

Asian Leaders Speak: Gandhi in Moscow; Bhutto on UNCTAD

June 19 (NSIPS) — The following are excerpts from significant speeches and communiques released over the last several weeks by two important Asian leaders — Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India and Pakistani Prime Minister Zulifkar Ali Bhutto. Though the Western press was most assuredly in receipt of reports of these statements, they have been either blacked out (as is the case of Prime Minister Bhutto's remarks) or have appeared in distorted press accounts.

The first item is excerpts from a speech made by Prime Minister Gandhi at a banquet in her honor hosted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on June 8 in Moscow. The speech was released by the Indian government press agency Samachar.

....The birth and development of socialism in the Soviet Union has been a major factor in shaping the course of world history. Ideas generated in revolution have influenced men's minds in building of a new social order. Spectacular progress made by the Soviet Union in industrial development, science and technology and conquest of space brilliantly demonstrate what people can achieve by their own efforts inspired by high ideals and great leadership. Many of us in the developing countries are engaged in the tremendous task of consolidating political and economic freedom. Your experience and success have been our stimulus. The Soviet Union has had to overcome many obstacles to meet the challenges and repulse invasions. The sacrifices of the Soviet people in defence of their ideals have conditioned them toward peace. Having known the full horrors of war they naturally abhor it. How apt are the words of Kaisyn Kuliev: "Every bullet fired in war finds its mark in the mother's heart." War is destructive of human values while peace enhances life. Lenin's first decree after the October Revolution was to seek peace with all peoples. The single most important value which the Soviet Union and India cherish in common is our desire for peace and peaceful construction. Acceptance of the right of other countries to live as they choose is the first essential of peace. Hence the close inter-relationship between peace and coexistence. The ideas of tolerance and coexistence are well known in Indian philosophy before it became a political concept imperative of our times. As Jawaharlal Nehru said, "Truth is not confined to one country or one people; it has far too many aspects for anyone to presume that he knows." Each country and each people if they are true to themselves have to find out their path themselves through trial and error through suffering and experience. Only then do they grow. If they merely copy others results it is likely to be that they will never grow. This determination to be ourselves and to preserve our identity also predisposed us toward non-alignment. India was the biggest and first non white colony to reach freedom. Our independence marked the beginning of the end of the colonial epoch.

How could we accept any new limitations on our freedom of decision and action. We had to avoid military entanglements

and concentrate on construction. International experience of the last thirty years confirms the continuing validity of non-alignment. The Soviet Union showed great foresight in accepting India's non-alignment in our treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation. The Soviet Union has explicitly declared its respect for our policy of non-alignment and reaffirmed that it constitutes an important factor in the maintenance of universal peace.

The Soviet Union has unfailingly extended principled support to the national struggle of Asian, African and Latin American peoples and has upheld the right of nations to follow their own policies. The world is large enough for people of different beliefs and ideologies to live together and flourish but it is too small to survive a confrontation which might result in holocaust.... India welcomes and appreciates detente even though currently it seems to be under strain. There is a need to stabilize, strengthen and extend this process to other parts of the globe so that it becomes irreversible. Isolated bases of tranquility cannot come by themselves to ensure stability when there are other areas where confrontation prevails and threatens a breakdown of peace. So long plagued with colonialism and its aftermath and now tormented by conflict and mistrust, Asia most urgently needs an atmosphere of sympathy and cooperation. It has ideological, ethnic and religious diversity and its deprivation is deeper than anywhere else; so is the magnitude of its multitudinous problems.

Darkness is not dispelled by cursing but by lighting lamps. Along with international efforts for peace each country must act on its own to reduce areas of suspicion and to enlarge areas of goodwill. My government has worked and is working consistently to improve relations with all our neighbors. We hope that the international community will support rather than hinder these healthy developments. The Soviet Union genuinely wants peaceful cooperation, mutual understanding and good neighborliness between countries of Asia. The Soviet Union is not only a great power but one with a large Asian component in its personality. Both our countries thus have common interest in promoting stability and harmony in Asia. This relaxation of tension is important in itself. It is also essential for detente in Europe. We rejoice at the emergence of an independent and unified Vietnam free of conflict. It is the fulfillment of the work of the great and indomitable, though gentle leader, Ho Chi Minh. Termination of hostilities in Indochina has been a major victory for freedom and for peace and a great event in the history of Asia. We look forward to forging closer ties with the Vietnamese people and wish them success in their endeavor to build their nation.

War and hunger are two of the persistent scourges of mankind. Those who have suffered ravages of war seek peace through disarmament and development. Cooperation between our two countries is a striking example of how two peoples with different political ideologies and socio-economic structures can work together for mutual welfare and progress. The UNCTAD report describes it as a model for

other countries to emulate. For our part we specially appreciate the quantity and scope of assistance from the Soviet Union, for it has enabled us to establish heavy industries in our public economic and commercial exchange. We have to search constantly for new areas and methods of cooperation to expand our economic relations. Our detractors who have frequently predicted limits of growth of this cooperation have proven to be false.

Our friendship has witnessed the test of time. Indian people value the comprehension you have shown in our most difficult moments. The clear declaration by his Excellency, general secretary Brezhnev at the XXV Congress that political and economic cooperation with India is the Soviet Union's constant policy has drawn warm response from the Indian people. The foundation on which the edifice of Indo-Soviet cooperation is built remains solid and stable. We shall continue to strengthen it. We wish the Soviet people further success in their forward march under the dynamic and farsighted leadership of their party and government.

The following are excerpts from a joint declaration on further development of cooperation and friendship between the Soviet Union and India signed in Moscow June 11 by the two governments and released on June 13 at the end of Prime Minister Gandhi's state visit to the USSR.

India and the Soviet Union, convinced that the strengthening of peace, international security and cooperation among states is the only sound basis for the development of friendly relations between states consistent with the vital interest of all peoples of the world, stressing again the importance of the treaty of peace and friendship and cooperation between the Republic of India and the USSR signed in New Delhi on August 9, 1971 and the joint Indo-Soviet declaration of November 29, 1973 which reflected the historically established traditional friendship of the two countries and the desire to make a substantial contribution to the common struggle for peace and security of the people of the world,

declared the following:

India and the Soviet Union are determined to unswervingly pursue in relations with each other the course of strengthening friendship and cooperation in every way and to do all in their power for the further improvement of the international climate particularly through augmenting their joint contribution to the solution of fundamental international problems in the interests of strengthening peace and security of peoples of India and the Soviet Union note with satisfaction a broad coincidence of their views on topical international questions of common interest as well as on ways of further strengthening the bilateral cooperation between them. Both sides solemnly reiterate the resolve of the two countries to strengthen in every way Indo-Soviet friendship which is a valuable asset of the peoples of the two countries.

India and the Soviet Union view with satisfaction the noticeable improvement in the international situation on the positive changes that have taken place in recent years on the international scene. The two sides welcomed the successful conclusion of the all European conference on Security and Cooperation and they believe that the changes affected in Europe toward the relaxations of tensions and the strengthening of peace create favorable conditions for maintaining and consolidating peace on the European continent. The Prime Minister of India highly appreciated the

contribution made by the Soviet Union and personally by L.I. Brezhnev in this process. Both sides are convinced that the relaxation of tensions is vital for all the countries of the world large and small, developed and developing. The two sides declare their determination to increase efforts in order to facilitate the deepening of detente and to spread it to other regions of the world. India and the Soviet Union reaffirm that they attach particular significance to a broad development of mutually beneficial cooperation and the strengthening of peace and stability in Asia, through common efforts by all the states in this largest and most populated area of the world. India and the Soviet Union agree on the need to create such conditions as would permit the peoples of the world to live in peace and good neighborliness and for their manpower and material resources to be channelled to solve social and economic problems which are of primary importance for the improvement of the living standards of the peoples and the uplift of their economy and culture.

Both sides believe that interstate relations should be based on such principles as the renunciation of the use of force in relations among the states, respect for sovereignty and inviolability of borders, non-interference in internal affairs of countries and peoples and broad development of cooperation in economic and other fields on the basis of full equality and mutual benefit.

The transformation of Asia into a continent of durable peace will in the opinion of both sides undoubtedly facilitate further normalisation of relations between countries and strengthen universal peace....

India and the Soviet Union reaffirm their support for all governments and peoples fighting against the forces of reaction and imperialism. They declare the determination of the two states to make every effort to eliminate the remaining hot beds of tension which threaten international security and mutually beneficial cooperation among nations.

The two sides express serious concern at the unsettled situation persisting for a long time in the Middle East. They resolutely support the struggle of the peoples of Arab countries and express themselves in favor of a just political settlement of the Middle East crisis based on the speedy withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied by Israel in 1967 on meeting the legitimate demands of the Arab people of Palestine including the right to establish their own state and on ensuring the rights of all states of the Middle East to independent existence and development. India and the USSR come out in favor of resuming for these purposes the work of the Geneva peace conference with the participation of all parties concerned including representatives of the Arab people of Palestine represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization....

India and the Soviet Union note with satisfaction that the victory of the cause of freedom and independence of Indochina and the restoration of peace on the Indochina peninsula have opened up new vistas for improving the situation in South East Asia and in the whole world. In this connection the two sides expressed the hope that the peaceloving and progressive people of Vietnam will soon take their rightful place in the United Nations. Both sides fully support the desire of the peoples of the two countries of Southeast Asia to live in conditions of peace, independence and cooperation between these states and come out against external interference in the affairs of these countries and for the withdrawal of foreign troops and liquidation of foreign military bases in the region.

India and the Soviet Union pronounce themselves in favor of the termination of foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people. They believe that there is an urgent need for creating conditions to establish lasting peace in the Korean peninsula and to meet the aspirations of the Korean people for a peaceful reunification of the country.

India and the Soviet Union note with satisfaction the adoption in recent years by the UN General Assembly of a number of important decisions on the questions of restraining the arms race and the taking of a series of practical steps toward general and complete disarmament including decisions on the reduction of the military budgets of states permanent members of the security council by 10 per cent and the use of a part of the funds thus saved for providing assistance to developing countries, the conclusion of an international convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques, the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests and an agreement on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons. The two sides are convinced that it is necessary to take all steps to put these decisions into effect and declare their readiness to combine their efforts with the efforts of other peace loving states to achieve this aim.

India and the Soviet Union support the desire of the peoples of the Indian Ocean to prevent it from becoming an arena for the setting up of foreign military bases. The two sides reaffirm their readiness to participate together with all states concerned on an equal basis and in conformity with generally recognized rules of international law in finding a favorable solution to the question of making in the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. India and the Soviet Union agree that the renunciation of the use of threat of force for solving controversial issues between states should become a law of international life. Noting with satisfaction the reaffirmation of this principle in the decisions of the UN and the final act of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe, India and the Soviet Union call upon all states to facilitate the adoption of measures aimed at concluding a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

India and the Soviet Union reaffirm their readiness to promote the restructuring of international economic relations on an equitable basis taking into account the legitimate rights of developing countries to dispose of their national wealth and their desire to raise the level of socio-economic and cultural development of their peoples. They emphasized in this connection the urgent need to eliminate discrimination and other obstacles in international trade and to put an end to inequality and exploitation in international economic relations. India and the USSR will promote the consolidation of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

Bhutto on Unctad IV

Pakistani Prime Minister Ali Bhutto made the following remarks on the closing of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Nairobi, Kenya (UNCTAD IV). Prime Minister Bhutto was at the time in North Korea on a state visit.

It is in resistance to this threat that the Third World faces the sternest challenges to its unity. Neo-colonialist designs aim to disrupt and destroy this unity or to feed us on false hopes with a view towards gaining time in order to oppose our just demands. We must ask ourselves whether exercises in dilatory tactics, such as international conferences, are to be endlessly tolerated, or whether the time has come for all the Third World countries to unite their strength and forge a common platform at the highest political level in a great conference of Asian, African and Latin American countries, to establish a more just new world economic order.

Our struggle for economic independence is obstructed by an international economic order that seeks to perpetuate an unequal and exploitative relationship between the industrialized nations and ourselves.... We are entering an era in which domination has begun to assert itself in its new shape of economic exploitation. States like Pakistan may have achieved political freedom but our fight for economic emancipation has still to be won. For 30 years, there have been conferences on the issues, but nothing has happened. For us there is only one humanity and one world. We live in this world and we will die in this world. We do not come from other planets. Neither have we come from the moon or Mars, nor do we visit relatives there. We are on earth. Out of the three worlds, it is our duty to create one world. There should be justice. There is no law in any sacred book that Latin America, Africa and other places are to remain poor forever. 30 years is a very long time for talks and dialogue. There are no results.

The time has come for the Third World countries to take cognizance of their vital interests and resolutely strive for fundamental remedial action to redress the grave injustice to the peoples of the world. We have to ask ourselves whether the time has not come to give expression to the massive force of Third World solidarity in a summit conference of the countries of the Third World in order to dismantle the present economic order and replace it with a more equitable system of international economic relations. There is a great upsurge in the Third World.... The economic palliatives held out to the Third World by the industrialized nations (at UNCTAD IV) were only designed to preserve the obsolete and abominable status quo.