

श्री मधु लियये (मुंगेर) : मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न इसी पर है। उसको प्राय पहले सुन लें।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let him make the statement first and then he can raise the point of order.

The Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, as the hon. Members are aware, the Secretary-General of the United Nations U. Thant, arrived in New Delhi on September 12, 1965 and after staying here for three days he left yesterday for New York. We welcomed him amongst ourselves not only as a high dignitary but also as a representative of the world organisation on which lies the heavy responsibility of preserving international peace.

The Secretary-General and I had free and frank discussions. He met the Foreign Minister and also saw the Defence Minister. During the discussions the Secretary-General drew attention to the grave implications of the present conflict specially in relation to the welfare of the 600 million people belonging to India and Pakistan. He referred to the Security Council Resolutions of September 4 and 6, and appealed that a cease-fire should be ordered immediately by both countries.

I gave a factual narration of the events as they had taken place and pointed out that the present conflict was not of our seeking; it was started by Pakistan when thousands of armed infiltrators invaded our State of Jammu and Kashmir commencing from August 5, 1965 with the objective of destroying or capturing vital positions such as airports, police stations and bridges and ultimately of seizing power forcibly from the State Government at Srinagar. Finding that its initial invasion had largely failed, Pakistan had launched, on

1st September, 1965 a massive armed attack not only across the cease-fire line but across the international frontier as well. Pakistan had thus not only started the conflict but had further escalated it in such a manner as to leave India with no choice except to take counter measures in self defence. I explained all this to the Secretary-General and told him that the present conflict had been forced upon us by Pakistani aggression. We were determined, however, to preserve fully and completely the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country, of which the State of Jammu and Kashmir formed an integral part; nor could we accept a situation in which Pakistan may continue its armed aggressions on India time and again.

The Secretary-General was particularly anxious that as a first step we should agree to the cease-fire and to the cessation of hostilities. I told him that a cease-fire in regard to the fighting between the troops was understandable but the question of raiders would still remain on our hands. I pointed out that we would have to continue to deal effectively with these raiders, many of whom were still at large in the State of Jammu and Kashmir unless, of course, Pakistan undertook to withdraw them from our territory.

We went into the pros and cons of the cease-fire in some detail. Subsequently, I received a letter from the Secretary-General in which his appeal for a cease-fire was reiterated. A copy of this letter has been placed on the Table of the House. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4866/65].

After full consideration of all aspects, we sent a reply of which also a copy is laid on the Table of House. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4866/65].

As the hon. Members would see from a perusal of this letter, we

raised no objection to the Secretary-General's proposal for a cease-fire. However, in regard to certain matters of vital importance to India, we made our stand perfectly clear. For instance, as already stated, we would have to deal with the raiders who were still sporadically attacking public property or harassing the people in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Also, we could not possibly revert to a situation in which we may find ourselves once again unable to prevent infiltrations or to deal effectively with those who had already come in.

In regard to the political aspect of the question, we made it clear that we were fully determined to maintain the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India, of which the State of Jammu and Kashmir was an integral part. From this resolve we could never be deflected, no matter what the pressure or the threat. These were not conditions attached to our acceptance of the cease-fire but were meant to be a clear and unequivocal reiteration of our stand in regard to these vital matters.

Late in the evening of 14th September I received a further letter from the Secretary-General, saying that he could not give any undertaking to which I sent a letter yesterday morning pointing out that as a matter of fact we had not asked him to give any undertaking to us. Our acceptance of the cease-fire proposal thus complied fully with the app. of the Secretary-General. Copies of these letters have also been laid on the Table of the House. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4866/65].

The Secretary-General told me prior to his departure from New Delhi that if by the evening of the 15th September, 1965 Pakistan did not give a reply agreeing to the cease-fire, we should take it that an agreement on this question had not been possible. Since no such ac-

ceptance was received by the stipulated time, an announcement was made that our defence forces will have to continue the operations with unabated vigour.

Although the Secretary-General's present effort to bring about a stoppage of hostilities in order to pave the way for peace has not been fruitful through no lack of co-operation from us, he intends, as he has announced, to pursue his efforts further, and just before leaving Delhi he sent me a further letter, a copy of which is being placed on the Table of the House. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4866/65].

We will send a considered reply as soon as possible.

As hon. Members would see, we have made every effort to extend all co-operation to the United Nations in its efforts to restore peace and we accepted the Secretary-General's proposal for an immediate cease-fire. Pakistan, on the other hand, has given no such acceptance. In fact, the indications are that she is intent upon continuing the fight unless her own plan involving withdrawal of the armed forces of India and Pakistan from the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir, the induction of the United Nations Force and a plebiscite within three months thereafter is agreed to.

Several hon. Members: No.

Shri Nath Pal (Rajapur): Never.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): Impossible.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri: Let me state on the floor of this House that not one of these conditions is acceptable to India.

It is obvious now that Pakistan launched an aggression on India by 5th August, 1965, with a view to making an attempt to revive the settled issue of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. She wants to force a de-

[Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri]

cision by naked aggression. This we cannot possibly allow. We have no alternative, therefore, but to carry on our struggle. We fully realise that the present armed conflict between India and Pakistan will cause untold hardships and misery to people in both countries. However, I am confident that our countrymen would cheerfully undergo those hardships but they would not allow an aggressor to endanger our freedom or to annex our territories.

I have seen some press reports of President Ayub Khan's press conference of yesterday. Among other things he is reported to have observed that good sense required that India and Pakistan live together in peace. If this is a new and sincere thought, I would greatly welcome it however beated it might be. But if past experience is any guide, these remarks would appear to be part of a propaganda to beguile the world. Previously also President Ayub has talked of the virtue of peace and has followed it up by unprovoked aggression on India in Kutch and subsequently in Kashmir. President Ayub has I trust by now seen the result of Pakistan's policy of hate and hostility against India.

As the circumstances exist today, the nation has to be continuously alert and be ready for any sacrifice to preserve our freedom and integrity. I am greatly beholden to the Parliament, to all the political parties and, indeed, to the entire nation for their united stand against the aggressor. I want also to express once again the gratitude of the nation to the valiant armed forces who have already demonstrated that they are capable not only of defending our frontiers but also of delivering crushing blows to the invader. Their deeds of heroism will make a glorious chapter in the annals of India. This Parliament and the whole country is proud of them. I am confident that we will conti-

nue to meet this challenge with the same determination and courage.

श्री मधु लिमये : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बयान के बाद आप मुझे व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठाने की इजाजत दें। मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है।

Some hon. Members rose—

Some hon. Members: No questions.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): I am not asking any questions. I only want to say one thing.

श्री मधु लिमये : आपने कहा था कि बयान समाप्त होने के बाद आप मुझे मौका देंगे।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय क्या प्रश्न है आपका ?

श्री मधु लिमये : मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न यह है कि इत्र चार पांच मर्तबा काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में और हिन्दुस्तान पाकिस्तान के सम्बन्ध में बहस कराने की बात कही गयी थी, लेकिन हमारी मांग को स्वीकार नहीं किया गया। उसके बाद सदन के नेता को और आपको भी पत्र द्वारा संसद् सदस्यों ने कहा कि जल्द से जल्द इसके बारे में बहस होनी चाहिए। अगर पहले बहस हो जाती तो सुरक्षा समिति और संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के महासचिव को क्या जवाब जाना चाहिए उसके बारे में सदन प्रधान मंत्री को सहायता देना। लेकिन सदन को मौका नहीं दिया गया। इतना ही नहीं।

मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न यह है कि कल सदन दिन भर प्रतीक्षा करता था कि इसके सम्बन्ध में कोई बयान होगा। कई दफा इस बारे में कहा गया है कि जब लोकसभा का सत्र चल रहा हो तो महत्वपूर्ण घोषणाएँ लोकसभा के सामने प्रथम होंगी, अर्थात् बाहर वालों के सामने या बाहर वालों के