

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Gwalior): There should be Government Business only after 2 O'clock.

MR. SPEAKER: I only wish you were sometimes on this side and have the taste of it.

We adjourn for lunch to re-assemble at 3 O'Clock.

14.00 hrs.

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

The Lok Sabha reassembled after Lunch at three minutes past Fifteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

N.A.T.O. FORCES, REPORTED PLAN TO HAVE NAVAL EXERCISES IN THE NORTHERN REGION OF INDIAN OCEAN

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Serampore): Sir, I call the attention of the hon. Minister of Defence to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon:

"The reported plan of N.A.T.O. forces to have naval exercises in the Northern Region of the Indian Ocean and the serious threat arising out of that."

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI SWARAN SINGH): Mr. Speaker, Sir,

We have information that the NAVAL and AIR forces of the United States, U.K., Iran, Pakistan and Turkey would take part in a combined Naval and Air exercise in the northern part of the Indian Ocean from November 19 to November 30. The exercise is being held, as announced from Turkey, under the auspices of CENTO and is code-named "Midlink 1974".

PAKISTAN IS HOSTING THIS EXERCISE. Three of the participating countries—United States, U.K. and Turkey, are also members of the NATO Alliance. Such exercises have been conducted by CENTO in the past but the exercise planned this year is the biggest held so far by this Alliance. These developments cannot but cause concern to us. The possibility inevitably increases of greater big-power rivalry in the Indian Ocean area. India would only be echoing the fears of an overwhelming majority of the littoral countries of the Indian Ocean in this regard.

We have consistently held the view that any large scale presence of the Navies of some countries in the Indian Ocean is bound to attract the Navies of others. Moreover, such exercises tend to reinforce outdated military groupings and accentuate tension in the region. Only the other day I expressed publicly India's strong opposition to these naval exercises in the Indian Ocean.

India has consistently supported efforts for maintaining the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, free from great power rivalry and military escalation. We have co-ordinated our efforts with other countries in the region to mobilise international support for the attainment of these objectives. Whilst expressing deep concern over these developments in our neighbourhood I would like to reiterate and emphasise our resolve to continue our efforts to achieve greater international understanding for reducing tension in the Indian Ocean.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: I also fully appreciate and join myself with the feelings expressed here that India is expressing its deep concern at the biggest naval and air exercise that is being held from the 19th to 30th November.

But my grouse is whether the Government is still aware that the

exercise has already started or not because here it is mentioned that it will take place from the 19th to 30th November. So, it is already in operation, but the statement of the Defence Minister says that they have been informed. I do not know how far the Government is keeping itself in touch with the actions that are taking place in and around our oceans. It now appears to be contradictory, to me at least, the statement given by the Defence Minister.

The Government of India, for some-time past, after the Bangla Desh episode, has reiterated its effort to heal the breach with the United States and its collaborator in Asia. And in this exercise the USA is taking the leading part. Whoever may be the host or under whose auspices it may take place, it is the USA which is taking the leading role. So, I do not find any reason why only some days back a red carpet reception was given to the United States Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger and also deals have been made very recently with the Shah of Iran who, as is well-known, is one of the most loyal allies of the USA in West Asia.

Mr Swaran Singh's visit to the South Korea and also the recent indications of the Government of India to start a fresh hob-nobbing with the USA this approach is endangering our country's independence and sovereignty and at the same, is embittering our relations of friendship and co-operation with the neighbouring countries. USA is hatching these new plots to make the Indian subcontinent an orbit of tension and I want to know as to what positive steps the Government have taken in the matter. What is their proposal in this regard? Apart from the naval exercises US is also adopting positive measures to have permanent naval and also air base in Diego Garcia. In spite of all these facts Government of India is

frantically trying to mend its fence with the US imperialists. Sir, I may refer here to an item which appeared some time back in June 1974 in the weekly journal 'Round Table'. It said:

'The US Defence Secretary announced in November 1973 that from then onwards the US navy would make periodical and regular visits to the Indian ocean area. Following this announcement US naval task forces from the 7th Fleet, headed by Hancock, Oriskany and Kitty Hawk had been successfully entering and patrolling the Indian ocean regularly. On 5th February 1974, it was announced that the facilities in Diego Garcia built at a cost of 19 million dollars would be further expanded to include an extension of the runway, deepening of the anchorage and increasing the storage facilities.'

Then it said:

'It is also of interest to note that there has been continuing modernisation and improvement in the capability of US naval presence in the Indian ocean'.

Knowing all these facts, how is the Government taking a policy of appeasement, if I may say so, although this term may not be liked by the hon. Minister? They are opening for the USA the floodgates which will endanger our independence by building up a naval base permanently in the Indian Ocean, creating a basis for tension in the sub-continent. What steps are you taking in this regard? Mr. Chavan has gone to Sri Lanka and I want to know whether he had any talk with the Government of Sri Lanka regarding these dangers and

[Shri Dinan Bhattacharya]

what is the reaction of the Sri Lanka Government in the matter. There are so many littoral countries which are also facing a similar danger. So what steps are being taken by the Government to bring some sort of united efforts so that world opinion can be created against this sort of manoeuvring and build up of war bases in the Indian ocean which is not only a danger for our country but for the entire world? So, Government must come with positive steps. This sort statement will not do, saying as if nothing very serious has taken place, today is 20th and they have already started the naval exercise. This has come out in the papers also but still our Government has come forward with just a formal statement. My second question is what relation you are having with the Britishers who are having a new treaty with U.S.A. regarding a permanent naval base in Diego Garcia. Already they have held two meetings and it is reported in the Press that the Britishers have almost come to a decision to allow the U.S. Government to have a well-built permanent naval and air base in Diego Garcia. If it is so whether this matter has also been taken up by our Government with the British Government so that we may know actually what is going to take place. This statement of the Defence Minister will neither satisfy our people nor will it help to create public opinion in and around the world against these warmongers especially USA. Already monopolists like Birlas and others have taken a line of creating an atmosphere that if we have a deal with Japan then our economic crisis will be solved. Whether it is a fact that some of the big industrialists are also taking a line so as to pressurise the Government to take up such a line that we may have relations with the U.S.A.?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: The hon. Member has given the same information which has already been given

from time to time by Government on the Floor of the House. For instance, he spent quite some time on Diego Garcia and wanted to convey an impression as if there have been two recent meetings between British and U.S. Governments and that they have taken some steps. The House knows we had announced some years back that Britain and U.S. had come to an agreement to establish a base in Diego Garcia. They started with the expression of 'communication' base. While commenting on that information we made it clear that we have experience that such bases originally start under this nomenclature of communication base but they are prone to develop into big naval or air bases. It is a well-known fact. It is true there was some sort of indication when the present British Government was voted into power that they are trying to review that original agreement but later indications show that there is no change in the policy of the British Government and U.S. is going ahead with creating more and more facilities in Diego Garcia and the British Government appears to be acquiescing in that, if not actively participating in that. Our opposition to the establishment of this base is clear. There is not a single dissenting voice in this country or in this Parliament about our strong opposition to the establishment of Diego Garcia or in fact any other foreign base in the Indian ocean.

We are strongly supporting in the United Nations and in the group of non-aligned countries—in all forums—the Sri Lanka's proposal that the Indian Ocean should remain an area of peace and tranquillity free from foreign powers and free from big power naval presence.

This is our clear stand. It is interesting that Mr. Bhattacharyya has named all countries but, unwittingly, he has scrupulously avoided naming the country—Pakistan—which is the host country.

SHRI ATAL BEHARI VAJPAYEE (Gwalior): He is more concerned with the facts.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: My party, I believe, will totally agree with the sentiments that have been expressed by you in your statement.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: Thank you very much. This was part of my sentiments. The House would be interested to know that Pakistan had not actively participated in any CENTO exercise for a fairly long time. In fact, our information is that from 1965 till about 1972 they had not participated in any of these exercises. There was some indication even in the non-aligned world that Pakistan is nominally in CENTO but, they are wanting to join the group of non-aligned countries to which our response was that we will be the first to propose Pakistan's inclusion in the group of non-aligned countries as soon as Pakistan declares that they are not in CENTO or SEATO. They suddenly revived interest in CENTO and they are now hosting the exercise. Participation in this exercise is something which we should take note of.

So far as the big power naval presence is concerned—the U.S., the Britain in this particular case—after all Iran is a littoral country as also Pakistan—it is my statement—we are opposed to the concentration of big power navies in India from whatever region they may be. Of course, we should be realistic that there will be some naval presence because it is in high seas where naval ships belonging to all countries will come and they may be present or they might pass through. But, when a large number of naval ships belonging to non-littoral countries, especially those belonging to these big powers who are members of these Pacts come and demonstrate their naval power in the north-western part of the Indian ocean this

is something which is totally unacceptable to us. That is why I say we are in opposition to these naval exercises. Having said that, he has put several questions. Perhaps, he might put them to Mr. Chavan himself when he is present. He has to answer those questions as to why, in spite of this attitude of U.S. are we taking steps to improve relations with the U.S. But, my reply to this would be simple. If the relations are not like that, no effort is required to improve the relations. The effort to improve relations is undertaken when the relations are such where improvement should be made. He has mentioned that these are the obstacles and because those are the obstacles, in the process of improvement, we will also try to remove those obstacles. But, the objective should not be lost sight of that even with the countries with whom our relations may not be as good as we want them to be, every effort should be made to improve relations. That, I presume, is a sound policy for any country to follow. That is the whole philosophy of detente. But, what is very intriguing is that these outdated CENTO and SEATO Pacts which were the product of the cold-war period should have suddenly been reactivated when they talk of the detente in the context of the parties concerned in cold-war.

So it is inconsistent with the trend of improving relations between China and the US, China and the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union and the Western powers that on the one side they talk of detente and relaxation of tension in the context of the big powers, but on the other hand in the Arabian sea they should bring in these large navies and should try to show their flag in order to overawe the littoral countries of the region. This is the objectionable aspect of it and that is why we are opposed to this.

The hon. member has asked another question, as to whether any steps had

[Shri Swaran Singh].

been taken to take into confidence the other littoral States. The reply is in the affirmative, because if you look at the geography, the vast majority of the littoral countries surrounding the Indian Ocean are non-aligned countries, and in two conferences, first in Lusaka and later in Algiers they have made very clear and categorical statements about the necessity and desirability of keeping the Indian Ocean as an area of peace free from bases, free from big power naval rivalry, and we took active interest in that. Secondly, in the UN, this matter comes up every year and we have been participating very actively in those deliberations. Already there is overwhelming support for ensuring that the Indian Ocean remains an area of peace and tranquillity.

Then he asked specially if Shri Chavan has taken it up with the Sri Lanka Government. He is still there. I cannot say as to what he has talked with them. Of course, when he comes back, if any information is required, he will gladly give that information. But we know from our earlier contacts with the Government of Sri Lanka that Sri Lanka is playing a leading role in ensuring that the Indian Ocean remains an area of peace and we are fully supporting the Sri Lanka proposal. I have no doubt that the views of India and Sri Lanka would be identical.

This, I presume, covers all the questions except that he said that I have not said that the exercises started on the 19th. They have started on the 19th. May be because my language was not explicit, he could not get it. This is what I wanted to convey; they actually started on the 19th.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil): Last week we had a discussion on the movement of the US aircraft carrier *Constellation* and other vessels as part of the naval exercises by the NATO countries. Of course, the

purpose was to intimidate the littoral countries, specially posing a threat to peace in the sub-continent. This is not merely accidental or without any purpose. With your permission; I would quote a statement made by the Director of the Bureau of Policing—Military Affairs of the US Government. Seymour Weise, on March 6, 1974:

“Our first post-world war II military presence was introduced in the area in 1948 with the establishment of our Middle East force and in the early 60's the Departments of State and Defence began thinking of the longer term strategic requirements of the United States in the Indian Ocean area”.

He stated the reason:

“The US oil industry has substantial capital investment in the Persian Gulf region, valued at approximately 3.5 billion US dollars. In addition, Western Europe and Japan, the two areas of the free world of greatest importance to US security, are absolutely dependent on oil supplies from the Middle East, and that fact alone makes it of interest to us”.

So the intention is very clear for establishing and expanding the base at Diego Garcia as well as connecting with other bases, Simonstown in South Africa, Sattip in Thailand, Subic in the Philippines and Guam in the Pacific— I do not want to go into details. In this context, I would ask whether the hon. Minister is aware that sometime earlier the Americans had taken some steps in desert warfare training. I appeal to him to look into Anderson reports about military invasion of oil fields. In this context, it is good that the United Nations had kicked but

South Africa; it is a very important decision by the non-aligned countries which are anti-colonialism. Does he think that the naval exercise will give a boost and prestige to South Africa because of the use of the Simonstown base also Dr. Kissinger was here in an attempt to improve relations in the sub-continent, Bangla Desh, India and Pakistan. Has it helped or not? During his visit the question of keeping the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace and the question of the base at Diego Garcia were taken up. We are entering into bilateral talk with Pakistan after the Simla agreement. Within a week of Kissinger's visit in spite of his efforts to improve the situation in the sub continent, Pakistan is playing host to this naval exercise. Definitely it is a threat and intimidation. I should like to know whether the hon. Minister agrees with this point. The hon. Minister of External Affairs said that an *ad hoc* committee had been formed by the UN regarding the Indian Ocean. Has our Government expressed its concern about the naval exercise to the Secretary General of the United Nations? Do we propose to take up the matter in the *ad hoc* committee so that further exercises could be prevented? Has our Government expressed its strong protests to the countries participating in the exercise?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: I shall confine myself to the specific question put by the hon. Member because with regard to the first part, the analysis, I broadly agree. That is the position that we have been taking from time to time on the floor of the House; it is more or less on the same lines that he has mentioned. The question of Diego Garcia base was taken up as mentioned by the hon. Member with the Secretary of State Dr. Kissinger during his visit. I am told that Mr. Chavan has already made a statement. Dr. Kissinger also was questioned about this in the Press Conference or

in some other forum. I say some press reports where he said that this matter was discussed and he also said that on this point there was a difference of views between India and the United States of America. He asked whether the exercises were a threat to the sub continent. When we say subcontinent we normally mean Pakistan, India and Bangla Desh. Pakistan is participating in it and so the use of the expression sub-continent would not perhaps be proper. To be specific at the moment I do not think that it is an immediate threat.

Of course, we oppose it because any large-scale presence of outside navies of countries other than littoral countries does create a situation where there are tensions in the region. We and other littoral countries will be exposed to all types of pressures, overawing tactics, allurements, inducements etc., and there may be generation of tensions. We are, therefore, totally opposed to it. To the extent it boosts up Pakistan's morale, it becomes a negative factor because our efforts to normalise relations get thwarted. It comes in the way of implementation of the various proposals between us and Pakistan, and the objectives of the establishment of a durable peace is to that extent relegated to the background.

He asked whether we have reported this naval exercise to the UN. There is nothing for us to report. The CENTO headquarters have already announced that the exercise is taking place from the 19th. He then asked whether we have protested to the UN. I should like to take the House into confidence because we should understand the situation. I must frankly say that Pact exercise is something which is taking place from time to time in the NATO, SEATO etc. To a certain extent, there is scope for what are called mutual defence pacts even in the UN Charter.

[Shri Swaran Singh].

If we try to invoke any particular clause of the UN Charter against it, we may not succeed. But that is not the important point. The point is that non-littoral countries should come in such big strength into the Indian Ocean and try to establish bases not only in Diego Garcia but several other places. These are the things to which we object. It is more a political matter for the littoral countries of this region and the UN forum can be used to mount the requisite pressure. That is what is being done by discussing this matter and also mentioning it in the UN General Assembly and also in the group of countries which are discussing it on the initiative of Sri Lanka. Our opposition to such activities has been conveyed from time to time in no uncertain terms to USA and Britain which are the main non-littoral countries coming within the definition of 'big powers' and our position is well-known.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Jainagar): As the minister said, there cannot be two opinions in this country about our opposition to turning the Indian Ocean into an area of tension and an area for naval exercises. But that is neither here nor there. This has been said several times. I want to draw the attention of the Minister to the fact that this is coming in the background of the open declaration by President Ford of USA—perhaps for the first in the history of USA or in the recent history of the world when a Head of State has said it—that he is not going to deter from the policy of utilising the CIA as a means of subverting the governments to his dislike. Mr. Kissinger, with whom our hon. Minister as External Affairs Minister has got very friendly chats, is reported in the monopoly press as having stated before the US Congressional Committee that if the irresponsible voters elect a Government which may turn a

country towards communism, then the US Government can intervene.

So far as the question of subversion of countries is concerned, it is known to the whole world that in Chile when the first revolt took place to capture power....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am trying to follow the connection.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: The naval presence of the USA gives a protecting umbrella for such activities. In Chile the subversion led to the assassination of Allende and suppressing those parties and forces which supported Allende. These parties have been banned. These sinister things we know

In this background I would like to know from the hon. Minister one thing. When the hon. Minister had been to the United States to meet Mr. Kissinger, the press in this country had reported that Mr. Kissinger had told him that if any officer of the United States is found spying against the established government of India in order to subvert it, if it is pointed out to the United States, that officer would be recalled. That implies that the United States has asserted its right to employ spies to subvert the established government of our country. Only, it will recall them when they are caught red-handed. It is like saying that my friends can go to the house of Shri Vajpayee and steal something, but if he is caught then I will recall him; otherwise, he can go scotfree.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: May I request Shri Jha not to send a communist to my house?

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: I think Shri Vajpayee is well-protected.

In this situation, when the tension in the sub-continent is increasing, when forces in our country are talking of a new democratic structure of system,

there is the biggest ever naval exercise of these powers near our borders, on the northern side of the Indian Ocean. Does it not imply something? In a situation where we are trying to improve our relations with Pakistan, when we have done everything possible to normalise the situation, the revival of the old Dulles theory of equating Pakistan with India is bound to create more tension.

At this time our Government, through the press in this country, has been creating in the United States an illusion that India is a dominant power in South East Asia. Will the naval exercises not disturb the equilibrium? Is it not a step in that direction?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now I can see the connection, though a very thin one.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: As the hon. Minister knows, Mr Kissinger had come to India.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: I was in the United Nations at that time.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: I would like to know what is the reason for this. After coming to India, Mr. Kissinger assessed the situation that the Government of India will not go beyond a formal opposition to it and after that assessment he has sent the Seventh Fleet to the Indian Ocean. Because, it is mentioned in this statement:

"The possibility inevitably increases of greater big power rivalry in the Indian Ocean area."

That is the thing, the theory put by the Government of India, propagated by the Indian monopoly press and initiated by the President Ford of USA when he told a lie to the world that the Soviet Union has got four naval bases in the Indian Ocean. After that, all those countries denied

and the Secretary-General of the United Nations said that the Soviet Union has got no military bases in India.

Then, in such a situation of big power rivalry, I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether the Government of India would like to tell the Soviet Union that if USA invades this region, even this country, the Soviet Union should keep aloof to avoid power rivalry...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have put your question.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: Whether it is a fact that the Soviet Union has got no military bases in the Indian Ocean area, whether the Soviet Union categorically stand for maintaining peace in the Indian Ocean...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude now.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: Whether it is a fact or not, in such a situation, that only USA and UK are having bases in the Indian Ocean...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That is all.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: Lastly, whether there is some teeth in the voice of the Government of India or not, whether our Government has been firmly opposing it or not. In case UK gives the naval base facility to USA, I would like to know whether the Government of India will tell UK that India will quit the Commonwealth and that this act will be treated as an unfriendly act, a hostile act, against the interests of India.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: If you can answer anything, you may do so I have got myself confused.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: I am in the same difficulty as you, Sir. I really do not know what to answer.

[Shri Swaran Singh].

Although I agree with most of what he said, I could not catch the question. If you read his whole speech, you will find that he has not asked me any question on any specific point except, perhaps, whether the Government of India is going to convey to U.K. that they intend to leave the Commonwealth. I think, that was one point he made. If you are prepared to allow him to put any specific question, I am prepared to answer.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am not prepared to allow that.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: Anyhow, I will answer one or two points that he made.

He has raised the question of bases of USSR and their presence. Neither in the statement nor in any of the other questions this matter has been raised. Even if others are raising somewhere... (*Interruptions*). I hope, you know what "Big Power" includes. "Big Power" includes five permanent members of the Security Council and two of them are there—France also comes from time to time, China also comes, the Soviet Union also comes. What I am saying is that it is quite natural and in fact the Soviet Union has said that, if the Americans and the British or the Western countries continue with their bases in this or any other region, they will also be compelled to come; there is nothing wrong. And this is what we want to avoid. (*Interruptions*). Let us not enter into any argument. You are asking me about information. I abide by what I say. The inevitable effect, as the experience in other regions shows, whether it is North Atlantic or Mediterranean or the western part of Pacific, is that, if one country starts their presence, these big powers, on account of their assumed global responsibility, do come in. We want, precisely, to prevent the development of that type of situa-

tion in the Indian Ocean which has remained a lake of peace, particularly after the exit of the British and after all these littoral countries have become independent. Let not the type of tensions that exist in other Oceans be repeated here. This is precisely the reason why all the littoral States are opposed to the establishment of bases. If other big powers or even medium powers feel that their interests are threatened, then a sort of race starts, tension develops, which is not in the interest of the countries in the region. I am not trying to apportion the blame on one of the other, while answering this aspect. There is no doubt that, even in the United States, there is a strong volume of opinion, asking how their own interests are served by having a base, roughly about 7,000 miles from their coast. There are critics of this policy in Britain also. You must have read in the newspapers that Britain had said that they would like to revise their agreements with South Africa, particularly the Simons-town Agreement. We have to encourage these voices of dissent even in this country so that the requisite amount of pressure is mounted internationally and internally and these so-called big powers are deterred from indulging in this type of aggressive action in regions where they have no immediate interest. They sometimes claim that they want the flow of oil from the Gulf area, whether it is an Arab country or Iran, to be ensured. But the whole world knows that, over the last 30 years, ever since the end of the last War, there has not been any untoward incident even though the base was not there. These are the types of excuses that are put across by those countries who want to establish their presence in the form of bases and the rest. It is for this reason that we are opposing these moves.

It is true, I confirm what he said, that the Soviet Union has made a very

categorical statement that they do not have any bases in any littoral country of the Indian Ocean, and the representatives of those countries that were named by the Americans have also made statements that the Soviet Union have no bases. In this particular case I thought we were not discussing that aspect and that is why there was no occasion for me to make a reference to that.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: What about the part relating to quitting the Commonwealth—the only question that you had understood?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I would not allow that because it is none of the business of the Defence Minister to say whether they are quitting the Commonwealth or not. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

श्री बटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (गवालियर) :
 उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं तीन छोटें सवाल पूछूंगा—पहना—रक्षा मंत्री ने जो कल तक विदेश मंत्री थे, इस बात पर जिज्ञा प्रकट की है कि हिन्द महासागर में नाटो से सम्बन्धित देश, जिन में पाकिस्तान भी शामिल है, नौसैनिक अभ्यास कर रहे हैं। उन्होंने यह भी कहा है कि इस अभ्यास के खिलाफ वे एक सार्वजनिक सभा से भाषण भी कर चुके हैं। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ—क्या इतना पर्याप्त है? क्या इतना काफी है? क्या भारत जैसे परिपक्व देश को कूटनीति और रक्षा नीति सार्वजनिक मंच से चलेगी यह ध्वनि खिलाड़-बुलना अगर हम न लाते तो मंत्री महोदय के पब्लिक सीटिव में जो भाषण दिया है, उन्हें देने के बजाय इस सभसे में अपने कर्तव्य की दृष्टि से संभव लेंगे? मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब सरकार को इन अभ्यास के बारे में जानकारी थी तो उस के अन्तर्गत, सिटैन, ईरान और तुर्की के नई दिल्ली स्थित राजदूत की बुला कर अपनी चिन्ता और अपना विरोध

क्यों प्रकट नहीं किया? फकिस्तान के साथ हमारे कूटनीतिक सम्बन्ध नहीं है, इस लिए पाकिस्तान के दूत को बुलाने का सबाल पैदा नहीं होता; लेकिन दूसरे देशों के राजदूत तो दिल्ली में मौजूद थे। रक्षा मंत्री ऐसा मानते हैं कि यह सब से बड़ी एक्सरसाइज है तो क्या यह उपयुक्त नहीं था कि उन देशों के दूतों को बुलाया जाता और औपचारिक इन से अपनी चिन्ता और विरोध प्रकट किया जाता—ऐसा क्यों नहीं किया गया?

दूसरा प्रश्न—रक्षा मंत्री महोदय मानते हैं कि पाकिस्तान का इस अभ्यास में शामिल होना बड़ा गम्भीर अर्थ रखता है। पाकिस्तान यह नाटक करता रहा है कि उस का सीटो से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। वह गुट निर्पेक्ष देशों की पंक्ति में बैठने का प्रयत्न करता रहा है लेकिन आज पाकिस्तान बेनकाब हो गया है, इस लिए हम ने पाकिस्तान के प्रति अपनी नाराजगी प्रकट करने के लिए क्या किया है। आज जब कि हिन्द महासागर में पाकिस्तान की मेजबानी में ये बड़े देश तनाव पैदा कर रहे हैं, हमारे प्रतिनिधि पाकिस्तान से हवाई उड़ानों को चालू करने के बारे में टैलेक्स के आरम्भ करने के बारे में, समझौता कर रहे हैं। मैं इन समझौतों के खिलाफ नहीं हूँ। हमें पाकिस्तान के साथ अपने सम्बन्धों को सामान्य बनाने हैं। लेकिन पाकिस्तान अग्र अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय राजनीति में अतर्जक कदम उठाता है तो क्या हम यह कदम नहीं उठा सकते थे कि हम बातचीत को आगे बढ़ा देते और कह देते कि जब तक एक्ससाइज चलेंगी तब तक आप के साथ बातचीत नहीं होगी। नई दिल्ली का नाराजगी प्रकट करने का यह तरीका हो सकता था। अब हमारी नाराजगी को कौन मानेगा जब कि हम पाकिस्तान के अन्दर जा कर प्रेमलाप कर रहे हैं और वह हिन्द महासागर में विदेशी जर्मियों को बुला कर शक्ति प्रदर्शन कर रहा है।

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

तीसरा सवाल—मुझे इस सवाल को पूछने के लिये भेरे मित्त जी भोजपुर जा ने उतैचित किया है। कभी कभी उन का भाषण सुन कर मुझे लगता है कि वे कहीं सोवियत रूस की तरफ से तो नहीं बोल रहे हैं? अगर वे भारतीय संसद के प्रतिनिधि हैं, उन्हें भारत के हितों की रक्षा करनी है। रक्षा मन्त्री ने यह तो कहा कि जब एक देश की नौसेना घाती है तो उस से दूसरे देश की नौसेना के घाने के लिये उतेजना मिलती है। आज के समाचार पत्रों में यह जानकारी छपी है कि इस समय हिन्द महासागर में सोवियत रूस के 12 जैपी जहाज हैं, 18 स्प्लार्क बैसल्ट हैं, एक है पीकाप्टर कैरियर है जिस का नाम लैनिनग्राड है और एक कीब नाम का जैपी जहाज घाने वाला है। इस के प्रतिरिक्त यह भी प्रकाशित हुआ है कि सोवियत रूस ने सोमालिया, भूटान और ईराक में सब तरह की सेनाये प्रयुक्त करने के लिये झूठे कायम किये हैं। ये यह जानना चाहता हू कि सोवियत रूस हमारा घिन है और सोवियत रूस जब यह कहता कि वह इस क्षेत्र में तनाव पैदा करने के हक में नहीं है और हम उस के कयन का विश्वास भी करते हैं, तो क्या हम सोवियत रूस को यह सलाह नहीं दे सकते कि अमरीका, ब्रिटेन, तुर्की, ईरान जो हमारे भी मित्र हैं, यद्यपि वे आज इस क्षत्र में तनाव पैदा करना चाहते हैं, घने ही अपनी सेनाये हिन्द महासागर में लाये लेकिन सोवियत रूस एकतरफा फँसलाकर ले कि वह हिन्द महासागर में अपनी नौसेनाये नहीं लायगा। क्या शांति के लिये यूनिटेरल फँसले नहीं कर सकते? आखिर तो जब युद्ध का भौका घायेगा तो उस युद्ध की स्थिति का सामना करने में सोवियतरूस हर जगह से मयबू है क्या रक्षा मन्त्री सोवियत रूस को यह सलाह देंगे। तीन सवाल, इन का स्पष्ट उत्तर रक्षा मन्त्री जी दें।

16 hrs.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAEYEE:

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: I will be very brief. He started by saying that he will put precise questions. I will be precise. Firstly, it is not enough that we make statements; statements however, are important whether they are public statement as I did or others; I need not apologise because I believe that it was my statement which compelled them to disclose these exercises and so on. Regarding the second part of the question, I am no longer in the Foreign Office and I cannot say about whether our foreign office has conveyed any protest to the four littoral countries.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAEYEE: On a point of Order. The Government functions under joint responsibility. The Defence Minister represents the Government of India. He can't run away from his responsibility.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: I am not running away from responsibility.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: Regarding commonwealth also we wanted to know the thinking of the Government of India.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Minister may speak on behalf of the Government but I am concerned with the relevancy of the question. I feel that many of the questions come under the purview of the Foreign relations. Well, I don't think it would be proper for another Minister to answer on behalf of the Foreign Relations Ministry or External Affairs Ministry. Moreover it concerns the broad policy of the Government. It is upto him; but I should suppose that it has to be done in a properly authorised manner, I don't know.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: Sir, in fact, I do not at all evade joint res-

possibility; that is why I have answered general questions. But on some of these facts you cannot expect me to be quite in touch with all the day to day operations in the Foreign Office. That I certainly cannot do. But I would say, the expression of Government views in the House and the views of opposition members, are no doubt known to these countries and I will pass on this suggestion for the consideration of the Foreign Office that we must consider whether we would like to call the ambassadors and convey our feelings to them. The second question was this. This is about the talks going on in Pakistan. Mr. Vajpayee was in two minds about this question. He has said, he is in favour of improving relations with Pakistan but he said it would have been postponed for 10 days or 15 days and so on. I would say I don't agree with him. I think it is wise to carry on this process of normalisation and no useful purpose would have been served in postponing it for a fortnight or so. That will not help at all.

Then, he has given information about the presence of USSR ships in Indian ocean. I don't give the exact number but I do confirm that Soviet are sending naval ships in the Indian ocean. They have been present from time to time; this is within their beat from Vladivostok to the Black sea and they pass through Indian ocean; they have been in the Indian ocean, there is no doubt about it.

If I may say, in our own mind, we should have some distinction between fixed bases which provide facilities of another type and the presence of naval ships. There is a clear distinction between the two. Names of Somalia, south Yemen and Iraq were mentioned as countries where Soviet Union have bases. The Soviet Union has flatly denied this. There three countries who are very friendly to us have also individually and strongly

denied the existence of any base. Our own information is that what these countries say is correct. The last question of Shri Vajpayee was: Can Soviet Union unilaterally say that they will not bring their ships here? I cannot answer for Soviet Union. It is for them to decide.

SHRI SHANKAR DEV (Bidar): **

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, our Defence Minister has answered the questions as Minister of External Affairs but I want to request him to answer my questions as Defence Minister. Just now Mr. Bhogendra Jha asked the Minister whether this Government has got tooth. I want a reply from the Minister that not only the Government has got one tooth but they have got teeth to bite any enemy whether internal or external. In these naval exercises about 20 war ships of Pakistan are taking part. I want to know through which route they have passed. If they have passed between India and Sri Lanka whether our naval forces noted their movement or not. In the previous years also there were such exercises. I want to know whether Pakistan took part in those exercises. I think because we have sunk Gazi, Pakistan wants to show to the world that it is still strong. That is why it might have invited these people at his cost. Further whether these five powers had conducted any joint exercises previously also. I would say this simple statement would not do and we will have to show some strength. Lastly, have these five powers informed the littoral countries that they are going to conduct these exercises in Indian ocean. If they have not and if any ship enters that ocean what will happen to the fate of that ship. If that ship belongs to our country what action Government is going to take.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: I did not take the question of teeth and voice seriously nor should my colleague take it seriously. This is the usual flourish and we should be accustomed to these flourishes in parliamentary life. I do not think he meant it seriously. He knows we have teeth. Many a time there is a complaint that we show our teeth too much. He has then asked whether these exercises will increase the strength of Pakistan. I can say that in real terms, unless any of the other countries pass any of their naval ships or naval craft to Pakistan, it does not increase the naval strength of Pakistan. It is quite obvious that, after all, Pakistan is frantically trying to acquire some more ships. They have succeeded partly. And, to that extent, their naval strength has increased. But, as Defence Minister, I say that we are not getting idle either. I am sure that Pakistan will desist from embarking upon any adventurist course because they should know that it is not in their interest, and India will be fully prepared to safeguard India's sovereignty and integrity with determination. That is something which could not be lost on anyone, not even Pakistan....

AN HON. MEMBER: Then Pakistani ships come, what do you do?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: They do not come. Perhaps, you have an idea of old Pakistan. Now they do not go to East much. Formerly, when Bengal Deah and West Pakistan were one, their ships used to pass through the Bay of Bengal. Now, they do not come to the Bay of Bengal because they have nothing to do here. They can never pass through our territorial waters. If any naval ship passes through the high seas, there is precious little that need be done or should be done. We should not be overtouchy as with regard to the presence of any ship whether it is Pakistan or Chinese or American in

our neighbourhood as such, unless, of course, we feel convinced that it is for other than innocent passage or the like. There are certain rules with regard to passage through high-seas. So long as those are adhered to, nobody bothers. We are not adopting a policy of, if I may say so, isolation in this respect. Our naval ships visit several friendly countries and naval ships of a large number of countries visit our ports also. And we give them the usual facilities like bunkering, food. Their sailors come out and relax and take exercise just as our sailors do and our ships also visit several foreign countries. Navies are somewhat international and there are certain norms that are adopted. Generally, they are well understood and well-adhered to.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: Was any information given to the littoral countries?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: No information was given to the littoral countries.

16.15 hrs.

CUSTOMS TARIFF BILL

Appointment of Members etc Select Committee

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Maharaj Singh.

SHRI MAHARAJ SINGH: (Mainpuri): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House do appoint Sarvashri C. Subramaniam and Shashi Bhushan to the Select Committee on the Customs Tariff Bill, 1974 in the vacancies caused by the resignations of Sarvashri Y. B. Chavan and K. R. Ganesh."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House do appoint Sarvashri C. Subramaniam, and Shashi