

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शस्त्री]

अपेक्षा तो मैं इस विधेयक को वापस लेना अधिक पसन्द करूँगा। ताकि छः महीने बाद यह विधेयक फिर दोबारा इस सदन में प्राये प्रीम सरकार को अपनी भूल का प्रायश्चित्त करने और यह सोचने का अवसर मिले कि यदि इस रूप में नहीं, तो इससे मिलते जुलते किसी दूसरे रूप में देश की एकता को कैसे सुदृढ़ बनाये रखा जा सकता है ?

मैं उम्मीद करूँगा कि उपमंत्री महोदय बापूजी अणे के इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करेंगे कि इस विधेयक को जनमत जानने के लिए प्रसारित किया जाये।

Dr. M. S. Aney: May I have your permission to move an amendment?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri L. N. Mishra): But who is accepting the hon. Member's amendment?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is the hon. Deputy Minister prepared to accept the motion for circulating the Bill for eliciting opinion thereon?

Shri Jaganatha Rao: No.

Dr. M. S. Aney: My amendment is that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Deputy Minister is not accepting that amendment.

Has the hon. Mover leave of the House to withdraw his Bill?

Several hon. Members: Yes.

The Bill was, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The next Bill is in the name of Shri Parashar. He is not here. He wants postponement of his Bill. The next one is in the name of Shri Siddiah. He is also not here. The next two Bills are in the name of Shri D. C. Sharma. He is also not here. Now, we have to wait for the Prime Minister's statement.

16.12 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

An hon. Member: Let us adjourn for a few minutes till the Prime Minister comes.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया: अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह समय मुझे ही इस्तेमाल कर लेने दीजिये।

अध्यक्ष महोदय: मैं दस मिनट के लिए हाउस को मुस्तवी करता हूँ। दस मिनट के बाद हम मिलेंगे।

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Twenty-two Minutes past Sixteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled at Twenty-two Minutes past Sixteen of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

STATEMENT RE INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

The Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri): In the statement which I had made in this House on 24th September, 1965, I had given an account of the developments culminating in a cease-fire coming into force between India and Pakistan at 3:30 a.m. on the 23rd September, 1965. I do not wish to take up the time of the House by going into details about subsequent happenings which have been fully reported in the Press. I would instead try to present the broad picture of the later developments and to share with the House Government's views and thoughts on the various issues that have yet to be resolved.

The cease-fire is still far from being fully effective. The main reason for this is the fact that Pakistani Forces have continuously tried to occupy posts and areas which were not in their hands when the cease-fire came

into effect. It is these violations by Pakistan that account for the uneasy conditions that prevail in areas where our troops are facing the Pakistan army. The House will recall that the actual hour of the cease-fire had to be put off by fifteen hours beyond the dead-line set in the Security Council Resolution of 20th September, 1965 because Pakistan delayed its acceptance of the cease-fire till the last minute. During this period which elapsed between the acceptance of cease-fire by both countries and its actual coming into force, Pakistani forces were actively engaged in trying to occupy fresh territory wherever possible and particularly in South-West Rajasthan. Even after the cease-fire, Pakistani troops did occupy a few posts and villages in Rajasthan, which are separated from each other by long distances and are located in areas where there had been no fighting before.

Apart from Rajasthan, in the Fazilka Sector on the 24th and 25th September, in the Tithwal area on the 11th October, Pakistan launched major attacks in total disregard of the cease-fire. In the Chhamb area too, they have repeatedly tried to move forward after the cease-fire

The cease-fire Agreement cannot stand in the way of our troops regaining territory treacherously occupied after the cease-fire came into effect. Wherever such violations have occurred, we have obviously no choice left except to deal with the situation and foil the Pakistani designs. Our taking such remedial action cannot be considered a violation of the cease-fire. It is necessary that the Security Council should give serious thought to this aspect of the matter. We have been regularly drawing their attention to the cease-fire violations by Pakistan, the total number of which now adds upto about a thousand. The Security Council must ensure that there are no more viola-

tions of the cease-fire and that the places occupied after the cease-fire are vacated forthwith. If real progress is to be made on the road to peace, the cease-fire must be made truly effective. Until the cease-fire becomes effective, it is not possible to proceed to the subsequent step of withdrawal of armed personnel. This was emphasized by me in a letter dated the 18th October, 1965 to the Secretary-General. I place on the Table of the House copies of communications exchanged between the Government of India and the U.N. Secretary-General and between our Permanent Representative on the U.N. and the President of the Security Council. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-5076/65].

Another factor of the greatest importance in any discussion on withdrawals is the manner in which we can be assured that the infiltration technique which Pakistan initiated on the 5th August, 1965 will not be repeated again. I had emphasized this point in my discussions and correspondence with the Secretary-General even before the cease-fire came into being. As far as I am aware no statement has been made by any Indian delegate to the U.N. or to the U.N. Security Council which has been inconsistent with whatever I have said in this House. I find it necessary to revert to this point with even greater emphasis, because we have reports of a fresh build-up of infiltrators in Pakistan occupied Kashmir and in the tribal areas. The tragic events of the last few months should make the UN and the Security Council realize that prevention is not only better but easier than cure. If firm action had been taken when infiltration began and General Nimmo reported on it, perhaps much of the tragic loss of life and property which followed, could have been avoided. At that time, despite all our efforts, strong and prompt action was not taken. I do hope that the Secretary-General will start immediate investigations into what is going on in

(Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri.)

Pakistan-occupied Kashmir in preparation for unleashing a fresh wave of infiltrators.

I cannot help expressing the feeling that the world would be saved much trouble and misery if aggression is not countenanced any where and objective efforts are made to identify the aggressor. In the recent conflict, the fact of Pakistani aggression could be seen by any one who wanted to. The Chief UN Observer gave a clear and objective verdict. The Security Council itself referred to August 5 as the crucial date. On this date, India had taken no action. It was Pakistan that had started sending massive waves of infiltrators and clearly she was the aggressor. Impliedly Pakistan's aggression was noted but this certainly was not enough. A clear verdict was necessary and a body which is charged with the important responsibility of preserving world peace must necessarily be prepared to give a clear verdict. It is all the more necessary, because a new technique is being adopted under which invasions are launched in disguise and forces of destruction are unleashed without the usual declaration of war. It is for this reason that India had been urging from the beginning that Pakistan should be identified as the aggressor. On its part, Pakistan has been denying all along its complicity in sending infiltrators into Kashmir. The actual position is, however, so clear that any impartial agency could testify to it. I would still like to suggest that the aggressor, in the recent conflict, be identified, by some such method.

Pakistan it seems is not really interested either in a cease-fire, which it grudgingly accepted in form but not in substance, or in the subsequent steps which the Security Council Resolution on the subject contemplates, namely, the withdrawal of all armed personnel which includes not only troops but also other infiltrators. Pakistan is pleading instead for im-

mediate steps for bringing about what it describes as a political settlement. Translated into plain words Pakistan wants the Security Council to give it what neither its armed infiltrators nor its regular troops could give it. With this object, Pakistan's Foreign Minister engineered a meeting of the Security Council and tried to have a discussion on the internal situation in Kashmir making all kinds of wild and baseless accusations. Our Foreign Minister made it quite clear that while we were ready to cooperate with the Security Council in the task of restoring peace, we would not participate in any discussion on matters relating to our internal affairs. When it became clear that Mr. Bhutto could not be restrained from raising matters pertaining to the internal administration of our State of Jammu and Kashmir the Indian delegation abstained from taking part in subsequent meetings of the Security Council.

If Pakistan wants an end to the present tense situation, let it first honour and respect the Cease-fire Agreement. Let it put an end to the daily violations of the cease-fire. Let it then withdraw its armed personnel from our territory and we shall also withdraw our troops from the areas under our occupation in Pakistan. More important than any of these things, let Pakistan stop the various things which it is doing apparently in preparation for a fresh trial of strength. Let it stop the recruitment of irregular forces in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. Let it put a stop to the digging of trenches and putting up of military structures which is going on at so many places just across the present cease-fire line. Let it give up its attempts to acquire arms and ammunition. Let it release the goods, the cargo and the vessels it has seized. Let it also give up its collusion with China which is based only on a common hatred of India and is aimed at weakening and disintegrating this country. Let Pakistan, to put it briefly, first restore normal relations

before we can discuss how to establish better relations.

Once Pakistan genuinely embarks upon the path of peace, the Government and the people of India will be ready to reciprocate. Unfortunately, all the evidence that we have about Pakistan's intentions shows no signs of any change of heart, any re-thinking, any desire to prefer peace to war. In these circumstances, we have to shape our policy on two planes, as it were. On the one hand, we have to be careful not to allow ourselves to be swayed by the same atmosphere of hatred, which the Pakistani leaders have tried to build up, and not to depart from the fundamentals of our policy—of peace, of secularism and of economic development. On the other hand, we have to be vigilant and prepared to meet any threat at any time on any part of our territory.

In our relations with Pakistan, we shall continue to behave in accordance with the canons of civilised society. Pakistan violated all diplomatic immunities by subjecting our High Commissioner in Pakistan to a search at the point of rifles and bayonets. Even though the movements and activities of the personnel of the Pakistan High Commission in Delhi were restricted, they enjoyed every protection and lived in safety and without molestation of any kind. Rather than retaliate against them, we decided to recall our High Commissioner from Pakistan and it is not our intention to send him back in the immediate future.

There has been a good deal of discussion with regard to the question of payment of our due under the Indus Waters Treaty. The Minister of Irrigation and Power yesterday made a statement and the House is going to discuss this question. We do not wish to go back on commitments solemnly entered into by us, whether in regard to the Indus Waters Treaty or under the Kutch Agreement. While we are always ready to meet force with strength, we shall continue to honour our pledged word.

श्री उ० बू० मिश्रेजी (मंसूरी) : मुझे
के सवा क्या बादा किया जा सकता है ?

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri: Regarding the seizure of our ships and cargoes by Pakistan, the Minister for Transport has already made a statement in this House.

On the plane of preparedness, we are doing all that is necessary. We are fully alive to the fact that at a time of their own choosing, Pakistan and its ally China might decide to act against us in concert, and we have, therefore, to be always on our guard against any eventuality. In our defence effort, we want to achieve self-reliance to the maximum extent possible and in the shortest possible time. Our soldiers who are fighting at the front are fully entitled to the best that this country can give them, and in this effort we must not be found wanting.

A new Department of Defence Supplies has been created in the Ministry of Defence with the prime object of locating capacity within the country for those items, whether they are spare parts or components or complete equipment, needed for our defence for which we are dependent on imports. Even so, we may have to import either arms or the machinery to produce them. It was this imperative need that made me appeal to our people to subscribe to the Gold Bonds in a massive way. We have got to harness a substantial part of the gold reserves in this country and put them to the service of the nation, if we are to be strong and self-reliant. We have given considerable thought to the new Defence Loans and the National Defence Gold Bond Scheme, which are now in operation, and we have tried to take a practical view and give whatever inducements are possible. In themselves, these schemes are a useful investment, but what is more important, they represent a vital contribution to the nation's defence effort. Our countrymen today are imbued

(Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri.)

with a fierce determination to offer any sacrifice to make the country strong. I have every hope, therefore, that people will respond suitably to these schemes and especially that of the Gold Bonds in order to attain this objective.

The House would naturally want to know how we view the likely course of future events so far as Indo-Pakistan relations are concerned. Our own position is quite clear. We want to live in peace with Pakistan. We have never taken the initiative in forsaking the path of peace nor shall we do so in future. We do not want to annex any part of Pakistan's territory. But, the restoration of peace and its future preservation can be assured only if Pakistan gives up the stormy course of wanton aggression. We cannot, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chairman propitiate any aggressor. Threatened as we are, with a renewal of aggression, we have to be ever vigilant and ready.

Looking at all the circumstances, there is every possibility that the period of travail which began in August last may continue for a long time. As a nation, we have to be prepared to meet this many-sided challenge. There is, therefore, no room for complacency. At the same time, the experience of the recent past must fill us all with a new confidence. Hon'ble Members would be gratified to know that when I visited the forward areas in the Lahore and Sialkot Sectors three weeks ago, I found the soldiers and the airmen imbued with the highest morale. Most of them had fought in the battlefield and had seen some of their colleagues laying down their lives heroically in defence of the Motherland. On behalf of this House, and indeed on behalf of all the people of India, I conveyed to them our feeling of highest appreciation and deep gratitude and told them how the entire nation was united in its determination to fight the invader.

I have been able also to go to other places and to see millions of persons, all resolved to meet any hardship and to make any sacrifice. Undoubtedly, the people are facing difficulties, but these are not felt nor mentioned. It seems that there is a regeneration, and millions of our countrymen are ready to give of their best to make the nation self-reliant and strong. Towards this single common purpose, I know that this House and this Nation will flinch from no danger and count no sacrifice too great.

Some hon. Members rose—

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद) :

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझ को जाना है, मुझ इच्छा-
जत है । मैंने अपना दूसरा काम . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं एक एक भादमी को
बुलाऊंगा । मैंने पहले रंगा साहब को बुलाया
है ।

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege on the previous occasion to associate myself and the group that we represent here with the stand taken by the Prime Minister after Mr. U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations had left India. It is again my privilege on this occasion to associate our group and our party with the stand that he has now indicated in his statement today. Like most other people we were also very much upset by the attitude displayed by the Security Council during the recent discussions. When an issue which ought not to have been raised was being raised, we expected that Council to prevent it; it failed. When again, the representative of Pakistan began to use words and hurl abuses in such unseemly and indecent manner, we expected the members of the Security Council to raise objection. They failed on that occasion also. All this has upset us, and it is wrong for anybody outside India to think that whatever the Prime Minister is doing