

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central): You may take it out from the record.

12.07 hrs.

CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

REPORTED PAKISTANI ATTACK ON INDIAN POSITION IN TITHWAL SECTOR OF JAMMU & KASHMIR

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhara): I call the attention of the Minister of Defence to the following matter of urgent public importance and request that he may make a statement thereon:

"The reported large-scale Pakistani attack on Indian positions in the Tithwal sector of Jammu and Kashmir on the 5th of May, 1972."

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA (Jammu): His friend is responsible.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM): Since the declaration of cease-fire between India and Pakistan at 7.00 P. M. on 17th December, 1971, there have been a number of violations and some border clashes along or across the actual line of control. These disputes and differences have largely been resolved by local commanders.

Of late, the number and intensity of Pakistani violations and intrusions have shown an increase, particularly in J & K area. The attack on May 5th, by Pakistani troops supported by artillery on our posts in the Kaiyan area, South East of Tithwal in Kashmir, is the strongest intrusion so far committed by Pakistan.

Kaiyan area measuring 13.2 square miles in Lipa valley, it will be recalled, had been captured by our troops in the Tithwal sector during the 14 day war.

Pakistanis have been firing at our posts across the line of actual control in this area off and on and our troops have from time to time returned the fire.

At about 3.00 AM on 5-5-1972, Pakistani troops in battalion strength, supported by artillery, made a surprise attack on one of our posts in this area. This post situated 10 miles South East of Tithwal, was held by about 70 Indian troops. Our brave jawans who were out-numbered 10 to 1, fought back and inflicted heavy casualties on the intruding forces. However, they had to withdraw from this post at about 7.00 AM.

Again at 1.45 P. M. on 5-5-1972, Pakistani troops, in more than battalion strength, attacked another post in the same area held by about 120 of our troops 10½ miles South East of Tithwal. In spite of the overwhelming strength of the Pakistani attack, our jawans fought bravely and after inflicting heavy casualties, withdrew from this position at 6.45 AM on 6-5-1972.

I regret to inform the House that in these actions we suffered about 80 casualties, including 20 killed. The Pakistani casualties are estimated to be much higher.

As we did not want to escalate this conflict, our Army Headquarters contacted the Pakistani Army Headquarters on 6.5.72 and offered a cease-fire to be followed by a flag meeting between the local commanders to discuss, demarcate and restore the actual line of control. As a result both the Army Headquarters ordered a cease-fire which came into effect at 7.30 PM on 6.5.1972, Efforts for arranging a flag meeting are continuing.

SHRI PILOO MODY: To begin with, I would like to state that I had submitted two call attention notices, one on this Tithwal issue and the other on the suicide of Dr. Shah. I was rather surprised to hear that this call attention

notice had been accepted and the other one had not been. I should have thought that as far as the defence of the country is concerned, the Minister himself should come forward and make a statement *suo motu* taking the House into confidence about what is happening, particularly when we read about these things in the newspapers which may or may not be correct

On the other hand, on the other issue, I was informed that the Minister was going to make a statement in the House I just want to bring this too to your notice so that you may think of my remarks in making future decisions.

Regarding this particular incident, which the Minister has admitted has been the most serious violation of the cease fire since hostilities ceased, as a result of which there were 80 casualties including 20 killed, I take it that it has been a rather major operation when we can lose so many people in the one border skirmish—out of 190 men involved, as per the statement, 80 have been taken as casualties of whom 20 have died I think this is a very serious thing. I think there must be some connection between the increased skirmishes which the Minister admits in paragraph 2 of his statement, and the declining chances of the summit as it has appeared in the press in the last few days I find that Shri D P Dhar who returned from Pakistan, made some very fine statements about the chances of a *rapprochement*, soon followed by the Foreign Secretary who makes very contradictory statements and says, 'No, it is not like that at all.' Today we find that the official spokesman has given yet a third reading of what the Murree and Rawalpindi talks were.

I find that on a parallel these incidents on the border go on increasing in intensity leading to what I consider finally to be a very serious violation of the cease fire. In my opinion, a cease fire has to be properly preserved and in order that it can be, certain physical actions have to be taken

so that the two engaging forces are reasonably withdrawn so that the chances of any misunderstanding or a spark flying or any other chance of attacks are diminished. Therefore, without going deep into the matter—because I do not think that defence matters should be so openly discussed—I would say that we have been informed that we have lost two minor posts in that area. I would like to know from Government what is its policy towards these posts, whether it intends to get them back again which obviously might lead to some escalation of the conflict, or whether the Government has reconciled itself to this sort of uneasy situation pending a settlement at the summit

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM - I have stated that we withdraw from these two posts Our Army Headquarters got into touch with the Pakistan Army Headquarters, a cease fire was effected on the 6th evening As I have stated, in all these violations up till now, the matters have been settled by flag meetings of the commanders In these also, we thought the same procedure should be followed, and in the flag meeting, Pakistan should be asked to vacate the two posts which they have forcibly captured As the House is aware, it has been the effort of Pakistan to internationalise the issue, and whenever the occasion has arisen, they have always said that some international observers should be brought, whenever there has been a violation of the actual line of control they always raise the question whether the UN observers also should be brought into the picture, and we have always taken the stand that because the cease fire was done unilaterally, not at the instance of any third party, there is no necessity of intervention of any third party including the UN observers On this occasion Pakistan also did insist that the UN observers should be brought into the picture, and we have taken this stand, that there is no need for UN observers being brought into the picture and that it

[Shri Jagjivan Ram] should be resolved by flag meeting of the local commanders, and we are insisting on that.

SHRI NIHAR LASKAR (Karimganj) : Sir, there is no second thought in regard to our intention that we want to develop good relations with Pakistan, but then, it is difficult to read the mind of Pakistan,— what they actually want. Last Friday, when Pakistani troops made such a massive offensive against our positions in Tithwal area in Kashmir, it really shows, that it is doubtful whether Pakistan wants peace and a peaceful settlement in this sub-continent. So, in view of this, I would like to know whether there is any point in bilateral or summit talks with Pakistan where Pakistan is bent upon doing some sort of offensive act against India.

We must also consider the fact that even within a week, after the so-called high-level emissary talks between India and Pakistan, Pakistan has chosen to commit such offensive acts against us. In view of this also, I would like to know whether the coming summit talks between our Prime Minister and Mr. Bhutto are not threatened.

I would also like to know what will be our position for future talks, bilateral of whatever high level talks they may be, unless Pakistan returns these two posts which have been captured.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Our efforts will be to have a durable peace on this sub-continent, and, as the House is aware, we will try our utmost to have a durable peace. On this matter also, we want to resolve this by flag meeting, and let us hope the flag meeting will come and materialise, and the Pakistani local commanders will see reason and withdraw from these posts. (*Interruption*) I would not like to link the summit peace talks between the Prime Minister and President Bhutto to this incident.

Now, I would like to make one correction in my Statement. From the latest information that I got about the casualties.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Gwalior) : Fighting and talks cannot go together. You cannot have talks and you cannot have fighting at the same time.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Fighting is not going on. (*Interruption*)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : You cannot have talks on the dead bodies of officers and jawans there ?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : I have said that I will not link this incident to the peace talks that are coming.

AN HON. MEMBER : Why not ?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Because I think so (*Interruptions*)

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS *Rose*—

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : The hon. Minister himself has admitted that they have intensified the activities recently. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : I was going to make some correction which I have received,— information about the casualties. The number of persons killed is 24; wounded 56; and missing 3; total casualties, 83.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : This is the first time since this incident that an authoritative picture of its magnitude and seriousness has been given to this country in this statement. Sir, if you have read this account, it does give us a bit of shock, because there has been somewhat of an atmosphere of complacency, I think, generated over the last few days. I must say that I have the highest regard for Mr. D. P. Dhar, but I would have preferred it if on his return from Murree he had not waxed so eloquent about the

sparks of intellect flying and so on, when within a few days of that sparks from the guns began to fly. Nevertheless, here we find that it is admitted in Para 3 that Pakistanis have been firing at our posts across the line of actual control in this area—that is the Kaiyan area—off and on and that our troops have from time to time returned the fire. In view of this, I am a bit worried as to why or how we were taken so easily by surprise, because the next para speaks of a surprise attack. In this Kaiyan area of the Lipa valley the Minister admits that there has been firing across the line of control for some time. Naturally we feel that some adequate preparation and vigilance should have been there. Nevertheless it says, there was a surprise attack and in battalion strength, which means, it was not the type of minor border skirmish which has in the past been attributed perhaps to local commanders and has also been settled by local commanders. But when an attack is in battalion strength, it obviously requires careful preparation. That means, they have been mobilising with a certain definite aim.

The first engagement lasted for 4 hours. The second engagement lasted for 5 hours. This, of course, speaks volumes for the heroism and dogged resistance by our outnumbered jawans. I think we should recognise their gallantry all right, because they were heavily outnumbered. But nevertheless the fact remains that in both incidents, the attacks were made in battalion strength and they have forced us to vacate those two posts. I find a statement by Mr. Bhutto referring to these incidents, in which he is reported to have said that such incidents may recur again. He says,

“Where the two forces are standing eyeball to eyeball on the border, such incidents may be repeated again.”

Therefore, we would not like to be told again in future that we were taken by surprise if this kind of attack in battalion strength is suddenly launched against these

outposts. I think the element of surprise was there and we were perhaps a little complacent.

The statement finally says.

“a flag meeting between the local commanders to discuss, demarcate and restore the actual line of control.”

This is what we proposed. Apparently, the Pakistani flag commanders have not obliged us so far, because they have not agreed to restore the actual line of control by withdrawing from the posts which they have occupied. We do not know what they propose to do.

On the one hand I agree with the Minister—I do not share Mr. Vajpayee's views—that we should not allow ourselves to be provoked into a state of affairs where because of such incidents we say that we are not going to participate in any summit talks. Perhaps that may very well be one of the objectives behind this also. I do not know, nobody can read Mr. Bhutto's mind. It may as well be a deliberate provocation to force us to a position where we do not wish to go in for any talks on all the issues which are pending.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI (Shajapur) : What is the urgency about the talks ?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : It is, because we are more interested in peace than Pakistanis are.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : You cannot have one-way traffic, peace cannot be one-sided.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : As far as the military position is concerned, there can be no two sides to the question. It is up to the Minister to assure the House that after the experience of these two incidents he will see to it that we are not taken by

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

surprise like this again. And if blows are given to us, blows have to be returned. There is no question about it. Our jawans are capable of that. We know that We have plenty of confidence in them.

Shri Bhutto has said that he is not prepared to recognise Bangladesh. He has said that he is not prepared in any way to de-escalate his military preparations; on the contrary, they are reported to be getting fresh supplies, raising more troops and purchasing equipments from various countries American as well as other, and so on.

Therefore, I would like to know from him whether in view of this background he could assure the House that everything possible will be done, militarily speaking, to see that the actual line of control is held and, at the same time, that any adventurist action of this type by the Pakistanis will be repulsed and it will not be taken by us as provocation, into which we may be tempted to fall and say that we are not going to have any talks with them. The summit talks are not as important for Pakistan as for us for restoring normal life and peace on the sub-continent and ensuring ultimately that Bangladesh is also recognised by the Pakistan Government, and not only the POWs are returned but the 400,000 Bengalis are allowed to return to Bangladesh. Therefore, so far as we are concerned, there are many issues involved in these talks and so we should not put any obstacles in the way of such talks. But if such acts are continued, multiplied, the situation may be beyond our control. Therefore, it is very necessary that, militarily speaking at least, we should be able to tell them that we are capable of repulsing them and holding the actual line of control and it is on that basis, and only on that basis the summit talks can be held.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM: As I have said, ever since the cease-fire was declared,

and Pakistan has agreed to that there has been a large number of violations, including occasional firings, in that area as well as in other areas also. I would like to inform the House that occasional firing has taken place not only in Jammu and Kashmir area but in Punjab and Rajasthan areas also. In the very nature of things, the House would agree that the actual line of control was more or less not a settled line of control. In the very nature of things, in various areas that is not so. So, there was scope for skirmishes. As I have stated, this was a surprise attack. There is no doubt—it can be obviously inferred—that the local commanders of Pakistan were making preparations for quite some time to gather this batalhon strength and thereafter this attack was made. Our men were outnumbered and taking the terrain into consideration it was not possible to rush the reinforcements as quickly as it was required. I will not keep it as a secret from the House. But without covering the wider canvas which Shri Gupta raised, that while we strive for peace more than others do and take necessary action in that direction, if a situation is created where peace is difficult to achieve and the other party is responsible for it, I assure the House that appropriate action will be taken so that the Pakistani forces cease to indulge in this type of action.

श्री आर० बी० बड़े (आरजोब) ।
अध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय मंत्री जी के स्टेट-
मेंट को पढ़ने के बाद मुझे बहुत दुःख हुआ ।
उसमें आइटम सं० 2 में लिखा है—

“Of late, the number and intensity of Pakistani violations and intrusions have shown an increase.....”

लेकिन अभी समाचार-पत्रों में आया है कि तीन हजार बायोलेसन्ज हुए हैं । क्या यह बात सही है कि तीन हजार बायोलेसन्ज हुए हैं और यदि यह सही है तो फिर शासन इतना असहजान कैसे रहा ?

वहाँ इस घुर्षटना में हम आउटनम्बर्ड हुए, 10 और 1 का रेपो रहा, हमारे 24 जवान मारे गये, तीन मिसिंग हैं—यह क्या स्थिति है, कुछ समझ में नहीं आती है ?

आगे कहते हैं कि शिखर बार्ता से इस का कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है, ऐसा कैसे हो सकता है, जब शिखर बार्ता चल रही हो तो इसका कुछ रिफ्लैक्शन जरूर पड़ेगा। एक विशेष बात यह है कि ये घटनायें ज्यादातर काश्मीर बार्डर पर हो रही हैं, क्या यह बात सच है कि काश्मीर बिवाद को हल करने के लिये काश्मीर में ही ये हमले हो रहे हैं और जान-बूझ कर ये हमले किये जा रहे हैं। आपकी मालूम है कि चाइना का भी इसमें हाथ है, अमरीका का भी हाथ है। चाइना से ट्रेनिंग ले रहे हैं, वहाँ सीज फायर साइन तक रोडस बन गई है और उसके बाद यह घटनायें की जा रही हैं तो इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार की ओर से सावधानी क्यों नहीं रखी गई ? इसके साथ साथ भारत और पाकिस्तान के बीच जो शिखर बार्ता होने वाली है उसको पाकिस्तान के राष्ट्रपति भुट्टो टालते जा रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ यह जो शिखर बार्ता होने वाली है उसको भी भुट्टो, निक्सन की मास्को टाक होने के बाद करना चाहते हैं, ऐसा उनका इरादा मालूम पड़ता है और इसीलिए काश्मीर पर हमले हो रहे हैं। तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ क्या दर साहब ने जो टाक की थी उसमें यह बात आई थी कि काश्मीर हमारा है और काश्मीर हम लेंगे इसके बारे में कोई बातचीत हुई थी या नहीं ? मैं आपको पढ़कर बताता हूँ :

"Pakistani troops have committed a serious border violation by establishing a new commanding post situated on a height of 14,000 feet just on the cease-fire line in Nandi-Poonch sector.

This key post has endangered our security arrangements in Poonch and Srinagar sectors.

It has created panic in Srinagar and Poonch sectors "

तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ इस प्रकार हमारे 24 आदमी मारे गए, दो जवान मिसिंग हो गए और सीज फायर साइन का वायलेशन हुआ है इसका शिखर बार्ता पर क्या परिणाम होगा ? आप कहते हैं कि शिखर बार्ता पर इसका कोई परिणाम नहीं होगा। इसमें आपने प्रागे लिखा है :

"Even the United Nations observers have failed to get this post vacated."

यह दोनों पोस्ट्स पाकिस्तान बकेट नहीं करना चाहता और आप कहते हैं कि आपस में टाक करके बकेट करा लेंगे लेकिन अभी तक बकेट नहीं हुई है। यही मेरे सवाल है।

श्री जगजीवन राम : आपने बहुत सारे प्रश्न उठाए हैं। यह सदन को मालूम है, यह कोई छिपा हुई बात नहीं है कि पाकिस्तान को चीन से भी हथियार मिल रहे हैं और अमरीका से भी हथियार मिल रहे हैं। वह भी सदन को मालूम है कि पाकिस्तान ने युद्ध बिराम होने के बाद से अपनी फौज में वृद्धि की है। मैं इतना ही सदन को बता सकता हूँ कि पाकिस्तान की सारी तैयारियों को दृष्टि में रखकर हम भी अपनी तैयारी करते हैं। हम अपनी तैयारी में सभी बातों को दृष्टि में रख लेते हैं। फिर भी मैं दोहराऊँगा.....

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह चौकिया गई कैसे अगर आपकी तैयारी भी ?

श्री जगजीवन राम : इतना बसाने के बाद भी वाजपेयी जी इसको मानने की तैयारी

[श्री जगजीवन राम]

नहीं है। मैंने किसी बात को छिपाने की कोशिश नहीं की। मैंने सभी बातें आपके सामने रख दी हैं उसके बाव भी यही प्रश्न करते हैं तो उसका उत्तर नहीं मिलेगा। मैंने बता दिया कि इससे अधिक कहने की गुंजायश नहीं है। मैंने काफी बता दिया है, कोई बात छिपाने की मैंने कोशिश नहीं की है। लेकिन यह भी सत्य है कि आपको प्रश्न करना ही चाहिए। (व्यवधान) मैं यही कह रहा था कि जो कुछ वे कर रहे हैं उसको दृष्टि में रखकर हम भी अपनी तैयारी कर रहे हैं। यह बात सही है, यह सम्भव हो सकता है और इस तरह का निष्कर्ष निकाल सकते हैं जैसा कि प्रेसीडेंट बुट्टो ने कहा कि जब दोनों तरफ की फौजें सामने सामने खड़ी हों और एक दूसरे से आँखें भिड़ना रही हों तो इस तरह की घटनाओं का हो जाना सम्भावित है। यह हो सकता है जिस तरह से वे बार-बार मांग करते रहे हैं कि सेनाओं का सरहद से डिस-एन्गेजमेंट हो जाना चाहिए, वे चाहते होंगे कि इस चीज का खतरा दिखाकर जल्दी दोनों सेनायें हटा ली जायें लेकिन मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक इस उपमहाद्वीप में स्थायी शांति के लिए कोई रास्ता नहीं निकलता तब तक सेनाओं का हटाना सम्भव नहीं है। (व्यवधान) ... आपको बोलने में नहीं लगता है लेकिन हमको बोलने में लगता है क्योंकि हमने करके दिखाया है। वहाँ पर सब तरह के लोगों का जवाब नहीं दिया जा सकता। मुझे इस पर विश्वास है कि सरहद पर जो हमारे जवान हैं उन्हीं को कुछ करके दिखाया है।

श्री छटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : जवानों को आप बीच में क्यों लाते हैं? जवानों की बीरता के बारे में किसका मतभेद है?

श्री जगजीवन राम : उन्हीं को जमाना है क्योंकि उन्हीं की करना है, स तो आप करने जा रहे हैं और न हम करने जा रहे हैं।

श्री छटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, अब मुझे बीच में बोलना पड़ेगा। सीधा सा सवाल है। बाबूजी स्वीकार करें कि जवानों की बीरता पर कोई मतभेद नहीं है मगर वहाँ पर हमारी तैयारी पर्याप्त नहीं थी, यह बात साफ हो गई। तैयारी पर्याप्त क्यों नहीं थी इसका जवाब नहीं मिला।

श्री जगजीवन राम : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह नहीं समझता कि बाजपेयी जी को इसमें गरम होने की क्या बात है? सवाल यह है कि जब सरहद पर बचाने की बात आयिगी तो मैं नहीं कहता कि मैं बचाऊंगा, जवान ही उस काम को करेंगे और जवानों को ही वह काम करना है और मुझ को इस बात का पूरा अरोसा है कि हमारे जवान जो सरहद पर है वह सही जवाब देने के लिए काफी है। मैं यही कह सकता हूँ कि इस तरह की एक घटना हुई, इसके बाद हमारी ऐसी तैयारी होगी कि पाकिस्तान अगर व्यवहार करना नहीं सीखेगा तो उसको जवाब मिल जायेगा। मैं इस बात को दोहराना चाहूँगा कि इस तरह की घटना को हम शिखर वार्ता के साथ जोड़ना नहीं चाहते।

12.37 hrs.

RE : DEVELOPMENTS IN VIETNAM

MR. SPEAKER : Now, papers to be laid on the Table.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour) : I seek your permission to raise this. This is about the alarming news that has come in the morning. President