

Election Commission, but I am sorry to note that some of the more important recommendations have not been given effect to and some new provisions have sprung up all of a sudden, which I myself cannot find in the list of recommendations that have appeared in the report of the Election Commission on the third General Election. It is our misfortune. It is because of these defective election laws that in all the three elections this country has only got a minority government. The Congress which has secured less than 50 per cent of the votes has been guiding the destinies of this country against popular will.

An Hon. Member: Question.

Shri P. K. Deo: It is a fact. You cannot deny it.

Mr. Speaker: He may continue tomorrow. The Defence Minister.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: No time has been fixed for the discussion of this Bill as yet. I have suggested four hours.

Shri Bade: At least five hours must be allotted.

Mr. Speaker: We will see tomorrow.

16.46 hrs.

STATEMENT RE. SITUATION ON INDIA-PAKISTAN BORDER

The Minister of Defence (Shri Y. B. Chavan): Mr. Speaker, Sir, for the last one month or so, movements of Pakistani troops, on our borders of Jammu and the Punjab, have been coming to our notice. The movements and other measures taken by the Pakistan Government have caused us some concern. Even assuming that these troop movements are in the nature of exercises, closeness of troops to the border is something which is not expected normally, and certainly not in the context of the Tashkent Agreement and the agreements between the Chief of the Army Staff, India, and Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army,

under which the withdrawals took place on both sides.

On 23rd August 1966, Pakistani official sources in India—which could only mean the Pakistan High Commission, incorrectly briefed two foreign correspondents about so-called Indian troops movements on to the borders near Sialkot, Punjab and Kutch. That this kind of briefing was only a cover for Pakistan's own troop movements is obvious. We denied the Pakistani allegation and gave facilities to foreign and Indian journalists to visit our western border. They have seen for themselves that there are no troops on our side near the border and, what is more, they have obtained confirmation, locally, of the fact of the deployment of troops, including armour, etc., just across the border on the Pakistan side.

Troop movements by Pakistan on to our western borders, and their continued retention there, is something which we cannot look upon with equanimity, however restrained we may be in our approach. We must in the face of these continuing phenomena take precautionary steps. However, on assessment of the situation I do not anticipate any imminent threat. I would like to assure the House that we are keeping careful watch over the situation and have plans to meet any eventuality. We are also exploring various other methods to reduce the tensions on our borders.

I hope that this assurance which I have given will give confidence to our people who are living on our western borders and who have been perturbed by the Pakistani troop movements on the other side.

I have been giving to the House an idea of the expansion of Pakistan's armed forces and other steps like improvement and construction of roads and airfields in both West East Pakistan. While we are aware that Pakistan has been taking measures of military significance in East Pakistan as well, the reports that have been appearing in papers regarding concentration of Pakistani troops near our Eastern borders are highly exaggerated.

Several hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: I shall allow one question for each party.

Shri Buta Singh (Moga): We gave the Calling Attention Notice but they were rejected.

Mr. Speaker: Now this statement has come voluntarily, of his own accord.

Shri Buta Singh: Please give us an opportunity to get some clarification.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): That point is also important, Sir, and it should be considered, because Calling Attention Notices were given.

Shri Buta Singh: My constituency is directly affected.

Mr. Speaker: All right; let him put his question.

Shri Buta Singh: It has appeared in the press that all along the border, in Punjab, Pakistan has brought heavy armoury including tanks and other heavy armoury. May I know whether the Minister is in a position to assure the House that as on the previous occasion, the people who are on the borders of Punjab will be protected in time?

Shri Y. B. Chavan: The purpose of my making this statement today is to give that assurance.

Shri Ranga: I am rather taken aback by this statement. Such an important statement, which might be tantamount to sounding the death-knell to the Tashkent spirit as well as the agreement, should have come better, I think, from the Prime Minister, and that too after having exhausted all avenues—my hon. friend just now said that other avenues also are likely to be made use of—before we are obliged to take the necessary, not complementary but protective steps, from our side, so that there would not be any excuse for Pakistan or any of those countries which are interested in Pakistan to turn the tables on us and begin to accuse us of ourselves forcing the issue. Unfortunately, we do not know; we have not been taken into confidence

by the Prime Minister or by my hon. friend now, whether Russia, which played such an important role at Tashkent, or the other friendly countries which also showed great interest in the Tashkent conference and its upshot have been consulted and made aware of all that is happening, and whether they have been told what steps we would be obliged to take, and we are now obliged to take, so that the world public opinion, especially so far as the friendly countries are concerned, cannot be exploited by Pakistan in the manner in which, as just now stated by my hon. friend, the High Commission here tried to brief the foreign correspondents.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: Really speaking, the question is contained in the last part of Prof. Ranga's statement, whether we have taken any steps to keep other friendly countries informed about what is happening. I would like to tell the House that immediately we noticed this, we kept both USA and USSR informed of these developments.

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsour): We have been hearing this news—in the press for a long time and pressing in this House every now and then that some sort of clear statement may be made about the position that Pakistan is taking against us. I do not think today's statement has come as a bombshell. At the same time, would it not have been better if the method adopted by the late lamented Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bhadur Shastri, had been followed this time also, that the various party and group leaders were called, matters were disclosed to them in confidence and the preparations that were made by our Government were also brought to the notice of the various leaders? Why is it that this salutary method which was adopted when the last serious aggression against us took place, was not adopted on this particular occasion?

Mr. Speaker: Only a question may be put.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: I am framing the question.

Mr. Speaker: It is only elucidation of some facts that is allowed. If every hon. Member makes a speech...

Shri U. M. Trivedi: I do not want to make a speech. This was merely a preamble.

Mr. Speaker: If he wants some elucidation of facts, he may ask.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: If the developments are as they have been enumerated today, will the Defence Minister take steps to bring all the leaders of the various parties and disclose to them all that has been done up to date to meet the menace that has arisen?

Mr. Speaker: That is a suggestion.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: It is not a suggestion, Sir, I want to know whether the Government intends to do that.

Mr. Speaker: That is a suggestion. The Government may consider its advisability.

Some hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: Shri Hem Barua—
मैं चन्द सदस्यों को बुलाऊंगा। मैं सब को मौका नहीं दे सकता हूँ।

श्री बड्डे: (खारगोन) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हजने कार्लिंग एटेशन नोटिस दिया है।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछुवाय (देवास) : अध्यक्ष महोदय मेरा भी नाम उस में है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जिन लोगों ने मंत्री महोदय का पूरा वक्तव्य सुना है, आप उन को प्रश्न पूछने का अवसर दें।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य किसी को तो बोलने दें। यह तो ठीक नहीं है कि किसी को बोलने ही न दिया जाये।

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): Sir, it is reported that the Bell Mission appointed by the President of the World Bank to inquire or to make recommendations about giving financial aid to India for the Fourth Plan has made certain recommendations and amongst these recommendations two recommendations are very significant. The first recommendation is that India must devalue her currency. There are other recommendations and one of the recommendations towards the bottom is that India must cut down her defence expenditure. In this context, may I know whether because of the threat posed by Pakistan on our frontier—and I am afraid Pakistan may launch a full-scale attack on us to synchronise with her celebrations of Defence Day on 6th September—whatever that might be—the Government are aware of this particular recommendation made by the Bell Mission and whether our Government are going to tell the relevant authorities, the Bell Mission authorities, the fund giving authorities, that because of this threat posed by Pakistan India is not going to cut down a single paisa of her defence expenditure sanctioned by Parliament?

Shri Y. B. Chavan: Personally, I am not dealing with the Bell Report as such, but nobody has made any suggestions to the Defence Ministry about cutting down the expenditure on defence preparedness. I can assure the House that the policy is not to reduce any expenditure on defence.

Some hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: Shri R. S. Pandey—

श्री राम सेवक यादव (बाराबांकी) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, ये तो कांग्रेस के सदस्य हैं

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह तो नहीं हो सकता है कि मैं कांग्रेस के मيمबर्ज को न बुलाऊं।

Mr. Speaker: I will call then one by one. I cannot call all of them together

श्री राम सेवक यादव : या तो आप कालिंग एटेंशन नोटिस के नामों के हिसाब से बुलायें और या आप केवल ग्रुप्स के लीडर्स को लार्ज, जिम का अर्थ विरोधी दल है ।

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): He is the first Member from the Congress side. So many Members have put questions from the other side.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह कालिंग एटेंशन नोटिस नहीं है । मिनिस्टर साहब ने खुद व-खुद स्टेटमेंट किया है ।

श्री मौर्य (अलोगढ़) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, वह तो ठीक है, लेकिन श्री रघुनाथ सिंह क्यों चिल्ला रहे हैं ?

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह मैं इस लिए चिल्ला रहा हूँ कि हमारी तरफ से एक सदस्य को ही बुलाया गया है और माननीय सदस्यों ने इस पर आवेक्षण करना शुरू कर दिया है ।

श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त (कलकत्ता-दक्षिण पूर्व) : उस को स्पीकर देखेंगे—माननीय सदस्य को उस को देखने की आवश्यकता नहीं है ।

श्री राम सहाय पांडेय (गुना) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, पश्चिमी, उत्तरी और पूर्वी सीमाओं के उस तरफ से युद्ध की जो कुछ भी ध्वनि आती है, उस से स्वाभाविक है कि हम सतर्क भी हों और चिन्तित भी हों । मंत्री महोदय ने जो बयान दिया है, उस के लिए मैं उन को धन्यवाद देते हुए, उन्होंने आक्रमण का मुकाबला करने के लिए जो तयारी की है, उस के लिए मैं उन्हें साधुवाद देता हूँ । लेकिन मैं उन का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करते हुए कि हमारी पूर्वी, पश्चिमी और उत्तरी सीमाओं का क्षेत्र दस हजार मील का है और यह देखते हुए कि पूर्वी

पाकिस्तान में चीन ने गुरिल्ला बार का प्रशिक्षण दिया है, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि अगर कभी युद्ध हो, तो उत्तरी, पश्चिमी और पूर्वी सीमाओं के दस हजार मील के क्षेत्र में और उस के किनारे किनारे बसे हुए गांवों और उन गांवों में रहने वाले ग्रामीणों की रक्षा के लिए क्या उन को किसी प्रकार के युद्ध-कौशल और शस्त्रास्त्र आदि के प्रशिक्षण की कोई व्यवस्था की गई है या नहीं; अगर की गई है तो क्या क्योंकि यह बड़ा आवश्यक है । हमारी सेनाओं का प्रशिक्षण एक तरफ और स्वयं अपने आप की रक्षा करने का प्रश्न एक तरफ है ।

Shri Y. B. Chavan: This is a good suggestion. This suggestion has been made from time to time in the course of defence discussion, also. We have taken some steps to train the population in the border areas.

श्री राम सेवक यादव : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे रक्षा मंत्री जी ने स्थिति गम्भीर बताया और अपनी सीमा पर पाकिस्तान सेना की हलचल की बात की । इसर आसाम के मुख्य मंत्री ने भी यह कहा कि वहां पर जो कुछ हो रहा है उस में विदेशी ताकतों का हाथ है । वैसे तो मंत्री जी ने एक बार कहा था कि उस में भी पाकिस्तान का हाथ है, लेकिन उन्होंने दूसरी विदेशी शक्ति का भी इशारा किया । इस सब का नतीजा यही निकलता है कि स्थिति गम्भीर है इसलिये मैं रक्षा मंत्री से जानना चाहूंगा कि हिन्दुस्तान पाकिस्तान के बीच जो ताशकंद समझौता हुआ, उस के पीछे रूस और अमरीका दोनों शक्तियां थीं, क्या उस स्थिति से उन को भी भ्रवगत करा दिया गया है और क्या अब अगर यह स्थिति है तो मंत्री महोदय ताशकंद और कच्छ का जो समझौता है उस सब को हटाने के लिए तैयार हैं या नहीं ?

Shri Y. B. Chavan: As far as keeping these two countries informed is concerned, I have already answered it. There is no question of withdrawing from the Tashkent Declaration.

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा, आप ने पूर्व और पश्चिम की सीमा की बात की, क्या पाकिस्तान के द्वारा अपनी सामुद्रिक शक्ति की भी कुछ साज सज्जा हो रही है, उस तरफ से भी हमें कुछ भय है या नहीं ?

Shri Y. B. Chavan: Naturally, we will have always to be conscious of this threat. When we say that there is a threat from a country, we cannot say that it will be only from air or land and there is no threat from the sea. We have to keep this in mind and take a balanced view of what they are doing, what we should do and what we can do. I have already informed the House about what we are doing in the matter of naval preparations.

Shri S. Kandappan (Tiruchengode): In the course of his statement the Minister said that they have taken some foreign pressmen to the border to expose the canard fabricated by the Pakistan High Commission in India. It was fortunate that they were able to enquire of the local people and see that the actual position contradicts the information which Pakistan has given and that it is Pakistan which has got army movements in the border and not India. I would like to know whether the Government has tried to ascertain, or ascertained already, that the news which the foreign newsmen gathered on the spot was publicised in the respective countries.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: I think when we give information it has got to be published in some papers.

Shri S. Kandappan: I am asking this question precisely because some of these countries are not friendly to us.

Mr. Speaker: Is it within the knowledge of the Government as a matter of fact that they have sent those despatches and that they have been publicised?

Shri Y. B. Chavan: I have not personally seen any such published item. But we know it for certain that such information was given to them. The only thing that we can do is to educate the newspaperman and see that they publish the real news.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Tyagi.

Shri S. Kandappan: Let us try to find out whether those things have been correctly published in the foreign newspapers.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I have called Shri Tyagi.

Shri Tyagi: My main question has already been covered, but....

Mr. Speaker: Then, he need not ask any question.

Shri Tyagi: My fear is that the next time it will not be a mere border trouble; it will be full-fledged war. Is it in the knowledge of the Defence Minister that Pakistan has already obtained a few submarines from Indonesia and other countries? Are the Government aware of it? If so, are they taking suitable steps to meet this threat also?

Shri Y. B. Chavan: I think one time I have myself given the information here as to what we are doing. As far as building up of our submarine arm is concerned, I have already kept the House informed of what we are doing.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि पाकिस्तान ने पूरी तैयारी के साथ पिछली मूलों को ध्यान में रखते हुए, इस ढंग से तैयारी की है कि वह अपनी पूरी

[श्री हुकम चन्द वच्छवाय]

ताकत के साथ और दूसरे देशों का सहारा ले कर लड़ने वाला है, क्या मंत्री महोदय यह बता सकते हैं कि यह जो ताशकंद समझौता है उसे वह अब खत्म करने के लिए तैयार है ? उसे पूरी तरह से मानने के लिए हम तैयार नहीं हैं, ऐसी घोषणा सरकार करेगी ?

श्री यशवंत राव चव्हाण : नहीं ।

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur): About the first part of the statement, namely, the manoeuvring of the Pakistan Army on our frontiers we are not concerned because the Defence Minister might be taking precautions but about the second and the most important part I would like to know whether between the time he made the statement on the 8th August and today he has been able to persuade the western powers—as he says, he had drawn the attention of West Germany, the chief source of supply for Pakistan regarding Cobrag and other things, Canada and the British—and whether he can say to this House that these western powers have realised that by aiding the build-up of Pakistan they are doing an unfriendly act to us.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: As far as I know, diplomatic efforts were intensified to make aware these countries that by giving this type of aid they are doing great disservice to both Pakistan and India because keeping this tension on is neither in the interest of India nor of Pakistan and according to their own professions this is not in their interest as well. Some of them have realised this thing. As to whether they have changed their mind or what they have done, I cannot say at this moment.

श्री क.श्री राम गुप्त (अलवर) :
प्रध्मक्ष महोदय, माननीय मंत्री महोदय ने

बतलाया कि उन्होंने रूस और अमेरिका दोनों को इस की सूचना दी है तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उन को उसकी प्रतिक्रिया मिल गई है ? और साथ में जो उन्होंने यह कहा कि अभी कोई इमोनेंट डेंजर नहीं मालूम होता तो इस के बारे में जो उन्होंने कहा है उसका ऐसा कोई विशेष आधार है या केवल कल्पना है ?

Shri Y. B. Chavan: I have said that we have certainly made a somewhat careful assessment of the situation. When one makes an assessment of the situation, it is not merely that of the military situation but it is an assessment of the political factors prevailing in Pakistan, in India and in this part of the world as also the assessment of the political attitudes of other Governments also.

Shri Ranga: That is why I suggested that it should be a political as well as defence-oriented statement and not necessarily a defence statement only.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: I quite agree. When we say this assessment has been made यह कुछ कल्पना नहीं, यह कुछ आधार पर है ।

Shri Kashi Ram Gupta: What about the reaction of Russia and USA? Have you got their reaction?

Shri Y. B. Chavan: They, naturally, were concerned about the situation. They wanted to know the facts and pass them on.

Shri S. N. Chaturvedi (Firozabad): How long are we going to abide by the Tashkent Agreement? Will this spirit be continued until the invasion actually takes place?

Shri Y. B. Chavan: I do not know why some of us are unnecessarily getting somewhat allergic about the

Tashkent theme. What is the principle of the Tashkent theme? It is to build up friendly relations with Pakistan. I do not think we have given up that objective; ultimately, we will have to aim at that.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Before asking my question, I would request you to have this circulated because it has a vital bearing on the unfinished debate that is going on the same subject.

Mr. Speaker: That is all right.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: While taking note of two very significant news from the statement made by the Defence Minister in contrast to his previous statement, namely, that he does not consider the threat of military attack to be imminent and, secondly, that the reports of the Pakistani build-up on the eastern border are highly exaggerated, I would like to ask him whether the Government proposes officially to tell Pakistan that if they propose to violate that part of the Tashkent Agreement which stipulated the zones on both sides of the border where troops were not to be kept after withdrawal and bring up troops right into that zone again then we will be free in the interest of our own self-defence also to do the same. From his statement it seems that reporters went there and saw that our troops are nowhere near the border.

Shri Hem Barua: There is a complaint from Punjab also.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: The fact that against the letter of the Tashkent Agreement they have brought the troops near the border I have myself stated in the statement. There is no question of our not being free to do that. It is out of our own choice that we have not done that.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Whether we have done it or not is certainly our own choice, but I want to know whether you propose to make this stand clear, Government to Government, that if they violate that part of the

agreement then we are not unilaterally bound by it.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: I understand, that position is made clear to Pakistan when these movements were brought to our notice. We not only brought this matter to the notice of USA and USSR but also of Pakistan. The position was made absolutely clear. But, at the same time, I think that it is wise for us not to act on provocation. We should act in confidence and from a sense of strength. Therefore we did not allow ourselves to be provoked that immediately they brought their troops to the border we took our troops to the border. That is not your intention, I know. But there is no question to our right of taking our troops to borders if we decide to do so.

Shri Basumatari (Goalpara): Compared to border population of the western zone, our border population of Assam is quite peculiar from where a number of persons from Khasi and Mizo Hills and other areas cross the border and get guerilla training in Pakistan. If that is so, may I know what special steps have been taken by the Government to stop it.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: That is not a military problem. But our effort must be to see that they do not become a military problem. It is a matter of civil nature, political nature, and we have to treat it at that level.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: I want the hon. Minister to make the position absolutely clear. Of course, we are convinced foreign correspondents and journalists who were taken to the border may have been convinced that our troops are nowhere within the prohibited area from which we withdrew under the Tashkent Agreement. But what is the position on the other side? Have they really transgressed that limit, have they brought in their troops in the prohibited area, and, if so, what are we going to do about it? I want to know the precise

[Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri]

position so far as the other side of the border is concerned.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: As I said, it was the understanding of the Tashkent Agreement that we should not have formations or deployment of forces that will lead to tension. That they have done. It was also the understanding between our Chief of the Army Staff and their Commander-in-Chief to move the forces back to certain positions. They have not observed that and they have brought some forces. Even presuming that they have brought forces for the purpose of exercise, it is not right because that leads to tension.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: That means they have broken the Tashkent Agreement.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: They have.

Shri Hem Barua: They have violated the Tashkent Agreement.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Now that the Tashkent Agreement has been violated already, you can take Mr. Tyagi in the Cabinet.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: It is between the Prime Minister and Mr. Tyagi.

श्री बागड़ी : आज सिर्फ एक ही रास्ता युद्ध का है कि जो हमला करे, तो उस का मुकाबला लाठी का जवाब लाठी से दे, लेकिन एक दूसरा रास्ता भी है कि नीति से दुश्मन को बगैर लड़े कमजोर किया जाय ताकि उस को मिटाया जा सके। पाकिस्तानी बंगाल के अन्दर पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ जो विद्रोह हो रहा है, या जैसे खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खां का विद्रोह चल रहा है, इस किस्म की जो नीतियां हैं, क्या उनकी तरफ भी सरकार कुछ ध्यान दे रही है, अगर दे रही है तो क्या दे रही है ?

Shri Y. B. Chavan: I have no comments to make on this question.

Mr. Speaker: That is all.

श्री बागड़ी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, एक लड़ाई तो लाठी ले कर लड़ी जाती है, जिसे बंगली लड़ाई कहते हैं, लेकिन एक दूसरी लड़ाई राजनीतिक लड़ाई होती है, जिस में बगैर लड़ाई के दुश्मन को कमजोर किया जाता है।

Some hon. Members rose—

Shri Himmatsinhji (Kutch): I may be allowed to put a question.

Mr. Speaker: That is all. I am sorry I cannot allow it. I have spent half an hour on this.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy.

श्री श्रींकार लाल बरवा (कोटा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, राजस्थान बोर्डर के बारे में तो कुछ नहीं कहा गया, सब से ज्यादा स्थिति राजस्थान बोर्डर की खराब है। ताशकन्द समझौता हुआ लेकिन राजस्थान बोर्डर पर तो उस के बाद भी लड़ाई चलती रही, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि राजस्थान के लिए भी कुछ तैयारी की गई है या नहीं ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैंने कहा है कि अब और ज्यादा इजाजत नहीं दे सकता हूँ।

श्री श्रींकार लाल बरवा : अध्यक्ष महोदय, इतने सवाल हुए, लेकिन राजस्थान के बारे में एक भी सवाल नहीं हुआ, राजस्थान की तरफ से हर दफा चढ़ाई होती है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यहां पर किसी एक एरिया के बारे में विचार नहीं हो रहा है।

श्री श्रींकार लाल बरवा : जितना झगड़ा हुआ है, राजस्थान पर हुआ है। आज भी वहां पर जानवर उठाये जा रहे हैं, आदमियों को उठाया जा रहा है। राजस्थान बार्डर पर गांव के गांव खाली हो रहे हैं।