

मर्जी हो, वह चलाना चाहें तो चलाइए, यह रहा हाउस ।

...(व्यवधान)\*\*...

MR. SPEAKER : I have not allowed anybody.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैंने सारी बातें आपकी देख लीं, अब और आप क्या चाहते हैं ?

...(व्यवधान)\*\*...

12.19 hrs.

*(At this stage, Shri Rajnath Sonkar Shastri and some other hon. Members left the House)*

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South) : Shri Ghani Khan Choudhury is present.... *(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER : I have got it in writing....

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Mr. Ghani Khan Choudhury is here and he can say... *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : The Minister of External Affairs has to go somewhere. He has some engagement. He has to be present elsewhere...

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : After that, he can say.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I have got it.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (New Delhi) : Let him deny it.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : उन्होंने कहा है कि मैंने ऐसा कोई शब्द नहीं कहा है ।

(व्यवधान)

MR. SPEAKER : He has denied it.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Let Shri Ghani Khan Choudhury say that he has not said it. You can settle it in one minute by asking him to say.

MR. SPEAKER : He has not said it. What more do you want ?

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : One minute you may spare and ask the Minister only to say.... *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I have got with me in writing.

Shri Jagpal Singh Kashyap.

12.18 hrs.

CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

Reported move for establishment of military bases in Pakistan and Bangladesh by the United States of America

श्री जगपाल सिंह (हरिद्वार) : अध्यक्ष जी, मैं अविलंबनीय लोक महत्व के निम्नलिखित विषय की ओर विदेश मन्त्री का ध्यान दिलाता हूँ और प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वे इस बारे में एक वक्तव्य दें :

“संयुक्त राज्य अमरीका द्वारा पाकिस्तान और बंगला देश में सैनिक अड्डे स्थापित किए जाने के कथित प्रयास और इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार की प्रतिक्रिया ।”

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO) : Mr. Speaker Sir, The Government of India have seen reports about the possible establishment in Pakistan and Bangladesh of US military bases and facilities.

2. The House would be aware of a US

report suggesting that the Pakistani Government had promised to allow US planes to use Pakistani airfields in the event of certain contingencies in the Persian Gulf. In return, Pakistan was to benefit from the ongoing security assistance programme with the USA joint intelligence sharing and the training of its military personnel. In the case of Bangladesh, some reports suggested that following the visit of the Bangladesh President to the United States in October 1983, there were moves on the part of the United States to seek naval facilities in Chittagong and St. Martin islands.

3. The Government of India, have, however, been given to understand by US officials that the United States has sought no bases or facilities in Pakistan and that it has no interest in acquiring facilities in Bangladesh. The Bangladesh Government has also denied through its diplomatic representatives reports about a possible agreement with the United States on naval facilities. We had also taken up this matter with the Government of Pakistan including at the recent informal talks between the Foreign Secretaries of the two countries. The Pakistan Government has denied giving any bases to the United States.

4. The Government of India have taken note of these denials and wish to express the hope that these reports have no basis. The matter being of the utmost concern to India, Government will naturally continue watch such developments carefully.

**श्री जगपाल सिंह :** अध्यक्ष जी, यह काल अटेंशन में समझता हूँ पाकिस्तान और बंगलादेश में जो हवाई बेस बनाए जा रहे हैं, वहीं तक संबंधित नहीं है, बल्कि हमारे पूरे देश, पूरे कांटेनेंट और पूरी दुनिया की सुरक्षा से यह सवाल जुड़ा हुआ है। विदेश मन्त्री जी ने बड़ी आसानी से यह जवाब दे दिया है लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ विदेश मन्त्री जी खुद अपनी सरकार के एक दूसरे मंत्री द्वारा दिए गए बयान के खिलाफ बयान दे रहे हैं। रक्षा मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री, श्री के० पी० सिंह देव ने 16 तारीख को कलकत्ते में, बंगला देश में जो कुछ हो रहा है, उसके बारे में बयान दिया था जिसको कि मैं बाद में पढ़कर सुनाऊंगा लेकिन

उससे पहले मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस संजीदा मैटर पर भी यदि विदेश मन्त्री जी इस प्रकार का जवाब दे देंगे तो उससे तो न केवल इस देश बल्कि इस कांटेनेंट की सुरक्षा खतरे में पड़ेगी। विदेश मन्त्री जी ने जिस ढंग से जवाब दिया है उससे ऐसा लगता है कि पाकिस्तान के अन्दर क्या हो रहा है उससे शायद वे परिचित नहीं हैं और अगर परिचित हैं तो फिर विदेश मन्त्री जी ने इरादतन इस हाउस को गुमराह करने की कोशिश की है। मैं विदेश मन्त्री जी को वह बयान पढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ :

“Reports of Pakistan offering military bases to the United States in exchange for arms supply on a continuous basis have been appearing in newspapers for quite some time now. The report said U.S. had planned to set up Cruise Missiles on Pakistani soil ostensibly to thwart any possible expansion of Soviet influence southward from Afghanistan.”

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** इसी बात का तो जवाब दिया है उन्होंने।

**श्री जगपाल सिंह :** उसको पढ़ना जरूरी है इसलिए पढ़ रहा हूँ।

“Simultaneously, General Zia-ul-Haq has cried out for more secure protection from the rulers in Washington. He said, Pakistan needed concrete security arrangements with the US which the supply of even 500 F-16 aircraft could not provide.”

“Brigadier Noor Hussain, Director-General of Pakistan's Institute for Strategic Studies at Islamabad, has been a little more outspoken. He has said, Pakistan should acquire the best and latest US arms, even if it had to give military bases to the United States.”

अध्यक्ष जी, मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि माननीय मंत्री जी सदन को गुमराह कर रहे हैं। बाकायदा

पेपर्स में आ रहा है कि बंगला देश में क्या हो रहा है। अभी स्व० शेख मुजीबुर्रहमान की बेटी ने भी वहां के जनरल इरशाद के खिलाफ बयान दिया कि उनकी इजाजत से चितगांव और एक दूना आयलैंड में ब्रेस बना रहे हैं। जो हमारे देश के हित के विरुद्ध है। मैं समझता हूं कि ऐसी बात नहीं है कि आपको इसका ज्ञान न हो। मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि उनको किसने यह कहा और किनके पास यह रिपोर्ट आई है कि आप इस पर विश्वास कर बैठे हैं कि पाकिस्तान के साथ और बंगला देश के साथ इस तरह के अड्डे बनाने का कोई इरादा नहीं है। आप उनके नाम मेशन करिए? अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से यह भी जानना चाहूंगा कि खादरा के पास मेहदी-ए-कोए पहाड़ी पर अड्डा बन रहा है या नहीं बन रहा है? पाकिस्तान की मिलिटरी फोर्सों के प्रोटैक्शन में कोई सिविलियन वहां नहीं जा सकता है, जहां पर कि पहाड़ी पर अड्डा बन चुका है। फ्रेंस के अन्दर रिपोर्ट आ चुकी है। अमरीकन्स का कहना है पाकिस्तान के अन्दर हवाई अड्डा बना रहे हैं, तो वह इसलिए कि पाकिस्तान सोफैस्टिकेटेड एल्ट्रा-वैपन्स चलाना नहीं जानता है, इसलिए हम वहां उनको सिखाएंगे। इससे और ज्यादा सीरियस मामला है कि अमरीका की कांग्रेस रैगन सरकार ने प्रपोजल भेजा है, एक विशेष कानून को अमेंड करने के लिए।

“The U.S. proposes to station a small but permanent force of military personnel in Pakistan” on a regular assignment” to “enable Pakistan to make effective use of U.S. arms.

“Normally, if six or less than six American troops are to be stationed in any country, the government does not have to inform Congress. But if the number is more than six, the government has to seek Congressional authorisation. The Reagan administration has, therefore, approached Congress for approval to station troops in Pakistan and to amend Section 515(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act for the purpose.”

मैं यह इसलिए कह रहा हूं कि विशेषतया पाकिस्तान के अन्दर हवाई अड्डा बनाने के लिए अपने छः और छः से ज्यादा ट्रांस को वहां ठहराने लिए एप्रूवल भेजा है कि इस सैक्शन में 515(1) को अमेंड करो। यह प्रस्ताव में आया है कि भारत सरकार को इसका ज्ञान है कि यह किस पर्पज के लिए किया जा रहा है। मैं नहीं जानता कि विदेश मंत्री इतनी आसानी से जवाब दे देंगे। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इस मुल्क की एकता का सवाल है और सुरक्षा का सवाल है, पूरे कान्टीनेन्ट का सवाल है। बंगला देश पाकिस्तान को तोड़ने का हमको क्या सामियाजा मिला है। बंगला देश को आजाद कराने में हजारों हमारे नौजवान भारे गए हैं। फिर भी हम उनके रिलेशन्स बनाकर नहीं रख पाए हैं, यह सबसे बड़ी विफलता है। पाकिस्तान में कूप पर कूप हो रहा है। बंगला देश को अपने साथ मिलाकर नहीं रख सकते हैं। पाकिस्तान के साथ जो कुछ हो रहा है और पाकिस्तान हमारे साथ जो कुछ कर रहा है, यह किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है।

अध्यक्ष जी, मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि हम रूस की कोई आलोचना नहीं करना चाहते हैं, रूस हमारा दोस्त है। उनके साथ हमारे दोस्ती के सम्बन्ध और ज्यादा मजबूत होंगे। लेकिन पाकिस्तान को जो मिसाइल और दूसरे हथियार दिए जा रहे हैं उनसे हमारे देश के ऊपर खतरा बढ़ रहा है। मैं आपसे एक प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूं— अफगानिस्तान की समस्या को हल करने के लिए एक त्रिपक्षीय वार्ता का आयोजन रूस-पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान के बीच किया जाना चाहिए जिससे समस्या सुलझाई जा सके और रूसी सेनाएं अफगानिस्तान से वापस जाएं। जब तक ऐसा नहीं होगा हमारे देश पर खतरा बना रहेगा।

एक तरफ डीगोगार्शिया में अमरीकन बेस है...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : डीगोगार्शिया इसमें कहां से आ गया ?

श्री जगपाल सिंह : इससे जुड़ा हुआ है। यह ।

हिन्दुस्तान की फॉरन-पालिसी का सवाल है जो पूर्णतया फेल हो चुकी है। दुनिया भर की ताकतें हिन्दुस्तान के सिर पर बैठी हुई हैं। श्री के० पी० सिंह देव ने कलकत्ता में कहा था—

“The reported offer of Bangladesh President to provide facilities to the US Seventh Fleet at Chittagong Port “will certainly pose a threat to this zone of peace”, Mr. K.P. Singh Deo, Union Minister of State for Defence, said here today.”

इसके मायने हैं कि वह खुद इस बात को मान रहे हैं कि चटगांव और उसके पास कोई आइलैंड हैं जहां यू०एस०ए० ने अपना बेस बनाने के लिए कहा है। यह स्पष्ट रूप से हिन्दुस्तान और इस पीस-आफ-जोन के लिए खतरा है। जबकि विदेश मंत्री भी इस समय बिलकुल उलटी बात कह रहे हैं, चूंकि अमरीका ने कह दिया है इसलिए कोई खतरा पाकिस्तान और बंगलादेश से नहीं है। अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज इस मुल्क की विदेश नीति फेल हो चुकी है। चाइना, अमरीका दोनों बड़ी ताकतें हमारे सिर पर सवार हैं। रूस भी अफगानिस्तान के मामले को लेकर हमारे देश की सीमाओं पर आकर खड़ा है। वार्सा-पैक्ट, नाटो, कापन वेल्थ के जितने मुल्क हैं कोई हमारा दोस्त नहीं हैं।

अब मैं एक बात जानना चाहता हूँ...

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब बैठ जाइए।

श्री जगपाल सिंह : कराची के पास “गिवनी” बन्दरगाह के लिए पाकिस्तान और अमरीका का समझौता हो चुका है, जिसको बनाने के लिए 30 करोड़ रुपये की प्रपोजल अमरीका ने दी है। इसी तरह से “महापर्वत माला” का हवाई अड्डा बनाने की स्वीकृति पाकिस्तान द्वारा दी जा चुकी है।

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY  
(Bombay North East) : He has given more information than the Minister.

MR. SPEAKER : He looks like a Minister !

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I believe we are going to have a discussion on the Demands for Grants to my Ministry. So, I would very respectfully request Members to come back to the subject of the Calling Attention because we can have all this roving discussion at the time of the Demands for Grants.

Coming back to the subject matter, my very first sentence is clear.

“The Government of India have seen reports about the possible establishment in Pakistan and Bangladesh of US military bases and facilities”.

This pertains to all the reports that the Hon. Members was pleased to read out in great detail. I did not want to read all those reports in great detail. But since he insisted on reading those details, I might as well tell him that only after reading all those details, this sentence was drafted.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : What do you think of the reports ?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : That is what I have said in the last para.

“The Government of India has taken note of these denials.”

I have said that all these have been denied by the respective Governments.

We have taken note of these denials and wish to express the hope that the reports have no basis.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh) : You are speaking in diplomatic language.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : This has to be guarded language. I do not call it diplomatic or undiplomatic.

SHRI JAGPAL SINGH : What is the reality ?



होगा या नहीं होगा, यह ख्याल है, लेकिन रिप्लिटी क्या है? या तो आप इन्कार कीजिए या कहिए कि इस तरह की स्थिति है।

श्री पी० वी० नरसिंह राव : मेरे पास जो सूचना है वह आपके सामने रख रहा हूँ। अबद्वारों में जो उसके बारे में आया हमने पूछताछ की।

12.30 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

हमसे कहा गया कि यह गलत है। मैं आपको यह रिपोर्ट कर रहा हूँ।

श्री जगपाल सिंह : तो आप उनका विश्वास कर रहे हैं।

श्री पी० वी० नरसिंह राव : यह विश्वास का सवाल नहीं है। विश्वास और अविश्वास एक सबजेक्टिव चीज होती है और यहां पर जितने सदस्य बैठे हुए हैं, जितने सदस्य विराजमान हैं, उनमें हर एक का अपना विश्वास और अविश्वास हो सकता है। यह सवाल इससे सम्बद्ध नहीं है।

दूसरी बात है

the request of the Defence Department of the United States to Congress asking for endorsement of more than six armed personnel to be stationed in Pakistan. The position here is this. The *Times of India* has recently carried a report that the U.S. Administration has sought the authorisation of the Congress to base more than six uniformed personnel in Pakistan. This is projected in the news reports as a new development and linked to reports on the establishment of a base. This is not correct. The position is like this. Wherever American arms have been supplied, in all those countries a kind of administrative office has been opened to deal with the matters arising out of these supplies, their installation, etc., and that is called Security Assistance Organization. These Security Assistance Organizations have been established in all the countries where U.S. arms assistance has been given. There are countries like Pakistan, El

Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, etc., etc. You know the pattern. This is a fact. But the request for such an authorisation was actually first made in 1983 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the Defence Department because whenever more than six uniformed personnel are needed, the law says that a request has to be made to the Congress and the Congress has to give permission! This is the background against which the request has been made. That has been linked to bases. That linking does not appear to be correct. It is in connection with the Security Assistance Organization which again is a result of arms supplied to these countries from the United States. This is the position.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Neelalohithadasan Nadar.

श्री जगपाल सिंह : मैंने एक सवाल और उठाया था लेकिन उसका जवाब नहीं आया। मैंने क्वेश्चन किया है कि महेन्दी-ए-कोह पर जो अड्डा बनाने की बात है, वह बना है या नहीं बना है, इसके बारे में सरकार का क्या कहना है।

श्री पी० वी० नरसिंह राव : देखिये, कोई अड्डा बनने या न बनने से इस कार्लिंग एटेंशन का क्या सम्बन्ध हो सकता है? आपने बेस की बात पूछी लेकिन आपने हवाई अड्डे की बात इस कार्लिंग एटेंशन में नहीं पूछी। हर एक मुल्क अपने इलाके में जितने चाहे हवाई अड्डे बना सकता है।

श्री जगपाल सिंह : अमरीका को भी वह फैशीलिटी है? ... (व्यवधान) ...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Neelalohithadasan Nadar.

SHRI A. NEELALOHITHADASAN NADAR (Trivandrum) : The statement of the hon. Minister in this respect is only an eye-wash. So many press reports have appeared. (*Interruptions*) The Minister himself may have with him so many press reports. I do not want to read all those reports because of lack of time...

(Interruptions)\*\*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Anything other than what the hon. Member participating in the Call-Attention is saying is not going on record.

SHRI A. NEELALOHITHADASAN NADAR : If you read carefully the statement of the Minister, from the beginning to the end, you can see that the Government of India is still relying on reports and hopes. There have been reports for the last so many months and years regarding the building of bases by the United States in Pakistan. Recently we have been getting reports of USA proposing to have bases in Bangladesh also. I am asking the hon. Minister through you whether the Government of India is having any reliable source to assess what is happening in the Indian sub-continent itself instead of relying on reports and hopes. The reports that the United States is proposing to have its bases in Bangladesh is really shocking. As we all know, during the liberation struggle which was going on in Bangladesh, India has played an important role. But after the liberation of Bangladesh why was our relationship with Bangladesh worsened during the period of successive governments in Bangladesh ? I want to know from the hon. Minister through you whether the Government of India has ever analysed through its diplomatic sources or through any other sources as to what is the reason for the worsening of our relationship with Bangladesh or what is the reason for the Government of Bangladesh viewing India with suspicion.

Regarding Pakistan we have been forced to have three wars with Pakistan because Pakistan declared war on us thrice. Pakistan is supposed to be a non-aligned country. We are claiming ourselves to be the leader of the Non-aligned Movement and without our knowledge, while we are relying on reports and hopes, Pakistan is giving its land to the United States, the leader of the imperialist forces to have military bases. What is the Government of India going to do in this respect ?

There are reports that in this very month the talk with Pakistan is again going to be resumed. I want to know from the hon. Minister whether this issue will be taken up with Pakistani officials during the course of the official talks.

The United States military bases are there not only in Pakistan or Bangladesh. All around India we can see the US bases—in Diego Garcia, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh and other parts of South Asia also. We are surrounded by the US military bases posing a great danger to us. I want to draw the attention of this House. When the war with Pakistan was going on in the eastern sector during the Bangladesh liberation struggle, the US Seventh Fleet came into the Bay of Bengal. Only because of our treaty with Soviet Union, the Indo-Soviet Treaty and the statement of Soviet Union in that respect, the US Fleet did not enter our waters. So, by seeing the US military bases around us, I want to know whether the Government of India will take concrete steps to strengthen the treaty with Soviet Union. All of us know already the Defence Minister of Soviet Union is in India. I want to know whether our Minister will take seriously this issue while discussing issues of such importance with the Soviet Union representative.

The stationing of the Imperialist Forces in various places is a threat to world peace—not only to the Indian Continent but throughout the world—and so, the only course to fight such a threat is to align all the non-aligned countries with the socialist groups of this World. I want to know whether the Government of India, which is claiming itself to be the leader of the non-aligned movement, will take some steps.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now, the hon. Minister.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : Sir, I am thankful to the hon. Member for giving me the benefit of his advice in this Calling Attention.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : What about Mr. Ustinov's visit ?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : This is a bilateral visit, in the usual bilateral course of events ; I do not think it is fair to link this visit with this Calling Attention. One of the points raised by Mr. Nadar is—whether this matter will be taken up with Pakistan. When we discussed this with them, the House may recall that we have Two documents on the Table—one is a draft of a Treaty of Peace and Friendship ; the other is what is generally known as the 'No-War Pact'. Now, a careful analysis of these two documents would clearly reveal that one of the points to be sorted out while discussing these two documents together would be the connected question of bases and so on. So, without going into details, I would only submit that these matters would certainly come up for discussion.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Prof. Tewary.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY (Buxar) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I take this Calling Attention in a broad perspective of world peace and the aggressive role of imperialism in involving the whole world into a nuclear holocaust.

Therefore, I will not take it only as an attempt by America to seek peace or establish peace in our neighbourhood. There was an imperialistic aggression in the Latin American countries and the establishment of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe. The past aggression by America in Lebanon and their threatened invasion in the gulf of Hormuz are matters, to my mind, closely related to maintenance of peace, stability, in this region. I do not know if the Minister has applied his mind to the concept like frontline State or the strategic consensus which has been much too often dished around by the American Administration.

However, after Mr. Reagan's installation as the President of the United States (*Interruptions*) Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I would like to remind the hon. Minister, to the whole range of weapon system that has been supplied to Pakistan. I do not want to go into that in detail as that has been clari-

fied by him, our Prime Minister and other Members of this House as well.

Therefore, I would only emphasise the involvement of Americans in this region as its attempt to suck the neighbouring country of India into a security alliance. The purport is very obvious. The Americans want this region to be subservient to their overall global strategic interests.

Therefore, the concept of strategic consensus between Pakistan and America has been evolved and when I talk of strategic consensus I would like the House to remember that this strategic consensus relates not only to South Asia and our security but it is also closely connected with the situation in the Persian gulf which is our next door area. Therefore, Pakistan has walked into the trap of American imperialism and regarding these bases, the bases which are sought to be established, would the Minister deny that rapid deployment force which is seeking bases in Pakistan has been established with a view to contain the entire region and to safeguard the so-called American interest in the gulf area as if gulf were the private fishing pond of American imperialism ?

Sir, Pakistan was part of the sub-continent but Americans have evolved a concept, namely that Pakistan is now part of West Asia because their interest in West Asia, as they say, is now threatened. But I would like to remind the House that the concept of rapid deployment force was inducted in this region much before the so-called Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. I would also like to know from the Minister whether it is not a fact that the American Central command force whose jurisdiction now is spread over nineteen countries of this region—whole north west quadrant of the Indian ocean—that includes Pakistan and Pakistan is self-proclaimed pillar of strength for American interest in this region. No less a person than the President of Pakistan when he was in America last year said that Pakistan is the back-yard of the back-door of the Persian Gulf and if Pakistan is not safe, then Persian Gulf would not remain safe for America. This is the scenic and, therefore, involvement of an extra-regional power, the super power, which is now trying to revive its Pax American and induct

the concept of domination, hegemonism throughout the world is out to de-stabilise this region through indiscriminate supply of the most sophisticated weapons.

I would like to know from the Minister how, when these things are happening in this region, this country can remain un-alert or would not respond in a big way. I am happy that the hon. Minister from time to time—and I must also say that we are fortunate in having a Minister like him who is a prodigious scholar and has a rare sense of articulation has, as the Prime Minister is insisting also been insisting that the whole area is sought to be destabilised through induction of the second cold war. The second cold war which is sweeping through the length and breadth of the country has been brought to our doorstep by American imperialism and it is hotting up. Therefore, it is trying to de-stabilise our system and economy and involve us into the tension which is going on all around.

Now, Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister and the Government of India to the atomic weapon factor in this scenerio.

Even the Secretary of State of America, Mr. Schultz went to Beijing to negotiate with the authorities in China that they should not supply atomic knowhow to Pakistan. Recently in a statement Dr. A.Q. Khan, who is the architect of the nuclear policy of Pakistan and who had stolen many European secrets from some European countries declared that we have attained uranium enrichment capability. He said, we are the 6th country in the world what Europe took 20 years to develop, we have developed only in 7 years. My hunch is that Pakistan is already in possession of atomic arsenal. There is a parallel. The bomb which was dropped on Hiroshima was this bomb which had not been tested. Similarly in the case of Isreal they are reported to have a very rich atomic arsenal, though they have not carried out any military tests so far. So, there is this collaboration between America and Pakistan, Pakistan being projected as a frontline State in this area and this strategic consensus. Recently when the Chinese President was in America he said, now China is also part of that strategic consensus and weapons and military knowhow will be sup-

plied or passed on to China for modernisation.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You can say all these things in the General Discussion.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Let us not be casual. These are important matters.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : They are very important matters—whether they are concerned with Calling Attention or not !

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : You don't disturb his trend of thought, Sir.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Please listen. Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, how is Pakistan being armed ? The army of Pakistan, with Mr. Reagan, has started taking a new momentum. But it started in early 50s. So the same scenario is prevailing now. Recently I saw a report that in the UNO those countries which are not consistently following stand in favour of America will not benefit from bilateral assistance from USA and India in this case has 'zero' making. Therefore American Imperialist aggression is growing. Regarding the base which was mentioned in Bangla Desh, recently, the Minister has admitted it. My impression is this. I will come to it. General Ershad gave a statement day before yesterday that Soviet Russia is out to destabilise his Government. This has become significant. When he was in America he had high level discussions and an agreement was arrived at in which Bangla Desh authorities were to extend emergency landing and refuelling facilities to planes of the 7th Fleet at Chittagong port and the St. Martin and one more island was to be requisitioned for stationing permanent bases of America. So, these things have happened. If you permit me, I can read out the names, just to make it authentic. Gen. James Lee, Commander of US force in Western Pacific visited Bangla Desh for 5 days from February 14 and he had discussions with them and then General Ershad visited there. And then this Gen. Ershad's visit was followed by the visit of 3 senior officers of Asia Pacific Command to Bangla Desh in first week of January. After that an understanding was arrived at that St. Martin and another island nearby would be



provided to America for establishing bases. This is the situation.

And then references were made to Sri Lanka. We are being ringed on on all sides by American bases. All this is being done in the name of protecting American interests.

Therefore, as has been made abundantly clear on a number of occasions by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, we have to face the reality as such and unfortunately, Afghanistan issue has been brought in here and a demand was made....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Tiwary, the hon. Minister has already made an appeal to you not to have a general discussion on this issue.

PROF. K.K. TIWARY : All right, Sir. But permit me to quote from the newspaper an article in which Prof. Stephen Cohen of the University of Illinois has said. This would make it clear regarding the American strategy and their perception in encircling the region which poses a threat, instability and insecurity to our country. I quote here—

“Prof. Stephen Cohen of the University of Illinois, for instance, points out that “Pakistan belongs to that class of states whose very survival is uncertain, whose legitimacy is doubted and whose security-related resources are inadequate. Yet these states will not go away nor can they be ignored. Pakistan (like Taiwan, South Korea, Israel and South Africa) has the capacity so fight, to go nuclear, to influence the global strategic balance (if only by collapsing) and, lastly, is in a strategic geographical location surrounded by the three largest states in the world adjacent to the mouth of the Persian Gulf....”

This is the scenario. Therefore, Sir, the Americans are very much interested in establishing bases around our country and making Pakistan as part of their total strategic encirclement of India which is a peace-loving country, which has been championing the cause of non-alignment and

existence of peace in the poor countries. The base of Americans in the Indian Ocean, in Diego Garcia Island is known to all of us and it has been very much talked about. The Americans have 21 bases in this region. Therefore, I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether the concept evolved by the American Administration *vis-a-vis* Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf, South Asian region and the Indian sub-continent with their belligerent and aggressive designs would be allowed to be established thus endangering our country's stability. Will the hon. Minister kindly explain this and how is he going to meet this threat which is imminent to our security ?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : Sir, the hon. Member has raised many many points and he knows and the House is also aware that during the last four years, we had on several occasions discussed these very points in great detail, whether it is the question of strategic consensus or the rapid deployment of force or the concept of the so-called front-line States, etc. and the views of the Government have been very clearly, very succinctly stated on several occasions by the Prime Minister and whenever the occasion arose, by myself in the House and elsewhere. So, I do not have to comment on all those points. I would only like to assure him, as I did in the last sentence of the Statement, the matter being of utmost concern to India, Government will naturally continue to watch such developments carefully and I have also submitted to the House that whenever a threat is posed to the security of India, the Government will take adequate steps to meet that threat. The Defence Minister has said, I have said, and above all, the Prime Minister has said it.

13.00 hrs.

SHRI HARIKESH BAHADUR (Gorakhpur) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, In spite of being an admirer of hon. Minister for External Affairs...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : This is first time that you are an admirer of somebody.

SHRI HARIKESH BAHADUR : I have



been his admirer for a long time and he knows that.

However, I feel that he has taken the issue very lightly. I would like to quote from the statement itself. Para 3 says :

“The Government of India, have, however, been given to understand by US officials that the United States has sought no bases or facilities in Pakistan and that it has no interest in acquiring facilities in Bangladesh.”

Here, I would like to remind the hon. Minister and through him the Government of India that in the year 1954, when the USA was supplying arms to Pakistan, at that time, this issue was raised.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Were you born in that year ?

SHRI HARIKESH BAHADUR : I read about all these things afterwards. At that time, this issue was taken up with the Government of USA because people in this country felt that those arms would be used against India only, but the Government of USA told and assured India that the arms which were being supplied to Pakistan would not be used against India, but ultimately what happened everybody knows. All those arms were used against India, when in 1965 Pakistan attacked India. Therefore, they may say that they are not having any plan or design to establish bases, but they may do it, because our experience shows that USA says something else and does something else. I feel that the USA does not have much sympathy with us, though we are the largest democracy in the world, and they are also a democratic country and they should have sympathy for us, but they do not have. Pakistan has already become an arsenal of USA ; most sophisticated weapons have been placed there. Those weapons are not going to be used against Afghanistan, China or Iran ; in fact, they should not be used against any country. But I feel that they may be used against India. Specially USA is always on the lookout of this kind of strategy.

As my hon. friends have said, that in

Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Diego Garcia and Indian ocean, America has got certain designs and they are trying to persuade Nepal also to use that country : in future they may use them as their base for this purpose. Therefore, we must be very careful.

Government of India should try to strengthen their intelligence agencies, so that they may get proper information about what is happening around India in the neighbouring countries. It has become essential, because they are having very powerful agencies. Dr. Swamy is smiling...*(Interruptions)*.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : He means that we should take training from KGB so that we may improve.

SHRI HARIKESH BAHADUR : As I said, we should try to make our intelligence effective, and strengthen it to get actual information as to what is happening around us. Only then, we would be able to safeguard our integrity and defend our country.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I have noted the very valuable suggestions of the hon. Members and this time I am not going to look at Dr. Swamy.

श्री राजेश कुमार सिंह (फिरोजाबाद) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सही में यह एक चिन्ता का विषय है। माननीय मंत्री जी ने भी अपने उत्तर में चिन्ता व्यक्त की है और निगरानी रखने की बात भी कही है। बड़ी खुशी की बात है लेकिन एक प्रश्न बार-बार पैदा हो जाता है कि क्या वजह है, हमारे पड़ोसी मुल्क जो हैं जहां कि यह डेवलपमेंट हो रहा है उनकी वजह क्या है? किस कारण से यह सब हो रहा है और हमारी नीति क्या है? उसका सम्बन्ध इनसे क्या है? बहरहाल, हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर भी यहां होते तो और अच्छा होता, हम यह पता लगा लेते कि उनके मुकाबिले में हमने क्या तैयारी की? कहीं न कहीं हमारी विदेश नीति में कुछ खामी है। खामी नहीं होती तो यह बंगला देश और पाकिस्तान से हमारा सम्बन्ध उतना मजबूत क्यों नहीं बन पाया ?

तिवारी जी अभी बता रहे थे अमेरिका की साम्राज्यवादी नीति की बात। हो सकता है कि कुछ हो। लेकिन मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि हम इतने नजदीक होते हुए भी जहां कि हमारी संस्कृति भी बहुत नजदीक है दोनों मुल्कों की, उसके बाद भी वहां के लोगों से भी हमारे सम्बन्ध नहीं बन पाए और सबसे बड़ा बुनियादी प्रश्न यह है कि जहां हम विंग पावर्स की बात करते हैं वहां भी हमारी निगाह साफ नहीं है उसमें। वह भी साफ होनी चाहिए। उससे ये डेवलपमेंट और हो रहे हैं।

मैं इतना ही जानना चाहूंगा कि जो तैयारियां हो रही हैं, आप कह रहे हैं कि हमारे लिए ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है, लेकिन आपकी क्या तैयारियां चल रही हैं? आपका विभाग ऐसी स्थिति क्यों पैदा करने दे रहा है और उसके मुकाबिले में आपने अब तक क्या तैयारी की है? आप अपने रिलेशंस क्यों नहीं डेवलप कर पा रहे हैं? उसकी वजह क्या है कि अच्छे ताल्लुकात नहीं बन पा रहे हैं? यह बड़े पावर्स की मेन लैंड पर कोई झगड़ा नहीं है। झगड़ा हो रहा है हमारे यहां पर। इंडियन ओशन की स्थिति और ज्याग्राफिया वगैरह के सम्बन्ध में ज्यादा नहीं जाना चाहूंगा। सदन हालात से अच्छी तरह से अवगत है। श्रीमन् लेकिन एक प्रश्न जरूर है कि इस खाभी को दूर करने का यह सरकार क्या प्रयास कर रही है? क्या सिर्फ बात करके आप संतुष्ट हो गए हैं कि ऐसा कोई डेवलपमेंट वहां नहीं हो रहा है? या क्या आपका अपना कोई स्रोत है जिसके द्वारा आपको कोई जानकारी है? अगर है तो वह क्या है?

श्री पी० वी० नरसिंह राव : श्रीमन्, पहले तो मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारे जो सम्बन्ध पड़ोसी देशों के साथ हैं वह अच्छे हैं। कई ऐसे पाजिटिव पक्ष उनमें हैं जिन पर लोगों की नजर नहीं जाती है। लेकिन चार साल का इतिहास देखेंगे तो आपको साफ पता चलेगा कि कई ऐसे क्षेत्र हैं जिनमें हमने आपसी सहयोग बढ़ाने की कोशिश की है, बाइ-लेटरल ढंग से भी और सारे प्रान्त में जो सात देश हैं उनमें आपसी सहयोग बढ़ाने का कार्यक्रम

बड़ी तेजी से आगे बढ़ रहा है। आप अखबारों में पढ़ते ही होंगे कि आये दिन कोई न कोई इनकी ग्रेटक होती है जिसमें हम देखते हैं कि किसी एक क्षेत्र में हमको आपसी सहयोग को बढ़ाने का मौका मिलता है और उसके बारे में स्कीमें बनती हैं। साल दो साल में आप देखेंगे कि कई एक क्षेत्रों में इन सातों देशों के बीच में और भारत और एक-एक देश के बीच में सहयोग के क्षेत्र और बढ़ते जाएंगे और मजबूत होते जाएंगे। प्रश्न इतना ही है कि जहां हम दोस्ती की बात करते हैं इन सहयोग के क्षेत्रों को बढ़ाने की पूरी-पूरी कोशिश कर रहे हैं, वहां हम यह भी देखते हैं कि इस गांव में एक तनाव बढ़ता जा रहा है। इस तनाव के बढ़ने का एकमात्र कारण यह नजर आता है कि बाहर से जो हथियार यहां दिए जा रहे हैं, और यहां लिए जा रहे हैं उनके कारण यह तनाव बढ़ रहा है। बाहर से कोई हथियार आता है हथियार देने वाले की एक स्ट्रेटेजी होती है, उतका एक उद्देश्य होता है, उससे हम सहमत हों या न हों, वह अपने कारण से देता है। देने के कारण अलग होते हैं और लेने के इनके कारण अलग होते हैं। नतीजा यह होता है कि यहां तनाव बढ़ता है। चार साल से हम लगातार इस बात को कहते आए हैं कि इस तरह से तनाव बढ़ाने के लिए बाहर से हथियार आना ठीक नहीं है, अनुचित है। लेकिन इसके बावजूद यह हो रहा है। यह एक ऐसा मामला है जिसमें हमारी बात नहीं सुनी जा रही है जिसके कारण तनाव बढ़ता जा रहा है। बाकी कई और क्षेत्रों में हम आपसी सहयोग बढ़ा रहे हैं और आप यह कहें कि इसमें हमारी विदेश नीति की विफलता है, तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि इसमें विदेश नीति की विफलता का क्या सवाल है? यदि पाकिस्तान चाहे कि अमरीका से हथियार लेकर अम्बार लगाए तो उसमें हमारी विदेश नीति का क्या सम्बन्ध आता है? हम तो बराबर उनसे कह रहे हैं, हमारी वार्ता बन्द नहीं हुई है, लगातार हम उनसे कह रहे हैं कि इसकी कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है लेकिन फिर भी वे इसको नहीं मानते हैं। वे समझते हैं उनको हथियार और बढ़ाते जाना चाहिए, साफिस्टिकेशन को भी बढ़ाते जाना चाहिए। इसीलिए यह तनाव बढ़ रहा है और

परेशानी बढ़ रही है। इसको जहां तक हो सके, हम घटाना चाहते हैं लेकिन साथ ही साथ इस सदन के, माननीय सदस्यों को यह भी ध्यान में रखना होगा कि हम अपनी सुरक्षा के मामले में सतर्क रहें। हमें पूरी तरह से सतर्क रहना है। इन दोनों चीजों को दृष्टि में रखते हुए हमें अपनी पालिसी बनानी पड़ती है—यही मुझे कहना है।

13.11 hrs.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION BY A MEMBER

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now, Personal Explanation under Rule 357. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (नई दिल्ली) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, दिनांक 1 मार्च, 1984 को राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव पेश हुआ था, उस पर हुई बहस में भाग लेते हुए ऊर्जा मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री श्री आरिफ मोहम्मद खां ने मेरे ऊपर यह व्यक्तिगत आक्षेप किया कि मैंने खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खां पर होने वाले अत्याचार के खिलाफ आवाज उठाने पर एतराज किया और उसे पाकिस्तान के आन्तरिक मामलों में हस्तक्षेप बताया।

श्री आरिफ मोहम्मद खां के भाषण का संबंधित अंश इस प्रकार है :—

“और आज आपके दिल में इतना प्यार समाया है कि आज अगर खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खां, जो हमारे भी स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम के अग्रणी रहे हैं, उनके ऊपर किए गए अत्याचार के खिलाफ आपत्ति की जाती है तो उसपर भी आपको एतराज है, उसको आप पाकिस्तान के आन्तरिक मामलों में हस्तक्षेप बता रहे हैं।”

मुझे खेद है कि श्री आरिफ मोहम्मद खां ने इस तरह के आरोप लगाने से पहले तथ्यों की छानबीन करने का प्रयत्न नहीं किया। तथ्य यह है कि मैंने खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खां की नजरबन्दी, जेल में उनके साथ किए जा रहे व्यवहार तथा उनकी बीमारी की खबरों पर सार्वजनिक रूप से चिन्ता प्रकट की है और इस आशय के वक्तव्य भी दिए हैं। खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खां भारतीय स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम के सेनानी रहे हैं और उनके प्रति सभी भारतीयों के हृदय में, फिर वह किसी भी राजनीतिक विचारधारा से सम्बन्धित हों, असीम आदर की भावना विद्यमान है।

21 दिसम्बर, 1978 को विदेश मंत्री के नाते, इसी सदन में खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खां के सम्बन्ध में मैंने कहा था :

“बेलग्रेड में जब नान-एलायन्ड नेशनज का सम्मेलन हो रहा था और उससे कुछ ही दिन पहले बादशाह खान काबुल में पहुंचे थे—जलालाबाद में रहते थे—तो मैंने अफगानिस्तान के उपप्रधानमंत्री और विदेशमंत्री से कहा था कि भारत सरकार बादशाह खान की जांच-पड़ताल के लिए भारतीय डाक्टरों को भेजने के लिए तैयार है, और अगर बादशाह खान भारत में इलाज कराना चाहते हैं तो उसके लिए हम पूरा प्रबन्ध करने को तैयार हैं, उनके लिए इलाज का प्रबन्ध करना हमारा राष्ट्रीय कर्तव्य है, हमारा धर्म है। इस सम्बन्ध में किसी के मन में कोई शंका नहीं होनी चाहिए।”

दिनांक 25 अगस्त, 1983 को भारत सरकार की ओर से जब विदेश मंत्री श्री नरसिंह राव ने लोक सभा में एक वक्तव्य द्वारा खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खां के बिगड़ते हुए स्वास्थ्य पर चिन्ता प्रकट की थी तो मैं सदन में मौजूद था और सारे सदन ने उस वक्तव्य के साथ अपनी सहमति प्रकट की थी।