

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : My second question is this. I still maintain that there is a circular in the Ministry saying that every fortnight for every plus or minus Rs. 150 per tonne in the rate of groundnut oil, the price of Vanaspati has to be reduced. They have not reduced the price, though the price of groundnut oil has gone down by Rs. 1,000 per tonne. In June—I want to make a public statement—I wrote a letter to the Minister stating that they have not reduced the price of Vanaspati. Then on the 22nd or 28th July the Minister woke up and reduced the price and then it came to the press.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You did a very good thing.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Will the Minister now agree, in order to check all this abuse of authority by the bureaucracy, that they will scrupulously •top all speculative activities in groundnut oil, so that the consumers will be benefited ? Only three days back Mr. Krishnan remarked here in Delhi that speculation in groundnut oil was going on. Crores of rupees plus or minus are being paid everyday. Will the Government take action against the State Trading Corporation officials who are under the obligation of Vanaspati interests like Lever Brothers and others, and are releasing soyabean oil ? Due care should be taken so as not to increase the price and influence the speculative tendencies in the market. The consumers' interests should be protected.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : We have to fight for it here...

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : Lever Brothers are making a profit of Rs. 100 crores every year.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : You do not know it. Sir. All these vested interests are involved and the STC is there. All speculation in oil should be banned.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kulkarni, please do not shout like this.

PROF. SHER SINGH : If some people are engaged in speculative activities, that is illegal. The State Governments have the necessary authority to take action.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: Lever Brothers are making a profit of Rs. 100 crores.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Alva, please let him answer.

PROF. SHER SINGH : If there is speculative business by the traders in this, that is illegal, but for that there are other remedies. As for the principle that is followed, I have already stated that we review it every fortnight. We adjust the price by supplying or cutting down soyabean oil, as and when we find it necessary. I myself took it up in the beginning of July to further reduce the price and we reduced the price further. In the South prices have been reduced by 40 paise per kg. and in other areas by 15 paise per kg. It will be carried forward if at all there is any variation. . .

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Is it not done at the cost of the consumer ?

PROF. SHER SINGH : If at all there is some difference that is carried forward and it is adjusted afterwards, but not for small periods, just for the sake of stability. If there are some seasonal increases, then we take notice immediately. If there are unseasonal, small variations here and there, instead of taking steps every fortnight we carry it forward and adjust it finally. I have got figures about all these adjustments and reductions made.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Thank you.

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

TRIAL OF SHAIKH MUJIBUR REHMAN BY THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES OF PAKISTAN

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Advani. Not here. Shri Bhandari. Not here.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS (Uttar Pradesh) : We will take our chance later on. Let the attention be drawn first.

SHRI LOKANATH MTSRA (Oris-sa) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of External Affairs to the trial of Sheikh Muji-bur Rehman by the military authorities of Pakistan and the threat given by President Yahya Khan that the Sheikh may be executed.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AF-
FAIRS/ **विदेश मंत्रालय में उप-
मन्त्री** (SHRI SURENDRA PAL
SINGH) : Mr. Chairman, Sir...

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : I
have my objection. I read in the papers
that the External Affairs Minister has left
the country today for Indonesia. He must
have known that this motion is coming
up...

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated) :
He has not gone on a holiday.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He has informed
me, he has written to me ...

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : He has
taken your permission ?

Mr. CHAIRMAN : Yes.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Then you
should kindly announce that he has taken
your permission and in his absence...

MR. CHAIRMAN : But Mr. Suren-dra
Pal Singh is also a Minister.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : I know. I
have seen the list of Ministers and I know
that he is also a Minister. But I had to
record my protest because the Minister of
External Affairs is not present here.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I also announce
that Saturday's debate will be initiated
by Mr. Jagjivan Ram. Yes, Mr Minis-
ter.

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH :
Sir, according to reports, the trial by court
martial of Sheikh Mujibur Reh-man has
started in West Pakistan on the 11th
August for "waging war against Pakistan".
This trial is being held in camera without
allowing any foreign legal assistance to
him.

Earlier, in the course of several state-
ments, President Yahya Khan had warned
that the punishment could include death
penalty and that he could not say whether
or not the Sheikh would be alive when the
so-called Pakistan National Assembly
meets. Government view with grave
concern these developments President
Yahya Khan himself had, in one of his
earlier statements, referred

to Sheikh Mujibur Rehman as "the future
Prime Minister of Pakistan". As the leader
of the Awami League Party which won
167 of the 169 Seats to the National
Assembly from Bangla Desh and thus had
a clear majority of votes in the National
Assembly of Pakistan, Sheikh Mujibur
Rehman held a unique position as the
acknowledged leader not only of Bangla
Desh but of the whole of Pakistan. What
happened after the 25th of March this
year is known to the whole world. The
denial of the verdict of the people and
letting loose of military oppression and
trampling on the fundamental human
rights of the people of Bangla Desh stand
self-condemned. Instead of respecting the
verdict of the people and acknowledging
Sheikh Mujibur Rehman as the elected
and undisputed leader of Bangla Desh,
the Pakistan Government has launched a
reign of terror and carried out a calculated
plan of genocide, the like of which has
not been seen in recent times. To stage a
farcical trial against Sheikh Mujibur
Rehman is a gross violation of human
rights and deserves to be condemned by
the whole world.

We have repeatedly expressed our
concern for the safety and welfare of
Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and his family
who also are under house arrest or in
prison. We have conveyed our deep
anxiety and concern to the Secretary
General of the United Nations and foreign
governments and asked them to exercise
their influence on the Government of
Pakistan in this regard. Should any harm
be caused to the person of Sheikh
Mujibur Rahman or his family and
colleagues, the present situation in Bangla
Desh will be immeasurably aggravated
and the present Pakistani rulers will be
solely responsible for the consequences.
We share the concern expressed by all
members of Parliament in this regard. We
appeal to the conscience of humanity to
raise its voice against the action that the
President of Pakistan is taking. We
express our condemnation of the action
and warn the Government of Pakistan of
its serious consequences.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir,
while very much appreciating the concern
shown by the Government of India and
the letters addressed by the Prime
Minister of India to different Govern-
ments, may I know from the Prime
Minister or from the External Affairs

Minister how many countries have indicated their displeasure to President Yahya Khan over his designs to try Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and 10 attempt to execute him ? I hope the hon. Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister would have seen in to-day's newspapers U Thant's statement which is a unique one of its kind. At one place he says that this particular trial would have repercussions outside Pakistan while in the subsequent paragraph he says that it is within the competence of the judicial system of Pakistan. Everybody knows and our Government also realises that it is not confined to the judicial system; this matter is not confined to the judicial system of Pakistan only. It has its international repercussions and U Thant appreciates it, but he seems to be incapable of doing anything in the matter, even being the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Now, the difficulty is, supposing something happens to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, thereafter it would be difficult even to control the Bangla Desh Mukti Fauz. Supposing Yahya Khan does something according to his own whims, would it not be desirable on the part of the Government of India to give President Yahya Khan an ultimatum, even to U Thant, that if something happens to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman according to the designs of President Yahya Khan, then it would be difficult for India to send back the refugees, because never probably would calm come back to Bangla Desh and, therefore, it would be very difficult for the refugees to return to Bangla Desh; so, in such a case it would be difficult for India to remain a silent spectator to the trial and execution of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Has it been indicated to President Yahya Khan and LT Thant and, if so, what is U Thant going to do in the matter ? Has the Government of India received any intimation from U Thant ?

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : Sir, may I take the last question first ? It is not fair on the part of the hon. Member to say that India is standing completely silent and is a silent spectator to all this. It is not true; it is not borne out by facts. Ever since this matter came to our knowledge, we have done our very best to bring it to the notice of all the friendly countries all over the world : we have brought it to their notice through our Missions our special delegations went

abroad and they also took up the matter with all the Governments; and, as the hon. Members already know, the Prime Minister herself has addressed two letters to the Heads of Governments. Similarly, our Foreign Minister has written to Secretary-General U Thant.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : What is the result ?

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : I will come to the results, Sir. We have been assured by all the friendly Governments that they would do their best to impress upon the Pakistan Government to desist from this act. Whatever views they may hold from the political point of view on the question of Bangla Desh, on the question of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's release, looking at it purely from a humanitarian point of view they all expressed their concern and they all wanted that his life should be saved. Now, as to how they should do it and what they have done in this regard, it is very difficult for us to say. We have been assured that they would use their influence, and we hope that they have done so. Whether that will have any effect on the President of Pakistan is very difficult for us to say; it all depends on the sensitivity of the Pakistani regime to the world public opinion. But, if the past experience is any guide, we are not very hopeful that all these efforts will succeed, but we are hoping and praying that they will.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir, I want to put a question.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, no; only one question.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Arising out of this, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, no; I cannot change the practice.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir, you have allowed two questions on Calling Attention.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, never; I cannot change the practice.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Then I might have made a longer question.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You might have done that.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (My-sore) : What is the meaning of "all nations" ? All the members of the United Nations ? Is it what you mean by "all nations"?

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, please...

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY : Sir, I must ask for the hon. Minister's clarification.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He will give the clarification while replying to another question. Mr. Minister, you may do so.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या भारत की सरकार शेख मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी पर खतरा भारत के लोगों की जिन्दगी पर खतरा मानती है और यदि शेख मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी पर कोई खतरा हुआ तो भारत की सरकार स्पष्ट शब्दों में क्या नुस्खा को बतायेगी कि उसे हम भारत के लोगों की जिन्दगी पर खतरा मानेंगे। और उसको अपनी जिन्दगी पर खतरा मान कर उसी के तदनुरूप जनता की प्रबल भावनाओं को व्यक्त करते हुए याह्या खाँ की फौजी ताना-शाही हुकूमत का मुकाबिला करेंगे। क्या भारत की सरकार ने कोई डेफिनेट वांछीत कदम उठाने का फैसला किया है।

श्री महावीर त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : किया है। अभी हाउस में नहीं बताया है। माफ कीजिएगा, किया है।

श्री राजनारायण : त्यागी जी, अभी ऐसे महत्व के सवाल पर भी आप यों बोलते हैं। श्रीमन्, उसी के साथ साथ चूँकि कामनवेलथ के ये दोनों मुल्क हैं, क्या भारत की सरकार ने कामनवेलथ को भी लिखा कि अगर शेख मुजीबुर रहमान की जिन्दगी पर खतरा आयेगा तो कामनवेलथ की जिन्दगी पर खतरा आ जायेगा और भारत की सरकार कामनवेलथ से अपना नाता रिश्ता तोड़ेगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि भारत की सरकार ने समय पर ऐसा किया

होता तो शायद अब तक शेख मुजीबुर्रहमान पर इस तरह से मुकदमा नहीं चलता। मुबह श्री ऊ थॉट के बयान को हम लोगों ने पढ़ा है, इस पर बैठ कर हम अपने मित्रों से चर्चा कर रहे थे, श्री ऊ थॉट के इस बयान के बाद भारत की सरकार की क्या प्रतिक्रिया है। श्री ऊ थॉट कहते हैं कि वह अपने देश के कानून की सीमा में, कानून की सीमित परिधि के अन्दर, काम कर रहे हैं जब कि भारत की सरकार कहती है कि वह सम्पूर्ण पाकिस्तान का नेता हैं। सम्पूर्ण पाकिस्तान का। मैं इस सम्पूर्ण पाकिस्तान शब्द से बहुत चिन्तित हो रहा हूँ आज क्योंकि जो कम्युनिक निकला है श्री ग्रोमिको और सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह का, भारत की सरकार और रूसी सरकार का आज, श्रीमन्, आप पढ़ें होंगे उसमें अजीबोगरीब बात आई है : "पोलिटिकल सेटिलमेंट फार दि इन्डायर पीपुल्स आफ पाकिस्तान" सम्पूर्ण पाकिस्तान की जनता के लिये एक राजनैतिक समाधान हो।

श्री अकबर अली खान (आंध्र प्रदेश) : ईस्ट पाकिस्तान।

श्री राजनारायण : सम्पूर्ण पाकिस्तान। जरा उसको ठीक से पढ़िये। आप नवाब साहब हैं इसलिये आप उसको कम पढ़ते हैं। उस कम्युनिक में यह लिखा है कि सम्पूर्ण पाकिस्तान की जनता के लिये राजनैतिक समाधान हो। तो इस सम्पूर्ण पाकिस्तान के लिये राजनैतिक समाधान का कम्युनिक क्या मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी पर खतरे को बढ़ाता नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इसको सफाई के साथ वहाँ और बोलें कि सम्पूर्ण पाकिस्तान के लिए राजनैतिक समाधान के माने क्या हैं। और मेरा कहना है कि इस कम्युनिक ने भी मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी पर खतरे को बढ़ाया है।

श्रीमन्, इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ रहे या न रहे, जिस तरह से लीग आफ नेशंस की दुर्गति हुई, मैं चाहता हूँ कि भारत की सरकार भारत की जनता की इस आवाज़ को बुलन्द करे कि लीग आफ नेशंस की दुर्गति

जिस तरह से हुई अगर मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी पर खतरा हुआ तो संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ की भी दुर्गति उसी ढंग से हो जाएगी। संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के रहने की जरूरत क्या है, इनके ह्यूमन राइट के डिक्लेयरेशन की आवश्यकता क्या है, मानव अधिकारों का घोषणापत्र टंगा हुआ है और शेख मुजीबुर्रहमान की फांसी की सजा का मुकदमा हो रहा है।

श्री सभापति : आप का सवाल क्या है। सवाल करिये।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि भारत की सरकार की क्या दृष्टि है। केवल एक सवाल पूछने से यह सवाल हल नहीं होता यह सारे मानव जीवन के मूल्य का प्रश्न है। एक आदमी जो कि अपनी जनता के द्वारा चुना गया है सरकार ने खुद बताया है कि 169 में से 167 सीटें स्वाधीन बंगला देश में उसको मिली जो कि 98.8 प्रतिशत होता है और करीब 84 प्रतिशत जिसको वोट्स मिला हुआ है वह आदमी अपनी आजादी की मांग करने वाला इस तरह से फांसी की सजा पाये और हम अपने को आजाद कहें।

(Time bell rings.)

श्रीमन्, क्या सरकार को इस बात की जानकारी है कि कल यहीं पर गाँधी मैदान में करीब डेढ़ लाख जनता ने सभा में एक स्वर से यह फैसला किया कि भारत की सरकार से हम मांग करें कि अगर मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी पर खतरा हो तो यह सरकार अपनी जिन्दगी पर और भारत की जनता की जिन्दगी पर खतरा मान कर उसका मुकाबिला करने के लिए तैयार हो जाय और हम जनता की ओर से यह आश्वासन देंगे कि अगर सरकार ऐसा कदम उठायेगी तो हम उसका साथ देंगे। क्या सरकार को ऐसी जानकारी है।

श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह : सभापति महोदय, यह कतई सही है कि शेख मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी खतरे में है लेकिन माननीय सदस्य

का यह कहना कि इसके बारे में हम चिंतित नहीं हैं या हमें इसका अफसोस नहीं है, सलत होगा। हमें भी इसकी बेहद फिक्र है, चिंता है। हम इस बात को चाहते हैं और हम कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि उनकी जिन्दगी बच जाए। उन्होंने पूछा कि क्या उनकी जिन्दगी खतरे में है और उनके साथ शायद ऐसा हादसा हो गया तो हमारे लिए खतरनाक होगा या नहीं, तो यह जाहिर है अगर उस ट्रायल के बाद में वह मारे जाते हैं या फांसी की सजा होती है तो इसके रेपरकेशनल बहुत ही गम्भीर होंगे, सब जगह उसका असर पड़ेगा, हमारे मुल्क में भी पड़ेगा...

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, हमारा सवाल यह नहीं है...

श्री सभापति : पहले उनको जवाब खत्म कर लेने दीजिए।

श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह : उसका असर जरूर पड़ेगा—पाकिस्तान में पड़ेगा, बंगला देश में पड़ेगा, हमारे मुल्क में भी पड़ेगा। इसलिए हम यह चाहते हैं और हमारी कोशिश है कि इस किस्म का सलत काम जो करने जा रहे हैं वह न करें।

अब सवाल यह है सभापति महोदय, कि पाकिस्तान सरकार को कैसे रोके इस काम को करने से। मैंने पहले जवाब देते हुए कहा था कि हमने हर मुमकिन कोशिश की है, जो भी हम कर सकते हैं। और मुल्कों से हमने बात-चीत की है, इस बारे में अपनी राय दी है और पूरी खबर दी है। तो हमारी कोशिश जारी है। कामनवेल्थ के जो कंट्रीज हैं उनको भी हमने लिखा है, उन्होंने भी फर्दन फर्दन कहा है कि हम चाहते हैं यह ट्रेजेडी न हो, और इसके लिये कोई अच्छा सा हल निकले पोलिटिकल एंगल से वह कुछ भी सोचें। लेकिन जहाँ तक शेख मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी का सवाल है, सब का खयाल है कि यह ट्रायल नहीं होना चाहिए और उनकी जिन्दगी को बचाना चाहिए।

[श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह]

अब इसके बारे में वह क्या कर रहे हैं, यह कहना मुश्किल होगा ।

सभापति महोदय, माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि यह कम्प्यूटिक जो हुआ है इससे उनकी जान और खतरे में आ गई है । मैं इसको मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ । हम इसके बारे में जो कुछ करना है वह कर ही रहे हैं और बाकी कोई सुझाव और हों कि हमें क्या करना चाहिए तो हम सुनने के लिए तैयार हैं ।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Sir, may I clarify ? Mr. Rajnarain has accused me that I gave a wrong statement. Here is the newspaper. The words are "East Pakistan" and not "the whole of Pakistan". So, he is incorrect.

SHRI PIT AMBER DAS : Sir, since the word has become the property of the House ... (*Interruptions*) ... whether we agree with the explanation of those words or their interpretation, that is a different matter. But the words are there.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : But it is in a different context.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : Sir, I say, whether we agree with the interpretation that is placed on the words or do not agree with it, that is a different affair. And in what context they have been used, that is also a different affair. But the words are there. The words are there very clearly.

MR. CHAIRMAN : All right.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Sir, if you allow me, I will read.

MR. CHAIRMAN : That is not necessary.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : Although the explanation is given, that the expression "the entire people of Pakistan" does not denote any backsliding yet the words are there, Sir.

श्री राजनारायण : मेरे एक सवाल का जवाब नहीं हुआ है । श्रीमन्, जरा कृपा करके सुनिए । मैंने उनसे पूछा था कि क्या भारत की सरकार

ने कामनवेल्थ को लिखा कि अगर शेख मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिंदगी पर खतरा हो तो हम कामनवेल्थ से हट जाएंगे ? इसका कोई उत्तर नहीं मिला । इसी के साथ साथ हमने दूसरा सवाल किया था कि क्या भारत सरकार ने यह कहा कि अगर मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिंदगी खतरे में होगी तो यूनायटेड नेशन्स का भी वहीं दुर्गति होगी जो लीग ऑफ नेशन्स का हुई ? इसका उत्तर नहीं आया । उसी के साथ साथ मैंने यह कहा कि जो कम्प्यूटिक आया —कम्प्यूटिक के बारे में जब परसों बहस होगी तब बाकी बातें कहूंगा, अभी उसको छोड़ देता हूँ—तो उस कम्प्यूटिक में शेख मुजीबुर्रहमान का रेफरन्स क्यों नहीं आया ।

श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह : उनके किस सवाल का जवाब दूँ, सभापति महोदय ?

श्री सभापति : उन्होंने पूछा कि आपने कामनवेल्थ को लिखा या नहीं ?

श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह : मैंने पहले भी अजब किया कि कामनवेल्थ को हमने लिखा है ।

श्री सभापति : और उनको बतलाया नहीं कि अलग हो जाएंगे अगर...

श्री सुरेन्द्र पाल सिंह : अलग होने का सवाल दूसरा है, सभापति महोदय । यह दूसरा सवाल है—उनके ट्रायल की बात है, उनकी जिन्दगी को सेव्ह करने का सवाल है । उसके बारे में चर्चा पहले भी हो चुकी है ।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, देखिए, फिर 2 सवाल रह गए । (*Interruptions*) अब आप यह हल्ला जो कर रहे हैं उनको रोक नहीं रहे हैं । श्रीमन्, अगर यहां पर कोई हल्ला मचाये और हमारा सही और जायज सवाल को न होने दे तो ऐसी हालत में हमारा काम कैसे चलेगा ?

श्री सभापति : आपका सवाल हो गया है और उन्होंने जवाब दे दिया है ।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं आप से आज फिर बिनती करता हूँ कि अगर आप हमारा राइटफुल

नलेम इस सदन में नहीं होने देंगे, तो फिर हमारे लिए कौन सा रास्ता और मार्ग रह जाता है ? जच्छा है आज यहाँ पर प्राइम मिनिस्टर जीवत हैं और जब भी मैं उनके सामने सदन में खड़ा होता हूँ तो यहाँ पर दो, तीन आदमी ऐसे हैं जो हल्का मचना शुरू कर देते हैं ।
(*Interruption*) अगर यही तरीका रहा तो हम भी जब यहाँ पर प्रधान मंत्री बोलेंगे तो उन्हें नहीं बोलने देंगे ।

श्री अवधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह (बिहार) : अगर कोई सज्जन सज्जनता से सवाल करे जैसा कि मिश्रा जी ने किया कि एक सवाल करके बैठ गये, लेकिन ये तो जिद्द करते हैं, हड़बोल करते हैं और सदन में हमेशा कोई भी कार्य करने नहीं देते हैं ।

(*Interruption*)

श्री समापति : यह सवाल बहुत महत्व का है और इसे शान्ति के साथ होने दीजिए ।

श्री अवधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह : श्रीमन्, ये तो कभी भी शिष्टता की बात नहीं मानते हैं । राजनारायण जी तो इस हाउस में बराबर गड़बड़ी करते रहते हैं और इसके लिए कोई रास्ता निकाला जाना चाहिए ।

(*Interruption*)

श्री राजनारायण : मैं आपसे अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सदन में हमको कई साल बीत गये हैं । जो कालिग अटेंशन की परिपाटी चलती रही है उस परिपाटी को देखते हुए हम सवाल पूछ रहे हैं । मुझे अफसोस है कि प्रधान मंत्री को यह देखना चाहिए कि हमारे सवाल का जवाब क्यों नहीं दिया जा रहा है । यहाँ पर तो आज होड़ लगी हुई है और इस तरह से हमारे सवाल का जवाब नहीं दिया जा रहा है । मैं आपसे फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा एक सवाल है और उसका आप जवाब दिलवाइये । अगर हमारे सवाल का जवाब नहीं आता है तो आप हमें नम कर दीजिए

और इस सदन से निकाल दीजिए ।

(*Interruption*)

श्री समापति : आप बैठ जाइये ।

श्री राजनारायण : हम नहीं बैठेंगे । बंगला देश के सम्बन्ध में और मुजोबूरहमान के सम्बन्ध में सत्ताधारी दल अन्तः गन्दर्वा से इस चीज को रोकना चाहता है ।

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana): Sir, on a point of order. Sir, this is a very important issue, a serious matter, and not a one-party issue. Therefore Sir, will you request the hon. Members that while putting questions they should raise the whole level of the question so that it looks like a national issue ? It is not a one party issue.

MR. CHAIRMAN : That is what I expect. I would request the hon. Members to please remember that it should be treated as a national question, a very important question which concerns very big issues, and the level of the question must be raised to a national question.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं फिर आप से हाथ जोड़कर कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप हमारे अधिकारों का हनन कर रहे हैं और मैं इस वक्त इस चीज को बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकता हूँ चाहे आप मुझे नम करते निकाल दें । मैं चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री की उपस्थिति में मुझे नम करके निकाल दिया जाए । मैं जाने के लिए तैयार हूँ लेकिन मैं अपने सवाल का जवाब चाहता हूँ । मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि आप मेरे सवाल का जवाब दिलवायें कि इस कम्युनिक में मुजोबूरहमान की चर्चा क्यों नहीं की गई ?

श्री पीतम्बर दास : श्रीमन्, राजनारायण जी ने एक बात कही जो कि काबिले गौर है । उनका कहना यह है क्योंकि प्रधान मंत्री सदन में मौजूद हैं इसलिए उन्हें यह दिखलाने की कोशिश हो रही है कि कौन ज्यादा शोर मचा सकता है । अगर प्रधान मंत्री जी इस बात को मान लें कि राजनारायण जी सबसे ज्यादा शोर मचा सकते हैं, तो सारा मामला खत्म हो जाएगा ।

(*Interruption*)

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, हमारे सवाल का जवाब नहीं आया ।

श्री सभापति : आपके सवाल का जवाब तो दे दिया गया है ।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, आज मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी को खतरा है और इस कम्युनिक में उनका सवाल क्यों नहीं उठाया गया । आज भारत की जनता सरकार से यह जवाब चाहती है कि मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी को बचाने के सम्बन्ध में कम्युनिक में कोई चर्चा क्यों नहीं की गई । मैं भारत की जनता के प्रतिनिधि के रूप में बोल रहा हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि कल दो लाख जन सभा में यह प्रस्ताव पास किया है...

श्री सभापति : मेहरबानी करके बैठ जाइये ।

(Shri Rajnarain continued to speak)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Rajnarain, please sit down now. Do not obstruct the proceedings.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं नहीं बैठूंगा । मैं आप से हाथ जोड़कर विनती करता हूँ कि आप मेरे सवाल का जवाब दिलावाइए । मैं भारत की जनता के प्रति वफादार हूँ, मैं भारत की सरकार के प्रति वफादार नहीं हूँ । मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी का सवाल है ।

MR. CHAIRMAN : I ask you to withdraw from the House.

श्री राजनारायण : भारत की जनता मांग कर रही है कि बंगला देश को मान्यता दो, मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी बचाओ, इसलिए मैं सदन में भारत की जनता की आवाज को बुलन्द करके रहूँगा, कोई ताकत नहीं रोक सकती । आप जवाब दिलावाइए ।

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, I have asked the Member not to obstruct the proceedings repeatedly and he is obstructing the proceedings. I ask him to withdraw from the House.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं चेअरमैन साहब से कहता हूँ कि मैं प्रोसीडिंग्स आबस्ट्रक्ट नहीं कर रहा हूँ, प्रोसीडिंग्स को आबस्ट्रक्ट प्रधान मंत्री कर रही है, प्रोसीडिंग्स को आबस्ट्रक्ट विदेश मंत्री कर रहा है । मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी बचाने के बारे में कोई चर्चा नहीं, बंगला देश की मान्यता के बारे में कोई चर्चा नहीं । बंगला देश को मान्यता दिलाने के लिए चर्चा क्यों नहीं हुई ।

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra) : This fellow has been expelled from his party.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Rajnarain, I am asking you again to withdraw from the House because you are obstructing the proceedings repeatedly.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी बचाने के लिए कोई भी सजा भुगतने के लिए तैयार हूँ । बंगला देश को मान्यता दिलाने के लिए कोई भी सजा भुगतने के लिए तैयार हूँ ।

MR. CHAIRMAN : I name Mr. Rajnarain for continuous obstruction of the proceedings of the House.

श्री राजनारायण : मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी आज बचे, बंगला देश की मान्यता हो । सरकार मेरे सवाल का जवाब दे ।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMFN-TARY AFFAIRS AND IN THE MINISTRY OF SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT/ ससवीय कार्य विभाग तथा

नौवहन तथा परिवहन विभाग में राज्य मंत्री (SHRI OM MEHTA) : Sir, I beg to move :—

"That Shri Rajnarain be suspended from the service of the House for the remainder of the session."

The question was proposed.

श्री राजनारायण : मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी बचाओ, बंगला देश को मान्यता दो ।

श्री पीताम्बर दास : आपके बोलने से पहले मैं जरा सा निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि राजनारायण जी को कम से कम मीके की नजाकत का अन्दाजा लगाना चाहिए। मुजीबुर्रहमान के द्वारे में सारे ही लोगों की भावनाएँ उनके जैसी हैं, लेकिन जो स्थिति इस समय बन गई है उस स्थिति में हाउस का कोई सदस्य राजनारायण जी का साथ देना पसन्द नहीं करेगा। इसलिए मैं उनसे प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि मीके की नजाकत को समझकर वे इस चीज को बोलने पर आने की नीयत न आने दें और समयाति के आदेश का पालन करें।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं श्री पीताम्बर दास जी की भावनाओं की कद्र करता हूँ, मगर मैं इसके साथ ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि यहाँ पर प्रधान मंत्री साहिब हैं और बंगला देश की भाव्यता के बारे में वे एक शब्द बोल नहीं रहे हैं मुजीबुर्रहमान की जिन्दगी बचाने के लिए बोल नहीं रहे हैं, हमारे सवाल का जवाब नहीं दे रही हैं।

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That Shri Rajnarain be suspended from the service of the House for the remainder of the session."

The motion was adopted.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Member is suspended for the remainder of the session. Mr. Rajnarain, now you should leave the House please.

(Shri Rajnarain continued to speak)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Otherwise, I will ask the Marshal to take you out of the House.

I hope this House agrees that I call the Marshal to take Shri Rajnarain out from the House.

(On Shri Rajnarain's refusal to leave, the Marshal bodily removed him from the House)

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House will realise that it was painful for me to take this decision, but I had no choice under the circumstances.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala) : Yesterday, it was decided that he would not bring his stick. He has still brought his stick today.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing more on this. Rules do not permit me to do anything more.

SHRI N. G. GOREY (Maharashtra) : Sir, may I explain on behalf of my party that we had nothing to do with this and if you think that we are responsible for this in any way, I just apologise ?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Sir, I am very sorry ...

MR* CHAIRMAN : There should be nothing on this.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : May I know, Sir, from the Government whether it is a fact that after the approach has been made by the External Affairs Minister to the United Nations, a statement has been made by U Thant ? It seems, U Thant is under very great pressure to corroborate the facts and take proper action. Our Prime Minister has also written a letter to the various Prime Ministers of different countries. May I know whether the contents of that letter could be made known to the House ? If so, that should be done.

Secondly, Mr. Yahya Khan is absolutely a maniac. He is not in a position to understand human approach and diplomatic and international language in this connection. Will the hon. Minister or the State Minister say whether there is a statement made today in which Mr. Gromyko has stated that Russia will also use its own goodwill to see that the life of Mujibur Rehman is saved; and whether during the course of discussions between the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister of our country and Mr. Gromyko there is any indication of the type of action which Mr. Gromyko has suggested in this connection ? That is very important, Sir. I request you that if there is any information on this point as to how Russia wants to help us, that should be indicated.

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : Sir, this matter was also raised during our discussions with Mr. Gromyko during his recent visit to Delhi and we have been assured by Mr. Gromyko that when he goes back to Moscow, he will discuss the matter with his Government and he is of the view that the Russian Government will take necessary steps.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : What are those necessary steps ?

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : Well, it is very difficult to explain this. He has assured us that he will do everything within his power to persuade the Pakistan Government to desist from this act and try to save the life of Mujibur Rehman.

As regards the contents of Prime Minister's letter, I am not in a position to disclose the contents. As I have said earlier, the Prime Minister has, written to all the heads of Governments all over the world, to all friendly countries, drawing their attention to the fact that this matter is of very grave importance and its consequences will be really very dire and it is imperative and desirable that they should act in this matter as early as possible and bring about the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman as early as possible.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Sir, when I gave this calling attention notice it was not my intention to enter into a controversy with Government or with anybody. But here is an issue which involves our emotions. Many may not share our views with regard to the stand on Bangla Desh but many at the same time are in favour of sharing our sentiments over this particular issue of saving the life of a great patriot and a great leader, Sheikh Mujibar Rehman. I am sorry for what has happened. Now, as I said, I do not want to seek any clarification so to say. After all, judging by the newspaper reports and also from the information gathered from the various Members on the Government side I have no doubt in my mind personally speaking that the Government and the Prime Minister in particular are doing their best to save Sheikh Mujibur Rehman's life. I can only express my full solidarity and support with them and their efforts. After all is said and done, we can only express our opinion here at

the non-official level and the Government can also express its opinion before what is called the world community and speak to the world with anguished heart demanding measures to save his life. Even that I do not know how far we can do and what we can do. Now the best person to do so would be the Prime Minister of India, the head of the Government of our country. In fact she has been doing it. Therefore I leave it to her to say what she may feel like saying, if she would like to say anything.

But one or two observations I would like to make with regard to this. A8¹n I say it is not that I seek any clarification and Government knows it very well. I share their view and they share our view; there is no disagreement on this matter. But certainly I am not in agreement with the approach the Secretary-General has taken by needlessly emphasizing that he was functioning within the judicial system of his own country. Sir, in international law and otherwise also this thing cannot be supported for a variety of reasons into which I need not go. As the Government has very rightly pointed out the same man who is now plotting to murder Sheikh Mujibur Rehman had to say that he was the Prime Minister-designate of his country, at that time of the United Pakistan, but today he is being charged with treason or with waging war against whom, I do not know, and sought to be slaughtered. It is not even a judicial murder; it is cold-blooded murder amounting to an international offence; nothing short of that. That is what I would like to say. I think the international community would take note of this that it is not even a judicial murder but it is a continuation of the slaughter of the 5,00,000 people and the crowning act of this slaughter by Yahya Khan would be the butchery of I this great man. Sir, we launch our I strongest protest against it and we do hope the world community, the Secretary-General, United Nations, and other people will summon up enough courage to stay the hands of the would-be butcher of this great man. As far as other countries are concerned, I am very happy that the Government has addressed letter, the Prime Minister personally, to the Governments of the various countries and this will undoubtedly help the mobilisation of world opinion which alone can stay

this murder of Sheikh Mujibur Reh-inan. Therefore I think we should pursue those efforts and I think we should express our sentiments in the last days of Parliament. I do not think it is necessary to speak much on this subject, it is well known that the Government and the people are together today in this matter in this country and we do hope that the voice of the 550 million people voiced by the head of the Government will be taken note of by friends all over the country as indeed by friends in the whole world.

I do hope that by joining our voice with the voice of the Soviet people, the Soviet Government and other peoples also, we will be in a position—whatever else we may or may not gain—to save that precious life which is a possession of all mankind. Today the life of Mujibur Rehman is a precious possession of all humanity. Therefore, we rise here to express our anguish and concern to save not only a human life, but a tradition, a cherished possession of mankind and it is the duty of the whole world to rally behind our nation in order to save that life and to compel, if by nothing else, by the force of world public opinion Yahya Khan not to proceed with his plan of a coldblooded and deliberate murder of one of the finest creation of modern civilisation and human race. This is all that I say. I hope these are the sentiments in the hearts of everybody here and I still expect the Prime Minister on behalf of us, on behalf of the whole country to voice the anguish and concern of the nation and also raise the voice of protest against the calculated plot to murder a great man, a great patriot and a great possession of human society as a whole.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : After hearing Mr. Bhupesh Gupta I did not miss the presence of Sardar Swaran Singh.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, allow me to say that a great tragedy is imminent. The tragedy is not only for the 75 million people of Bangla Desh, but it is also a tragedy for the millions of people of our country. It is not only a tragedy for us, but it is also a tragedy for humanity as a whole. One of the greatest

fighters for freedom is steadily going to mount the gallows. No freedom-fighter in the world can take things lying low. Therefore, the sentiment which has been expressed by many, not only in this House but also outside the House, should be given proper respect and we and the Government of India should also try effectively to give expression of the people of this country to the international community as a whole. While expressing these sentiments of mine, I would like to know this from the hon. Minister. In this connection, it has been made clear by many outside and even in this House that there are certain countries in the world which still today think that the trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman is a domestic affair of the Pakistan Government. I do not mention the names. West Pakistan has got no law of its own save the law of the jungle. They have got no court, except the Star Chamber. If there is any court today particularly in this matter, it is the captive court and the conclusion is foregone. As I mentioned earlier, the tragedy is imminent. In this context there is a great role to be played by the great powers. In this connection, our Government has also written to many countries. Particularly may I know what has been the reaction of the United States of America ? I mention the United States of America because I am convinced...

AN HON. MEMBER : China also..

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I am coming to that, I am convinced that Yahya Khan could not have gone to this length had he not been consistently and persistently supported, aided and abetted by the United States of America. Therefore, if President Yahya Khan is a criminal, allow me to say President Nixon is no less a criminal in that case. Therefore, may I know what has been the response from the United States of America to the appeal made by our Prime Minister ? In this connection, I would also like to know whether any letter has been communicated to the Chinese Government in this respect. When we have sent letters to all Governments, whether friendly or hostile, on this humanitarian question of saving the life of a great patriot of this age, has any such appeal been addressed to the Chinese Government ? If so, what has been their reaction to that appeal ?

[Shri Chitta Basu]

Lastly, in case the world fails, in case the United Nations fails to save the precious life of Sheikh Mujibur Reh-man, may I know whether we are in a position to take specific, concrete steps to see that the freedom fighters' cause does not go unheeded, that the voice of the great, valiant freedom fighter does not go unheeded? We as a people who have fought for our freedom, who still support freedom fighters the world over, should not fail another great fighter for freedom, and the people of India, lead by the Government of India, should stand by those people who are also fighting for their freedom. And in this connection, we should take specific, concrete steps, not merely by words or by expression of sympathy, but by action in defence of freedom, in defence of those who fight for the freedom of the people.

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : Sir, there can be no doubt whatever about the Government's sympathies for the cause of Bangla Desh. It has been expressed on a number of occasions on behalf of the Government that we fully support the movement in Bangla Desh, their sentiments and their objectives, and we are doing everything possible within our means to support them in this. Whatever can be done to support their cause, we are doing. Now, the hon. Member has said that if this present trial which is under way in Pakistan goes through and Sheikh Mujibur Rehman is hanged or executed as a result of it, it will be a great tragedy. I agree with the hon. Member that if this dastardly act is gone through and this heinous crime against humanity' is perpetrated by the Pakistan Government, there is no doubt whatsoever that this will be a greatest tragedy not only for Pakistan or Bangla Desh, but for India and for the entire world and for the democratic and peace-loving people of the world. Sir, as regards showing respect for the sentiments of the people of our country about Bangla Desh, the Government has already said on a number of occasions that they are one with the people, with everybody here, that we sympathise with them and that we will do everything possible to support their cause.

Then the hon. Member asked about the reaction of the USA and China in this regard. Sir, hon. Members already

know the standpoint of the United States of America in this regard, in regard to their supply of arms to Pakistan, etc. That matter has been discussed in this House before.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY : That is a different matter.

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : On this particular humanitarian aspect, I think I am right in saying that they have expressed their concern about the life of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and they have also said that in their own way they will try their best to persuade Pakistan not to go ahead with this action and that his life should be saved.

In regard to China, our standpoint and our policy in regard to Bangla Desh has been conveyed to the Chinese Government through our CDA in Peking. But as the hon. Members know, the Chinese viewpoint and stand on this issue is rigid and partisan. China is fully supporting Pakistan in regard to the Bangla Desh matter. So, I do not think any useful purpose will be served by addressing a special letter to Peking at this juncture. Before doing such a thing, we have to find out what kind of reception our letter or approach will have, and in the present circumstances, I do not think it will serve any useful purpose. But we have kept them fully informed of our viewpoint and of our stand.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY : Is it not better that an appeal is made to the Chinese Government to save the life of Bangla Bandhu? Will the Prime Minister consider the question of writing to them?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Niren Ghosh.

1 P.M.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : I agree that it is a grave issue. And when we gave notice of this Calling-Attention Motion we were also not fully informed of the steps that the Government has taken. Today's newspapers give some indication. And naturally it is beside the point, it is superfluous, to point out that the entire country is united on this issue. And it is also quite clear that it is not a judicial trial. It is a political trial. And if a murder takes place, if he is executed, it will be a political murder of the elected leader of the biggest single party.

of Pakistan, of East Pakistan. I will not say that now it is a single entity. The Pakistan that was is gone as far as we can see. It is now West Pakistan and Bangla Desh. So the concept of Pakistan called Pakistan is already settled by history and it is a thing of the past. There are two countries now, West Pakistan and Bangla Desh. Now the question that I would like to ask is whether we can take certain more effective steps to stall the hand of Yahya Khan. What counts is not the mere expression of anguish or sentiment or anything like that, but certain things which can stall his hand, which can force him not to proceed with the trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. And in this connection the question arises that certain countries in the world which are powerful countries, they have a voice and that is why I ask : Is it sufficient for the USA to express concern ? We know the role it has played and that is condemned by all the parties, by all political elements and the entire people of India. And it is an act of hostility towards us, towards the freedom struggle, that the USA has committed. Nevertheless, the question remains whether the USA should be allowed to get away with the fact that it has expressed concern or whether the Governments of the world should not tell Yahya Khan, "Don't proceed with the trial. It is a mock trial. It is a political trial. It is not a judicial trial. So you cannot proceed with that." That is the question that I want to ask and I would like to know the reaction of the Government thereto...

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Including China.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Of course including China. We are not in agreement with China on this question. We take our own decision. That is quite another thing. So my question is whether Parliament should not address an appeal to all Parliaments of the world, to all Governments of the world...

AN HON. MEMBER : There is no Parliament in China.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : He does not know it, despite his wishes there is a Parliament in China.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do not get disturbed. You proceed with your question.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : My question is whether the Parliament of India should not address an appeal to all Parliaments of the world and to all Governments of the world, whether we should not make a particular point— the USA, China, France, Japan, these are the countries which count—and if these countries, if these Governments, take a firm stand and tell Yahya Khan not to proceed with the trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, then, Yahya Khan would not have the check to proceed with the trial. So, we should put the question point blank. There is no question of evading the issue. That is why on this question I want to know the opinion of the Government. I suppose this is the last day. Lok Sabha is going to adjourn. If an appeal has to be addressed, we have to adopt it today. Tomorrow we cannot,

Secondly, should not this issue be discussed in the United Nations ? I do not want to pressurise the Soviet Union. But can they not raise this issue ? Is it not possible to get the Security Council to discuss the issue and give some indication of their opinion to Yahya Khan. That will be something authoritative. Somehow or other it is clear, if the Security Council is called into session, it will be very difficult for them to get away from the issue and they will have to express an opinion. Whether it will be suitable or not, whether we can also approach that forum or not, are questions that I would like to put to the Government of India. Sands of time are running out. Eleventh is already over. Today is 12th. Everything will be over in a day or two. It may be that they may pass a death sentence. They may or may not execute him. That is not the point. We do not concede the right of Yahya Khan to try Mujibur Rehman. That is the point and that is the history we have come to. Time is very short. If more effective intervention is needed, it will be done swiftly and quickly without any loss of time.

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : I agree with (he hon. Member when he says that the life of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman is very precious. There is no doubt about that and we feel the same way. We do want to do everything possible to save his life. One way of doing it, as suggested by the hon. Member, is that the bigger powers should I take more effective steps to influence

[Shri Surendra Pa! Singh]

Pakistan's thinking on this issue. That is exactly what we are striving for. It is for that reason that the Prime Minister addressed two letters to all the heads of governments including big powers, except of course China. We are trying our best to activate them to do something more effective and use their influence with Pakistan to save the life of this valiant freedom fighter. This is being done, but as hon. Members know the big powers and all other countries are moving in their own way. We would like them to take effective steps. They have given us assurances. It is very difficult for me to say about what they are doing in the matter or the manner in which they are doing that. We hope and pray that they will do something to save his life.

As regards the appeal to be made by the Parliament, I am entirely in the hands of the Parliament and if the Parliament so decide to pass a resolution or make an appeal to all the world parliaments, we will welcome it as that will strengthen the Government's hands.

As regards raising the matter in the United Nations, this matter has been given considerable thought by the government and it is still under consideration. We are not opposed to the idea of taking it to the United Nations. But it is a very complex matter. Hon. Members know that a great deal of consultations have to be gone through with the various countries about the matter and it is only when we feel that we have reasonable support of a large number of countries, the time will come for taking it to that forum. This is under consideration.

THE LEADER OF OPPOSITION
(SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY) :
Is this trial not as a trial of an ideal; not as a trial of a political act, not even as a trial of a revolutionary martyr. I look at this trial as a trial of freedom itself. Sir, there is no instance in history giving us any information on such trials. I think there is only one instance which happened centuries back. That was the trial of Joan of Arc. Joan of Arc was tried for serving a noble cause; she was tried for waging a war against tyranny.

Sir, the trial of Mujib reminds me of that trial. There is some resemblance, to another trial. That was the

trial of Queen Anne Boleyn and she was tried on fictitious charges and she was executed by her husband. Sir, there is nothing comparable to this trial. Mujibur Rehman is being tried on a fictitious charge of waging war against Pakistan. Sir, when the issue of Pakistan itself is in doubt, how can this trial go on? This can be a matter of opinion. Sir, my friend, Shri Niren Ghosh, said that the Government of Pakistan has no right to try this revolutionary, this great man. But the trial is being carried on.

Sir, I welcome the steps taken by the Government of India so far. I have also to say that these steps may not be adequate to save him and to save the situation both in Bangla Desh and in India. I say this about the situation because the fate of this great man is linked up with the subsequent developments both in Bangla Desh and also in India. It will never be an isolated phenomenon and, therefore, Sir, I feel that the steps that they have taken, taken by the Prime Minister, though welcome, very much welcome, I feel, there is something still more to be done in this regard. I suggest, Sir, that we as Parliament—we are about to adjourn now—should make an appeal to all the countries of the world, to all the Parliaments of the countries in the world, that they should react immediately on this issue.

Secondly, Sir, we should tell the world that the execution of this great man will cause greater blood-shed and it will be followed by a greater revolution and it will have its impact on our country also. This we should tell them. You know, Sir, anything that is done against this great man will aggravate the situation. So, Sir, we should spell out as to what will happen. Then, Sir, I suggest we should take up this matter with the United Nations more. I know that the statement of the Secretary-General is not at all satisfactory. I think he seems to be skirting round the issue. He has not understood the implications and I think he has to understand his responsibilities.

Sir, it is the concern of the United Nations to safeguard the liberties of individuals as well as communities. And the United Nations has accepted this doctrine. If liberty or freedom is destroyed in any place, it will be destroyed everywhere. Destruction of

freedom anywhere will lead to the destruction of freedom everywhere. That doctrine has been accepted by the United Nations. I think, we as a country,—particularly, the Prime Minister—should convince the Secretary-General about his duties and responsibilities in this matter. If there is anything done against the life of this great man, we should also hold the United Nations responsible for its inaction. The United Nations has failed and we cannot give another opportunity to it to fail in this regard. It will be a tragedy if this diabolical, crude, brutal perversion will end in the execution of this great man. Therefore, Sir, I would like the Prime Minister not to satisfy herself with what she has done already. I want her to take up this matter seriously in her hands—not merely addressing letters; that it good enough—and also, if need also, if need be, confer personally with some of the great leaders of other countries, and in particular the Secretary-General of the United Nations. May I expect, Sir, in this great hour she would rise above all small things and represent this country and its great people and the Parliament and see that the tragedy that is impending against this great man is averted?

श्री पिताम्बर दास : करीब करीब एक ही तरह की फॉलिम्स एक्सप्रेस हो रही हैं इसलिए मंत्री जी आखिर में जवाब दे दें जो देना हो ।

डा० भाई महावीर (दिल्ली) : श्रीमन् जितना गंभीर यह मामला है इतनी ही गंभीरता से हमें इस पर विचार करना था यदि थोड़ी सी जो अनुचित घटना बीच में हो गयी वह न होती हो । परन्तु मुझे ऐसा लग रहा है कि हम जैसे एक दुर्घटना हो गयी हो और उसके बाद खाली श्रद्धांजली भेंट करने की कार्यवाही कर रहे हैं । मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार ने जो यह कहा कि वह जो कुछ हो सकता है वह कर रही है और इस सदन के सभी दलों के प्रतिनिधियों ने जो कहा कि इस विषय की गंभीरता को समझ कर सरकार जो भी अधिक से अधिक कर सकती है वह करे, यहाँ पर बात खत्म नहीं हो जानी चाहिए । बात इसके कुछ आगे चलेगी चलनी चाहिए, नहीं तो हम यहाँ पर इस कार्यवाही को करने के बाद चले जाएंगे और जो

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याहिया खाँ के दिमाग में है वह उसको कर गुजरेगा । महोदय, यह बहुत बड़ी दुर्घटना होगी संसार के लिए, इस बारे में महोदय जी मत व्यक्त किये गये मैं उनसे सहमत हूँ, परन्तु मैं मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान इस ओर आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि जिस समय सोवियत संघ के साथ हमारी संधी प्रकाशित हुई, हम सब लोगों ने यह विश्वास अपने दिल में अनुभव किया कि अब कम से कम एक ठोस और सही मित्र हमारे साथ खड़ा हो गया है और इस वास्ते आज जो संयुक्त वक्तव्य निकला है उस से —मैं कोई यह बात आलोचना के तौर पर नहीं कह रहा, लेकिन मैं इस रूप में कह रहा हूँ कि जो संयुक्त वक्तव्य निकला है उस में यह देश अपेक्षा करता था कि उसके अंदर अधिक सशक्त स्वर होता और शेख मुजीबुर्रहमान के जीवन को बचाने और उनको छुड़ाने की बात ज्यादा प्रभावशाली ढंग से कही गयी होती । हुआ यह है कि उस में जो भाषा हमारी सरकार पहले भी बोलती रही है वह भाषा पहले से भी कहीं नरम हो गयी है । हो सकता है इसमें जिसको कांस्टीट्यूशनल प्रोप्राइटीज कहा जाता है संवैधानिक विशिष्टता या औचित्य, इसकी मजबूती रही हो परन्तु महोदय यह विषय संविधान की इस तरह की विशिष्ट मजबूतिया के अंदर फँस कर रह जाने का नहीं है । मंत्री महोदय ने कहा, श्री ग्रोमिको ने वायदा किया है कि वह वापस जा कर इस मामले पर गौर करेंगे अपने सरकार में । दो दिन हुये सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह ने मर एक सवाल के जवाब में कहा, इसी सवाल को मैंने पूछा था कि मुजीबुर्रहमान के बारे में श्री ग्रोमिको ने क्या कहा तो उन्होंने बड़े आश्वस्त स्वर में कहा था कि श्री ग्रोमिको ने बड़े जोर से इस मामले पर अपना मत व्यक्त किया कि यह नहीं होना चाहिए । अगर सच-सच में उन्होंने ऐसा कहा था तो आज के इस संयुक्त वक्तव्य में यह ध्वनि दिखाई देनी चाहिये थी । दुर्भाग्य यह है कि श्री ग्रोमिको वापस जायेंगे, अपनी सरकार से वार्तालाप करेंगे और तब इसके बारे में क्या कार्यवाही की जा सकती है इसका पता लगेगा, इतना समय

[डा० भाई महावीर]

हमारे पास नहीं है। ऐसा डर लगता है। मार्शल ला इस तरह का तरीका नहीं है जैसा कि सिविल लिटिगेशन या सिविल केस यहाँ चलता है और जब याह्या खां खुद ही चालान करने वाले और खुद ही जज बन कर बैठे हैं, खुद ही सब कुछ करने वाले हैं तो किससे शिकवा करेगा, कौन शिकवा करेगा। इसलिये, महोदय, मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार सचमुच यह समझती है कि इस मामले में सोवियत संघ इससे अधिक कुछ नहीं कर सकेगा जो कि इस वक्तव्य में प्रकट होता है। हम समझते हैं कि कर सकता है, कर सकता चाहिये। और जहाँ यह कहा गया है कि आज एक ट्रायल है ह्युमैनिटी का, फ्रीडम का, मैं यह समझता हूँ कि ह्युमैनिटी और फ्रीडम का महत्व है फिर भी एक बड़े महत्व की चीज जो है कि हमारी सोच। संघ के साथ मैत्री जो है वह भी ट्रायल पर है और इस मामले में अगर सोवियत संघ हमारे साथ आता है तो यह बड़ा प्रमाण होगा कि एक बड़ी विपत्ति जो हमारे देश पर आ सकी है उसको रोकने में सोवियत संघ हमारे साथ हमारा मददगार बन कर खड़ा हुआ।

महोदय, हमारी सरकार कहती है कि हम सब कुछ कर रहे हैं जो कुछ हो सकता है। लगता यह है कि प्रारम्भ से ही हमारी सरकार की यह भाषा रही कि हम हाथ पर हाथ धरे नहीं बैठे रहेंगे, बंगला देश में जो कुछ हो रहा है उसको हम स्पष्टेतर बन कर बड़े देखते नहीं रह सकते, हम निष्क्रिय रहे यह सम्भव नहीं लेकिन यह सब होने पर भी हमारी निष्क्रियता ही लोगों के सामने आई है और हमने बार बार यही कहा है कि हम रिकग्निशन के सवाल पर फंसला नहीं कर सकते।

महोदय आज जो हो रहा है वह यह कि शेख मुजीबुर्रहमान को एक राजद्रोही के रूप में याह्या खां वहाँ पर सजा देने के वास्ते कोशिश कर रहे हैं, किन्तु वास्तविकता यह है कि शेख मुजीबुर्रहमान एक स्टेट के हेड बन गये, बंगला

देश बन चुका है और शेख मुजीबुर्रहमान उस बंगला देश के राष्ट्रपति हैं और उनका इस प्रकार से जो बच करने का प्रश्न है वह सारे आन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत के लिये एक बहुत बड़ी चुनौती है लेकिन इसमें हम लोग आज कुछ नहीं कर सकते क्योंकि हमारी सरकार ने इसे अभी वह समय नहीं माना जब कि बंगला देश को स्वीकार किया जाये महोदय, मैं यह धुमाव देना चाहता हूँ कि जो समय की सरकार प्रतीक्षा कर रही थी वह कम से कम इस ट्रायल की वजह से आज आ गया है और सरकार इस समय विषय में निर्णय करे, यह शायद और देरी और विलम्ब की गुंजाइश इसमें नहीं छोड़ता।

श्री सभापति : आप खत्म कीजिए।

डा० भाई महावीर : अब मैं खत्म कर रहा हूँ।

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: Sir, I want only one minute.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, I cannot allow.

डा० भाई महावीर : आल्बीरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह श्री भूपेश जी ने भी कही और अपने मित्रों ने भी कही कि बल्डे ओपीनियन इस मामले में अपने को एसर्ट कर विश्व का जनमत इस मामले में प्रभाव डाले परन्तु जिस प्रकार की सत्ता और तानाशाही पाकिस्तान में कायम है उस पर विश्व का जनमत कितना प्रभाव डालेगा मैं नहीं जानता, किन्तु मैं समझता हूँ कि एक देश जिस पर सबसे ज्यादा जिम्मेदारी है और जिसको इस बात के लिए मजबूर करना चाहिये वह इस मामले को रोके वह संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका है। संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका ने जो कुछ भी किया है हमारी सरकार उनको स्पष्ट करे कि आज तक जितना कुछ पाकिस्तान को बढ़ाने और उसको हाथियार देने का काम किया होगा उससे जितना नुकसान हुआ है इस एक बात को होने देने से उतना ही

नुकसान हमारे लिये अमेरिका और ज्यादा करेगा, तो क्या अमेरिका को यह कहा जायगा कि हमारे जो उनके साथ सम्बन्ध हैं वह इस सोसा तक न पहुंच जाय कि जो बिल्कुल फिर से ठीक न हो सकें इसलिए अमेरिका अपने इस विधरी दोस्त को रोके। और अमेरिका रोक सकता है, वही उनको हथियार दे रहा है, उसी ने उसकी दिमाग खराब किया है। हम अमेरिका की सरकार से यह मांगा जो उसे और उनको मजबूर करें कि वह इस दुर्घटना को रोके।

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Gorey.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: Sir, I want only one minute.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No, no.

SHRI N. G. GOREY : I fully associate myself with what has been said here by my friend Shri Bhupesh Gupta, Mr. Basu and so many other hon. friends. Sir, here is a case where we find that a Government that was rejected by the people is sending to the gallows a man who was crowned by the people. Sir, if at all Mujibur Rehman is put to death, it will not be his death, because he will live in history, but it will be the death of Pakistan. Therefore, Sir, I am really feeling very sad in my heart that such a great man, whose sacrifice and whose stature cannot be adequately described by all of us with all the words that we can express, is nearing the tragic end; but it may be one of the most glorious.

I still hope that his life would be saved and here, Sir I would like to subscribe to what Mr. Niren Ghosh has said that let this Parliament, both the Houses—as we did on the occasion of Bangla Desh—express their solidarity, their sense of sorrow and indignation at what is happening in Islamabad. I have no doubt. Sir, that there will not be any dissenting voice in this House or that House if the Government comes forward with a Resolution. That is my first suggestion. The Prime Minister will be the fittest person to do it. Let her rest assured that all of us unanimously will support her.

The other thing that I wanted to know from the Government is whether they

could not insist on an Emergency Session of the Security Council, because, Sir, the Security Council ought to be informed that this is something that is likely to engulf the whole of this subcontinent in a turmoil which will lead to endless suffering and bloodshed. This is not something that concerns Mujibur Rehman, the individual, but it concerns Mujibur Rehman as the representative and the sole representative of 75 million people and, therefore, Sir, I would say that let the Prime Minister insist or even other friends like Soviet Russia, insist on an Emergency Session of the Security Council.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Not only the people of Bangla Desh but majority of the Pakistan people want it.

SHRI N. G. GOREY : Yes. The third suggestion that I would like to make, and I would like to know from the Prime Minister whether she agrees to it, is whether she would not be able to write to U Thant to fly to Islamabad and stop this execution, if at all it is going to take place. This is something for which he should take the trouble to come all the way from the U.N. to Islamabad. If you remember, his predecessor, Dag Ham-marskjold, lost his life when he was trying to save the situation in Congo. It is something like that, it is much worse. Therefore, Sir, I would like to give these suggestions and I would like to know from the Government whether the Government would accept the same.

THE PRIME MINISTER/BETH fleft (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): Sir, this is one of the occasions when the entire House has one feeling and one voice. I share the agony which hon. Members have expressed and I appreciate the attitude of solidarity which some hon. Members of the Opposition have expressed. We are in a very difficult situation. Several suggestions have been made all of which are suggestions to which we have no objection at all. If we have a Resolution or I ask U Thant to go to Islamabad I see no objection in it but the only question that comes to my mind is, will it be effective, what will be the result? As some hon. Members have said here, with a military regime which has been acting in the way that we have all seen and heard about, it will only disregard our Resolution or any feelings we may express with impunity. Whether U Thant will be willing to go

. [Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

sifter the sort of statement which he had issued is another question which comes to mind.

SHRI N. G. GOREY : He has failed to understand the gravity of the situation all along.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : It will build public opinion.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: As said, I have no objection to asking him to go; the only question in my mind is whether it will have any effect, whether in fact he will go as a result of my letter. We have also to contend with the fact that whatever we do further irritates the military regime in West Pakistan so that whether we are the best people to be in the forefront of any of this movement is also a question to be considered. This is why; if sometimes we have not spoken as loudly or as strongly as hon. Members have wished, it is not because we do not feel about this matter acutely but because of the thought as to what would be the effect. Would it create the opposite effect in the minds or increase certain—I do not want to use the word stubborn—that kind of thing; if these people are saying this that is all the more reason why we shall go ahead with that. It can create that kind of reaction. These are some of the questions which we must all consider before we decide what we do. We have not left a single stone unturned in trying to bring to the notice of the World Governments what is happening, the results it can have in this entire area, specially our assessment of the future of that region and that we do think that what has happened in Bangla Desh cannot be reversed. Something is happening and we all know from history that the sort of action that the Government of West Pakistan is contemplating will not have the sort of results which they hope it will have; it will have the opposite result. As hon. Members have mentioned here martyrdom does not end something; it begins something. It makes the man immortal and it is always bound to strengthen his cause. These are some of the questions which arise and which we must keep in mind. If hon. Members of the opposition like we can sit together and further talk about this matter. As I said, I personally, or the Government

has no objection to any of the suggestions that have been made here and I would like to share with them the anxiety which arises in my mind.

Now, hon. Members have rightly pointed out that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman today is not just an individual. Whatever his good qualities or otherwise—I do not know him personally—he has become a symbol of the aspirations, the urges and the hopes of the people of Bangla Desh. He is the embodiment of the suffering and the spirit of sacrifice of a very long suffering people, a people who are extraordinarily gifted, sensitive and who have generally been of a more revolutionary mould than many others. So while we must continue all our efforts, if we can think of anything that will have actual effect then we should certainly do it. Nobody can be satisfied with what is happening.

Now, many Members asked about the replies that we got from the various Governments of the world. Most Governments do not want to say exactly what they are doing. They only give an indication that they have taken up this matter or they want to pursue this matter. For them also it is a question not merely of writing to President Yahya Khan or expressing their views, but of trying to find a way which will be effective. We believe that a large number of Governments have taken up this matter, but how effective it is we just do not know. It does not seem to be very effective however much be the pressure. Some Governments are in a position to exert pressure, but whether, in the present circumstances of Pakistan, the military regime will want to yield to that pressure, whether they can expect them to yield to that pressure, these are also questions which perhaps they will take into account and make up their mind again.

I would like to make only one point to hon. Members—not strictly concerned with Sheikh Mujibur Rehman or this matter—which is that at all times we should differentiate between the people of Pakistan—Bangla Desh, of course, people even who live in the different provinces of West Pakistan—with whom we have no quarrel whatsoever and the military regime which is committing the atrocities in Bangla Desh and which is

also responsible for the suppression of all political rights of the people of West Pakistan. I do not think I can say very much now. We are aware that the United Nations has not done what it could have. We are aware of its many weaknesses not only on this occasion, but on many other occasions and in other situations, and at that time we have always said that it is only a weakness. Yet we supported it as a body because it is a forum and perhaps there is no other such forum. These are questions of long-term assessment on which views have to be taken. Hon. friend, Shri Gurupada-swamy, rightly mentioned Joan of Arc, or a summary trial of this sort, after her being burnt at the stake, finally she was practically declared a Saint and then definitely a national heroine. I do not think ultimatums or threats would serve any purpose. If they would serve any purpose, we certainly would not hesitate to deliver an ultimatum or to threaten anybody; we will do this, that and the other, but it is for the House to decide whether an ultimatum will achieve any result, whether we could do the USA or we could do it to the United Nations or we could do it to the Commonwealth. However strongly, however acutely, however agonisingly we feel over this question, we have to see that it is not one certainly of using any language and it is not a question of having a constitutional or legal feeling on this question. The only point is what will be effective in trying to save the life of a person whom we feel is today much more than just an individual, even much more, as has been said, than a revolutionary or a fighter for freedom. He has come to symbolise something and the great tragedy of the situation is that it is not merely a tragedy of Bangla Desh, which is indeed very grave—the sufferings of the people—but the real tragedy, I think, is the apathy which we see of the other nations to what is happening there. So, I would like to support those Members who have said that on this grave issue we should remain united and have a feeling of solidarity and certainly we should sit together and see if anything more can be done.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I want to say one word. I share the anxiety and the feelings expressed in this House. I need not say that such a trial is unknown to civilization. It is against international law and if punishment is given in such a trial, it will be a crime against humanity.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE

I. ANNUAL REPORT AND ACCOUNTS (1969-70) OF THE ELECTRONICS CORPORATION OF INDIA LIMITED, HYDERABAD AND RELATED PAPERS

II. ANNUAL REPORT AND ACCOUNTS (1969-70) OF THE URANIUM CORPORATION OF INDIA LIMITED, JADUGUDA AND RELATED PAPERS

THE PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY/SSni

मंत्री तथा परमाणु ऊर्जा मंत्री (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (1) 619A of the Companies Act, 1956, a copy each of the following papers (in English and Hindi) : —

I. (i) Third Annual Report and Accounts of the Electronics Corporation of India Limited, Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh), for the year 1969-70, together with the Auditors' Report on the Accounts and the Comments of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India thereon.

(ii) Review by Government on the working of the Corporation.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-860/71 for (i) and (ii).]

II. (i) Third Annual Report and Accounts of the Uranium Corporation of India Limited, Jaduguda, District Singhbhum (Bihar), for the year 1969-70, together with the Auditors' Report on the Accounts and the Comments of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India thereon.

(ii) Review by Government on the working of the Corporation.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-861/71 for (i) and (ii).]

I. THE NATIONAL WELFARE BOARD FOR SEAFARERS (AMENDMENT) RULES, 1970

II. THE NATIONAL WELFARE BOARD FOR SEAFARERS (AMENDMENT) RULES, 1971

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND SHIPPING AND

संसदीय कार्य,
TRANSPORT/
(SHRI RAJ BAHADUR): Sir, I beg to