

12 Noon

**CALLING ATTENTION TO A
MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC
IMPORTANCE.****REPORTED MILITARY PREPARATIONS BY
PAKISTAN ON INDIAN BORDERS**

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I wish to call the attention of the Minister of Defence to the reported news regarding vigorous military preparations by Pakistan on Indian borders with a view to commit aggression.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SARDAR SWARAN SINGH) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, since 1965, Pakistan has made every effort to make good the losses suffered during the conflict and to further expand its armed potential. As already indicated in the Annual Reports of the Defence Ministry circulated to the Hon. Members, Pakistan has virtually doubled its land forces, has considerably increased the various paramilitary forces, added modern vessels including sub-marines to its fleet and doubled the number of combat aircraft. Our country is four times as large as Pakistan and faces a threat from two sides. Pakistan by its own admission regards no other country as its enemy except India. And yet Pakistan is maintaining Armed Forces which are more than half of India's total strength intended to deal with a threat all along its borders by two Powers and are trying to acquire more arms from all available sources. Recently Pakistan has stepped up its propaganda campaign against India. Several statements have been made by their leaders not only making false allegations regarding India's military strength but also suggesting that India intends to dictate terms to Pakistan.

The fact is that India harbours no territorial designs against Pakistan and it is Pakistan which had committed aggression three times since 1947 against India and continues to maintain a hostile posture against us. Pakistan has raised the bogey of a threat from India only to cover up its own designs.

In spite of Pakistan's policy of non-cooperation and hostility, we shall continue to work for better relations with Pakistan. Notwithstanding this, the House is aware that we have been fully taking into account Pakistan's acquisition of arms in reequipping our forces. We have also been replacing old equipments with modern substitutes and

keeping up our strength in efficient state according to approved lines. I can say that our state of preparedness compares favourably with the magnitude of the threats we have to meet. The House may also rest assured that while we shall take all effective steps to deal with any threat to the security of the country, we shall also continue to explore the possibility of reducing tensions and to normalise relations. This is the only sound and practical policy in the circumstances and taking into account our larger purpose of keeping peace in the sub-continent.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to draw the attention of this House to a reported news which has so far not been denied by the Ministry of Defence. It appeared in the "National Herald", dated 13th August; it says :

"Pakistan in recent months has redoubled its efforts to build up its war potential. . . It is indeed conceivable that Pakistan is preparing for an excuse to commit another aggression on India, a Defence Ministry spokesman said here today."

So it is very clear from the statement made by the hon. Minister also that all preparations are being made by Pakistan with a view to committing fresh aggression on India. Sir, since independence three aggressions have been committed by Pakistan while India has all the while remained lenient and has been trying to have good relations with Pakistan. In spite of Pakistan's aggression in 1947, a sum of Rs. 55 crores was at that time given to Pakistan. Then we entered into the Tashkent Agreement after which property worth hundreds of crores of rupees belonging to India, which was held up by Pakistan, was not returned to us but was sold away in auction in Pakistan whereas this country returned all the property of Pakistan honestly and sincerely. All along we have been making these efforts to have good relations. Even in today's morning news I heard that some intruders have been sent into our Cooch-Behar border. This was reported in this morning's news. These are the sinister designs that Pakistan has been having towards India. It is very clear because in spite of the appeal made by our hon. Prime Minister that we should enter into a no-war agreement, Pakistan is not willing to do so; she will not

[Shri M. M. Dharia]
 enter into any no-war agreement with India. Under these circumstances, instead of all the while yielding to Pakistan why should we not have a firm policy and say that if these are the sinister motives of Pakistan, if they are preparing for a fresh aggression on this country and the news is that they now want to have an Israeli type of aggression, a blitzkrieg aggression on all our borders in league with China then we will see that the borders are properly defended? Instead of making these appeals why should not the Government come forward and say that these are the two countries, Pakistan and China, which have sinister designs against us and it is from that point of view that our borders will be protected? Will the hon. Minister make it very clear that after the Tashkent Agreement Pakistan has misbehaved, that it has not at all gone according to the Tashkent Agreement and that the Tashkent Agreement has come to an end? A last and final notice should be given to Pakistan saying that we want to go according to the Tashkent Agreement; if Pakistan is ready and willing and proves by her conduct it is all right, otherwise we shall take it for granted that the Tashkent Agreement is no more in existence and we shall go ahead. Will the hon. Minister clarify the position?

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Go ahead where?

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : What are we to do? What is the suggestion?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I agree broadly with his analysis of Pakistan's postures and it is for this reason that we have been taking every step to function on both the fronts: making best efforts to normalise relations and to bring the two countries at the same level of relationship as obtained before the 1965 Pakistani aggression; at the same time we have also to continuously take steps to defend our borders and I think it is enough notice to any country that may have any aggressive designs against us that we will meet any aggression adequately with the valour of our jawans and with the unity in our country.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Mr Chairman Sir, is the hon. Minister aware

that even today the appeal made by our hon. Prime Minister regarding the no-war agreement is being ridiculed every moment by Pakistan authorities through their Radio? They have been carrying on all kinds of malicious propaganda against our country and under these circumstances why should we not go the same way and carry on that sort of propaganda against Pakistan and its mischievous behaviour?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I think Sir, that we need not indulge in any propaganda because the truth is on our side and if we project the truth, that is enough refutation of all the nefarious propaganda that Pakistan might undertake to malign India.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra) : In view of what has been stated by the Minister and also by my colleague, Mr. Dharia, it is very important that the Government of India must take very strong action in regard to the security of our borders. But may I know from the Government of India whether they have studied that this threatening posture taken by Pakistan is due to the recent visit of the Pakistan Foreign Minister to China and particularly to Peking being interested in seeing Pakistan taking up this threatening posture so that the economic and political conditions in this great country always remain disturbed? May I know whether the Government has taken cognisance of Peking's designs in encouraging Pakistan to do all these damages to our security? Peking is not interested in Pakistan, in its economic or political policies. It is only interested in creating disturbed conditions in this great country and that is why the Government of India must take cognisance of the attitude of Peking in encouraging Pakistan. Particularly, Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have brought to the notice of the Prime Minister as well as the Defence Minister the very threatening and alarming situation on the border of Rajasthan. I have already addressed a letter on the 4th August giving particularly a map wherein it has been stated that just near Sharyar Pakistan has massed its army and it is beyond the border, just like a no-man's land. A position as in Kanjraote may develop at an early date. I have already reminded the Government of India about it and I do not want to go into the details. I want to know what action they are taking because this area is being inhabited by

the descendents of Pir Pagaro and this is not being watched by the Border Security Force. May I have an assurance from the Defence Minister that this particular area near the Rajasthan border, on the south-west of Rajasthan, has been made secure and that it is being visited by our Army to challenge the threatening posture of Pakistan on that border?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is true that the hon. Member did write a letter to me, but I would only recall to his memory that I did explain the position to him and I got the impression that he was satisfied with it.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I am not satisfied.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Our border between Rajasthan and Pakistan is almost completely demarcated and at points where there is demarcation we should not remain under any fear that any dispute or any controversy can be raised about the location of our boundary. It is true that there is presence of Pakistani force on the Pakistan side of the Rajasthan border as also on the Pakistan side of Punjab cease-fire line, the Gujarat border and our borders on the eastern side. The Border Security Force are taking adequate steps to safeguard the borders all over the area wherever we have frontier with Pakistan.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : What about China?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : About China I have already said that the point is valid that there is collusion between China and Pakistan. In my main statement I have said that we face two enemies, whereas according to Pakistan, even according to them, the only enemy they have got is India. So, our problem is double and, therefore, we have to undertake heavier burdens to protect us from our neighbours.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana) : May I know from the Government what is their assessment of the two developments that have taken place recently? One is the summit meeting and the other is the Regional Co-operation and Development meeting between Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, held on the return of President Ayub Khan from England. Is it not that history is trying to repeat itself, that Pakistan is trying

to re-enact history in the same way? Secondly, is it not a fact that recently the Pakistan Foreign Minister went to Peking? I think President Ayub went to London trying to be an honest broker, trying to bring America and China together, because that is very clear from the support that President Ayub gave to Mr. Nixon and Mr. Nixon's attitude regarding China. What is the Government of India's assessment of the situation? I want to know also whether the Government's attention has been drawn to a recent news item published in the "Times", London, from its Lahore Correspondent saying that a guerilla army is being trained by some people. They have got ammunition caches in various parts of Kashmir. They say that it is not being done with the help of China or Pakistan, but it is being done independently. They are the same type of intruders. That is why I say that it seems history is trying to repeat itself. I want to know what is the Government of India's assessment of it. Do they think that Pakistan and its allies are trying to again start a war with India and, if so, may I know from the Government whether Russia has been told about this? When Russia gave arms to Pakistan, it was said by Russia and explained to us that it was for encouraging peace in this area. May I know from the Government if they have approached the Russian Government and told them about the no-war pact offered by our Prime Minister and whether the Russian Government have been asked to approach Pakistan for the acceptance of the pact and, if so, what is their response and, if not, why not?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the question is a little too long and it covers several aspects of our foreign policy. . .

MR. CHAIRMAN : From China to Peru.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : . . . about which statements have been made clarifying the Government's position on all these matters. Still I will very briefly try to touch upon some of the points mentioned by the hon. Member. It is true that there is a close alliance and special type of relationship between the three countries mentioned by the hon. Member, namely, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, but some independent observers feel that the military content of the remnants of the CENTO is decreasing progressively. Then, the hon. Member

[Sardar Swaran Singh] has mentioned the Pakistan Foreign Minister's visit to China and the President of Pakistan's visit to England and other European countries. Well, they have relations with these countries and if they exploit their relations, it is nothing unusual. Then, the third point mentioned by him is whether the Pakistanis are training guerillas for guerilla activities in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. We have some information that they are undertaking some training of the Mujahids in guerilla tactics. I think the situation in Jammu and Kashmir today is better. The civil administration and the intelligence there are well set to meet any threat of induction of intruders from the Pakistan side.

The last point mentioned by him is about our no-war pact offer and its rejection by Pakistan. This is a very clear proof that Pakistan is not prepared to renounce war as an instrument for the settlement of whatever may be the disputes between the two countries. This means additional burden on us and we have to take note of that attitude. The hon. Member asked whether we have mentioned this to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is fully aware of our attitude in this respect, our repeated efforts to enter into a no-war pact with Pakistan and that we are prepared to resolve all differences in a peaceful manner. But Pakistan continues to reject this offer. There is nothing further that we can do, or by way of taking it up with the USSR. We cannot expect other countries to pull our chestnuts out of the fire. We must stand on our own legs and try to make adequate arrangements to deal with it, both on the diplomatic front and on the security front.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to raise four points for clarification.

SHRI RAJNARAIN (Uttar Pradesh) : Why four?

SHRI A. D. MANI : If you can raise ten or fifteen, why cannot I make four points? The hon. Defence Minister has made a statement showing the gravity of the situation in regard to Pakistan's military preparedness. I do not think so far these facts have been placed before the Security Council of the United Nations. In other cases, as for example between Israel and Jordan, whenever there has been any escalation

of military preparedness the party aggrieved always lodges a complaint before the United Nations. Why have not these facts been brought to the notice of the United Nations members? The second point is, Pakistan is carrying on a regular radio propaganda against India. We have not indulged, so far, in any counter-propaganda against Pakistan. We do not want to mount up the war fever, but at least facts regarding Pakistan's military preparedness must be put before our public as well as the public of Pakistan, if they care to listen to All India Radio.

Why are we not indulging in a counter-propaganda? That is the second point. The third point I want to know is how far does the military preparedness of Pakistan extend to the construction of new airfields on their border and if there has been any increase in the aerials reconnaissance on the part of the Pakistani planes. The fourth point I want to know is, the Prime Minister as well as the Defence Minister have spoken about a no-war pact with Pakistan. Is it the intention of the Government to couple the no-war pact with a United Nations guarantee or a guarantee of the great powers so that everybody knows that it is not a paper document which will have to be signed by India and Pakistan and that other powers also take responsibility for ensuring that no war will break out between India and Pakistan? These are the four points I would like the Defence Minister to answer.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : My reply, Sir, to the first point is that we have not taken this matter up in the Security Council and we have not complained of these war preparations and I do not think that the Security Council at this stage comes in the picture. The second point is the existence of a regular propaganda on the Pakistani side. Whereas we do not indulge in counter-propaganda, we have placed the facts before our country and before the international community and also the statement from which it was quoted by the honourable Member Shri Dharia. That also was an effort in the direction to which the honourable Member has drawn the attention of this honourable House. We have from time to time made clear the existence of a bellicose posture and warlike preparations by Pakistan. The third point is the construction of new airfields in Pakistan. They have constructed some

new airfields in West Pakistan and also, I presume, in East Pakistan. We are fully conscious of that and in all our preparations we keep full note of these additions to their facilities. The fourth point is about the bringing in of . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI : My point is about the aerial reconnaissance.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : There is no aerial reconnaissance on our territory. I think I clarified that point when it was raised by the honourable Member in some other connection. Lastly, he has asked whether we propose to bring in other countries who could stand guarantee for the observance of the conditions of the no-war pact. The basis is not there. Pakistan is not responding favourably to the signing of a no-war pact between the two countries, India and Pakistan. How can any other country be brought into it? The basis is not there. So we cannot drag in the international community.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं सरकार से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब नित्य प्रति पाकिस्तान तनाव की स्थिति पर है और युद्ध की तैयारी कर रहा है, और इसका जवाब भी देना पड़ता है चाहे सरकार दे या न दे, लेकिन मैं इतना सरकार से पूछना चाहूँगा कि, जितना ही अपने प्रिय भाई भूपेश गुप्त को समझाना चाहूँगा, कि इस आक्रमण की तैयारी को मद्देनजर रखते हुए हमेशा हमेशा के लिये युद्ध की स्थिति हो जाय, तो क्या आज भारत सरकार यह आवश्यक समझेगी कि पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में श्री मुजीबुर रहमान के नेतृत्व में संघर्ष चल रहा है कि पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में स्वायत्त शासन की मांग स्वीकार हो और कहते हैं कि हमारा धन यहाँ से जाकर सिंधी मुसलिम पर खर्च न हो, तो क्या यह सरकार पूर्वी पाकिस्तान की स्वायत्तता का समर्थन नहीं करती और क्यों नहीं करती, और इस बात को मद्देनजर रखते हुए कि मौजूदा भारत की सरकार और पाकिस्तान की सरकार दोनों प्रतिक्रियावादी और जनहित विरोधी हैं . . .

रक्षा मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (रक्षा उत्पादन)
(**श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र**) : क्या हम भी हैं?
नहीं नहीं, तुम हो ।

श्री राजनारायण : तो क्या फेडरेशन की मांग इस समय न करना इस भारत सरकार की प्रतिक्रियावादी नीति का द्योतक नहीं है? क्या सरकार को इस बात की जानकारी है कि खान अब्दुल ग़फ़ार खान के नेतृत्व में बलूचिस्तान स्वतंत्र हो, इस प्रकार की मांग दिन प्रति दिन तेज हो रही है। तो जब सरकार को इसकी जानकारी है कि पख़्तूनिस्तान आजाद हो, बलूचिस्तान आजाद हो, तो इन मांगों को देखते हुए सरकार यह क्यों उचित नहीं समझती कि सरकार अगुवाई करे कि हमारा और पाकिस्तान का काफ़डरेशन बन जाय, उसमें पख़्तूनिस्तान भी एक इकाई हो जाय, बलूचिस्तान भी एक इकाई हो जाय, पूर्वी पाकिस्तान भी एक इकाई हो जाय। ऐसी स्थिति में काश्मीर को भी एक इकाई बना दिया जाय पूरे एक महाद्वीप के समान यह हमारा मुल्क हो जाय। तो मैं आपके जरिये जानना चाहता हूँ कि युद्ध को सर्वदा के लिए समाप्त करने के लिए हमारे इस सुझाव पर क्या सरकार अमल करेगी और अगर नहीं अमल करेगी तो क्यों नहीं ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, that the Government is not in a position to accept any of the suggestions. I would appeal to the honourable Member that he may have the intention of improving relations by making such a suggestion but there is no other sure way of building up tensions and estranging relations between the two countries than to make a suggestion of this type. There is no question of a confederation between the two countries. The two countries are sovereign and any suggestion that is made which might compromise the sovereignty either of India or of Pakistan in the present state of relationship, is not acceptable to India and, I am sure, it is not acceptable to Pakistan. Any suggestion of that nature only strengthens the hands of those persons in Pakistan who continue to raise this bogey, which, we believe is incorrect, that India is not reconciled to the fact of partition and that India is desirous of undoing the partition. We should be very careful in not projecting a picture which might create fear and suspicion in the minds of any of our neighbours.

Then, several other points have been suggested that there are certain forces

[Sardar Swaran Singh]

working inside Pakistan which are asking for either autonomy or independence. That is a matter which is entirely internal and we as a country and as a people should not take any interest in the internal affairs of Pakistan. We greatly respect and we are zealous of ensuring that no outside country, whether it is China or Pakistan, interferes in our internal affairs, whether it is Nagaland, Jammu and Kashmir or anything. They never say that they will interfere. They may interfere; but nobody says they will interfere. But for him to suggest that any country should adopt a policy which amounts to interference in the internal affairs of another country, I think, is to suggest something which is extremely impracticable and I would reject with all the the emphasis at my command all the suggestions made by him.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) : पौइन्ट आफ आर्डर। अभी मंत्री महोदय ने एक स्टेटमेंट दिया जिससे यह प्रतीत होता है कि भारत सरकार की जो विदेश नीति थी उसमें कोई मूल परिवर्तन हुआ है, क्योंकि मुझे याद है कि जब प० जवाहरलाल नेहरू जीवित थे तब उन्होंने काफडरेशन के बारे में इतना क्रिटिकल स्टेटमेंट कभी नहीं किया जितना माननीय स्वर्ण सिंह ने किया। हम कतई मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं कि वह बात सावरेन्टी के खिलाफ है। मैं नहीं समझता कि सावरेन्टी में किसी प्रकार का असर पड़ता है, जब दो सावरेन्टी स्टेट्स आपस में मिलते हैं तभी काफडरेशन होता है। इसलिये कभी जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने हिम्मत नहीं किया था। इसलिये मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार की विदेश नीति में कोई परिवर्तन हुआ है। यदि कोई परिवर्तन हुआ है तो क्या डिफन्स मिनिस्टर साहब उसका उल्लेख करेंगे ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Sir, there is no point of order in what he said. He is only asking another question. But I can say that there is no change in the policy. The confederation ideas have been aired from time to time; but Pakistan's attitude in that respect is quite clear and I am not sure whether there is any strong volume of opinion in our country that we should in any

way try to have a relationship of confederation with the type of tensions that exist there; with their postures on Jammu and Kashmir, when they are throwing to the winds their obligations under the Tashkent Declaration, to suggest at this moment that there can be any confederation between the two countries, is making a suggestion which, on the face of it, is untenable and borders almost on an absurdity.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान) : माननीय मंत्री जी ने श्री राजनारायण जी के कुछ सवालों का जवाब दिया और वे स्वयं इस बात पर विचार करें कि रक्षा मंत्री की हैसियत से उन्हें इस प्रकार की नोति संबंधी और इस प्रश्नो के उत्तर में जो उन्होंने वक्तव्य दिया, वह कहा तक उचित है ? मैं इस प्रश्न पर आगे नहीं जाऊंगा, लेकिन सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से ही मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि यद्यपि आपने इस बात को यहां पर दोहराया है कि राजस्थान और पाकिस्तान की सीमाओं का डिमार्केशन भलीभांति किया जा चुका है, फिर भी क्या सरकार के ध्यान में वे घटनाएँ आयी हैं जब कि पाकिस्तान के सशस्त्र सैनिकों ने राजस्थान की सीमा के पुलिस थानों पर भी छापे मारे हैं और वहां से शस्त्र लूट कर ले गये हैं ? इसी प्रकार से क्या सरकार को राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा सीमा पर हुई और बढ़ रही घटनाओं के सबब में रिपोर्ट प्राप्त हुई है जिसमें इस बात का संकेत है कि राजस्थान से लगने वाले पाकिस्तानी शहरों में इन दिनों ब्लैकआउट की गतिविधियाँ बढ़ गई हैं ? पाकिस्तान वालों ने घुसपैठियों की कार्यवाही भी बढ़ा दी है और सब से चिन्ताजनक बात यह है कि 1965 की लड़ाके समय भी लगभग इन सीमाओं के क्षेत्र निर्धारित होते हुए भी जो 18 हजार आदमी पाकिस्तान की सीमा में चले गये थे, वे वापस आ कर फिर से बस गये हैं। यह लोग पीर पगारों के मुरीद हैं और पीर पगारों के आदेशानुसार इन लोगों ने पिछले युद्ध के समय पाकिस्तान वालों का साथ दिया था। ये लोग सब के सब फिर आकर बस गये हैं। सरकार द्वारा डिमार्केशन के होते हुए भी सीमा के दोनों भागों में पीर पगारों के मुरीद होने के कारण, पाकिस्तान

की अक्रामक शक्ति में वृद्धि होने के कारण, हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर आक्रमण करने की उसकी तीव्र इच्छा होने के कारण, क्या यह हमारे लिए उचित नहीं होगा कि सीमा के उस क्षेत्र को हम खाली करें ताकि 1965 की बात फिर से न दोहराई जा सके और पाकिस्तानी सैनिकों को निमंत्रित करने वाले लोगों की संस्था का तथा इससे संबंधित समस्याओं का समाधान कर सकें ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Sir, if there is a conflict and the boundary that might be the normal international boundary between two countries is violated, it is understandable; and I would also like to say that we have to take an overall view of our defence. Whereas we have to strengthen our border at various places, the biggest deterrent against action in any quarter is our capacity to fight at any place of our choice if any attack is mounted against us at any other point; and that today is well understood and it is also well appreciated by our security forces and by people in various areas. Conditions at the border vary from point to point. Conditions on either side of the cease-fire line are not identical to those on the Punjab-Pakistan border, on the Rajasthan-Pakistan border or Gujarat-Pakistan border. But we have to keep an overall view of the entire situation, and Pakistan is fully aware that any attack on any part of India in any sector means that India will then be entitled to take whatever counter-action it may like to take in order to protect the integrity and in order to protect the security of the country. We should have this overall view always before us before we ask these questions of detail. Even on the Rajasthan border I am conscious of the fact that there are some special problems which are connected with the terrain on our side and also with the type of population that might be there. These are all matters which are not discussed. These are always matters which are kept in view in making a plan of strategic action, and we should not, I would appeal to the hon. Members, discuss the details of how to deal with a situation that might develop.

(Some hon. Members stood up.)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not mind if you call me after the lady Member there.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am trying to give an opportunity to parties whose names are not here and whose opinions we might know. I would like to say that other parties who have not at all spoken should speak about it, and if there is time I shall consider. A number of Members have stood up. I think we should have sufficient discussion over this matter, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am really sorry with all my efforts. . .

AN HON. MEMBER : . . . at chivalry . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : . . . I did not succeed.

Sir, much has been said on the subject, and I did not like the manner in which our Minister fumbled. First of all, it should be made clear that we seriously mean the 'No-war Pact', and we are glad the Government has renewed this offer to Pakistan irrespective of the response which may come from the Pakistan Government. But there are people in Pakistan also who want friendship and amity with India, and such offer always creates a very good impression amongst them. Therefore, I could not understand when he said we are not interested in what happens there. It is one thing not to interfere in the internal affairs of another country; it is quite another thing when it comes to the people in that country showing signs of friendship and understanding of the problems, better understanding of the problems. I think the hon. Minister and his Government should take note of the fact that things among the people are changing in Pakistan. I come from West Bengal, and East Pakistan is our neighbour. We know what is happening there. These things should be sometimes taken up by the Government on the floor of the House and they should not be left to us. Is he aware that when the so-called Agartala trial is being held in Dacca in order to rouse jingoism, these people are regarded as heroes by the Pakistani people because they see the persecution of democracy, persecution of patriots? These are positive factors today that did not happen in the days of the Rawalpindi trial many years ago. Today it is happening. Do they realise that in

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

Dacca streets and other places a large number of people are coming and expressing publicly their desire for amity and accord with India? Do they know that they want the so-called basic democracy to go and be replaced by the restoration of parliamentary democracy? Why not the hon. Minister tell the House here, as they have better agencies of knowing, that in Pakistan Parliament serious criticisms are made against Ayub's regime as a regime which represents a number of big business people just as in our country twenty families and so on are referred to by Members of Parliament? These are positive developments which one should take note of. But our Government is completely oblivious. They are afraid of our Jan Sangh or they are touchy about Shri Rajnarain who brings slogans of confederation. I hope he will not encourage bellicose sentiments about Pakistan. Therefore, these are matters of importance. Then about the Tashkent spirit, I was a little surprised as I have great admiration, almost affection, for my friend, Mr. Dharia. He spoke as if a Field Marshal was speaking with a sword in his hand rushing to Pakistan, telling them that the Tashkent Agreement will be torn as under. That is the language in which the Kaisers used to speak.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Let us see the realities of the situation.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Dharia, we know what it is and what we are heading for. Mr. Chairman, the fact remains that after the Tashkent Agreement there have been less border incidents than in the period preceding the Tashkent Agreement, three or four year period. Is it not a fact that by and large the East Pakistan border and the Assam border with Pakistan is calm and quiet which had never happened in the preceding decades before the Tashkent Agreement? Please note this thing. We know that the Tashkent Agreement has had a very healthy effect on the life of the people of both the countries. Therefore, I say. . .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : (Gujarat) : Is it a discussion on our policy?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I need not speak for 14 minutes. Now I am coming to the point.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Hon'ble Member for Russia, please wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, the Swatantra Party is keeping quiet because they know that America has not given them any line. How Russia comes in here?

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar) : I want only a factual information from the hon'ble Member. May I know whether his specs are manufactured in Russia?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He wants to know where it is manufactured. I regret, Sir, the hon'ble Member's brain is not such as could manufacture such a thing; it is indigenous in that sense. In our scheme of things it comes. Any sensible man would understand that the Tashkent Agreement is the production of India also. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri was there. He became a martyr to the Agreement. It is not just for the Tashkent Agreement but I speak for our own traditions. I speak for something which is concrete and noble. I remember the name of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri. Therefore, it is not to be torn as under. Therefore, before I sit down I would ask my friend, the Defence Minister, whether it is a sort of defensive answer. Let him not ramble into politics and then mess up the whole thing. Why do you not state that that was done for amity and friendship? That is our line and we shall work along that line. That is what we sincerely mean. We sincerely mean the 'No-war Pact' offer which we have renewed recently. Let us make an appeal from the forum of this House again and again. There will be many millions in Pakistan who will be giving you a response.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I have noted what he has said, Sir. He has not asked me anything. So there is nothing to reply.

DR. B. N. ANTANI (Gujarat) : If it was a debate on Foreign Affairs, I would have contributed and given a reply to the hon'ble Member from Russia. However, Mr. Chairman, I wish I could share the complacency of the hon'ble Defence Minister regarding the policy of incursion on the part of Pakistan on boundaries that are demarcated. My hon'ble friend, the Defence Minister, has a theory that

once the boundaries will be demarcated there is no fear for India.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I have not said so. Why are you building an argument on something which I have not said?

DR. B. N. ANTANI : May I tell you that even today on the boundaries of Kutch and Pakistan in Kori Creek there are every day incursions by Pakistan by means of boats? Only two months ago about twenty boats were captured under a sort of argument that they were being used for smuggling. The boats have been restored to Pakistan although there has been no demand for them. Now the residents of this boundary, whom I have the honour to represent in this House, are living under the constant concern that these people are infiltrators. There are espionage activities and there is every day a fear of incursion by way of these creeks. So I say that this sort of complacency should be abandoned by the hon'ble Defence Minister so far as the boundary of Kutch and Pakistan are concerned.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I am not at all complacent. Any Defence Minister who is complacent is not worth his name.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, as far as our party's attitude is concerned, it is quite clear that we should have peace with all our neighbours. As a matter of fact, this expenditure of thousands of crores of rupees is a heavy burden on our economy. In view of these facts and in view of the further fact that certain changes in the international situation have come about to which even the Prime Minister referred in her speech when there was a debate on the U.S.S.R. arms supplies to Pakistan, will the Defence Minister enlighten the House as to whether there is going to be a dialogue between India and China and whether the Cabinet is thinking along that line? I am not speaking here in this vein on the basis of any theory or principle, but I think the Defence Minister will agree with me that he has himself said that he has got two enemies on his borders. I do not know whether actually Pakistan can be called an enemy or China can be called an enemy. But if he feels like that, then is it not a necessity on our part to have an immediate dialogue with China. I think there are certain indications to show

that the Chinese are also thinking, or may be thinking, in that line. It may be a wrong impression on my part. But from some incidents and from some dinners and lunches etc. which are going on, the impression given is that the Chinese also may be thinking in that line. So, will the hon'ble Defence Minister at least assure this House that as far as we are concerned we are prepared for a dialogue with China, may, we shall go a little way ourselves to have that dialogue in order to lighten this heavy defence expenditure on us, if not for anything else?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Sir, I am a little out of touch with the latest developments on this front. If the hon'ble Member has got any information that there is any change in the Chinese attitude, I will request him to pass on that information to our External Affairs Ministry. They will examine it and then take appropriate action.

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJAGOPALAN) (Madras) : Sir, just now the hon'ble Minister said that he will make every effort to normalise the relationship between the two countries and at the same time make defence preparations. In this connection, I would like to bring to your notice a broadcast made on the All India Radio by one, Mr. Dilip Mookerjee, a journalist, who visited recently Pakistan. It was a broadcast on the 'Spotlight on Current affairs'. He has visited Pakistan and has extensively toured Pakistan and at the official level has met officials and other personalities. He discussed with them Indo-Pakistan relationship. From what I have heard from his talk I could gather that Pakistan has expressed their alarm at our defence preparations. But at the same time their attitude towards India has not at all changed. So I would like to know from the hon'ble Defence Minister whether he has already contacted this journalist who visited Pakistan, whether collection of information would be in the interest of normalisation of relationship with Pakistan or for defence purposes. If he has not done so, may I know whether he will try to contact him and collect all information regarding this so that we could be prepared for all eventualities?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : It is a good suggestion for action, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Alva.

DR. ANUP SINGH (Punjab):
Sir, . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will come to you. He is a nominated Member.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated): Thank you, Sir. Sir, you remember . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is a Congressman.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: A Congressman remains a Congressman always. I am nominated.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: A nominated Congressman.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: You remember, Sir, when the Chinese walked down into our territory, our Intelligence forces were almost paralysed and the weakness of the Intelligence forces was exposed later on, there was an enquiry by Maj. Gen. Henderson-Brooks and I think Intelligence formed a very important part of his report. After that, Pakistan attacked us and there again Pakistan took us by surprise in many sectors; and hence the weakness of our Intelligence system was again exposed. I want to know if we have made our Intelligence force a formidable force; that is our vulnerable spot now. Have we modernised it? Have we strengthened it to make us really ready for attack or for defence?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: We have taken steps to strengthen our Intelligence sector.

DR. ANUP SINGH: Mr. Chairman, Sir, Mr. A. D. Mani made a suggestion or rather asked the hon. Minister of Defence whether or not he thought it desirable to bring this problem to the attention of the Security Council. As far as I recall, the hon. Minister said that the Government of India does not think it necessary. May I ask him whether as an ex-Foreign Minister he is not aware of the fact that on a number of occasions, matters have been brought to the attention of the Security Council on far less provocations? He himself has said about the overall picture. Taking into consideration the overall picture, supplemented by the fact that our neighbouring countries have been arming the hostile elements in Nagaland and all that, why does he not think it appropriate to bring it to the attention of the Security Council?

I think this is a situation which does require re-thinking. Secondly, Sir, the hon. Minister has observed on more than two occasions that truth is on our side. He, as an advocate, as a spokesman, of the Government of India, has been faced with this situation many times in the Security Council. Does he not realise that truth has also to be projected? Not that we should vie with Pakistan in propaganda, but we must bring these facts to the attention of the world at large.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, really there is nothing to reply. The hon. Member has experience of the *United Nations* and I have also got some experience. We have been approaching the Security Council from time to time making complaints, counter-complaints and the like. I am sorry to admit that nothing is gained by making just complaints and be subject to counter-complaints. I am not opposed to informing the Security Council and I am sure that at some appropriate time, this could also be undertaken. But I would warn this hon. House not to pin too much hope on anything concrete coming out of our approaches to the Security Council. Then again it has been said that we should project truth. Yes, by all means. But all that I wanted to say was that we should not be caught by this attitude of carrying on propaganda. We should project our viewpoint effectively, in a very forthright manner, in a most able manner, and the hon. Member with his experience of public relations can do that well, and he does that when he goes abroad. There are various ways of projecting our viewpoint. In fact, this discussion in this august Parliament is a very good way of projecting our viewpoint because this is noticed by the entire world. And our missions and publicity media will certainly take note of the correct position and will try to expose the Pakistani lies and also project our viewpoint.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rajnarain, you wanted some clarifications. No speech, please.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं सरकार से एक स्पष्टीकरण चाहता हूँ जैसा कि चेयर ने हम को हुक्म दिया है। इसमें सरकार को क्या दिक्कत महसूस होती है यदि सरकार इस बात का पता लगाये कि क्या पाकिस्तान की

जनता खुदबखुद चाहती है भारत की जनता से एक होना ? कांफिडेंशन में, दोनों मुल्को के एकीकरण में क्या हो सकता है इसके लिये भारतीय सरकार यह सुझाव दे सकती कि एक मर्तबा भारत का प्रेसिडेंट होगा और पाकिस्तान का प्राइम मिनिस्टर होगा, एक बार पाकिस्तान का प्रेसिडेंट होगा और भारत का प्राइम मिनिस्टर होगा और दोनों मिल कर सुरक्षा नीति, नागरिकता आदि. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Does it apply to the Vice-President also?

श्री राजनारायण : वह उस समय बदल दिया जायगा ।

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI Sir, is this the subject matter of the Calling Attention Notice?

MR CHAIRMAN . I thought you were asking for some clarifications, Mr. Rajnarain What is the clarification that you want?

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं क्लेरिफिकेशन कर रहा हूँ । चेयरमैन साहब ने हम को कहा कि सवाल मत पूछो, क्लेरिफिकेशन करो, तो हम चेयर के हुक्म का पालन कर रहे हैं और क्लेरिफिकेशन कर रहे हैं । तो मेरा प्वाइन्ट यह है. . .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Is he asking for clarifications or is he expounding his own theory and giving clarifications on his own theory?

श्री राजनारायण : हम क्लेरिफिकेशन कर रहे हैं ।

SHRI M. M. DHARIA . Sir, let the SSP Member be allowed to go to Pakistan and project his ideas there and then let him come and say it here.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं आपके द्वारा अपने मित्र श्री धारिया और सभी सम्मानित सदस्यों को बताना चाहता हूँ कि पाकिस्तान में हमारा एक मित्र तीन महीना घूम रहे हैं और घूम कर उसने रपट दी है कि पाकिस्तान की जनता आज अयूबशाही के नीचे त्रस्त है जैसे भारत की जनता आज इंदिरा-शाही के नीचे त्रस्त है । क्या यह सत्य नहीं है कि भारत की प्रतिक्रियावादी सरकार और साम्प्रदायिक तत्व जो भारत में हैं वे नहीं

चाहते हैं कि भारत पाक का एकीकरण हो । क्योंकि एकीकरण होने से यहां के मुसलमान डरेगे नहीं और कांग्रेस जो यह कहती रहती है कि मुसलमान अगर कांग्रेस को सपोर्ट नहीं करेंगे तो उनको पाकिस्तान भेज दिया जायगा वह बात भी नहीं रहेगी । इसको मद्देनजर रखते हुये इसमें क्या दिक्कत है कि भारत की सरकार अपनी ओर से अगुआई करे ।

श्रीमन्, मैं आपके द्वारा यह जानकारी करा दूँ कि शेख अब्दुल्ला जब पहली बार इस सरकार की इजाजत से पाकिस्तान गये तो उन को हम ने यह सुझाव दिया था और शेख अब्दुल्ला ने आने पर हमें बताया कि उन्होंने वहां की तकरीर में हमारी कांफेडरेशन की बात कही । तो क्या भारत की सरकार यह मानती है कि 14, 15 जून 1947 का जो कांग्रेस का प्रस्ताव है उस की तह में हम कांफेडरेशन की बात करे तो लोग यह समझेंगे कि हम पीछे जाना चाहते हैं । यह सरकार अपनी स्थिति को सुदृढ़ करने के लिये जब जनता की मांग हो, मजदूरों की मांग हो, किसानों की मांग हो, सरकारी कर्मचारियों की मांग हो, पत्रकारों की मांग हो, तब यह सरकार कह देगी लड़ाई लड़ाई, लड़ाई, और इस तरह दोनों प्रतिक्रियावादी सरकारें लड़ाई का हौवा खड़ा कर के आज दोनों देशों की जनता पर जुल्म डाल रहे हैं । यही मेरा प्रश्न है ।

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Sir, I do not know what is there to be clarified . He has only tried to reiterate some fresh ideas in support of his theory of confederation . I would like to say that his statement to the effect that people here are opposed to the present Government is, on the face of it, incorrect . Therefore, I have grave doubts about his assessment of the situation in Pakistan also; because here he is in this country and if his assessment of the pulse of the people can be so out of tune with reality, then I have grave doubts about the correctness of his assessment of the situation in Pakistan.