



सत्यमेव जयते

FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA

327.54
L 836 F

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI
1987

**FOREIGN POLICY
OF
INDIA**



सत्यमेव जयते

**LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI
1987**

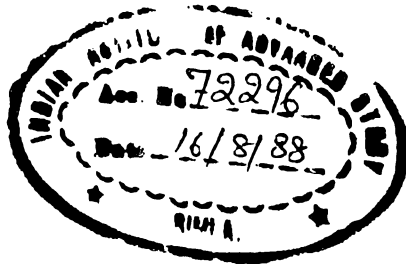
PRIS-A (BRO-1/(87))



Library IAS, Shimla
327.54 L 836 F



FIRST EDITION 1987



327.54

L 836 F

Price: Rs. 20.00

© 1987 Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi

Published under Rule 382 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha (Sixth Edition) and printed by the Manager, Government of India Press, Minto Road, New Delhi.

P R E F A C E

The basic parameters of India's Foreign Policy were laid down about four decades ago. These have remained unaltered. These are: to preserve India's sovereign independence; to maintain freedom of judgement and action; to promote international peace and stability; and to contribute to fashioning of a more equitable structure of international economic order and cooperation on the basis of justice and fairplay.

The architect of India's post independence Foreign Policy was its first Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. In his very first policy statement on the threshold of independence, Nehru had declared: "The world, in spite of its rivalries and hatreds and inner conflicts, moves inevitably towards closer cooperation and the building of a World Commonwealth. It is for this one World that free India will work, a world in which there is free cooperation of free peoples, and no class or group exploits another". Nehru's vision of India's role in the world was drawn from Gandhiji's ideals of truth and non-violence.

Since independence, the thrust of India's Foreign Policy has been towards: lowering of international tension; laying of emphasis on disarmament; strengthening of world peace; and building bridges of friendship and cooperation and peaceful co-existence among various countries regardless of their economic and social systems. Apart from this, India had relentlessly fought against imperialism, colonialism, racialism, apartheid and any other form of domination/hegemony or discrimination. She still continues her campaign against such evils wherever in the world these still exist.

India, from the very beginning, has consistently followed in her foreign relations a policy of non-alignment with the opposing power blocs. Such a policy flows naturally from India's past traditions and has been fully in keeping with our national interests. Having been a founder member of the Non-Aligned Movement, India hosted the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit in New Delhi in March 1983. As Chairman of the Movement, India worked with determination and dedication to impart dynamism to the Movement and to promote its ideals.

India's attitude has been one of wholehearted co-operation and unreserved adherence to the United Nations Charter. Through her long association with the U.N., India has demonstrated her faith in that body as a potential instrument for building a peaceful and harmonious world community. India firmly believes that the U.N. is the only hope for mankind and that it ought to be strengthened.

The present study seeks to describe briefly the evolution of the 'Foreign Policy of India' and the role in world affairs played by India since her independence. The study is based on published documents and is, primarily, intended to serve as background material to the Members of Parliament. For the sake of accuracy and veracity of data and facts, only the original sources may be cited and referred to. So far as possible, these have been indicated in the footnotes in the text.

It is hoped that the brochure will be found informative and useful by Members of Parliament and others interested in the subject.

NEW DELHI;
January, 1987

SUBHASH C. KASHYAP,
Secretary-General.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Preface	(i)
Introduction	1
Evolution of India's Foreign Policy	2
Parliament and Foreign Policy	10
India and its Neighbours	21
India, South East and East Asia	34
India, West Asia and Africa	36
India and the Big Powers	42
India and Europe—West and East	48
India and the United Nations	51
India and the Non-Aligned Movement	57
India and Disarmament	60
India and the New World Economic Order	64
Select Bibliography	67

INTRODUCTION

India's Foreign Policy, ever since her Independence, has been one of building bridges of friendship and cooperation with all countries regardless of their economic and political systems. The Foreign Policy has sought to promote international peace and security; to maintain just and honourable relations between nations; and to foster respect for international law and treaty obligations. Keeping these in view, the conduct of India's external affairs has been governed by : (i) preservation of India's sovereign independence; (ii) pursuance of an independent foreign policy avoiding alignment with power blocs; (iii) acceptance of the principle of freedom for dependent people and opposition to imperialism, colonialism and racialism; (iv) cooperation with all peace-loving nations and the United Nations to promote international peace and prosperity; (v) reduction of world tension; and (vi) refashioning of a more equitable structure of international economic order and cooperation on the basis of justice and fairplay.

India has consistently sought a consolidation of world peace and the creation of conditions for economic progress for the newly emerging nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America from colonial domination and has striven to promote international cooperation amongst all countries. In order to achieve this, India chose for herself the path of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence.¹

¹ Govt. of India, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting *India 1983—A Reference Annual*, New Delhi, p. 464; and Govt. of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Annual Report, 1981-82*, p. (iii).

EVOLUTION OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

After India became independent, it had to evolve its own foreign policy in the light of its economic requirements and the prevailing political environment in the world at large. The world was fast approaching a division into two hostile camps, each endeavouring to contain the other and, in the process, attempting to muster the newly-independent nations on its side. Fear almost over-shadowed hope, especially for the new independent nations which were looking forward to an era of peace and international co-operation.

India, at independence, was far less equipped than now to play any significant role in the world's power politics. But in that world of fear and suspicion, of balance of power and spheres of influence, of cold war and military alliances, India brought a breath of fresh air and an independent approach to international affairs. It was rather with a sense of realism, grounded in the realities of her own situation as well as in the facts of political life around her, that India chose the policy of non-alignment.²

The architect of India's post independence foreign policy was its first Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. In his very first policy statement on the threshold of Independence, Nehru had declared: "The world, in spite of its rivalries and hatreds and inner conflicts, moves inevitably towards closer cooperation and the building of a world commonwealth. It is for this one world that free India will work, a world in which there is free cooperation of free peoples, and no class or group exploits another." Nehru's vision of India's role in the world was drawn from the unique experience of India's freedom struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, when the country attained independence from foreign domination through a prolonged struggle based on Mahatma Gandhi's ideals of truth and non-violence.³

² T.N. Kaul, *Foreign Relations*, Published by Ministry of External Affairs, Publications Division, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1972, p. 1.

³ Jawaharlal Nehru, *India's Foreign Policy, Selected Speeches*. Sept. 1946—April, 1961, published by Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1961, p. 2; and reproduced from the article on "India's Foreign Policy," prepared by Ministry of External Affairs.

Referring to free India's role in the world, in his broadcast to the nation as Vice-President of the Interim Government, on September 7, 1946, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had declared:

"We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which had led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and people, and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races."⁴

This by no means meant a neutral or negative approach to international affairs. India chose to adopt a policy of non-involvement in military or political groupings or blocs, and of involvement, as far as her circumstances permitted, in world affairs in the furtherance of world peace and freedom of colonial territories.

Objectives of Foreign Policy

Explaining the main objectives of India's foreign Policy and its philosophical and historical background to the members of the United States Congress on October 13, 1949, Nehru had observed:

"The objectives of our foreign policy are the preservation of world peace and enlargement of human freedom. India may be new to world politics and his military strength insignificant in comparison with that of the giants of our epoch. But India is old in thought and experience and has travelled through trackless centuries in the adventure of life. Throughout her long history, she has stood for peace and every prayer that an Indian raises, ends with an invocation to peace. It was out of this ancient and yet young India that Mahatma Gandhi arose and he taught us a technique of peaceful action. It was effective and yielded results that led us not only to freedom but to friendship with those with whom we were, till yesterday, in conflict.

This is the basis and the goal of our foreign policy. We are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce

⁴. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵. Kaul, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

in any challenge to man's freedom from whatever quarter it may come. Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral. What we plead for and endeavour to practise in our own imperfect way is a binding faith in peace and an unfailing endeavour of thought and action to ensure it."⁶

Again, in an address to the University of Columbia on October 17, 1949 Nehru explained the basic objectives of India's foreign policy as follows:

"The pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major group or power but through an independent approach to such controversial or disputed issues, the liberation of subjected peoples, the maintenance of freedom, both national and individual, the elimination of racial discrimination and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance, which affect the greater part of the world's population".

The pursuit of these objectives of world peace, freedom and international co-operation coincided with the objectives of India's national interests. Jawaharlal Nehru had said in the Constituent Assembly on December 4, 1947:

"Whatever policy we may lay down, the art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country".⁷

The foremost among the national interests of a country is national security. For India, preservation of national security meant mainly strengthening self-defence based on self-reliance. Moreover, India believed that a deliberate policy of friendship with other countries goes farther in gaining security than almost anything else.

National security, moreover, meant more than physical security. Economic and social progress and political independence were equal factors in national security. India's economic needs also dictated a policy of friendship with all countries, including major Power.⁸

In the evolution of India's foreign policy, the demands of the economic development have been an important factor. Explaining this aspect of India's foreign policy in the Constituent Assembly

⁶ Jawaharlal Nehru, *op. cit.*, pp. 591-92.

⁷ Kaul, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4; and *C.A. Deb. (Legislative)*, December 4, 1947.

⁸ Kaul *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

(Legislative) on December 4, 1947, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had said: "Ultimately foreign policy is the outcome of economic policy and until India has properly evolved her economic policy, her foreign policy will be rather vague, rather inchoate and will be groping".⁹

In his broadcast of September 7, 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru had declared that India "shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation". This assertion of independence and sovereignty was motivated by experience of Western domination from which India had emerged and by the need India felt to make the world realise that India and Asia had come into their own. India was encouraged to make her voice heard by the fact that she was among the first and certainly the biggest of the newly independent countries and that she occupied a pivotal position in Asia. The responsibility India assumed in this respect was not necessarily for leadership, but for taking the initiative, whenever necessary, in co-operation with like-minded countries.¹⁰

Panchsheel

India felt that mere opposition to military pacts was not enough and a positive alternative to them should be found. As Jawaharlal Nehru said, "the alternative to war—hot or cold—was peaceful co-existence" which he described as a "mental or spiritual attitude which synthesises differences and contradictions, tries to understand and accommodate different religious, ideologies, political, economic and social systems and refuses to think in terms of conflict or military solutions." It was this attitude which was codified as Panchsheel or the five principles of peaceful co-existence. These are: (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (2) Mutual non-aggression; (3) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs; (4) Equality and mutual benefit; and (5) Peaceful co-existence. These principles, enunciated in the preamble to the India-China Agreement of April 29, 1954 soon found acceptance by many countries. They were also incorporated in the "Declaration of World Peace and Co-operation" adopted by the First Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in April, 1955.

At the Bandung Conference of 29 countries of Asia and Africa, the general consensus was in favour of non-alignment and independence

⁹ *C.A. Deb. (Legislative)* December 4, 1947, p. 1260.

¹⁰ Kaul, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

in foreign policy. Indeed, the years following Bandung not only saw increasing adherence to non-alignment among the countries of Asia and Africa but brought respectability to the concept and recognition from both sides of the cold-war".¹¹

Non-Alignment

India's leaders were aware that the country's institutions could be strengthened and the economic well-being of her people nurtured only in an environment of peace. Peace for India did not merely mean the absence of war, but meaningful cooperation between nations. India's leaders were convinced that the country could play a meaningful role in building an environment of peace and cooperation only by rejecting alignment with any power bloc. National honour and national interest demanded that India did not mortgage her decision in domestic and foreign affairs to foreign dictate. As Jawaharlal Nehru declared: "We are in no camp and no military alliance. The only camp we should like to be in is the camp of peace which should include as many countries as possible."¹²

Thus, non-alignment has been the corner-stone of India's foreign policy. Elucidations provided from time to time by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and later by his successors in the External Affairs Ministry on the concept of non-alignment, helped to define India's relations with other countries and her attitude to various international problems. Replying to the debate on the international situation in Lok Sabha on May 18, 1964 Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had said that the country's policy had been one of non-alignment with the two power blocs. On April 13, 1964, he stressed that the non-alignment policy as such "stems from our desire to maintain our independence of thought and action. It arose chiefly because of our desire not to get involved with the two power blocs. To align ourselves with either of them would be to tie ourselves to many of their policies with which we may not agree. It would mean also some kind of break in our relations with the other group. That would be utterly wrong."¹³

Over the years, non-alignment has widely been recognised as the right policy for promoting world peace and international understanding. Reaffirming India's commitment to non-alignment, the late Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, while replying to the debate on

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17; and Jawaharlal Nehru, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

¹² Article on "India's Foreign Policy" prepared by Ministry of Ext. Affairs *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

¹³ L.S. Deb., April 13, 1964, cc. 10705-07.

the Motion of Thanks on President's Address, stated thus in the Lok Sabha on January 30, 1980:

"It is necessary to reaffirm our commitment to non-alignment and to emphasise the independence of our judgement on each issue, which is not going to be affected by pressures from any quarter. Our geo-political situation, our commitment to certain fundamental principles, particularly since the days of independence and, above all, our national interests will be the determining factors in our foreign policy".¹⁴

As more countries became free, the number of those who believed in peaceful co-existence and wished to keep out of military alliances, increased steadily. It was natural for these non-aligned countries to come together not to form another bloc but to raise the voices of the exploited millions through a moral and political movement—the Non-aligned Movement. The non-alignment has met a felt-need of vast numbers of people in various continents.

Consensus on Policy on Foreign Affairs

India's Foreign Policy, by and large, commands a consensus at home. This concept of consensus evolving a National policy on foreign affairs was very much brought to the fore in the fifties. Speaking in Lok Sabha on the motion on the international situation on May 15, 1954, Acharya Kripalani had urged that "so far as foreign policies are concerned, we should always present a national and united front".

In reply, the then Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, agreed with the view expressed that the foreign policy should not be run on party lines and added:

"I agree that the foreign policy in its basic and fundamental approach should be a national policy. In big matters of policy all views should be considered but there are the smaller things resulting directly from the fundamental approach, like the branches, the leaves and the flowers, concerning which it is not possible or necessary to take the view of others."¹⁵

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, January 30, 1980, c. 157.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, May 15, 1954.

Recently, referring to the customary consensus regarding the Foreign Policy of the Government, the then Minister of External Affairs, Shri B. R. Bhagat, said in Lok Sabha on March 24, 1986:

“This has been the tradition. The root of the foreign policy of this country goes down to even pre-Independence days of our national movement. Some of the basic ideas that had emerged then have been formulated by our first Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. There is a consensus behind it and I am happy to note that”.¹⁶

While it is true that in foreign policy the nation must act as one single whole, it is equally indispensable that the Government should have more of consultation with the Opposition, so that the policy evolved therefrom would be truly a national policy.

Foreign Policy of the present Government

The foreign policy under the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, has remained unchanged. In his first broadcast to the nation on January 5, 1985 he said:

“We have inherited a well tested and consistent foreign policy which serves our national interest. We have always believed in working for peace. Our policy to be friends with all countries on the basis of reciprocity and mutual benefit, for commitment to non-alignment and a new world economic order based on justice, equality and mutual co-operation is unshakeable. This means a total dedication to the twin causes of peace and development”.¹⁷

Elaborating the foreign policy of the government, in his address to both the Houses of Parliament on January 17, 1985, the President, Shri Zail Singh, said:

“The new Government have inherited a coherent and principled foreign policy from Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. The continuity and wide acceptance of our foreign policy rests on our firm adherence to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter, commitment to non-alignment and stout opposition to colonialism, old and new, and racial discrimination”.¹⁸

16. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1986.

17. *Foreign Affairs Record*, January, 1985, p. 13.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

Further elaboration of the policy found expression in the Prime Minister's speech in Lok Sabha on April 10, 1985 during the debate on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of External Affairs. He said: "India's foreign policy has been well established for over thirty-seven years now. We are continuing along the same road. Under this foreign policy India has attained a certain position in the world, a certain authority in the world. In a way, our foreign policy was not very different from the basis of our independence struggle. It is a development of the same movement on a world-wide basis. We fought against imperialism, against colonialism, against racism, against any form of domination or discrimination. Today we still fight against these ills wherever they may be. Added to these, we have neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism which did not exist earlier. And if you really go down to the basis of disarmament, are we not getting back to Gandhiji's *ahimsa* on a wider scale? This foreign policy has helped India gain a certain standing, but more than that it has set certain precedents in the world. It was this foreign policy that started off the Non-Aligned Movement which is today one of the largest movements in the world, and which, I am sure, history will find, has been responsible for avoiding many areas of tension and may be even many wars. We will continue along this road for peace, for disarmament, for a more just, social and economic order."¹⁰

¹⁰ *L.S. Deb.*, April 10, 1985, cc. 424-25.

PARLIAMENT AND THE FOREIGN POLICY

Parliament has a two-fold role in its control over foreign policy. In the first place, Parliament has the power to approve, modify or reject the foreign policy framed by the Executive. Secondly, it has general supervisory powers over the conduct of foreign affairs. To enable the Parliament to play these roles, the Executive has to place all relevant information before it and keep it informed of the Government's various programmes, negotiations, treaties, agreements and other activities in its relation with different States.

Addressing Indian Foreign Service probationers on the "Role of Parliament *vis-a-vis* Foreign Policy of India" in New Delhi on March 3, 1986, the then External Affairs Minister, Shri B. R. Bhagat, suggested that the role of Parliament should be enhanced on issues relating to foreign policy. He said that the Indian Parliament had throughout proved itself a zealous guardian of the country's image and national prestige. It had strengthened the hands of the Executive to promote national interests in the world arena. He further said that the issues that had exercised Parliament had varied over the years but continuing interest had been evinced by it in matters of national security and relations with neighbours.

Referring to the practice of inclusion of members of Parliament in Indian delegations to the U.N., Shri Bhagat said that it had always given a further insight to them into foreign policy formulation and a first hand experience in diplomacy. Members of Parliament were also frequently sent abroad on *ad hoc* missions to explain the Government's stand on various international issues. This was done during the Bangladesh crisis in 1971 and the Afghan crisis in 1980 and to explain the Punjab developments to the Indian community abroad in 1984. Also, several M.Ps. had served with distinction on ambassadorial assignments, he added.

Shri Bhagat informed the probationers that Parliament had never disapproved any act of foreign policy of the Government since the Indian Republic was formed in 1950. A reading of parliamentary debates would show that Opposition views had been fully aired in the House. The tradition was regarded as a healthy practice for ensuring that all points of view were given adequate expression, he added.²⁰

²⁰. *Tribune*, Chandigarh, March, 5, 1986.

Constitutional Provisions

The Constitution of the Indian Republic contains provisions, which are broad and generalised, as regards the powers of Parliament in matters relating to foreign affairs. Parliament has exclusive power to make laws with regard to the following aspects of foreign affairs (as enumerated in entries 10 to 19 and 21 in List I of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution):

- (i) Foreign Affairs; all matters which bring the Union into relation with any foreign country.
- (ii) Diplomatic, consular and trade representation.
- (iii) United Nations Organisation.
- (iv) Participation in international conferences, associations and other bodies and implementing of decisions made thereat.
- (v) Entering into treaties and agreements with foreign countries and implementing of treaties, agreements and conventions with foreign countries.
- (vi) War and Peace.
- (vii) Foreign Jurisdiction.
- (viii) Citizenship, naturalisation and aliens.
- (ix) Extradition.
- (x) Admission into, and emigration and expulsion from, India; passports and visas.
- (xi) Piracies and crimes committed on the high seas or in the air; offences against the law of nations committed on land or the high seas or in the air.

Article 51 gives a directive to the State as to its relations with other countries for promoting international peace and security; for maintenance of just and honourable relation between nations; for fostering respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another; and for encouraging settlement of international disputes by arbitration. Under Article 253, Parliament has "power to make any law for the whole or any part of the territory of India for implementing any treaty, agreement or convention with any other country or countries or any decision made at any international conference, association or other body." In terms of financial control, the Constitution vests in Parliament the power to assent, refuse to assent, to any demands subject to a reduction of the amount specified therein.

voting of the Budget of the Defence forces, through questions, motions, resolutions, etc. Since the Council of Ministers is responsible to Lok Sabha, matters relating to war and peace are normally expected to be placed before Parliament for its approval at an appropriate time in the form of a resolution, motion, etc.

- (ii) *Treaty Making*: The task of treaty negotiations with foreign powers is essentially a part of the functions of the Executive. It is for the Government of India to enter into and ratify treaties and agreements. It is not obligatory to seek approval of Parliament to such treaties unless there is a provision in the treaty itself to that effect.

According to the present practice, the Government usually places copies of treaties on the Table of the House before or after these are ratified. Where necessary, Government of India has brought forward legislation to give effect to the provisions of a treaty. Ratification of treaties by the President does not prevent Parliament from discussing them. Such discussion is *ex-post facto* and the House cannot amend the treaty or agreement. It may either approve it or reject it as a whole. An adverse vote in Parliament does not, however, affect the treaty itself. Despite an adverse vote, treaty remains in force and binding, but the adverse vote is tantamount to a vote of no-confidence in the Council of Ministers and may lead to its resignation and reconstitution of a new Council of Ministers.

Most of the international treaties have in fact been discussed in Lok Sabha. The Tashkent Declaration signed at Tashkent on January 10, 1966 by the then Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, and the then President of Pakistan Moh. Ayub Khan, was laid on the Table of the Lok Sabha on February 15, 1966. The motion for its consideration, moved by the Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, was discussed for three days, viz. February 16, 17 and 21, 1966. During the discussion, Members particularly criticised the action of the Government to withdraw troops from Haji Pir, Kargil and Tithwal areas, as according to them it militated against the Constitution and violated the solemn assurances given in Parliament. A number of substitute-motions were moved by Members of the Opposition expressing their disapproval in the matter. After discussion, a substitute motion approving the stand of the Government of India on the matter was adopted.

The treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and India was signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, USSR, and the Minister of External Affairs of India at New Delhi on August 9, 1971. A copy of the Treaty was laid on the Table of the Lok Sabha on the same day and on the following day, the Minister of External Affairs moved a motion for its consideration. In the discussion that followed, the salient features of the Treaty were discussed in all its ramifications.

On July 31, 1972, the then Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, made a statement and laid on the Table of the Lok Sabha a copy of the Agreement on Bilateral Relations between the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan which was signed at Simla on July 2, 1972, by the then Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi and the President of Pakistan Shri Z. A. Bhutto. He later moved a motion for the consideration of the Agreement and discussion on the motion was held for two days. Several members criticised the action of the Government in ratifying the Agreement without consulting Parliament, particularly when the session was scheduled to be held on July 31, 1972.²³

Replying to the debate in the Lok Sabha on August 1, 1972, the Minister of External Affairs, *inter alia*, observed:

“Under the Constitution, it is the obligation of the Executive to ratify it. In fact, by ratifying it and by not involving Parliament in it, we have shown the highest respect to Parliament. If we did not do what is our prerogative; we would be failing in our executive duty...and while discharging that constitutional responsibility it is farthest from us to be disrespectful to Parliament in any way.”

A substitute motion, moved by a Member (Shri Chintamani Panigrahi), recording the appreciation of the House in concluding the Agreement which prepared “the grounds for durable peace in the subcontinent” was thereafter adopted by the House.²⁴

There are also instances when Government did not place agreements entered into with foreign Governments on the Table of the House. For instance, on March 19, 1979, the members and Leaders of the Opposition contended that the Government should have made a statement regarding the discussion that the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister had with Mr. Kosygin, Chairman of

²³. *Ibid.*, July 31, 1972, cc. 246-48 (L.T. No. 3179/72)

²⁴. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1972, cc. 343-44

the Council of Ministers of USSR during his visit to India in March, 1979 and should also have placed the agreements entered into with the Soviet Government before House. The then Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, contended that it was not the practice to do so and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha gave the following ruling on March 20, 1979:

“Under our Constitution, the Executive is empowered to enter into agreements with foreign countries and the same does not require the sanction of Parliament unless (i) the agreement itself provides that it should be ratified by the Parliament; and (ii) unless it involves any expenditures from the Consolidated Fund.

If there is any expenditure involved, an occasion will be available for discussion on the same during the discussion on Demands for Grants. Therefore, there is no constitutional requirement compelling the Government to place the agreements in question on the Table of the House. It is not the contention of the hon. Members that the agreements in question provide for any ratification by the Parliament.

As regards the statement to be made by the Government relating to the discussion that took place between our Prime Minister or Foreign Minister and H. E. Kosygin, there again there is no legal or constitutional requirement to make a statement though in practice the Prime Minister did make such statements whenever they had discussions with foreign leaders outside the country.”²³

Thus, in the treaty-making process, the Indian Parliament exercises only a general supervision over the work of the Executive and does not possess any direct, positive control over the making of foreign policy through the conclusion of treaties.

(iii) *Diplomatic representation and recognition of Governments:* Matters relating to diplomatic representation are decided by the Cabinet without the approval of Parliament. This, however, does not mean that Parliament has not been discussing these matters or seeking to influence, directly or indirectly, the Government through various means available to it like questions, motions, resolutions, budget discussion, etc.

²³. *Ibid*, March 19 and 20, 1979, cc. 261-63.

On March 18, 1970, during half-an-hour discussion on the visit of a delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam to India, Members advocated that the Government should accord recognition to the Provisional Government of South Vietnam and upgrade the India diplomatic relationship with the Government of North Vietnam to Ambassadorial level. In reply, the Minister of External Affairs hoped that there would be an end to hostilities in that country (South Vietnam) when it would be time to assess as to what was then the lawfully constituted Government to which they must accord recognition. As to the second point, he explained that the form and manner in which the diplomatic relationship could be strengthened was under the active consideration of Government.²⁶

On April 16, 1975, replying to the debate on the Demands for Grants, the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Y. B. Chavan, said that the Government was watching the situation in South Vietnam and "we will do the right thing at the right time". On April 30, 1975, the Government announced in the Lok Sabha about its decision to "accord immediate recognition to the provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam".²⁷

An unstarred question on according diplomatic recognition to German Democratic Republic was asked in Lok Sabha on November 9, 1970. In reply to the question, the Government pointed out that it was not possible to indicate any date at that stage. Later, in October, 1972, the Government of India accorded recognition and this action was hailed by some of the opposition members in the course of discussion on the international situation held on December 7, 1972.²⁸

On December 6, 1971 the then Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, made a statement in Lok Sabha regarding the grant of recognition to the *Gana Praja Tantri Bangla Desh*. Describing the events in Bangladesh and the resulting flood of refugees into Indian territory, she explained that:

"These had far-reaching repercussions on our country. It was natural that our sympathy should be with the people of Bangladesh in their just struggle. But we did not act precipitately in the matter of recognition. Our decisions were not guided merely by emotion but by an assessment of prevailing and future realities.

²⁶. *Ibid*, March 18, 1970, cc. 341-43.

²⁷. *Ibid*, April 16 and 30, cc. 277 and 385-86.

²⁸. *Ibid*, November 9, 1970 and December 7, 1972, cc. 117 and 156.

In the light of the existing situation and in response to the repeated requests of the Government of Bangladesh, the Government of India have, after the most careful consideration, decided to grant recognition to the *Gana Praja Tantri Bangla Desh*."²⁹

In March, 1980 the Government of India accorded full diplomatic recognition to the office of Palestine Liberation Organisation in New Delhi. A statement to this effect made by the External Affairs Minister, Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao, on March 26, 1980 in Lok Sabha emphasised, *inter alia*, that "no comprehensive settlement of the West Asian Problems is possible without involvement of the PLO as an equal partner in negotiations."³⁰

On July 7, 1980, the Minister of External Affairs made a statement in Lok Sabha recognising the People's Republic of Kampuchea in Phnom Penh headed by President Heng Samrin and stated that this was in accordance with a stand which was shared by overwhelming majority of political opinion in India.³¹

Appointment of Ambassadors

Though Parliament has no power to ratify appointment of Ambassadors, such an appointment can be subject matter of debate. For instance, in May, 1966, a member, during a discussion in Lok Sabha on a statement made by the Minister of Finance regarding the adverse remarks made by the Public Accounts Committee against a former Secretary to the Government in the Ministry of Steel, Shri S. Boothalingam, sought an assurance from the Minister that the said officer, who was at that time Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance and was, according to Member's information, going to be appointed as India's Ambassador to the European Common Market at Brussels, would not be so appointed. The then Minister of Finance, Shri Sachindra Chandra Dhuri, however, found himself unable to give the assurance. In defence of the Officer, the Minister stated:

"It would be wrong to condemn a man who has served the government faithfully and against whom there has been a whisper until the time of this PAC Report. He should be condemned and incarcerated without opportunity being given to him for being heard."

²⁹. *Ibid*, Dec. 6, 1971, cc. 16-19.

³⁰. *Ibid*, March 26, 1980, cc. 313-14.

³¹. *Ibid*, July 7, 1980, cc. 414-15.

own defence. Therefore, I find myself unable to do anything to interfere with the proper progress of his career. I am not in a position to give such an assurance as asked for, nor am I giving any".³²

The issue was raised in the Lok Sabha also on July 27, 1966 by Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad on a Calling Attention Notice. The Minister of Finance in reply stated that so far as Shri Boothalingam's appointment was concerned it had been made before the Fiftieth Report of the Public Accounts Committee. He added:

"So far as his posting is concerned, the posting has not been made now. The Government has sent its reply to the Public Accounts Committee. The Public Accounts Committee has not yet made its comments on that and, therefore, there is no question of any posting being made until that report is laid before the House."³³

Subsequently, however, Shri S. Boothalingam was not appointed Ambassador to ECM, as contemplated earlier.

Discussion on Foreign Relations

Parliament had occasions, over the years, to discuss India's relations with other countries as also the attitude of the Government of India on important world issues like the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, conflict between Iran and Iraq, the Namibian problem, the South-East Asian problems, Sino-Indian relations, Indo-Pak relations, Sri Lankan ethnic problem, Libyan crisis,* and the like in one form or the other. The Minister of External Affairs had made statements on all these issues from time to time in both Houses of Parliament.

The speeches made by the Prime Minister or the Minister of External Affairs in Parliament on foreign affairs, besides being the

³². *R.S. Deb.*, May 19, 1966, cc. 2007-10.

³³. *L.S. Deb.*, July 27, 1966, cc. 811-12.

* The Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, in his capacity as Chairman of NAM, issued a statement on Libyan crisis in New Delhi on April 15, 1986 saying that the US attacks on the capital of Libya, including the Presidential Palace in Tripoli were "all the more unjustifiable and deserve condemnation on the part of all the members of the Non-Aligned Movement". Extending firm support and solidarity to the Libya at this critical hour, he earnestly called upon the USA and others "to exercise the utmost restraint and not to do anything to further aggravate the already tense situation in the region."

(As read out in Lok Sabha by the Minister of External Affairs) (*L.S. Deb.*, April 15, 1986)

medium for the reiteration of accepted policies by the Government afford an opportunity to keep the record straight, to correct mistaken interpretations and to answer criticism.

INDIA AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

It has been a basic tenet of India's foreign policy to foster relations of mutual trust, understanding and co-operation with neighbouring countries. This stems from India's awareness that her own security and welfare are inextricably linked with the security and welfare of her neighbours.³⁴

In his first broadcast to the nation on January 5, 1985 after assuming office, the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, said:

"One aspect of our foreign policy needs special attention. We have deep historical and cultural links with our immediate neighbours in South Asia. We share the same memories of foreign rule and look forward to the same prospects of development and a better future for our peoples. I believe firmly that we can work together to realize these common aims. We do have some, problems, but we are determined to resolve them on the basis of mutual respect, sovereign equality and friendship."³⁵

Referring to India's relations with her neighbours, in his address to both the Houses of Parliament on January 17, 1985, the President, Shri Zail Singh, said:

"Government attach high priority to develop close relations with all our neighbours. We are keen to see progress in the South Asia's Regional Cooperation framework."³⁶

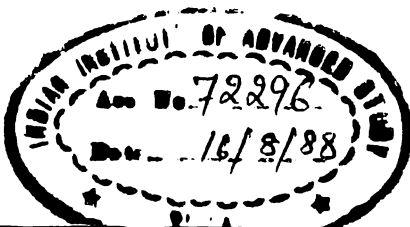
India is committed to the improvement of relations with all its neighbouring countries and has consistently endeavoured to strengthen bilateral relations with them on the basis of sovereign equality and mutual benefit. India has always held that friendship and co-operation with neighbouring countries would contribute to peace, stability and economic development of the region.

India has played a leading role in forming the South Asian Regional Co-operation (SARC) for promoting regional cooperation to

³⁴. Govt. of India, Ministry of External Affairs, Annual Report, 1984-85, p. 1.

³⁵. *Foreign Affairs Record*, January 1985, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

³⁶. *Ibid.*, p. 17.



preserve peace and stability and encouraging economic and social development in the South Asian region as a whole. The first Ministerial meeting of SARC which was held in New Delhi in 1983 took a historical step in adopting the Declaration on SARC and launching of an Integrated Programme of action covering diverse fields, such as telecommunications, meteorology, agriculture, health and population activities etc. The second Ministerial meeting, which was held in Male (Maldives) in July, 1984, expressed satisfaction that considerable progress had been achieved in implementing the programme in a relatively short time and decided to extend regional co-operation further in the fields of telecommunications and air transport links. etc. The third Foreign Ministers meeting which was held in Thimpu (Bhutan) in May, 1985, drew up the draft Charter for SAARC.⁸⁷

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

Thus, the efforts towards strengthening regional cooperation in South Asia between Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka led to the first summit of the seven South Asian countries. It was held in Dhaka (Bangladesh) in December, 1985, where the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was formed.

The objectives of the SAARC are as follows:

- (a) to promote the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and to improve their quality of life;
- (b) to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region;
- (c) to promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of South-Asia, and to provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realise their full potential.
- (d) to contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems;
- (e) to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance economic, social, cultural and technical fields;
- (f) to strengthen cooperation with other developing countries;
- (g) to strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interest; and

⁸⁷. Govt. of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, India, 1984—A Reference Annual, p. 495.

(h) to cooperate with international and regional organisations with similar aims and purposes.³⁸

Referring to SAARC in Lok Sabha on March 24, 1986 the then Minister of External Affairs, Shri B. R. Bhagat, said that when on the international forum, globalism was weakening, the regional arrangements needed to be followed in the pursuit of equality of all the regional members and mutual interest of members and creation of spirit of cooperation. All the seven SAARC countries working together could create a climate for peace, stability and cooperation, the Minister added.³⁹

On assumption of office, the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, took active steps to establish greater understanding with the leaders of South Asian countries. He availed of every opportunity to meet with his South Asian counterparts and this set the stage for improving the climate of bilateral relations with each country.

With a view to furthering the cause of co-operation in the region, a two-day meeting of the Foreign Ministers of SAARC countries was held at Dhaka on August 12-13, 1986, as provided for by the SAARC Charter. Addressing the meeting on the very opening day, the Minister of External Affairs, Shri P. Shiv Shankar, said that unabated arms race and crisis in the world economy had had a disastrous effect on the economies of the developing countries with the development process in many of them suffering a severe setback. This lent special significance and urgency to regional co-operation, which was also a means for contributing to world peace and security and to the growth and stability of the world economy, the Minister added.

At this meeting the Foreign Ministers of SAARC countries decided to form a working group to make recommendations on staffing, funding, functions and any other matter related to the proposed SAARC Secretariat which is to be established in terms of the decision taken by the SAARC leaders at the Dhaka Summit and as provided for in the SAARC Charter.

India's financial contribution for the year 1986-87 was Rs. 1.25 crore.

India made a forceful plea to extend South-Asian regional co-operation to new areas like education and economic sector like

³⁸ Reproduced from Article on "India's Foreign Policy", *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

³⁹ *L.S. Deb.*, March 24, 1986; and Govt. of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Annual Report 1985-86*, p. (iii)

trade, industry, money and finance without which regional grouping of developing countries could not be viable. In order to mitigate human sufferings India also stressed the need for co-operation in managing disasters.⁴⁰

India hosted the Second SAARC Summit in Bangalore from November 15—17, 1986.

PAKISTAN

The policy of good neighbourliness has guided India's relations with Pakistan despite having been obliged to defend herself four times against aggression. India has always taken the initiative for normalisation of relations with Pakistan, and the Simla Agreement was signed in 1972 which provides for step by step normalisation of relations with that country and the resolution of issues through bilateral negotiations. India has consistently adhered to the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement and has given more than adequate response to any gesture of goodwill by Pakistan. Despite attempts by outside powers to disrupt the process of normalisation through massive induction of sophisticated weapons and attempts to destabilise the region, India has persisted in its initiative to widen political, economic and cultural exchanges with Pakistan. India has always attached special importance to people-to-people contacts between the two countries.

The Government of India remain concerned with the increased pace of the acquisition of sophisticated weapons including nuclear ones by Pakistan and the danger of war that such a development entails.⁴¹

Replying to the debate on Demands for Grants pertaining to his Ministry on March 24, 1986, the then Minister of External Affairs, Shri B. R. Bhagat, said in the Lok Sabha that India did not expect that the non aggression pact and the peace and friendship treaty with Pakistan would be settled in one round of talks. India needed more rounds of talks with that country. Referring to non-attack of nuclear facilities he said that it only meant that both the countries would not strike each other's nuclear facilities. We knew that Pakistan's nuclear programme was not at all peaceful. Once Pakistan acquired a nuclear bomb, it would change the entire security environment in the region. However, there had been no change in India's policy

⁴⁰ *Financial Express*, New Delhi, August 12, 1986; *Telegraph*, Calcutta, August 13, 1986; *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, August 13, 1986; and *Indian Express*, New Delhi, August 15, 1986.

⁴¹ *India 1984 - A Reference Annual*, op. cit., pp. 493-94.

towards Pakistan in any way. India had to continue her efforts for a durable peace so that her scarce resources would be utilised for the betterment of the content and quality of life of the people and not diverted to defence, the Minister added.⁴²

In order to improve relations with Pakistan, the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, held two meetings with President Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan during 1985. They decided on an immediate programme of bilateral meetings for removing obstacles to the growth of effective cooperation. During his meetings with President Zia, the Prime Minister reiterated India's continuing concern regarding Pakistan's nuclear programme and the assistance that continued to be provided to Sikh extremists from across the border, despite high level assurances to the contrary. In pursuance of decisions taken by President Zia and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi at their meeting in New Delhi on December 17, 1985 the Finance Minister visited Pakistan in January, 1986 and held talks for expanding economic and commercial cooperation. The Defence Secretaries of both sides met to discuss the situation in the Siachen Glacier area. The Foreign Secretaries also held discussions on a comprehensive draft of a treaty or agreement for building lasting peace, friendship and cooperation.⁴³

Subsequently, however, the normalisation process which was set in motion on account of these visits has received a setback due to a number of negative actions on the part of Pakistan. These include its continuing assistance to Sikh extremists, statements and actions by its leaders which are at variance with what General Zia had said in New Delhi on December 17, 1985, about wanting to resolve the Kashmir question in accordance with the Simla Agreement and at an appropriate time; go-slow tactics on matters relating to trade; bungling of the incident relating to the hijacking of Pan Am aircraft at Karachi on September 5, 1986; baseless allegations about Indian funding of Benazir Bhutto's party; unwarranted propaganda regarding the Tulbal project which India has undertaken on the Jhelum river for improving its navigability; and continued acquisition of sophisticated weaponry (including AWACS capability).

BANGLADESH

Our relations with Bangladesh have been good for some time and we continue to try to improve our political, economic and cultural relations. Several high-level contacts between the two countries

⁴². *L.S. Deb.*, March 24, 1986.

⁴³. *Annual Report, 1985-86, op. cit.*, p. (iv).

have taken place during the past year. The P.M. Shri Rajiv Gandhi, met President Ershad on June 2, 1985 in Dhaka when he visited coastal Bangladesh, then ravaged by a cyclone. Later P. M. met President Ershad at Nassau during CHOGM in October, 1985. P.M.'s visit to Dhaka to attend the SAARC Summit from December 6—8, 1985 gave an opportunity for further contact at the highest level. This was followed by President Ershad's visit to New Delhi from July 14—16, 1986 and the then External Affairs Minister visit to Dhaka from July 30-31, 1986 and again from August 11—14, 1986 to attend the SAARC Ministerial Meeting.

Our relations with Bangladesh are defined by our determination to reach mutual understanding on issues where there is some difference of opinion. In regard to Ganga waters, which has been a matter of some disagreement in the past, the two countries are engaged in conducting joint studies of the availability of water resources of the region common to both countries and based on that to work out a long-term sharing arrangement. The Government of India have been keen to expedite the implementation of the agreement with Bangladesh to lease the Tin Bigha corridor. Legal difficulties have prevented this.⁴⁴

The Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, accompanied by President J. R. Jayawardene of Sri Lanka flew to Dhaka on a brief visit on June 2, 1985 to see at first hand the havoc wrought by the cyclonic storm in the coastal areas of Bangladesh. The two leaders accompanied by President Ershad, visited Urir Char, one of the worst affected areas. During the visit, P.M. assured the victims of India's help for their relief and rehabilitation. Accordingly, a project was undertaken for the construction of 100-cyclone-proof shelters at Urir Char. The project, totally financed by India at a cost of Rs. 1.5 crores, was completed and handed over formally to the Government of Bangladesh by the then External Affairs Minister on July 30, 1986. P.M.'s visit was very well received amongst all sections in Bangladesh. In particular, it was seen as a manifestation of regional solidarity.

BHUTAN

The traditional closeness of Indo-Bhutanese relations was highlighted during the year 1985 by two bilateral visits of His Majesty the King of Bhutan to India in February, 1985, and the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, to Bhutan in September, 1985. Both meetings were marked by a close identity of views and understand-

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

ing on matters of mutual interest, reflecting the relationship of trust and consultations that prevails between the two countries.

In economic field, cooperation flourishes between India and Bhutan. Indian agencies are involved in Bhutan in various projects of differing sizes and locations in telecommunications (where a Master Telecommunications Plan is being prepared for Bhutan), in road building, in geological exploration, archaeological restoration, irrigation works, etc. These activities form important components in the development of Bhutanese infrastructure.

In education, India offers opportunities to the Bhutanese for secondary as well as higher education and for specialised training in various fields such as defence, police, customs, medicine, etc.

In Bhutan's Fifth Development Plan, India had offered finance of Rs. 134 crores (about 50 per cent of the Plan outlay) as aid. The process of drawing up Bhutan's Sixth Plan (1987-1992) has been initiated by Bhutan, and a team from the Planning Commission and the Ministry of External Affairs held talks with their Bhutanese counterparts in August 1985, on the conceptual basis of the Plan.⁴⁵

NEPAL

India and Nepal have continued to nurture their traditional and friendly relations. His Majesty the King of Nepal visited India in September, 1985, and had wideranging discussions with the Prime Minister. The cordial exchanges of views between the two leaders paved the way for further expanding the interaction, goodwill and consultations on various bilateral matters.

Earlier, in April, 1985, in pursuance of the Prime Minister's initiative to improve overall relations with India's neighbours, the Foreign Secretary visited Nepal. During his visit, a wide range of bilateral matters were reviewed, including the Joint Commission, the avoidance of double taxation and joint utilisation of water resources. A time-bound programme of four years was agreed in September, 1985, by the two Governments to conclude the work of reconstruction of missing and damaged boundary pillars on the demarcated Indo-Nepal border.

India's role as a leading partner in the socio-economic development of Nepal has manifested itself in a number of aid programmes. Two agreements—one for construction of a Museum Library-cum-

⁴⁵. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

Documentation Centre at the Institute of Forestry in Hetauda and the other for a Rural Electrification Project to electrify 75 villages— were signed with Nepal in August, 1985. India's offer of Rs. 50 crores for the construction of 204-kilometre of the Western Sector of the East-West Highway was accepted by Nepal and an Agreement was signed in September, 1985 to this effect. Progress has also been made on the proposed Karnali Hydro-electric Project in Nepal. India and Nepal's joint sponsorship of an international consultant for preparation of the feasibility report was accepted by the World Bank. The project has a power potential of 3600 mw.

The Out-patient Department of Bir Hospital, constructed with Indian aid, was inaugurated by the King of Nepal in November, 1985. With modern and sophisticated equipment provided in the Hospital, it has become a premier institution in the field of health-care in Nepal and is another testimony to the friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The Eighth Inter-Governmental Committee meeting was held in Delhi in August, 1985 to review the working of treaties of trade and of transit and the Agreement for Cooperation to control unauthorised trade. While there was agreement that the treaties between the two countries were functioning well, it was felt that the terms of access to each other's markets should be constantly improved. Both the Government committed themselves to a positive approach in the promotion of Indo-Nepal joint ventures, which would add a new dimension to Indo-Nepal economic and commercial relations. The number of Nepalese products exempted from proforma procedures was increased from 14 or 18 and the insurance charges for transit cargo reduced to 0.25 per cent. The Transit Treaty was extended till March, 1989.⁴⁰

BURMA

India has traditionally close and friendly relations with Burma. To strengthen these relations the former Minister of State for External Affairs, Shri Khurshid Alam Khan, paid an official visit to Burma in June, 1985, on the invitation of the Burmese Foreign Minister. Various aspects of bilateral relations were discussed during the visit. Steps have been taken to increase India's trade with Burma. A cultural troupe and a team of defence officials from India visited Burma in 1985. Burmese officials are being offered training facilities in India.

⁴⁰. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

SRI LANKA

The unresolved ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka continues to be a source of great concern to the Government of India. The escalation of violence and large scale killings of Tamil civilians caused great concern throughout India. The deteriorating situation in the Northern and Eastern provinces in Sri Lanka had direct repercussions on India, most notably through the massive influx of refugees to Indian shores. The presence of refugees has posed socio-economic burdens and has added to the strength of Indian sentiments in regard to the situation in Sri Lanka.

India has been providing her good offices to the two sides to arrive at a political solution. Negotiations between the Sri Lanka Government and the Sri Lanka Tamil groups were arranged with India's assistance, and while these have not yet brought about a solution, efforts at bringing the two sides closer through a process of direct and indirect negotiations are continuing.

President Jayewardene of Sri Lanka had detailed discussions with the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, during his stay in New Delhi from 1—3 June, 1985. The meetings between the Prime Minister and the Sri Lankan President had led to a fresh initiative to find a solution to the crisis. It was agreed that immediate steps should be taken to defuse the situation and create a proper climate for a political settlement. The Government of Sri Lanka announced cessation of hostilities for three months from 18 June, 1985. The climate was thus created for talks which were held in Thimpu, with the assistance of the Royal Government of Bhutan, in July and August, 1985. The Thimpu talks broke down in mid-August, 1985 because of renewed violence and the continuing gap between what the Sri Lanka Government was prepared to offer by way of a political solution and the minimum demand of the Tamils.

The Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, met President Jayewardene at the CHOGM at Nassau in October, 1985, and at the SAARC Summit in Dhaka in December, 1985. At these meetings, the Prime Minister conveyed India's concern over the situation in Sri Lanka while reiterating India's continued willingness to assist in the quest for a peaceful solution to the crisis. While the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka remained unresolved, an important positive development in the bilateral relationship between the two countries was the agreement in January, 1986, to end once and for all the long-standing problem of statelessness of persons of Indian origin in

Sri Lanka. The Government of India agreed to grant citizenship and accept the repatriation of the balance of 94,000 remaining applicants for Indian citizenship together with their natural increase. The Sri Lanka Government for its part undertook to accord citizenship to the remaining stateless persons whose applications were pending together with their natural increase.⁴⁷

Explaining India's stand on Sri Lanka on March 24, 1986, the then Minister of External Affairs, Shri B. R. Bhagat, said in Lok Sabha that the Tamil problem was an internal problem of Sri Lanka. India had been saying right from the beginning that all killings of innocent civilians must stop. First, India tried after the Thimpu talks, to work out a framework of ceasefire, but when there was violation, India felt that it must stop and the Sri Lankan Government must restrain their security forces. But the killings were going on, because of the reported pursuit of the policy of a military solution by that Government. If the Sri Lankan Government thought that there could only be military solution to this problem, then India had no role to play, the Minister added.

Shri Bhagat further said that India had been trying to solve a great human problem. As long as the killings did not stop, there could not be any political talk or anything. India would help Sri Lanka if they wanted to pursue the policy of finding a political solution. The objective should be that the aspirations of the Tamils in Sri Lanka must be met. Their legitimate demands for the autonomy and for various other things should be met within the overall framework of this policy. It should be the duty of any wise government to accommodate their own people, he added.⁴⁸

CHINA

An important and early example of India's desire to establish good neighbourly relations was the agreement with China in 1954 which enunciated the *Panchsheel* or the five principles of peaceful co-existence as the basis for relations between states. India continued to subscribe to these principles even after the Chinese attack in 1962.

India took the initiative in 1976 to normalise relations with China by proposing the restoration of ambassadorial-level representation in each other's capital. Since then India-China relations have shown

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 2—5.

⁴⁸ *L.S. Deb.*, March 24, 1986.

improvement in several areas though the crucial boundary issue has yet to be resolved. However, efforts to improve relations with China have continued. Bilateral exchanges in various fields have been taking place. So far seven rounds of India-China Official Level Talks have been held.⁴⁹ The discussions have focussed on the crucial boundary question and have also covered bilateral exchanges in the fields of culture, education, science and technology and an exchange of views on the international situation. A settlement of the long outstanding question of the Indian Embassy property in Beijing was reached at the 6th Round of Talks in November, 1985.

It is India's policy that genuine normalisation of its relation with China could be achieved only when there is a just and satisfactory settlement of the boundary question. Substantive discussions therefore, on the India-China boundary question were initiated during the 6th Round of Official-level Talks held between India and China in New Delhi in November, 1985. Adopting a sector by sector approach, both sides explained their respective positions on the Eastern Sector of the India-China boundary. These discussions on the Eastern Sector of the boundary were continued during the 7th Round of Official Level Talks held in Beijing in July, 1986. Substantive discussions on the Western Sector were also initiated during the 7th Round. A programme of exchanges in the fields of culture and science and technology was finalised during these talks. Both delegations also exchanged views on the international situation.

The 35th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between India and China was observed by both countries on April 1, 1985. The Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, had a cordial meeting with the Chinese Premier, Mr. Zhao Ziyang, when the latter called on the Prime Minister in New York during the 40th Anniversary celebrations of the United Nations in October, 1985.

A Trade Protocol for the year 1986 was signed between India and China in New Delhi on November 23, 1985. The Protocol envisages a total trade turnover of 10 to 16 crores US dollars between the two countries during 1986, in commodities such as iron-ore, manganese, chrome and shellac, power equipment and machinery, petroleum products and non-ferrous metals.⁵⁰

⁴⁹. *India 1984--A Reference Annual, op. cit.*, p. 493.

⁵⁰. *Annual Report, 1985-86, op. cit.*, p. 16.

Recent Chinese intrusion into Indian territory

On July 18, 1986, the then Minister of External Affairs, Shri P. Shiv Shankar, informed Lok Sabha that in mid-June, 1986 about 40 Chinese personnel intruded approximately 2-3 Kms. into the Sumdorong Chu Valley area of Arunachal Pradesh. In response to India's protest on this issue, the Chinese Government conveyed on June 26, 1986 that the matter could be taken up for discussion at the forthcoming official level talks.

Subsequently, the matter was discussed intensively at the 7th Round of India China Official Level Talks held in Beijing from July 21—23, 1986. During his meetings with Acting Premier Wan Li and Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian, the leader of the Indian delegation, Shri A. P. Venkateswaran, Foreign Secretary, expressed India's grave concern over the Chinese intrusion. It was stressed that such intrusions added tensions and vitiated the atmosphere for finding a just and satisfactory solution to the boundary question. As stated by the then External Affairs Minister in the Lok Sabha, on August 1, 1986, the Chinese did not respond to our concern in a satisfactory manner.

Making a statement in Lok Sabha on August 8, 1986 regarding the Chinese intrusion the then Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri K. R. Narayanan, said that it had come to the notice of the Government on August 4, 1986 that the intruding Chinese personnel had improvised a helipad in Wangdung in the Sumdorong Chu Valley area of Arunachal Pradesh and that a Chinese helicopter had actually landed there. There was relatively easy accessibility of the area to the Chinese from the Tibetan side of the international boundary. Besides, the nature of the terrain being such that it was also not difficult to clear the ground to serve as a make-shift helipad. It had also been noticed that the Chinese were setting up tents and building huts in the area. The Minister said that these developments were a cause for deep concern to the Government of India. The Government, therefore, had taken up diplomatically the issue of this intrusion with the Chinese authorities both in New Delhi and in Beijing.

The Minister further informed the House that India had been stressing that both the sides should maintain peace and tranquillity on the border and that any problem that might arise should be resolved through consultations. The Government of the Peoples' Republic of China had also accepted this approach. It was the intention of the Government of India to seek a solution to this latest intrusion through consultations and negotiations in pursuance

of India's policy of finding a peaceful and negotiated settlement to the border question with China and to improving relations between the two countries, he added.⁵¹

MALDIVES

India's close association and cooperation with Maldives is a continuing one. The Maldivian President, Mr. Gayoom, paid a short visit to New Delhi in February 1985. During his visit he met the President, Shri Zail Singh, and the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. President Gayoom was assured of India's full cooperation in the areas in which Maldives might need Indian assistance. Also, the Prime Minister paid a return visit to Male in February, 1986 and assured Maldives of India's full cooperation in her development. Specifically India agreed to set up a medical complex and hotel training institute; PM also agreed to assist the Maldives in the development of Inter-atoll telecommunications, supply of meteorological data and reception of selected Indian TV Programmes. It was also agreed that Indian experts would take up the restoration and preservation of an ancient Mosque in Male; that India would send more doctors and teachers to the Maldives and provide scholarships and training for Maldivian students.

India offers training facilities to Maldivian officials in different fields such as civil aviation, customs, hotel management, manpower survey, parliamentary procedures, etc., under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme.⁵²

AFGHANISTAN

India's bilateral relations with Afghanistan are cordial. India has been providing economic and technical assistance to Afghanistan under ITEC Programme of the Government of India and within the framework of the Indo-Afghan Joint Commission. It is our policy to provide assistance to Afghanistan in those areas from which the common man benefits directly. India has provided assistance in the areas of Public Health, Education, Industrial Development, etc.

India is opposed to both intervention and interference in Afghanistan and is of the firm view that there can be no military solution of the Afghan problem. India stands for a peaceful negotiated political settlement in Afghanistan. In this context, India supports the initiative of the UN Secretary-General.⁵³

⁵¹. *Free Press Journal*, Bombay, July 24, 1986; *L.S. Deb.*, July 18, 1986 and August 8 1986.

⁵². *Annual Report*, 1985-86, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁵³. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

INDIA, SOUTH EAST AND EAST ASIA

The major field of India's interest in foreign policy has been Asia. Occupying a pivotal position on the continent of Asia, India has shown a readiness to involve herself in the affairs of Asia, not with a view to dominate but with a view to promote peace and freedom. From the beginning India has emphasised a policy of "hands off Asia" as far as the outside powers were concerned.

India's Foreign Policy, therefore, attaches considerable importance in maintaining friendly bilateral relations with the countries in South-East and East Asia and the Pacific Region. India's relations with these countries have been marked by a steady and progressive improvement during the recent years. There has been a perceptible and steady growth in economic and technical relations with practically every country in the region. Trade talks have been held with Malaysia, Philippines and Australia for identifying and intensifying areas of further co-operation. India also participates in joint ventures with a number of these countries. A large number of Indian experts also function in South East Asia, while training in India in various special disciplines is imparted to several persons coming from this region. All these demonstrate the steadily growing bilateral relations between India and the South East Asian countries.

The developments in Kampuchea highlighted the need for reduction of tension and restoration of stability. India extended recognition to the Government in Kampuchea headed by President Heng Samarin in July, 1980, thus accepting the reality of situation in that country. This policy in no way came in the way of India's desire to maintain closer ties with the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). In fact, it has been India's belief that problems of the area should be settled by peaceful discussions in the interest of all countries concerned and without any interference from outside powers.

As regards Indo-Australian relations, these continue to be cordial. Both countries have now been engaged in exploring areas to further co-operation in the fields of commerce, scientific matters, metals and minerals exploration. Also friendly relations exist with New Zealand.

The Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, paid official visits to Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand and Thailand from 13—20, October, 1986.

India's relations with Japan continue to be warm and cordial. The Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Nakasone, visited New Delhi from 3—10 May, 1984, and held wide-ranging talks, exchanging views on various international, regional and bilateral questions serving to underline their common interests in the peace and security of this region. A disquietening trend in Indo-Japanese trade has been a widening of the adverse balance of trade against India. In order to ensure the growth of trade, to protect and expand Indian exports and to safeguard bilateral economic relations against global recessionary trends, special efforts have been made by the Indo-Japanese Business Co-operation Committee. It is significant that Japan has been showing an increasing interest in India's industrial development. Japan and India have signed a number of Joint ventures of which the Maruti-Suzuki project is an outstanding example of bilateral co-operation between the two countries.⁵⁴

The Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, paid an official visit to Japan from 28 November to 1 December, 1985. The visit marked a new stage in the consolidation of India's friendly and cordial relations with Japan and an important phase in regard to further development of bilateral relations with that country. The conclusion of an Agreement between India and Japan on co-operation in the field of Science and Technology was one of the important highlights of the visit. The Agreement provides for the setting up of a Joint Committee on Science and Technology to draw up an agreed programme of action. New opportunities have thus been opened for India and Japan to work together as partners for progress not only for their mutual benefit, but also for peace and prosperity in Asia and in the world.

In his address to the Japanese Diet (Parliament), the first ever by an Indian Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi emphasised the need to enhance cooperation between India and Japan in the economic, commercial, scientific and technological fields, as well as for increasing exchanges in the cultural and educational areas to promote better understanding between the peoples of the two countries. In this regard, it was agreed to organise a 'Festival of India' in Japan in 1987-88 and a 'Japan Week' in India.⁵⁵

⁵⁴. Kaul, *op. cit.*, p. 20; and *India 1984—A Reference Annual*, *op. cit.*, pp. 496-7.

⁵⁵. *Annual Report, 1985-86*, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

INDIA, WEST ASIA AND AFRICA

India is a bridge between East Asia and West Asia and between Central Asia and South East Asia. She cannot, therefore, ignore what is happening in the countries in West Asia. Besides, her large Muslim population provides her with an added reasons for remaining on the friendliest relations with the Islamic States of West Asia.

Palestinian Issue: Even before independence, India took a principled stand on the Palestine issue in the U.N. Steering a middle course between partition and a unitary state, India proposed a Federal State "with an Arab majority in charge of the Federal State but with autonomy for the other region—Jewish region". But India's efforts in the Palestine affair were defeated by the pressure of some of the Great Powers. Jawaharlal Nehru commented at that time that "some of the major powers were out for partition and ultimately got it, with the result that there is trouble in the Middle East now and the possibility of a great deal of trouble in future". While India has recognised Israel's right to exist within secure borders, she has unreservedly condemned Israel's aggressive tactics against her Arab neighbours and her efforts to keep the territory occupied through aggression.⁵⁶ Even after 37 years of efforts of UN, the question of Palestine remains as tangled as ever before with the major protagonists in the field remaining as far apart as they were in the beginning of the United Nations involvement on this issue.

India believes that in West Asia only an overall settlement with the participation of all parties concerned can establish a just and durable peace. This settlement implies the withdrawal of Israel from occupied territories, the recognition of the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO and, in particular, their right to a homeland and the right to all countries of the region to live in peace with secure, recognised and guaranteed frontiers.⁵⁷

India has been consistently supporting the people of Palestine in their struggle for freedom. India has continued to provide material and moral assistance to the Palestinian people. India was

⁵⁶ Kaul, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁵⁷ *Foreign Affairs Record*, May, 1985, p. 124; and Article on "India's Foreign Policy", *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

instrumental in the convening of a meeting of the Non-aligned Committee on Palestine in New Delhi in April, 1985. The Committee recommended that the convening of an international peace conference under the aegis of the United Nations offered the best, if not the only, path to the attainment and exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and to a comprehensive, just and durable peace in West Asia. India strongly condemned the Israeli bombing of the PLO Headquarters in Tunis in October, 1985 and the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, sent messages of solidarity and support to both the PLO Chairman and the Tunisian Prime Minister. India also supported resolutions condemning the attack in the UN Security Council and in the International Civil Aviation Organisation.

Situation in Lebanon

The situation in Lebanon continues to be a matter of concern to India. India stands for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, beginning with those of Israel and, in this context, it has reiterated its support for the UN Security Council resolutions 508 and 509. India hopes that the Lebanese people will, in a spirit of national reconciliation, be able to bring about peace and security in Lebanon. India has always stood for a strong, united and non-aligned Lebanon.

Iran-Iraq war

The continuing Iran-Iraq war, which started in September, 1980, has been a constant subject of India's attention. Efforts were made both as a friendly country and as Chairman of NAM to find ways and means to bring about a peaceful end to the war through negotiations. When the conflict escalated with the resumption of attacks on civilian targets by both the countries, the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, sent urgent messages to the Presidents of Iran and Iraq on March 13, 1985 urging them to end attacks on civilian population as a first step to be followed by other measures of de-escalation leading ultimately to cessation of hostilities. He followed this up with a public appeal on March 15, 1985 and thereafter sent the Minister of State for External Affairs as his special Emissary to the concerned capitals to achieve the objective of peace in the region. On February 18, 1986, India again issued an appeal to both countries for cessation of hostilities immediately. Unfortunately, the differences in the respective positions of Iran and Iraq have remained too wide for any effort to succeed and the war has entered its seventh year. However, India continues to maintain good

and friendly relations with each side and bilateral cooperation has continued with both Iran and Iraq.⁵⁸

Colonialism and Racialism

From the very date of attainment of its Independence, India was convinced that its own independence would not be meaningful while other nations remained under colonial rule. India's efforts at the United Nations and elsewhere are aimed at putting an end to the vestiges of colonial rule and at the elimination of racism and *apartheid*. India is thus deeply committed to the support for the Namibian people in their valiant struggle for independence under the leadership of SWAPO and to the people of South Africa in their brave struggle against the abhorrent system of *apartheid*.

International opposition to *apartheid* initiated by Gandhiji has been gathering strength over the years. It was India which first brought the question of racial discrimination in South Africa before the United Nations in 1946. Since then, a powerful international consensus has developed against the racist principles of the *apartheid* system.⁵⁹

Relations with African countries

India's relations with African countries have continued to develop satisfactorily.

India has continued with its policy of strengthening the on-going process of multi-faceted co-operation with the countries of the African region extending moral, material and diplomatic support to the friendly states and liberation movements while continuing with the policy of firm opposition to the system of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa and a total boycott of the racist regime practising it. India responded with understanding to the fast evolving political situation in Southern Africa and generally endorsed the position in this regard taken by the Frontline States at their meeting in Arusha (Tanzania) in April, 1984. The Arusha meeting, *inter alia*, called upon South Africa to dismantle the root cause of instability in the region, *i.e.* *apartheid*. India rejected outright the so-called constitutional reforms within South Africa, introduced by the racist regime, and urged the people of South Africa

⁵⁸. *Annual Report, 1985-86, op. cit.*, pp. 20-22.

⁵⁹. Article on "India's Foreign Policy", *op. cit.*, p. 5; and *Foreign Affairs Record*, August, 1985, p. 253

to oppose the elections (held under the new constitution) aimed at dividing and weakening the struggle against *apartheid*.⁶⁰

The Pretoria regime's repression of the majority black population of South Africa and the people's resistance to *apartheid* and struggle for equal rights, dominated the deliberations by NAM and the UN during the year 1985. In these meetings, India championed the cause of the oppressed people of South Africa.

Elimination of *Apartheid* and the establishment of a non-racial representative government in South Africa, was a subject which dominated the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting at Nassau in October, 1985. India was able to assist in achieving a consensus among the Commonwealth members for a Programme of Common Action against Pretoria.⁶¹

In the light of the decision taken at Nassau the Commonwealth Heads of Government Review Meeting was held in London from 3—5 August, 1986. The Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, who attended the meeting, informed Lok Sabha on August 14, 1986, that the report of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG), formed at Nassau to facilitate political dialogue on South Africa, was a moving and an authoritative portrayal of the horrors of *apartheid*. This report had stirred the conscience of all nations. It stated that only concerted pressure by the international community could forestall a bloodbath in South Africa, the Prime Minister added.

The Prime Minister said that in the London Meeting, all, except Britain, decided to adopt the measures listed in paragraph 7 of the Nassau Accord and including the three additional measures. The British Government dissociated itself from the measures agreed to by the others. It was willing to implement only a few limited measures, one of which would be subject to a future EEC decision. Because of Britain's unfortunate stand, the Prime Minister added, the rest of them decided to go ahead with sanctions rather than compromise on a diluted package which would destroy the credibility of the Commonwealth and go against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of its members.

Shri Rajiv Gandhi further said that the communique issued after the meeting recognised that the Pretoria regime might take retaliatory steps against neighbouring States, which would only strengthen

⁶⁰. *Annual Report, 1984-85, op. cit.*, p. (ix).

⁶¹. *Ibid, 1985-86, op. cit.*, p. 24.

their resolve to take further measures. The next step for the countries in the Commonwealth and international community would be to take collective action in extending a helping hand to countries which were vulnerable to the South African regime's pressure.⁶²

Earlier, on August 7, 1986, the Lok Sabha had adopted unanimously a resolution on South Africa which, *inter alia*, condemned the inhuman policy of *apartheid* of the racist regime of South Africa; expressed the solidarity of the Indian people with the brave freedom fighters of South Africa and supported their just struggle for human rights; denounced the obstinate refusal of the South African authorities to enter into meaningful negotiations with the African National Congress and other political organisations to dismantle *apartheid*; condemned the action of governments which provided moral encouragement and material assistance to the racist government of South Africa; appealed to all the freedom loving forces of the world to remain united in the historic movement against *apartheid*; and appealed to parliamentarians of the world to use all moral and constitutional means at their disposal to persuade governments and other authorities all over the world to take effective action against the South African authorities.⁶³

As the British Government was not immediately prepared to implement even the minimum measures, which all the Commonwealth countries had agreed to at Nassau, towards the dismantling of *apartheid* in South Africa, India did not participate in the Commonwealth Games held in Edinburgh. India's decision, not to participate in the Games was an expression of her solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and with the Frontline States.⁶⁴

Commonwealth Games began on July 24, 1986 with as many as 32 member countries and territories boycotting the Games in protest against Britain's refusal to impose economic sanctions against the *apartheid* regime on South Africa.⁶⁵

Diplomatic Status to SWAPO

During the NAM Ministerial Coordinating Bureau Meeting in New Delhi in April, 1985, the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi,

⁶². *L.S. Deb.*, August, 14, 1986.

⁶³. *Ibid*, August 7, 1986.

⁶⁴. *Ibid*, July 21, 1986.

⁶⁵. *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, July 25, 1986.

announced India's decision to accord full diplomatic status to the SWAPO Representative in India. During that meeting as well as at the NAM Ministerial meeting at Luanda and at the UN, India forcefully reiterated its stand that the "Interim Administration" set up by the Pretoria regime in Namibia with the connivance of the discredited and unrepresentative Multi-Party Conference was illegal, that the UN Security Council Resolution 435 was the only basis for a settlement of the issue, that SWAPO was the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people, and that extraneous issues, like the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, should not be linked to the question of the independence of Namibia.⁶⁶

⁶⁶. *Annual Report, 1985-86, op. cit.*, p. 24.

INDIA AND THE BIG POWERS

India's policy of non-alignment in the cold war has often been misconstrued as a policy of equidistance between the two rival blocs. Non-alignment does not mean neutrality and does not impose an obligation on India to maintain a kind of parity between rival powers. Non-alignment was essentially designed to safeguard India's independence of judgement and action in world affairs including her attitude towards relations with the Big Powers. India's bilateral relations with Big Powers are determined largely by her national interest and by her independent judgement of the policies and actions of the Powers concerned. They will naturally be guided by the respect and response shown by these countries to India's policies and interests.⁶⁷

U.S.A.

Indo-US relations, over the last four decades, have had an interesting history of both cooperation and differences. In assessing their state today, one cannot ignore the past 40 years of history. On the negative side, it has been a matter of concern for us that from the very beginning, the US has been somewhat suspicious of India's policy of non-alignment. Located in totally differing geopolitical contexts, the world view of the two countries has been markedly different, as indeed have been their security priorities and interests. The friction in the relations as a result of the differences between the US preference for block politics and India's for non-alignment goes back to 1947 when Dulles expressed his suspicions of our stand on South Africa. Even today complaints can be heard of the lack of even handedness in India's stand on international issues and criticism of NAM for opposing US policies in various parts of the world. A second complicating factor has been US policies towards South Asia, which have almost continuously impinged adversely on India's security interests. This ranges from the US stand on Kashmir, to their criticism of the liberation of Goa and their active opposition to the creation of Bangladesh. Tied to this has been their security relationship with Pakistan which, with only brief interruption, has been a running sore where Indo-US relations are concerned. On the economic side too, the differences

⁶⁷ Kaul, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

in approach have been often sharp with the US not concealing its distaste for an economic growth model relying on the public sector nor its opposition to what has been seen as excessive Indian protectionism. Many of these themes continue to affect the relationship today even if they have changed somewhat in form or detail.

At the same time, evaluation of Indo-US relations should take into account the more positive aspects of the relationship. India has been the largest aid recipient and the role of PL 480 Food Assistance Programme was crucial for our Nations' welfare in the 60s. India has also been the largest recipient of IDA's soft loans to which the US has been the largest single contributor. These loans have played an important role in some aspects of our economic development. The United States is universally also credited with providing the catalytic impulse for the Green Revolution in India. USA has been one of India's larger trade partners and there have been a number of collaborative projects over the years. In more recent times, the immigration of half a million Indians to the US has brought out a new facet to the relationship.

In recent years, India and the USA continue to have some differences in their perception and approach to some regional and international issues. However, both sides have kept in touch on a variety of issues in order to narrow the differences and enhance mutual understanding. At the same time, both sides have been making an effort to build on the many common areas of interest to mutual benefit.⁶⁸

A Memorandum of Understanding on technology transfer signed in November, 1984 opened new avenues for Indo-US cooperation.

The relations between the two countries at the people's level have always been remarkably cordial. Replying to a question of the Correspondent of the *Indian Reporter*, Los Angeles, on August 7, 1981 regarding the Indo-U.S. relations, the late Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi said: "No two peoples get along better on a personal level than Americans and Indians. At the governmental level we do have problems. But on the whole even governmental relations are good. The tilt against India, as you describe it, is basically a result of America's perceptions of its global role. As a big power the USA wants the whole world to adjust to its assessment of its global interests and act accordingly, if necessary adapting national policies. How is this possible? We have our own international assessments and interests". She further said: "The

⁶⁸. *Annual Report*, 1985-86, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

US itself was born out of a war of independence. It was the first colony to proclaim freedom. But now it seems to have become insensitive to the nationalism of newly free countries in Asia and Africa. American policy-makers find it difficult to accept the fact that India wants to get ahead with solving its massive problems and cannot afford to get involved in the conflicts of others."⁶⁹

Despite the perception on various issues remaining different, India has always been making sincere efforts for better understanding with the USA. However, the continued supply of sophisticated arms by USA to Pakistan is the single most important factor generating friction between the two countries. India repeatedly impressed upon the US Government that the supply of sophisticated arms to Pakistan adversely affected Indo-US relations, encouraged an arms race on the Sub-continent and jeopardised the normalisation of relations between Pakistan and India.

Another issue which casts a shadow over Indo-US relations is the activities of extremist leaders who are operating from the US and supporting the so-called Khalistan movement in India. The detection of conspiracies against the person of the Prime Minister and the former Chief Minister of Haryana, activities of extremist groups like the World Sikh Organisation and the training of extremists in a mercenary training school in USA were the cause of deep concern in India. India welcomed the desire of the United States Government to cooperate with it in curbing the international dimensions of terrorist violence against India, and noted some positive steps taken in this regard.

Indo-US relations were marked by greater understanding and cooperation during 1985-86. A major development in bilateral relations was the visit of the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, to the USA from 11—15 June, 1985. The Prime Minister had wide-ranging discussions with President Reagan and his cabinet colleagues. He addressed a Joint Session of the Congress met prominent scientists, representatives of the media and industry, as also the Indian Community. In Washington the Prime Minister also inaugurated the Festival of India which was dedicated to the memory of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The festival would continue till the end of 1986 with a wide-range of cultural and intellectual events all over the USA. It has already enhanced awareness of India in the American public.

⁶⁹ Indira Gandhi, *Selected Speeches and Writings*, 1980-81, published by Govt. of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi, p. 541.

During his visit to New York in October, 1985 to attend the 40th Anniversary Celebrations of the United Nations, the Prime Minister had another opportunity to meet President Reagan. There has also been increased exchange of visitors between India and the USA, including members of the two countries, legislatures, government officials, academics and businessmen.⁷⁰

USSR

India established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union on April 13, 1947. Even before independence there was a substantial area of agreement between the Indian National Movement and the leadership in USSR. However, largely due to the atmosphere of cold war, there was a certain degree of reservation in the Soviet Union's attitude towards independent India. India's independent foreign policy and non-alignment were looked upon by the Soviet Bloc as "only a mask to cover collaboration with Anglo-American imperialism". However, the first five years of India's independence convinced the Soviet Union and her allies that India was keen to preserve her independence in international affairs. By 1953, the Soviet Union realised that India's non-alignment was a useful factor working not only in favour of peace but also helping in the elimination of foreign domination in Asia. Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to the USSR in 1955 and the return visit to India in 1956 of the Soviet leaders marked the turning point.

Mr. Khrushchev's Report to the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU, in which he praised the Asian countries which "resolutely uphold their right to an independent foreign policy" marked a new phase in the Soviet Union's attitude to India and the non-aligned group in general. Bilateral relations between India and the Soviet Union began to grow rapidly in various fields; trade and economic relations reached high levels. The Soviet Union showed an awareness of India's economic needs and contributed generously and unreservedly to the growth of heavy and basic industries in India.

The Soviet Union also displayed a marked understanding of the peculiarities of the sub-continental politics which were largely a legacy of the past colonial rule complicated by continuing intrigues and interferences by outside powers.

The Soviet Union and India have found several areas of common interest in the pursuit of their respective foreign policies and have

⁷⁰ *Annual Reports*, 1984-85, p. (x); and 1985-86, (*op. cit.*, pp. 32-33).

co-operated in many areas. The fruitful and mutually beneficial co-operation between the two countries culminated eventually in the formal signing of a treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation in August, 1971. This Treaty significantly acknowledges India's policy of non-alignment and endorses the principles of peaceful co-existence. It reaffirms the interest of the two countries in the maintenance of peace and the furtherance of international co-operation. Both India and the Soviet Union look upon this Treaty as a factor in favour of peace and stability in Asia and in the world as a whole.⁷¹

India's friendly and cordial relations with the Soviet Union have been developing satisfactorily. There has been a fruitful growth in the political, economic and cultural exchanges between the two countries.

In order to pay respects to the memory of President Chernenko, the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, visited the Soviet Union in March, 1985. During the visit he had talks with newly elected General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mr. M. S. Gorbachev. The Prime Minister's visit in May, 1985 was an important event, in Indo-Soviet relations. His meeting with General Secretary, Mr. Gorbachev, provided the occasion for an extensive review of bilateral relations and major international issues. Also, two important agreements were signed, i.e. an agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation providing for Soviet participation in industrial projects in leading sectors, being taken up in India, and an Agreement on the Main Directions on Economic, Trade and Scientific and Technical Cooperation upto the year 2000.⁷²

Speaking at the banquet hosted in his honour by the General Secretary, Mr. Gorbachev, in Moscow on May 31, 1985 the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, said:

"Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union are an integral element of our foreign policy. Our people regard the Soviet people as friends who have stood by them in times of need. The splendid record of Indo-Soviet relations owes much to the vision and exertions of the leaders of both our countries over the last three decades. I am here to continue the tradition set for us

⁷¹. Kaul, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-39.

⁷². *Annual Report, 1985-86, op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and practised by successive Governments in India of sharing assessments and perceptions so that our two countries can work together for a better world.”⁷³

The tenth meeting of the Indo-Soviet Joint Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation was held in New Delhi in April, 1985. The meeting reviewed and provided guidelines for the development of bilateral economic cooperation. Indo-Soviet trade maintained a good tempo of growth. There was a high turnover of bilateral trade between the two countries during 1984. The Trade Plan for 1985 provided for a substantial increase in turnover. However, a notable event was the signing of the Long Term Trade and Payments Agreement for 1986—90 which envisages an increase in the turnover by one and half to two times over the figure for the preceding five-year period.

A highlight of bilateral cooperation in science and technology was the exhibition of Indian Science and technology held in Moscow in September, 1985. Exchanges in culture, arts, education, sports and other fields have also developed well. A decision has been taken that ‘Festival of India’ in the USSR and ‘Festival of USSR’ in India will be held during 1987-88.⁷⁴

⁷³. *Foreign Affairs Record*, May, 1985, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-38.

⁷⁴. *Annual Report*, 1985-86, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

INDIA AND EUROPE—WEST AND EAST

U.K.

In the aftermath of independence, India's relations with the United Kingdom were a function of the colonial connection: though happily, the maturity and statesmanship of India's leadership did not permit the past to fashion the future. India voluntarily chose to remain within the British Commonwealth (known as Commonwealth of Nations thereafter) even after becoming a Republic, and thus overwhelmingly contributed to an altogether new orientation and dimension to the Commonwealth. Over the years, notwithstanding occasional irritants in the relationship, differences of opinion between the two countries have been kept in check through friendly and mature dialogue.

As regards economic relations, Britain has been an important trading partner of India and source of foreign technology and investment in India. While India's trade turnover with UK has increased over the years, the trade balance remained adverse to India. India's efforts, of late to reduce this balance by encouraging the UK to buy more Indian goods, are showing some results.

In the recent past, the bilateral relationship has been severely buffeted by the UK Government not doing enough (even where it can, in accordance with the law) to curb anti-Indian activity in the UK. They have taken some steps against anti-Indian extremists, pro-Khalistani Sikhs and JKLF supporters who continue to be active there. India has been pursuing the matter with the UK Government in order to see that concrete steps are taken to put an end to such activities.

India and the UK have much in common. The present contretemps in the bilateral relations, although no insignificant matter, is hopefully a passing phase. We hope that before long, saner counsel will prevail in London, and the relationship will be restored to one of beneficial mutuality.

FRANCE

India's relations with France have continued to expand and develop and there have been wide contacts in the economic, cul-

tural and scientific fields. There has been an increasing degree of similarity in the approaches of the two countries to key international issues. The conclusion of the nuclear fuel agreement with France for supply of enriched uranium for the Tarapur atomic power plant marked the beginning of a new era of Indo-French co-operation.

Economic relations with France witnessed the consolidation of cooperation in various technological fields, particularly energy, power, coal and electronics. Between 1980 and 1981 some one score Indo-French Memoranda of Understanding on cooperation in various economic fields were signed.

The Festival of India, held in Paris in 1985, has given a new awareness to the people of France regarding India's rich cultural heritage and the potential of its economy.

GERMANY

India's markedly improving relations with the Federal Republic of Germany is the new feature in our relationship with Western Europe. The FRG has emerged as India's premier economic partner in Western Europe.

As regards other countries of Western Europe India's relations with them have shown a healthy growth in recent years especially in economic, political and cultural fields.⁷⁵

COMMONWEALTH

India has played a key role in the Commonwealth. It was in recognition of India's role in the Commonwealth as well as in world affairs that a meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government was held, for the first time, in New Delhi from 23—29 November, 1983. The Summit brought together 42 countries, from five continents representing a cross section of humanity from the developed as well as the developing countries, and provided them an opportunity for taking stock of the world political and economic situation. It was a matter of satisfaction that despite the divergent views and perceptions inescapable in such a large and varied grouping as the Commonwealth, the final documents issued by the Summit brought out the essential unity of approach and purpose in matters connected with peace and development.

⁷⁵. *India 1983—A Reference Annual*, *op. cit.*, p 471; *Annual Report, 1983-84* p. 24 and 1985-86, *op. cit.*, p (ix).

EAST EUROPE

India's relations with East European countries have shown a remarkable growth in recent years especially in the economic, cultural, and political fields.

In order to further strengthen relations with these countries, the Vice-President, Shri R. Venkataraman, paid official visits to Bulgaria, German Democratic Republic, and Yugoslavia in November, 1985. With the Leaders of these countries, he discussed bilateral relations and issues of world politics. President of India, Shri Zail Singh, paid visits to Poland and Yugoslavia in October-November, 1986.⁷⁰

⁷⁰. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

India was one of the signatories to the Declaration by United Nations at Washington, D.C., on January 1, 1942, and became one of the charter members of the United Nations when the Charter was adopted on October 24, 1945. Setting out the policy of the Government of India towards the United Nations, Jawaharlal Nehru, then Member for External Affairs in the Governor General's Executive Council, declared:

"Towards the United Nations, India's attitude is that of wholehearted co-operation and unreserved adherence, in both spirit and letter, to the Charter governing it. To that end, India will participate fully in its various activities and endeavour to play that role in its councils to which her geographical position, population and contribution towards peaceful progress entitle her."

This unreserved adherence to the concept of United Nations stemmed from the belief that the United Nations Organization (U.N.O.) was the beginning of some kind of world structure, which would eventually lead to a new world order.⁷⁷

At that time, with her own independence clearly assured, India looked upon the U.N.O., not as an organisation which might be used to preserve the *status quo* but as one which could be used to enlarge the areas of freedom, peace and prosperity through international co-operation. These were, indeed, the basic objectives of independent India's foreign policy and she strove to further these objectives in and outside the U.N.O. Having a vital stake in the preservation of peace, she turned her endeavours towards preventing the United Nations falling a victim to the Big Power rivalry which, even then, threatened to split the world permanently into two hostile camps. By her conduct and example, steering clear of Great Power alignments and blocs, India strove to create a Third area, outside the two major power blocs, and widened it in the interests of peace.

⁷⁷. Kaul, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

Colonialism and Racism

In conformity with her basic policy of promoting liberation of subject peoples, India played a leading and active role in the United Nations from its early years in opposing the continuance of colonialism in different parts of the world. She had been consistent, resourceful and imaginative in using the United Nations for the advancement of colonial peoples towards independence. As far as practicable, she advocated and strove for peaceful transition to independence of subject countries. In the case of Indonesia, she called upon the United Nations to take steps leading to the early independence of that country to avoid recrudescence of bloodshed. She advocated early independence for the Italian colonies in North and East Africa. In the case of Morocco and Tunisia, she endeavoured to secure a peaceful termination of French rule. She recognised, in Algeria, the special factors and complexities while regretting the bloodshed which actually preceded independence. Elsewhere, India tried to use the machinery provided in the U.N.O. to hasten the progress of colonies towards freedom.⁷⁸

In October, 1985, during the 40th session of the General Assembly of the U.N.O. in a series of decisions on decolonisation issues, the Assembly called for renewed efforts to complete the implementation of its 1960 'Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples'; strongly condemned South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia and called for an end to collaboration with South Africa and reiterated its calls for the cessation of foreign economic and military activities that hinder the decolonisation process. In addition to the two main resolutions under this agenda item, one relating to the implementation of the 1960 Declaration and other on "Dissemination of Information on Decolonisation", both of which were co-sponsored by India, the Assembly also adopted a third resolution on the 25th anniversary of the Declaration.⁷⁹

On the allied question of racial discrimination India herself had brought up before the U.N. General Assembly in 1946 the matter of the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa. In 1952, India, along with 12 other Member States of the United Nations, raised the general question of 'race conflict' in South Africa resulting from the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. In the face of South Africa's indifference to world public

⁷⁸. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8; and *Foreign Affairs Record*, September, 1985, pp. 288.

⁷⁹. *Annual Report*, 1985-86, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

opinion and defiance of the world body's numerous resolutions on the subject, India co-sponsored with 33 other countries a Resolution in 1962 which called upon Member States to take certain diplomatic and economic steps against the South African Government to bring about the abandonment of its racial policies.⁸⁰

India's consistent policy of firm opposition to *apartheid*, condemnation of the racist regime and its aggressive postures against the front-line States in Southern Africa, and support to the liberation movements found forceful reiteration on several occasions at various international fora. India rejected in no uncertain terms the racist regime's vicious scheme of consolidating *apartheid* by extending insignificant concessions to the Indian and coloured communities while leaving the majority African community out of the picture.⁸¹

Reduction of Tension

It was in the realm of reducing cold-war tension and promoting peace that India's policy of non-alignment paid rich dividends. In Korea, Indo-China, West Asia, India repeatedly played an effective role and helped in resolving the crises in an atmosphere free of bloc rivalries.

India remained committed to resolving the problems related to Afghanistan through a negotiated political settlement, and supported the UN Secretary-General's efforts aimed at bringing about a comprehensive settlement of issues affecting the Afghan situation.⁸²

India played a significant role in many of the peace keeping operations of the United Nations. India supervised the repatriation of prisoners-of-war in Korea. She supplied the largest first two contingents for the U.N. Emergency Force (UNEF) in Gaza. The first two commanders of the U.N. Forces in Cyprus (UNFCYP) were Indians. In the U.N. operations in Congo (UNOC) India shouldered the heavy responsibility of sending the largest national unit, which helped in bringing the crisis in Katanga to an end.

Disarmament

Not only in actual threats to peace but also in potential sources of tension, India's role has been significant. Disarmament was an area which India considered important for making the world secure

⁸⁰. Kaul, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁸¹. *Annual Report, 1983-84, op. cit.*, p. (vi).

⁸². *Ibid.*, 1983-84, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

from the threat of war. In the early stages of the discussions on disarmament, little progress could be made because they were essentially debates between the two sides in the cold-war with minimal participation by those outside. From the eighth session of the General Assembly (1953) onward, India and likeminded nations began to play an increasingly effective role in these talks. Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, drew the attention of the world to the nuclear menace by calling for the banning of nuclear tests.⁸³

India has consistently tried to promote the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and advocates the total elimination of nuclear-weapons.

India believes that the evolution of the healthy national societies in the world can only be ensured if the pervasive influence of an armaments culture, particularly of a nuclear armaments culture, is curbed and the massive expenditure now being directed towards perfecting and modernising the instruments of war is channelled towards securing more equitable and better conditions of livelihood for the peoples of the world. Even a token reduction in arms expenditure could produce dramatic results if channelised into the development of the less affluent sections of the world.⁸⁴

International Cooperation

India has always worked for international co-operation for the betterment of the world. But the vestiges of colonialism on the one hand and the rivalries of the cold-war on the other vitiated the atmosphere for genuine international co-operation for the harmonious development of the world community.

To keep co-operation towards development out of the bloc conflicts, India urged as early as 1950 that assistance to developing countries should be channelised through international agencies. The concept of a Special Development Fund took definite form, through the efforts of India and other developing countries, in 1952. A United Nations capital loan fund has also been one of India's suggestions to keep aid outside political manipulation.

Besides aid, trade and more equitable terms for the developing countries have been emphasised by India and like-minded countries as an important means to ensure a more harmonious development of the world community. India had made a significant contribution

⁸³. Kaul, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-11.

⁸⁴. *Foreign Affairs Record*, September, 1985, *op. cit.* pp. 285.

to the concept of a U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).⁸⁵

India played a leading role during the 39th General Assembly session in preparing resolutions tabled on behalf of the Group of 77. Particular efforts were made to see that they reflected the concern and suggestions which had already been expressed in the Economic Declaration adopted by the New Delhi Non-Aligned Summit. Several important resolutions, particularly, on food and agriculture, and trade and development could be negotiated successfully and were adopted by consensus. Some others, such as, on industrial development co-operation, could not be negotiated and had to be voted mainly on account of the financial implications which they contained. India was able to successfully negotiate resolution on Development of Energy Resources of Developing countries, both with the OPEC members of the Group of 77 as well as industrialised countries and the resolution was adopted by consensus.

In order to revitalise the dialogue on important international economic issues at the 40th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. India along with some other developing countries called for a discussion on the inter-related issues of money, finance, debt, trade, resource flows and development to examine international cooperation in these vital areas in a coherent and integrated manner. This became the theme for special focus during the meetings of the Economic and Social Council. The discussion on these broad range of areas was continued during the exercise on the review and appraisal of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. India worked closely with the Chairman of the Group of 77 and the Chairman of the Committee to reach an agreed consensus conclusion of this important exercise. Such a positive outcome had seemed doubtful during the two years of protracted negotiations on this issue and India was encouraged at this development.⁸⁶

India's faith in UNO

Through about four decades of active and co-operative association with the UN, India had demonstrated her faith in that body as a potential instrument for building a peaceful and harmonious world

⁸⁵. Kaul, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

⁸⁶. *Annual Report, 1985-86, op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

community. India firmly believes that the U.N. is the only hope for mankind and that it ought to be strengthened.

India has continued to play its traditionally active and important role in the United Nations. The significance of this role was enhanced further by virtue of India's Chairmanship of the Movement of Non-Aligned countries and its membership of the Security Council. On January 1, 1984, India became a member of the Security Council for the fifth time, having been elected to a non-permanent seat in the body at the 38th session of the General Assembly. India had been a member of the Security Council in 1950-51, 1967-68, 1972-73, 1977-78. India has been participating constructively in the deliberations of the Security Council on the various issues of which the Council was seized. Apart from making a number of formal statements, India has been active in negotiating draft resolutions and in the continuous process of informal consultations with other members of the Council as well as the member States concerned with particular issues. India was once again elected in 1984 a member of the Economic and Social Council. Thus, India was represented on each of the important principal organs of the Organisation. In addition, it remained a member of, and participated actively in, a number of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. A number of distinguished Indians were elected or remained members, in their individual capacity, of important UN bodies.⁸⁸

India along with other Non-aligned countries have consistently worked to strengthen the UN system. India had also taken the lead in mobilising the non-aligned countries into playing a prominent role in preparatory activities for the observance of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations. Both in the Preparatory Committee and in the Coordinating Bureau in New York, an active and constructive role was played by India and the non-aligned countries in this direction. NAM had stressed the need for high-level participation at the commemoration ceremonies in order that a reaffirmation of faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter could be made.⁸⁹

⁸⁷. Kaul, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

⁸⁸. *Annual Report, 1984-85, op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

⁸⁹. Govt. of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Non-Aligned Movement during India's Chairmanship*, New Delhi, 1985, p. 12.

INDIA AND THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT*

As stated earlier, India, ever since her independence, has consistently followed in her foreign relations a policy of non-alignment with the opposing power blocs. Such a policy flows naturally from India's past traditions and has been fully in keeping with the interests of the people of India. It is an assertion of the country's national sovereignty and independence. It is not an end in itself but a means to an end—the lessening of tensions in the world and the preservation of world peace, so that India and other under-developed countries which have regained their freedom might be able to devote their energy and resources towards their economic and social betterment.

The essence of non-alignment lies in the freedom and independence of each country to judge every question on its merits and not on the basis of a predetermined attitude arising out of alignment with other countries. Non-alignment implies an attitude of impartiality based on larger world interests rather than on the narrow and limited interests of one power or group of powers. Despite its detractors, the policy and practice of non-alignment has steadily developed into a major factor in international affairs, with the emergence of a large number of countries of Asia and Africa into independence.⁹⁰

The path of non-alignment, however, does not imply neutrality; it essentially means that India will not align itself with any military bloc but would seek to defuse international tensions by independence of judgement.

The Non-Aligned Movement, which was launched in 1961 under the leadership of world figures like President Tito, President Nassar, President Soekarno and Prime Minister Nehru, caught the imagination of newly independent countries with its membership swelling from 25 at the Belgrade Conference in 1961 to 101 in the New Delhi Non-aligned Summit in 1983. Despite the enlargement of its membership, the Non-Aligned Movement has retained its basic thrust in favour of peace, disarmament, development and independence. The need for

*For detailed information about Non-Aligned Movement please see the brochure on the subject brought out by the Lok Sabha Secretariat.

⁹⁰ *India 1983—A Reference Annual*, op. cit., p. 465.

unity among non-aligned nations and the solidarity of the Movement has found wide acceptance and recognition.

During early eighties, India enhanced its traditional status in the Movement of non-aligned countries and in the world community in general. Through a series of well-conceived and well-timed initiatives flowing from her responsibilities as the Chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement, the late Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, carried forward the quest for peace and development. She underlined the need for co-operative endeavour aimed at the reorganisation of political and economic systems at the global and states levels.⁹¹

NAM under India's Chairmanship

India was called to the Chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement at a particularly difficult time. International tensions were on the increase as the world realised it was on the verge of a new stage in the nuclear arms race. The major nuclear weapon states were unable to open a dialogue that could mitigate the nuclear danger to the world. At the same time the harsh realities of political and economic power were being thrust at the non-aligned and developing countries. There was a hardening of positions which made the possibility of solutions in troubled areas such as Southern Africa, the Middle East and Central America even more remote. The international dialogue on economic issues was badly stalled. Attempts were made to question the relevance of non-alignment itself and to weaken the cohesion of the Movement by consciously promoting bloc-oriented divisions.

It cannot be claimed that the Non-Aligned Movement during India's leadership has been able to bring an end to these dangerous problems. However, this has been a period of affirmation of the continued significance of NAM, its capacity to play a part on the world stage and its ability to present forcefully the views and wishes of the major part of mankind which it represents.⁹²

India's approach to the Chairmanship of NAM—under the direction of the late Smt. Indira Gandhi and then under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi—has been to develop constant inter-action with different view-points within the Movement with a view to evolving a consensus which is not necessarily pre-determined. This approach is

⁹¹ Article on 'India's Foreign Policy', *op. cit.*, p. 2; and *India 1984—A Reference Annual op. cit.* p. 491.

⁹² *Non-Aligned Movement During India's Chairmanship, op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

complex, unpredictable in terms of outcome and involves sophistication in approaching issues. It involves an inclusive rather than exclusive approach with regard to consultations and stresses prior discussion and negotiation on contentious issues with the proponents of differing opinions in order to identify and work towards a resolution of differences.

The stress has been on bridge-building. This does not, of course, rule out the possibility of independent initiatives where these can be seen furthering the overall goals of the Non-Aligned Movement. It also does not conceive of the Movement as a closed club without stimulus from or intellectual contact with individuals and organisations outside the NAM community of nations.⁹³

India's term of Chairmanship of NAM was completed with Mr. Robert Mugabe, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, taking over as NAM Chairman from the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi on the very first day of the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit which was held at Harare from September 1—7, 1986.⁹⁴

The Summit set up an 'AFRICA (Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid) Fund' with India as Chairman to aid the frontline States and freedom movements in South Africa and Namibia⁹⁵

⁹³. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

⁹⁴. *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, September 8, 1986.

⁹⁵. *M.P. Chronicle*, Bhopal, September 8, 1986.

INDIA AND DISARMAMENT*

The greatest peril facing the world today is the threat to the survival of mankind from a nuclear war. Disarmament in particular nuclear disarmament, is no longer merely a moral issue; it is an issue of human survival. Yet the renewed escalation in the nuclear arms race, both in its quantitative and qualitative dimensions, as well as reliance on doctrines of nuclear deterrence, have heightened the risk of the out-break of nuclear war and led to greater insecurity and instability in international relations. Nuclear weapons are more than weapons of war. They are instruments of mass annihilation. India and other non-aligned countries, therefore, find it unacceptable that the security of all States and the very survival of mankind should be held hostage to the security interests of a handful of nuclear weapon States. Measures for the prevention of nuclear war and of nuclear disarmament must take into account the security interests of nuclear weapon and non-nuclear weapons States alike and ensure that the survival of mankind is not endangered.⁹⁶

Disarmament and promotion of world peace are among the basic objectives of India's foreign policy. India has consistently urged that the only effective guarantee against the use, threat of use or accidental use of nuclear weapons is the total elimination of nuclear weapons. India believes that all States possessing nuclear weapons should give a binding commitment-not to use them under any circumstances.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

While India advocates the total elimination of nuclear weapons and is firmly committed to the peaceful utilisation of nuclear energy, she cannot accept discriminatory and unequal International agreements like the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. India was the first country that brought the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons to the attention of the United Nations in 1964 by inscribing an item entitled 'Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons'. India's pro-

*For more information on this subject, please See brochure on "Disarmament and Development" brought out by the Lok Sabha Secretariat.

⁹⁶ *Final Documents, Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned countries*, New Delhi, 1983, p. 8.

posal was based on the premise that both horizontal and vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons were integral parts of the problem, which had to be dealt as a whole. Unfortunately, this concept was generously altered in the Non-Proliferation Treaty concluded in 1968. India also finds cartel type arrangements and discriminatory constraints sought to be imposed on the peaceful development of nuclear power by non-nuclear weapon states totally unacceptable.⁹⁷

India's Five Point Programme of Action

In her message to the Second Special Session on Disarmament of the UN General Assembly, the late Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, proposed the following concrete programme of action :

- (i) The Session should negotiate a binding convention on the non-use of nuclear weapons;
- (ii) As a first step towards the eventual cutting on existing stockpiles, there must be a freeze on nuclear weapons, providing for the total stoppage of any further production of nuclear weapons, combined with a cut-off in the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes;
- (iii) Immediate suspension of all nuclear weapons tests;
- (iv) Towards this objective, disarmament negotiations must once again revert to the task of achieving a Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament within an agreed time-frame as was discussed between the USA and USSR in the Agreed Principles and Draft Treaties of the early sixties. Although the problems involved have become far more complex, the basic approach and the principles then formulated could still provide a basis for meaningful negotiations; and
- (v) The United Nations and its Specialised Agencies should take the lead in educating the public on the dangers of nuclear war, on the harmful effect of the arms race on the world economy, as well as the positive aspects disarmament and its link with development.⁹⁸

⁹⁷. Article on "India's Foreign Policy" *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

⁹⁸. P.V. Narasimha Rao, *Address at the SSOD-II of U.N. General Assembly, June 11, 1982*, pp. 12-13.

Six Nation Peace Initiative

India is of the view that a concerted world-wide effort must be made to halt the arms race and its dangerous extension to outer space. With this view, the late Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, together with the Heads of Government or State of Argentina, Greece, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania, launched on May 22, 1984, a major peace initiative. This five-Continent initiative, *inter alia*, stated:

“As leaders of nations, member-states of the United Nations, we have a commitment to take constructive action towards halting and reversing the nuclear arms race. The people we represent are no less threatened by nuclear war than the citizens of the nuclear weapon states. It is primarily the responsibility of the nuclear weapon States to prevent a nuclear catastrophe but this problem is too important to be left to these states alone.”

The joint statement called on the nuclear weapon states to halt the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems to be followed by a programme of arms reduction, leading to general and complete disarmament. It also urged measures to strengthen the United Nations system and to ensure urgently needed transfer of substantial resources from the arms race to social and economic development.

This appeal, which represented a significant step in mobilising world public opinion in favour of disarmament, evoked strong support in the international community at large. The leaders of these six countries again met in New Delhi in January, 1985 to consider ways to further their efforts. The Delhi Declaration adopted on January 28, 1985 reaffirmed the appeal of May, 1984. It further called for urgent steps to prevent an arms race in outer space and for a comprehensive treaty prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons.

In October, 1985, the six leaders again appealed to the USA and USSR to declare a moratorium on nuclear testing for a period of twelve months and offered their good offices to facilitate verification of such a moratorium.⁹⁹

Recently, the Summit meeting of the six leaders was held at Ixtapa, in Mexico on 6-7 August, 1986. The Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, informed Lok Sabha on August 14, 1986, that the Mexico Declaration expressed deep concern at the lack of progress in nuclear

⁹⁹ *Annual Report, 1984-85, op. cit.*, pp. (iii-iv); and Article on “India’s Foreign Policy”, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

disarmament since the New Delhi Declaration of January, 1985. The Declaration emphasised the crucial importance for immediate suspension of nuclear tests, followed by negotiations leading to a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. A separate document containing a concrete offer for verifying the suspension of nuclear tests by the United States and the Soviet Union was presented at the Summit. Also, a joint letter was addressed to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev proposing that experts from the Six Nations to meet with their Soviet and American counterparts to discuss the offer for facilitating a test ban verification.¹⁰⁰

Disarmament and Development

India is deeply concerned about the persistence of economic distress among large sections of mankind and the widening gap between the developed and developing countries. Keeping this in view, India drew attention in various international fora to the close link between disarmament and development. It was pointed out that significant reductions in the wasteful global military expenditure, which is rapidly approaching the staggering figure of US \$ 1000 billion a year, by a handful of industrialised countries alone, will not only help ease tensions the world over but also contribute to recovery and growth in the world economy. This could be used to augment the currently decreasing levels of assistance to developing nations. India has repeatedly emphasised at various international fora that the proposals for Conference on Disarmament and Development should be taken up seriously.

*Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace**

India has viewed with disquiet the continuing augmentation of the military presence of the great powers in the Indian Ocean and she has continued to work bilaterally and with the other Non-aligned States to counter this trend. India hopes that the littoral states would not align themselves with the great powers or offer facilities which would invite countervailing reaction. India is deeply concerned that despite the 1971 UN Declaration which seeks to transform the Indian Ocean into a Zone of Peace, great power rivalry in the region has been intensified by attempts to involve littoral and hinterland states in strategic configurations involving outside powers and by the development of new command structures which engender a further arms build up and provide an interventionist capability of external forces.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰. *L.S. Deb.*, August 14, 1986.

¹⁰¹. *Annual Report, 1985-86, op. cit.*, pp. (v-vi).

*For more information on this subject, please See brochure on "Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace" brought out by the Lok Sabha Secretariat.

INDIA AND THE NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER

India has consistently worked for the reduction of economic disparities among nations as a means towards establishment of peace in the world. India has continued to strive towards global negotiations for the amelioration of the steadily deteriorating state of the world economy. In view of the continuous deteriorating economic and social conditions in the developing countries which have been suffering from a steady decline in commodity prices, and adverse balance of trade, intensification of protectionist measures on the part of the developed countries, excessive debt burden and a decline in the flow of finance which have caused unprecedented balance of payment problems for the developing countries, India has been consistently advocating a restructuring of the International Financial and Monetary Institutions, and a North-South dialogue for devising effective means to tackle these problems. Simultaneously India has also called for a South-South dialogue to strengthen collective self-reliance among the developing nations.

In her keynote address to the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit held in New Delhi in March, 1983, the late Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, gave a call for an International Conference on Money and Finance with a view to the restructuring of the world economic system as a first step towards the establishment of a New International Economic Order.¹⁰²

India is determined to continue its efforts to bring about a constructive dialogue between the developed and developing countries in their quest for a cooperative approach towards a New International Economic Order.¹⁰³

While both developed and developing countries have faced considerable hardships, the real burden has been borne by the latter. The developing countries have been badly hit by the decreasing global liquidity, hardening conditionality of the International financial institutions, etc. India, with other non-aligned countries, sought in a number of ways to reverse this trend and to strengthen international

¹⁰². *India 1984—, a Reference Annual, op. cit.*, pp. 492-93.

¹⁰³. Article on "India's Foreign Policy", *op. cit.*, p. 6.

economic cooperation with, however, little success. The Bonn Conference of developed countries, while paying lip-service to North-South inter-dependence, took no concrete steps which could be of any help to the developing countries. In view of the inadequate response of the developed countries, it was only right that increasing attention was paid to greater cooperation among the developing countries themselves, both among the Group of 77 and the Non-Aligned Movement.

Economic and Technical Cooperation

India's keenness to promote cooperation with countries in Asia and Africa found expression in bilateral schemes of assistance under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) Programme. This programme supplements multilateral schemes such as the Colombo Plan and the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan. The ITEC Programme, which was launched in 1964 with an outlay of Rs. 4.46 lakhs, has steadily expanded. It now covers nearly 60 countries and had a budget allocation of Rs. 9.00 crores for 1985-86.¹⁰⁴

India has, thus, played a pioneering role in furthering cooperation between developing countries. Having built up its own technological and industrial capabilities, India has now become a partner in progress with dozens of fellow developing countries.

Indian firms have built cement plants in Iraq, water treatment plants in Thailand, airports in Libya, the Maldives, Tanzania and Kuwait, the Sultan's Palace in Oman, telephone networks in the Yemen Arab Republic, Railway projects in Iraq, townships in Kuwait, Iraq and Libya and a host of other major construction and industrial projects abroad. With growing technological self-reliance Indian Consultancy Companies are now in demand for executing some of the biggest and most sophisticated industrial complexes. Electrical transmission lines have been laid by Indian companies in several countries including Libya, Iran and the United Arab Emirates.

India has also assisted a number of countries in the development of irrigation and agriculture. It has collaborated with Nepal in multi-purpose irrigation and flood control projects. Indian companies have built a dam and helped in irrigation projects in Libya. Indian experts have assisted a number of countries including Tanzania

¹⁰⁴. *Annual Report*, 1985-86, *op. cit.*, pp. (x) and 61.

and Mauritius in drilling tubewells, developing fisheries and popularising modern farming techniques.

Under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme (ITEC) training facilities have been provided for the nationals of other developing countries, deputation of Indian experts on short and medium term assignments arranged for countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The ITEC Programme also enables India to assist other developing countries by conducting feasibility studies and techno-economic surveys, provision of consultancy services, the execution of special projects and the gift of equipment.

Apart from the fact that India provides facilities for thousands of students from Asia, Africa and Latin America for University Education, thousands of experts from these countries have been trained in Indian institutions in such diverse fields as railways, mass media, industrial consultancy, business management, education, agricultural research, shipping and water resources management.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵. Article on "India's Foreign Policy", *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Books

1. Appadorai. A. : *The Domestic Roots of India's Foreign Policy*, 1947—1972—Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1981.
2. Appadorai A. and Rajan M. S.: *India's Foreign Policy and Relations*, South Asian Publishers, New Delhi, 1985.
3. Bandopadhyay J.: *The Making of India's Foreign Policy*, Vikas Publications, Delhi, 1969.
4. Dutt Srikant: *India and the Third World, Altruism or Hegemony?* Zed Books Ltd., London, 1984.
5. Dutt V. P. : *India's Foreign Policy*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1984.
6. *Foreign Policy of India—Text of Documents 1947—64*, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, 1966.
7. Mahendra Kumar : *Theoretical Aspects of International Politics* (Second Revised Edition) Shiv Lal Agarwala and Co. Agra, 1972.
8. Misra, K. P. (Ed.): *Studies in Indian Foreign Policy*, Vikas Publications, Delhi, 1969.
9. Nanda, B. R. (Ed.): *Indian Foreign Policy: The Nehru Years*, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1976.
10. Rajan, M. B. and Ganguly, Shivaji (Ed.): *Great Powers Relations, World Order and the Third World*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1981.
11. Rajan, M. S. (Ed.) *India's Foreign Relations during the Nehru Era*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1976.
12. Singhvi, L. M. (Ed.): *Parliament and the Administration in India*, Metropolitan Book Co., New Delhi, 1972.
13. Sisodia, S. S.: *Foreign Policy of India: Indira Gandhi Era*, Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1986.

II. Reports

1. Report of the Committee on the Indian Foreign Service (1966) (Pillai Committee)
2. 29th Report of Estimates Committee (Sixth Lok Sabha) on working of Indian Diplomatic Missions.
3. 24th Report of Estimates Committee (Seventh Lok Sabha) on Problems of Overseas Indians in South East Asia.
4. 37th Report of Estimates Committee (Seventh Lok Sabha) on Action Taken on the recommendations contained in the 24th Report.

III. Articles

1. ABRAHAM, A. S.: Retreat from Euphoria—back to basics in foreign policy, *Times of India*, New Delhi 29.3.1986.
2. ABRAHAM, A. S.: Superpowers and South Asia—Change in strategic perceptions, *Times of India*, New Delhi, 31.5.1985.
3. Akbar Krishna: Business of Foreign Policy, *Illustrated Weekly of India*, Vol. 107, No 2, 12.1.1986, p. 65.
4. Alternative foreign policy, *Link*, Vol. 26, No. 34, 1.4.84. pp. 12—14.
5. Banerjee Syamalendu: Foreign Policy of Rajiv Gandhi, *Amrit Bazar Patrica*, 1.11.85.
6. Bimal Prasad: Nehru and Foundations of India's Foreign Policy, *Amrita Bazar Patrica*, 14.11.85 and 15.11.85.
7. Chakravarthy Nikhil: No, room for illusions, *World Focus*, Vol. 6, No. 7, July 85, pp. 3—5.
8. Dinesh Singh: Foreign Policy Positions, *Seminar*, No. 317, Annual 1986, pp. 63—65.
9. Dua, H. K.: Rajiv's policy Menu, *Indian Express*, New Delhi, 16.1.1985.
10. Goyal, D. R.: India's Foreign Policy, Springs of Strength, *National Herald*, New Delhi, 16.4.1985.
11. Jain, Girilal: Foreign Policy not a toy—compulsions a leader cannot ignore, *Times of India*, New Delhi, 6.11.1985.

12. Jaisingh, Hari: Chance for Indian Diplomacy *Indian Express*, New Delhi, 30-5-1985.
13. Malhotra, Inder: Foreign Policy Concerns—consultations at the top, *Times of India*, New Delhi, 17-1-1985.
14. Mehta, Jagat S: India Home and Abroad—Importance of good neighbourliness, *Statesman*, New Delhi, 13-4-1985.
15. Mehta, Jagat S. (i) Revitalising Foreign Policy, (ii) Re-discovering Basic Premises, *Indian Express*, New Delhi, 24-1-1985 and 25-1-1985.
16. Menon, N. B.: Foreign Policy: New frontiers, *Hindu*, Madras, 11-11-1985
17. Noorani, A. G.: India's relations with China, *Indian Express*, New Delhi, 30-5-1986.
18. Rama Sarma, K.V.S.: Foreign Affairs—a mark of continuity. *National Herald*, New Delhi. 13-4-1985.
19. Rao, P. V. Narasimha : Parliament and Foreign Policy (*Journal of Parliamentary Information*, Dec. 1981, pp. 385—392).
20. Reddy, G. K.: Ambivalent approach to superpowers, *Hindu*, Madras, 12-5-1985.
21. Sethi, J. D.: Restructuring India's diplomacy, *Indian Express*, New Delhi, 7-6-1985.
22. Sethi, J. D.: Six in search of a role. *Indian Express*, New Delhi, 15-2-1985.
23. Suri, Surindar: India's role in the world—promoting an ethical authority, *Times of India*, New Delhi, 26-6-1985.
24. Tharyan, P. : India and neighbours—spirit of accommodation, *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 28-9-1985.
25. Viswam, S.: (i) India and Neighbours—No substitute for cogent policy, *Deccan Herald*, Bangalore, 12-4-1985. and (ii) India's Foreign Policy—basics remain unaltered, *Deccan Herald*, Bangalore, 1-11-1985.
26. Wariawalla, Bharat: India's Foreign Policy: Can it differ from economic policies? *National Herald*, New Delhi, 26-2-1985.

- (d) Jharkhand Mukti Morecha - 9; SUCI - 1 and Nominated - 1
- (e) Samta Party - 1 and Jharkhand Mukti Morecha - 1
- (f) National Conference(F) - 7 and National Conference(K) - 9
- (g) Muslim League - 15; Kerala Congress - 5; Revolutionary Socialist Party - 5; and Kerala Congress (Mani Group) - 4
- (h) Nominated - 1
- (i) United Democratic Front - 10; Manipur People's Party - 1; and K.N.A. - 1.
- (j) Hills People Union - 16; Hills State People Democratic Party - 1; Hills State People Democratic Party(L) - 1.
- (k) Mizo National Front - 25; and People's Conference Party - 2.
- (l) Nagaland National Democratic Party - 17
- (m) Shiromani Akali Dal - 71
- (n) Sikkim Sangram Parishad - 30
- (o) All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam - 130; Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam - 12; Indian Union Muslim League - 2; Gandhi Kamraj National Congress - 2; All India Forward Bloc - 2; and Republican Party of India (Khobergade) - 1.
- (p) Tripura Upajati Juha Samity - 6; and RSP - 2.
- (q) Lok Dal(A) - 53; and Lok Dal(B) - 30.
- (r) Congress(J) - 4; and Nominated - 1
- (s) Forward Bloc - 26; Revolutionary Socialist Party - 18; West Bengal Socialist Party - 4; Revolutionary Communist Party of India - 1; Forward Bloc (Marxist) - 2; Democratic Socialist Party - 2; Socialist Unity Centre of India - 2; and Muslim League - 1.
- (t) Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party - 8; and Goa Congress - 1
- (u) All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam - 6; Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam - 5; and Pondicherry Maanila Makkal Munnai - 1.

PARLIAMENTARY PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE ON SALE

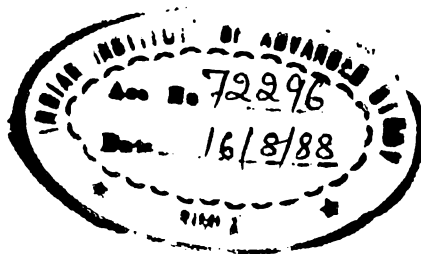
I BOOKS AND BROCHURES

	<i>Price</i>
	<i>Rs.</i>
1. Constituent Assembly Debates — 6 Volumes	475.00
2. Nehru and Parliament	150.00
3. Parliament of India	25.00
4. Parliament of India, The Seventh Lok Sabha, 1980—84	50.00
5. Parliaments of the Commonwealth, 1986	80.00
6. Eighth Lok Sabha—Who's Who, 1985	65.00
7. National Education Policy	12.00
8. National Health Policy	10.00
9. National Industrial Policy	8.00
10. Labour and Labour Welfare	20.00
11. National Forest Policy	17.00
12. Tourism Policy of Government of India	10.00
13. Background to evolving a National Information Policy	10.00
14. National Electronics Policy	12.00
15. National Agriculture Policy	15.00
16. National Textile Policy	12.00
17. National Nuclear Energy Programme	8.00
18. National Energy Policy	20.00
19. National Science and Technology Policy	12.00
20. World Environment	12.00
21. Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	20.00
22. Lokpal	15.00
23. Disarmament and Development	20.00
24. Non-Aligned Movement	15.00
25. Transport in India	15.00
26. Parliamentary Museum and Archives	10.00
27. Parliamentary Procedure — Abstracts Series (Nos. 1—26)	
<i>Per Set</i>	35.00
<i>Each Abstract</i>	1.25
28. Broadcasting and Telecasting of Parliamentary Proceedings	5.00
29. Exunctions from Parliamentary Proceedings	12.00
30. Pensionary Benefits to Members of Parliament	10.00
31. Motions and Resolutions in Parliament	5.00
32. Question Hour in Lok Sabha	8.00
33. Parliamentary Debates	12.00
34. Simultaneous Interpretation in Lok Sabha	8.00
35. President's Rule in States	10.00
36. Presidential Ordinances (1950—1984)	10.00

	<i>Price Rs.</i>
37. Legislative Councils in States — Their Creation and Abolition	5.00
38. Model Parliament	10.00
39. Selected Mural Paintings in Parliament House	
(i) Folder containing 12 Prints of panels with write-ups	(Per set) 50.00
(ii) Folder containing 6 prints of panels with write-ups	(Per set) 25.00
(iii) Loose photographs of panels (<i>per copy</i>)	5.00
40. Council of Ministers, 1947—84: Names and Portfolios of the Members of the Union Council of Ministers (from 15 August 1947 to 30 December 1984)	12.00
41. Members of Lok Sabha, 1952—84—A Study in their socio-economic Background	10.00
42. Legislators in India—Salaries and other Facilities	10.00
43. Government of India — Subjects for which different Ministries are responsible	10.00
44. Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha	10.00
45. Directions by the Speaker	7.50
46. Handbook for Members of Lok Sabha	10.00
47. Lok Sabha Members, the Eighth Lok Sabha — Permanent and Delhi Addresses and Telephone Numbers	6.00
48. Documentation Series — Agriculture (1953—83)	75.00
49. Reports of —	
Estimates Committee	Price varies from
Public Undertakings Committee	report to report
Public Accounts Committee	List can be obtained
Railway Convention Committee etc. etc.	on request.
50. Lok Sabha Debates (<i>for each sitting</i>)	4.00
51. Table Mat (Depicting Picture of Parliament House)	25.00
52. Index to Privileges Digest Vol. I to XXX (from 1957 to 1985)	20.00
53. Documentation Series—Population and Family Planning	12.00
54. Glossary of Idioms	80.00
55. Constitution Amendment in India	125.00
56. Unparliamentary Expression	100.00
57. The Parliament and the Executive in India	10.00
58. Parliamentary Museum and Archives	10.00
59. Vice-Presidential Election in India, 1984	10.00.
60. Parliaments and Information Dissemination	10.00
61. The Parliament of India	10.00
62. Parliament and Humour	10.00
63. Eighth Conference of Commonwealth Speakers	10.00

	<i>Price</i>
	<i>Rs.</i>
64. Foreign Policy of India	20.00
65. Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace	15.00
66. Electing the President	15.00

	<i>per</i>	<i>Annual</i>
	<i>copy</i>	<i>Sub.</i>
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
II. PERIODICALS		
1. The Journal of Parliamentary Information (Quarterly)	16.00	60.00
2. Digest of Legislative and Constitutional Cases (Quarterly)	2.00	8.00
3. Digest of Central Acts (Quarterly)	2.00	8.00
4. Abstract of Books, Reports and Articles (Quarterly)	6.00	20.00
5. Public Undertakings—Digest of News & Views (Monthly)	5.00	50.00
6. Diary of Political Events (Monthly)	5.00	50.00
7. Documentation Fortnightly (Fortnightly)	2.00	40.00
8. Privileges Digest (Half Yearly)	5.00	10.00





Library IAS, Shimla

327.54 L 836 F



72296

00072296