

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member may continue his speech on Saturday.

Kashmir, either in the northern or in the eastern sector of our frontier.

15.30 hrs.

**MOTION RE: AMBUSH OF INDIAN POLICE PATROL MEN BY PAKISTANI TROOPS**

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** The House will now take up the motion to be moved by Shri Nath Pai.

**Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, I beg to move:

"That the statement made in the House by the Minister of Defence on the 24th February, 1964 regarding the ambush of Indian police patrol men by Pakistani troops on the Indian side of the cease-fire line in Kashmir and the situation arising out of the further Pakistani incursions into the eastern and western borders of India be taken into consideration."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the adjournment motion, which subsequently was converted into this motion, was necessitated by the ambush carried out by Pakistani forces on Indian patrol men carrying on their legitimate duties well within the Indian side of the frontier with Pakistan in Kashmir. This latest outrage carried out with such impunity on our soil raises certain very vital issues, and among them the most important is, I am constrained to say, that it shows the alarming state of unpreparedness that prevails even now on our vast frontier, where we are confronted not at one side but on three sides of them. The existence of an enemy across one border, one frontier, is bad enough but when you have an enemy—or, unfortunately, we are having rather two enemies—facing you in combat readiness, not on one frontier but on three frontiers, north, east and west, it requires the combat readiness of a far greater order and degree than is being shown, demonstrated or proved by our Government today in

This outrage has a sinister sequence which must not be lost sight of. It was within a few hours of the joint communique signed by General Ayub Khan and Mr. Chou En-lai that this outrage was carried out. We do not know what exactly is incorporated in the Pindi-Peking Pact, but one end, one object of this Pact is clear, to hurt the vital interests of this country. I do not know how far they are going to honour their mutual exchanges of camaraderie, friendship and loyalty, how far Peking is going to stand by Pindi but I think one aspect, one part of their agreement to hurt this country, to humiliate this country, is being very faithfully implemented, and the proof of it was given within a few hours. May be Mr. Chou En-lai had told something to General Ayub Khan that "with impunity we can make a mockery of the defence of India" and General Ayub wanted to show "we are not lagging behind you". In any case, the sinister significance of this episode must not be lost sight of, as it comes so closely, within a few hours of the signing of the joint communique by Mr. Chou En-lai and General Ayub Khan

I think this incident is not to be dismissed as one of those usual border incidents. I think these incidents have behind them the grand strategy, and I saw some kind of that realisation in the statement made by the Defence Minister yesterday in the Rajya Sabha. I hope our armed forces, "the Defence Minister and the Government as a whole are taking the significance of these incidents which fit into a grand strategy that Pakistan is adopting towards this country, and the strategy, Mr. Deputy Speaker, is a very simple one for anybody to understand who is not blind or who is not blinded by his own illusions and prejudices. The strategy is to divert, to divide India's defence, to put as much strain as they can; with these hit and run tactics Pakistan wants to keep India's defence on tender hooks. There is another thing. They want to go on testing

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probing the soundness of your frontiers, of your defence preparedness; if possible, they want to humiliate you in the process because the whole world is watching this kind of thing happening. What is happening? May I now say how there is a pattern, how there is a strategy which is not beyond imagination. Here are these sordid, gloomy facts. The year opened with Pakistan sending us greetings in this form: Pak raiders kill Indian soldier on duty:

"Jammu. Dec. 31.—Pakistani raiders, whose number could not be ascertained, and an Indian border police sub-inspector, Chan Singh, were reported killed early this morning in exchange of fire...."

—there is doubt if any Pakistani was killed but there is absolute certainty that one Indian sub-inspector was killed.—

"...near Kangri village, three miles inside the cease-fire line"

This is on the 1st of January, when the House is greeted with this news, the country gets this new item of news from across the border. Then comes the news that Pakistan violated the air space on the 5th January.

"Agartala, Jan. 5. Pakistani planes recently flew over Amlighat area of Sabroom sub-division of Tripura State, according to official reports reaching here today."

This has come a little later, on the 6th of January. Then, on the 11 of January comes the news that "Pak build up on Tripura border":

"According to the reports, Pakistani forces had been regularly patrolling the disputed area and distributing lands belonging to Indian nationals to Pakistanis for cultivation."

Then comes the news on 15th January:

"Pak intruders enter Tripura forest.

Agartala, Jan. 15. A large number of Pakistani nationals entered Indian territory in the Matai reserved forest in Tripura early this week and felled many valuable trees, according to a message received here."

Then again:

"Pak intruders kill two Indians

Jammu, Jan. 19—Armed Pakistani raiders killed two Indians in a village about 51 miles west from here...."

January 24—Pakistani main forest guard.

January 28—Pak intruders kill Indian villager.

Then we come to the 29th of January—Pak troops dig trenches on border. This is the record, this is the chronicle all along. Now what happened in February? Again, they never missed the first of every month. On the 1st of February:

"Pakistan has forcibly occupied a one and a half acre stretch of land on the Ramgarh side...."

I do not go into the details of every item. "Pak forces remove boundary posts", this is on the 6th of February. Now, on the 24th of February "One killed in Pak firing on border." And then comes the latest incident, but this was not the last or the latest because only yesterday the Defence Minister shocked Rajya Sabha by the gruesome details of how this outrage was committed in Kashmir and following this, he added:

"There are two more incidents, one on the 24th of February when

24 Pakistani personnel were noticed in an area two miles north-east of Keran."

Then there is the incident of the Indians being kidnapped. I want to ask: what is the significance, what is the meaning of these incidents with a shocking monotony, with such a regularity that it looks as if they are unavoidable, that these incidents are being repeated? What is the defence preparedness of this country? Somebody may ask: what is the relationship, because it is that that comes into question.

The last episode, the last incident, the last outrage was carried out within the border of India. This time it was not cattle, it was not camel, it was not sheep, it was not even fleeing refugees but it was patrol men, 23 armed constabulary members who were carrying out their duty of guarding the frontiers of this country who were ambushed, and then the Defence Minister says that all that remains of them is:

"...no bodies were found at the site. A padded waistcoat torn bits of clothing and buttons were found lying near the river Kishen Ganga."

Perhaps, the bodies were thrown into the river. How does it come to happen that we were always hearing of what happens on the Pakistan-Punjab border, on the Rajasthan-Pakistan border, on the Assam-Pakistan border, on the Bengal-Pakistan border? Here is a live border, there is the cease-fire line, there is the Indian army and right at this site where patrol is being carried out by the members of the armed constabulary this is happening. So, I would like to ask a few questions about this.

When we raise this question, what is the reaction of this Government? They are developing some kind of immunity against this kind of regular violations of our sovereignty. The Minister Without Portfolio, intervening in the debate on the President's Address, said: "Why do you get panicky? There have been 5,000 violations of

the Soviet frontier by China in one single year in Sinkiang." What a fair solution! There might have been 5,000 or perhaps 25,000 violations of the Soviet frontier but will any member of this Government tell us whether the Soviet Union has lost at least 5,000 sq. inches of her territory. How many soldiers of the Soviet Armed forces have been lost while defending her frontiers? That is impossible. That cannot simply happen. The Soviet Union will not suffer such humiliations or insults. So, why give us this analogy that the Soviet frontier was violated 5,000 times. Every single violation of our territory means loss of territory, loss of personnel and eventual humiliation.

I would like to ask as to what state of affairs really we are in today; what is the true test of defence preparedness. Shri Chavan, while replying when this House debated his report on the NEFA debacle, assured us that all the mistakes had been taken into account, the necessary inferences and lessons had been drawn and that never again shall we be subjected to the same humiliation. I think he was serious and sincere about it. But where is the proof of that solemn assurance given to this House? Within a few days on every frontier we are made to go through the same humiliation. It is not something to be laughed at, to be brushed aside or to be pooh-poohed when members of the armed constabulary of India are lifted within the territory of India.

What were the Pakistanis doing so far? They could come and drive away the camels, lift cattle, have a good dinner with some sheep in Rajasthan and, if they so liked, could abduct women. It all depended on the choice and taste of the intruder. Whether he chose to take away some cattle, some camels, some sheep or some women, it was all left to the sweet will and taste of the intruder.

Where are we standing with regard to defence? Within one week have three admissions from three members of the present Government. The

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hon. Deputy Minister of External Affairs blandly told this House and the Government knew of the movement of 400 Nagas. They knew in which direction they were going. He further added this piece of information, namely, that they knew the commanders of the Nagas who were guiding them. Then he added that 150 had already crossed but they were not sure if the other 150 had crossed into Pakistan. What an admission? What is there to boast about? Why this triumphant attitude that you knew? What did you do to prevent items or for stopping them from crossing into Pakistan?

We have raised this question earlier. If armed hostiles can cross from India into Pakistan or Burma, if these people whose track, whose movements and whose intentions you know, who have given you sufficient warning can still cross our frontier and can go across, then it means that the enemy who never bothers to give you any notice of his intention or design can cross with impunity. Are you going to come once again and tell this country, as you did when we were taken by surprise by the Chinese according to you, that we were taken by surprise? This Government cannot plead the specious plea of surprise when Pakistan is concerned. Her intentions and designs with regard to this country have been made amply clear during the past 18 years. How can you go on pleading that we were taken by surprise?

The question is: what are you going to do? This nation demands that we abandon this impotent policy of lodging protests. We want something more effective and telling which the Pakistanis will learn to respect.

Following the statement made by the hon. Deputy Minister was the statement made only yesterday by the hon. Minister of External Affairs, his senior colleague. She told us about what was happening to the refugees. And what was her plea? It was: what can we do to defend the refugees since the Pakistanis opened fire on

these fleeing refugees within Pakistani territory? Hon. Members felt convinced. Indeed, what can we do if the refugees are slaughtered like that by the Pakistani forces on Pakistan's soil? Quite true. What did you do when it happened on your own soil? There would have been some meaning and some significance and we would have been impressed by what she had to say if the record had been different when the same outrage was committed on our own soil. You could not protect the fleeing refugees. Helplessly you watched them and pleaded your helplessness. But is your performance any better when the enemy with the same impunity perpetrates the same kind of an outrage on our own soil within the very sight of the Indian armed forces, under your very noses? Is the record in any way better? Has there been one single instance when those who come to mock at us, to humiliate us, to insult us and to make a mockery of our sovereignty are punished?

What can we do, they ask. The reply to that is simple. They come here as if there is no frontier or border. It seems our whole long frontier is a kind of a *dharamshala*. Anybody can come, have a good time and go with the trophy of victory. And then we are surprised if the world does not take us seriously, if we find ourselves isolated and alone in the Security Council. Then we will find explanations that Pakistan is an ally of the Americans and the British in the SEATO. Certainly she is; it is not a tremendous discovery that you are disclosing to this House. But how can Britain, America, Pakistan and China behave like this? It is simply because continuously there is this demonstration of India's armed impotence on the border. If we can demonstrate that we are not going to run to the Security Council, and that we are not going to beg on our knees to defend the honour and the sovereignty of this country, neither the Pakistanis nor the Chinese will have the audacity to insult us as they do every day. But this basic thing is not learnt.

We believe in this policy of protests; I am not advocating and pleading for a policy of false adventure. I want a policy of self-defence and self-respect. Pursue those who cross the border and punish them. That should be the policy. If this pursuit necessitates that you cross the border into the enemy's territory, do not hesitate to do it; do not go on worrying about what the world says; the world will certainly respect this. Have we ever done it? We have never done it. We never have the courage to do it. We have been so hypnotised, almost petrified and paralysed by this kind of fear of the world laughing at us. If the world laughs at us for being manly, the world laughs in contempt and derision for this show of lack of manliness every time we allow such an outrage to be committed on our border. Yes, perhaps, the world will criticise us. But we cannot leave the responsibility of defending our honour, defending our country and defending our territorial inviolability, either to the good opinion of the world or to the tender mercies of our unscrupulous neighbours. Ultimately, this country must learn the basic lesson that the inviolability of India's frontiers and India's borders must be defended not by the charity of somebody, not even by the sanctity of so-called treaties which are already dead so far as our neighbours are concerned, but we must come to depend for the inviolability of our own frontiers on the prowess and might of our own arms, not on the charity and pleasure of somebody. This is a basic lesson.

If this is what is happening to our defence preparedness when there is an emergency in the country, when the defence apparatus must be in the top gear, when only last year we voted Rs. 800 crores or even more willingly and unanimately without moving one penny's cut, where shall we be? And what is the true state of affairs?

I had referred to this during the debate earlier. Shri Y. B. Chavan's statement pin-pointing this extraordinary state of unpreparedness of this

country says that there were no arms even for training, much less for defence; there was no proper orientation; there was no transport; there were no proper roads, no equipment, no intelligence, no leader and no command; all these elements which make up the complex pattern of the apparatus of modern defence were missing; nothing was available which forms the fighting arms of the country. When we raised this point, he gave an assurance that this was past sad chapter, and we had turned the page and learnt a lesson and in learning the lesson, we had paid very heavily. How can we forget the lessons? In all sincerity, he said that. But then we read these kinds of things day after day, week after week and month after month; we read these things every day, and my hon. friend comes and makes a statement either in reply to a calling-attention-notice or in reply to an adjournment motion. What is it that he has been telling us? Has he told us that we have punished those who came? I think that it would be a very happy day for this House, if one of the Ministers will get up and say that the Pakistanis or the Chinese or whoever crossed never returned alive to their land. Has my hon. friend ever said that? I am not a blood-thirsty kind of chauvinist-nationalist. I do not believe in this kind of thing. But all these years we have been seeing; all these years, we have been watching.

15.48 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

All these years, we have been subjected to this humiliation, to this constant mockery anybody can make of us.

I shall connect this with what is happening now in Nagaland. I would refer to just one aspect of it. Of course, my hon. friend cannot stop their coming in or going out. It is as if they are having a picnic at their.....

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member should take care of the time factor also.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I am the Mover of this motion, and I suppose I can get half an hour.

**Mr. Speaker:** The time allotted for this discussion is 2½ hours. I have got before me a list of about a dozen and a half Members besides others who might stand up. So, I would request the hon. Member to be very brief.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I think that as the Mover I am entitled to half an hour.

**Mr. Speaker:** Not always.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad):** Normally. Last time, when we were discussing Mr. Walcott's escape, the Mover had half an hour.

**Mr. Speaker:** But this is a subject where most of the Members would like to speak.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I would submit that I shall bear in mind your advice, and I shall not have wrong ideas about my rights, except that I would say that Shri Kamath is very right when he pointed to the precedent set up under your guidance, but then I know that precedents are always subject to modification by you, and I am aware of that also.

I was trying to say how the position about the Nagas stands. Here again does it not basically remain a question of the defence preparedness of this country? You have been fighting them. You are trying to pacify them. During the last week again, they made a statement;—I do not mean the statement by the Deputy Minister, but the statement that there has been an increase in the activities of the hostile Nagas. You have been fighting them for years. You have been deploying your own forces against them for years. You cannot pacify them. Do you know the significance of this? Do you know the meaning, the lesson, the inference that will be drawn by Peking, not only in London by Phizo? The inference that will be drawn by Ayub Khan and by Ling Po, the Chinese

General, in Tibet—"They cannot deal with rebels, they cannot deal with those people who fight with bows and arrows. How can they stop the mighty Chinese Army, the mighty Pakistani Army having the latest equipment?" Do we stop to ponder over the meaning of this failure in Nagaland? Do we try to draw the necessary inference, which must be obvious to everybody in the world? No, nothing of the kind. In a cavalier, casual, manner we are going on, telling the House periodically that we are succeeding in putting an end to Naga hostility, to be followed by a statement by the Prime Minister or by his very able assistants, that 'Of late, during the last week, there has been a stepping up of the hostile activity, but the Government hopes to bring it under control'. Alternatively, we are told that there has been a stepping up, there has been a mitigation. But never have we been told that during the next three months, four months or six months, there will be an end to this mockery of India.

This has been the position. I am not saying 'exterminate them'. I have never believed in that. I want a settlement in Nagaland. But you are trying to have a settlement through your means, and how far have you succeeded?

Where do we stand with regard to this. We find that is the story with regard to the Nagas. We find that is the story with regard to the whole border. We find that is now the story with regard to those who are called upon to defend our territory.

Is Shri Chavan satisfied by saying, as he told the Rajya Sabha yesterday that these are incidents, but if there is a 'concerted action on the part of Pakistan'—to quote his own words, 'there will be a proper reply on the part of India. The Army is ready'. May this House know from the Defence Minister whether his assurance and his promise of meeting the aggressor, if he commits aggression, is more substantial and more real than the historic assurance given by the Prime

Minister when he told his country that he had ordered that the Chinese invader be cleared, thrown out, from NEFA?

I hope that this assurance this kind of manner of dealing with the Pakistanis, particularly in the light of the fact that Mr. Chou En-lai was only recently on their soil, is taken more seriously than they have done so far. Let us not remain content by saying 'no'. Are we doing at least the one thing which any Government should do?

I raised the question: do you tell the world, do you try to awaken public opinion in every country to what Pakistan is doing systematically to this country? Is a White Paper being prepared? Are we trying to galvanise opinion or, once again, it will be too late? It is better to put out a small fire before it develops into a conflagration. If we want to prevent a full-blooded war with Pakistan, which I think we should try to, the surest way of doing it is not to go on sending these paper notes to Pakistan but doing something strong which it understands. Try to see that she is not emboldened to go on committing these atrocities on our frontiers.

Let us not try to tempt. Let us not try to test our faith. Let us not try to tempt Pakistan or China. But the temptation remains so long as you never deal a telling blow to those who come.

Before I conclude—I hope I will have the usual right of reply after I have heard the Minister because that has also been customary here—I would be putting one suggestion to him. Adopt a more firm policy, a more realistic policy. Defence preparedness during the emergency should be something more telling, more convincing than has been demonstrated so far. And, in the meanwhile, do not neglect a very important thing, that defence cannot be left only to the armed forces. In the vast border region, we will have

to learn to trust and train and equip the Indian citizens who may be there. Defence, to a very large extent, will have to be entrusted to them, and it is only a major assault from the enemy that the army will have to be called upon to deal with. I trust that when he comes to reply to this debate; he will tell us what positive policies, apart from telling us that the Ministry of External Affairs has lodged a protest, he has in mind to stop this continuous mockery and humiliation of our country.

**Mr. Speaker:** He has taken 25 or 26 minutes, and the same time, perhaps, would be required by the Minister as well.

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Y. B. Chavan):** About 20 minutes.

**Mr. Speaker:** And then some time for reply. That means one hour is gone. We have got 90 minutes. Therefore, may I suggest that each Member might have ten minutes?

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Nominated—Jammu and Kashmir):** A number of aspects have to come out in this debate which have not been touched by the Mover of the Motion. I would submit it should be possible to extend the time.

**Shri Swell (Assam—Autonomous Districts):** I join in that appeal.

**Mr. Speaker:** No. We sat yesterday and discussed all aspects of it.

**Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Jalore):** We always admire and appreciate the eloquence of my esteemed friend Shri Naṭh Pai. Today I have no note of dissent to strike. Rather, we fully share the feelings which he has expressed on the floor of the House.

This particular incident, the ambush of our patrol well within our territory and killing of our patrol personnel, even as an isolated case is bad and

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

humiliating enough, and we had expected that we would be able to beat them back within our territory, but I wish that we take a realistic picture of the whole thing.

This is not an isolated case. This is one of a series, sordid series, which Pakistan has perpetuated during the last few months. As a matter of fact, I would like Shri Nath Pai to go a little back, and I remind him of the speech made by Mr. Bhutto in U.N. last September, when he himself very clearly stated on the world forum that Pakistan would miss no opportunity to wage a cold war against India. That was only telling the U.N. forum, but they have been waging not a cold war; they have taken further steps, and they have engineered intrigues, they have engineered violence to provoke this country into something, and unfortunately, we have not taken full note of the situation as it exists.

What has Pakistan done during these years? They have engineered riots on the other side. Thousands and thousands of refugees in a very unfortunate and sad plight have been pouring into this country, thousands and thousands of them. There are already infiltrators in this country, their number running into lakhs. We must take note of it.

Then, there is a complete spy ring and saboteurs who are spread all over the country. We know about that. Then, only the other day the Home Minister told us that there are more than 60,000 persons who had come with passports and permits, who are over-staying in this country. We are permitting infiltrators to stay on, we are permitting these people who are over-staying to stay on, and the entire wide net of saboteurs and spies is there. Only the other day, the Chief Minister of Bengal had to say something about it, that they would take stern action. Apart from this, only the other day, the Chief Minister of Kashmir stated in the Assembly that during the last

few weeks Pakistan had indulged in atrocious activities on the frontier, and he had to express great concern about it. He cited the instances at Karen, Chaknot, Chamb and Jorain.

16 hrs.

We know of quite a number of incidents which Shri Nath Pai read out, and because of shortage of time, I will not take the time of the House in mentioning them. The two most peaceful countries of the world—China and Pakistan—have come together and counsel that we should determine the wishes of the people in settling matters. If the wishes of the people were to be settled, this Government would not be there in Pakistan—this most irresponsible Government, this dictatorship which is foisted on the people, which is condemned by their own political leaders, and which was condemned on a solemn occasion like the Republic Day by Miss Jinnah herself. That is the type of Government about which we are talking—not the people of Pakistan. Then there is China, another aggressor. They get together and tell us about the wishes of the people being determined. If the wishes of the people of East Bengal were to be ascertained things would have been different and East Bengal would have broken away from Pakistan; it will throw out immediately the Ayub Government. When Mr. Chou En-lai was talking about the wishes of the people, one of the American correspondents asked him about Formosa: will the wishes of the people of that place be determined as to whether they will go to Japan or to you? He said that it was part of China. He forgets that Kashmir is part and parcel of India but still he talks in that strain.

Instead of expressing strong feelings in this matter, my first suggestion is that we must take immediate steps to arouse world consciousness about this matter. The facts are undisputed. Thousands and thousands of Christians have been evicted from East Pakistan only yesterday and fleeing re-

Refugees, women and children, were killed. Yet Pakistan goes and lodges complaints against us. It should not be allowed to happen again. Let us make foolproof arrangements against all sorts of troubles in our own country. Pakistan is out to engineer all sorts of things on this side and a note of warning about it was given by our own Education Minister who was at the UN. So, let us see that there is a proper district magistrate in each and every district and a proper superintendent of police also in the trouble spots. It should not be necessary for the Central Home Minister to have to rush from place to place. The local authorities should be able to take care of the situation.

Having done that, my second suggestion is to take immediate steps to throw out all the infiltrators without any fear. 50,000 people are over-staying in India and we must break the spy rings and saboteurs. We must make also adequate arrangements to receive all the refugees without any conditions, those who want to leave Pakistan and come to this country. We do not want our Minister to come and report to us that we have taken a beating here and a beating there; instead we should be able to give a beating to the people if they venture to come across our border and we can do it. My friend was talking about Rajasthan. I can assure him that if Rajasthan is only told so, they would be prepared to take care of themselves. If instances after instances are reported to this House belatedly that we have taken a beating here or a beating there, it undermines the prestige of this nation and the morale of the people and the services. I shall take two more minutes, Sir and then conclude. We must not hesitate also to take immediate action in this matter. I would, therefore, like to say that the Government of the United Kingdom should be warned about the attitude which they want to take in this particular matter, in this dispute between Pakistan and India. The Government of the USA and the Government of the USSR must be

taken into confidence and we must tell them that we have always been for peace; we have worked for peace and we stand for peace and we have suffered for peace. But taking these humiliations and taking these beatings do not promote the cause of peace, and we must now go ahead.

The last point that I would like to mention is about Kashmir. We must understand that if anything has come out in the wake of this relic episode, the one thing which is absolutely and definitely clear, which is dominant, is that the people of that place have shown an amazing sense of responsibility and the secular character of that State. That is one of the most important things which has been demonstrated; that is their faith in the Central Government. We should, therefore, have no hesitation whatsoever in carrying out the wishes of the legislature in that State and the wishes of that State in accelerating the integration which is just only a process. Kashmir is absolutely a part of India.

I thank you very much for the opportunity you have given me. I hope that the Defence Minister will be able to stand up to our expectations and give us the assurance that he will never accept the beatings without beating them back and if necessary to beat them in their own territory.

Shri Daji (Indore): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the subject has been placed in all its details before us. It is not a question of an ambush; it is not a question of a few air violations; it is not a question of mere transgression of the border. What is really important is, we have, out of these incidents, to read Pakistan's attitude and judge its seriousness. Pakistan has been consistently whipping up a war hysteria. All that she has done is not without a plan and a purpose; it is not without a grand strategy, as the Mover of the motion, Shri Nath Pai, was pleased to say. All this action of Pakistan falls into a pattern, a pattern of cynical, calculated provocation, a provocation intended to blackmail and bludgeon

[Shri Daji]

us into giving up our portions of Kashmir. This game should be clear. Otherwise, the isolated incidents by themselves do not spell out the complete strategy. Born in hatred, Pakistan seems to desire to prosper by blackmail.

Our failure comes out poignantly because I would like to point out to the House that full 24 hours before we came out with the news, the Pakistan Radio came out with the news that the Indian border patrols had violated their border and the Pakistani brave fighters had punished them and had inflicted heavy casualties on them. It is after this propaganda by Pakistan that we came out with the news that they had violated our territory; it was full 24 hours after that we came out with the news. No wonder, therefore, that some people felt that it was an afterthought. This is where we missed. It is our patrol and it is our area, and it is our patrol which is still there and it is our patrol which was ambushed. But Pakistan comes out before 24 hrs. with a counter-propaganda which we are unable to meet. This lapse is something which we have to make good, and make note of.

What is this whole game about? What is this blackmail? Here, I am afraid the Mover of the motion Shri Nath Pai missed a very very important fact, and missing that fact will not help us. Behind the acts of violation of our frontiers by Pakistan lie the arms of Anglo-American imperialism; they are the arms of Anglo-American imperialism. We have to tell them, and they have got to reconcile the fact that Kashmir is an irrevocable part of India. If we do not surprised. All of us knew this conspiracy on their part, we will be screening our visions.

We have got to see the situation. The whole thing is a planned strategy. In the UNO, they talked of about the Kashmir situation. In the UNO, it seems it was a *volte face* on the part of the United Kingdom. The Minister of Education was shocked and

surprised. I was rather shocked and not surprised. All of us knew what the position that the United Kingdom took. It is the United Kingdom and the USA which back Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir; back them up in all these violations. And again, they forced India into talks last year—five rounds of talks—and because we in our goodness allowed peaceful negotiations. The very fact that we want negotiations is being turned over us. What did the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom say, when some Members of Parliament met him on deputation? He said that the very fact that the Government of India intended to have negotiations shows that we accepted the dispute over Kashmir. It is time we tell them, "No gentlemen; we did not accept any dispute over Kashmir. Kashmir is a part of our territory. Maybe out of goodness and under certain circumstances at that time, you wanted us to negotiate a peaceful solution not of a dispute, but of a problem, which is the creation of Pakistan". It is not a question of merely Pakistan. We have to see through the whole sinister game. The last villain of the piece is the visit of Chou En-lai to Pakistan and the emerging of the new Peking-Pindi axis. If I may be allowed to lapse into my Hindustani, it is all a case of 'चोर-चोर, मीमेरे भाई' they are trying to sell out, parcel out, distribute our territory and with a sophistic casuistry, unknown in diplomatic relationship. Chou En-lai calls CENTO and SEATO as aggressive treaties which were forced upon Pakistan for defensive purposes. Defence against whom? Against USSR, against India's threat or against Pakistan's threat or against whom? Who is threatening the Pakistan's frontiers? This statement that Pakistan's entry into the war pacts is for defensive purposes is sheer sophistic casuistry, unknown in diplomatic relationship. This is the new axis that is emerging. It is against this total picture that we have to devise ways and means.

To speak only against Pakistan's provocations and not to mention the other thing is to lull the people and not to rouse them to preparedness. For all the shouting, it is lulling the people for not pointing out the real people who today endanger our peace and our borders. Pakistan through her friends knows the total inventory of arms that have been supplied to us during the last emergency. All the arms aid that was rushed to us today lies immobilised, because one of the terms is that we cannot use them against Pakistan even if Pakistan attacks us. All the radar equipment and all the arms that came to us were photographed and published and they know the total strength of our armed forces; they know that this particular part of the armed forces cannot be used against Pakistan. Pakistan knows it; America knows it; England knows it.

This new aggressive posture of Pakistan backed by U.S. and British imperialism, this new context, can be forgotten only at the peril of our nation and at the peril of our defence preparedness. It is this which I want to point out and I want a specific reply from the Defence Minister that apart from the arms aid that we have got, on our own strength our sinews of strength are strong enough not only to scotch any possible provocations, but to beat back any possible attacks, come they may from this side or that side of our frontiers and we will defend our frontiers with our own strength.

It is not a question of war hysteria. India can never be a party to war hysteria. To plead for watchfulness and vigilance is not pleading for war hysteria. The shape of things during the last few months shows that our forces are not as much watchful and vigilant as they ought to be. Even Mr. Chagla has called for a continuous watchfulness and vigilance. But it does not show that we are either watchful or vigilant. It requires a keen defence preparedness; it re-

quires calm and calculated preparedness, active patrolling and above all, it means delicate and dynamic diplomacy, so that Pakistan is exposed, isolated and beaten back both diplomatically and if necessary, militarily. We have to isolate them, to expose them, to beat them back—both China and Pakistan—and the sinister forces who even at this stage want to conspire against our freedom and integrity. Diplomatically we have to isolate them and that can be done only if we play a more dynamic role among the resurgent new nations of Asia and Africa and bring them to our side. It is not as if in the Security Council we are isolated, as Mr. Nath Pai wants us to believe. Mr. Chagla has given a true account of the happening in the Security Council, where even the African countries were not prepared to oblige Pakistan.

If a more dynamic diplomacy is pursued with a courageous championing of the new resurgent countries of Asia and Africa, we can rally together the new forces that are coming up in the world, the new saner forces that are coming up, the forces that really want to break away from imperialism of this sort or that, the new forces which will be armed to see through the sinister diplomatic pattern of France, China and Pakistan backed by England and America, the whole gamut of international relationship that is emerging. There are plenty of nations who want to stand on their own. Together with them we can certainly isolate them, we can expose them. Together with the peace loving forces of the world we can surely see that Pakistan is isolated.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya** (Bangalore City): That becomes alignment.

**Shri Daji**: That does not become alignment. If championing the cause of freedom becomes alignment, I am for that alignment. Let us align with those forces who want to fight against imperialism. Let us scotch not only the game of Pakistan but also the

[Shri Daji]

game of the masters who help them, who aid them, who abet them and who egg them forward. Remember, Pakistan is only a cat's paw. Let us not be deceived by the cat's paw. Let us beat both the cat's paw and the cat itself which wants to play the proverbial role of the monkey trying to distribute between two parties.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Burdwan):**  
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am happy to find that the House agrees generally that this should not be treated as a party question or a political question. It is a national problem of the greatest significance. This is not an isolated incident. It is part of a calculated, deliberate and designed plan to create an incident to enable Mr. Bhutto to demand an emergent meeting of the Security Council and to create further mischief against India. It must be judged in view of the recent pact which I call the Pindi-Peking Pact which was concluded. This is, therefore, a part of the game in order to create further tension so that with the help of the new allies Pakistan may thoroughly attack India and discredit us.

Now, I ought to inform you that not merely in this part of India, that is the Kashmir side, but on the Bengal border and on the Tripura border also these incidents have been happening during the last two months. On the West Bengal and East Pakistan border more than a dozen incidents have happened. They are not so serious as in Kashmir. But that shows that there is something very defective in our defence arrangement, when we turn to the security of our border area. Therefore, I would appeal to the Defence Minister to take vigorous action, to give up any attitude of complacency. The West Bengal Congress leader has just issued a statement—he is a Member of this House but today he is not here. 400 miles of Rajasthan border are being protected at a cost of Rs. 90 lakhs. 500 miles of Punjab border are being

looked after at a cost of Rs. 3 crores. But, so far as the Bengal border is concerned, which is 1309 miles, it is only Rs. 1,25,00,000; The result is continued infiltration, continued cases of harassment, kidnapping and cattle lifting going on in that border. You will be amazed to know that Shri Ghosh, the Congress President has said, that our border-post arrangements are hopelessly defective. He says:

"I take the opportunity of drawing the attention of the Government about our border posts. Our border posts are situated at a distance of 8 miles. We must increase our border strength and border posts. It should not be at a distance of more than 5 miles."

You will be amazed to know what these border posts are and how they are manned. It is manned by three constables, three members of the National Volunteer Force and two other people. Only eight people are managing an area of eight miles. Two of them are cooking and therefore they are not doing any other work. Two people are actually looking after the area by patrolling and two people are standing there eight miles apart. This is all the defence that we are having in our border posts. Why should not the army be installed there? I had the privilege to preside over the Karimganj Convention. Pakistan was attacking our main posts like Karimganj. It is a big centre and there was a big fair. It was a big industrial town where lakhs and lakhs of rupees worth of business was being transacted. All sections of Assam leaders requested me and other friends to go there and see things for ourselves. I went there with Shri Kamath, Shri Chaudhuri and other Members of Parliament. What we saw there was simply deplorable. Day after day, Pakistani army is firing into Indian territory and our army stationed there yet never retaliate. It is a wonderful display of non-violence Mahatma Gandhi condemned this

kind of non-violence because it brought dishonour; it is nothing but simple cowardice.

Now, we got the information that the order from Delhi was that they should not retaliate but should immediately retreat, and when the aggression is committed and the firing comes our people have got to run away; they are not defended. The army is stationed there but it withdraws to another position. Then the Deputy Commissioner is informed, the Deputy Commissioner informs the Chief Minister of Assam and the Chief Minister then gets into touch with the Defence Minister, who passes an order either from Delhi or from New York, when the counter-firing will start. Can you really imagine that the Pakistani army which was committing all this aggression will keep on standing there? This is a puerile thing. I am, therefore, one of those who demanded that there should be a change of the Defence Minister. I was happy when Shri Chavan came in the place of the old Defence Minister, but sometimes I suffer from a feeling of disappointment. This thing is going on and there is absolutely no demonstration of strength but only lodging protests notes, which is an exhibition of cowardice or exhibition of unpreparedness.

What have we been doing all these years? We just see that in East Bengal they are torturing our people, driving away our people, persecuting our people. Hindu and Christian minorities are used as pawns in the political game of chess and we are not able to do anything. Even though they have removed certain restrictions, when our people go to the Indian Deputy High Commissioner's office at Dacca for visa and other certificates, they are subjected to all sorts of indignities, and the reports which are forwarded to the Home Minister gives rather dismal reading.

India's honour demand that we must vindicate our stand, we must

stand firm, we must be prepared, we must give up that attitude of complacency, proving that we are worthy of defending India. Either defend India or quit; no good your sitting there just as ornaments, occupying important portfolios when our country is being subjected to this kind of periodical shame and humiliations. For Heaven's sake, realise that this is being done for the purpose of creating world opinion, for the purpose of showing to their American and British allies and other allies that India's position is such that there is so much of tension, that something has got to be done and, therefore, the Kashmir issue will have to be handled at a higher level. Now we must clearly tell them that there is no issue of Kashmir, excepting the one issue, and that issue is that Pakistan is the aggressor and Pakistan has got to vacate that aggression. There is no other issue. That should be made clear. Therefore, I am appealing that the attitude of complacency must go; there should be more firmness, more strictness, the borders should be defended properly, all kinds of incursions and border violations should be checked, this periodical humiliation must not be repeated and this periodical exhibition of ineptitude must end.

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, चूँकि समय थोड़ा है, इस लिये मैं जल्दी जल्दी अर्ज करता हूँ ।

सब से पहले जरूरत इस बात की है कि सरकार की जो पराजय की मनोवृत्ति है, उस को दूर किया जाय — सरकार में जो डिफ़ीटिज्म की जहनियत पैदा हो गई है, उस को दूर किया जाय । आज सारा संसार इस बात को जान गया है कि हिन्दुस्तान एक पराजित देश है—जहाँ जिस ने चाहा, काट कर ले लिया, जहाँ जिस ने चाहा, झंझा गाढ़ दिया, जिस ने चाहा, उस ने इस

[श्री यशपाल सिंह]

देश के हिमालय पर कब्जा कर लिया, जिस ने चाहा, उसने उस देश के कैलाश और मानसरोवर पर कब्जा कर लिया। सरकार को इस मनोवृत्ति को बदलने के लिये कोशिश करनी पड़ेगी।

आज ऐसा समय है कि कोई देश इस बात को बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकता था कि उस की ३० हजार मुरब्बा मील जमीन पर दुश्मन का बंडा लहराता हो, उस की औरतों और बच्चों को, उस के मवेशियों, खांघोड़ों और ऊंटों को विदेशी भगा कर ले जाते हों, उस के एक मिलिटरी आफिसर—कर्नल भट्टा—चार्य—को खींच कर कुत्त की तरह से पाकिस्तान के जेल में बन्द कर दिया जाता हो। कोई और देश यह बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकता था कि इस तरह की घटनायें होती रहें और वहां की सरकार खामोश बैठी रहे। “टुक टुक दीदम दम न कशीदम”। जैसा कि मैंने पहले कहा है, इस पराजय की मनोवृत्ति को बदलना पड़ेगा।

सोलह साल तक हम को यह तालीम दी गई है कि अगर एक एटम बम गिर गया, तो इतने करोड़ आदमी मारे जायेंगे, अगर एक हाइड्रोजन बम गिर गया, तो इतने अरब आदमी बारे जायेंगे। इस तालीम की ज़रूरत नहीं थी—उस तालीम की ज़रूरत थी, जो कि गीता में दी गई है, अर्थात् “संभावितस्य चार्किति मरादतिरिच्यते”—इस तालीम की ज़रूरत थी कि जिल्लत की जिन्दगी से मौत अच्छी होती है, अपमान के जीवन से मृत्यु बहतर होती है। सरकार ने यह डिफाटिज्म हर जगह पैदा किया है। आज भी सरकार इस डिफाटिज्म के सहारे दिन काटना चाहती है और लोहा लेना नहीं चाहती है। मुट्टी भर पाकिस्तानी हम को तंग करें, जो पिट्टी न पिट्टी का शोरवा, व हम पर हावी हो जायें और हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर भरी सभा में यह बयान दें कि हमारे सिपाहियों को नदी में डुबो दिया गया आ

उन के बटन, कुर्ते और वास्कुट बाहर पाये गए। क्या दूसरा कोई देश इस बात को बर्दाश्त कर सकता था? नहीं। हरगिज नहीं कर सकता था।

आज तक इस देश में जो यह भावना पैदा की गई है कि हम युद्धप्रिय नहीं रहे हैं, वह एक गलत भावना है। इस देश की रक्षा तब होगी, जब हर एक मिनिस्टर खाकी वर्दी पहन कर आयेगा। माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज यह कानून बनाना चाहिये कि जो कंधों पर राइफल नहीं रख सकता है, जो मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग नहीं लिये हुए है, जो बूट पेटी बांधना नहीं जानता है, जो दुश्मन के मुकाबले में लड़ना नहीं जानता है, उस को हरगिज हरगिज मिनिस्टर की कुर्सी पर न बैठने दिया जाय।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** क्या यहां भी बन्दूक लेकर आयेगे ?

**श्री यशपाल सिंह :** आज हमारी सरकार समाजवाद का नाम लेती है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारा जो फौजी जवान लद्दाख में लड़ रहा है, उस को ६२ रुपये माहवार पर खरीदा जाता है और जो एयर-कन्डीशन्ड में बैठा हुआ मिनिस्टर है, वह तीन हजार रुपये माहवार लेता है। इस डिस्पैरिटी को दूर करना पड़ेगा। आज हमारा जो जवान लद्दाख में बर्फ में खड़ा हुआ लड़ रहा है, उस की तन्खाह बढ़ाने पड़ेगी और मिनिस्टर की तन्खाह को कम करना पड़ेगा। इस प्रकार मार्शल लोग आयेगे।

जिन लोगों ने आज तक चरखे काते हैं, जिन लोगों ने आज तक तकलियां चलाई हैं, उन बचारों के हाथ कोमल और नाजुक हो गए हैं, उन में डिफाटिज्म की भावना पैदा हो गई है। उस डिफाटिज्म को दूर करने के लिये इस देश के बच्चे बच्चे को ट्रेनिंग देना होगी।

श्रीर काश्मीर का मसला कोई ऐसा है नहीं, जो हल न हो सके। मैं आप के सामने कहता हूँ कि इन कमजोर हाथों से हकूमत छीन कर हमारे हाथों में दी जाए, अगर छः महीने में हम चाइना और पाकिस्तान का इलाज न कर दें, तो इन को गोली से उड़ा दिया जाये। ये बचारे क्या करेंगे? इन के हाथ कोमल और नाजुक हो गए हैं। मुझे याद है कि विस्मार्क ने लिखा था :

"Not by parliamentary speeches or majority votes are the mighty questions of age solved; but it is through a policy of blood and iron."

सरकार को कोई न कोई ऐसा कदम उठाना पड़ेगा, ताकि इन ४४ करोड़ इन्सानों की जिन्दगी बच सके, यह भारत माता बच सके और यह गंगा माता बच सके और यह हिमालय बच सके। जिन के हाथों में आज हुकूमत है, वे दिये जा रहे हैं। आज पंचशील की जरूरत नहीं है, बल्कि पांच ककारों को जरूरत है। आज उन व्याख्यानों को जरूरत नहीं है, बल्कि आज फौजो तालीम और राइफलों की जरूरत है।

मैं इस सरकार से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उस में जो डिफीटिज्म पैदा हो गई है, जो पराजय की मनोवृत्ति पैदा हो गई है, उस को दूर किया जाये। सरकार शिकस्तखुदा हो चुकी है, वह उठने का नाम नहीं लेती है। उस को भ्रम-विश्वास पैदा करना चाहिये He can, who thinks he can; he cannot, who thinks he cannot इस सरकार को ४४ करोड़ इन्सानों में यह विश्वास पैदा करना पड़ेगा कि वह उन की रक्षा करेगी और अगर वह नहीं कर सकती है, तो वह अपना स्थान छोड़ दे—यह उस के बस का काम नहीं है।

Shri A. N. Vidyalkar (Hoshiarpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am glad that

Shri Nath Pai has spoken today of self-defence, through our own arms and weapons. On earlier occasions most of the leaders of the Opposition generally asked us to rely more and more on foreign arms and weapons. So far as the sentiments and feelings are concerned, I think, all sections of the House will entirely associate themselves with the feelings that have been expressed by earlier speakers. The situation is serious enough and we should take account of that. Yesterday in the Rajya Sabha our Defence Minister had stated that we are strong enough to frustrate any attempts at violating the cease-fire line. I wish that it were so. Merely stating that we are strong enough would not do, but we should demonstrate our strength by our actions. And as the Defence Minister had added, this was not the only incident this week, but there were other incidents too, and if we look at the list of the incidents that have continued to occur almost daily, really a feeling comes in the mind that after all, we should be capable of doing something and our Government should be in a position to do something.

The hon. Minister had stated yesterday in the Rajya Sabha that the UN Observers were looking into the whole matter. Of course, they will look into the whole matter and they should look into the whole matter. But what should we ourselves do?

I do not agree with my hon. friend Shri Yashpal Singh who stated that Government and the ruling party were suffering from a defeatist mentality. I feel that it is the type of speeches that Shri Yashpal Singh has made and other hon. Members have made in this House and generally make outside the House, that create the mentality of defeatism. and they generally frustrate the people. I have been listening to these speeches for the last two years since the Chinese attack. They have been making this kind of speeches in public, and it is those speeches that have created a feeling in

[Shri A. N. Vidyalkankar]

the minds of the people as if this Government is not prepared to face the aggression.....

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** That is the barest truth.

**Shri A. N. Vidyalkankar:** ...and their speeches tend to create dissatisfaction against and lack of confidence in the capacity of Government. When we are facing such an emergency, I submit that such speeches are not proper and in conformity with the requirements of the situation and are not in conformity with our determination to fight aggression. Although we should have determination, in such a situation, yet we should think calmly. We cannot just walk into the trap that Pakistan is trying to lay for us at present. It has been stated that Pakistan wants some kind of excuse to draw India into a war. At present, China is trying to attack India and involve India in a war, not directly with herself but with Pakistan, using Pakistan like a *Shikhandi* China wants to attack India through Pakistan so that America and England and other friends who had been giving us aid against China should not feel called upon to come to our aid.

We have to take all these matters into account, and we should see that we do not walk into the trap of China and Pakistan. I have no doubt in my mind that our Government, our Defence Ministry and our Defence Forces are strong enough, and they are trying to gather more strength, and they are trying to make our defences stronger. I have no doubt about it. Nor do I feel that there is any lack of determination. But do we want war? Do we want, as Shri Nath Pai had stated, that there should be orders to the effect that our armies and our troops should pursue the enemy into their border, and enter their territory?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Why not?

**Shri A. N. Vidyalkankar:** There is difference of opinion on this point. My hon. friend may hold that opinion.

But, are we prepared to enter into war? If we want war, we should declare war, but if we do not want to enter into war, if we do not want that Asia should be involved in war, we have to think from a different point of view. At present, I think that we should consider the question from the point of view of strengthening our defences. What is needed is this. We in the Punjab have been asking the Government that the people on the border areas should be armed and adequate and effective weapons should be given to them and they should be properly trained. We have a long border, and all the people on the border should be trained properly and they should have sufficient confidence in themselves. That is a necessity. That is one suggestion that I want to make, because I feel that that would strengthen our defences, because the people will then feel enormous amount of self-confidence to face the aggression. Otherwise, the aggressor will always have some initial advantage.

That is the case with Pakistan. That was the case with China too. They had got the initial advantage.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** That was the position in 1947. They were aggressors. What is the position now? Can those conditions of aggression continue for 18 years?

**Shri A. N. Vidyalkankar:** He will have his chance.

I think first weapons should be distributed among the people living on the border. Secondly, we should try to bring some political pressure to bear on Pakistan to make it desist from evil activities. So far as China is concerned, I know that no political pressure can be really effective. I know that there would be no other way but to powerfully defend our

country against their aggression. But so far as Pakistan is concerned, I think one thing is absolutely necessary, that we should give weapons to our border people in self defence. The border population should be armed and strengthened. At present, I feel enough is not being done for strengthening our defences, through strengthening our people on the border. Something tangible must be done. That is what I wanted to say.

**श्री स० मो० बनर्जी (कानपुर) :**

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं देख रहा हूँ कि काफी सालों से पाकिस्तान का हमारे प्रति क्या रवैया चला आ रहा है और उसका कितना असर हमारे ऊपर हो रहा है। मैं आपका ध्यान उस कैनबरा हवाई जहाज की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ जिस को उन्होंने गोली मार कर गिरा दिया था। माननीय सदस्यों ने यहां पर बार बार सुरक्षा मंत्री से कहा था कि आखिर उसका मुआवजा तो मिलना चाहिये। लेकिन उस मुआवजों की बात को बिल्कुल छोड़ दिया गया। उस कैनबरा के हादसे के बाद एक और घटना घटी जब हमारे लैफ्टिनेंट कर्नल भट्टाचार्य को उन्होंने एक लिविंग कैनबरा बना कर पाकिस्तान में रख दिया। उसके बाद उस पर हम लोगों ने प्रोटस्ट किया और इसी सदन में हमारे आईन मंत्री श्री सेन ने भाषण देते हुए कहा कि वह दिन दूर नहीं जब भट्टाचार्य जी हमारे बीच में होंगे। मुझे मालूम नहीं कि वह पाकिस्तान के बीच में भी हैं या नहीं हैं, हमारे बीच में तो वह हैं नहीं। उसके बाद हमारे बालैटीयर्ज जो उस एरिया का दौर कर रहे थे, उनको उठा कर ईस्टर्न सैक्टर से व ले गए। हमारे बसन्त कुमार दास और उनके साथी जो मछलियां पकड़ रहे थे, मछलियों का शिकार कर रहे थे, उनको पकड़ कर भी पाकिस्तान आज तक अपने पास रखे हुए हैं। वह भी जेल में है या नहीं मझे मालूम नहीं है।

अब तक तो व किसानों को ले जाते थे, मछली पकड़ने वालों को ले जाते थे और कभी कभी मिलिट्री आफिसर्स को ले जाते थे लेकिन अब तो ऐसा है कि आर्म्ड कांस्टबुलरी के २३ लोगों तक को व ले गए हैं। इस चीज को देख कर और सुन कर हमारा सिर शर्म से झुक जाता है जब हम सोचते हैं कि न सिर्फ लाशें तक हम को नहीं दी गई बल्कि उन लाशों को किशनगंगा में काट कर, मार कर फेंक दिया गया। जब एमी घटनायें घटित हो रही हों और हमारी तरफ से कहा जाये कि हम तैयारी कर रहे हैं, हम मुकाबला करने के लिये तैयार हैं, तो इसके क्या मानी होते हैं, इसको आप सोचें। मैं उन व्यक्तियों में से नहीं हूँ जो युद्ध की भावना फैलाना चाहते हैं। लेकिन जब पाकिस्तान एक ऐसा देश है जो हमारी शराफत को हमारी मजबूरी समझता है, हमारी इन्सानियत को हमारी कमजोरी समझता है, तो उसके हा साथ क्या बर्ताव किया जाय, इसका निर्णय हमारे सुरक्षा मंत्री स्वयं करें।

अभी एक हमारा हवाई जहाज गुम हुआ था जिसका अभी तक कोई पता नहीं चल सका है। इस घटना को घटे कुछ दिन व्यतीत हो चुके हैं। आज हिन्दुस्तान का बच्चा बच्चा यह समझता है कि पाकिस्तान ने उसे भी गोली मार कर जरूर गिराया होगा और हमारे वह जनरल और दूसरे अफसरान जो उस में थे, व या तो पाकिस्तान के कब्ज में होंगे या उनको मार दिया गया होगा। आखिर पाकिस्तान कर क्या रहा है? क्यों एसी भावना उसके प्रति हमारे और लोगों के दिलों में है? उसकी नीति क्या है। एक तरफ तो वह चीन के साथ नापाक समझौता करता है और दूसरी तरफ आंग्ल-अमरीकी ब्लाक का हिज्र मास्टर्ज वायस बन कर तरह तरह की चीजें बनाता है, तरह तरह की बातें हमें कहता है। ये सभी जो चीजें हो रहीं हैं, आखिर इनकी तरफ से हमने अपनी आंखें क्यों बन्द करली हैं। हमने आखिर

[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

कितने दोस्त बनाये हैं जो हमारे खयालात की तर्जमानी कर सकते हों ?

यह जो समस्या है, इसका हल साफ है। हमारे बोर्डर पर जितने भी लोग रहते हैं उनको हथियार दिये जायें ताकि कम-अज-कम पाकिस्तान को मालूम हो सके कि हमारे हथियारों को जंग नहीं लग चुका है और जरूरत पड़ने पर व इस्तेमाल हों सकते हैं। मैं नहीं कहता कि हम लोग पाकिस्तान पर हमला कर दें। लेकिन पाकिस्तान अगर गोली मारे तो गोली का जवाब सलाम से तो हम न दें कभी कभी तो गोली का जवाब गोली से भी दें ताकि पाकिस्तान समझने पर मजबूर हो कि आज हिन्दुस्तान इतना कमजोर नहीं है जितना पाकिस्तान समझता है कि वह है या उसके आकाओं ने समझ रखा है कि कमजोर है। इस लिये मैं कहूँगा कि मेरा यह मुझाव है आपको कि हम एक जनमत संग्रह करें पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ। हम सही तरीके से सही बातें कहे और हमारे लोग दूसरे देशों में जा कर उनको बतलायें। आप न देखा होगा कि पाकिस्तान ने एक बफ्द उन देशों को भेजा है जो कि मुसलमानों के देश हैं एशियान हैकट्रीज हैं। उनमें वे प्रचार करते हैं, और हमारे प्रचार के साधन ऐसे हैं, कि जो वाक्य होता है उसका वे लोग पहले अपने रेडियों से एलान करते हैं और हम दूसरे दिन या तीसरे दिन करते हैं। वह तो भगवान भला करे कि उस सदन में कालिज अटेशन मच होते हैं, वर्ना जरूरत ही नहीं समझी जाती कि हमें कोई चीज बतलाई जाये। कालिज अटेशन होगा तो उसका जवाब दिया जायेगा।

इसलिये मैं सुरक्षा मन्त्री से कहूँगा कि आज हमारा देश गुरु नानक का देश है, चैतन्य महाप्रभु का देश है। लेकिन अगर हमारे सुरक्षा मन्त्री देश में चैतन्य महाप्रभु की भावना फैलाने लग जायेंगे तो मुझे मालूम नहीं कि इस देश का क्या होगा। कल्चर हमारा ठीक

है। लेकिन मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि पाकिस्तान के साथ . . .

एक माननीय सदस्य : वे शिवाजी बनें।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : शिवाजी वे जरूर बनें। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि वे शिवाजी बनें पाकिस्तान के साथ। लेकिन अगर इस तरीके से हो कि हम युद्ध नहीं करना चाहते हैं, इस वक्त अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिस्थिति हमारे खिलाफ है, यह कहते कहते हम पीछे हटना शुरू कर दें, तो आज वे हमारे सिपाही पकड़ ले गये, आज वे हमारे मवेशी ले जा रहे हैं, कल हो सकता है कि कुछ और करें क्योंकि आज पीकिंग और पिंडी की ऐक्सिस है, आज नापाक समझौता है और इससे बड़ी बात यह है कि चाऊ एन लाई वहां पर है। साथ ही अमरीकी हथियार, अंग्रेजी सपॉर्ट, यह तमाम चीजें चली आ रही हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमें कम से कम यह सोचना चाहिये कि हम किस तरह से इन चीजों को हल करें।

दूसरी बात मैं अपनी डिफेन्स फॉर्सज के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। उनके बारे में बहुत ज्यादा इज्जत हमारे दिल में है। मैं जानता हूँ कि वह मुकाबला कर सकती हैं हमारी सरहदों पर। मैं यह तो नहीं कहता कि तमाम सरहदों पर मिलीटरी वाले भर दिये जायें क्योंकि यह मुमकिन नहीं होगा। लेकिन वहां पर कम से कम हमारे मिलीटरी वाले लोग होने चाहियें। खाली पुलिस वाले वहां रख दिये जायें और उसके बाद कहे कि इतनी बड़ी सरहद है हम क्या कर सकते हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि यह गलत होगा। मेरा पहला मुझाव यह है कि पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ मुकाबला करने के लिये एक भावना लोगों के दिमाग के अन्दर लाई जाये, और कहा जाये कि हम तुम्हारा मुकाबला करने के लिये तैयार हैं अगर ऐसी चीजें होंगी। दूसरे एंग्लो अमेरिकन ब्लाक से साफ तरीके से कहा जाये कि अगर उन का यही रवैया रहा तो कामन-

वेलथ में हमारे रहने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। आखिर कामनवेलथ में हम क्यों रहें। उनको साफ तरीके से धमकी देनी चाहिये। उन लोगों ने साफ तौर से सोलह साल तक सिक्वोरिटी कौंसिल में इस देश को काटा, बांटा, पीटा और अचानक अंग्रेज अपनी असलियत पर आ गया और उसने अपना साम्राज्यवादी पंजा बढ़ा कर पाकिस्तान की मदद की। हमारी मदद नहीं की।

इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सुरक्षा नीति यह नहीं होनी चाहिये कि हम किसी पर हमला करें लेकिन कम से कम यह जरूर होनी चाहिये कि लोगों को मालूम हो कि अगर हमारे ऊपर हमलावर कोई होगा तो हम उसका मुकाबला करेंगे। पाकिस्तान की जो नीति आज है वह बिल्कुल साफ है। वह है बुलीडिंग, ब्लैफिंग और ब्लैकमेलिंग। वह इस तरह के तीन बीज के द्वारा अपने देश को चलाना चाहता है। मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि हमारे सुरक्षा मन्त्री आज विश्वास दिलायें, आश्वासन दें, कि हमारे यहां हथियार बन रहे हैं, हमारे सिपाहियों की तादाद बढ़ाई जा रही है, मिलीटरी की तादाद बढ़ाई जा रही है। ऐसा नहीं है कि उसे केवल घुमाया जाये उन को लेकर। कलकत्ते में रायट हुआ। उसको रोका गया, बड़ी खुशी की बात है, लेकिन फिर भी सेना का क्या काम है, वह अपना काम कर रही है और हमारे देश की सुरक्षा नीति क्या है, इसके बारे में साफ तरीके से तमाम चीजों का स्पष्टीकरण होना चाहिये।

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur):** The feelings expressed by Shri Nath Pai are the feelings of the whole House. He has spoken for all of us here. We speak in sorrow, in anguish and in anger because we feel that these instances constitute a humiliation, an affront, to our motherland. I am quite sure that the Defence Minister, whose patriotism is unquestioned, and whose highmindedness we have on many occasions applauded, will join with us in expressing and in sharing this sense of anguish and anger.

The Karen outrage, as has rightly been pointed out by the speakers who spoke before me, is part of a sinister conspiracy between Pindi and Peking, who are both committed to mutual aggrandizement at our cost. The question is: what have we done to repel these designs for aggrandizement? The question is: how well prepared are we to meet the challenge, whether it is on the military front; or it is in the matter of internal security and destroying the espionage rings in this country, or indeed in the matter of meeting their diplomatic offensive; for these armed incursions by Pakistan are accompanied by diplomatic offensives. We would have to provide a comprehensive answer to the Pakistani challenge which is exemplified by this intensive offensive which has been launched by them. The ambush is only an inaugural arrow and I feel it amounts almost to a declaration of war by Pakistan against us. It is generally by the mis-calculation of trigger happy aggressors that wars are brought about and we should leave Pakistan in no doubt that any such miscalculation would cost them very considerably. We should also harbour no illusions about the possibility in the immediate future of a negotiated settlement with Pakistan. We should clearly see through their game and realise that there is method in their madness and we may have to meet it squarely on the battle front as also on the diplomatic front. We should also tell the Western powers that those who exult or connive at the adulterous embrace of Pindi and Peking are doing so to their own great dis-advantage. We should leave no doubt in the minds of western diplomacy that even suffering and tolerating or encouraging the newly emerging relationship between Pindi and Peking may cost them and the entire world a great imbalance in the world power politics. We have been subjected to kidnapping of our officers and of Indian citizens, abduction of women, lifting of cattle, ambushing of our patrols; infiltration

[Shri L. M. Singhvi]

and incessant firing as was the case on our eastern borders, in addition to signing away to China of our territories and wanton attempts at widespread espionage within the borders of our country. How long shall we tolerate all this and remain in our posture of being a gentleman? We are losing respect everywhere in the world by a weak policy in all these matters. It is time we declared in no uncertain terms that we shall not tolerate any of these incursions on our national sovereignty.

I shall conclude in two minutes, Sir. To add insult to injury, Pakistan has always been carrying on insidious propoganda and has always been subjecting us to an adverse world opinion or at least to a doubtful world opinion about our case. I should like to draw the attention of the Defence Minister to latest Pakistani manouvre. This morning Pakistani radio announced that there was an incursion from the Indian side by troops, a battalion strong and that the Azad Kashmir forces successfully repelled these incursions. We would like to know before the rest of the world knows the Pakistani story, and want our Government to come out with a true picture of things so that Pakistan is not permitted to confuse issues. As if this were not enough, we have Mr. Bhutto's bewildering gyrations and wanton prevarications. Is it not time that we reorganised the entire machinery of our foreign publicity? Is it not time that we made a real, dedicated effort to resuscitate our foreign publicity from the morass of inactivity and indifference into which it seems to have fallen? I think it is necessary for us to study the *modus operandi* of Pakistan in its relationship with us. It is necessary for us to see how they have been adopting consistently a policy of hit and run and then to sing the nursery rhyme of oppressed innocence. We should try to expose its game and we should try to show that the silk road of

which Premier Chou-En-lai spoke recently in his speech to the West Pakistan Assembly is a silk cord to strangulate India like the cloth which was used by the Thugs in medieval India. We should expose their game in an effective manner all round.

I would like to pose a few suggestions just for the consideration and reaction of the Minister, because the time at my disposal is very short. I would like to say that the border security should be organised in a much more effective manner than has been done hitherto. The border people should be armed with and be trained to use and wield those arms. We should have strong guards on all our borders, and we should also as far as possible mechanise all our extensive borders with Pakistan, so that we are able to give swift and prompt answers and rough and ready retaliation to Pakistani incursions.

Those who believe that Pakistan may yet come round and that the corner may be turned in the relationship of India and Pakistan are, I think, in for disappointment and disillusionment. Let us not allow such illusions to hold our progress in the field of self-defence and in the field of vindicating our national honour to ransom in anyway. Let us make a real, massive and dedicated effort, and spare no pains or sacrifice for this purpose.

श्री बड़े (खारगोन) : माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री नाथपाई जी जो प्रस्ताव लाए हैं मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ और उनके भाषण को भी मैंने सुना और समझा। अगर उस भाषण के बाद भी चव्हाण साहब की आंखें नहीं खुलें और जोश न आवे, तो दूसरा भाषण श्री यशपालसिंह का है जिससे उनको प्रेरणा मिलेगी। अपने रक्षा मंत्री होने पर श्री चव्हाण ने भाषण दिया था कि मैं मराठा हूँ, मैं महंगा लेकिन हटंगा नहीं और न वापस आऊंगा।

बनर्जी साहब ने कहा कि हमारा चेतन्य महाप्रभु का देश है। ठीक है, लेकिन हमारा देश राणा प्रताप और शिवाजी का भी देश है। इन पर जब दो-दो तरफ से हमले होते थे तो इन्होंने इनका किस तरह सामना किया था यह हमें देखना चाहिए। पाकिस्तान ने जो इतना बड़ा हमला शुरू कर दिया है इसका कारण यह है कि भुट्टों की सीक्योरिटी काउंसिल में पराजय हो गयी थी। उसको वहां यश नहीं मिला और वह वापस आ गया। लेकिन उसके बाद चाऊ एन लाई जाते हैं और बोनो में कान्सपिरेसी हांती है। पाकिस्तान को जब अमरीका ने और इंग्लैंड ने काश्मीर लेने के लिए मदद और हिम्मत नहीं दी तो चाऊ एन लाई ने उसको हिम्मत दिलायी। इसलिए उनमें पैक्ट हुआ और उसका परिणाम हम १५ अक्टूबर से देख रहे हैं। १५ अक्टूबर को हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स में यह खबर आयी थी :

"Pakistan has engaged a large-number of Chinese engineers and military experts. They are now camping at Koteghat in Comilla. Chinese are seen at Navkhat. Pakistan is massing troops on the southern border."

इसके पहले २ अक्टूबर को भी इसी प्रकार की न्यूज़ थी। इससे मानना चाहिए कि उस वक़्त से पाकिस्तान ने चीन से हाथ मिलाया हुआ था। पहले पाकिस्तान ने अमरीका से हाथ मिलाया और सीटो और मेंटो का सदस्य बना, लेकिन इससे उसका काश्मीर लेने का उद्देश्य सफल नहीं आया। इसलिए उसने चीन से हाथ मिलाया। आज पाकिस्तान चाहता है कि उसको किसी तरह काश्मीर मिले। इसलिए हम को सबसे पहले काश्मीर के सवाल को हल करना चाहिए और काश्मीर की कोई समस्या नहीं रहने देना चाहिए। उसके बाद हमको सीज फायर लाइन की ओर ध्यान देना चाहिए। श्री मेनन साहब ने कहा था कि यह एक मेंटल लाइन है एकचुअल लाइन नहीं है। हम नहीं चाहते कि इसके लिए हम बार करें,

लेकिन हमको इसके लिए पुलिस ऐक्शन करना चाहिए। पाकिस्तान को एग्रेसर स्वीकार किया जा चुका है। इसलिए अगर हम इस तरफ पुलिस ऐक्शन करेंगे तो पाकिस्तान की जो फौजें पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में जमा हुई हैं वे इस तरफ आएंगी और हमको एक ही मोर्चे पर लड़ना होगा। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में शिवाजी का देना चाहता हूँ। जब उस पर हमला दो तरफ से होता था तो वह एक तरफ लड़ता था और ऐसा दिखाता था कि दूसरी तरफ जा रहा है। तो हमको भी इसी तरह करना चाहिए और इतिहास से सबक लेना चाहिए। यह कहना काफी नहीं है कि हमारी सेना तैयार है। ऐसे भाषणों से तो हमारी हिम्मत टूटती है। मैं कहता हूँ कि श्री यशपालसिंह जी के भाषण से हमारी हिम्मत बढ़ती है पर विद्यालंकार जी के भाषण से हमारी हिम्मत कम होती है और हमारे अन्दर नपुंसकता आती है।

आज होली का दिन है, लेकिन जो लोग सीमा पर मारे गए हैं उनके बच्चे, उनकी माताएं और स्त्रियों आपको क्या कहती हैं। वे आपको धिक्कारती हैं और कहती हैं कि हमारे आदमियों का कटवा दिया और उनका बदला नहीं लिया। आज पाकिस्तान हमसे खून की होली खेल रहा है। हम तो पाकिस्तान के साथ रंग की होली खेलना चाहते हैं, लेकिन अगर वह हमारे साथ खून की होली खेलना चाहता है तो हम उनके लिए तैयार हैं। मैं चव्हाण साहब से कहता हूँ कि वे आज डिफेंस मिनिस्टर हैं, उनको पुगनी पालिसी नहीं चलाना चाहिए। अगर वे ऐसा करेंगे तो इतिहास उनको धिक्कारेगा और कहेगा कि उन्होंने कुछ नहीं किया। १ अक्टूबर से यह चल रहा है। अपने अपने बजट के लिए अधिक पैसा मांगा जो कि देश ने दिया लेकिन आपने क्या किया? अभी वही पालिसी चल रही है। इसके लिए मैं चव्हाण साहब को दोष नहीं देता, मैं इसके लिए पंडित जी की सरकार को दोष देता हूँ, जिसके कारण आज हमारा कोई दोस्त नहीं है। चीन को हमने रद्द कर

[श्री बड़े]

दिया, रूस की नीति भी दुलमुल है, अमरीका और इंग्लैण्ड अलग हो गए। आज हमारे सामने कठिन परिस्थिति है। लेकिन ऐसा पंडित जी की पालिसी के कारण हुआ है।

आज हमको पाकिस्तान की मुखता, चीन के ब्रेन और अमरीका के हथियारों का सामना करना है। इसका सामना करने के लिए हमको भी ब्रेवरी और उमके साथ ब्रेन लगाने की जरूरत है, और अगर इसके साथ बुलेट को और जोड़ दें तो हमारी समस्या हल हो सकती है।

हम चाहते हैं कि ऐसी नीति अपनायी जाए कि जैसी आज होली है वैसी आगे न हो और अगले साल हम इस सदन में आनन्द से होली मनाएं। ऐसा हो तब तो च्छाण साहब के लिए कहा जाएगा कि उन्होंने कुछ किया और हिन्दुस्तान की इज्जत रखी।

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** May I know if you are restricting the speakers to the signatories to the motion or others also will get a chance?

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not restricting, but am just giving preference to those who have signed it.

**Shri Swell:** Mr. Speaker. Sir, within the time that you have prescribed, I think can only make a number of submissions for the consideration of the Defence Minister and the Government of India. I may make it clear at the very beginning that I make these submissions not with a spirit of criticism but with a constructive spirit and the desire to see that the Government does something about them.

In the first place, I want to submit that the Pakistan Government means business this time. There are a number of reasons. In the first place, it is clear to everybody that it wants to create a situation which will enable it to revive this question before

the Security Council in the month of March, as the Foreign Minister of Pakistan has declared. Mr. Chou En-lai has stated before the West Pakistan Assembly on the 24th of this month that there is a new development, a big stride forward. What is that new development and big stride forward? It has been explained by his lieutenant, Mr. Chen Yi in a discussion with some representatives of the Pakistan Government in which he said:

"You take Kashmir and we take Taiwan, but even after that we shall remain friends."

17 hrs.

The second submission that I want to make is this, that we should understand the meaning of this word 'intrusion' in its right perspective. I submit that it does not mean simply the intrusion of a number of armed Pakistani personnel or a number of Pakistani soldiers or a number of Pakistani planes, but it may also mean the intrusion of Pakistan either by itself or through its collaborators on this side of the border.

I know about my side of the border, the eastern sector, a little more than the western sector, and therefore I would confine my remarks particularly to that part especially with relation to Assam. I want to submit this for the consideration of the Government of India, that Pakistan is today planning to stage a situation in Assam which is similar to the situation in Kashmir. Today it might be a cry for taking Kashmir, but I warn this Government that in a few years time if they do not wake up to the situation they will be faced with a situation in which the cry for plebiscite in Assam too will be raised.

Sir, I would like to take a little time of this House and mention a few things that have happened in Assam.

during the last two months. I do not know if the Government has made a sort of a calendar of these happenings, but with my little knowledge from what little information as I could get, I have made that calendar. It is clear to everybody that Pakistan has got collaborators in Assam. It has been established in this House again and again and admitted by this Government that the Naga hostiles are working in complicity with Pakistan. It has been established in this House again and again that there are hundreds of thousands of Pakistani infiltrators into Assam. Then, I am sorry to say that the people in Assam today talk quite currently that Pakistan has got collaborators also among a section of the State Government of Assam. I would like the Defence Minister and the Government of India to put their hands in their hearts and to admit or to deny these things. There are the stories of money having passed from Chinese sources and Pakistani sources into a section of the State Government of Assam for subverting the law and order situation especially in the border areas of Assam. I have been told on reliable authority that this matter is engaging the attention of the Government of India itself.

Sir, I would like to mention those things that have happened in Assam during the last two months. I will read them out because I do not have the time to go into the background. On December, 30, 1963, Shri Laldenga and Shri Lalmauia, President and Vice President of the Mizo National Front that has been demanding secession from India, were arrested by the police of the Assam Government after they returned from Pakistan where they had gone for negotiating arms with Pakistan. On 5th January, 1964, Pakistani planes crossed into the Indian border in Tripura. On 7th January, on account of the alleged misbehaviour of some personnel of the Border Road Organisation and the Border Security Force with women in Mizo Hills there was a

clash between the people of Mizo Hills and those people in which a major of the Indian Army was killed and a young man of Mizo Hills was also killed. In this clash we are told that the people seized away a number of arms, rifles and ammunitions and those rifles have not been traced even till today. Again, on 7th January, Mr. Pahlira, Secretary of the Mizo Union, the biggest party in the Mizo Hills, gave out a sort of a threat that unless the Prime Minister agreed to meet the representatives of that party by 26th February—that is, yesterday—the Prime Minister would be responsible for the consequences that would follow in that part of Assam.

Then, on January 7, the Naga hostiles raided a village in Jorhat called Gamarichowa. On January 11, the Naga hostiles blew up a bridge on the road linking up Imphal and in Manipur and Kohima. On January 12, the Naga hostiles fired at six posts of the Security Forces at Kohima. On January 14, the Naga hostiles ambushed and killed three security men of the waterprotection party in the same area of Nagaland. On January 15, the Nagas ambushed and fired at a military convoy, killing two security men. Again, on January 15, the Nagas with machine guns and hand grenades attacked two police stations in Mao area on the imphal Badarpur Road. On January 20, refugees who have now swelled to about 100,000 started crossing from East Pakistan to the Garo Hills. I shall come to that question again if I have the time. On the 7th of February, Nagas raided a shop in Amguri area in Assam. On the 8th of February, 100 armed Pakistanis trespassed into Puran Ragbaria area in Tripura and attacked an Indian party. On February 8 the Naga hostiles killed five Nagaland officials in the Tuensang area.

Then we come to the most fateful day, the 17th of February, when the incidents in Shillong occurred. After the discussion here, I have taken the

[Shri Swell]

trouble of going a little deeper into the matter. With the co-operation of a section of the State Government of Assam, a party of the Assam State police created a law and order situation in the whole of Assam. The incident that occurred on the 12th of February appeared to be an innocuous thing, a clash between the people and some policemen because of alleged misbehaviour of some policemen with some women, and the matter was stopped there. But, soon after the 12th of February, the State Government at a very high level meeting decided to take action on the 17th of February by sending armed police to go into the bazar to knock everybody indiscriminately, spit on the face of women and men and to beat up the people in the bazar itself to create a law and order situation.

Now, you cannot say that I am talking about that because it affected my people. I would like to ask the Defence Minister to go into the papers of that day. On the same day—the Home Minister, the whole Government of India, everybody is concerned with it—on the same day, on the 17th of February, Pakistani slogans were raised in Nougong district. On the same day, Pakistani slogans were raised in the Karimganj sub-division. On the same day, Pakistani slogans were raised in Dhubri. On the same day, Pakistani slogans were raised in Tezpur so much so that the Government of Assam was forced to impose an order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code in Nowgong and Karimganj districts. Well, you can imagine the situation. Though the people would not rise against the Government, it is easy for a handful of the policemen to go to the market, commit misdeeds and create a law and order situation.

I would like to ask the Defence Minister to look into the matter. I would like the Government of India

to look into the matter. I have many other things to say but I do not have the time for it. What I would like to say in conclusion is, you must do something about the situation in Assam. Either apply the pruning knife or the axe as the Government of India is doing to the Kashmir Government. Unless and until you do it, I give you this warning that the day is not far off when you will have a similar situation in Assam as we are having in Kashmir.

**Shri Kapur Singh** (Ludhiana): Mr. Speaker, I will not go into the facts because they have already been gone into by the hon. Members who have spoken before me. Besides, they are not in dispute. The facts out of which this motion arises relate to a certain incident which took place on 21st February in the Baramulla area on the banks of Kishenganga. Those facts are admitted and not disputed by anybody. Added to these facts is an other fact to which a reference has already been made in this House, that is, a certain news which Pakistan has broadcast, I presume, this morning and which is now current in the bazars of Delhi. This news is to the effect that Pakistan claims that, yesterday a whole battalion of the Indian army attacked Pakistani forces and that we were repulsed with heavy losses. I would request the hon. Minister of Defence when he rises to reply to this Motion to make this matter clear so that misunderstandings are removed.

Before proceeding further I should like also to remove certain misunderstandings which seem to have arisen out of the speech which the hon. Member of my Party has made. An hon. Member from the ruling Party seems to have got the impression that we have certain intentions and make certain claims. On behalf of my Party, I would like to make it clear that we have no intention of turning any misfortune of this country or any crisis which might overtake the ruling Party into an advantage for our Party.

I also want to make it clear that it is not our claim that if we were sitting on the Treasury Benches we are in a position to solve all the problems that face this country including the problem of China and Pakistan either within six months or within six years. It is not our position that the individual Members of our Party are in any way wiser than the other hon. Members of this august House. Our position is that individually we are less than many hon. Members of this House and collectively our Party passionately believes that the policies which they advocate are in the best interests of this country. But they do not claim that these policies are the only correct policies and that the policies of others are either misconceived or dishonest.

Having made this position clear I would like to say that our attitude with regard to the problem which stems out of the circumstances of this Motion is the same which is the national policy, namely, the policy of unbroken friendship with the peoples of Pakistan, no matter what happens. Even if we go to a hundred years' war with Pakistan, our attitude towards the Pakistan people should be that they are our friends and that they are not accountable for what their rulers and their Government do. Towards the Government of Pakistan the policy of our Party is that we should always pursue the end of peace through peaceful means, if possible, and through other means, if necessary, and that firmness should always be the keynote of our policy.

Having said this I should like to make certain observations which I am persuaded might help the hon. Defence Minister and those who sit on the Treasury Benches to formulate or to reassess their own attitude towards what has been happening *vis-à-vis* the attitude of Pakistan towards us. I want to say something about the ethics of revenge. In Islamic history, and in the history of the Arabs, the concept of revenge and the ethics of

revenge have played a very important part. From times immemorial, it had been accepted in the Arab society, even before the Islam arose, that revenge was a legitimate method of settling grievances of individuals as well as of groups. When the founder of Islam came on the scene he revolutionized the whole society of the Arabs and consequently those of other countries that accepted Islam. Those who have studied his life and his thought know that, the founder of Islam was a man, not only of remarkable talents, but also that, he was essentially a man of peace. He believed in persuasion, that through reason man could be persuaded to accept what is right; but he was also a man of his age and he believed and declared that where the other party was cursed, where the dissident was unreasonable and unrelenting, revenge was permissible. Ever since that time the concept and ethics of revenge have formed a very dynamic concept not only in the Islamic polity but in all Islamic governments and in all Islamic societies. Therefore, before we can formulate our own attitude towards Pakistan we must understand the psychology which permeates those who now stand opposed to us.

I will not go further. I am not suggesting that the Government should adopt any particular policy. I suppose that for this Government to adopt the policy of peace is the best policy. I also accept that war, the ultimate weapon of pursuing peace, is a very very difficult decision to make. It is not a matter on which I would like to presume to advise this Government. But I would like to tell them that this being the psychology of those with whom we are now concerned, it will be better if we give a second look to the methods which have so far been adopting in dealing with the situations that have been recurrently arising out of our relations with Pakistan.

Before I sit down, I would request the Defence Minister to answer three

[Shri Kapur Singh]

questions when he rises to reply. The first question is: Does he think that the incidents on the banks of the Kishenganga and the incidents with which we are concerned now and which have been succinctly placed before this House by my hon. friend Shri Nath Pai, form a pattern which leads to a well-conceived aim or whether they are merely exhibitions of ill temper? My second question is: If they form a pattern how do Government think that they relate to the current political scene in which we are now involved? The last question which I would like him to answer is: What do we propose to do about this whole business?

**Shri Bade:** Does my hon. friend want war or peace?

**Shri Kapur Singh:** These are the three questions which I would request the hon. Minister to answer.

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (विजनौर) :**

अध्यक्ष महोदय, पाकिस्तान की ओर से समय समय पर भारतीय सीमाओं पर आक्रमण, लटपट और हत्याकाण्ड की जो घटनाएँ होती रही हैं, उन सब को देख कर मुझे राजपि टंडन जी की वह चेतावनी आज याद आती है, जो उन्होंने पाकिस्तान बनने से पहले, जबकि उसके बारे में अन्तिम निर्णय लिया जा रहा था, कांग्रेस महासमिति के अधिवेशन में दी थी। वह पाकिस्तान मानने के विरोधी थे और उन्होंने उस समय यह कहा था, "बहुमत से तुम इस काम को कर रहे हो, लेकिन मैं अपने निजी अनुभव के आधार पर तुम को यह कहे जाता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की छाती पर तुम एक ऐसा कांटा गाड़ रहे हो, जो हमेशा हमेशा हिन्दुस्तान को परेशान करता रहेगा।" पिछले सोलह वर्षों का इतिहास आज राजपि टंडन की चेतावनी का प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण है।

पाकिस्तान के बनने के पश्चात् कभी उसने काश्मीर पर हमला किया, किस तरह से पूर्वी

पाकिस्तान में इसी प्रकार के हत्याकाण्ड होते रहे हैं, भारत में साम्प्रदायिक उपद्रव भड़काने के लिए किस तरह से पाकिस्तानी यहाँ पर आकर काम करते रहते हैं, आसाम, त्रिपुरा और पश्चिमी बंगाल में किस तरह से भारी मात्रा में पाकिस्तानी आ गए हैं, और किस तरह से भारतीय धरती पर मंगला डैम बन रहा है यह हमें ज्ञात है। पाकिस्तान बनने के पश्चात् प्रतिवर्ष का इतिहास, प्रति मास का इतिहास, बल्कि यँ कहना चाहिए, कि प्रतिदिन का इतिहास राजपि टंडन जी की उम चेतावनी का ही प्रमाण है कि वह एक ऐसा कांटा हिन्दुस्तान की छाती पर गड़ गया है, जो सदा उसको परेशान करना रहेगा जब तक पाकिस्तान अपने वर्तमान रूप में रहेगा, तब तक वह हिन्दुस्तान को शान्ति के साथ नहीं बैठने देगा।

आन्तरिक दृष्टि से चाहे पाकिस्तान में अन्य मामलों में लाख मतभेद हों, लेकिन जिस एक प्रश्न पर सारा पाकिस्तान एक है, जिस एक समस्या के बारे में सारे पाकिस्तान से एक स्वर निकलता है, वह है भारतवर्ष का विरोध, भाग्यवर्ष पर आक्रमण की घोषणा।

अभी पीछे सुरक्षा परिषद् में पाकिस्तान के विदेश मंत्री, श्री भुट्टो, ने भारत पर यह लांछन लगाया था कि भारत की ओर से पाकिस्तान की सीमाओं पर इतनी बार आक्रमण किये गये हैं। मैं अपनी भाषा में इस का उत्तर न दे कर आप के सामने वह उत्तर रखना चाहता हूँ, जो कि भारत सरकार के जिम्मेदार प्रतिनिधि, श्री मुहम्मद करीम चागला, ने सुरक्षा परिषद् में दिया। उन्होंने वहाँ पर बताया कि पिछले पंद्रह वर्षों में पाकिस्तान ने १५०० बार भारतीय सीमाओं पर आक्रमण किया है। जब भारत सरकार का एक जिम्मेदार प्रतिनिधि यह कहता है, तो यह संख्या जहाँ दुनिया को चेतावनी देने के लिए है, वहाँ भारतीय गौरव के लिए भी तो एक बहुत बड़ी चुनौती है। जिस देश की

सीमाओं पर १५०० बार आक्रमण हो चुके हों, वह देश शान्ति से बैठा रहे और किसी प्रकार के भी विरोध की स्थिति में न आये, यह बात समझ में नहीं आती है ।

मेरे मित्र, श्री यशपाल सिंह, के भाषण को सुन कर एक माननीय सदस्य को गुस्सा आया और उन्होंने कहा कि यह उनकी पराजित मनोवृत्ति का परिचायक है । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो शब्द उन्होंने कहे हैं, वे उनकी पराजित मनोवृत्ति के परिचायक नहीं हैं, बल्कि उनके द्वारा स्वाभिमान के उद्बोधक हैं । केवल उन्हीं की नहीं, बल्कि आज देश भर की यह भावना है कि जब हम आये दिन समाचारपत्रों में पढ़ते हैं कि हमारे इतने ऊंटों को नष्ट कर ले गये, हमारे इतने सिपाही मार दिये गये, हमारे अमुक हवाई जहाज का पना नहीं है, हमारे तेरह मिलिटरी आफ्रिमज की कोई जानकारी नहीं है, हमारे मिलिटरी के २३ आदमी मार दिये गये, तो भारत का जन साधारण यह सोचता है कि क्या हिन्दुस्तान की सेना, क्या भारत सरकार की शक्ति इतनी क्षीण हो गई है कि अब हम मरने की स्थिति में हैं, मारने की स्थिति में नहीं रहे । मेरे माननीय मित्र का अभिप्राय केवल मात्र यही था और उनके स्वर में स्वर मिलाने हुए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम को आज वह स्थिति पैदा करनी चाहिए कि हम केवल बचाव की स्थिति में न रहें, बल्कि अब हम को आक्रमण की स्थिति में भी आना चाहिए, हम पर हमले होते रहें और हम अपने आप को बचाने में ही लगे रहें, उस स्थिति में आज हम न रहें, बल्कि भारत को आक्रमण की स्थिति में भी आना चाहिए । तभी हम पराजित मनोवृत्ति के लान्छन को दूर कर सकेंगे ।

जहां तक हमारे देश में पाकिस्तान की कार्यवाहियों का प्रश्न है, मैं बड़े दुख के साथ इस सरकार की अजीब सजगता का एक ही प्रमाण देना चाहता हूँ । अगस्त, १९६२ में मैं ने एक प्रश्न पूछा कि इस देश में पासपोर्ट

ले कर आये हुए पाकिस्तानियों की संख्या क्या है और जो बिना पासपोर्ट के आये हैं, या जिन के पासपोर्ट की अवधि समाप्त हो गई है, ऐसे लोगों की संख्या क्या है ।

17.20 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

अगस्त, १९६२ के प्रश्न का उत्तर फरवरी, १९६४ में दिया गया । फरवरी १९६४ में दो साल बाद इसका उत्तर कल मेरे पास आया है । इस में बताया गया है कि १ जुलाई, १९६२ को इस देश में जो पासपोर्ट ले कर रहने वाले पाकिस्तानी थे, उनकी संख्या १ लाख १८ हजार ७४९ थी और जो बिना पासपोर्ट के रहने वाले पाकिस्तानी थे उनकी संख्या ४६ हजार १३८ थी । इतनी बड़ी संख्या में, पाने दो लाख के लगभग जब पाकिस्तानी यहां भारत में हों, जोकि भारत सरकार की जानकारी में हों और सारे भारत-वर्ष में वह फैले हुए हों तो कल को परमात्मा न करे पाकिस्तान के साथ हिन्दुस्तान के अग्रर दो दो हाथ होने लगे उस स्थिति में जैसी आज स्थिति बनती चली जा रही है उस समय ये दो और ढाई लाख मुसलमान जो सारे भारत में बिखरे हुए हैं, और सात लाख आदमी जो असम में पाकिस्तान से आ कर बैठ गए हैं, वे ज० अयूब के हाथ मजबूत करेंगे या आपके प्रधान मंत्री के हाथ मजबूत करेंगे ? यह प्रश्न आज जनता भारत सरकार से पूछनी है ।

मैं सदन को याद दिलाता हूँ और मेरी इस बात की गवाही राजस्थान के माननीय सदस्य देगे कि पाकिस्तान बनने के बाद राजस्थान की सीमाओं पर एक फोटो बांटा गया था । हिन्दुस्तान की पार्लिमेंट में भी इसकी चर्चा उठी थी । फोटो क्या था । उसमें एक घोड़ा बना हुआ था जिस पर जिन्ना साहब सवार थे । यह पाकिस्तान के एक दम बाद की बात है । यह फोटो तब राजस्थान की सीमा पर बांटा गया था । उस घोड़े के पिछले दो पैर तो पाकिस्तान में थे,

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

एक पैर जैसलमेर में था और चौथा पैर दिल्ली की ओर उठा हुआ था और नीचे लिखा हुआ था भारतीय भाइयों, घबराओ मत, तुम्हारी रक्षा के लिए हम बहुत जल्द दिल्ली आने की तैयारी कर रहे हैं। यह फोटो जो उस समय बांटा गया था, वह ही उनकी भावनाओं का प्रतीक था। अभी राजस्थान के एक जिम्मेवार सदस्य श्री हरिश्चन्द्र माथुर ने कहा कि राजस्थान का सोमाग्रों पर मोलों इस प्रकार का इलाका है कि जहाँ पर पाकिस्ताना घुसपैठ कर सकते हैं। ऐसा लगता है कि प्रभार के न्यति आगे चल कर वे बना देंगे, कोई कह नहीं सकता है।

१९६१ की जन गणना भी हमारी आँखें खोलने के लिए पर्याप्त है। पाकिस्तान से लगे हुए राजस्थान के जिले गंगानगर में जहाँ १९५१ में २०,३०५ मुसलमान थे, वहाँ वे १९६१ में बढ़ कर ३८,५६१ हो गये। बीकानेर में जहाँ उनकी संख्या १९५१ में ३६,५७६ थी वहाँ वह १९६१ में बढ़ कर ५०,२६४ हो गई। जैसलमेर के अन्दर जहाँ १९५१ में उनकी संख्या २२,१८५ थी, वहाँ वह १९६१ में बढ़ कर ३७,०४६ हो गई। बाड़मेड़ में वह ५४,५३७ से बढ़ कर ६१,८५० हो गई। इससे आप अनुमान लगा सकते हैं कि इसके पीछे छिपी हुई भावना क्या है या इरादा क्या है।

अपने वक्तव्य को उपसंहार की ओर ले जाते हुए मैं दो बातें और कहना चाहता हूँ। गांधी जी को अहिंसा का सब से बड़ा समर्थक कहा जाता है। एक अंग्रेजी की किताब जो प्रो० ए० एन० बाली की लिखी है, जिसको मैंने पढ़ा, कई साल पहले पढ़ा है, "नाऊ इट कैन बी टोल्ड"। एक घटना उसमें लिखी हुई है। जब काश्मीर पर पाकिस्तान ने हमला किया तो नेहरूजी गांधीजी से पूछने गये कि बापू अब अगर हम अपनी मिलिट्री काश्मीर में भेजें तो आपकी अहिंसा रास्ते

में आ कर तो नहीं अटकेंगी? गांधी जी ने कहा कि अगर पाकिस्तान ने मिलिट्री भेजी है तो तुम भी भेज दो, अहिंसा बीच में कहाँ आती है। जवाहरलाल जी जब स्वीकृति ले कर चलने लग तो प्रो० ए० एन० बाली ने अपनी पुस्तक में लिखा है कि दरवाजे के पास आने के बाद गांधी जी ने उनको बुलाया और बुला कर कहा कि अगर मिलिट्री भेजनी है तो मेरी अपनी राय यह है कि काश्मीर की पहाड़ियों में उसको भेज कर क्यों मरवाते हो, अगर पाकिस्तान ने काश्मीर पर हमला किया है तो हिन्दुस्तान की मिलिट्री लाहौर और मियालकोट के रास्ते से कराची जानी चाहिये। यह प्रो० ए० एन० बाली ने गांधी जी की बात लिखी है। उनकी अहिंसा यहाँ तक जा कर आगे बढ़ती थी। लेकिन आज देश को आपने इतना टंडा कर दिया है, इतना कमजोर कर दिया है कि जिसका यह परिणाम है। समझ में नहीं आता है कि ऐसा क्यों किया गया है। अज अपने संरक्षण मंत्री श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण से भी मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह स्थिति पाकिस्तान की ओर से अब बना दी गई है या फिर शिशुपाल की सौ गालियाँ पूरी हो चुकी हैं। अब अगर एक सौ एकवीं गाली निकलती है तो हमारे नये संरक्षण मंत्री को खड़े हो कर कहना चाहिये कि भारत इस स्थिति को बरदास्त नहीं करेगा। हम को खुली भाषा में यह भी कहना चाहिये कि पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में जहाँ हिन्दुओं की संख्या केवल ६२ लाख रह गई है, उनको भी अगर पाकिस्तान परेशान करके निकालता है तो सरदार पटेल की सुदड़ भाषा में उनको भी अब स्पष्ट कहना चाहिये कि उनको भारत बसायेगा तो सही लेकिन जितने हिस्से में इनको बसाया जाना है, उतनी जमीन पाकिस्तान हिन्दुस्तान को देगा। यही न्यायपूर्ण मांग दुनिया के सामने हमारी होनी चाहिये। इस भाषा में जब हम बोलेंगे, जब इस भाषा में हम सोचेंगे, तब हम देश के गौरव की रक्षा कर सकेंगे, ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया** (फर्रुखाबाद):  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जिस विषय पर हम लोग बहस कर रहे हैं, उसका एक समर का पहलू है और दूसरा नीति का । मैं वेबल नीति के पहलू पर बोलूंगा । चाहे संसदीय नियमों के कारण हो, चाहे दूसरे कारणों से हों, हम इस सारे प्रश्न पर हमेशा अलग अलग और तोड़ तोड़ कर बहस करते हैं, कभी पूरी तरह से नहीं करते हैं । कभी पाकिस्तानी जासूसों को ले कर, कभी चीन के अन्दर हमारे राजदूत के अपमान को लेकर, कभी अंग्रेजों के पाकिस्तान के प्रति सुरक्षा परिषद् में रख को ले कर, हमेशा टूटी बहस हम चलाते हैं जिम का नतीजा होता है कि कभी तो हम हाथी की पूंछ पकड़ते हैं, कभी उसका पेट पकड़ते हैं, कभी कान पकड़ते हैं, लेकिन पूरी तस्वीर विदेशी और रणनीति की हमारे सामने नहीं आ पाती है । उसका नतीजा यह होता है कि यहां पर खाली एक पहलू आता है गुस्से का, कभी चीन पर गुस्से का, कभी पाकिस्तान पर और कभी अंग्रेज पर गुस्से का और जरा थोड़ा बहुत अगर सरकार पर भी आया तो इसलिए कि सरकार इतनी कमजोर है और उसको चार कदम आगे बढ़ना चाहिये था । लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर हम पूरी बहस करेंगे तो सरकार की कमजोरी पर हमें जितना गुस्सा आयेगा उतना न पाकिस्तान पर आयेगा और न चीन पर और न ही उतना किसी और पर ।

आज पंद्रह बरस की इनकी नीतियों का नतीजा हुआ है कि इन्होंने हमें दोनों मोर्चों पर उलझा दिया है, हमारी छाती के सामने भी दुश्मन खड़ा है, हमारी पीठ पर भी दुश्मन खड़ा है, चीन और पाकिस्तान दोनों मोर्चों पर उलझा करके इस सारी रण नीति ने और विदेश नीति ने हिन्दुस्तान को बरबाद किया है । जब हम इस तरह से सारी बहस को सांचते हैं तब नतीजा आता है कि आखिर इस में से कोई निकाल निकले । निकाल तीन हैं मेरी समझ में कि हम पाकिस्तान से मुलझें ताकि चो - से

उलझ सकें या हम चीन से मुलझें ताकि पाकिस्तान से उलझ सकें या हम दोनों से मुलझने की कोशिश करें । बढ़ बढ़ कर बात करना कि हम दोनों मोर्चों पर ताकत दिखा देंगे, ठीक नहीं है । एक मोर्चे पर ताकत दिखा कर हम देख चुके हैं कि क्या नतीजा होता है । दो तीन मोर्चों पर जब लाठी बजेगी तो क्या नतीजा होगा, उसका पता लग जायेगा । इसलिए तीन रास्ते हैं । जहां तक पाकिस्तान से मुलझने का रास्ता है ताकि हम चीन से उलझ जायें या दोनों से मुलझने का रास्ता है, इसके बारे में इस वक्त मैं अधिक नहीं कहूंगा । खाली तीसरी बात पर ही कहना चाहता हूं कि पाकिस्तान से उलझने के लिए चीन से मुलझो । यह कुछ नीति इस वक्त मालूम पड़ रही है सरकार की । शुरू शुरू में जब चीन ने अक्सार्ड चिन पर सड़क बनाई तो मुझे ऐसा लगता था कि सरकार के दिमाग में एक बात थी कि पाकिस्तान सिएटो और सैटो वगैरह से बहुत अधिक फंस रहा है और हमें गुस्सा आ रहा था, कुछ हम चिढ़ रहे थे और उस चिढ़ का ही नतीजा था कि हमने कहा कि अगर चीन जरा सड़क बना लेता है तो क्या बड़ी बात है । इस वक्त मुझे लगता है कि जो अक्सार्ड चिन की सड़क बनी थी, लड़ाख का वह हिस्सा गया था हाथ से, उसके ऊपर छाप और मुहर लगाने के लिए उसको एक कानूनी शकल देने के लिए यह रास्ता निकाला जा रहा है कि पाकिस्तान से उलझने के लिए चीन से मुलझो । नतीजा क्या होगा ? और बातों को आप छोड़ दें । सामरिक बात को छोड़ दें । इसका नतीजा होगा कि अभी तक तो हमारे कपड़े ही फटे हैं, फिर हम नंगे हो जायेंगे और सारी दुनिया को पता चल जायेगा कि हिन्दुस्तान की नीति किस तरह की रही है । मैं खुद अपनी तरफ से कह देना चाहता हूं कि किसी खास हालत में, एक आघ जैसे मैं मिसाल दे देता हूं, अगर पूर्वी बंगाल का मामला बहुत खतरनाक हो जाता है और मानवता का बहुत पर अवशेष नहीं रह जाता है तो मैं इसके लिए तैयार हूं

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

कि हमारा देश नंगा हो जाये, खत्म हो जाये, किसी सिद्धान्त के लिए लड़ते-लड़ते बरबाद हो जाये । लेकिन केवल इसलिए कि अभी तक पंद्रह बरस में कोई नीति बनी नहीं है, टूटी-टूटी बात चलाओ, कभी यहां ताकत दिखा दो, कभी वहां लाठी तान दो और बिना सोचे समझे और बिना किसी इरादे के लड़ाई में फंस जाओ, इसको मैं कभी पसन्द नहीं करूंगा ।

सब से पहले मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह वर्तमान सरकार जब तक कायम रहती है, जब तक इसके पुराने बंधन हैं विदेशी नीति के मामले में, टाल देने वाली बात है और रणनीति के मामले में कच्चा इरादा है, जब तक इसकी आदत और सोच यही रहती है, तब तक किसी तरह का भी मैं मुलझाव इस मामले में सोच नहीं पाता हूँ । इसलिए वर्तमान सरकार के बिना खत्म हुए हिन्दुस्तान के लिए पाकिस्तान और चीन के सम्बन्ध में कोई रास्ता निकल नहीं सकता है ।

अब मैं दाजी साहब की उस बात की तरफ आपका ध्यान खींचूंगा जो उन्होंने कही है कि हाथ पाकिस्तान का है लेकिन बाहें आंग्ल-अमरीकी हैं और साथ साथ बात कही चीनी चालाकी की । चीनी चालाकी की और आंग्ल-अमरीकी अगर ये दोनों बाहें हैं तो जरा मैं दाजी साहब से पूछूंगा, तब फिर कौन खैर करेगा ? चीन की चालाकी और आंग्ल-अमरीकी साम्राज्यशाही, दोनों तो कोई आपकी खैर नहीं कर सकता । तब कुछ और आगे बढ़ो । सातवें बड़े का मैं जिक्र करता हूँ, अमरीकी सातवें बड़े की । उसके बारे में जिस तरह से यहां सोच हुआ है वह टूटा हुआ है । कह दिया जाता है कि अमरीका को जहां चाहे समुद्र में जाने का अधिकार है क्योंकि जहाज की स्वतन्त्रता है । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि व्यापारी जहाज के साथ स्वतन्त्रता हुआ करती है, सामरिक जहाज के

साथ स्वतन्त्रता नहीं हुआ करती । एक जमाना था जब सिआटो और सेन्टो के लिये कह दिया करते थे कि यह शांति के क्षेत्र में युद्ध के बीज बोने वाली चीजें हैं । लेकिन आज सारी जरूरी चीजें वक्ती तौर पर चल रही हैं । तो फिर वक्ती नीति न हो कर हमें चाहिये कि हर एक मामले से पूरा सत्त निकालें, पूरा लाभ निकालें । अगर सरकार यह फैसला करती है कि सब तरह के चक्कर के कारण सातवें बड़े के लिये देश के इर्द गिर्द समुद्र में आना जरूरी हो गया है तो उस में से केवल सार निकालो, और सार यह हो सकता है कि अमरीका से सरकार बातचीत करे ताकि एक तरफ पूर्वी बंगाल का मामला और दूसरी तरफ तिब्बत का मामला हल हो सके । मैं पूर्वा बंगाल पर ज्यादा जोर देता हूँ क्योंकि पाकिस्तान से जो हमारी गड़बड़ है वह एक तो है सीमा घटनाओं को लेकर, दूसरे काश्मीर को ले कर और तीसरे पूर्वी बंगाल को ले कर के । मैं पूर्वी बंगाल के सम्बन्ध में यह जरूर कह देना चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरह से वहां मानवता का हनन होता है उसके सम्बन्ध में एक मजबूत नीति निकालनी ही चाहिये ।

आखिर में मैं एक ही बात आप से और अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ । राणा प्रताप और शिवा जी का नाम लेने में हमें घमंड हुआ करता है लेकिन यह राणा प्रताप और शिवाजी का देश पिछले हजार वर्ष से हमेशा बाहरी हमलावरों का शिकार होता रहा है । तो हमें अब और बातें भी सोचनी चाहियें । एक तो बाहर की बात इस बारे में कि अगर जरूरत पड़ी तो फिर आओ दं हाथ हो जायेंगे । सब के सब खत्म होने पर तैयार हैं । एक तो मन में यह संकल्प होना चाहिये । लेकिन फिर यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि हवाई जहाज की घुरं घुरं सुनते ही हम अपने घर में जा कर बैठ जायें । दूसरी बात यह होनी चाहिये कि अपनी नीति हम सारे, यह मैं बहुत जोर से आप से कहना चाहता हूँ ।

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** Sir, I am thankful to my friend, Mr. Nath Pai and other colleagues who have moved this very important motion because certain things have to be brought to light before our Government and the people. This motion involves three things: security within; security without; and defending the integrity of our country. I shall talk about the western border that lies in Kashmir; I will not, however, go into details. When there was aggression from Pakistan and fighting broke out, a cease-fire line was drawn by mutual negotiations. I have pointed out already that there are certain dents in that line giving us some advantages and disadvantages too; equally some advantages and disadvantages to the other side, Pakistan. Till it is finally decided whether that will be our future border or not, certain things have to be done but due to the intransigence on the part of Pakistan and the help she gets from Western Powers who sometimes profess to be our friends also, things remain unsettled. I am yet to see a white-skinned person who has ever supported Kashmir as far as India is concerned. Happily, after the cease-fire line was drawn, Kashmiri speaking people have come to this side; politically it is a very welcome sign. But the politically cowardly elements are on the other side and therefore certain things happened in the circumstances, which could not have otherwise happened. Shri Prakash Vir Shastri has said that since Jan. 1949 there were 1500 raids on my part of the country alone. This is being done with a set purpose, that leads to unsettled conditions, in security and confusion. We try our utmost to cultivate the last inch of land in our State but these raids unsettle these things. About what has been happening there, many things may not have come to light even now. I wish I had a little more time so that I could give some figures.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** Five minutes more, Sir. You will realise how many villages have been desolated how many men, women and children have been killed; how many houses have been ruined and how much of cultivable land left unploughed.

I would like to make one important point. Maybe there is some dispute from their point of view as far as the cease-fire line is concerned, but where there is no cease-fire line, why should they resort to raids every day? I want to ask the hon. Defence Minister this question. In the districts of Jammu and Kathua and other areas, certain things have to be done constantly and on a permanent basis. Certain places have been read out by my hon. friends Shri Nath Pai, Shri Harish Chandra Mathur and some others. They lie mostly near Jammu where there is no cease-fire line. Yet, why should there be raids on those places? Therefore, certain things have to be done in respect of those places also.

I would now like to make three or four suggestions. Firstly, the Defence Minister has to make it quite clear whether our borders in the whole of Kashmir have to be protected and defended by the police or the militia or by the army alone. I would say that the military should take over the entire border. Secondly, if there are raids, we must give fight and pursue the raiders and catch them on the spot, as to show thus that we mean business. If we do not do that, we will suffer. Thirdly, there is the question of security. The Ministry of External Affairs issues permits and allows people to come from Pakistan to our side. I would quote only one instance in this regard. One name has been quoted in the Rajya Sabha also: Maulvi Abbas. He is a person who is a Pakistani national. He was allowed a passport to come to India. He was permitted to go to Kashmir, and he overstayed there by two years. The other day he was arrested. I would ask the Government: how was the passport is-

[Shri Sham Lal Saraf]

sued, how he overstayed and how all these things happened? He must find out the facts.

**An hon. Member:** He has been released now.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** This instance will indicate what is happening as far as passports issued to visit Kashmir are concerned. The Deputy Home Minister is there. I would ask her one thing. I have also brought this point to the notice of some high authorities here. In 1961-62, how many telephone calls were booked from the Kashmir Government Trade Agency at Amritsar to Lahore and Rawalpindi? I want the authorities to find out how it was done and why. There should be an enquiry made into this matter.

I submit we should be very strict about our internal security as well as external security. Our borders can be defended only if the army takes full control of our borders. I know almost the entire area of my part of the country. If you go to Keren, you will find that it is all high mountains. The police personnel go there with rotten 303 Rifles, pistols, while the Pakistan Army, that faces them, have sten guns and machine guns and what not. Why should not the army take over those areas? I submit that all this police and border militia should be withdrawn and the entire area should be handed over to the army for Defence and protection of the civilian population residing there.

As far as the East Pakistan border is concerned, the refugees are now pouring in. We lack in publicity and in propaganda. This is the time when the world should know what is actually happening there. We must let them know these things by chalking out a definite publicity and propaganda plan. Till now, the Hindus were being driven out from East Pakistan. This time, the Buddhists and the Christians have also come. Is it not the time for us to create a world opi-

nion today and say how things are happening in Pakistan? If we are in a position to place our case fully and strongly before the world, I am sure that world opinion will be absolutely with us and should be with us.

Finally, I would say that these are not simple raids. There is something more behind them and something more has to be done on the State Government level, on the Central Government level and also on our people's level.

With these words, I hope that the hon. Defence Minister will satisfy us on the points raised.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the motion for consideration that was moved by the hon. Member Shri Nath Pai has given us an opportunity to place certain facts before this hon. House. The most important fact that we have to consider is this: what do these incidents indicate, and what is the pattern of these instances? I think we will have to consider them in a proper perspective, but in order to get a proper perspective, we have to see some of the political realities. The first political reality is that we are dealing here with two unprincipled neighbours—Pakistan and China. The second political reality is that we have got to accept the existence of a long cease-fire line—I use the word “cease-fire line” with all its implications. Sometimes it tends to become alive and it is getting alive for the last 10 years off and on.

I very well not only appreciate, but am bound to explain to this House what action we have to take in the case of the incidents that take place from time to time. We must accept as a corollary to this reality of having a cease-fire line that there is an inherent situation that we will have to face such instances from time to time. The only point that we have to consider is whether we are equally strong to deal with such instances whenever they occur.

I am not going into the information of the last 10 or 12 years; I am only taking the information of last year 1963. Since January 1963, we have suffered in J. & K sector casualties of 12 dead and 18 wounded, while the intruders have suffered casualties of 18 dead and 23 wounded. So, it is not that we are not meeting with strength the intruders who come to this side of the cease-fire line.

Mr. Nath Pai mentioned two instances to which I made reference in the Rajya Sabha. I would like to tell this House that only yesterday on 26th one of our police patrol came across a group of intruders from the other side. They gave them a good beating and they had to withdraw back leaving behind 3 dead bodies. I am mentioning this not with any sense of revenge, but to show that certainly our people are also quite alive to their responsibilities and they are taking certain action. In the month of January, apart from the incidents which did not produce any casualties, on 16th there was an instance where 2 Indians were killed, but in the latter part of January near Jammu in Ramgarh area, there was an instance in which 9 Pakistanis were killed and 8 were wounded.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** We had to give up 2 big farms because of constant raids in Nandpur, Jammu.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** I am telling that this series of instances are occurring and certainly, as we had to suffer some losses, Pakistan also had to suffer certain losses.

What, really speaking, are these instances meant for? I entirely agree with the hon. Member, Shri Chatterjee,—he is not here now—that their design seems to be to create an instance, to create a condition, to have an emergency meeting of the Security Council. If that is the purpose they have in mind, certainly we must try to understand that they will continue to do that till they think that their claim is satisfied or not. We will have

to distinguish between these two possibilities. I agree with Mr. Daji who said that our defence preparedness should be "calm and calculated". I entirely agree with him. Certainly, we will have to have a calm and calculated preparedness. I do agree that a country like Pakistan only understands the language of strength. We will have to show strength whenever the opportunity comes. But certainly I would not be agreeable to the situation that we should try to go across the cease-fire line and create problems. We should not do that, because it will be serving their cause and their design. If their design is to have an occasion to raise something in the UNO tomorrow, we should not fall a prey to that. At the same time, we must not follow a weak-kneed policy. We are not following a weak-kneed policy in this matter.

In this case of ambush, the word 'ambush' itself means some sort of an element of treacherous surprise. Our police were on our side. Naturally, we do not have our army personnel or our police patrol on every inch of land there, particularly in that part of our territory. The very purpose for which the police group was going was to patrol the area. It seems, possibly, they were on a wrong foot, they had concealed themselves in that area and they just made a surprise attack and killed our people.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** They were well inside our territory?

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** Absolutely and clearly on our side.

**An hon. Member:** How many were killed?

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** I have not got that detailed information as to how many of our men are with them. Our information is that some of them are with them. I do not want to mention their names, because possibly they might kill those men with them to prove us false. Therefore, I do not want to mention the names or the exact number.

[Shri Y. B. Chavan]

These are, Sir, some of the points that we will have to bear in mind when we take a certain view about the matter. Certainly, we should not be complacent, I agree, about it. There is no scope for us to be complacent, but I would certainly make an appeal to the House that, equally, we should not take an alarmist view. While hearing the speech of the hon. Member, Shri Swell, I got the feeling that there was an attitude of alarmist. We should not take that view.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Do not be complacent either.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** I agree that we should not be complacent. Therefore, I welcome this discussion, because that certainly keeps everybody alert. I would request this hon. House to take this fact into consideration, because there is a feeling—I do not think there should be any reasonable cause for that feeling—that it is only the Pakistanis who always come here and give us a beating as if they are not receiving any beating in return.

**Shri P. B. Patel (Patan):** We do not hear about their being beaten.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** That is why I am telling you.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Our publicity is bad; publicity is poor.

**Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun):** We beat quietly.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Why do you keep it to yourself?

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** In the case of the eastern sector, I entirely agree that there also in a certain number of places the border is still undefined and that certainly creates problems. We have certainly takes some action in order to reduce tension and to finalise demarcation in the Lathitilla-Dumabari area. I would certainly like to point out how Pakistan Government sometimes takes an un-principled atti-

tude in this matter. It is a very interesting experience that we have had about this effort to finalise demarcation in the Lathitilla-Dumabari area. This is what happened. In an effort to reduce tension and to finalise demarcation in the Lathitilla-Dumabari area, an offer was made to the Government of Pakistan in August 1963, for crash demarcation of the area by the Central Survey authorities of India and Pakistan. No response was received from Pakistan for some months, but they finally agreed in December 1963, to have a meeting of the Surveyors General at Dacca.

The Surveyors General met at Dacca from 18th to 20th December 1963. No conclusions could be reached at the talks in Dacca and the Surveyors General again met at New Delhi between January 8 and 10, 1964. This meeting was totally infructuous. The Surveyor General of Pakistan insisted both at Dacca and at New Delhi on the acceptance of a straight-line boundary. Our delegation explained that the notification issued prior to 1947 and various documents available provide considerable evidence that the villages concerned had been and continue to be under the jurisdiction of Thana Patharkandi. Since these villages were part of that Thana, they were rightly included in Indian territory. The Pakistani delegation was requested to pay a joint visit to the ground to verify the actual position before commencing demarcation. Efforts were also made to verify the joint procedure for early demarcation. But these proposals were not acceptable to the Pakistani delegation nor were they prepared to continue with the examination of available records. When it became apparent that the Pakistani delegation had come with the determined view to disagree, they were pressed to record the views expressed by both sides in the form of signed minutes, but they refused to sign any minutes of the meetings. Our Surveyor General recorded all this in a written communication to the Pakistan Surveyor General and the latter replied that since they had already

"decided to disagree" there was no point in drawing up the minutes of the meetings. Really speaking, what we have to try in order to lessen tensions is, we will have to finalise or define finally some of the areas. I think our efforts will have to continue in this direction, despite the provocations that they may provide every now and then. This is the perspective I would like to place before this hon. House. We will have to study this question and appreciate these problems in this perspective.

I agree that there is no reason, there is no ground, for us to be complacent because I find there is every reason to be rather more watchful because of our recent experience. Here I must give certain information to this hon. House. After the recent crash of our aeroplane, when some of our aircrafts were going round to search the missing aeroplane, we found that continuously we were receiving some misdirections or interruptions from some radio stations located in Pakistan territory.

**Shri Tyagi:** There is espionage.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** Our aeroplanes had this experience two or three times. Naturally, we have lodged a protest with Pakistan. Because, this is how we will have to begin. Certainly, we have taken action. We have taken up the case with the Pakistan authorities. Let us see how they respond to that.

All these things do indicate that their desire is to keep the problem alive. So, it is certainly good that we are also alive to this problem.

**Shri Tyagi:** Do you think that the threat from Pakistan is serious?

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** Well, I would certainly like to say one thing. I would like to repeat what I said in the Rajya Sabha the other day, and certainly I am taking responsibility for saying this to this hon. House, that as far as the information we have got is

concerned, there is no massive concentration of troops so that there can be any invasion of India. But if they take any steps in that direction I can assure the House with all responsibility at my disposal that we are prepared to face this.

**Shri S. N. Chaturvedi (Firozabad):** It is very heartening to learn that some of the intruders were repulsed and some were killed also. Why was this information not given to the public when we so scrupulously respect the cease-fire line? Could we not have given publicity to the fact that it is the intruders who are being captured or repulsed without our crossing the cease-fire line?

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** I do not think we had the opportunity to make this announcement to the hon. House before. In the case of Pakistan, they used it for propaganda purposes. Sometimes it is asked how Pakistan first gave this information to their radio. It is very clear because they had planned the whole thing and they knew the whole thing rather early. We have got the information nearly 24 hours late because we were not expecting such an incident. It occurred at an isolated place. We got the information on the 22nd or so. It was a Saturday and then came the holiday on Sunday. So, naturally, I could not come to this House to give this information earlier. Pakistan, on the other hand, went with this news to their radio as soon as it occurred.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** What about the morning broadcast of today which alleges intrusion by Indian patrols? They have given very wide publicity to that.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** I have also got this information about their radio broadcast. As I gave the information, only yesterday at 11 O'Clock some of their people tried to enter our areas and our police patrol detected them. There was exchange of firing and they had to run away, leaving behind three dead bodies. Now, when their dead bodies are in our posses-

[Shri Y. B. Chavan]

sion, in order to create evidence that we have trespassed into their territory, they have come out with this broadcast. I got this information today, just before I came here.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** Why not accelerate the process of getting information? This announcement could have been made earlier in the morning, instead of waiting till evening.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** I received this information as I was coming to attend this discussion.

**Shri Swell:** Will the Government take this opportunity of giving publicity to the fact that about 100,000 Christians are fleeing from East Pakistan to Assam and expose Pakistan in its true colours to the entire Christian world?

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** This is your suggestion. Certainly, we will have to think about it. I cannot, on the spur of the moment, give you any definite assurance on behalf of Government; I am not supposed to.

**Shri Swell:** I understand that that is for the hon. Prime Minister to do; but this matter cannot be fought only with arms; it has to be fought also politically.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** You have made a suggestion which is certainly good and useful.

So, there are two distinct things that we have to distinguish. The series of incidents which are created on the border and a full-fledged invasion, if they want to take a concerted army action, are two different things. I must say that in the case of the first thing, we must not take an alarmist view. We must also take into consideration the resistance that we have given and the punishment that we have always inflicted upon them whenever an opportunity came our way. At the same time, I must say,

as a result of the Pindi-Peking axis whatever is in their mind, if there are any designs against us we cannot say. But if at all . . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** You cannot say even that? You cannot say that behind the Pindi-Peking axis there is a design?

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** We cannot say about the detailed plans. If they have got anything and if, really speaking, they try to do that, we are certainly taking action and are making preparations.

The hon. Member, Shri Nath Pai, mentioned that I gave that assurance about our preparedness. I can certainly tell this House that I have given those assurances in all the seriousness and in all the sincerity that I could command.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया: ठीक इसी तरह श्री कृष्ण मेनन साहब भी कहा करते थे ।

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** Somebody said that these are not places where somebody could come and occupy the chair. I think, Shri N. C. Chatterjee said that. I can tell the hon. Member that the moment I feel that I am not trying to serve the country in the right form, without anybody asking me to quit, I will quit myself. It is a place of the greatest and grave responsibility and the assurance that I am giving is not merely to get away with that assurance in a short debate like this. I know that this is an assurance not only to this hon. House but to the country at large and what a grave responsibility it is. I can assure this hon. House—I had discussions with the Army officers also before I came to give you this assurance—that our preparedness in this matter is as good as can be expected reasonably.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** I want to ask one question.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The discussion is over.

**Shri Nath Pai:** No.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There is no right of reply.

**Shri Nath Pai:** It is a well established convention of the House.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** The hon. Speaker said—I suppose, you were also present, but I am not sure—20 minutes to the hon. Minister and 10 minutes for him to reply. He said so. We all heard it. My hon. colleagues will bear me out.

**Shri Nath Pai:** There is no question about it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** All right.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I am very grateful that the approach of almost all the hon. Members who participated in the debate was not from the narrow, sectarian party point of view. As I tried to remember that the matter we were discussing was above party politics and that it concerned the whole country.

**Shri Tyagi:** We are all patriots.

**Shri Nath Pai:** In the few minutes that I will be taking may I point out once again, in spite of the assurance given by the hon. Defence Minister whose sincerity or honesty I would not question nor would anybody here like to question, that the whole pattern seems to be not very mysterious and the design seems to be very clear. I will quote two leaders of the two countries. Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan had made the long-term objective of Pakistan clear to this country. This was the slogan he gave in Lahore, namely,—

“हंस के लिया पाकिस्तान,  
लड़ कर लेंगे हिन्दुस्तान।”

**An hon. Member:** English translation.

**Shri Nath Pai:** They have never forgotten this. They have never repented having made this their main objective. Combine this, the long-term objective of their newly found ally, China. . . . (Interruption).

इतनी हिन्दी तो वह समझते हैं और उन को यह समझ लेना चाहिये।

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** I am afraid, you are merely advertising whoever gave that slogan. Do not forget that for the freedom of this country we also learnt the slogan of “Do or die”.

श्री नाथ पाई : हम लड़ते रहे हैं। हम ने बलिदान और कुर्बानियां दी हैं, राजा गजनकर अली और उन के दोस्तों ने नहीं। यह तो उनका मकसद और लक्ष्य था कि :

“हंस के लिया पाकिस्तान,  
लड़ कर लेंगे हिन्दुस्तान।”

श्री स० नो० बर्जा : अंत में जायेंग  
ब्रिस्तान।

**Shri Nath Pai:** Add to this, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, what Mao Tse-tung has said very recently about our country. The hon. Defence Minister was absent when I tried to raise this matter in this House to draw the attention of his colleagues and particularly his to this. Mao Tse-tung is reported to have told a visiting dignitary: “The Indian Army—where is the Indian Army? Invisible in war and invincible in peace.” This is the estimate of Mao; this is the slogan of Pakistan, and this is the new combination with which we are confronted.

18.00 hrs.

I fully agree that let us not be panicky; let us not take a chauvinistic attitude towards Pakistan; let us not forget that we talk ourselves of the people of Pakistan. But, certainly, to demand that we take notice of the realities is not wrong.

[Shri Nath Pai]

The Defence Minister has taken me to task for saying: 'Go, give pursuit and punish'. He says that if we do that, it will create international complications, giving Pakistan the opportunity she is seeking, that is, to take the issue to the Security Council. May I tell him that he reminds me of a plea the Prime Minister made when we pointed out 'If you come across Chinese posts built on Indian territory, why do you not demolish them?'. He said 'If we demolish them, it will lead to international complications and lead to war'. If building of posts on our territory does not lead to war, why should demolition of posts lead to war? I never understood that, and this Parliament never understood that. If their coming into our territory does not lead to a war, why should our going into their territory lead to war? This is not being adventurist, but just telling them, speaking to them, talking to them, addressing them, and conversing with them in a language which they understand.

I am very happy to hear from the Defence Minister that whenever they have come here, we have tried to punish them. I am not happy to announce the figure of dead bodies, because it is against the very grain of our culture. But I would be happy, as indeed every Indian will be, to hear that everybody who intrudes into our land does not go alive leaving our territory. Saying this is not being chauvinistic.

Now, may I ask some questions about that? I am very glad that the Defence Minister has said that the preparedness continues. The assurance is good as far as it goes. But he has never answered this question, namely whether the preparedness, whether the vigilance and whether the combat-readiness is as much as we demand, because the peril is not only from one country, but as he says, from two unscrupulous countries. How does it happen that not only do they come and infiltrate, but we can-

not prevent the illegal infiltration of tens of thousands of Pakistani nationals? They have come because there is no guard; they have come because there is no security. What is the reply to that? I never got any. We cannot help the fleeing refugees; we cannot stop the illegal infiltrants, and we cannot stop this horrible intrusion which might be something more dangerous than the Defence Minister has thought it to be.

I do not think that the only objective is to find an opportunity or an occasion to go to the Security Council. That may be there, but there is a long-term design both of China and Pakistan. I know that it will appear to some that we are becoming like Don Quixote saying 'Fight everybody who comes.' We are alone, I say, and how can we afford to? The reply to that is simple. The past policies have landed us into this predicament. We must face it. There is no going back on it. There is no use saying 'Placate one and fight the other'. This cannot be done. We have to face both. We must remember that alone we may be, but this country has 444 million sons and daughters. What are they made of? This is not being falsely heroic. If this isolation is there, that should not lead us to a position where we shall accept the false claims of the one and try to placate the one so that we face the other. No; if necessary, we must accept this reality that we are confronting, the two unscrupulous foes.

Then, I would ask the Defence Minister whether he is really satisfied that our preparedness is what he wants to create. I know that he is trying. If the preparedness is of that order, how did it happen? Where were our intelligence men? Did they not know the presence of the Pakistani forces before they could surround and could operate and could liquidate our patrol on our own territory? Where was that intelligence? It is better vigilance that we demand.

2959 Motion re: PHALGUNA 8, 1885 (SAKA) Ambush of Indian 2960-  
Police Patrol men  
by Pakistani Troops

How does vigilance operate in other countries? Does not the Defence Minister know that the American U-2 plane was flying at a height of about 60,000 feet, and the Russians could detect it, track it and bring it down? And that alone stopped similar flights of the U-2 over the territorial sovereignty of the Soviet Union. Have we ever done it? I have never known it.

In conclusion, I would say that we welcome the assurance that the Defence Minister has given. But I think that the peril is far greater than seeking of an opportunity to take the issue once again to the Security Council. Pakistan is up to much greater mischief, and the danger cannot be minimised. What is expected of us at this hour is a far greater type of leadership than Government are showing. We need to show greater dedication, greater discipline and greater faith in ourselves, and to the extent that we show them we shall be able to meet the situation. I do not want a preparedness where we shall be able to put

an end to this kidnapping and to these ambushes, but I want a constant preparedness in this country, where neither Pakistan nor China will have the temerity to find out how we stand. When you can say that, this debate will have served its purpose.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The consideration is over.

There is a half-hour discussion. Is the House prepared to sit half an hour more?

**Some hon. Members:** No.

**Shri N. R. Laskar (Karimganj):**  
rose—

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It will be taken up on some other day.

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18.06 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, February 29, 1964/Phalguna 10, 1885 (Saka).*