

amendment of any particular clause. That is the practice that we are following in this House all along. So I would request the hon. Members to follow that convention.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO:  
What is the remedy available to me?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. You take some other course^ Now, the question is:

That the following amendments made by the Lok Sabha in the Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill, 1983, be taken into consideration, namely;

"Enacting Formula

I. That at page 1, line 1, for "Thirty-fourth" substitute "Thirty-fifth"

Clause 1

"2. That at page 1, line 4,  
for "1983" substitute 984' "J

Clause 2 3. That at  
page 1, line 19, for "1983"  
substitute "1984"

*The motion was adopted.*

SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD; Sir,  
I move-That the amendments made by  
the Lok Sabha in, the Bill be agreed to.

*The question was put and the motion  
was adopted.*

**REFERENCE TO THE REPORTED  
STATEMENT OF THE MINISTER OF  
FINANCE SHRI PRANAB KUMAR  
MUKHERJEE, ON PRESIDENTIAL  
FORM OF GOVERNMENT**

**श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश):**  
मान्यवर, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। माननीय  
प्रणव मुखर्जी इस सदन के नेता हैं, वे किसी  
विशेष पार्टी के नेता नहीं हैं। पिछले सप्ताह  
जब सत्र चल रहा था, उन्होंने बंगाल में जा कर  
के संविधान के संशोधन के सम्बन्ध में अपनी  
राय व्यक्त की और ऐसे संविधान संशोधन  
के सम्बन्ध में राय व्यक्त की जो प्रेजीडेंशियल  
फॉर्म ऑफ गवर्नमेंट... (व्यवधान)

**श्री उपसभापति :** इसमें कोई व्यवस्था का  
प्रश्न नहीं है।

**श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय :** क्या सदन के  
चलते इस सदन के नेता सदन के बाहर संविधान  
संशोधन के सम्बन्ध में वक्तव्य दे सकते हैं  
और क्या उस पर सदन को... (व्यवधान)

**श्री उपसभापति :** आप भी तो बाहर जा  
कर बहुत सी राय देने होंगे। उसके बारे में  
क्या किया जा सकता है।

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI  
PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE): Mr.  
Deputy Chairman, since he has mentioned my  
name. let me anyway clarify the point. I do  
not know where he has found it At Hast I did  
not say to any newspaper that I favoured the  
presidential form of government. The  
Calcutta press asked me a question, "What is  
your reaction to Mr. Charan Singh's  
suggestion that he prefers a certain type of  
government?".

I said that a debate is going on in the  
country, let the debate go on. in this where is  
the question of expressing my views?

SHRI SURESH KALMADI (JVlaha-  
rashtra): Where is the debate? It is only in your  
party.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE;  
The debate is not on the floor of the House.  
The debate is at the national level.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; Now let us  
go to the next item...

**श्री शान्ति शर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** मेरा  
प्वॉइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर है। सारे देश के और बिदेश  
के अखबारों में यह समाचार छपा है... \*\*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. No. no; I  
have not allowed it. I am not allowing you to  
raise it. No, no. This will not go on record.

**CALLING ATTENTION TO A MA HER OF  
URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE**

"Threat to India's security on account of  
development along mdo-Pak borders and  
Pakistan's nuclear programmes SHRI  
JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan):Mr Deputy  
Chairman, I bee to Call the-

Not recorded.

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

attention of the Minister of Defence to the threat posed to India's security on account of development along Indo-Pak borders and Pakistan's nuclear programmes

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN); Sir, I share the concern of this House on the security implication, of the recent developments along the Line of Control in Jammu & Kashmir and also Pakistan's nuclear programme. In fact, only on the 4th of this month, I had informed both the Houses about certain troop movements in the Pakistan occupied Kashmir.

As the Hon'ble Members are aware, we have been steadfastly pursuing a policy of peaceful Co-existence with our neighbours and are making continuous efforts to improve our relations with them. But unfortunately, our friendly gestures are not always reciprocated. Pakistan has been continuing with its massive arms build-up with the help of the USA and other countries. This arms build-up, as I have repeatedly stressed, is far in excess of their security needs. We have information that some of the newly acquired sophisticated weapons were tried out during the recent winter military exercises in Pakistan. Induction of sophisticated weapons in such quantities is naturally a cause for concern to us.

It is a fact that bulk of the Pakistani army has been deployed on our borders. Pakistan has also taken up a programme of development of roads and other infrastructure close to its borders with us including in Pakistan occupied Kashmir. The Karakoram Highway built with the help of China and other roads being developed in Pakistan occupied Kashmir will significantly enhance that country's operational and strategic capability in the area.

Pakistani troops have been resorting to unprovoked firing across the Line of Control which but for the utmost restraint exercised by our troops, could have led to escalation. Violations of our air space by Pakistani aircraft are also not uncommon. A few days back, Pakistani helicopters and fighter aircraft had intruded into our air

space about which we have lodged our protests.

Pakistan's continued efforts to achieve uranium enrichment and spent-fuel reprocessing capability have raised doubts about her declared policy of use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only. The recent media reports regarding Pakistan having attained the capability of production of weapons grade enriched uranium, have caused us deep concern. This has grave security implications which we can ill-afford to ignore.

In spite of all these developments, Mr. Chairman, we have been exercising utmost restraint and are persevering in our policy of peace with Pakistan. We have repeatedly expressed our deep concern to Pakistan about her massive arms acquisitions, have lodged protests regarding violations of our air space and have resolved firing incidents by means of flag meetings in keeping with the spirit of the Simla Agreement.

I would like to assure the House that Government are fully aware of the gravity of the situation and that our armed forces are fully prepared to meet any contingency. We sincerely hope that Pakistan would reciprocate our efforts to improve relations and would not do anything detrimental to such efforts.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH- Mr. Deputy Chairman, the scope of this Calling Attention is limited to Indo-Pak border and it does not cover the total security environment of the country. Necessarily, therefore, our enquiry has to be limited to the context of Indo-Pakistani developments, the recent developments particularly covered by the Hon'ble Defence Minister's statement of 4th March and earlier statements and the particular aspects, of the nuclear dimension about which the Hon'ble Minister's current statement has referred.

I was persuaded to raise this matter in the House because quite frankly, I am confused by the plethora of statements on the subject which have come from the Government ever since the Budget Session started and even earlier.

The Prime Minister in reply in a question in the Lok Sabha categorically stated that there is recognition of nuclear development of Pakistan and our scientists are capable of adequately answering that. That only half answers the question. The Defence Minister on various occasions has used words to the effect—every time he has asserted—that we are superior militarily' our country is 'superior' in every respect and in the context of Pakistan while replying to the Defence debate, he used words to the effect that our response to the threats that we face from Pakistan will be system's response' and he averred that he, as Defence Minister, has to work on the basis that 'Pakistan has nuclear capability' and he has to respond accordingly. Quite frequently he has mentioned about troop manoeuvres in Pakistan as he has done more recently. Simultaneously, the Foreign Minister also made a statement, but more ambiguous, and in fact not stopping there one of the General Secretaries of the ruling party went to the extent of categorically stating that there is going to be conflict between India and Pakistan at a particular time and at a particular location, that there will be conflict with Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir within a year's time. That was the statement made by the General Secretary of the ruling party. I was baffled by that statement and as I quite often do I consulted my eminent colleague, Shri Advani, as to what that statement meant. He said that it is perhaps either reflective of the fact of insufficiency of education in English or we have yet to take the English lessons which have been suggested. However that may be, the fact remains that on as important a subject as the security of the country, all the conflicting statements that have come from the Government, that have come from the party functionary of the ruling party and the bewildering confusion that all this has spread, are not answered simplistically by the Hon'ble Defence Minister. Every time coming forward and saying that there is a danger, that we are strong, that we are adequately prepared and that we are superior in every respect. This confusion is further confounded by the continued political destabilisation in stra-

tegitically important and sensitive border States—Punjab and Assam are the two instances—and, as if not content with that, there are efforts made to politically destabilise the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Sir, I can assume and work on the basis that the purpose behind such statements could possibly be to warn off a potential adversary and the exaggerated statements made by the Government may be utilised to warn off such an adversary, [the potential adversary] it could also be used to gird up the national will and to achieve a national unity of purpose. But this is a highly dangerous utilisation of an extremely scarce commodity. It could also finally be used to send signals to a third party that the development in our region on account of their interference and that this is our response to it. Now, the Government utilising the media, the manner in which it is making these statements in the past so many months, have all really, actually left us bewildered and the more recent instance of this is the honourable the Defence Minister coming forward on the 4th of May, and on his own initiative, giving importance to a certain incident which had taken place in the Kargil sector which persuaded me to bring in this particular matter in this House. What is the situation actually militarily? That only the Government of India could enlighten us about. This enlightenment has to be in the most specific terms rather than in the generalities that the statement contains. Militarily—this is the Minister's statement which asserts—we have an edge, we have a superiority, and he has said that the Government of India—he has assured that the responsibility of the Government—will continue to be to maintain this superiority. I will refer to this later. Sir. It is also about the nuclear question. Now, when we consider both the military and in nuclear things together as one essentially belonging to the other. I have to state categorically and unequivocally by saying one thing: It is that if Pakistan ever made this mistake of indulging in any kind of an adventurist or ill-thought-out posture or any kind of military posture of confrontation with India, whatever, may be the compulsions, whether internal

(Shri Jaswant Singh).

or external, then it would be committing a great folly and it would be a folly which would be historical in its dimensions. But this is a categorical assertion that has to be made at this juncture. Having said that I would like to simultaneously say that the real danger that we are facing is not an Indo-Pakistan situation developing on account of war of invectives. But the real danger that we are facing, which I have had occasions to to, which I had mentioned at earlier opportunities in this House, is the introduction, Is the importation, in our region of the concept of proxy wars. I would like to caution the Government that India and Pakistan should not become the objects of superpower conflicts and should not allow superpower conflicts to be imported into our region. I do submit, Sir, with due deference that the major factor which strikes me today is the talk about the attainment of the strategic consensus between Pakistan and the United States resulting in arms being supplied to Pakistan and also the consequent results that have flowed from it. This is a dangerous enough situation. Our party has categorically and clearly stated that it is obligatory on us and on our Government to categorically and specifically reject the theory of an exclusivity of superpower interests in this region. If ever we, India and Pakistan, fall a prey, become an instrument of the superpower conflict or the superpower policies being played therein as agencies of the superpower interests, whether it is the United States or the Soviet Union, then we will be committing a grave ill, and a grave wrong and a grave crime to the peoples of both these nations. Very briefly Sir, I would like to and this by quoting from an editorial in the "Indian Express" of March 12, and then I would put some questions. I am not going to be very long. I will take just a little more time and then I will come to my exposition. It is a very brief comment, a very brief quotation. It says;

'The Soviet commentators have long been denouncing the US arms supplies to Pakistan and have gone on record warning India against falling into the )

trap of entering into a "No-War" pact with Islamabad—a strange and not an altogether disinterested refrain. The Indian Government spokesmen and others have constantly referred to Pakistan having been sucked into the US strategic consensus concerning South West Asia. If so, is India being similarly sucked into the corresponding Soviet geo-strategic 'consensus' in his part of the world? India of course, profess non-alignment so too does Pakistan.'

Now, Sir, on the question of the nuclear aspect: in the Indo-Pak relationship, it is my submission that the debate is no longer as to whether Pakistan has nuclear aspirations or does not have nuclear aspirations. The debate has gone beyond that. We have to work on the basis that with the kind of effort that that country is putting in is nuclear programme—I am not merely referring to Mr. Khan's statement on Saj-jad Hyder's statement or what Lt. General Akram has said in the introduction to a book on 'Pakistan's nuclear development' which has come out recently—that it already has nuclear potential. I am now referring to a fundamental question and it is the question of uranium enrichment the use of plutonium, which is being pursued by Pakistan, incidentally, as I said earlier. I would like to say that the word "plutonium" comes from the word "Pluto" which means "God of Hell". In this area, the debate is not as to whether Pakistan is pursuing its nuclear aspirations or is not pursuing its nuclear aspirations. What we assert and, rightly so, is that our programme is for peaceful purposes and our efforts are for peaceful nuclear programmes. Pakistan always asserts that its programme is also for peaceful purposes. The debate has, therefore, to be on the question that this nuclear programme pursued by Pakistan and India must essentially remain peaceful. The transformation of a peaceful nuclear programme into a military utilisation of the same programme is not that difficult and it is not that it involves any great change of technology. That would be too misleading to suggest and it would be too misleading to presuppose that the technology is so complex that a peaceful nuclear programme cannot

be transformed into a more war-like use. The real debate on the nuclear question by both Pakistan and India is the utilisation, the continued utilisation, of this energy for peaceful purposes, and that is the real debate, and it is in that context that what the Government says should be, considered—it has said that it has taken the initiative—and it is in that context that the initiative ought to be. (Time Bell rings). I understand your agitation, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. There are a number of speakers and everybody would like to take so much time. Please put the questions now. You have expounded the whole theory so well

SHRI JASWANT SINGH. I will just conclude in one or two sentences what I have to say and then I will put a few questions that I have

Sir, before I come to my specific questions, I would like to submit to the Government of India that, on account of our continued assertion of our military superiority, we would do well not to over-react to any and every kind of military situation that may develop in the Indo-Pak context. The honourable Defence Minister has continually said, 'I have to assess the capability of a potential adversary and I cannot base my reactions on the intentions I submit that this capability match, as I put it, and the capability matching exercise is all right as long as it is limited to the military mind. The military mind in formulating its policies, must indeed take only the capability of a potential adversary into account. The Government of the day, which is a civilian Government, is bound and is enjoined to go beyond just a consideration of capability and to definitely take intentions into account. If intentions are hostile then Government must attempt to convert those hostile intentions into peaceful intentions. It does not do for the Government to have only the capability in view and to say that it has nothing to do with the potential or existing intentions of a possible adversary, I think bold initiatives are required

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already taken 15 minutes. There are about 10 speakers.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH; I would say that bold initiatives are still required. It is an extraordinary situation and it will not suffice for the Government to come up with ordinary responses. My questions are these. Very recently, in the U.S. Senate the Foreign Relations Committee debated the question of continued arms assistance to Pakistan and the Senate Committee first required of the President to come forward with a certification, which the President would have had to sign if the military assistance to continue, that Pakistan does not possess a nuclear explosive device and is not acquiring overtly or covertly the technology, material or equipment for the purpose of making a nuclear weapon. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee came up with this particular thesis and wanted the U.S. President.... (Time Bell rings) I have to put my questions.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Sixteen minutes are over. What can I do?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH; I want to put my questions. That is all.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please put the specific questions.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH; My specific question in this respect is what is the information of the Government of India in this regard. Why did the Senate Foreign Relations Committee change its stand from wanting this certification from the President in writing to a slightly altered version of it? Has the Government of India taken it up with the U. S. Government. Secondly, what is the Government of India's information on Sino-Pak nuclear axis? Thirdly, in the specific context of the Kargil sector incident, did Pakistan send a protest note to the Government of India on 21st April? What were the contents of that note and how we respond to that note by a contrary note? Since the hon. Minister has stated categorically here that we are very vigilant about the aircraft intrusion, is it a fact that following upon the recent landing of a Lahore, Flying Club aircraft, there were reports of an earlier landing of a Pakistani aircraft near Ferozepur which actually landed in India for a certain time and then flew back to Pakistan

without being intercepted? Sir, I would like to know that on the eve of Vice-President Bush's visit to India and in the context of Mr Rasgotra's visit to Pakistan, whether these matters are going to be taken up at the Foreign Secretaries' level at Islamabad. Finally if the situation is as serious as the Government says would it consider convening a Foreign Minister's level meeting to discuss these various incidents or even a Summit level meeting?

श्री राजानन्द यादव (बिहार): मुझे बहुत अफसोस है कि हमारे मित्र जसवंत सिंह जी मिलिटरी में रह चुके हैं और भारतवर्ष में हमारी मिलिटरी पर जो खतरा पड़ता हुआ है उसका अवलोकन करने में असमर्थ रहे हैं। उनकी सारी स्पीच में यही रहा है कि अमेरिकन प्वाइंट आफ व्यू किस तरह से हम रखें। ठीक उसी तरह से उन्होंने रखने की कोशिश की है। खैर इनके अपने विचार हैं। मान्यवर, हिन्दुस्तान आज चारों तरफ से मिलिटरी से घिरा हुआ है। इस तरह से देश पर कभी भी पिछले हजारों वर्षों में खतरा नहीं आया जितना कि आज आया है। आप चारों तरफ देखें, उसके पश्चिमी सीमा को देख लें तो आप देखेंगे कि आज पाकिस्तान कि स तरह से अपने को विभिन्न सूत्रों से सहायता लेकर आम्बे कर रहा है। पाकिस्तान की 80 प्रतिशत सेना हिन्दुस्तान की सरहद पर लगी हुई है। अफगानिस्तान की सरहद पर नहीं है। उसके नये अस्त्र-शस्त्र जो अमेरिका ने प्रदान किये हैं वे सभी अफगानिस्तान की तरफ न लगा कर हिन्दुस्तान की तरफ लगे हुए हैं। एफ-16 जो विमान है वह, हिन्दुस्तान की आसपास की सरहदों पर जो उन्होंने दूसरों की सहायता से एरोड्रोम बनाये हैं, वहाँ पर बैठा रखे हैं। यह एफ-16 एयरक्राफ्ट हिन्दुस्तान के किसी भी बड़े शहर में द्रुत गति से मार कर सकते हैं। आज पाकिस्तान बार एक्सरसाइज कर रहा है। कहां करना है? हिन्दुस्तान की सरहदों पर

करना है अफगानिस्तान की सरहदों पर नहीं। वहाँ पर बार एक्सरसाइज नहीं कर सकता। वह एक्सरसाइज पाकिस्तान आकुपाइड कश्मीर में करता है। आप देखेंगे कि किस तरह से खतरा है। पाकिस्तान तीन बार हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला कर चुका है। अमेरिका उसे आधुनिक अस्त्र-शस्त्र दे रहा है। शायद जसवंत सिंह जी को मालूम होगा कि चीन की सहायता से वहाँ एटम बम भी बना लिया। इतना ही नहीं चीन ने यूरेनियम एनरिच तकरीबन दर्जन एफ-16 में फिट करके डिलिवरी करने वाले सिस्टम भी प्रदान करके दे दिये हैं। आज पाकिस्तान के पास बने बनाये एटम बम भी हैं। यह भी मालूम हुआ है कि किस तरह से सीनेट के लोगों ने क्या कहा है। 1982 में सीनेट के बहुत बड़े अधिकारी ने कहा था कि अमेरिकन सीनेट से पाकिस्तान ने एनरिच यूरेनियम की जो पद्धति है उसको प्राप्त कर लिया है और उसके पास बम बनाने के साधन यूरेनियम इकट्ठा हो गया है। कुछ की बात यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान यूरेनियम से, जो हमारे जादुगुडा में बनता है उससे पाकिस्तान ने यह एटम बम बनाया है। यहाँ से स्मगलड होकर गया है और वह स्मगलड हो कर पाकिस्तान पहुँचता है और पाकिस्तान उसी हिन्दुस्तान यूरेनियम की सहायता से अपने इस्लाभिक एटम बम बनाने में सफल हुआ है। मान्यवर, अरेबियन कंट्रीज से उन्हें करोड़ों-करोड़ डालर मिलते हैं। इसके पास रुपये की कमी नहीं है। टेक्नीकल नो-हाऊ चाइना देता है, अमेरिका देता है। जो भी सीकरेसी होती है, शायद जसवंत सिंह जी ने अखबारों में पढ़ा होगा कि रीगन साहब जब चाइना गये तो उन्होंने यह संधि की जो वह आपके तारापुर के साथ नहीं कर सकते, जो एग््रीमेंट हम कहते थे कि आप कीजिए तब हम हैवी वाटर देंगे, स्पेयर पार्ट्स देंगे, वे सारे वेव करके अमेरिका ने एक न्यूक्लियर संधि चाइना से कर ली। यह जानते हुए भी कि अमेरिका का जितना नो-हाऊ है और जो नये ग्रामिंट अमेरिका ने पाकिस्तान को दिये हैं।

पाकिस्तान भी नौ-हाऊ चायना देता है। सरकार को इस बात की भी जानकारी होगी कि अमेरिका और चीन ने न्यूक्लियर एनर्जी संधि कर ली है। चायना ने ताहमा में एक बहुत बड़ा एरोडम भी बना लिया है। उसके पास बड़े बड़े मिजादत्स हैं जो उसके काराकोरम रोड से कुछ ही दूरी पर लगा रखे हैं। अमेरिका और चीन, पाकिस्तान का हर प्रकार का मदद कर रहे हैं। पाकिस्तान ने चीन का मदद से काराकोरम रोड बना कर भारत की सुरक्षा के लिए बहुत बड़ा खतरा पैदा कर दिया। चीन वाले पाकिस्तान के लोगों को मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग भी दे रहे हैं। आज चीन की कुछ फीजें मिलियन में पहुँच चुकी है। आपको यह भी मालूम होना चाहिए कि चीन ने पाकिस्तान को एटम बम टेस्ट करने के लिए अपने सिक्किम प्रोविंस में कोई लोफोटा नामक जगह दी और वहाँ पर परीक्षण किया गया। इस प्रकार का हालत है। तब ये लोग कहते हैं कि पाकिस्तान की तरफ से कोई खतरा नहीं है।

साथ-साथ, अब आप सामुद्रिक संरक्षा की तरफ चलिए। पहले हम सोचते थे कि समुद्र हमारी रक्षा करेगा। हम यह भी सोचते थे कि हिमालय हमारी रक्षा करेगा। लेकिन इन से हम काफी पीड़ित हो चुके हैं। सब लोग जानते हैं कि पाकिस्तान ने हमारे ऊपर तीन बार हमला किया है। समुद्र की हालत यह है कि समुद्र में बड़े बड़े अस्त्रियाँ अणुविक्रम अस्त्रों से लैस होकर हमारे लिए खतरा पैदा कर रही हैं। हिन्द महासागर में पनडुब्बियाँ और बड़े बड़े युद्धपोत बना कर दिये गये हैं। अमेरिका ने दिये गये गाणियाँ में एक बहुत बड़ा हवाई अड्डा बना रखा है। वहाँ पर न्यूक्लियर आर्म्स जमा कर दिये गये हैं। यहाँ नहीं, उसने पहले निजाल में बनाया फिर जापान ने बनाया। फिर निगापुर बेस बनाया। चटगाव में उसने नेवल बेस

बनाया। उसके बाद उसने टिकनमैली, कोलम्बो, मॉम्बामा, करांची और क्वेटा में अपने अड्डे बनाये। उसने वहाँ पर अपनी रेपिड डिप्लोयमेन्ट फोर्स तैनात की। सारे अरब कंट्रीज पर उसका ह्वेज छाया हुआ है। ऐसी स्थिति में हमको देखना है कि हमारी स्थिति क्या है? आज स्थिति यह है कि हम चारों तरफ से दुश्मनों से घिरे हुए हैं। वे चाहते हैं कि हम नान-एलायन्स को पालिसी पर न चले। अमेरिका भी यह चाहता है कि हम नान-एलायन्स को पालिसी को फोली न करें। अब मैं आपको यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया के देश पर कैपिटल डिफेन्स पर कितना खर्च करते हैं। हम उनके मुकाबले में अपनी रक्षा व्यवस्था पर बहुत कम खर्च करते हैं। पिछले सन् 1981 में सारे अरब डालर सारे विश्व में डिफेन्स पर खर्च किये गये। हिन्दुस्तान में सिर्फ 7 डालर प्रति व्यक्ति रक्षा पर खर्च किया जाता है। पाकिस्तान में 17 डालर खर्च किये जाते हैं। श्री जतन सिंह जी ने यह कहना चाहिए कि वे इन बातों अछछी तरह से सुन लें कि पाकिस्तान 17 डालर प्रति व्यक्ति डिफेन्स पर खर्च करता है।

Can you tell him to fight against Soviet Russia? No. Can you tell him to fight against China? No. Fight against Iran—No. Then tell me what for is Pakistan having the Atom Bomb, spending so much, such a huge amount on defence, buying all these sophisticated weapons from America the latest electronic equipment, combat aircraft, tanks, submarines and so many other things?

अब आप देखिये कि चायना अपनी डिफेन्स पर कितना खर्च करता है। वह 56 डालर प्रति व्यक्ति खर्च करता है। मित्र जैसा छाया का देश 129 डालर प्रति व्यक्ति खर्च करता है। ब्रिटेन 190 डालर प्रति व्यक्ति खर्च करता है। अमेरिका 477 डालर खर्च करता है और यू.एस.एन. आर. 752 डालर करता है। ऐसी स्थिति में मैं रक्षा मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आप

**[श्री रामानन्द यादव]**

इतना कम रक्षा व्यवस्था पर क्यों खर्च करते हैं ? जब हमारा आजादा खतरे में है तो हमारी रक्षा व्यवस्था पर अधिक खर्च किया जाना चाहिए हमारे लॉग बड़ी बड़ी जगहों पर बैठे हुए हैं इसके लिये हमें गर्व है और हम चाहते हैं कि अपने देश की रक्षा के लिये अगर हमें भूखों भी रहना पड़े तो हम भूखे रहकर भी देश की रक्षा करेंगे ।

**श्री सुरेश कलमाडी (महाराष्ट्र) :** आप भूखे नहीं रहेंगे ।

**श्री रामानन्द यादव :** जब लड़ाई शुरू होगी तो आप सबसे पहले विल में घुस जायेंगे ।

**श्री सुरेश कलमाडी :** हमने दो लड़ाइयां लड़ी हैं। आप तो यहां बैठे रहे ।

**श्री रामानन्द यादव :** आपका हाल तो यह है कि कि गोला बीस गज बंदा तीस गज । गोला बीस गज होगी तो बन्दा तीस गज होगा । आपकी यह हालत होगी ।

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: We have fought two wars, not like you.

**श्री रामानन्द यादव :** गोली बीस गज, बन्दा तीस गज । यही हालत आपकी होगी लड़ाई में ।

मान्यवर, इजरायल एक छोटा सा देश है । वह 1201 डालर खर्च करता है । किस लिये खर्च करता है ? इस प्रकार इसमें जो निष्कर्ष निकलता है वह यह है कि हमारी जो सुरक्षा की स्थिति है वह बहुत ही खराब है । अमेरिका की स्थिति आपको पता ही है कि वह क्या कर रहा है, जिस तरह से पाकिस्तान की मदद कर रहा है, चीन की मदद कर रहा है ।

मान्यवर, अब मैं दो-तीन प्रश्न मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ ।

**श्री सुरेश कलमाडी :** श्री रामानन्द यादव के लिये टाइम लिमिट नहीं होगी ।

SHRI VIHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): My. Jaswant Singh also took so much time

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: I will just bring it to his notice\_

**श्री रामानन्द यादव :** श्रीमन्, मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि . . . (व्यवधान)

If you have got any patriotism left in your heart, please hear me what I am saying.

**मैं मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहता हूँ कि**

With the Government has information that China has given half a dozen uranium bombs designed to fit into the F-16S' which are nuclear weapons carriers supplied from U.S.A. Whether Pakistan has concentrated forces around the Chicken-neck sector of JK

Whether Government is aware of the fact that China has...

**श्री सुरेश कलमाडी :** आप हिन्दी में बोलिये ।

**श्री उरशभापति :** आप पुष्टिये और जल्दी खतम करिये ।

**श्री रामानन्द यादव :** क्या सरकार को यह मालूम है कि 1983 में यू. एन. ए. के स्टेट डिपार्टमेंट के एक अधिकारी ने इस वार्ता की पुष्टि की कि कि चीन ने पाकिस्तान की एटम बम बनाने में मदद की है । क्या इस वार्ता की इन्फार्मेशन सरकार को है ?

क्या सरकार के पास यह इन्फार्मेशन है कि पाकिस्तान हिन्दुस्तान से बीस वर्ष अहेड न्यूक्लियर एटॉमिक पावर और एन-रिचिड युरेनियम के क्षेत्र में आगे है ? क्या सरकार को यह मालूम है । ऐसी सूचना में सरकार क्या हिन्दुस्तान में अपनी न्यूक्लियर पॉलिसी के बारे में पुनर्विचार करेगी ?

In the light of the danger which the country is facing, to raise the morale of the



army stationed on the borders, when on the other side the army is armed with atomic weapons, nuclear weapons, whether the Government is prepared to change its nuclear policy and make atom bomb; I want a categorical reply.

**श्री उमसभापति :** अब आप खत्म करिये। एटम बम पर ही खत्म करिये।

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV. Whether Soviet Russia has offered light-water nuclear reactors to India; if so, whether the Government of India will accept that offer;

Whether it is a fact that offer was for enriched uranium fuel reactor and it was rejected. Why was it rejected? Why was it rejected? May I know? Under what circumstances? I would also like to know, whether it is a fact that America has refused to supply lead windows, according to the agreement which was entered into between India and the U.S.A. in regard to Tarapur atomic plant "Lead" windows are to protect from....

जो उसमें लीड निकलता है उसका प्रोटेक्ट करना है। एग््रीमेंट में है वह खरीदने के लिए आर्डर किया था। क्या यह बात सही है कि अमरीका ने तारापुर न्यूक्लियर एटोमिक प्लांट के लिए स्पेयर पार्ट देने में इन्कार कर दिया है, यह स्पेयर पार्ट वर्ल्ड में आगे कहीं नहीं मिलते हैं ?

**श्री उमसभापति :** अब समाप्त करिये।

**श्री रामानन्द दादव :** अभी समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। क्या यह बात सही है कि हिन्दु-स्तान हेवी वाटर के सम्बन्ध में मेल्फ सफिशियेट हो गया है अगर नहीं तो उसके सम्बन्ध में आप क्या कर रहे हैं ?

आपको जो टेक्नोलॉजी है (व्यवधान) समाप्त कर रहा हूँ।

My last question is, whether it is a fact that the Talcher, Kota, Baroda and Tuticorin heavy water plants are not

working in a proper way and not giving the expected results?

SHRI J. P. GOYAL (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have talked, to my colleagues on this side and we are of the view that this happens to be an election stunt of the ruling party. As Shri Jaswant Singh has observed, the General Secretary of the Congress I without any rhyme or reason, sometime back said that there is going to be a war with Pakistan. The Defence Minister, on 4th May, *sub motu*, without any question, nothing of the sort, made a statement in both the Houses about the reported Pakistani troop movements in the northern parts of occupied Kashmir. No, this Calling Attention is, of course, meant to seek clarifications on the statement made by the hon. Minister. I was joined through the synopsis of the statement made by the hon. Minister the other day and I have gone through the statement made by the Minister today I will just read the last line of the synopsis of the statement. It says 'India was now well-prepared to meet any threat situation in this regard'

If Pakistani troops are amassing their troops, are concentrating their troops there, in Ladakh and other places, and if we are well-prepared to meet the threat, then, we are not worried. We need not be worried about the Pakistani threat. Thrice, India was successful in defeating Pakistan. But I may inform you that when I was a student in 1947, in the Allahabad University, when the Pakistani infiltrators and the army people invaded Jammu and Kashmir, when our Army there took possession of a lot of area and when our Army was advancing, it was the then Prime Minister who said 'all right, we go to the U.N.O.' and there was a ceasefire. To my mind, the present ruling party which has been ruling this country for almost the entire period since Independence is responsible for all the problems in this country. Now partition; who was asking for it? I remember, in 1946 when the interim Government was there—it was working all right.—it was the late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru who said 'We cannot work together; therefore.'

[Sfcri J. P. Goyal]

we concede Pakistan Next day, at Allahabad, which was the headquarters of the Muslim League as well as the Congress Party, students belonging to the-Muslim League started saying 'Pakistan Ziuda-

king of the interim Government upto that time there was no talk of Pakistan. Cita-tion of Pakistan meant we accepted the Two Nation Theory of the late Mr. Jinnah Then in the Bangladesh libera-tion war, the two wings of Pakistan fought each other. We conquered East Pakistan. Which means that the Two Nation Theory exploded because it was Muslim fighting against Muslims. Then we were saying; "We are creat-ing Bangladesh". Who was asking you to create Bangladesh? They were not asking for a separate State. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman was at that time in Pakistani jail. We never talked to him: Do you want a confederation with India" We said: "We will create when the man was in jail. So behind his back we were creating Bangladesh. Now there is the problem of fencing on the eastern side and on the western side. These will always remain and I can assure you that the future generations are not going to excuse our leaders who were responsible for the creation of Pakistan

Now we agreed to a ceasefire in 1947 when our armies were advancing, the problem of Azad Kashmir or free Kashmir it is, is still there. We could not take it back. In 1965, again, at the time of late Shri Shastri, we were successful with Pakistan. Then the Tashkent Conference we did not say "We are not going to negotiate unless that territory is vacated". On the contrary, we gave them back whatever we had conquered, whatever we had achieved. We conceded all the strategic points which we captured to them. Again in 1971, at the Simla Conference the same thing happened. Whatever our army took at the risk of their lives at the cost of their lives, we conceded that. So

many ladies become war widows. Therefore, the result of this appease-ment policy, whether with Pakistan or with Bangladesh, is quite obvious. Therefore we cannot complain against Pakistan. Suppose there is a war to-morrow, again the same thing you will do. The same thing you are doing in Punjab. The same thing you are doing in Assam. Everywhere you are doing the same thing, giving sort of concessions every time.

Now in the statement of the 4th as well as of today, the hon. Minister has said "We are a neighbouring State". All right, if something is happening in Kargil, why are you restless? Talk to the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, talk to the President of Pakistan—our Prime Minister or Defence Minister can do it. Lodge a strong protest and say that is not in the interest of the people of two nations. Dr. Lohi at one stage said that there should be a confederation between Pakistan and India. I am for it. Otherwise the problems of India and Pakistan can never be solved. This is one nation. Unless this again becomes one nation, Problems will not be solved.

Therefore, I would suggest that our Government should have a dialogue with Pakistan so that there may not be any war and we should make them realise that in case of a war, both the countries would be put to a great loss and our economics will be destroyed. We are spending so much on defence and all that. I would submit that this is the view which we in the Opposition are taking. Elections are coming. Everytime outside Parliament or inside Parliament you are saying, "there is danger", but at the same time you assure us that we are prepared. All right when you are prepared, there is no trouble. These are my sub-mission.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated); Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am surprised that the hon. Member who initiated the discussion on this Calling Attention Motion, the subject

of which is that there is a serious threat to the security of India. On account of developments on Indo-Pakistan frontiers, he has used this discussion to play down this particular threat itself and has used this discussion to make a frontal attack against the Government and the ruling party and its functionaries. I respectfully submit that by adopting this attitude, he has not only shown that he has got this particular debate initiated on totally ulterior political motives but he has displayed the same political motivation and the same political mentality which was displayed by the two prominent figures of the Janata Party who returned from Pakistan to declare that the rulers of Pakistan have nothing but peaceful intentions with regard to India. If there was any condemnation which was required of such political mentality and such declarations it was provided within a few days when we got the disturbing news that there is a concentration of Pakistan troops and commandos on the Ladakh border. It is this selfish political mentality working behind the various internal political parties and forces, namely to pull the country into a false sense of security for their own political purpose, which is creating trouble for the people in this country. Otherwise India is strong enough to face any external threat from any quarter. I respectfully submit, Sir, the political motivation behind this is that they know and they believe that the people in this country have had the experience and they know that if there is a threat to the security of India, India will have to depend upon the strong leadership of Mrs. Gandhi because it was her tried and tested leadership which pulled India out of the turmoil of 1971 to the placid waters of peace with glory and honour to the nation. It is this political threat to their own political existence which makes them mislead the people of their own country.

I respectfully submit, Sir, that we have nothing but feelings of friendship and

goodwill towards the people of Pakistan. These disturbing developments on the frontiers of India and Pakistan are not the creations of the people of Pakistan. They have no voice. Their political urges and aspirations are being stifled under the military heels of the military rulers of Pakistan. If these developments are there, it is because of the intentions and the policies of the rulers of Pakistan, in the framing of which the unfortunate people of Pakistan have no voice. Therefore whatever I want to say is only against the intentions and the policies of the rulers of Pakistan. As for the people of Pakistan, I have nothing but feelings of sympathy and goodwill towards them.

Why has Pakistan adopted this attitude? I respectfully submit, Sir, the most disturbing feature of these developments is not this that the Pakistan rulers have acquired massive sophisticated weapons. This has been going on for the last two years. The most disturbing feature which has given an ominous dimension to these developments is the confession made by the rulers of Pakistan only recently that Pakistan constitutes a front-line State of the western powers led by the United States. This means that Pakistan has become an integral part of the sinister policy of the United States—to which I drew the attention of this honourable House—to encircle India. Pakistan has chosen to become the Israel of South Asia at the behest of the United States. This is the most disturbing feature. Why has the United States adopted this attitude towards India? For so many reasons we know; (1) The United States will never allow India to emerge as a strong economic and industrial power in the world. (2) The United States cannot tolerate non-alignment, and all efforts of the United States are directed towards paralysing India in order to wreck the movement of non-alignment in the world. (3) There is a new aggressive spirit which has overtaken the rulers of the United States, and that is based on the concept of winnability of the nuclear war. It is because of this new spirit that

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

the United States has launched upon the policy of encirclement of the Soviet Union. This cannot be equated with her policy in the fifties. That was the policy of containment of Communism. Today it is the policy which is intended to destroy the entire Soviet system, India has stood up on the policy of non-alignment. India has refused to become a part of this policy of the United States because India is wedded to non-alignment. Because India has refused to become a part of this policy of the United States, the United States has also launched upon the policy of encirclement of India. India has refused to become a link in the chain which will encircle the Soviet Union because of her independence and policy of non-alignment. And so India is subjected to encirclement by the United States. These are the factors.

And I respectfully submit, Sir, that so far as nuclear powers are concerned they have been able to maintain and secure peace through balance of nuclear terror. But, so far as India and Pakistan are concerned, my respectful submission is that India will never be able to have peace with the rulers of Pakistan if India bases its policy on the balance of military power. India must convince the rulers of Pakistan that India will have the military retaliatory capacity to destroy the military and political machinery of Pakistan if the rulers of Pakistan decided to get themselves entangled with India. The Soviet Union had suffered twice. First Russia suffered in the First War. Then the Soviet Union because the Soviet Union had based its Union suffered in the Second World War military upon defensive strategy. After the Second World War, the Soviet Union also had to switch over to offensive strategy. We have to build our defences on the retaliatory capacity to convince Pakistan that Pakistan will not be there where it is if it decided to get entangled with ourselves. And, in this context, I would like to submit that the most important of the Armed Forces is the land Army. It is not the Air Force, it is not the Navy which ultimately wins war. Wars are won by capture of the enemy's territory; and territories are captured by the land Army. It is,

therefore, most important that we build up our land Army to an extent that this land Army of our should have so much preponderant numerical strength and should have so much superiority and mobility and fire power that Pakistan will not dare get entangled with us. In this context, I would also like to submit to the hon. Defence Minister that this theory that no one will commit aggression unless it has three times the strength of its victim does not hold good. I will give only two examples. The Germans had 135 divisions; the French, the Belgians and the Dutch had 136 divisions; and still aggression was committed. Not only was aggression committed, but also the Germans prevailed over a period of a few days because of their fire Power and the mobility of their tanks. Panzer divisions and paratroopers which gave absolutely a new dimension to the strategy of war. Similarly the Soviet Union, I need not give the figures.

Respectfully I would like to ask two or three questions from the hon. Minister for Defence. (1) What steps is India contemplating to ensure that Pakistan is left in no doubt that if Pakistan ever uses nuclear blackmail against India, India will have the instant capacity to retaliate? Number two, will the hon. Defence Minister assure this hon. House that India's defences are being built up on the concept of retaliatory capacity?

Number three, Sir, will the hon. Minister for Defence consider that our greatest strength is our manpower and whether it is not time for us to consider that out-regular army should also be supplemented with a new structuring involving building up of another land army based on Israeli model and the Soviet model, namely, two or three years' service with the army and then going back to civilian life but ready-to take up the arms and defend the country when the time comes?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The debate will continue after lunch.

**अन्न सदन की कार्यवाही 2-10 तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है।**

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

The House reassembled after lunch at twelve minutes past two of the clock, The Vice-Chairman (Shri Syed Rahmat Ali) in the Chair. ... :

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI); We continue with Calling-Attention. Shri K. Mohanan.

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala); Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are all concerned with the disturbing situation prevailing on our borders—the Pakistan border as well as Bangladesh border. We must have our preparations to face any eventualities. We must have to alert our Armed Forces' as well as our people—Complacency is the number one enemy, no doubt. But, Sir at the same time, I would like to say that any kind of exaggeration of the situation will be detrimental to our defence efforts itself.

Yesterday, I have referred to in my speech on Sri Lanka on certain matters related to this issue which we are discussing today. I am glad to note that my observations were correct which I have made yesterday. Some forces inside and outside of this country want to create an atmosphere of tension and confrontation or an atmosphere of cold war in this part of the world. They are deliberately trying to create an impression that our country is getting isolated and we are surrounded by enemies. Sir, my humble submission is that this is a spade work for something else. Shri Jaswant Singh has raised the question of this isolation through his Special Mention last week. That was on the Geneva conference on human rights. He tried to create an impression that our country had been completely isolated on the issue of sending a fact-finding commission to Afghanistan and his logical conclusion was that it was because of the failure of our foreign policy; so, we will have to change it. The two super-power theory is only a mask to hide the ugly face of pro-imperialism. Shri Jaswant Singh had lamented the isolation of the country. I would like to ask him what had happened on the Kashmir issue Sir, had we not been isolated in the UN General Assembly several times? How many times had the Soviet Union used their veto power in the

Security Council? Who saved you from that critical situation? None other than the Soviet bloc, the socialist bloc of this -world. So this isolation and support, all these things are part of the game of international situation. It is diplomacy. We will have to play it at the correct time.

Now, Shri Jaswant Singh and his party are very much concerned about the security of our country, and they are very much concerned about the threats from Pakistan. But at the same time, they are always against the policy taken by the Government on the Afghan issue. We all know who is behind Pakistan. At the same time, Shri Jaswant Singh and his party want to bring the US imperialism to the door-step of India, to Afghanistan, to support Pakistan to attack India. Is it the intention? I would like to bear from my ' hon. friend. Time and again, you are criticising the policy of the Government. Sir I want to know from the hon. Member, Shri Jaswant Singh, and his party whether they are in favour of severing relations with the Soviet Union to bring US imperialism to this continent, to Afghanistan, to support Pakistan to attack India. If this is the intention, definitely the people of this country will defeat that intention and that move. It is no secret. Sir, I would like to say.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH Sir, I have requested him to yield. Under normal circumstances, I would not have interrupted, but against the normal practice of the Minister having to reply to such a debate, since my name has been mentioned on so many occasions and in so many different contexts, perhaps it would be proper if I exercised the right to reply. Thank you very much.

SHRI K. MOHANAN; I am happy to yield to him because originally our demand was for a discussion on the international situation to mention all these things, but because of the paucity of time, we could not have it. So I will have to mention these things in the background of this particular situation, that is, the disturbing situation prevailing on our borders. We will have to discuss the stand taken by

[Shri K. Mob-scum]

each and every party of this country. So I mention these things. I am prepared to yield for an explanation from Mr. Jaswant Singh. I have no objection.

Sir, it is a fact that somebody wants to change our foreign policy and to sever our relations with the Soviet Union. It is a fact. I am not going into the details of that part of the issue. Sir. I do agree that the situation on our borders, not only with Pakistan but also with Bangladesh is disturbing. Everybody knows that it was part of the global strategy of American imperialism. It was their game to destabilise different regions of the world and to kill democracy. In Latin America, in Nicaragua, in Honduras, in Diego Garcia, in Grenada, everywhere they are playing this game. US imperialism wants to extend its war machinery everywhere in the world. The military rulers of Pakistan are a part of this war machinery of the US imperialism. They are supplying sophisticated weapons and even nuclear technology to Pakistan. The military rulers of Pakistan nowadays are facing stiff opposition from the democratic movement of their country. It is a fact. They want to divert the attention of the democratic movement of the democratic people of that country, to some other issues. So they want to create an atmosphere of cold war. Not only that. Beyond that. They want to have a confrontation with neighbouring countries, especially India, in order to divert the attention of the people of Pakistan. The people of Pakistan believe in democracy. They are not our enemies. But the military rulers want to divert the enmity of the people towards them to the people of India. But we shall not fall a prey to this game and to this conspiracy. That is my submission. Defence preparedness is a must. More important than that is the friendship between the peoples of different countries. We must be prepared to face any eventuality. But at the same time we must have good relations with our neighbouring countries through our diplomatic channels; we love our relationship and friendship with the neighbouring people.

Importance

In this connection I want to mention one last point. Yesterday also I mentioned it. Not only some interested parties but the leaders of the Government itself including the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister, everyday are crying there is a threat from our neighbouring country, there is a threat from our neighbouring country. Yes, I do agree with you, there is a threat. But this cry of a threat—I am not-terming it a war cry—will create as I have already pointed out—an adverse effect in our Defence preparedness, our Defence efforts, and it will create a panic among the people. I do not know whether the ruling party too has its own political motives behind these utterances. If there be such motives, I humbly request you not to play with the defence and security, with the unity and integrity of this country.

Lastly, Sir, as I have already said, defence preparedness is a must. At the same time I would like to know from the honourable Minister what action has been taken to defuse the situation through diplomatic relations with our neighbouring countries, and whether there is any proposal—that was the last question posed by Mr. Jaswant Singh himself—with the Government to have a high-level conference to defuse the situation.

'SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka); Sir, already a large area has been covered and I do not want to traverse the same ground. There are two aspects arising out of this situation. One is the political aspect and the other is the military aspect. Both the aspects are important and they have to be kept in view when we are dealing with a situation like [this]. I take it that there has been a heavy concentration of Pakistan troops on our border. The Minister also said that Pakistan Government is taking a number of steps to improve its infrastructure there. In the recent past there have been violations on our border. There have been transgressions by Pakistani aircraft and helicopter. They have been building up tension. There is no doubt about it. There

has been considerable accumulation of sophisticated hardware by Pakistan. There is a multi-million dollar contract given to the United States for the supply of sophisticated weapons of war. And they have got these sophisticated weapons. Besides, it is also true that there is some sort of alliance or, if not alliance, understanding between Pakistan and China with regard to sharing of nuclear technology. There has been an assurance on the part of China that they would stand by Pakistan to safeguard their legitimate security interests. But I fail to understand why Pakistan has resorted to this activity at this juncture. I am more on the lime factor. Why have they selected this time? The equipment coming to Pakistan to be used against Afghanistan or those who support Afghanistan are being turned against India. The gun that has got to be turned against Afghanistan is being turned against us. Why at this juncture? I am unable to understand. The supply of sophisticated weapons has been going on for long since Afghanistan crisis started. At that time there was no tension created on our borders. on the contrary Pakistan leadership tried to tell India that they are maintaining friendlist relations with India and - they would continue to maintain it. They told us that they are committed to Simla Agreement and they have asserted that they would remain in the best of terms with Indian Government.

Why did they go back on these assurances at this particular time? Is it because they feel stronger than before? Is it because their interests have been threatened from our side? Is it because that the domestic situation in Pakistan is compelling them to take this posture against India? We remember that whenever there was internal compulsion, when the situation inside the country became serious grave, explosive, dangerous and alarming for the regime, the regime went against India and tried to adopt militant postures. Is it so? What is the provocation which made Pakistan to adopt this attitude?

Secondly, they are concentrating troops on our border. We are very much concerned about it. Our security is paramount

and it has got to be protected. I do not think there is any Parry in this country which will let down the country. Let not my friend call others names.

In the matter of national security and integrity, there is none in this country who will let down this country. I think this thing has been tested and tested several times in the past. There is no betrayal. All the political parties, without exception, have looked at the sovereignty and integrity of India as paramount, as overriding. they have not taken any partisan attitude in this regard. May, I, therefore say that in this situation also, if there is a threat against India by Pakistan, we will meet it manfully and there is no question of shinking and there is no doubt about that? But i woulj like to know what made Pakistan change its posture. Why has it changed its posture? And the Minister's statement made some reference to the nuclear preparedness of Pakistan. At one time, we were far ahead of Pakistan in nuclear technology. Even now, I think, we are ahead, not far ahead but ahead of Pakistan in nuclear technology. But there is the new element coming in.- China trying to help Pakistan, to equip Pakistan to give technical know-how to Pakistan. With this new element coming in. where *do* we stand? Will this new factor the nncfear factor, affect the balance? Is it going to upset the balance, the military balance, the regional balance, the political balance, in this area? Has the Government of India made any study of this issue? Has the Government of India made a study of this to find out whether the nuclear arms or the help that Pakistan is going to get from China is leading these countries into a nuclear armaments race? We want to avoid a nuclear armaments race as a nation. We are a peaceful nation and we do not want to exploit the nuclear technology, the nuclear know-how that we have, for military purposes. We have made our intentions clear. But, if Pakistan were to get the know-how, the nuclear technology from China, where do we stand at that time? Are we going to be sucked into the nuclear armaments race which we have always been trying to avoid? If that is

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy] so, I am afraid, it requires a new look, a new orientation, a change, a shift, in our strategy, in our policy and in our approach, I think we should not upset the balance in this subcontinent. We should restore the equilibrium which prevailed after the Simla Agreement. May I ask my friend, Shri Venkataraman—he is a very able Minister and an old friend of mine—to ponder over this talk to the Pakistan Government and find out whether they are serious, sincere, and are accepting the Simla Agreement *in toto* and are going to 'follow whatever is laid down in the Simla Agreement. Whether a reiteration of the Simla Agreement, a reiteration of the commitment on the part of Pakistan, on the part of India, is necessary or not, let *him* think over. We in this country do not want any war against Pakistan, We do not want to dismember Pakistan. We do not want Pakistan to be weak. (*Time bell rings*). We want Pakistan to be a strong neighbour. But, at the same time, we do not want Pakistan to be an irritant, to upset the balance of forces here and create problems on our border. If the domestic situation in Pakistan is the main factor, is the main reason, is the main cause, for the concentration of troops on our border, to divert the attention of the people there, I can understand that. So my hon. friend must tell us, because he is in a position to tell us, whether that is a fact.

So, in the end, it is necessary to make a political assessment as well as military assessment of this matter. Both are important. I would like the Minister to categorically state that we have taken the China factor as well as the American factor into consideration. And wherever there is co-operation or military alliance or *entente* between powers, against our interests, you have to take note of it. It may come from the east, it may come from the west, it may come from the north or it may come from the south. I do not make a distinction. (*Time bell rings*)

Thank you

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) :  
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, यह अत्यन्त ही बुद्धद

विषय है कि भारत के बार-बार प्रयास करने पर भी कि पाकिस्तान से हमारी दोस्ती बरकरार रहे, उधर से आक्रामक बात हो रही है। अभी जिस चीज की हम लोग चर्चा कर रहे हैं उस सम्बन्ध में यह सोचने के पक्षेष्ट कारण हैं कि परिस्थिति गम्भीर होती चली जा रही है। पाकिस्तान द्वारा काश्मीर का जो अधिकृत क्षेत्र है वहाँ, जैसे अखबारों में समाचार आये हैं, सीमा पर तीन-चार किलोमीटर अन्दर की सिविलियन पापुलेशन को हटाया जा रहा है। यह बात पहले से ही हो रही है। करा-कुरम रोड में अगल-बगल में 20 से ज्यादा एयरस्ट्रिप बनाई जा चुकी हैं। गिलगित में जो हवाई अड्डा बनाया गया है वह मुख्य तौर से आक्रमण के लिए है, हैवी बाम्बर्स के लिए है। इस तरह की बातें लगातार होती रहीं हैं। बहुत से लोग पूछते हैं कि ऐसी स्थिति का क्या कारण है। हमारे लिहाज से बहुत स्पष्ट कारण हैं। पाकिस्तान की हुकूमत ऐसी हुकूमत है जिसको जनता का समर्थन प्राप्त नहीं है, वह जनता का सरकार नहीं है और इस लिए अगर उस को टिकना है, उस को खड़ा रहना है तो वह मिलिटरी छत्र-छाया में ही खड़ी रह सकता है। घटना ऐसी घटा है कि ईरान में क्रांति हो जाने के बाद अमेरिका का अड्डा नहीं रहा और इस इंडियन पेनिनसुला पर अपना प्रभाव—या कहिए कुप्रभाव—रखने के लिए अमेरिका एक से एक सोफिस्टिकेटेड हथियार से पाकिस्तान को सजा-धजा रहा है और उन हथियारों के भारत को छोड़ कर और कहीं इस्तेमाल नहीं हो सकते। कोई ऐसा देश नहीं है। उधर सोवियत संघ है, जिस के लिए पाकिस्तान एक-आध घंटे का मेहमान ही ठहरेगा। और कोई दूसरा रास्ता ही नहीं, हमारे ऊपर ही रास्ता है।



लेकिन चिन्ता की बात यह है कि हमारी सरकार से उतनी सूचनाएं हम को प्राप्त नहीं होतीं जितनी सूचनाएं अमेरिकन साइड से या दूसरी तरह से मिलती हैं। आणविक बमों की तैयारी की ही बात ले ली जाए। हमारी सरकार ने कभी हम लोगों को इस बात से वाकिफ नहीं कराया कि यथार्थ में वहां क्या हो रहा है जब तक कि हम लोगों के बाद में यह नहीं जाना कि डा० अब्दुल कादिर खां जो पाकिस्तान के न्यूक्लियर आर्म्स के संयोजक थे उन पर हालैंड में मुकदमा चला और उन को सजा हुई। यह सब अमेरिकन पत्रों के द्वारा ही बाद में ज्ञात होता रहा है। उस की पुष्टि जो भूत-पूर्व एम्बेसेडर थे पाकिस्तान के सज्जाद हैदर साहब उन्होंने भी की है, गरचे उन्होंने न्यूक्लियर हथियारों की तैयारी की सराहना की है। तो यह समझ में नहीं आता कि हमारी सरकार हमारे लोगों को इन बातों से वाकिफ क्यों नहीं करती। मैं यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि अभी हाल में जरूर ऐसा कुछ कहा गया, लेकिन पहले से यह बातें नहीं आ रही हैं। हम लोगों ने अमरीकी पत्र 1983 अगस्त महीने का जो न्यूक्लियॉनिस बिक है उस में देखा था कि खुद अमेरिका के डिप्टी मिनिस्टर हैवर्ड शेफर ने 83 में स्वीकारा कि पाकिस्तान को न्यूक्लियर इनफार्मेशन चीन के द्वारा दी जा रही है। अभी नाभिकीय नियंत्रण संस्थान के जो पाल, लेमथन है उन्होंने बताया है कि चीन ने ही पाकिस्तान को आणविक सूचनाएं दी हैं। यह एक अत्यन्त ही चिन्ताजनक बात है और फरवरी 84 को स्वयं डिप्टी जिया ने भी स्वीकारा कि जहां तक यूरेनियम के परिष्करण का मामला है उस में पाकिस्तान ने विशेषज्ञता हासिल की है। तो अगर ऐसी बातें हो रही हैं, तो मैं यह नहीं चाहता कि सारे देश को आतंकित किया जाय लेकिन

सदन को या देश के लोगों को इस बात की जानकारी तो अवश्य करानी चाहिए और उस के लिये तैयारी जरूर करनी होगी। इस के अलावा और कोई रास्ता नहीं है। मैं इस बात की चर्चा इस लिये कर रहा हूं कि हम लोगों ने, सारे भारत ने स्वीकार कर लिया है कि पाकिस्तान एक स्वतंत्र हस्ती है। यह सही है कि हमारे ही देश का वह एक टुकड़ा है, और हमारे देश से ही वह बना था, लेकिन हम लोगों ने उस को स्वीकार कर लिया है और चूंकि वहां एक डिक्टेटरशिप है इस लिये वह भारत को बर्दाश्त नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। दूसरे, यदि कम्युनल आधार पर कोई राज्य कायम होता है तो उस का यही हाल होता है। वह हर वक्त दूसरों के बारे में चिंतित रहता है। तो हमारी तरफ से मित्रता के प्रयास होते रहें इस में हम को कोई एतराज नहीं है। वह होने चाहिए लेकिन नान-एग्जेशन पैकट जब उन्होंने आफर किया था तो ऐसा लगा था कि सचमुच कोई ऐसी बात हो रही है। लेकिन जब भारत की तरफ से उस के बदले फ्रेंडशिप पैकट का आफर दिया गया तो अभी तक पाकिस्तान उस को लटका रहा है। इस से स्पष्ट है कि नान-एग्जेशन पैकट नान-एग्जेशन के लिये नहीं था, बल्कि हम लोगों को घपलेबाजी में रखने के लिये रखा गया था। इस लिये हम समझते हैं कि सारा देश इस के लिये चिंतित है कि कम से कम न्यूक्लियर फील्ड में वह क्या कर रहा है इस से हमारे रक्षा मंत्री जी देश को अवगत करायें और उस की काउन्टर तैयारी क्या हो सकती है इसे भी बतायें। यह एक बहुत खतरनाक विषय है कि हमारे देश को भी उस रास्ते पर ले जाया जाय जिसका हम बराबर विरोध करते रहे हैं; लेकिन

## [श्री खतुरानन मिश्र]

अमरीका से हम उम्मीद ही क्या कर सकते हैं ? वह हमारी फाइनेंशियल स्थिति को अत्यन्त खराब करने के सारे प्रयास करता चला जा रहा है और इस मामले में हमारी सरकार की तरफ से जितना जो कुछ किया जाना चाहिए था अमरीका के विरुद्ध वह नहीं किया जा रहा है । वह पाकिस्तान को इस ढंग से ऐसे हथियारों से लैस कर रहा है और उनके लिए आणविक मामलों में नियंत्रण भी ढीला कर रहा है, उस से यह जाहिर होता है कि अमरीका हमारे खिलाफ कौसी दुश्मनी कर रहा है ? न्यूक्लियर शर्तों के बारे में हमारा जो न्यूक्लियर विजली घर तारापुर का उस को भारी पानी देने के बारे में उस की ओर से कितनी ही शर्तें लगायी गयीं और उस बारे में अगर वहां के प्रेसीडेंट कभी ढीले भी होते हैं तो अमरीकन सीनेट उस पर कड़ाई करती थी, लेकिन अभी जो वाजिंग में वार्ता चली चीन के साथ उस में कोई कड़ाई नहीं दिखायी गयी । पाकिस्तान के साथ वह शर्तबंदी नहीं की जाती है । तो हमारा ख्याल है कि हमारी सरकार की अमरीका की इन कार्यवाहियों को अनफ्रेंडली ऐक्ट डिक्लेयर करना चाहिए क्योंकि वह हमारे देश को अस्तव्यस्त करना चाहता है ।

आखिर में एक बात यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह बात मेरी सभ्रम में नहीं आती कि हमारे ही देश के कुछ मिलन, कुछ माननीय सदस्यगण ऐसे भी हैं जो जाते हैं जियाउल हक के पास और उन से पूछते हैं कि क्या आप हम पर आक्रमण करना चाहते हैं । यह क्या बात हुई । जो आक्रमण करेगा क्या वह इस तरह से बतायेगा । यह क्या मैरिज पार्टी का इन्विटेशन है कि जो आप को

वह पहले से भेज देंगे । यह एक अजीबो-गरोब बात है कि इस ढंग से बात हो रही है । मेरे लिहाज से तो स्पष्ट है कि हमारा देश में ऐसा मानता हूँ कि कैपिटलिस्ट पाथ पर चल रहा है । लेकिन एक स्वतंत्र तरीके से हम अपने देश का निर्माण कर रहे हैं और कैपिटलिस्ट तरीके का मैं विरोधी हूँ । मैं तो समाजवाद में विश्वास रखने वाला आदमी हूँ, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी जो स्वतंत्र नीति है, जो हमारी स्वतंत्र वैदेशिक नीति है उस को दबाने के लिये अमरीका हमारे देश पर यह चोट कर रहा है और अमरीका ऐसे काम सारे विश्व में कर रहा है । अगर देखा जाये तो 15, 16 ऐसे देश हैं जिन में वह वहां की डिक्टेटरशिप को मदद कर रहा है और इसी लिये हम में से जित मिल के यह शक हो कि वह प्रजातंत्र की रक्षा के लिये ऐसा कर रहा है तो वह बिलकुल स्वप्न सिद्ध होगा । वह अपने देश में भले ही प्रजातंत्र रखे, यह अमरीकनों और अग्रेजों की पालिसी रही है कि वह दूसरे देशों के साथ बुरे से बुरे तरह का व्यवहार करते हैं और वहां बुरी तरह की डिक्टेटरशिप की स्थापना करते हैं और उस की फिर मदद करते हैं और इस लिये मैं फिर दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार को जनता को विश्वास में लेकर एक स्पष्ट नीति का अवलंबन करना चाहिए और आज आणविक रक्षा के लिए क्या हो सकता है इस बारे में भी जानकारी होनी चाहिए क्योंकि कोबरा हैलीकोप्टर जो अमरीकन्स की तरफ से पाकिस्तान को दिया गया है वह मिजाइल से सज्जित हो सकता है जो हमारे देश की रक्षा के लिए अत्यन्त ही खतरनाक है । इसलिए मैं अपेक्षा करता हूँ कि हमारे रक्षा मंत्री

जी, जहां तक संभव हो, मैं यह नहीं कहता हूँ कि सारी बातें यहां खुलकर कह देंगे, ऐसा होता भी नहीं है, लेकिन जहां तक हो सके, वह देश को अवगत करायेंगे। सञ्चन्यवाद।

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHA-KRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice Chairman Sir, these was a historical pact of Simla in 1972 and I think there is no impact of such a great pact now em the relations between India and Pakistan. The tension on the borders and the mistrust continued to plague.

Sir, most of the hon. Members have said that in order to divert the attention of the people, the Military regime of Pakistan is creating tension of the border. I agree with them. Recently, there has been a great pressure from inside the country to restore the democratic government and Gen. Zia-ul-Haq himself has declared that he has no intention to continue in power after the elections. He desires to be in power but he Says that he has no intention to continue in power after the elections. A person who is intending to rule the country, and not interested to continue in power after elections can never implement the democratic process, and he cannot hold the elections. That is why, Sir, to divert the attention of the people from the democratic process and elections, they are taking all steps to create some tension on the borders. Sir, recently, Gen. Zia himself has disclosed that there are 15 Divisions in all in Pakistan Army, aiy 10 out of them have been poised at the borders of India. Apart from that, the Pakistan Government has procured several sophisticated weapons, nuclear weapons, from the Western countries. And they have also created some disturbance on our border. Recently, in the last month, in the Maodhar sector of Poonch district, there was an unprovoked firing on our side and that was, of course, repulsed back by the honoured soldiers of our country. Sir, some helicopters and some aircrafts have violated *our air space*, and one of them has land-

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ed in the Hoshiarpur district of Punjab-And they have got away without being: shot down Of course they have declarai that they have no hand in the events in Punjab. But definitely, I think, the Gov ernment of Pakistan is meddling in the events in Punjab.

Sir, Pakistan has acquired the nuclear capability and it is in a position to build bombs. That is why all these things indicate the evil designs of Pakistan, and there is a great threat posed to our secus. rity. That is why the Government has to be alive to all these developments.

Sir, lastly I would like to put two questions to the hon. Minister of Defence. The Minister, in his statement, has declared that they are well prepared to face any sort of danger. Bat I do not knovr how the aircraft and the helicopters landed in our territories and they get away without being shot down. I would like to know whether the radar system of our country *is* effective. Sir, I now come to my second question. Sir, in the Lot Sabha, on the 11th April of this year, the hon. Minister of State for Home Affairs has disclosed that 2942 Pakistanis were in Rajasthan a.nd that 118 persons out *of them* were not traceable. I would like to know from the hon. Defence Minister as to what steps the Government has taken to trace all those persons untraceable so that they do not indulge in any acts of sabotage. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI; Sir, one of the earlier speakers, Shri Ramanand Yadav, has on various occasions charged the opposition of various things. But today...

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: No, I have never charged. When have I charged? You have got a wrong impression.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: But today I have felt specially hurt when he tried to challenge the patriotism of the Members of the opposition. Sir, I would like to say that some of us have fought a couple of wars for the country. We have not sat in air-conditioned rooms and given war cries. We have seen what war means what ravages of war are. We have seen how young widows, the after- math of the war, are struggling today.

[Shri Suresh Kalmadi]

We have seen tears in the eyes of many children when the father did not come back from the battle-front. We have seen aft these things. That is why when we hear the word 'war' or 'war hysteria', we definitely would like it to be the last resort. War hysteria statement means the end of statesmanship. That means our country has failed as far as statesmanship is concerned. That means our country has failed as far as diplomacy is concerned.

Sir, we have had the Non-Aligned Meet. We have had the CHOGM here. We are worried about hundred other countries. But what is the relationship with the  
 • neighbours? What is the relationship with Pakistan? Bad. What is the relationship with Bangladesh? Bad. Ceylon-bad. Ncpa'—suspicion. There is total failure of our foreign policy. We should have concentrated  
 • on direct talks with them. We as the Chairperson of the NAM, should be talking to the smaller countries. That is our responsibility. But  
 ' instead of doing that we are concentrating on other international forums. We cannot afford a war. Both the countries cannot afford a war. Our yearly budget is. Rs 12,000 crores between India and Pakistan. There are high food prices in both countries. We just cannot afford a war. I am very, very concerned Sir. when I see various statements by the hon. Raksha Mantri, by one of which he has given authority to his Generals, who, in the northern sector, have been calling press conferences, which has never happened in the history of the country before, namely, that the General of the Army is given powers to hold a press conference every fifteen days.

Sir, our Raksha Mantri has expressed a lot of concern about Pakistan acquiring a lot of arms. We are also very concerned about it. They have been getting a lot of sophisticated equipment from the United States and other countries. They have been getting the Harpoon missiles and a horde of other equipment. We also have not been lagging behind. We have countered it by getting the Jaguar. We have countered it by getting the

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Mirage. We have countered it now by getting the MIG 29 and 31.

**श्री रामानन्द यादव : जगुआर क्या मुकाबला कर सकते हैं एफ-16 का ?**

**श्री सुरेश कलमाडी : डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब जवाब देंगे, आप क्यों बोल रहे हैं।**

**उपसभ्यक्ष (श्री संयद रहमत अली): यादव जी आप इनको बोलने दीजिए नहीं तो और लम्बा हो जायेगा।**

SHRI SURESH KALMADI; Jaguar is the bomber, whereas a mirage is a fighter. (Interruption). Our strength vis-a-vis Pakistan is all right. What we have to worry about is not only Pakistan's strength in times of war which happened last time, they were supplied arms, equipment, ammunition and aircraft by the neighbouring gulf countries, by the Arab countries and by China. I want to know from the Defence Minister and from this Government what initiatives have been taken by the Government to talk to the Arab countries, the gulf countries, that in the event of war their arms will not be supplied to Pakistan. These are the things which our Government should try to settle by mutual talks with these Arab countries. The Defence Minister has also said at various times that our defence preparedness is at its peak. Defence preparedness at its peak was recently seen when a Cessna aircraft of Pakistan Civil Aviation flew into Indian territory for two hours. It was hovering on the border for two hours it came inside and our radars failed to detect it, and finally because the aircraft ran out of fuel, it landed in the Indian territory and that is how we came to know that a Pakistani aircraft landed in India. For two hours, our radars did not come to know of it; our forward air bases did not come to know of it; our FACs on the forward line with all their telephone system and the whole ring of it, did not come to know anything about it. Is this your defence preparedness?

*Public Importance*

I would like to draw the attention of the Minister of Defence to the oil installations in Bombay High. I, for one, have been in that area and I would like to say that though this country is sinking thousands of crores of rupees on petrol production in Bombay High, there is totally inadequate defence of Bombay High, by means of aircrafts or by means of gunnery or anti-aircraft guns. I think the Defence Minister should bear in mind this particular aspect.

Also, our protection to all the radar twits, signal units is far less than what is required and I think special attention must be focussed on this aspect; otherwise, within one hour of the outbreak of war, I think all our oil bases can be destroyed. This is the situation today which is very grim. And I have come to this conclusion after taking to a lot of service officers I am sure Defence Minister will look into that also. Our protection of the forward air bases needs to be strengthened a bit.

Also Sir, our fire-extinguishing capacity is far too low. Even in cities we know fire-extinguishing capacity. But in the eventuality of a war, when there is likelihood of aircrafts coming loaded with bombs, we have to be prepared with enough fire-extinguishing capacity. A bomb can even land in Delhi. There was a fire some days back near one of the villages of Delhi and over 2000 hutments were destroyed and ten thousand people had to be evacuated because of failure of fire-fighting equipment. In the eventuality of a war, I shudder to think as to what is going to happen to this city. So much of Government money is spent on this city, and the Government would like it to be protected. I would, therefore, like the fire-fighting equipment to be strengthened.

Also in the case of Israel-type attack vis-a-vis Pakistan, I think there is need to be more atari on Sundays because that is a day when most of the armed forces are on holiday, and I am sure the Defence

Minister will pay more attention to that aspect.

The main Battle Tank which we have been trying to produce for the last so many years has still not come on the road and I think, in the interest of the security of this country MBT project will be hastened up.

I would now like to ask a few questions. One is, whether it is a fact that a month or two back... (*Time bell rings*)

I am putting questions only; you have allowed Mr. Ramannad Yadav 20 minutes, and not even 7 minutes to me? I am also a member of a group of 18. So, Sir, I would like to know whether any espionage was detected in Kashmir Valley and is it a fact that 6 Indian officers, Indian Defence personnel, were caught in the espionage activity? This happened about

2 months back. If the answer is yes, investigation is going on, or whatever it is, I would like to know why the Parliament was not informed of this. It is a very serious matter and I think the Defence Minister should take this House into confidence when such a serious thing has been unearthed; the Defence Minister should have brought this to the notice of the House immediately. Also we have seen that in Jammu and Kashmir a democratically-elected Government is being harassed because they are not toeing the Central line. You know, in case of any war both Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab are the two States which are most vital for the security of the country. In Jammu and Kashmir, steps are going on to destabilise the Government, which is not in the interest of the country. You might have a State Government which is against the ruling party But it does not mean that all sorts of activities should go on there to destabilise the Government. The last thing is about Punjab. The Government has said that there are commandos coming from the Pakistani territory across the border. I would like to know whether the Government has established this fact and that whether, so far, Government have been able to capture any of the commandos coming from the forward bases in Pakistan?

SHRI R VENKATARAMAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I must express my appreciation to hon. Members for the keen interest they have taken on the subject. This is a subject which is above controversy and I would like to avoid any controversy in respect of the defence's preparedness and all matters connected therewith. I will try to deal with some of the general propositions first and then I will answer the points raised by hon. individual Members.

Members raised the question whether the Government is ever-reacting and whether the Government is exaggerating the threat. There are also Members like Mr. Ram-anand Yadav who said that we are not doing anything, that we are not acting properly and that something more effective must be done. Government have to strike a balance between these two extremes. There are always such pressures in every country, that you must do more towards defence preparedness, take a hawkish attitude and so on. There will also be people who will say that we should play down the defence needs, that development is more important than defence and, therefore, you should try to keep it at a very low key. I think, both these approaches are not correct. What the Government has to do is to have a pragmatic view of the situation as it stands and then meet it to the best, not only, of its ability, but to the best of the nation's ability, the nation which consists of the Government, the Opposition and everybody else.

Here, I would mention that the induction of sophisticated weapons, in very large numbers out of all proportion to the security needs of Pakistan itself constitutes a threat, in my opinion to the neighbouring security. My friend, Mr. Jaswant Singh, who is an expert on defence matters advises me that we should look at the intentions and that when I say that I will not take into account the intentions but the actual situation, I was wrong. I refuse to be advised by him here. It is the duty of the Government to keep its defence preparedness at its peak irrespective of the intentions, professed, ex-

pressed or implied, of the neighbouring country. If the neighbour goes on storing gun powder on his side, if I do not even have a fire hydrant to quench it, I will be labelled a fool. Therefore, the position today is, Pakistan is acquiring weapons, out of all proportion to its needs. It was said at one point of time, that these are required for being used against Afghanistan. -If that were so, can submarines fight Afghanistan? Can Harpoons be used against Afghanistan? The very fact that they are going on increasing the defence equipment to such a high pitch constitutes a threat to us and we have got to be prepared. I would like to rather err on the side of over-caution in the matter and be over-prepared, rather than be less prepared or unprepared. When the matter was referred to by some people that we are trying to use it for political advantage, exaggerating it, for whipping up passion, enthusiasm, on behalf of or in favour of the Government. Well, I must confess that there have been too many discussions on defence and I myself would not have liked it had not Mr. Jaswant Singh insisted on this today and had not the other House asked for it on the 4th of May. It was not as if somebody came *suo moto* and made the statement. The other House wanted information on certain things which appeared on the 4th of May in the press and therefore on the same day I thought it was my duty to give the House all the information that the Government had in the matter. Now if I come to the House or state in public the position, it is not to create a scare because it is totally against my own interest the Government's interest and the country's interest but to keep the country informed of the developments in this direction.

The most important issue before us is: are we doing every thing to safeguard the integrity and sovereignty of the country? Are we doing every thing to see that no adventurist activity takes place, taking into account or mistaking into account our unpreparedness to meet the situation. Let me give you the facts with regard to the situation now. Between 1st of

April and 15th of April, in the first fortnight there were 16 firings across the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir in Nowshera, Bimargali, area. In the second fortnight of April, there have been 19 firings across the border. When these firings take place, if they are not effective we do not return them. But if they are effective then we return the fire. And on many occasions we have had to return the fire because they were effective firing. Could anybody say if in one month there are 35 incidents of firing across the line of control that I should take it Ooraplacjenitily and say "well, we must took at the intentions of Pakistan whether they want to have a war with us or not, whether they are not friendly to us, whether they have not mentioned to some of the Members of Parliament that they are interested only in • peace and not in any provocation"? The very fact that there have been air violations and firings across the line of control, puts us in a position in. which we have got to exert every nerve to see that •our defence is kept at its peak.

It was also said that the forces of Pakistan are too small in relation to ours and therefore we should not be very much worried. I am sorry it is not a fact Considering the size and obligations of Pakistan, which I would put only at one-seventh or one'eighth of India, their army is 50 per cent of our standing army. And the deployment of their forces is like this. They have four Infantry Divisions in Jammu and Kashmir. In Punjab they have three Independent Armoured Brigades and 6 Infantry Divisions. In the Southern Sector, they have one Armoured Division and one Infantry Division. In Rajasthan they have one Independent Armoured Brigade and Infantry. As against this the deployment of their forces in Afghanistan is only 2 Infantry Divisions and one in Baluchistan. You can now see what is the deployment of forces. If they have good intentions towards India.. why is it that three-fourth of their forces are deployed on Indian border? And when I see the deployment of three-fourth of their army on my border, do you mean to say we can keep quiet, we can take it that they are not

going to indulge in any misadventure? Whether they do it or not is not my concern. It is the duty of the Defence Minister to see that the country is kept in its peak preparedness. There is no other alternative. The Foreign Minister can come and say, this neighbouring country is friendly, that country is friendly and this country is friendly but, so far as the Defence Minister is concerned, if there is a concentration of troops or armaments or anything of the kind of any side, it is his duty to see that he gets the preparations to the peak level. He cannot take the intentions or the views expressed for granted and act on them.

Now, I do not know if I can take a little time and *explain* all these things.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes, yes.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: Then I come to the next one. Zia himself admits that there have been border incidents. In fact, over the Pakistan Radio he has said that incidents along the line of control between Pakistan and India have been occurring. So, it is not that I am exaggerating. He himself admits that it is so. And not only that.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: Please reply to our specific questions.....

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN; I prefer to do it in my own way. I don't want to be advised on this ... *(Interruptions)* ... If I do not deal with your point you can ask at that time. Because they find it inconvenient to the thesis which they have developed, they are protesting This is the position. Likewise, the position today is that in the border, particularly in the Jammu and Kashmir border and in the border of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, there is a concentration of troops and that is why the threat becomes acute. The point which I will now deal with is the nuclear threat which again was dealt with by all the Members. So far as India is concerned, it stands committed to the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and we have reiterated it time and again. We have been informed by several sources—but we have on authentic information—about Pakistan building up its

*Importance*

[Shri R. Venkataraman] nuclear capability. For instance on the 13th of June 1983 there was a report of a seismic event in Baluchistan which some people termed as a nuclear explosion. In an interview, the Pakistan Director of Atomic Research stated on 10th February 1984 that Pakistan has mastered the technology of uranium enrichment and that they have developed their nuclear potential. Theta, in one of the testimonies given before a Senate Committee, Dr. Paul Leveanthal, President of the American Nuclear Control Institute, is reported to have stated—to the Congress Committee on Foreign Affairs—that China has transferred to Pakistan sensitive nuclear weapons design information. We do not know how far it is true. I said in reply to the debate in the Lower House that I will have to proceed on the footing that they have the nuclear capability; I can't take any risks. I cannot disclose exactly what we have in our programme, but I want to assure the House that we have taken note of it. We are taking measures, should there be any misadventure. These are the broad points of interest which I wanted to highlight.

Now I will deal with the particular points raised. Mr. Jaswant Singh asked me: why did the Senate Relations Committee change its attitude, etc.? Well it is not for me to say why the United States acted in a particular way. But this has been very effectively answered" by a brilliant speech by Mr. Bhatia wherein he detailed the reasons for the American attitude towards India. I do not want to repeat them; I only want to adopt them.

Then Mr. Jaswant Singh asked me whether there has been any incident in the Karpil sector. Yes: that is what I have reported. On the 17th of April, two helicopters and four aircraft were stationed. And we have protested against it. Pakistan has protested that it is their territory. While we are there, Pakistan says it is their territory. And in reply to their protest we have said—I have repeated it both on 4th May as well as now today in my statement—that if there is any dispute or

difference in respect of this, the usual procedure of having it settled through flag meetings can be resorted to. But this has not been accepted. Everybody knows, particularly those who have known the state of affairs in Jammu and Kashmir, if there is an exchange of fire and if there is any point to be settled, we have a flag-meeting at the local commanders level and they settle it by discussion. But this has not been done. Therefore, as far as we are concerned the hand of friendship is extended towards them. We are willing to have flag meetings. We are willing to meet at the level of the Joint Commission which is meeting. We have a Joint Commission between India and Pakistan where our Foreign Minister and their Foreign Minister are represented, where they can discuss. Therefore, the question is not that we are not willing to discuss. On the contrary, we are ready to discuss everything, and we have told them that this could be discussed.

Then both Mr. Kalmadi and Mr. Jaswant Singh asked me about the landing of the trainer aircraft, a flying club aircraft. Yes, in Mukerian they did land. But then they said it was by mistake. The Pakistan Government has apologized. That is the end of the matter. Mr. Kalmadi said: Your preparedness is so bad that you did not know. I am afraid, he did not get his facts correct. As soon as this aircraft crossed the Indian border our ground observation post immediately got the information, relayed to the headquarters, then the Air Force people came, and those people said: We have landed here because of the shortage of fuel. They were thoroughly examined; the aircraft was completely and fully examined; there was nothing in it. And, therefore, according to the well known international convention,...

SHRI SURESH KALMADI : What was wrong with the radar?

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: Kindly sit down. I will tell you. You are a flier and you still ask me this question. An aircraft, an air club aircraft, flying at 200 feet can never be found by a radar. *Txks*



adeast *this* information from me. It cannot be found by a radar.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: That means, any Pakistani aircraft can fly at 200 feet, and you will not know.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: I do not want to enter into a dialogue with you. You must have a little more information on this matter. The fact is that radars cannot discover anything which is flying within less than 100 metres. And it is only for this that we have observation posts. The observation posts will find it. And no aircraft which *dies* at 200 feet can be a bomber or can attack. It will have to come at a high level, dip and attack.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM (Tamil Nadu): What is the minimum height?

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: For aircraft? Well, there are two kinds of aircraft. There are aircraft which fly at a low level like the F16. There are ordinary aircraft, that is, bombers. Low level flying aircraft can come a little lower. And low-level flying aircraft can be detected by a low-level radar. There are two types of radars—the usual radar and the low-level radar. The low-level radar will be able to catch the F16. But please take it from me, no radar can discover a flying aircraft which *dies* at 100 feet or 150 feet. And our information is, it came at 200 feet. It was only because it was coming at 200 feet that our observation posts could see it. If it were at 10,000 feet high, they could not have seen it. The very fact that our observation posts saw it only confirms what I am saying.

As Mr. Jaswant Singh said, we are ready to take up this matter for discussion at all levels, flag meetings, joint commission even at a higher level, if it is necessary.

Sir Mr. Ramanand Yadav has a lot of information. In fact, he went on giving me information while putting questions to me. He asked a question, whether Indian uranium has been smuggled. We have seen the reports to that effect, but we have no confirmed information about it. He asked whether China is giving nuclear assistance to Pakistan. Even here the official information is a denial, but we do not know, we have no information on

this. It is true that the Karakoram road which they have built constitutes a threat to us. We have got to strengthen our northern areas, and we are trying to do it. He asked the question, why I spend so little. I wish he had come to my assistance with my Finance Minister. He asked whether six nuclear bombers have been contributed by China. We have no information.

Then he put a big proposition that Pakistan is 20 years ahead of us. I deny it. To the best of our knowledge, our nuclear technology is fairly abreast. We may not use it for nuclear weapons. But we have a technology which is abreast.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: How many years ahead is Pakistan?

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: I do not accept that.

Then, Sir, Mr. Bhardwaj talked about the history. The partition and all the mistakes that have been made in the past. I do not think it has much relevance, to us at the present moment. He said that the partition was wrong and that the two nation theory was wrong. Well a nation lives with all that has occurred.

I must thank Mr. Bhatia for the brilliant speech he made. In fact, he has answered every point which Mr. Jaswant Singh raised, except the technical ones which I have dealt with. Then, he asked me, "What steps have you taken to ensure the safety against the nuclear threat? Well, to the best of our knowledge, we are doing. We cannot discuss these things. The strategy cannot be disclosed. One point he made is about nyanpowo.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHDNT (Haryana): You are praising Mr. Bhatia that he has answered all the queries raised by the Opposition so wonderfully. I only hope that he does not make the position of the Defence Minister redundant.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: Thank you very much for the compliment. Sir, one point which Mr. Bhatia made, I can not accept.

[Shri R. Venkataraman] In today's warfare electronic measures and counter measures play a much bigger role than infantry and men. In fact, it is going to be our policy to reduce the infantry men and increase the armoured divisions. It is also going to be our policy to concentrate more on electronic measures and so on. Now, our emphasis will be on this aspect.

Sir, Shri K. Mohanan also said that we should avoid exaggeration. I have answered this point His proposal was that we should have dialogue. As I have said earlier, we are prepared for it. We are having it. In fact, in the Joint Commission which is going to meet shortly, if it is taken up, we will deal with it. The political aspect which he mentioned about the confrontation of super-powers and that they are trying to influence the policies of other less developed countries and developing countries, is very well-known. And merely by complaining against it, we are not solving it we only take note of the situation and act upon it.

My good old friend, Shri M.S. Gurupadaswamy, I am glad that he has come back, we have been together in the first Parliament, 1952, made a very valuable contribution He said that Pakistan and China are getting into an alliance and this constitutes a kind of threat to us. Well we have good relations with China. I would not like this debate to give an impression that China is hostile to India. On the contrary, we have friendly relations with China. We are trying to solve the border problem through discussions. We have had several rounds of talks and I do not see how China would be in alienating the Indian hand of friendship. Then, he asked why is it that this has occurred just now? Well, Shri Gurupadaswamy knows very well that it is only after 1980-SI that Pakistan became a member of this strategic consensus of the U.S. It is only after '81 they have poured arms and ammunitions into Pakistan. In fact, there was a sort of lull in their relationship prior to that because of the refusal of Pakistan to discuss, with them the safeguards regarding nuclear technology. The U.S.A. did not give them much weapons

at that time. Only after Regan came to power they thought they must have a foothold in the West Asia and Middle East so they have picked up Pakistan as their "front line State". Therefore, they have poured lot of equipment and arms into that country. As I said, once they get arms and ammunitions, we have got to prepare ourselves. That is all. If you look at history, whenever Pakistan got sophisticated arms they tried the efficiency of those weapons on us. Did they fight with anybody else? When they received Patton tanks there was an attack on us. Therefore, I have to be warned about it and that is why we say that acquisition of sophisticated weapons itself constitutes a threat. Then, he suggested a shift in our policy I do not know if he meant that we should go in for nuclear weapons. Well, as I said, the Government policy is that we do not want to join the 'Nuclear Club'. We do not want to escalate the nuclear war threat while we go to the disarmament conference and plead for reduction in armaments and complete banning of nuclear weapons. It would be rather absurd or ridiculous for us to go into the manufacture of nuclear weapons. About the discussions, I have already said that we will continue to have them,

I am grateful to Mr. Mishra for drawing attention to a few things. He specifically mentioned about the Karakoram Road as well as the airfields in Gilgit and Skardu. This is another threat. In fact, from Gilgit and Skardu, their bomber\* and fighters can take off and this will constitute another difficulty and threat for us because in that area we do not have many airfields and it will be difficult to have airfields. This really is a matter for concern. We have taken note of it and we are trying to prepare ourselves to meet the situation.

Then he asked why nuclear information is not furnished. Obviously I cannot furnish information on our nuclear arrangements or the experiments that we are making and so on. No country does it.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA; I did not ask about ourselves. I asked about the Pakistan side. Not that you should



THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI); Now we take up special Mentions.

**REFERENCE TO THE SETTING UP  
WESTERN REGION OFFICE OF  
N.T.P.C. AT NAGPUR**

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Sr, I am thankful to you for permitting me to make a Special Mention about the inordinate delay on the part of the Central Government bureaucracy in setting up the Western Region Office of the National Thermal Power Corporation at Nagpur in Maharashtra. This Western Regional headquarters is meant for the area of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh States.

In response to my earlier Special Mention last year Shri Shiv Shankar, Union Minister of Energy, in his letter to me on 25th May, 1983 stated that NTPC had finally decided to locate its office at Nagpur. Giving reasons his letter states:—

"In establishing the regional office a number of factors such as vis-a-vis all the power and transmission projects in the region, accessibility of the project by rail, road and air and the existing infrastructure facilities, etc. have to be taken into account before deciding the actual location. Taking all factors into consideration NTPC has decided to locate their regional office at Nagpur."

Thereafter it was announced that NTPC had requested for land from Maharashtra Government and in the meanwhile the regional office at Nagpur will start functioning from 1st April, 1984 in rented premises to be provided by Nagpur Improvement Trust and other authorities concerned. Instead of starting the office at Nagpur some officials in the bureaucracy in NTPC and the Ministry

are putting spokes and postponing from time to time the commencement of the office at Nagpur on some excuse or other, though all infrastructure facilities are made available. In the issue of Hitvada daily English newspaper, Nagpur dated April 7, 1984 it has been commented that NTPC authorities are ditching Vidarbha area and NTPC authorities are harbouring second thoughts to its earlier decision. In

fact a team of high officials had inspected the site and it was decided that the office would shift from 1st June, 1984. Indeed at that time the decision was considered final. Even the authorities themselves had suggested to all the officials to be ready to move to Nagpur and to be on the lookout for their residential accommodation and education of their children. But to the great surprise of all it is learnt that NTPC officials have decided recently to halt the entire process. The reasons for the same are obvious. It is due to the interest of some officials for sticking on to Delhi and to create unnecessary problems. Everybody in Nagpur is very much concerned over this spurious attempt to change the decision and against the Ministry's directives. Shri Avinash Pandey, President of the Maharashtra unit of the National Students' Union of India wrote to me a letter dated 19-4-1984 received by me on 2-5-1984 (due to the proverbial postal delays) expressing resentment against such move. There is already simmering discontent in Nagpur and Vidarbha area for gross negligence of its economic development by the State and Central Governments and also against the policy of shifting existing offices and undertakings from Nagpur to other places and against false announcements about decisions to locate the offices and then shifting them on some pretext or other. It seems in this case also the story will repeat. Due to political pressure and bureaucratic design, decisions are changed or their implementation postponed from time to time. I, therefore, request Shri Shiv Shankar, Union Minister of Energy, to direct the NTPC authorities to start their Western regional office at Nagpur from 1st June, 1984; otherwise, I give a note of warning that any delay will have serious consequences.