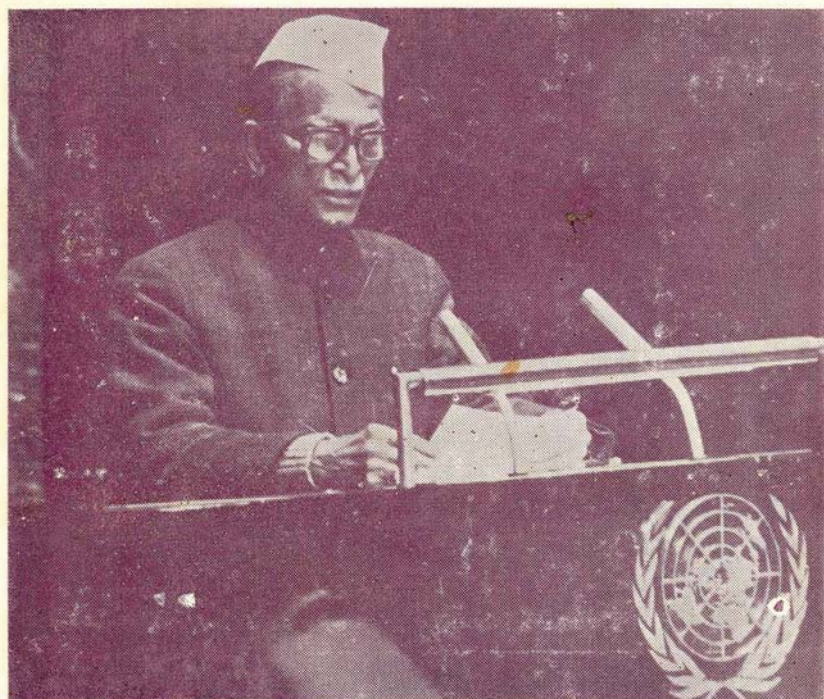


PROFESSOR RANGA AT THE U.N.



Edited by
K. PUSHPAKUMARI
and
Dr. K.L. NARASIMHA RAO

1982

Professor Ranga at the U.N.

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It is as a result of certain inadvertent and inevitable factors beyond the Editors' control that this book, though planned earlier, could not be brought out soon in the wake of the close of the 35th U.N session. The Editors wish to be excused for the delay.

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INDIA

EDITORS' NOTE

Prof. Rangaji's national level multi-faceted activities are too well known to require any introduction to the public. His international career has been of equal importance.

Prof. Rangaji's many-faceted career has been a shining example of unselfish endeavour for public good. His is a heart full of compassion and his is a mind intensely devoted to the problems of human welfare. He has been working single-mindedly for the uplift of the down-trodden in general and against such sins against humanity as untouchability, Apartheid. According to him, the freedom of peoples from grinding poverty and bringing about equality of status between the Haves and Have-nots, between the developed and the developing and between the Northern and Southern hemispheres are the essentials for true emancipation of humanity.

Early from his political career whether in opposition or by the side of Government his has been the voice at the international forums championing the cause of abolition of slavery of all types and elevating the submerged masses to the level of the rest of humanity. All his unstinted and ceaseless efforts in this cause have strengthened the world cause for peace and social justice. He was chosen as the Deputy Leader (unofficial) of the Indian Delegation to the 35th session of the U.N.O.

His speeches at this session focus on the gravity of the world situation, as viewed from the charter and role of United Nations and its survival and capability in the face of growing opposition between the two super powers. He pleaded for greater strength for

the U.N. to protect human rights—a comprehensive review of peace keeping operations, control of atomic radiation and resistance to Policies of Apartheid—U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees and allied problems—Establishment of new world information and communication order etc.

Rangaji has never been after power. Indeed he avoided getting into its embraces, even though it was offered to him on several occasions. Gandhiji's dictum "a man who wants to be good and do good in all circumstances must not hold power" seems to have guided him. His principal concern, to cite Rajaji, "is the happiness of our people (at the global level-Ed) and not one's own advantage."

We deem it our proud privilege to be Editors of this volume, which is brought out as a tribute to Professor Rangaji's six decades of active political service to humanity at large. We trust this volume will be found to be of special use to students of Politics for ready reference and for keeping themselves abreast of the political developments in the international area.

We commend a perusal of Rangaji's earlier book 'Towards World Peace' for appreciation of his preparatory and prophetic out-lining of the basis for Chancellor Willy Brandt's report to the U.N on North-South Charter on Social justice.

Our grateful thanks are due to Sri U. Yagneswara Rao, Tirupati, for going through the manuscript and offering useful suggestions. We are also thankful to Sri V.V. Navrekar for his valuable collaboration.

Pushpa Kumari
Narasimha Rao

INTRODUCTION

I am glad that the present Editors, K. Pushpa Kumari and K.L. Narasimha Rao have offered to edit these essays and statements on behalf of the Indian Peasant Institute, NIDUBROLU and Foreign Affairs Association of India, New Delhi.

I am solely responsible for the first chapter, on the U.N.O. in 1970 and 1970-80. All the other chapters embody the statements I made in the special committee on political affairs and from the podium of the United Nations Assembly (35th Session) from October to December 1980 on behalf of the Indian delegation, chosen by Government of India headed by Smt. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister.

I am grateful to the permanent Mission of India to the United Nations, for having prepared the broad frame-work needed for these statements and also to the U.N. Section in the External Affairs Ministry. I was enabled to give the final shape to them, in accordance with the policy of our government and consensus prevailing between all the principal elements, in formulating India's policies i.e. the Prime Minister Indiraji, External Affairs Minister, Sri. P V. Narasimha Rao and the External Affairs Ministry itself, the permanent mission and in particular the delegation—specially sent for this session.

In the final drafting process, the secretaries attached to this special political committee Messrs. Navrekar, Satyanarain and Sri Brajesh Mishra, the Ambassador and the permanent representative at the

Mission, rendered much assistance. I am specially grateful to Sri Navrekar for his enthusiastic and efficient assistance at every stage of our participation in the prolonged open debates and also in the closed discussions in reaching the final consensus, the democratic process which is a special feature of the United Nations exercise in Democracy.

I have joined the international movement for world Government as early as 1948. We have been pleading for greater powers, peace-enforcement authority, with adequate peace keeping defence forces for the United Nations or the world Government. We are unhappy over the Veto power given to the so-called permanent members. We are determined that such a world authority should be empowered to make decisions on all vital occasions and important issues only through consensus. So many parliamentarians have formed different associations all over the world to work for the improvements in the constitution and working of the United Nations, but so far with very little success.

For my part I have been warning the rich nations of the world (Northern Hemisphere) that it is high time they recognised justice in the demand of the poorer countries (Southern Hemisphere) for a redistribution of world's wealth through equitable terms of trade and a large transference of surplus wealth to the poorer nations and a more harmonious and egalitarian treatment and approach to coloured people, otherwise, we cannot achieve a more secure and stable and progressive foundation for world peace. Most of the statesmen of the Northern hemisphere seem to accept this but their member-states have so far failed to take

any effective steps to move in this direction. The UNCTAD and its GATT and the successive Kennedy rounds of lowering of tariffs against imports from Southern Hemisphere have only emphasised their failure to live up to their professions of loyalty to the humanity of one world.

This small volume is a continuation of my earlier book of warning and hope entitled "Towards World Peace", published in 1956 by Sri G. Umamaheswara Rao, the then Editor of Vahini. This Volume is a testimony to my faith in "One World" and my continuing hope that the U.N may yet come to be enabled to fulfil the mankind's yearning for world peace.

I hailed the opportunity given by Indiraji to go to the U.N Assembly's 35 th session. I was able to confer and consult with many statesmen from many nations. Several of them gave me their confidence as they had felt like freely communing on the plane of world peace and human rights raised by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. We all wished for a more powerful, better balanced United Nations, made competent to enforce peace in a just and humanitarian manner.

N.G. Ranga.

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1

I. United Nations

(Talk on UNO Day on 24.10.71 at Lions Club, Bapatla)

WE are celebrating the **UNITED NATIONS 26th ANNUAL DAY** because we need a **World Government**, with an enforceable **World Rule of Law**, **Charter of Human Rights** and a **World Court** to recognise and maintain **World Citizenship** of all human beings and their societies but not because, it has far succeeded in helping humanity to achieve these desirable goals of humanity.

United Nations was conceived of by good and great statesmen like **ROOSEVELT** in the hope of ending wars between one nation and another, between groups of nations and other groups of nations. So far that hope has been belied by history since 1946.

UNITED NATIONS is the parliament of the world after the **Second World War**, while the **League of Nations** tried to play that role after the **First World War**. There has however come to be radical change in their respective personnel. While the **League of Nations** could not and did not welcome almost all the subject nations and their countries as its members because they were subject to the overall control of their respective imperial masters, whereas, the **UNITED NATIONS** has been able to welcome 130 (162 U.N. member States by 1980) independent nations as its members, thanks to the dissolution of the **Pre-War empires**.

The Pre-1939 Empires did not recognise any charter of Human Rights nor have the totalitarian powers avowed their faith in such a Charter. The League could not invoke such a Charter, because it did not exist as such, when Italy invaded Ethiopia, or Japan invaded China, or Axis Powers abetted Franco in his destruction of Republic of Spain or destroyed the freedoms of Czechoslovakia, Austria. The United Nations has succeeded in getting most of the nations, which have not embraced Communist totalitarianism, to subscribe to the charter of Human Rights, fashioned after such sincere hard labour by the Committee headed over by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, a good woman, which is indeed a noble mile-stone in man's march towards Humanism and Civilisation.

But so few nations have developed enough respect for it so as to abstain from inflicting indignities against human beings, and from indulging in genocide and wanton cruelties on a mass scale. How else could China's barbaries against Tibetans, Russians' tanks against Hungarians, the Campaign of Russian and their allies against Czechoslovakian freedom lovers, the Americans' vandalism against Vietnamese, as evidenced by UAR Vs. Israeli blood letting campaigns, Pakistan's bare-faced infliction of death over millions of freedom-loving Bangla-Deshi's, putting into shade, the horrors perpetrated by Nigeria against Biafraens come to be tolerated by Post-War humanity? The United Nations has been tongue-tied, its Security Council remained blind-folded and its Committees on Human Rights turned deaf, blind and dumb.

Yet, we want the United Nations! Why? It is the only Assembly where some opportunity is available

despite its tortuous rules, procedures and self contradictory conventions, for the aggrieved peoples, their countries, their well-wishers to raise their voice against the wrongs they are forced to suffer from. It is the only Parliament, where the peoples of the World can raise their voices of protests against violations of Human Rights; where lame civilization can breathe and speak for its survival and through which, the mighty nations, arrogant powers, and barbarous rulers can be arraigned, if not judged, at the bar of World Public Opinion.

So far the U. N. has tried to serve the purpose of alerting the world about the evil forces and of war that converge on any area, threatening violently to disturb the peace in that area, continent or the world. That it has not been fully successful even in this direction as a political and peace meteorological study-observatory is exemplified by its failure to alert the world over Tibetan subversion and genocide, Hungarian and Czechoslovakian infanticide of democracy, aggression by the Southern Rhodesian white minorities upon the local coloured majority:

Even the Secretary-General does not consider himself free enough to raise his voice, in time to prevent the eruption or the continuance of the kind of genocide that has taken place in Tibet, Congo, Biafra, or Bangla Desh. Months were allowed to pass, lakhs of precious lives were being snuffed out, while he was bucking up courage to gain the consensus-sanction of the Permanent Members of the Council to condemn such inhuman orgies, reminiscent of the tribal or Zenghis Khan or Mexican cum Spanish, or Nazi atrocities !

The impression that nations which join the U.N. would not trespass the international boundaries and aggress on their neighbours especially when they happen to be members of the UN was shattered first by USA when MACARTHUR's armies crossed the 38th Parallel in Korea. Then the Pakistanis, Chinese aggressed over the Himalayas. [Russian intrusion into Afghanistan in 1979 being the latest (Ed.)]

We used to think that the maps printed in Atlases and Encyclopedias were only of scholarly interest. We were disagreeably reminded of their more than geographic and academic importance, when the Chinese continued to prevaricate for decades about their wrong signals into our Himalayan boundaries and ended by making good their wrong maps through their actual occupation of Aksai Chin area and aggressing across Laddakh, NEFA mountain ranges through their unprovoked war on India and occupation of so much of our territory in 1962.

That wrong maps-Cartography can mislead statesmen into unjust criticism of other nation's righteous defence of their international boundaries was demonstrated by the confession made recently by Mr. Wilson, Ex-Prime Minister of U.K. that he was misled on the basis of wrong maps by his pro-Pakistani officials into protesting against India's efforts to defend her territory in 1965, when he was the British Prime Minister. Soviet Russia continued to lend justification to Communist China's cartographic aggression which was followed by real armed aggression through her persistent printing of wrong maps for decades.

In this direction of printing authenticated maps of International boundaries, the U.N. was not enabled to take initiative and decide upon the boundaries in a just manner and thus avoid such possibilities of cartographic aggressions and actual military aggressions.

Many a doctrine (Like Monroe Doctrine) came to be propounded by USA and USSR during these 25 years only to be abandoned, after painful experiments with the destinies of nations. The Truman Doctrine tried to keep USSR away from interference with the Mediterranean Countries. But that saved only Greece and Turkey. When once the Suez Canal crisis came, Gamal Nasser invited USSR's aid and thus paved the way to USSR's entry in great force into that area. Recently Breznov announced the Asian Doctrine, to scuttle the CENTO, SEATO, ANZUS and Manila Treaty mutual defence pacts and to prevent Communist China's overpowering attempts to establish her hegemony. But the latest Ping-Pong political pourparlers between USA and Communist China and USA's sponsoring of the proposal to admit China into the UN and Permanent seat in the Security Council nullifies that doctrine. [ASEAN combine has taken shape in the wake of U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and the latter's entry into Kampuchea (Ed).]

President Nixon's doctrine of disentanglement from compulsive defence and military responsibilities on a global basis, while being involved in World Politics of "balance of power" has set a new challenge to World Statesmen and gives yet another opportunity to the U. N. to serve the World.

Nixon has enunciated his doctrine 2 years ago. He expected America's friends like Japan, Australia, Newzealand over whom the protection of the Nuclear Umbrella sanctified by American Constitutional enactments was extended to negotiate alternative military and political arrangements. He expected Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, Phillipiness and other Pacific nations to take counsel with U.K. and U.S.A. and prepare themselves for the eventual disentanglement of America with their fates. [Despite the demand of all littoral countries to keep Indian Ocean a peaceful and free zone, both USA and USSR have begun to plant their bases and turn the Ocean into an area of conflict on one pretext or the other; the latest being Afghanistan conflict (Ed.)]

He hastened but not with enough momentum to get US out of Indo-China's international predicament. In the end, when the real import of the Nixon Doctrine became apparent through the development of MAO-NIXON Hot Line, even Japan, which has grown to be the third strongest and greatest industrial nation began to feel let down and out of breath.

Taking advantage of the U.N. Charter's provision, allowing regional combinations to be formed, the erstwhile allies, USA, USSR hastened within the first five years after armistice, to organise their rival combination of nations. The much abused pre-War "Balance of power" statecraft was again reincarnated through various Pacts. Churchill, the British veteran statesman provided the moral justification, through his famous Fulton speech for the era of pacts. Pacts also have met with similar fate, though during the first phase of

their activity, the World was very much agitated about their possible tremors. The NATO still continues to be a vital element in the defence equipment of Western Europe. Its founders Dulles-Bevan and its initiator Winston Churchill succeeded in stemming the tide of Soviet aggression, engineered through the aid of subversive elements in West Europe against the whole of Europe in the wake of Yalta agreement. But Charles de Gaulle robbed much of its moral authority. The Warsaw Pact came in its wake to develop the East European Communist-dominated countries, as satellites of Soviet Russia. But Yugoslavia, later Albania, followed by Rumania have questioned the domineering Soviet hegemony and refused to accept international suzerainty of Soviet Russia. Thus both NATO and Warsaw have lost their moral authority, as rivals or as the spiritual agents of UN and Security Council.

Nevertheless, the NATO has sustained the freedom of West Berliners and obliged Soviet Russia, despite the periodical fulminations of Khrushchev, to recognise their international and civic rights to live and breathe in atmosphere of democracy. Even this latest Four Power agreement for so long in incubation - has come to take shape outside the Security Council.

On the other hand The SEATO has not achieved even this much in South East Asia. Its biggest, long-drawn-out attempt to salvage the democracy of Indo-China countries has failed terribly with no solution anywhere on the horizon.

Many international problems or issues came to be tackled, if not solved, by one or the other combina-

tion of Super-Powers outside the immediate purview of the Security Council. For instance, the 1965 Pakistan aggression, leading to Indo-Pakistan War, the Six Days War between Israel and UAR, the earlier Cuba-Missiles Crisis had to be tackled in that Super-Power fashion, in place of the Security Council. Only an year ago U.S. Secretary of State, Rogers' initiative resulted in the Cease-fire between Egypt and Israel. Even now Soviet Russia is content to leave the principal responsibility in the hands of USA to bring about some settlement however temporary or tenuous over the Israel-UAR crisis. Wherever and whenever the Super-Powers are unable to agree between themselves, as in the case of Vietnam and other former Indo-China States, the Crisis continues and the happiness, lives and social peace of human beings are sacrificed, individually and collectively for years, at the altar of international life of beasts and man-hunters. The United Nations is obliged to be a helpless witness to this failure of men to behave as human beings, worthy of being God's sons. [The latest failure of U.N. and super-Powers is instanced by the continuing war between Iraq and Iran in 1980-81 and conflict between Vietnam and Thailand. (Ed.)]

For more than a decade, Disarmament Discussions have been going on in Geneva. Yet even in 1971, 26 years after the Second World War was over, there are 21 million troops, out of whom 7 millions belong to Europe alone. Out of them, one million are maintained by 9 small nations at a cost of 3 billion dollars per annum. The 19 nations of Europe, belonging to the more or less rival blocs account for 6 millions, in addition to 4.5 millions kept outside Europe.

Despite the Test Ban Treaty of 1963, Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) Treaty on Prohibition of Employment of nuclear weapons etc, of mass destruction on the Sea Bed and Ocean Floor (February 1971) the rivalry in the piling up of ICBM's is afoot; USSR has 1510 while USA has 1054, and in polaris type submarine, USSR has come up to 440 as against USA's 650.

Russia has deployed 41 divisions against China. On the whole Russia maintains 3.4 million troops. The Atomic Powers "nuclear and thermo-nuclear explosive Power (from 1,00,000 to 1 million megatons, which is equivalent to five to fifty million Hiroshima bombs) can destroy all peoples, and the whole world."

China has 3 million troops at call, besides the readiness of many millions of workers, engaged in factories and fields but who are capable of taking their places in the army at any time.

The atomic equipment of the great nations is growing apace. China alone is said to be producing five aircrafts of TU-16 Soviet type bombers with an operational range of 1600 miles.

We are told that after 2 years deadlock at the Geneva Conference of 25 nations, a draft Treaty "banning the development, production and stock-piling of biological weapons," was agreed upon. They have also pledged to negotiate another treaty banning Chemical weapons. But there is no agreement, as yet in sight, for inspections of production centres and violations, when discovered are only to be reported to the Security Council. Russia has vast stockpiles of lethal doses. The only silver lining in this dark-cloud is

that US has begun to destroy her billion lethal doses, though she never subscribed to the 1925 Geneva Protocol.

Thus at long last the tempo and volume of the arms race is sought to be reduced and at least a token disarmament may come to be possible since talks are being initiated to explore the possibilities for European Security, independently of the rival pacts, in response to Lusaka Conference of Non-Aligned Nations (September, 1970).

Yet, the UN inherited the Nuclear age and its weaponry. It has failed to find a solution for, or an insurance against the misuse of Atomic weapons. It could not prevent further development of refined projections of the Atomic, Nuclear weapons in over ground, under-ground, oceanic bases and spheres. The attempts made at first by USA, later by USA, UK and USSR to prevent proliferation of manufacture of Atomic weapons was frustrated first by de Gaulle's France and next by Mao's China. The world has had to congratulate itself when Gandhi Peace Foundation with Rajajee as Principal spokesman was able to persuade USSR's Khrushchev and USA's Kennedy to achieve the Test Ban Treaty and when Kennedy and Khrushchev triumphed over Cuba's importunate and sedulous efforts to entangle them over the brinkman's Atomic-age crisis in 1962-63. All that the Post War Atomic-Age can say to humanity living in jitters is that the evolution and piling up of Nuclear Weapons and the latest manoeuvres of Moon-Sputnik-Appolloes to establish midway stations with capacity for docking, reinforcing, refuelling or exchanging operations is that these new capacities to deal destruction even from heavens has dampened, curbed and controlled and

held in awful suspense the Nuclear Powers and turned the 19th Century Balance of Power into a veritable armaments immobilisation. The recent courageous moves of President Nixon to establish a "Hot line" communion with Mao's China are the direct results of the emergence of China's Nuclear manufacture and competence to rival with other Nuclear Powers and failure of the two Communist Super Powers to combine against the democratic Super-Nuclear Powers.

Can we however attribute this immobilisation to the United Nations? Is it not in large part a consequence of the extension of the Nuclear-capability from Anglo-American nations to USSR, France and now Mao's China? [Subsequently India has demonstrated her capacity to develop atomic power weapons. Islamic Powers and Pakistan are aiming to gain that capacity. So what is humanity's guarantee against holocaust? (Ed.)] Would these powers conjure up enough moral courage to utilise the good offices of the U.N. to take charge of the management of this vital sector of power for destruction, before nations like India, Israel who have the know-how would also venture to force their way into the Nuclear Weapons Club?

Windel Wilkie popularised the idea that the World is one, but Dulles, the Secretary of State of U.S. asserted that the World is split in twain between the Communists and Democrats, while Jawaharlal and Tito asserted the right of nations to be non-involved as between the two groups

The Post-War resurgence of national spirit and emergence of scores of new national States have proved

the superior strength of nationalism over and above international ideologies and combinations. The U.N. has to take full advantage of this new progressive development. The World is once again back to its old problems; of White Versus Coloured Versus Black on one side, and the Rich and poor nations, or the Developed and Developing nations, or the industrially progressive and agriculturally languishing Nations on the other hand. To meet this challenge, the U.N. has inaugurated the concept of Development Decade. Whatever could be achieved during 1960-70 unravelled the need for another Development Decade 1970-80. [The third Development Decade 1980-90 is in the offing, with no greater prospects of success in reducing the imbalances between the Haves and Have-Nots and between the North and South spheres of nations (Ed.)]

During these decades, the developed Nations declared their willingness, on the floor of U.N. General Assembly to devote 1% of their G.N.P. towards the uplift of the developing nations and their Social economy. So far they have not fulfilled their vow; though a Plethora of costly international institutions like World Bank, Asian Bank, UNESCO, ECAFE, GATT and UNCTAD have been launched. The Kennedy Round, which presaged the lowering of the tariff-barriers raised by developed nations has been brought to an abrupt stop by Nixon's unilateral tariff obstructions and monetary Americanisms. All the boasted challenges of Krushchev and Soviet leaders to democratic west to compete in raising living conditions of the masses of the backward or developing countries have not so far yielded appreciable results. So far the terms of trade in World market have continued to

favour industrial nations and peoples and against agricultural nations and peoples. The U.N. has been trying but so far without much success to right this wrong and prevent the invisible transference of wealth from agricultural to Industrial nations. [The North-South Dialogue, has not been able to yield any tangible results, despite the recommendations and exhortations of the Willy Brandt Commission. (Ed.)]

The racial divisions still keep the nations ranged against themselves and each other. The U.N. has to face up to this challenge also. [The emergence of Zimbabwe as an independent Member State is the great mile-stone of solid achievement of the U. N. during the decade 70-80. Could it have been possible but for the intervention of Cuba, USSR and terrorists among freedom fighters? (Ed.)]

If the constitution of the U. N. does not come to be radically amended soon enough so as to make it a more active, flexible and powerful agency of world's need for impartial and progressive, non-ideological, non-racial, non-exploitative governance, the U. N. may come to be replaced by two or more U.N.s. just as Christianity found itself split into Rome and Constantinople Centres of religious authority and communism has developed two rival citadels of practice and power in Moscow and Beijing.

To prevent such a catastrophe and to help the peoples and their governments to realise the need for radical re-organisation of the U. N. Bertrand Russel, Einstein and many eminent Scientists and humanists have evolved the World Government Federation, Organisations of Parliaments and Parliamentarians for world

Governments, the famous Russel's Foundation for world peace, and Gandhi Peace Foundation and so many of us joined them with the support of Jawaharlal Nehru

Certainly U.N. has helped the World to solve or by-pass or ease the World situations on many an occasion, or in many crises; as for instance, in Korea, Cyprus, Congo, Indonesia, Kashmir, Middle East, New Guinea.

The U.N. is indispensable for the present-day World, beset as it is by ideological rivalries as between two competitive Communist groups of nations and democracies of the East and West, and problems of colour so far found insoluble in Americas, Africa and even in England.

So we live in the hope, that World Public Opinion and mutual rivalry and tangled relations between the Super Powers of this Nuclear Age may help the U.N. to transform itself into a more representative, more competent agency for Peace and more active and useful friend, philosopher and guide to the peoples of World hungering for Peace and Food, and Freedom from exploitation, coercion, and racial, colour and national discrimination.

It is also suggested that the strength of the Security Council should be enlarged and more equal representation is accorded to the nations of the Third World. [The five permanent Members of the Security Council though differing among themselves over most issues, opposed unitedly India's demand in the 34th Session of UN Assembly (1980) to raise the strength of Security Council from 16 to 21 (Ed.)]

Many of the autonomous, regionally based and culturally homogeneous sub-nations like Tibet, Biafra, Taiwan, South Sudan, Pakhtoonistan, Bangladesh ought to be welcomed as members of the U.N. just as USSR has been wise enough to encourage her sub-federal units like Ukraine to join the U.N. [Palestine Liberation Organisation (P.L.O.) has come to be invited as an observer to the U.N. (Ed.)]

If the U.N. is to become strong enough to play more active and useful role, it has to undergo Sea-change and amend radically its own Constitution and make it possible for the Super-Powers to achieve their mutual agreements, under its aegis.

1

II. U. N. O. in 1970-80

THE United Nations, as an Institution for enlarging and enriching the conscience of the world community has made great progress during this past decade of 1970-80.

The United Nations Assembly and its powerful executive, Security Council, as the agency for promoting peace and disarmament and minimising the chances of ~~sovereignty~~ and wars between Nations and stopping wars and settling disputes has not achieved any notable progress.

As a pace setter for humanity in different socio-economic fields of super-national and international aspects of present day civilised world, the U.N. has however been forging ahead as an ever new path-finding consensus-based authority.

It has warned the world how urgent and important is the need for a redistribution of world's wealth and opportunities for better utilisation and greater and safer conservation of world's resources, imbedded in the earth, oceans and atmosphere.

Chancellor Willy Brandt's Commission has indicated how just and indispensable is the demand of majority of world's peoples who happen to be underdeveloped and over populated in their respective third-World countries for a New World Economic Order; so that just redistribution of Wealth in social and

economic Order; so that just redistribution of wealth in social and economic resources know-how, technological equipment comes to be achieved in a peaceful manner between the countries and peoples of the North and South. It is the U.N. which should preside over its implementation.

The U.N. has busied itself during this decade in spelling out in various spheres like Eleanor Roosevelt Commission's mission for Human Rights charter which have emerged the U.N.'s conventions for the protection and promotion of women's decade and yearly celebration, Blind people, Disabled persons, the latest being the charter for the rights of children youths and the old folk. the Thirty fourth Session of the U.N. Assembly has taken up the need for enunciating the world order for information and communication and Earth bound Satellites for mass-education and enlightenment.

It is possible to argue what would be the advantage of labouring so hard for so long over enunciating these principles and formulating these charters, when the United Nations Organisation has no authority to enforce them. But to be able to formulate these charters and to hold them up as the universally accepted norms and principles of humanity's ethics of peaceful coexistence based on social justice is itself a progressive achievement.

It has not been easy for the U.N. to persuade themselves to accept these charters. Every nation has had to consider the special needs and capacities, with all its conceptions of national sovereignty and significant conceptions of regional and racial importance, how for and in what manner it can implement any

proposed New Order before giving its assent to the proposed charter. Even after enunciating a New world Order, many a country has found it not possible to implement that charter. The U.N. has so far not been empowered to enforce it. Every country's self-determinative sovereignty is empowered to enforce it. Every country's self-determinative sovereignty is empowered to decide how and to what extent any charter is to be accepted and implemented.

Therefore, it is a great achievement on the part of United Nations to persuade the 162 Member States to agree to consider the need to formulate a charter, then to begin discussing the draft of such a charter, thereafter to pass it by consensus and eventually to persuade member-states to accept and implement it. So tortuous is this procedure, so slow are the states to accept the need to free their peoples from their affection for fundamentalism which holds human beings in subjection to time-honoured priests and prelates, superstitions and orthodox practices and other vested interests in all spheres of life. So it is indeed a herculean achievement on the part of the United Nations to have persuaded the peoples wedded and shackled to the conception of and affection for states sovereignty and religious taboos to progress towards the proposed charter for the protection of the rights of children. Disappointed as we are about the U.N.'s failure in the sphere of ensuring and enforcing world's peace. We have to hail this ever enlarging area of success unique in its own way-of the United Nations Assembly. These charters are the standards, being set up by enlightened humanity, as represented through the United Nations, by which the youths of coming generations will be

able to adjudge the activities and achievements of the leaders and elders of respective countries and their political, social and religious institutions. So, I have considered it my highest opportunity and duty to join India's Delegation to the 34th session of the United Nations Assembly in 1980 and cooperate especially with the Member-States of Group 77.

All this development—so short of what we, the idealists of thirties and forties had hoped for—has been furthered by the emergence of the Group of 77 nations, which have put life into the conception and organisational entity of non-alignment.

It is my privilege to have pleaded for the first time in 1953-54 in the session of Commonwealth parliamentary conference held in Ottawa for appreciation of India's need for non-involvement in then raging confrontation between the two super-powers USA and USSR. Our Prime Minister Jawaharlal was then struggling hard, almost lone-handed, to steer clear of that conflict and confrontation and maintain creative and actively independent role in international affairs and world politics that India's role was so much misunderstood both in Moscow and Washington. He, as Prime minister and myself and others of democratic parties in Parliamentary opposition stood together and firmly for that non-involvement policy. Puja Rajajee, the first Indian and the last Governor-General also published his volume in support of the right of the "Non Involved" peoples not to be ignored by the Atomic powers.

By 1955, Jawaharlaljee was able to obtain the support and sanction of other nations in Asia, inclu-

ding China at the Bandung Conference for outset of Non-Alignment. Ever since as more and more colonial peoples attained their national freedom, the Non-Aligned Front gathered strength. And today, their group of 77 nations has come to attain a powerful place in the activities and channels of consultations and policy-formulating mechanisms of the United Nations. This group is one of the main constructive means for enabling the U.N. Assembly to achieve the much needed and prized consensus.

The U.N. has been enabled to give a progressive lead in the matter of Human Rights on the basis of individuals. But it has not so far been able even to consider, not to speak of enforcing democratic approach to forms or institutions of Governance. Great and well-known dissidents like Solzenetsin and Sakharov could be helped to voice their greivances or even to gain the right of emigration but institutions catering to social or economic or religious needs of people cannot so far be helped by any appeal to any conventions adopted by the U.N. since there are as yet no such conventions. Even in the case of individual's appeals for freedom of speech or movement, on the plane of Human Rights, the U.N's influence is only as much as the support it is able to gain from world public opinion, that is, from the press, platform and teachers.

U.N. functions on the fundamental basis of the recognition of sovereignty of Member-States and that naturally conditions its freedom to propose and promulgate conventions on a universal basis of Human Rights and their enforcement, even to the extent of

their adoption is generally dependent of the compliance of the governments of the Member-States.

The U.N. has no independent enforcement arm of its own. It cannot have it even on a temporary basis for any specific purpose, unless and until all the permanent members of the Security Council with the right of veto are agreeable to provide such enforcement arm. Today, their Veto power is the Negative and implacable limitation upon the U.N's powers.

Similar is the inability of the U.N. to ensure the establishment or functioning of democratic institutions in the governance prevailing in any country. Every Member-State is free to choose its own form of government, whether it be tribal, dictatorial or totalitarian, oligarchic or one-party or all-party Parliamentary, Anglo-American type of Parliamentary or any other mode of government. The U.N. cannot have any preference, nor can it even suggest any particular type of Government to be adopted by any member state. No wonder that most of the Member States are being governed by dictators or Military Juntas or combinations of dictators and Military Juntas, some by one party or one-tribe regimes. In many states there are only name-sake parliaments and courts. In fact, democracy is more a facade than a reality in many countries. The U.N. is so far helpless to mend or end this trend. It will be a long time before the U.N. can come to be based on democratically oriented Member-States.

The utmost it could venture to suggest and try to enforce, but so far without success, is that in countries like South Africa or Namibia, where a hopelessly

small minority, based on Race and Colour is imposing itself upon the overwhelming majority, also based on race and colour, there should be a government chosen by the majority of the people as a whole. Though this principle of majority rule has been fortunately accepted, the U.N. has so far not been able to enforce it.

It has however succeeded in expelling South Africa as a Member-State from its membership. But it has not had the requisite enforcement authority, because of the unwillingness of major member-states to comply with its programme of sanctions.

Yet, the champions of the U.N. need not feel so hopelessly forlorn. Sooner or later, world public opinion would grow so strong as to persuade the younger generations of the peoples of South Africa and her allies to comply with the principles and mandates of the U.N. spelling out humanity's universal standards.

How can world public opinion be built up? The member states have to cooperate, their press has to respond and give a lead, and their educationists and educational institutions have to rise above the prejudices and propaganda of their governmental or non-governmental national institutions. That is usually a highly difficult and rare environment to be achieved. Yet, it has to be built up, in some way or the other.

But how? Through the earth-based Satellites, broad-casting the the requisite educational propaganda in favour of the universal principles, standards and ideals, agreed upon on the basis of consensus by the U.N.

To be able to operate effectively on this basis with this latest weapon of education, the U.N. has to be provided with adequate funds. Today the great powers are using the major dependence of the U.N. on their contributions to limit the expansion of such educational and other activities of the U.N. Therefore there is great need for all other nations developed, underdeveloped and developing to hasten to gain ability to finance such essential operations of the U.N. A small beginning is made by the U.N. for moving in this direction by the UNESCO and such other associated organisations to shape and develop world public opinion in favour of universal standards of human approach to contemporary world issues and crises. Unfortunately, the literature put out by U.N. organisations, limited as it is for want of funds, is so highly priced as to be beyond the capacity of peoples and institutions in most of the Member-States. I have been pleading ever since the 1953 Ottawa Conference of Commonwealth Parliaments for cheaper paper-back editions of publications of the U.N. and its associated and allied world institutions. I have had to repeat the same appeal to the present Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim in December 1980 to spare enough funds to publish and distribute literature in all countries about the universal standards adopted by consensus, by the world organisations within the ambit of the U.N. The earth bound Satellites have also to be pressed into service, an ever increasing scale for this educational purposes. The stultifying "Veto Power" of the great powers can be sought to be bypassed only in this direction and manner.

One is obliged to deplore the failure of Western Nations - their publicmen, Press and Governments - to sympathetically respond to the progressive and egalitarian and multi-racial urges of the newly liberated, socially emergent African and Asian, Pacific, Indian and other oceanic nations. As many as 54 new Member-States have come to liberalise and expand the vista of the U.N. during these 35 years after the U.N. has taken shape; thanks to the sacrifices made by their own leaders, inspiring example set for them by India's freedom fighters and their historic leaders, Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, Netaji Bose and the leaders of the Pan-African Congress, like George Padmore, Kenyatta, Nyerere and the progressive lead given to the Imperial Nations by Attlee, General De-Gaulle, Mac Millan. Unfortunately the statesmen of USA and Western Europe do not seem to be rising to meet the challenge posed by the emergence of these newly independent peoples and respond favourably to their demands for equality among races. Terms of trade, sharing of knowhow and technological secrets and equipment and minimisation of inequalities between the Haves and Have-nots, North and South Nations. The sooner they overcome the prejudices born out of their imperialist moorings, and learn to meet the urges of the new nations for equal opportunities and rising needs for attaining minimum of resources and equipment for civilised existence, the better it will be for the continuance of world peace. I trust that it is not too late for their statesmen to lead their people towards world peace, not of the grave but of the hopes and happiness of all humanity. If that is not achieved in good time the U.N. will come to be jettisoned,

just like the League of Nations had been, and Hydrogen-bomb cult will come to be the world order, with all the horrors of the holocaust. May God save us all from that fate.

III. Edifice of Peace

TEN years ago, when I was writing the first section of this chapter, I wondered what would happen if the United Nations failed in its main function of keeping or maintaining the peace within this world menaced by the every-recurrent jealousies, conflicts and raids as between different nations and the power-rivalries raging among the two or three super powers, egged on by their growing piles of Atom and Hydrogen Bombs and their by-products.

Since then, the United Nations Organisation has been so disabled by the super-powers as to reconcile itself with the far smaller, and less effective functions. It has been adopting such means as advising the combatant-nations locked in their local wars by warning and when possible and allowed by the super-powers, by imposing cease-fire and thereafter supervising the cease-fire by its peace keeping operations and forces.

Who imposes the cease fire? Generally not the U.N.O. One of the combatants offers to cease-fire, for the acceptance of the other power to the conflict and it may or may not be accepted. It is possible for one or both the super powers to advise the combatants to accept it and generally it comes to be accepted. It happened when Victorious India offered cease-fire in 1972, after the Pakistan forces in Dacca surrendered. There was unilateral offer of cease-fire by China

during the Indo-China war of 1962 and India accepted it. There was also cease-fire in the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965, when both USSR and USA advised both the combatants formally through the U.N.O. to accept cease-fire and meet in Tashkent to negotiate the terms of peace.

After the Korean war was over the U.N.O. has been disabled from functioning quickly, and decisively as a peace-keeping world Authority and has been at the mercy of the super-powers whether or not to intervene effectively between any two or more member-states at war with each other.

The helplessness of the United Nations in this vital sphere has come to be demonstrated so blatantly by its failure to persuade, not to speak of forcing Iran and Iraq to stop their war of 1980-81. Indeed both super-powers are so much involved in the politics of both the countries at war that they became helpless onlookers, and their advice, one way or the other, if offered has become ineffective. All that the Secretary General of the U.N.O. could do was to gain permission to carry on pourparler with the leaders of concerned member-states and make a report to the General Assembly. Again, the U.N.O. could helplessly watch the unhappy developments in Afghanistan, while USSR intervened more or less in the same manner as USA had done in Vietnam and the local government was obliged to fight the Guerrillas and the people as a whole were being denied security of life or national peace.

One can go on mentioning many such instances of the failure of the U.N.O., caused by the scuttling of the Security Council, as an effective authority to

maintain peace between member-states and their peoples.

All this time, the armament industry is enjoying prosperity. The production from factories making conventional arms and the terrible installations producing atomic and hydrogen bombs and other arms is ever on the increase. The disarmament commission is just as busy as ever for decades achieving no certain or noticeable results and making no contribution to the movement for peace. No wonder, the commission on peace-keeping operations of the United Nations has failed over these decades to reach any agreement at least over the principles, or methods and means of peace-keeping operations to be followed by the United Nations.

So the U.N. is content to leave the world to pursue the inter-war practice of negotiating and depending upon bi-lateral agreements between the concerned any two neighbouring countries. In some zones as in Europe, the Dulles versus Khrushchev method of organising the pacts like the Nato Pact and Warsaw Pact is dependent upon for peace-keeping with in their respective areas among the Member-States as against the rival or other areas and their member-states. We are grateful to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, his comrades the late Marshal Tito and Abdul Gamal Nasser for having boldly laid the foundations for this non-alignment challenge to the U.N.'s liability of rivalry between the Great Atomic Military powers and their club and its shackles of Veto power of the permanent members, India continues to play a key-role in this phalanx of peace. I spoke in 1954 at the Ottawa Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference for the then incipient non-involment Platform which finally emerged as the Group of 77.

We have been clamouring for the Indian Ocean being kept as a zone of peace. But it is fast becoming the battle ground for bitter rivalry between USA and USSR and the littoral powers have only helped this unwholesome development by their mutual conflicts like the Iran and Iraq war, the schisms between several African nations. The ASEAN group's welcome to the intervention of USA into the Pacific cum Indian Ocean zones further weakens the demand of the U.N. to keep Indian Ocean free from great power bases and domination.

An important change for the better has come about in the U.N., that is, through the expansion of its membership from being predominantly European, American and White peoples organisations into a better balanced Platform with white and coloured peoples, North and South Nations. Even the unrepresentative Security Council with its blind-brake of Veto power vested in each of the Five Permanent Members is obliged to take note of the radical and qualitative change that has come about the tempo and democratic alchemy of this world Assembly because of the emergence of more than 55 former colonial dependencies into National Independent Members of the World Organisation.

But it cannot ensure World peace and progress. it fails to control the growth and proliferation of Atomic-power-threat to world peace. Hence our welcome to the emergence of the group of 77 Member-States within the Non-Alignment Forum. Yet another phenomenal development has taken place, inspite of the Northern Nations and as a reaction to their anti-Palestinian and pro-Israeli policies and that is, the

Arab Nations oil offensive. This sudden and irrevocable, so far, irreversible oil-price hike has come to argue better with the west than everything else so far conjured up by Philosophers, statesmen, economists and advocates of "One World Government."

Unfortunately this has proved to be double-edged weapon and threatens to dwarf the already depressed developing and under-developed nations.

Can the group of 77 help the world to get out of this vicious atmosphere. I just wonder. The great powers, that is USSR and USA hailed as super-powers and China, Japan, France, West Germany, Great Britain have however not gained any untrammelled power or supermacy; thanks to their mutual rivalry and undependable support from their allies, though they have contributed to weaken the United Nations. We have seen how helpless has been USA over the inhuman treatment meted out to her hostages by Iran. The oil-powers were able to impose, unilaterally with impunity their arbitrary and ever rising oil-prices over all consuming countries. USSR has come to follow much milder policy toward Poland in 1980 than what had been possible to impose upon Poland and Hungary in 1955 and Czechoslovakia in 1969. Why? Because of the threat held out by the rival powers against any unilateral exhibition of Super-powers prerogatives. China, which wanted to imitate the super-powers has had to restrain herself in the struggle between Vietnam and Kampuchia.

We do not know for how long the present community of nations would have to subsist under these uncertain and unhappy international rivalries

and relations of love and hate. They may not descend further into open anarchical chaos, because of their live fear of the horrors of the Atomic Explosions. The United Nations is atleast serving the vital function of a safety valve. It keeps the Member-states in the safe atmosphere debating and conferring with each other on its platform. So let us continue to cherish this Forum. So long as the rival powers, big or small are encouraged to be talking and negotiating with each others in its committees, commissions and Assembly, we can go on hugging the hope of cooling the tempers and softening the hearts of those who are empowered to press the buttons of decisions of destruction of humans, across countries and continents.

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IV. Comprehensive Review of Peace Keeping Operation in all their aspects (5 November 1980)

THE Special Committee on Peace Keeping Operations has been labouring for the last sixteen years for completion of agreed guidelines which will govern the conduct of peace keeping operations of the United Nations in accordance with the Charter.

It is a matter of deep regret, therefore, that even after such long passage of time, this August Committee meets today to examine the agenda item on "Comprehensive Review of the Whole Question of Peace Keeping Operations in all their aspects", against the backdrop of indecision and vacillation on the part of the Special Committee on reaching an agreement on how to carry out its mandate.

At its 34th Session, as during the preceding Sessions, the General Assembly expressed its concern at this lack of progress towards the completion of agreed guidelines and towards agreement concerning specific questions related to their practical implementation. The 34th Session of the General Assembly had "once again" urged the Special Committee on Peace Keeping Operations "to expedite its work for early completion of agreed guidelines which will

govern the conduct of Peace Keeping Operations of the United Nations in accordance with the Charter and to devote attention to specific questions related to the practical implementation of the Peace Keeping Operations”.

It is a fact that since its inception, the Special Committee on Peace Keeping Operations has gone through a variety of phases and has, no doubt, helped clarify the position of Member States on a number of aspects of the subject within its charge. However, my delegation regrets to have to point out that the Special Committee has achieved few positive concrete results.

The Report of the Special Committee on Peace Keeping Operations contained in document A/35/532 states that the course of discussions, both in the Special Committee and in the Working Group, “reaffirmed the wide disparity of members’ views on the matters facing the Special Committee and the great difficulty in finding any compromise acceptable to all”. It plainly tells us that the Special Committee could not reach agreement on how to carry out its mandate. The Report, however, states that despite the difficulties facing the Special Committee, it was believed that the importance of the issues is such that the mandate of the Special Committee should be renewed.

My delegation had made our position on this subject very clear during the 34th Session of the General Assembly. We had reiterated the view that we would not be averse to laying down a time limit for the Special Committee to produce the relevant guidelines beyond which the mandate of the Special Committee could be terminated and the matter referred back to

the General Assembly. My delegation had wondered whether, in the event of the Special committee not being able to accomplish its task before the current Session of the General Assembly, its mandate should not be terminated. My delegation maintains this view.

I represent a country which is proud of the legacy of peace she has inherited from illustrious personages like Lord Buddha, Lord Mahavira, Emperor Ashoka and Mahatma Gandhi. It is, therefore, no wonder that the solution of all kinds of conflicts, national or international only by peaceful means is one of the tenets of India's statecraft and foreign policy. It is also not surprising that soon after India attained independence, she was the natural choice of the United Nations for peace keeping role in parts of Africa, Asia and South East Asia. How India acquitted herself of this international trust is too well known to the world community to need any elaboration on my part.

India's position in regard to certain general principles on U.N. Peace Keeping Operations has been stated in this August Committee, on many occasions. However, I would like to reiterate this position today:

We are firmly of the view that peace keeping cannot be considered as a substitute for peace making. Too often the mandates of various U.N. peace keeping forces are extended on a routine and automatic basis without considering alternative means of resolving the dispute that necessitated the induction of the U.N. Force, in the first place.

My delegation attaches great importance to the principle of obtaining the consent of the host country for the conduct in its territory of any peace keeping operations, which must be carried out with due respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country concerned.

We support the view that the Security Council has the primary responsibility in the conduct of U N peace keeping operations in accordance with the Charter. Depending on the nature of the operations, however, the Secretary-General must retain a degree of flexibility in order to implement the decisions of the Security Council with despatch and efficiency. Perhaps one way of resolving differences of opinion as between the roles of the Security Council and the Secretary-General would be to assign additional functions to the latter under Article 98 of the Charter, in specific situations.

My delegation also supports any specific proposals with regard to increasing the efficiency of the national contingents serving under the U.N. Flag through adequate training, the provision of logistical support and the streamlining of present procedures. We are, however, of the opinion that in the absence of general and agreed guidelines, it remains the sovereign decision of a Member State to support a particular U N peace keeping operation.

By now it should be clear to anyone that the major impediments in the way of the progress of the important task of the Special Committee on Peace Keeping Operations are the fundamental differences of opinion among certain permanent Members of the

Security Council on the nature and modalities of UN Peace Keeping Operations. My delegation has, on several occasions, regretfully expressed the view that if we are to achieve a concrete and lasting solution to the important problem of peace keeping affecting not only regional conflicts and conflagrations but international peace and solidarity, it is imperative that the permanent Members of the Security Council display a measure of political will which alone will go a long way in the fulfilment of our long desired objective.

In conclusion, I would like to pay my delegation's tribute to our distinguished Secretary-General for the diligence and efficiency with which he has carried out UN Peace Keeping Operations, over the years, in accordance with the relevant decisions of the Security Council.

V. Quotes from Smt. Indira Gandhi's Speeches of 1980-'81

IN the course of her opening address to the Common Wealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting in New Delhi on September 4, 1980 she observed:

For the New World Order based on justice and equality, the omens are "discouraging". The affluent seem reluctant even for small adjustments which cannot really be considered sacrifices for them but which would make all difference to us, we seldom get fair prices for our raw materials."

"The gap in the material levels of living of the rich and poor nations is widening."... ..

"Development is a promise of material and social well-being. How can we persuade people to wait for the fulfilment even of these basic needs, to say nothing of their just aspiration for a fuller life."

In the course of her address, during the civic Reception to honour President L.I. Brezhnev on 9-12-1980, the Prime Minister observed, that Jawaharlal Nehru described about Soviet revolution as "Blazing fire within the cover" "ice". The second phase of this unfinished revolution. i.e., the process of combating economic inequality and social injustice repeats powerful elements and invites reaction. Understandably we face onslaught from the "right" and not so understandably from the so-called "left" as well.

“We can say with pride, we have not jettisoned any of our basic tenets, commitment to an independent foreign policy, and to the raising of the standards of living of our people under a socialist secular, and democratic ethos.....life, as our ancients say is like walking on a razors edge. But through the ages and vicissitudes of history, the Indian people have shown balance, resilience and soundness of heart.”

FATE OF DISARMAMENT—COMMISSION

The U N. Assembly passed more than 250 resolutions to make the powers aware of the need for different aspects of disarmament.

In 1945 August.....The first Atomic Bomb explosion over Japan.

1952 Disarmament commission was established with 5 Members.

1959 Membership embraced all member-states.

1960 Negotiating Committee (N.C) of D.C -membership expansion upto 18-including 8 Non-aligned countries.

1980 N.C. of 40 includes 21 Non-aligned countries. Priorities laid down by Non-aligned countries:

- i) Nuclear Disarmament
- ii) Ban on chemical in biological weapons' production and possession.
- iii) International convention on non-use of nuclear weapons,
- iv) De-militarisation of the sea-bed and ocean floor etc.

ROLE OF THE NON-ALIGNED

One Writer has written that its role is "essentially that of a moral pressure group representing the conscience of mankind." Sri M S. Rajan has rightly observed that "tremendous proliferation of the membership of the Non-aligned movement is a great tribute to the foresight of "Jawaharlal Nehru," Who pioneered it over three decades ago". It has provided a new and an additional foreign policy choice for States and thereby made an enduring contribution to the conduct of international relations."

Speaking about the great power rivalry in the Indian Ocean, the Prime Minister observed, "The Ocean has brought conquerors to India in the past, today we find it churning with danger. The frantically increasing pace of militarisation in the Indian ocean makes the 3500 miles of our coast more vulnerable. How can we acquiesce in any theory which tries to justify the threat to our security, environment or condone the existence of foreign bases and cruising fleets?"

VI. Indiraji's Address to the Non-Aligned meet in New Delhi (10-2-1981)

THE following is Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speech at the Non-aligned Foreign Ministers Conference,

"Today we could well echo Mahatma Gandhi's words when he said, 'India wants to be independent of everybody who wants to own this country. We do not want to be masters of anybody. We want to be masters on our own soil.' These words characterise the political foundation of non-alignment. All of us, coming from various continents, from Asia, from Africa, from Europe and from the Americans, want to be masters of our soil and our future. It is to this pursuit of freedom and the peace so essential for freedom that I welcome you, the delegates, distinguished Ministers and representatives of non-aligned countries.

"Here are assembled nearly a hundred nations. Each has its distinct personality, its own travails and triumphs. I welcome you to this conference and to India. Delhi has been witness to history dating back to our epics. It has been the citadel of empires and it has seen the fall of empires. To us it symbolises the will to freedom of resurgent India.

"With prescience of our common problems and the later need to stand together, my father Jawaharlal

Nehru convened an Asian relations conference in Delhi in March 1947, even before we, and the many others who attended with such enthusiasm, were free.

“On the historic and magic day when India’s Independence was proclaimed my father declared that India looked at the world with clear and friendly eyes and would co-operate with all nations and peoples of the world in furthering peace, freedom and democracy.

“Since then we have worked consistently to democratise international relations, we have supported liberation struggles, we have fought against all foreign domination and racism. We have pleaded the cause of co-existence and the peaceful resolution of conflicts. Peace is not that which teeters on the brink. That is the absence of war, yet it threatens war. Nor can peace be based on outmoded concepts of imperialism, military alliances, spheres of influence or balance of power and competition in nuclear and conventional terror.

“Mr. Chairman, many changes have occurred since the non-aligned summit was held in your brave and beautiful country 18 months ago. We hear of a crisis of character, a crisis of civilisation. what else can we expect when, having so recently seen the horror and heartbreak of war, countries still prepare for a new military confrontation?

There is disquiet in Europe, gathering danger in Asia, and new pressures on Latin America and the Caribbeans. Non-aligned countries are being asked to stand up and be counted for or against one side or the other. We see the familiar efforts to turn one non-

aligned country against another to emaciate our solidarity and to impair the cohesion of our movement. These are backed by economic threats and blandishments on the one hand and military might and bases on the other.

“The realities of the world situation—the possibility of a nuclear armageddon by a single lapse or rash act—reinforce the relevance of non-alignment and demand a rededication to peace. From this conference should issue a call to the Big Powers to de-escalate belligerent rhetoric, to reduce presences in the Indian Ocean and in the various parts of Asia and Africa, and to resume the earnest search for understanding and peace.

“We are all deeply distressed at events in Afghanistan. The unhappy conflict in West Asia between two of our own brothers has had adverse consequences for the peoples of these two countries as well as other non-aligned nations.

“These developments have given encouragement to forces which work against our movement and have increased the risk of intervention. Let us hope the Big Powers will not be tempted to take advantage to enlarge local disputes into wider confrontations. In the name of peace and the future of mankind, we plead with the combatants, and appeal to those who are waiting in the wings, to call their young men back to their homes.

“At this conference, we must again raise our voices against the last bastions of colonialism and racism. We salute the victorious people of Zimbabwe

and the brave freedom fighters of Namibia, South Africa and Palestine. We deplore the failure of the recent talks in Geneva and the manner in which the U.N. plan for the independence of Namibia is being frustrated by South Africa's obstructiveness.

"Experience has shown that political subjugation and economic exploitation go hand in hand. So, through political freedom, we hoped to achieve economic advance. The economic dimension of the policy of non-alignment is no less important than the political. In Algiers, Colombo and Havana the conferences articulated the economic content of non-alignment. Yet for most of us economic prospects have been worsening with each passing month. I strongly urge the global negotiations be under taken without further delay to pave the way for a new international economic order.

At the same time we have our own responsibility, highlighted by the impasse in North-South negotiations, to reduce our vulnerability to the actions of developed countries. The Havana summit urged collective self-reliance. The main sanction of developing countries is in our solidarity. This solidarity must be built by a process of reconciliation and harmonisation of our mutual interests.

"If protectionism — the classic weapon of the strong against the weak — if advanced technology and aid (and even food) are used as instruments of pressure, should we not devise and adopt comprehensive measures for mutually beneficial financial, technological and agricultural co-operation among our countries?

Today our capabilities are diverse enough to permit meaningful transfer of technology, skill and financial resources among ourselves.

“Some affluent countries do recognise the interdependence of nations and the need for co-operation. Hence our negotiating positions should be formulated in a dynamic context and our energies concentrated on mapping out our own strategy.

“At every meeting of non-aligned, big powers seem to redouble their diplomatic and publicity campaign to sow suspicion and division within us. As free people we must stand together. Working in unison on the basis of our original principles and purposes will fortify us to withstand such pressures. Divided we are vulnerable—united we are and shall prevail. Let this simple truth guide your deliberations in the next few days. Let us not fall prey to suggestive propaganda. We are here not to juggle with words, but to find a way to reinforce the authority and effectiveness of the non-aligned movement.

This day is regarded as an auspicious day in India. Vasant Panchami, the first day of spring, is dedicated to learning and the arts. It is a good day for a conference devoted to peace and harmony.

On behalf of the Government and people of India, I greet you once again. Millions of eyes are focussed on this conference and millions of hearts wish you well. (Hindustan times, 10-2-1981).

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I. Effects of Atomic Radiation (14-10-1980)

THE problem of effects atomic radiation has rightly been a subject of profound concern to the United Nations. The International community has entered the nuclear age but it is not yet in a position to control or regulate the effects of atomic radiation on a global basis. Since 1955 when the Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation was established, this subject has been under periodic review. The Scientific Committee has furnished seven substantive reports since its establishment. While these reports have added to our knowledge of the subject, they have also underlined the continuing need for carrying on the study with a view to safeguarding mankind from the dangers of ill-effects of atomic radiation.

Radiation is released in the atmosphere through a number of sources, from fall out from nuclear explosions, from radio active consumer products, from medical uses of radiation, from environmental or occupational exposures involved in nuclear production and from natural sources. As radiation beyond a certain point is harmful both to all living beings and environment, it is essential to monitor overall radiation levels.

My delegation is pleased to know that the Scientific Committee is currently studying the effects of atomic radiation from several points of view and the

Committee will submit its next substantive report to the 37th session of the General Assembly instead of 36th. Judging from the amount of work involved in completing the current study, it is inevitable that the Scientific Committee would need to do an extra year of work.

My delegation is pleased to know that the Scientific Committee has widened its area of work by deciding to consider an additional document entitled "Interaction of ionizing radiations with other agents encountered in the environment".

My delegation would like to place on record its appreciation of the work of the Scientific Committee

II. International Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (28-10-1980)

MY delegation would like to congratulate Ambassdor Peter Jankowitsch, Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, Prof. J. H. Carver, Chairman of the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee and Ambassador E. Wyzner, Chairman of the Legal Sub-Committee for the excellent work done by them, which is evident from the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. My delegation would also like to congratulate the other members of the Bureaus of the Outer Space Committee and its two Sub-Committees for their valuable contribution.

My delegation has noted with satisfaction that the Indian delegation in the Committee on Outer Space under the leadership of Prof. Yash Pal was able to contribute to the work of the Committee as well as of the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. My delegation is aware of the honour done to mycountry by the Secretary-General of the United Nations through the appointment of Prof. Yash Pal as the Secretary General of the Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. I take this as recognition of

the role that my country is playing in developing space science for the benefit of humanity. My delegation has greatly appreciated the kind words said about Prof. Yash Pal by several delegations.

The Government of India attaches great importance to the work of the Department of Space, which is responsible for space science and technology and space applications within India. It goes without saying that the Government of India also attaches great importance to the work of the United Nations Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space for resolving common problems that we face in this area.

Let me give a brief account of space achievements of my own country during the last one year. The main elements of Indian programme comprise work on Satellite Launch Vehicle Project (SLV), Satellite for Earth Observation (SEO), Ariane Passenger Payload Experiment (APPLE), Indian National Satellite System (INSAT), ROHINI Satellite (RS), and Satellite Telecommunications Experiment Project (STEP). On July 18, 1980, India was able to successfully launch a technological satellite of 40 Kg, ROHINI Satellite I, by its own Satellite Launch Vehicle (SLV 3) into orbit on an experimental technology mission. India hopes to launch an experimental geostationary communications satellite later this year on an Ariane launch vehicle of the European Space Agency. Work on a project to launch multipurpose geostationary satellite from the United States in 1981-82 is progressing according to plan. India has already launched two satellites from a Soviet Cosmodrome for earth observations. It is hoped to launch during this decade a number of satellites using indigenous launch

vehicles as well as launch vehicle services of other countries.

Interest and developments in remote sensing have moved very fast. Seminars on remote sensing have become a normal feature of Indian scientific institutions. The Indian Space Research Organization has planned to launch a semi-operational remote sensing satellite during 1984-85. The National Remote Sensing Agency has a number of instrumented aircraft and other appropriate facilities. Regional centres have been established to support a national network. With the expertise and capabilities developed by our dedicated team of scientists under the leadership of Prof. S. Dhawan during the 70s, it is hoped that the 80s, would constitute a very important decade for the development of Indian efforts in space.

With this brief account of our space activities and our international collaboration, I would like to make some comments on the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space presented for the consideration of the Special Political Committee.

The Indian delegation is of the view that the question of remote sensing of earth by satellites should continue to be discussed in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. Absence of quick progress or presence of divergent views should not discourage us from carrying on discussions on this item. The discussions in the committee have had the benefit of eliciting positions of different countries on the matters involved. My delegation has noted that the secretariat is preparing a comprehensive catalogue

on remote sensing. My delegation would fully cooperate with the secretariat in its work.

Both the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee and the Legal Sub-Committee are seized of the matter of use of nuclear power sources in outer space. In view of the fact that the use of nuclear power sources in outer space activities is unavoidable, my delegation appreciates the concern of several delegations that all precautions should be taken to make their use safe. My delegation is of the view that the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee and the Legal Sub-Committee should continue to study the subject from this angle with a view to drafting safety provisions.

My delegation is of the view that the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and the Legal Sub-Committee should continue the work on preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting. Lack of quick results should not deter us from putting in more efforts to find a consensus. The interests of states to which television broadcasts are directed have to be considered together with permissible but unavoidable spillover.

My delegation supports the view that Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee should continue the consideration of the item dealing with space transportation systems. These activities hold significant implications for future activities in space.

My delegation would like to commend the excellent work rendered by the Expert on Space Appli-

cations, Mr. Padang. Despite limited funds, he has managed to implement the U.N. programme on space applications. The provision of adequate funds should receive the attention of the concerned authorities. In the field of development of space science and technology, my delegation would like to see that the fruits of the technological developments are shared and made available to the developing countries promptly and at an affordable cost to them. From this point of view, my delegation attaches great importance to the U.N. programme on space applications for the benefit of developing countries.

The report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has foreseen the possibility of militarization of space. It has rightly sounded a note of caution with a view to preventing use of space for darker purposes. My delegation is of the view that we should take appropriate steps from now on so that peaceful exploitation of outer space is not thwarted or obstructed by misuse of outer space for military purposes. Care should be taken to ensure that on the pretext of peaceful use of outer space no element of military use is introduced in space programmes. It may be useful if the Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space undertakes such a study and submits this report to the next meeting of the Special Political Committee.

As has been stated in the report of the Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, successful development and use of solar powered satellites in space will have a major impact on energy systems and

programmes on earth. My delegation feels that the concerned U.N. agencies can assist the tropical and sub-tropical countries in Asia and Africa in building up the necessary infra-structure for promoting their research programmes to harness the abundant solar energy available with them to augment their supplies of power for the benefit of their people.

III. Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency in the General Assembly (November 6, 1980)

I should like to express the appreciation of my delegation of the annual report for 1979 of the International Atomic Energy Agency presented so ably by Dr. Sigvard Eklund, the distinguished Director-General of the Agency. I should also like to thank Dr. Eklund for his excellent introductory statement which has contained additional information relating to the Agency's activities during the past year and the important tasks that lie before us. My delegation is confident that under his direction the IAEA will continue to function in an effective and useful manner for the fulfilment of the tasks assigned to the Agency by the statute of the IAEA. Strict adherence to the Statute is essential for the continued confidence of the world community in the Agency.

I should like to convey my delegation's gratitude to the Agency for the assistance extended by it in the past to my country for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. It is in recognition of the important role that the IAEA is performing in promoting international cooperation in the peaceful utilization of atomic energy that my country hosted the 23rd general conference of the International Atomic Agency in New Delhi in December, 1979.

Dr. H.N. Sethna, the Chairman of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission presided over this conference and made an important statement on the occasion.

The Agency has recently introduced new guidelines to administer the provision of technical assistance to member countries. From the very beginning, India has objected to the new guidelines as these are not only discriminatory but are derived from extraneous considerations. Moreover, these are contrary to the Statute of the IAEA. The technical assistance programme of the Agency should be free of restrictive and preferential pre-conditions.

My delegation is of the view that the new guidelines should be reviewed in order to make them conform to the Statute of the Agency. In view of the discriminatory nature of the new rules, my country has been forced to forego technical assistance from the Agency. My country is not against the technical assistance programme of the Agency. In fact, Mr. President, India continues to participate in the technical assistance programme of the Agency in the capacity of a donor. The Government of India continues to make its assessed voluntary contribution towards the technical assistance programme. It is the hope of my delegation that the objectionable portion of the new guidelines will be soon removed with a view to ensuring that the role of the Agency in promoting development of atomic energy for peace is not impaired.

My delegation is of the view that it is necessary to work out a predictable and assured source of fina-

ncing in order to ensure that the technical assistance programme of the Agency is capable of effective implementation. My delegation therefore welcomes the fact that studies have been undertaken to find a solution to the problem of financing.

My delegation supports the Agency's role and programme in the field of nuclear safety. The Government of India in recognition of the importance of this role has made a supplementary voluntary contribution to the Agency for 1979 so that Agency can expand its activities in this area.

My delegation, has noted with regret the continuing imbalance between the regulatory and promotional aspects of the Agency's functioning. Mankind has to be protected from the misuse of nuclear energy for military purposes. Our objective should be nuclear disarmament but the Agency is financing limited non-proliferation activities.

The imbalance between regulatory and promotional activities continues to be reflected in the expenditure on account of safeguards and promotional programmes. This imbalance not only should be halted but should be rectified. The agency should not give preference to one part of the statute over another part and should not be exploited for the furtherance of nuclear objectives of certain countries or groups of countries. My delegation hopes that serious efforts will be made in this direction.

At this point, I should like to make a comment on the chapter of the annual report that deals with safe- guards. Paragraph 164 of this chapter contains

an exclusive reference to unsafeguarded nuclear facilities in some non-nuclear-weapons states. There is no reference to the unsafeguarded nuclear facilities and materials in nuclear weapons states. In the view of the Government of India, this omission has led to a serious misrepresentation of facts and has created a distorted and erroneous picture that some 'errant' non-nuclear-weapons states are indulging in unsafeguarded activities when the fact is that the world is actually threatened by nuclear peril due to misuse of nuclear power for military purposes. The next annual report should report on all unsafeguarded nuclear facilities, of nuclear states as well as non-nuclear states. We should not delude ourselves by shutting our eyes to the fact that the real threat that is being posed to the world community is by the proliferation of nuclear weapons by nuclear weapons states.

A similar distorted picture is being created by the paragraphs under safeguards and NPT of the introduction to the annual report. My delegation would like this distortion also to be removed in the next report.

The draft resolution contained in document A/35/L.10 includes a reference to the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material. The Government of India have already pointed out the infirmities with which this Convention suffers. The Convention has not taken into account the large amount of nuclear materials stock-piled for military use. It has ignored the objections to the inclusion of transport within a state in the concept of international transport. With such infirmities remaining present, it is clear

that the convention cannot help us to achieve the objective of physical protection of nuclear materials.

My delegation would support the adoption of the draft resolutions contained in documents A/35/L.10 and A/35/L.11 by consensus. Our support for the resolution is without prejudice to our well established position in relation to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Our support should also be seen in the context of the views that I have expressed on some aspects of the resolution that is before us.

IV. Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly

On International Co-operation in the peaceful uses of Outer Space

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 34/66 of 5 December 1979,

Having considered the report of the committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space 1/ on the work of its twenty third session,

Reaffirming the common interest of mankind in furthering the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes and in continuing efforts to extend to all States the benefits derived therefrom, as well as the importance of international co-operation in this field, for which the United Nations should continue to provide a focal point,

Welcoming the successful completion of the recent outer space mission carried out jointly for the first time by cosmonauts from Cuba, Hungary, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Viet Nam, within the framework of the "Intercosmos" programme,

Reaffirming the importance of international co-operation in developing the rule of law in the peaceful exploration and use of outer space.

1. Endorses the report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space;

2. Invites States which have not yet become parties to the international treaties governing the uses of outer space to give consideration to ratifying or acceding to those treaties;

3. Endorses the recommendation of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space that the Legal Sub-Committee at its twentieth session should;

(a) Continue to consider matters relating to the definition and/or delimitation of outer space and outer space activities, bearing in mind, inter alia, questions relating to the geostationary orbit;

4. Decides to include in the agenda of its twentieth session an item entitled "Consideration of the possibility of supplementing the norms of international law relevant to the use of nuclear power sources in outer space".

5. Notes that the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space at its seventeenth session:

(a) Continued its consideration of the United Nations programme on space applications and the co-ordination of space activities within the United Nations system;

(b) Continued its examination of the physical nature and technical attributes of the geostationary orbit;

(c) Continued its consideration of technical aspects of and safety measures relating to the use of nuclear power sources in outer space and adopted the

report of the Working Group on the Use of Nuclear Power Sources in Outer Space; 3/

(d) Considered questions relating to space transportation systems and their implications for future activities in space;

6. Endorses the recommendation of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space that the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee at its eighteenth session should:

- (a) Consider the following priority items:
 - (i) Questions relating to the United Nations programme on space applications and the co-ordination of space activities within the United Nations system;
 - (ii) Questions relating to remote sensing of the earth by satellites;
 - (iii) Preparations for the Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space;
 - (iv) Use of nuclear power sources in outer space;
- (b) Consider the following items:
 - (i) Questions relating to space transportation systems and their implications for future activities in space;
 - (ii) Physical nature and technical attributes of the geostationary orbit;

7. Endorses the United Nations programme on space applications for 1981 proposed to the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee by the expert on space applications: 4/

3

I. "Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa"

(13 November 1980)

I Consider it a great honour to be able to address the General Assembly on "Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa", as the representative of a country whose support for the struggle against racism and all kinds of domination is well known to the entire world.

2. I consider myself particularly privileged to-day in view of my close personal association with the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, who was also the Father of the crusade against the barbarous system of Apartheid. As I stand before you to-day, vivid memories of my involvement in the struggle against imperialism and colonial domination led by this frail but iron willed man, come to my mind. Like me, there were hundreds of thousands of young men and women at that time who jumped into the fire and flames of the Indian freedom struggle at the beck and call of this great leader,

3. As is well known, it was in South Africa that Mahatma Gandhi conceived, devised and perfected a unique non-violent weapon of satyagraha ("Gandhiva") for the liberation of the oppressed and for the freedom of his people. Almost the first thing Mahatma Gandhi sensed on arrival in South Africa as a shy

young man of 24, was the oppressive atmosphere of racial snobbishness and discrimination prevailing in that country. Indians who had settled in large numbers in South Africa and of whom a majority were indentured labourers were, along with black Africans, looked upon as mere beasts of burden by the white settlers and were subjected to all kinds of inhuman laws and regulations and social ostracism. Mahatma Gandhi's sense of social justice and humanism was quickly aroused by his personal experience of the indignities to which his countrymen as well as black Africans were subjected. He took upon himself the task of mobilising, to start with, the Indian community to fight against this inhuman social injustice. This was the beginning of a long and momentous struggle. The turning point came with the decision of the Natal Government to introduce a Bill to disfranchise Indians. Mahatma Gandhi immediately understood the ominous implications of the Bill and advised his compatriots to resist it by concerted action. He had gone to South Africa to act as a counsel in a law-suit. But the destiny of humanity had a nobler mission for him. The developments in South Africa obliged him to extend his stay to twenty years to invoke his latent spiritual resources and turn misfortunes into a creative spiritual force. It was this force which has come to energise and enrich the revolutionary urge of the submerged and suppressed masses of the world to strive for their human rights.

4. The struggle against racism and discrimination continued in one form or another and the recognition of the justice of the cause expounded by Mahatma Gandhi also spread. Mahatma Gandhi foresaw

that a showdown with the South African Government was sooner or later inevitable and knew from experience that no brute force however diabolical could quell the innate spirit of man ready to defy and willing to suffer. What he found he could do himself, he set about to train others to do. Individual resistance could be expanded and organised into a collective mass struggle in the prosecution of a moral equivalent of war.

5. In 1907, came an act requiring all Indians, men and women, to register and submit to finger prints. Mahatma Gandhi advised the Indian community to refuse to submit to this indignity and to court imprisonment by defying the law. In 1908, he was arrested and was followed by other satyagrahis. He was arrested a second time in the same year. In 1909, he was arrested a third time. The satyagraha spread. At one time there were about fifty thousand indentured labourers on strike—several thousand other Indians in jail. In this struggle, Mahatma Gandhi was ably aided by his wife Kasturba and his British associates including Mr. Henry Polak. The Government tried repression and even shooting, and many lives were lost. "In the end", as a biographer of Mahatma Gandhi put it, "General Smuts did what every Government that ever opposed Gandhi had to do"—he yielded, the first of its kind. In January 1914, a provisional agreement was reached and the main Indian demands were conceded.

6. Although Mahatma Gandhi first took up the issue of racial discrimination because people of Indian origin were discriminated against in South Africa, in later years it became India's concern for all

non-white races, with the South-African Government adopting racial discrimination as an official policy separating communities on the basis of race and denying them equal rights and privileges.

7. I may add that Mahatma Gandhi blessed the colonial and coloured people's Freedom front, as well as the Pan African Congress organized at the end of the Second World War by Lord Fenner Brockway, Jomo Kenyatta, George Padmore, Prof. A. G. Stock, Mr. Mackonner, Mr. Peter Abrahams and myself. He thus lent his support to our demand that the right of all coloured and colonial peoples be recognised by the post-war world powers. He is to be noted that Rangaji came into touch with one Andhra Peasant in 1917, on his return from South Africa, after having worked as a Satyagrahi under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. He was a distant relative, from a neighbouring Village. His account of his sufferings as an indentured labourer and his experiences with Gandhiji, made young Ranga to grow his faith in Gandhiji, racial equality and to work for emancipation of Indian untouchables who were suffering from the same type of indignities as were heaped upon Indians in South Africa

8. This pioneering role of India found its historic recognition as part of Human Rights Movement when the United Nations began consideration of racism in South Africa in 1946 at the request of the Government of India. In October 1946, the U.N. General Assembly was convened for the first time. Here India introduced the issue of the unjust treatment of Indians in South Africa. During that Session the General Assembly at India's insistence passed a resolution declaring that "It is in the higher interest

of humanity to put an immediate end to racial persecution and discrimination. Momentous and revolutionary developments have since taken place in the world and many nations, big and small, have come into their own after having thrown off the shackles of foreign domination.

9. Today, as many as 162 nations belonging to all continents of the world are playing their constructive role as cherished members of the United Nations. Zimbabwe is among the latest of these honoured countries to join the comity of free and independent nations. On behalf of my delegation, I would like to pay our tribute to the heroic people of Zimbabwe for their outstanding achievement. My delegation would also like to place on record India's appreciation of the successful contribution made by the United Nations in the emergence of this new independent nation.

10. In the midst of this triumph of humanity, we today remember the unfortunate black people of South Africa. Our hearts go out to these brave and courageous men, women and children, who are still struggling to achieve their inalienable rights including the establishment of majority rule. It is, indeed, unfortunate that in spite of constant and continuous pressure from the world community, the racist regime of South Africa continues to brazenly ignore all appeals from the world conscience to do away, once and for all, with this obnoxious and uncivilized practice of Apartheid. Recently we have seen some press reports about relaxation by the South African Government of some of the harsh regulations against black Africans. Al-

though this might be the result of pressure both from within South Africa and outside, the concessions are, indeed, too little. There is very wide disparity, as in so many other spheres of life in educational facilities grudgingly provided for black children as contrasted with the liberal and universal facilities made available to white children. How long will it take for the white Apartheid regime of South Africa to introduce compulsory education to black children on the same scale? No such concessions can ever be a substitute for the full recognition of the human rights of these people and the majority rule in political terms.

11. Paragraph 294 of the Report of the special Committee against Apartheid contained in supplement No.22 (A/35/22) says, *inter-alia*, and I quote:

“.....The danger of conflict has greatly increased as a result of the continued military build-up by the regime and its frantic efforts to acquire nuclear-weapon capability.”

In this connection, we deplore that some affluent countries of the world should be unconscionably collaborating with South Africa in various fields including nuclear, thereby encouraging the racist rulers of South Africa to trample upon the human rights and dignity of the black majority. We would like once again to appeal to all countries who are collaborating with South Africa to heed the signs of time, especially in the wake of the triumphant victory of the brave people of Zimbabwe, and join hands with the world community in eliminating once and for all the scourge of Apartheid.

12. My delegation has no doubt that however long and arduous the struggle of the people of the South Africa may be, the ultimate victory will be theirs. They can rest assured that their struggle is also ours. We share their suffering from every act of repression against them. We shall support them resolutely till their victory is achieved.

II. Draft Resolution on “Campaign for the release of Political Prisoners in South Africa” (8 December 1980)

MY delegation considers it a great honour and privilege that once again the task of introducing a draft resolution on the “Campaign for the Release of Political Prisoners in South Africa” has been entrusted to India. I have great satisfaction in introducing the draft resolution No. A/35/L.23 on behalf of all the co-sponsors.

2. Since this draft resolution was tabled, the Supreme Court in Pretoria has imposed brutal sentences against nine freedom fighters in South Africa. Three of them, NCIMBITHI JOHNSON LUBISI, PETRUS TSEPO and NAPHTHLI MANANA have been sentenced to death on charges of high treason and attempted murder. Six others have been sentenced to imprisonment ranging from 10 to 20 years.

3. It will be recalled that these patriots were accused of having conspired with the African National Congress membership in the planning of the attack on a bank in the white Pretoria suburb of SILVERTON in January this year and of having conspired and taken part in a grenade raid on a police station in Northern Transval.

4. Today, when the brave sons and daughters of South Africa who are languishing in its dreaded prison houses are in our thoughts and prayers, the intended hanging of the just mentioned three of them, comrades LUBISI, TSEPO and MANANA has roused the conscience of the freedom loving people all over the world. On behalf of the people of India, I would like to send to these brave freedom fighters of our genuine feelings of support and solidarity in their hour of trial.

5. Another important development which has taken place in recent days is the historic Declaration which was made by the African National Congress on the 28 November last. On this occasion the South African Liberation Movement declared its adherence to the Geneva Convention of 1949 and their Protocol of 1977 on the humanitarian conduct of war with all its responsibilities and rights.

6. Mr. OLIVER TAMBO, President of the ANC, in a statement at the ceremony, said that the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross were to be congratulated. They had helped to develop the law so as to extend the concept of an international armed conflict to cover wars of national liberation in which, to use the language of Protocol, "Peoples are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regime in the exercise of their right of self-determination."

7. Let us take special notice of this important Declaration on the part of the liberation movement in South Africa which is of unique historic importance to

the world movement for national freedom and freedom of peoples. It gives notice to the United Nations, and more so, to the Racist Regime of South Africa and those States which are co-operating with South Africa that the freedom fighters in that country are entitled to the status of Prisoners-of-war. I wish also to remind the Government of South Africa that under similar circumstances the British Government in India had held its hands, without proceeding with the trials of the officers of the Indian National Army in 1946. Therefore, I make this appeal from the Rostrum of this august Assembly, in the name of humanity as a whole, to the Government and courts in South Africa to respect the spirit behind this Declaration made by the South African liberation movement and abstain from exercising the Hangman's dastardly function against the freedom fighters in that country.

8. The people of India have a special niche in their hearts for the leaders of the people of South Africa who are suffering and have sacrificed all, in their struggle against the Racist Regime of South Africa. Only last month, the prestigious "Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding" was conferred on Mr. NELSON MANDELA in New Delhi. It was accepted on behalf of Mr. NELSON MANDELA by Mr. OLIVER TAMBO, President of African National Congress.

9. Speaking on this occasion, the Prime Minister of India, Shrimathi Indira Gandhi, paid her tribute to Mr. NELSON MANDELA and to the valiant groups of people who have been struggling through the years for what is man's acknowledged and undeni-

able right to live in freedom and to shape his future. She said that wherever people cared for freedom and human dignity, Mr. NELSON MANDELA's name was known and respected, but he himself was today being denied both freedom and dignity in his own home.

10. She said and I quote: "The white man's burden has too long been carried on the shoulders of the black and the brown. A struggle for freedom can be suppressed, its soldiers killed, imprisoned, humiliated, but the idea of freedom cannot be stamped out; some spark will persist to burst into flame somewhere some time to light the way and illumine hearts and ultimately lead to success. Neither colour nor caste nor sex makes one person superior or inferior; no matter what laws South Africa decides for itself. History cannot be denied nor will the inexorable march of the future be halted. Apartheid cannot survive," so said our Prime Minister.

11. I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate India's support for and solidarity with the black majority of South Africa in their struggle against the oppressive racist regime.

12. The draft resolution which is before us today, recalls past resolutions of the United Nations concerning political prisoners in South Africa. It notes with grave concern the intensified repression of the opponents of Apartheid through detention, torture and killing and the institution of political trials under arbitrary laws providing for death and other inhuman sentences.

13. The preambular paragraphs which follow welcome the demands by the South African people for the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. NELSON MANDELA and other political prisoners in South Africa. They also take cognisance of the provisions of Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 whereby freedom fighters in wars of national liberation are entitled to prisoner-of-war status.

14. The draft resolution contains eight operative paragraphs. Operative paragraph 1 demands again that the racist regime and repression against the black people and other opponents of Apartheid release Mr. NELSON MANDELA and all other political prisoners, cease trials under arbitrary repressive laws and recognise the prisoner-of-war status of captured freedom fighters.

Operative paragraph 2 requests Governments, inter-Governmental and non-Governmental organizations to exert their influence towards that end.

The paragraph which follows calls upon parties to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto to ensure respect by the South African regime for the Conventions and the Additional Protocols.

The next operative paragraph condemns the death sentences imposed on the three freedom fighters on 25 November 1980, followed by paragraph which warns the racist regime of South Africa against executions of freedom fighters and others convicted under its respective legislation.

Operative paragraph 6 requests all Government and agencies within the United Nations system to promote campaigns in solidarity with political prisoners and detainees in South Africa followed by the operative paragraph which urges all Governments, judicial associations, other organizations and individuals to provide greater material, legal and other aid to South African political prisoners and restrictees and to their families.

The last operative paragraph requests the Special Committee against Apartheid, with the assistance of the Centre against Apartheid of the Secretariat, to continue to promote the world campaign for the release of South African political prisoners.

15. My delegation is aware that the Member States of the United Nations fully, recognise the gravity of the situation in South Africa which affects not only the black majority of that unfortunate country but also endangers world peace and security. My delegation, therefore, sincerely hopes that the Member States of the United Nations will adopt this important resolution by consensus as they have done in the years past.

III. Universal Declaration of Human Rights

(10 December 1980)

ONE of the greatest achievements of the United Nations is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, achieved through consensus. It was achieved in 1958. The Special Committee which laboured in shaping it was presided over by the Late Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. I had the privilege of working with her during that glorious phase of our work for enlarging the foundations for world movement for democracy. Once again I took part along with other members of the Indian Delegation to the thirty fifth session of the United Nations Assembly in the inspiring celebration of the twenty second anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, on the night of 10th December 1980 in the August U.N. Assembly Hall.

Here is the Text of that ennobling Universal Declaration of Human Rights:-

PREAMBLE

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and in-alienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind and the advent of a

world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people.

Whereas it is essential if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law.

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations.

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women, and have determined to promote social progress, and better standards of life in larger freedom.

Whereas member states have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations the promotion of Universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realisation of this pledge.

Now therefore,

The General Assembly

Proclaimed once again this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations to the end that

every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms. And by the progressive measures national and international to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the people of Member states themselves and among the people of territories under their jurisdiction.

We know only too well that this Declaration is observed by many a Member State and its Government more in the breach than in loyal observance. But this annual reiteration of this pledge and this ceremonial observance, in such a solemn manner, by the United Nations Assembly, followed by similar functions and observances all over the world are necessary to remind the successive cadres of students and youths and ideologically awakened and open minded educationists, social and political leaders and religious and moral preceptors in all the countries, of their unforgettable and ever inspiring pledge to respect and cherish the "equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family."

We need the United Nations as the standard bearer and conscience keeper of all humanity and every human being for Freedom of Speech, belief, and freedom from fear and want" for recognition of the "Dignity and worth of the human person and equal rights of men and women" and for "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

[Mr. Waldhiem, Secretary-General of the U.N. voiced keen anxiety on 26-1-81 about "rise of violence

and terror in some parts of the world and the outbreak of fresh conflicts and the massive violation of human rights.” (Ed)]

IV. Freedom from Colonialism

AS one who has worked for many decades, for the fulfilment of the dreams and hopes, as an Oxford scholar and life-long Gandhian and socialist for the emancipation of colonial and coloured peoples of the world, I have felt a high sense of fulfilment when I joined on 12-12-1980 all other delegates in the celebration of twentieth anniversary by the United Nations Assembly of its declaration in favour of freedom of all peoples from the strangle hold of colonialism and imperial exploitation. On that historic night of the twelfth December 1980, Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India has sent her message in ringing tones of good cheer and congratulations to the U.N. Assembly. It is reminiscent of Mahatma Gandhi's prophetic declarations of half a century earlier

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Message (12.12.1980)

On the 20 th Anniversary of the adoption of the U.N declaration of decolonisation, "it gives me great pleasure to reiterate India's total support to the struggle for National liberation which is being waged by the peoples under alien and colonial domination. Having herself struggled for many long years against imperialist domination, it is only natural that India should consistently and steadfastly support the freedom movements of oppressed peoples everywhere.

The United Nations adoption of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries

and peoples was one of the most momentous decisions taken by the International community for the welfare of mankind. The declaration is a beacon of hope and inspiration to millions of dependent peoples through out the world. It is significant that in the 20 years since the adoption of the declaration, more than fifty countries represent over seventy million peoples from Africa, Asia and Latin America have won independence and have joined the comity of free and sovereign nations. Recently we rejoiced in the victory of the heroic peoples of Zimbabwe”.

India has been privileged to play a crucial role in the process of decolonisation through direct moral and material support to liberation movements and through its anti-colonial actions at the United Nations and in the movement of non-aligned countries. We remember with pride that the then Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru himself attended the United Nations General Assembly session in 1960 when the historic declaration was adopted.’

“I take this opportunity of expressing the hope that the United Nations will soon succeed in eliminating the remaining vestiges of colonialism and alien domination, particularly in Southern Africa, which continue to plague the International community.”

v. Bill Against Apartheid

(Speech Delivered in Lok Sabha on 31 August 1980)

MR. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am glad that there is support from all sections of the House for this Bill.

I congratulate our Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, also for trying to gain as many friends as possible for our country in different parts of the world except South Africa.

So far as South Africa is concerned, India has taken, as Mr. Indrajit Gupta has just now testified, a consistent stand in regard to Apartheid. Mahatma Gandhi initiated the world debate and also world protest against this dreadful system. Only last year, we honoured one of the great freedom fighters, Mandela, by offering him Nehru Award. It was my privilege to initiate a discussion in the United Nations last year in the usual tradition that has grown there for India to initiate such a discussion on the move of the United Nations to condemn South Africa for perpetuating this Apartheid.

This Bill is being brought here none too soon and I am glad it is now going to be passed. How is it going to be passed? How is it going to be implemented? Against whom would it be implemented? There is a mention of companies here. There are many companies, Government compa-

nies as well as private companies which would be doing business with South Africa. They would come within the mischief of this Bill if they were to carry on business and other transactions which would strengthen South Africa.

My hon. friend, Mr. Indrajit Gupta, in his usual steadied and able manner, drew our attention to various failures on the part of this government as well as many other governments which claim to be democratic in implementing this convention. People's Republic of China is one of the offenders; England has been one and so also America. These people have been carrying on their trade with South Africa in a willy-nilly fashion, underground manner, and have contributed to strengthen South Africa, weakening the morale behind the stand taken by the United Nations during all these years. We have not been able to do anything against these countries because they are too powerful. When I say 'we', I mean the rest of the world.

The United Nations has been ineffective and at the same time, United Nations has this to its credit that on behalf of humanity as a whole it has been continuously, consistently condemning the system of 'apartheid' which was keeping them internationally as untouchables.

Coming to the present situation as it is now, my hon. friend would like us to go to the rescue of Angola. How would you like to do that? we have our own problems of security. I cannot very well suggest that our Government should send troops, armaments etc., to their rescue. But may I not suggest

that we may think of sending one or two medical missions in order to help those people and provide them Red Cross assistance and aid? I would like the Government of India to think on those lines.

Secondly, the distant Cuba, the small miniature country like Cuba, was able to send her volunteers. Now, would it not be possible for so many of our own youths in our country who are brought up in the tradition of anti-imperialism and in the anti-imperialist atmosphere of struggle for more than a century, to volunteer to go there and help those people, if not in a military manner, at least in a quasi-military manner and assist them?

It is for the Government to explore that possibility also.

Therefore, I am sure our Minister for Foreign Affairs would be able to take this message to the United Nations and its Secretary-General also, that our Parliament, consisting of all political parties, and of all religions, is unanimous in continuing to condemn that system and in passing this legislation whereby the Government is empowered to punish those people who give directly or indirectly any kind of strength or any kind of support to the votaries of this system.

(The U.S. Member in the United Nations Security Council exercised the lone Veto against the resolution condemning South Africa's invasion of Angola-Sept., 1981. Ed)

I. United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

(16 October 1980)

ON the completion of three decades by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), earlier this year, my delegation would like to place on record its appreciation of the commendable services rendered by the Agency, over the years, in the humanitarian cause of the large number of displaced inhabitants from Palestine. The Herculean task which has been handled by the Agency in such a competent manner is all the more praiseworthy because of the tremendous financial odds which the Agency has had to surmount, year after year, in the fulfilment of its onerous duties.

2. For three decades now, the unfortunate people of Palestine, forcibly and unjustly displaced from their homeland, have been living in camps. The fact that a whole new generation was born and brought up in refugee camps is a measure of their suffering. India has always maintained that the services provided by the UNRWA can be no substitute to the Palestinian Arabs right to live in freedom and dignity in their own national homeland. They can at best be temporary palliatives.

3. My delegation has carefully gone through the Report of the Commissioner-General of the UNRWA. As in the years past, the sword of Damocles in the shape of a large budgetary deficit, continues to hang over the important activities and programmes of the Agency in the coming financial year. According to the Report of the Commissioner-General, unless income, either pledged or reasonably foreseeable in 1981, exceeds income projected at the end of the reporting period for 1980, the Agency will enter 1981 with a budgetary deficit of \$ 70.4 million. How much my delegation would have wished that the uncertainties in the planning and execution of its various activities and programmes faced by UNRWA, year after year, due to financial stringency could have been eliminated by the establishment by the United Nations of a continuing, assured and predictable source of funds subscribed to by the Member States.

4. It would be a tragedy if the Agency were compelled to curtail, if not terminate, part or all such vital services as health services, education and training and relief comprising distribution of basic rations, provision of shelter and welfare assistance to which UNRWA activities are directed. The consequences of such action will bring about untold misery and suffering to these unfortunate people, not to speak of exacerbating the prevailing political situation in the region.

5. My delegation feels that the Member States of the United Nations should take note UNRWA's alarming financial state of affairs so vividly brought out in the report of the Commissioner-General and should contribute generously towards its funds.

6. In spite of her heavy commitments, India has always accepted her fair share of international obligations. India has had the privilege of consistently contributing to UNRWA's funds from the beginning. The contribution is in the form of supplies needed by the Palestinian refugees. In addition to these contributions, India, as is well-known, provides regular scholarships and training facilities to displaced persons from Palestine. India began providing such scholarships to Palestinians even before the General Assembly had called for provision of this facility at its 32nd Session vide its resolution 32/90-F.

7. The ultimate solution to the problem of the Palestine refugees can only be political which would ensure Israeli withdrawal from Arab territories occupied in 1967 and involve recognition of the legitimate national rights of the Palestine people including the right to a State of their own, and harmoniously with the right of all States in the region to co-exist in security. Until this happens, there can be no alternative but to enable UNRWA to continue its humanitarian activities as smoothly and effectively as possible.

II. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on UNRWA (3 November 1980)

The General Assembly

Recalling its resolution 34/52 A of 23 November 1979 and all previous resolutions on the question, including resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948,

Taking note of the report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, covering the period from 1 July 1979 to 30 June 1980.

1. Notes with deep regret that repatriation or compensation of the refugees as provided for in paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) has not been effected, that no substantial progress has been made in the programme endorsed by the Assembly in paragraph 2 of its resolution 513 (VI) of 26 January 1952 for the reintegration of refugees either by repatriation or resettlement and that, therefore, the situation of the refugees continues to be a matter of serious concern;
2. Expresses its thanks to the Commissioner-General and to all the staff of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, recognizing that the Agency is doing all

it can within the limits of available resources, and also expresses its thanks to the specialized agencies and private organizations for their valuable work in assisting the refugees;

3. Calls upon all Governments as a matter of urgency to make the most generous efforts possible to meet the anticipated needs of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, particularly in the light of the budgetary deficit projected in the report of the Commissioner-General, and therefore urges non-contributing Governments to contribute regularly and contributing Governments to consider increasing their regular contributions.

4. Decides to extend until 30 June 1984, without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution (III), the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

III. Israeli Practices Affecting the Human rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories

(12 November 1980)

MY delegation has read with great interest the Report of the Special Committee to investigate Israeli Practices affecting the human rights of the population of the occupied territories which has been submitted once again and which is now under discussion vide document No. A/35/425. We condemn very strongly the continued and persistent denial of access to the Special Committee by the Israeli authorities to make on the spot investigation. It gives a denial to the oft repeated Israeli assertion that it has an open society and that there is no oppression of the Palestinian people residing in the occupied areas.

2. My delegation has on several occasions, reiterated India's sympathy for the Palestinian people and support for their cause. Indeed, these go back to several years before our Independence when our national leaders Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru spoke out against the injustice which was perpetrated against them. Over three decades ago, Mahatma Gandhi had said and I quote :

“Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English, or France

to the French. It is wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs". Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had also expressed his views on the subject in no uncertain terms in the following manner :

".....We must remember that Palestine is essentially an Arab country and must remain so and the Arabs must not be crushed and suppressed in their own home land".

3. As late as in July 1980, the views of the Government of India on the Israeli brutality in occupied Arab territories were spelt out in the United Nations General Assembly by our Foreign Minister, H.E. Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao and I would like to quote the relevant paragraph:

"The evidence in recent months of Israeli brutality in occupied Arab territories should not go unnoticed. The occupation authorities have been taking extreme measures to suppress the faintest voice of dissent on the part of the Palestinians. The elected Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul and the Sharia Judge of Hebron were deported. Assassination attempts were made on the lives of Mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and Al Bireh, but Israeli authorities did not make any serious attempt to apprehend the criminals or to provide protection to the Arab population in occupied territories. The latest in the series of Israeli actions to perpetuate its occupation of Arab lands was the decision to declare Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel. This is another attempt to destroy the historic personality of the Holy City and to obliterate its sacred heritage".

4. It is, indeed, an irony of history that the Jews who themselves suffered all kinds of persecution at the hands of European World Powers should now stoop to take such revenge on the poor Palestinians in the most inhuman manner. It is the height of folly on the part of the Government and Parliament of Israel to go to the length of declaring Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel and thus challenge the world conscience and statesmanship to undo this.

5. For how much longer does Israel wish to persist in this defiance of world's demand for the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people? We trust that Israel will not choose to follow the bad example of South Africa in this respect.

6. Israel cannot expect recognition for itself from its neighbours while refusing to recognise the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole and authentic representative of the Palestinian people. Israel was created by the United Nations in 1948. It is to atone for its failure to carry out its earlier wise decision to create two States of Palestine and Israel within the territories which are now said to embrace Israel, that the United Nations took the step to recognise the separate existence of Palestine within this region and invite the P.L.O to accept observer status in this World Body.

7. My delegation would, once again, like to reiterate our position that a comprehensive solution of the problem entails the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable and national rights, inclu-

ding the right to establish an independent State in their own homeland, the total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all occupied territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem. All States in West Asia including Arab Palestine should guarantee each other's right to live within secure borders.

8. Until these rights are restored to the Palestinian people, it is the bounden duty of the international community to put a stop forthwith to any further abuse of their human rights.

5

1. New Flows of Refugees

Explanatory memorandum from Federal Republic
of Germany

(26-11-1980)

1. For several years now the world has witnessed large numbers of people in numerous regions being forced to flee their homelands and seek refuge in other regions. Hundreds of thousands of men, women and children risk life and limb on an uncertain flight to a usually unknown destination.

2. The Secretary-General has, in his annual report to the General Assembly, called the world's attention to this tragedy.

3. These cases of mass flight have now attained proportions unequalled in the past decades. According to probably conservative estimates there are at present between 10 and 12 million refugees in the world. An end to these flows of refugees is not in sight; rather, it must be feared that this trend will continue for an indefinite period of time or even worsen.

4. An increasing number of States Members of the United Nations, especially developing countries, are affected by these large-scale refugee movements. In our world, marked by close and manifold interdependence, the plight of refugees has repercussions extending beyond the bounds of nations and continents.

5. In recent years many countries have unselfishly and generously given refugees a home and assistance. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees deserves special thanks for his untiring and ever-increasing service. The United Nations and its specialized agencies have given priority to the task of alleviating the refugees' plight. This is also true of other humanitarian relief organizations.

6. This work is imperative; it will have to be continued and, wherever possible, increased. Nevertheless, it cannot eliminate the real causes of refugee movements, but only combat the symptoms. We are confronted by the question as to how much longer the international community will be able to accept the fact that millions of people are subjected to suffering through no fault of their own and that the countries providing asylum for large numbers of refugees have to bear social, economic and political burdens which they are scarcely able to cope with on their own. This can endanger the domestic order of these nations and jeopardize the stability of entire regions.

7. The Charter of the United Nations requires us to live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, to co-operate and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security. The United Nations is therefore called upon to seek ways and means of avoiding the development of new streams of refugees. We must give this matter high priority in view of the dangers and misery it involves. (Submitted in accordance to Rule 15 of procedure of the General Assembly).

II. International Co-operation to Avert New Flows of Refugees (1 December 1980)

My delegation has listened with keen interest to the statement made by the distinguished representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, on November 26, while introducing the Agenda item on 'International Co-operation to avert New Flows of Refugees'. We have also heard the views on this important but complex subject which have been expressed by several distinguished delegates who have spoken before me.

2. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to draw the attention of the distinguished delegates of this August Committee to the important fact that not only the UNHCR but several other organs of the United Nations have been engaged in this important field with a view to easing the consequences created by the outflow of the mass of peoples from one country to another. My delegation feels that it is imperative for all of us to take into account one of the major factors which compels the peoples from the developing and underdeveloped and over-populated countries in which there is chronic unemployment and a greater degree of under-employment, to take recourse to a voluntary migration to countries where there are more tolerable social environments, higher level of employment on land and in industry and prospects for better and happier future. My delegation is of the view that the Secretary-General should be charged

with the task of eliciting the comments and suggestions of Member states on exploring a solution to this basic problem.

3. Having ourselves had to face the influx and consequent rehabilitation of a huge mass of refugees leading to heavy social and financial burdens as a sequel to the partition of India in 1947, the Tibetan influx in late 50s and later, during the war in Bangladesh in 1971, my country looks upon this problem with the utmost sympathy. My delegation reassures this August committee that my country which has extended all possible assistance to the UNHCR will continue to do so in future in alleviating the misery, destitution and suffering of the refugees in any part of the world.

4. A few days ago, this August committee considered the question of displaced persons from Palestine, a single group of refugees (over a million) which has dominated international attention over 30 years. During this period, they have remained the United Nations' responsibility for a number of reasons, not all related to humanitarian concerns.

5. My delegation would once again like to place on record its appreciation of the yeoman services which the U.N. High Commission for Refugees have been rendering to the displaced persons all over the world, during the last 30 years. My delegation is of the firm view that because of the almost continuing nature of this problem, whatever steps we may finally adopt on receiving the considered views of Member States in the matter of averting the flow of refugees, either forced or voluntary, from one country to another, should not be to the detriment

of the humanitarian activities of the UNHCR. If anything, this possible additional role of the world community should be complementary and not contradictory to that of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

6. The distinguished delegate of the Federal Republic of Germany, in his introductory statement, has listed the causes of refugee flows brought about by the conduct of Governments. They include deportation, driving individual groups of people out of the country by use of threat or force, depriving individual groups of people of their economic and social basis of existence and discrimination against individual groups of people on grounds of race, religion, ethnic origin or political views. We should also add to this the causes which are beyond human control, namely, natural calamities.

7. The question now arises as to how, despite not only the ingenuity of man but also all the goodwill in the world the U.N. would be in a position to avert the causes of the flow of refugees? As long as the economic and social disparities, religious, racial and linguistic persecution and political oppression exist in the world, the problem of men, women and children fleeing their homes and hearths in search of relief from persecution, if not escape from impending death, will be difficult for the international community to solve.

8. The United Nations is currently engaged in tackling the Herculean task of bridging the gap between the haves and have-nots of the world. Any delay on the part of the developed countries of the world in

offering concessions in trade, transfer of technology and capital and other opportunities to the people of the third world, is likely to stretch their patience and endurance to the breaking point. Would not the continued inequality and discriminations in utilisation and distribution of the world's wealth in land, industry and trade and other opportunities exacerbate the present sad plight of the large sections of humanity endangering world peace itself? Such a situation would certainly compel large sections of peoples to migrate in search of better opportunities with or without the acquiescence or co-operation of their respective Governments.

9. My delegation, therefore, feels that until such time we are not able to do away with such root causes behind the flow of refugees which, undoubtedly, create economic and social problems to the country or countries to which the oppressed people flee, Member States should try to facilitate the tasks of the UNHCR, like protecting refugees, securing their legal status and easing their economic and social plight.

10. As the Agenda item is being taken up for consideration by this August Committee for the first time it is understandable that many delegations have found it rather difficult to formulate precise ~~it~~ as on such a sensitive subject. We consider this problem as having many dimensions which preclude us from prejudging the views thereon of the Governments of Member States.

6

I. "Questions Relating to Information"

(21 November 1980)

The Under-Secretary General has paid tribute to UNESCO for its "pioneering efforts" towards the establishment of a new World Information and Communication Order. He has welcomed the creation of an International Programme for Communication Development within UNESCO and has said that the U.N. will actively participate in the Programme. He has further expressed the hope that all interested organizations in the U.N. system will do the same.

The Assistant Director General of UNESCO, on his part, has expressed his profound satisfaction with the "fruitful and gratifying" co-operation between the Secretaries of the United Nations and of UNESCO.

Both these statements bring into sharp focus the spirit of co-operation which exists between the Department of Public Information of the United Nations and the UNESCO. In the view of my delegation, this augurs well for the achievement of the goal which a large number of countries in the world have set before themselves, namely, the establishment of a new, more just and more effective World Information and Communication Order.

My delegation has played an active and positive role not only on the present Committee on Infor-

mation but also on its predecessor Committee of 41. Such participation by my delegation is only natural in view of India's traditions of freedom of expression which date back to ancient times. The well-known epic of India, "Mahabharata" contains perhaps the earliest instances of the most objective and just reporting by a distinguished correspondent. It has been acknowledged by historians that the well respected correspondent 'Sanjaya' who was reporting on the progress of war between the Kauravas and Pandavas was exceptionally objective in his accounts. In recent times, the number of Indian journalists who suffered and sacrificed in upholding the freedom of Press during the days of the country's liberation struggle is a legion. In fact, a facet of Mahatma Gandhi's many splendoured personality which is not as well-known to the outside world is that he was an accomplished journalist whose writings in the weeklies 'Young India' and 'Harijan' which he edited literally brought home the truth to the British authorities of the adage, 'Pen is mightier than the sword'. The last Governor General of India and the doyen of opposition leaders in Indian parliamentary democracy, Rajaji, was a prolific writer and columnist right upto a few days before his death at 93.

How much Mahatma Gandhi valued the Freedom of Press can be seen from the following statement which he made when the British, in 1910 imposed censorship in India by a Press Act in the form of an ordinance. Mahatma Gandhi said and I quote :

"The pressmen, if they are worthy representatives of public opinion, will not be frightened by the ordinance. They may confiscate type

and machinery, they will not confiscate pen and still less speech. . . But I recognise they will never succeed in suppressing the thought of the nation."

I need hardly say that the Press in India was an honoured partner in the freedom struggle and after the country's independence, India was fortunate to have at her helm a person like Jawaharlal Nehru because of whose liberal outlook, there were hardly any curbs on the news papers. Jawaharlalji often said that misuse of the freedom of Press by a section of the Press did not warrant its control. He would even prefer such misuse to dilution of the Press.

In India, according to the latest available statistics there are 929 daily news papers with a total readership of 10 million. There are, besides, about 14000 periodicals and journals accounting for an additional 27 million circulation. There are an estimated 20 million licensed radio sets of which about 2,00,000 are for community listening. The number of T.V. sets in the country is 7,00,000 though the population covered by the 16 originating and relay centres may be as extensive as 100 million. These figures indicate the extent of the fast growing participation of the people of India in this important field of information and communication, with the freedom of Press as one of their cherished possessions guaranteed in the country's Constitution.

'The San Jose Declaration' of UNESCO of July 1976 contains,

"There are sectors of population which have yet to emerge from the isolation in which

they live and be helped to communicate with one another and to be informed about national and world-wide affairs."

The Declaration asks the U.N. and the agencies in its system, especially UNESCO, to contribute to the fullest extent possible, to this universal process.

"The Yaounde Declaration" of July 1980 expresses the resolve of the African Member States of the UNESCO "to work to help change the present situation, in which man is all too often subjected to news framed by others for their own ends instead of receiving messages that take account of his aspirations and meet his needs".

My delegation fully shares the timely sentiments and warnings reflected in these two important documents. In this context, we consider the establishment of News pool by the non-aligned countries in which, incidentally, India took leading role in the early 70s as a significant step in the right direction to correct this imbalance. The exchange and dissemination of information among the third world countries which is one of the major activities of this News Pool, is bound to bring down the barriers of ignorance, which exist among these countries, not only about each other's problems and pitfalls but also about their post-independence achievements in social reforms, industrial development, science and technology. In fact, one of the objectives of media should be to fight against social discriminations and snobbery between religious groups, classes, races and castes. With growing cooperation and collaboration among the developing countries

in this important project, there will be no need for them to be always at the receiving end of tendentious, if not malicious, reporting about themselves by the long established monopolistic Press and news media. In this connection, my delegation wishes to place on record its appreciation of the assurance given by the distinguished Under Secretary-General for Public Information in the course of his statement on November 13, 1980, that his Department will persist in its cooperation with the Non-aligned News Agencies Pool and that it intends to expand such cooperation.

In the view of my delegation, the important task of informing the vast majority of humanity "which is yet to emerge from isolation", to quote the San Jose Declaration again, can be effectively accomplished only if the Department of Public Information lays more emphasis on the dissemination of information in the third world countries by means of audio-visual methods, especially among rural masses of these countries. Such approach is bound to have greater impact on these people in view of their high illiteracy rate. Emphasis on the use of regional languages in the printed materials would also be most desirable and urgent.

Are we to confine our discussion only to the subject of information and communication as between nations? Should we not also think of the manner of the dissemination of information within every country as between different social pressure groups, political interests, etc.? If information is to serve the awakening and advancement of the masses of a given

country through adult education especially in the majority of third world countries where the literacy rate is very low, we have to think of various rights, privileges as well as responsibilities of intellectuals including teachers and journalists. Is it not also necessary to think of checks and balances upon and as between the Press barons, Governments and journalists and also the rights and duties of the persons and interests engaged in the whole gamut of the Information Front, namely, industry, News gathering, processing and publishing, etc.?

Many developing countries have been experiencing a subtle but definite intrusion, bordering on interference by means of financial support, on the part of the Big Powers, into the means of media of many of these countries. My delegation takes an alarming view of this type of "brain washing" of the gullible masses of these countries. We have to give a careful thought to this question and devise ways and means to fight this subversion of freedom of information, Press and education.

My delegation attaches great importance to the role of non-governmental organizations in projecting the aims, activities and achievements of the United Nations to the people of the Member States, especially in the third world countries. They represent one of the main uncontaminated and non-partisan channels of information to the public at large. They would consistently project and propagate ideals of World Peace and Human Rights and objectives and issues reached by consensus at the United Nations in great depth in the interest of the entire humanity.

In my own country, 45 NGO's have associated themselves with the United Nations Information Centre in the Capital. Out of this relationship have grown many projects, one of which has generated broad support for the International Year of the Disabled. In addition the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides of India have adopted a United Nations badge which allows young people in my country to learn about the goals and workings of the world organization. The General Assembly, by its many resolutions, has called on the non-governmental organizations to mobilise public opinion throughout the world. However, my delegation regrets that the non-governmental work at the Headquarters has not been able to get the attention it deserves. If we are to give this Section [the responsibility for mobilising public opinion in so many crucial areas of concern, especially disarmament, proliferation of nuclear weapons, there is need for the strengthening of the staff of this Section, personnel-wise and resources-wise.

My delegation has repeatedly drawn the attention of the Committee on Information to what we consider, the unsatisfactory state of affairs of the U.N. Information Centres in many developing countries, in particular, at the Centre in New Delhi. The Report of the Working Group of the Committee on Information contained in document No. A/35/21 has made specific recommendations regarding the urgent need for strengthening and streamlining of these Centres. My delegation hopes that these recommendations will be reflected adequately in the resolution on the agenda item under discussion, during the present Session of the General Assembly.

My delegation would like to reiterate our total support for the efforts of the Department of Public Information and UNESCO towards the attainment of our ultimate objective, namely, the establishment of a new, more just and more effective World Information and Communication Order to strengthen World peace, human rights and international understanding.

II. Annexe to the resolution passed by the UNESCO at 21st session (12-11-1980)

THE New World Information and Communications Order "could be based among other considerations, on i) elimination of imbalances and inequalities which characterise the present situation; ii) elimination of the negative effects of certain monopolies, Public or Private, and excessive concentrations; iii) removal of the internal and external obstacles to a free flow and wider and better balanced dissemination of information and ideas (iv) freedom of journalists in all professionals in the communication media, a freedom inseparable from responsibility."

We quote also the following recommendation (15) made by the Committee appointed by the 34th Session of General Assembly of U. N. in its report of 1980:

"It is true that the principles of a new international economic order have been accepted since 1974. The promotion of new information order must start by concentrating on the dissemination of what has been achieved by countries own efforts or through international cooperation within the new economic order in the developing process, the transfer of the technology and social and economic advancement, especially in the developing countries whose presence in force on

the work scene is admitted to be one of the great international events of the last three decades, in other words, of the United Nations era."

My delegation would like to take this opportunity to reiterate our serious concern on the "brain washing" by certain powerful countries among the gullible masses of the third world and developing countries by way of financial and other support to the mass media of these countries.

In the view of my delegation, the elimination of such undesirable practices as planting of propaganda material in the newspapers of the third world countries and providing financial aids and incentives by the great powers, private and public media with their huge resources and satellites, should be on the list of priorities of the Committee on Information.

It is because of our conviction that the third world and developing countries and peoples are specially in need of unbiased and one world-minded and peace-oriented information based on Human Rights which United Nations Organization alone can best be expected to provide, we want special attention to be paid to their needs in this direction.

Appendix A

Q. What is the United Nations ?

Ans. It is an organisation of which almost all independent countries of the world are members. It is "Not a world government. It can only recommend. It is the only world-wide organisation for the maintenance of International peace and Security."

HISTORY:-

The U.N. was established during the second World War. The representatives of 50 nations met in San Francisco in April 1945 to draft its Constitution, "The Charter" came into effect on 24th October, 1945.

PURPOSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS:

- i) To maintain International peace and security.
- ii) To develop friendly relations among nations.
- iii) To cooperate internationally in solving International economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- iv) To be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in attaining these ends.

New members are admitted by the General Assembly upon the recommendation by the Security Council. There are now (1981) 162 Member States. The U.N. is made up of six main organs :

1. General Assembly
2. Security Council
3. Trusteeship Council
4. Economic and Social Council
5. International Court of Justice at Hague
6. Secretariat

Each Member State has one vote in the General Assembly "regardless of its size, population or Wealth." Decisions on ordinary matters are by a simple majority. In votes on important questions a two third majority is needed. What is an important issue is decided by the General Assembly.

The Assembly meets regularly from Mid-September to mid-December each year. Though not having the power to enforce its decisions, "its decisions carry the weight of the majority and of world opinion."

When the Security Council cannot act on a threat to Peace, because of "Veto", the Assembly may, under certain provisions deal with the problem.

SECURITY COUNCIL :-

It has 15 members, India is the principal sponsor of an amendment seeking to raise it to 21. So far the five Permanent Members, U.S.A., U.K., France, U.S.S.R. and China are opposing the amendment.

The Council first recommends to the Parties concerned to try to reach agreement by peaceful means. In some cases, the Council itself undertakes investigation or suggests terms for the settlement of a dispute between member States, when fighting brea-

kes out, the Council tries to secure a cease-fire. It has the power to enforce its decisions by ordering collective military action or economic sanctions.

Peace-keeping forces at the present time :-

1. U. N. Force in Cyprus
2. U. N. Disengagement observation Force between Israel and Syria.
3. U. N. Interim Force in Lebanon, between Israel and Lebanon.

SPECIALISED AGENCIES AND BODIES OF U. N.

1. U. N. Development Programme, assisting more than 100 countries.
2. (F. A. O.) World Food and Agriculture Organisation at Rome.
3. UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, cultural organisation) at paris.
4. W. H. O. (World Health Organisation)
5. U. N. I. C.E. F. (United Nations International children's Emergency Fund)
6. I. B. R. D. (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development)
7. I. F. C. (International Finance corporation)
8. I. D. A. (International Development Association)
9. I- M.F. (International Monetary Fund)
10. I. C. A. O. (International Civil Aviation Organisation)
11. I. T. U (International Telecommunication Union)
12. W. I. P. O. (world Intellectual Property Organisation).
13. I. M. C. O. (Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organisation).

14. O. E. C. D. (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development)
15. G. A. T. T. (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade)
16. I. F. A. D. (International Fund for Agricultural Development)
17. I. L. O. (International Labour Organisation) founded by the League of Nations.
18. (W. F. P.) World Food Programme
19. I. A. E. A. (International Atomic Energy Agency).
20. world Bank
21. U. N. I. D. O. (United Nations Industrial Development Organisation)
22. U. P. U. (Universal Postal Union)
23. W. M. O. (World Meteorological Organisation)
24. U. N. H. C. R. (United Nations High Commission for Refugees)
25. I. T. C (International Trade Centre).
26. U. N. C. T. A. D. (United Nations Conference for Trade and Development)

“India is the first country, which in October 1946 drew the attention of the United Nations to the system of Apartheid”, a system of racial discrimination against “the African and mixed population” and Indians who are four times as large as the whites who are kept out of political power.

When Rangaji hailed that first protest made by India, through the resolution moved by Smt. Vijayalaxmi Pandit and passed by the U.N. Assembly, many a British Socialist and Socialist Organisation questio-

ned India's wisdom in making such an issue of Apartheid (see his book "Agony and Solace"), since then South Africa has come to be expelled from the U.N. Zimbabwe (Former Rhodesia) has come to be freed from S.A.'s strangle-hold and white Minorities political control and Namibia is on its way for full freedom, the U.N. having become its biggest champion. Rangaji had the privilege of moving in 1980 from the U.N. Assembly Podium, the resolution condemning unanimously this hateful system of racial discrimination". (Ed)

Some of the excerpts are from Government of India's brochure on the United Nations, October 1980-Ed.

Appendix B

Movement of Non-Alignment.

Rangaji with Jawaharlalji

(1947-1948-1952)

The following extracts from Rangaji's Speech made in the Debate on Foreign Policy of India in the Constituent Assembly which converted itself into Provisional Parliament-makes it abundantly clear how he had been working in close co-operation with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru ever since 1947, in Jawaharlalji's moves and efforts to help India to steer clear of the rival power blocs. It also indicates how and when Panditji initiated his moves on behalf of India to develop the group which has later taken the shape of Non-Aligned Front, at Bandung he had the wholehearted support of leaders like Rangaji. It was in pursuance of his faith in such non-alignment, that Rangaji supported in the Ottawa Session in 1952 of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, India's stand for "Non-Involvement". (Ed)

Extract from Rangaji's Speech in Constituent Assembly debate on Foreign Policy of India held on 11th March, 1948.

"There are groups among various countries in the World. There is an Anglo-American Group in the formation. There is another Group forming around Soviet Russia and all the time there is great competition between these two groups to win more and more satellites to themselves."

I have held the view and I expressed it the last time (1947) when I moved this cut motion, that the House would be morally advised to agree with Prime Minister of not aligning our country with either of these two groups. There is another kind of grouping. That is the Christian nations on one side and the Muslim nations on the other.

“That is why I think the time has come when somebody or the other should take active steps to build up what is known as Peace Front.”

“It is upto India, with her moral stature, the stature built up by Bapuji and that is being built up by our own Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to take a lead in the matter” and “build up not a-power bloc, but to get together round a table—all those nations, small or big, which are determined upon not becoming satellite of these blocs of nations but which are bent on doing everything possible both on the United Nations and outside in order to ensure the continuity of World peace and to postpone the advent of these wretched clouds of another World War.”

Appendix C

Global Cooperation for Development-Indira Gandhi's Address at Cancun

ADDRESSING the two-day meeting of the Heads of Government of 22 developed and developing countries at Cancun (Mexico) on 22 October 81, India's Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, called for a "global compact" which will ensure the development of the poorer countries along with the prosperity of developed nations in circumstances of international peace and security. Reproduced below are excerpts from her address:

"I speak for the ideals for which India has struggled, for the cause of peace, the cause of a more egalitarian society, for the easing of the burdens of under-privileged sections and under-developed countries.

Way back in 1955, Jawaharlalji spoke of the inter-dependence of continents and of our desire to be friends with, and to co-operate with, Europe and America, along with others. Friendship cannot be meaningful without equality. I believe this is the mood today all over the world, in Africa, in Asia and in Latin America. There has always been inter-dependence of some kind, but today it is between nations who are politically independent, conscious of their

rights and of their legitimate place in the international community. The advance of technology, transport and communication has made such inter-dependence more relevant and even inescapable.

Development cannot be imported. Nor can it conform to a given pattern. It has to come through our own determined efforts, tailored to our peculiar conditions and ethos. We, the developing countries, are working for economic cooperation amongst ourselves and for collective self-reliance. But we cannot avoid being affected adversely by outside events.

Trade and financial flows are the only means of rectifying existing imbalances in the global economy. It is tragic that in an age of growing knowledge and capacity, income disparities between developed and developing countries are widening, and vast numbers in some countries are denied their basic needs.

Half a century ago, industrialised nations found themselves in a somewhat similar predicament. Their attempt to solve these problems by inward-looking policies and through protectionism, preferential blocks, currency depression and similar devices plunged the world in the worst ever depreciation, culminating in World War II.

Productive capacity has grown tremendously, so have human problems. It is just not possible for the international community to contain the prevailing levels of inequality and poverty which threaten peace and stability, in which we all have a stake.

The complex problems of developed as well as developing countries can be solved better by coopera-

tion than confrontation. We all stand to benefit from the prosperity of our trading partners.

Global negotiations do have urgency. We are not wedded to certain phrases. We are more interested in the results and the substance.

Freedom from hunger must be at the top of our priorities. Millions of people remain undernourished and cannot afford the food they need. Without purchasing power, they are ignored by the market forces which are supposed to balance demand and supply. (Read Rangaji's "Credo of world peasants and Towards ("world peace.") (Ed). Outlines of a food security programme have been drawn up. The storing of emergency reserves is an essential measure. In the long run world food production must be augmented.

The developing countries have a potential for doing so, but their productivity is low and irrigation woefully inadequate. The supply of fertilizers, better techniques and improved seeds can lead to what in India has come to be known as the green revolution. But the efforts to raise output needs the support of inflow of resources from those countries which can provide finance, technical knowhow and other inputs.

Successive adjustments of oil prices, which has a rationale for historic reasons, have nevertheless seriously worsened the balance - of - payments positions of oil - importing developing countries.

Whether we focus on food or on energy or survey the problems of development as whole, it is crucial for developing countries to have increased

financial flows. The deficits in balance-of-payments and the resources wanted for development are enormous. There are warnings of disaster if resources are denied.

Private Capital flow is hardly likely to provide resources for long-term development which has large social benefits but low market profits. Nor can it help in alleviating the balance-of-payments problems of most developing countries. Each country's policy towards private foreign investment is entitled to respect. In India we have what is called a 'mixed economy'

We, in the developing world have a long, hard path to climb. We shall persevere in our struggle to build modern economies and to ensure higher standards of living to our peoples.

International cooperation and the assistance of developed countries are pivotal in quickening this process. We are not supplicants, nor are we confrontationists. It is our experience that the interest of the developed and developing countries are so intertwined that we can all survive in harmony only in conditions of true interdependence. That mutuality of interest between different nations and peoples can be served only by the establishment of a new international economic order, based on justice and equality. We earnestly seek a global compact which will ensure the development of the poorer countries along with the prosperity of the developed nations, in circumstances of international peace and security. (Read Rangaji's book "Towards world peace".) (Ed).

Appendix-D
Rangaji's informal talks
with Mr. Kurt Waldhiem,
Secretary General, U.N.
(11-12-1980)

Prof. Ranga emphasized the need for the United Nations Organisation "to bring out the biographies of Freedom Fighters cum leaders of various third world Countries. He said that such publications would have a great impact on the rising generations, their students and youths, about the importance and progressive role played by their Freedom Movements in promoting the Human Rights. Such a project would be befitting to the present U.N. Celebrations in connection with the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the declaration of the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. He also emphasized the need for the publication of paper-back editions at specially low prices of the United Nations publications against Apartheid and Racism and in favour of women, welfare of the aged, disabled, protection of children, environment, etc." It is worthy of note that Rangaji has been working since 1954 for such publications in furtherance of education in democracy and its achievement. Mrs. Roosevelt strongly aided his efforts as recorded in his book "Towards world Peace" published in 1956. She congratulated him on the partial success achieved when Mentor publications implemented his plea for cheap paper-book publications on various aspects of democracy and struggles for democratic progress.

Appendix E

Contacts Among Third World Countries

India has stressed the need among the Third World countries for frequent consultations and closer contacts with a view to solving their post-independence social and economic problems. This was stated by the Indian delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, Prof. N.G Ranga, while speaking in New York recently at a luncheon hosted by him for the representatives of Carribean, Pacific and Indian Ocean countries, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the declaration on granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

Prof. Ranga said that leaders of India like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose who fought for and achieved independence for India, had always supported the urge for freedom of the suppressed and subjugated peoples all over the world. The people of India, therefore, rejoiced when the countries of Asia, Africa won their independence after they had won their own. The first Asian Relations Conference, which was held in New Delhi in 1947 and which was convened by Jawaharlal Nehru and blessed by Mahatma Gandhi, gave inspiration and impetus to all those countries which were still under foreign domination.

Over the twenty years since the Decolonisation Declaration was adopted, Prof. Ranga said, most peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America had exercised their right to self-determination and Independence. Many of these countries were today tackling post-Independence problems of social and racial integration. As a large country, India's problems in this direction were of a gigantic magnitude. She was closely watching the efforts made in this field by smaller Third world countries and hoped to profit by their experience and successes in these tasks. These friendly countries might also learn from India's experience in achieving social integration. Such an approach would speed up progress in

the solution of many problems confronted by the peoples of the developing countries.

Rangaji perceived while he was in the United Nations Assembly the possibility for India to weave a new additional bonds of communion and comradeship with so many balanced nations in the Pacific and Indian ocean, which have cultural and ethnic of mutual understanding and historical moves of traditional, linguistic and racial memories. He brought together a number of the delegates from these countries at a few gatherings and social parties and urged them to try to be friendly with each other on more intimate planes of mutual understanding and co-operation and thus make their non-Alignment in regard to Nuclear-Power confrontations more meaningful in a positive manner. He drew the particular attention of Smt. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister to the positively friendly response evoked from among the delegates of those countries which have an admittance of Indian settlers among their populations because of their historical and social contacts with Indian Social life and literatures to India's four decades long consistent and courageous espousal of the causes of human freedoms and National Independence, liquidation of colonial oppression and world Peace through non-Alignment, Human Rights and Freedom Movement all over the world.

Indiraji appreciated the possibilities latent in this new approach. So she has visited so many of the countries in the Pacific ocean, during her three weeks long world tour of 1981, arranged primarily to attend the Commonwealth and North and South Conferences in Anzus and Latin America respectively. The spontaneous and affectionate welcome extended to her during this historic tour in all these countries by peoples of all races and ethnic origins is a greater emotional contribution to the forces of world Peace and International Co-operation that whatever had so far been made by similar tours made by American Presidents or European Premiers and Potentates.

The descendants of Indians who had been taken to these countries by the former colonial powers to co-operate with

them in building the modern Industrial and Commercial infrastructures like Railways, Roads, Harbours and Ports and Telegraphs etc. naturally reached out to her with open arms as grand daughters and grand sons would do, when their grand mother visits them with the message of love and blessings to themselves as well as the original natives. This mutual outpourings of affection and remembrance are enriched and ennobled by the passionate and persistent contribution of India towards their movements of national freedom and world peace.

American statesmen, like Secretary of State the late Dulles did his worst to weaken Jawaharlalji's valiant effort to build the World's Front of Non-Alignment. The world knows how American President Nixon, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger have tried though in vain, to thwart Indiraji's endeavours to maintain peace in the Indian Sub-continent. It has now come to be the turn of President Reagan to unashamedly breach the solemn Agreement made with India regarding the supply of Uranium to India to feed India's Power Plants. Yet India continues to be in the vanguard of the ever widening Non-Alignment Front. The Indians in the Sub-Continent and Indian Settlers in all Asian and Pacific Oceanic Countries and Africa and their comrades-in-arms among all other peoples are justifiably proud of this achievements and ideals of Indian Leaders. We are also happy that all other peoples of all races and colours and cultural heritages have joined together in welcoming this Prime Minister who is the historic inheritor of our common leaders of world cause of humanism, that is Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru. Prof. Ranga is happy that his initiative developed into progressive state craft for furthering this noble cause by our Prime Minister.

Appendix F

African Development Fund Bill

**(Speech delivered in Lok Sabha by
Shri N. G. Ranga on 23-12-1981
After Mr. Sudhir Giri of Communist)**

IT is Sri Venkatraman's special privilege to bring forward this Bill on behalf of the whole of our country and of all parties, I am sure, in order to assure the African nations, more than 40 of them now, that India stands by them through thick and thin. India is not going to be a partner in any capitalistic exploitation; I can assure my hon. Communist friend on behalf of my Party. It was Mahatma Gandhi who led the way for the African people in fighting apartheid, in raising the revolt on behalf of all the coloured people. When we became free, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, our first Prime Minister, went all out in his support of African peoples and their struggles for freedom, we provided the locus standi here for their revolts from Tunisia, from Algeria, from Morocco, Kenya and several other countries. We sent our eminent lawyers, including our friend Chamanlal from Punjab to go and plead on behalf of Jomo Kenyatta. I can assure my hon. friends that I was myself one of those people studying in England in 1922 who formed International union, of coloured people and later on (1940)

we formed what was known as the 'Colonial People's League and in 1946 we founded the colonial and coloured people's freedom front also, and that was blessed by Mahatma Gandhi. Therefore, there can be no fear whatsoever, that we are likely to join hands with those capitalist countries, (who are members of this fund.) It is the misfortune of Soviet Russia and China not to have come forward, as we have done, to reinforce the efforts of all those countries which have founded this particular Bank. I am glad we have taken the load, and I hope we would be able to find not only this money which we are today able to spare but so much more, many times more, in times to come.

We are interested in the development of those people, the long-exploited African peoples and very much backward also. True, we have contributed quite a lot towards their development in the last 80 years during those days when the British used to take our people there as indentured labour, but that we did, not because we knew what we were doing but because our people were dragged there and dumped in those countries. Nevertheless, we want to build upon those foundations. Those foundations have been sound.

Unfortunately, quite a large number of our own people who had gone to African countries later on did not follow the example of Mahatma Gandhi. It is true, quite a number of them joined hands with the white people in carrying on the process of exploitation. But Pandit Jawahrlal Nehru wanted to put an end to it and so, he instituted the system of offering scholarships to African youths; they were

brought here and given every possible assistance and training in our Universities. Many of them have gone back, and they are today the braintrust in quite a number of countries. Therefore, I am very glad that this Bill has been brought forward. It is an unfortunate thing that all those European countries which had exploited Africa for such a long time, alone have come forward to form this Development Fund.

What prevents China from joining it? What prevents Russia from joining it? Is it not a misfortune for those people and those governments not to have joined the Cancun Conference the other day and one of our friends (communist) here was found finding fault with the Prime Minister (Indira Gandhi) because that Conference expressed its regret that Soviet Russia also did not take part in it. I make an appeal on behalf of the Congress Party and the people to the people of those countries and their leaders to come and join hands with us to help the African people to rise to their fullest possible level.

We are not going there to exploit. We are not going to allow our workers or capitalists to exploit Africans. I know as I was there in a number of countries. The leaders of those countries are appreciating the constructive contribution that our technologists and builders are making in their countries—in Sudan, in Zambia, in Surinam, in Kenya, in Uganda, in Algeria, in Nigeria and so many other countries. Also a large number of our trained medical people have gone there and are serving those countries. My Party wishes to encourage our young people here in our country to go to those countries, serve them

according to their own conditions. We are not going to dictate to them at all and whatever service conditions they prescribe and whatever rate of interest they would like to bear for the capital that we would be advancing to them, we are prepared to accept.

My hon. communist friend was rather afraid that because we have got large numbers of poor people-it is true that more than 50% of our people are poor-therefore, we may possibly neglect our own people in our love for this fund, going and spending money there. No, we are not going to neglect our people. My hon. friend knows that we are doing our best to help our own poor people. Now he ought to know the traditions of our country. The poorest of the poor are much more liberal than the richest of the rich when it comes to helping others who are less privileged and who are more depressed. Poor though we are, we are going to spare as much as we can in order to give a helping hand to our brethren in Africa.

The people of Africa no longer wish to be treated as negroes. They are proud of being called blacks. They take pride in their colour. They are ready to fight this colour prejudice by themselves coming to the top of our civilised society prevailing anywhere in the world and we are going to help them and we would help them. And I am glad my hon. friend has offered to support this Bill and I hope it would be passed unanimously.

Appendix G

Rangaji's Reply to Prof. H.C. Crechton, Ph.D., and J. Keijser and J. Kellar with their proposal for Emergency World Government 1970-75.

I feel that more and more people can be more easily and quickly won over for the proposal to persuade their respective Parliaments and Governments to widen the area of political and social activity for World Government, only if and when the very need for it comes to be accepted by their nations. So we should proceed on the basis of primacy of States and their Governments. That is the basis on which the United Nations has been functioning. We would not be able to further the ideal and plan for world Government by propagating the simplest conception of Federalism. Is there to be a world level independent authority to conduct these elections or are we to allow respective governments to hold elections or nominate the member of the world authority?

Is the World Government to be aimed at to be a Federal Super-state Authority? If so, with what limited powers to be exercised either concurrently with States or by itself, with the permission, on one or more occasions of member States and with what degree of consent? How are the members of that World Assembly to be elected; directly by all the voters in all countries on a Constituency-wise, or

national basis? Are the countries to be represented, at some level as independent units? What weightage is to be given to small nations, with small population? How are the bio-cameral legislatures- if accepted - to function? How are the decisions to be taken by Consensus or by two third majority?

So many such equally important questions as finances security forces, their recruitment, their continental stationing with oceanic and space-regional or altitude spheres, in their relations with states, defence forces have to be debated and decided upon before States can be persuaded to join the proposed World authority. Surely such an authority cannot be expected to be acquiesced in or ushered in, while the prevailing disparities in economic viabilities and unequal and unjust distribution of world's wealth and annual accretion of wealth continue.

Who knows how many more such financial eruptions as the Oil-Price-hikes would have to be experienced by the World-with all their incalculable and uneven economic impacts upon Countries at various stages of development when would the peoples, and parliaments of the "First and Second Worlds" agree to share their annually accruing wealth-with the "Third and Fourth Worlds" without too much strife? We have to work hard, through all available institutions, pledged to the idea of World Peace and World Government to persuade the First and Second Worlds to realise their responsibilities towards this Century of "Awakened Peoples and resurgent States" fermenting in the slough of poverty and pestilence.

Therefore efforts have to be made for suitable exchange of thoughts and experiences of all organisa-

tions--functioning at World and national levels- which are interested in preparing Peoples' leaders for the acceptance of the idea of the World Government. So far, most of these world-level organisations have sprung up in the West. They are satiated with nationalist fervour. They are also much more aware of the calamitous consequences of unbridled nationalism and racism, thanks to their experience of colonial type of multi-national economic aggression. But the African and Asian intellectuals and public workers have been too busy with their all absorbing national developmental problems and too much worried about how to tackle their poverty.

So I would be glad if an effort is made to arrange over the years a series of Symposiums, followed by Seminars, as between the thinkers and public leaders associated with the various world-level and national-level organisations interested in World Peace, World Government, Human Rights and World Order of social and economic equality and progress.

Life History of Prof. Ranga

BORN

On 7 November, 1900 in Nidubrolu, of Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh; Son of Sri Nagaiah Gogineni and Smt. Achamma. This ancient village was of such importance that the Emperor Vikramachola laid foundation stone for the temple of Lord Shiva in 1054 A.D. and his successor Kulottunga Chola performed Kumba Abhisheka to Lord Shiva.

EDUCATION B.Litt. (Oxon)

Awarded Honorary LL.D. by Andhra University during the Golden Jubilee celebrations (1978).

MARRIED

Smt. Bharati Devi, 1924; her father Subbaiah was a Freedom Fighter. She was herself a freedom fighter; elected President of all India Kisan Congress, 1942; Member of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council, 1958 - 64 ; President, Andhra Women's Conference, 1959.

ACADEMIC

- 1) Chief Professor of History, Economics and Politics, Pachaiyappa's college Madras University, 1927-30.
- 2) Hon. Economic Adviser, Govt. of Madras, 1928-30.
- 3) Hon. Professor of Political Science, Andhra University, 1980-

AUTHOR Of about 65 books both in English and Telugu covering various aspects of Rural Economics, Political Science, subjects concerning National and International Affairs, notably "Challenge of World Peasantry, Towards World Peace, World Role of National Revolutions, Peasant Revolutions, Colonial and Coloured Peoples Freedom Front."

RURAL PEOPLES' MOVEMENTS Initiated campaigns and worked successfully for recognition of rights of peasants for support prices and of workers for minimum wages and insurance against famines, floods and other natural calamities.

Formed Peasants Unions, Agricultural Labour Forums, the first in India; hailed as Father of Indian Kisan Movement, Khet Mazdoor Unions.

Worked for the upliftment of rural masses and downtrodden for more than 50 years; fought for liberation of Girijans, Bonded Labour, Forced Labour. Took part in Backward Classes Organisational Work, in particular Harijan Welfare, Kisan and Agricultural Labour

DIRECTOR State Central Land Mortgage Bank,
PRESIDENT Madras. State Handloom Co-operative
FOUNDER Society, Madras. Vice-president, All India Adult Education Society.

VICE-PRESIDENT	All India Co-operative Congress, New Delhi; outlined the ideal of Democratic Kisan Mazdoor Prajaraaj.
1923	Established peasants party
1923-51	Initiated for the first time in India, the Labour Conferences and Unions in Andhra.
1931-46	Anti-Zamindari Movement and Satyagraha Campaigns.
1933-34	Organised Peasant Marches in South India
1933	Founder - Principal, Indian Peasant Institute, Nidubrolu; Inaugurated by Gandhiji.
1935	President, All India Kisan Congress, Madras (1935), Faizpur (1936), Delhi (1946, 1949, 1951 and 1952).
1936	Founded VAHINI, Telugu Weekly to serve the rural masses.
1938	General Secretary, All India Kisan Congress.
1942	Formed Bharatiya Kisan Sammelan.
1947	President and Founder, Rural Peoples' Federation.
1950	Opened All India Economic Conference
1973-77	Member Executive, Gandhi Smrithi Society, New Delhi.
1977	President, National Union of Agriculture.
1980	Member, Governing Body of I C A R (Indian Council of Agricultural Research).

NATIONAL MOVE- MENTS	Prof. Ranga is a contemporary and colleague of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, Sardar Patel, Rajaji, Jayaprakash Narayan, Kripalani, Rajendra Prasad Prakasam, N.M.Joshi, V.V.Giri, Radhakrishnan and other distinguished leaders of the country. Imprisoned in National Freedom Struggle on six Occasions.
1923	Joined Congress; delegate to Kakinada Congress Session.
1923-26; 1930-51; 1955-59	Member, Indian National Congress
1930	Joined the National Freedom Movement as whole-timer.
1931-51	Member, AICC
1935-45	Member, Central Legislative Assembly
1935-47	Member, Public Accounts Committee
1936-51; 1957-59:	Secretary, Congress Parliamentary Party.
1940-44	Imprisonment (War-Time)
1946-51	Member, Constituent Assembly and Provisional Parliament.
1946-51	President, Andhra Provincial Congress
1947-51	Member, National Congress Working Committee
INTER- NATIONAL AFFAIRS	He has been taking keen interest in India's role in International Affairs from 1939 onwards.

- Joined the "World Govt," movement and other organisation sponsored by Lord Bertrand Boydorr Russell and others.
- 1936-80 Fought for Colonial People's Freedom. Member of Consultative Committee on International Affairs (Central Assembly, Parliament.)
- 1946 Founder, Colonial and Coloured People's Freedom Front (CFP), London with Lord Fenner Brookway, Dinah Stock, Jomo Kenyatta, George Padmore.
- 1946 Founder and Executive Member of International Federation of Agricultural Producer, in London, Copenhagen, Canada etc.
- 1946 Delegate to World Agricultural Conferences, London (1946); Copenhagen (1947) and Gwelf (1949)
- 1947 Delegate to the world Food Organisation's Conference, Copenhagen.
- 1947-71 Founder President, Foreign Affairs Association of India, NewDelhi.
- 1952-57 Attended world Govt. Conference Tokyo.
- 1952 and 65 Participated Commonwealth Parliamentary Conferences, Ottawa (1952); Newzealand and Australia (1965).
- 1954 International Peasant's Conference New York (1954)
- 1955 Parliamentary Delegate to USSR, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Pakistan

- 1957 Cooperative Congress, Bulgaria
- 1957 International Cooperative Alliances, Bulgaria, London.
- 1964-65 Inter-Parliamentary Union Conferences Copenhagen (1964), Delhi (1969).
- 1969-70 Toured African and European Countries during Gandhi Centenary. Participated in Gandhi centenary Symposium of UNESCO (Paris)
- 1978 Visited Syria, England and advocated for the establishment of "International Fund" to meet the needs of natural calamities occurring in India and elsewhere.
- 1980 Delegate, 35th Session of the U N. General Assembly, New York.

He took leading part in Parliamentary proceedings on International Affairs; Pressing for Non- alignment, on 4. 12. 47, 8.3.48, 8.3.49, 10.8.51 in provisional Parliament and constituent Assembly; and in Rajya Sabha on 20.5.52, 17.2.53, 15.2.53, 17.2.54, 27.8.54, 1.9.55, 22.2.56, 3.12.56 and again in Lok Sabha on 8.9.57, 9.4.58, 19.8.58, 8.12.58, 31.8.60, 21.2.61, 23.11.62, 20.2.63, 13.2.64, 29.9.64, 28.4.65, 16.8.65, 5.11.65, 7.4.66, 8.8.67, 14.2.68, 25.2.70 in Lok Sabha proposing Pacific concord besides his participation in debates on Presidents' Addresses on several occasions.

ERRATA

Page	Line	For	Read
2	21	Russian	Russia
17	33	for	far
18	4	for	far
19	16	then	the then
19	29	beignored	be ignored
20	1	of	upon
22	14	storong	strong
22	28	the the	the then
23	29	an even	on an even
24	16	Westren	Western
26	5	every-recurrent	ever-recurrent
26	22	not accepted	not be accepted
28	20	with in	within
29	21	the tempo	over the tempo
29	27	it	It
30	4	up Philosophers	up by Philosophers
30	20	impurity	impunity
31	6	debating	of debating
31	10	others	other
37	20	described about	described
38	24	in	and
39	20	representating	representing
40	11	Americans	Americas
40	24	the later	later the
42	1	emaciate	emasculate

Page	Line	For	Read
42	13	under standing	understanding
45	1	effects	effects of
49	20	peaceful	peaceful
56	29	materials	materials
64	13 to 23	He isSouth Africa.	(It is..... ...South Africa-Ed)
64	16	leader ship	leadership
64	20	grow	gain
66	8	Aparthied	Apartheid
66	14	Aparthied	Apartheid
78	9	strangle hold	stranglehold
81	7	steadied	studied
112	1	Wisdem	Wisdom
113	11	Bandung	Bandung
122	22	occeanic	Oceanic
123	7	hon.	Hon.
123	19	hon.	Hon.
126	6	hon	Hon.
126	12	hon	Hon.
126	26	hon	Hon.
129	3	the of	of the

