

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We are not concerned with the High Court part of it. This is another part. If a Member has committed a crime, that is a different matter. Let it be settled. Our case was that the Governor has violated the Constitution. It is the Central Government's duty to defend and protect the Constitution. The hon'ble Minister in the other House cited some opinion of the Law Ministry. I have also consulted competent legal opinion in the country, and I find that the Law Ministry's opinion is totally wrong. Therefore, we would like this matter to be discussed threadbare in this House on the basis of a statement made by the Government as to what they have to say. Therefore, we should have this opportunity, Sir.

You will agree that a matter like this is not a party matter. If we are wrong we stand corrected on a matter like this when the Constitution is violated by so high a dignitary as the Governor going beyond the range of the Constitution and the range of all that is known as precedents in the House of Commons. I have given you the examples and very many things. Therefore, we should have an opportunity of discussing this matter. In my opinion, Sir, the Governor is guilty of an impeachable offence, but I shall not go into it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You need not express your opinion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He said yesterday that he was going to make a statement.

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: Sir, we have got the [Calling] Attention Notice and I will make the statement tomorrow.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Tomorrow?

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: Then when do you want? Tomorrow means the next working day.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: All right.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER RE SETTING UP A NEW INDUSTRIAL UNDERTAKING AT GWALIOR FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF INDUSTRIAL FLOUR MILL MACHINERY

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY (SHRI BIBUDHENDRA MISRA): Sir, yesterday in reply to certain supplementary questions arising out of Starred Question No. 726, I had promised to give the necessary information today. This is to inform the House, through you, Sir, that Messrs. Ram Narain and Brothers, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi, submitted the application on the 5th June, 1965, for setting up a new industrial undertaking at Gwalior for the manufacture of Industrial Flour Mill Machinery. There was no other application by any other party for setting up such a plant in Madhya Pradesh. The application of this party was also recommended by the Government of Madhya Pradesh. Since there is necessity to create capacity so far as this type of machinery is concerned, the party was granted a letter of intent on the 6th December, 1965, subject to some points being satisfactorily settled with the Government of India.

RESOLUTION RE LIFTING OF EMERGENCY—continued

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Kumaran had not finished his speech last time. He may do so now.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, I was stating how the Mysore Chief Minister was trying to use the Defence of India Rules against the rice eaters of that State. That is not the only case where the D.I.R. is being used. During the food agitation in Bihar, the Bihar Government not only arrested the available office-bearers of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union but also arrested the Union's jeep.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) in the Chair]

That is an old jeep. Some of us, when we used to visit the place, had to push that jeep

when it was going up gradient. But that jeep has been confiscated by the Government under the provisions of the emergency, and to this day the jeep has not been restored to the Union. It may still be lying in the backyard of some police station. Not only that, in Uttar Pradesh, the then Government wanted to confiscate the land belonging to the Kanpur Anti-T.B. Association. So the Chief Minister, under the D.I.R., wishes to get the landed property requisitioned. This is a property from which the Association used to have substantial income to support its activities. The District Magistrate ordered the requisitioning of the property under the D.I.R. for a workshop of the State Transport Department. All officials of the Association knew that the requisitioning was being done out of vindictiveness and that the workshop was not needed. It has not been constructed up to this day. The Development Plan of Kanpur did not contain any provision for this. Sir, these are some of the acts committed by this Government under the provisions of the D. I. R. May I know, Sir, what is the difference between this Government and the armed gangs who commit dacoities in Central India? That is one thing.

Another aspect is that this is being indiscriminately used. Three days back I found the D. I. R. being used against some people for erasing Devnagari script in certain parts of Punjab. During the language agitation in Tamilnad, the D.I.R. was used in a very sweeping manner to arrest all sorts of people. The editor of the paper 'Swadeshmitran' an old daily published a statement regarding the language agitation. Action was taken against him. Malai Murasu, Madras Edition, published reports of the death of a student as a result of police firing in Tiruppur and Thiruchengode. Action was taken against that paper. They took action against Malai Murasu, Coimbatore Edition, because they published some twelve items including cartoons and photographs. Malai Mani a D. M. K. weekly, was also subjected to harassment by the D. I. R. for publishing reports of and pictures featuring the self-immolation of the youth on the Republic Day. They did not do anything, they just published it and action was taken against them. The editor of Dinathanthi, Madras Edition, was held under the D. I. R. for

publishing prejudicial reports. Action was taken against Tamil Nadu of Madurai for reasons which they have not stated so far. There is no distinction between truth and untruth. In Bihar Shri T. J. S. George, editor of Searchlight, was also harassed. They started proceedings against him but finally after agitations the Government withdrew the proceedings against him. An advisory committee was set by the All-India Newspaper Editors, Conference and the Government have agreed that when they took action against newspapers, they would consult the committee. They were not consulted and this Committee has charged the Madras Government for taking action against several papers without consulting them. This is how the D. I. R. is being misused.

Regarding trade union the police arrested B. N. Tewari, General Secretary and Sunil Sen, Organising Secretary, two important office-bearers of the AITUC-affiliate Colliery Mazdoor Sabha on 5th July merely on the basis of a letter dated 4th July from the Manager of the Bankola Colliery. Similarly, Ram Banerjee of the J. K. Nagar Aluminium Mazdoor Union, was arrested under D. I. R. on a mere complaint of the management that he instigated a 45 minute strike.

In Bhopal, in the Heavy Electricals in public sector, several young trade unionists were arrested and detained under the D. I. R. Some of them including the Union President, S. Bhowmick, is still under detention. In no country perhaps such arbitrary arrests and victimisation of young trade unionists have taken place as it happened in Bhopal. Yesterday they announced that in Bhopal Heavy Electricals they have incurred losses. Why will they not be so when there is permanent trouble between the employees and the management? How can the production go up? The union which these detained employees led was entirely manned by workers themselves but Government wanted to suppress that union to favour the outsider leadership belonging to their own Party. Therefore, the D. I. R. is used not merely against the trade union activity but also for partisan purposes. But now the INTUC has also found that the D. I. R. and Emergency will be used not only against the

[Shri P. K. Kumaran]

Opposition and the trade unions under their influence. The "Indian Worker" of 26th July 1965 carried the following report:

"The General Secretary of the Madhya Pradesh Colliery Workers' Federation in a communication to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh has asked him to withdraw the order issued by the State Government under Rule 10 of the D. I. R. The Order issued by the State Government on June 1, 1965 prohibits meetings, demonstrations, etc. within the premises of Korea and Bismampur collieries of the N. C. D. C. The General Secretary said that while the main purpose of invoking such an order was to prohibit meeting and demonstrations by any unions, the unions of the Jan Sangh party has been given full freedom to do so. Shri Gupta has said that this sort of discrimination has caused discontent among workers. He has appealed to the Chief Minister to withdraw the Order and allow the workers organised under the democratic union to carry on their legitimate activities."

Now from using it against the organisations and activities of the opposition parties it has been extended to the activities of the INTUC also. This is the position as far as the general opinion about D. I. R. is concerned.

Coming to the Left Communists, Mr. Nanda gave us a statement. I have read the statement two or three times. That contains nothing, it contains only trash. What is it that they have proved? The utmost they can say against the Party is that they were not convinced about the stand taken by the Government as far as its relations with China are concerned. They have not stated that they are supporting China in preference to India. Nowhere did they state, nowhere did they write, nowhere did they speak. The only thing is, they might have been thinking that India's stand was not correct. Now thinking is no crime. Suppose I think that I must murder Mr. C. D. Pande. I am not committing any crime. I am not liable for legal action. If thinking is a crime and if there are laws to take action against thinking, the country and the entire population will have to be destroyed.

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh): My friend has said that they have done nothing, that they have simply expressed an opinion. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY): He has not yielded.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: They declared that China was not an aggressor. Joyoti Basu said it in a statement at the time of Chinese aggression in 1962.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): What are you talking? Is it Arabian Nights tale.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: If thinking is a crime, many of us think a lot of horrible things when we are idle and so the whole world has to be destroyed. You cannot destroy. Even God who created the world tried to destroy the world by Pralaya later but could not do so. Even if the atom bomb in the whole world drops on the world the world cannot be completely destroyed. Thinking is not a crime. So there is no justification to keep them in jail.

Simply Mr. Nanda has assumed that they have committed a crime. What are his *bona fides* to interfere with the normal status and reputation of private citizens? You are depriving the citizen of his freedom. As long as the rule of law prevails, you cannot deny them the normal rights. It is not correct.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I suspect some Ministers of bribery. Can I take action?

SHRI C. D. PANDE: This is no analogy.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: To-day public opinion also is there. I have read out the extracts from Mr. Setalvad's speech. Public opinion also thinks that something is wrong with the Government. Mr. Nanda and his astrologers and his book of stars cut a ridiculous picture before the whole of India. I do not know whether he realises it. He stands as the most discredited figure before democracy. I do not know whether he realises it. It may be that he may realise it only when it is too late. I am very sorry for him but I state the facts.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Hathi, do you believe in astrologers?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): Astrologer? You are my astrologer.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: It was justice Subba Rau who said in the course of a judgment:

"The tendency to ignore the rule of law is contagious, and, if our Parliament, which unwittingly made a void law, not only allows it to remain on the statute book, but also permits it to be administered by the executive, the contagion may spread to the people, and the habit of lawlessness, like other habits, dies hard. Though it is not my province, I venture to suggest, if I may, that the Act can be amended in conformity with our Constitution without it losing its effectiveness."

1 P. M.

Even this precaution is not being taken. Recently I read this in the 'Hindu'. It is a very conservative paper; I do not agree with many of their views, but even they have written:

"Chief Ministers have been reluctant to give up the additional powers under the D. I. R. no doubt because they came in handy in dealing with difficult situations. But, with no judicial review, they can hardly rebut the criticism that the D. I. R. are a highly potent instrument which can cripple political opponents. It was also becoming evident that the next general elections, not far away from now, would cease to give the impression of being fair and free, if the Damocles Sword of action under the D. I. R. should remain poised over the heads of the contestants who might want to give full rein to the expression of their opinions on all matters affecting the country."

This is from the editorial of the 'Hindu' dated the 28th of February, 1966.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY): Mr. Kumaran may continue his speech after lunch. The House will now adjourn and meet again at 2.30.

The House then adjourned for lunch at one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) in The Chair.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have quoted from the editorial of the 'Hindu'. There are many editorials; almost all papers of India have written condemning the D. I. R. and asked the Government to repeal the emergency—the 'Statesman', the 'Hindustan Times', the 'Indian Express', the 'Bharat Jyoti', the 'Times of India', the 'National Herald', the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika', the 'Patriot', the 'Basumati', the 'Jugantar' and many more papers, but I would like to draw your attention to the opinion of the 'New York Times'. The 'New York Times', published the opinion with this heading—

"34 Indian Leaders Assert State Is 'Constitutional Dictatorship'."

Again they say that 34 Indian leaders say that dictatorship is in the process of coming. I am again quoting from the 'New York Times'. They have given the news in such a way—we also put it in the same way—that if the emergency was continued "it would" in a certain measure affect the freedom of the general elections scheduled for next year. Then it writes:

"Mrs. Gandhi told Parliament this week that the possibility of lifting the state of emergency be re-examined, but there are still no signs that the Government intends to act in the near future.

"Today's—February 26—open letter said the executive had used the special powers under the state of emergency 'not for the purposes of the defence of the country but for collateral purposes.'"

This is the impression created even in America. In spite of their anti-communism, even they want some sort of democracy.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Do you want American type of democracy?

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: I do not want the American type of democracy, but I want the type of democracy for which we

fought in the pre-independence days. I shall not dilate on this any more. My time is limited and there are many more Members to speak. (*Interruptions.*) Sir, during the period when we were fighting for national liberation, there were certain ideals, certain idealisms we stood for, and I am appealing to the senior Congressmen here, who were unlike some of the Ministers who started their political career as Ministers, to these elder statesmen, who sacrificed their careers and suffered for certain ideals, for certain idealisms. And if they permitted their idealism to be destroyed, the idealism which made them superior to the bureaucracy, and if that idealism is destroyed then, instead of their ruling the bureaucracy, the bureaucracy will rule the leaders. That is why I appeal to them not to forget the idealism for which they fought and for which they have been living so far.

Now I cannot resist reading from a letter written by Mr. Churchill to his Home Secretary; he was writing it from Cairo to the British Home Secretary.

"I expect you will be questioned about the release of the Mosleys. No doubt the pith of your case is health and humanity. You might, however, consider whether you should not unfold as a background the great principle of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury, which are the supreme protection invented by the British people for ordinary individuals against the State. The power of the executive to cast a man into prison without formulating any charge known to the law, and particularly to deny him judgment by his peers for an indefinite period, is in the highest degree odious, and is the foundation of all totalitarian governments. It is only when extreme danger to the State can be pleaded that this power may be temporarily assumed by the executive, and even so its working must be interpreted with the utmost vigilance by a free Parliament. As the danger passes, persons so imprisoned, against whom there is no charge which courts and juries would accept, should be released, as you have been steadily doing, until hardly any are left. Extraordinary powers assumed by the executive with the consent of Parliament in emergencies should be yielded up when and as the emergency declines. On no account should we

lend any countenance to the totalitarian idea of the right of the executive to lock up its political opponents or unpopular people. Do not quit the heights."

My appeal to you is: Remember Mr. Churchill's words. Do not quit the heights. With these few words I appeal to you to vote for my Resolution.

The question was proposed.

SHRI ANAND CHAND (Bihar): Mr. Chairman, I have listened with rapt attention to what my hon. friend has said from the bench opposite regarding the lifting of the emergency and the laws connected with it. Sir, he has been at some pains to say, at least in his last speech that he gave the other week, that the 'emergency' was a matter of 'grave emergency'. Now the emergency had been declared because there was something very grave, the Chinese wanton attack and aggression, which was threatening the country. The emergency was provided for in the Constitution and the emergency could only be declared when there was such a grave situation as that, and the President was satisfied that a grave emergency existed whereby the security of India, or any part of its territory was threatened. He was rather at pains to make a lot out of this word "grave". But if we look into the dictionary we find that it means or it is nothing more than "serious" or "threatening." I think it is just an adjective put before the word "emergency" and it only says that it should be a serious thing. Now, I am not going into the legal quibblings but would rather go into the structure of the whole thing itself and try to adduce that even today conditions are not such as to in any way warrant the lifting of this emergency.

If we go back to the time of the Chinese aggression in the last week of October, 1962 when the emergency was declared, we find that both this House and the other House were unanimous in their demand and if I may quote the exact words of that Resolution that was adopted with acclamation in the Rajya Sabha itself on the 13th November, 1962, the last paragraph of it reads thus:

"With hope and faith this House affirms the firm resolve of the Indian people to drive out the aggressor from the sacred

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soil of India, however long and hard the struggle may be."

The question that arises in my mind naturally is this. Has the aggressor as such been driven out from the soil of India. If the aggressor as such has been driven out then the condition for the continuance of the emergency does not exist. If, however, the aggressor is still very much there, then we have to examine whether the time has come to act according to what my friend over there has advocated. Sir, the other day, Mr. Chorida, I believe it was who asked a question of the hon. Minister of External Affairs, as to how much of Indian territory was under the illegal occupation of other powers, and the answer which Sardar Swaran Singh gave to that question was very revealing. He said that something like 14,500 sq. miles of Indian territory was under the illegal occupation of China and I think some 32,000 sq. miles was under the illegal occupation of Pakistan. If that continues to be the position even in 1966 when we are debating this question I for one am not prepared to accept the thesis that the time has come for the lifting of the emergency or that the grave and serious threat to the sovereignty as well as the existence of the democratic structure in this country has been removed. I for one am not willing to accept that thesis.

And then there was the conflict that came about in the Rann of Kutch between Pakistan and India. And subsequently there was the conflict over Kashmir which we experienced last September between the same two countries. Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is advocated from the other side that because of the Tashkent Declaration conditions have come about in this country when it is no longer necessary to have this emergency and that we should scrap the Defence of India Act as well as the rules made thereunder. But only the other day it became very clear to us that in spite of all its professions of sincerity, Pakistan is not adhering to the spirit, as we call it, of the Tashkent Declaration. Not only that. Very recently at the time they celebrated their national day in Rawalpindi the President of Pakistan was at pains to say that the problems or these quarrels with India were not over. And what is more, in the presence of the President of the People's Republic of China Liu Shao Chi—I believe I am pronouncing

his name correctly—President Ayub Khan was at pains to say that Pakistan would not be satisfied unless the Kashmir problem was amicably settled to their liking. This is not the whole matter. In that very National Day parade, for the first time tanks borrowed from China and MIG planes loaned by China to Pakistan, were paraded. And what is more, the Chief of Air Staff of the Pakistan Administration or the Government himself flew one of those Chinese MIGs. So what does it prove? It proves that the very same China on whose aggressive intentions, or on whose aggression against India we in 1962 declared this emergency, is very closely linked with Pakistan and as such the threat to our borders from both sides, from the north as well as from the west continue is continuing. In this context, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I find it very difficult to accept that the emergency as such has outlived its purpose.

Now let us for a moment leave aside the international scene and come to events at home. What has been our experience during the last few months here in India itself? We have had the Mizo rebellion which had to be crushed by force of arms and even now Pakistan is sheltering them. They are somehow or other finding their way from the south into the eastern part of Pakistan. Then there have been the Naga hostiles. Only the other day questions were asked both in this House and in the other about the reported celebrations by the Nagas on a ridge very near Kohima where they somehow or the other hoisted a flag which they called their national flag, and also having celebration of their own independence or republic day. It is only today that I have read with some relief that they have accepted the ultimatum issued by the Government and are demolishing those huts and going away. There again, therefore, the cancer exists on our borders. And then there were, if I may be permitted to say so, the riots in Punjab which broke out on the question of the unilingual Punjab State which was announced only a few days back. The riots then took a very heavy toll of life, innocent lives, if I may be allowed to say. Then there is the continuing threat of the Bengal Left-wing bundh and they have proposed the bundh, I think for next April 6th or so. Sir, this "bundh" really means some kind of a strike where

everything and all life is to be paralysed and shutters are to be pulled down. The word originated, I believe, some time when the riots in Bombay over the Samyukta Maharashtra and the Samyukta Gujarat and so on, occurred in the Bombay State. It seems to have originated from there. Whatever it might be, this bundh has come now to be a normal practice of paralysing the normal life of the citizens of the country and in Bengal the ULF are threatening to have a bundh again in another ten days' time, if the Government does not yield to their demands. From all these points, I for one personally feel that the law and order situation in this country is not only grave but there is only a thin veneer of legal, what I may call, government at the top, and if we scratch, there is a kind of anarchy which is simmering below. My hon. friend opposite was at pains to say the Defence of India Act and the rules thereunder amount to a constitutional dictatorship, and he quoted, I believe, the opinions expressed by certain lawyers. But in all humility I may be permitted to say that it is better to have some kind of a constitutional dictatorship than anarchy, chaos and mob rule. If we have the choice between the two, it is better to have this kind of a constitutional dictatorship in which democratic institutions, Parliament and the Legislatures, will function rather than yield to these bundhs, threats, coercion, riots and burning and looting and arson and to a state of things where there is complete disarray, disorder and mob rule in this country. I would also like in this context to say that the Home Minister, in spite of all these happenings and in spite of all these difficulties, had been pleased to say on the 25th February, 1966 that certain amendments in the actual application of these rules, these Defence of India Rules and their actual *modus operandi*, were under contemplation. He has announced a number of concessions, some of which should go quite a lot to allay apprehensions if such still remain in the mind of hon. Members. He said in the course of his statement :

"It has now been decided that recourse should be had to the powers of preventive detention and prosecution under those rules only for the strictly limited purposes of national security, that is the defence

of India, civil defence and efficient conduct of military operations"

This, in my opinion, goes a long way to allay the apprehensions if they still exist in our minds that the emergency is being utilised for any political purposes. Of course, the question of the detention or the question of the arrest of the Left Communist Party members has been mooted in this House and it is there. And my friend from Kerala when he was talking about it said that the statement made by the hon. Home Minister on the anti-national activities of the pro-Peking communists was mere trash. Now I have read this trash and I do not consider it as such. I think it is a very serious document, a document which is reasonable, comprehensive and which is based on facts and in which it has been proved beyond doubt that after the aggression of China against India in October 1962 and even before there were factions in the Communist Party of India which did not see eye to eye with the other faction and that so far as our frontiers in the eastern part of India or the north-eastern part of India were concerned they were firmly of the view that the McMahon Line having been given to us by the British was a legacy of the past British imperialism and therefore in certain cases it was India itself, and not China, which was the aggressor. Now, can we accept this thesis? And this thesis very clearly came out in the meeting of the Communist Party of India's National Council which met in New Delhi from October 31 to November 2, 1962, when there were two groups formed and it was only subsequent to that, I believe roundabout 21st November of the same year, that the left Communist Party members were arrested by the State Governments, actually at a time when China had not only knocked at our doors but had penetrated to a great depth into our country. So in this context I for one cannot accept that there was no collaboration or that the left Communists who had sympathies towards China did nothing at all to help the enemy at a time when the very existence of this country was at stake. As such I feel that this thesis of theirs does not hold water and is untenable.

[Shri Anand Chand]

Lastly, taking a dispassionate view of the whole thing I personally am of the opinion that the continuance of the Proclamation of Emergency and the emergency powers is a dire necessity at the present moment although there is a case for relaxation of certain provisions regarding preventive detention about which the hon. Home Minister has already given an assurance to this House and which I hope the Government will consider in due course so that there might not be any spot left on our democracy that we are detaining people not for reasons of security of the State but purely on political grounds.

Thank you.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उप-सभापति जी, यह इमरजेंसी और उसके होते हुए हमारे देश में जो डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स चालू किए गए हैं उनके बारे में कई बार इस सदन में और बाहर भी चर्चा हुई है। आज इस गैरसरकारी प्रस्ताव के जरिए एक मौका फिर मिला है और मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार इसके ऊपर गौर करे और इस गैर सरकारी प्रस्ताव को मंजूर करे। इसलिए एक तो फैसला यह करना है कि क्या इस देश में आप जनतंत्र को चलाना चाहते हैं या डिक्टेटरशिप चलाना चाहते हैं। एक सदस्य ने यहां कहा कि वे पसन्द करेंगे कि किसी तरह की डिक्टेटरशिप हो।

SHRI C. D. PANDE : If at all, it is Constitutional dictatorship.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : चाहे आप उसको कांस्टीट्यूशनल कहें या अन्कांस्टीट्यूशनल, डिक्टेटरशिप, डिक्टेटरशिप है।

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh) : How can there be a constitutional dictatorship?

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : यही तो समझ में नहीं आता कि—How can there be a constitutional dictatorship? तो बहुत लोगों के दिमाग में यह बात साफ हो गई है कि या तो जनतंत्र चले या डिक्टेटरशिप चले। जिस ढंग से हम इमरजेंसी का इस्तेमाल

करते हैं और डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स का इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं, उसके चलते-चलते इस देश में सिर्फ डिक्टेटरशिप ही चल सकती है। मैंने यह भी सुना कि सरकारी दल के जो सब से बड़े नेता हैं, प्रेसिडेंट हैं उन्होंने कहीं पर भाषण किया कि हिन्दुस्तान में इस तरह की अराजकता चली तो फिर यहां पर डिक्टेटरशिप होगी या मिलिटरी डिक्टेटरशिप होगी या किसी एक पार्टी की सरकार बनेगी। यह सब दिमाग में जो कीड़ा है उसका परिचय देता है। मेरा तो अनुमान यह है कि सरकारी दल के लोगों में और उनके बड़े नेता लोगों में यह कीड़ा घुस गया है कि आगे चल कर कांग्रेस का शासन हिन्दुस्तान में चलना मुश्किल होगा। इसलिए कोई एक रास्ता ढूंढो जिससे कांग्रेस की सरकार कायम रहे। यह तो सारी चीज इमरजेंसी और डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स की चल रही है मैं उसे इसी दृष्टि से देखता हूं, नहीं तो इस तरह के बयानात और इस तरह के भाषन न होते।

एक दलील यह दी जाती है कि देश में विद्रोह चलता है, कहीं प्रदर्शन किये जाते हैं, कहीं पर मारपीट हो जाती है, इसलिए डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स रखना जरूरी है। मैं यह पूछना चाहूंगा कि यह इमरजेंसी और डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स आने से पहले क्या कलकत्ता शहर में इस ढंग के प्रदर्शन नहीं हुए थे? क्या बम्बई शहर में इस ढंग से प्रदर्शन नहीं हुए थे? तो फिर उस वक्त इस इमरजेंसी डिक्लेयर करने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ी थी। इसलिए आज यह दलील देना कि देश में जगह जगह प्रदर्शन हो जाते हैं, कुछ गड़बड़ हो जाती है, इसलिए इमरजेंसी को कायम रखना जरूरी है, मैं समझता हूं यह बिल्कुल खराब दलील है और इसमें कोई तथ्य नहीं है। लड़ाई की बात कही जाती है। मैं तो आप लोगों को यही याद दिलाऊंगा कि जब लड़ाई छिड़ी तो इंग्लैंड में भी इमरजेंसी नौ महीने के बाद डिक्लेयर

की गई, और मेरी समझ में नहीं आता हिन्दु-स्तान में क्या लड़ाई आपने लड़ी। मैं तो यह पूछना चाहूंगा कि हिन्दुस्तान की जो अभी पाकिस्तान से लड़ाई हुई है या चीन से लड़ाई हुई है, कैसी लड़ाई आपने लड़ी है? चीन से तो आपने लड़ी ही नहीं, उसके लिए तो मैं समझता हूँ कि लड़ाई का नाम देना ही गुनाह होगा। और पाकिस्तान से जो छुटपुट लड़ाई हुई है 23 दिन की वह भी मैं समझता हूँ कि उस सीढ़ी पर नहीं रखी जा सकेगी जो पिछली बार इंग्लैंड और जर्मनी में हुई। लेकिन फिर भी इंग्लैंड में नौ महीने के बाद इमरजेंसी डिक्लेयर की गई। इंग्लैंड में उन लोगों ने जो जनतंत्र की कल्पना की और जैसे वे जनतंत्र चलाना चाहते थे उसमें उन्होंने यह देखा कि इमरजेंसी की जरूरत तब तक नहीं पड़ेगी जब तक और भी चीजें मौजूद न हों। इसलिए नौ महीने रुककर उन्होंने इमरजेंसी का डिक्ले-रेशन किया। यहां इसका इस्तेमाल मैंने लड़ाई में कहीं ज्यादा नहीं देखा कि कहीं पर डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूस का इस्तेमाल किया गया हो या कहीं इमरजेंसी का सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से किया गया हो। ज्यादातर इसका इस्तेमाल हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों पर और उनके राजनीतिक दलों पर किया गया। इससे तो साफ जाहिर होता है कि हिन्दुस्तान की इमरजेंसी और डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूस जो हैं वह सरकारी दल की एक साजिश है कि उसके जो विरोधी दल हैं, और उसके खुद के खिलाफ थोड़ा बहुत जनता का जो असंतोष प्रकट होता है उसको कुचलने के लिए इनका इस्तेमाल किया जाय। मैं तो यही कहूंगा। सारे डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूस और इमरजेंसी आज हमारे देश के लोगों को कुचलने के लिए और हिन्दुस्तान के राजनीतिक दलों को कुचलने के लिए इस्तेमाल किए जा रहे हैं, न कि विदेशी ताकतों के हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण हुए उसके लिए। इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार इसके बारे में सोचे क्योंकि अगर आप इस

इमरजेंसी का और डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूस का इस्तेमाल करेंगे और सारे अधिकार छीनेंगे, लोगों को बिना कोर्ट जाए, बिना ट्राइल के जेलों में डालेंगे तो फिर लोगों के दिमाग में भी यही कीड़ा घुसेगा जो आजकल कलकत्ता में और अन्य जगहों पर प्रदर्शित हो रहा है।

3 P. M.

पंजाब में अभी हाल क्या हुआ? बंगाल में क्या हुआ? बंगाल में आपने सारे अपोजिशन के लीडरों को अंदर कर दिया, बंद कर दिया और उसके बाद में जो हुआ उसके बारे में यह कहना कि यह तो लेफ्टिस्ट पार्टियों ने किया यह बड़ी गलत बात होगी और कुछ हद तक असत्य होगा, क्योंकि मैं जानता हूँ जब कोई आरगेनाइज्ड दल नहीं रह जाता है तो मुमकिन है, जैसा कि हमेशा होता है, कि कोई गुंडा या जो ऐसे किस्म के लोग हैं वे सारा कामकाज अपने हाथ में ले लेते हैं और वहां के प्रदर्शन को हिंसात्मक प्रदर्शन जैसा कर देते हैं। इसलिये सरकार को अगर हिन्दु-स्तान में जनतंत्र को चलाना है तो जोखिम उठाकर इस डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूस को, इमरजेंसी को, तुरन्त खत्म करके बाकी जो हमारे पास अन्य लाज हैं उनको इस्ते-माल करना चाहिये। मैं जानता हूँ आज जो भी सरकार कार्यवाही कर रही है उसके लिये हमारे जो नार्मल लाज हैं उसमें सारे प्राबि-जन्स हैं। आपने प्रिवेन्टिव डिटेन्शन ऐक्ट अपना चालू रखा है जिसकी मातहत आप गुंडों को, बदमाशों को, अंदर रख सकते हैं। लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ कि आप कभी कभी राजनीतिक कार्यकर्ताओं को भी उस ऐक्ट के मातहत बंद कर देते हैं। इसलिये कोई बजह नहीं है कि जो आप डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूस चला रहे हैं और उसके अंतर्गत अधिकार ऐसे लोगों को दे रखे हैं जगह जगह पर कि जो न सिर्फ राजनीतिज्ञों के लिये इस्तेमाल करते हैं बल्कि खुद अपने स्वार्थ के लिये, यानी जो आपका विरोधी होता है उसके खिलाफ भी, उसको लागू करके उसका

[श्री गोडे मुराहरि]

इस्तेमाल करते हैं। इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा कि इस तरह का एक डेन्जर्स लॉ हिन्दुस्तान में चालू रखना बहुत ही मूर्खता की बात होगी। क्योंकि इसके चलते चलते आप हिन्दुस्तान में डिक्टेटरशिप लायेंगे और इसका कोई नतीजा नहीं निकलने वाला है। मैं जानता हूँ बहुत से अखबारों ने इस विषय पर लिखा और बहुत से हिन्दुस्तान के व्यक्तियों की राय इसके पक्ष में हुई जिनको आप यह नहीं कह सकते हैं वे किसी राजनैतिक दल के लोग हैं, जैसे सप्रू साहब भी हैं—तो ऐसे लोगों की राय होते हुए भी इस चीज को आप खत्म नहीं कर पाये यह बड़े दुःख की बात है। मुझे लगता है, कहीं न कहीं कोई हिचक है। एक तरफ तो आप जानते हैं पब्लिक ओपीनियन इसके खिलाफ है, इसको निकालने के पक्ष में है, एक तरफ आप यह भी कहते हैं कि हम इसके बारे में कुछ सोच भी रहे हैं लेकिन उसको कार्यान्वित नहीं करते इसलिए कि कहीं न कहीं कोई कीड़ा घुसा हुआ है, कि उसको निकालने से पता नहीं हमको क्या धक्का लगेगा, हम अधिकार पर रहेंगे या नहीं, हमारा वश चल पायेगा या नहीं—यह जो शंका है इसके मातहत यह सब चालू किया गया है और मैं चाहता हूँ जब तक ये सब चीजें हिन्दुस्तान से खत्म नहीं करेंगे तब तक आप शांति कायम नहीं कर सकेंगे क्योंकि लोगों का विश्वास जब उठ जाता है, जब लोग समझने लगते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में कोई लॉ के मुताबिक काम नहीं चल सकता है, कोई कानून के मातहत काम नहीं हो सकता है तो लोगों को फिर हिंसा और हिंसात्मक काम करने में मजा भी आता है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इसके बारे में सोचे और जल्द से जल्द इस स्थिति को खत्म करे।

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA (Bihar) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am very much obliged to my friend, Mr. Kumaran, for moving this Resolution, because by moving this Resolution he has provided

the House and the hon. Members of the House with an opportunity to express their opinion on this very important subject. I have heard the speech of Mr. Kumaran as well as the speeches of the Members who have spoken after him. This matter must be considered in an objective and dispassionate manner. I am second to none in my faith in democracy. I would like to say that I am a socialist and I believe in democracy. These are the two political lungs with which I live. If there is no democracy, if there is no attempt to build up socialism, I say in all humility that life will have no meaning for me. It will be a purposeless life. So, when any Resolution comes up, which gives strength to democracy and gives an occasion to express oneself on this important subject in a dispassionate and objective manner, it delights me.

Now, Sir, before I proceed, I would like to say that my esteemed friend, Mr. Kumaran, said that some lawyers say that the Emergency rule is constitutional dictatorship. Lawyers are very enlightened people. They know law. They know the Constitution and what they say should be respected. But like all watches—watches do not give you the same time—lawyers also do not give the same opinion on important subjects. The Constitution itself provides for this emergency. The Constitution provides for this in a given situation, in a particular situation. If the President is satisfied with this and that, that there is or there is going to be external aggression or there are or there are going to be internal disturbances, then he can proclaim an emergency. That is there in the Constitution. So, what has been done is according to the Constitution. Then, it lays down that it should come before Parliament and both Houses of Parliament should pass it. If it is done according to the Constitution, then to say that it is constitutional dictatorship is to betray a gross ignorance of the meaning of dictatorship as well as of democracy. I would submit that very humbly. So, what is there on the Statute Book, this proclamation of emergency, is hundred per cent according to our Constitution, which is one of the best Constitutions in the world. From the democratic point of view and even from

the socio-economic point of view, our Constitution is one of the best. Whether we live up to it or not, depends on the co-operation of all the citizens of India. It cannot be the monopoly only of the ruling Party. All have to co-operate and see that the Constitution succeeds. Even the proclamation of emergency and the law is for everyone. It is for every Indian, every political party to see that it succeeds. I know that they cannot prevent foreign aggression, but they can do one thing. If all the Parties unite, they can prevent internal disturbances. And if this is done, personally I would beg of my Government and beg of the Congress Party, to which I have given at least 46 years of my life, to come to both Houses of Parliament to rescind this Proclamation, in spite of the Chinese threat, in spite of the fact that Chinese tanks and Chinese aeroplanes had been shown on Pakistan Day in Pakistan. The proclamation of emergency is meant for both things. We know the international scene. What is the international scene ? In South Vietnam or North Vietnam or in Pathet Laos, it is nothing but the expansionism of China. What is Viet Cong ? It is nothing but the arms and ammunition of China given to the South Vietnamese.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is given to North Vietnam.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : Arms and ammunition of China has been given to the Viet Cong.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : They are like Mr. Niren Ghosh and Mr. Ramamurti.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : Please do not add to my speech. You can make your own speech.

I feel that this is a resolution on which all the parties should talk sincerely, honestly, objectively and dispassionately. I am not taking a partisan view. I believe in democracy. I believe we can create conditions—and it is within our power—those who sit in the House of the Swatantra Party, P.S.P., S.P., Communist Party, both Right and Left, and Independents; it should be the effort of all of us to see that they not

only bring the resolution but create conditions in the country. What happened in the Mizo Hills district ? That is a quite different matter. They were supplied by our enemy countries with arms and ammunition and they fought. They might have taken the example of the Nagas that they can arm themselves and fight. So they have armed themselves and they fought. There is no political party of the Mizos which is represented here. But all parties of all States are represented in this House and that House. Let us look at it dispassionately. Suppose I cease to be a member of this party and my friend there ceases to be a member of that party. Let us look at what happened in Bengal, what happened in Punjab, what happened in Bombay, what happened in Kerala. Let us see the different techniques, different happenings and incidents. Reorganisation is a very grave matter for any State. Punjab was already divided by partition. There was again the decision to divide it into three parts. Any sensitive citizen would get a shock from it. There might be demonstrations and all that. But the leaders of the parties hardly realised that if they let loose a movement it would become violent. It goes in wrong ways. But when they realised it in Punjab, I must pay my respect and tribute to Shri Yagya Dutt Sharma who was fasting; but when he was going through the anguish of fasting, he had the love of the Motherland at his heart, and he said : "I am opposed to all the violence that is going on in Punjab". This is a very rare thing. I try to analyse and understand things. Sometimes that is my difficulty. The Arya Samaj leaders—my friend is sitting there; it looks he is as good as a Congressman; it is my misfortune that he is away from me; he was also associated with Arya Samaj—they met the Home Minister of India. Not only Jan Sangh, not only Arya Samaj, but also Ekta Samiti—I pay my highest tribute to them. In spite of their being one hundred per cent opposed to the fragmentation of Punjab, they all said: Because a large number of people want it even though we do not want it, so we bow down and we accept it. I say that it is the greatest sacrifice for patriotism in this country, and I bow my head before the three parties though I differ

*[Shri Awadheshwar Prasad Sinha]

from them on many many matters. But what is due must be given. They gave up their fast and everything is all right there. No condition was put that you must release the prisoners.

AN HON. MEMBER : Three persons were burnt alive.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : They realised the violence and so they condemned it. To err is human but to persist in erring is inhuman. That is what I say.

I am not a chauvinist. For me Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Assam for the present—I will not say the whole of India—are all the same. I am emotionally attached to these four States. Not U.P., excuse me.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : Not the South ?

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : All these four States were together when I was in my childhood though there were four languages. I find I am more akin to Calcutta than Lucknow or Allahabad. I am more at home with the Chief Minister of West Bengal and the Chief Minister of Assam—I do not know the Chief Minister of Orissa—than with my own Chief Minister. I tell you that very honestly.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : Do you speak Hindi or Bengali ?

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : I speak Hindi. I speak Bengali too. I understand Assamese. It was ten years ago I had been to Lucknow. But I go to Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal frequently.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) : You go on with your speech.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : Sir, one gentleman is here through whom I pay my tribute to all the opposition parties in Punjab for what they have done for the service of the Motherland.

Now come to the picture of Kerala. Even though there are Red Communists, what happens ? Something happened. Mr. Namboodiripad was a great friend of mine. In the Congress Socialist Party we used to meet and talk for the whole night together. It is difficult to talk to him for long because he has some trouble, but he is a very nice man. For me, once a friend always a friend to whatever party he goes or whatever he does.

Then the picture comes to Bombay. In Bombay there was a strike for a number of days. Shri Dange is one of the greatest patriots of India. It was he who divided the unity of the Communist Party. There is the patriotic wing though leaning towards Russia because Russia is a Communist country. (*Interruption.*)

I can sit down if you like. I am developing my point. I can look after myself. What I was saying was there was a strike in Bombay...I have worked among labourers. When I came to know of Mr. Dange having come to see the Prime Minister I went there all the way. I said : "I pay my tribute to you." He does not know me. I introduced myself to him. I have seen him sometimes, he was in that Houe for five years. I told him that a labour strike was going on and it was peaceful, and that he had done a great service. One of the greatest services Mr. Khrushchev did was this. When India was attacked by China, the Communist Party and Communism became the very symbols of anathema and hatred for the entire world. But it was Mr. Khrushchev and his tactics which kept Communism and the Communist Party respectable. That will go down in history as a great achievement of Khrushchev. So I think when violence was spreading here and there, it was Mr. Dange who in spite of the labour strike, compromised and called off the strike, the Bundh. I pay my tribute to you though I hear there was the Sholapur Bundh and today there is the Nagpur Bundh. So all of us have to think over this. What happened in my dear Bengal ? I say "dear Bengal" because for the last 46 years I have been mostly in Bengali houses. I eat as they eat. I think as they think. I dress as

they dress. I do not put on Gandhi cap because of my association with Bengalis. I enjoy talking Bengali more than Hindi. It is because I am emotionally a Bengalee. And when I go to Bengal, Calcutta, I meet non-Bengalees, Gujaratis, Maharashtrians, Biharis, U. P. wallas and South Indians who are very able—they are stenographers. What do they think of Shri Profulla Chandra Sen, the Chief Minister ? And Sir, I say, go over my head. I am a God-fearing man. And that has prevented me from joining the Communist Party not because of their socio-economic things but I do not agree with their policy. Anyhow, the people say that Shri P. C. Sen is good as much to non-Bengalees as he is to Bengalees. Personally I am more at home with him than even with my own Chief Minister. That is a fact. Shri Bhuwarka knows it. In this beautiful Bengal, divided after partition, we have a Legislature. All the parties are there. The Right Communists are there, the Left Communists are there. There is the Communist Member like Shri Kumaran whom I like. I was concerned that his term was about to expire. He said, "I would be only for two years." That gave me relief. I say it frankly. I find that Shri Bhupesh Gupta keeps the House alive. So, what happened in Bengal, what happened in this *sonar* Bengal ? Something happened, firing was resorted to. Of course, that is a bad, sad and mad thing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) : There are a dozen speakers more.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : Can I have two minutes more ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) : Yes, finish.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : So many things have happened. I am not going to narrate them. That has nothing to do with food. Even then our Home Minister was good enough to go there. Shri Sen released the people who had caused all this trouble. And after release one demand after the other

came from them and they met the Prime Minister also. And blessed are the peace-makers. I love Shri Bhupesh Gupta because he has been a good peace-maker. But what is the difference between him and Shri Dange ? I would like to tell him—Shri Dange is a man who stands on his conviction and refuses to be demoralised by any happenings. My friends in West Bengal, those who belong to the United Leftist Front, besides the Left Communists, they are just tied to the apron-strings of the Left Communists because they fear that they will lose their popularity. They do not have that stout-heart which Shri Dange has. I know that Shri Dange was taken to task as to why he withdrew the strike, as to why there was no *bandh* there. But he knew that the *bandh* could go out of his hand and it would be taken grip of by the left group and he does not want to do that. So, I say that he is a great patriot. That is what I expect of my good friends, of the great lady, Shrimati Renu Chakravartty and others—the Right Communists there, the Forward Bloc people and others there. After all this talk there should have been no date for demonstration because there may be military and all that. Even then, they had a one-day strike. Have they followed Gandhiji's policy ? After Chauri Chaura, he announced that there would not be any *Satyagraha*. He said, "It is not possible, let us not do that." Here they not only did that but said that they would do it again even on a larger scale.

So, my dear friend, I do not say that patriotism is my monopoly. But it is not the monopoly of the Right Communists or of Shri Jyoti Basu either. I have great contact with the Bengalees and non-Bengalees in West Bengal. I get their telephones, I get their letters and I can assure my great friend whom I love and respect because of the sufferings that he has undergone in the past and the great efforts he is making to keep this House alive, for both these reasons, that 95 per cent of the people of Calcutta and West Bengal are disgusted with all that has happened or with all that is going to happen. I beg of him with folded hands to use his great might, go there and ask them to stop the 29th demonstration and 6th April *bandh* and

*[Shri Awadheshwar Prasad Sinha]

bring about a relationship of cordiality and co-operation and then come to this House. And then I shall vote with him even against the mandate of the party. But, S.r, if the enemy comes we know how to be united. But when there is internal disorder, we have no weapons in our armoury and we will go to pieces. This is the history of India. I have read some books on the history of India. I am not a very literate person. I am an ordinary graduate. I was reading in M.A. but could not finish it because I went to jail. I was studying law but could not finish it because I had to go to jail. These are my qualifications. From my English, you can find the third class English that I speak. But I will live and I have lived these 46 years, for this country and I shall die for this country. I have love for all the parties. I have given Shri Bhupesh Gupta a sporting offer. I am prepared to join the Communist Party today. Permit the Swatantra Party there or the SSP or the Forward Bloc or the independents there, and let the Congress Party be here even in a minority. Rule the country. Let there be plurality of parties. I shall join the Communist Party. Even if the Home Minister sends me to the jail tomorrow, I do not mind that. So, let my friend bring about this atmosphere. I beg of you. If he does not do that, India will be in peril. And I give you a warning as a friend. In Telengana they tried their best. What happened ? Communism, particularly the Left Communism, in spite of Shri Sundarayya—I have regard for him—has no roots there. If you do it in West Bengal, you will lose your roots there. I know West Bengal. I know West Bengal. So please, for heaven's sake, do not do all these things. I am talking as a God-fearing man. I am talking to my good friend with all the sincerity that I have. You know that I am a Rajput. My great grand father, Chhatradhari Sinha, with thirty horsemen and along with Kunwar Singh, fought against the British in 1857. Today we worship his sword and shield. I talk this language of persuasion even though my family tradition is the language of shield and sword. So, I should not be misunderstood. So I say, no *bandh* will be tole-

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rated. This Government will not tolerate any *bandh* in West Bengal. But why should any *bandh* take place so long as a good man and a noble man like him is there ? Let him go. Let him go there and tell what we feel about that. Today I read the editorial in the "Hindustan Times". "Hindustan Times" is a paper which has criticised off and on Pandit Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri. What they are doing about the present Prime Minister, I do not know. But they have written a very moving editorial appealing to the people of Bengal to desist from participating in any sort of demonstration or strike because that would be a path of ruination.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTH-NASWAMY) : It is a long two minutes.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : With these words, I beg of you to forgive me, Sir, if I had taken some more time. With folded hands I sit down.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया (मध्य प्रदेश) : उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी पूर्व वक्ता महोदय की स्पीच सुनने के बाद ऐसा लगा कि यदि हमारा शासन इसी तरह की प्रेमपूर्ण बातें कर के और इन्हीं भावनाओं को काम में ला कर के कार्य करे तो मुझे ऐसा नहीं लगता कि इस तरह के डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स की आवश्यकता पड़े ।

شریعتی انیس قدوائی (اثر پردیش) :

یہ باتیں تو کانگریس پارٹی کی طرف سے کہی گئیں اب آپ کہئے تو اس سے معلوم ہوگا کہ آپ کیا چاہتے ہیں۔

†[श्रीमती अनीस किदवाई (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यह बातें तो कांग्रेस पार्टी की तरफ से कहीं गई अब आप कहिए तो उससे मालूम होगा कि आप क्या चाहते हैं ?]

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया : मेरा यह कहना है कि अगर किसी की आत्मा

*[] Hindi transliteration.

पर राख बम आय या किसी अगारे पर राख जम आय और अगर कोई दूसरा उसमें फूंक लगा करके उसकी आग की ज्वाला को प्रज्वलित कर दे, तो इसमें बुरा क्या हो गया ? ये सामने बैठने वाले सारे लोग गांधीजी का शिष्य अपने आपको कहते हैं, इन्होंने सत्य और अहिंसा का नारा लगा कर के काम किया, विदेशी सरकार को केवल अहिंसा के आधार पर, उनकी गोलियों से न डरते हुए और उनके हृदय को परिवर्तन कर के स्वराज्य कायम किया, ऐसा ये कहते हैं । लेकिन मुझे आज समझ में नहीं आता कि यही लोग शासन में बैठ कर के अपने ही लोगों का हृदय परिवर्तन करने में असफल कैसे हो गये ।

इसका एकमात्र कारण आप में स्वयं आत्मविश्वास की कमी है । आप अपना आत्मविश्वास खो बैठे हैं और फिर कहते हैं कि डंडे के बल से हम काम चलायेंगे । अंग्रेज भी डंडे के बल से काम लेते तो आज हमको स्वराज्य मिलता या हम लड़ाई करके प्राप्त करते या क्या होता वह कहा नहीं जा सकता । डंडे के बल से काम चल सकता है ऐसा मैं मानता नहीं । कम से कम हम अपने लोगों पर डंडे के बल से शासन करे यह न्यायसंगत प्रतीत नहीं होता ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जहां तक डिफेंस आफ इंडिया बिल का सवाल है, संकटकालीन स्थिति अगर हमारी सरकार सचमुच मानती है तो बजट में भी उसका कुछ लक्ष्य मालूम पड़ता । अभी जो बजट पेश किया गया उस पर कई वक्तव्य हुए । हमारे पूर्व वक्ता ने कहा कि हमारा 47,000 स्क्वायर माइल्स विदेशियों के कब्जे में है, मगर उसको छुड़ाने के लिए, उसके लिए राष्ट्र को सन्नद्ध करने के लिए, उसके लिए जन-जन में एक भावना और उत्साह भरने के लिए कहीं भी कोई प्रेरणा नहीं । क्या हमारा राष्ट्र अभी भी संकट की स्थिति में से गुजर रहा है, ऐसा प्रतीत होता है ? हमारी सरकार के कार्य

से ऐसा प्रतीत नहीं होता कि हमारा राष्ट्र किसी संकट में से गुजर रहा है । वही सारी मौज-शोक की बातें, वही रूटीन काम, वही दल की चर्चाएं, दल में ही आपस की खींच-तान, एक दूसरे की टांग पकड़ने का काम, कहीं भी ऐसा प्रतीत नहीं होता कि हमारे यहां पर संकटकालीन स्थिति हो । हमारे माननीय नन्दा जी जो सदाचार का प्रचार करने वाले हैं या हमारे माननीय हाथी साहब जो अपने मन में बहुत बड़ी गम्भीरता लिए हुए हैं, सम्भवतः वे न समझें कि डी० आई० आर० का उनके अन्तर्गत काम करने वाले छोटे छोटे लोग जनतंत्र के नाम पर तानाशाही सा काम करके कितना दुरुपयोग करते हैं । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक प्रान्त में नहीं, दो प्रान्तों में नहीं, लगभग समस्त प्रान्तों में इस डी० आई० आर० का भयंकर दुरुपयोग हुआ है । न्यायालय इसके साक्षी है । लोगों को जबरदस्ती दल के कारण, दलगत द्वेष के कारण, अपना द्वेष निकालने के कारण जेलों में ठूस दिया गया है । उनको न्यायालय के दरवाजे खटखटाने पड़े और न्यायालय के दरवाजे खटखटाने के बाद वहां से जब वे निर्दोष साबित हुए, तब कहीं कहते हैं कि गलती हो गई, ऐसा महसूस करते हैं । किसी व्यक्ति की स्वाधीनता का अपहरण करना जनतंत्र के सिद्धान्तों के अनुकूल नहीं, प्रतिकूल है । यदि हम अपने संविधान में प्रदत्त अधिकारों का किसी व्यक्ति विशेष को उपयोग न करने दें और केवल जनतंत्र की बात करते रहें तो यह कुछ ठीक लगता नहीं । जनतंत्र की जगह मनतंत्र चलाइए, जैसा मन में आए कर दीजिए और कहिए कि जो बोलेगा हम उसको डंडा दिखाएंगे । हमारी अभी तक की जो नीति है वह कुछ ऐसी ही चल रही है । हमारे मंत्री जी की प्रशंसा मैंने कर दी, मगर जो इसको, डिफेंस आफ इंडिया बिल को, कार्य रूप में परिणत करने वाले हैं, जा तिकड़म और छिछोरेपन का आचरण करने वाले लोग हैं, वे एक जगह नहीं, कई जगह

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया] हे । मैं अपने मध्य प्रदेश का ही किस्सा आपको बता सकता हूँ । मध्य प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री बहुत होशियार हो सकते हैं, मगर वे तिकड़म और छिछोरेपन की बीमारी से पीड़ित हैं और उसका फल कांग्रेस दल वालों को नहीं भोगना पड़ता, उसका परिणाम कांग्रेस पक्ष वालों को नहीं भोगना पड़ता, उसका परिणाम विरोधी दलों को भोगना पड़ता है ।

श्री दयाल दास कुर्र (मध्य प्रदेश) तभी तो स्पीकर की ओर जूते भी फेंकते हैं ।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यदि किसी व्यक्ति विशेष से किसी कारण से कोई गलती हो जाय तो हम उसको सही है ऐसा नहीं कह सकते । अगर वह गलती करता है तो हम उसको बुरा मानते हैं, उसके लिए खेद प्रकट करते हैं । किसी ने भावावेश में और किस मजबूरी में आकर यह किया इसके पूरे व्योरे में मैं नहीं जाना चाहता । लेकिन यह गलत काम है और ऐसा व्यवहार कभी भी प्रशंसनीय नहीं कहा जा सकता । इसका मतलब यह नहीं हुआ कि जो ऊँचे पद पर बैठे हैं, मुख्य मंत्री के पद पर आसीन हैं वे तिकड़म और छिछोरेपन से काम लेंगे । ऐसी हालत में वह प्रशासन ठीक से नहीं चल सकता । हमारे हाथी साहब की गम्भीरता वहाँ काम नहीं कर सकती, नन्दा जी का सदाचार दिल्ली में रह जाता है, बहा अनाचार चलता है, गम्भीरता की जगह छिछोरापन ले लेता है ।

سریمتی ایس فدوائی : یہ کہا تھا ۔

یہ غیر پارلمنٹری لفظ ہے —

[श्रीमती अनीस किदवाई . यह कहा था, यह गैर-पार्लियामेंटरी लफ्ज है ।]

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया आप खड़े होकर कुछ कहें तो मैं जवाब दूँ ।

[] Hindi translation

श्री दयाल दास कुर्र : वे कहती हैं कि ये शब्द पार्लियामेंटरी नहीं हैं ।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया : उनको बोलना आता है, आपको बोलने की जरूरत नहीं है ।

इस तरह से मध्य प्रदेश में ही कई लोगों को डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स के अंतर्गत गिरफ्तार करके जेलों में ठूस दिया । मन्दासौर जिले में एक जनसंघ के कार्यकर्ता थे । उन्होंने देश में एकता की भावना फैलाने के लिए ताकि शासन को मजबूत किया जाय, देश की शक्ति कायम रहे, इस दृष्टि से एक बोर्ड लगाया । बोर्ड लगाने पर—क्योंकि हमारे मुख्य मंत्री जी जनसंघ से विशेष नाराज हैं—इस कारण या किसी भी तरह से किसी को भी अगर गिरफ्तार करना है तो यह कह कर कि तैने गुनाह किया, तैने नहीं किया तो तेरे बाप ने किया, तेरे बाप ने नहीं किया तो तेरे बाप के बाप ने गुनाह किया, इस दृष्टि से तुमने यह बोर्ड लगाया इसलिए ही बांध लिया गया । एक ओर तो हिन्दी के बारे में जिस तरह का प्रशासक दल के प्रमुख नेता ने आचरण किया वह डी० आई० आर० के अन्तर्गत कार्यवाही के योग्य था, दूसरी ओर देश-भक्ति से प्रेरित होकर अगर राष्ट्र को एक सूत्र में बांधने के लिए कोई बोर्ड लगाए तो उसके लिए डी० आई० आर० का इस्तेमाल करके उसको गिरफ्तार किया । वह न्यायालय से निर्दोष मुक्त हुआ । और ऐसे एक नहीं कई उदाहरण हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं मध्य प्रदेश के तानाशाह के क्या-क्या वर्णन करूँ । एक ओर उदाहरण आपको बता देता हूँ । इधर तो हमारे सुब्रह्मण्यम साहब इस बात का प्रयत्न करते हैं कि हमारे कारखानों में उत्पादन के लिए अच्छी भावना पैदा हो, वे प्रोत्साहित हो उत्पादन करने के लिए, अधिक अन्न उत्पादन करे, दूसरी ओर हमारी मध्य

प्रदेश की सरकार द्वारा काश्तकारों को डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स के नोटिस जारी होते हैं। डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स का कितना अच्छा सदुपयोग है। मैं उसे दुरुपयोग कहता हूँ, आपके मुख्यमंत्री जी उसको सदुपयोग कहेंगे। काश्तकारों को डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स के अन्तर्गत नोटिस जारी होते हैं कि तुम इतने दिन के अन्दर, तुम्हारे ऊपर लेवी रखी है अनाज की—और एकाधिकार है—और इन कोआपरेटिव्स को जो वहाँ पर हैं ला करके इतना परसेटेज—बिलकुल निश्चित कर दिया, 'अ' या 'ब' की गुंजाइश नहीं रखी—ला कर दे दो, अगर लाकर नहीं दोगे तो तुम्हारे खिलाफ डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स के तहत कार्यवाही की जायगी। ऐसे एक नहीं, सैकड़ों नोटिस जारी किए गए। क्या यह हमारे डी० आई० आर० का सदुपयोग है? और यह मुख्यतः उन्हीं क्षेत्रों में किए गए जहाँ से जन संघ के लोग जीत कर आते हैं।

श्री दयाल दास कुरें : मध्य प्रदेश शासन की तरफ से ऐसे कोई नोटिस जारी नहीं किए गए हैं। मैं भी मध्य प्रदेश से आता हूँ और जिस भाग से आता हूँ, वहाँ इस प्रकार के कोई सरकारी नोटिस नहीं निकाले गए हैं। माननीय सदस्य जो कुछ कह रहे हैं वह गलत है।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इसको दावे के साथ कहता हूँ। इसकी जितनी कापियाँ चाहिए उतनी श्रीमान को ला कर देता हूँ। बाद में जो क्वालीफाई कर दिया मैं जहाँ से आता हूँ वहाँ नहीं दिए गए, उसमें बचने की गुंजाइश निकाल ली। मैं वही कह चुका हूँ कि जहाँ से कांग्रेस वाले जीते, वहाँ नहीं दिए गए होंगे, मगर जहाँ पर जन संघ वाले जीते—मन्दसौर जिले में एक नहीं, सैकड़ों नोटिस दिए गए हैं—उन क्षेत्रों में दिए गए हैं। आपको प्रति चाहिए, एक तो हमारे नेता के घर पर अभी है, और मैं

भानपुरा से जाकर ला दूंगा। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह क्या हमारे डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स का सदुपयोग है। अगर हमारी सरकार इसे सदुपयोग मानती है, तब तो मैं इसे अपने देश का दुर्भाग्य मानता हूँ कि जिन काश्तकारों को अनाज उत्पादन के लिए प्रेरित करना चाहिए, उन काश्तकारों को इस बात के लिए मजबूर किया जाता है कि अगर तुम अनाज बोओगे तो हमारे नियमों के अन्तर्गत तुम्हें इतना अनाज लाकर देना पड़ेगा और अगर नहीं दोगे तो जेल में बन्द कर देंगे। यह कुछ न्यायसंगत प्रतीत नहीं होता। मैं चाहूंगा कि हमारे मित्र कुरें खड़े होकर फिर चैलेंज करें तो मैं उनको एक नहीं, कई उदाहरण देने के लिए तैयार हूँ। या तो वे राज्य सभा से इस्तीफा दें या मैं इस्तीफा देने के लिए तैयार हूँ। हमारे यहाँ ऐसे एक नहीं कई उदाहरण हैं।

श्री दयाल दास कुरें : शासन का आदेश तो एक होता है। पूरे राज्य में एक ही प्रकार का आदेश जाता है। मैं समझ नहीं पाता कि जहाँ से वे आते हैं वहाँ एक आदेश जाए और दूसरे भाग में दूसरा आदेश।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया : जो नहीं समझते वो वह बात नहीं कहो। अच्छा ही है इसमें आप का ही भला है आप यह समझ लो। जहाँ पर अभावग्रस्त क्षेत्र हैं वहाँ की स्थिति दूसरी है, जहाँ अनाज सरप्लस है वहाँ की स्थिति दूसरी है, जहाँ बराबर अनाज है वहाँ की स्थिति दूसरी है। एक-एक जिले, एक एक तहसील और एक-एक गांव में अलग-अलग पालिसी हमारी मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने चला रखी है। अगर इतनी भी ज्ञान की आपमें कमी है तो ज्ञान कोई ऐसी चीज है नहीं कि चम्मच से पिलायी जा सके, उसके लिये तो अपने को अध्ययन से, मेहनत से, काम करना होगा तब वह प्राप्त हो सकता है।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा नम्र निवेदन है कि मैं माननीय कुर्रें साहब से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि आप धीरज रखें, आज नहीं तो चार दिन बाद वे जितने नोटिसेज चाहिये मैं बताने को तैयार हूं। महोदय, जब इस बात का प्रश्न मध्य प्रदेश विधान सभा में उठाया गया और जब गड़बड़ हुई तो हमारे मन्दसौर जिले में वायरलैस से खबर चली गई, वायरलैस से भानपुरा खबर भेजी, वायरलैस से गरौठ खबर भेजी, कि जितने नोटिसेज भेजे हैं उनको लाओ। मैं भी खेतीहर हूं लेकिन इसलिये मुझे इस बात का नोटिस नहीं मिला डी० आई० आर० के अंतर्गत क्योंकि नोटिश निकालने के पहले मैं लगभग सारा अनाज जमा कर चुका था। इस प्रकार जितने मोनोपोली को काट देने के जितने डी० आई० आर० के नोटिसेज गए थे वे वापस मंगाए गए। अभी इन्क्वायरी हुई है और उसका परिणाम अगर आप चाहें तो मुख्य मंत्री के पास कान में जाकर आप पूछ लीजियेगा, खुले में वे शायद कहने से डर जाएं।

तो उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस तरह से हमारे डी० आई० आर० का उपयोग करके लोगों को परेशान किया जाय यह समझ में नहीं आता। मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि यह जो सन् 1967 के चुनाव नजदीक आ रहे हैं, इनको देखते हुए हमारा यह शासन न चाहता हो, शायद हाथी साहब नहीं चाहते हों, या नन्दा जी नहीं चाहते हों, मगर ये जो छोटे-छोटे लिटल नेहरू, लिटल गांधी जी बहुत से हैं गाव-गाव में, ये चाहते हैं कि हमारे पास ऐसी शक्ति रहे कि कभी कोई गड़बड़ करे तो उसे डी० आई० आर० के नाम पर बंद करके जेल में रख दिया जाय, फिर हमारी अपनी तानाशाही, हुकूमत की तानाशाही कायम रहती चलेगी। मैं सीधा प्रश्न हाथी साहब से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या आपके बजट में कोई ऐसी व्यवस्था है कि अपने देश में इमरजेंसी सरीखी कोई चीज मालूम

पड़ती है। क्या जिस तरह से हम गये समय ब्लैक आउट करते थे, अपने कर्मचारियों से कहते थे तुम घर मत जाओ, एक घंटा ज्यादा काम करो, संकटकालीन स्थिति के अनुसार काम करो, क्या वही स्थिति अब रह गई है? फिर क्या आपके इण्डियन पीनल कोड में, क्रिमिनल प्रोसीड्यर कोड में और अन्य कानूनों में इस तरह की हरकत करने वालों, गुंडागर्दी करने वालों, या देश में देशद्रोह की भावना फैलाने वालों के खिलाफ कार्यवाही नहीं की जा सकती है। उनके विरुद्ध कार्यवाही करने के लिये हमारे पास बहुत से विधान हैं, अगर उनका उपयोग भी कर ले तो काफी है। लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी बराबर गड़बड़ाया भी हो रही है और हर तरह से उनको दवाने के लिये प्रेशर डाला जाता है और उसमें गरीब लोगों के खिलाफ वेशक कार्यवाही की जाती है। यहां दिन दहाड़े आदमी मारे जाते हैं पर पता नहीं चलता कि मारने वाला कौन था, दिन-दहाड़े लोगों को 'किडनेप' करके ले जाते हैं तब भी पता नहीं चलता कौन ले गया। इसको हम क्या कहें, सुशासन कहें या दुःशासन कहें? इसको हम स्वशासन कहें यह मैं मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं। इस दुःशासन में एक और डी० आई० आर० का कानून लगाना यह किसी तरह न्यायसंगत नहीं है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अब हमें अविलम्ब इस डी० आई० आर० को हटा लेना चाहिये। हमारे यहां अब कोई संकटकालीन स्थिति है नहीं, अभी तक तो इसका प्रभाव मिला नहीं। मैं इस मत का हूं कि वर्तमान स्थिति को देखते हुए कोई संकटकालीन स्थिति हमारी सरकार मानती नहीं। अगर सरकार इस बात के लिये तैयार हो जाय कि हम ऐसी योजना बना रहे हैं कि हमारे 47,000 स्ववायर मील भूमि पर जो विदेशियों ने कब्जा कर रखा है उसको छुड़ा लेंगे और उसके लिये सारे राष्ट्र को समझ करना है, एकता के सूत्र में बांधना है तो मैं पहला आदमी हूंगा जो

इस पर हस्ताक्षर करेगा कि हमारे यहां डी० आर्डी० आर० बुरावर कायम रहे । मगर यह कुछ करेंगे नहीं, केवल बातें करेंगे । मुझे तो केवल यह स्पष्ट लगता है कि केवल अपने दल के स्वार्थ को दृष्टि में रखते हुए, दलगत दृष्टि से, शायद मंत्री जी स्वयं चाहते हैं इसे हटा दें—उनके व्यक्तिगत स्वभाव को देखते हुए ऐसा कहता हूँ—लेकिन जहां दल का सवाल है, दल के दलदल में फंस कर जितना ऊपर उठने की कोशिश करते हैं उतना नीचे फंसते जाते हैं, ऐसी स्थिति हो गई है । इसलिये मैं मन्त्र प्रार्थना करूंगा हाथी साहब से, और नंदा जी से कहूंगा, कि सदावार जाग्रत करें, गांधी जी के साथ जब पद यात्रा करते थे उसकी याद करें, हृदय परिवर्तन की जिस भाषा का वे प्रयोग करते थे उसको याद करें, और गाली का जवाब गोली से देने की बातें न करें । हमारे हाथी साहब गम्भीरता से इस बात को सोचें कि क्योंकि वे उसी प्रान्त से आते हैं जहां गांधी जी पैदा हुए, वहां अहिंसा की दुहुभी अभी भी बजती है । तो ऐसी स्थिति में कानून को हम कासापन दे, यह न्यायसंगत नहीं है । मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा, जल्दी से जल्दी डी० आर्डी० आर० को यहां से हटा दें, या फिर यह निर्णय ले कि हमको 47,000 स्वयंसेवक मील भूमि दुश्मन के कब्जे से मुक्त करानी है इसलिए डी० आर्डी० आर० रखना है । इससे भी सख्त कानून बनायेंगे तो उस हालत में मैं हस्ताक्षर करूंगा लेकिन इस साधारण स्थिति में उसे खराब मानता हूँ । इसलिये फिर प्रार्थना करूंगा कि यह सरकार इसे शीघ्र वापस ले ।

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN (Madras) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the question now before the House is whether our democracy is to prevail or the democracy of ours is to fail. All over the world to-day, the eyes are turned towards this democracy because this democracy is a new one which has adopted a democratic socialism in between totalitarianism and Communism. Here in the eastern hemisphere, China is

looking at us. Here is a country which was for a long time a slave under the Britishers; in a period of eighteen years, it has developed to such a great extent that it wants to lead the world. It has even given to the world a new thesis called co-existence. What is this co-existence ? Through this co-existence, we have brought together the two powerful nations in the world which were warring with each other prior to 1956, namely, Russia and America. They do now come together due to the introduction of co-existence or due to the invention that the Indian democrats found in this co-existence. If we take the history, we find so many countries, independent countries, now coming behind this thesis of co-existence. Therefore, the two powerful Governments in the world to-day are thinking twice and thrice before they indulge in violence. That is the reason why China also was perturbed about India which has now given to the world a new thesis. If this thesis comes to succeed, where will Communism go, where will the Chinese totalitarianism go or where will dictatorship go ? Unfortunately, even in our country, although 45 crores of people are there, some have lent their ears to the propaganda of the Chinese Communism. But we cannot find fault with them. It is the secret of the Creator. Even in a family of four we find so much of difference of opinion among the brothers of the same parentage. So also among the 45 crores of people we have some who have lent their ears to the Chinese propaganda and here in this democracy we do give them privileges to sit in this House and talk to us in a different tone. This does not matter much because it is a democracy and in this we want the Opposition Members to feel that this democracy should succeed. For, if not now, in a period of 25 years another party has to come, we know. History will have to repeat in every country. No power can sustain for long. That is the secret of creation. Therefore, the Congress has to yield. Kemal Ataturk of Turkey, we thought in those days, was the greatest of patriots and was loved but where has he gone ? Where is Mahatma Gandhi ? Was he not shot down by our own people here ? That is the greatest secret of nature.

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So here also we do realise that the Congress Party cannot always remain in power it has to yield to the Opposition. But which is that Opposition Party ? That we are yet to know, and to make room for that Opposition Party we want this democracy to be perfect. So democracy means, Sir, not instigating people to set fire, to loot and to shoot. Democracy means a peaceful manner of life and here we want that type of democracy. Now if we go into our Constitution also, it very clearly says that :

"We, the People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens:

Justice, social, economic and political;

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;"

and so on. But here the Members of the Opposition Party, unfortunately, take that liberty of thought means liberty to set fire to godowns, when at the same time, in other contexts, they say that the food problem is there, sufficient ration was not allotted to West Bengal and therefore "set fire" to the remnant of stock that the Government has got to distribute to the people. Is this the way ? That is what I ask. Liberty of thought means not to set fire to the ration shops, or the Khadi-gram or the Congress House at Calcutta. Liberty of thought was not intended that way by our leaders, the illustrious sons of India, who framed this Constitution after two or three years of persevering work. They did not mean that liberty of thought would, after eighteen years of independence, be taken by some political parties, the Opposition parties, to mean this, to set fire to the buildings and other property of the Republic. Now that liberty of expression was not intended to instigate people to set fire and loot and so on. Therefore, I say that this democracy should prevail even if the Opposition were to take charge of this Government under a democratic process. That is the reason why we say that democracy

should prevail. But, Sir, in the vocabulary of the Opposition party, democracy means criminal onslaught on innocent people. If it is so from all sides, how would you have come here ? Do you also forget that we the Congressmen have also got the backing in the country ? If the Congressmen, had also attacked and retaliated the way you, the Opposition party instigated the people, what will happen in this country ? It will be a revolution and civil war that will happen. Who will come then ? The Army will come then and figure in the picture. That is the hint and caution given by one of the noblest sons of India in Madras. And if this thing happens then, naturally, the Army has to take over. Is this the way the Opposition party leaders want this country to be ruled ? We know what happened in pre-independence days if we look back into the History of this country. Was it not a fact that this Opposition party—not all—the Communist Party in this country, did they not call our dear and revered Father of the Nation a fifth columnist during the Second World War ? Have we forgotten that ? (*Interruptions*) Where was the Communist Party when lakhs and lakhs of people were made to die in Bengal by the Britishers then to prevent the entry of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose via Manipur ? Where did this party go then ? Do you mean to say, gentlemen of the Opposition, that the people of this country have so soon forgotten that episode and the role played by the Communist Party then ? They will never forget all that. Even today, in spite of the mischief played by the Opposition party in West Bengal, Kerala and elsewhere, the people there were greatly behind us and this Government. The people of India, misguided though sometimes by mischievous elements, are after all the people of India; they are not the people of other countries. They are a people who have got a permanent culture, a tradition behind, an unquestionable integrity, and love towards their Motherland, they have. With all that, for other reasons we say, Sir, that this is not the time when the emergency can be wholly lifted. The Opposition party must be satisfied with all the steps taken or concessions gives to lighten the restrictions

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imposed by the emergency. Here you see, Sir, how liberal the Government is. When recently there was the hue and cry raised against the application of the D.I.R. in all manner to meet the emergency declared in the country and a plea was made to soften the rigours of the D.I.R., Was it not a fact that the Government came forward immediately to accede to the demand made by some of the Members of the Opposition and made some concessions to pacify them? Did they not say—the Home Minister and the Prime Minister—did they not say in their statements that there would be no prosecutions hereafter under the Defence of India Rules for offences other than those connected with national security? Was it not also a fact that freedom of the Press was guaranteed, that the printers and publishers of newspapers would not hereafter be prosecuted even though the offences committed may be connected with the safety of the country? How liberal the Government is there not to arrest the printers and publishers? Is it not also a fact that we showed a great concession to the hoarders and black-marketeers that hereafter the D.I.R. would not be applied against them? Is it not a great concession? Is it democracy or constitutional dictatorship? I want my hon. friends of the Opposition to place their hands on their conscience and realise where the fact lies. Is it not also a fact that *goondas* and anti-social elements will not hereafter be liable under the D.I.R.? And also finally they said that the exercise of the power is limited to the Central Government and the State Governments and the Union Territories, and not delegated to the subordinate authorities in the realm. Is all that not the greatest thing done for the maintenance of democracy in this country? And furthermore, instead of reviewing all these D.I.R. cases once in six months, they will be reviewed once in three months, and if it is necessary, they may even take them up for review once every month. Are those not matters of great importance to the Opposition party in spite of their alleging that it is constitutional dictatorship and that the Congress Party wants to rule the country with such measures? Does not my friend know, does not the

Opposition party know, do not the Congressmen in the country know, do not people know that Congress Government is the only Government for years to come that it is the only Government that will deliver the goods to the people, not only to the people of this country, but also see that international peace is maintained? It has to be maintained; it will be done by the Congress Party and the Congress Government of India, and no one else. Therefore, Sir, I am of the opinion that the time is not opportune to lift the emergency at this hour; the emergency cannot be lifted forthwith, because the circumstances that were prevalent at the time of the proclamation of the emergency are still there—the Chinese are there. Although the Tashkent agreement is there, although the Tashkent agreement was perfectly implemented for a few days, we see that Pakistan is now resiling from it, and we cannot believe Pakistan. The Mizos are there; the armed Mizos are under rebellion and the hostile Nagas are daily committing acts of sabotage in our country. Therefore, for all this, Sir, I am of the opinion that the time has not come to lift the emergency.

One more thing I want to point out Sir, to the Government of India and to the Home Minister. With all respect to our illustrious leaders, when they drew up the Constitution, they did a very great blunder. They have defined Fundamental Rights; have defined all kinds of rights accruing to the citizens of our country. They have given the right to freedom, the right to equality, so many rights, the right against exploitation, the right to freedom of religion, and so on and so forth. But they did not define the responsibilities of the citizens of this country, and that is the greatest blunder that they committed. I am not a constitutional expert but yet, after having gone through the Constitutions of other countries, I think that it is high time that our Government thought over it, thought over the matter to define the responsibilities of the citizens of this country to this country to acquire their rights accruing under Fundamental Rights. Let me now point this out to the leaders of the Opposition, especially to the Communist Party. Now if they go through the Constitutions of U.S.S.R., Poland

and Yugoslavia, they will find the responsibilities of the citizens defined. For example, in the case of Poland, persons who commit sabotage, subversion, inflict damage, or who otherwise injure social property are punishable with all severity of law. Now here in this great democracy of ours, unparalleled in human history, we give freedom to all kinds of people to set fire to public buildings, to set fire to railway engines and carriages and pull down the railway tracks, and thereby cause crores and crores of rupees worth of loss. Yet we give them freedom to sit there opposite, to speak and also find fault with the Constitution of the Government of India.

Therefore let me appeal to all these Opposition parties, Sir. As you desire, we are also anxious that this country should be ruled by a democratic system and that democracy should be made permanent so as to make room as and when the occasion arises, for you to come and sit here and run the Government of this country on democratic principles.

Therefore, I appeal to the Government and say that the time has not come to revoke or lift the emergency. If you do so, you will be committing a great error in this country because you will be abrogating the confidence and faith that the people have reposed in this Government. The people of this country are behind this Government and they do not care what happens by the instigations of the Opposition parties. The Opposition parties, as long as they enjoy the privilege of sitting in Parliament and in the Legislatures, we do not admit have a little support. But at the same time, the ruling party has the major support of the country, and we have got the support of the majority, Sir. Therefore, there is no rhyme or reason for a restoration of the old standard.

Finally, I want to answer what my hon. friend opposite, Mr. Kumaran, said about the Madras Government inflicting the D.I.R. on some Tamil newspapers, namely *The Tamilnad*, *The Malai Murasu*, *Malai Mani*, *Dina Tandi* and so on and so forth. Does my hon. friend think that if a paper instigates the people to set fire to railway buildings, to act fire to public property and to create havoc and to loot and to commit arson, a democratic Government should sit quietly without

taking any action against that paper or the persons concerned? They were called and they were warned. Still they went on propagating and inciting the people. Then, has not the Government the right to bring those people to their senses by the application of the D.I.R.? That is what the Madras Government did and nothing else. And then, Sir, is it not a fact that two policemen were burnt alive? Can that happen anywhere in the country? Can any man who calls himself a human being and who has an iota of humanity in him practise such atrocious activity on anyone, whoever he may be? They set fire to two policemen alive, who were in charge of the place. Therefore, Sir, the Government is running in the right way and with the support of the people. The people are behind the Government and, therefore, there is no need, Sir, to lift forthwith the emergency that was proclaimed. Thank you.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madras) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to speak in support of this Resolution as one of those people, one of those thousands of people in this country, who have been the practical victims, who have been the physical victims of this emergency. Three and a half years are about to be over since this emergency was declared in November or October, 1962. Eminent jurists of this country have already pointed out that it is a total abuse of the provisions of the Constitution which says that an emergency can be declared when there is a grave emergency. It says that an emergency can be declared when there is a grave threat of external aggression or when in a particular State there is the threat of internal disorder or actual disorder. Whatever might have been the justification for the declaration of this emergency in October, 1962, can you continue this state of emergency for a large number of years? I am not saying that aggression as such is over. But on some sort of an apprehension that at some time or the other there might be an attack by China or Pakistan, can you continue this? As far as Pakistan is concerned, even that is ruled out for the time being after the Tashkent Declaration had come. So this can stem only from the desire to

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continue to use those extraordinary powers not for the purposes for which these powers are granted in the Constitution but for the purpose of protecting the ruling party itself from the onslaughts of the common people in this country, onslaughts which they are bound to make upon the Government for the simple reason that the policies of the Government hit them very badly. The Constitution or the Constitution-makers did not intend the emergency powers to be used for such a purpose.

Sir, when we were absent from here, after shutting us in jail the Home Minister made a series of statements, questioning our *bona fides* and attributing all sorts of things without an iota of evidence whatsoever. I can understand, Sir, that the Home Minister was not called upon to give the reasons for the detention of persons if he was satisfied that their presence outside would jeopardise the defence of India or other efforts. But the moment he had chosen to come and publicly declare what were the reasons that impelled him to take this action, in all fairness, democracy implies, ordinary fairness demands that we should have been given an opportunity before this House, before the forum of Parliament to explain our position and to rebut that evidence. But even that ordinary etiquette and democratic parliamentary practice even ordinary fairplay, have been absent. They think whatever they might say against us must hold the ground. But fortunately for us and fortunately for the country, the country rejected their stand, as it was proved in the Kerala elections where after the ruling party members had been defeated the very people who had been detained were elected. So the country rejected them. And then, what was our crime? What was it that they made so much of? It was said that we were very much pro-China. Why? I have not got the White Paper with me now. But I read it when I was in jail. What was stated? These people wanted the Government of India to take the initiative for the purpose of starting negotiations for a settlement of these border disputes. What was wrong in that? How does it affect the defence of India?

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Is it border dispute or aggression?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Please do not interrupt me. I have only a short time and I cannot answer all the questions.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Just listen to him.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Please listen to me for a short time. When I was absent from here you were listening for hours and hours to things said against me. Please listen to me at least for fifteen or twenty minutes. Now, what was the crime? Have not other people in the country also demanded that we should take the initiative for starting negotiations? What is wrong in it? If we did not support every stand that the Government of India had taken then it is a crime? Is that a crime? I would like to know. For example, are we responsible for the Government's bungling of the situation? How many different stands has the Government taken from time to time? I can go into the whole question, but I do not want to go into the whole question now. That is an entirely different matter. Simply because we stuck to a particular position that it is time irrespective of what the Chinese Government does or does not do, it is in the interest of our people, it is in the interest of our country that we should take the initiative and see that there is some sort of a settlement of this border issue, a settlement which is honourable to us and we demanded that, we are termed traitors to the country. Unfortunately, these words have got different meanings for different sets of people and to the ruling party. I am not talking of all members of the ruling party, but at least as far as the Home Minister is concerned, different words have different connotations. Socialism has a different connotation for him. The rule of the Birlas and Tatas and their fattening is called socialism under their regime. As for democracy, when you shut a man in jail and give him no opportunity even to answer your charges when you make those charges in public, that you call

democracy. That you call parliamentary practice. Gandhiji taught us not to hit a man below the belt, that when you charge a man with something, you should give him an opportunity to explain his stand. At least an opportunity should be given. Even that is not given and this is the lowest level, the lowest depth to which our public life has sunk. You may make a charge against a person openly. You are allowed to do your propaganda through the Press, through the radio and other means. Still you do not even allow us to answer these charges. We sent a reply to the Home Minister. But he did not have the courtesy even of placing that reply on the Table of the House so that hon. Members of this House could judge whether he was right or whether we were right. Even that was not allowed. And my hon. friend over there just now was waxing eloquent that instead of having a review once in six months, the Government was going to review once in three months. But what is this review worth? I would like to ask, what is this review? And who are they? They are the same people who detained us and they have the same stereotyped methods. There is a particular form in which they write, 'We consider your further detention is essential'. What is the use of this kind of a review? Do you give us an opportunity even now? Do you say, 'For these reasons we want to detain you and therefore what have you got to say with regard to this?' You do not do that. So what is the fresh mind that is brought to bear upon this whole question? It is the same set of people who are determined to keep on this emergency for their own ulterior purposes. As far as we are concerned, we know as a matter of fact that all these three years the emergency has been used not only for detaining people like us but in every trade union trouble this emergency has been used; these Defence of India Rules have been used against the trade union leaders. But they have not used this, at least I have not seen a single case in which the Defence of India Rules have been used to detain an employer who locks out. You are very particular about production. When the employer locks out a factory the production is affected. And I know as a matter of fact in Coimbatore a particular mill has been closed

down because the Directors are quarrelling among themselves. The mill has been shut down for the last four months and nothing has been done by the Government in this matter. That C. S. & W. Mills are closed for no other reason than that there is a quarrel among the Directors. It is a family quarrel. Who should control the factory is the issue. And because of this the production suffers but the Government of India does not bother about the fact that production suffers when employers quarrel among themselves and close down the factories. But when a little strike takes place anywhere, down comes the Government of India and the local Government with the D.I.R. and clamps down the workers' leaders. That is how the whole thing is being done. But then this emergency does not stand in the way of the Congress Party indulging in ever so many quarrels. You see across various types of quarrels among the ranks of the Congress Party; they are quarrels for power. They create all sorts of situations. I would ask the Congress members and the Ministers concerned to put their hands upon their hearts and tell me if they were really feeling that there was a grave emergency in the country or that this country was passing through a period of tremendous emergency, would they have quarrelled like this and fought for power? In the U.P. there are quarrels; in Andhra Pradesh there are quarrels; in West Bengal there is a quarrel; in Punjab, in Orissa, everywhere you have quarrels. Which is the State where there are no quarrels in the Congress? And what are these quarrels for? It is after all for capturing power. If you can quarrel for the purpose of getting power and if the emergency does not stand in the way of your doing that, can't the other people have their own ordinary political life in the country? The ordinary laws of the country are sufficiently wide enough to clamp down people and take action against them if they transgress the laws of the country. Unfortunately for the Government and fortunately for us, we know as a matter of fact that they cannot defend their action against us. We know it is impossible for the Government to produce even a shred of evidence. We have challenged the Government to prosecute just one

[Shri P. Ramamurti.]
 of us—not many but a single one of us—before a court of law. You produce the evidence that you have got against us; prove that we have done anything which is against the country's interests. Let the people judge. But you dare not do it; I know they will not dare to do it at any time. Therefore, inescapably one has to come to the conclusion that these Defence of India Rules are being perpetuated and are being sought to be used for no other purpose than protecting the interests of the Congress Party. It was seen very clearly in Kerala. Just on the eve of the elections when we had gone there, when we, Members, of the Central Committee and the Politbureau of the Communist Party, had gone to Kerala for chalking out our plan of action, the very next day we were arrested. We had not even sat down and taken up the work. We had just worked out the agenda for the meeting and early next morning we were all arrested. And a wonderful picture was painted that we were planning to have all sorts of cells for preparing for guerilla warfare. I may tell you that guerilla warfare is not just a joke. You study something about the guerilla warfare. Guerilla warfare is not something which is just prepared by a small group of people. Guerilla warfare can be conducted only at a time when the overwhelming majority of the population of a particular country or a territory is with those people who are fighting and who have got no other methods of fighting. If democratic methods of fighting are completely shut out and an undemocratic junta or a military junta sits on the top making use of the military for suppressing the people and if no other weapon is open to the entire people, it is only in those circumstances that the people resort to guerilla warfare.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : What about Telangana ? What was the condition at that time ?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I will answer you. You just read the history of the guerilla warfare in Telangana and you would know that during the regime of the Nizam and before the Government of India had entered there, there was terrific

oppression and suppression of the people by the Nizam when the Razakars were let loose on the people and it was at that time that the Communist party of India organised guerilla warfare and distributed land to the people. But immediately after the entry of the Indian troops there, the Communist party offered to the Government of India, 'We will stop this warfare but let this land be kept by them.' It is on record that Dr. Jaisooria—unfortunately he is dead now—had told them that he was the messenger who had gone to the Government of India and negotiated. He had told them, 'Now that the Indian army has entered we will stop this; now that the Nizam has been overthrown we will stop this but don't take any reprisal for what has been done against the Nizam.' So that was the history of the guerilla warfare there. Therefore, guerilla warfare is not just an ordinary thing. We are also people who understand the realities of the situation. We are not fools to organise guerilla warfare when democratic processes are available to us, when we know we can fight against suppression of democracy. Whenever there is suppression of democracy we are confident of rallying the people to struggle against the suppression of democracy and when we are confident of winning that struggle where is the need for resorting to guerilla warfare or to any kind of armed warfare ? We have made it abundantly clear. We have told him all these things. We have told him that it is only in such circumstances that guerilla warfare can be resorted to and that in this country at any rate we do not feel that that is the position. And we are not the majority of the people. We are conscious of the fact that as far as the Communist Party is concerned it has still got to win the majority. After winning the majority, what is going to happen, they will certainly tell you. Therefore, this has nothing to do with it. All these talks are bunkum. It is all just imagination of certain people. The Congressmen have certainly got experience of how the police used to send reports when they were fighting the British. They know that. Simply because some new Ministers have come, the police administration has not changed. It is the same police administration that is there. Any kind of

report that you want them to send to you they are prepared to send and they will send. If there is the least inkling that the Government of India or the local Government needs a report that the Communist Party of India or any other party is preparing for an armed struggle and therefore that party should be banned and action must be taken against that party, you will get abundant reports. But as political beings, as people who understand the politics of the country, who understand the realities of the political life of the country, I certainly expect that as far as these Ministers are concerned they should bring to bear upon these reports some objectivity, the objectivity based on their own understanding of the real politics of the country, and judge these things. It is on the basis of such reports that action has been taken against them. Even now I am here under sufferance. I will have to go back on the 21st. Fortunately, no restriction has been imposed upon me as in the case of Mr. Umakant that I should not go to Delhi or that I should go and report myself every day to the Police Station at Trichinapoly or some other place. That is why I am here but on the 21st I will have to go back and rot in jail. Of course, I am not now concerned with what is happening inside the jail; I am not concerned now with the treatment meted out to the people inside the jail. My friend there was waxing eloquent. I will just give you one or two instances. If your intention was only to prevent people from acting in a manner prejudicial to the defence of the country, what was the reason for preventing us from taking to a normal life? After all, I am a political being. I read newspapers. I read all types of newspapers. I get the world news from different types of angles and I bring to bear my own judgment on those various things. But for eight long months, the Government of Madras would not allow me newspapers except "The Hindu", "The Madras Mail" and "The Indian Express". Even "The Times of India" I could not get.

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN : These are the three leading papers of India and those leading papers are given to you.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I will read "The Times of India"; I will read, for example, "The Statesman". I will read so many other papers. Why should you prevent my reading "The Times of India" or some other paper? How does reading it obstruct the defence of India?

This is all bunkum. The only object was that we should cease to function as political beings. Do not think. Read just what is given to you. None of these things is banned in this country. The literature is not banned outside. Even that literature was prohibited to us. I had to go to court. Three times I had to go to the High Court. I had fought the bitterest battle in the High Court. The Government opposed it. Ultimately of course, the High Court said that these were wrong things. They are entitled to these newspapers. They are entitled to read whatever newspaper they choose so long as it is not banned inside this country. Even for that little thing I had to go to court. Therefore, I say their intentions are very clear. Their intentions are not to safeguard the defences of this country, but their intentions are to prevent certain members of a political Party from functioning as political beings.

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN : Change of heart.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : What is it? Change of heart.

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN : To rectify you all.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I do not want to change my heart. Change your heart. Change the heart of the Congress Party which contains a number of blackmarketeers. I do not want the heart of blackmarketeers.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) : Order, order.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I do not want the heart of tax evaders in this country. I do not want the heart of those people who go abegging to the American Government every year saying, "our economy is tottering. Give us help. Otherwise we will not survive." That is the kind of heart you have. But I want the heart of a sturdy Indian, who dares to stand on his own legs, come what may, whatever be the difficulties, and manage the affairs of this country on our own. I know I have got a stout heart. Whatever might be the difficulties, I will manage.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Shri M. RUTHNASWAMY) : Order, Order.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Therefore, my charge is that this emergency is being continued not for the *bona fide* purpose of safeguarding the interests of the country, safeguarding the defences of this country or for any other valid purpose, but these Defence of India Rules and the emergency are being perpetuated, three and a half years after hot war had ceased, they are being continued only for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of the ruling Party and for nothing else. I would appeal to the Congress Party Members and say that it is high time you thought over it.

My friend was talking about the majority that is there in this House, May I just throw out a challenge ? Are you prepared to accept that challenge ? (Interruptions) (Is the Congress Party prepared, is the Government prepared to take this single issue before the people and take a referendum, find out whether the people of this country want this emergency to continue or they want to end this emergency ? If you are prepared to take up this challenge, tomorrow let this issue be put as a referendum, to the common people, the millions and millions of people. Let there be no Party basis. Let this single issue be placed before the people and I am sure that 95 per cent of the people of this country or even 99 per cent of the people of this country will vote down the

emergency and say that there is no need for this emergency in this country. That is the reality.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN (Gujarat) : You will never come. Let anybody come, but the Communist Party, which is well known for its anti-national activities, will never come.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I am not bothered about it. I am not in the least bothered about it. We know your nationalism, which talks of getting help only from other countries. That is your nationalism. I am not bothered about it at all. Therefore, as far as the people of this country are concerned, they do not have a sense of emergency. Nobody feels the sense of emergency in this country. If there is no sense of emergency, then there is no emergency. There is no sense of emergency in the ruling Party itself. If there is no sense of emergency in the ruling Party, how can there be any sense of emergency among the common people of this country ? It is not there because the realities are different. Yes. Strengthen your defences. Who prevents you from strengthening your defences ? Did the Communist Party ever come in the way of strengthening the defences of the country ? Can you cite a single instance where the Communist Party came out in opposition to the strengthening of the defences of the country ? Absolutely not.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : In the Communist Party, there are two groups, Leftists and Rightists. Which do you represent ?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I represent the Communist Party. Communist Party is Communist Party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We shall see. Why are you worried about it ? You will hear me.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : You talk of Bengal and Kerala. Now, these has been some internal trouble in these areas. The answer to that is only this. Gandhiji told us in 1942: Before a hungry

man God himself dare not appear except in the form of bread. These are the famous words of Gandhiji. I would remind the ruling people, those people who claim to be the faithful followers of Gandhiji, let them at least rethink and brood over this saying. What are their policies leading the country to ? I can certainly understand that in conditions of strain, in conditions of scarcity, food will have to be shared in this country. I am all for it. I am for sharing whatever food is available in this country, even without getting any help from any other foreign country. I am for it. We are all for it. But if you do not share that, if you allow some people to hoard food and if you make millions and millions of our people go without food, or do not give proper food, then inevitably the hungry men lose all thinking. There is a famous saying by one of the greatest poets of Tamil Nad. Avvai, the old women, has said : Before hunger all other things vanish. Similarly, Sir, if you keep people hungry, then what happens ? Inevitably these upsurges come. Defence of India Rules or no Defence of India Rules, emergency or no emergency, these upsurges are inevitable. Because people starve and people do not find a way out, all sorts of things are being resorted to. There is no need for organising this kind of thing. As a matter of fact, unorganised violence results primarily because there is no organisation behind it. If there is organisation behind it, such sorts of things would never happen. We have also conducted struggles before when we were out. We have conducted struggles in Bengal. We have conducted struggles in Kerala when we were all out. (*Interruptions*) As a matter of fact, when we were all out, such things had not happened. Those things happen precisely at a time when you are shutting out the most important leaders of the Communist Party and when all these leftist elements are inside the jail. Thousands of people are shut out and still all these things happen. Ponder over it. In Bengal even long before our thinking was arrested . . .

(Time bell rings)

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Our friend is here.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I am finishing. Therefore, do not think of internal upheavals that might happen now and again. A remedy for that upheaval ought to be found, not by welding the big stick. . . This is not going to solve the problem. You may succeed in coming down on the people for a short time, but ultimately hunger and poverty of the people are certainly going to rise again and again. I remember in 1927 when I was a student in college, we were all attracted at that time. We were drawn to politics, leftist politics, socialist politics. At that time our late Prime Minister addressed the All India Youth Congress. I remember the famous words he used. Answering the British Government, which said that the Congress leaders were responsible for the various types of mass upheavals and rebellions that were taking place in the country, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at that time pointed out : "It is not we who are responsible for these things, but hunger and poverty are the twin sergeants that make these people fight." I would like to remind you of the saying of your own leader, the late departed leader. If you have got a modicum of sincerity for what you have said earlier, ponder over this. Think over this. Sit with the Opposition. Do not impose your solution. When the country is facing a terrific condition, you have to sit with the Opposition. Pose your problem and not impose your solution. Hear the other party. Understand what he says. Try to come to an understanding. See there is something in what he says, there is something reasonable in what he says. And then let us effectively try to implement it jointly. That is not what you are prepared to do. This is unfortunately the position. For example, in Bengal, the Opposition Parties offered to Mr. Sen to co-operate with him in dehoarding the stocks held by the Jagirdars. Please accept our co-operation. But the Bengal Government rejected it. I can understand it. I can understand why the Congress Government is not able to accept such offers. After all, Mr. Subramaniam, our Food Minister, a great friend of mine from my college days, made it clear in the last All India Congress Party session. He said total procurement, State trading, monopoly

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trading in foodgrains, these are all correct slogans all right. But unfortunately for political reasons, we cannot implement them. What are the political reasons? They may be good, but for political reasons they cannot implement them. What are those political reasons? He says: Our supporters are these *jotedars*; our supporters in the elections are the blackmarketeers; our supporters are these traders; we have to go to them for money for election.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : Surely Mr. Subramaniam did not say all these things.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I mean he did not say that exactly. I am paraphrasing Mr. Subramaniam's reasons. The political reasons are : after all we have to go to these people for our election fund; we have got to get their support for the election; how can we afford to anger them particularly in an election year? This is the answer. Therefore, be honest to yourself, be honest to the country; be honest to the people. In the name of the country; in the name of the people, I demand that the Central Government must at least now rethink the whole question and not procrastinate but immediately revoke this emergency; they must not allow this emergency to stand for a single day longer. There is no use saying that this emergency will be lifted as soon as the need for it is over. There is no need of thinking over it. The cold war may continue for a long time. There is every possibility of re-imposing the emergency if the cold war turns into hot war. There is no difficulty. After all it will not take much time. Within one minute it can be done. There is, therefore, no reason why the emergency should continue. I would appeal to you once again to immediately lift this emergency.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL (Delhi) : Sir, I do not rise to reply to Mr. Ramamurti but to welcome him back to the House because it is refreshing to hear him today. Even when he is angry, he has something to contribute, and his anger is understandable though we may differ from him, but

we must understand that he has reason to be angry. I personally feel, Sir, that Mr. Ramamurti, having been forced to stay in jail for some time, had the chance to look within and also had an opportunity to re-examine the situation. I hope he has realised that the time has passed when there is no one in this country, particularly the saner thinking elements, who would like the emergency to continue.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I am not answering him. Unfortunately, I have got to attend to something. Therefore, I hope he will not mind my leaving the house. I have fixed up an engagement at 4 o'clock. I will read what he says.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : I am sure Mr. Ramamurti, as I was saying, has had the opportunity of re-thinking about the whole thing, of examining the situation in the country, of examining the situation in the world around and then coming to the conclusions.

One thing I can assure Mr. Ramamurti is that no sane thinking elements within the Congress or outside ever plead for the continuance of the emergency if it can be dispensed with. We do not plead for the continuation of the emergency because we feel having given a constitution to this country by the people themselves which guarantees the fundamental rights, which values the working of the democracy, which values the people's liberties, it is not with a light heart that anyone can plead that those be dispensed with. The circumstances in which the emergency was brought in are well known to Mr. Ramamurti and his friends. The danger which was not imaginary, the attack which came from China on the NEFA border; the way we were disillusioned with the friendship that we had cherished for a long time; the way China let down not only India-China friendship but let down the entire progressive movement of the world; all these are known to them; and I am sure Mr. Ramamurti's friends who are still in the House itself would agree with me that the treachery which China did to the entire progressive movement

of the world will go down in history as the worst treachery ever practised.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You have lost your chance.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : I am sorry to say this thing that it has not been realised, nor is it appreciated, that even when we ask for the removal of the emergency, it has to be examined in the overall perspective. We have got to see whether an objective situation and circumstance have been created which can warren asking for the removal of the emergency.

Sir, I do not like to go into great details over the thesis of how a democracy should function. But I would like to say this thing here that I am sure, whether it is Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's party or Mr. Ramamurti's party, they share with us one thing at least that no risk should be taken which can endanger the fundamental institutions in this country. We can differ in detail; we can belong to different political parties; we can have freedom of thinking on our part; but surely those institutions which contribute and which give sustenance to our free thinking should definitely be preserved. Therefore, whenever there is the threat of an attack from outside, we should get ourselves fortified to the extent that some misguided elements do not take upon themselves the responsibility of misleading the country or creating circumstances which can possibly divert our attention from the attack from outside. You will agree with me that this year particularly since the new Government has come in has been a year of difficulty, not because of the new coming-in of the Government but because the circumstances have been such. It has been a year or rather a month of new trials and privations. It is very unfortunate that not only the issues which have arisen like, for instance, the issue of the Punjabi Suba, etc. had to strain our internal peace to that extent but also the situation which arose in Mizoland and Bengal itself. I am not going to talk to you about the details of what happened in Mizoland nor what happened in Bengal. But surely about Bengal I would like to read two lines from the "Daily Telegraph" which said :

"There is little doubt that Bengal is in a state of political revolt as serious as the Mizos revolt in Assam hills".

I quoted this not to prove any point. I have quoted this only because I would like to bring home to you the fact that we are really faced with a situation and circumstance which do need attention. I do love freedom as much as Dr. Sapru or anybody else and at this stage I am not making out a case that we should continue the emergency. I am only trying to pinpoint the situation as it is and leave the analysis and the resultant conclusions to your own thinking, Sir.

I am sorry, Sir, that not only has the situation within been upsetting but the Tashkent era, the thaw that was created at Tashkent between India and Pakistan, is dying. We were hoping that perhaps circumstances would arise where India and Pakistan would be able to arrive at an understanding of peaceful co-existence. But you will be surprised, Sir, at not only what we read in our Press but I am going to quote to you from the Press of the friendly country of Pakistan, that is the U.S.A., and I am quoting from the "Washington Post" which said :

"The Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, has weathered the National Assembly questioning of his foreign policy by labelling January Tashkent Declaration with India 'A door and not a barrier, not a contract but a document of intent.'"

That is the gist of Pakistan's post-Tashkent foreign policy. It is very unfortunate that Pakistan should once again have chosen the path of non-co-existence. And the type of armaments that were displayed on Pakistan's National Day—the other day we read about the Chinese tanks, planes and armaments—would really make Mr. Ramamurti re-think. We thought that when the Tashkent Declaration, which was a major contribution for peaceful co-existence in Asia, which was arrived at with the help of the friendly Soviet Union, was being undermined by China, Mr. Ramamurti would think it over. I would like again to quote from the same newspaper which says :

[Shri I. K. Gujral.]

"In official thinking Pakistan is not so much wedded to the Tashkent Declaration itself as to using it as a conscience reminder to get India to loosen its grip on Indian side of Kashmir."

To them the problem of Kashmir still remains the crux. To them the approach is still the same whether they get India out of it by peaceful means or otherwise. Therefore, if I go on asking you that this is one of the factors which have to be kept in view, you will excuse me for that and I hope Mr. Ramamurti will understand that.

You have read two days ago the statement which was made by the Chinese Foreign Minister supporting Pakistan and he said that Pakistan-China friendship was eternal, that it had come to be for all time and that China would see to it that Pakistan is strengthened and strengthened against whom? Surely, Pakistan is not going to fight the Soviet Union. Surely, it has no interest in fighting any other country than India. And it might try to come back to us again with the same strength as it tried to exhibit last time. Last time our united strength, our effort, our willingness to serve our country made them turn back. But that has not ended the situation there. I quote here to you an interesting paragraph which appeared, again, in "The Times" of London. It said:

"President Ayub's dilemma will not ease with time. Political commitments of the generation—indeed of Pakistan's whole existence as nation—press for continued policy of confrontation with India in case of Kashmir."

This is the summing up of the British and the U.S. Press as to what Pakistan's attitude is. Surely, my friends in the Opposition and those of us who really feel that the emergency should be lifted, would be realistic enough to realise and think whether those are the circumstances which really ask for the lifting of the emergency, which really call for a relaxation of efforts on our part. When I talk of emergency, I do not talk of emergency as a mechanical aspect. I do not talk of the emergency which only clamps down people into jail. But emergency, to my mind, means keeping the unity of the nation,

keeping an emergent attitude towards the situation which confronts us. The Chinese threat and the Pakistani threat continue to bother us and therefore I feel that it is time that not only we who are in power but also the friends who are not in power, should sit together and evolve a national attitude. Is this the time for us to create in Bengal things that are being created there? Is this the time to encourage some such situation of riots as happened in Punjab last week? Or is it the time for us that, in order to defeat Pakistan-China collusion which as the Prime Minister rightly said, is much too obvious, we should sit together and evolve a line? I would only like to say that I am one with the Government when it decided that the functioning and the working of the D.I.R. must be reviewed and reviewed very drastically. It should not be only to satisfy this official or that official that the D.I.R. should be reviewed but we must go into the details of it. Every case must be re-examined and we must assure the country and win the confidence of the country to this effect that there is no effort whatsoever on the part of those who are in power to misuse the D.I.R. for any purpose other than that for which it is meant. I only hope and wish that the Left Communist Party, particularly those who have been the main victims of the D.I.R., would now come out and say this thing that not only in theory but in practice also, they are going to stand for the unity of the nation, that they are going to help us in solving our problems from outside, that they are also going to assist the country in solving the problems in India. And when I say that I mean all the problems which are being created in the name of food and in other names. Food is really a problem. And who in the country does not say that this problem has to be solved? Who in this country does not plead that food, whatever is available, must be equally distributed so that the suffering of the people can be mitigated? There is no one in India in Congress or outside who would like to say that one should get more food than the other or that one State must get more than the other or that one zone should get more than the other. If there are defects, they must be removed without Government trying to plead that for one con-

sideration or the other some zones have to suffer. These lacunae must be removed. But also at the same time if the emergency is sought to be removed, which I hope we will be able to remove soon whenever circumstances from outside permit, then also on the conference table we must sit with sane elements like Shri Bhupesh Gupta and discuss with them and tell them what the difficulties are, and I am quite certain that Shri Bhupesh Gupta and his friends and even Shri Ramamurti and his friends will try to realise and appreciate that it is not any artificial circumstances that we are trying to create. Who in this country would like, particularly after Tashkent, that Pakistan should continue to take the posture that it is taking today? Who in this country would wish that China should continue threatening as it is doing today? I am told by friends sometimes in private that the Communist Party of the left now does not think as it used to about China. I hope I am right and if I am right, it is very essential that a very unequivocal statement should be made by Shri Ramamurti and his friends that whatever their understanding of Communism be, they stand for the defence of this country, that they stand for peace here and that they stand for the preservation of the democratic institutions. I wish, Sir, and I plead that the time has come when Government must set up machinery not only at the Centre but also in all the States so that this emergency's working is reviewed and the confidence of the people is won that the emergency is being used only for the purpose of national defence and for nothing else. And at the same time I would like to give a call to the patriotic self of the Opposition parties to come forward and see the danger ahead. Must we get together only when the armies of the other countries come from across our borders? Do we always have to wait, till Pakistan attacks Amritsar, for becoming united? Or must our unity wait till NEFA is attacked again? In the face of not only the impending danger from outside but also in the face of the difficulties from within, cannot we get united again as a nation, as a force of progress and in an effort to deliver the goods, cannot we get together and do it? I know that for this the responsibility rests more on our side than on the

Opposition side, and I know that the new Prime Minister particularly is very keen and anxious that the bridge of understanding between the Congress and the Opposition parties must be built and this bridge of understanding alone will give us—the essential effort for unity and the will to defend against outside,

Sir, a minute before I sit down, I would like to repeat this thing that my democratic conscience and sense tells me that the emergency must be withdrawn. I am also conscious as an Indian of the danger from without. Therefore, like Dr. Sapru, I am in a dilemma and Dr. Sapru's dilemma is that within the country those unfortunate friends of ours who have chosen a path which is not in the national interest should realise that as a token of their co-operation in preserving peace, for some time at least, they must give demonstration of the fact that the emergency is redundant, by not demonstrating in Calcutta, by not marching in Kerala and by not threatening Bombay *bundh* and by not having those things which are happening in the Mizo Hills. But, instead they go on demanding the withdrawal of the emergency by creating circumstances and situations so that the Government has no face to say that they will be withdrawing the emergency. And, therefore, I would ask Shri Bhupesh Gupta and Shri Ramamurti and friends to be practical and call off the strike in Calcutta, call off the demonstration in Calcutta, call off the agitation in Calcutta and give the people and the Government the feel that the emergency can be forthwith withdrawn and yet the unity of the nation can be preserved to face the danger from outside.

PROF. A. R. WADIA (Nominated) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we have listened to some very impassioned speeches today. But passion does not lead us anywhere, it only tends to cloud our judgment. I take it as a matter of common sense that every Government is responsible for the preservation of law and order. It follows also that it is the duty of the Government to see how that law and order is to be maintained. It is on that standpoint that in 1962 we accepted the existence of an emergency and we readily agreed to the

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.]
passing of the Defence of India Act under which various rules have been framed, and the time has come to consider whether those rules should continue any longer. It may be admitted that even after 1962 the emergency existed because Pakistan was there, they over-ran the Rann of Kutch, they invaded our land. Practically till last year there was a real emergency in every sense of the term and there was some justification for the continuance of the Defence of India Rules.

But I am not sure, Sir, that that emergency continues at the present moment. It is true that Pakistan is our perpetual enemy or it appears to be so. It is true that China is continuously threatening us. But the existence of inimical countries does not justify the continuance of emergency. It is not an emergency, it is a threat. When the threat materialises, there will be time enough for us to act on an emergency. So it is from that standpoint that, I feel convinced that at the present moment the emergency, as we conceived it in 1962 perhaps, right down till 1965, does not exist in the year 1966.

There has been the charge made again and again by the members of the Communist Party that the Defence of India Rules are used not for emergency purposes but for political purposes. Now so far as this charge is made by members of any one particular political party, it is open to us to discard them, not to listen to them, not to take them at their face value. But when the cases have been gone through by the highest judicial authority, when the highest judicial authority has said that the administration of the Defence of India Rules is not justified, that the continuance of these rules is not justified, it is time not merely for us ordinary people, it is time even for the Government to consider whether it is desirable that the Defence of India Rules should continue. It is from that standpoint that I am appealing to the Government to consider the whole question from a dispassionate angle.

I am aware of their difficulties. They continue the emergency even today because a Bombay Bundh or Calcutta Bundh is threatened. No responsible citizen likes these things. But these are

our internal political troubles for which, I am afraid, the Government itself has been responsible. The Home Minister today is in charge of law and order. But as Labour Minister he did his best to pamper labour and to teach them that they have to bully the Government to get what they want. They have learnt the lesson well and they are acting up to it.

We know that all the trouble at the present moment exists because of hunger. It is true that there is scarcity of food. But that, again, is the result of the Government's policy. It was possible for the Government to have developed agriculture during the last 18 years, but it did not, and we have to pay the price for it. So if I am appealing to the Government to reconsider whether the continuance of the D.I.R. is justifiable, I would also appeal to the Opposition parties not to exploit the present position and not to deal with a dangerous situation in a way which might lead the country to disaster.

It is all very well for the labour leaders or the leaders of political parties to call upon their fellow members to organise processions, and of course, they say, very peaceful processions. But they know in their heart of hearts, and they should know, that the so-called peaceful processions are liable to develop into very violent tactics where life is not secure, where property is not secure and everything is subjected to lawlessness. I am perfectly certain that the members of the Opposition parties will realise their responsibility. I am perfectly certain that they would recognise that they are, first and foremost, sons of India. Membership of political parties is a secondary matter. It is only a means of achieving certain ends. We are pledged to peace. We are pledged to peace so far as this country is concerned, and let us preserve peace. Let us fight for our rights in a very constitutional, really peaceful manner and not take recourse to mere agitation.

Finally, I should appeal to the Government to seriously consider the situation today and not to use the word 'emergency' today in the sense in which it was never meant in 1962. It was a different emergency. What they choose to call

emergency today is of an entirely different political character which affects our own people. And, therefore, I do feel that in deference to the responsible judicial judgments, they will understand that the time has come to revise their policy.

Sir, if the Government is responsible for the maintenance of law and order, it is the responsibility of our judiciary to see that this law and order is preserved according to law, according to the Constitution, and it is from that standpoint that I appeal to both the parties, Government as well as the Opposition parties, to see that a situation is created where we solve our problems, not through passion, but through reasonable means, through a proper understanding of the problems. That is the proper way of solving these problems. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. Two or three minutes only.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, during the few minutes that I have got at my disposal, I can only say that the Government should not delay in revoking the emergency by just listening to certain counsels within their party or to some of their high officers. I declare here that if the emergency is not lifted, naturally the consequences may be very serious from the point of view of democracy. I say so because the people will feel that even on the eve of the fourth general elections the Congress Party, for partisan interests, is not extending to the Opposition some of the fundamental rights which had been taken away from all the citizens of our country. If that is so, then I venture to say that the people will work under some frustration.

What surprises me, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is not a few incidents. I declare here in this House, in all sorrow and agony, that we are not strong enough to create a powerful mass movement in the country to force the Government to revoke the emergency. I should like the States of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, full of surging humanity, protest against this idiotic emergency in mass actions, united

actions. But unfortunately, we have not acquired that spirit. We indicated it only in West Bengal recently.

And you ask me to condemn my people of West Bengal. Never shall I do so. While you know our stated position with regard to the question of violence and non-violence, we want to solve the problems in our life democratically and through peaceful means. That is our stated position and we stick to it. But when we see this Government shooting down young boys and see our young people losing themselves temporarily to anger and agony and taking to certain actions, am I to denounce those young boys or am I to silence the guns that shoot our young men and women ? That is what I would like to know. Therefore, let us not talk about West Bengal. Well, I am proud that I come from that State.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. S. NASKAR) : I am also proud of it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We have been known as a fighting race and we shall continue to remain the same to the last breath. Emergency or no emergency, let it not be said that the Bengali people were cowed down before a canard and all this kind of thing. Let them fight. Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, let us not be treated to such a peace. You behave properly, ask Profulla Sen not to shoot, enter the homes and dishonour our mothers through his police. Ask him not to tear away the hair of our sisters in the hovels and slums in which they have been consigned to live. Ask them not to blast away by leaden fire the lives of young men who have yet to see what humanity is. Do that thing and we shall also see what can be done.

5 P.M.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would ask this Government that the time has come; otherwise I think the Opposition parties should take counsel with each other, have even larger mass action for the revocation of the emergency only; otherwise I do not think the Opposition is worth the name. We have not come here to prostitute our liberties before the Congress Party or to permit ourselves to be cowed down by their threatened emergency.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

We have shown that even in the emergency people can rise. Well, if that is so, why in an organised way we should not rise ? That should be peaceful, I agree. It should be democratic but all the same on the eve of the elections if these gentlemen do not revoke the emergency, I would implore the Opposition parties in the country and even the Congressmen who are thinking along these lines, to take counsel with one another and to see how a vast, powerful, irresistible mass movement of strikes and hartals can be developed all over the country to force this Government to abide by the principles of the Constitution, to listen to the jurists and the former Chief Justices of the High Courts and the Supreme Court of our country who are still alive. It is not a challenge. It is a sign of agony, if I may say so, but what can we do ? I know here was Mr. Ramamurti who was detained without trial for a year and a half and to-day he spoke that he was prepared to discuss with the Government as to how the problem of food should be tackled together. He appealed to you : 'Let us come and deal with it together, but share this thing.' Is this the word of a guerilla ? Guerillas do not speak this language nor those who are prepared for armed struggle. The coward of a Home Minister sitting on the Treasury Benches does not have the political stamina to stand up to them, puts them in prison, telling lies. When it comes to answering the lies, he is away from the House. Today the lie has been nailed down by a leader of that party and I believe what he said. Today, Mr. Jyoti Basu and other prominent leaders of that party came here, discussed in my presence with the Prime Minister, how the problem could be tackled, how a common solution could be found, how even with that arrogant, insolent Chief Minister we could sit despite very many difficulties on a personal level and try to solve the problem. Is it not something very important ? All of us are seeing it.

As far as the problems of the people are concerned, let us discuss them. We shall have our position, you will have your position. There will be conflict but there will be a lot of discussions. Therefore I say and once again I appeal because this is the last discussion perhaps because

on the next non-official day I will not get it. I would tell the Home Minister, the Prime Minister and the Government : Let them not drag us to desperation in this matter. We know that all should work for the strengthening of parliamentary institutions and democracy whether it is the Opposition or the ruling party, but let them not put us on probation and try to treat us as if we are second-rate parties or second-rate citizens. We would only like to see that this paliametary institution thrives and flourishes, comes closer to the people, becomes worthy of the great name that the institution should have but then, is it not essential in that context that the extraordinary measures condemned by the whole world, condemned by your all the three living Chief Justices of India, your former Attorney-General under whom, when he was the Attorney-General, without consulting whom, the law was passed, denounced by Dr. Radha Binod Pal, the eminent world jurist, who was a Member of the Tribunal for trying the war criminals, by all your Judges and others, artists, lawyers, professors, lecturers, all the newspapers in the country, well when everybody is demanding, is it not proper that you bow to the will of the people and to public opinion and then only qualify yourself to tell others in the Opposition that they should also be similarly respectful to very many other things which you think good ?

Therefore my final word is this. They have said it will be considered very soon. The emergency was proclaimed for a grave external threat. That was the constitutional declaration. It is not justified on any other ground to-day. Then you have to pass another emergency order which I believe you are not doing, I hope. Because some police officers, high officials and some very few peole in the Congress Party have asked for the emergency to continue, that you should ignore the entire public opinion and let it continue, that should not be the position. May I, in all humility, appeal to my friends in the Congress Party, including those who may not share my views in this matter that if not for anything else, for the sake of tradition, for the sake of Constitution, for the sake of decency in public life and for the sake of the future of our

parliamentary democracy, be down with the emergency and let at least the guarantees enshrined in the Constitution be restored to the citizens of our land ?

MESSAGES FROM THE LOK SABHA

1. THE APPROPRIATION (RAILWAYS) BILL, 1966.
2. THE APPROPRIATION (RAILWAYS) NO. 2 BILL, 1966
3. THE KERALA APPROPRIATION BILL, 1966
4. THE KERALA APPROPRIATION (VOTE ON ACCOUNT) BILL, 1966

SECRETARY : Sir, I have to report to the House the following messages received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha.

(I)

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith a copy of the Appropriation (Railways) Bill, 1966, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 24th March, 1966.

2. The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of article 110 of the Constitution of India."

(II)

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha I am directed to enclose herewith a copy of the Appropriation (Railways) No. 2 Bill, 1966, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 24th March, 1966.

2. The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of article 110 of the Constitution of India."

(III)

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha I am directed to enclose herewith a copy of the Kerala Appropriation Bill, 1966, as passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 24th March, 1966.

2. The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill."

(IV)

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith a copy of the Kerala Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1966, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 25th March, 1966.

2. The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill."

Sir, I beg to lay a copy of each of the Bills on the Table.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) : The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on Monday.

The House then adjourned at seven minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 28th March, 1966.