

II. A copy (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue and Insurance) Notification S.O. No. 589(E), dated the 11th September, 1972, publishing the Emergency Risks (Undertakings) Insurance (Third Amendment) Scheme, 1972, under subsection (7) of section 3 of the Emergency Risks (Undertakings) Insurance Act, 1971. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-3700/72.]

I. NOTIFICATIONS UNDER THE CENTRAL EXCISE AND SALT ACT, 1944

II. MINISTRY OF FINANCE (DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE AND INSURANCE) NOTIFICATIONS

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI:

Sir, I also beg to lay on the Table—

I. A copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following Notifications of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue and Insurance) under section 38 of the Central Excise and Salt Act, 1944:—

(i) Notification G.S.R. No. 1134, dated the 16th September, 1972, publishing the Central Excise (Tenth Amendment) Rules, 1972.

(ii) Notification G.S.R. No. 1319, dated the 14th October, 1972, publishing the Central Excise (Eleventh Amendment) Rules, 1972. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-3701/72 for (i) and (ii)].

II. A copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following Notifications of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue and Insurance):—

(i) Notification G.S.R. No. 1016, dated the 26th August, 1972, together with an Explanatory Memorandum thereon.

(ii) Notifications G.S.R. Nos. 1018 and 1020, dated the 26th August, 1972, together with an Explanatory Memorandum thereon.

(iii) Notification G.S.R. No. 1019 dated the 26th August 1972, together with an Explanatory Memorandum thereon.

(iv) Notification G.S.R. No. 1079, dated the 2nd September 1972, together with an Explanatory Memorandum thereon.

(v) Notification G.S.R. No. 1080, dated the 2nd September, 1972, together with an Explanatory Memorandum thereon.

(vi) Notification G.S.R. No. 1081, dated the 2nd September, 1972, together with an Explanatory Memorandum thereon.

(vii) Notification G.S.R. No. 1097, dated the 9th September, 1972, together with an Explanatory Memorandum thereon. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-3701/72 for (i) to (vii).]

[Mr. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

PAKISTAN'S CONTINUED INTRANSIGENCE IN RESPECT OF DELINEATION OF THE LINE OF ACTUAL CONTROL IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR.

श्री ओउम् प्रकाश त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

श्रीमन्, जम्मू और काश्मीर में दास्तविक नियंत्रण रेखा के रेखांकन के संबंध में पाकिस्तान द्वारा किये जा रहे सतत दुराग्रह की और मैं विदेश मंत्री का ध्यान दिलाता हूँ।

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SARDAR SWARAN SINGH): Mr. Deputy Chairman, hon'ble Members would recall my statement in the House on August 30, at the conclusion of the meeting between the representatives of India and Pakistan, wherein I had conveyed the agreement of both sides to the delineation of the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir along its entire length. I had also stated that maps showing this agreed line would be exchanged by both sides and that delineation of the line would be completed by the 4th September, 1972 and withdrawals to the international border would be completed by the 15th September. In accordance with the Simla Agreement the line of control had to be mutually respected, therefore its delineation has to be agreed so that its inviolability may be ensured by both sides.

The Senior Military Commanders of India and Pakistan, who were entrusted with the task of delineating the line of control on maps, have so far held 9 rounds of discussions. By the 7th round, which was completed on 18th October, an agreement was reached on 19 maps delineating the entire length of line of control from the Chamb area on the international border to Partapur sector in the North. These maps were to be signed in the 8th round. On that occasion, however, Pakistan's Senior Military Commander raised a fresh controversy over a pocket approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ square miles in area which is in Pakistan's occupation but separate from the line of control. Several messages have been exchanged between the Chiefs of the Army Staff of India and Pakistan on this issue and as a result further meetings took place between the Senior Military Commanders on November 7 and 9. However, these discussions failed to iron out the differences. It is now being considered whether the stage has been reached for a meeting at another level to resolve this question.

Honourable Members would appreciate that as the talks are still in progress, it would not be in our national interest to discuss this matter in greater detail. The major task of delineation of the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir in terms of the Simla and Delhi Agreements has been completed on maps. It is hoped that the remaining problem will also be resolved by further bilateral discussions. After the delineation of the line of control is approved by the two Governments, the withdrawal of troops to the international border will be completed in the shortest possible time. We hope that Pakistan Government will view this matter in a realistic and constructive manner.

श्री ओउम् प्रकाश त्यागी : उपसभापति महोदय, अभी विदेश मंत्री जी ने जो वक्तव्य दिया है उसमें आपने अभी-अभी बड़ी दोहराया है जो शिमला समझौते के समय कहा गया था कि जब जम्मू और काश्मीर में जो हमारी नियंत्रण रेखा है, उसका रेखांकन हो जायगा तो हमारी फौज अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सीमा पर वापस आ जायगी।

तो मैं यह बात जानना चाहूंगा कि हमारे मुख्य सेनाध्यक्ष श्री मानिकशा जी ने अभी जो पाकिस्तान के सेनाध्यक्ष को आश्वासन दिया कि जितने नक्शों पर, जितनी रेखा पर हमारा समझौता हो गया है, उतने पर हम हस्ताक्षर कर दें और जो बाकी बात रह गई है विवाद की उस पर बाद में बात कर लेंगे और अपनी सेनाओं को वापस बुला लेंगे, तो उनका यह वक्तव्य भी शिमला समझौते के खिलाफ था और जो आज आप आश्वासन दे रहे हैं इसके विरोध में भारतवर्ष के सेनाध्यक्ष ने जो आश्वासन दिया पाकिस्तान के सेनाध्यक्ष को वह क्या आपसे और प्रधान मंत्री महोदय से पूछ कर दिया या आपसे बिना पूछे ही उन्होंने इस प्रकार का अनुत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण कार्य किया? क्या आपने अपने सेनाध्यक्ष से इस बात का स्पष्टीकरण मांगा कि उन्होंने इस प्रकार का आश्वासन क्यों दिया?

दूसरी बात मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब आपने शिमला समझौते के अन्दर इस बात को माना है कि जम्मू काश्मीर में जब हमारी नियंत्रण रेखा आपसे समझौते से निर्धारित होगी और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सीमा में हम दोनों की सेनाएँ अपनी सीमा पर आ जायगी तो क्या आप इस बात का आश्वासन देंगे कि चकनाट, ठाकुरचक, और छम्ब क्षेत्र, जो अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सीमा से संबंधित हैं और वह हमारे हैं, वहाँ से जब तक पाकिस्तान की सेनाएँ नहीं हटती, तब तक हम अपनी सेनाएँ अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सीमा पर नहीं लायेंगे।

तीसरी बात मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि अभी प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ने एक वक्तव्य दिया था कि दार्जिलिंग में कि

"Summit only after delineation is complete"

और उन्होंने 26 अक्टूबर को दार्जिलिंग में बोलते हुए यह कहा है कि

"Addressing a Press Conference, Mrs Gandhi said that from the recent Press reports it would seem

[Sardar Swarn Singh]

that Pakistan was not very serious about implementation of the Simla Accord. The Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said here today that there was no possibility of another Indo-Pakistan Summit being held until the first stage of delineation of the line of control in Kashmir was over".

तो मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने दार्जिलिंग में जो यह आश्वासन दिया है समूचे देश को, उसके साथ क्या आज आप यह आश्वासन देंगे कि जब तक वह रेखांकन पूर्ण नहीं हो जायेगा, दोनों के उस पर हस्ताक्षर नहीं हो जायेगे, तब तक कोई शिखर वार्ता नहीं होगी ? मुझे संदेह है और समाचार पत्रों में यह बात आ गयी है कि अब चूकि कमांडरों की बात चीत के द्वारा कुछ हल होने वाला नहीं है, इस लिए अब एक दूसरी शिखर वार्ता होगी । यह जो समाचार है क्या यह सही है या क्या जो प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने दार्जिलिंग में स्टेटमेंट दिया है वह सही है ?

अगला स्पष्टीकरण मैं यह चाहूंगा . . .

श्री उपसभापति : अब आप खत्म कीजिए ।

श्री ओउम् प्रकाश त्यागी : यह कोई क्वेश्चन आवर थोड़े ही है । यह गलत बात है ।

श्री उपसभापति : आप बहुत संक्षेप में अपना क्लेरिफिकेशन मांगिये ।

श्री ओउम् प्रकाश त्यागी : मुझ से ज्यादा संक्षेप में बोलने वाला कोई और हो ही नहीं सकता ।

श्री ना० कृ० शंजवलकर (मध्य प्रदेश) : कोई रिप्रीटिशन नहीं हुआ है ।

श्री ओउम् प्रकाश त्यागी : मेरे से ज्यादा संक्षिप्त प्रश्न कोई और पूछता नहीं । मैं केवल प्रश्न ही पूछ रहा हूँ स्पष्टीकरण के लिए ।

दूसरी बात मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि विदेश मंत्री महोदय ने अपने विदेश मंत्रालय

की सलाहकार समिति में जब माननीय अटल जी ने यह प्रश्न पूछा था कि क्या भुट्टो साहब शिमला ऐक्ट से मुकर रहे हैं, क्या उनका रवैया उसके खिलाफ है, तो उसके उत्तर में माननीय विदेश मंत्री जी ने आश्वासन दिया था कि नहीं, ऐसा नहीं है । उनका रवैया ठीक है और हम इस बात से सहमत हैं कि वे ठीक हैं । लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री महोदय यह कह रही हैं कि :

Addressing a Press Conference, Mrs. Gandhi said that from the recent Press reports it would seem that Pakistan was not very serious about implementation of the Simla Accord.

अभी इंदिरा जी ने खुर्जा (भूटान) में कहा है :

"Addressing the Indian . . ."

श्री उपसभापति : त्यागी जी, आप कोट करने लगेंगे तो फिर कैसे होगा ।

श्री ओउम् प्रकाश त्यागी : अच्छा कोट नहीं करता । उन्होंने यह कहा है कि हमें पाकिस्तान से अब लड़ाई का भय पैदा हो गया है और आपको भुट्टो पर विश्वास है । तो यह एक ही सरकार की तीन सम्मतियां हैं, इसमें मतभेद का कारण क्या है यह मैं आपसे जानना चाहूंगा । दूसरी बात . . .

श्री उपसभापति : यह तो मानवी बात है ।

श्री ओउम् प्रकाश त्यागी : नेक्स्ट । उपसभापति महोदय, समूचे देश का भाग्य इससे संबधित है । मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या यह नियंत्रण रेखा . . .

श्री उपसभापति : और कई लोग पूछने वाले हैं ।

श्री ओउम् प्रकाश त्यागी : उपसभापति महोदय, मैं खत्म कर रहा हूँ । जरा यह नोट कर लिया जाय खाम तौर से कि देश की जनता में यह भय है और यह चर्चा है कि यह जो नियंत्रण रेखा रेखांकित हो रही है, यह काश्मीर की विभाजन रेखा बना रहे हैं, तो मैं इस सदन में

यह जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या इस रेखा को आप विभाजन रेखा मानते हैं या नहीं या बाकी काश्मीर को भी आप लेने की चेष्टा करेंगे ? और अंतिम मेरा स्पष्टीकरण यह है कि क्या यह सच है कि पाकिस्तान ने 20 डिवीजन नई तैयार कर ली है। बाबू जी, आप भी सुन लीजिये। उन्होंने 20 डिवीजन नई तैयार की है। अस्त्र-शस्त्र को ला रहे हैं और पाकिस्तान लड़ाई की तैयारी में है। अगर यह सच है तो मैं यह कारण जानना चाहूंगा कि आप क्यों शिमला पैकट के पीछे एक मरे हुए बन्दूक बच्चे की तरह अपने से चिपटाये हुए पड़े हो ?

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Yes, Mr Minister

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH Sir, first of all he asked about the offer made by our Chief of the Army Staff and he asked if it is consistent with the other statements. If he studies the offer made by the Chief of the Army Staff, he will readily find that this was quite consistent with what we have been stating and what we even now state because that would have at any rate resolved some of the problems and we would not have lost anything if that proposal made by our Chief of Army Staff had been accepted by Pakistan.

श्री ओउम् प्रकाश त्यागी : यह आपके स्टेटमेंट के खिलाफ है।

श्री रणबीर सिंह (हरियाणा) : जवाब सुनो।

श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर : आ। अपने स्टेटमेंट के खिलाफ बोल रहे हैं। क्या जवाब सुने।

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH If the honourable Member has got greater confidence in what Pakistan does then in this particular case Pakistan did not even accept that

(Interruptions)

My submission is that there was nothing in the offer of the Chief of the Army Staff which is against

the Simla agreement or against the known stand of the Government and if that offer is carefully studied, then the hon Members would agree with me and the fact that it was not even

SHRI N K SHEJWALKAR: Sir, on a point of order Sir, the hon Member asked whether there is partial agreement. The honourable Minister has not replied to that question.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN No point of order. You are not listening to the Minister's reply.

SHRI N K SHEJWALKAR No, Sir. You are not listening.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN How do you presuppose what he is going to reply?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH Sir, he asked whether this was his own offer or it had the approval of the Government. The Chief of the Army Staff's proposals had the approval of the Government and this was quite consistent with the stand that we have always taken.

The second question that has been asked is whether we get this post or that post. Without that we will not withdraw the troops. We will not withdraw the troops unless the line of control as it existed on the 17th of December is mutually agreed upon. That is the Simla agreement.

(Interruptions)

श्री ओउम् प्रकाश त्यागी : आप नाम नहीं ले रहे हैं। वह मैंने कहा है। आप नाम बोलिये।

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH Please listen. I will not name any post.

श्री ओउम् प्रकाश त्यागी : चखनोट, डाकुरचोक और छम्व एगिया।

(Interruptions)

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH I repeat that I will not name any post. The agreement about the line of control as it existed on the 17th of December has to be mutually agreed, and after that agreement is approved

[Sardar Swaran Singh]

by the two Governments then the withdrawals will take place. Therefore, the line of control has to be mutually agreed to. I am not prepared to discuss the details of that agreement, particularly when no final agreement has been arrived at. This is the worst service that anybody can do to the country and to the negotiator. If you state your position publicly, then what is to be negotiated? Let us try to understand it.

(Interruptions) Mr Deputy Chairman, these hon. Members have not got the monopoly that they can only talk on behalf of the country. Well, if they think that they have this monopoly, I have no quarrel with them. Let them live in those dreams.

Now, Sir, a number of Press statements of the Prime Minister have been mentioned and I am asked whether the attitude that we take is consistent with these statements or not. For one thing, it is not customary to confront the Press statements with what is stated on the floor of the House. The report may be exact, it may not be exact. It is not always easy to make a statement in relation to press statements. There is absolutely no contradiction between what the Prime Minister has been saying and what I am saying now.

It has been mentioned that the Prime Minister said that Pakistan did not appear to be serious about implementation. It is correct because they are dragging their feet and are too taking long. But that does not mean that they are going against the Agreement. We want that they should seriously implement it and, therefore, if they are not implementing it with expedition then, of course, we will have grievance. But that does not mean that we get out of this Agreement.

श्री ओउम् प्रकाश त्यागी : आपने सलाहकार समिति के बारे में नहीं कहा। पेपर में तो आ चका है।

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH I think the convention is that we do not talk about the Consultative Committee here. Your leader has also not

gone against that. You were not present there. Even Mr Vajpayee did not refer to what he talked about in the Consultative Committee.

Then, Sir, it was stated that the Prime Minister is reported to have stated that there would not be a summit till the line of control is completed. Yes, it is so. It was a statement giving the sequence of events that the next summit is likely to take place after the line of control is agreed upon. That does not mean that if there is any dispute about the line of control then to resolve that there can be no meeting. I do not know why that attitude is taken. Let me make the Government's position clear, you may not agree with that. We steadfastly adhere to the Simla Agreement, because we believe that it provides the basis of mutual settlement between India and Pakistan. We adhere to it, because the agreement is that all matters will be resolved peacefully without resorting to the use of force. If no agreement can be arrived at, say, Sector Commanders' level, it can be discussed and agreed upon at Military Commanders' level. If that cannot be settled at Military Commanders' level, it can be discussed at Chiefs of Staff level. If it cannot be settled at Chiefs of Staff level, it can go to another level, even to the Summit. Therefore, let there be no doubt on the framework of the Simla Agreement and there is no use picking up bits and then trying to point out something which does not exist and is not a part of the agreement.

Then, it is said that some Congress leaders have indicated that we have to be careful and that there may be a risk of a conflict with Pakistan.

What was mentioned so far as I recollect from the press statement was that risk of war cannot be excluded. Now it will be very naive and not in our national interest to take the view that the risk of a conflict is excluded because no one can plan on the basis that the risk of war

SHRI O P TYAGI You are doubting now, at the present time, this question,

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH. I am not doubting that I still feel that whereas no one can rule out an armed conflict still there is no likelihood of armed conflict. And I say that in all seriousness because there is no use creating an alarm in the country and to create a war psychosis. Whereas we should be prepared. (*Interruptions*) and we should make every possible effort to prepare ourselves to meet any eventuality, while we should proceed on the basis that a conflict cannot be ruled out we should not, however, create an impression as if conflict is round the corner and a war psychosis is built up. It is an absolutely wrong approach and we should not see danger where it does not exist. We feel that the two sides have entered into an agreement and unless there is very concrete evidence that there is any contravention of the agreement, the agreement is that the parties will settle matters peacefully and bilaterally. Therefore I say it in all seriousness that I do not fear that there is likelihood in the near future of any armed conflict or armed attack by Pakistan for a variety of reasons including our own preparedness including our own strength—not only of the Armed Forces but also the strength in the country. Therefore there is no use of continuing to raise this bogey unnecessarily.

Then he is asking me as to whether the line of control as is sought to be agreed upon between India and Pakistan is meant to be the international boundary. If I may say for the information of the hon. Members this is precisely the criticism which Mr. Bhutto is subjected to. The allegation against President Bhutto is that he has implicitly accepted the new line of control as the international boundary between India and Pakistan. And to defend himself he quoted my statement when I said that it is a line of control and not an international boundary. So there is complete agreement between both sides that this is the line of control which has to be mutually respected and both sides have accepted the position that this is not the international boundary.

Then the hon. Member has talked about Pakistan raising new divisions. I do not know how many divisions they have raised or have not raised. At any rate we have so far observed the healthy convention that we desist from giving our own information with regard to what we know about Pakistan. But we are vigilant, we know what preparations are going on on the other side, what their military strength is. This is part of our responsibility and my colleague, the Defence Minister, is fully aware of this.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Miss Saroj Khaparde: No question? Mrs. Lakshmi Kumari Chundawat:

श्री लक्ष्मी कुमारी चंडावत (राजस्थान)

उपसभापति जी, अभी मंत्री जी ने जो कुछ कहा उससे मैं बिल्कुल सहमत हूँ और यह बात भी मानती हूँ कि जब इस तरह की बात एग्जिमेट में है या वाचचीत चल रही है तो कई बातें हाउस में जो न कही जानी चाहिये वह न कही जाय और न ही पूछी जाय। लेकिन उपसभापति जी, मैं एक, दो प्रश्न पूछना चाहती हूँ—माननीय मंत्री जी से और वे अगर जवाब देना उचित समझे तो फिर हमें बतलाये। अभी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि पाकिस्तान का रुख कठोर हो गया है और कई ऐसे मुल्क हैं जो इन सब कॉन्टिनेंट में शांति नहीं होना देना चाहते हैं। मैं यह जानना चाहती हूँ कि वे कौन से ऐसे मुल्क हैं जो यहाँ पर शांति नहीं होना देना चाहते हैं? और क्या वह फौजी ताकत उन्होंने पाकिस्तान को दी है? अगर इसके बारे में आप कुछ बता सकते तो बताने की कृपा करें।

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: For one thing I cannot clarify the statements made by Prime Minister. If she wanted to mention the countries she herself could have mentioned these countries.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI (Maharashtra): The External Affairs Minister has stated that it is not in national interests to discuss the details with regard to these discussions on the delineation problem. I entirely agree

[Shri S. G. Sardesai.]

with him that it is not in national interests. Secondly he has also stated that these issues have to be settled bilaterally. It is very correct and this is undoubtedly the correct position. If Pakistan is dragging its feet in respect of implementation of the Simla Agreement or if it is trying in certain ways to wriggle out of it then the obvious conclusion is that the Simla Agreement is in the interests of India. So if Pakistan is not carrying out its obligations I do not see how anyone can draw the conclusion that we should repudiate that Agreement. Obviously it means that the Agreement is in our interests. All this is very good. One important point which is mentioned in this calling attention notice and to which the Foreign Minister did not make a reference is this. It is undoubtedly a fact—it may be stated in different words by different people including the Prime Minister—that the attitude of Pakistan towards the Simla Agreement has gradually hardened. On that there are no two opinions, neither on the Government side nor on this side. At the same time I do think that it is in the interest of the people of India, it is in the interest of finding out ways and means for full implementation of the Simla Agreement in letter and spirit, it is in the interest of persuading the Rulers of Pakistan to properly implement the agreement if the Government comes out with its own broad explanation as to what is behind this hardening of the attitude. Now going by things which are appearing in the press most of which is fairly clear—it need not be doubted—it is my firm opinion that the dominant force behind the hardening of the attitude of the Rulers of Pakistan is the American imperialists and China. There is massive evidence for this. They have supplied them with any number of arms. I do not know how much they have supplied but the fact remains that arms are being supplied, the fact remains that Americans have taken up a very stiff attitude towards the Simla Agreement, the fact remains that they have invited Mr Bhutto to visit them: all these facts are there. The attitude of China in the United Nations is also there.

So my point is that the Government should not hesitate to come out and say which are the main forces behind this problem. The people of India should know it; the people of Pakistan should also know it. Pakistan has gone out of SEATO; they should get out of CENTO also. It is the popular forces which we have to build on both sides; these are the forces which will make the implementation of the Simla Agreement a practical proposition in the days to come. Leaving these things in a mysterious condition gives room for all sorts of provocative attitude and hardening of the conflict which none of us want. We want that the conflict should be softened. That being so a certain understanding of the broad factors behind this and of the steps we should take to overcome these difficulties is something which the Government of India should be clear about, something on which we should also be taken into confidence.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, I have noted his analysis and his views also and I will benefit by what he has said. The operative part is that where he says that steps should be taken to ensure that the Simla Agreement is implemented. I think the best step is not to permit Pakistan to wriggle out of the Simla Agreement, not to take up an attitude which enables them to get out of it and therefore our insistence all the time that we abide by the Simla Agreement and they should also abide by the Simla Agreement. Every effort should be made to arrive at an agreement which is mutually acceptable, to create an atmosphere in which they could get back to bilateralism. We have therefore adopted a course, whatever may be the difficulties, of steadfastly adhering to the principle of mutuality and of trying to arrive at agreements. And this is precisely what we are attempting to do.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: Which are the forces behind the hardening of their attitude?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: There are many forces and some of the things should remain unsaid, I think.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, माननीय मंत्री जी ने अभी बताया कि पाकिस्तान की जनता कहती है कि लाइन आफ कंट्रोल, इंटरनेशनल लाइन भुट्टो साहब ने मान ली है, मगर भुट्टो साहब उसको नहीं मानते हैं। इसी तरह से हमारे मंत्री महोदय भी कहते हैं कि लाइन आफ कंट्रोल इंटरनेशनल लाइन नहीं है। ज़ाहिर यह होता है कि भुट्टो साहब भी अपनी कुर्सी बचाने के लिए अपनी जनता को धोखा दे रहे हैं और हमारे माननीय मंत्री जी भी अपनी कुर्सी बचाने के लिए इस देश की जनता को धोखा दे रहे हैं। अगर लाइन आफ कंट्रोल जम्मू और काश्मीर में इंटरनेशनल लाइन नहीं होगी तो और क्या होगी? आप केवल अपनी होशियारी से नये तुले शब्दों को बोलते हैं और कोशिश यह करते हैं कि आप ऐसे शब्द बोलें कि जिनका कोई मतलब न हो। कोशिश आप यह करते हैं कि ऐसे शब्द बोलें कि उनका कोई कुछ मतलब न निकाल सके। तो आप और भुट्टो साहब दोनों इस बात पर सहमत हैं...

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : इसी की बदौलत आज तक वे इस मिनिस्ट्री में बैठे हुए हैं।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : कि अपने अपने देश की जनता को धोखा दिया जाय। आप ही सोचें उपसभापति महोदय, कि जम्मू काश्मीर में जो लाइन आफ कंट्रोल होगी वह इंटरनेशनल लाइन नहीं होगी तो और क्या होगी। आपने यह भी कहा कि लाइन आफ कंट्रोल हैज टु बि निगोशिएटेड। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह लाइन आफ कंट्रोल नहीं है, जहाँ दोनों देशों की सेनाएँ एक दूसरे के आमने सामने खड़ी हुई हैं, जमी हुई हैं, तो वहाँ लाइन आफ कंट्रोल तो जाहिर है। अगर वही लाइन आफ कंट्रोल है तो फिर आप निगोशिएट क्या करेंगे?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Mutually agreed.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब वहाँ यह स्थिति है तो आप निगोशिएट क्या करेंगे?

What has to be negotiated then? If actually it is the line of control, then there is nothing to be negotiated. It is not to be negotiated.

एक माननीय स.स. : 17 दिसम्बर की लाइन आफ कंट्रोल...

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : जी हाँ, 17 दिसम्बर की लाइन आफ कंट्रोल है तो इट इज नाट टु बी निगोशिएटेड। मैं यह बात अरब से कह दूँ कि एक शायर ने कहा है :

‘जो खून देना चाहते हैं वह धरती नहीं दिया करते, और

धरती माता है, बेटे माता का सौदा नहीं किया करते।’

आप निगोशिएट करके सौदा करना चाहते हैं उस जमीन का जिसको हमारे जवानों ने अपना खून दे कर जीता है और बाबू जगजीवन राम जी को उसका श्रेय है। आप उसकी टेबिल पर बैठ कर निगोशिएट करना चाहते हैं। इसके मायने यह है कि एक्चुअल लाइन आफ कंट्रोल जो है, उसमें भी आप कुछ हेर फेर करना चाहते हैं और इसके मायने यह है कि 17 दिसम्बर के बाद जिन क्षत्रों को पाकिस्तान कि सेना ने धोखे से अपने कब्जे में कर लिया है उसके बारे में भी आप कुछ गोलमोल करना चाहते हैं।

मैं खत्म कर रहा हूँ, श्रीमन्। अभी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा है कि पाकिस्तान का रुख शिमला-समझौते के वाद सख्त होता जा रहा है। कल के अखबार में है।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : कहते हैं, अखबार गलत रिपोर्ट कर रहे हैं।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : जरा कहने दीजिये। आप उसको घुमा फिरा कर कहते हैं, कि नहीं ऐसी बात नहीं है। हाँ भी कहते हैं और

[श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही]

नहीं भी कहते हैं। जैसा कि मैंने अर्ज किया आपके शब्दों से कोई कुछ मतलब नहीं निकाल सकता। मैं आपसे जानना चाहता हूँ साफ-साफ लफ्जों में...

श्री रणबीर सिंह : समझदार निकाल सकते हैं।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : समझ तो खाली आप लोगो में है जो कि जाट एरिया के हैं, साफ करना और तो किसी को समझ नहीं है। मैं साफ जानना चाहता हूँ कि 17 दिसम्बर की एक्चुअल लाइन आप कंट्रोल पर स्टिक करेंगे या निगोशिएट करेंगे।

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: If, Sir, both the Heads of Government or both Governments agree upon a point, that is India and Pakistan, that the line of control is only a line of truce which has to be mutually accepted, than on that the hon. Member says that both the Governments are telling incorrect things to their own people. I cannot understand the logic of it.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : आप समझते सब कुछ है कहते कुछ नहीं हैं।

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I would not mind if he goes on telling me, because I am accustomed to hear these things, that I am adopting an attitude to retain my office. It is our duty to retain office because you know no one else can occupy that office yet. But I would appeal to the hon. Member that he should not say the same thing about the Head of Government or Head of State of another country. You may not like the policies of that country, but to make a statement that the Head of another Government—in this particular case the democratically elected leader—is making wrong statements to his own people is to say the least not fair to the Head of State of another country, and I would appeal to the hon. Members that this is also not in accordance with the rules and conventions that this House has always adopted. You can go on saying anything to me...

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: He has not been elected President of Pakistan.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I would request him not to go into that question. Then he says why has the line of control to be mutually agreed. He also gave the reply when he said that after the 17th of December there was some alteration of the line of control. So both sides have now to agree as to what was the line of control on 17th December, and this is what is being mutually agreed. A question was raised on the last occasion about certain posts about which our case was that they had been taken over by Pakistan after the 17th of December. We have to agree that the line of control was such that it did not give Pakistan the right to retain those posts. This has to be mutually agreed in our own interests, and if there has been any alteration of the original line of control in our favour, it has also to be negotiated. If we were to accept that the present position of the armed forces of India and Pakistan is the line of control, that is not in our interests, that is not in accordance with the Simla Agreement.

The last question that he put was about the hardening of the attitude of Pakistan. I have already replied to that. I do not want his attitude to harden.

श्री नवल किशोर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय, एक दिक्कत यह जरूर है कि हमारे विदेश मंत्री कितना ही जवाब दें आखिर में नतीजा यही होता है कि हम जहां थे वहीं रहते हैं।

श्री रणबीर सिंह : कहां जाना है ?

श्री नवल किशोर : सरदार जरा सुनें, बीच में क्यों बोल पड़ते हैं।

श्री बनारसी दास (उत्तर प्रदेश) : वह सरदार कहां है।

श्री नवल किशोर : पगड़ी तो बांधते हैं, हैं तो सरदार।

तो मैं यह जानना चाहता था कि अभी आपने फर्माया कि हमको अपने देश को .

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : वह समझते क्या है ?

श्री नवल किशोर यादव जी, जरा मुझे कह लेने दीजिये । मैं यह अर्ज करने जा रहा था कि अभी आपने कहा कि हमको देश में वार-फोबिया पैदा नहीं करना चाहिये । यह बात सही है । आपने यह भी ठीक कहा कि पाकिस्तान से कन्फेन्डेंशन होने का इमकान नहीं है, मगर उसकी पासिविलिटी भी हम दिमाग से हटा नहीं सकते । हमारी दिक्कत यह है कि गवर्नमेंट के अंदर एक साहब एक बात कहते हैं और कुछ साहब दूसरी बात कहते हैं ।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : सवाल यह है कि एक ही सास में दोनों बातें उन्होंने भी कही हैं ।

श्री नवल किशोर श्रीमन्, शंकर दयाल शर्मा एक बड़े जिम्मेदार आदमी हैं, प्रेसीडेंट हैं कांग्रेस के . . .

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (राजस्थान) यह कैसे मान रहे हैं आप ?

श्री नवल किशोर : उन्होंने यह कहा पाकिस्तान से लड़ाई होगी, फिर होगी । प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने तो कहीं साफ तौर से यह नहीं कहा कि जग होगी । मगर प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने यह कहा कि पाकिस्तान का रख सख्त होता जा रहा है और यह जो साल आने वाला है, यह हमारे देश के लिये और इस कांटेनिएंट को एक कठिन साल होगा । यह तो मैं नहीं समझा कि क्या एमरजेंसी को कांटेन्यू करने के लिये यह कोई भूमिका बनाई गई है, क्योंकि अगर वाकई लड़ाई का कुछ इमकान है तो लोगों के दिमाग पर अगर यह असर पड़ा कि पाकिस्तान के इस एंटीट्यूड के हार्डन होने के पीछे पाकिस्तान की नीयत हमसे लड़ने की एक बार और है—जो कि निक्सन की जीत से

भी कुछ लोगों के मन में सदेह पैदा हो गया है— तो उसके बारे में यह कहना हम वार-फोबिया पैदा करना चाहते हैं, गलत है । मैं चाहता हूँ, गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से जो स्टेटमेंट आए, चाहे एक्सटर्नल अफेयर्स मिनिस्टर की ओर से आते हों, चाहे प्राइम मिनिस्टर की तरफ से हों, चाहे प्रेसीडेंट से हों, कम से कम उनमें इतना को-ऑर्डिनेशन तो होना ही चाहिये कि उनके स्टेटमेंट में एक दूसरे के प्रति कांटीडिक्शन न मालूम पड़े ।

श्रीमन्, एग्रीमेंट को जहाँ तक मैंने पढ़ा, उसमें यह तथ्य हुआ था कि 17 दिसम्बर को जो स्थिति थी हमारी फौज की और पाकिस्तान की फौज की, उनके कब्जे में जो-जो ज़मीन थी, वह बेसिस बनेगा हमारे लाइन आफ कंट्रोल का और उसके मानी यह थे श्रीमन्, कि अगर 17 दिसम्बर के बाद हमने कब्ज़ा किया है तो हमको वह छोड़ना पड़ेगा और पाकिस्तान ने कब्ज़ा किया है तो पाकिस्तान को छोड़ना पड़ेगा । यह तो एक फैक्टुअल बात थी अब आपने जो बात कही है— “एग्रीड, लाइन आफ कंट्रोल की” तो एग्रीड की बात इतनी तो समझ में आती है कि अगर कोई मतभेद होगा, तो कोई एग्रीमेंट करना पड़ेगा । लेकिन अगर वह भी निगोशिएबिल है, अगर फैक्ट्स भी निगोशिएबिल है तो मुझे सदेह होता है । इसलिये अगर इन दोनों बातों को विवेक मन्त्री स्पष्ट कर सके तो अच्छा होगा ।

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, with regard to the first . . .

श्री बनारसी दास : सरदार साहब, हिन्दी में ही बोलिए ।

सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह : हिन्दी में तर्जुमा हो रहा है । कान में फोन लगा कर सुन लें ।

श्री बनारसी दास : हम आपसे कह रहे हैं । कम से कम आपको हिन्दी में बोलना चाहिये उसमें शर्म नहीं आनी चाहिए ।

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, about the first question, I agree that

[Sardar Swaran Singh]

there should be no contradiction between the statements made by Government spokesmen. But my claim is that there is no contradiction. There may be difference in emphasis but difference in emphasis is not contradiction.

Then, about the second question, what is mentioned is that the line of control as it existed on the 17th December is the basis and that has to be mutually respected. I agree that no one can negotiate on that basis. About this line of control, somebody says this, somebody says other things. The facts have to be sifted and this is not uncommon in human affairs. Even on facts, there can be a difference as to whether a particular feature was in our possession or in Pakistan's. Both may claim. Then, ultimately when the two sides meet, generally what is correct is accepted by both sides. But this means a certain process of talks and discussions and bringing out the incorrectness of the attitude adopted by either side. This is all that is done, nothing more than that.

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT (Nominated): Sir, my question is a little different. Today this is a Calling Attention Notice and therefore questions are being asked for clarification. But at the same time I am sure that the Minister would agree that the question of delineation is tied up with the question of Indo-Pakistan relations and the question of Indo-Pakistan relations is tied up with the whole question of international relations and international situation. So I was wondering whether the House would have an opportunity to have a full discussion on the international situation including the Indo-Pakistan and our external affairs. I wanted to know whether there would be an opportunity for a discussion.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: In this respect I will honour whatever the Business Advisory Committee or the Chairman or the Leaders of the Opposition parties decide.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): On a point of order. The Business Advisory Committee has

nothing to do with it. The Business Advisory Committee only assigns the time. If you are agreed, then you accept the suggestion. Let there be a discussion on foreign affairs for a while in this House. The Business Advisory Committee, I am sure, will allot the time required for a discussion of this kind. There are many international problems which we have to discuss. Since the passing away of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru one misses discussion on foreign affairs in Parliament. Now that we have a Minister looking after Foreign Affairs—he has been continuing and he has no intention of leaving it either—why not have a discussion? Give your decision. It will be a lively discussion and will be full of variety and will bring in other subjects. I am sure Mr. Swaran Singh is a very experienced politician and he will have much to say, if not much to learn from us.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I would like to say that I am not against any debate. But I cannot decide myself. It is the Chairman and the Whips. They have to agree and they have to find out time for it. I am not opposed. I will welcome a debate if the House can find time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Therefore, I am sure Mr. Swaran Singh will not grudge the time. Now he is not disagreeable to the proposition that has been made. In fact he is in sympathy with our suggestion. Therefore, I would request you to find time. Meanwhile, kindly ask the Americans to sign the Vietnam Agreement.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I think, has said something to which I must enter my reservation. When I said that the Government is trying to stick, I meant the party, not the person. My person is least important in this matter. When I said Congress Party, I meant Congress Party which is on the Treasury Benches. It cannot give up their responsibility because no other party is in a position to take that responsibility.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I never meant Mr. Swaran Singh personally. I will be missing him very much in case he is left out. Therefore, I never meant him personally. Since you are

sticking to the chair, even if it is a musical chair, you should listen to the voice of the House . .

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I am in agreement with the House for a discussion, I am not opposed

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : उत्तमभाषि जी, मेरा एक सवाल तो यह है कि शिमला समझौते में एक बात यह तथ्य हुई थी कि दोनों देश एक दूसरे के खिलाफ प्रचार नहीं करेंगे, लेकिन पाकिस्तान रेडियो—जैसा कि अभी प्रयास मंत्री जी ने कहा कि पाकिस्तान का एटीट्यूड हार्डन होता जा रहा है—पिछले दिनों से निरन्तर भारत के विरुद्ध प्रचार करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया है। तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह शिमला समझौते को भंग करने की बात नहीं हुई ?

दूसरी बात आपने यह कही कि शिमला समझौते में जो सबसे प्रमुख बात तथ्य हुई थी वह यह थी कि दोनों देश बाइलैटरलिज्म को एक्सेप्ट करते हैं। शिमला समझौते में यह बात खुले तौर पर तो तथ्य नहीं हुई थी, लेकिन यह तथ्य हुआ था कि बंगला देश को पाकिस्तान मान्यता दे देगा। पाकिस्तान ने अभी तक बंगला देश को मान्यता नहीं दी है और उसने बाइलैटरलिज्म की बात को भंग करके चीन के बीच में लाकर के और चीन के माध्यम से यू० एन० ओ० में बंगला देश के प्रवेश को विटो कर दिया। इस तरह से पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान के बीच में जो बात तथ्य हुई थी उसको पाकिस्तान ने चीन को बीच में लाकर के बाइलैटरलिज्म की बात को भंग कर दिया। मंत्री जी इस बारे में स्पष्टीकरण करें क्योंकि अभी उन्होंने कहा कि पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान के बीच में दूसरा समिट होगा। जो पिछला समझौता हुआ था उसकी बगला देश ने प्रशंसा नहीं की थी। तो मैं सरकार से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस सारे कांटेनेन्ट में स्थायी शान्ति हो, इस नाते क्या सरकार पाकिस्तान के साथ वार्ता में बंगला देश को भी शामिल करेगी क्योंकि बंगला देश

की जो लड़ाई हुई थी वह इस कांटेनेन्ट में स्थायी शान्ति के लिए हुई था।

1 P.M.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, about the first matter, I would like to say that we have also noted with concern that Pakistan Radio, particularly the so-called Azad Kashmir Radio, which we believe is within the control of the Government of Pakistan, has not been keeping up the spirit of the Simla Agreement and there have been broadcasts which can easily be described as against the spirit of the Simla Agreement. That I accept, and we have been pointing out and we will continue to point out, that they should desist from that.

DR BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi): Do you still maintain that they have not violated the Simla Agreement?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Even if they go against it we have no intention to go against the Simla Agreement?

DR BHAI MAHAVIR. That is a different matter. It is not a matter where you are being asked to go against it. The question is you were maintaining up till now that there may be some delay on their part but they have not violated the Agreement. Now you are admitting that their Radio has been doing certain things or making propaganda which is not in keeping with the spirit of the Agreement. Do you admit or not that it is a violation of the Agreement?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: It is not in the spirit of the Agreement I have used that expression. You cannot alter my expressions that way. Regarding the second point that he has mentioned, I would like to say that the hon. Member, who might have put this question with the best of intentions if he will excuse me, has not done his home work. If he goes through the Simla Agreement

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order, Sir. He cannot speculate on the intentions of the hon.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

Member because his intentions are quite specific and clear, namely, "Reject the Simla Agreement". Therefore there is nothing in common with them.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH For instance, he has mentioned that the Simla Agreement contemplated recognition of Bangladesh. If you go through the Simla Agreement you will find that the answer to this will be in the negative. Now the Chinese veto is a separate issue about which I have separately made a statement. I have said that this veto should not have been exercised because it was against the overwhelming international opinion and Bangladesh was fully entitled to be admitted to the U.N. It has been recognised up-to-date by over 94 countries of the world, including four permanent members of the Security Council.

Therefore, the veto should not have been exercised. But you cannot bring that as something against the Simla Agreement. That is bad by itself, but it has nothing to do with the Simla Agreement.

DR BHAI MAHAVIR. The spirit of the Agreement.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH. China is not bound by the Simla Agreement.

DR BHAI MAHAVIR. It is against the spirit of it.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH. The last point that I would like to mention is that this question of recognition by Pakistan of Bangladesh is naturally a matter of concern for us because the continued non-recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan is a negative factor which comes in the way of normalisation of relations and comes in the way of stabilisation of durable peace. Therefore, this is not good. But I would like to say that Pakistan is as much in need of recognition by Bangladesh as Bangladesh may be in need of recognition by Pakistan. And this is a matter in which Bangladesh's stand is clear.

DR BHAI MAHAVIR. Are we entitled to know what Pakistan needs?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH. We are. We should be. You may not be concerned but we should be concerned because we want to maintain peace in this sub-continent.

DR BHAI MAHAVIR. You were so particular about keeping up the dignity of the head of State of Pakistan. Why should you now arrogate to yourself his concern?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH. I will be equally keen to maintain the dignity of the leader of your party, although it is a political party in opposition. Therefore I do not budge from that position at all. We should adhere to this. I will appeal to the Members that even though they may not agree with the policies of another State, there is no use having a fling at the Prime Minister of another country. It is just not done. This House has a certain tradition and I will appeal that we should adhere to this tradition. We should not be ashamed of observing these rules of decency. So I would like to say that the recognition of Bangla Desh is a matter which is now the subject-matter of consideration in the General Assembly and we hope that there will be overwhelming support in favour of admission of Bangla Desh and that will alter the situation and may prevent the Chinese from exercising their veto.

SHRI SAWA(SINGH) SISODIA (Madhya Pradesh). Will the honourable Minister kindly tell us whether after the Simla Agreement Pakistan has acquired arms in huge quantities from different foreign countries and is intentionally creating a deadlock and is adopting delaying tactics under external pressure and influence?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH. This is much too wide a question. I cannot say that they have not acquired weapons. They must have acquired weapons.