

[ श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव ]

व्यापार रोकने वाले जो आपके अधिकारी हैं उनके चरित्र को सुधार कर क्या यह काम कराया जा सकता है ; हमारे यहां एक कहावत प्रचलित है कि हमें सरकारी नौकर बना दो चाहे आधी तनख्वाह भी दो क्योंकि हम पैसा बना लेंगे। बहुत से अधिकारी ऐसे हैं जहां बड़े पैसा कमाने लगे। नेपाल की सीमा पर आपने अधिकारी बैठाए हैं गांजे के व्यापार को रोकने के लिए, लेकिन हम देखते हैं किस तरह मोटरों में, जीपों में रोज इस देश के अन्दर गांजा आता है। अपनी तनख्वाह से अधिक रुपया पुलिस अधिकारी पेंदा कर लेते हैं। यह तस्कर व्यापार का जो कानून बना रहे हैं यह देश के लिये नहीं बना रहे हैं, बल्कि उन अधिकारियों के हाथ में अधिकार देने के लिये कानून है जो तस्कर के व्यापार में अधिक से अधिक पैसा कमा रहा है। इस लिये उन आफिसरों को सुधारने की आपकी क्या जिम्मेदारी है ?

तीसरी बात यह है कि इस कानून के चलते जो हमारे स्वर्णकार बंधू और उनके सहयोगी लोग जो एफेक्टुअल है उनके लिये आप क्या व्यवस्था करेंगे। आपने इसके द्वारा उनको जिस प्रकार अवैध व्यापार करने के लिये बाध्य किया, या वह तबाह हुए या उनके लड़के बच्चे तबाह हो गये, तीन वर्ष के अंदर उनको कोई सुख-सुविधा नहीं दे सके, तो फिर इसका कठोरता से पालन कराने के लिये आप क्या व्यवस्था करेंगे। [Time bell rings] कारीगरी जो सोने पर चलती है, जैसे मीनाकारी है वह सोना अगर 14 कैरट का हो तब भी काम हो सकता है लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार में जहां इसकी पतले स्तर पर कारीगरी होती है वहां जब तक बीस, बीस कैरट का सोना नहीं होगा तब तक उसका काम नहीं चल सकता है इसलिये उनके कारीगरों को इस वक्त . . .

श्री के० सी० पंत : अब तो 14 कैरट रहा ही नहीं। आप इस बिल को पढ़ तो लें। 14 कैरट हटा दिया।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : खैर, आप देख लें कि इस बिल के जरिये जिनके ऊपर प्रहार होने वाला है उनकी सुख-सुविधा के लिये, जीविका के लिये, आप क्या कर रहे हैं। यदि इस पर स्पष्टीकरण हो जाय तो शायद इस बिल पर और भी विचार करने में प्रवर समिति के लोगों को सुविधा हो जायगी।

SHRI C. ACHUTHA MENON (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I support the motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee and while supporting the motion I have to make certain observations on the Bill. Sir, we are acquainted with the history of this legislation. When in 1962 the infamous Gold Control Order was promulgated which gave rise to a vast amount of distress to certain communities and to certain sections of the population, a terrific agitation arose. We all know that and because of the pressure of that agitation the Government was compelled to modify certain provisions in the Gold Control Order and subsequently they enacted the 1965 legislation. Further they are now bringing in this legislation. I do not wish to refer to the consequences of the Gold Control Order as promulgated in 1962 although I am inclined to agree with much of what my friend Mr. Yadav said with regard to that. Somebody from the.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Menon, you might continue tomorrow.

#### HALF-AN HOUR DISCUSSION RE FLIGHT OF PAKISTANI AIRCRAFT OVER INDIAN TERRITORY

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Mani will move it and he will take about ten minutes. The Minister will take another ten minutes and I have got two other names. These Members will put questions.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have your permission for seeking to raise a discussion on points arising out of the answers to

Starred Question No. 113 given in the Rajya Sabha on the 25th July, 1968 regarding flight of Pakistan aircraft over Indian territory. This matter,

5 P.M.

Sir, you may recall, came up in this House in the month of May last and a statement was made at that time by the hon. Defence Minister. This matter has also been discussed in the other House last week. I would not like to go over the ground which has been already covered. The fact is clear, the fact is admitted on all sides, that F-56 aircraft which is a military aircraft belonging to Pakistan has flown over the Indian territory and has been permitted by our Government to land at Lucknow at the Amausi Airfield.

**THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SARDAR SWARAN SINGH):** We insisted that it should land.

**SHRI A. D. MANI :** They have been insisting on its landing, it has been given landing facilities at the Amausi Airfield.

**SARDAR SWARAN SINGH :** There is a distinction between the two—one is permission to land and the other is insistence that it must land.

**SHRI A. D. MANI :** You wanted to inspect the aircraft, you wanted to be satisfied what kind of plane was flying over our territory. I see the difference. I accept you correction.

Sir, the hon. Defence Minister in the other House said and I am just quoting one sentence, I do not want to quote his speech:

“When we are not actually fighting, there is no point in keeping up the tension unnecessarily and if there are facilities which can be utilised by either country without detriment to its security, we should not say ‘No’, merely because ultimately there is a chance of conflict.”

The hon. Defence Minister is aware that the Pakistani Embassy is engaged in serious espionage activities in this country and members belonging to the Pakistani Embassy in the past have also been hauled up on espionage charges. The relationship between these two countries is extremely strained though there is no armed conflict. And already there is a good deal of discontent and anxiety about the receipt of arms by

Pakistan from China and the Soviet Union and the United States. When this is the state of affairs, when this is the kind of relationship that exists between India and Pakistan, we have got to be very careful about giving permission to Pakistani aircraft, particularly military aircraft, to fly over our territory.

I have been told that these aircraft fly at a height of 23,000 feet or sometimes they touch about 25,000 feet. And it has also been stated that when these aircraft land, as they did in Lucknow, they were examined to find out whether any photographic equipment is carried by them.

**SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated) :** It can be concealed.

**SHRI A. D. MANI :** But the hon. Defence Minister knows that there are many ways of concealing photographic equipment, and particularly in view of the existence of a widespread Pakistani espionage ring in our country, it is quite possible that concealed photographic equipment might be with the personnel flying these planes and they might escape attention at the airfields where they land.

**SHRI M. N. KAUL :** There may be built-in devices.

**SHRI A. D. MANI :** Sir, the other thing is this. The U-2 plane was also flown at 23,000 to 25,000 feet. It has been stated that our planes also have been given staging facilities in Pakistan. And a pointed reference was made in the other House to the courier service between India and Europe and the United Kingdom operated by a Constellation. I do not know how many times our aircraft have landed in Pakistan. I want to ask the Defence Minister—Is it impossible for us to exist in the world without landing anywhere in Pakistan or flying over Pakistani territory? There have been occasions in the past some years ago when the relationship between India and Pakistan was very strained, that no Indian aircraft was allowed to fly over the Pakistani territory and no Pakistani aircraft was allowed to fly over the Indian territory. On those occasions our aircraft went to Tehran, went all over the sea, and never tried to fly over Pakistan. We should have this bogus friendship

[Shri A. D. Mani]

and say that we want to fly over your territory, you allow us ? Is it impossible for the Defence Services to maintain their present efficiency without some of our aircraft flying over Pakistan ? We do not want this arrangement. The Tashkent Agreement has been dishonoured in every sphere. The hon. Minister for Communications stated the other day that some communications equipment has been more or stolen by Pakistan and kept there. Is it in consonance with the Tashkent Agreement ? The hon. Defence Minister went to Tashkent, I know, and tried to negotiate. But this sort of make-believe sham friendship with Pakistan is not going to help anybody. We have not reached a reasonable commercial air agreement with Pakistan. We have not been able to open up the channels of communication between India and Pakistan. And I see no reason, when this is the state of affairs, for Government or the Ministry of Defence to allow such aircraft to fly over the Indian territory. Now, I do not know what those compelling military considerations are which made these F-56 aircraft to fly over Indian territory. Were they going to East Pakistan or beyond somewhere else ? It is possible that they might fly over Indian territory and go to the Chinese territory also. It is quite possible. The hon. Defence Minister stated that...

**SARDAR SWARAN SINGH :** They were returning from the east and going to the west.

**SHRI A. D. MANI :** Thank you.

The other point is, I have been told that when they are allowed to fly over the Indian territory, a certain corridor is marked out...

**SHRI M. N. KAUL :** That is always done.

**SHRI A. D. MANI :** ...and they are asked to fly in that corridor. This has happened in Europe also. Planes fly through the corridor and go beyond the corridor also. It has happened in West Germany often. We do not have radar equipment in this country of such a magnitude to detect deviation from the routes marked out by our force. I do not want to reveal any secrets—we may have radar equipment in Delhi. But we may not have it in other airfields where they are asking to land. The distance is long and it is not possible

to detect any deviation of a Pakistani aircraft from the corridors which we mark out.

An allegation has been made in the other House—I do not want to repeat it—that the Air Force personnel of Pakistan were not only allowed to land but to go into the airfield offices. Now, similar facilities might also be extended by the Government of Pakistan to our airmen, when they have to land in a staging flight. But I would like to ask the Defence Minister what are the security precautions which are observed by our police, by the State police, by the military police, in regard to the personnel who land at the airfields marked out by us for them. Do they accompany those people to the airfield lounge and sit with them ? My information is that the personnel of the Pakistani aircraft were allowed to go into the lounge; all of them were allowed to go into the lounge. But these are espionage planes which are flying over our territory. How does the Defence Ministry permit the personnel to wander about the airport premises ? They might pass on secret information, they might pass on equipment of sabotage to anybody. What kind of precautions are being observed ? He smiles. I have not been to Tashkent, I have not sat at the negotiating table with people from Pakistan. Perhaps I am clouded in suspicion. But this question arose...

**SARDAR SWARAN SINGH :** It is a civil airport where all Pakistani can go.

**SHRI A. D. MANI :** I want his answer to all these points. These are the points which arose. I want the Defence Minister to consider the depth of feeling in this country, which is very strong. Unless the Tashkent Agreement is observed in spirit, these meaningless formalities and courtesies should cease. They do not allow our civil aircraft to land when we want to land in Pakistan. There is no air service of the normal kind between India and Pakistan. The doors have been closed by Pakistan. Our people cannot go excepting through foreign aircraft.

**SHRI M. N. KAUL :** They are the only planes.

**SHRI A. D. MANI :** When this is the situation, I want to know why the Government considers it necessary that

this permission should be given and that the aircraft should be asked to land, as the hon. Defence Minister corrected me later.

Sir, I hope that the Defence Minister would realise the depth of feeling of this House and also the people outside the House who count much more than I in this House, the vast masses who feel that these facilities should be stopped forthwith because the relationship between India and Pakistan has become worse after Tashkent. And unless it improves and we are in a position to say that we are working it with them in terms of amity and cordiality, there is no point in giving them these useless facilities which have become a mockery of the so-called Indo-Pakistan friendship.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Defence Minister.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa) : What about the procedure...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : The procedure has been discussed several times.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) : We should be guided by convenience.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Convenience cannot overrule the rules.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the speech by my colleague, Mr. Mani, is based on the Tashkent Declaration, the utility thereof and the strong feelings in this House and outside about our relationship with Pakistan. I myself am fully conscious of this feeling and also of the deteriorating relationship that today exists between our country and Pakistan. But we have to view these things in the proper perspective and we should know the facts, and this is one of the processes by which some of the erroneous impressions that might be there amongst the people could be removed; that is the usefulness of a debate like this.

I would like to give one or two facts before I touch upon the points that have been raised by my esteemed colleague Mr. Mani. I hope everybody knows that overflight of civilian aircraft is permitted over either country, that is, the Pakistan International Airways or their internal services can overfly our

territory when they are flying from West Pakistan to East Pakistan and from East Pakistan to West Pakistan. They have to fly over predetermined routes which have been laid down by us. They have to observe certain altitudes in the course of flight and also they have to observe certain routes. Similarly, Indian aircraft, both Indian Airlines Corporation and also Air-India planes overfly the Pakistan territory. When, for instance, our Air-India planes go east of India they overfly the Pakistan territory. Even our internal air services, when they go to Assam or to Tripura or to other places, they overfly the Pakistan territory. Similarly the Air-India International, when it goes West it overflies Pakistan territory. When it goes to Teheran, Kabul or the Soviet Union it overflies West Pakistan over, what are called, predetermined routes. The other information which I would like to give is that whereas the civilian aircraft are permitted to overfly without landing, every country almost invariably insists that if it is an air force plane of any country overflying another country, then the country over which it overflies insists on its landing. So it is not a facility but it is a sort of condition of overflight that all air force or military aeroplanes should land. The country over which it flies insists on its landing unless, of course, relations are so good or there are special circumstances when this insistence on landing may be waived. Normally, a country over which it flies they will insist on the landing of a military aircraft. For instance, to give an example, if our air force plane carrying the Prime Minister or our President, a high dignitary, overflies Pakistan territory, then normally they should insist on landing. But in this case they do not insist on landing and we overfly even though it might be an air force plane. We ourselves have not been approached for overflights when the Pakistan President travels between East and West because normally, according to the information that is available with us, he uses the Pakistan International Airways (P.I.A.). He has got the right of overflight in civil aircraft over the Indian territory and as such there is no question of landing. But I have no doubt that if the Pakistan President uses a Pakistan Air Force plane and asks for permission to overfly without landing, we will grant that permission. These are the normal arrangements between our country and

[Sardar Swaran Singh]

others. This is the factual position that we should understand.

A point has been raised that the pre-determined routes or the altitudes that are prescribed by the country over which it flies may be deviated from. But it is a very, very grave risk. In case of even the slightest deviation, which is all the time open to a watch by radars in the various parts of the country, at once a warning is administered and the slightest deviation exposes that plane to the risk of being brought down. Incidentally, I may tell Mr. Mani that his estimate of our capacity in the field of radars or of administering warnings or of bringing down planes if they do not observe the discipline is not correct. We have got all the arrangements and any deviation is taken very serious notice of.

Having given these facts I hope I have dispelled the feeling of concealed photography. For instance, if concealed photography over a predetermined route is something of which we are so afraid, what is the guarantee that the P.I.A. aircraft that flies over the country has not got the photographic equipment below it? We would not insist on its landing and they can photograph. The biggest guarantee in the element of security is that these routes themselves are so determined by the country over which flights take place that no element of security risk is involved. Routes themselves are defined in such a manner that there is the element of security.

Of course, photographs on the route can be taken by even civilian aircraft flying. May be, the international rules are that no photograph should be taken. But if you take that view that Pakistanis in their civilian or military aircraft can conceal photographic equipment, they can as well conceal in the Pakistan civil flights that take place between the East and the West and *vice-versa*. So the real guarantee and the real element of safety is not in this concealed photography or equipment but in the routes that we prescribe, the altitudes and the like that we prescribe and the insistence on the adherence of these routes and the risk to which they are exposed if there are any deviations. In this particular case also all the routes have been prescribed and they were watched all along. There was no deviation whatsoever from the routes. Routes are generally prescribed. It is capable of detection. On the slight-

est deviation our fighters can take on the offending aircraft. It will not be divulging any great secret if I were to tell you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and, through you, the House that our aircraft on getting notice can go up to an altitude of about 15,000 ft. in a matter of less than 2 minutes. So we should not unnecessarily import this type of thing, elements which do not exist.

Now, it has been said that Pakistani personnel were allowed to land at the Amausi airport. I hope Mr. Mani has visited the Lucknow airport, the small terminal building. It is a civilian airport to which anybody can go. Any Pakistani who has a visa, who holds a Pakistani passport, can visit Lucknow. They actually disembark from civilian planes and go to the lounge. There is no question of any security. There is no security risk in a civilian airport. Our Indian nationals travel in civil planes that land at Lahore or Karachi. They are taken to the lounges. I do not see what is the security angle involved in such matters. I am submitting all these matters before this hon. House so that we can see these things in the proper perspective. We should not give an impression of being swept off our feet. We should not try to smell a rat where a rat is not there.

We should see these things in a proper perspective. We should not think in those terms that any Pakistani aircraft or any Pakistani individual can run away with secrets from this country when we have so much control. We should have some confidence in our capacity to take on these matters in our stride and not be swept off our feet. We should not view these things in this manner. Now several questions have been posed and I will try to finish them very easily.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Your time is limited.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Yes, I know; I will finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Ten minutes are already over.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I crave indulgence for two minutes more. Now there was a question about Pakistan

and espionage activities. In this particular case, there was no element of espionage at any stage of the flight and therefore, this question does not arise. Then there was a question. How many times did we land? I have got some information and if the hon. Member is interested, I can give that information. It might be recalled that this was resumed sometime in March 1966. In 1966 we had 23 landings of Indian Air Force planes in Pakistan as compared to 8 occasions of Pakistani aircraft availing of landing facilities or transit facilities in India; that is, 23 Indians used Pakistani territory as against 8 Pakistanis who used Indian facilities. During 1967, it was 5 Indians as against 15 Pakistanis...

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) :** Five and fifteen?

**SARDAR SWARAN SINGH :** Yes, 5 and 15. In 1966, it was 23 and 8. So this oscillates. Sometimes we send more planes and sometimes they send more planes. We have never treated this on any reciprocal basis in the form of figures. It depends upon the number of aircraft that are required to be sent. For instance, we may want to send a large number of aircraft for some purpose ...

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) :** Have you got figures for 1968?

**SARDAR SWARAN SINGH :** Yes; besides this lot of P.A.F., there were 16 occasions as against 11 opportunities on which we utilised their territory. So it is reciprocal. Now I do not like this derisive attitude particularly from such responsible hon. Members about our international commitments. The Tashkent Declaration was something which was solemnly agreed to by the Heads of Government of two countries. We should continue to insist upon the other side also adhering to it. We should not be on the lookout for excuses to get away from our responsibilities. It contains elements which are conducive to the development of good relations which ultimately can be the only basis of relationship between two neighbours. We have at present difficulties and we have to face them. But the ultimate objective must always be clear in our mind.

About channels of communication, we have channels of communication now. I have mentioned overflights. Now there is telephone and telegraphic arrangement also between the two countries. Then it has been asked whether it is impossible for us to exist if we do not overfly Pakistan. But is it a desirable objective to have that policy of complete isolation by not even availing of innocent reciprocal facilities?

**SHRI M. N. KAUL :** He wants an iron curtain.

**SARDAR SWARAN SINGH :** I think the main reason why our attitude is more progressively understood by other countries and even by our critics is that we stick to certain essential principles; and our continued adherence to principles will always pay dividends in the long run, and we should not pay attention to small irritants.

Then I have also touched upon this question of feeling. There may be feelings in the mind of the hon. Member. But I would like to say that there are very strong contrary feelings also that, whereas if they attack us we have to fight and fight bravely as we fought on the last occasion and defend ourselves, at the same time an atmosphere of constant tension and constant sniping at the borders is not desirable. We must appreciate that for several months now there is very little of shooting or sniping on the borders. These may be only small indications but we should not start on this premise that we should deliberately adopt a policy of heightening tension. That, I would submit, is not the feeling in the country and it is wrong to exploit feelings of this nature and try to see danger where danger does not exist. We are a large country. We have our problems, but ultimately, I have no doubt, we will triumph if we continue to adhere to a policy of strength to a policy of wisdom and also to a policy which is not exposed to criticism. Thank you.

**SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS :** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, on May 9 last I raised this question for the first time in the Rajya Sabha. It had been taken up by the Lok Sabha and now we are discussing it to-day. It was in the shape of a question and supplementaries could not be asked because there was no time. The Minister tried to avoid answering the question. My question was whether

[Shri Banka Behary Das]  
Pakistan had asked for clearance to fly military aircraft over India..

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : You had said "blanket clearance."

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS : And the reply was "It is under consideration." I would have been happy if the Minister had said that though we had not given any blanket clearance, there was a reciprocal arrangement so that their military planes could land here and our military planes could also land in Lahore and Karachi. He perhaps wanted to avoid answering the question and so he said 'it is under consideration.' Now all this suspicion started from that answer and that answer was given on May 9. The Minister now comes and tells us that last year also there was some overflight. My information is that in the months of March and April this year some of the military aircraft from West Pakistan touched some of our aerodromes. So I think if the Minister had clarified the position at that time, this misunderstanding would not have arisen. And another point I want to mention here is that there is difference between civil and military aircraft. I can understand this kind of arrangement about civil aircraft and we have a certain arrangement also. But I would also point out to the Minister that all those B.O.A.C. planes and Pan American planes—civil planes—go to Tel Aviv from India without flying over Syria or Lebanon. They take a circuitous route from Tehran over Turkey and Cyprus and come back and touch Teheran by the same route. That means that the Arab countries do not allow even civilian planes to fly over Syria or Lebanon. And no B. O. A. C. plane or Pan American plane flies from Cairo via Tel Aviv to Teheran. That means that even in regard to civilian aircraft, there is no arrangement like this in international field. I would request the hon. Minister to tell us frankly why, when there is no arrangement like this even in regard to civilian aircraft in some countries, there should be this arrangement between Pakistan and India in regard to military aircraft. Can we not distinguish between civilian aircraft and military aircraft ? Now take the case of necessity. The Minister said in the other House that some of our military aircraft touched Lahore airport and Karachi airport while they were flying to Moscow or to Europe. Now allowing

overflight of military aircraft from Pakistan will mean allowing a corridor in India between East Pakistan and West Pakistan. Our planes can go outside and take a circuitous route over the Arabian Sea to go to Moscow or London. So there is no necessity of having a reciprocal arrangement. They get all the advantages because they have to fly their military aircraft from East Pakistan to West Pakistan and *vice versa* over our territory. So I would like to point out that if we did not allow any military aircraft from Pakistan to fly over India, we would not be at a disadvantage; it is they who will be at a disadvantage.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : There are places like Assam.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS : That is civilian transport. And we have a corridor over Bengal and we can go to Assam without any difficulty. I think these things will be clarified by him.

Secondly, during the Indo-Pakistan conflict many ships were seized by Pakistan and up till now the commodities and goods have not been released. Many of the projects are suffering because of this and some of the goods have been auctioned also by them.

I know two cases. Two very important projects of Orissa cannot be completed because all those commodities and goods that were coming from the USA have been seized by them. Up till now they have not released them and also some of them have been auctioned. That has happened about so many projects. When no overall agreement has been reached about the civil and military aircraft and about the seizure of goods, I would like to suggest that no permission should be given to their military aircraft to fly over India, because it is for their internal purposes between East Pakistan and West Pakistan. Then, Sir, I want to know from the hon. Minister whether the aircraft which landed in Kanpur was searched and, if it was searched, what were the goods carried by the same ? Secondly, Sir, I want to tell the hon. Minister that some of the military aircraft of Pakistan are always moving over Indian territory at an altitude of 50 to 60 thousand feet and they are not taking our permission. Our information is that those planes are having photographs and they are also flying over strategic areas for spying purposes.

May I know from the Minister whether these facts have been checked up and is he prepared to give an assurance that there is no such military plane overflying Indian territory between East Pakistan and West Pakistan? Whether we have enough machinery to detect such planes and they can be force-landed here in India.

**SARDAR SWARAN SINGH** I will be very short in my reply. The last question I would like to answer first. No plane can fly at any altitude in India and remain undetected. Even if there is a spy plane or any plane which flies over Indian territory at that altitude, we can detect it. Secondly I want to say that we can bring it down.

**SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY :**  
Spy planes are very rarely detected.

**SARDAR SWARAN SINGH** You are talking of U-2 which flies at an altitude of 80 thousand feet, he is talking of B-57 or something like that flying at an altitude of 40 or 50 thousand feet. The aircraft mentioned by the hon. Member is capable of being detected and is also capable of being brought down. We have not detected any such thing. Therefore any information that you have got is baseless. If you want to discuss with me outside, I will be glad to get that information from you and I am prepared to have a second check-up. After this was stated in the other House I have again carefully checked it up and no such thing has happened. If it happens, we will bring down any plane which is doing spying work. About the rest, it is more a persuasive statement to persuade us to cancel these arrangements. I am sorry, having very carefully considered the same, I do not agree with that. Where our reciprocal arrangements do exist, we should not try to get out of them. In fact our approach with regard to Pakistan is that step by step we should be willing even to resolve those differences which at the moment appear to be defying any settlement. Our attitude is never to close the doors but we should always be willing and prepared to resolve all our differences by peaceful means and by talks. Therefore whatever agreements already exist we should take care to preserve. We should also try to extend the area of agreement rather than work ourselves in this moment of tension and unnecessarily try to create more difficulties. The rest of the thing, Sir, really was only an argument in

support of this. There is no question of corridor. Air space is air space and there is no question of either corridor or anybody claiming corridor or asking for it. Some of the wild things that were said by some Muslim League leaders before independence should not continue to grip our minds. Here are these two independent countries separated and partitioned, each going its own way. There is no question of corridor or any other thing. These are mutual reciprocal facilities and we should never get gripped by any such considerations. We can fly, as the hon. House is fully aware, between Assam and the rest of India over Pakistan territory, there is no question of corridor. Merely because we overfly their territory, we do not claim corridor as such. These are reciprocal facilities. So, Sir, the distinction that he was trying to make between international flights and internal flights really is not very relevant, if we take the whole geographical position into consideration.

**SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated) :**  
Mr Vice-Chairman, I am wondering how the hon. Minister is underestimating this danger in view of the blackout that we had in Delhi recently. May I also know when exactly this practice of reciprocal arrangements started? There is not a single word mentioned about this right in the 20-clause Indian Independence Act of 1947. In that Act there are only three small paragraphs entitled—Indian Armed Forces, British Forces in India and Naval Forces—but not a word about aviation, military or civil. When did this golden practice of reciprocal arrangements start and how many total flights have taken place from either side so far? I am sorry we have started this practice knowing fully well the tremendous danger that we are facing from the Air Force of Pakistan, from the air arm of Pakistan. It is the only weapon, it is the real weapon, which Pakistan is always flaunting at us. Also, Sir how is the hon. Minister underestimating the danger of photography from fast-moving planes? We know what dangers arose from the U-2 flight from Peshawar into Soviet territory and the Pakistan Air Force has been helped by every country from the East and the West. In spite of that, the hon. Minister is trying to lull us into a kind of security when there is insecurity all around us.

**SARDAR SWARAN SINGH :** I am very sorry that the hon. Member



[Sardar Swaran Singh]<sup>1</sup>

feels very insecure. But I do not share that sense of insecurity. I think it is my job not to feel rattled and anybody who feels rattled certainly is not looking after the interests of the country well. I hope I have not given the impression that I underestimate the capacity of the Pakistan Air Force. That is an issue which was not in dispute; there was no discussion on that. It was a limited issue as to what is involved in these reciprocal flights over each country and what the pros and cons are. I have placed them as objectively as I could. And even from this rather strong intervention by Mr. Alva I have not got any concrete thing about which I could give an answer. He has not pointed out as to what was wrong in what I stated. I do not want to give any impression that we underestimate the capacity of the Pakistan Air Force, Army and Navy. But I would appeal to you not to underestimate our own capacity either. It will be absolutely wrong to overestimate the capacity on the other side or to underestimate our own capacity.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : He is upset by the blackout.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : He is upset by the blackout which lasted only for one hour; it was effective only for 15 minutes.

For fifteen minutes it was very stringent and then it was relaxed. A black out is something which is normal in several countries. It is a sort of practice on the Civil Defence Side and there is not much of military significance.

Then it was asked : 'When did this reciprocal arrangement start between the two countries ?' It started soon after Independence, when both Pakistan and India developed their Air Forces. He is quite right that at the time of Independence there was not much of Air Force. It was divided between the two countries. There were a few odd planes—dakotas and the like—but there was some semblance of an Air Force even at that time and the aircrafts were divided between the two countries but the arrangement for overflights has nothing to do with partition. It has

nothing to do with the Indian Independence Act. It is a reciprocal arrangement which has been entered into between the two countries. There is no international practice as such which permits countries to overfly military aircraft. It has to be agreed to in each case. Each flight has to be agreed to, either in a blanket form or in the form of each individual flight.

May I take this opportunity of clarifying another matter ? On 9th May—I checked up—the answer was : "The request for a blanket clearance is under consideration" which meant that clearance of a courier flight which was being flown every fortnight or every month between the east and the west and they were asking that permission should be granted over a period of six months subject of course to clearances, etc. and Mr. Bhagat had replied on 9th May 1968 that that request for a blanket clearance is under consideration. I would like to say that the present flights of the Pakistan Air Force took place on 12th May 1968. This has nothing to do with blanket clearance but this is really a specific clearance asked for and granted. So there is no contradiction between what was stated by Mr. Bhagat on 9th May and the present flight which is not as a result of the blanket clearance but is as a result of a specific clearance. So I would like to assure Mr. Alva and others of his way of feeling disturbed that we should not be complacent but we should not be nervous. It is bad to be complacent but it is worse to be nervous. We are a big country, It is true that Pakistan is arming itself. We have to take stock of the situation but I would like to say that we are fully prepared to meet the situation whether it is in the air or in the ground or in the navy. Let there be no doubt about it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : The discussion is over.

The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at forty-three minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 1st August, 1968.