

## RAJYA SABHA

Tuesday, the 21st March, 1967/ the  
30th Phalguna, 1888 (Saka)

The House met at eleven of the  
clock, MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

### ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

#### TASHKENT AGREEMENT

\*31. SHRI A. D. MANI: Will the Minister of EXTERNAL AFFAIRS be pleased to state whether it is a fact that President Ayub Khan has sent a message to the Soviet Prime Minister expressing his dissatisfaction with the Tashkent Agreement?

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI M. C. CHAGLA): Yes, Sir. According to reports appearing in the Press. President Ayub Khan had sent a message to the Soviet Prime Minister on the occasion of the anniversary celebrations of the Tashkent Declaration in which the President is reported to have said, *inter alia*: "It is a matter of disappointment to us, as it must be to you, that the promise started by the Tashkent Declaration has not been fully realised." The President of Pakistan is also reported to have blamed the Government of India for this in his letter.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Sir, did the Minister make any enquiry from the Government in Moscow about the contents of this communication which President Ayub Khan sent to that Government, in view of the fact that this letter has a bearing on the Tashkent Declaration to which India is a party?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: We have made constant representations to the U.S.S.R. pointing out how we are trying to implement the Tashkent Declaration, what continuous and consistent efforts we have been making

to implement the Tashkent Declaration not only in letter but also in spirit and we have pointed out the unfortunate situation that we have very little response from Pakistan.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Is it a fact that in Moscow on this occasion a party was arranged by the Indian Embassy and the Pakistan representative refused to attend it as mark of protest?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I know that a party was arranged but I am not sure whether the Pakistan Ambassador refused to attend, but I might point out that we had a meeting in Delhi over which I presided, where both the U.S.S.R. Ambassador and the High Commissioner of Pakistan attended. That was a meeting to celebrate the Anniversary of the Tashkent Declaration.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: May I know whether it is not a fact that while India is implementing the Tashkent Agreement both in letter and in spirit, Pakistan has violated this Agreement by encouraging Naga hostiles and Mizo hostiles by supplying military equipment to them and may I know whether this has been brought to the notice of the Soviet Prime Minister and to the Secretary of the United Nations?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Well, Sir, as I said we have been in constant touch with the U.S.S.R. and we have been pointing out what has been happening since the Tashkent Agreement was signed. Every violation of that Agreement or refusal to implement it is fully known to the U.S.S.R. authorities.

श्री राजनारयण : सवाल यह है कि जो सन्देश प्रेसीडेंट अयूब खां ने भेजा था, सरकार ने क्या यह जानने की कोशिश की कि वह सन्देश क्या था और तशकन्द एग्रीमेंट के किस हिस्से से प्रेसीडेंट अयूब असहमत हैं?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Well, Sir, I have informed the hon. Member as to what his message was. It could not refer to any portion of the Tashkent Agreement because, as far as we are concerned, we have not in any way stopped Pakistan from implementing it or prevented ourselves from implementing it. Therefore, obviously it is an incorrect statement.

SHRI D. THENGARI: We have conveyed to Moscow from time to time our resentment about the violation of the Tashkent Agreement by Pakistan. What has been Moscow's reaction and whether Moscow has conveyed something about our note to Pakistan?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Well, Sir, the reaction of the U.S.S.R. is to compliment us on the efforts that we are making to implement the Tashkent Declaration and ask us to continue our endeavours. What representations they have made to Pakistan, obviously I do not know.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: May I know whether President Ayub Khan has expressed his dissatisfaction with the Agreement itself or with its implementation and, if it is with regard to implementation, on what point? May I also know whether regarding Kashmir we are at all thinking of coming to some sort of agreement with Pakistan or giving consideration to the matter?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Well, Sir, the Statement says:

"It is a matter of disappointment to us, as it must be to you, that the promise started by the Tashkent Declaration has not been fully realised."

With regard to Kashmir, I may point out—as is well known to the House—that unfortunately Pakistan makes the discussion on Kashmir a pre-condition to talks about anything else. We have told Pakistan over and over again that we are prepared to discuss any question at any level at any time

but Pakistan wants an assurance from us about Kashmir, and the House knows what our position is with regard to Kashmir.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: I am glad the hon. Minister has stated what has been the reaction of Moscow with regard to our side of the implementation of the Tashkent Agreement. Now I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether the Government is aware of what the Government at Moscow thinks about the implementation of this Agreement by Pakistan. If they have complimented us that we are doing this implementation side properly, what advice they have given to the Pakistan Government, has the hon. Minister got any information on this point?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: As I said, I do not know what is the diplomatic exchange of views between Pakistan and the U.S.S.R.; obviously India cannot know about it. But I take it and it follows from the first statement, that the U.S.S.R. has complimented us on our continuous endeavour to implement the Agreement and at the same time to the U.S.S.R. it must be a matter of regret that we have offered a hand of friendship to Pakistan but Pakistan has not responded to it, has not grasped it, has not clasped it.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: The essential basis of any agreement or contract, as the ex-Chief Justice of Bombay knows, is that both the parties to the agreement or the contract are expected to implement it and if one party does and the other party does not, the party which implements the agreement or a part of it is placed at a disadvantage in its dealings with the other State or in its internal matters. In that case, Sir, would appreciation by Soviet Russia or the U.S.A. or other world powers be a sufficient recompense for the disadvantage to which we are leading ourselves by the unilateral implementation of the Agreement?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Well, Sir, as the ex-Chief Justice, I know, that con-

sensus is required for a contract, and there was that consensus when we entered into the Tashkent Agreement. I also know or at least I used to know that when a contract has been entered into, both the sides must show readiness and willingness to perform the terms of the contract. It is also true that we have shown our readiness and willingness to perform the contract and it is equally true that Pakistan has not shown its readiness and willingness to perform the contract. Now what does my hon. friend want? To repudiate the Agreement? Well, we still have hopes, and I hope our hopes will be realised, that sooner rather than later Pakistan will realise the importance of the Agreement and that the only way the two countries can live together is in the spirit of Tashkent.

**SHRI SHANTILAL KOTHARI:** Sir, we have now realised that the Tashkent Declaration is proving *cul-de-sac* of Indo-Pakistan diplomatic relationship. May I know from the hon. Minister if we are prepared to go beyond the U.S.S.R. and Pakistan and discuss this question with other non-aligned countries or convene an Asian Conference?

**SHRI M. C. CHAGLA:** I do not understand what my hon. friend means by 'going beyond'. The Tashkent Agreement is all-embracing. It says that all outstanding problems should be settled between the two countries in a friendly and neighbourly spirit and that there should be bilateral understanding; outsiders should not intervene. We have a number of problems, apart from Kashmir. As we have been pointing out to Pakistan, we can have trade relations, we can have economic co-operation, we can have communications. There are many things which can be easily settled and which can bring about a friendly atmosphere between our two countries. But Pakistan insists that Kashmir should be taken up first, and that makes things very difficult.

**SHRI P. N. SAPRU:** I am glad that the Minister for External Affairs has

made a very solid contribution to this problem. He has told us that so far as our Government is concerned, it is prepared to discuss all questions between India and Pakistan in the spirit of the Tashkent Agreement. May I just add this and I hope that the Minister will express his agreement with this view, that what is morally wrong cannot be politically right? We agreed to certain things at Tashkent. We must stick to them in letter and in spirit. What I say is, what is morally wrong cannot be politically right.

**SHRI M. C. CHAGLA:** I entirely subscribe to this proposition but I do not know what he is referring to. What is it which is morally wrong which we are saying is politically right or what is it that we are doing which is morally wrong and asserting that it is politically right?

**SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH:** May I know whether our Government is satisfied with the implementation of the Tashkent Agreement?

**SHRI M. C. CHAGLA:** Obviously not.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** We know the attitude of the ruling circles in Pakistan in regard to this matter. It appears that the Government is not assuming even greater initiative which is possible in this matter. For example, why is the Government not saying something on the question of Kashmir when the Government says that it is presented to consider any question? Why is the Government not saying that the Government of India is prepared to discuss even the Kashmir question notwithstanding our stand, on the basis of the cease-fire line being the international boundary between India and Pakistan, subject to modifications? Such a statement on the part of the Government will bring the initiative to us and make it impossible for the detractors of the Tashkent Agreement in Pakistan to scuttle or come in the way of its further implementation. Why is the

Government not taking such a view in this matter in order to promote initiative and to deal with this question in the new context?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I want to remove this misunderstanding from the mind of my hon. friend. We have never refused to discuss Kashmir with Pakistan. We have told them over and over again that we are prepared to discuss all questions including Kashmir.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have not misunderstood you. You said it and I realise it but when Pakistan says that the Kashmir issue should be the first on the agenda, it is necessary for the Government of India to match this utterance on the part of the Pakistani authorities by something positive, for example, why the Government of India does not ask whether the Government of Pakistan is prepared to discuss the Kashmir question on the basis of the cease-fire line being made the international boundary between us, subject to adjustments? That will put the other people in the wrong and will give us the initiative.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: My hon. friend knows what the policy of the Government of India is with regard to Kashmir. That has been enunciated before the Security Council, before this House, before the other House and before the country and my friend does not expect me or the Government to change the basic policy but subject to that, even the basic policy we are prepared to discuss. After all we can enunciate our policy. In regard to enunciating the policy, we can exchange our ideas. Much can be done across the table. Therefore, we told Pakistan: 'Come and discuss these, even about Kashmir let us understand your point of view and you understand our point of view.'

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gupta is making a suggestion for a practicable solution . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: A comparable situation arose some years ago and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Minister for External Affairs, not only wrote a letter to Pakistan, but if I remember aright, made a statement at the Ramlila Maidan in a public meeting that India would be prepared to discuss this question provided Pakistan was ready to discuss on the basis of the cease-fire line being made the international boundary. At once the initiative came into India's hands. It is important in international affairs to keep the initiative in our hands rather than let others have it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is a suggestion for action. We have taken fifteen minutes over this question. Next question.

#### NATIONALIZATION OF BANKING AND INSURANCE IN TANZANIA

\*22. SHRI M. C. SHAH:†  
SHRI SITARAM JAIPURIA:

Will the Minister of EXTERNAL AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government of Tanzania have under their policy of nationalisation taken over banking and insurance in that country;

(b) if so, to what extent Indians engaged in these two trades have been affected; and

(c) whether the Government of India have taken any action in the matter?

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI M. C. CHAGLA):

(a) The Government of Tanzania have nationalized all banks operating in Tanzania and the Tanzanian National Insurance Corporation Ltd.

(b) The business conducted by the two Indian Banks operating in Tanzania was small. They do not expect to suffer any material loss of

†The question was actually asked on the floor of the House by Shri M. C. Shah.