के लिए या किसी एक पूंजीपति के लिए काम नहीं करते हैं बल्कि वे राष्ट्र के लिए काम करते हैं ? हमारा फर्ज है कि हम ऐसे मजदूरों में, ऐसे लोगों के अन्दर जो राष्ट्र के लिए काम करते हैं ऐसी भावना पैदा करें जिससे वे राष्ट्र हित में चलने वाले इन कामों में रोड़े बनने के बजाय सहायक बन सकें । रेलवे हमारे देश का सबसे बड़ा पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग है । हमारा फर्ज है कि इस अंडरटेकिंग के जरिये हम देश का उत्पादन बढ़ायें, देश की जनता को सुविधायें पहुंचाएं, उनके सुख दुख का ध्यान रखें । लेकिन अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप देखें कि राजस्थान में क्या हुआ । वहां ड्राउट की वजह से सैकड़ों हजारों लोगों का जीवन खतरे में है । वहां पर चारे की कमी है जिसकी वजह से गौ माताओं पर संकट आया हुआ है । लेकिन उस सब की परवाह रेलवे एम्प्लायीज ने नहीं की । ऐसे समय पर भी इन्होंने सोचा कि स्ट्राइक की जानी चाहिये अपने पेट के लिए, छोटी सी बातों के लिए स्ट्राइक पर जाना चाहिये और हजारों लोगों का अगर जीवन खतरे में भी है तो भी उनके जीवन की कोई परवाह नहीं की जानी चाहिये ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह एक ऐसा विधेयक है जिसका हम सब लोगों को समर्थन करना चाहिये । मैं इस विधेयक का तहेदिल से समर्थन करता हूं और उम्मीद करता हूं कि यह सदन भी इसका समर्थन करेगा और इसको पास कर देगा ।

17.30 hrs.

HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

MILITARY PREPARATIONS BY PAKISTAN

डा० सुशीला नायर (झांसी) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी पिछले हफ्ते इस सदन के बहुत से सदस्यों ने पाकिस्तान की जोरदार फ़ौजी तैयारियों के बारे में एक सवाल पूछा था । सुरक्षा मन्त्री ने उस सवाल का जो जवाब दिया, उससे हम लोगों को सन्तोष नहीं है । उन्होंने यह तो स्वीकार किया कि

> "Pakistan continues military activity of various kinds including construction of defence structures and conducting of training exercises across the border."

लेकिन साथ ही उन्होंने कहा कि

> "There is, however, nothing to indicate that there has been a significant increase in these activities recently."

अखबारों से हमें पता चलता है कि पाकिस्तान टर्की और यूरोप के कई देशों से सैकड़ों टैंक लाने की कोशिश कर रहा है और वह अमरीका रूस और यूरोप के देशों से सब तरह की युद्ध की सामग्री प्राप्त कर रहा है । क्या यह प्रवृत्ति इस बात की द्योतक नहीं है, क्या इससे अनुमान नहीं होता है कि पाकिस्तान अपनी फ़ौजी तैयारियां बढ़ा रहा है ?

एक माननीय सदस्य ने उस दिन अयूब, साहब के भाषण में से एक उद्धरण दिया था, जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तानियों को समझना पड़ेगा कि पाकिस्तान के साथ शान्ति से रहना चाहिए । अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप जानते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान तो हमेशा से पाकिस्तान के साथ, और सारे विश्व के साथ, शान्ति से रहना चाहता है, लेकिन इस दिशा में उसकी हर एक कोशिश के बावजूद अगर कोई हमारे साथ शैतानी करे, अगर हमारी आंख निकालने की कोशिश करे, तो शान्ति बनाए रखने के लिए हम उसे अपनी आंख तो नहीं निकालने दे सकते । चीन के साथ दोस्ती रखने के इरादे को सामने रखते हुए हमने पुराने जमाने में अपनी सुरक्षा की बहुत ज्यादा परवाह नहीं की और उस का हमें बहुत ज्यादा नुकसान हुआ । यह हमारी खुशकिस्मती थी कि जब पिछली दफ़ा पाकिस्तान ने हमारे साथ

[डा० सुशीला नायर]

छेड़खानी की, तो हम उसके लिए तैयार थे। इस वजह से वे लोग अपने मन में बहुत दुखी हैं, क्योंकि उन्होंने अमरीका से इतना फ़ौजी सामान लिया था कि वे सोचते थे कि वे हमें दबा सकेंगे, लेकिन वे ऐसा नहीं कर सके। अब वे फिर उसकी पूरी तैयारियां कर रहे हैं। इस लिए मन्त्री महोदय के यह कहने में हमें सन्तोष नहीं है कि पाकिस्तान की फ़ौजी तैयारियों में कोई ख़ास वृद्धि नहीं हुई है। बहुत से आसार बताते हैं कि हाल ही में वहां इस किस्म की बहुत तैयारियां हो रही हैं।

मन्त्री महोदय ने यह भी कहा कि चूंकि पाकिस्तान के अन्दरूनी हालात कुछ ठीक नहीं हैं, वहां अशान्ति है, इस लिए पाकिस्तान के शासक अपने एन्टी-इण्डिया प्रापेगेंडा और धमकियों को बढ़ा कर अपने देश के लोगों की अटेन्शन को डाइवर्ट करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। उन्होंने कहा :

"... this is to divert the attention of the Pakistani people from their internal problems and this is the type of pastime in which Pakistani leaders often indulge when they face difficult situations in their own country."

हम इस बात को स्वीकार करते हैं, लेकिन अगर यह बात सही है, तो जो लोग अपने घर की कठिनाइयों के कारण हमें गालियां और धमकियां देने पर तुल गये हैं, वे शब्दों से आगे बढ़ कर भी कुछ कर सकते हैं, यह भी हमें भूलना नहीं चाहिए और उसके लिए हमारे पास पूरी तैयारी होनी चाहिए। लेकिन इस बारे में मन्त्री महोदय ने सिर्फ इतना ही कहा :

"We will give a befitting reply."

हमें इस बात की खुशी है कि मंत्री महोदय आत्म-विश्वास के साथ यह कहते हैं कि हम पाकिस्तान को "बिफिटिंग रेप्लाई" देंगे, लेकिन हम इस बारे में थोड़ा अधिक जानना चाहते हैं कि क्या सरकार ने इस बारे में पूरी तैयारी कर ली है। हम कोई मिलिटरी सीक्रेट्स नहीं जानना चाहते हैं। हम जानते हैं कि वह मुनासिब नहीं है। लेकिन यह कह देना ही काफ़ी नहीं है कि हम पाकिस्तान को "विफ़िटिंग रेप्लाई" देंगे। हमे जो फ़ौजी सामान चाहिए, क्या वह सब का सब हम अपने देश में बना रहे हैं और बाहर से जिन चीज़ों की ज़रूरत है, क्या सरकार ने उन का प्रबन्ध कर लिया है, अगर मंत्री महोदय इस बारे में हमें कुछ बता सकें, तो हमारे दिलों में कुछ शान्ति होगी।

मंत्री महोदय ने यह भी कहा है कि हमारी यह एसेसमेंट नहीं है कि अभी पाकिस्तान हम पर हमला करेगा। यह खुशी की बात है। हम तो चाहते हैं कि पाकिस्तान ऐसा न करे, क्योंकि हम एक शान्ति प्रिय देश हैं, हम तो किसी देश से युद्ध करना नहीं चाहते, लेकिन अपनी आजादी और अपनी इज्ज़त-आबरू की रक्षा करना हमारा कर्त्तव्य है। हम यह जानना चाहते हैं कि किस बिना पर मंत्री महोदय ने यह अनुमान लगाया कि यद्यपि पाकिस्तान सब तरह की फ़ौजी तैयारियां और एन्टी-इंडिया प्रापेगंडा तो कर रहा है, लेकिन अभी वह हम पर हमला नहीं करेगा। अगर वह हमें बतायें कि क्या उन के इस अनुमान के लिए उन के पास कुछ ठोस कारण है, सालिड बेसिस है, तो हमें बहुत खुशी होगी और देश की जनता के मन में भी शान्ति होगी।

उस दिन यह भी कहा गया कि स्पाईज़ तरह-तरह के रूप और वेष धारण कर के हमारे देश में आते हैं—वे भिखारी से ले

कर सोसायटी गल्र्स तक का रूप धारण कर के भाते हैं ।

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) : वे भाल-इंडिया कांग्रेस कमेटी में भी काम करते हैं ।

डा० सुशीला नायर : वे जनसंघ में भी बहुत ज्यादा हैं ।

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : भाल इंडिया कांग्रेस कमेटी के एक पदाधिकारी पर इस बारे में केस चल रहा है ।

डा० सुशीला नायर : स्पाईज सभी पार्टियों में घुसे हुए हैं । मैं भपने भाइयों से कम्युनिस्टों से भी भौर जनसंघ वालों से भी-- नम्रता के साथ कहूंगी कि वे जरा भपनी पार्टियों को भी टटोलें, उन को दुरुस्त कर लें । हम इस देश में कहीं भी, किसी दल में, स्पाईज नहीं चाहते ।

जहां तक स्पाईज का सम्बन्ध है, मंत्री महोदय ने बताया कि उन के पास इस का डीटेल्ड ब्रेक-भप नहीं है कि जो स्पाईज पकड़ गये हैं, उन में से ऐसे कितने लोग हैं जो पाकिस्तान से छम्ब-जौड़ियां वापिस, लौट भाये थे । हम वह डीटेल्ड ब्रेक-भप नहीं चाहते, लेकिन हम यह जरूर चाहते हैं कि वह हमें थोड़ा सा बता दें कि क्या मामला है, इस मामले से कौन से लोग सम्बन्धित हैं, उन में से कितने इंडियन नैशनल्ज हैं भौर इस की रोक-थाम के लिए उन्होंने क्या उपाय किया है, क्योंकि इस में कोई दो रायें नहीं हो सकतीं कि यह बहुत खतरनाक बात है ।

जब एक माननीय सदस्य ने पूछा कि सरकार बार्डर पर सड़कें बनाने का काम तेजी के साथ क्यों नहीं करती, तो मंत्री महोदय ने कहा कि हम सड़कें तो बनाना चाहते हैं, लेकिन कुछ डेवेलपमेंट की सड़कें बनाने का काम भी हम पर डाल दिया जाता है । भगर डेवेलपमेंट की सड़कें भी डिफेंस के काम भा सकती हैं, तो डिफेंस वालों को उस का स्वागत करना चाहिए कि बार्डर एरियाज में सड़कें बनें, ताकि सुरक्षा के काम में सहायता मिले । इस बारे में यह विभाग करना मुनासिब नहीं लगता है कि यह डवलपमेंट का काम है भौर यह डिफेंस का काम है । इस जवाब से भी हम को संतोष नहीं हुआ ।

भन्त में मैं सुरक्षा मंत्री महोदय की सेवा में नम्रता के साथ निवेदन करना चाहती हूं कि क्या हम हमेशा डिफेंसिव पर ही रहेंगे यानी वे हमेशा भा कर हमें मारें भौर तब हम जरा सा जवाब देने को भागे बढ़ें । हम उन्हें इतना तो बता दें कि हमारे साथ छेड़खानी नहीं चलेगी । भाप को स्मरण होगा भाजादी के तुरन्त बाद जो गुजरात का बार्डर था वहां पर पाकिस्तानियों ने हमारी गाय भैंसों को भौर कैटिल को बेतहाशा लूटना शुरू कर दिया था । जब उन से शिकायत करें तो कहें कि हमें तो कुछ पता नहीं है वह तो कुछ डाकू भौर लुटेरे लोग हैं हम उस में क्या कर सकते हैं ? तो सरदार पटेल जो उस समय हमारे डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर थे उन्होंने कहा कि ठीक है । इधर के भी जो ऐसे लोग थे उनसे कुछ उन्होंने कहा नहीं कि तुम भी ढोर पकड़ लाभो लेकिन वह लोग समझ गए कि भब हम भी भपना रास्ता भख्तियार कर सकते हैं । उन्होंने वहां बार्डर पर जा कर कोई गंगा कोई जमना भौर क्या-क्या नाम जो गायों के थे पुकारना शुरू किया तो वह गायें तो सब वापस भाईं ही भपने साथ भौर इकीकी भौर दुगुनी गायें लाईं । पाकिस्तानी लोग कहने लगे कि तुम्हारे लोग ऐसा हमारे साथ करते हैं । सरकार ने कहा हमें तो कुछ पता

[डा० सुशीला नायर]

नहीं, हम तो कुछ जानते नहीं । तब लियाकत अली ने कहा :

Let us shake hands and stop this from both sides. And it was stopped from both sides.

इसी प्रकार से कई एक किस्से हुए । तो आज जब हमने यह स्वीकार किया कि पाकिस्तान वाले शरारत कर रहे हैं नागा लैंड में मिजो लैंड में और काशमीर में हर जगह पर हमारे लोगों को भड़का रहे हैं असलाहा दे रहे हैं घसपैठिए बैठा रहे हैं तो हम जो हमारे भाई हैं बादशाह खां और पख्तून लोग ईस्ट बंगाल और वैस्ट पंजाब के लोग जो अपनी आजादी के लिए मर रहे हैं उन के लिए एक शब्द सहानुभूति का भी नहीं कह पाते । हम से यह कहा गया कि किसी के अन्दर दखलगीरी नहीं करनी चाहिए । ठीक है दखलगीरी हम नहीं करना चाहते । लेकिन हमारे साथ कोई दखलगीरी न करे तो हम भी न करें लेकिन इस के साथ साथ यह चीज भी तो है कि जब हम आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ रहे थे तो हम यह जरूर चाहते थे कि कोई हमारे साथ सहानुभूति करे, अखबार देखते थे कि किसी पालियामेंट में किसी ने हमारी सहानुभूति में एक शब्द भी कहा क्या ? या तो हम इतने सत्यावादी हरिश्चंद्र और महात्मा हो गए हैं महात्मा गांधी से भी बढ़ कर कि हम बिल्कुल अलिप्त हैं हर चीज से लेकिन ऐसी बात तो है नहीं हम तो राज चला रहे हैं तो अगर राज चलाना है तो हमेशा डिफेन्सिव, दूर रहने से नहीं चलेगा । हम लड़ना नहीं चाहते । किसी को धमकाना नहीं चाहते । लेकिन यह भी हमें साफ कर देना चाहिए कि सामने वाले शरारत करेगें तो हम सहन नहीं करेंगे हमारे पास भी ताकत है और वे किसी तरह की शरारत हमारे साथ नहीं कर सकेंगे ।

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Kundu.

SHRI S. KUNDU (Balasore): After the Minister replies. That is the procedure we have been following.

MR. SPEAKER: All right.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: The procedure has been changed.

MR. SPEAKER: It is better to put the quesetions first so that the Minister can answer all of them. That is the best thing. I do not know why it was changed and by whom it was changed. The Minister will be in a position to reply to all the questions.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: All right, Sir. Let us expect some answers from the Minister with your help. He is a good Defence Minister.

SHRI S. KUNDU: For sometime past, we have been hearing stories of sabotage by Pakistani nationals, for example, in public undertakings and in other places. This has been told publicly. The Government has also admitted it at different times. This is a very serious matter. I am told, in Ranchi, in Rourkela and in some other places, these things have been going on for sometime past. I would like to know what exactly the Government has done to see that these things do not continue. I would also like to know whether Government have made any scrutiny of the allegation that some Pakistani nationals are employed in such undertakings. I want to know whether Government has made any investigation or any inquiry to find out whether some Pakistani spies are employed in these public undertakings. After Soviet Russia's declaration that they are also going to help Pakistan with arms and

ammunitions, the balance has titled in favour of Pakistan so far as India is concerned. Naturally there has been a fear and apprehension throughout India that perhaps we are not prepared to meet the challenges from Pakistan. The modern war does not depend on how many number of soldiers we have or how many tanks we have or how many planes we have. It is the type of plane or equipment and the modernity of it that matters. For instance, the Israeli soldiers and commanders defeated thousands of tanks and planes of Arab countries; so far as I know, in Sinai Desert, about 200 Israeli tanks completely smashed about a thousand tanks which were given by Soviet Russia. As I said, Soviet Russia has decided to supply arms and ammunitions to Pakistan and America has all along been giving arms and ammunitions to Pakistan. So, there has been this fear, as I said in the beginning, that the balance of Defence has titled in favour of Pakistan. Would the hon. Minister kindly say how far is this fear genuine or, rather, whether it is genuine or not.

श्री रणधीर सिंह (रोहतक) : स्पीकर महोदय, जहां तक देश के रिसोर्सेज का सवाल है, जहां तक देश की मैन पावर का सवाल है, जहां तक देश में जज्बे देशभक्ति का सवाल है, हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान का कोई मुकाबिला नहीं है । सवाल यह है कि सन् 65 में हमारा उन का मुकाबिला हुआ । 20 दिन तक हम लाहौर नहीं पहुंच सके । यह भी हमारी गैरत को, हमारी ताकत को और हमारी हुब्बल वतनी को एक सबक है । उस से पाकिस्तान का ऐसा हौसला बढ़ा कि जो ताकत पाकिस्तान के पास सन् 65 में थी, आंकड़े गलत हैं या सही हैं, यह मैं नहीं कह सकता, उस से दुगुनी पैदल और दुगुनी हवाई फौज उन्होंने अपनी कर ली । उस का एक ही जवाब है कि जहां हम चौगुने है पाकिस्तान से वहां उन रिसोर्सेज को हमें इस तरह से जोड़ना है कि मशरिकी पाकिस्तान को 48 घंटे में और मगरिबी पाकिस्तान को एक हफ्ते में हम दिमाग ठीक कर सकें । इतनी ताकत हमारे पास हो । जैसे खां साहब ने कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान अगर सात काश्मीर भी दे दे प्लेट में रख कर तो भी पाकिस्तान हिन्दुस्तान को बख्शने वाला नहीं है । यह एक हकीकत है कि पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान में खांडा बजना है । इस में कोई शक नहीं है । क्या हमारे पास इतनी ताकत है 1965 का हिसाब लगा कर कि अगर वह बात दुबारा हुई तो हम वह मजा चखाएं पाकिस्तान को कि पाकिस्तान की आने वाली नस्ल याद करें और आगे कभी पाकिस्तान हिम्मत न करे कि वह टेढ़ी आंख से हिन्दुस्तान को देखे ? यही नहीं, चीन भी जो पाकिस्तान के साथ मिल कर साजिश करता है, बदमाशी करता है, जो पान-इस्लामिक बनाकर पाकिस्तान हमें डर दिखाता है, मैं डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब से पूछना चाहता हूं, सन् 65 को छोड़िए, उस के बाद काफी पानी पुल के नीचे से गुजर चुका है, उस का जवाब देने के लिए एक महज लाइयर की लफ्फाजी नहीं बल्कि वाहिम्मत डिफेंस मिनिस्टर के कह सकते हैं कि अगर इस तरह की जुरत की पकिस्तान ने तो उस का पूरा मुंह तोड़ जवाब ही देंगे बल्कि आगे पाकिस्तान की नस्लों की हिम्मत नहीं होगी कि वह हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ इस तरह की बात भी सोच सकें ? मैं पूछना चाहूंगा कि हवाई फौज के मुकाबिले हवाई फौज, पैदल के मुकाबिले पैदल फौज और नैवी के मुकाबिले में नेवी की फोर्स, पाकिस्तान और चीन का हिसाब लगाते हुए इस पोजीशन में है कि हिम्मत और बहादुरी के साथ और अपनी इज्जत को रखते हुए, 1965 की बात को मैं अच्छा नहीं समझता, उस को दोहराया नहीं जायगा, बल्कि उस का ऐसा दांत तोड़ जवाब दिया जायेगा कि पाकिस्तान आगे ऐसी हिम्मत न करे ? इस का मैं जवाब डिफेंस मिनिस्टर से चाहता हूं ।

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) : हमारे देश को पाकिस्तान और चीन दोनों से खतरा है और चीन न्यूक्लिअर पावर है । पाकिस्तान ने 1965 से आज तक अपने यहां बहुत बड़ी संख्या में जैट-प्लेन लिये, ट्रांस्पोर्ट प्लेन लिये, उस की फोर्सेज की स्ट्रेन्थ डबल हो गई, उसे चीन या किसी दूसरे देश से सब-मैरीन मिल गई और 1965 में जो उस की स्ट्रेन्थ थी, आज उस से लैंड, नेवल और एयर में उस की स्ट्रेन्थ डबल हो गई है ।

मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या यह सही है कि रूस ने अभी हाल में उससे यह वायदा किया है कि वह न्यूक्लियर टैकनिकल नो-हाऊ पाकिस्तान को देगा ?

दूसरे—क्या यह सही है कि पाकिस्तान की स्ट्रेन्थ 1965 के बाद हर चीज में, मोटे तौर से एअर फोर्स, लैंड फोर्स और नेवल फोर्स में डबल हो गई है, उसके पास सब-मैरीन भी है जो उस ने चीन और दूसरे देशों से ली है ।

तीसरे—आप कहते हैं कि हम मुकाबला करने की तैयारी कर रहे हैं—हमें तसल्ली है, लेकिन केवल इतनी बात कहने से ही पूरा सन्तोष नहीं होता है । मैं मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूं कि हमारे पास जो "नेट" या दूसरे प्लेन्ज बन रहे हैं, बैंगलोर में, नासिक में या दूसरी जगह पर, उन में कुछ ऐसी मोडिफिकेशन्ज की हैं, जिससे हवाई जहाज पहले से ज्यादा अच्छे सिद्ध हों तथा हमारे कारखानों में हवाई जहाजों के प्रोडक्शन का जो टारगेट था, वे उसी टारगेट के मुताबिक बन रहे हैं ।

चौथे—अभी जैसा सुशीला जी ने कहा—क्या हम यह रिट्रीट करेंगे कि काश्मीर का जो हिस्सा पाकिस्तान के पास है, उस को आज नहीं तो कल, चाहे लम्बी लड़ाई हो, वह हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा है और हिन्दुस्तान उसे जरूर वापस लेगा, तब तक हम चैन से नहीं बैठेंगे ।

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI SWARAN SINGH): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I share the general concern, that is, the under-tone of various points that have been put across by the hon. Members. And, I can well appreciate their anxiety on this score.

SHRI J. B. BISWAS: (Bankaura): I have seen, Sir, the same thing, the same replies being given.

MR. SPEAKER: How can you change the answer every day? Please resume your seat. Defence of India cannot be changed every hour or every day. He can answer in the same way, don't worry. You won't be satisfied with whatever he says. The hon. Minister may go ahead with his answer.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: I don't know why he got upset on this. Should I say that I don't share the anxiety of hon. Members? Does he want me to say that? I do not know what was the object of the interjection.

SHRI J. M. BISWAS: The Minister has got the same answer. I want to know what action he has taken out of the suggestions made. (*Interruption*)

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: I would like to assure him and other Hon. Members that in Defence matters one has to talk very little and the entire work of the Defence is to take appropriate action. And it is for this reason that you may sometimes find me not speaking. Because I have to take action, I could not speak. That is the main thing. (*Interruption*) It is true that after the 1965 conflict in which Pakistan clearly committed aggression, they have taken steps to make up their loss and in certain cate-

gories they have tried to acquire military hardware of various types from all manner of sources. They have, for instance, after the 1965 conflict, acquired aeroplanes, tanks, and also artillery equipments from China . . .

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: Also, transport planes . . .

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: They have obtained them from NATO countries also. As I made a statement the other day, they are now contemplating to get more tanks from Turkey. And, they have tried to augment their naval position and they have got a submarine, not perhaps from China so far, but from France, most probably. This is the general set-up of the Pakistanis, they have been taking various steps to increase their military strength in a variety of directions. How do we meet this situation? That is the point of great importance. Some objection has been taken to the manner I replied to certain questions. The replies have to be seen in the context of the questions put to me. For instance, one of the questions was: do you fear that there is an imminent danger of an attack upon India? I said we have to be vigilant; we have always to be prepared and keep an eye so that even if there is any sudden attack, we should be able to meet the situation. But my assessment is that there is no imminent danger of an attack. I reiterate that position. After all, to attack, one has to organise and regroup; and there is no significant movement on the other side which may indicate a situation that an attack on us is imminent. That does not mean that we can proceed on that basis. In fact the one lesson we could learn from various theatres of conflict recently is that the whole thing might come suddently. Therefore, our preparations are on that basis. Whether it is in the air, land or sea, we should be prepared to meet it even if there is a sudden attack. That is quite apart.

But when I say that there is no risk of imminent attack, that does not mean that we are not prepared even if there is an imminent attack. Because I was asked a specific question, in all fairness to the House and the country, I must give them my assessment, that although vigilance is the price we have to pay and we are, therefore, vigilant all the time, I do not say there is any imminent danger of an attack upon us. I am still of the same view after having a second look at the various circumstances in their totality that exist today between our two countries.

Reference has been made by my esteemed colleague, Dr. Sushila Nayar, to a speech of President Ayub's where he is quoted as having said that India should learn the wisdom of living in peace with Pakistan. I would very strongly commend that sentiment back to President Ayub and Pakistani leaders. As a matter of fact, we have always tried to live in peace, in amity with Pakistan; as a matter of fact, on all occasions it is Pakistan that has adopted an aggressive attitude. Therefore, we will greatly welcome any change in the attitude of Pakistan. If they are telling us that we should learn the wisdom of living in peace with Pakistan, I would say very strongly that we know that it is wise to live in peace and we will greatly be happy if Pakistan also could adopt an attitude which would enable the two countries to live in a good neighbourly manner. It should then be possible for us to resolve our differences by peaceful means.

Another matter has been referred to again by Dr. Sushila Nayar. I have been quoted as having made a mention of the internal problems of Pakistan being one of the reasons for the bellicocity that has recently been shown by Pakistani leaders. That is not an uncommon feature. The recent bellicocity may as well be due to the internal situation there about which I ned not comment. It is public property; the type of demonstrations, arrests, even

[Shri Swaran Singh]

in a regime of the type that now obtains in Pakistan is a pointer to the internal conditions that prevail there. Pakistani leaders have often resorted to hard-hitting statements against India whenever they face a situation of that type. Sometimes they use that as a justification for taking certain action. The normal hate-India campaign, which is a common pastime with them, appears to have been pulled out of their chests and again it is being exploited in that context.

18.00 hrs.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR: If the internal trouble is leading them to this, it may lead them to something else also. Don't you think there is that danger too?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: All our preparations are on this basis that there is a continuing danger from Pakistan. That is the basis of all our defence thinking, let there be no doubt about it. As a matter of fact, I would appeal to this hon. House to view this problem in a bigger perspective. If it were a question of only Pakistani designs, then the problem is simple, but we must never forget, as was hinted by my hon. friend Ch. Randhir Singh, that we face a dual danger from China and from Pakistan. Therefore, all our preparations have to take into consideration this threat from both these unfriendly countries, and also the possibility of a collusion between the two in military terms, not only in the political or diplomatic sphere.

It is for this reason that any talk of military balance and the like in relation only to Pakistan, a theory which is familiar with certain countries particularly of the West, is a concept which is totally unreal and entirely unacceptable to us. So, when anybody talks about comparative figures of the total military strength of India and Pakistan, any comparison to be valid and real must take into consideration the threat not only from Pakistan but also from the long borders with China, the Chinese postures on the border, the massing of Chinese troops on our border and the necessity of our taking adequate steps in a variety of ways to safeguard those borders. So, it will not be real in any argument or in any presentation to talk only of Pakistan.

There is no doubt that if we had only the Pakistani danger facing us. in military terms there is no comparison between the forces of the two countries, I will be quite frank without going into details. We are any day stronger on the land, in the air, in the sea, there is no doubt in my mind. But let us not forget that we have to face danger from two sides, and it is therefore this added responsibility which should always be before us, and it is not wise to talk only of the Pakistani danger. Any comparison of that nature might create a wrong impression in the international community, even in our own country.

It is very necessary that the morale of our country should be kept as a level where there is confidence, although there is always this intention to be aware of this danger, that our plans take note of this dual risk that we face from Pakistan and China.

The question of spies has been raised. This was in a special context in the Chamb-Jaurian sector. The House is fully aware of the circumstances in which a large number of people from Chamb-Jaurian went over to the Pakistan occupied part of Jammu and Kashmir. After the Tashkent Declaration when these areas were vacated, our people also moved into those parts, and some people from the other side also moved not only into Chamb-Jaurian but into several other areas also, but I would like to assure the House that the Home Ministry and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir are fully seized of this question and they have undertaken a very careful screening of all those who have come from the other side, and if there is any

action that has to be taken. both the Home Minister and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir are fully alive to this problem and adequate steps have been taken.

Mention has been made of the Border Roads Organisation. In many areas the Border Roads Organisation has undertaken construction of roads, which may not be entirely of strategic value because sometimes the terrian is difficult. They have undertaken construction of large number of roads which, strictly speaking, might be developmental roads. But on account of the difficult working conditions and the like, they have undertaken the construction of roads in areas like Mizo Hills district, Nagaland and also in several other areas. So there is no hard and fast line that needs to be drawn in this respect.

Lastly, this question has been raised of Pakistan interfering in our internal affairs by instigating Mizos, Nagas and sometimes even giving military training to them and inducting arms. This is something which we have to stop in the sense of tightening our security on the borders, taking action in a firm manner against these who might have acquired these weapons either from Pakistan or from China and that is being undertaken. It is becoming increasingly difficult for them either to leave our territory and go into either Pakistan or China. Those who go are finding it more difficult to re-enter and those who have re-entered. they are also being chased by the security forces so that no new camp or the like is established with outside help either from Pakistan or China. This matter is receiving very stiff notice and very careful notice and appropriate action is being taken in these matters. I think this will be a better way of dealing with it than to mix up with Mizos and Nagas the problem of Pakhtoonistan. Mizos and Nagas is our internal matter. They are Indian citizens. We cannot therefore tolerate any outside agency whether it is of Pakistani origin or Chinese origin to interfere in our affairs which are entirely internal. We should take proper action to stop that.

What should be our attitude in relation to Pakhtoonistan is a matter which is not linked up with this and that is a separate issue about which a great deal has been said before. I have nothing more to add.

Mr. Kundu put one or two questions. I would like to give very brief replies to them. He has mentioned Ranchi and Rourkela as public-sector undertakings in which some spies or outside agents are working. I will frankly admit that Ranchi and Rourkela are not defence undertakings. One is an industrial undertaking and the other is the Rourkela steel mill. I have no information if there are any spies. If there are any spies, surely if Mr. Kundu knows, I am sure, others will also know. They must have been picked up by now. It is not easy for other people to know and the people whose job it is to keep a track on the spies should know it. We have no information, and I will request the hon. Member if he has any information to pass it on to me or the Home Minister. That will help in isolating those individuals and we will take stern action against those who are suspected of this activity. There is no Pakistani national in our Services or in defence undertakings. I do not know where from Mr. Kundu has taken this idea that there are any non-nationals in our defence undertakings. There is no Pakistani national in our services at all.

The last question is about the tilting of balance. I have already touched upon this point and I have nothing more to add.

SHRI KANWARLAL GUPTA: What about my question, Sir?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: Mr. Kanwarlal Gupta spoke after Chaudhury Randhir Singh. Chaudhury Randhir Singh is always enthusiastic and supports all the defence causes. I also share his enthusiasm and his respect for the valour and bravery of the Indian soldiers. I have no doubt that they are brave, that they will come up to our expectations. I would only like to add that their bravery will be matched by adequate equipment and we are taking steps both by indigenous manufacture and by acquisition from all available sources. I will be quite ready to get the help from any quarter if it augments our strength, and I have no inhibitions in that respect.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH: Floor Pakistan within a week; that should be the target.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: We should be very careful in the choice of words; while we should be stern in action, we should weigh our words very carefully; we should not talk of aggression; we should never talk of attacking others.—

SHRI S. M. JOSHI: Even if they do.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: That will not be fair from a leader of the stature of Mr. S. M. Joshi. We should not speak, as they say, "with tongue in our cheek". We should be quite honest. We have no aggressive designs on any of our neighbours but, at the same time, I fully share his view that if our own integrity is jeopardised and there is any attack on us,—then they know it; our neighbours also know that they cannot localise these things—then, it will be for us to decide as to where we fight and how we fight. That is a matter which will be defensive; not an attack.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR: It should be such that they dare not attack us.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: I would appeal to hon. Members to be very careful in the use of expression even while expressing their anger or anxieties. Lastly, Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta said that Pakistan has augmented its strength; they have. I would only say that, without going quantitatively into what we have done, we have also not been sitting idle all these years. There has been augmentation in our strength also and in all the three wings; in the equipment which is for the army, in the Air Force and also in the Navy, much against our desire, because we still continue to hold the view that we would like to resolve all our differences by peaceful means, but at the same time, having faced this aggression more than once and from countries more than one, it is of prime importance for us to be always on the look-out, and to carefully assess the danger of the risk involved from our potential enemies and to take adequate action, organisational, training, equipment, numbers and all their rest we have to undertake.

I would like to say that it should be appreciated that while replying to this debate, there is a certain restraint that I have to observe, and I cannot go into details. But broadly, I would like to say that any accrual to the strength of Pakistan is carefully watched by us and we have to take matching action in order to ensure that we are not put at a disadvantage.

The second question put by Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta was the report about the USSR helping them in nuclear technology. This is now becoming a common pattern: that is, exchange of technological knowledge on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy; it is the common pattern between the varous countres, and....

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : पाकिस्तान पीसफुल रहेगा यह आप कैसे कह सकते हैं ? वह लड़ाई के लिये इस्तेमाल कर सकता है । इसलिये यह न कहिए कि पीसफुल परपज के लिये दी । पैटन टैंक जो अमरीका से

मिले थे उन्हें उसने कच्छ में इस्तेमाल किये ।

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: I would request Shri Gupta to keep the two things apart. Whereas no weapon can be given for peaceful purposes, if any country gives a tank or a bomber or a fighter plane or artillery to any other country, it cannot be for peaceful purposes, any exchange of technological information or data or scientific data on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy is a matter....

श्री कवंर लाल गुप्त : वह लड़ाई के लिये इस्तेमाल नहीं होगा ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: Unless Pakistan decides to make nuclear weapons....

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: Yes.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: He says yes; but that is neither here nor there.

Let us not forget that Pakistan has got, just as India has got, arrangements with several countries for exchange of information on peaceful uses of nuclear energy. They are behind us, there is no doubt, in this nuclear science. Whereas we should view with concern any accretion to military strength, any accretion of scientific knowledge should not be viewed with unnecessary alarm. After all, to a certain extent every thing is connected with defence. Better food, better industrial base, unity—everything contributes to a certain extent to the defence potential of any country. That is also relevant for us, but we should view these things in their proper perspective and assess them properly.

His last question was about improvements to the aircraft that we are manufacturing. We are manufacturing 4 or 5 different types of aircraft in our country. We are manufacturing transport aircraft and also Gnat. HF 24 is another jet fighter which we are manufacturing. We have also a manufacturing programme for MIGs. So, in our manufacturing programme for the air force, we have got different types of aircraft and we always try to utilise in the best manner the latest technology in making them come up to the standard.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: What about Kashmir?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: That is a political matter. I will not go into it now.

18.17 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, November 26, 1968/Agrahayana 5, 1890 (Saka).

DPND—L.S. II—2371 (ai) LSD—8-2-69—1010