prime Minister. But the denial we have found difficult to accept and this has created a changed situation in geo-political atmosphere of this region.

Indo Srilanka relationship is also not at a very happy stage because of ethnic question. There is no end of the tunnel yet in sight of the ethnic problem of Srilanka. There is a tirade in Bangladesh by a section of population in India and perception of India and Pakistan on the entire Indian sub-continent to-day widely varies. Co-operation is possible only when there is mutual trust and confidence. Co-operation in the true sense of the term is not possible if there is mutual mistrust and lack of confidence. That is why the lack of confidence and trust between different countries of this Region is one of the causes as to why this comes as an obstacle for the realisation of dream of fruitful cooperation in this region.

The second obstacle that we face in real formulation of regional co-operation is different stages of development of the seven countries which constitute SAARC. India has the strongest industrial base to-day and it can really compete on the industrial infrastructure even with a developed country. Pakistan has some industrial base. But the rest of the industrial countries have no industrial base. They are mainly dependent on agriculture, and agriculture also of the primitive type. So far as the raw materials are concerned, India Possesses about 100% of many minerals of this region of some of the most important raw materials necessary for industrial infra-structure. India commands 100% of minerals like uranium, iron ore, bauxite, copper, gold. I can go to a number of items. But these minerals are not found in most of the other six countries. India commands 90% of crude

petroleum, magnesium, salt and some other valuable commodities. These different stages of development and lack of raw materials also causes some difficulty of the emotional integration of the nations that constitute SAARC. The difference in size is also a factor which is an obstacle. India occupies 3/4th of the total size of SAARC. Populationwise, we also occupy an important position. Because of our size, because of our strength, it is quite natural that smaller nations harbour some suspicion towards us. We cannot ignore that fact. In fact in the first summit of SAARC President Jayewardene expressed that—"India because of its size, because of its leadership in non-aligned movement must play the role of the un-official leader in this organisation." But Zia-ul-Haq, President, made a statement in the following way—"India must take its measures to play this part as the central figure and he expressed—but there is no big or small Nation. We are all equal independent States. India must also realise, it is the smaller States that have the greater go."

It is because of our size, because of our strength because of our dominant population figure that the smaller States harbour some suspicion and probably it is quite natural and this is one of the factors which we must take into account and I believe as a Chair Person of the SAARC now Shri Rajiv Gandhi has a greater responsibility to see that this suspicion which is there in the smaller nations is removed. Unless this suspicion can be done away with, SAARC cannot become a fruitful organisation.

The fourth factor is the divergence of social and political philosophy. Out of the seven nations, we have got two democracies one Parliamentary type in India, the presidential type in Srilanka. There are two monarchies in Bhutan and Nepal, two military dictatorships, in Pakistan and Bangladesh, where an internal struggle is going on. The people there want to assert democratic rights and in fact the internal struggle itself has caused some strain between India and Pakistan and

Bangladesh. There is an accusation by a section of the population that we have encouraged internal forces, though we have not. In Maldives we have presidential type. These various kinds of political and social philosophy that these countries to-day profess also comes as an obstacle for regional co-operation in this region.

Sir, the other most important thing which comes in the way of regional cooperation is the information gap. Today we know much more about Soviet Russia probably, we know much more about America, we know much more about the United Kingdom, but we know very little about these neighbouring countries. There is no information forthcoming from one country to another. In fact, a lot of disinformation flows because the imperialist powers, the colonial powers, feed the people with such informations that it creates a gap between people of one country and another country. Added to it, I think that the China-America Axis will see that the SAARC cannot be an effective organisation.

But in spite of these drawbacks, in spite of these obstacles about which we must be very cautious so that we can overcome these obstacles, there are prospects of regional cooperation and the regions of prospects also I will try to name. Some of them I believe that the greatest prospect which can make SAARC is objective reality is the negative prospect that this region is the poorest region in the world. We tend to forget that this is the region which has the largest concentration of poverty in the world. It accounts for three quarters of the world poor. In terms of per capita gross National Product, the seven countries of SAARC occupy the bottom position of the 128 countries. The per capita Gross National Product of Bangladesh is 126, Nepal is 124, India is 114, Sri Lanka is 113 and Pakistan is 107. I do not have unfortunately the figure of Maldives, but about Bhutan the External Affairs Minister can supply this figure. The growth of population is maximum in this region. We have got a growth of population in these seven countries of 2.2 per cent during 1970-77 compared to 1.7

per cent of the world. And the result has been that 20 per cent of this world population today occupies this land mass which is only 3.31 per cent of the entire world. Twenty per cent of the world population today lives in 3.31 per cent of the area of the world and one can easily imagine that the concentration of poverty may take place when so many people live in such a smaller area. There is less than 1 per cent of world's resources in minerals concentrated in this region. We often feel that we are very rich, but if you take the seven countries together, out of the entire world's riches in minerals, we have less than one per cent and only that is concentrated in India. The rest of the other countries have very little mineral wealth. But this poverty can be a cementing force for regional cooperation because one must realise that unless we come together and try to help each other to alleviate poverty, this region is bound to become more and more poorer. But in spite of all this I feel we have tremendous untapped resources in two regions—the Himalayan region which has never been explored, and the sea-bed or the ocean-bed of the Indian Ocean. I believe, if through cooperation we can tap these resources in these two regions, well we can alleviate the poverty. But no single country without the cooperation of the other countries can tap either the resources in the Himalayas or in the Indian Ocean, and this is one of the factors which can cement the bond of friendship of these seven countries.

Sir, we have got a common culture, a common heritage and tradition. We have got a strong bond of friendships at the popular level, plus we have shared history for very long. Unfortunately some of us have fallen apart because of the divide-and-rule policy of the imperialist country powers. The geography is also an important factor because it has been said by many political pundits that in the 21st century the theatre of the international diplomacy will be in the Indian Ocean and if we want to play a dominant role to see that the Indian nation ultimately does not become the theatre or the hotbed of a nuclear arms race thereby threatening the peace of the sub-continent, we must all come together. These are some of the

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features, which I feel, can really cement the bonds of friendship of these 7 countries. Time has come today, when the developing countries instead of looking outwards must look inwards and cooperation with one another. The developing countries have robbed our resources by centuries of colonial rule over us. They have taken all raw materials; they have accumulated wealth in their own countries. But they are not today prepared to make their contributions for the growth of the developing countries. There is a commitment of the developed countries for assistance of 0.7% of gross national product to the developing nations. But that has been given a good-bye. Today the combined assistance is only 0.39% and that is also based on the political perception of the developed countries. If the developed countries feel that a particular developing country by economic assistance can be brought on their domain, they help. Otherwise, they do not. The threat of neo colonialism hangs over all the developing countries, particularly these 7 countries. It must also be realised that cooperation amongst the 7 countries will be beneficial to all concerned and, therefore, I feel that though they are perceptible obstacles for creation of regional cooperation in this area, amongst the 7 countries, there are positive features, which, if cultivated, can really give a new dimension to SAARC. I believe to a great extent, whether the South Asian Regional Cooperation will succeed or not will depend on the relationship between India and Pakistan. These are the two most important nations of SAARC. If mutual mistrust, hostility and suspicion persist between India and Pakistan, then SAARC will never be able to play the role that we expect it to play. And I believe that the platform of SAARC can provide an opportunity for us to remove this misunderstanding. Today, unfortunately, the relationship between India and Pakistan is probably at the rock bottom. We are suspicious of Pakistan's intent because Pakistan is getting arms help from United States beyond its legitimate requirements. We have been subjected by Pakistan to three wars up till now, after independence and we have reason to feel suspicious. At the same time, there are people in Pakistan, who

really want Indo-Pakistan relationship to be good. Sometimes they are suspicious of us because of our size and strength. These suspicious have to be removed at all costs, if we want to progress and develop. We cannot but forget that from the Second world War, up till now, major 130 wars have taken place in the developing countries and most of them have been engendered in the imperialist powers. They have got two reasons for it. One is that when a war takes place between two developing countries, their military industrial complex can go on pumping arms to this region and thereby they get money from this region. The second reason is that when there is an arms race, then the developing countries cannot spend their resources for the purpose of development. They are to spend their resources for non-development purposes with the result that dis-contentment grows in this region. I believe that the threat of dis-contentment of a developing country is equal to that of threat of an atom bomb. I do not know, because of the recent development in the sub-continent, because of the pumping arms to Pakistan, our expenditure in Defence is likely to go up. Can we afford it? Can Pakistan afford it? In fact, one figure shows that in 1978, the Defence budget of the region of the 7 countries was 4 billion dollars, which was 3% of their total GNP. Within three years, in 1981, the Defence budget of these poor 7 countries have gone up to the extent of 7 billion dollars, which is a rise from 3% to 4.5% of their GNP. I think, it is time that we must appeal to the good sense of the people of this region that we must today change the priorities and this expenditure must come for those sectors which benefit the people of in these countries rather than for a non-developmental purpose.

I am worried that if we go on spending more, the millions of unemployed youth in this country will have no future. They will either become indifferent or they will become volatile and a volatile and indifferent younger generation poses an equal threat to their unity and integrity of this country. If Pakistan goes on acquiring arms, it is not possible for us to remain silent. We shall have to spend for our defence purposes. But at what

cost? SAARC can be a platform where all these leaders can have an open discussion and can really do something to reverse the process of the militarisation of this region. If we want that this cooperation should really succeed, it should not be a body of mere platitudes but it must be action-oriented. Uptil now, there has been no action-oriented programme from this body, may be because there is no permanent secretariat may be because it is at the stage of infancy. But the Foreign Ministers Conference earlier, on more than one occasion, identified areas and appointed coordinating countries. If I am not wrong, Bangladesh has been appointed as the coordinating country for agriculture, Sri Lanka has been appointed as the coordinating country for rural development, Pakistan for tele-communication, India for meteorology, Nepal for Health and Population, Maldives for Transport, Iran for Postal Services and later on Pakistan has been put for Science and Technology. Technical Committee's report has been submitted. But we have our experience both in the country or outside or even on international forums that many times this report gather dust. If these reports gather dust, and if no action is taken at this Conference, merely the Heads of the States and the Foreign Ministers meeting once a year and using very high-sounding words, will not help. Some action programme must be taken.

The Foreign Ministers also decided to exchange data. As I said earlier, the lack of information in this region is the worst thing or the most detrimental fissure for effective cooperation in this region and I would like the hon. External Affairs Minister while replying to this debate to enlighten us whether these data have been exchanged. The hon. Minister should give some information regarding this to this Parliament.

There is tremendous scope for cooperation. There is scope for cooperation for ecology and material resources, scope for cooperation; ocean and mountain and water resources, scope for cooperation on information, scope for cooperation on energy resources.

May I point out that even as early as in 1955, at the Bandung Conference, it was decided that the countries of Asia should cooperate in the matter of development of energy resources but this remain and let not what happened in Bandung be repeated here in SAARC.

There is scope for cooperation in trade and industrialisation and scope for sports and Culture.

Another area where there is scope for cooperation is in meeting the threat of increasing nuclearisation of Indian Ocean by the imperialist powers.

We must also learn lessons from ASEAN. I am not in favour of the idea that we should try to hasten up the process. The ASEAN countries went slow in the first year but now it is a strong body and countries though primarily meant for economic cooperation, their economic cooperation has led to political cooperation also.

The European Economic Community is a body primarily for the purpose of economic cooperation but today we have seen that EEC takes up a unified stand on political matters because where there is economic cooperation, it leads to political cooperation and political understanding and I believe that SAARC can play a very important role in the political field also.

In this context, I can point out to a statement made by the Foreign Affairs Minister of Singapore while addressing the Asians a few years back : He said :—

“Asia's greatest influence in formative years lay in the opportunity in providing for greater inter-action between the political leaders and officials of the five Member countries.

It opened channels of communication between the Member States which served to provide a better understanding of their respective foreign policy positions, assisted

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in the meeting of conflicts between Member States and increased the opportunities for private discussion between opinion-makers in the ASEAN Member States”.

We must learn the lessons from ASEAN. I believe that India has a very difficult responsibility as the Chair-Person. I believe that Shri Rajiv Gandhi has a much difficult role to play as Chair-Person of SAARC than even as the Chair-Person of NAM because India cannot take a high-profile attitude or cannot take a high-voltage approach. As one of the political commentators has said, if India tries to go faster, these smaller nations may feel that we are doing with ulterior motives. If we do not do anything, then we fail to play the historic role. If we become too enterprising, the other nations will feel that we have taken a big brother chauvinistic attitude. Therefore, Shri Rajiv Gandhi has a difficult role of maintaining a balance. The entire country is behind him. The whole Parliament will give him strength in maintaining this balance.

Sir, we are loaded today with expectancy and suspicion. I believe that in spite of the limitations of success, the Second Summit has achieved two results. Firstly, there was a possibility, because as I have said earlier of the peculiar geopolitical situation prevailing now, that the Second Summit could have ended in failure or anti-climax. The fact that it did not happen, the fact that it could generate a note of confidence, the fact that in spite of the fact that there was persistence of difference of opinion among the leaders meeting there, there were very many common grounds which they could cover, an indicative of success of the Second Summit. And the second success which I consider as primary importance is that today after this Summit, South Asia has emerged with a regional identity which it lacked so long. There was no regional identity of South Asia. There are regional identities of other regions. Today, we can talk in terms of a regional identity of South Asia. The third thing that has emerged is that it has been decided to have a Secretariat and

the honour of holding the first position of the Secretary-General had rightly gone to Mr. Abul Hasan of Bangladesh because the idea of SAARC was mooted by Bangladesh. Therefore, we welcome this proposal.

Sir, before I conclude, I would like to conclude with a couplet of Tagore. But unfortunately I do not remember it fully. Therefore, there may be some mistakes. I hope my colleagues Mrs. Geeta Mukherjee and others will correct me. I quote :

*Bahu Path ghure*

*Bahu byay Kare*

*Dekhite giyechi Parbalmala*

*Dekhite giyechi Sindhu*

*Dekha hay nai Sakhsyu metiya*

*Ghar hate Sudhu Dui Pa pheliya*

*Ekta dhaner sisir oper*

*Ekta sisir bindhu”*

The idea was—I cannot really convey his feelings because of language and words will fail me—spending a lot of money on taking very hard labour, we go to see the distant seas and mountains. But we never care to take two steps forward and see the beauty of a dew drop on the tip of all corn of a paddy. The entire diplomacy of our nation was that we looked far beyond. But we never looked to our neighbours. This is a failure of our diplomacy. We never looked nearby. We think in terms of cementing the bonds of friendship with countries far beyond. That should be done. And no initiative, diplomatic initiative was taken so far as our neighbours are concerned. I believe that the greatest achievement of SAARC is that the 7 countries have come today for cooperation amongst themselves and not to look much beyond but to strengthen their bonds of friendship to raise the standard of living of the people of these countries. I believe that SAARC conveys this message to the entire population of these 7 countries. I wish this Conference well.

I am thankful for giving me this opportunity to initiate this discussion.

SHRI G.G. SWELL (Shillong) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I could not more agree with my friend, Mr. Dinesh Goswami, when he says that, having regard to the background, the deterioration in the security climate in this region and, therefore, low expectations and even a cynical attitude, the Summit in Bangalore was a great and a positive success. And I take this opportunity of congratulating first the Prime Minister who is also the current Chairman of SAARC now for the splendid manner in which he guided the discussions and the proceedings of the Summit and the fresh ideas that he brought forward in his personal discussions with the Heads of State and Government that attended the Summit.

I think I should also congratulate our new Foreign Minister who was caught in a maelstrom of diplomatic activity soon after his induction into his new responsibility. I think today is the first occasion when he is engaged as Foreign Minister in a major discussion in this House. I wish him success and on my part I would say that we will give him all the support and the cooperation that we can in the discharge of his responsibility.

Sir, the tension in this region, the deterioration in the security situation in this region as I said was highlighted recently by the decision of the United States of America to induct deadly and sophisticated arms into the region by the gift of AWACS aircraft, MI 1 Abram's tank and F-16 C aircraft to Pakistan. The induction of these deadly and sophisticated arms are going to change drastically the security situation in South Asia and are forcing us Willynilly to embark on some kind of an armament race with Pakistan. The United States of America has done this to subserve her own geo-political strategic interests, not for the love of the people of Pakistan. It is clear that the

democratic urgings of the people of Pakistan find no response from the rulers of the United States of America. There is no love for the people of this region, there is no consideration for the peace, welfare and prosperity of the people in this region. Then there are the unfortunate developments over the question of the Tamils of Sri Lanka. The question has unfortunately remained unresolved despite the best efforts of our Prime Minister, despite the best efforts of the President of Sri Lanka.

Having regard to this climate SAARC is the best thing that has happened to this region. We have to meet this challenge collectively as member nations of this region. How do we do it? It is in this context that I would like to put SAARC in proper perspective. There has to be a platform where the Heads of Governments, Governments of different States in this region must meet. There has to be an institution and organisation whereby the people and the Governments of this region feel that they have another future before them and that future is the future of peace and mutual prosperity, through cooperation. It is this opportunity that SAARC has given to us.

Sir, before I go on, I would like to take this opportunity to pay my compliments to one of our neighbours, Bangladesh. It was first the idea of Bangladesh, it was first the idea of the late President of Bangladesh that brought about the concept of SAARC. I would like to underline this.

Mr. Goswami in his speech has warned that India has to tread warily. Because India is a large country, she has an inbuilt disadvantage. But she has advantages too—Mr. Goswami has recounted them—material resources, human resources, industrial resources. But in the context of our relations with our neighbours, which unfortunately are small in comparison to us—we cannot help that—it is a disadvantage,

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Somebody has spoken of the small nations' syndrome. It is very natural. Even in a family the big brothers' syndrome and the younger brothers' syndrome are there. We have that inbuilt complex. Therefore, I could not more agree with him that we have got to tread very very cautiously.

When an idea came from a small nation like Bangladesh, a correct idea—it is not our idea, it is their idea—we accepted it. We did not only accept it, but we did and will do everything possible to make that idea a success. I think this is another highlight of the SAARC summit in Bangalore that has been underlined. We did not throw our weight around. We did not try to force a decision, but it was all by consensus.

Sir, less than a year ago the first summit met in Dhaka, in December 1985. Bangalore has landmarked significant process. We have been able to translate SAARC into an organisation. We have been able to reach a decision to set up a permanent secretariat in Kathmandu. We have been able unanimously to select the Secretary-General of the Organisation but more than that I would point out that we have been able to reach consensus and decision on the question of sharing the costs of the Secretariat by which, as you may have read in the newspapers. India will bear 32.75 per cent of the running cost. The capital cost is to be borne by the host country, that is, Nepal, but for the running expenditure India will bear 32.75 per cent; Pakistan 25 per cent; Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka 11 per cent each and Bhutan and Maldives 5 per cent each.

These are hard questions and hard negotiations for each nation to commit itself to a specific expenditure in order to service an organisation. It is not an easy decision to reach. If the Heads of Government and State in Bangalore have been able to reach this decision by a consensus and willingly, I think, it has been a significant achievement.

Over and above that, as you know, certain areas of cooperation have been identified. Some we have been able to agree on and others are yet to be agreed upon. We have been able to agree on the setting up of certain institutes like the regional meteorological institute and the regional agricultural information institute which will be to the advantage of everybody. We have been able not only to agree on the setting up of these institutes but we have been able to agree on how to meet the cost of these institutes. These are hard questions and hard decisions which were not possible unless the leaders who met in the Summit in Bangalore were sincere and determined.

This is what we see as the beginning of South Asian consciousness. The leaders who had met would not have done all that unless they were aware that there was need for such a thing as South Asian consciousness which must assert itself. This is where we speak of the SAARC climate. How are you going to meet the blandishments, the tensions and the divisions caused by the strategic interests of the superpowers in this area? There is no other way except through the assertion of the South Asian consciousness which arises from the realisation that the interest of all these countries lies in uniting and cooperating. This to me is the most significant thing of SAARC and of the Summit in Bangalore.

Hereagain, I think, I must pay my compliments to the Prime Minister. The things that were arrived at by consensus in the SAARC Summit are known. They are there. It is only for us to understand the true significance of that. But there has to be a vision and there have got to be steps towards that vision. I am happy to be told that consensus on certain steps towards that vision were also reached in the informal consultation among the Heads of States in the cool relaxed atmosphere of Nandi hills. What are those? They have been listed. Number one is evolution of a South Asian Broadcasting programme, the network of radio and TV programme to project unity—unity of culture, unity of history—of the South Asian States, the projection of

a new South Asian realization, and new South Asian consciousness. We are going to see how it will be worked out. But the fact that the Governments have agreed to it is a significant step.

The next thing is the promotion of contact between people and people. Here, again I cannot do more but agree with my friend, Shri Dinesh Goswami, when he says that so long we have been so colonial in our outlook that London or New York are nearer to us than Islamabad or Colombo or Dhaka. It is time that we look to each other much closer. How do we do that? We do that through the promotion of people to people contact, through tourism which has been agreed to is not just a vague thing that we are going to promote tourism. The SAARC Summit has reached another decision for a limited convertibility of national currencies for tourists. Persons coming from Dhaka to West Bengal do not have to bother to go to the banks for exchange hard currencies, they can come to the border, there would be banks and they can exchange their *takkas* for rupees and come here. So also from Pakistan. This is a new thing.

The third thing is the setting up of a documentation centre not on political or divisive subjects. There has been so much of development of science and technology in various areas, in medicine, in physics, nuclear physics etc. There has to be an exchange as to what has been done in different countries of this region. Each country must benefit from what the other country has done and this can be done only through access to books and documents on these subjects.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI G.G. SWELL : I hope that the discussion has to focus on the importance of SAARC; time is not that much relevant. If you want me to sit down, I will, but the SAARC question will never be discussed and understood in this way. There are not

many speakers. I will take just another five minutes.

In the documentation centre, the books and documents on technical and scientific subjects will be readily available to scholars, to researchers of different countries. Then there should be fellowships exchange of scholars between these countries.

The last thing, which, I think, is a very important thing, is the setting up of an organized volunteers programme. There has to be contact between young people of India and young people of Pakistan. Of course, we have to be careful so that we do not get into difficulties and controversies.

15.00 hrs.

But there are areas where we can work together. Young people of India going to Pakistan to participate in agriculture and forest extension programmes in Pakistan and people from Pakistan coming to India, that is the way how things are to be done. And the new Secretariat which has been set up in Kathmandu will process these things. In every organisation, there have got to be rules of procedure, how you convene a meeting, how you conduct a meeting, how you process the documents and so on. The leaders in Bangalore Summit have been able to reach an agreement on this also.

Sir, we do not expect SAARC to become a mature personality within a year. It has taken ASEAN years and years. The idea of one United Europe has been there in history for the last 200 years or even 1,000 years. What did Emperor Charlemagne try to do? His dream was to have a United Europe. What did Napoleon Bonaparte try to achieve by his conquests? He wanted a United Europe under a different historical perspective. And what is the European Economic Community trying to do? But to try to achieve that historical objective, it has taken years and decades. We cannot expect that SAARC

[Shri G.G. Swell]

will all its in built limitations, the fall out of the colonial past will be able to reach maturity in a year's time. Obviously, it has not been able to reach agreement on a definition of terrorism. But strong condemnation of terrorism is there in no uncertain words. But for the matter of that, where, in which international organisation, have we been able to reach a definition on terrorism? The United Nations has struggled with it for years and has not been able to do it. What is terrorism? How do we distinguish terrorists from freedom fighters and liberation fighters? When in a particular State, under a heinous kind of a system by which people have to run away for their lives, do you think that you will accept the situation like that and not fight back? But we believe that it would be possible for SAARC even here to reach some understanding.

Well, I am coming to my last point. Yes, there are other subjects which are important, which the SAARC Summit for good reasons, has left out of purview. Matters such as of trade, commerce, industry, energy, money, finance—these are important of course. A country like Bangladesh is not so well endowed naturally and has very little to export. But Bangladesh has plenty of gas. Bangladesh gas is, at the moment, a waste to the people of Bangladesh. That gas from Bangladesh could easily be pumped through pipelines to the factories and industries in Calcutta, if there is understanding in a thing like that. Why should Pakistan go all the way to Kenya to buy tea? Why should it not buy Indian tea? Will not Indian tea reach them quicker and cheaper? Why should Bangladesh go to Australia and China to buy coal? From my parts of India, it takes only two hours for the coal to reach Bangladesh.

These are all hard facts. But it is easy to speak about them theoretically. To implement these things, which are important for all of us, there needs to be a climate, a climate of trust. And especially for us India, a large country, it is necessary for us to make all these countries feel free and have no fear about their future but

everything to gain by working together with us. So long, somebody has said these small countries have been talking to India; they cannot have but to talk to us because we are a geographical reality. But in SAARC, they do not talk to us; they talk along with us and they talk with each other. Let this climate increase; let this consciousness increase and this is in the interest of everybody.

Lastly, I hope that in the next Summit, it would be possible for the President of Pakistan Genl. Zia-ul-Haq to attend the Summit. He attended the Summit in Dhaka and for, some reasons, we do not know, he was not able to attend the Summit in Bangalore. But, we know the power structure in Pakistan. It is not the Prime Minister, but the President who takes all the decisions and therefore we would appeal to him to take his place in the next Summit.

I take this opportunity of appealing to the President of Pakistan to lend his hand in order to make SAARC a going concern.

**SHRI B.B. RAMAIAH (Bhadrachalam):**  
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I wish to associate myself and our Party in the House in congratulating the Prime Minister on the leadership, this country has provided to the recent SAARC Summit Conference in Bangalore. I also wish to congratulate him on his assumption of the Chairmanship of the organisation. It is not a ceremonial position. It imposes a heavy responsibility. It is to be hoped that he will be able to discharge it. He has very rightly pointed out that the task ahead of SAARC is to consolidate the gains. In this connection, we South-Asian countries learn from the experience of the European Common Market, that is EEC and ASEAN.

Qualitatively, those organisations are different from SAARC which also is different from COMECON which is European Common Market of the East European countries. This is a modest beginning which is a wise approach. It is

better to start cautiously and then build step by step rather than attempt an ambitious Common Market and then fail.

I wish to congratulate the leaders of SAARC on their modest approach. It is also a good thing that India has been taking a low key posture in this Association. We are the elder brother and not the big brother. Because of that we have to pay the price of denying ourselves what is due to us by taking the smaller neighbouring countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bhutan, among others, along with us.

As our friends have mentioned earlier, whatever responsible work that this organisation has taken, it only builds the strength of the area and it can be shared amongst themselves. That is not much gain for us, but it is a long term gain. So we must reduce our expenditure on defence. As you can see, after the first Conference in Dhaka, we forgot, the mutual trust and confidence. Within few weeks or within few months, we have spent huge amount of money on defence.

Even today, Pakistan is spending a tremendous amount of money on defence. They may say that it is only meant for Afghanistan. But, we cannot say, what exactly are the reasons behind it. We should be conscious, but at the same time, we have to build up our relationship with our neighbouring countries as far as possible, for the long term benefits to our country.

As I have said earlier, the EEC is a more complex association. It is also beset with problems in working the common market, although most of its members are developed industrialised countries. We are all developing countries. Our problems are different and so cooperation among ourselves should begin with subjects like agriculture, forestry, meteorology and disaster management.

Until recently, India and Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka constituted a single

sub-continental entity. A cyclone which lashes Bangladesh, also affects West Bengal, Orissa and even the northern parts of our State viz. Andhra Pradesh. Drought in Sind will similarly affect Rajasthan and other parts of northern India. Floods in the rivers of the sub-continent or earthquakes and other natural calamities do not know political boundaries. It is, therefore, both necessary and wise for us to pull together in facing these problems and in pooling our resources, for the benefit of all our peoples.

As I mentioned earlier, the main object is mutual benefit for all our countries, and also to associate ourselves with other neighbours. Though our system is entirely different from what the Asian countries have got, they are far ahead of us. But though we are late, I hope we will be able to maintain good relations, understanding, and that we will be able slowly to build up good relations in all respects, including business and industry.

Socially also, the peoples of our different countries are at the same stage of development. So, uplift of women or promotion of child care are common tasks for all our countries. With the spread of technology, it is possible for us to use satellites for forecasting weather, so that we can prepare ourselves for cyclones, floods and droughts. Such knowledge and infrastructure for acquiring that knowledge, can be shared by all of us, for our mutual good. We, in India, have accomplished green revolution in wheat in Punjab. The rice output in our Godavari and Krishna delta areas has also been increased by the use of modern methods of agriculture. We can share these benefits with our neighbouring countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh. In 1978-79, there was an effort to promote cooperation between India and Pakistan in agriculture. We had supplied hybrid seeds for foodgrain cultivation in Pakistan, on the advice of FAO. But, instead of the gesture leading to good relations, there was bad blood. Pakistanis alleged that the seed supplied by India was rotten, while India denied the charge. The media in our two countries built on the differences,

[Shri B.B. Ramiah]

and relations were strained. They remained strained until the end of 1984. Our Prime Minister has been trying to improve relations with all our neighbours, including Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Nepal has been brought into the Ganga Waters Dispute, as desired by Bangladesh. India has been playing a constructive role in helping to find a solution for the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka.

We all know what has happened there during the last two years. In spite of the fact that our Prime Minister, and the President of Sri Lanka have met so many times, the problem has still not been solved. Unless there is a strong desire, cooperation and will, this problem cannot be solved. With the recent approach of SAARC countries towards each other, there will probably be some improvement in these matters.

With Pakistan, it is hoped to resume negotiations for improvement of relations and having cooperation. In this connection, I wish to remind the Prime Minister about the vested interest which the bureaucracies in both our countries have, in keeping the relations strained. A notable example was the statement of Mr. Natwar Singh last week, that there would be no negotiations at all with Pakistan on the nuclear and other issues. Now, at Bangalore, it was decided that the talks would be resumed. It was also said that the Prime Minister might undertake his contemplated visit to Pakistan. I urge him to pursue the path of peace with Pakistan, and wish him all success.

Without improvement of bilateral relations, and removal of mutual distrust among our countries, we cannot build a sound structure for SAARC. The foundations of SAARC lie in the bilateral relations among our countries. We should not allow our disputes to go out of hand. We should try to have them settled peacefully and bilaterally. We should create public opinion in Pakistan, Bangladesh and elsewhere, so that Governments in those countries follow a similar policy.

Finally, most of the member countries of SAARC do not have a representative democratic system. Pakistan and Bangladesh are still in transition from military dictatorship. Bhutan and Nepal are monarchies. The democratic system in Sri Lanka is vitiated by ethnic conflict and the denial of human rights to the Tamils. India has a federal parliamentary democracy. While we would like to see these countries also evolve toward the democratic system, we should not do anything which will give the impression of imposition of our system on these peoples.

As we have started in these recent negotiations and as earlier speakers have mentioned the radio and TV system should be able to give us much cooperation and understanding and also give us better relations with one another.

The tourism which we are talking about, we should also be taken as an active part in it and on the basis of that we should also go with the mutual visa system or even eliminating visa system what the common market countries have got; and the mutual import-export system that we have followed in other countries that is, they are following import and export licensing system should also be relaxed so that business relationship and cooperation and culture, sports and all other activities should go simultaneously in the long run so that we can build up excellent relations to make this SAARC a wonderful organisation, if not today, in years to come ahead.

I, once again, congratulate the Prime Minister to take up this SAARC effort and successfully implement these tasks in the larger interest of our country.

SHRI R.S. SPARROW (Jullundur): Hon'ble Mr. Chairman, the promotion of SAARC is indeed a move in the right direction, indeed a fertile idea, on way to maturity.

From every angle it is expected to work for the good of the peoples of South Asian countries.

Before I Summit my few observations-cum-recommendations in that regard, I first heartily congratulate the hon. Prime Minister and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to having taken an effective initiative to propel to advantage the spirit of cooperation amongst the peoples of South Asia. A lot of ground work has been covered in that regard and that has been done most satisfactorily. As a result of cogent contribution made by our Prime Minister and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, various regional institutions, research centres management centres, such as transport management centres, Standing Committees of the Secretaries and so on have been established along with other mutually conducive measures which have been adopted. On the whole, internationally speaking, it is a tremendous success, and if I may say so, first time in the history of South Asia, it is not a mean achievement at all.

From ages past, the culture and background of South Asian Nations has historically been intimately common and intertwined as a one whole. Their common ties say, from Nepal down to South, East and West have their tentacles spread all over as being from one stock, amongst crores of peoples.

Just imagine, as an example that the National Emblem of Indonesia, the largest Mohammedan country in the world and lying contiguous to Andaman/Nicobar Islands of India is GARUD, associated so closely also with the epic of RAMAYAN. This one whole tentacle of South Asian people has a big significance and you will see the result as we go on in this open wide world.

Sir, industrially, scientifically, cosmologically, commercially and in all round economic and production field, we South Asians between us can hold our own. To my mind there is no doubt on that account. Why do we have to cross all the seven seas to work out the evenness of our economic and other fields' progress ?

What is it that any of our regional group of South Asian countries cannot

provide one another : Qualitative manpower ? Labour in all fields ? Commercial acqumanship of all types ? Scientific progress, making personalities and persons, professors, doctors, technicians and cosmic experts with all understanding stretching right up to pulsars, quasars, manholes, and what not, and blackholes and what not ? Where is the shortage and where is the difficulty to handle all these problems efficaciously amongst our South Asian group of countries ? It is for us to perceive in a cogent manner.

Sir, we should respect each other's independence; of all countries in this region as equal partners irrespective of the size, potentialities or manpower. We should have a very clear and clean understanding amongst ourselves, and it should be our aim to even work out an understanding to have a common geo-strategic, geo-offensive/defensive understanding, as an international block.

Besides that, if there could be, if you look around, a NATO, if there could be a CENTO, there could also be, if I may say, so, a Warsaw Pact block and other so many blocs, why should not there be a SAARC bloc ? It will, in fact, carry the key to keeping the world nations power balance even. It will really act as a strong deterrent against the possibility of any kind of nuclear holocaust to doom the world, geo-strategically, geo-militarily; if you probe deep into this mutual understanding there is deep meaning in it.

Man is an animal in many respects. Sorry. And he goes at each other's threat for one reason or the other.

AN HON. MEMBER : Rational animal.

SHRI R.S. SPARROW : Since time immemorial from stone-age to this day it is so. So, you have to create conditions to keep a good grip on the modern day type of weaponry, modern day type of shall I say a very clever, some times even perverted brain-power also in these things, and

[Shri B.S. Sparrow]

we South Asians, from heritage point of view, from the point of view of our old culture and knowledge—cumulative—people learn from you. Not that you had to go too far to learn from them. Who invented zero? Who invented algebra? Who invented even, shall I say your system of cleanliness in your own areas where you live?

Therefore, this clicking of beautiful brains of South Asia should not be taken lightly and I caution people all around outside. "Do not try to be nasty clever with us. We can do our own business. We can hold our own manfully and people have tried their hands on us time and again, they are pumping and blasting in one way or the other. They are using some people as surrogates, nations as surrogates to achieve their own end.

So, we can stand squarely on our two broad stout legs in South Asia. Millions of us, we are the strongest people in the world, actually, potentially. We should not have any misunderstanding. Unless you call a spade a spade on one takes any notice of you. I am very glad in that regard that our hon. Prime Minister with his wide vision and boosted and backed up by the External Affairs Minister and his own team, has done something wonderful, which has never been done before. I am very proud that as chance has it, having set the ball rolling, you still have got the command with India. You are now the President of SAARC, which gives you an extra little opening, shall I say, to put the whole thing to full advantage. This is the setting.

So many things have been said previously, which, it will not be fair for me to keep on repeating for the sake of lecture. I do not believe in that. This is done very well by anybody who spoke from that side and this side. Various facts of the problems have been recapitulated innovatingly and otherwise.

Finally, I have nothing else to say more than this that from every point of view,

South Asia can stand on its own legs. I urge upon my External Affairs Minister who is working under the aegis of the hon. Prime Minister, to probe it further forward, with vigour verve and with your consciousness as you own the whole of South Asia as one of the tentacles. You are not going to be, as I said, big power or small power in Asia. They are brothers unto us. And rope in others also. If Afghanistan has not come, tell it, kindly come in; this is the right time. Now is the time. Tell Burma, come along now; this is not the time to waste. Even rope in Indonesia and Bali. Why should we be encircled all round every time to pay some kind of a price on our heads?

With these words I thank you very much for allowing me to speak.

**SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY** (Katwa): While taking part in this discussion under rule 193, I cannot restrain myself from referring to the statement of the Prime Minister. The very first of this statement says:

"Inaugurated on the auspicious occasion of Kartik Purnima and of the birth anniversaries of the prophet Mohammad and Guru Nanak Devji. The Summit reaffirmed..."

I appreciate his referring to Kartik Purnima very much. He has the ability to make to the right kind of reference.

In this statement, some general reference is there about the Second Summit and the outcome of it. It is for the Foreign Minister, here in this House, to tell us in concrete terms the outcome and the decisions that have come out from the Summit.

12.28 hrs.

[SHRI SOM NATH RATH *in the Chair*]

Now, before me, hon. Members have said so many things. I also very much appreciate the need for closer cooperation of the countries of South Asia, those who have formed this organisation, SAARC. It will be really a good thing if this Association can really help in promoting the good contacts among peoples of these countries. That is very much needed. There are so many irritants in our relations. But they are not making of the people. They are the making of the vested interests, those who are living in these countries and also residing abroad.

The other Members have spoken about the economic cooperation, cultural exchanges, different projects to be undertaken, on the areas of education, child welfare, women development and all that. But with that a common perception is required about our identity. We have to identify why in the past we fell apart, who instigated animosity in this region and why despite all our best efforts, we could not come together. Who they are? That is very important. Now the Prime Minister says that bilateral issues are not to be taken up in this forum. That is very good. The point is that certain irritants are there in our bilateral relations which may endanger this very concept also. So, we cannot be oblivious to this. While I want that our relations become more closer, they get cemented more, but if we keep our eyes shut on that, Mr. Mushran Ji, then it will be a real problem.

AN HON. MEMBER : Why Mushran Ji ?

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : He was looking at me. On this, Sir, the other day on the AIR and television we heard that Prime Minister Junejo has said that AWACS are not coming to Pakistan, but today one news is there that the Ambassador of USA in Pakistan has said that they are going to get these. What is true ?

[*Translation*]

SHRI AJAY MUSHRAN (Jabalpur) : Where did you read this ?

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : Do you not go to library ?

[*English*]

So, these are the things. We are serious about it. When SAARC was formed, we initially thought that we are going to cinch these irritant issues, but now we find that Natwar Singh Ji—I have great respect for him—has said that in Bangalore what was to be discussed was non-controversial issues and non-political issues. Well, it is very good that we should be cautious not to take up such issues which may harm the development of SAARC, but I must say that we should have the courage to add to the non-controversial items certain other things. What are those ? . . . (*Interruption*).

AN HON. MEMBER : He is talking great sense.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU (Gobechetti palayam) : Always he talks with great sense.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : Apart from all this, the convenors have been appointed and all that we have heard—science and technology, cooperation, culture, education. That is there very much. If you can explore certain areas that is very important and we have to do it. We have no objection to that. But whether we can add certain other items to those non-controversial items? I believe we have to take that initiative. Can't we say from SAARC that none of these countries will allow its territory to any foreign country to establish a base? India would not allow, Pakistan would not allow, Maldives would not allow. This is one important thing and everyone should agree on that. If we think that that will create disruption, then it is no use of having SAARC no talk, nothing.

[Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary]

Another thing we can demand is this that the concept of Indian Ocean as zone of peace is a long-pending demand. It was initiated in December 1981 in the 26th Session of U.N. General Assembly. Then after that the direction was to hold an international conference in Colombo. What happened to that? It seems that everybody has forgotten that. Can't SAARC take up this issue? . . . (Interruptions).

DR. G.S. RAJHANS : You are speaking in China's words that China has advocated this policy of zone of peace.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOWDHARY : I am talking about Indian Ocean as zone of peace. On Nepal I have certain things to say. I do not support that zone of peace concept. But this we can take up as a zone of peace. If Colombo cannot host it, somebody else can host it. There is no objection to that.

Another thing which is non-controversial we can demand from SAARC and that this is to the benefit of this region, to the benefit of the people of this region to live in peace. What is that? To demand of the members of the Security Council to give an undertaking not to interfere in the affairs of this region. Are SAARC Members ready to demand that declaration?

Nobody should interfere—neither USA, nor USSR, nor anybody. But they are not going to say. Who will say? On this point the goodwill and real intention will be expressed.

I do not want to speak on other points or other aspects. These are important aspects. A good sound basis can be found for real co-operation in this region—that it will be free from any threat, danger and obstruction in future,

SHRI SHARAD DIGHE (Bombay North Central) : General expectation in

the beginning was at a low level as far as SAARC meet was concerned because of the shadow cast by bilateral disputes particularly between India and Pakistan and also ethnic disputes in Srilanka. It was held that no substantial headway could be made at such a meet. But it is gratifying to note that these expectations had totally belied—and the results achieved were weighty, substantive and impressive. The Bangalore summit of SAARC has helped in consolidating the gains of regional co-operation. In some Conferences of regional nature we do not expect at times very spectacular achievements. But with patience we have to make progress slowly and achieve one by one more and more items of co-operation. The results of

this meet can be divided into two categories. The first is the establishment of institutional machinery and some procedural conventions which have been agreed upon. Already reference has been made to the establishment of the Secretariat at Kathmandu to the establishment of the Secretary General Mr. Abdul Osman of Bangladesh. Apart from this there has also been an agreement regarding sharing of costs and the most important is formulation for programming costs and the costs of regional institutions have also been agreed upon. I may go further and add that uniform guidelines for convening meetings, etc., have also been formulated. These are not small gains though after they have been achieved they appear not significant. In such regional formulations it is every difficult to agree upon the place of the Secretariat, the procedure of the meetings, the funds sharing. But we must congratulate all the concerned and especially the Prime Minister of India who has taken lead in all these things and got this agreement made on these issues which have been otherwise controversial also.

Apart from this procedural part there are several other decisions which have been made, which demonstrate that SAARC is a dynamic concept. Therefore, the organisers deserve the congratulations on this point also.

A point was raised just now by the earlier speaker that we should find out

new and new areas for cooperation. He had suggested some of them, but I may point out that already in this meet itself nearly 8 or 9 subjects have been found out which may be termed as the extension of the SAARC cooperation. In the first place I may refer to the establishment of Technical Committee for Drug Trafficking. In this connection we must remember that this was a matter of controversy between Pakistan and India. In fact a press statement has appeared of our Prime Minister that drugs had become an important India-Pakistan issue. So, from this point of view we must say that it is a great achievement that all have agreed to the establishment of the Committee for Drug Trafficking. Not only that it has been established, but it has been decided that it is to be headed by Pakistan.

PROF. N.G RANGA (Guntur) : Send a thief to catch a thief!

SHRI SHARAD DIGHE : So, from this point of view this programme is a great achievement.

There have been several other agreements which have been made extending the term of reference of agricultural committee to forestry, then exchange of experience, methods of planning and implementation. In this respect the planners are to meet and discuss all these things from time to time. The experience of collection of revenue by India also has been a matter of query by other countries, I am told. And therefore, that will also be taken note of and discussed. Of course, there may be no planned harmonisation but our experience and methods of planning and implementation will be utilised in this Committee.

Then, identification of a number of priority objectives of SAARC countries on international economic issues has also been done in this meet and therefore, from this point of view it is a great success. The success of this SAARC cannot be merely assessed from the Bangalore Declaration itself, but we must take also into consideration the informal meetings of the

Nandi Hills of the Heads of these countries where several decisions have been taken, which perhaps could not have been taken in the formal meetings.

This occasion was utilised for the bilateral talks also. As has been said that in such conferences always opportunities are taken to sort out the bilateral issues and as we read, there have been also bilateral talks between India and Pakistan and bilateral talks between India and Sri Lanka also, and some breakthrough has taken place as far as India-Pakistan bilateral relations are concerned, as is reported. So, these are also to be taken as success of this Conference.

There have been several other points which have been decided to which the earlier speakers made a reference—radio and television and tourism. About tourism a very important point that has been decided is the facility for limited convertibility of national currencies for tourists from SAARC countries. It would very much help us as far as tourism is concerned, but the most important point is that this will lead to the concrete steps for people-to-people contacts and that is very important as far as such regional conferences are concerned. Therefore, the other points, namely, programmes for exchange of scholarships, early institution of SAARC's scholarships, fellowships and Chairs in different universities would also result in people-to-people contacts. Then, a documentation centre has also been decided, as far as this is concerned. So, involvement of youths of each country is proposed with the development programme of the other country under which organised volunteers of one country would work in the other country in the fields of agriculture and forestry expansion work. This will also make people-to-people contact and involvement of the people, especially youths of these countries.

Now, as I said, SAARC has been on the right track, avoiding bilateral problems and emphasising the need to take decisions unanimously. No doubt, the definition of terrorism might

[Shri Sharad Dighe]

not have been agreed upon or might not have been successfully agreed upon. But at least, there is an unequivocal condemnation of terrorism as far as this summit is concerned. Therefore, I have got great hope that in due course of time, there will be an agreement on the definition of terrorism also. It is not wise, in such conferences, to force an issue and take pride in a demonstrable way but with fragile results. Therefore, patience and perseverance are necessary from this point of view.

Now, the Secretariat has been established. I would only say that care should be taken to see not to evolve this Secretariat itself as a typical international bureaucracy. We should take care to see that it really follows up the programmes and the decisions of SAARC and the different Committees thereof that are going to work. It was, of course, significant that Zia was absent in this summit. I would like to know from the hon. Minister also, whether there is any political significance attached to the absence of the President of Pakistan in this summit and sending merely the Prime Minister of that country. It is because in the earlier occasion, he was himself present at Dacca. I would like the hon. External Affairs Minister to throw some light on this point.

With these words, I congratulate our Prime Minister on taking a lead and having become the Chairman of the SAARC this year. I am sure that this Association will make a great head-way and whatever issues of cooperation which are being decided in all those fields, this region will make a great progress.

**SHRI V.S. KRISHNA IYER** (Bangalore South): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I deem it a proud privilege to speak on the subject because the Second Summit of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation was held in Bangalore, which is my constituency.

Sir, keeping with the tradition of Karnataka, the culture of Karnataka, the

Bangaloreans did accord a very warm reception to our leaders. The Government of Karnataka and the Bangalore City Corporation worked day and night to make the event a great success. The SAARC Summit is really a historic event. Sir, I had the fortune of witnessing both the opening session and the concluding session. I heard with rapt attention the speeches of all the leaders. I say with confidence that the leaders were very sincere in their desire to strengthen the SAARC organisation and also they re-affirmed their faith in promoting common good of our people through cooperative solutions to the problems, which they have agreed to hear.

The Preamble of the SAARC Chapter adopted at Dacca Summit clearly said that political and bilateral issues should be kept out and will not be allowed to endanger the spirit of cooperation. At the conference, they had not discussed the bilateral issues. But outside the conference, they did discuss the bilateral issues. Our country is now anxious to know what transpired between the visiting leaders and our Prime Minister. We are also anxious to know the outcome although our Prime Minister in his Press Conference very briefly stated that he had discussions with Sri Lankan President Shri Jayewardene and also with the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

So far as his discussions with the Prime Minister of Pakistan are concerned, the Prime Minister of Pakistan has stated that Pakistan has not exploded nuclear bomb. The Pakistan Prime Minister has also stated that "USA is not supplying us AWACS planes". Our Prime Minister said that India is not convinced about it.

Another burning problem which has agitated the minds of the people of India is the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. That problem was also discussed for hours together. Our Prime Minister had to leave at 2.30 PM the other day but he prolonged his discussions for four hours at a stretch because he was very keen that a solution is found to this problem because genocide

is carried on in Sri Lanka. They want to find a solution soon. Our Prime Minister has not given us the details. He only said that at this junction it will not be in the interest of both the countries to divulge anything. That is all right. We trust it.

This House and the whole country is very anxious to know the outcome of the bilateral talks between the various leaders and the Prime Minister had.

Our Prime Minister promised to make a statement next week. I wish by the time we discussed this important subject, we had known the details.

The Preamble of SAARC Charter also goes on to declare that they will be guided by respect for the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity, national independence, non-use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and peaceful settlement of issues.

The SAARC nations are in one way or the other bound by commonalities. They have a common geography, a common culture, a common temperament and common heritage.

Under the dynamic leadership of Bangladesh, SAARC has grown as a healthy child and now it is the turn of India to develop this child.

I am sure we cannot put the entire responsibility on our Prime Minister himself. The whole nation is behind the Prime Minister in strengthening this organisation. We have got a very able External Affairs Minister. We have three able External Affairs Ministers 'Trimurthies.' I am sure they would share the responsibility because people expect a lot from SAARC.

The very fact that the seven leaders have met in the SAARC Conference is a step forward. We cannot take merely pious decisions. People will not be

satisfied. They want concrete action. People are watching how this organisation works.

We are all very happy to see that a permanent Secretariat will be established in Kathmandu in January. When the Secretariat is established, it is natural to expect that the implementation of decisions arrived at the Summit Conference will be looked into.

Many of the Members have referred to the various areas of cooperation on a number of subjects. They have agreed to share the benefits each other.

One important thing on which they have jointly resolved is to fight against the evils of drug-trafficking and terrorism. That is very important, so far as our country is concerned. They decided to promote people to people contact at all levels.

SAARC leaders had two more possible items of cooperation at the Nandi Hills. Nandi provides a very good climate. The two items are cooperation for strengthening popular participation and inter-action. These include radio and television programmes, tourism, exchange of scholars, a Regional Documentation Centre and organised volunteer exchange programme for work in Agriculture and Forestry.

DR. V. VENKATESH (Kolar) :  
Nandi Hills are in my district, Kolar.

SHRI V.S. KRISHNA IYER : If there was some more time, they would have solved many more problems at the Nandi Hills.

*(Interruptions)*

Now, the whole world is watching as to how this Bangalore Declaration will be implemented. The implementation programme is in the hands

[Shri V.S. Krishna Iyer]

of the Ministers and the Secretaries concerned. At first, we were disappointed, in the morning, when the Prime Minister addressed the Press Conference and thought that bilateral talks between India and Pakistan have failed. But, fortunately thanks to the guidance by the Prime Minister, the hon. Minister for External Affairs has pursued it. Mr. Natwar Singh and others could do their tasks with their counterparts. It is really a very happy augury to note that normalisation process will begin from the next round at Islamabad. The Foreign Secretaries will be meeting. That is very essential. Many members have referred to solving bilateral issues and they said that the bilateral issues cannot be solved in meeting only once in a year. The Officials can meet once in a month to discuss about the mutual cooperation. But these burning problems, particularly the issue between Pakistan and India cannot wait any longer. It cannot wait for an another summit. I am sure they will do something. Being in Bangalore, I saw with my own eyes how the Foreign Secretaries and the Foreign Ministers were burning their midnight oil to prepare the ground for the summit conference. That is why the concluding Session was able to conclude within an hour. The officials worked day and night.

The Prime Minister in his speech has quoted Kautilya as saying that we must have good neighbourly relations. Even as individuals we feel that we must have good neighbours. Whenever we go in for a house, we ask as to who are all our neighbours. It is necessary that we should develop good relationships with our neighbour.

One thing the world must know. Though we are a big country and though we have got our own resources, India has never shown the big-brother attitude towards any country. It conducted itself with dignity. Though SAARC is a non-political Organisation and no reference should be made to the political side of it, two of the leaders did make references to the Summit of the bilateral issues. The

Pakistani Prime Minister referred to the movement of troops in the border. The Sri Lankan President, in his extempore portion of his speech, referred to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. But our Prime Minister did not react. Because it has been very clearly stated that political issues will not be discussed. Though in the SAARC Conference it was not discussed, it is necessary that political issues also must be solved sooner or later. I would like to make one last point. Another disappointment that was in store for us was the area of cooperation was not extended. India was very keen that trade and industry etc. should be included. It would have benefited other countries too. But somehow the other countries have mis-trust in us and they did not agree to it. In the SAARC the convention is that unless the decision is unanimously acceptable, it will not be adopted. We hope that at the next Summit, the area will be further extended. This SAARC spirit and the Bangalore Declaration will serve as a star for world peace and stability. For this region, nearly 100 crores of people live. With these words I wish success not only to the Conference which has just been concluded but also to the SAARC Secretariat and SAARC officials.

[Translation]

SHRI SHRIPATI MISARA (Machhlishahr) : Mr. Chairman Sir, the first summit conference of the SAARC was held in Dhaka in which the heads of States or the Prime Ministers of all the seven countries participated. The second conference was held in Bangalore but the Head of the State of the Pakistan, which is the second largest country member of the SAARC (first being India) did not attend it. The Prime Minister of that country participated in this SAARC conference. Undoubtedly, this would have no importance in an ordinary situation but keeping in view the relations prevailing between India and Pakistan the hon. Minister, as Shri Dighe has said, must clarify the position. I do not know what the hon. Minister will say. But he is a learned person and can throw some light on this issue to remove our doubts. But still the common man will

have a lingering doubt as to why participate the Head of the State of that country did not. Many issues like the setting up of a permanent secretariat, the procedure to be adopted etc. were setting in Bangalore. I do not want to repeat what has already been said as it will serve no purpose. I want to thank our Prime Minister and the other Heads of State and the Prime Ministers who participated in this conference. They decided many issues. Those issues may not suit some people. When the hon. Member Shri Saifuddin Chaudhary was speaking, I felt that he was not touching the real issue. We want to have good relations and to achieve this we are making efforts in various directions. We are trying to have exchange programmes on agriculture, forestry and some other fields. At the same time, we have a feeling that if we touch some controversial issues they may hamper the progress of this conference. All right, touch such issues at the time you think fit. But until personal, political and national relations are discussed frankly and the sore points are removed, you will not be able to find real solution of the problem.

**SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY :** What are the sore points ?

**SHRI SHRIPATI MISHRA :** Shri Choubeyji, please excuse me. I may tell him that he belongs to a party which may not be perturbed even if India is attacked. You may be remembering that at the time of the war with China, he was not concerned at all. May I tell you what pinches you.

**SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore) :** Please do, even by abusing.

**SHRI SHRIPATI MISHRA :** Every day, discussion takes place here. Although I have not participated in any of the discussions but every time I hear that some foreign hand is behind this terrorism. Some foreign power is training the terrorists and sending them here. Who is this foreign power ? Sometimes we even

name it and say that we have proof of its involvement. It has become the biggest problem for our country. When we have talks with that power on various issues, why then do we hesitate to raise this point ? We must discuss this issue also. Only then will we be able to know their intentions. If they are not prepared to talk on this issue then it will make their intentions clear. The Charter of SAARC expressly says that no country shall interfere in the sovereignty, rights and internal affairs of another country. You have included all the principles of the Panch Sheel in this charter and in spite of this, if any country is not willing to sort out the irritants and does not respond satisfactorily then, certainly, its intentions cannot be bonafied and when the intentions are *malafied*, how can we sit together and settle the issue.

Secondly, about the problem of Assam, it was decided during Prime Ministership of late Shrimati Indira Gandhi that a barbed wire fence would be erected along the border to check the infiltration from Bangladesh. There was no controversy over it because the fence was to be raised on our side of the border. But still the issue is hanging fire. What is wrong in it ? Why do they want to prevent us from doing so ? There is no controversy about it. And, if the other party considers it wrong, and at the same time, is not ready to resolve the issue in a practical manner, then it certainly means that they do not want to resolve the issue amicably. These are the two things I had to tell you.

The third problem is the ethnic problem of Sri Lanka. The steps and efforts of our Hon. Minister to solve this problem are praiseworthy, but while efforts are on, their armed forces attack Tamils and kill many people. There must be some negotiation with them to resolve this problem. I do not want you to take a decision. But these issues should be discussed frankly as SAARC countries are considered to be a family. The SAARC countries should sit like a family and discuss their problems without any hesitation. Everyone should listen to those

[Shri Shripati Mishra]

problems. If someone does not speak frankly and does not want to accuse someone openly, then, let them not do so. But all these issues and intentions must be made clear to this family of SAARC. You have taken a major step—people to people contact—and when this contact is achieved, the masses of the respective countries will force their rules to adopt the right approach. You have taken some decisions about the mass media and certain other matters. I want you to stress on the implementation aspect of the proposals of setting up of the communication system and people to people contact.

On economic front, I am not very optimistic that much can be achieved by mutual exchanges. But whatever be the results, they will be for the good. I want to say that you must expand the means of communication. The news to be exchanged among the member countries must be authentic, otherwise, the outside forces having very powerful news agencies will distort the news and try to spoil our relations. We must ensure that only authentic news is exchanged. In order to achieve the people to people contact, you have devised some exchange programmes involving students, professors, technicians, etc., and I think it will help them in understanding each other. This will bring some qualitative changes in the thinking of the people. They will try to set priorities to achieve goodwill and friendship among these countries.

In the end, I want to invite your attention to two things. I would like our hon. Foreign Minister to ponder over the point which General Sahib has just reminded. Burma and Afghanistan are at least two such countries and it is a historical fact that they had age old ties with this continent and there had been close contact between the people of those countries and the rest of the continent (*Interruptions*). . . . Thailand also comes in this category. So, efforts should be made to include at least such countries in this family and forum. It will widen the base, expand commerce and trade and

give strength to this movement. I am using the word 'strength' because it is the age of 'materialism' and strength and materialism are understood better than anything else. Our Prime Minister on his return from visit to Australia and New Zealand had said that countries like Burma, Thailand and Afghanistan which even today follow certain Indian traditions and culture should be included in this movement to widen its base. This will give strength to the movement itself and to its voice in the international forums. I do not advocate creation of any power bloc or military power. It is not required, but some arrangements must be made to voice forcefully the principles of Panch Sheel propounded by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the great leader of India in this group so that the voice may reach the member countries. With these words, I thank you for giving me time to express my views.

[English]

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU (Gobichetipalayam) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, so far as SAARC Summit is concerned at the outset we have to convey our compliments to the hon. Prime Minister who has been selected as the Chairperson of SAARC and who has taken much pains in order to settle the Sri Lankan issue at Bangalore itself. Bangalore was the right place to hold SAARC Summit as South is always a zone of peace. Sir, on account of convening of the Summit at Bangalore it got a face-lift as Rs. 3-4 crores were spent for this purpose. I request the hon. Minister of External Affairs that such Conferences can be convened in Madras also so that Madras may also get a face-lift by spending Rs. 3-4 crores.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : Why not Calcutta, Sir ?

PROF. N.G. RANGA : No. There is pollution.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY : It is very much growing. It is not limping.

**SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU :** The SAARC summit is a step in the right direction. Definitely, the SAARC conference at Bangalore is a substantial improvement over the conference at Dhaka which was held last year. The declaration has also paved the way for constructive efforts in the nine areas identified in 1985 for an integrated programme of action. I request the Government to see that the implementation is done in letter and spirit.

We have seen so many conferences and after the conferences are over, they have been taking so many steps, but the steps taken are mostly inconclusive or they are not at all useful to the people at large. But I hope that the decisions taken in this conference will be implemented in letter and spirit, and we will be able to use them for the child and woman welfare.

In the conference at Dhaka in the year 1985 it was also decided that the bilateral issues cannot be raised in this conference, but unfortunately, the Sri Lankan President, Shri Jayewardane, contrary to this convention, raised the problem of Sri Lankan Tamils and criticised the policy and programmes of the Sri Lankan Tamils. It is a fact that his Government has killed nearly ten thousand Tamilians so far and displaced nearly four and a half lakh Tamilians from Sri Lanka and has also put 4500 Tamilians inside the jails. A number of Tamil villages have also been destroyed. After all this, he speaks in the SAARC summit as if he is a Budha or a Gandhi. He also speaks about *ahimsa* and non-violence. It is just like **\*\***successfully quoting the sermons of the Bible in the presence of Christ in the church. Actually, Shri Jayewardane before leaving Sri Lanka for Bangalore virtually declared a war. He also stated in Sri Lanka to the press that this was the last chance he was giving to the Tamil militants. If they were not coming forward to the negotiating table, he would declare a war. What does it mean? He is purchasing gunboats, he is also purchasing warplanes and arms from Pakistan, China, USA and other countries. The entire Tamil race in

Sri Lanka is actually facing annihilation and liquidation at the hands of Sri Lankan Government.

I appreciate and I congratulate our hon. Prime Minister who has actually taken so much of pains in order to settle the issue. In fact, marathon talks were going on between our hon. Prime Minister and the Sri Lankan President, Shri, Jayewardane for four hours, for five hours, but we do not know what has been the outcome of the talks so far. Anyhow, we are under the impression that our Prime Minister will come forward to settle the issue. If the issue is not settled during the period of our hon. Prime Minister, I think, there cannot be any solution for the Tamils in Sri Lanka. This is the right time and our hon. Prime minister is taking sincere steps and we appreciate it.

At the same time, our hon. Prime Minister gave a statement yesterday, but unfortunately, he has not mentioned even a single word about the Sri Lankan problem. I request him to come forward with a statement. At least the External Affairs Minister who is going to reply to this debate may mention something with regard to this problem and what actually happened in Bangalore between Shri Jayewardane and our hon. Prime Minister. As regards violation of human rights, it does not find a place in the Statement. The genocide that is taking place in Sri Lanka also does not find a place in the Statement. All these things should have been mentioned in the statement.

All those leaders who came to attend the Bangalore Summit, made a pledge to meet the needs of the children. This is an immensely important matter and that is why they have made a mention about it in the meeting. In this context, they called for an early conclusion and adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. They subscribed to the goals of universal immunisation by 1990, universal primary education, maternal and child nutrition and so on. These are very important areas. We have to see that we meet children's requirements fully so that they can have proper mental

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**\*\***Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Shri P. Kolandaivelu]

and physical development. This is very necessary because children are the future of our country. In this connection, I would like to stress one point. If we really want our children to grow with good health and have free education, we should give them free nutritious meals. This Nutritious Meal Scheme is being implemented in Tamil Nadu and our hon. Prime Minister has to come forward to have this scheme. I suggest that this Nutritious Meal Scheme should be implemented immediately in almost all the States.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Idukki) : I do not want to repeat the points that have already been mentioned by my friends. Sir, SAARC is still in an infantile stage. But within a short span of time, it is proved that SAARC can be a very useful forum for mutual cooperation among the States of South Asia. The success, within this small period, is certainly due to the statesmanship of our Prime Minister. Much of the credit for the success of SAARC as also the success of the Summit in Bangalore goes to our Prime Minister.

This success is in spite of the fact that there are a number of irritants among the States of SAARC. There are differences of opinion between India and Pakistan; there are differences between India and Sri Lanka. As has already been stated, our basic difference with Pakistan lies in the fact that that nation is trying to become a nuclear power. They have already manufactured a nuclear bomb or they are about to make it. Again, sophisticated arms are being induced into that region, which poses a threat to our security. Pakistan is also encouraging terrorism and is playing in the hands of imperialist Powers to destabilise our country. Similarly, with Sri Lanka also, we have certain problems. As my hon. friend Sri Kolandaivelu has rightly said, Tamils are being butchered and a genocide is taking place, in that country. But, while the genocide is taking place, Mr. Jayewardane came here to Bangalore where he preached a sermon of peace. It is true, he preached *Ahimsa*. But we should

see that in spite of these irritants, these countries of the South Asia were able to come together around a table on one platform. Is it not a success? Is it not a success that Jayewardane was made to preach *Ahimsa* in Bangalore? This is our success.

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU : After killing so many people there?

PROF. P.J. KURIEN : Let me please finish. I am coming to it. To that extent it is a success. One Hon'ble Member asked when these irritants are there, what are you going to do with SAARC? Sir, when individuals or countries come together, if we are sincere about friendship first we should identify the areas of cooperation. We should find out, in what all fields, we can co-operate and we should work in those fields. Those areas of unity or areas of co-operation should be used as a footing, in order to solve the problems which are in front of us. Therefore, these seven countries of South-Asia coming together and identifying the areas of unity, identifying the fields where they can co-operate in itself is a success and a step forward in solving the problems ahead of us, i.e., the problems confronting our country and Pakistan and the problems confronting our country and Sri Lanka and also other problems. Therefore, in that context, it is a success. We should know that this we have achieved within a short span of time. How can you expect big result within such a short span of time? If a tree is planted, to get fruits it will take some time. It has to grow. You cannot get results from a small sapling. So it is only a sapling. It has to grow. If it has to grow, we should be prepared to nurture it with an intention that it should grow. That is what India is doing. It is, Bangladesh which has initiated or came forward with an idea of the regional co-operation. But we are trying our best to nurture it. Our Prime Minister has said while he is the Chairman of the SAARC, he will try to broaden the areas of cooperation and will try to see that SAARC is a reality in solving of any problem of this area.

Again in the Prime Minister's speech, it has been said, I quote :

"The basic thrust of our affair is to promote people to people contacts at all levels."

Sir, this is the most important point. If we look at the history we find that the cultural tradition of the people of this area is the same. We were sharing the common history, due to, of course, historic reasons. Therefore, in addition to a Government to Government co-operation, the thrust is to be given to people to people co-operation. I am happy here to say, the areas which were identified, are the areas of co-operation which will promote people to people co-operation. That will lead to emergence of cultural personality, which was already there, but which is dormant for the time being. So, it is our duty, as the Central Member of the SAARC or as the leader of the SAARC or the Chairman of the SAARC to see that this Common cultural personality emerges among the countries of the SAARC. That excellent personality will be a catalyst in solving the problems which are confronting us. Therefore, this identification cultural personality is one of the most important aims of the SAARC and it should achieve it. I am very happy that the SAARC is moving in that direction and our Prime Minister is giving a lead in that direction.

Sir, South Asia has its own regional identity. My hon. friend here said that we can add some more countries to this group. Yes, Thailand and Burma can be included in this group. What is our cultural bond with them? When, I visited Thailand, I found that when I said, I come from India, they spoke of India as the great country of Buddha. Cultural bond is already there with these countries but we never tried to discover that bond. These countries also can join with us. So, a regional South Asian identity of culture, tradition and common history can be developed. If that is developed, I am sure it will be one of the political Powers in the region.

True, we have no political intentions. The hon. Prime Minister has said ; SAARC

is not a political forum. Even if it is not such a forum, the voice of SAARC will be listened to by the Big Powers. If that is to be achieved, SAARC should emerge as one as a unifying factor, unifying force in every field.

I am happy that this regional identity has been discovered. It is not something new. It was already there. We were not able to discover it. Now that we have discovered it, it is our duty to see that this regional identity is maintained. Other countries which are a kin to our culture should also be brought into that forum.

True, SAARC is not able to solve some of the problems in the region. About terrorism SAARC was not able to agree on a definition. But it has been agreed that terrorism should be fought out. That much of an agreement is there.

I am sure that whatever we have achieved, is something commendable ; on this footing if we go ahead, we will surely solve our other problems also. I am sure that our Prime Minister is giving a lead in that direction. I wish him success ; the entire people of the country is with him, and wish him success. Let us all hope that SAARC might lead to a solution of all the bilateral problems of this region.

With these words, I conclude.

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore) : I welcome the declaration of the recent SAARC meeting held at Bangalore. But we must be realistic. There should not be too much of an elation ; neither should there be an absolute frustration.

This is the youngest grouping in the world. Also, the population that these countries cover is the largest in number, compared to all other groupings in the world. There have been other groupings like ASEAN, Gulf countries, and also other groupings. But these groupings had inspiration from some other countries, from imperialist countries like USA, and from NATO. Here there is the difference between these groupings, and our grouping, called SAARC. That SAARC has come

[Shri Narayan Choubey]

into being, is itself a big achievement. Previously, Bangladesh and even Sri Lanka wanted to join ASEAN. Pakistan wanted to join the West Asian Group; but after a realistic survey, realism prevailed on them. The very situation obtaining in this area demanded that we the people of South Asia combined, and stood combinedly in whatever manner possible, and in whatever circumstances.

Sometimes we have had differences, no doubt; but the differences should be left aside, and the areas of unity must come forward.

This declaration by SAARC has given very positive results. I would speak of many things, but the first thing I will speak about is this: it is for the first time that a South Asian Broadcasting System is going to come up. It will have a very good impact in South Asian nations, amongst whom there are so many differences.

We are going to develop tourism—people to people contacts. If the people from Bangladesh, young people from Bangladesh come to Calcutta and People from Calcutta go to Dacca, Islamabad people come to Delhi and Delhi people go to Islamabad, definitely, the question of hatred will be coming down; they will be learning from each other more, will be understanding from each other more; it is a very big step, if we can really implement these things.

Similarly, voluntary programmes for youths, if our youths go to Bangladesh for making irrigation projects if youths from Pakistan come to Delhi to solve the problem of drought, to serve us, definitely, we will be developing a common culture; that thing too is very good.

As has been stated, some welfare measures are going to be adopted. Universal child welfare programme will be there by which you are going to immunise all children by 1990; universal primary education; provision for safe drinking water by 2000 AD. They are all laudable

things. Nobody is there in India who would not support these things.

We are to take a very correct and realistic assessment regarding the groupings; their socio-economic conditions obtaining in these countries, in various countries are not the same. In India, we have democracy. In Pakistan, Nepal and Bhutan they are theocratic States. Some say that their religion is Hinduism; some say Islam is their culture. There is military dictatorship in Pakistan; in Bangladesh, there is military dictatorship posing that they are democrats. We have got our own democracy. Let different types of countries have been able to come together and sit together and take some decisions, which although they are not so full as the need requires, even then it is a very big advance.

The Bangalore declaration reads as follows:

The leaders reaffirmed that the principal goal of SAARC was to promote the welfare of the people of South Asia, to improve their quality of life, to accelerate economic growth, social programmes and cultural development in the region and to provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realise their full potential."

It is a very laudable announcement. So, far, it is all right. We cannot differ with it. But then we must look to the reality; how far we can really do in the obtaining situations as they are now. Except Nepal and Bhutan, there even today monarchy is ruling at the fag end of the 20th century even when bourgeois system, capitalist system is coming down; and socialism is coming up. In Nepal and Bhutan, we get Kings with absolute power; and in the rest of these countries, while poverty is the main problem, as has been stated, we want to live in dignity, all these are colonies of erstwhile British Imperialism. India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Srilanka are members of the ex-colonies, and we are poor; we are developing nations; we are not a developed nation

because of that. Mr. Goswami has stated that the poorest of the poor live in those areas; it is not because of our fault; it is because imperialist countries looted these countries and suck our blood. Even now, imperialists have their own designs for this zone; they want to subvert and destroy our economy in this zone; it is well-known to us what they are doing. It has been stated very clearly and categorically in this declaration. It reads as follows:

"The heads of state or government were deeply concerned that the world economy continued to be in the throes of crisis, with particularly harsh and severe consequences for the economies and development prospects and aspirations of the developing countries."

Very correct. It further reads as follows:

"These negative factors include: Depressed commodity prices, rising protectionism, global recession, lower export earnings, net outflow of financial resource from developing countries and an aggravated debt crisis."

We are all victims of these things: let it be it Pakistan, be it Bangladesh, be it Ceyland and be it India. These things still continue.

And then, de-stabilising internally by using all sorts of ethnic and social contradictions! It is quite well known. What is being done by Pakistan? What is Pakistan doing in Punjab? How, they are helping? And even Bangladesh, a small country, they are giving training to TVNs, to come and attack Tripura. It is happening. We are surrounded. The entire area is surrounded. We have got military bases in Pakistan, in Sri Lanka, and even in Bantau and Nepal. Nepal is at least looking towards North, not towards us, that is quite obvious. So what is happening?

India wanted that these things like trade, commerce, industry, power and others have to be part of discussion and decision. It was not agreed to. I am sorry. But then, actually, without these things you cannot advance. We want SAARC to be an instrument of struggle for new economic order and South-South cooperation should start here. We, the people of this region, should meet, know our problems, and help each other. I hope this will flow. It has not yet come. I do not regret. Because, SAARC was born at Dacca, only one year ago; it is an infant. It is only born. So, at that time all these things were not done. Whatever has been done here they were not done at that time. All these things, trade, commerce, industry, power, they could not be included because of objections from some countries. In Dacca other countries objected to whatever has now accepted in Bangalore. So from Dacca to Bangalore is an advancement.

What has happened in Bangalore, we should recognise and under the Chairmanship of our country, and our Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi we will achieve more victories in the economic and social fronts and convert SAARC gradually into what it is not today, but it should gradually be an instrument for South-South cooperation and an instrument for new economic order without which these countries, all these countries not only India, cannot develop. I have full hope that through SAARC we will achieve more and more advancement.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJ KUMAR RAI (Ghosi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Members who spoke before me, discussed in detail how the SAARC came into existence in Dnaka, how its second conference was held in Bangalore on 15th, 16th and how our Prime Minister was elected its chairman. Now it will have a permanent secretariat in Nepal, where we would be able to see all its activities. The seven countries which are its members, have common problems and there is no doubt that all these are developing countries and are facing problems like illiteracy, food, shelter, etc.

[Shri Raj Kumar Rai]

I do not think there is any need to tell that Pakistan, Bangladesh and we had been one country upto 1947 and rest of the countries were at one time British colonies. It is good that we have started our efforts from Bangalore in the direction of removing ignorance and illiteracy and forging towards progress. Shri Rajiv has regarded the movement being at informative stage. Nobody has any doubt regarding the ability, intelligence and competence of our Minister for external affairs. We have been watching all the developments. I would like to raise two or three issues here. We all agree that Burma, Afghanistan and Indonesia should be included in it. We cannot solve our problems by creating small blocks. The aims, for which we have formed the SAARC, requires the participation of these countries. The areas of development mentioned in the charter need everybody's cooperation, without which neither can we bring peace to this sub-continent nor will we be able to make progress and avoid unnecessary wars.

I hope that our learned hon. Minister would throw some light on the points raised by the members, who spoke before me. I do not want to take up those issues which may harm us. In his statement the Prime Minister had stated here yesterday that this was not a forum for bilateral discussions. So far as I can understand his intention is that issues pertaining to any two of the member countries would not be raised and discussed there. We would not discuss in this forum our dispute with Pakistan or what is happening to our Tamil brothers in Sri Lanka, I would submit that if we really want to make progress, we shall have to resolve our differences. Unless we do it and discuss these things openly with one-another, no solution is possible. If President Zia has not come, it is their business, their Prime Minister had come. We shall have to ask Pakistan why they are encouraging the elements who are raising slogans of Khalistan in India; what wrong have we done to them. Do they suspect that the Mukti Bahini in Bangladesh were ours? First, we shall have to make introspection. If we clarify our position, we would seek the same from them also. We can ask them from where

the Khalistanis are getting arms and ammunitions, how trained military personnel are infiltrating into our country, how drugs are being smuggled and how long will it go on? If Pakistan is doing anything against our interests, do you think that covering such things would solve our disputes? While sitting in the SAARC, if we say that we do not want to have bilateral talks with President Jayewardane, do you think that we would be able to sort out our differences with Sri Lanka? We can say this much that we shall not interfere in the sovereignty of any other country and it is good not to interfere in the internal matters of other countries. This is our policy also. We shall also not like any other country's interference in our internal matters but when our Tamil brothers are being killed and the ethnic problem is assuming serious proportions, we must have bilateral talks. Today, we are 7 or 10 countries sitting together, tomorrow it may be 12 or 14 because we have one culture, one religion, we have geographical and historical links. Any of us can have problems. If we do not clear our sides on such platforms, do not try to understand each other's view points, do not sort out our differences, how will we be able to solve our problems. So far as cultural relations and religions are concerned, they do not help and you have a long experience of it. Despite our being Hindu nations, why our relations with Nepal are not improving. China, Japan, Bangkok and Indonesia are the followers of Buddhism but does it play any role in their mutual relations? It is the nation which matters. Somebody said that we should not form any power bloc. But when CENTO, SEATO and NATO can be formed and then the Federation of Gulf countries can be constituted, then, Sir, why cannot we have bilateral talks? Sir, need be, we shall have to create an organisation which will help us in resolving our minor disputes. Nobody has forgotten Diego Garcia, and Gilgit is another example before us. If you do not have talks on all these matters, how these disputes will be resolved.

Therefore, I am of the opinion and want to make a request through you that the experienced and able Minister for External Affairs must see that an open

discussion takes place on these issues and that South Asian countries constitute powerful bloc to make the rest of the world understand that our culture is one, our history is one and we are geographically linked and therefore, our development will take place together.

With these words, I conclude.

[English]

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU (Madras North) : Mr, Chairman, Sir, at the outset I want to congratulate because India has been elected as the Chair Person of the SAARC. After NAM, India has been elected to SAARC. I am happy that India is respected by the outside countries.

Regional cooperation is the motto of SAARC which should also be appreciated. This is really a good motto. The member-countries of SAARC owe huge money as foreign loans. India owes a foreign debt of U.S. \$ 20,464 million, Pakistan owes a foreign debt of \$ 10,600 million, Bangladesh owes a foreign debt of \$ 4,470 million, and Sri Lanka owes a foreign debt of \$ 2,828 million. India is also heading in foreign debt. We do not know how we are going to come out of this economic slavery.

With regard to Sri Lanka, the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is reported to have said that the Sri Lanka's proposal is good. What does it imply? The scope of settlement is limited. The Tamils have to consider only those guidelines now given by Mr. Jayewardene.

Bangladesh was the outgoing Chairman of SAARC. When did Bangladesh come into existence? Formerly it was under Pakistan's rule. There was a genocide in East Pakistan. India took a military action and Bangladesh was born. Now the Bangladesh President is sitting side by side with the Pakistan's Prime Minister because of India's military action. But as far as Tamils are concerned, our Indian Government is preaching only political solution in

Sri Lanka. In recent months, 52 villages in Trinkomalee district have been totally destroyed. The negotiations are going on. Our Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi is not able to prevail upon Shri Jayewardene to stop the killings of Tamils. They are still going on. Shri Jayewardene, before coming to the SAARC conference, declared that this is the last chance they are giving to the Tamil militants. Unless they accept these proposals, there will be war.

Shri Jayewardene's government has openly declared war and is preaching *ahimsa*. My friend Kolandaivelu said **\*\*preaches Bible, but I want to say that.\*\*** is preaching philosophy. So far, ten thousand innocent Tamils have been killed, 4,50,000 Tamils have been displaced, 4,500 Tamils are still in prison, 300 villages have been destroyed, 100 workshops belonging to the Tamils have been demolished. I am addressing this august House, Sir, I do not know how many Tamils have been killed today, how many innocent Tamil women have been raped today. But Mr. Jayewardene is preaching *ahimsa* at our coast, in our country. Red-carpet reception was accorded to Mr. Jayewardene whose government is still killing our Tamils in Sri Lanka. I want to emphasise on the Government that they may come to any agreement with Mr. Jayewardene, whether political or otherwise, but I request the Government, through the External Affairs Minister, that our Prime Minister should prevail upon President Jayewardene to stop the killings at least now—at least now means when the negotiations are at a high pitch.

SHRI VIJAY N. PATIL (Erandol) : History is on record that South Asia was and cradle of civilisation. But because of inbating between kingdoms, the Britishers, Portuguese and Dutch and others ruled South Asia for centuries and after that the countries within this region got independence and started developing on their own with different types of governments—presidential, democratic and kingdoms like King of Bhutan.

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**\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.**

[Shri Vijay N. Patil]

One of my friends said that in Bangalore the President of Pakistan did not come. That does not matter so far as they agree to become partner in SAARC.

The points taken for co-operation in Bangalore declaration are very important, specially the child care and women upliftment. At the same time because of geographical vicinity, there are many important areas where there can be co-operation—economic, social and cultural. Specially in the field of communication our satellite can be useful to all the SAARC countries. We find that there are many misunderstandings, misgivings, when different countries have to come together for communication facilities. One of the examples I have seen—a cable under the sea was to be laid between Kuwait and India. There was controversy whether it should come via Karachi or directly to Bombay. With SAARC establishment of co-operation such type of controversies can be sorted out. There are natural resources which can be shared by these countries only with common expenditure and at the same time less expenditure. For example, rivers like Tista have great potential for hydroelectric power. That power can be given to Bangladesh, to Nepal and it can be utilised in our country.

We see increase of terrorism, drug trafficking in different countries and to control this, if proper co-operation is achieved through this forum, there will be much more advantage to our sub-continent and respect for international law.

We are thinking of economic co-operation in SAARC. We congratulate Rajivji and President of Bangladesh for mooted this idea and bringing it into practice. This should have been done long before as was done by the developing countries in case of European Economic Community. During these days even developed countries are facing global recession—lower export earnings and specially in this region we have aggravated debt crisis. Under these circumstances when the seven countries

will think of economic co-operation, there will be pressures and pulls from the developed countries from different international forums which have advanced loans to these countries and in this atmosphere it will be difficult task for SAARC to achieve this economic co-operation and to establish particular concessions among the countries.

17.00 hrs.

Even then we hope that with the good offices of our young Prime Minister and good intentions of different Heads of States of these countries we will be able to make rapid progress.

Sir, even in the field of technology we can think of horizontal transfer of technologies among these countries and development through such transfers of technologies.

There was a mention that we should increase the number of members, and Afghanistan can join, Burma can join. But to start with, initially we have to see how the experiment of these seven countries constituting the SAARC works. Even Indonesia can join. Some time back, in the Speaker's Delegation I had the opportunity to visit Indonesia and there the Members of Parliament evinced great interest in this SAARC. At that time this SAARC was just a declaration and it was not an established forum at that time. But if we observe, like Afghanistan, Indonesia also is our neighbour. From our Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the Sumatra Islands are only 90 kilometres away. So, we can think of admitting them in the SAARC and request these countries also to become members, as for example, countries like Thailand, Burma, Indonesia and Afghanistan. With the dynamic leadership of our Prime Minister, as a Chairperson of this SAARC, we hope that there will be rapid progress through SAARC in social, economic and cultural upliftment of these countries, and as Mr. Dinesh Goswami has said, we do not want to be a big Brother or a dominant partner in

SAARC, but we want to be an equal partner in the SAARC, and Sir, let us hope that this forum will work as good as the European Economic Community and in this region there will be people-to-people cooperation and peace and amity among the nations.

[*Translation*]

DR. G.S. RAJHANS (Jhanjharpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not want to repeat the points which have already been mentioned. I just want to stress two or three points only.

The second SAARC conference held in Bangalore was a good conference and I think it is the most pleasant development of 1986. It has been the most successful conference. The way the Prime Minister conducted the conference was a big achievement. Although it was said in the forum of the SAARC that there would not be any talk on bilateral relations yet some people raised these points and our Hon. Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi listened to them patiently and did not express any reaction. This is not a small thing in itself.

Those who have read the press reports from Bangalore must have come to know that our new Minister for External Affairs, Shri Narayan Datt Tiwari did much work behind the scenes. He even did not sleep for a whole night. He tried his best to narrow down the area of differences by holding talks with all concerned. I congratulate Shri Tiwari on behalf of the House for his most valuable contribution in making the second SAARC meeting a success.

Sir, I want to go into the background of SAARC and would take a minute's time. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru had said a number of times in this House that he felt very sorry when the people of the neighbouring countries, the people of Asia met each other like strangers and that much could be done to bring them together so that the countries of Asia were able to

raise their issues with one voice. He has also written in his famous book 'Glimpses of the World History' that when people from here go abroad, they talk with their fellowmen in foreign language as if they do not know each other. He had such a great feeling for the unity of the Asian countries that he organised the famous Asian Conference here in March, 1947 and stressed the unity of Asian countries. He said that we all had been the victims of colonialism and that time had come to unite. This spirit of his gave birth to Panchsheel and then to non-Alignment Movement. He strove and worked the whole of his life for the unity of the Asian countries.

About the conception of the SAARC, as has already been stated, the erstwhile President of Bangladesh Shri Zia-ur-Rehman had put idea before Shrimati Indira Gandhi and she had readily accepted it. Then a series of meetings of Foreign Secretaries and Foreign Ministers were held. Only in 1985 the Conference could be held in Dhaka. The people who had watched the Dhaka Conference on T.V. would recall that the atmosphere was such as if the whole of the South Asia had united. The South Asian countries are ready to forget the old differences. Shri Jayewardene had suggested to Shri Rajiv Gandhi to give it a written shape and they were behind him. When Bangladesh was hit by a cyclone Shri Rajiv and Jayewardene visited Bangladesh. The President of Bangladesh also visited India though for a brief period and talks for trade agreements were initiated. Negotiations were started for increasing mutual trade and not attacking nuclear establishments of one another. On the one hand, Pakistan was saying such things and on the other it was secretly helping the terrorists and making of nuclear bomb. I believe that there are immense potentialities in the SAARC. The Prime Minister had stressed there and also said later in his press conference that we wanted to forge economic relations among the SAARC countries.

The total population of these seven countries is one billion, that is, one fifth of world population. Such is the potentiality of these nations. If they co-operate with one another, march together, they can do anything. There are many rivers in

[Dr. G. S. Rajhans]

Nepal. If India and Nepal co-operate with each other in this area, they can generate enough electricity to industrialise Nepal and the whole of India. If there is co-operation between India and Bangladesh in the matter of jute, we can very well compete in the international market. Both the countries are jute competitors and jute growers of both the countries are suffering.

If there is co-operation between Sri Lanka and India, we cannot be loser in matter of tea. What I mean to say is that there is tremendous potentiality of economic co-operation.

Several Members have said that we should not believe Shri Jayewardene's statement. You might have heard the speech of Jayewardene on the television, though I do not support the genocide being perpetrated by Jayewardene; it should rather be opposed. But Jayewardene had said that during freedom struggle he participated in the struggle hand in hand with Nehruji and during his visit to India he used to stay in Anand Bhawan. He further said that when slogans of 'Do and Die' were being raised, he was setting behind Nehruji. Jayewardene might be wrong. But please give some time to the people to ponder over it and to sit together. It is never too late to mend. If cultural relations are promoted and the range of T.V. and radio are increased, the people of that area will see it and will feel that they are really one. You might have seen that in America the public opinion forced President Reagan to impose economic sanctions against South Africa. If cultural relations are promoted in this area and the range of T.V. and radio programme is expanded, the new generation in Pakistan can force the rulers of that country to cooperate with India. In the end, I congratulate Shri Rajiv on behalf of the whole country for providing leadership to the people in the second SAARC conference and making the Conference a success.

[English]

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL  
AFFAIRS (SHRI NARAYAN DATTA)

TIWARI): Mr. Chairman, we have just listened to a momentous and historic discussion which will find a definite and important place not only in the annals of this House but also in the archives of the SAARC and its manifold institutions in the future.

This momentous discussion, even though of short duration, has reflected a rare consensus of views cutting across party lines truly representing the voice and the wishes of the Indian people, as a measure of renaissance of the South-Asian consciousness.

I must congratulate Shri Dinesh Goswami, a veteran parliamentarian, for having made a quintessential representation articulating the spirit of SAARC. I think the arguments that he marshalled, the facts that he doled out and the various substantive points mentioned by him will stand out as arguments of abiding value to support the resurgence of the SAARC spirit in South Asia. I congratulate him for his presentation, for the incisiveness of his arguments and I was thinking that he was a SAARC spokesman or SAARC Foreign Minister speaking.

I would like also to congratulate our esteemed colleague Shri G.G. Swell for his passionate eloquence stressing the necessity of SAARC as an institution. I quote Shri G.G. Swell when he said:—

"In spite of the environment, SAARC is the best thing that could have happened to this region."

We all cannot but agree with him.

Shri B.B. Ramaiah, coming from Andhra Pradesh, representing Telugu Desam, cautioned us—I think he was very correct—he said:—

"Let us build step by step. Let us have a modest, low key approach. Let India behave, not as a big brother but as an elder brother."

I think his advice is very appropriate. That should be the attitude of India and the great Parliament of India. And he reminded us that we have had the same cyclones, the same floods, the same drought situations, even the same earthquakes, Nature, geography, the geo-political situation—all lead to the necessity of South Asia coming together as much as it can.

Shri R.S. Sparrow our well known veteran, of course, wanted this SAARC idea to expand to include Thailand, Indonesia and he referred to the Garuda the Indonesian symbol. He was supported ably by Shri Shripati Mishra who spoke in chaste Hindi about the basic SAARC theme and the importance of people to people contact. That the people to people contact is very important to generate the SAARC consciousness.

Even Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary did not strike a discordant note and he spoke of non-controversialising the issues. I think this is very appropriate phrase rarely used in this House, he said let us non-controversialise the issue. I think it is a rare phrase and for SAARC there are controversial issues. There are controversial and contentious issues but these should be non-controversialised. I think we can agree with him for non-controversialising the issues, not only of SAARC but on many other matters also.

Mr. Sharad Dighe conceived of SAARC as a dynamic concept. Let us aim high. Let us not have a small aim. Shri V.S. Krishna Iyer considered this to be a historic event and he mentioned the support that the State Government of Karnataka and the people of Karnataka and Bangalore gave to the successful conclusion of this event, the Summit. I join him and I may tell this House that the Government of Karnataka the City Corporation of Bangalore and the people, the broad section of political and social opinion in Karnataka tried to do their best. They tried night and day to make this Summit a success. I must put on record of this House that the whole environment

there at Bangalore was enchanting—the illuminations, the broad smile in the faces of the poorest among the poor, the cheering faces. They all expected something to come out of this summit. I think this Bangalore spirit will certainly pervade the Bangalore Declaration of the SAARC.

Even Mr. Somu, even though he was very eloquent in describing the plight of the Sri Lankan Tamils, he also, I think, indirectly supported the SAARC spirit. Mr. V.N. Patil advanced the argument for a horizontal transfer of technology among SAARC Nations. Dr. Rajhans declared SAARC to be the happiest event of the year 1986.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA  
(Bankura): Sir, Mr. Kolandaivelu has not been mentioned. . . .

SHRI NARAYAN DATT TIWARI: I am coming to Mr. Kolandaivelu. I am coming to what he said. He said that the spirit of the South, the spirit of peace that pervades in the South was reflected at the SAARC Summit. I would say that the spirit of peace which we find in South India should also prevail in South Asia. He mentioned that we should have the next Summit in Madras. I hope he would maintain the same hospitable climate as we find in Bangalore so that we could think to hold the next Summit in Madras. I would certainly commend his case to the SAARC Secretariat and the SAARC Heads. While saying all this, I would say that we have yet to do a lot. I fully agree with the hon. Members when they said that a good beginning has been made but we have to move cautiously, step by step. But it does not mean that there will be no obstacles. Mr. Goswami mentioned eight obstacles. Out of these he detailed six obstacles. I may say that SAARC is not based on the commonality of political perception, sharing of a common strategic perception. We have talked about the ASEAN. The ASEAN has now developed a distinct political personality regarding certain issues. The European Common Market has developed an economic personality. It is trying to develop a

[Shri Narayan Datt Tiwari]

political personality, though it has an European Parliament, it has failed yet to have a distinct political personality.

I am reminded of what was discussed in the famous Davor Symposium wherein Prime Minister Papandreu said that even the European Economic Community had only a common agricultural policy. They had yet to evolve a common trade and industrial policy. They were not even united regarding Textile quotas. There are two or three countries even within the European Economic Community which do not recognise textile quotas. There are problems. There are regional groupings we find in Africa. We have COMECON countries also. They have an ideal system of production-cooperation. They have a planning system which is dovetailed; their five-year plans are dovetailed in the fields of production-cooperation. COMECON is thus another regional groupings a successful, grouping which can be an ideal for us to consider. There are many regional groupings. Let us make a beginning. In my own presentation before the Council of Ministers, I myself pleaded for more integration of our policies in the field of economic development and trade. I may tell the hon. Members that many countries like Bhutan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka came out strongly in favour of a position that trade and industry should be included in our future deliberations. We should institutionalise arrangements regarding this. I am personally very hopeful that, in future, definite perspectives will evolve which would lead us to have a more conjoint combination in the field of trade and commerce also. A good beginning has been made for evolving common policies in the field of international economic issues as mentioned in the Bangalore declaration and as mentioned by the Prime Minister himself. We have had a Ministerial meeting of SAARC countries in Islamabad in early April this year. It adopted a declaration reflecting our common position on international economic issues. We have now decided that in 1987 we shall have another Conference at the Ministerial level to decide on our common approach to world economic issues, towards the coming UNCTAD

meeting and also towards the NEW ROUND of Trade Negotiations that we are going to have regarding services and other matters which were discussed and decided upon in Punta del este. The South Asian countries coming together to evolve a common policy regarding international economic issues is a major step forward and we think that, by and by, we will arrive at a stage where we will be able to evolve a common front in industry, in issues regarding industrial development, joint ventures and all other related matters.

Our perception SAARC and was reflected by the Prime Minister in the Dacca Summit statement. He said the model we have evolved is a model which is an accord with our realities, our compulsions and our genius. We have not sought to melt our bilateral relations into a common regional identity but rather to fit South Asian cooperation into our respective foreign policies as an additional dimension. We have evolved modalities which do not allow bilateral strains and stresses to impinge on regional cooperation. There are bilateral differences, there are serious bilateral matters which need solutions, which look sometimes defying solutions, but we are discussing them. Even at the time of the SAARC Summit forum we have had bilateral discussions with Sri Lanka on the Sri Lanka question, on what is happening in Sri Lanka, with Pakistan and with other countries. The Prime Minister in his statement has referred to those discussions and I propose to come forward with another statement. About Sri Lanka, the distinguished Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka was here till last night, he left yesterday night, late at night, and my colleague, Mr. Natwar Singh, had been in constant discussion with him for the last three days. So, things are being tried in a democratic way and we are aware that there are tremendous difficulties to be surmounted before we can reach a solution, and it requires the goodwill. . . .

SHRI P. KOLANDAIVELU : Any progress made in the talks ?

SHRI NARAYAN DATT TIWARI : Of course, there has been progress. As

mentioned by the distinguished Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu himself, who was good enough to come to Bangalore to talk over the matter at the invitation of the Prime Minister, there has been definite progress, but that progress has to be maintained, has yet to culminate in peace. . . .

**SHRI N.V.N. SOMU :** Why don't you prevail upon Mr. Jayewardene to stop killing of the Tamils at least now—at least now ?

**SHRI NARAYAN DATT TIWARI :** That has been our effort—to prevail upon Mr. Jayewardene. That has been our effort all these months and years. That is what our Prime Minister has been doing. I hope Mr. Somu will have a word of appreciation for what our Prime Minister has been doing in this regard.

I hope you have it. Thank you. I hope it will continue.

**SHRI N.V.N. SOMU :** Perhaps even today somebody might have been killed, some woman might have been raped. Why doesn't the Government prevail upon the Government of Jayewardene to stop this ?

**SHRI NARAYAN DATT TIWARI :** I agree that many evil things are happening which should be stopped.

We must recognise that in all regional economic groupings there are methods to rationalise benefits in order to see that the least developed partners gain as much as the more developed partners. Here also we have Maldives and Bhutan. Among the least developed countries of the world, they have their own problems. We cannot ask them to contribute them the same amount as India or Pakistan. There are difficulties regarding formulae fixing contribution also.

So, extensive deliberations on costs that have to be apportioned to different countries have been held. The Heads of States and Governments have directed us, the Foreign

Ministers to go into these questions again. At Nandi Hills I had the privilege of listening to the Summit leaders, their discussions. I can take the House into confidence and inform the House that the four hour discussion that was held in Nandi Hills was rather high level a personal discussion. It was a heart-to-heart chat and discussion on many matters of common interest.

Later, of course, discussions on bilateral issues were also held at Bangalore. I think, the discussions that were held at Nandi Hills would go out in the annals of SAARC as one of the most fruitful and constructive discussions which will consolidate the SAARC congregation in the future. What did our leaders discuss at Nandi Hills ?

**AN HON. MEMBER :** Where Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru had discussions.

**SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY :** But they did not kill monkeys there.

**SHRI NARAYAN DATT TIWARI :** They were not there. We had no information of any monkey killed. (*Interruptions*) Well, Shri Ramakrishna Hegde, the Chief Minister of Karnataka has given a statement in this regard and contradicted the news. We must accept Mr. Hegde's version.

Today we have eleven technical committees functioning regarding SAARC matters. A technical committee on agriculture; a technical committee on rural development, health and population, postal services, meteorology, tele-communications, transport, scientific and technical cooperation, sports, arts and culture, women and development and the latest committee that has been set up at Bangalore is on prevention of drug trafficking and drug abuse. Within the framework of these technical committees, as mentioned by Mr. Goswami and Mr. Swell, already we are establishing the SAARC Meteorological Research Centre in India and the SAARC Agricultural Research Centre, in Bangladesh. Regarding the Meteorological Research Centre

(Shri Narayan Datt Tiwari)

the formula on sharing the recurring costs are being now discussed and the technical committee is going to submit its detailed recommendation on salary structure for the SMRC. This will be done by February 1987.

Regarding the SAARC Agricultural Research Centre in Bangladesh, the Bangladesh Government has submitted a detailed paper projecting the budgetary requirement for this centre.

There is a proposal for establishing a Software Centre for Tele Communications. The parameters of this centre would be finalised in a seminar cum conference on Software Maintenance.

Nepal has proposed that a Regional Tuberculosis Centre should be established in Nepal. A paper is being prepared by Nepal so that the next expert committee can discuss in detail the progress regarding the establishment of this centre.

For the Institute of Transport Technology and Training India is going to prepare an inception paper and a feasibility study. India again would be preparing a project report for the establishment of Regional Centre for Postal Research and Development. It is not that we have to set-up entirely new centres or buildings for the purpose. We could also adopt existing institution or laboratories for the purpose so as to cut costs. Then Pakistan has offered to coordinate the SAARC shippers' conference. Again India would be preparing two other papers for the establishment of a centre for the amelioration of problem soils and a regional institute for appropriate rural technology. This regional institute workshop will be held in India in February, 1987.

I have given the list of all these institutes to drive home the point that the Heads of State have mandated that all technical committees should meet before May, 1987 and finalise their reports on

these Centres, they have directed the Foreign Ministers to meet in the Council of Ministers by May, 1987 so that we can report to the Heads of Governments at the Kathmandu summit. So this new dynamic dispensation has been ordained so that these regional institutes may come up quickly and early.

Now regarding terrorism, there has been a suggestion that the Conference could not agree on anything. This is not the position. Perhaps the House will remember that at Dhaka a Study Group was set-up to examine the problem of terrorism as it affects the security and stability of the region and to submit recommendations as to how best the member countries could cooperate among themselves to solve the problem. This was the decision taken at Dhaka summit. This Study Group met in Dhaka from 12th to 14th June, 1986 and it made ten recommendations regarding condemnation of terrorism ; member countries becoming parties to the existing international conventions on the subject each member-country refraining from organising, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another country or acquiescing in this and measures at the national level to eliminate terrorism ; member-countries to support the recommendations of the U.N. Ad hoc Committee on international terrorism adopted in 1979 Session of General Assembly ; member-countries to set-up an appropriate mechanism for the identification of offences which are regarded as terroristic and which for the purposes of extradition are not to be regarded as political cooperation among the security agencies of member-countries including exchange and sharing of intelligence ; cooperation be given for establishing the mechanism for closer cooperation and coordination among member countries ; cooperation by way of exchange of experts in the field of training, etc. and efforts to ensure that media exercises voluntary restraint in reporting on the acts of terrorism.

These were the recommendations of the Study Group. An Expert Group met in Dhaka on 20-21 September, 1986 to suggest specific measures for the imple-

mentation of the recommendations by the Study Group. The experts group recommended that a declaration should be issued at the appropriate level unequivocally condemning all acts of terrorism and deploring its impact. This has been done as a part of the Bangalore declaration. The eleventh para of Bangalore declaration makes all these formulations and makes the necessary declaratory statement, Recommendations II, IV, VII, VIII, IX and X can best be implemented by efforts at the national level. The experts recommended that all governments should implement these recommendations at their respective national levels.

**SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY** (Puri): Did they attempt to define what terrorism is?

**SHRI NARAYAN DATT TIWARI:** That is what I am coming to.

**SHRI AMAL DATTA** (Diamond Harbour): They could not define it. That is the problem.

**SHRI NARAYAN DATT TIWARI:** At the Bangalore Summit a para has been included in the declaration in which Heads of State or Government agreed that cooperation among SAARC countries was vital if terrorism was to be prevented and eliminated from the region.

They unequivocally condemned all acts, methods and practice of terrorism as criminal and deplored their impact on life and property. They recognised the importance of the principle laid down in UN Resolution 2625 which required each Member State to refrain from organising, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts. This has been incorporated in the Bangalore declaration.

At the Dhaka meeting of the Council of Ministers, Sri Lanka supported by some other Member-countries expressed dissatisfaction at the lack of progress in the

implementation of the recommendations of the Study Group, particularly recommendation No. VI. Recommendation VI is:

"Member-countries should consider the setting up of an appropriate mechanism for the identification of offences which may be regarded as terroristic and which for the purposes of extradition are not to be regarded as political."

As a result, the Council of Ministers agreed to set up a group of experts. In Bangalore, the process was taken a step further by (a) reconvening the group of experts and asking it to complete its work before the next meeting of the Council of Ministers and (b) including in the Declaration issued by the Heads of State or Government a separate paragraph on terrorism.

This means that the group of experts meeting will be convened by the SAARC Secretariat and the work will have to be completed before the next meeting of the Council of Ministers to be held in May, 1987 in Delhi. We have decided upon the venue to be in Delhi. I think, this measure of consensus that has been achieved is workable and we will try hard that an overall consensus is achieved in this regard.

Again, a firm date has been decided upon to open the SAARC Secretariat in Kathmandu. The Secretariat will start functioning on the 16th January, 1987. Nepal has invited all the Foreign Ministers and internal Council of Ministers meeting might also be held informally there. From the 16th January, 1987 SAARC Secretariat would become functional. Initially, there would be four Directors apart from the Secretary-General from Bangladesh. Bangladesh has nominated a senior diplomat, Shri Abul Ahsan as the first Secretary-General of SAARC. He is a veteran and well known diplomat. Bangladesh will be providing the Secretary-General not just as the initiator of SAARC, but alphabetically also Bangladesh comes first. Therefore, Bangladesh will

[Shri Narayan Datt Tiwari]

provide the first Secretary-General, and there would be four Directors from India, Pakistan, Nepal and Sri Lanka. In all, there would be five people. We hope that the SAARC Secretariat will thus become functional and this will lead to a further institutionalization and consolidation of SAARC activities once we have the headquarters.

The only other point raised was regarding the absence of Gen. Zia-ul-Haq from the summit. This meeting was a meeting of the Heads of State or the Government of the SAARC countries. It is up to each member country to decide who will represent it, its Head of the State, or Head of the Government. Pakistan decided to be represented by the Head of the Government i.e. the Prime Minister, Mr. Junejo and we have no doubt that Mr. Junejo effectively represented Pakistan and looked very sincere and spoke with confidence. I hope whatever assurances he has given on behalf of Pakistan will be honoured.

**SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBBY :** The map at their pavillion in the Trade Fair was issued by them after the SAARC meeting.

**SHRI NARAYAN DATT TIWARI :** That issue has been closed, because they have withdrawn those maps.

As I said, Mr. Junejo spoke with confidence. As Prime Minister mentioned in his press conference, he is the elected Prime Minister of Pakistan.

*(Interruptions)*

**PROF. N.G. RANGA :** Has any effort been made to invite Burma and Thailand ?

**SHRI NARAYAN DATT TIWARI :** I may assure the veteran member that we will give due weight to his suggestion. It is certainly very difficult because you have to know the current policy of Burma. And

I cannot comment on it. We all have to think about this in the SAARC. It will take some time before I think it will be possible for Burma, Thailand and Indonesia to think on these lines. We all together can think of discussing questions of mutual interest with ASEAN because they have a strong association we have to avoid unnecessary misunderstanding. But we hope that ultimately this wish of the Indian people as reflected in our Lok Sabha will certainly reach their ears and they will certainly consider this. Indonesia, Thailand and other South East Asian countries also may either to consider this ardent wish of our people. I hope they will begin thinking on these lines. Once we took a giant step forward in consolidating and arriving at a consensus in South Asia, I am sure that they will also be considering this in not too distant a future.

Sir, this has been a momentous debate and I am sure that the voice of the Indian people as reflected in these deliberations of the Lok Sabha will not only reverberate throughout India strengthening the desire of our Indian people to live in peace and progress, but this voice will also transcend the frontiers of India and reach every man, woman and every citizen throughout South Asia, so that we can live in peace, amity, and with a sense of good neighbourliness and we could all march together for consideration of our freedom and Prosperity and progress. Let us hope that dream of one billion people marching towards that goal will come true.

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**SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS  
 FOR GRANTS (GENERAL),  
 1986-87—Contd.**

*[English]*

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** Now, let us take item No. 9, Supplementary Demands for Grants (General). Dr. Rajhans was on his legs.