

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

Sir, when you call their names, they will also put the questions. (Interruption).

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Cira-yinkil) : Shri I have a point of order under rule 356....

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Ravi, please read rule 376. You are objecting to that. It is well established by this House, by several Speakers that there cannot be a point of order on a point of order. By this time of one year, I am rather familiar with the rules.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Sir, you are not regulating the House.

MR. SPEAKER : I am regulating the House. I see no substance in the point of order. The point of order is rejected. No point of order can be raised on a matter listed in the list of business.

CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

REPORTED CONSTRUCTION OF KARAKORAM HIGHWAY BY PAKISTAN AND CHINA IN PAKISTAN OCCUPIED TERRITORY OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR.

SHRI SAUGATA ROY (Barrack-pore) : I call the attention of the Minister of External Affairs to the following matter of urgent public importance and request that he may make a statement thereon :—

“Reported construction of Karakoram Highway by Pakistan and China in the Pakistan occupied territory of Jammu and Kashmir.”

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAJEE) : Sir, as the House is aware, a road called “Karakoram Highway”, linking Pakistan with China, and passing through Pakistan occupied Kashmir, was inaugurated on the 18th June, 1978 by Pakistan's Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Zia-ul-Haq and Chinese Vice-Premier Keng Piao at Thakot. Plans for this road were mooted some time around 1963, soon after China and Pakistan entered into an agreement in accordance with which 2100 square miles of Indian territory in Jammu & Kashmir, under Pakistan's illegal occupation, was handed over to China. Construction of the portion of the road between Gilgit and Mor Khun was undertaken in accordance with an agreement reached in 1966 and was completed in 1969. The portion of the Highway from Mor Khun to Khunjerab has been built following an agreement between the two countries

which was signed on 21-10-1969. The road became fully operational on 18th June 1978.

According to reports, the 800 kilometer long Highway starts from Havelian Rail-Head 60 miles north of Islamabad, and follows the general course of the River Indus from Thakot to Gilgit. From Gilgit onwards, it runs along the Gilgit, Hunza and Khunjerab rivers upto the Khunjerab Pass which is 15,800 feet above sea level. Beyond Khunjerab Pass this Highway is connected with the Chinese road network in Western Tibet which links with Kashgar in the Sinkiang Province. The elevation of this Highway varies from 2000 to about 15,000 feet.

The Government received confirmed news about the construction of the road in June 1969. A strong protest was accordingly lodged on 25th June, 1969 with both Pakistan and China. To Pakistan, we pointed out that the whole of Jammu & Kashmir was part of Indian territory and neither Pakistan nor China had any *locustandi* in Kashmir, and, therefore, whatever action the two countries were taking singly or jointly against this territory of India was wholly illegal. In our protest note to the Chinese Government, we questioned their undertaking construction of a road in a territory lawfully belonging to India.

Neither Pakistan nor China formally replied to our protests. However, an official spokesman of Pakistan Foreign Office stated on 11th July, 1969 that India's complaint was based on premises which were not acceptable to them. The question was raised in the Parliament and a statement was made by the then Minister of External Affairs on July 23, 1969.

When we came across press reports, stating that the Highway was inaugurated on 18th June, 1978, the Chinese Ambassador and Pakistan CDA in New Delhi were called to the Ministry of External Affairs and apprised of our position on the illegal construction of the road in a territory which is an integral part of India. It was made clear to the two envoys that India cannot acquiesce in the legal implications of the construction of this road.

In reply, the Government of Pakistan have stated that consistent with their position on Jammu & Kashmir, they could not accept the validity of our protests. As regards China, while there has been no response so far from Peking, the Chinese Ambassador referred to his country's position in response to India's protest against the conclusion of the Agreement between China and Pakistan on 2nd March, 1963, ceding 2100 square miles of Indian territory in the Pakistan Occupied Kashmir to China. He recalled that the Chinese Government had stated at that

time that the boundary agreement was a "provisional" one and hence the construction of the road would have no bearing on the status of Kashmir. It may be pertinent to recall that this agreement does include a provision according to which the boundary question is open to re-negotiation. I may mention here that the Karakoram Highway does not pass through the territory in Kashmir ceded by Pakistan to China.

Apart from the illegality of the construction of this Highway, this development also has serious strategic implications for this region. While we are fully alive to these implications, I would like to express the hope that these neighbours of ours, with both of whom we are trying to normalise our relations, would see to it that this communication link is not used in a manner that runs counter to the search for good neighbourliness and stability in this area.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA (Serampore) : I rise on a point of order. In your consideration, is it a matter of urgent public importance ?

MR. SPEAKER : Yes.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA : Urgency means what ? Urgency means, it has recently happened.

MR. SPEAKER : Otherwise, I would not have admitted it.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA : You might consider it in that way. But I say that there is something fishy. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I have considered that.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA : At the time when Indira Gandhi was ruling the whole thing started. Why were they silent then ? Why did they not raise it then ? *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : That is why the question is allowed.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA : You sometimes do it in your own way. What do you mean by urgency ?

MR. SPEAKER : I can't do it in your way. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA : It was started in 1969 and now it is 1978.

Eight years have passed. Wonderful judgement.

SHI SAUGATA ROY : I am rather surprised at the controversy over this very simple call attention motion being allowed, because I was under the impression that Members of Indian Parliament always behave like Members of Indian Parliament.**

MR. SPEAKER : No. That is not allowed.. Expunged.

SHRI SAUGATA ROY : That is expunged ! I had hoped that Members of Indian Parliament would behave like Members of Indian Parliament. Apart from that, I know that there are certain people in the country who have very strong views about China and in a particular party which is represented in Parliament**

MR. SPEAKER : No. That is not allowed.

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara) : What is your objection ?

SHRI SAUGATA ROY : I did not mention any party. I said, "in a particular party".

MR. SPEAKER : When I have expunged that remark....

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU.**
(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I am not allowing. The immediate implication is that the Members who put that belong to that party. That is not allowed. Mr Saugata Roy, please go on. Let us not get into unnecessary controversies. This is a very important matter.

SHRI SAUGATA ROY : In spite of the objections raised by some Members....

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBIAH (Nandyal) : On a point of order. The question of expunction depends upon certain norms and regulations. It is governed by Rule 980. Expunction is ordered only when it is unparliamentary and so only such words are to be expunged. Here, the hon. Member said nothing unparliamentary. So, Sir, . . .

MR. SPEAKER : I have ordered the expunction because the observations implied that the people who raised objection..

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI SAUGATA ROY : No, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER : It is only on that basis that I have expunged that.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRISHNAN : No. The hon. Member did not say so. That is different. "In a political party there is a strong Chinese lobby"—that is what he said.

MR. SPEAKER : Anyway, I have ruled it out.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SAUGATA ROY : This relates to the territorial integrity of India and it reminds me of this. In 1962, when the Chinese invaded India, there was a certain political party which supported the aggression of the Chinese and said that India was the aggressor and not the Chinese. I am glad that the External Affairs Minister has recognised the serious strategic implication of this road in this region, because the region in which this road is built is in the strategic area near the tri-junction of India, Soviet Union and Afghanistan. This road will allow both Pakistan and China to move their troops right up to the tri-junction if they so desire. While recognising the serious implication, I am really doubtful as to whether the Government displayed the vigil that was required of it in this matter, because as you know, in the past our consistent position has been that neither Pakistan nor China has any legal right to build a road in that region. On 16th June of this year in the Indian newspapers the report appeared that Keng Piao, Vice Premier of China was going to Islamabad with a 40 member strong delegation for the formal inauguration of the Karakoram highway due to be held on the next day. That was on 16th June 78. 16th June passed. On 18th June, it was reported that the highway has been inaugurated. On 22nd June it was reported that the Chinese Vice Minister, Fang Chi, expressed China's firm support to Pakistan's struggle to safeguard her national independence and State sovereignty against foreign interference and subversion. But when did we give our protest note? The Foreign Secretary, Shri Jagat Mehta, on 27-6-78 called the Chinese Ambassador, Mr. Chen Chao Yuan and the Acting Head of Pakistan Mission, Mr. Shahid M. Amin on 28-6-78 to assert the Indian position that the construction of the highway was illegal. My question is, what was the External Affairs Ministry doing for these 10 days. When

the report appeared that the highway was inaugurated no protest came from the Indian Foreign Ministry immediately. We waited for 10 days to lodge our protest. It may also be remembered that that was the time when the internecine warfare within the Janata Party was at its height and Mr. Raj Narain's daily statements were coming in the papers. Possibly the ministry was too caught up in that to lodge our rightful protest against this most important development in the Karakoram region.

Secondly, the Minister has correctly stated that with both our neighbours, we are trying to normalise our relations. I entirely appreciate the Minister's desire to normalise our relations with both Pakistan and China, but that effort at normalisation of relations should not be for the purpose of personal image-building nor should it be at the cost of Indian territorial integrity and Indian interest, because the Minister in his statement has cleverly avoided saying one thing, namely, that Keng Piao, when he landed at Islamabad was welcomed by Pakistan's Chief Martial Law Administrator, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, said apart from other things, "We fully support the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir." The External Affairs Minister's statement does not make any reference to this insidious statement by the Chinese Vice-Premier.

Sir, the External Affairs Minister has taken particular interest in normalising the relations with Pakistan for which he has received due appreciation from the country. We have concluded the Salal Project agreement even if it had not been so good for the interests of the country. He himself flew down to Islamabad. Our whole question is that on this plea we see that after the coup in Afghanistan, a new effort is being made to open the Chinese-Pakistani axis, reopen the question of Kashmir, and the question of Kashmir has been reopened at the Islamic Summit by Pakistan. I would like the External Affairs Minister to take note of this, and that is why on this very important issue, I would like to ask the Minister (a) why there was this time lag of 12 days between the reports appearing in the Indian press about the arrival of Keng Piao in Islamabad and the actual lodging of our protest note, and (b) whether, in view of the fact that Chinese have made references, without any right, about the territorial integrity of Jammu and Kashmir, the External Affairs Minister is going to cancel his proposed visit to China as a protest.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Sir I entirely agree with the hon. Member that Members of Parliament should behave

as Members of Indian Parliament, but that behaviour should be there for all 365 days.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA :
Not for one day.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :
Not for one day. There has been no undue delay in summoning the envoys of China and Pakistan. We wanted to take action simultaneously. We had to inform our High Commissioner in Pakistan and Our Ambassador in Peking. Protests may be lodged there also.

AN HON. MEMBER : When ?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :
I can not tell the exact date.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE) : At appropriate time,

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :
At appropriate time. The Railway Minister has come to my rescue. *(Interruptions)* That explains the delay. All political parties have their problems. The Janata Party is no exception. But we have never allowed party considerations to come in the way, or internal disputes in the party to come in the way of dealing with national and international issues.

SHRI K. GOPAL : Then, why did you cancel the trip to Geneva ?
(Interruptions)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :
I wanted my colleague to go to Geneva. I am so accommodative.

My friend asked why there is no reference to the Chinese statement that the people of Jammu and Kashmir should be given right of self-determination.

MR. SPEAKER : This question does not arise.
(Interruptions)

SHRI KANWAR LAJ GUPTA : The main problem is about Kashmir and the agreement of China with Pakistan. These are national issues.

(Interruption)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I am prepared to state India's position. The position is well-known. Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and there is no question of giving the right of self-determination to a part of the country. But to say that I have deliberately avoided saying something will not be fair.
(Interruptions)

So far as the question regarding my visit to Peking is concerned, whether that visit will be cancelled or not, the hon. Member made a suggestion. But I am not inclined to agree with that suggestion.

DR. VASANT KUMAR PANDIT :
(Rajgarh) : Out of the statement of the hon. Minister of External Affairs, three main issues arise. First is about the legality of the road; second the logistics i.e. the strategic position of the road, and the third issue is our Government's policy of having friendship with all our neighbouring countries.

As far as the first issue is concerned, since 1962 and then again in March 1969... I would like the hon. Minister to tell us how many times written protests were given. It has always been an oral dialogue.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :
No, No.

DR. VASANT KUMAR PANDIT :
Except in 1969, where the word 'Note' is mentioned i.e. "Note was sent." It is a legal note ? I would like to know whether our legal position with regard to this road maintained by sending a written protest; and whether our Government will consider — if not now, at some appropriate time—lodging a written, legal protest against it.

With regard to the second point, viz. about logistics of the road, it is a road with which goes all round the old established traditional Silk Route. And, therefore, when our hon. Minister goes to China, will he get an assurance that this road, will not be used in such a manner or fashion that it will endanger the security of our country ?

MR. SPEAKER : The rule says 'a question'. There are two from you.

DR. VASANT KUMAR PANDIT :
Thirdly, since the Janata Government came to power, they are following a positive policy of genuine non-alignment. That policy has given some results. With regard to both these countries, it has given good results. But there are certain recent events. One, which I have just now mentioned, is about the issue of self-determination. The second is that there is a pronouncement by Chinese Deputy Prime Minister that they are considering putting Pakistan on nuclear parity with India. The third is the Asiatic Islamic Conference which was recently held, where a resolution on plebiscite in Kashmir was passed. In view of this, could we hope that the Minister of External Affairs, with all his dynamism, charisma and diplomatic personality —when he goes to China in October—will

[Dr. Vasant Kumar Paridit]

bring about some sort of a rapprochement, so that we can go ahead with our genuine non-alignment policy, so as to bring about a genuine neutrality also ?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :

It will not be correct to say that the Government of India has not lodged written protests. On 10th June, 1962, a note was given by the Ministry of External Affairs to the Embassy of China in New Delhi regarding Sino-Pak boundary negotiations. And I have a long list of dates on which written notes and protests were submitted. Let us not think that if we say something orally, it is less important than what is given in writing. But written protests have also been given.

So far as the question of the use of this road is concerned, I have already stated—and perhaps the hon. Member was not attentive.....

MR. SPEAKER : The question was: when you go to China, will you take up this question and see that this road is not used.....

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : If I go to China I will take up many problems, including this (Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER : In international matters, might is right—in actual practice.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola) : I am really surprised that the hon. External Affairs Minister, who has been so proudly proclaiming that since he took over this important portfolio India's relations have been improving with all our neighbours and with everyone around, I find that while he is living in this happy illusion of improving relations, there is a systematic erosion of our interests, our national interests, with our neighbours. Any person who has the slightest vestige of patriotism left in his veins will feel shocked at this inroad into Indian territory by this road.

AN HON. MEMBER : You are responsible for this.

SHRIVASANT SATHE : I find some persons, even today, are trying to defend the construction of this road. Kindly see the last para of the statement of the hon. Minister. It reads :

“..... this development also has serious strategic implications for this region. While we are fully alive to these implications, I would like to express the hope that these neighbours of ours with both of whom we are trying

to normalise our relations, would see to it that this communication link is not used in a manner that runs counter to the search for good neighbourliness and stability in this area.”

Now what is this, Mr. Vajpayee : You are giving up your case in this manner. Although you have said earlier in protestation that this is an illegal road, that they have no right to have this road, this land does not belong to them and it is none of the business of Pakistan to make a gift of it for the construction of a road to China, having said all this, in the last paragraph you have given up everything. Sir, you have been a Judge and you know how a lawyer can, by one such sentence, give up even a good case. You have given up your case. This is the biggest tragedy. If you go to China tomorrow, you will be caught by your own sentence. They will tell you “don't worry, Mr. Vajpayee, we will use this road only for peaceful purposes, to promote good neighbourliness”. Then will you come back satisfied? I am really shocked at the attitude of the Government.

When the Prime Minister went to Washington, a more serious thing has emerged. According to a report dated 11th June from Washington, sent by the Special Correspondent of *New York Times*, the well-known columnist, Mr. David Binder :

“Prime Minister, Morarji R. Desai of India, indicated in an interview broadcast today, that his Government was prepared to accept Chinese seizure of 14,000 sq. miles of disputed territory between 1957 and 1962 and to acknowledge the present boundaries formally to normalise relations with China.”

Is this the price you are going to pay ?

I will recall your words, Mr. Vajpayee when you were on this side, what protestations you were making about even an inch of territory. They were your words. Are you suggesting that merely because you have gone to that side now, you agree that this is your policy that the entire 14,000 sq. miles occupied by China are going to be surrendered, compromised and gifted away for friendly neighbourly relations for a smile from Hua ?

I can understand those persons who were trying to normalise their relations with masters, because they got a rebuff when they sent a message of condolence on the death of Mao and that was rejected and returned to them: I can understand their trying to be good boys and to make up

their relations, but why should you as a Government do this in the name of normalisation of relations ?

There is another aspect. Yesterday's *Times of India* refers to Loy Henderson's secret negotiations about having an independent Kashmir. So, there is a triple alliance. China and USA having come together, now with Pakistan, they are trying to pressurise the Government of India in the name of normalisation to acquiesce in this. Is this your concept of genuine non-alignment, to give up India interest, give away territory ? Is this what you are trying to do ?

AN HON. MEMBER : We are hearing another voice. Somebody else is speaking.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE) : Mr. Sathe is speaking in two voices.

SHRI VASANT SATHE : I hope there is no bugging here now.

SHRI A. BALA PAJANORE (Pondicherry) : I protest at his remark. It was the exclusive right of the previous Government, not of this Government.

SHRI VASANT SATHE : You do not know, your phone is being tapped.

MR. SPEAKER : There have been enough doubts. Let us go to the subject.

SHRI VASANT SATHE : I have asked two questions of the External Affairs Minister about the policy of the Government of India. In terms of your statement, are you going to concede and compound the illegality by accepting the normal use of that road as you say in your statement ? Are you going to surrender the interests of India in terms of the reported statement of the Prime Minister ? These are my two questions.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA (Serampore) : Please tell them that this road was not built in a day.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : My friend, Mr. Sathe has reminded me of what I used to say when I was in the opposition. Should I remind him what he used to say when he was here on the treasury benches

((Interruptions))

SHRI VASANT SATHE : You were saying the same thing which I said today.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : This road was not been built in a day. But it does not mean that we are going to

compromise with the illegality of the road. (Interruptions).

SHRI VASANT SATHE : What is the meaning of the last para of your statement ? Otherwise, delete it.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I am not prepared to delete anything. This statement has been made after careful consideration. You may or may not agree; that is your view. (Interruptions). Let not the opposition accuse us of betraying the interest of the country. (Interruptions) You are responsible for giving one-third of Kashmir to Pakistan. You did not have the courage to say anything at that time. Now, you are accusing us. (Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER : You are going out of the scope of the question. (Interruptions).

The House stands adjourned till 2 o'clock.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Fourteenth of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

CALLING ATTENTION TO
MATTER OF URGENT
PUBLIC IMPORTANCE—contd.

REPORTED CONSTRUCTION OF KARAKORAM HIGHWAY BY PAKISTAN AND CHINA IN PAKISTAN OCCUPIED TERRITORY OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Mr. Vajpayee to reply now.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur) : On a point of order, Sir... (Interruptions)

SHRI B. P. MANDAL (Madhe pura) : We are always under points of order.... (Interruptions).

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA : May I bring to your kind attention rule 197 ? It says :

"A member may, with the previous permission of the Speaker, call the attention of a Minister to any matter of urgent public importance and the Minister may make a brief statement or ask for time to make a statement at a later hour or date;"

[Shri K. Lakkappa]

When Mr. Sathe called the attention of the Minister of External Affairs.....

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE) : Mr. Sathe did not call the attention.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA : Over and above the statement the Minister of External Affairs made a remark which is not warranted. He has made such a derogatory remark.....(Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please take your seat. There is absolutely no point of order.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA : He made a remark that one-third of Kashmir was given to Pakistan.... (Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : If you go on like that, it will go off the record.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA : He should withdraw that.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : He will not withdraw anything. Mr. Sathe has asked a question and he is replying. You cannot get up on a point of order and go on giving your opinion. Mr. Vajpayee.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA : He is entitled to make only a brief statement under the rule. He should withdraw that. Kindly go through the proceedings. You call him to order and see that the proceedings are properly regulated....(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Order, please; take your seat. There is no point of order. Just because you do not like an answer, it is not a point of order.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA : Do you allow such statements ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I allow Mr. Vajpayee to reply to Mr. Sathe now.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA : It is not in conformity with the rule pertaining to the Call Attention. You give a ruling.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I have already given the ruling. There is no point of order. Mr. Sathe has asked a question and he is replying to it.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA : I strongly protest against the manner in which the Minister of External Affairs has made that statement.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I am sorry, if I retaliated in a stronger language. I did not mean that any part of India had been handed over to Pakistan

because the stand of the previous Government and the present Government on the question of Kashmir is the same. But when insinuations are made....

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara) : You made an allegation.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I do not want to go into that question.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : You go through the record. You made an allegation.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : You accused the Government.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Idukki) : You made an allegation that it was handed over by the previous Government to the other Government. If it was really handed over, then you are confirming the position that Pakistan is *de jure* in possession of that. If it was handed over—that was the allegation that you had made. (Interruptions).

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : What I meant was that you ordered the ceasefire without complete liberation of Jammu and Kashmir.

(Interruptions).

No, it does not mean that.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Well, he has corrected himself.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I do not understand why should there be so much of excitement on a question on which the whole House stands united.

AN HON. MEMBER : Except Mr. Bosu.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : The process of normalisation.....

(Interruptions).

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal) : He must be careful in choosing his words.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : It applies to both sides.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : You made that accusation.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : The process of normalisation of relations with Pakistan as well as China was initiated by the former Government and we have accelerated the process.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola) : We are not against that.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Now, Mr. Sathe has put an interpretation on the last sentence of my statement which is not correct, which is unwarranted. We have challenged the legality. We say that the whole of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India, including that area which is under illegal occupation of Pakistan. If and when that area comes back to India.....
(Interruption)

No question of coming back; comes back to India, India will be in a position to use this road.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Obvious.
(Interruptions)

SHRI K. GOPAL (Karu) : They cannot take the road away.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Are you disputing this statement also ?

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Mr. Minister, why do you give a suggestion as to how to use this road ? Please read this sentence again,

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I have read the sentence. It has been put after a good deal of thought.

SHRI K. GOPAL : By whom ?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : That of course by me.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : I hope so.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I run the External Affairs Ministry. There is a world of difference, Mr. Unnikrishnan. I would not like to go into detail. I will not be here for a minute if I do not formulate the policy.

SHRI VASANT SATHE : I am sorry, the impression in the country today is that the Prime Minister makes the foreign policy Mr. Jagat Mehta implements it and you only translate it in Hindi.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Thank you very much. The foreign policy is not formulated or implemented by any particular Minister. It is the collective responsibility. But I would not like to go into that question.

Mr. Sathe also referred to the story by Mr. David Binder in the *New York Times* about the interview given by the Prime Minister to the NBC in the 'Meet the

Press' Programme. In this case also the correspondent put his own interpretation.

SHRI VASANT SATHE : He has quoted.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : He has not.

In this case also the correspondent put his own interpretation to what the Prime Minister had said. An official denial was issued the same day

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Where ?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : In New York as well as in New Delhi. It was widely published. It was made clear.....

SHRI VASANT SATHE : Why are you misleading ? In quotes, he says :

"Questioned on NEC-TV's 'Meet the Press' Programme, Mr. Desai said....."

In quotes, he says :

"...All depends on China. But we are determined not to go to war on that issue. We do not want to take back the area which, we say, they have taken from us by force. We do not take by war, we have sufficient..."

What does this mean ?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Where is the position that India is prepared to hand over that territory to China ? The only statement that the Prime Minister made was that India would not go to war in order to recover that territory. But our claim stands, Mr. Sathe.

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अब मैं हिन्दी में बोलना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि सठे सत्रह की समझ में मेरी अंग्रेजी नहीं आती और मेरी समझ में उनकी बात नहीं आती। भाषा का सबाल नहीं है, भाषा का सबाल है।

What the official spokesman said that day, I would like to quote :

"What the Prime Minister said in the interview was that India would not go to war with China on the boundary issue or try to take by force the Indian territory occupied by China and that the boundary issue could be resolved between the two countries by friendly negotiations."

[Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee]

There is no question of surrendering Indian territory. We have not compromised our stand. The Prime Minister the other day made the position clear in this very House.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN :
Declaration of peaceful intentions ?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :
Which you share, I hope.

श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, भारत की विदेश नीति की सराहना केवल हमारे देश में ही नहीं, सारे संसार में हो रही है, खास तौर पर पिछले 15 महीने की। यह केवल मैं नहीं कहता, देश का बच्चा बच्चा इसको मानता है, केवल हमारे देश के दो व्यक्ति हैं जो इस चीज को नहीं मानते, एक मिसेज इन्दिरा गांधी हैं और दूसरे मि. साठे हैं।

मैं यह कह सकता हूँ कि पिछले 15 महीनों में हमारी नीति, विशेषतः पड़ोसी देशों के साथ नार्मलाइजेशन और फ्रेंडशिप करने की रही है, उसके अन्दर न तो हमने अपने राष्ट्रीय हित को खोया है और न उनके राष्ट्रीय हित खोये हैं। किसी की कास्ट पर भी नार्मलाइजेशन नहीं हुआ। हमारी फ्रेंडशिप आपस में बातचीत करके हुई है।

मैं यह भी कहता हूँ कि 15 महीने पहले, जनता पार्टी के आने से पहले जो एरिया आफ टेंशन था, कोल्ड वार आइदर विद नेपाल, और विद बंगला देश, और विद पाकिस्तान, ईवन विद चाइना, वह कम हुआ है और आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता हम नार्मलाइजेशन पर जा रहे हैं। लेकिन यह सड़क आज नहीं बनी है। 1969 में इसी सड़क के बारे में जो कालिग एटेंशन आया था, वह मेरा ही था, और सोभाग्य से आज भी मेरा ही कालिग एटेंशन है। इस माल से यह सड़क बन रही है, अगर इस सरकार ने कुछ भी कार्यवाही नहीं की।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : "इस सरकार" ने नहीं।

श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त : मेरा मतलब पहली सरकार से है—मेरी उंगली उधर है। लेकिन इसके बाद भी मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब हम चीन और पाकिस्तान के साथ मित्रता और नार्मलाइजेशन चाह रहे हैं, तो चीन के वाइस-प्रीमियर ने काश्मीर में प्लेबिसाइट का समर्थन करके, और जिया ने काश्मीर के सवाल को उठा कर, इस प्रानेस को एक सबवेस्ट सेट बैक दिया है। यह फ्रेंडली रिलेशन और नार्मलाइजेशन पर एक तरह का ब्लो है। जहरत इस बात की है कि जो कुछ हम कर रहे हैं, ये दोनों देश उसको रेसिप्रोकेट करें। लेकिन यह सड़क, या इस तरह की कोई और कार्यवाही, नार्मलाइजेशन की प्रानेस में फिट इन नहीं करती है।

पहली सरकार ने हमारे देश के लिए दो समस्याएँ खड़ी की थीं। मैं समझता हूँ कि तीस साल में जो सबसे बड़ा प्राघात इस देश के मान और प्रतिष्ठा पर पहली सरकार ने किया, वह यही था कि उसने काश्मीर का एक तिहाई हिस्सा पाकिस्तान को लेने दिया। दूसरे, उसने इस देश की हजारों मील जमीन चीन को दे दी, और उसको लेने के लिए उसने कोई भी कार्यवाही नहीं की, सिवाय इसके कि यहाँ एक प्रस्ताव पास किया कि हम उस जमीन को वापस लेने के लिए कर्मिटेड हैं। उस समय जो प्रधान मंत्री थे, वह चले गये। उनके बाद दूसरे प्रधान मंत्री आये, और वे भी चले गये। लेकिन इस बारे में कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गई।

पिछली सरकार भी इस बात को मानती और कहती थी कि पाकिस्तान और चीन के पास हमारे देश की जो जमीन है, उसको वापस लेने के लिए हम लड़ाई तो नहीं करेंगे, लेकिन आपस में बातचीत करके उस मामले को तय करेंगे। यही बात जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने भी मानी है। लेकिन मैं मंत्री महोदय से दो एशोरेंस चाहता हूँ। वह ट्रेड डेलीगेशन और जर्नलिस्ट बहा भेज रहे हैं

और कई अन्य बातों में भी सहायन प्रदान कर रहे हैं। शायद वह स्वयं भी बहाँ जायें और वहाँ के मंत्री भी यहाँ आयें। यह अच्छी बात है। मुझे उस पर कुछ नहीं कहना है। लेकिन मैं मंत्री महोदय से यह एगोरेंस चाहता हूँ—मुझे तो विश्वास है, मुझे कोई संदेह नहीं है, लेकिन इस देश को उनसे यह एगोरेंस चाहिए—कि चीन के पास भारत का जो भी हिस्सा है, उसकी एक इंच भी भूमि के बारे में कोई सीदा नहीं किया जाएगा, और काश्मीर का—हमारे देश का—जो हिस्सा पाकिस्तान के पास है, उसके बारे में भी कोई सीदा नहीं किया जायेगा। जैसा शिमला पैक्ट में भुट्टो और इन्दिरा गांधी का सीक्रेट समझौता हुआ था, जिसमें यह कहा गया था कि जो हिस्सा पाकिस्तान के पास है, वह हम देने के लिए तैयार हैं, और जो हिस्सा हमारे पास है, वह हमारे पास रहे, वैसे नहीं होना चाहिए। देश इस बात को स्वीकार नहीं करेगा। इन्दिरा गांधी कर सकती हैं।

श्री अल्ल साठे : इन्दिरा गांधी ने नहीं किया। यह बात मोरारजी भाई को मालूम नहीं है, भुट्टो को भी मालूम नहीं है। सिर्फ बाजपेयीजी को मालूम है।

श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त : मैं विदेश मंत्री से ये दो एगोरेंस चाहता हूँ कि चीन और पाकिस्तान के पास हमारा जो हिस्सा है, उसकी एक इंच भूमि भी उनको नहीं दी जाएगी।

प्लेबिसाइट के बारे में तो आपने भाषाबासन दे ही दिया है कि प्लेबिसाइट को आप कभी स्वीकार नहीं कर सकते।

एक चीज और भी कही कि चीन के साथ दोस्ती चाहते हैं। ठीक है। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सिल्क रूट है जहाँ से पहले तिब्बत से देखें हमारे लक्ष्य में उसे बेचने के लिए भाते थे। आज हम उनसे दोस्ती चाहते

हैं। जवाहर लाल नेहरू के साथ भी दोस्ती थी. . . (अवधान)

SHRI SAUGATA ROY : This silk route is from Sinking to Pakistan.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY ROYU : This is the first time that we are hearing of this Tibet silk route.

श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त : इसे सिल्क रूट ही कहते हैं, यह आपको मानना चाहिए। मेरा कहना यह है कि सिल्क रूट से कल को यह टैंक रूट भी हो सकता है। जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी ने भी विश्वास किया था चाहना के ऊपर और इस विश्वास में मात खाई थी। चीनी हिन्दी भाई भाई करते उस मात में क्या हुआ यह हम जानते हैं। आप दोस्ती करिए, मैं उसका समर्थक हूँ। लेकिन इसके साथसाथ मैं यह जानता हूँ कि 800 किलोमीटर लम्बी सड़क साढ़े पन्द्रह हजार फुट की ऊंचाई पर बनने वाली दुनिया में यह शायद दूसरी सड़क है जो इतनी ऊंचाई पर बनी है। दस साल में कितने अरब रुपये इस पर लगे होंगे, यह अगर किसी मतलब के नहीं हो सकता। इसलिए इसमें खतरनाक चीजें भी हो सकती हैं। दोस्ती रखते हुए भी दोस्तों के साथ सावधानी बरतने की जरूरत है। हम ठीक तरह से सावधानी नहीं बरतेंगे तो जो पहले हमारा हाल हुआ वही हो सकता है। मैं विदेश मंत्री जी से चाहूँगा, वह इस बात के लिए सदन को विश्वास दिलायें कि दोस्ती करते हुए भी वह सतर्क रहेंगे और देश की सुरक्षा में किसी तरह की कोताही नहीं की जाएगी।

श्री अल्ल बिहारी बाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वर्तमान सरकार की ओर से पहले भी भाषाबासन किया जा चुका है और मैं उसे दोहराने के लिए संयार हूँ कि भारत की जो भूमि चीन के कब्जे में है, उसे शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से वापस प्राप्त करने के लिए हम प्रयासशील

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

हैं। मैं नहीं समझता ऐसा कोई आश्वासन मांगने की आवश्यकता है।

श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त : सर्रेडर नहीं करेंगे।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : ऐसा तो किसी को सोचना भी नहीं चाहिए कि जमीन का सौदा कर के शांति खरीदेंगे। शांति खरीदी नहीं जाती है, शांति अपने बल पर कायम रहती है... (अवधान)... न दिया तो फिर हम आप की सलाह से अपनी नीति बनायेंगे।

इस ध्यानाकर्षण सूचना का लाभ लेकर सदन के सदस्यों ने अपनी भावनायें प्रकट की हैं और उन भावनाओं को ध्यान में रख कर सरकार की नीति का निर्धारण और क्रियान्वयन होगा।

श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त : मैंने आखिर का सवाल पूछा था कि सरकार कागम रहेगी, चीन ने जो इतनी बड़ी सड़क बना डाली है, ऐसा न हो कि 1962 वाली कहानी रिपीट हो, उसके लिए क्या आप की मगीनरी तैयार है दोस्ती रखते हुए भी? इसका मैं कैटेगरीकल जवाब चाहता हूँ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : हम चौकस है, सावधान हैं। पुरानी घटनाओं से हमने पाठ पढ़े हैं और भविष्य में उनकी पुनरावृत्ति न हो यह देखने के लिए और सुनिश्चित करने के लिए हम कटिबद्ध हैं।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Mr. Ravindra Varma.

DR. KARAN SINGH (Udhampur) : I have got an important point.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : What is it ?

DR. KARAN SINGH : On this I have something.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : On calling attention. I cannot allow.

You know the procedure in the House. There is a ballot....

DR. KARAN SINGH : I am rising on a point of order.

I never unnecessarily rise in this House. I say something important.

In the course of his observations.... (interruptions)

SHRI B. P. MANDAL (Madhepura) : His name is not there. He cannot participate.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Mr. Mandal, I have told him that he cannot ask an additional question or clarification.

DR. KARAN SINGH : I am not asking a question.

In the morning the Speaker, in his wisdom, said in the course of this debate :

"In international affairs might is right."

Now, my humble submission is this : are we to understand that he said this in a lighter vein because, coming from the Speaker of the Indian Parliament, in this context, if this goes on record that in international affairs, might is right, it can, at some future date, be interpreted as a seal of approval upon the aggressors. I would like to bring this point. I would submit that these remarks....

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : He must have said it in a lighter vein.

Let us not make much of it.

DR. KARAN SINGH : Let him clarify. Let these remarks be expunged.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER. He must have said this in a lighter vein. Let us not make much of it.

Mr. Ravindra Varma.

14:27hrs.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA) : With your permission, Sir, I rise to announce that Government Business in this House during the week commencing 24th July, 1978, will consist of :—

1. Consideration of any item of Government Business carried