

recently crossed the borders and have entered Jammu area; and

(b) if so, what is the approximate number of infiltrators and how many of them have been apprehended?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT): (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

### CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

REPORTED SALE OF TROOP-CARRYING HELICOPTERS TO PAKISTAN BY U.S.S.R.

(SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Sir, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of External Affairs to the reported sale of troop-carrying helicopters to Pakistan by U.S.S.R. and the training of Pakistani airmen in the U.S.S.R. for flying these helicopters.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH): Sir, the Government have seen reports in the press stating that the Soviet Union is selling helicopters to Pakistan. We have no confirmation of this report.

The Government are aware that the U.S.S.R. commercial organisation "AVIAEXPORT" sell helicopters and civilian transport aircraft freely and these sales do not fall within the restrictions applied to the sale or gift of military equipment by the U.S.S.R. to other countries. These are civil transport aircraft and do not fall under the category of combatant military aircraft.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: May I know, Sir, whether the hon. Minister has asked for a clarification from the U.S.S.R. Government regarding this sale, because the news from the correspondent of the Washington Post, which is quite reliable—and it has

been reported by one of our correspondents from Washington. Therefore, there seems to be some truth in the matter—is that these helicopters have been supplied to Pakistan for military purposes, and after ascertaining that, are the Government going to lodge a protest to the U.S.S.R. Government, or do they think that the U.S.S.R. Government is infallible so far as their connections with the Government are concerned?

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH: Sir, this news appeared very recently. I assure the House that the matter would be taken up with the Russian Government by our Ambassador there. But at the moment, as far as we know, the sale has not taken place. But even if the sale does take place, it does not in any way go counter to any of the assurances that the Russian Government has given in the past or even very recently. As I said in the beginning, distinction has to be made between a civil transport aircraft and a military aircraft . . .

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): There is no distinction.

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH: . . . According to our information these aircraft are civil aircraft. The U.S.S.R. can certainly sell them to anybody they like.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Sir, according to the Washington Post, the news item says clearly:

"In reversal to earlier policy, the Soviet Union is sending some troop-carrying helicopters to Pakistan."

Whether they are troop-carrying or arms-carrying, it makes little difference. They are used for military purposes. If they are troop carrying, that also amounts to military purposes. Having known that such a news has appeared, which is quite reliable, may I know, Sir, why did the Minister not make an endeavour to find out from our sources in the U.S.S.R. to ascertain from the U.S.S.R. Government whether this is correct or not? What is our Ambassador there

doing if he is not keeping our Government informed about these things? This is very much related to the defence of the country. If some country, which is supposed to be friendly with us, is going on selling arms and other equipment which are necessary for military purposes to our neighbours who are not on friendly terms with us, is it not the duty of our Ambassador to find out these things and pass on the information to our Government? What else is he doing there?

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI M. C. CHAGLA): May I say, Sir, that these helicopters which have been or might have been sold by the U.S.S.R. to Pakistan are only for civilian purposes? (*Interruption*). May I finish? But anything which is sold for civilian purposes can be used for military purposes. Even ordinary commercial planes, if a war breaks out, can be used for transporting troops. But the U.S.S.R. has made it clear and has given us assurances from time to time, from the highest to the lowest level, that they will not sell any lethal weapon to Pakistan, and in their opinion a helicopter is not a lethal weapon because it is sold for civilian purposes and not for military purposes.

With regard to our Ambassador, he is a very competent officer. He keeps us in touch from time to time with what is happening in the U.S.S.R.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: What is the information from him?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: We have written to him with regard to this. He does not get information about everything that is happening. But whenever a question like this arises, we ask him to find out what the position is. But on that point, there is no doubt, the U.S.S.R. assurance remains, namely they will not sell lethal weapons to Pakistan.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Once you know that it is being supplied to Pakistan, even though not for military

purposes, has any protest note been sent?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: How can we send a protest note when this is sold as an ordinary, commercial transaction by the trading corporation, which corresponds to our State Trading Corporation? It sells to all the countries purely for civilian purposes. The hon. friend knows that we also have helicopters for carrying passengers. We protest about what?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: I would like to know from the Minister whether our present Foreign Minister does not appear to be very complacent about everything. He seems to rely on assurances by people whose assurances cannot be relied upon. The other day he was answering a question that Iran had assured us, that West Germany had assured us, that the U.S.A. had assured us that they were not supplying jet fighters or tanks to Pakistan. But in spite of the assurances, Pakistan is building up its arms strength. Sir, in this case there seems to be some shift in the policy of the U.S.S.R. In spite of the fact that Pakistan is a member of the C.E.N.T.O. and the S.E.A.T.O. military organisations, it is getting supplies both from China and the U.S.S.R. which are warring Communist countries. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether it is a fact that a squadron of helicopters which can be used—now he says that civilian aircraft only for civilian purposes can be used also for carrying troops and armaments—for military purposes also have been supplied or not. I would also like to know how many jeeps and trucks have now been supplied by the U.S.S.R. to Pakistan, and whether they can also be used during war between Pakistan and India. From all these points of view, Sir, the Minister is giving a very lame excuse that it is only meant for civilian purposes.

Our Ambassadors do not give a report unless called for. What else are

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy]

these Ambassadors and Military Attaches in the different capitals doing if they are not in a position to know what is happening there? They should know which country is supplying arms to our enemies. This is a very sad commentary on the working of the Ministry of External Affairs.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Nothing new.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: As I said, anything in a country can be converted for military use in times of war. But the question we have to consider is whether trucks, jeeps and helicopters can be considered lethal weapons. And what the U.S.S.R. has assured us is that they will not supply lethal weapons to Pakistan. And, as far as we know, they have stood by that assurance

As regards information from our Ambassador and our Ministry Attache, I do not know why my hon. friend has made this comment. As it is, they have served the country well. They give us whatever information is possible. And the information at our disposal is that no lethal weapon has been supplied by the U.S.S.R. The U.S.S.R. does not propose to supply lethal weapons to Pakistan. The U. S. S. R. is fully conscious of the sensibilities of this country on this point. They know how strongly India feels about the supply of arms to Pakistan.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, मंत्री जी ने जो कुछ अब तक के सवालों का स्पष्टीकरण किया है उसको देखते हुए मैं मंत्री जी की इस समय जरूर तारीफ करना चाहता हूँ। अब सरकार कुछ ज्यादा अनुभवही हो गई है क्योंकि इन्होंने एक ही उत्तर दे दिया जो सब सवालनों को कवर कर लेगा। कि युद्ध के मोके पर ऐसी कोई सामग्री है नहीं जो युद्ध के इस्तेमाल में नहीं आ सकती।

एक माननीय सदस्य : साइकिल भी आती है।

श्री राजनारायण : साइकिल भी आती है, पैदल भी आता है, यानी राष्ट्र की सुरक्षा के लिए जो इस्तेमाल हो वह इस्तेमाल करो अगर दिमाग साफ है तो मैं सरकार से यह समझने का पुरा हक रखता हूँ कि उसने रूस से यह क्यों नहीं पूछा कि तुम जो बड़ी मात्रा में हेलीकोप्टर दे रहे हो पाकिस्तान को इस समय जब पाकिस्तान हम से इनिमिकल टर्म्स पर है और तुम्हारे साधनों का इस्तेमाल वह लड़ाई के मोके पर—चाहे तुम किसी भी नाम से दो। हमारे विरुद्ध कर सकता है? दिमाग अगर यह साफ है तो सरकार ने अब तक इसका प्रोटेस्ट क्यों नहीं भेजा है? क्या सरकार यह नहीं समझती कि हेलीकोप्टर वह साधन है कि अगर बड़ी तादाद में, बड़ी मात्रा में हमारे पास हो तो हम जहाँ चाहें वहाँ हथियारों और जहाँ चाहें वहाँ ट्रक उतार दें, सीधे दिल्ली में उतार दें, सीधे गाजियाबाद में उतार दें, जहाँ चाहें वहाँ उतार दें। यह तो एक बहुत खतरनाक चीज आज रूस पाकिस्तान को सप्लाई कर रहा है। इसको देखते हुये भी मैं बहुत ही अदब के साथ माननीय मंत्री जी से जानना चाहूंगा कि रूस को इसका प्रोटेस्ट भारत की सरकार ने क्यों नहीं किया? इस रोशनी में कि आज पाकिस्तान पूरी तैयारी कर रहा है भारत से अपना पुराना बदला लेने के लिये और भारत के साथ युद्ध करने के लिये, इस रोशनी में, मैं इसका उत्तर जानना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार के ऊपर इसकी कोई प्रतिक्रिया इस ढंग से क्यों नहीं हुई जिस ढंग से हम लोगों पर प्रतिक्रिया हुई?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Sir, I have already answered the question. The view of the U.S.S.R. is that she only supplies non-combatant or non-lethal weapons to Pakistan and, as I have

pointed out, helicopters do not fall in the category of lethal weapons.

**SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:** Surface-to-air missiles are also being supplied by the U.S.S.R. to Pakistan—that is the report. What is the correct position?

**SHRI M. C. CHAGLA:** There is no confirmation of the news that any missiles have been supplied by the U.S.S.R. to Pakistan. I am sure that is not true.

**SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY.** Let the Defence Minister reply to the question, Sir. The Foreign Minister does not realise the seriousness of the situation. Let the Defence Minister reply and assure us that we have made adequate arrangements to meet the challenge.

**THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SARDAR SWARAN SINGH):** I have nothing to add to what my colleague has said. It is true, as the External Affairs Minister rightly mentioned, that in a case of strain everything and everybody can be utilised, even Rajnarainji can be utilised, for our defence purposes. The real point is that the total defence potential and defence capacity of a country depends on a variety of things including mobility, transport, economic strength, unity of the country and so on. All these are relevant factors. But a line has to be drawn where we can reasonably protest to other countries about supply of particular type of goods. Whereas one can with some justification ask our friendly countries and those who are interested in not introducing tension in the area, not to supply weapons, lethal equipment and the like, I do not think we will be fully justified, notwithstanding any irritation that we may have, in asking the whole wide world not to supply even commercial vehicles or commercial means of transport. So far as the landing of parachutists . . .

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA:** Sir, the Defence Minister . . . (*Interruption*).

**SARDAR SWARAN SINGH.** I am not giving away. Let me finish. (*Interruption*) Then, Mr. Rajnarain said that helicopters could be used to drop soldiers or even equipment or arms in any part of our country. For this information, I would like to say that helicopters might be of use inside the country for transporting things and reaching difficult areas, but being a huge and slow-moving Aircraft it is a very tempting target. Paratroopers are never dropped by helicopters. They are always dropped by huge transport planes which can assume great heights and helicopters are not used for this purpose. Therefore, whereas I do appreciate the anxiety that any addition to the mobility, to the transport capacity, of a country which is not friendly to us, is a matter of concern, we should always make a distinction between what we can legitimately object to others supplying and what we cannot. We should always keep that distinction in mind.

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal):** Lethal weapons to us and non-lethal weapons to Pakistan—is that the policy of the Soviet Government? (*Interruption*)

**SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:** I just want to draw the attention of the Minister to the news item that Soviet surface-to-air missiles have been supplied under canvas cover and seen in the Karachi area. Let him make a statement about it.

**SARDAR SWARAN SINGH:** The External Affairs Minister has already answered that according to our information, that news is not correct.

**SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:** He is giving very evasive answers . . . (*Interruption*)

**SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore):** Pakistan, an avowed enemy of India, is having help in all possible ways from every quarter. They seem to be having the best of every world. Whether it is China or Russia or America or West Germany or Iran or the

[Shri N. Sri Rama Reddy]

Middle-East countries, they seem to be getting whatever they want unobstructed from every quarter. But I am glad that both the Minister of External Affairs and the Defence Minister have assured us that whatever supplies Russia has made, if at all they have made, are not lethal in any meaning or in any respect. But I would like to know, Sir, whether at any time in the past till today such equipment was supplied to Pakistan by Russia. We have not heard in the last 20 years that any equipment of this sort was supplied to Pakistan. *Whatever might be the justification*, whether it is a lethal one or a simple transport equipment, if such an equipment was at all supplied to Pakistan so far is a question that should naturally agitate our minds. Therefore, if they have chosen to do it now, does it indicate a change of attitude in Russia's relationship with Pakistan vis-a-vis India? I would like to know whether this has brought about any new change. That is number one. Secondly, the hon. Minister said that he was going to get clarifications about these supplies from our Ambassadors in those countries. Would he, after obtaining clarifications, come and tell before us whether these things were done or not done? These are my simple questions.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: May I clear the misunderstanding from the minds of the hon. Members? We do not know whether this transaction has taken place. But assuming that it has taken place, it is not a transaction between the U.S.S.R. Government and the Pakistan Government. It is not a gift, it is not grant, it is not even a transaction between two Governments. As the statement points out, there is a trade corporation there called "AVIA-EXPORT". They sell helicopters and civilian transport aircraft freely. Therefore, if Pakistan-U.S.S.R. and Pakistan have commercial relations—asks this organisation "we want to buy 20 or 30 or 40 helicopters," it

is purely a commercial transaction which has no political implications whatsoever. It is like a country asking our State Trading Corporation to sell them something it is authorised to sell.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: It is only a repetition of the previous answers. My question is whether such equipment was ever supplied in the past 20 years by Russia. If he is not able to tell us now, he can collect the information and tell us later on.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: It is undoubtedly true that there is more commerce and trade between Pakistan and U.S.S.R. to-day than there was before I do not know whether helicopters were supplied in the past or not. I will make enquiries.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: My second question is this. Some time back—I do not exactly remember when it was—in a joint communique between Russia and India, there was a reference that whatever friendship or other agreements that we come to with other countries, it is not going to affect the friendship of India with Russia. That was the sort of dubious communique that was issued then. Ever since that period there seems to be a distinct change in the attitude of Russia so far as the differences between Pakistan and India are concerned. I would like to know if the Minister has anything to say about that.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I want to assure my friend and the House that there is absolutely no change in the U.S.S.R.'s attitude towards us. The friendship they have had for us all, all these years, which we have for them, continues without any lessening or without any doubt or suspicion about that friendship. As I said, again, It is true that the U.S.S.R. says that it wants to be friendly with Pakistan but that friendship does not interfere with its friendship towards us. Should we forget the part that the U.S.S.R.

played in the Indo-Pak conflict and the Tashkent Declaration was brought about through the intervention of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.S.R. are most anxious that tension in this region should be reduced and the Tashkent Declaration should be implemented? I do not know why the House should be apprehensive that this transaction if it has gone through, affects in any way the policy of the U.S.S.R. or has changed that policy.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa): The Minister seems to be very much allergic whenever we say that there is a slight change in the policy of the Soviet Union towards India and Pakistan. I may remind him that there is nothing astonishing in this change because after the emergence of China and its collusion with Pakistan, the Soviet Union is also trying, to a certain extent, to have cordial relations with Pakistan and to that extent the relations with India or the cordiality is slightly affected. Here this helicopter which has a carrying capacity of 64 or so cannot be a commercial conveyor because this is not a commercial plane. It is primarily meant for transporting the army and the army observers. It might be that it is in the course of a commercial transaction but may I know whether the U.S.S.R. has asked Pakistan not to use these helicopters which have been purchased in the course of this commercial transaction, for military purposes particularly against India?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I do not know where my friend gets this information from that the helicopters alleged to have been sold by the U.S.S.R. to Pakistan are intended to carry troops and not for civilian purposes, I am not aware of it.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: Have they assured us? Have they put in any conditions?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: There is no assurance and there is no need for an assurance. The assurance is, which I

have repeated several times, that the U.S.S.R. will not sell lethal weapons to Pakistan.

COL. B. H. ZAIDI (Uttar Pradesh): I feel there is a lot of . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have a list here which must be exhausted first.

SHRI K. P. MALLIKARJUNUDU (Andhra Pradesh): I request the Minister to refer to the press report which says that six members of the Pakistan Air Force have gone to the Soviet Union for training in flying the Russian helicopters. In the context of this statement that the Pakistani Air Force men are going to Russia, does it not imply that these helicopters are meant more for military purposes than for civilian purposes?

Secondly, there is another statement that some diplomats at Rawalpindi stated that they had seen Soviet supplies of surface-to-air missiles under canvas at Karachi. If that statement is also true, does it not controvert the fact that the helicopters are only for civilian purpose?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: May I make a suggestion to my friend not to accept everything that appears in the press as gospel truth? We will have this matter enquired into through our Ambassador in Moscow but with regard to this matter of training, it can be that if a country buys helicopters, naturally it wants people to be trained to fly those helicopters. If we buy helicopters from the U.S.A. . . .

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Not army people.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Suppose people from Pakistan have gone to learn to fly these, it stands on the same footing as the supply of helicopters. If the supply is not objectionable, then for people to be trained to fly them stands on the same footing. but I have no information. This is all press report.

SHRI BHUPINDER SINGH (Punjab): Pakistan has become the darling of the whole world, so to say, that even countries which are hostile to each other like China, Russia and the U.S.A. are vying with each other to win Pakistani favour by supplying arms to her. Have the Government tried to find out the secret of the Pakistani success in the diplomatic field and will the Government tell us whether our requirements of helicopters and aircraft are being met by Russia as readily and promptly as we would wish?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I wish the last question is better answered by my friend and colleague, the Defence Minister, but I have no doubt that if we have placed any orders, they have been readily met by the U.S.S.R. because the U.S.S.R. is a friendly country. I am not so sure as my friend seems to be that Pakistan is a darling of the whole world. I do not know why my friend wants to pay such a compliment to that country, nor am I so sure that its diplomatic successes have been so resounding and so resplendent as he is suggesting. It is true that Pakistan has acquired the art of doing a lot of tight-rope-walking through her friendship with China and also be a member of SEATO and CENTO and also be friendly with the U.S.A. This tight-rope-walking she has developed. Our diplomacy is more straightforward and I have no doubt that a straightforward diplomacy in the long run pays better dividends than a tricky ambivalent diplomacy.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh): May I know whether in his opinion this deal is nothing more than a commercial deal?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: If the deal has gone through—I use the word 'if' because I have no confirmation—because, if it is a deal between this commercial organisation—AVIAEXPORT—there is nothing more or nothing else because as I said, this parti-

cular organisation sells helicopters and civil transport planes and these sales do not fall within the restrictions applied to sale or gift of military equipment by the U.S.S.R. to other countries.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana): May I know whether the military impact of the supplies of non-lethal equipment or the supply of helicopters is being considered by the Government in the Ministry of Defence? May I also know whether the information which we got from the *Washington Post* was the first information or our diplomats in the U.S.S.R. had informed us of what was going on and what type of equipment was being given to Pakistan? Whenever reports come in the Press it is only then that we send protest notes and after that we keep quiet. Have the Ministry of External Affairs instructed our diplomats in friendly countries like Iran, Turkey, Germany and the U.S.S.R. to explain to them the implications of these supplies and the fact that whether they are peaceful supplies or non-military supplies, they change the balance in Asia?

1 P.M.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Yes, Sir, we are constantly reminding our Embassies that the supply of arms to Pakistan is considered an unfriendly act. With regard to the implications of the supply of these helicopters, assuming that this transaction has been put through, it is a matter for my hon. friend and colleague the Defence Minister to deal with. I am sure whatever impact it has on our defences will be taken into consideration in safeguarding the security of our country.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: To allay any fears or misgivings. I may add, Sir, that we ourselves are manufacturing a type of helicopter and we are prepared to sell them to anybody who is prepared to buy it from us.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): How much does it cost?

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR (Rajasthan): Sir, it has been repeatedly stated by the hon. Minister that no lethal weapons are being sold or would be sold by the Soviet Union to Pakistan. I would like to draw the attention of the Minister of External Affairs and also of the hon. Minister of Defence, to this report which has appeared in the *Hindus* of the 9th February, 1967?

**"REPORTED SUPPLY OF SOVIET MILITARY TRUCKS AND EQUIPMENT TO PAKISTAN"**

It is reported that during the course of last month Pakistan is understood to have received a shipment of military trucks and other equipment from the Soviet Union, according to a report published here. Observers note that this has made Pakistan the only country in the world to receive arms aid from three of the five major Powers."

Among these major Powers, we know with the United States of America, Pakistan is associated as a member of CENTO and SEATO Pacts. And now China has also supplied about six squadrons of MIG planes and also tanks. Now the Soviet Union is also supplying things, if the latest reports are true. Further it is stated:

"It was also noticed here that a military mission had visited Moscow last year to seek arms. Further it is reported that Pakistan was receiving arms from the Soviet Union and it is coupled with the disclosure that Moscow had signed an agreement with Iran to sell the latter 100 million dollar worth anti-aircraft guns and armoured car carriers in return to natural gas from Iran."

Sir, this report has appeared in a paper like the *Hindu*. There must be other reports which the Government must have received from their own sources. So I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether any of these reports were verified or looked into. When we say that these reports appear in newspapers we are repeatedly told that they are not

true, that there is no truth in them. But when the same thing comes from abroad, from the USA or other plans, then only we pay some attention to it. Sir, I think it is in the national interest and for the defence of the country to verify all these things that appear in the Press.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Sir, fortunately we know many things which do not appear in the Press. I think it is a matter of good fortune for our country that everything does not find its place in the columns of newspapers because a lot of things cannot be disclosed in the public interest. Whenever we find something in the newspapers about which we have not had a report from our Mission, we immediately send cables to our Mission and ask them to check it and to either confirm or deny it after meeting the officials and others of that country so that we may know whether the Press report is a correct one or it is not.

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR: Was this report that I just now referred to, confirmed or denied by your officials? The hon. Minister stated that they always send out cables and communications to our Missions abroad. So I ask whether this report was confirmed or denied by our Mission abroad?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: The hon. lady Member had given a long catalogue of things. All these things have been dealt with from time to time in this House.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: If I may supplement the statement made by my colleague, we know that Pakistan has been supplied military hardware from the United States of America and the Western countries which are members of SEATO and CENTO. We know that and we have also been saying that from time to time Pakistan has received military equipment from China. We ourselves have made such statements that they are getting commercial trucks, lorries and so on. The hon. Member has