

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES : So, I wanted to congratulate and compliment our scientists. They have done a very good job.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You were included in the House.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES : despite opposition from some western powers, Madam. We have to congratulate them for that.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, yes, our congratulations should be clear and strong.

Now Calling Attention to a matter of urgent public importance.

SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH : No, Madam. One minute.

उपसभापति : आप "नो" से शुरू करते हैं ?

SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH : No, no, no. It is very necessary.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Why do you start with a negative expression. You say, Yes."

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : उपसभापति महोदया 4 तारीख को इस सदन में मेरा एक प्रश्न था जिसमें हमने पटना उच्च न्यायालय में जजों के रिक्त पदों के बारे में सवाल पूछा था
(व्यवधान) ...

उपसभापति : वह भी कल उठा दिया गया था । I will not allow it. Yesterday you raised it.

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : उसमें कुमारमंगलम जी ने जवाब देते हुए कहा कि वहां के चीफ जस्टिस ने गवर्नर को पत्र लिखा कि उनकी जान को खतरा है जबकि चीफ जस्टिस ने इसको डिनाय किया है कि मैंने इस तरह का कोई पत्र नहीं लिखा है। मैडम, मैं चाहता हूं कि सदन में इस स्थिति को क्लियर किया जाना चाहिए । उपसभापति महोदया,

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I allowed it yesterday. It cannot be allowed now.

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : मंत्री महोदय ने सदन में कहा कि बिहार के चीफ जस्टिस ने गवर्नर को पत्र लिखा है जो कि बिहार के प्रशासन के बारे में और मुख्य मंत्री के बारे में है और टाइम्स आफ इंडिया में चीफ जस्टिस का और मुख्य मंत्री का खंडन आया है कि हमने कोई भी पत्र नहीं लिखा है। हमारी जान को खतरा नहीं है। तो मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि स्थिति क्या है और सच्चाई क्या है ? उपाध्यक्ष महोदया, अगर केन्द्र का मंत्री इस तरह से गलत जवाब देगा, गलत ब्यानी करेगा तो हम किसके पास रक्षा के लिए जाएंगे ... (व्यवधान) ... मैं तो अखबार को कोट कर रहा हूं।

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY : How can a newspaper report be a basis ? The Minister has replied in Parliament.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We are not taking it up. That matter is over.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY : Our source of information is what the Minister has told the House. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now that matter is closed.

Now the Calling Attention. Shri Gurudas Das Gupta. (Interruptions)

Mr. Subramanian Swamy, please.

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

The reported move for joint Indo-U.S. Naval exercises and the implications thereof for the security of the country

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal) : Madam, I call the attention of the Minister of Defence to the reported

move for joint Indo-U.S. naval exercises and the implications thereof for the security of the country.

रक्षा मंत्री (श्री शरद पवार) : उपसभापति महोदया, विभिन्न देशों की नौसेनाओं के बीच संयुक्त नौसैनिक अभ्यास की प्रथा ऐसे वातावरण विशेष से जन्मी है, जिसमें विश्व की नौसेनाएं सामान्य रूप से काम करती हैं। सेनाओं और वायुसेनाओं से भिन्न नौसेनाओं के ऐसे वातावरण में काम करना होता है जहां सुदूर समुद्र में विदेशी युद्धपोत अक्सर एक दूसरे के सम्पर्क में आते हैं। इस प्रकार समय के साथ-साथ ऐसे सम्पर्कों के लिए निश्चित प्रक्रियाएं बन गई हैं। विदेशी नौसेनाओं के पोतों द्वारा सदभावना यात्रा के रूप में हमारे बंदरगाहों का दौरा करना काफी समय से चली आ रही एक प्रथा है। भारत में ऐसे पोत सदभावना यात्रा पर आते रहे हैं और हमारे नौसैनिक पोत भी इसी प्रकार विदेशी बंदरगाहों की सदभावना यात्रा पर जाते रहते हैं।

संयुक्त नौसेना अभ्यासों के आयोजन से एक और लाभ यह है कि इससे विभिन्न राष्ट्रों की नौसेना के बीच सम्पर्क बढ़ते और बेहतर होते जाते हैं। 1950 के दशक के अंतिम वर्षों में और 1960 के दशक के प्रारम्भ में भारतीय नौसेना ने त्रिंकोमाली, श्रीलंका में ब्रिटेन, आस्ट्रेलिया और पाकिस्तान की नौसेना के साथ तथा अन्य राष्ट्रमंडलीय देशों की नौसेनाओं के पोतों के साथ संयुक्त नौसेना अभ्यास में नियमित रूप से भाग लिया। 1960 के दशक के मध्य में हमने इन अभ्यासों में भाग लेना बंद कर दिया था। हिन्द महासागर में विदेशी नौसेनाओं के साथ संयुक्त नौसैनिक अभ्यासों में भाग न लेने का निर्णय हमारी उस नीति से जुड़ा हुआ था जिसके अन्तर्गत हम हिन्द महासागर क्षेत्र को महाशक्तियों की पारस्परिक प्रतिस्पर्धा से मुक्त रखना चाहते थे।

आज विश्व में परिवर्तन आ गया है। शीत युद्ध समाप्त हो गया है और पहले दो महाशक्तियों के बीच जो प्रतिस्पर्धा चल रही थी वह समाप्त हो गई है। विश्व के भू-राजनीतिक परिवर्तन में भारी परिवर्तन आ जाने से हमें विश्व के बारे में अपने दृष्टिकोण में तदनुसार कुछ परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। रक्षा क्षेत्र में हम अन्य देशों के साथ अपने संबंध बेहतर बनाने का प्रयास करते रहे हैं। हम हमेशा अपने पड़ोसी देशों के साथ अपने संबंध बेहतर बनाने के लिए विशेष रूप से प्रयास करते रहे हैं और साथ ही इसके लिए भी प्रयत्नशील रहे हैं कि अन्य देशों की नौसेनाओं के साथ भी हम अपने संबंध बढ़ाएं।

जहां तक संयुक्त नौसेना अभ्यासों का संबंध है, शीतयुद्ध की समाप्ति के बाद हमें ऐसे सम्पर्क से होने वाले लाभों का मूल्यांकन करने का अवसर मिला है। आज की स्थिति को ध्यान में रखते हुए पिछली नीति पर चलते रहने से हमारी नौसेना अन्य नौसेनाओं के साथ सम्पर्क करने के लाभ से वंचित रह जाएगी।

व्यावसायिक स्तर पर विदेशी नौसेनाओं के साथ संयुक्त प्रशिक्षण अभ्यासों से हमारा सामरिक ज्ञान बढ़ेगा और हमारी नौसेना को उन विचारों और प्रक्रियाओं के बारे में जानकारी हासिल होगी जो कि अधिक उन्नत देशों की नौसेनाओं के पास उपलब्ध है। संयुक्त अभ्यास में भाग लेने वाले पोत किसी एक बंदरगाह तक सामान्यतः साथ रहकर काम करते हैं। इसके साथ ही इन पोतों में काम करने वाले नौसेना कर्मिकों को परस्पर विचार-विमर्श करने का मौका भी मिलता है। हमारे विचार से ऐसे संयुक्त नौसेना अभ्यासों में भाग लेने से एक लाभ यह भी होगा कि विदेशी नौसेनाओं को अक्सर हमारे नौसैनिक कार्यक्रमों और उद्देश्यों के बारे में काफी समझ से जो अंशकाएँ हैं वे इन अभ्यासों से दूर हो जाएगी। हमें अपनी नौसैनिक

[श्री शरद पवार]

क्षमता के बारे में कुछ भी छिपाने की आवश्यकता नहीं है जो कि हमारी लम्बी समुद्री सीमा, समुद्री संसाधन द्वीपों तथा महत्वपूर्ण अपतटीय प्रतिष्ठानों की सुरक्षा के लिए जरूरी है। संयुक्त अभ्यासों से पारस्परिक विश्वास बढ़ता है जो कि शांति स्थापित करने तथा देशों के साथ रचनात्मक संबंध बनाने के लिए जरूरी है।

उपयुक्त बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुए हमने पिछले वर्ष यह निर्णय लिया था कि रायल आस्ट्रेलिया नौसेना के साथ संयुक्त अभ्यास किए जाएं। यह अभ्यास अक्टूबर-नवम्बर, 1991 के दौरान पोर्ट ब्लेयर के पास समुद्र में किए गए जबकि रायल आस्ट्रेलिया नौसेना के पोत भारत की यात्रा पर आए थे। इस वर्ष के प्रारम्भ से हमारी नौसेना ने फ्रांसीसी और ब्रिटिश नौसेनाओं के साथ संयुक्त नौसेना से अभ्यास में भाग लिया। भारत-फ्रांस संयुक्त अभ्यास मार्च, 1992 में बम्बई के पास समुद्र में किए गए और ब्रिटेन की नौसेना के साथ ऐसे अभ्यास अप्रैल, 1992 में गोवा के पास किए गए। पीछे भी भारतीय नौसेना के पोतों ने मलेशिया और इन्डोनेशिया की सदभाव यात्रा के दौरान इन देशों के पोतों के साथ संयुक्त नौसेना अभ्यास में भाग लिया।

हमने हाल ही में अमेरिकी नौसेना के साथ भी ऐसे ही संयुक्त अभ्यास करने का निर्णय लिया है। इन अभ्यासों के समय और स्थान के बारे में नौसेना अंतिम निर्णय ले रही है। ये अभ्यास उसी स्तर के होंगे जिस स्तर के अभ्यास अन्य देशों की नौसेनाओं के साथ हाल ही में किए गए थे। इस अभ्यास में प्रत्येक की ओर से एक या दो पोत भाग लेंगे।

मैं इस बात पर बल देना चाहूंगा कि संयुक्त नौसेना अभ्यास करने से संबंधित हमारे इस निर्णय को भारतीय नौसेना और दूसरे देशों की नौसेनाओं के बीच संबंध सुदृढ़ करने की हमारी इच्छा के संदर्भ में देखा जाना चाहिए। संयुक्त

अभ्यास किसी भी देश के विरुद्ध नहीं है। हमें आशा है कि इन अभ्यासों से हमारी नौसेना को अन्य देशों की नौसेना की कार्य-प्रणाली और सिद्धान्तों के बारे में जानकारी प्राप्त होगी जो हमारे लिए उपयोगी साबित होगी।

इस प्रकार के अभ्यासों से, हम नहीं समझते कि कोई सुरक्षा की समस्या पैदा होगी हमारी नौसेना इस प्रकार के अभ्यासों में भाग लेकर लाभान्वित होगी। फिर भी, मैं माननीय सदस्यों को यह आश्वासन देना चाहूंगा कि ऐसा कुछ भी नहीं किया जाएगा जो कि हमारी राष्ट्रीय नीतियों और हितों के अनुकूल न हो।

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA :
Madam, Deputy Chairman, the statement issued by the hon. Defence Minister only gives a catalogue of the joint naval exercises that were done in the past. If we go through the statement carefully, it is clear that we had no joint naval exercise with any of the super-powers. The point that arises in our mind is that after independence, for the first time in thirty years, why it has become necessary for us to have a joint naval exercise with a super-power, the United States of America. That is the main point. You might be having joint naval exercises with smaller countries. But why is this show?

If we go into the details, we had intimate relationship with the Soviet Union. We depended on the supply of military hardware requirements from them. But the interaction with the Soviet Union was to a particular point. And that point was to the extent of demand and supply. We have never gone beyond that. When we have never gone beyond that point with the Soviet Union, then, why has it become necessary for us at this present moment of time to have a joint naval exercise with the United States of America? That is the main point. What is the likely impact of such an unwarranted and unprecedented move on our allies and the Third World countries? What is the impact of this unwarranted and unprecedented act in the Non-Aligned Movement of which we are

supposed to be the leader? What kind of signal does it give to them? These are all important because we are supposed to be living in a changed world where unipolarity may be a problem. But let me tell you, Madam Chairperson, the world development shall not move in that simple way. If Cuba can live alone without a crutch if Vietnam can survive, why can't India survive without any economic and military crutch? That is the main point.

Madam, if I go into the problem a little deeper, the country that is known for its economic terrorism, the Government which so often takes to a policy of blackmail is being singled out as the partner for our naval exercises at a time when India is being threatened in the economic front by the ruling circles of that country as never before. It was only in last March that an Indian submarine got jolted because of the impact of a missile that was thrown by an air-borne anti-submarine aircraft belonging to the navy of the U.S. This is the level of friendship we are having with that country. Therefore, the point that arises is whether this decision of yours is the appropriate decision. The question that arises is whether the decision has been taken on military considerations or it is born out of certain different calculations. The Indian Navy never had any joint naval exercises with foreign super powers. That is the main point. Why is there such a departure now? France is not a super power. The United States of America and the Soviet Union were considered to be super powers. Madam, if the House will bear with me, let me say that it is under the leadership of the late lamented Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi that we had opposed the refuelling of American planes. And it is a tragedy that the same Congress party, after his departure from this mortal world, should think it necessary to go in for a military tie-up which, obviously, will be the result or the culmination of the process that has set in. Why is there such a departure?

Madam, the importance point that arises in my mind is whether these naval exercises mean the giving up of our policy of

moving away from power blocs under the impact of non-alignment. We have deliberately kept away from power blocs because we are non-aligned. Do these naval exercises mean a departure from that? The question that arises, obviously, Madam, is whether we have decided to dilute, in the new world order, our policy of non-alignment. While doing so, has the Defence Ministry taken into consideration at all the effect it will have on India's own security? I say this because there is a linkage route. India is not the first love of that country. Therefore, may be through America, to whom we are opening up, our secrets of defence, particularly of the Navy, would find a passage to the country which is a neighbour and who, we known, is harbouring ill-will against us. Can America act as a bridge? Does this opening-up makes the country, the defence potential, vulnerable through America? Has our hon. Minister of Defence taken that into consideration? The tragedy is that a departure, a sharp departure, is taking place and this is a signal of that sharp departure that is taking place, not only in defence but in the national policy in its entirety. It is a well-known fact that we demanded the Indian Ocean to be made a zone of peace. Whom shall I name as the protagonist of this theory? Mrs. Gandhi. And now we turn that peace of zone into a zone of tension because we have decided to have a joint naval exercise with the only surviving super power in the world. In what way is that going to contribute to our slogan that the Indian Ocean should be made a zone of peace? Madam, we have demanded the dismantling of the Diego Garcia base. We demanded it because we thought that the American navy was too close to the Indian coast and that was a security hazard for the country. Now, this programme of joint naval exercise or misadventure, embarked upon by the Defence Ministry, brings the Navy of an unfriendly country right at our door because we must have a joint exercise. The point is, this is a beginning of the process and now the American ruling class is going to take this signal. They may take this signal, that is our willingness to participate in a joint

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

naval exercise, as a sign of willingness to become an appendage of that country. They may take it that India is willing to become an appendage of the military power of that country. If they do not go that far, they can take it as a sign of willingness for acquiring joint partnership in the joint military exercises in future in that particular area. We may be misunderstood. The American ruling circle is not known for its understanding. Therefore, our association with the Americans is going to tarnish our image in the Third World, our leadership in the non-aligned movement, to a very great extent, and our country is going to lose on that score. If the Defence Minister believes that by agreeing to a programme of joint naval exercise, he will be in a better position to acquire the American technology for the deficient Indian Navy. I must say, he is living in a fool's paradise because the Americans are in no way going to oblige India—I should not say to destabilise—to turn the balance in this sub-continent. And again I say, India is not the first love of the American ruling circles. Madam, the turn of events is almost to a total turn around. I call this decision a total turn around. This process began much earlier. The Indo-US Army Executive Steering Council has been formed. Why has it been formed? Never before was it formed. The Indo-US Army Executive steering Council has been formed in pursuance of the suggestion made by a notorious American General, who may be pronounced as Kickleighter, to explore the avenues of expanding the defence cooperation. Why was it formed? Therefore, in this context, this naval exercise is not that innocuous and simple as to gain mutual knowledge as the hon. Defence Minister wants us to believe. The Commanding General of the US Army in the Pacific region attended the first meeting of the Indo-US Army Executive Steering Council which was formed. The US General started attending the meetings. Everything is a recent development. Three days later, just after three days of this

meeting, a delegation of the Pentagon—Pentagon is known to us for its notoriety—led by the Chief of US Naval Operations, visits this country. Therefore, Madam, it is not an incident in isolation. It is the culmination of a process that has been deliberately set in by the present Government. I do not know whether they enjoy the consensus of the ruling party. It is for our friends in the ruling party to make us aware of the development. The point is, it started with the visit of the American General. The ball was set in motion when Mr. Rodrigues visited the United States. Therefore, this is an all-out military co-operation, built up step by step, with meticulous calculation, to take India to a military tie-up with the American imperialism. I am not ready to believe that the American imperialism has been forgotten by the world. I am not ready to believe that the CIA is a totally spent force. I am not ready to believe the people who want subversion to take place in India. I don't believe it. Therefore, Madam, this is a development which is taking place in the country not in isolation, but America needs India's help; that is my point. They are going to lose their base in Philippines. After the loss, the expected loss of the base in Philippines, they would like to project India as a reliable ally in this region. This is the American strategy! We are serving the American strategy and compromising the national interests. Our closeness to America, with the American naval power and the growing military cooperation with the setting up of the steering councils and the regular visits of the American Generals, all this gives rise to suspicion. It gives rise to suspicion not only in the minds of Indians, but in the minds of millions of people living in the third world countries who don't believe in America. And this suspicion is going to affect our country. It is going to affect our leadership.

While concluding I say this Joint Naval Exercise is derogatory from the national point of view, totally derogatory. The Government that threatens Russia to withhold the supply of rocket technology to India, the Government that tries to stall

our loan from the Asian Bank is known for its belligerence. This Super Power which likes to invoke punitive measures to compel India to fall in line on the question of patent laws is a country known for its belligerence, it is a country not known for friendship. This is a country which wants India to be a satellite. This is a country which doesn't want India to be stable and strong. Madam, if you allow Pentagon to keep into our Defence and penetrate deep into our country, you do it at the national peril. That is the world history. Let us not forget the world history. While concluding I submit that after accepting the World Bank's prescription for the so-called economic revival and going in for imitation of, may be, an American model or a capitalist model, whatever you may call it, the Government of India might have been goaded to the position from a sense of desperation because they feel lonely, because they feel after the disappearance of the Soviet Union the world is going to turn into unipolar. It is a position the Government of India is taking from its sense of desperation totally, but, Madam, I believe the world development is not going to be that simple. India does not need a crutch. We can stand undaunted. As one of the oldest country of the world, with rich national tradition and with our history so rich, we need no crutch, and, therefore, Madam, let us believe that even if there is no Soviet Union, even if we have lost our friend, that does not mean that we should embrace our enemy. Let us believe that the Government of India shall refrain from implementing the programme of Joint Naval Exercises. I call upon the Government to call off the programme; call off the programme to safeguard India's sovereignty, to enable India to remain an ideal of the Nonaligned Movement, a representative of the third world. It is the greater cooperation and coordination in the third world which will bring us prosperity. It is not on the basis of our submission to the American pressures that the Indian economy or the Indian military can pick up its self-reliance.

Therefore, it is inconsistent with our national policy, it is not in conformity with the policy laid down by our national fathers, it is inconsistent with the policy the Congress has chartered for the nation. But I call upon the Government to desist from this disastrous course. It is not because I am a Communist and I am afraid of the Americans. No, it is because I am an Indian. It is because Mr. Nehru taught me to be self-reliant. It is because India stood alone in the days of national peril. Therefore, let us not leave that part of national self-reliance and get subjugated—totally subjugated—or pressurised because we believe we are lonely. No, we are not that lonely. If India had lived so long following the path of self-reliance without aligning itself with any military power bloc, why can't we, in future, take that course? Let us have some more self-confidence. Let us believe our people and history. Let us believe our tradition. Let us not go down in the history as a bunch of rulers who had not preferred to believe that India can stand on its own feet. Let us believe our rulers are not that weak as to believe that India will not survive. If we take this line to win the hearts of the American rulers

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, will you please conclude?

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA : I believe this decision is a decision of sycophancy. We want to win the American hearts; we want to win the American confidence; we want to win the confidence of the White House to be able to get a little more World Bank loan so that we can get out of the economic crisis. Let us leave that part of total national destruction and take to self-reliance.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : As Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta was the main speaker on the Calling Attention the Minister has got a little less than 15 minutes. So, the rest of the Members, please don't make speeches. Please ask questions. That is the procedure of Calling Attention. Ask pointed questions so that the answers can come. Shri Sukomal Sen.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): Madam, I will try to be brief. But unfortunately the hon. Minister has given a long statement and he has vainly tried to convince the hon. Members of this House that the joint naval exercise is a harmless and innocent matter and nothing to be worried about.

Therefore, I want to express my opinion also. It is really harmful. It really concerns not only the House but the entire country. I have found in this House several times that Members from both sides have raised this issue of.

United States pressure on India on various matters—selling of rice to Cuba or importing rocket technology from Russia or Super 301 or Special 301. Every time when we expressed concern about the US pressure, one or the other Ministers stood up and tried to assure the House that nothing was to be feared and India would stand up to this pressure and India would not beow down. There is a gross contradiction between their words and deeds. This document, which the Minister has read out here, is a proof, that India is not going to stand up; rather India is going to bow down. It is contradictory to what they have said earlier. He has given so many fragile examples—some exercises with Sri Lanka Navy, some exercises with Malaysian Navy, some exercises with Indonesian Navy. Is it comparable in this new world context, a joint exercise with the American Navy? It is not at all comparable. Common sense refuses to believe it. He has stated that the entire global context has changed and so many perceptions have changed. This statement itself in paragraph-2 says, I quote :

“The decision not to participate in Joint Naval Exercises with foreign Navies in the Indian Ocean area essentially arose from our policy to keep the Indian Ocean a region free of Super-Power rivalries.”

Then he goes on to say that the situation has changed and it requires a readjustment

of our vision of the world. As far as India is concerned, so long Indian Ocean was a zone of peace. Now, after the sudden disintegration of the Soviet Union and East European Socialist countries, have we changed our perception about the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace? If it is so, when has the Government done it? When was the Parliament consulted? When was the country consulted? Since it is considered as a zone of peace, we get away from any Joint Naval Exercises in the region. The Government says, the Defence Minister says that the position has changed, what we are doing is extremely harmless. He has given a catalogue of how things are coming up, why the Joint Naval Exercise is required. Not only that; he says that we have nothing to hide about our Naval capabilities, we want to expose ourselves. To whom? The Defence Minister says that we have nothing to hide about our defence capabilities. He says that we have nothing to hide about our military capabilities. It is something preposterous. It is there in the statement. If we have to expose it I doubt how far our country will be safe in the hands of such kind of a Defence Ministry and Defence Minister. I strongly protest about the Joint Naval Exercise. Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta has said that after the demise of the Soviet Union there is only one super power. I will call it not super power but a supreme power, international policeman, a bully who wants to bully everybody. They want to bully not only India even countries like Germany and Japan also.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Sen, I want to remind you that you please seek clarifications. You are not only making a speech but also repeating what Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta has said.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN : Madam, when this matter started I would like to quote what the Defence Minister said to a news agency in the 1st week of January :

“We are moving towards opening our forces and defence activities to each other as well as having tie-ups in

ambitious defence projects. It will enable experts to see each other's areas of working and capability for a more meaningful interaction."

This has come out in the *Indian Express*. It is a statement made by the Defence Minister in the first week of January 1992. How did things start? I will give a little chronology. The seeds of so-called closer cooperation in military affairs between India and the United States were actually sown in March 1990 with the visit of Lt. Gen. Kicklighter, the then commander of the US army's Pacific force. When Lt. Gen. Kicklighter came to India he was taken to some forward posts along the Indo-China and Indo-Pak borders. He was so impressed that after courtesy and hospitality everything was exposed to him. (*Inter-ruptions*).

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra) : I want to know at what time it happened.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN : Now he was shown all these forward areas. He was sufficiently impressed to recommend gradual expansion in cooperation and friendship in selected areas of common interest. This was his recommendation. Further major components of the Kicklighter proposals are : First, visit by Chiefs of Staff to each other's country on an annual basis. Second, setting up an Indo-US army executive steering council; Third, regular staff talks between the two armies; Fourth, reciprocal visits by senior commanders; and Fifth, reciprocal training and observation of training exercise. This was the beginning. Then these closer tie ups were started with the US. After that Gen. Rodrigues was sent to the US. He was also impressed. He said that we had long-range discussions with the US strategists. Then, Madam, the ball started rolling. The US wanted that the US Pacific Region Command should come in closer interaction with the Indian Navy. Madam, what is the situation in the whole world after the Gulf war? On the one side, there is strong resistance by the Philippines people against Philippines' naval base of the United States. Then the

Government of the United States is trying to position all heavy army equipments in Saudi Arabia so that Saudi Arabia and Baharain become two points for keeping a Vigil on South-East Asia, Middle-East, India and other parts of the world. Now with this geopolitical strategy, the U.S., Navy wants to come into contact with the Indian Navy so that the Indian Navy also will come within the grip of the United States. And the Indian Navy is exposed to the U.S. Navy; that is why the proposed Joint Naval Exercise. Now you have agreed for Joint Naval Exercise. When are you going to do it? Where are you going to do it? Is it in the mid-sea or in the coastal areas? Will you not risk Indian security environment? Will it not affect other national interests? Are you sure of it? It is said that it will professionally benefit both the sides and it will help our Navy. How is it going to help our Navy? So long our Navy had enough

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now will you please confine yourself to the question?

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN : With this Naval Exercise, what type of skill and benefit is our Navy to acquire? Do, you, mean to say that so long our Navy had remained unskilled and not up to the mark and only with this Naval Exercise, will our Navy come up to the mark? These are relevant issues. It is a question of national security. Not only this, what has prompted India for closer tie-ups and military affairs with the United States? The United States has been aggressive to every part of the world bullying each country, whether it is a Third-World country or a developed country, inciting Pakistan and supplying arms to the Guerrillas in Afghanistan. They are piling up arms in other parts of the world. How are we benefited by a closer tie-up with the U.S. in defence matters and exposing ourselves to the U.S.? It is a departure from our national policy. It is a gross departure from our national policy and it will create a severe security risk to India. That is why I would like to seek a clear, categorical, assurance from

[Shri Sukomal Sen]

the hon. Minister whether he will immediately put a halt to this proposal for Joint Naval Exercise and taking the Army Chief of the United States to the forward posts and exposing everything. I want to know whether this type of an exercise will also be stopped because we want our Navy, Army and Air Force to be self-sufficient, self-reliant and self-dependent so that they can counter any offensive from any part of the world, including the United States. With this perception, will the Defence Minister build up our Navy, Army and Air Force or will he succumb to the U.S. pressure as the Indian Government has succumbed on other scores. If the Defence Ministry starts succumbing to the U.S., I will have to warn the Defence Minister; once you start bowing down, bowing down will end in kneeling down. I would urge the Government not to take this fatal step. It will be a national suicide. People will not tolerate it. If you do it, we would urge upon the people to resist it so that our national sovereignty and our security could be protected.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now please kneel down and don't resist to my bell. श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह जी। सवाल ही करिये शंकर दयाल सिंह जी।

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह (बिहार) : सवाल ही कर रहा हूं मेडम।

उपसभापति जी, भारत-अमेरिका संयुक्त नौ-सैनिक अभ्यास के संबंध में मंत्री महोदय ने अविलम्बनीय लोक महत्व के विश्व के अन्तर्गत जो वक्तव्य दिया है, उससे कई बातें हमारे सामने उठती हैं। मैं उस संबंध में ही कुछ प्रश्न उनके सामने उपस्थित करना चाहता हूं। लेकिन उसके पहले मैं यह कहना जरूरी समझता हूं कि यह मामला ऐसे समय में आया है, नाजुक दौर में आया है जब एक ओर शीत युद्ध की समाप्ति हुई है और दूसरी ओर सोवियत संघ का बिखराव हुआ है। ऐसी स्थिति में अमरीका का दबाव

दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया में विशेषकर बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। भारत चुंकि एक बड़ी महाशक्ति के रूप में है और दुनियां में पांचवीं महाशक्ति के रूप में भारत का स्थान है इसलिए अमरीका के लिए एक ओर जहां भारत चिंता का विषय है दूसरी ओर यह भी है कि भारत को किस तरह से वह अपने चंगुल में ले सके। इन सारी बातों की तह में मैं इसलिए नहीं जाना चाहता हूं मैं केवल यह याद दिलाना चाहता हूं हमारे पूर्व वक्ताओं ने जो कहा है उसको मैं दोहराना भी नहीं चाहता हूं, लेकिन महोदया, मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से यह जरूर कहना चाहता हूं कि यह वही देश है जिसके बारे में पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने बराबर यह नीती रखी कि बड़ी महाशक्ति के सामने भी हम घुटने नहीं टेकेंगे। हम गुटनिरपेक्षता के सिद्धांत को ले कर चलेंगे और बड़ी से बड़ी महाशक्ति भी हो कम से कम उसके सैन्य संरक्षण से हम अपने आप को बाहर रखेंगे ऐसी स्थिति में जबकि सदन में और सदन के बाहर मीडिया के द्वारा आई० एम० एफ० तथा अन्य प्रस्तावों को ले कर बहस छिपी हुई है कि हम अमरीका के चंगुल में चले जा रहे हैं ऐसे समय में प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री द्वारा या भारत सरकार के द्वारा यह जो नौ-सैनिक अभ्यास या प्रशिक्षण की बात है, यह बिल्कुल समझ में नहीं आती है। क्या हम हिन्द महासागर में डिगो-गार्शिया की बात भूल गये हैं जिसको ले कर के भारत ने सब से अधिक प्रतिवाद किया था तथा भारत ने दुनियां को यह कहा था कि हिन्द महासागर को हम किसी भी सैनिक शक्ति से मुक्त रखेंगे, स्वतंत्र रखेंगे। आज वही भारत हिन्द महासागर को गिरवी रखने जा रहा है। इससे बड़ कर दुख की कोई बात नहीं हो सकती है। मैं मंत्री महोदय का जो वक्तव्य है सीधे उसके आधार पर ही प्रश्न आपके सामने रखता हूं क्योंकि हम जानते हैं ध्यानाकर्षण प्रस्ताव के अन्तर्गत मंत्री का जो जवाब होता है उसी के दरम्यान ही प्रश्न पूछे जाते हैं। इसलिए मैं जानना चाहता हूं, पहला पैरा जो आपने अपने वक्तव्य में दिया है उसके

आधार पर जानना चाहता हूँ कि अब तक क्यों नहीं भारत और अमरीका ने नौ-सैनिक अभ्यास की योजना बनाई थी लेकिन आज आप ने योजना बनाई है इसी में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपने यह कहा है कि भारत ऐसे पोत सदभावना यात्रा पर आते रहे हैं। लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि इतिहास में ऐसे पोत दुर्भावना यात्रा पर भी आते रहे हैं। भारत की खोज करने वाले यात्री जो आते थे वह केवल सदभावना ले कर नहीं आते थे, दुर्भावना ले कर भी आते थे जिसके कारण हमारा देश गुलाम बना था। इसलिए एक ओर समुद्री तट और दूसरी ओर पहाड़ जिसके बारे में हम बराबर कहते हैं कि हिमालय हमारा सुर-रक्षक है और समुद्र से हमें रक्षा मिलती है लेकिन आप इतिहास को देखे तो आपको पता चलेगा कि जब भी हमारे ऊपर प्रहार हुआ है तो खेबर और गोलान दरों के माध्यम से हुआ है या फिर समुद्री रास्ते से हुआ है। यह सदभावना कहीं दुर्भाव में न बदल जाए, इसलिए क्या आप चिंतित हैं और यह होशियारी रख रहे हैं या नहीं आपके वक्तव्य का दूसरा पैरा जो है, उसके संबंध में मैं आपसे सवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्द महासागर विदेशी नौसैनिक से मुक्त रहे, इस भावना को बराबर हम लोगों ने माना है। क्या आप अमरीका या किसी भी दूसरी महाशक्ति के साथ जब आप सधि करेंगे तो इस बात को स्पष्ट कर देंगे कि हिन्द महासागर में किसी की दखल-अंदाजी को हम बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते। अगली बात मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आपको ऐसा नहीं लगता है जिसकी ओर आपने अपने वक्तव्य में कहा है कहीं धीरे धीरे यह आगे बढ़ कर के शीत युद्ध की भूमिका न तैयार कर ले जिससे बहुत दिनों के बाद आज विश्व मुक्त हुआ है। अगली बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि रक्षा मंत्री जी आपने कहा है व्यावसायिक तौर पर भी इस तरह के नौसैनिक अभ्यास बहुत आवश्यक हुआ करते हैं। अमरीका के साथ कौन सा व्यवसाय जुड़ा हुआ है समुद्री खंड से जिसके लिए हम इतनी बात कहते हैं।

अगर व्यावसायिक तौर से आपको कुछ करने की बात होती तो जापान के साथ करते, साऊथ कोरिया के साथ करते, इण्डोनेशिया के साथ आप अभ्यास करते। तब ज्यादा मैं समझता कि आप कारगर होते क्योंकि आपकी अपनी कुछ सेइंग रहती। आज जो तिजारत दुनिया 1.00 P. M.

हो रही है, वह मिलियंस और बिलियंस में है इस समय दुनिया में सब से बड़ी तिजारत में अमरीका और जापान का हाथ है। लेकिन उसमें जापान की तिजारत जहाँ पर छोटी-छोटी चीजों को लेकर है, मसलन रेडियो से लेकर टेप रिकार्डर से लेकर कार तक का है, अमरीका उससे कुछ बड़ा हुआ है—क्यों, सामानों को लेकर के नहीं, हथियारों को लेकर, क्योंकि जापान अपनी चीजों को जितनी राशि में बेचता है, एक बड़ा सा हथियार अमरीका बेच देता है, तो उसको फायदा हो जाता है।

तो मिलियंस और बिलियंस से ऊपर उठ कर ट्रिलियन का जो विदेशी व्यापार अमरीका का होता है उसका तो अस्वों पर है। हम कहां उसके साथ उस तरह का विशेष अनुबंध करने जा रहे हैं। मैं नहीं समझता। इसलिए व्यवसायिक रूप से जो आपने इसकी जरूरत महसूस की है, मैं समझता हूँ कि अमरीका के साथ व्यवसायिक जरूरत हमारी नहीं है।

अगली बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि रायल आस्ट्रेलियन-जो वक्तव्य में कहा गया है कि रायल आस्ट्रेलियन नौ-सेना के साथ हमने एक शुरुआत की थी। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो शुरुआत हम लोगों ने रायल आस्ट्रेलियन नौ-सेना के साथ कुछ दिनों तक की थी, उसको हमने फिर बंद क्यों किया। हम उसको जारी रखते क्योंकि हमको उससे किसी तरह का खतरा नहीं था, या किसी महाशक्ति से हाथ में जाने का, या अपने को गिरवी रखने का हमको डर नहीं था। इसलिए, उसको बढ़ावा मिलना चाहिए था।

[श्री संकर दयाल सिंह]

मैं यह भी जानना चाहता हूँ कि प्रशिक्षण अभ्यास में किस देश के कितने पोत भाग लेंगे और उनकी क्षमता क्या रहेगी ? आपने अपने वक्तव्य में यह लिखा है कि एक या दो । मैं समझ नहीं पाता हूँ कि जो आपने दिया है कि हम लोगों के, प्रत्येक की ओर से एक या दो पोत भाग लेंगे । किस देश के कितने होंगे ? अगर एक पोत हमारा और दो उनके रहे, तो फिर आप जानते हैं कि इसका नतीजा क्या होगा—वर्चस्व तो उनका होगा । इसलिए यह बात साफ होनी चाहिए कि किसके कितने पोत उसमें रहेंगे और उनकी क्षमता क्या रहेगी ?

अंतिम बात मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस दिन से यह समाचार अखबारों में आया है कि संयुक्त रूप से अमरीका के साथ भारत का नौ-सैनिक अभ्यास होने वाला है, हमारे पड़ोसी देश भी बड़े संशकित होकर हमारी ओर देख रहे हैं और हमारी गुट-निरपेक्षता और शांति की नीति जो थी, वह एक प्रश्नवाचक संज्ञा के रूप में खड़ी हो गई है ।

इन बातों को मद्देनजर रखते हुए अंतिम सवाल मैं प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री जी से आपके माध्यम से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि भारतीय संसद, भारतीय जनता, भारतीय समाचार-पत्र तथा मीडिया आपने इनके मनोभावों को समझा होगा कि जिस दिन हमारे सामने यह बात आई है, उस दिन से लोगों का मनोभाव क्या है और लोग क्या चाहते हैं । लोग चाहते हैं या नहीं चाहते हैं और निश्चित रूप से यह बात प्रमाणित हो गई है इस संसद में भी और संसद से बाहर भी लोग इसे पसंद नहीं करते हैं ।

इसे मद्देनजर रखते हुए क्या सरकार इस कार्यक्रम को स्थगित रखने का विचार करती है और यदि नहीं करती है, तो वह भी स्पष्ट करे और अगर स्थगित करती है, तो उसकी भी घोषणा करे धन्यवाद ।

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN (Tamil Nadu) : Thank you, Madam, for having given time this opportunity to have my say in the matter.

The country is seen as a future source of future threat to regional peace—that is how the U.S. Defence Department expects India to wield the lathi to bring its neighbours to their feet. We should discourage Indian hegemonic aspirations over the States in South Asia and the Indian Ocean—this is the opinion of the U.S. Defence Department. And as such, this naval exercise is handy for them to some how coax India to come to compromise. Madam, Indo-US Defence Exercises will have dangerous consequence for the country's integrity and its foreign policy. The Indian Government has resorted to this measure soon after the political and economic surrender. For none of the actions, the Indian people as well as the Parliament were consulted but taken as granted. And we find that there is already this economic sanction which they want to have under this 301. And when the atmosphere is not congenial, whether they are actually interested in building up our defence is really a point to be contemplated upon. So far as the Americans are concerned, they are specific about it. They want to see as to what our resources are. That is what I could guess. And in the absence of Russia, the United States of America wants India to be cornered because they want that India should not grow up as a very powerful nation in Asia.

Madam, so far as the statement of the Minister is concerned, paragraph 7 pertains to the decision of conducting Naval Exercises jointly with the US Navy. Madam, I would like to know from the Minister as to what are the points that are to be discussed here in this Joint Naval Exercise and whether any defence strategy is going to be discussed and why has it been taken at this hour when we are being threatened with economic sanctions and all that. And in what way are these Joint Naval Exercises going to help our Defence ? I would

[SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN]

request the hon. Minister to explain these points to the House. Thank you, Madam.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I have carefully listened to the statement of the Minister for Defence. Unfortunately, this statement is cast in a very narrow mould. It does not reflect the wider concerns which it really should have reflected.

Madam Deputy Chairman, our relationship with the US with whom we are going to have this Naval Exercise has two phases, to my mind. And I am saying this because I would like the Defence Minister to respond to this. One is a phase where we seem to be improving our relationship with the US. They have been very appreciative of the economic liberalisation measures. They have issued us certificates saying that we have done well and they expect us to do better in future. American investments are flowing in. The tie-ups in technology and all that kind of thing is taking place. And then in this Defence field, we have started this new-found love for the US. We are going to have a greater, closer co-ordination. We have an executive Steering Committee which is coordinating this relationship. And under this relationship, we are going to have a Joint Naval Exercise with the US. This is one part of our relationship with the US. There is the other part. And that other part is very disturbing. That other part is where the US is interfering under its domestic laws, it is putting pressure on us, and it is expecting us to behave in a certain way, whether it is the so-called violations of the intellectual property rights where the discussions are going on in the GATT or anything. They are keeping us under the Special 301. They still want to put us on a short leash. But they have not even waited for action under Special-301. They have already retaliated on the trade front by putting our pharmaceuticals and other products on a higher tariff and withdrawing the generalised system of preferences to which multi-late-

rally they are committed. And we have the example of the U.S. objection to our supply of nuclear reactor to Iran. We have the example of India being put in the dock in regard to violation of human rights in the U.S. Congress and elsewhere. We have the example of U.S. objecting to the transfer of rocket technology from Russia to India. We have the example of U.S. objecting to India sending wheat and rice to a distressed Cuba. We have the example of U.S. objecting to India receiving concessional aid from the Asian Development Bank, and we have the example of U.S. threatening that they will block further loans from the IMF and the World Bank. This is the other aspect of the U.S. attitude towards India which is pernicious, which is extremely disturbing and which is clearly indicative of a mindset which should not really be the mindset of a friendly power.

How do we reconcile these two points which I am specifically addressing to the Defence Minister as a senior Minister of this Government? How do we reconcile these two absolutely conflicting attitudes or faces of the U.S. in our policy framework? It appears to me that there is a Jekyll and there is a Hyde. How are we going to coordinate these two? I am not clear, and it is not at all clear from the statement of the Defence Minister as to how we are going to respond, and specifically I would like to ask the Defence Minister. It is all right; he said that we have had naval exercises with France; we have had naval exercises in the past with other Commonwealth countries, with Malaysia and others. I find from his statement that all these exercises have taken place in Indian waters. Is there any example where these exercises have taken place in their waters? Have we gone to Malaysia? Have we gone to any other country where we could have participated and made a call on their ports? And in our framework with the U.S., are we going to have in future an exercise in the U.S. waters with the U.S. navy? Why is it? When the Foreign Secretary was speaking about it after his, or during his, visit to the U.S., he said it is going to be somewhere in the

[Shri Yashwant Sinha]

Indian Ocean. Why are we having all these exercises in the Indian Ocean, not some other ocean? Why can't Indian Navy go abroad and have these exercises in their waters?

The other point is, we are saying we are having these exercises and these are the benefits which will flow to us. Right; we grant that we will become a better navy, we will become a more efficient navy and we shall be able to defend our interests better. But what is in it for the U.S.? Why are they doing it? Is it a charity they are doing to us? Or, is there something that they are going to gain out of it? There is absolutely nothing in the Minister's statement to suggest how the U.S. is going to benefit from the interaction with the Indian Navy through these joint naval exercises and how and in what manner is the U.S. going to benefit from this. Why is the U.S. so interested in co-operating with us in the naval and in the military field?

If you look at the larger picture, therefore, I would like the Defence Minister to kindly tell us how are we going to react because it is not merely a question of our relationship or our interaction with the U.S. in the military or in the naval field or in the air-force. It is not merely a question of defence tie-ups. Should we not put this in the framework of our total relationship with the U.S.? And I would like to know from him, what is the Government's total view, what is the Government's holistic view about our relationship with the U.S., how do we look at the development of our relationship with the U.S. in future and in what direction do we want our policies, our relationship to develop?

The second point, arising out of this, is how do we look at our relationship with the U.S. in the world context. Isn't it important? Members from this side have raised the issue of our non-aligned character. They have said, and the Minister himself said that we discontinued this practice of having joint naval exercises some time in the sixties. There must have been some

good reasons for this. How are we going to synthesise it with our total commitment to the international community, particularly, to the non-aligned community and to the Third World? How is it going to fit in with our total world view? What is it that we are doing? What is it that we are planning for, as far as the new international order is concerned? How do we look at India's relations with the U.S. in the new international order?

In the past, Madam, the U.S. used to threaten us. They used to tell us that they would do this, they would do that, if we do not behave. But now, they have acted. Today, when we sit in this House and when we discuss this issue, we know. We have, in the last few days, had a taste of the U.S. action. They have acted. They have not only threatened us. They have not only put pressure on us. They have also imposed penalties on us now.

Therefore, I would like to know from the hon. Minister: what is going to be our response? Is the response going to be just that we are going to have the naval exercises, that we are going to go ahead with military co-operation? So, in the light of the developments, are we going to have a more comprehensive response to the situation which has been created by the U.S.? To my mind, the responses could be three, separately, or, together.

One is, we discuss with the U.S. We discuss the question of joint naval exercises with the U.S. Along with it, we also discuss other issues and we arrive at a settlement. The second is, as they have imposed penalties on us, we retaliate. I do not know whether the Defence Minister is in a position to tell us. But is the Government of India planning to retaliate? Are we going to impose higher tariffs on the U.S. goods which are entering India? We retaliate for what they have done to us. This is the second thing. Are we going to cancel our joint naval exercises, in the light of the attitude which the U.S. has adopted? For example, we have seen the attitude of the U.S. on the question of transfer of technology.

Madam, the Defence Minister recently went to the U.S. This was a high point in our relations, in regard to co-operation in defence matters. I am sure, these matters must have been discussed. Is it our plan now that we will try and tell the U.S. 'So far, and no further; therefore, we will not have this; we are cancelling the joint naval exercises'?

The third thing is, we mobilise international support. We mobilise the support of the developing countries, the Third World countries. In this regard, what steps we propose to take in order to mobilise this support to see that we are not subjected, the other nations are not subjected, to this kind of tactics of the super-policeman, as it was said?

Lastly, I have seen from Press reports that when the Defence Minister went to the U.S., he met the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Dick Cheney, and other officials. But he did not meet, or, he did not have an occasion to call on President Bush. I do not know whether President Bush was available in Washington at the time. But he did not meet him. This is a point I have been raising. I have repeatedly said that the Indian Foreign Office has not learnt, till this day, to use protocol as a means of diplomacy, as an instrument of diplomacy. We do not know. He did not meet President Bush. But when Pressler came here, when Moynihan came here, when every Tom, Dick and Harry came here, they were able to meet everybody in the Government, right from the top to the bottom. Whoever they wanted to meet was available at their beck and call. I would like the Defence Minister—he is speaking on behalf of the Government—to clarify why is it that he was not able to meet Mr. George Bush? Or, was it that he was denied the opportunity? If he was denied the opportunity, how do we, as a country, as a sovereign country, propose to regulate our relations with the U.S.?

SHRI BHUVNESH CHATURVEDI (Rajasthan): Madam Deputy Chairman, we have this statement from the Govern-

ment on the subject of joint naval exercises with the U.S. This, by itself, shows the importance of the naval exercises to be undertaken jointly with the U.S. The Minister has said very innocently that India has had such naval exercises with many other countries. But the point is, the Government never came forward and made a statement explaining the reasons for it. Therefore, as I said, by itself, it means that it is a very important decision of the Government. I hope it is not a departure.

Madam, this issue is agitating the minds of not only the Members of Parliament, but all the thinking people in the country, all the opinion-makers in the country, as well. Therefore, we with that the Government should very honestly and steadfastly come forward and tell us the real threat perceptions behind the decision. What are the motives for taking such a decision? Madam, basically it is a decision pertaining to our foreign policy and it is not limited to the Ministry of Defence only. Therefore, the Government should tell us what the Ministry or the foreign policy makers think about it. Madam, it seems, hurry is being made in this matter. Somebody in the Government or some enthusiastic supporters of this policy are in a haste to have these exercises and that creates apprehensions. The Government should tell us, what are the threat perceptions?

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Will you kindly let us know whether you belong to a group of those supporters or not?

SHRI BHUVNESH CHATURVEDI: I have not disturbed you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, the Member is making his point. There is no question whether he is a supporter or opposer. Please do not ask such questions. This is a very bad habit.

SHRI BHUVNESH CHATURVEDI: I am a supporter of the Government, but that does not mean that I cannot honestly differ. I am not a saviour of the party as you are. That is the difference between the Congress and the Communist party.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA : Whatever I wanted to get, I have got it, I have got my point.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : This kind of insinuations and allegations on the floor of the House are not good. I do not approve of them.

SHRI BHUVNESH CHATURVEDI : So, I would like to know, what are the threat perceptions? Madam, before the First World War England and France had joint naval exercises. The same thing was repeated during the Second World War also and there was a clear cut thinking on threat perceptions. Now, we would like to know, what are the threat perceptions, whether immediately or in the coming decade or in the coming decade or 15 years or so? Are we having a threat perception with Sri Lanka, with Pakistan, with Burma or is it a threat perception with ourselves? The Minister should make this clear.

Secondly, Madam, many countries in Asia have expressed apprehensions about it. We have a duty to our friendly Asian countries to clear their doubts about these exercises. They are our close neighbouring countries, we have close friendly relations with them. We are duty-bound to clear their doubts about these enthusiastic naval exercises.

Earlier on a statement made by the Foreign Affairs Minister I had raised a question as to why despite best of relations with the Soviet Union we did not have joint naval exercises. If I remember correctly, the Soviet Union had very politely, in a friendly way, suggested to have naval exercises, but at that time our leadership very politely avoided that offer. If we could not have such exercises with such a friendly country because we had a different perception, I would like to know whether the same perception persists or we have a different perception now.

Madam, Mr. Jagesh Desai suggested or congratulated and the whole House joined him in congratulating the 'Prithvi parikshan'. On this point I would like to get

a clarification from the Government whether we will proceed with our Agni and Akshay tests or we have decided to abandon or postpone them.

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : पृथ्वी की बात थोड़े ही हो रही है यह तो समुद्र की बात हो रही है ।

श्री भुवनेश चतुर्वेदी : सुन लें पहले । हमने आपको डिस्टर्ब नहीं किया ।

श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह : मैं भी आपको वही नहीं कर रहा हूँ : ।

उपसभापति : पृथ्वी जा रही है तो समुद्र के आस पास ही तो जाएगी, बाहर नहीं जाएगी

SHRI BHUVNESH CHATURVEDI : If I remember correctly, soon after independence, every Government in this country tried to be friendly with the USA without exception, including the Janata Party under the leadership of Morarjibhai and under the leadership of Shri V.P. Singh. Of course, for the major period we were in Government. So, everybody tried to be friendly with the USA. It is in our interests. We are two democratic countries; We must have it. But after a little honeymoon for six months or one year (Interruptions) That is why my submission is that unless we have our national interests in mind, we should not be too enthusiastic about these things because there is no permanent friend or permanent enemy in a foreign policy. There is only a permanent national interest and we should safeguard it.

Madam Deputy Chairman, about eight months back or so there was an article in *The Times of India*, which was considered to have been sponsored by somebody in the USA, on a defence situation and they suggested that there should be a strategic consensus between India and America. If our Government had noticed it, we would like to be enlightened on this point : What is the strategic consensus and have we

reached that strategic consensus with the USA? That is a very major thing about which we would like to be enlightend.

They also wanted us to get attuned with their defence structure of their defence strategies. I have a doubt, and many of us have a doubt, as to why the USA wants our forces to be attuned with theirs. Do we have anything in mind like a joint venture with the US Army because to develop a strategic consensus is a very difficult thing and it creates doubts in our minds.

Madam, the last word. In a very innocent statement of the Defence Minister, he has said that there will be one or two ships participating from either side. That means it is a very small exercise and the nation should not worry, Parliament should not care about and all the thinking people who are raising doubts should not give that much importance to this because only one or two ships are there. In that connection I would like to be enlightened by the Defence Minister as to how many ships are standing in the Indian Ocean at present and the names of the countries to which they belong. By this everything will be clear as to how serious the naval exercise is and how seriously we should take it.

Thank you very much.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now the next speaker is Shri Kapil Verma, but I have only less than one minute. So I think we will adjourn for lunch. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu) : After lunch.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI : After lunch.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : After lunch Shri Kapil Verma will speak. The House stands adjourned for lunch for one hour.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-two minutes past two of the clock, [The Vice-Chairman (Shri Bhaskar Annaji Masodkar) in the Chair.]

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE— contd.

The Reported Move for Joint Indo-U.S. Naval Exercises and the Implications thereof for the Security of the Country—contd.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is a very important statement in the context of the country's foreign policy and its defence strategy. I must say that a country's foreign policy and defence strategy has to be dictated and guided by its national interests, of course, keeping the general ideals and policies laid down by our founding fathers.

Sir, the entire global context has changed in recent months or in a year or so. With the collapse of the USSR, our security system and our security needs have also changed. I have to be brief, I know. I need not emphasise that the requirements of our defence dictate some change in our policy. We cannot get spares. All our defence equipment came from one country, the USSR. Unfortunately, the complexion has changed. Russia is there now as the successor state. I am not very sure, with the changes taking place there, how much they will be able to give us and what they will be able to give us. They are valiantly trying, of course, to keep their word, and we must admire it.

I would say that we are facing a very difficult situation strategically. I won't dwell at length on it. But one or two sentences will be enough. Efforts are being made by fundamentalists to encircle us by even including certain parts of the erstwhile Soviet Union, and a wall is being built. China is trying to be a naval power. As we are discussing something which has to do with naval exercises, China is giving weapons to fifteen countries.