[Shri Om Mehta]

the Orissa cyclone, I assure my hon, friend, Mr. Lokanath Misra, that we are equally concerned about the calamity that has betallen Paradeep and the neighbouring areas and it is due to this that in spite of today being P. M.'s birthday, the Prime Minister has gone there and cancelled all her engagements and functions which were to be held today. I promise him that I will provide some time for the discussion.

Secondly regarding the privileges of the ICS, I assure my hon, friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, that we will try to introduce this Bill during this session.

About the Constitution (Twenty fifth Amendment) Bill, he has given some of his views about clause 31(c). I will convey those views to the Government.

About the Constitution (Twenty sixth Amendment) Bill, about the privileges of the princes, it has already been introduced in the Lok Sabha and as soon as it is passed by the Lok Sabha, we will take it up in this House and see that it is passed.

SHRI BHUPFSH GUPTA · About the Press thing?

SHRI OM MEHTA: It is not on the anvil as yet. The only information is that it has been referred to some committee, but I will convey the sentiments and views which have been mentioned, to the Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then the Government should consult us. Those who stand for implementation of the recommendations of the Press Commission should be consulted.

SHRI OM MEHTA: About Shi Sitaram Kesri's case I do not think we can give any time for discussion. But, Sii, it is for you to see whether you can provide some time.

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: It is a very important question.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Freedom of the Press is undoubtedly an important question.

RESOLUTION RE MEASURES FOR RETURN OF REFUGEES TO BANGLA DESH WITHIN A PERIOD OF THREE MONTHS

SHRI DEV DATT PURI (Haryana): Sir, I move the following Resolution:

"This House,

taking note of the diabolical cumes committed by the Yahya regime on the people of Bangla Desh amounting to genocide on an unprecedented scale; and

taking further note of the fact that by pushing about a crore of refugees into India, Pakistan has committed aggression against this country;

is of the opinion that Government should take appropriate and effective measures to ensure the return of these refugees to their hearths and homes in safety and in honour, within a period of three months."

Sir, the House will recall that in the month of May this year I moved a Calling Attention Motion drawing the attention of the Government to the grave situation arising out of the heavy influx of refugees from Bangla Desh to India and requested the Minister to make a statement thereon. Sir, after recounting the number of refugees that had been coming in and which totalled about 34 lakhs at that time. Shri Khadilkar made a significant statement. I quote:

"The Government of India hope that these refugees will be able to return to their homeland within a period of six months or earlier as soon as favourable conditions are available in l'ast Bengal."

This was in the month of Mav, and now six months are over.

SHRI BHAGW VT DAYAL (Harvana): Vine months, पूरे 9 महीने हो गये।

SHRI DEV DATT PURI: The refugees have not only not returned but the situation that confronts us today is far more serious than a was six months ago. The number has gone up to nearly a crore. There is tension on the

border and Pakistan, as I have stated, is committing aggression in more ways than one. I, therefore, thought it proper that in this first opportunity that the House is getting on a non-official day, I should move a resolution and draw the attention of the Government to the situation as we face it today. It is also necessary that this question should be considered in a comprehensive manner.

History is replete with instances where majorities have oppressed immorities. But in the twentieth century cases where the minorities—racial, religious, political or any other—have oppressed the majority are relatively fewer and farther between. The most notable case of the minority oppressing the 'majority, that I can think of, is that of South Africa where the basic human rights of the majority population are being trampled under foot by a racial minority. Sir, there is hardly a session of the United Nations when this injustice done to the majority is not condemned in one form or the other.

Then, Sir, there is Rhodesia wallowing in its umlateral Declaration of Independence imitating and emulating South Africa, and turning itself into a pocket edition of South Africa. And finally, Sir, there are Angola, Mozambique and other territories of the Portuguese, dying out embers of feudalism, medieval in outlook and trying to perpetuate 16th and 17th century conditions in the 20th century. These are telics of the days gone-by and are desimed to die out before long.

But something more barbaric and medieval is raising its head right here in our backyard. Elected representatives of the people are being ground down under the heel of the Jack boot. It is noteworthy that the decision to hold these elections was Yahva Khan's. The prescriptions of the franchise were determined by Yahya Khan. The delimitation of constituencies was also done by Yahya Khan, And finally, what is most important, the elections were also conducted under the martial law regime of Yahya Khai. Then what happened? The people of what was formerly East Pakistan returned a clear and unequivocal verdict in favour of the Awami League under the Icadership of Sheikh Munbur Rehman. And he obtained a majority not only in what was at that time a province of Pakistan but in the Pakistan Assembly as a whole. He was entitled

to become the Prime Minister of Pakistan and to take over the conduct of the entire affairs of the country from the martial law authorities. Then the floodgates of tyranny were thrown open. By the employment of modern weaponry defenceless people have been slaughtered. The minority seeks to perpetuate itself by decimating the majority by murder, rape, arson and other forms of terrorism. It is difficult to find parallels of this tyranny in all history. Yahya Khan has trampled under foot the laws of God and man. I am not discussing recognition, Sir, when I ask the question, what is Yahya Khan's title to the throne he occupies? How did he come to occupy it? How did his predecessor in office come to occupy that throne? It was by the same military might that he is utilising in a ruthless manner today to keep himself in power. Sir, it seems to me that the military rulers of Pakistin feel that they possess the divine right to rule Pakistan by the simple device of chopping off the head of anyone who questions that right, I said I found it very difficult to find parallels in modern history. The nearest I can think of or remember was the self-styled Henenvolk, the Nazis' theory of superior race, with Hitler at the head. But where the scale of operations is concerned, Hitler at his worst was perhaps a suckling babe compared to Yahya Khan and his gang. Sir, Bhutto the other day threatened that the Ganga and the Indus would flow with blood if hostilities broke out between Pakistan and India. Is he blind to the blood that is flowing down the Padma even to-day? Is he unmindful of the fact that every street, every nook, every corner of Bangla Desh is to-day flowing with human blood?

It is obvious that Yahya Khan must have been advised by the sycophants with whom he has surrounded himself that the Awami League would probably be routed at the elections. Otherwise be would have never run that risk. He is now trying to undo the elections by mere force. It is clear beyond doubt that this is a furthe exercise.

While this gruesome tragedy is unfolding itself in our backyard, what has been the role of the rest of the world? What has been our own conduct in this matter? Before expressing any opinion or any view with regard to the role of others, this only right and proper that I should do some introspection and examine what has been our own conduct in this matter.

[Shri Dev Datta Puri]

Pakistan has come out with the theory that we have influenced their elections. I think they said it in the United Nations of somewhere. The only way in which this country's influence could have worked in regard to the elections in Pakistan is that we have shown to the wide world that Hindus and Muslims can live like brothers, that nationhood does not go with religion and that backward and illiterate as we are, we can still function as a democracy and maintain our basic freedoms and basic rights. If this has inspired the people of Bangla Desh, we plead guilty to the charge of having influenced their election, but hold our heads high in doing so. However, we cannot possibly help if our example creates impressions which are not very helpful to military dictatorships in Pakistan and elsewhere in the world.

Then, we opened our doors to the millions of refugees that came in and are pouring in even today. Should we have barred our doors? That is the First question. To that I pose a counter question. If a bandit entered your neighbour's house and started to kill and maim and if a few defenceless women and children managed to escape, would you then shut your door agains them? Could you do that even if your heart was of stone? You would be less than human and less than civilised if you let that thought enter your mind for a moment. Our Government would not and could not turn these people back. The only way to do it perhaps would have been to open fire on those that had escaped death and dishonour at the hands of Yahya's hordes. Our Government could never have done so and no Government in this country could have done it. country would not have stood for it and our Parliament would not have stood for it. It would have been contrary to us cultural heritage and our traditions. We have done the only thing that we should have by the freedom fighters. We opened our doors to them and tried to provide them with the barest minimum necessities of life at a subsistence level. And sometimes we have failed even in doing that. We managed to keep them alive-not all of them I am afraid. But that is about all we have been able to do. Also we have endeavoured to draw the attention of the rest of the world to this grucsome tragedy and to all the difficulties that this has created for us.

Let me now very briefly examine what has been the reaction of the other nations. Let me

take the richest and perhaps the most powerful nation in the world, the United States of America. They gave us some financial help to look after the refugees. But they gave arms to Pakistan to be used against those defenceless people. There is a sayign-to hunt with the hound and hide with the hate. If it ever applies to the conduct of any nation, it applies in this instance to the United States of America. They gave arms to Yahya to kill and maim and gave money to us to help those people that managed to escape. It is like pouring oil on llames and then offering firstaid to the burnt. They are trying to hedge the bull and the bear on the stock market at the same time. And I am sure that they are going to befrierd neither the people of Bangla Desh nor the people of Pakistan in the long run. In fact I would say that this is an example of Dollar diplomacy run amuck. The people of Bangla Desh, the people of India and in fact the people all around the globe who love liberty will never forgive the conduct of the United States of America in giving arms to Yahya Khan at the present moment.

We keep on hearing about supplies that are in the pipeline. The pipe must be as wide as the globe is at the Equator, because it never secins to end. What a pipeline! In the sharp contrast to the conduct of the United States, the USSR has showed an understanding of the aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh. They saw that the freedom struggle cannot Le suppressed by force of arms. And, Sir, the might of all the weapons cannot silence the voice that cries for freedom. They realised our difficulties also and extended their hand of friendship openly and publicly. Sir, this was not done by means of cleverly-worded communiques which sometimes mean different things. Every time you read them and often times do not mean anything at all. This was done in the form of an open treaty, unequivocal and clear, proclaiming to the wide world that they are extending their hands of friendship to us and we naturally grasped it.

Sir, I am not going to discuss the Treaty in any detail. But, Sir, I will deal with only one question. Is the Indo-Soviet Treaty directed against anyone? Of course, it is. Most positively it is directed against those that cast an evil eye on India and who have only evil intentions towards the integrity of this country and towards the

aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh 511. they say that China has been supplying arms to Pakistan. In the recent past, then attitude seems to have undergone a change, because a thaw seems perceptible in their relation with us and I have every hope that we will do everything we can to take advantage of all the opportunities that present themselves to improve our relations with China. Sir, I will only make a very brief observation now. It was said in the newspapers that some Taiwanese got some visas much against the wishes of this Government and against the declared policy of ours. I would call it most deplorable and I think some kind of bureaucratic bungling has taken place somewhere. Sir, our relations with China are always important to us and at a time like this they are very important and I think that we should be able to do something instead of just sitting back and saying that some officer in Thailand or Bangkok made this mistake and so all this has happened.

Now, Sir, I will very briefly examine the attitude of some of those who are actually aiding and abetting Pakistan. At a time like this one has to face the realities. I said that some are aiding and abetting Pakistan. The foremost among them is Iran. The Shahenshah of Iran has lumself declared that he is hundred per cent behind President Yahya Khan. One has only to examine as to what is it that binds President Yahya Khan and the Shahenshah of Iran. It is true that both are Muslims.

SHRI C. D. PANDF (Utta: Pradesh) He is a Shia Muslim.

SHRI DEV DATT PURI: The only thing that is common between them is that democracy is unknown both in Pakistan and in Iran. But the similarity ends here. The Shahenshah of Iran is by all accounts an enlightened ruler who has introduced laudable reforms in his country whereas President Yahya Khan presides over madieval regime which has to depend upon tyranny to keep itself in power. Sir, it is amazing that in the second half of the twentieth century, the very fact that the Shahenshah is a Shia Muslim should make him oblivious of the massacre of the people in Bangla Desh who are predominantly Muslims.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala): He is an Aryan.

SHR1 DEV DATT PURI: Hitler also said that he was a super-Aryan. Sir, some knowledgeable circles have it that approximately 40% of the technical personnel in the Pakistan Air I orce were Bangla Deshis and it is reported that Iran has not only offered aircraft and other military hardware to Pakistan, but also personnel to man the aircraft. Therefore, let us not underestimate the help that Pakistan receives from Iran. They have a common land frontier, they have a common railway line across and they have a base at Zahadan where the Pakistani aircraft are being serviced even today and they recently held joint air exercises in which the Iranian aircraft and Pakistani aircraft took part. What I am saving is this: Let us not be unduly upset about this. But we must take note of all these things and be the wiser by them. Any other course would be to our own peril. There should be no question at all of "business as usual" where Iran is concerned.

Then there are Saudi Arabia and Turkey. In fact, the entire Muslim bloc from Indonesia to the Meghieb have shown less understanding of the problems of Bangla Desh and the difficulties these problems have created for us. Is there no international forum where the people of Bangla Desh or we in then behalf can raise the matter? The U. N.? They talk about human rights. The General Assembly by a resolution set its seal on the principles of International Law recognized by the Charter. Where are basic human rights in so far as the people of Bangla Desh are concerned, that the united Nations have proclaimed? I believe, Sir, that the U N. is so completely enmeshed in the politics of big powers that they seem to be completely emasculated except where the interests of big powers are concerned. We had hopes that they would help when Pakistan committed aggression on Kashmii. These hopes have been sadly behed. I have not the slightest hope that U. N. will help solve this monumental problem. What shall the people of Bangla Desh do then?

Fortunately, a vast majority of nations, all around the globe, have shown sympathy and understanding even if they have not been as courageous a the U.S.S.R. Diplomatic nicetics and considerations of balance of power perhaps prevent them from being more outspoken and forthright. We must, therefore, depend on our own resources. We must help the forces of freedom, of democracy and of

[Shri Dev Datt Puri]

secularism by giving all-out aid to the Mukti Bahini. The time to do it surreptitiously and in a clandestine manner is over. We should give them all-out assistance, with others' help, if possible—without it, if necessary. Let not future generations say of us that we let them bleed, caring more for diplomatic niceties and an over-developed sense of correctitude.

The verdict of the people of India is clear; the mandate of Parliament is clear. Don't tarry now. Go, speak to the Yahya regime. Speak to them in the only language they understand, for that alone will enable the refugees to return to their hearths and homes in safety and in honour. Nothing else will.

I may now make very brief observations in regard to the amendments that have been tabled . . .

THI. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Two or three minutes more.....

SHRI DEV DATT PUR1: ... particularly the last amendment. It seems that objection has been taken to the word "diabolical". I looked it up in the dictionary. I will read out: "Diabolical" means "of or relating to the devil...showing cruelty, ingenuity or wickedness". I would be happier if a word stronger than "diabolical" could be found.

Now, the other word that is sought to be changed is "aggression". Sir, the meaning of "aggression" again in the dictionary is, "offensive action or procedure, hostile attack". It also means something milder: "making attacks or encroachments...offensive tactics". Now, if we fight shy of characterising the conduct of Yahva regime as "offensive tactics", I think we will have to find some extremely mild words.

Now, Sn, in regard to the last words of my Resolution, namely. "within a period of three months", I have not the slightest hesitation for these words to be substituted by the words "at the carliest possible opportunity."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the amendments may be moved.

SHR1 (1111.1.A BASU (We + Bengah ; Sn., I move :

"That at the end of the Resolution the following be added, namely:-

"and is further of opinion that the conditions for the return with safety and dignity of the refugees can be created only by freeing Bangla Desh of the hordes of West Pakistan occupation army and, therefore, urges upon the Government of India to offer to the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh all kinds of assistance so as to enable the Government of Bangla Desh to create necessary conditions for the return of the refugees and function as an independent Sovereign State."

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MAIHUR (Rajasthan): Sir, I movc.

"That at the end of the Resolution the tollowing be added, namely :-

"and is of further opinion that the Government of India should provide to the Government of Baugla Desh all help so that they may throw away Pakistani forces from their soil, create proper conditions for the return of the refugees and function as a sovereign independent State."

SHRIB.T. KEMPARAJ (Mysorc): Sir, I move :--

"That in the Resolution. :-

- (i) in line 2 (Paragraph 1) for the word 'diabolical' the word 'heinous' be substituted.
- n) in lines 6-7 (Paragraph 2) for the words aggression against this country, the words 'civilian invasion of India' be substituted.
- (iii iii lines 10-11 (Paragraph 3) for the word iii within a period of three months' the words 'at the carliest possible opportunity', be substituted."

The questions were proposed.

SHRI C. D. PANDL: Sir, I would like the House to go back to the debate that we had about eight months back—I do not exactly

remember the date. It was 28th or 29th or 30th of March—when the Prime Minister made a very strong speech and the House also, in all solemnity, passed that Resolution giving full support to the idea of Bangla Desh. Not only that; there was a great deal of demand for recognition of Bangla Desh on all fronts including the Government front. But now, within the last eight months things seem to have changed considerably.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI) in the Chair]

Today the emphasis has changed. Today the entire emphasis is on the removal of the refugees and our appeal to the entire nations of the wold is that we are crushed down by the weight of the refugees. But put yourself in that time, say, about the 30th of March last, when we made that solemn declaration to support Bangla Desh. Were there the refugees? There was no question of refugees then, in whatever we did on the 30th of March. There may have been 10,000 or 15,000 refugees, but whatever we did, it was on political grounds, for political reasons, when our neighbour was striving for independence, when our neighbour was striving for self-determination and was crushed down by a foreign minority that was ruling there with its military might misusing its power. This is why, we thought, they were fighting that tyranny. And today the situation has changed. The entire ground had changed because our Prime Minister and our Ministers, whenever they went abroad-of course they made frantic efforts and I commend their efforts also-they appealed that we are crushed down by the weight of the refugees and we cannot tolerate this situation for ever. May I ask the Government and the Foreign Minister whetler they gave these eight months for the situation to deteriorate? From zero refugees when we passed that Resolution, today there are more than ten million refugees, and in the course of these eight months you have shifted the ground so much that the original clamour for giving recognition to Bangla Desh, for giving them political support, is no longer in the picture. so much so that our Foreign Minister, when he spoke at the party meeting in Simla he made an astounding statement. Later on there was some contradiction but I do not know to what part the contradiction related. It was that we seek a solution of this problem within the

political framework of Pakistan. If this is the situation now, can you imagine, does anybody believe, that Pakistan is now willing to find the solution like that? Of course they say we want a political settlement, 'Political settlement" is a vague expression. But when our Foreign Minister says that there should be a political solution to the problem within the political framework of Pakistan, it is a thing which we just cannot accept. This is not going to fructify and this is not going to happen and our problem cannot be solved in this way because, whatever else may be to the liking of Pakistan, Pakistan would never the to give up the whole of Bang's D sh. Lor that we have to do something radical. Fither you should admit that whatever you did in the last week of March was a sentimental outburst -and a natural outburst and later on we found the difficulty. And ten million people have come on us and we are groaning under the weight of that great burden-or you may call it aggression; it is aggression of course. But this is not going to help. We have given eight months but nothing has happened; things have become much worse. Do you think that if you pass this resolution or appeal to Government that we should solve this problem within three months, it will be solved? I have no objection to the first two clauses of the resolution; they are all right. But the third clause is just a sort of self-satisfying thingthat we have passed a resolution. We have passed a bigger resolution than this in the last week of March. Have you made any amendment, any improvement on the resolution? Have you achieved any result by that resolution? It is likely that you will be making yourself indiculous by passing resolutions.

The resolution is already passed. You are committed to recognition of Bangla Desh. But you have not done anything. Refugees did not exist on the 30th of March; this should be clear to the Foreign Minister. This problem did not exist then.

As far as refugees are concerned,—I would not take much time, there are so many speakers—there are 6,00.000 refugees in Palestine for the last 22 years. The United Nation is spending huge amounts for the relief of these six lakh refugees. Could you say to that august organisation that our refugee problem also should be brought on par with that of Palestine? If these six lakhs of refugees are being

[Shir S. D. Pande]

looked after by the funds of the United Nations, why not our ten million refugees be financed and looked after by the United Nations? It should be an United Nations' problem rather than being your problem.

But let me tell you, resolution or no resolution, at least five million of the refugees are not going to go back. Whatever might happen. If the Mujibur Rahman's Government becomes absolutely secular-we hope it will be-and if Pakistan quits with bag and baggage, then, perhaps, half the population will return; but not the other half. Therefore, you have to see this thing in the light of what is possible. What is your strength? We have seen that. Of course, we do not say that your strength is less than ours. You cannot force, the world,

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Why are you so pessimistic?

SHRI C. D. PANDI': Because we have seen then performance during the last eight months.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRL A D MANI): Bhupesh, is it very important?

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Just as the Palestmian refugees are getting funds from the United Nations to which we also are contributing, if we also get help from the U. N., a great deal of financial burden will be relieved. And what are we getting? Of course, we have got sympathies from all over the world. We are also getting a large number of blankets and milk powder; but that is a small thing in such a big issue. If one ton of milk is distributed amongst five lakhs of people, frankly speaking, that does not solve any problem. The real thing should be taken up by all the nations of the world. But you have not been able to persuade them or impress, up in them the problems you have been facing. At least they should bring it on par with the is no of the Palestinian refugees. You should take a political action rather than just harping on humanitarian grounds. Now you have shifted the ground so much that we cannot recognise the real problem that engrossed us eight menths back. That thing does not exist in your resolucion, nor does it ask the Government as to what it was doing about things that happened afterwards. We are just chasing a shadow; of course the shadow is very big.

I support the first two clauses of the resolution but the third, I think, is usless, and we should find out something else

VICE-CHAIRMAN (Shit A. D. ТНГ MANI): I would like to remind the Members that in accordance with Rule 161 of the Rules of Procedure, the Members should confine their speeches to 15 minutes each.

पं० भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी (मध्य प्रदेश): उपसभाष्यक्ष जी, मै प्रस्तावक महोदय को धन्यवाद देता ह कि उन्होने अपने प्रस्ताव के माध्यम से ऐसा विषय उठा दिया जो कि आज दुनिया में चर्चित है। हर देश में लोग कुछ इस समस्या के संबंध में सोच विचार रहे है।

श्रीमन्, अब यह इतिहास बन गया है कि 25 वर्ष पहले भारत स्वतंत्र हुआ, आजाद पाकिस्तान निर्मित हुआ, और दोनो को यह अधिकार प्राप्त हुआ कि अपने यहां जैसा चाहे वैसा निजाम कायम करे। भारत की स्थिति यह हुई कि वह अपना संविधान बना सका। जो प्रणाली उसने अपने शामन-प्रवध की चुनी वह प्रजातांत्रिक, समाजवादी और धर्म-निरपेक्षता की नीति पर चल रही है. उस सविधान के माध्यम मे । जहां कही संविधान के अन्तर्गत कुछ अड़चन भी आता है तो उसके बदलने का सवाल भी पालियामेन्ट तय करती है। परन्त् पाकिस्तान में तानाशाही आई, वह अपना संविधान नहीं बना सका, और यद्यपि उन्होंने अपने राजकाज की भित्ति धार्मिक रखी. तो भी गोला बारूद पर भरोसा करके. आतंक के बल पर राज करना चाहा। जब हम वहां के चुनाव के बारे में सोचते है तो इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचे विना नहीं रहते कि इन 25 वर्षों में जो वहां पर प्रजातात्रिक आदोलन हुआ है वह इतना बड़ा आंदोलन है कि लोगों को उसने ऐसा सजग किया कि वे ठीक उसी तरह में निर्भय हो गए तानाशाही शक्तियों को परास्त करने के लिए, जैसा कि एक जमाने मे गाधीजी और कांग्रेस के अन्य नेताओं के नेतृत्व में भारत ब्रिटिश सरकार से जुझने के लिए तैयार हो गया था । परन्तु जो मदांघ हो जाते हैं वे पाकिस्तान में चलनेवाली इन गतिविधियों और इस आगे आने

वाली क्रांति को नहीं देख सके, वे यह नहीं सुन सके कि वहां मुजीबुर्रहमान के नेतृत्व में जो गीत गुनगुनाया जा रहा है, जिसके आधार पर निर्भयता प्रचारित हो रही है वह है— "तोम।र आकाश तोमार वातास प्राणे बाजाय बाँशी" यह बंशी जिन लोगों ने सुनी वह है मुजीबुर्रहमान और उनकी अवामी लीग...

श्री चित्त बासु : आपने सुनी है ।

पं० भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : सुनी न होती तो मैं कैसे कहता ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार): आपने इतना कभी कहा है [?]हो तो बंगाली ।

पं० भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी: परन्तु पाकिस्तान ने यह न देखा, और वह समझा कि हम चुनाव करा देगे और आतंक के कारण चुनाव का परिणाम ऐसा नहीं निकलेगा कि जैसा निकला। चुनाव का नतीजा निकला और लगभग शत प्रतिशत मतदान मुजीबुर्रहमान और उनकी पार्टी अवामी लीग के पक्षमे पडा। अब होना तो यह था कि उनको सत्ता सौंपी जाती, होना तो यह था कि उनको हाथ में शासन की बागडोर आती, पर हुआ यह कि एक ध्वंस, एक नाश-छीला एक कत्ले आम, जिसमें लाखों लोग मारे गए, जिसमें कि वच्चे नहीं छोडे गए, घर जलाए गए और उजाडे गए—ऐसी ध्वस लीला जिसको किसी ने ठीक कहा कि कुछ काल पहले हिटलरी तानाशाही का इस विश्व के रंगमच में हुआ था।

श्री शीलभद्र याजीः इतना तब भी नही हुआ।

पण्डित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी: हमने जाकर पोलैंड में वह कंसेंट्रेशन केम्प देखा है जहां पर हिटकर ने मदांध होकर पहिले यहूदियों को फिर पोलेंड वालों को, जैक्स को, हगेरी वालों को और दूसरे देश की जनता को बंदी किया था तथा किम तरह से उनका खून निचोड़ लिया था और मारा था। वहां हमें यह स्मरण आया कि जब हम

इस प्रमग में वंगला देश की ओर देखते है तो यह पाते है कि याहिया खां ने मारे बंगला देश को एक कंसेट्रेशन कैम्प के रूप में बदल दिया है और वहा पर हत्याकांड करते समय किसी प्रकार की कोई दया, कम्णा वगैरह कुछ नही दिखलाई। ये खबरे यहां पर पहिले खबरों के रूप में आई और फिर आतक के परिणामस्वरूप शरणार्थी यहा पर आने लगें और धीरे धीरे लोगो को सब वातें प्रकट हई। परन्तु उस समय भी याहिया खा यही सोचता था कि जो अत्याचार उसने वहां की जनता के ऊपर ढाये थे वे उन पर परदा डाल सकता है। इन अत्याचारों के माथ वहा पर कई तरह के विलदानों की कहानियां हुई, जो रक्तदान वहां हुआ और जिसके आधार पर आज बंगला देश की जनता अपने मंकल्प पर खडी है वह कभी भी समाप्त नहीं हो सकेगा।

हमने देखा है कि जहां आजादी के लिए, स्वतत्रता के सकल्प के लिए लोग बलिदान देने के लिए तैयार रहते है, रक्तदान देने के लिए तैयार रहते है, वे भले ही कुछ सख्या में मारे जाय, बडी संख्या में मारे जाय. मगर जो उनका संकल्प होता है वह कभी नहीं मरता है। आज इसी तरह की स्थित बंगला देश की भी है। जब वहां की घटनाओं के सम्बन्ध मे याहिया खा की सरकार की ओर से परदा डालना शुरू किया गया, तो भारत ने सबसे पहिले अपना यह वर्त्तव्य समझा कि उस परदे को उघाड दिया जाय और जो सत्य है वह सबके सामने आ जाय। यही कारण है कि भारत की ओर से मरकारी, गैर सरकारी, मन्त्री स्तर पर और ससदीय स्तर पर प्रतिनिधि मण्डल भेजे गए थे। जिन लोगों को बाहर से बुलाया गया उन्हें कैम्पो मे ले जाकर गरणाथियों की हालन दिखलाई गई कि वे किस दयनीय हालत ओर आतक के भय से यहा आ रहे है । जो लोग बाहर गये उन्हें यह काम दिया गया कि वे वहा की जनता तथा सरकार को बतलाये कि किस प्रकार मे याहिया खा की सेना वहा की जनता के ऊपर अत्याचार कर रही है, किस तरह से वहा पर मानव अधिकारो का हनन किया जा रहा है और किस तरह से मनुष्य मदाध होकर इतना नीचा

[पं० भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी]

जा सकता है तथा अत्याचार कर सकता है। इन सब बातो को उघाडा गया और जाहिर है कि हर एक ने अपना कार्य अच्छी तरह से किया।

जैसे किसी बात पर चोट करनी होती है और जैसे लोहे को घन से पीटा जाता है तो उस पर एक एक चोट करते हैं और 99 चोटो पर वह लोहा टूट जाता है, तो हम जो 99 वाली चोट है केवल उसकी ही प्रशंसा नहीं करते बिल्क जो विचारवान हे वे मोचते हैं कि इसके पहिले जितनी चोटे हुई वे सब काम आई और 99 वाली चोट पर काम हुआ। इसलिए हम देखते हैं कि हमारी सरकार ने साफ तोर पर याहिया खा के अत्याचारों का परदा दुनिया के सामने खोल दिया है।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश): क्या आप शिशुपाल की 99 गालियो पर विश्वास करते है 7

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी: मैने गाली की बात नहीं कही, चोट की बात कही । लोहे के ऊपर तो घन की चोट ही पडती हे और इसमे गाली का सवाल नहीं है।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा: गाली भी मानसिक चोट होती है।

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी वह मैं आप पर नहीं डालूगा और न मेरी आदत है। आपकों ऐसा लगेगा कि आप पर कोई चोट नहीं हुई। मैं तो अपना पक्ष कहता हू। तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि इसके बाद रूस और भारत की जो मैं तो संधि हुई उससे एक चित्र उभरा और हमारे सम्बन्ध में जो बाते कहीं जाती थीं उनका बचाव हुआ और सारी दुनिया ने इसका महत्व स्वीकार किया। में एक उदाहरण देता हू। हम लोग जब इसी सिल-सिले में पोलैंड में थे तो वहां के फारेन मिनिस्टर से बातचीत करने हुए भारत-रूस मैं वी सिध का प्रसग आया। प्रश्न छिड़ा कि एक आलोचना इसकी यह भी है कि यह बे-बराबरों की सिध है, छोटे-बड़े की सिध है। उन्होंने तुरन्त जवाब दिया कि हम लोग ऐसा नहीं समझते। पूछा गया कि आप क्या

समझते है ? उन्होने कहा कि हम ऐसा समझते है कि सिध की जितनी आवश्यकता भारत की थी उतनी ही आवश्यकता उस संधि की रूस को थी। इस तरह मे इस मंधि के बाद आपने देखा कि इसके परिणामस्वरूप जो अन्य मूलाकाते और भेटे हुई, जो ब्रेझनेव का फास मे जाना हुआ और संयुक्त वक्तव्य निकला, जो मार्शल टीटो के दौरे जहा तहा हुए उससे न केवल योरोप मे बल्कि सारे विश्व मे एक वातावरण बना। अमरीका के देशों में भी लोग आए गए ओर वहां के लोगों ने भी बात ममझी। आज का ही ममाचार-पत्र यह कहता है कि लन्दन से निकलने वाले समाचारपत्रों मे सम्पादकीय रूप मे यह कहा गया, डेली टेलीग्राफ मे यह कहा गया है कि अब तो विश्व का जनमत बगला देश की समस्या के सम्बन्ध में जैसा भारत का दिष्टकोण है उसके अनसार हो गया है और इस बात को पाकिस्तान के तानाशाह को समझना चाहिए। मैं इस बात को यही अत्म करता हू यह कह कर कि पर्दा जो डालना चाहते थे तानाशाह वह इस तरह से उघाडा गया। वह न उघड़ता तो जो खुन किया गया है, जो अत्याचार किया गया हे उस पर पर्दा पडा रहता और जिन लोगो ने, जिन राष्ट्रो ने इस खून मे हिस्सा लिया है उनका नाम भी मामने आया है क्यों कि मैं मानता ह कि जिन्होंने हथियार दिए है उनके हाथ भी खन से रगे हुए है क्यों कि उन हथियारों से वगला देश के निरपराध और और निरस्त्र लोग मारे गए है।

इसके साथ ही जो भारत को अपना कर्तव्य पालन करना था-मै यह जोर देकर कहना चाहता हू-वह भारत ने पालन कियो, जैमे नैतिक सहायता । हम जानते है कि वगला देश के तोगो की लड़ाई प्रजाताबिक लड़ाई हे, हक की लड़ाई हे, अधिकारों की लड़ाई है, हमने साफ कहा कि हम उनके माथ है न केवल सिद्धान्तत बल्कि भौतिक सहायता जो की जा मकती ह वह भी भारत ने इस अवसर पर की । एक करोड़ शरणाधियो का बोझ लेना आधिक सहायता नही तो क्या है ? हमने न केवल आधिक सहायता दी बल्कि और लोगो से जुटाई । माथ ही मै यह कहना चाहता हू कि इसमे जो योगदान

है उसके सामने इस बोझ का इतना ज्यादा जिक हो जाता है कि उसमें बगला देश के लोगा के बिलिदान ही लोग भल जाते है। उनके बिलिदान की तलना में अगर हम थोड़ा बहत 5 पैसे का टिकट ज्यादा देने लगे है या अन्य टैक्स ज्यादा देने लगे है तो क्या ज्यादा योगदान है ? मै तो चाहुगा कि उनकी अधिक से अधिक मौतिक सहायता की जावे। मै तो कहता ह कि मेरे विचार मे हम सैनिक सहायता भी कर रहे है। जिस प्रकार से सेना का कर्तव्य अपने देश की रक्षा करना है उसी प्रकार से यदि सेना या सूरक्षा दल एक करोड शर-णार्थियो की रक्षा मे भी प्रवृत्त हो और उनके बलि-दान के साथ स्वय भी जब भारतीय सैनिक हताहत हो रहा हो तो वह सैनिक सहायता नहीं तो और कौन सी सहायता ह े हमे तो ऐसा लगता है कि इस कारण मे जो आज राजनैतिक ओर कूटनीतिक दबाव तमाम दनिया से याहिया खाँ पर पडा है, ऐसी लोग कल्पना कर रहे है कि शायद उस दबाव मे वह आ जाये। परन्त्र जैसा कि एक तानाशाह का स्वभाव होता हे, जैमा कि एक मदाधता का स्वभाव होता ह हो मकता है कि वह अपने थोथे अभिमान मे कदाचित मुजीबुर्रहमान को गिरफ्तारी से न छोड़े और अवामी लीग और बगला देश के प्रतिनिधियो से जो बातचीत करनी चाहिये वह बातचीत न करे तब जो कुछ होने वाला है वह सामने हे और उसका नक्शा सामने आने लगा है। जिस तरह से घबडा कर पाक ने किसी वक्त काश्मीर पर हमला किया था, हमे यह सोचना चाहिये कि ऐसी स्थिति मे इसके सिवा उसके सामने और कोई चारा रहने वाला नहीं हे कि घवडा कर वह हमला करे। परन्तु उसका जवाब देने के लिए हम तैयार है और इस वक्त हम 1965 में अच्छा जवाब देगे क्यों कि इसके लिए हमारी तैयारी है. हमारी जनता की तैयारी है, मेना की तैयारी है, ऐसा हमारा विश्वास है। धन्यवाद ।

श्री पोताम्बर दास (उत्तर प्रदेश): आदरणीय उपसभापित जी, वगला देश का सवाल ह यह बहुत दिनो से हमारे लिये परेणानी का कारण बना हुआ है और वह इमलिये कि सत्तारूढ दल जब भी मौका लगता है तभी इस छड़ी का इस्तेमाल हमे पीटने के लिये करने लगता है। अभी कल ही इस सदन मे इसी प्रश्न को लेकर हम से विद्या चरण जी शुक्ल नाराज हो गये और बाहर तो मच पर सभी की नाराजगी हमारे ऊपर है।

''गुनेहगारों मे शामिल हैं, गुनाहो से नही वाकिफ। सजा को जानते ह हम, खुदा जाने खता क्या है।''

हम केवल समय समय पर उन सब वादो की पूर्ति के लिये तकाज। करते है जो सरकार ने इस मदन मे किए है और प्रधान मत्री जी बाहर मच पर करती रही है। यह हमारा कर्तव्य भी है और अधिकार भी है, क्यों कि हम विपक्षी दल के लोग है, सरकार की हा मे हा मिलाने वाले लोग हम नहीं है। अगर हम चौकन्नेपन के साथ सरकार को जाग्रत न रखे, सरकार को समय समय पर उन वादो की याद न दिलाते रहे तो हम अपने कर्तव्य के न पालन करने के दोषी ठहराये जा सकते है। इसी सदन मे 31 मार्च को हमने सर्वसम्मति से एक प्रस्ताव पास किया था। आज तक उस प्रस्ताव की पूर्ति की ओर कोई कदम बढते दिखाई नहीं दे रहे है। हम समाधान कर लेते है कि हमारे मित्रयों ने बिदेशों के दौरे किये। अभी प्रधान मती जी भी विदेशों का दौरा करने के लिए गई थी। बहत जोरदार स्वागत हुआ है उनका। प० जवाहर-लाल नेहरू ने एक बार कहा था:

'I am respected in outside countries because I am the Prime Minister of a great nation."

हमारा जो भी प्रधान मत्री होगा उसका शानदार स्थागत होगा ही। उस स्वागत से दूसरे देशों की हमारी समस्या के बारे में क्या धारणा बन गई यह अंदाज नहीं लगाना चाहिये। जब हमारे राष्ट्रपित मीलोन गये थे तो वहा जितना जोरदार स्वागत उनका हुआ था उस स्वागत के अनुरूप वहा से वापस चलते ही जो सीलोन सर-कार का स्टेटमेट आया है बगला देश के बारे में वह नहीं था। उस स्वागत से बड़ी-बडी आशाये बध

[श्री पीताम्बर दास]

गई थी. किन्तु अगले ही दिन मीलोन सरकार ने अपने वक्तव्य में कहा कि "हम integrity of Pakistan को स्वीकार करते हैं और solution within the fi amework of Pakistan ही होना चाहिए"। श्रीमन्, Smaller things please smaller minds, but this country is a big country. इसिलए इन छोटी छोटी बातों से हमको प्रसन्न नहीं होना चाहिए। मैने अभी भाषण सुना, हमारे साथी पडित जी बोल रहे थे। उनका कहना है कि संसार मे भारत-वर्ष का दृष्टिकोण जो कि उसको मान्यता मिली है। मै यह समझना चाहता हूं कि वह दृष्टिकोण भारत सरकार का कौन सा है जिसे मान्यता मिली है।

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी: यह दृष्टिकोण कि राजनीतिक समाधान हो और वहां पर मुजीबुर्रहमान और अवामी लीग के लोगों से याहिया खान मिल कर फैसला करे। यह दृष्टिकोण है।

श्री पीताम्बर दास : मैं आपसे पूछता हू कि क्या यही हमारी भान्यता है ? इस सरकार के दिये हुए वक्तन्यों की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। बहुत सी चीजें ऐसी है कि जिनको हम समझ नही पाते।

> "इन बातों का मतलब क्या समझू, आसान भी है दुश्वार भी हे। होठों में हंसी माथे में शिकन, इकरार भी है इन्कार भी है॥"

मै पूछना चाहता हू कि आखिर हमारा दृष्टि-कोण क्या है? एक तो हमारा दृष्टिकोण स्पष्ट होता ह उस प्रस्ताव में जो हमने 31 तारीख को पास किया था स्वतंत्रता का, हमारे कदम बढ़ें क्या उसकी पूर्ति की ओर?

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी: यदि यह प्रश्न मुझसे पूछा गया है तो मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हू कि मैं इस सम्बन्ध में भी अपने भाषण में यह कह चुका हू कि नैतिक भी और भातिक भी और सैनिक भी सहायता की ओर हम अग्रसर हुए है।

श्री पीताम्बर दास: वैसे तो कीरवी की सभा में भी द्रोणाचार्य और भीष्म पितामह थे, लेकिन ठीक समय पर वे चुप्पी साध कर बैठ जाते थे। इसलिए आपके अपने दिष्टकोण से हमको कोई ज्यादा मदद नही मिलती । मै तो भारत सरकार के द्ध्तिकोण को समझना चाहता हुं। सरकार ने रूस के साथ संधि की। हम उसमें छिपे राज को नही जानते, लेकिन संधि के बाद जो संयुक्त विज्ञप्ति प्रकाशित हुई है, यानी ज्वायंट कम्युनिक (Joint Communique) जो प्रकाशित हुआ है ग्रोमिको साहव के और हमारे विदेश मन्त्री के हस्ताक्षर से. जरा उसकी शब्दाविल से अंदाजा लगाइये। उसमें दो देशों की चर्चाकी गयी है। एक तो साउथ वियतनाम की और दूसरे ईस्ट बंगाल की। साउथ वियतनाम के सम्बन्ध में किस शब्दाविल का प्रयोग हुआ है उसका जरा मुलाहिजा फरमाइये। "Settlement" शब्द का प्रयोग हुआ है जो हमेशा दो पार्टीज की रजामन्दी से होता है। और "7-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam" इस शब्दावलि का प्रयोग हुआ है। अब जरा इसके मकाबले में जिस गब्दावलि का प्रयोग बंगला देश के बारे में किया गया है उसको देखिये। उसमें शब्द प्रयोग किया गया है सोल्यूशन का। सोल्यूशन ऊपर से लादा जा सकता है, उसके लिए पार्टियों की रजामन्दी की जरूरत नहीं। साउथ वियतनाम के बारे मे 'सेटिलमेंट' की बात है जो बिना पार्टियों की रजामंदी के नहीं होगा। "And we welcome the 7-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam." और बंगला देश के बारे में किसी : 3-Point Proposal" (थ्रि प्वायंट प्रोपोजल) का जिक्र नहीं है जब कि उस समय तक जो बगल। देश के प्राइम मिनिस्टर थे ताजुद्दीन अहमद, उनकी प्राविजनल गवर्नमेट बन चकी थी। ताजुदीन साहब ने साफ कह दिया था कि समझौता केवल तीन शर्तो पर हो सकता है। एक तो यह कि शेख मुजीव्र्रहमान को तूरन्त रिहा किया जाये, दूसरे यह कि बंगला देश की स्वाधीनताके अधिकार को स्वीकार किया जाये और तीसरे यह कि जितनी हमारी क्षति हुई है उसकी पृति की जाये। उस समय वंगला देश की जो सरकार थी उसके प्रधान मन्नी

श्री ताजुद्दीन साहब के यह बयान थे ओर वह प्रोविजनल सरकार वहा चल रही थी, लेकिन कोई जिक्र उसका कम्युनीक में नहीं है और दूसरी 7-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam" बंगला देश की प्रोविजनल सरकार ओर उमके तीन प्वाइट का कही जिक्र नहीं है। जिक्र हे 'A solution in the interest of the entire people of Pakistan", not Bangla Desh तो दृष्टिकोण है भारत सरकार का सयुक्त विज्ञप्ति के अनुसार ।

Re measures for return

अच्छा साहब, अब इनका एक आर दृष्टि-कोण देखिये। प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा ने कहा था कि हम शरणार्थियों को वापिस भेज देना चाहते है ओर इनकी छः महीने के अन्दर वापसी हो जायेगी ओर उस हालत में होगी जब कि वह अपने मन मे यह भी महसूस करेगे कि हम महफूज रहेंगे, शारीरिक दृष्टि में भी, सम्पत्ति की दृष्टि से भी और मान-सम्मान की दृष्टि से भी। छ महीने की बात का इसलिये भी महत्व ह कि जां बजट पेश किया गया था उसमें भी प्राविजन छः महीने के लिये ही किया गया ह। जो शरणार्थी आये उनके लियं रुपये की व्यवस्था छ महीने के लिये ही की गई थी। उसमे कोई कमी-बढती की जाती तो मैं समझ लेता कि यह छः महीने की बात ठीक नहीं थी। अब प्रधान मंत्री साहिवा कहती है कि मैने तो कभी छ महीने की बात नही कही। इससे मुझे आक्चर्य नही हुआ क्योंकि आज भी दिल्ली की दीवालों के ऊपर यह पास्टर मौजूद है कि "वे कहते है इन्दिरा हटाओ और इन्दिरा जी कहती ह गरीबी हटाओं", किन्त प्रधान मत्री जी ने कहा कि मैने कभी नहीं कहा गरीबी हटाओं। तो इकरार ओर इनकार ऐसा है। हर दृष्टि से भी जरा विचार कीजिये कि भारत सरकार का दृष्टिकोण क्या है। कितना अनिश्चित है।

तीसरी बात आप यह देखिये कि प्रधान मती जी ने इस सदन मे और उस मदन में कई बार यह कहा हे

"Any solution which is not acceptable to the Awami. I rague or the elected leaders of Bangla Desh will not be acceptable to us "

of refugees t Bangla Desh

और हमारे वैदेशिक मंत्री साहब क्या फरमाते है शिमना मे। प्रधान मंत्री ने जो कहा कि उनको क्या चीज एक्सेप्टेबिल होगी इस चीज का अदाजा ताजहीन साहब की उन तीन शर्तों से लगता है। अगर हमे वही चीज स्वीकार करनी ह जो कि बंगला देश के अवामी लीग के नेताओं को स्वीकार होगी तब तो वह तीन चीजे चाहते है। Nothing short of independence यह अक्ल में भी आती है बात । उपसभापति महोदय, जलियावाला बाग का काड हुआ, उसमें गोली चली, लोग मारे गये, लेकिन किसी महिला के मान-अपमान का प्रश्न नही था, किसी के साथ कोई बलात्कार नहीं हआ, कोई खल कर के जेनोसाइड भी नहीं हुआ लेकिन फिर भी वह घटना ऐसी थी कि अन्त तक हम उसे नहीं भूल सके। जब जब अग्रेजों के साथ सधि करने की बात हुई तो जलियावाला-वाग-काड की लागे हमारे बीच आकर खडी हो गई। हम कैंस आशा करते है कि बगला देश वाले जब यहिया खा के माथ बाते करने के लिये बेठेंग तो इन दानो वे बीच में वो सारे अत्याचार नही आकर खडे हो जायेगे जिनकी चर्चा करना मेरे लिये बेकार हे, रोज हम अखबारों में पढते है। एक कत्ले आम ही नही तो महिलाओं के मान-अपमान वा प्रक्त ह। वह चीजे क्या उनके वीच मे नही आयेगी ? उन लोगों के वीच मे यह लाशो का पहाड और लोह का महासागर, आकर खडा हो जायेगा जो उन्हें साथ रहने नहीं दे सकता। और फिर जो यह शरणार्थी लोग है वह कहते है कि जब हम 50 प्रतिशन थे बगला देश मे तब तो हमारे ऊपर यहिया खाने इतने जल्म डाये है। अब तो एक करोड लोग यहा आ गये और करीब करीब इतने ही लोग मारे गये तो अब हमारी जनसंख्या 2 करोड कम हो गई ह, 13 करोड मे से 2 करोड हम कम हो गये तो 11 करोड में से हमारा अब कम अनुपात ह। जब 56 प्रतिशत होने पर हमारे ऊपर इतना जल्म ढाया गया तो जब हमारी मख्या कम हो गई तो क्या वह जल्म ढाने से बाज आ जायेगे, ऐसी स्थिति मे उन

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श्री पीताम्बर दास]

जुल्मों के कम होने की कोई सम्भावना नहीं है, तो फिर क्या यह शरणार्थी यहां से यह आश्वस्ति छेकर जा सकते है कि उनके जानमाल और इज्ज़त आवरू की रक्षा होगी? किसी भी अक्लमन्द आदमी को इस बात का यकीन नहीं हो सकता कि कोई भी समझौता "विदिन दि फेमवर्क आफ पाकिस्तान" बंगला देश के नेताओं को मान्य होगा, फिर भी हमारे वैदेशिक मंती साहब फरमाते है शिमला में: 'any solution even within the tramework of Pakistan." बाद में उसका काट्रेडिक्शन आया है।

THF MINISTER OF LXTERNAL AF-FAIRS (SARDAR SWARAN SINGH): It is absolutely wrong. I have placed a copy of my speech there. It is a printed thing. You can glance through it.

श्री पीताम्बर दास: मै तो खुद ही कह रहा हूं कि उसका कांट्रेडिक्शन आया है। I am not trying to be unlain to you. उस समय शिमला मे यह बात कही गई उसके बाद मे कांट्रेडिक्शन आया है।

SARDAR SWARAN SINCH: No, no. I never said that. It was a wrong report and it was clarified as soon as it came to my notice. There is no question of contradiction because contradiction will be when something is said and then contradicted. Here I make said it.

SHRI PHAMBLR DAS: Then it is denial. We are used to denials. It is nothing new.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: If you are used to demals, you should accept the demal.

SHRI PIIAMBLR DAS: I am accepting it.

एक पालियामेटरी एटिकेट भी है कि जिस आदमी के सम्बन्ध में कोई स्टेटमेट एलेज किया जाता है, अगर वह कह दे यह स्टेटमेट नहीं दिया तो उसको स्वीकार करना पड़ता है। आई एक्सेप्ट इट, मैं उसको डिस्प्यूट नहीं करता हूं क्योंकि पालियामेन्ट्री एटिकेट हैं—आई एम एज बाउन्ड बाई इट एज़ यू आर। इसलिए, मैं उसे

स्वीकार करता हूं। कई बार ऐसी बाते होती हैं कि जिसमें अगर कोई आदमी रीज़न से चलता है तो उसे स्वीकार नहीं करना चाहिए लेकिन यदि व्यक्ति विशेष मना करता है तो उसके प्रति आदर के कारण यह समझते हुये भी कि स्वीकार नहीं करना चाहिए, स्वीकार करना पड़ता है। मैं स्वीकार करता हूं, इसमें कोई दिक्कत की बात नहीं है। तो मैं यह कह रहा था...

IHL VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI). You have made good points. I would request you to conclude in another 3 minutes.

SHRI PITAMBLE DAS: 1 am winding up in hardly about 3-4 minutes. I am not in the habit of taking more time than the Chan voluntarily allows inc.

तो मैने अभी आपके सामने ये वातें सरकारी दृष्टिकोण के बारे में रखी। मैं फिर एक बार दोहराना चाहता हूं कि अगर हम लोग यह समझते हैं कि ये शरणार्थी लोग वापस चले जाएगे, विना बंगला देशा की आजादी के तो यह हमारी भूल है। इसलिए, अब सीधी-सीधी बात यह है कि वगला देश को आजादी कैसे प्राप्त हो?

इस प्रस्ताव के अन्दर सुरक्षा और सम्मानपूर्वक लौटने की बात तो कही गई है, लेकिन वह
प्रभावी उपाय क्या हो सकता है, वह नहीं कहा
गया। उस सम्बन्ध में में यह निवेदन करना
चाहता हू कि जिस परिस्थिति में हम है उसमें
केवल एक ही उपाय हो सकता है कि हम बंगला
देश की सरकार को जल्द से जल्द मान्यता
प्रदान कर दें। जैसे हो हमने उसको मान्यता
प्रदान की, तो उसके कुछ परिणाम तो होगे ही।
उन परिणामों का सामना करने के लिए हमको
तैयार रहना चाहिए, अगर हम चाहते है कि
हमारे यहा आए हुए शरणार्थी लोग सम्मानपूर्वक वापस चले जाए।

श्रीमन्, हम बार-वार यह बात सुनते हैं कि साहव, जिस समय हमारे ऊपर पाकिस्तान हमला करेगा तब हम उम हमले का जवाब देगे। उस हमले की परिभाषा क्या है? कोई भी देश जो

दुसरे के ऊपर आजकल हमला करता है वह एक टोटल वार कहलाती हे, और वह हमला इतना ही नहीं कि केवल कछ गोलिया चल गई. वह हमला इसलिए होता है कि शत्र देश की सारी व्यवस्था अस्तव्यस्त हो जाये. आर्थिक व्यवस्था भी, सामाजिक व्यवस्था भी, शान्ति और सरक्षा की व्यवस्था भी, ये सारी की मारी अस्तव्यस्त कर दी जाये। आज जो 1 करोड शरणार्थी हमारे देश मे भौजद हे उनके कारण साधारणनः सारे देश मे ओर विशेषतः उस क्षेत्र मे जिसमे वे है, आर्थिक अस्तव्यस्तता है. मामाजिक अस्तव्यस्तता ह. मोशल टेन्शन्स है. और ला एण्ड आर्डर की सिच्एशन खराव हो चकी है। हमारे देश के अन्दर सैबोटयर्स आये हुए है, इसको सरकार भी स्वीकार करती है। तो आज यह स्थिति हो गई हे कि पाकिस्तान को हमारे देण के ऊपर खुला आक्रमण करके जो उद्देश्य प्राप्त हो सकता है वह विना खुला आक्रमण किए प्राप्त कर लिया गया है। रही खुले आक्रमण की बात, वह तो रोज रोज अखबारों में हम पढते है कि आज हमारे क्षेत्र मे पाकिस्तान के हवाई जहाज घस आए, हमारे सीमा क्षेत्र के भीतर सैनिक आकर गोलिया चला गए और आदमियों को मार डाला, गावों को तहस नहस कर दिया। अगर यह सरासर आक्रमण नहीं है तो क्या है ? हा, एक बात जरूर है कि भारतवर्ष अपनी सहनशीलता के लिए प्रसिद्ध रहा है। We never hat, but when we hi back we hat hards. (Time bell 1 ngs.) तो मैं केवल यह पूछना चाहता हू कि क्या हमारे धैर्य की, हमारे सहनशीलता की आखिर कही परावाष्ठा भी होगी ? हम हिट बैक करने की स्थिति मे किस वक्त आएगे ? इसका हम बिलकुल स्पष्टीकरण चाहते है। हम वह फेजियालाजी नहीं चाहते हैं कि 'as need be", when time comes. वह क्या पर्टिकुलर कडिशन्म और होने वाली है कि जिनसे हम समझेगे कि यह आक्रमण हो गया है ? श्रीमन्, इन जब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का, जिस हद तक भी यह जाता हे, अनुमोदन करता ह।

SHRIR. T. PARTHASARATHY (Tamil Nadu) · Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the Resolution so ably moved and handled by the mover, Shri D. D. Puri, who has given a complete factual analysis of the Bangla Desh situation.

Sir, I wish not to add to any of the facts that he has given, but perhaps to make a few submissions to the hon. House in the form of an objective analysis.

Sit, what has happened in Bangla Desh from the month of March and till today is the saddest chapter in the history of this sub-continent of India and Pikistan and this has happened not due to the volution of the people of Bangla Desh, but due to the primitive, uncivilised and brutal attack by the Pakistani military rulers. Sir, this has put India, which was obliged to receive one crose of refugees from Bangla Desh. in a very embarrassing, difficult and delicate position. After all, there is something known as human relationship and we could not prevent them from coming in, because it is an open border of over a thousand mile in the Fast and we could not send them also back, because they would be butchered by the military rulers of Pakistin In that manner, Sir, I think we should make an objective analysis. Sir, to the Government of India headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi this is a test of time as also a test of events. Let us contribute to face the situation that has got to be handled in a very difficult and del cate manner and Mrs. Gandhi and her Government are handling it in the proper manner in my humble opinion, Sir

Su, may I say that from the way in which Mis Gandhi and the Government of India have practised restraint in dealing with the Bangla Pesh situation and in handling the problems of refugees, lustors will note that she has done it as a result of political wisdom and good human relations that normally any civilised government is expected to extend to the suffering sections of mankind? Sii, may I also say respectfully on this occasion that the manner in which Mis. Gandhi has handled this problem has raised her stature not only as the accredited leader of this nation, but as one of the greatest leaders of the world today 2 Sir, the magnitude of the problem of refugees and the problem of Bangla Desh has not been appreciated or understood by some

[Shri R. T. Partbust (thy.]

here and by many abroad and that was the reason why the Prime Minister had to go abroad with the message as a true democrat and to tell the world leaders as to what exactly the position is and how India is placed in a tight corner because of the influx of the refugees and how India is trying to help solve the problem without resorting to military means. That is why, Sir, I would like to say that when some people thoughtlessly accuse the Government of India and Mrs. Gandhi that they should have invaded Bangla Desh and should have extended all military help to the Mukti Bahini as a result of which the Pakistans military rulers could be cleared from Bangla Desh, they do not quite appreciate that one cardinal factor that will clinch the issue. Their argument is that if they had done that, we would not have had this one crore of refugees in India. Sir may I tell those critics who argue in that fashion that according to the accepted international conventions, if a territory is conquered, it is the primary duty of the conqueror to feed the population of that conquered territory? Sir, if we had invaded Bangla Desh 'n March or April last, instead of feeding one crores, or people today it would have fallen on our shoulders, I mean, the responsibility of feeding the 71 cros of peeple of Bangla Desh It is this position in which our Government would have been placed. I would very respectfully argue that that was one of the reasons why the Government of India did not want to take military action in the month of March of April with reference to Bangla Desh. Sir, the restiaint practised by Mrs. Gandhi and hei Government will go down in the records of history as a remarkable act of political wisdom and acumen, I would like the hon. House to consider the world opinion. If we had taken military action in Bangla Desh, certainly the friendliest of countries and our own friends in the international sphere would have branded us as aggressor. Today, what has happened is-thanks to the efforts of our emissaries abroad, thanks to the leadership which Mis. Gandhi has given in taking this message to the President of the United States, the President of German Democratic Republic, the President of France and many other countries-the world opinion is in her fayour, in our country's favour, and they are today very much on our side. She has established clearly in the international sphere that Pakistan was in the wrong and India was not in the wrong. And that is a very big thing to achieve. Sir, may I

respectfully say that a widespread international gain for India is better than a positive political gain in a narrow field?

Sir, there is also one other aspect, which I do not want to deal with at length, and that is known as military preparedness. We are prepared to meet any eventuality. Ever since the Chinese aggression on India, and the Pakistani aggression in 1965, we are fully prepared to defend the security and integrity of our motherland. But in the event of our having gone into Bangla Desh, taling military action, we should also see that our supplies, particularly oil supplies are secure and well-founded. We must be sure of our oil supplies, because one of the countries which has the most friendly relations with Pakistan-Iran-supplies us the maximum quantity of oil. Today, with the lapse of 6 or 7 nonths, India has made her position absolutely sound with reference to Defence supplies, and now we are in a position, if it need be, not only to teach a lesson to Pakistan on the borders, but, if necessary, as our Defence Minister said, we are prepared to carry the war inside Pakistani territory, to see that they are put on good behaviour. It was very rightly said by the hon, mover of the motion that, if need be, we will teach them a lesson in their own coin. Certainly we are going to do that. And what the time shall be the House should not prescribe to the Government. The Government has been handling the position very well and very ably and I would only like to add, Sir, that the Prime Minister as the head of Government, will definitely give the right lead at the appropriate time if the inevitable should come, namely the war. We will not hesitate to strike at our enemy.

There is also one other point which many of my friends here have been raising since the month of March or April; that Bangla Desh should be recognized. Sn. in international parlance if we recognize Bangla Desh, naturally this will constitute an act of belligerency, and that cannot be disputed by anybody. The moment we recognize Bangla Desh, we would be at war with Pakistan. And, all said and done, considering the influx from March till November, we have realised in what position we were then and in what position we were then and in what position we are today with reference to the international public opinion. And I am afraid that the critics will feel that what they have said was wrong and

what the Government have done is perfectly right.

Sir, there is only one other matter which I would like to refer, and that is the matter having been taken to the world forum. Today the world has recognized our stand as correct, -though it might not have come forward with the required financial help. But the moral support that the entire nations of the worldbarring one or two countries—have given to India with referer ce to the Bangla Desh issue, is something that has established the correctness of our stand and the falsification of Pakistan's case. Well, this is a very big thing in international sphere. Now, we are in a very firm position. If, in spite of it, the Pakistani military rulers are going to play the trick with us, I can only say that our Army and Air Force are ready to meet the challenge at any time, and once for all, Pakistan will be pounded and Bangla Desh will be in the hands of the Bangla Desh people and not an inch of Indian territory will go to Pakistan.

4 p. m.

Our army is in full command and armed conflict will be our last resort. I hope Pakistani military rulers will know their game well and know the mind of the people also. They must also realise that we are one nation and our leader is a very great leader and that our people, irrespective of party affiliations, have given her massive support in the matter of defending the integrity of the soil. We will use as one man under Mrs. India Gandhi to teach a good lesson to Pakistan by which we will be able to solve the Bangla Desh problem once for all.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश): श्री पुरी जी ने जो संकल्प प्रस्तुत किया है वास्तव में इसे संकल्प नहीं कहा जाना चाहिये। यह कुसंकल्प है। यह अनिश्चित है। यह सत्य और असत्य का समन्वय हे, वस्तुस्थिति पर पर्दा डालता है और सरकार के पापो और कलंकों को छिपाता है और इस सदन की मर्यादा को भंग करता है।

मै चाहता हूं कि श्री देव दत्त पुरी महोदय अपने इस संकल्प को वापस लें और इसकी जगह पर यह सकता रखें:

> "यह सदन भारत सरकार की घोर भन्सेना करता है कि उसने बंगला

देश को अब तक मान्यता नही दिया और हर प्रकार की नैतिक, भौतिक और सामरिक सहायता नही की, जिस के फलस्वरूप करीब ! करोड़ के शरणार्थी भारत देश मे आये और दो-तीन करोड़ के बीच की रकम, प्रति दिन देश की उन पर खर्च हो रही है।"

मै चाहता हू कि सद्बुद्धि उपजे और इम प्रस्ताव की जगह पर हमने जो प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया हे उसी पर विचार किया जाये। उमके आगे यह जोडा जाये:

> ''यह सदन मांग करता हे कि आज इस सदन के उठते उठते भारत की सरकार तत्काल वंगला देश को मान्यता दे और उनको जितनी आवश्यकता हो, अपनी आजादी की सुरक्षा के लिए जिस प्रकार की आवश्यकता हो सबकी पूर्ति करे चाहे उसकी जो भी कीमत चुकानी हो।"

अगर यह प्रस्ताव हो तब तो इसमे भारत की सीमा, भारत का सम्मान और भारत की स्वाधीनता की मुरक्षा हो सकती है ओर अगर केवल शब्दों के साथ खेल करना है तो पुरी जी का प्रस्ताव अपनी जगह पर वेमतलब और निर्थंक है।

श्रीमन्, मैं माननीय स्वर्ण सिंह जी को कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता। ये बेचारे दया के पात्र हैं, क्रोध के नहीं। इनकीं जो सीमा है उम मीमा में यह अपना काम कर रहे हैं। अगर कहीं चोट मारनी है तो वह चोट मारनी वाहिए प्रधान मन्त्री पर, जिमने सारे देश के मम्मान, सारे देश की मर्यादा, सारे देश की जनता की गरिमा को नष्ट कर दिया है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : वेकार क्या बोलते हो ?

श्री राजनारायण: श्रीमन, भारत की मरकार ने बंगला देश के माथ गद्दारी की है, भारत की सरकार ने बंगला देश के साथ धोखा किया है. भारत की सरकार अगर अपने वायदों के प्रति वफादार रही होती तो अब तक बगला देश पाकिस्तानी हमले से मुक्त हो गया होता। वहां से पाकिस्तान पलटने भगा दी गई होती और एक शरणार्थी भी वहां से यहां नही आया होता। मै परे ब्यौरे में नही जाऊंगा। उसमें तो बड़ा समय लगेगा, मगर मै कुछ तारीख में अवश्य जाना चाहता हं आप की इजाजत से देखा जाये, पहली मार्च से बंगाल का आंदोलन चल रहा है। 3 मार्च को असेम्बली की बैठक ढाका में होने वाली थी। याहिया खान पहली मार्च को ऐलान करते हैं कि अब असेम्बली की बैठक अनिविचत काल के लिए स्थगित रहेगी। और उसके साथ ही मृक्ति आंदोलन का आरम्भ हुआ। स्कूल, कालेज, कचहरी, सव बंद । टिक्का खान जाते हैं फौजी गवर्नर बन कर। टिक्का को चीफ जज वहां के गवर्नर की शपथ नहीं दिलाता । 16 मार्च को याद करें स्वर्ण सिह जी। 15 मार्च को 9 बजे स्वाधीन बंगला देश की घोपणा मुजीबुर्रहमान ने कर दी कि अब बंगला देश पाकिस्तान का अंग नहीं रहेगा। 15 मार्च को बंगला देश की स्वाधीनता की घोषणा हो गयी। 15 मार्च को बंगला देश स्वाधीन हो गया। भारतवर्ष के जो नागरिक, भारत की जो सरकार 15 मार्च के बाद बंगला देश को स्वाधीन नहीं मानते वह सरकार पाजी है, वह सरकार पापी है और वह सरकार जनतंत्र की अवहेलना करने वाली है।

श्री महावीर त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश): पाजी मत कहो।

श्री राजनारायण: आप मत बोलिए। अब 15 मार्च को 3 बजे याहिया खान के हाथ-पांव फुल जाते हैं। वे ढाका जाते है। वे वहां 15 मार्च को पहुंच जाते है और दम दिन तक पूरी बात करते हैं। 25 मार्च तक वह वहां खुद टिका है और उसके बाद क्या हुआ। इसमें बीच की बहुत सी बातों को मै छोड़ रहा हूं। तो वह वहां वायदा / ही पढ रहा हूं। उसे पढा जाये:

करते है कि आजादी देंगे और आजादी की जगह पलटनें उतर जाती है नंगी-उसको देखते हए यह कितना मुर्धन्य और कितना नपुंसक प्रस्ताव है। इसमें लिखा है कि जो अभृतपूर्व नरसंहार के तुल्य है, यानी है नहीं। इसको पढ़ कर इतना क्रोध आया कि कहा नहीं जा सकता। इसमें है: 'याहिया शासन द्वारा बंगला देश के लोगों के साथ किये गये पैशाचिक अपराधो को, जो अभृत-पूर्व नरसंहार के तुल्य हैं', यानी अभूतपूर्व नर-संहार के समान है, अभूतपूर्व नरसंहार नहीं हैं। इम प्रस्ताव को यहां पर तो फाड़ कर फेंक देना चाहिए। माननीय सदस्य ने इस समय प्रस्ताव की प्रति को फाड़ कर फेंक दिया। सोगलिस्टिक पैटर्न है, सोशलिस्ट नहीं हैं। क्या प्रस्ताव लिखते है। भाषा में प्रस्ताव बनाना भी नहीं आता। मैं कहना चाहता हं कि यह अभतपूर्व नरमेध है। दुनिया मे इससे बड़ा नरमेध कभी हुआ नही, इतना बड़ा नरसंहार कभी हुआ नहीं। यह उस के तूल्य नहीं है; समान नहीं है, यह नरमेध है और जो प्रस्ताव इस सदन मे रखा जाये कि वह उसके तुल्य है, तो मैं समझ नहीं सकता कि इस तुल्य के मतलब क्या है। कहां से आ गया ऐसा प्रस्ताव।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : जो आप कह रहे हैं उस-का मनलब भी वही है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Mr. Tyagi, please do not interrupt him.

SHRI DEV DATT PURI: Sir, if I may explain this matter, it will remove a lot of misunderstanding. My resolution was in English and there has been an error of translation. The original resolution says:

"taking note of the diabolical crimes committed by the Yahya regime on the people of Bangla Desh amounting to genocide..."

श्री महाबीर त्यागी : ट्रांसलेशन गलत नहीं है ।

श्री राजन।रायण: मैं तो हिन्दी में जो है उसे

SHRI DEV DAIF PURI: And these is the original resolution I have submitted. I did not submit it in Hinds.

SHRI PIIAMBER DAS: That is very categorical.

श्री राजनारायण: मैं हिन्दी का संकल्प पढ़ रहा हूं जिसमें लिखा है कि जो अमूतपूर्व नरसंहार के तुल्य हैं। अब हमारे पास जो हिन्दी का प्रस्ताव है मैं उसको ही प्रामाणिक मानता हूं। मैं अग्रेज नहीं हु, मुझकों अंग्रेजी भाषा नहीं आती, अंग्रेजी वाले प्रस्ताव को मैं प्रामाणिक नहीं मानता। और 'एमाउंटिग' का भी अर्थ लगाया जायेगा तो जो मैं थोडी जानकारी अग्रेजी की रखता हु उसके अनुसार मैं उसका अर्थ 'तुल्य' कर सकता हूं। 'एमाउंटिग' के क्या माने हैं? क्यो नहीं कहा जाता है कि जेनोसाइड है। 'दैट विल एमाउंट टु जेनोसाइड' के क्या मतलब!

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : अग्रेजी समझ मे आती है ?

श्री राजनारायण: तुमसे ज्यादा।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : वेकार का बोलते हो ?

श्री राजनारायण : अब मै, श्रीमन्, यह कहना चाहता हं कि देखा जाये कि हुआ क्यों ! मै उस विवरण मे नही जाऊगा कि कितना नरसंहार हुआ। मैं समझता हु कि इस सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों ने 31 मार्च को इस माननीय सदन मे जो ै प्रस्ताव पास किया उसमे 4 शब्द है - — हार्दिक सहानभृति, समर्थन का वचन, एकात्मतता और स्वाधीनता संग्राम की विजय। 4 शब्द है। क्या कोई सरकार, कोई देश, इस प्रस्ताय को पास करने के बाद उसे मान्यता नहीं देगा? जिस सरकार ने इस प्रस्ताव को मान्यता नही दी उसने ससद् का उपहास किया, उसने ससद का अपमान किया, उसने ससद् को पैरो तले रौदा है। इस लिए मै कहना चाहता हू कि प्रधान मत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी ने भारत के सम्मान के साथ खिल-वाड़ किया है। सर्वसम्मति से पास प्रस्ताव है। केवल ससद् मे ही नहीं, उत्तर प्रदेश की विधान सभा ने,

बिहार की विधान सभा ने, पिश्चम बगाल की विधान सभा ने, राजस्थान, हरियाणा, पजाब की विधान सभा ने, सब ने मान्यता दी, हर प्रकार की इम्दाद दी, यह प्रस्ताव पास किया। जितनी सरकारी, अर्ध-सरकारी, गैर-सरकारी मस्थाये है सभी ने एकमत से प्रस्ताव पास किया है कि बंगला देश को तत्काल मान्यता दो, हर प्रकार की सहायता दो, जो भी कीमत चुकानी हो चुकावो। मगर भारत की सरकार आख मिचौनी करती है।

अब देखा जाये, हमको क्या कहा गया। नाम लेने की कोई जरूरत नहीं । सरकारी प्रवक्ताओं ने मुझको कहा—राजनारायण, तुम तो कहते हो मान्यता दो, मान्यता दो, अभी सरकार तो बनी नही, मान्यता किसको दी जाये। तब जब वगला देश के प्रतिनिधियों से हमारी मुलाकात हुई, कलकत्ता गया, मैने कहा कि तुम सरकार बनावो, सरकार क्यों नहीं बनाते ? तो 17 अप्रैल को सरकार बन गई। जब 17 अप्रैल को मुजीब नगर मे आम वृक्ष के नीचे सरकार बन गई, 17 अप्रैल को तब भी मान्यता नही दी। हमने सरकार को कहा कि मान्यता दो । आज शर्म आती है, आज लज्जा आती हे, आज वेशमी हाथ जोड़ कर के प्रधान मन्त्री साहिबा के सामने पनाह माग रही है। यहा 15 लाख लोग करल हुये है, मा, बहन, बेटी की इज्जत लूटी ज। रही हे, घर जलाया जा रहा है, बर्वादी हो रही है और प्रधान मत्री साहिबा भारत-वर्ष के शानदार शिविर शिमला मे विश्राम कर रही है, दस दिन तक। राष्ट्रपति का भाषण पढा जाये। राष्ट्रपति ने हमारे एक सवाल के जवाब मे सार्वजनिक भाषण दिया है--बगला देश की मान्यता का सवाल हमारी सरकार के सम्मुख प्रमुख रूप से विचाराधीन है, अंडर एक्टिब कसी-डरेशन आफ माई गवर्नमेट, प्रधान मत्री महोदया शिमला से लौट कर के आयगी तो बागला देश की मान्यता का सवाल हल होगा। राष्ट्रपति जी को हमने कहा कि हे श्री वी० वी० गिरि जी, आप मास्को गये थे, इन्दिरा जी को चरण सिंह की सरकार को गिराना था, हवाई जहाज से कागच गया, विना पढ़े आपने दस्तखान किया है, हवाई जहाज भेजो, आधे घंटे के अन्दर बूला लो. बगला देश की मान्यता

[श्री राजनारायण]

का सवाल हल हो। प्रधान मती महोदया आती है।
मै चाहता हू कि सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य इसको
हृदयगम करे — नैनीताल मे नोका-विहार करने
आती एक तरफ है, श्री के० सी० पन्त, घर मन्त्री
केन्द्र के, और एक तरफ हे श्री बी० गोपाल रेड्डी
और बीच मे है भारत की प्रधान मन्त्री महोदया,
नौका-विहार हो रहा हे। भीमताल, नैनीताल मे
शिमला से छोटने के बाद! यह हे हमारी नैतिकता, यह है हमारी मानवीय बुद्धि, यह ह हमारी
हार्दिक महानुभूति, यह हे हमारी सहायता-समर्थन
की प्रवृत्ति। शर्म आनी चाहिये, चुल्लू भर पानी
मे डूब मरना चाहिये।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी: आपको कुछ भी शर्म है [।]

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, इसके बाद हुआ कि 9 तारीख को भूब हडताल होगी हमारी। आ कर हमने यहा ऐलान किया। जयप्रकाश नारायण जी, सगठन काग्रेस, बी० के० डी०, जन-सघ, रिपब्लिकन पार्टी, सभी ने हमे कहा कि जब हमने बगला देश सम्मेलन बना लिया, एक राय के हो गये, तो आप अकेले एक्शन मत लो। हम मान गए। हमारे पास सरकारी का बयान है। हमसे कहा गया, त्म बडे चालाक हो, आज इन्दिरा गाधी मान्यता देने जा रही है तो तुमने भुख हटताल की जिससे उन्होने ऐलान कर दिया तो श्रेय तुमको मिलेगा । मै नही जानता था कि इन्दिरा जी मान्यता देने जा रही थी या नही। मगर मुझे ऐसा लगता था कि यह जो आठ-दस लाख लोग बाहर से बुलाए गये है, उनके सामने शायद प्रधान मली घोषणा करके मान्यता देगी। हमने कहा, भाई दिला दो मान्यता, अभी दिला दो । अगर मान्यता देनी हे तो 9 अगस्त की क्राति दिवस के दिन देना चाहिए। लेकिन वह दासता-दिवस मे बदल दी गई।

रुस के साथ मधि के सबध में एक मित्र बोले हैं — बौद्धिक परतत्रता। ''रुस की सधि ने बचा

लिया"—क्या बचा लिया ? भारत की गुलामी, भारत की दासता, भारत की स्वतवता, स्वाधानता । मैं निश्चित मत का हू, इतिहास साक्षी होगा कि रस के साथ जो सिंध हुई उसमें ग्रोमिको-स्वर्ण सिंह वार्ता में वगला देश की मान्यता के सवाल को टाल दिया । मैं नहीं चाहता कि भारत की सरकार किसी देश से सिंध न करे । करे । मगर उसकी कसौटी क्या हो ? वहीं सिंध हमारे लिए श्रेयस्कर होगी जो वगला देश को मान्यता दिलाती हो ओर भारत की गरीबी और बेकारी को दूर करती हो । इसके अलावा अगर कोई भी सिंध का स्वरूप हे तो वह हमारे देश के लिए हितकर नहीं हे । इस कसौटी पर जब मैं रूसी सिंध को कसता हू तो वह हमारे लिए मान्य नहीं है, मैं यह डके की चोट पर कहता हू।

श्रीमन्, देखा जाए । किसिगर आए, 3 दिन रहे, भारत सरकार की जासूसी मे । यह सरकार यह तो जानती है कि राजनारायण कहा जा रहे है, मगर किसिगर के आने की, जाने की, इसको जानकारी नहीं। $(Inne\ bell\ rmgs.)$ कराची होकर पीकिंग चले गए और वाशिगटन में खबर देते हैं निक्सन जाएगा और तब लोग जान पाए कि निक्मन, चाऊ-एन-लाई ओर माओ त्से तुग से मुलाकात करेगा । तब रूस दबता है, कहता है कि अब आओ, आकर हमारे समझौते पर हस्ताक्षर करो । श्रीमन्, उसके बाद सिंघ हुई, दुनिया मे इसकी प्रतिक्रिया हुई, हमारे देश मे प्रतिक्रिया हुई तब प्रधान मती साहिबा कहती है कि अब मं निक्सन से भी मिलने जाऊगी, पश्चिमी राष्ट्रो का भी दोरा करूगी ताकि लोग यह न कहे कि हमने भारत की आजादी को रूस के हाथ में गिरवी कर दी। मै पूछना चाहता हू स्वर्ण सिंह जी से कि भारत की प्रधान मत्री निक्सन से मिलने क्यो गई ? भारत की प्रधान मत्नी महोदया ने निक्सन की दावत को ठोकर मारी थी और इसी सदन मे हमने कहा था कि यह प्रधान मवी ने शानदार काम किया ह, मगर जिसने ठोकर मारी निक्सन की दावत को, वही प्रधान मला निक्सन से मिलने जाती है, थुक के चाटती है। क्यो गई वहा ? (Time bell rings)

श्री उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री ए० डी० मणि): जितना टाइम दूसरो को दिया ह उतना ही लीजिये। आपका समय हो गया है।

श्री राजनारायण: आप बीच में घटी बजाकर न बोले। तब मैं आप से कहना चाहता हू कि हमें बतलाया जाय कि आज देश क्या चाहता है?

श्री पीताम्बर दास : मै राजनारायण जी से पूछना चाहता हू कि थूक कर चाटना क्यो बुरा समझते हैं। अपना ही तो थूक चाटा, किसी दूसरे का तो नही चाटा ?

श्री राजनारायण: श्री पीताम्बर दास जी बुजुर्ग है और उन्होंने हमारी वात को गहराई से समझ लिया है और उसकी पुण्टि की है। अब बेहाया बनकर प्रधान मती बेहायाई वातो को बुरा नहीं मानती, यही ये बोल रहे हैं।

अब मै यह कह रहा हू कि भारत की प्रधान मत्री महोदया अमेरीका क्यों गई। निक्सन के वहा क्यों गई ? भाई पीताम्बर दाम जी, फार दी इटायर पीपुल आफ पाकिस्तान पर ही क्यो जाते है। 7 तारीख को न्यूयार्क मे टेलीविजन वार्ता पर जो भारत के प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा, वह क्या कहा ? यह झगडा दो देशों का नहीं है, वह झगडा पूर्वी वगला के लोगों और पाकिस्तान के तानाशाही हुकूमत के बीच का है। इस तरह का बयान टेली-विजन वार्ता मे देकर भारत के प्रधान मत्री ने बगला देश की स्वाधीनता को कतर बोत कर दिया है। यह बयान 7 नवम्बर का है मैं कहना चाहता हू कि यह झगड़ा दो देशों का नहीं है, सारे विश्व का है। यह झगडा दो देशों का नहीं है बगला देश एक देश है और उसको पूरा हक हे कि वह सैर्माड कर सके, पाकिस्तान से पृथक हो सके ओर वह पृथक हो भी गया हे तथा 15 मार्च को उसने इस बात का ऐलान भी कर दिया है। फिर भी भारत की प्रधान मंत्री कहती है कि यह दो देशो का झगड़ा नहीं है। यह दो देशों का झगडा ह।

श्रीमन्, इमलिए मै जब प्रधान मत्री का अखबारों ने समाचार दिया कि मैं न्यूयार्क में निक्सन से नहीं मिलुगी, तब हमारे कुछ मिलां ने, श्री डी॰ पी॰ धर ने, कौल ने कहा कि आपने अमेरिका जाने का ऐलान तो कर दिया है तो इससे रूस के मन मे मन्देह पैदा हो जायेगा। तो उन्होने कहा कि मै वहा पहुंचने से पहिले मास्को भी हो लूगी और टम तरह से मास्को भी चली गई। फिर मेरा सवाल यह है कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गाधी मास्को क्यों गई[?] स्वर्ण सिंह और ग्रैमिको का तो पैक्ट हो चुका था, ज्वाइन्ट कम्यु-निक निकल चुका था। रोज रूस से एक डेली-गेशन आ रहा है, कभी एयर मार्शन आ रहे हैं, कभी कोई डेलीगेशन आ रहा है और कभी कोई डेलीगेशन आ रहा हे। मैं यह जानना चाहता ह कि फिर द्वारा मास्को जाने की क्या जहरत पड़ गई ?

ग्रैमिको-कोसोगिन पत्रकार सम्मेलन हुआ। श्रीमती जी का नहीं है। पत्रकार पूछ रहे हैं वि क्या आप बगला देश को पाकिस्तान का अन्दरूनी हिस्सा मानते हो ? तो वे लोग चुप है। और यह दौड़कर बोलती ह, में मानती हू । जि<mark>स तरह स</mark>े जवाहर लाल ने काञ्मीर के मामले को यू० एनः ओ० मे भेजकर प्लैविसाइट की बात को मानकः भारत के गल मे फासी की रस्मी लगा दी, उर्स तरह से पूर्वी बगान के मामले को, म्वाधीन बंगल देश के मामले को पाकिस्तान का अन्दरूनी मामल कहकर बगला देश की आजादी को खत्म क दिया ह । अब यह लोगो को एक समय का सहार देकर बहकाना चाहनी है ओर एक ताशकन बनाना चाहती है यह कहकर के कि बार होग वार होगा । पाकिस्तान पागल हे ? पाकिस्ता युद्ध क्यो करेगा ? जब वगला देश उसके कब्जे आ रहा ह तो वह पश्चिम मे मार्ची क्यो खोलेगा अगर पाकिस्तान पश्चिम मे मोर्चा खोलता है त फिर बगला देश का आजाद हो जाना सरल ह जायेगा । इसलिए पाकिस्तान पश्चिम मे मोर्चान खोलेगा । भारत सरकार इस समय जान वृज्ञव युद्ध की पुतार कर रही हे और लोगों को बहन रही है।

श्री उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री ए० ०डी मणि): राजनारायण जी, आपका 20 मिनट हो गया ह।

श्री राजनारायण: ठीक हे. हम चार पांच मिनट में खत्म कर रहे है। मैं आप से यह कह रहा ह कि प्रधान मती महोदया ने कुछ मनोविज्ञान पढने वाले रखे है, लेकिन उनका मनोविज्ञान याहिया का मनोविज्ञान हो गया है जब उसने चनाव कर-वाये थे पूर्वी बंगाल मे तो कहा था कि 15 प्रति-शत से भी ज्यादा वोट अवामी लीग के लोगां को नही मिलेंगे। इन लोगो ने कहा कि एक लडाई जीतकर लाल बहादुर शास्त्री अमर हो गये और अगर एक लडाई करके एक और ताशकन्द कर लिया जाय तो 1972 का चनाव भी जीत लिया जायेगा और मामला भी बन जायेगा । 1962 का चन।व गोवा की जीत को जनता के सामने रख-कर जीता गया। आज श्रीमतीजी देश की जनता को रिश्वत देना चाहती है-1972 के चुनाव के पहिले। मै चाहता ह कि मै इस बारे मे देश को सजग और अगाह कर द ताकि देश इस तरह की बात से सजग हो जाय और वह प्रधान मती की प्तरकार के चक्कर मे न पड़े। इसलिए मैं पछना बाहता ह कि ज्यो ज्यो इस मामले मे विलम्ब हो रहा है त्यो त्यो अवामी लीग कमजोर हो रही है ओर ताजुद्दीन की फजीहत हो रही है। भारत गरकार कहती है कि सरकार मे कम्युनिस्टो को खो। जब तक भूपेश ग्प्त के दल के लोग नहीं लेगे हाम नहीं बनेगा, इसलिए कम्युनिस्टों को रखों। ग जानना चाहता ह कि भारत की सरकार ने प्रमयनिस्टो को रखने के लिए क्यो कहा। एक न्सलटेटिव कमेटी बनी।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPFA: One thing is unte clear. Mr. Saidesai will take as much me as Mr. Rajnarain takes, not a minute less.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJLE: On a oint of order Livery Member is given minutes. How many minutes have you ven him?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (5HRI \ 1) ANI) I have given him 20 minutes 1 want e support of the House Mr. Rajnaram, I nt you to conclude.

श्री राजनारायण: श्रीमन्, मै आपसे निवेदन कर दू कि आप उस समय चेयर पर नहीं थे। श्री सी डी पांडे ने उठकर चेयर से कहा था कि हमारा पूरा समय राजनारायण को दे दो: सी०डी० पांडे सिर्फ 5 मिनट बोले हैं।

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kera la) He cannot exploit like this. Please remember. He should be very clear about that This should not be allowed

श्री राजनारायण: अब मै आपसे कहना चाहता ह कि श्री स्वर्ण सिंह जवाब दे कि कन्सल-टेटिव कमेटी मे दो कम्युनिस्टो को क्यो रखा गया. यह जो जाती दल है जिसमें सभी लोग काम करते है वह जाती दल के लोगो को क्यो नहीं रखा गया ? एक साजिश हो रही है, वहा पर अवामी लीग को कमजोर करने की, ताज्हीन को कमजोर करने की । ताजुद्दीन कहता है कि हम तुम्हारी गोद ही मे बैठे हुए है तुम पहले हमे मान्यता दो और भारत की सरकार की ओर से इन्दिरा जी कहती है कि जब समय आयेगा तब मान्यता देगे । वह समय कब आएगा ? इसलिए मैं निश्चित मत काह और जोर के साथ कहता ह, भारत की जनता को जगाना चाहता ह कि हे भारत की जनता उठो, इस सरकार को उहाओ, बगला देश को मान्यता दिलाओ ओर उसकी सुरक्षा करो क्योंकि बगला देश की आजादी से भारत की आजादी जुड गई हे, बगला देश के जनतत्र से भारत का जनतत्र जुड गया है । बगला मे राष्ट्रपति शासन लाग् ह, यहा इन्दिराओर याह्या एक है, याह्या तानाशाह, इन्दिरा तानाशाह।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA It is a serious speech. Let him make it

SHRI DEV DATI PURI There should be some limit to this, Sir.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON What is all this?

(Interruptions)

SHRI G. A APP \N (\Gamma amul Nadu + . Sn, on a point-of order.

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श्री राजनारायण: लंका के नवयुवको के विद्रोह को दवाने के लिए यहां से पल्टन गई, हेली-कोप्टर गया, मगर मुजीबुर्रहमान को मदद देने के लिए न पल्टन गई, न हेलीकोप्टर गया। क्यों नहीं गया? इसलिए में आपसे अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि सदन की राय है कि प्रधान मंत्री इस्तीफा दे गद्दी छोड़ और आज बंगला देश को मान्यता देकर उसे हर प्रकार की सहायता दी जाय। इन्ही शब्दों के साथ मैं आज अपना भाषण समाप्न करता ह।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI) Mr. Yajee

SHRI DEV DATT PURI: Sir, I rise on a point of order. That part of the speech should not be recorded.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How long do we continue?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: We continue till 5.00, and we adjourn at 5.00.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This debate is to continue, if you have to observe the rule. It should continue till we have had our say. We shall yield to others. Let the Congress Members speak as long as they like. There is no objection. But I would request you not to adjourn the House at 5.00 and leave the discussion for 15 days later. The kind of speech that M1. Rajnarain has made must not go unchallenged. That will be challenged by our party speakers. After that the House will adjourn. Otherwise, I will say that you have violated the rule.

श्री राजनारायण : मै श्री भूषेश गुप्त के प्रस्ताव का स्वागत करता हू, हमारा जवाब दें जिममे जितनी क्षमता हो . . .

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Please, please. (Interruptions) When the Chairman is speaking, he must be given his due respect. About the reply to be given by the Communist Party, if the House has no objection, I would like...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have no quartel. Enough have I heard.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: Sir, I have a suggestion.

SHRI BAL \CHANDRA MENON: Why is it that our party is not allowed? We are 10; his party is also 10. Why is it that we are not allowed?

SHRI BHUPLSH GUPTA: Mr. Rajnarain's speech is a positive disservice to the cause of Bangla Desh...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): I would have called Mr. Sardesar at 3 o'clock but Mr. Rajnaram came and told me that he had been given permission by the Deputy Chairman to speak at 3 o'clock.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, उसमे आपको परेशानी क्या है ? 178 नम्बर पर गोडे मुराहरि जी बैठते है, 177 पर भूपेश गुप्त जी बैठते है, 182 पर मैं बैठता हूं और 181 पर डा० जेड० ए० अहमद बैठतं है। हमारी तादाद कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी से ज्यादा हे। जब उनकी तादाद ज्यादा थी तो वे पहले आते थे। अब जव हमारी तादाद ज्यादा उचादा है तो हम आयेंगे। हम 11 है।

SHRI BALACHANDRA MI NON: That is exactly what we object because it is our right to be called earlier.

SHRI DEV DATT PURI: On a point of order, Sir. Under Rule 161 a Member can speak only for 15 minutes on a Resolution. Now having regard to the most atrocious things said by the hon'ble Member, I propose that whatever he said after the 15 minutes were over, should be expunged.

SHRI BHUPESH GUT I V., Eather it should be expunged or we should be allowed to speak.

SHRI S. G SARDESM (Maharashtra); Even if it is expunged, I am going to speak on it. It is very funny. He has given a challenge and I wart to accept it

श्री राजनारायण: देखिये, इनको हमको चैलेंज करने की कोई जरूरत नही है। यह अपनी

श्री राजनारायण

पर्सनिलटी को टन्दिरा की पर्सनिलटी में मिला चुके है...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPIA: We did not disturb Mr. Rajnarain and I hope he will not disturb us.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: I have a suggestion to make. My suggestion is this that it is very natural, after the speech of Rajnaramji, for our friends to feel aggrieved because he has said certain things which they may not like Now we want to finish by 5 o'clock. Let us start with Mi. Sardesai I will request Mi. Om Mehta not to press the claim of his party now. (Interruption) How can you prevent me from making an appeal? It is for you either to accept it or not to accept it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPT \ . My submission Sir, is...

श्री **शीलभद्र याजी**: वह हमारी पार्टी पर भी बोले है और उमका जवाब हमको देना है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am very glad that he is prepared to listen to Mi. Sardesai. But this issue we have made a partisan issue. Therefore, I would like the Congress Members also to speak after Mr. Sardesai has spoken since Mr. Rajnarain has had his full say.

(Interruption by Shri Rajnarain)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not want to take away the right of other Members. We may have out differences here and there. But fundamentally we agree on many things. Will Bangla Desh be liberated by such kind of speeches? I submit to you that we have to sit longer today because you did not stick to the 15-minute rule. Therefore, having taken the rights of other Members at least give them the right to express themselves...

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI · Mt. Vice-Chairman, .

1HE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI); Kindly sit down. Please allow me to speak.

SHRIS G. SARDESAI: You allow so many people to speak, but you do not allow us to speak.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Please, you must allow me to speak. Now, Mr. Rajnaram has made an attack on the Communist Party.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: Not only on the Communist Party.

(Interruptions)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): On a point of order

(Interruptions)

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH May I suggest a way out?

(Interruptions)

SHRI BIIUPESH GUPTA: We must have our say.

(Interruptions)

श्री राजनारायण: श्रीमन्, मैं यह बता दूं कि मैंने कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी पर एटेक नहीं किया, मैंने इन्दिरा रिजीम पर एटेक किया है, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी बेचारी कहा आती है। मैं उपसभाध्यक्ष जी से निवेदन करूगा कि हमने इन्दिरा सरकार पर एटेक किया जिसके इशारे पर ये चलते है।

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sit, I would suggest that Mr. Yajec who is on his legs may be permitted to speak and thereafter you may allow Mr. Sardesai his due time, 10 minutes or 15 minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why 10 minutes? Mr. Sardesai will speak fot as long as Mi Rajnarain spoke.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH And to the extent you allot time for Mr. Sudesar, we can sit longer to-day

SHRI A. G, KULKARNI: On a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Please sit down. I am giving my ruling. In view of what the Minister for External Affairs has said, the House will sit beyond 5, and we will hear Mr. Sardesai. Mr. Rajnarain took half-an-hour. So, Mr. Sardesai will have half-an-hour.

श्री राजनारायण: श्रीमन्, अब आप इस सदन में शांति कायम रखने में असमर्थ हैं। आपकी इस असमर्थना को देखकर मैं सदन का त्याग करता हूं।

[माननीय सदस्य सदन से उठकर चले गए]

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: He gave the challenge and now he is running away.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA; The House has lost nothing by the departure of the disrupter of the Bangla Desh movement.

(Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh) · Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have nothing to say about this controversy. Any Member has got full liberty to express his views, howsoever absurd or nonsensical those views may be. But there is some limit for everything. Mr. Rajnarain of late has been developing this habit that he makes some irresponsible remarks in the House and after that, he makes one pretext or the other to walk out. I think it is high time that the Chair should take note of it and should reprimand this behaviour of Mr. Rajnarain. It is against Parliamentary etiquette. It is against all canons of parliamentary behaviour.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Coward. He should have stood our speech.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: If a Member makes specific charges against a particular party or a Member, he is expected to hear the reply also. Mr. Rajnarain has not observed this ordinary courtesy and has not maintained the decorum and decency of the House. So, the Chair should take note of it and warn Members against behaving in this fashion in future.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): I would like to mention something

on this point. Mr. Rajnarain came to me and said that he had been permitted by the Deputy Chairman to speak at 3.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): That is not the point raised.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Under what rule?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): I had no means of checking all this. Then he said his party had eleven Members. Then I called for the list. Altogether there were ten. I wanted Shi i Sardesai to speak. Before I called him, Shr: Rajnarain said, "I am going to speak before everybody". Shri Rajnarain's conduct is reprehensible. I do not know how any Parliamentary proceedings can be continued if Members behave in the way Shri Rajnarain did. I express my sense of disapproval of his conduct and I believe this reflects the opinon of all who sit here. This is not the way to carry on Parliamentary proceedings. Large number of people are sitting in the Visitors' Gallery ...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: You should not refer to Visitors' Gallery. It is not appropriate. It should be expunged.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: I have not completed my sentence. I drew the attention of all Members even before the debate began that under Rule 161 every one had only 15 minutes at his disposal. Sometimes it may exceed by one minute or two minutes happened in the case of Shri Pitamber Das. Then I rang the bell. I think I will have to install a bigger bell in that section of the House to control Members. Kindly see my plight. If Members do not observe decorum that is expected of them, how can we carry on? Somebody wants to reply. But by that time the other Member walks out. He should have heard Shri Sardesai's reply. His reply will go on record.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Why don't you condemn him for running away from the House?

SHRI BHUPFSH GUPFA: Shri Rajnarain has done his job. His job is to disrupt the solidarity of the movement and that he has done. He spoke like Nurul Amin here. I can prove that.

Re measures for return

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): I have expressed my sense of disapproval as a trained journalist in the firmest possible way. Harsh words do not improve matters. I say harsh words do not give a very good account of Parliamentary proceedings. If we want to keep him here, we cannot compel him. We cannot have a Marshal to prevent him from leaving.

SHRI BHUPFSH GUPTA: It is good riddance.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI A.D. MANI): I do not express any opinion on that.

SHKI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I am not in the controversy. If you prolong the discussion, my party also must have a chance to express its views. Shri K. P. S. Menon has given his name. He should be given a chance today.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Have you any objection?

SHRI K.P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: This is an important matter. We insist that today's proceedings should not be closed before hearing our point of view on this issue.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Our point of view must be heard today.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Not at this stage. I would like to mention one thing. Shri Bhupesh Gupta and his party have been attacked. Members from the Consultative Committee have been attacked. It is a matter concerning the privileges of Members of this House. Your party has not been attacked.

SHRI A. P. CHATTFRJEE: As far as Resolution is concerned, our views must go on record today.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Your party is not in the same category as his party. He was singled out.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In fact we should have been called before Shri Rajnarain. Before Shri Rajnarain Shri Sardesai should have been called. We accommodated him. Therefore, Sir (Interruptions) Therefore, Sir, on that ground alone... (Interruptions).

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEF: Sir, if he goes on like this, our views also must go on record.

I cannot understand this that a particular party has been the object of attack and therefore, that party will be allowed to have its views. After all, Sir, this is a resolution in which we should all also would like to go on record.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): I have taken the consensus of the House ... (Interruptions) ... Please wait. I will put one particular issue now. In view of the fact that Members of the party which Mr. Bhupesh Gupta represents have been attacked and many derogatory remarks made about them, they should have their say today so that the debates complete as far as this issue is concerned. Then, Mr. Yajee will reply on behalf of the Congress Party...

(Interruptions)

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No. no.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: No. Sir. You cannot say like that.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: You cannot say like that, Sir...

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Sir, this will be giving an unprecedented ruling. Sir, with your permission may I say... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Please sit down. I do not want anything now. Mr. Chatterjee, you are a lawyer of great reputation and you never use a word unnecessarily.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Sir, don't go on giving such certificates.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): The debate does not end today. It will be carried on to the next day.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Sir, may I make a submission with your permission? (Interruptions).

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated): It will sit up to six o'clock or seven o'clock?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Sir, may I make a submission? If you insist upon this ruling that because a party has been attacked, in order that the debate should be made complete that party representatives should be allowed to speak and thereafter the House will

adjourn, that will be creating, if I may say so with great respect, a very bad precedent. Sir, on the floor of the House, whenever a particular Member speaks, unless he is called to order by the Chair and unless the words spoken by that particular Member are expunged, those words are on the record as far as that particular party is concerned and as far as that particular person is concerned. If this kind of a ruling is given that because a particular party has been attacked he must be allowed to speak and nothing else will go on record after that, that will be creating a bad precedent which, I think, is something extraordinary in the annals of parliamentary history either here or elsewhere. Therefore, I will be submitting this: Of course, as far as Shri Bhupesh Gupta's party is concerned, it must have a chance and he will reply to the criticisms that have been made against him. I completely agree with this. But, even then, Sir. it is an important issue, the issue of Bangla Desh, and in order that the debate may be complete-you used the words, Su, "the debate should be complete-" ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): No.

SHRIA. P. CHATTERII: You said that, Sn, in the sense that the debate may be rounded off on this particular day and I, therefore, say, Sir, that in order that the dabate may be rounded off on this partcular day the different sections in the House also should be allowed today. Otherwise, the House will have to go on until those particular sections give their opinion. You cannot have this way that because Shri Bhupesh Gupta's party has been attacked he will speak and thereafter the House will adjourn. We have also our viewpoints to express. I cannot agree to this. Of course, I agree that Mr. Blupesh Gupta must be given a chance. But, at the same time, our party must also be given a chance.

SHRI BHUPLSH GUPIA: Sn, may I make a submission? (Interruptions)

SHRI N. SRIR M.\ REDDY (Mysorc). Sir, full time should be given to us also. We are not satisfied with the time that has been given to us. It is only five minutes. You must give some more time to us also to make our viewpoints clear. (Internaptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sit, may I make our position clear? If you want to sit overtime, we have no objection. Certainly not. Even when Shri Rajnarain was making the filthiest and provocative speech going beyond the limit of tolerance, we kept quiet.

THE VICE-CH VIRMAN: (SHRI A. D. M VNI): Leave all that, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now, if you give time to others also, we shall certainly bear with it and we have no objection. But it should be only on merit. After that, Mr. Sardesar should speak and after that, if you have time, we will speak.

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : उपसभाध्यक्ष, श्री पुरी जी ने जो सकल्प रखा है मैं उसका तहे दिल से समर्थन करता हूं, लेकिन उनके संकल्प में जो 3 महीने की बात कही गई है, मैं उसको नहीं मानता हूं। स्वयं प्रधान मंत्री जी ने दो तीन रोज पहिले यह कहा कि केवल दो महीने की देरी है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि न दो महीने रखा जाय, न तीन महीने रखा जाय, बल्कि फौरन से पेस्तर जितना जल्दी हो सके हम अपने पुराने जो भाई है, जो मुसीबत के मारे मेहमान है, उनकी हमें हर तरह में सहायता करनी चाहिये जिससे वे जल्द से जल्द अपना एक स्वाधीन बगला देश बना सके और यहां पर जो णरणार्थी होकर ठहरे है वो बिना डर की भावना से अपने घरों को जा सके।

हमारी संसद् के दोनों हाउसों ने बंगला देश के सम्बन्ध मे प्रस्ताव पास किया था कि हमे उन्हें हर तरह की मदद देनी चाहिये, उन्हें सब कुछ दिया जाना चाहिये, उस प्रस्ताव के मुताबिक हमारी सरकार काम कर रही। है राजनारायण तो बोलते बोलते न मालूम क्या बोल गये और मैं उसको दोहराना नहीं चाहता हू क्योंकि उससे मेरा मुह खराब ही जायेगा और मैं उसको दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूं। इतनी भद्दी बाते मैं कहना नहीं चाहता हूं, लेकिन मैं सदन को एक बात बतलाना चाहता हूं कि खुद हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने अमे-रिका मे टेलीविजन व्यटरव्यू में कहा कि बंगला

[श्री शीलभद्र याजी]

Re measures for return

देश में जो मुक्तिवाहिनी हे, जो अपने देश की आजादी लड रही हे, उनकी हम मदद कर रहे है, लेकिन जितनी मदद हमे करनी चाहिये, उतनी मदद नही दे रहे है। इस तरह की शिकायत भारत के लोग और वाहर के लोग हमारी सरकार से करते हैं। अब बात यह है कि सरकार नहीं बोल सकती है कि हम क्या मदद दे रहे है, जिनकी आंखे है वे इन चीजो को अच्छी तरह से देख सकते है। राजनारायण की तो आख नहीं है, उनको कोई तमीज नही है बोलने की। उन्होंने बगला देश में जाकर कोई चीज नहा देखी है कि मुक्तिवाहिनी का किस तरह से निर्माण हुआ है और जो वे आजादी की लडाई लड़ रहे हैं, वह किस तरह से लड रहे है। हमारे यहा एक करोड रिपयुजी आ गये हे, यह बात ठीक है और हमे उनकी हर तरह से मदद करनी चाहिये। मैने पिछली बार भी वहा था कि पाकिस्तान नागा तथा मिजो विद्रोहियो को हर तरह की मदद कर रहा है और हमारे खिलाफ जग करवा रहा है। हमारे लीडरो की गलती की वजह से इस देश का विभाजन हुआ ओर जो वहा पर आता है उसका क्या कसूर है ? आज सिक्यूलिरिज्म और सोशलिज्म के काम पर तरह-तरह के जुल्म जनता पर किये जा रहे है, ऐसा कुछ विरोधी लीडरो ने कहा है। इस तरह शब्दो का प्रयोग नही किया जाना चाहिये।

चेयरमैन साहब, हिटलर और मुसोलिनी ने जो कुछ किया उसको आप जाने दीजिये, लेकिन पूर्वी पाकिस्तान मे जिस तरह की बाते हुई उस तरह की बाते अभी तक इतिहास मे नहीं हुई । औरतों को नगा करके, ररसी से बाध वरके तालाबों में नहलाया गया ओर उनके साथ तरह-तरह का अमानसिक व्यवहार किया गया। स्कूल और कालेजो की ईमारतो मे लडकियो को बन्द किया गया तथा उन्हे वेश्यालय बनाया गया और तरह तरह की यातनाए दी गई। आज बगला देश में 10 लाख आदमियों का कत्त्व किया गया है और लाखो लडकियो की पश्चिमी पाकि-स्तान या फिर अरब मुल्को मे बेचने के लिए भेज

दिया गया है। मै राजनारायण की भाषा मे बात करना नही चाहता हू, लेकिन मै अपनी सर-कार से कहना चाहता ह कि हमारी सरकार की जो गति है, वह कच्छप गति है। यह हमारे देश का अन्दरूनी मामला नहीं है, ऐसा कहा जा रहा है। जिस रोज आपने देश का विभाजन किया और जल्दी-जल्दो गद्दी पर बैठने की कोशिश की, उसी का यह नतीजा है तथा यह हमारा आतिरक मामला है। इसमे बगला देश की जनता तथा पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान की जनता का कोई कसूर नही है। काग्रेस वालो ने और मुस्लिम लीग वालों ने इस तरह की बात की जो शक, हुण, तैमुर लंग और चगेज खा, औरगजेब ने भी अपनी तलवार के बल से नहीं की । गद्दी लेने के लिए आप लोगों ने भारत देश का विभाजन किया और फिर गही पर बैठ गये। यह किसी दूसरे का अन्दरूनी मामला नही है। बल्कि यह मामला हमारा है। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि बंगला देश की जनता को हर तरह की मदद दी जानी चाहिये ।

आज हमारी सरकार ने एक काम बहुत ही अच्छा यह किया कि आज द्रिया की राय पाकि-स्तान के जुल्मो के खिलाफ हो गई है। राज-नारायण को इप बारे मे कोई तमीज तथा जान-कारी नही है, लेकिन हम लोग समझते हैं कि हमारे लीडरो ने, प्रधान मवी ने, मंतियों ने जो विदेशों में गये, उसका बहुत बड़ा असर पड़ा है और ससद् मे एक ओपीनियन बगला देश की ' जनता के हक में बन गई है। इसलिए जरूरत इस बात की है कि जल्द से जल्द जो हम मदद देरहे है उस मदद को तेज किया जाय, क्यों कि आपने परसों देखा कि ढाका मे किस तरह से जनता के ऊपर जुल्म किया गया । और फिर हजारो लोग कल्ल हुये। पहले तो वहा पर 10 लाख आदिमयो का कत्ल कर दिया गया और अब न मालूम कितने लोग मारे गये।

यह बात ठीक हे कि बाहर के मुल्कों के पत याहिया खा के पास भेजे जा रहे है कोिमिगिन साहब के पत्र आ रहे हैं तथा विदेशी नेताओं के

खत अ। रहे हैं: लेकिन पत्नों से काम चलने वाला नहीं है, बल्कि हमें फौरन से पेस्तर उनकी हर तरह से मदद करनी होगी।

Re measures for return

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथर : यहा तो चिट्टियों से काम हो जाता है।

श्री शीलभद्र थाजी : इसलिए मेरी सरकार से यह दरस्वास्त है कि वह राजनारायण की वकवास को न सुने। मदद हमने दी है और दे रहे है। राजनारायण तो सरहद मे गये नही, लेकिन जहां मुक्तिवाहिनी को टेनिंग दी जाती है, वहा मैं गया ह ।

मै जानता ह कि उनका मनोवल कितना ऊंचा है, वे आजाद होने वाले है, उनकी आजादी को रोकने वाली कोई शक्ति नहीं है। जाते-जाते पाकिस्तान के सिपाही पगला गए है, पागलपन में वे खराब काम कर रहे है। सारे संसार के जो डेमोक्रेसी-पसन्द लोग है, उनसे मैं कहना चाहता ह कि बंगला देश के लोग जम्हरियत की लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं, इसलिए हम सब लोगो का यह कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि वे जल्दी से जल्दी जिस तरह से हो येन-तेन-प्रकारेण सब तरह की मदद दें जिसमे बंगला देश मे जो मुक्तिवाहिनी लड रही है, वह अपने देश को आजाद करा सके और आजाद करा कर उनके साथ दोस्ती रखी जाय। इसलिए मारे संसार के जो डेमोक्रेसी-पसन्द लोग है उनको बंगल। देश की मदद करनी चाहिए नहीं तो उनकी डेमीक्रेसी पर खतरा है। एक देश में याह्या खा पैदा हो गया तो वह दूसरे देश में भी पैदा हो सकता है, यहा भी पैदा हो सकता है, इंगलैंड मे भी पैदा हो सकता है। ज्यादा पगले पैदा हो जाएंगे तो सारी जम्हरियत खतरे में पड सकती है। इसिनए जो बंगला देश की आजादी की लडाई है, वह जम्हरियत की लडाई है, सिर्फ उनकी लड़ाई नही है, हमारी लड़ाई नहीं है, सारे संसार की लड़ाई है, इसलिए सारे संसार का यह फर्ज है कि उनको हर तरह से इमदाद दे, उनको आजाद बनावे और पाकिस्तानियों के चगुल से बचावे । जय हिन्द, जय बगला देश !

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Now Mr. Sardesai. It is now three minutes to five. You can have half-an-hour. He took half-an-hour and I will give you half-an-

SHRI N. SRIRAMA REDDY What about others

SHRI PHAMBER DAS: May I know whether the hon. Loreign Minister is going to speak today?

111L VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Let us not anticipate things. Let Mr. Saidesai speak now.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: What about me now ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): From your side Mr. Pande has already spoken. Now Mr. Sardesar. I have had the sense of the House for allowing time to Mr. Sardesai to speak. I am not going to listen to further interruptions. Mr. Sardesai.

SHRI N. SRIRAMA REDDY: Are yo making it a debate on Mr. Rajnarain's speech or are you making it a debate on the Bangla Desh situation? We would like to know. We must have our share of the time. Half-an-hour or one hour you may allow to others, but you must give me time to speak on behalf of my party today.

VICL-CHAIRMAN (SHRIA, D MANI): The Chair will consider your request

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: Mr. Vice-Clair man, Sir, as you can very well understand, I would like to begin my speech by expressing my shock and horror at the speech delivered b Shri Rajnarain. And why? Is it just becaus he attacked our party? Of course he attacked cut party and I am going to protest against it But why is it that I am shocked? Not basicall because of what I e said about our party. I wa shocked because I was wondering all the tim whether it was the voice of an Indian patric that I was listening to, or it was the voice of Islamabad and Washington that I was hearing That is the question v hich came before me. am not bothered and my party does not need t defend itself and I say that is not my poin The basic point is this that his speech toda does service precisely to the ruling junta of Pakistan, precisely to Mt. Nixon, and doimmense disservice precisely to the freedor

struggle of Bangla Desh and the unity of India This is my fundamental point. What was his starting point? His starting point was to create and to show all manner of suspicion and distrust between the Government of India and the 5 P. M.

Re measures for return

Government of Bangla Desh. He wants to create suspicion between the two. He wants to create suspicion and mistrust between the Bangla Desh movement and the Soviet Union. What is the meaning of this? By this, are you helping the Bangla Desh freedom struggle, or are you trying disrupt the unity of the struggle? That is the basic point I want to raise.

Now. Sir, I was surprised and I must be very blunt about it-I wish he had been here, he has been cowardly.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MAN!): Any way you are going on record,

SHRIS G. SARDESAI: I want to ask. Does Mr. Rajnarain consider himself the superpatriot of Bangla Desh? Does he consider himself to be more patriotic than Sheikh Mujibui Rahman himsell, more patriotic than Mr. Tajuddin, more patriotic than Mr. Nazrul Islam, who is the Vice-President? He ought to know that these leaders of the Awami League whom he glorified, the office-bearers, the Vice-President and the Prime Minister of the Bangla Desh Government, have thanked the India Candhi Government for the help given to them. Yet, he has not the check to say that this Government is betraying them. Mr. Tajuddin and the Vice-President of the Bangla Desh Government have thanked the Soviet Governnent for Treaty. And yet he denounces it. Is his anyone going to believe that you support he Bangla Desh freedom struggle? What have ou done for Bangla Desh? It is the Mukti lahini which is fighting there and sacrificing s blood. It is they who are thankful to India, is they who are thankful to the Soviet Union. low does it lie in his mouth to say such things? o, the first thing that I want to say is that this the kind of thing which the Pakistan Radio uts out; this is the kind of thing which we ear from Washington. He ought to be ashaied to call himself an Indian patriot or a wer of Bangla Desh. I accuse him of assisting akistan and assisting the enemies of Bangla esh. This is my charge against him.

Now, Sir, I come to my party. 11 sixs: Why is the Communist Party being admitted to the struggle in Bangla Desh? I want to tell him that this is precisely the American propaganda in India to-day. And my reply to him is this, that the Communists in Bangla Desh are fighting as valiantly and shedding their blood as anyone else in Bangla Desh. The treasury benches can tell us whether it is a fact or not. Does he know Moni Singh? Does he know that Moni Singh fought for the toiling people of East Bengal long before the Partition? He was a great leader of the Hajang people, a great patriot of East Bengal subsequently called East Pakistan. For year, he had been in jail and had always been fighting for the toiling people of East Bengal. And now he is fighting for the freedom of Bangla Desh. This is the Communist Party of East Bengal. And he asks why such a Communist Party should be in the Co-ordination Committee. There are number of parties. The Awami League is of course, the biggest party and they won the biggest victory. But didn't everyone desire after that, that however big the Awami League may be or however small the other parties may be, all the forces of freedom in Bangla Desh should come together? Maybe the other forces are small. The other forces are not saying that they are as big as the Awami League. But they have also a contribution to make to the freedom of Bangla Desh. The Communist Party is there. The Bhashani Party is there. Other parties are there. they no right to fight by the free lone of Bangla. Desh? Anyone who loves Bangla. Desh should feel happy that the Awami League and the other parties are fighting together. Instead of welcoming that, Mr. Rajnarain wants to drive a wedge in the unity of the people of Bangla Desh. He is the traitor. I openly accuse him: he is a traitor who has betrayed Bangla Desh and those who are fighting for it. He cannot speak against those who have written their love of Bangla Desh with their blood and sacrifices. I would like to kno v what he has done for Bangla Desh before he comes with these things.

of refugees to Bangla Desh

SHRI BHUPLSH GUPTA: Shout against Indna Gandhi.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: Yee, Prime Minister, he has developed a hatted for the Prime Minister. He is a diseased man. I just cannot understand his morbidity towards the Prime Minister. Even if the watch is late by

5 minutes, he diags in the Prime Minister Whatever the subject on earth, the Prime Minister must be dragged in. What is this? What is this politics? We critic se the Government, surely we have requests and suggestions to make to the Government but my submission is that whoever divides the unity of this country, divides the unity between the people and the Government and the unity of India and Bangla Desh in the common struggle for the freedom of Bangla Desh, he is an agent of Yahya Khan. He is an agent of Yahya Khan no matter what he may talk or what he says.

Su I am very sorry to have taken so much time of the House on this issue Surely, I did not have these things in my mind in the beginning. I have certain points which I would like to addres to the Government. In the context of this political heat, it may appear as if I im going from something higher to a lower key, but I have to say a few weeds about the refugees before I come to the political aspect of the entir problem. I will draw the attention of the Desence Minister to the humanitarian aspect of the question namely, looking after the refugees They will go back we want them to go back and we will succeed in sending them back. There is no doubt about it our comtades who are doing a lot of work among the refugees, have recently complained about the sufferings of the refugees which are serious, unnecessary and which can be rectified These complaints are growing. For example, the food meant for refugees is going in the black market. I am not saying it from any other point of view. I want that these things should be looked into. It is a question of the morale of the refugees. You have to be very careful so far as the camps in Meghalaya in particular are concerned. We know there are tribals there and other problems also complants are coming from a camp like They need Bagmaia Winter is coming blankers they need woollen clothes and I can say that they are not being looked after as well as they should be I can say that and I am saving that, so that the Government may look into it and see that these things are improved

Coming to the political aspect, I have no desire to repeat certain positions which we have taken in the past. So far as the political aspect is concerned, to my mind what the Government needs to do what all of us need to do today, is to take cognizance of certain developments which have taken place in the recent months.

and which should, therefore, give is a more concrete and precise definition of the kind of tasks which we face today I have a very broad picture of the issue I know the basic positions which the Parliament has taken so far. I will explain what piecisely I have in mind. When I think of the concrete situation which has developed in the recent months, the first and the foremost thing is this. There is no doubt that the activity of the Mukti Bahmi guerillas has increased tremendously and all glory to them, all tribute to them. Also we recognise that the Government of India has done something in the matter Nobody says that it i not doing anything The training, the equipment the number the striking power, the co-ordination of the Mukti Balini have ubstratally increased in the viscociation period so that for the first time I think, not merely for propaganda but from a very objectwe judgment we are in a position to say that there are certain areas which in I would say, sem liberated. I am cautious in these things because I know of these struggles Liberation is a very big word. When you say you have liberated an area you must be able to carry out your own Government in those areas. So liberation is a very big thing. But Yahya Khan's writ does not run there, in a number of areas. In that sense cortain areas are 1th rated, big chunks of areas have been liberated It is not only a military achievement-I will come to that point later on -but it has also very serious political implications from the point of view of recognition of Bangla Desh Government. This is a substantial change which has occurred in the recent period

The next thing I would like to pass on to is that this bio advance in the Mukti Bahini activities combined with the signing of the li no-Soviet Treaty has had an impact even on the chancelleries of the western powers. These two things have compelled them to re-think. If the Muki Bahini had not grown as it has done in the last three months if the Indo-Soviet Tienty had not taken place in the last two or three months, I am doubtful if even the Prime Minister's tour would have yielded results as it has done. It has certainly yielded some results, I am not one of those who say that the tour has been quite useless. Now in what sense has it yielded results? The statements made by many people outside and by the Government bring out clearly the results which have been yielded. I am not thinking

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so much of France, I have mainly in mind the United States because after all the position of France, West Germany and the United States is not the same. Everyone knows that. After all life being what it is, the position in the United States is more important than that in the other two countries. What is the change in the position that has come about? The change undoubtedly is this that now they recognise that Bangla Desh has come to stay which four months ago they were not prepared to recognise. Whether you like it or not Bangla Desh just cannot be wiped out. I think even President Nixon has realised this that it has come to stay. Naturally this is a big shift and the Western powers have also shift because now they know that if war takes place the Indo-Soviet Treaty is there and a big war is a serious thing for them. So by and large this big shift has come about because of the objective reality of the Bangla Desh struggle.

Thirdly, I have no doubt that in the international community politically Pakistan is far far more isolated now than it was ever before. Its supporters, those who supported it and who continue to support it even today like the western countries cannot go the whole hog with Pakistan as they did before. In that sense Pakistan is isolated now. In this context what should this Government do about it? I would like the Desence Minister to give us their plan. There is nothing very secret about it; there is nothing that should be kept from the country; all of us should know about it. What precisely is their estimate of the change which has come about in the policy of the United States of America? That is the important point. I will give you my assessment; you may agree or you may not agree. My view is-and I am speal ing for my party; of course it goes without saying-that the Americans have changed their tactical line but they have not changed their objective. Their tactical line is changed. In what sense has it changed? It has changed in this sense that three months ago they were saying that Bangla Desh is a purely internal problem of Pakistan and nobody has any right to speak about it. We are not going to speak about. We know only the Indo-Pak conflict. So all the time they were saying that this is an internal problem of Pakistan and nebody has got the right to tell Yahya Khan what he should do. Now that does not work; that sort of bulldozer thing does not work because Bangla Desh has come to stay. And what is the

shift in their position? The shift is they now say that a political settlement is necessary. This they were not saying four months ago. The Western Powers were not saying four months ago that a political settlement is necessary. They said: "You have no business to poke your nose into it." Now, they say that a political settlement is necessary. I want to warn this Government, not merely to caution it, but to warn it strongly that a very disruptive period in the whole movement is coming so far as the policies of the Western Powers are concerned. Disruptive in what sense? It is not the crude position that they took that this has to do only with Yahya Khan. It is disruptive in the sense that they are taking a new line. This new line has come out in different papers. It is this that a political settlement is necessary. Point No. 1. Together with it come two other things which we should not forget. What is this Commission coming for? I want to be absolutely clear on this point and I want the Government to clear what the position is. What is this Commission coming for ? I have not the remotest doubt in my mind that it is coming to say three things. This Commission is going to say that there should be a political settlement in respect of Bangla Desh. They are going to say that there should be a political settlement because our Prime Minister has herself said that they should go to the root of the problem. They are going to say: We are prepaled to go to the root. They would say that a political settlement in respect of Bangla Desh is necessary. This is what they are going to say, but together with it they are going to do two things. Firstly, they will search for soft spots inside the Bangla Desh Government. Facts of life must be faced. They want to have their fifth column inside. First of all, they want to bring about disruption in the Bangla Desh Government. Their political settlement means that they want to disrupt. Secondly, this commission is going Co say: Yes, political settle. ment is necessary, but that gives no authority to India to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan. People in West Bengal are interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan. This the Commission is bound to say. I have not the remotest doubt about it. When they come I do not know it, but the Defence Minister will explain that they have come as friends.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I am no longer the Defence Minister. I have left that long ago.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: I am sorry, I spoke with a little heat in the beginning. Please excuse me. I apologise to you for it. In any case you can speak for both. My point is this. They are going to make out a case for a political settlement, but they will say why do you interfere? The other day at a press conference in Western Europe, the correspondents asked Mrs. Gandhi many questions. I tell you the most significant question was put in Brussels. Everyday I was reading the papers. One of the press correspondents said that there are television pictures of Last Bengal guerillas being trained on West Bengal soil. This is what the Prime Minister said and I am happy and proud of it The Prime Minister sa d "We will not stop it." She gave that assurance Although she said: "What could we do?", she also said that we are not going to stop it. My point is this. The American commission, whatever it is going to do, will combine three things. Political settlement, 'Yes'. The other two things are, Indian interference must stop and, therefore start negotiations. This is what I am saying. Step by step are we going to be drawn into it? I will be ve y happy, as I said, it these points are explained by the Foreign Minister. Frankly, not only myself but others also feel a little anxious about some of the statements-attributed rightly or wrongly and he should clarify them-which have come in regard to this commission lirst of all, the point which I want to be clear about is this. The newspapers have said that it is a commission going to be sent by Mr. Nixon. If that is so, it is an official commission. It is not a group of journalists. It is not like a parliamentary delegation. It is an official commission appointed by the President of a foreign Government. A very fundamental and basic principle is involved The question of sovereignty is involved. Cau an official commission appointed by another Government come and make enquiries here? Even if it is a hypothetical question, can they do it? How can it come? It will want to take evidence, it will call for witnesses, it will say, we want to go to the borders of East Bengal, we want to know what is happening to the guerillas we want to examine the Government of India The first point is, if it is a Commission appoirted by the President of the United States, Mr. Nixon, the basic jurisdical position is that we must say that nobody has got the right. To begin with, I am not going into the political aspects.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY: The Prime Minister has said that she has no objection if anybody comes.

of refugees to Bangla Desh

SHRI A. P CHATTERJFE: How can you confident?

SHRIS G SARDESAI: Let me have my viewpoint. Everybody his got his viewpoint I know that the Prime Minister on the next day in a certain part of her statement was denying that she was saying that kind of thing.

SHRI BHUPLSH GUPIA: I have to say something. I have made certain inquiries from that Bench. I find that there is no basis for such a piess report. Is it true?

SHRI S G SARDISAI: Let me explain what I want to say ... (Interruptions) I will speak as much as I want

THE VICI-CH IRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): You go on, M1. Sardesai.

SHRIS G. SARDESAI: The point which I am trying to make is, suppose it is an official commission. What are its terms of reference? Nobody knows tam No formal thing They say, no longer will we equate Pakistan and India, They have learnt all these phrases by heart that "we will not equate India and Pakistan We do not consider it purely an internal issue We are prepared to go into the basic cause." All these phrases are repeated. Mear while a situation will be created in which we will be so entangled in the whole thing that we can move a other forward nor backward a d the while thing gets stuck up. That is my very \$1 ous feat. So, I would say, whatever the character , that commission, whatever its terms of icl cuce, whatever it it, I want this Government to come out unequivocally ard clearly and say that we want no commission, the issue has been thoroughly explained to M: Nixon already, no further investigation is needed and the only thing which is now needed is to compel Yahya Khan to release Sheikh Mujibui Rahman and to talk to the Bangla Desh people, There is nothing clse to be done. The position must be absolutely and clearly taken

Thin, what do you do? Two things I want once again to say. After all, why it that these Western powers have been compelled

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to act like that? It is because Mukti Bahini's activities have been increasing. Let us not congratulate ourselves because it is the growing activities of the Mukti Bahini which have compelled rethinking not only in Washington but I would say also in Peking. If that is so. let us be frank about it that the Government of India's aid and assistance to Mukti Bahini have to increase many times more than now. And I am blunt and frank about it The whole world knows about it. There is no legal quibbling about it. But the point is precisely they should be dealt with the way just now demanded--the Bangla Desh Government should be recognised. Otherwise, I do not think you can do it. And the recognition of Bangla Desh will also be a weapon to prevent the Americans coming and disrupting the Bangla Desh Government. So, from all these points of view, you should repudiate any suggestion that any of these Governments can come and inquire into the proolem any surther. There is nothin more . . mauned it to, just nothing. This is number one. Secondly, strengthen further and far more Mukti Bahini. Thirdly, let us take the thing into our hands and recognise Bangla Desh.

The last point-I have not taken more than half an hour-is that the economy of the country is just as important as we concentrate on the political areas. I think there are no two opinions on that. In spite of the fact that it is not in the sphere of the Foreign Minister, I would like to say about the sort of new levies and taxes on newspapers, on railway fares and on postal articles. This is not the way of unifying and rousing our people to face the danger of war threat from Pakistan. It is from this angle that I am raising this point, not from the angle of 'garibi hatao'. That is the fundamental question, that will come. But from the point of view of the immediate situation here now in India, if you want the unity

of the Indian people, please do not try to tax them. All sorts of suggestions are there, what we can do, land measures, tax on corporations and all these things. Is this the way to go about it? If in this period we are going to increase taxation-and prices have already risen so high-I am really afraid that the kind of unity that we want to achieve for the purpose of facing Pakistan will get weakened. I am further alarmed if the Government of India says that there are some people who, in order to take advantage of the economic distress-and naturally the advice is to us-might resort to agitational methods. I want to say that it is not a question of our wanting. For the sake of the unity of the people this economic question should also be gone into along with the political problem to which I have referred. I hope while replying these points will be considered.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I think it is my duty just to clarify one point because there may be misapprehension with regard to the Government position about the press report relating to this U.S. Commission. I would like to say categorically that the United States Government or their administration have never approached us that they are contemplating the sending of any Commission. I want to say absolutely clearly that we do not recognise the authority of any other government to constitute a Commission and to make enquiries thereabout.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): The House stands adjourned till 11 A. M. on Monday, the 22nd November 1971.

The House than abjourned at twentvseven minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 22nd November, 1971.