

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शस्त्री]

अपेक्षा तो मैं इस विधेयक को वापस लेना अधिक पसन्द करूंगा। ताकि छः महीने बाद यह विधेयक फिर दोबारा इस सदन में प्राये श्री 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 करूंगा कि उपमंत्री महोदय बापूजी अग्ने 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The Bill was, by leave, withdrawn.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 ब० 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

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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

or saying is being dittoed by everybody else because no one else has got any freedom in this country. This is a free country and we are a democracy and this is our Parliament, as you know, and you have the honour to preside over this Parliament. We are entirely free to disagree with the Prime Minister. There is no compulsion at all from anybody against anyone of us here in the Opposition. Yet we find ourselves completely in agreement with the Prime Minister. If anyone wants to know how this Parliament works, all that he has to do is to read the proceedings of this House yesterday and this morning in the discussion that we had over Kerala, how much we differ from the Government, how free we were to condemn the Government and abuse Ministers and take them to task.

But, in spite of it all, on this occasion, on this particular issue of India-Pakistan relations, in regard to which Pakistan has again and again refused the offer made by the Prime Minister as well as his predecessor, to declare that there would be no war at all as between these two countries.—Pakistan refused to accept our offer; and on top of it, she has indulged in this aggression—under these circumstances, we have found it necessary as our minimum patriotic duty to stand by the Prime Minister in the stand he has taken and continues to take.

We are glad that our representative, Shri Chagla last time, and this time Shri Swaran Singh, have fittingly represented the attitude and the feelings and the political approach of all the peoples in this country before the Security Council. The Prime Minister has referred to so many things in regard to which he would like to mobilise the strength and support of the country and he has indicated many points there on that I am prepared to join issue with him. Therefore, there may be differences in regard to our internal affairs, but so far as our external affairs in regard to Indo-

Pakistan struggle is concerned, we are all united and I appreciate the stand taken by the Prime Minister.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): I am very glad that the Prime Minister, when we have met in this session, has made our position very clear to the world. He has voiced the unanimous opinion of this country; it is not only the voice of the Leader of the House but it is the nation's voice that has been spoken through him in the Parliament. We would like to have a discussion of the different issues that he has raised, and a time should be fixed for that, during the course of this session. A day should be fixed when we should discuss these matters.

At the same time, I want the Prime Minister to remain firm, not to flinch an inch from our stand, whatever the Security Council may decide, whatever steps Pakistan may choose to take; it must be made very clear that in no circumstances are we going to go back to the 5th August line which no longer exists; that must be made very clear. There is no cease-fire line; that does not exist. If there will be any line at all, it will be a permanent international line so far as India is concerned.

While we are one with the Prime Minister on this matter, while we want to give full support to the defence efforts of the country to face the enemies on both sides, I want, at the same time, to remind the Prime Minister of one thing: it is all right, it is good that we have shown to the world that our nation as a whole has risen like one man; but let us not slacken our efforts; let us not take for granted all the support that we are getting now. We feel that during this emergency period, it has not been possible for the Government, for the leadership, to take steps to mobilise the entire people, take all shades of opinion and associate them with the efforts that we want to make in this country.

(Shri Surendranath Dwivedy.)

We found these mistakes during the Chinese invasion in 1962. I am afraid, probably due to complacency, we are again returning to that attitude. I would request, therefore, when we are meeting here, when the Parliament is in session, let us all discuss together and decide how unity can be maintained. As Prof. Ranga put it very correctly, without any compulsion, without any conditions, all parties extended their support. Let us make this united voice of India effective and let us unitedly face the situation. Some concrete measures have to be taken to see, not only at the Centre, but at all levels, beginning from the village upto Delhi that there is mutual co-operation, active association and there is a feeling of participation of the people as a whole in the war efforts of the country.

श्री उ० मू० त्रिवेदी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हमारे प्रार्थम मिनिस्टर ने जो बात कही है उससे हम सब सहमत हैं। इस में कोई शंका नहीं है कि जब तक भारतवर्ष के जन-मानव की जो भावना है उस भावना के धनुवा बन कर वह चलते रहेंगे और उस भावना को प्रोत्साहन मिलता रहेगा तब तक यह बात सिद्ध है कि सारा जनमानव समुदाय भारतवर्ष का उनके पीछे चलेगा। आज उन्होंने कुछ बातें कही हैं। उनमें कुछ शंकाएं उपस्थित हो सकती हैं और मैं भी यह चाहूंगा कि इस सदन में हमको ऐसा मौका प्राप्त हो कि हम उसकी चर्चा कर सकें। बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि जब कभी हम लोगों ने पाकिस्तान की तरफ बोस्ती का हाथ बढ़ाया, जरा सी हमने नमी बताई तो वहां से हमें गालियां और लातें ही मिली हैं। हालत यहां तक पहुंची कि यूनाइटेड नेशंस की प्रेसम्बली में वह कुछ हुआ जो कि इससे पहले कभी आज तक नहीं हुआ था। उस संघ पर ऐसी गन्दी भाषा का प्रयोग पाकिस्तान के फारन मिनिस्टर ने किया। यह जन विहित बात है कि वह मुट्टो साहब एक ऐसे नवाब के यहां नौकरी करते थे और उन के बाप भी वहां नौकरी करते थे कि जहां कुत्ते

और कुत्तियों की हावियां होती थी और इसी बजह से उन के मुंह में हम को कुत्ता कहने का बिचार उत्पन्न हुआ। दरअसल जो जैसा होता है वह दूसरे को उसी प्रकार से देखता है। मैं यह सोचता हूँ कि हमारे प्रतिनिधिमंडल ने ठीक ही किया कि ऐसी जगह हम खड़े नहीं रहे और वहां से हम चल दिये। हमारे इस देश में इस बात में कोई दो मत नहीं है कि जो कुछ आज भारतवर्ष में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री के द्वारा और इस गवर्नमेंट के द्वारा किया जा रहा है जहां तक कि पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारे व्यवहार का सवाल है उस में दूसरा कोई मत नहीं है और उस में हम सब उन के पीछे हैं। जो कुछ सहायता इस देश से हो सकती है वह सहायता करने में देश कभी भी पिछड़ेगा नहीं यह हमारा निश्चित मत है। इतना होते हुए भी बड़ा दुःख होता है इस बात का कि जहां हम को बिल्कुल मुकम्मिल तीर पर फर्म हो जाना चाहिये वहां कभी-कभी हम अपने स्वभाव के अनुसार कुछ नरमी बता देते हैं। इस इंडस र्वैला का जो रूपया चुकाया गया उस से देश को दुःख हुआ है। मुमकिन है कि सरकार ने बड़ी सज्जावना बताई हो लेकिन वह सज्जावना तर्फी कारगर हो सकती है जब कि उस सारे देश की पुष्टि मिलती हो। इस बात में हम देख रहे हैं कि हम बराबर सज्जावना बरत रहे हैं लेकिन फिन के साथ बरत रहे हैं? उनके साथ बरत रहे हैं जिन्होंने कि मनुष्यता को छोड़ दिया है। सज्जावना हम उन के साथ बरत रहे हैं जिन्होंने कि हमारे वहां के हाई कमिश्नर के घर में तलाशियां ली, बं.शों को पकड़ा और छोट-छोटे कमरों में बंद कर दिया। गर्भवती स्त्रियों को अस्पताल तक नहीं भजा गया। उन को आज बहुत कष्ट दिया जा रहा है। हमारे प्राधमियों को पकड़ कर बन्द किया जा रहा है। जो प्राधमी मनुष्यता छोड़ कर, रा नीति को छोड़कर हमारे साथ इस तरह का बुरा व्यवहार कर सकता है उस के साथ सज्जावना का बर्ताब करना यह बात जरा हमारे गले के नीचे उतरने में कठिनार्थ पड़ती है लेकिन फिर भी मेरी यह सज्जावना है और तमाम

बादलबर्ष के मानव समाज की भी है कि यह सारा का सारा देश अपने प्रधान वर्ग के पीछे है ।

Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Prime Minister's statement represents the quintessence of our national thinking today, represents the determination, the oneness of purpose and the identity of outlook which is to be found in the whole country. The Prime Minister is to be felicitated, and the nation is grateful to him for having brought about this unity of purpose, this regeneration, this resurgence of national feeling. We all pledge our dedicated support, our unquestioning support to the cause of national defence and national development. We shall spare no effort, we shall consider no sacrifice too great in this great cause.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta South West): Mr. Speaker, Sir, so far as the Prime Minister's statement goes, which we have just heard, there can be no question of the unanimity of the entire country and of all parties and groups represented in this House in support of the policy which he has just stated again, namely; that we do not covet an inch of anybody else's territory but we shall not yield an inch of our own. The quest for a peaceful settlement is a part of our way of life and tradition. I am glad the Prime Minister has reiterated it together with the firm warning to all aggressors that our defence preparedness will not be let up for a single moment and the country will be prepared at all times to defend our national honour, our solidarity and our territory.

Having said that, Sir, I must strike a slightly discordant note.

An hon. Member: Do not do that. Avoid that.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: It is not really a discordant note, but there is an omission in the Prime Minister's statement; perhaps necessarily so,

but I must draw brief attention to it. We are constantly, and rightly, paying tribute, whenever the occasion arises to the feats, heroism and sacrifice of our jawans at the front. But may I suggest, if we are to be true to the pledge that we have taken to the jawans, now it is time, while we continue our political and diplomatic activities and our defence preparedness, to turn the spotlight a little more strongly on the rear. If they are responsible for the front, we are responsible for the rear, and the biggest duty we can perform to the jawans now is to show concretely through practice that really the whole country is behind them, not merely in the form of words, meetings, assemblies and demonstrations but also in the form of concrete work. Therefore, the question, how goes the rear, should be the question which should dominate the current session of this House, if I may say so, because we will not be doing very good service to the jawans unless we can show them that the urgent problems, for example, of food shortage, of high prices, of production, of black-marketing, of conserving the foreign exchange, of the Plan and all these questions are being really tackled in a serious spirit and in an objective manner by everybody in this country.

Therefore, while pledging support of our group to the Prime Minister in the country's unity and common efforts for defending at all costs our territory and throwing out the aggressor, I would request the Government through you, Sir, to see that this current session is purposefully used, usefully used, so that all these other problems, which add up to the strengthening of the rear and which have not been, in my opinion, given adequate attention and treatment by the Government, are dealt with in this session in such a way that we can really say that it is not only the jawans at the front but the people behind who are strengthening the nation in a way which will really take us forward.

17 hrs.

श्री Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri (Berkampur): Mr. Speaker, I join my voice with that of other hon. Members in expressing the unanimity of the whole House behind the stand taken by the Government and the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has made it abundantly clear that we are not prepared to endlessly tolerate the violations of the cease-fire deliberately perpetrated by Pakistan. We have supported the stand that our Government has taken in the United Nations and outside. I would have liked if we had also adverted and made it clear to those big powers who seem surreptitiously to be encouraging Pakistan and trying to put pressure on us by dubious methods, by adding political strings to the aids which they often profess to agree to give us so that we might accept the demands of Pakistan. It should be stated clearly that we are determined as a nation to resist all such big power pressures and we shall hold what is legitimately and by right our own.

I would only add my voice to the plea made by my friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta, that the rear also needs to be taken care of properly. We all know what happened after the massive upsurge following the Chinese invasion and how we allowed that upsurge to waste itself instead of utilising it properly. Let it not happen a second time. If we take care of the home front in the proper spirit, that will not happen. I would like the Government to pay attention to that aspect of our struggle also.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : तबियत तो मेरी भी थी कि मैं प्रधानमंत्री साहब की भारती उतारता धीर उन की पीठ ठोकता, लेकिन आज मैं यह इस लिए नहीं कर पा रहा हूँ कि लाहौर धीर सियालकोट पहुँचने के पहले ही उन के पैर में मोच घा गई। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस सदन में इस बारे में बहस हो कि लाहौर धीर सियालकोट तक भारत की प्लेन क्यों नहीं पहुँच पाई। यह

सवाल-जवाब का प्रश्न नहीं है, यह बहस का प्रश्न है।

जहाँ तक प्रधानमंत्री के बयान का ताल्लुक है, प्रायः उन्हें उस में कुछ ठोस बातें रखनी चाहियें। सब से पहला सवाल है जमीन का। आज हमारी कितनी जमीन पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में है, उन्होंने इस बारे में कुछ नहीं बताया। उन्होंने ने खाली गोल-मोल बातें कर दीं। मैं ने राजस्थान का एक नक्शा दिया था। रक्षा मंत्रालय ने मुझ से इस नक्शे को मांगा भी धीर अपने पास रखा। मैं आज इतनी बात ध्राप को बताना चाहता हूँ कि इस लड़ाई में जो भी जमीनें हिन्दुस्तान की पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में गई है, वे प्रायद ज्यादा हैं, बनिम्बत उन जमीनों के, जो भारत ने पाकिस्तान की ली है। अगर ध्राप चाहें तो मैं यह नक्शा ध्राप को भी दे सकता हूँ।

प्रधानमंत्री जब 9 घण्टे की बात कहते हैं, तो उस में हमेशा गोल-माल रख देते हैं। सीधा सा सवाल यह है कि अगर पाकिस्तान घुसपैठियों के बारे में प्रधानमंत्री से संतोषजनक बात करने को तैयार हो जाता है, तो क्या वह हाजीपीर धीर उड़ी पंच से वापस हटेंगे। उन के बयान से ऐसा लगता है कि वे हट जायेंगे। (Interruptions)

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : नहीं, नहीं।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : यह बात साफ है। मैं एक बड़ी विचित्र बात यहाँ देख रहा हूँ। मैं ने देखा है कि जब रंगा साहब धीर द्विवेदी साहब, बोल रहे थे, तो ऐसा मालूम होता था कि असली प्रधानमंत्री तो यही लोग हैं। कांग्रेस वाले अपने प्रधानमंत्री के बक्त तालियां नहीं पीट रहे थे, इन दोनों के बक्त ज्यादा तालियां पीट रहे थे। हर एक जानता है (Interruptions) देश को बचाना सीखो।

श्री सिख नारायण (बांसी) : बचाया है।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : नहीं बचा रहे हो ।

इसके बाद मैं उड़ी पृच और हाजीपीर के बारे में बिल्कुल साफ तौर से पूछना चाहता हूँ । पाकिस्तान घुसपैठियों के बारे में जो कुछ भी करे या न करे, क्या प्रधान मंत्री अपने पुराने आश्वासन पर टिके हुए हैं कि वह किसी भी हालत में हाजीपीर और उड़ी-पच से नहीं हटेंगे ?

अभी वह पाकिस्तान के साथ साधारण रिश्ता चाहते हैं, जिसके बाद वह ज्यादा अच्छे रिश्ता करेंगे—उनके शब्द यही थे—और आपस में बातचीत करेंगे, काश्मीर पर बातचीत करेंगे । यह भी एक नीति का सवाल है । मैं विशुद्ध रूप से जानता हूँ और मानता हूँ कि जब तक भारत और पाकिस्तान के बीच में यह रेखा बनी हुई है, तब तक कोई शान्ति और सन्धि का सवाल नहीं उठता । जिस दिन यह रेखा मिटेगी, उस दिन शान्ति और सन्धि का सवाल आता है । इर्गानिङ इस पर बहस होनी चाहिए, वरना प्रधान मंत्री जब बोलते हैं, वह हमारे सामने एक भविष्य रखते हैं : तनाव रहेगा, ज्यादा दिन चलेगा, तैयार रहो, मुल्क पर न जाने क्या क्या आफत और कलंक आने वाले हैं, उन सब के लिए तैयार रहो । यह तनाव कब तक रहेगा ? क्या हम कां मारी जिन्दगी तनाव की हालत में ही बिता देनी हैं ? इस पर बहस होनी चाहिए कि क्या हम इस तनाव को जल्दी खत्म कर सकते हैं ।

आखिरी तौर पर मैं यह निबंदन करना चाहता हूँ कि न हम एक इंच जमीन देंगे, न एक इंच जमीन लेंगे, आप पढ़ लें—मैं नाम नहीं लेना चाहता—कि महाभारत में यह किस की बोली है । अगर युधिष्ठिर की बोली बोलना चाहते हो, तो कहो कि पाकिस्तान भारत का है और भारत पाकिस्तान का है, यानी पाकिस्तान के दस करांड आदिमियों का भारत है और भारत के 48 करांड आदिमियों का पाकिस्तान है । जब दोनों देश एक होंगे,

तब जा कर शान्ति बन पायेगी । यह युधिष्ठिर की बोली है । "एक इंच जमीन न लेंगे, न देंगे" जानते हो जो युधिष्ठिर से सड़ने गया था, उस की बोली है । इस बोली को छोड़ दो ।

मुझे कही जाना है, इस लिए मैं माफी चाहता हूँ ।

श्री श्रीर्य (भलीगड) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, भावरणीय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यहां पर जो बतव्य दिया है, उसके बारे में कुछ ऐसे सवाल हैं, जिनको जानने की इच्छा मेरी भी है । जिस दिन से युद्ध विराम हुआ है, उस दिन के पश्चात् हिन्दुस्तान की कितनी भूमि पर पाकिस्तान ने कब्जा किया है ? आपस में शान्ति बनाए रखने के लिए हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान में जो वार्ता होगी, क्या उस वार्ता में फिर से काश्मीर की वार्ता को तो नहीं लाया जायेगा ? ये दो बातें मैं जानने के लिये आतुर हूँ ।

जहां तक शान्ति बनाए रखने का प्रश्न है, पाकिस्तान एक ऐसा राष्ट्र है, जिसका जन्म ही क्रोध और घृणा में हुआ है । जिस बालक का जन्म ही क्रोध और घृणा में हुआ हो, वह शान्ति से नहीं मानता, वह तो शक्ति की भाषा को पहचाना करता है । जब तक हम शक्ति से काम नहीं लेंगे, तब तक शान्ति स्थापित नहीं हो सकती है ।

जब सिक्यूरिटी कौंसिल में चर्चा हो रही थी, उस समय मैं पी० ए० सी० के सिलसिले में ट्रिबेन्डल में था । पाकिस्तान के प्रतिनिधि ने एक ऐसी भाषा का इस्तेमाल किया, जो नहीं करना चाहिए था, इस पर मुझे कुछ ताज्जुब नहीं हुआ, मुझे गुस्सा भी नहीं आया और खेद भी नहीं हुआ, बल्कि मुझे पाकिस्तान पर तरस आया । मुझे इस बात पर ताज्जुब अवश्य हुआ कि सिक्यूरिटी कौंसिल के जो अध्यक्ष थे, उन्होंने इस तरह की गन्दी बातें कहने की इजाजत कैसे दे दी इस पर मुझे जरूर ताज्जुब हुआ । यहां भी मैं अपने उन्ही विचारों को रख रहा हूँ कि मुझे

[श्री मोयं]

बड़ा ताड़बूत हुआ कि संसार के सर्व उच्च सदन में भ्रपशब्दों का इस्तेमाल हुआ। इस तरह के जो लोग हैं, जो इस तरह की मानवता से गिरी हुई बात करते हैं क्या वे शान्ति के शब्दों को मानेंगे? हम को अपनी शक्ति बढ़ानी होगी ताकि देश पर कोई भी बुरी नजर न डालने पाये। इस के लिये यह जरूरी है कि देश की उपज को बढ़ाया जाये। परती जो जमीन है, जितनी भी हमारे पास जमीन है, उस में हमें खेती करनी होगी। प्रादरणीय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी कहा है कि उस भूमि में उपज की जाय। उस भूमि में जल्दी से जल्दी हल चलवाया जाना चाहिये। एक एक रंच भूमि में उपज बढ़ाई जानी चाहिये ताकि हम शक्तिशाली बनें।

यही नहीं कि देश छोटे छोटे हथियार बनाये; लाल चीन का भी डर सर से हटा नहीं है। एटम बम की धोर भी हमें जाना पड़ेगा।

मैं विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि देश का बालक बालक सन् 1962 में जिस शक्ति से प्रधान मंत्री के साथ था आज उस से भी ज्यादा शक्ति के साथ देश का हर बालक, देश का हर नागरिक प्रधान मंत्री के साथ है। शर्त यह है कि प्रधान मंत्री और उनकी सरकार उस शक्ति का सदुपयोग करे तथा उन के मन में सद्भावना पैदा हो।

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) : हम को भी टाइम मिलना चाहिये। जिन के बेटे शहीद हुए हैं उन को भी टाइम मिलना चाहिए। पहले भी यह बात मैंने कही थी। उन को भी समय मिलना चाहिये जिन के बेटे शहीद हो रहे हैं, धीर गति को प्राप्त हो रहे हैं या हो गए हैं।

श्री प्रकाशचौर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) : चीनी आक्रमण के बाद देश में जिस जागरण और एकता का उदय हुआ था दुर्भाग्य से वह सरकार देर तक उस का उपयोग न कर सकी

लेकिन अब भी प्रधान मंत्री जी के स्वर में यदि दृढ़ता और निर्णय में दूरदर्शिता रही तो मैं विश्वास के साथ कहता हूँ कि देश प्रधान मंत्री जी के साथ रहेगा। कहीं भी यदि वह लड़खड़ाये तो फिर देश को दोष देने का अधिकार प्रधान मंत्री या इस सरकार का नहीं होगा।

देश की भावनाओं का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हुए प्रधान मंत्री से दो आवश्यक बातें भी मैं निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ। एक तो यह कि जब वह यह कहते हैं कि लाहौर और सियालकोट के इलाके से हम तब हटेंगे जब पाकिस्तान छम्ब और भखनूर के इलाकों से हट जाए। प्रधान मंत्री जी इन शब्दों को कहते हुए थोड़ा इस बात को ध्यान में रखते हुए कि लाहौर और सियालकोट की एक एक इंच धरती को लेने के लिये कितनी बहनों को विधवा होना पड़ा है, कितने बच्चों को भ्रनाथ होना पड़ा है। उन की आंखों में पड़ कर वह देखें और तब इस भाषा का प्रयोग करें। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री को तो सीधी और स्पष्ट भाषा में कहना चाहिये कि जब तक पूरा काश्मीर खाली नहीं होता तब तक लाहौर और सियालकोट से हटने का विचार भी नहीं किया जा सकता।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री को देश के गौरव को ध्यान में रखते हुए सुरक्षा परिषद् को यह कहना चाहिये कि पाकिस्तान की तरह हम उस हल्की भाषा का प्रयोग तो नहीं करना चाहते कि शमूक तारीख तक काश्मीर के प्रश्न का समाधान यदि न हुआ तो भारत सुरक्षा परिषद् या संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ से हट जायेगा। लेकिन यदि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय न्याय की तराजू इसी प्रकार बराबर हिलती रही और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय न्याय मन्दिर से इसी तरह से भाषाया उठती चली गई तो हम यह चेतावनी दे देना चाहते हैं कि यदि भारत ने कभी इस संगठन से हटने का निश्चय कर लिया तो जिस दिन वह ऐसा

करेगा उसी दिन उस का वह महत्व उह कर कर घरती पर गिर जाएगा।

श्रव में पांच भ्रगस्त वाली बात पर घ्राता हूं। पांच भ्रगस्त वाली बात को भ्रगर सुरक्षा परिषद् और ऊं घांट ने प्रतिष्ठा का प्रश्न बना लिया है तो मैं देशवासियों की घोर से प्रघान मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि शायद देश पांच भ्रगस्त की बात को एक शर्त पर मान ले। भ्रगर ये कहें कि दोनों पांच भ्रगस्त वाली लाइन पर हट जायें तो घ्राप यह कहें कि हमारा देश पांच भ्रगस्त की बात को एक शर्त पर मान सकता है। पांच भ्रगस्त की बात घ्राप की ही रहे लेकिन सन् के मामले में केवल थोड़ा परिवर्तन कर दिया जाए। वह यह चाहते हैं कि पांच भ्रगस्त 1965, ही हम चाहते हैं कि पांच भ्रगस्त, 1947 ही।

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Prime Minister.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): I wanted to seek a clarification.

Shri Nath Paj (Rajapur): What can he reply now?

Shri Yashpal Singh rose

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri: I shall be grateful if I am now allowed to go because I am to make a statement in the Rajya Sabha. I must express my most sincere thanks to all the hon. Members for the sentiments they have expressed and for the support they have given to the Government. I shall also bear in mind the other points referred to by some of the hon. Members.

श्री रामसेवक घावच (बाराबंकी) :
प्रश्नों का जवाब राज्य सभा में दे दिया जाए तो अच्छा रहेगा।

Mr. Speaker: The House stands adjourned to meet again on Monday at 11 A.M.

17.04 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, November 8, 1965|Kartika 17, 1887 (Saka).