

जाने से या तटस्थ हो जाने से हमारे मस्तिष्कों का संतुलन इतना बिगड़ गया है..... (व्यवधान)..... आप प्रधान मंत्री को यहाँ पर बुलाइये— हिन्दुस्तान को इस तरह से गिरवी नहीं रखा जा सकता। वह रूस का गुलाम हो गया है। हम इस क बरदास्त नहीं कर सकते... (व्यवधान)....

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND COMMUNICATIONS (DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH): The Prime Minister is in the other House and she will be coming here after some time.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE rose—(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I would appeal to the hon. Member to resume his seat. The Prime Minister is in the other House and word has been sent to her and she will be here in a short time. (Interruptions) Hon. Members will not achieve anything by this method.

Now, Dr. Ram Subhag Singh.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH: Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I cannot allow this kind of thing. This is the Indian Parliament, and hon. Members must behave in a dignified way. Let all hon. Members please sit down now.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर): यहाँ पर प्राइम मिनिस्टर हैं या नहीं, इससे फर्क नहीं पड़ता है, इस सदन की कार्यवाही प्राइम मिनिस्टर के लिए रुकी नहीं रहेगी, यह सदन आगे बढ़ेगा। मैं ने यम 109 के अन्तर्गत स्थगन प्रस्ताव की सूचना दी है। मैं नियम पढ़कर सुनाता हूँ:

“At any stage of a Bill which is under discussion in the House, a motion that the debate on the

Bill be adjourned may be moved with the consent of the Speaker”.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH: There is nothing under discussion now.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: The Gold Control Bill is under discussion now.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: But, in between there is one small item.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: There is no other time. We would not listen if the hon. Minister reads out anything.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Under the rules, I cannot permit this kind of thing. I shall have to follow the rules. (Interruptions) I am going to postpone the item standing in the name of Shri Asoka Mehta.

Now, the hon. Minister (Interruptions)

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir—(Inaudible). (Interruptions)

14-15 hrs.

GOLD CONTROL BILL—contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, I shall be calling Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. In between, the other item is to be postponed.

Now, we shall take up further consideration of the Gold Control Bill clause-by-clause.

Now, I shall permit Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

RE. SITUATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA—contd.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, नियम 109 के अन्तर्गत मैं प्रस्ताव करना चाहता हूँ कि स्वर्ण नियन्त्रण विधेयक पर चर्चा स्थगित कर दी जाये। मेरे इस प्रस्ताव को रखने का कारण यह है कि अभी अभी यूनाइटेड नेशन्स की खबर आई है कि सुरक्षा

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

परिषद् में जब चेकोस्लोवाकिया से सम्बन्धित निन्दा का प्रस्ताव आया तो भारत के प्रतिनिधि ने उस प्रस्ताव के पक्ष में मत नहीं दिया।... (व्यवधान)...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I shall take vote just now. It is the hon. Member's responsibility to control his party now. (Interruptions)

SHRI NATH PAI: What? We want them to behave like that.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: We want the resignation of the Prime Minister.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : रूस और अन्य देश जिन्होंने चेकोस्लोवाकिया में अपनी फौजें भेजकर संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के घोषणा-पत्र का उल्लंघन किया, विश्व शांति के लिए संकट पैदा किया और जब उनकी निन्दा का प्रस्ताव सुरक्षा परिषद् में आया तो भारत के प्रतिनिधि ने उसका समर्थन नहीं किया, उसके प्रति तटस्थ रह गया। निन्दा के प्रस्ताव पर यह एक्सटेन करने का फैसला, कल इस सदन में प्रधान मन्त्री द्वारा जो आश्वासन दिये गये थे, उन आश्वासनों के खिलाफ है। (व्यवधान)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सरकार ने न केवल इस सदन के साथ विश्वासघात किया है बल्कि इस देश के साथ भी विश्वासघात किया है। कल इस आधार पर श्रीमति सुचेता कृपालानी के संशोधन पर मतदान न करने की वकालत की गई कि सुरक्षा परिषद् में भारत अपना कर्तव्य करेगा। प्रधान मन्त्री ने संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के घोषणा-पत्र में अपनी निष्ठा की फिर से घोषणा की थी जिससे यह संकेत मिला और यह स्पष्ट हो गया कि भले ही इस सदन में भारत सरकार किसी संशोधन को स्वीकार न करने की स्थिति में हो

लेकिन जब सुरक्षा परिषद् में चेकोस्लोवाकिया का मामला आयेगा तो भारत सरकार इस सदन और इस देश की भावनाओं का आदर करेगी। लेकिन हम तटस्थ रह गए। क्या आक्रमण के समय हम तटस्थ रह सकते हैं? क्या अच्छाई और बुराई के बीच, धंधरे और उजाले के बीच, आक्रमण और शांति के बीच कोई तटस्थ रह सकता है? अगर यह सरकार नेहरू जी के पद-चिन्हों पर चलने का दावा करती है तो उन्होंने भी घोषणा की थी कि जब आक्रमण का सवाल आयेगा, हम चुप नहीं रहेंगे, हम शांत नहीं रहेंगे। वर्तमान प्रधान मन्त्री ने भी माना था कि हंगरी के इतिहास की पुनरावृत्ति नहीं की जायेगी। जब पाकिस्तान को रूस द्वारा हथियार देने के निर्णय पर विरोधी दलों के नेताओं की बैठक हुई थी तो हमने यह मामला उठाया था हंगरी का और प्रधान मन्त्री ने कहा था कि जो बात बीत गई वह बीत गई, अब हम अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करेंगे। लेकिन भारत ने अपने कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं किया, ऐसा लगता है हम रूस के दबाव में आ गए हैं। हम अपनी स्वतंत्रता खो बैठे हैं, हम अपना स्वाभिमान खो बैठे हैं और यह सरकार ऐसा कृत्य करने की दोषी है इसलिए इस कृत्य पर इस सदन को विचार करने का मौका मिलना चाहिए।

मैं अधिक समय नहीं लूंगा। मेरा निवेदन है कि नियम के अनुसार स्वर्ण नियन्त्रण विधेयक पर चर्चा रुक सकती है, मगर भारत सरकार ने संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में जो पाप किया है उस पर इसी समय चर्चा होनी चाहिये।

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, only this morning I warned the House, as well as the government, that we came to know that the Government of India

have instructed their delegation, their representative in the security Council, to remain neutral and the motion that was before the Security Council was to condemn Soviet aggression. The resolution reads as follows:

"Recalling that UN is based on principle of sovereign equality of all its members, considering that action taken by Government of USSR and certain other members of the Warsaw Pact in invading Czechoslovak Socialist Republic"

—it is a Socialist Republic—

"is a violation of UN charter and, in particular, of principle that all members shall refrain in their international relations from threat or use of force against territorial integrity or political independence of any state, gravely concerned that, as announced by Presidium of Central Committee of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, troops of Soviet Union and certain other members of Warsaw Pact had entered their country without knowledge and against wishes of Czechoslovakian Government:

1. Affirms that people of sovereign State of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have right in accordance with charter freely to exercise their own self-determination and to arrange their own affairs without external intervention.

2. Affirms that sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic must be fully respected,

3. Condemns armed intervention of USSR and certain other members of Warsaw Pact in internal affairs of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and calls upon them forthwith to withdraw their forces and to cease all other forms of intervention in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs,

4. Calls on them likewise to refrain from any acts of bloodshed or other actions in Czechoslovakia

and elsewhere that could exacerbate situation, and to take no action of terror or reprisal that could result in further suffering or loss of life."

This was the part of the Resolution that was placed before the Security Council and we are told, we are informed, that on this Resolution our government representative has remained neutral, has abstained. What a shame is it! What a shame on the country as a whole. At this stage, it is relevant for me to remind the House of what the Prime Minister has said only yesterday. She gave us an assurance and she wanted us to believe her, she wanted us to be satisfied with it. Because we were not satisfied with it, because we could not place faith in her words, we went on division yesterday. This is what she has said:

"I should like to assure the House that we shall always uphold the United Nations' Charter on which rests the hope of mankind for a peaceful world. This we have always done, this we shall always do....."

Earlier what had Shri Krishna Menon done in the name of our government? Yet, she was bold enough to say "this we have always done, this we shall always do." Then she goes on to say:

".....and we shall work to ensure that the Charter rights of Czechoslovakia are safeguarded in every way. This obviously depends on how the matter comes up there."

It has come up in this fashion.

"I can assure this House that just as we are interested as a member of the Security Council and as a member of the United Nations Organisation in upholding the sacred principles of the Charter....."

What words that came from the lips of this Prime Minister? Yet, she has instructed her representative to

[Shri Ranga]

act like this. to behave in this manner...*(Interruptions)*

"we are equally",

she said, I continue the quoting—

"we are equally wedded to certain basic and fundamental principles to which we have adhered all these years, and I would like, with the permission of the House, to restate them."

This is what she said.

I charge her with breach of faith with this House.....*(Interruption)*, for having misled the country and for having tried to mislead this House. Under these circumstances, I support the motion moved by my hon. friend, Shri Vajpayee, that the debate on this Bill should be adjourned. We are all concerned over this matter; we are exercised overmuch; we are ashamed of the manner in which this Government has behaved. Therefore we would not be able to carry on this debate.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I accuse the Prime Minister and the Government of betrayal of this great, sovereign Parliament and the people of this nation. All that she had stated yesterday in reply to the debate as well as the statement that she had made on the floor of this House had pointed only to one thing, that we were going to support definitely the cause of the Czechoslovaks at the UN Security Council. The decision today is a clear betrayal and a breach of faith. I would like to demand the immediate resignation of the Government.....*(Interruption)* for their failure to honour the human dignity and the self-respect of this nation. If this Government is so beggarly as to depend upon bread alone, let them disband the whole army and prostrate before the Chinese. Why do they not do it? If they have a grain of self-respect in them, humanity and honour demand that we

must support the cause of the Czechoslovaks at the Security Council; or let them resign.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): I would request you to give me a chance as an individual to speak.

श्री एच० एम० जोशी (पूना) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे मित्र श्री वाजपेयी ने सदन के सामने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है, मैं उस का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

मुझे कहना पड़ता है कि इस समय जिस तरह से हम में गुस्सा है उसी तरह से दुःख भी है। आदमी को गुस्सा आना स्वाभाविक है और उस का इजहार करना भी स्वाभाविक है, मगर आज हम दुःख के साथ देख रहे हैं कि हम ने अपने पूरे देश को ऐसी जगह पर पहुंचा दिया है कि हिन्दुस्तान के हर एक नागरिक को प्राइम मिनिस्टर और इस कैबिनेट के कारण शर्म से अपना सिर झुकाना पड़ रहा है।

यह बड़े दुःख की बात है कि हम को बार बार यह बतलाया जाता है कि (व्यवधान) हमको बार बार बताया जाता है कि जब भी कोई फैसला हम करते हैं तो हम को राष्ट्र के हित को ध्यान में रखना चाहिये और उस हित को देख कर ही हम को कोई फैसला करना पड़ता है, लोगों से हमें मदद लेनी पड़ती है। लेकिन जैसे मेरे मित्र ने अभी बताया क्या हम लोग इस तरह से दूसरे लोगों से पैसा ले कर, उन से मदद ले कर, उन से इमदाद ले कर अपने आपकों उनका गुलाम नहीं बनाने जा रहे हैं? जब हम लोग आजाद नहीं थे तब हमारे अन्दर क्या भावनाएँ थीं? मुझे तो दो तीन दिनों से वही भावनाएँ याद आ रही हैं। उन भावनाओं को देखते हुए मुझे आश्चर्य

होता है कि कहीं ऐसी जगह पर तो हम नहीं पहुंच गए हैं कि जहां हमें यह मालूम पड़ने लग गया है कि हमारी आजादी सही है या नकली है; असली है या नकली है। इस नकली आजादी को लेकर हम को यह बताया जाता है कि हमारे बास्ते इधर से मदद आती है, उधर से मदद आती है। लेकिन मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस मदद को लेने से हम लोगों को क्या फायदा होने वाला है।

आज मैं टैक्सी से आ रहा था। टैक्सी का ड्राइवर सिख था, बूढ़ा था। उसने मुझ से पूछा कि यह बताओ कि रूस जैसा इतना ताकतवर देश एक छोटे से देश के ऊपर इस तरह से हमला क्यों करता है और अगर वह करता है तो हम लोगों को क्यों चुप बैठ जाना चाहिए। मैंने उसको समझाने की कोशिश की, सब चीज बताने की कोशिश की, मैंने उसको बताया कि देखो, आज दुनिया में दो राक्षस बन गए हैं और इन राक्षसों की बजह से आज दुनिया में बहुत सी खराबियां पैदा हो रही हैं। पहले जो चीज हुआ करती थी और जो आज होती है, उस में बहुत फर्क है। आज बहुत खराब चीज हो रही है। हंगरी पर जब हमला हुआ उस वक्त की बात अलग थी। वहां तो रिवोल्ट हुई थी और उसको दूसरी दृष्टि से देखा जाता था।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude. I cannot permit long speeches.

श्री एस० एम० जोशी: दुनिया का बटवारा आज दो राक्षसों के बीच हो गया है और उन दो राक्षसों की मदद करने के लिए क्या हिन्दुस्तान बकरी होने जा रहा है? क्या वह उनकी गुलामी करने जा रहा है? अगर ऐसी बात है तो इसको बरदास्त नहीं किया जा सकता है। यह नहीं हो सकता है।

अपनी आजादी के बीस सालों में हम ने विश्व में शान्ति बनाये रखने की कोशिश की है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि आज जो घटना घटी है, जो दुर्घटना घटी है, इससे विश्व की शान्ति दस साल पीछे पड़ गई है। इस देश में और दुनिया में कोल्ड वार का जमाना आ रहा है और उस कोल्ड वार का शिकार सिर्फ चैकोस्लोवाकिया ही नहीं बना है, हम भी उसके विक्रिम बनने जा रहे हैं। सिख ड्राइवर ने हम से कहा कि तुम सब बकरियां इकट्ठी क्यों नहीं होती। मैं कहता हूँ कि जो मदद आपको मिलती है उसको आप भाड़ में झोंक दो, रशिया देता है या अमरीका देता है, कोई भी देता हो, उस मदद की हमें जरूरत नहीं है, हम उस मदद को नहीं चाहते हैं। हम बेशक गरीब हैं। लेकिन हम आत्म-सम्मान के साथ जिन्दा रहना चाहते हैं। यही हमने आज तक सीखा है। आप अपनी आत्मा की आवाज को सुनें। क्या कहती है आत्मा की आवाज? आत्मा की आवाज का तकाजा है कि यू एन चार्टर को रूस ने तोड़ दिया है और इसे हमें खुले शब्दों में, खुली जवान से कह देना चाहिये। हमें कह देना चाहिये कि तुम ने यू एन के चार्टर को तोड़ा है। तुम ने बड़ा गुनाह किया है। तुम ने इंसानियत के साथ गुनाह किया है। मैं कहूंगा कि इस गुनाह में ये भी जिम्मेदार हो रहे हैं।

मेरे मित्र मधु लिमये ने कहा था कि क्या हम लोग रूस के दास या दासी बनेंगे। तब इनको गुस्सा आ गया था। अंग्रेजी में अगर हम कहें कि हैडमेड, तो वह चलता है। उस पर गुस्सा नहीं आता है। ये दास नहीं हैं तो क्या हैं?

मैं कहूंगा कि इस हकूमत को एक क्षण के लिए भी यहां बैठने का अधिकार नहीं है। इनको तुरन्त त्यागपत्र दे देना चाहिये। प्रधान मंत्री ने इस सदन के

[श्री एस० एम० जोशी]

साथ विश्वासघात किया है, देश के साथ विश्वासघात किया है। गुनाह किया है। इनका भाज हम इस्तीफा चाहते हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI NATH PAI: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the brief submission that I want to make is that I should plead with my friends in the Congress Party to reflect over what we have seen, temporarily, discarding the spectacles of partisan view because what we are submitting is not the interest of any particular party but what has been damaged and compromised is the honour of our motherland. Yesterday we heard that the freedom and independence of Czechoslovakia had been eclipsed. Today we are hearing that the honour of our motherland has been tarnished by the abstention of the Indian delegate.....

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Shame, Shame.

SHRI NATH PAI: This morning, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the Speaker admonished Parliament that we must not use harsh words. We are always willing and eager to be guided by you. If harsh words are to be avoided, are false words to be encouraged in this House? Between falsehood and harshness, what are we going to choose? Any time our choice is clear between falsehood and truth and harshness. If truth is to be sacrificed, I would rather use harsh words and say the truth rather than go in for soft words and thereby betray truth.....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: But not undignified.....(Interruptions)

SHRI NATH PAI: I want to appeal to those patriots in the Congress who, I know, are as much concerned, about the dishonour that has been done to the fair name of our motherland as we are. If the whip of this

party, the muzzle of party discipline is stopping them here, I know they are carrying in their heart the same feelings as we are carrying, about what their Government has done. The Soviet army was required to make a nation satellite. Are we becoming a satellite without even the use of an army? This is the question. You may not agree with me, but you must extend to me the right of saying what I have to say here. We must conduct Parliament in an orderly way. But what is Parliament? Parliament is basically to reflect, to mirror, the wishes, the needs, the heart and the agony of our people. If under the name of 'procedure', we are to be stopped, I do not want to be a Member of Parliament. Let Mr. Morarji Desai forget for once that he is the Deputy Prime Minister of a discredited Government; let him remember that once he carried the tricolour to uphold it as the symbol of India's honour. What is he going to choose when the Government has tarnished the fair name of our motherland? What is dearer to him—the seat which he is occupying or the seat of respect and confidence of people. I want to ask every Congressman, what was the justification for the Prime Minister of India to go back patently on the solemn promise which she made yesterday. Under articles 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the Charter of the United Nations—it is given to all men and all nations—every nation has the right to pursue its destiny according to its genius and tradition, every nation has the right to freedom; and no nation has the right to interfere in the affairs of other nations. What was the Resolution before the United Nations? Yesterday the Prime Minister of India promised that the Government of India, through the Security Council, would ensure that the rights given by the United Nations' Charter to the people of Czechoslovakia shall be upheld, and today her representative betrays that solemn promise made to the people of India.....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Member may try to conclude.

SHRI NATH PAI: I want you, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, to bear with me for a minute. The matter is too serious. We are not concerned with words, though we want to see that the words are adequate enough and proper. What is coming from our hearts is not word, but it is the wound that is coming, it is the agony of the heart that is coming out. Therefore, you should not try to restrain us today. I know, the old patriotism in you also will feel that something has gone basically wrong. What is the sanctity of life in this country, if Parliament is to be discredited in this way? I think, it was only a sop to the patriotism of the Congressmen; when that solemn promise was made by the Prime Minister yesterday, it was only to persuade them.....(*Interruptions*). Are we to understand that it was a solemn promise made to the nation? Are we to understand that it was a guarantee given to the people of Czechoslovakia? Was it a pledge and trust given to the country or was it a ruse or covert to mislead the Congress patriots who wanted to hear something categorical? Are we to draw this inference? When the Prime Minister told this Parliament that her representative in the Security Council would strive, attempt, try and fight to uphold the freedom of Czechoslovakia, was it a real promise or was it only to defeat Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani's Resolution that this ruse was used? What is the meaning of it?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, this Government has done more harm to the name of India than the Chinese could have done or the Pakistani detractors could have done. We have lost face before mankind. We are becoming accomplices in the rope of a nation. We are asked to be silent witnesses when freedom is being throttled. If this Parliament is supposed to be a witness to it, to be a party to it, I throw this challenge to the Government of India. I do not wish to use harsh words or indulge in big talk. But if the Government of India think that the people of India are with them in this action of theirs, let

us dissolve this Parliament and go to the people and seek a fresh mandate from them, the people of India. This is the only challenge I throw.

श्री नथि नूषण (खारोन): जमानतें
जन्त हो जायेंगे ।

SHRI NATH PAI: I am too tired to speak. In the morning, when I made some submissions in connection with this matter, I did not know that within one hour we would receive confirmation of our worst forebodings. In the morning, I and some other members of the Opposition, tried to get an assurance from Government that the pledges made to us and to the people of Czechoslovakia would be upheld. Within one hour, we have received confirmation that these were mere words, not solemn promises.

Under these circumstances, I ask two things. In the name of honour, let us all go. Since you pretend that you represent the people and we believe that we speak for the people of India, who is to decide? Let us get this Parliament dissolved. Let us go to the people of India and seek a fresh verdict from them on this issue. I am not asking only the members opposite to resign. I say dissolve this Parliament. Let us go to the people, let us face the final masters of this country, the arbiters of our destiny, the people of India. Let them decide whether the policy we want, of condemning Soviet aggression, is the correct policy or the policy of acquiescence in crime followed by this Government is the correct policy. I have done.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri K. N. Tiwary.

Shri K. N. Tiwary rose—

AN HON. MEMBER: The Prime Minister is coming.

SHRI M. L. SONDHI: Chamberlain, Chamberlain, Chamberlain. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RABI RAY (*Puri*): Re-sign. resign.

SHRI BALRAJ MADHOK (South Delhi): She has betrayed the country (*Interruptions*).

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: She should resign (*Interruptions*).

SHRI M. L. SONDHAI: Czechoslovakia.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Zinda-bad.

SHRI M. L. SONDHAI: Dubcek.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Zinda-bad.

श्री क० ना० तिवारी (बेतिया) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो भावना...
(*ब्यबधान*) ।

श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त: प्रधान मंत्र ने देश के नाम पर बट्टा लगाया है। उन को इस्तीफा देना चाहिये। उन्होंने देश की भावना के साथ विश्वासघात किया है। उन को इस्तीफा दे देना चाहिये।
(*ब्यबधान*) ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: This cannot go on. I must say this very plainly (*Interruptions*).

SHRI M. L. SONDHAI: I represent New India. How can you shut us out? (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: This will not do. If the shouting continues, I will put the question to vote.

SHRI RANGA: No, no. How can you say that? You cannot say that.

श्री क० ना० तिवारी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस वक्त मालूम नहीं कि युनाइटेड नेशनल में क्या बात हुई है। रेडियो से पूरी डीटेल्स हमें मालूम नहीं हुई हैं। रेडियो पर जो बात सुनी गई है, अगर वह सही है, तो जो भावना हमारे और दोस्तों की है, आपोजीशन की है, उस भावना से हम लोग भी वंचित नहीं हैं।

(*ब्यबधान*) गांधी जी और पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने जो सिद्धान्त हमें दिया, जिस के पीछे कांग्रेस पार्टी चलती आई है, वह हमारी दृष्टि से झोझल हो गया है, ऐसी बात नहीं है। हम उस के पीछे हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि जब तक हम जिन्दा रहें, जब तक यह था जिन्दा रहे, जब तक देश जिन्दा रहे, तब तक हम उस के पीछे चलते रहें। इस में कोई दो मत नहीं हैं। लेकिन अभी मंत्री महोदय, डा. राम सुभाग सिंह, बोलना चाहते थे। मैं चाहता था कि उस पक्ष को भी सुन लिया जाये।

एक माननीय सदस्य : हम आप को सुन रहे हैं।

श्री क० ना० तिवारी : मैं तो गवर्नमेंट में नहीं हूँ। जो सवाल उठा है, उस के बारे में माननीय सदस्यों को जो कुछ कहना है, वे शान्तिपूर्वक कह दें और जो कुछ गवर्नमेंट को कहना है, वह भी शान्तिपूर्वक कह दे। उस के बाद विचार-विनिमय हो। जिस की जो राय हो, वह हो। लेकिन एक बात माननी होगी।

SHRI M. L. SONDHAI: What about the rape of Czechoslovakia? What about the rape of Tibet?..... (*Interruptions*.)

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: If they have any regard for my words, may I appeal to the Opposition Members and say that we are not helpful to our own cause if we do not allow the Congress people to speak and if we do not listen to them in silence. You know that many of them are with us. But if we create this kind of disorder, then those who are with us will also feel obliged to go with the Party. Therefore, let us listen to them patiently. I appeal to Mr. Sondhi also.

श्री क० ना० तिवारी : सवाल इतना ही है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा ने कल जो कहा और उस के बाद जो कुछ यू०एन०ओ०

में हुआ, उस में कोई तर्कका है या नहीं। माननीय सदस्यों को यह बताना होगा कि उस में फ़र्क है और गवर्नमेंट भी बतायेगी कि फ़र्क है या नहीं। तभी यह हाउस इस बारे में शान्तिपूर्वक बहस कर सकेगा। आचार्य जी हमारे सबसे पुराने साथी हैं और श्रद्धेय हैं। केवल कुछ लोगों का प्रश्न नहीं है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर के साथ, जितने भी लोग हैं, वे सभी उसी सिद्धान्त को सामने रखे हुए हैं, जैसे कि आचार्य जी रखे हुए हैं और दूसरे कांग्रेसमैन रखे हुए हैं। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जैसा कि आचार्य जी ने कहा है, सदन की कार्यवाही बड़ी शान्तिपूर्वक हो, ताकि हम सब एक दूसरे की बात को सुन सकें, समझ सकें और उस के आधार पर कुछ निर्णय कर सकें।

श्री प्रकाशबोर शास्त्री (हापुड़) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, परसों सायंकाल प्रधान मंत्री ने चेकोस्लोवाकिया के सम्बन्ध में जो वक्तव्य दिया था, उस से यह लगता था कि दाल में कुछ काला है। प्रधान मंत्री ने और अध्यक्ष महोदय ने यह कहा कि अभी सरकार को समय दिया जाये कि वह स्थिति का पूरा अध्ययन कर ले। सारी स्थिति की जानकारी लेने के बाद कल सरकार सदन के सामने उपस्थित हो। प्रधान मंत्री ने कल सारी चर्चा के बाद जो उत्तर दिया, उस में रूस की निन्दा का प्रस्ताव स्वीकार करना तो दूर, संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के चार्टर का उल्लंघन हुआ है, इस आशय के श्रीमती सुचेता कृपालानी के उपयुक्त संशोधन को भी स्वीकार करने में उन्होंने असमर्थता प्रकट की। लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री के मन में कुछ ऐसा चोर भी छिपा हुआ था कि जो यह सरकार संयुक्त राष्ट्र स्थित अपने प्रतिनिधि को यह कह चुकी थी कि जिस समय यह मानवोचित अधिकारों

का प्रश्न संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में आये, उस समय इस स्वाभिमानी देश का प्रतिनिधि चोरों की तरह वहाँ से तटस्थ हो कर अलग हो जाय। इस बात की आशा नहीं थी कि प्रधान मंत्री इस स्तर तक भी जा सकती हैं। उन्होंने इस प्रकार का निर्णय कर के भारतवासियों के मस्तक को आज नीचे झुका दिया है। एक स्वाभिमानी देश के लिए आज इस से बड़ी लज्जा की कोई बात नहीं हो सकती है।

मैं आज जो बात विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह कि जहाँ मैं कांग्रेस बेंच पर बैठे हुए अपने आदरणीय मित्र श्री अशोक मेहता को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने जो साहसपूर्ण निर्णय लिया है वह देश के स्वाभिमान के अनुरूप कदम उठाया है वहाँ मैं कांग्रेस की बेंच पर बैठे हुए अपने साथियों से भी एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। मेरे हृदय से निकले हुए ये शब्द मैं समझता हूँ कि पार्टी के स्तर पर नहीं, देश के स्तर पर मेरे मित्र स्वीकार करेंगे। कांग्रेस पार्टी या कोई भी पार्टी कोई हमेशा के लिए पट्टा अपने नाम लिखा कर नहीं आई है। पार्टियाँ आती हैं और जाती हैं, यह पालियामेंट रद्दी या बदलेगी। लेकिन देश हमेशा रहने वाला है। हमारे ये कांग्रेसी भाई देश के इतिहास में अपना नाम काले अक्षरों में लिखवा कर न जायें जिस से आने वाली पीढ़ियाँ कहीं इन के नाम को याद कर के रोयें। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत सरकार ने अपने संयुक्त राष्ट्र स्थित प्रतिनिधि को जो तटस्थ रहने का आदेश दिया है उस से यह सरकार अब देश पर शासन करने की अधिकारी नहीं रही। इस ने देश के स्वाभिमान को नष्ट किया है।

श्री स० मो० बैनर्जी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज ऐसे मौके पर जब कि इन्सानियत

[श्री स० मो० बैनर्जी]

का खून हो रहा है, जितनी भी इज्जत मेरे दिल में रूस के प्रति या समाजवाद के प्रति थी, उस के रहते हुए भी मैं यह कहूंगा कि हमारी मित्रता उन से हो सकती है लेकिन इन्सानियत का खून जहां पर हो वहाँ हमारा इमान और धर्म है कि हमारी हमदर्दी उन के साथ हो जिन का खून बहाया जा रहा है। आज हिन्दुस्तान की वह परम्परा, गांधी जी की वह परम्परा कि जहां भी अत्याचार होता था वहां पर वह खुद जाते थे उस की मुखालिफ्त करने के लिए, उस की याद दिलाते हुए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि गांधी जी के मानने वाले इस मामले में तटस्थ न रह कर जहां पर भी इन्सानियत का खून हो, वहां अपने इन्साफ के पलड़े पर बजन कर के ईमानदारी से जा कर उस का विरोध करें। आज रूस ने जो कुछ वहां पर किया है, इस मामले में हमारी हमदर्दी ब्लीडिंग चेकोस्लोवाकियान्स के साथ होनी चाहिए।

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bobbili): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I submit that technically you cannot take this as an adjournment motion. At best you can stop the Bill and jump over to the next item. About that, it is very clear.

Then, about the point at issue, in what way has the Indian representative acted in the United Nations,—*(Interruption)*—Please hear me. We have heard them silently. I plead with them. I also plead with Shri Nath Pai who asked us to reflect soberly. I may tell him that we are reflecting the values in a vacuum, and we have witnessed democracy in action here just now. Now, yesterday, this House has not accepted the resolution for the simple reason that it was condemnatory. *(Interruption)*

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI (Kendrapara): Did this

House direct the Government to abstain from voting? What is it that he is talking?

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO: Yesterday, this House rejected a simple resolution. Even Rangaji has stated very clearly the wording of the resolution. According to the Prime Minister's statement yesterday, our attitude in the United Nations depends upon the way in which it comes up before the Security Council. The way it comes up before the Security Council is a very important thing. Therefore, there are various aspects to be taken into consideration before we take our stand on a resolution. Do they expect us to get into a cold war pact. I am not for it. If the resolution had been of a different type perhaps we would have been prepared to go with them, but with this word 'condemnation' it would amount to playing into a cold-war pact.

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE (Kolaba): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, since I heard the Prime Minister the day before doubts began to arise in my mind whether I was a citizen of an independent country. Today when we have heard in this House that on the advice or instructions of this Government which is ruling this country the representative of this country and, therefore, unfortunately, my representative also, has abstained from a particular resolution in the matter of Czechoslovakia. I am now convinced that I am again a citizen or a resident of a slave country. I am deeply pained. I must say that the hon. Member, Shri Narayana Rao was trying to make out a point that because the word "condemn" was there it was difficult for the Indian representative to vote for it. He raised a very technical point as we lawyers do in a court of law.

SHRI NATH PAI: Only in small courts, in magistrates' courts.

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE: He was referring to the proceedings of this House yesterday and saying that because the resolution contained

the word "condemn" it was difficult for the Indian representative to vote for it. I do not know whether that is the explanation of the Prime Minister of this country also.

The hon. Member Shri Tiwary told us that we must hear the other side also. That was the plea that was made this morning. The question put this morning was, will the Prime Minister or any representative of the Government of India make it clear as to what were the instructions given to the Indian representative at the United Nations. That question was not answered. If that was answered it would have been accepted. May I go a little further and ask the hon. Member, if it was such a resolution that put the Indian representative into difficulty, why did not he bring a resolution himself? Why did he wait for some others to bring a resolution and find difficulty in supporting it? Even if he was not in a position to vote, could he not have expressed his view-point, could he not have said what he feels about it?

I would like to ask a question because here are people with whom I have rubbed shoulders, who have gone with me to jail for smaller things, who have given up their jobs for smaller things. There is my good old friend Shri Morarji Desai who in the year 1930 or sometime near about that resigned his Deputy Collectorship only because there was a fight for freedom. Now, at this age, at the fog end of his life—I pray to God that he lives very long—will he not stand up for those things, those impulses that impelled him to leave the job and go into wilderness? There are others. There is my friend Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao who was with us in the Youth League. Has he forgotten the sentiments of the Youth League which late Yusuf Meherally tried to put into our minds?

15 HRS.

What exactly are we doing? Every time we are told that we are quite

independent and when we are independent we cannot say anything, we can be very clear but we have to be very politic. There is politics in that. What is the political thing? What are we going to do? Are we going to hang up our heads in shame and then say we exist? What sort of existence is this? That is one small question I really want to ask of the Government (*Interruption*). The next question I want to ask is, are we representatives of an independent people? Where we braved our chests before British bullets are we now frightened by some advice given by some country? This morning when the hon. Member, Shri Madhu Limaye, spoke in a certain language, the Chair did not like it. I also hold the same view. I would not like that language to be used. But what is our conduct? My hon. friend, Shri Nath Pai has just now put it in harsh language, the murder of truth, and he spoke in support of truth. I want to go a little further. What should one do? We must stand by truth. But what exactly is truth? Does it not mean यत्भूतम् इत्यन्तम् तत्सत्यम्। What is the best of the whole world for humanity, that is the truth. Truth is not merely what is right and what is not right. Truth has been defined like this यत्भूतम् इत्यन्तम्। That is what we have got to understand. Let us ask the question: what is the truth? And are the Government of India now going to tell us that they have accepted a particular policy because they are in their seats of power and that they will carry out this policy? If they say so, we must tell them that if they carry out this policy, the judgment will fall upon them.....(*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Prime Minister.

श्री रवि राय : उप्राध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि प्रोसीजर क्या है ?

SHRI RANGA: We have not asked the Prime Minister to come and make a speech and close this debate.

[Shri Ranga]

We want a regular debate. Therefore, we want you, Sir, to co-operate with us in adjourning the debate on Gold Control. Let us have an adjournment motion or a regular four hours' debate. We do not want to hear any explanation from the Prime Minister now.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You are a senior member of this House... *(interruptions)*

SHRI RANGA: I am the leader of a party also. Let me advise you and plead with you, for God's sake, today what we are asking is not a mere apology, or an explanation, or a statement, or anything of that kind, from the Prime Minister at this stage. We have so far been debating only whether we should adjourn this discussion or not. So, Sir, I would request you to co-operate with us, and I would request the House also to co-operate with us in adjourning the debate on Gold Control and then let us have either an adjournment motion or a four hours' discussion so that we can have our proper say. Now, our friends from the Congress Benches also should have their say. Thereafter, let the Prime Minister satisfy both their members as well as these members as to how she has honoured or dishonoured the honour, prestige and ideal of this country. Therefore, we do not want the Prime Minister to speak now. What is it that she has to say now? I have no objection if you, Sir, ask the Prime Minister to say whether she agrees with us in adjourning this debate or she does not agree. Beyond that, we do not want her now at this stage to go into the merits of this particular question until the House has a regular opportunity of discussing it. Therefore, we press our motion for adjourning this debate on the Gold Control Bill.

श्री रवि राय: उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रो० रंगा के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: When a motion for adjournment of the debate was made.....*(interruptions)*. I will hear Acharyaji with the greatest respect. Nobody need plead for him. When I admitted it.....*(interruptions)*. I will put the question to the vote.

AN HON. MEMBER: What question?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: अभी वोट नहीं होगा।

श्री मधु लिमये: चार घण्टे की बहस के बाद।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: When Shri Vajpayee came to me.....*(interruptions)*.

SHRI RANGA: We are concerned with our motion. Please deal with it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am dealing with it.

AN HON. MEMBER: In a partisan manner.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Not in a partisan manner. That is wrong.....*(Interruption)*. I have told you that when I sit in the Chair I do not belong to any party.

When he started making a motion, I asked, "Are you anticipating events; have you got proof?" When they demanded that the Prime Minister should be sent for, I said, "The Prime Minister is in the other House; when she gets time she will be coming here soon." I do not know what is the truth about happenings in the U.N. It is not a question of argument. You have based your case on some report. I do not know whether it is authoritative or correct or not. Therefore I say, "Let the Prime Minister say....." *(Interruption)*

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna): Will you please allow me to speak a few words?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I have humbly laboured for this nation since 1906 when many who are here were not born. But I did not know that all our efforts will bring us to this position. If words have any meaning, then I believe that our Prime Minister said that we will support every effort in the U.N.O. in order that justice be done to a nation that has been strangled. She also said many other things. I cannot understand how she could have given or her Cabinet could have given instructions to our representative at the UNO to remain neutral. It was open to our spokesman there to give his own resolution in consonance with what was said by the Prime Minister here. That would have been possible, but to refrain from voting on this is, I say, to belie ourselves.

AN HON. MEMBER: She has cheated the Parliament.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: I say, take away that motto "SATYAMEV JAYATE" from there and do not utter the name of Gandhiji; do not utter the name of Jawaharlal.

श्री शशि भूषण : तुम ने तो गांधी जी को भी बिदे किया है।

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: As I said, it was open to our representative to put in an alternative resolution in consonance with what the Prime Minister said here. If I understood the Prime Minister a right and if I know a little English, I believe, she said that we will take up the cause of Czechoslovakia in the UNO. Party after party, the Communist parties have condemned this action of Russia. Communist parties of small nations like Yugoslavia—I think, it could be occupied in as little a time as Czechoslovakia was occupied—small countries like Rumania can stand up. Countries like Indonesia can stand up against China; a country like Burma can stand up against China and we, a nation of 600 millions, cannot stand up to and state what is in our hearts, what is in the heart of every Congressman if he

is a true Congressman! I sometimes feel that I am overliving my time. It would have been much better if I had died with those who have preceded me. They were not all older than myself; they were even younger than myself. I rue the day when I have to see this happening in India, an India that threw a challenge to the greatest Empire on which the sun never set; to that Empire we threw a challenge unarmed. We did not care what power they had. Now, we are afraid. Then, I say that for God's sake, take away that motto there; for God's sake, do not utter the name of Gandhiji; I say, for God's sake, do not utter the name of Jawaharlal, do not utter the name of Vallabhbai Patel; do not utter the names of those who fought the freedom-fight. We did not fight to see this day of degradation.

I would appeal to Congressmen, if they really belong to the Congress, if they are the descendants of those people who fought the fight of freedom and whose names they always take to speak out. I told you yesterday that the old man who did not weigh more than a hundred pounds threw a challenge to a great empire when, all the armies of the world were here. Do you know what risk we were taking? England was like a wounded lion, and a wounded lion could spring anywhere. Our people did not know where we had gone when we were arrested; for 21 days they knew nothing about us and we expected to be shot. If it had been the communist government they would have put us before the firing squad; thank God; it was a capitalist Government; and it did not hang us. But we expected to be shot the next day and our people expected that we would be shot. A lion that was wounded was at bay and fighting for its own existence with its back to the wall; to that lion we gave a challenge, and I tell you, believe it or not. I hope every Congressman would believe it, but for that challenge we would not have got this freedom. It was this challenge of one man, it was this challenge that made

[Shri J. B. Kripalani]

the English people to realise that such a nation which could throw a challenge at such a critical time in the history of the world could not be kept except purely through the British Army, and the British had not Army enough to subdue this nation. It was when that conviction came to the British people that they left us; they are a practical people; they did not leave us for our benefit; they left us because they knew that there is no other way to keep India in their possession, and, therefore, they left. Now, we stand here afraid.

Some companions may say that truth does not exist in politics. Then, what are we here for? If truth does not exist in politics, if the liberties of nations do not count at all, if the sovereignty of a nation is not real, if the equality of nations is not right, if our fundamental rights are no rights, then what are we here for? Here is a nation being strangled, a small nation and we remain silent.

They say that Russia was in danger. Russia, the lion was in danger of a lamb? They could have marched at any time in Czechoslovakia. It was a question of a few hours. They should have allowed the Czechs time to settle down and see what they were doing; they should have waited to find out whether they were going against socialism or whether they were not going against it, whether the steps they were taking were such that they were joining in the capitalist camp, whether they had any alliance with England or any of the Capitalist countries. They could not wait for a few days to see what the Czechoslovak policy was going to be and what the policy-makers were doing.

Today, it is not we who are following Gandhiji. It is in Czechoslovakia that Gandhiji is being honoured through passive resistance. They have told their people that nobody is to use violence, even when violence is used against them. They have said, resist peacefully, and do it with

the weapon of *satyagraha*. And today we here do not even support that *satyagraha* for independence. I want every Congressman to search his heart and see what has happened.

I take it that the news that has come that our representative in the U.N.O. did not vote is correct. I am going on that supposition. If it is wrong, none will be happier than all of us here. I say that if that is the truth, then I think that we have betrayed the trust that was placed on us by this country and the generations that precede us.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE rose—
(Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Nothing will go on record. The Prime Minister will speak now, and she will give whatever information she has.

I would not permit anyone else now.

SHRI RANGA: The Prime Minister should give us information only in regard to what our representative had done there.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: May I suggest that nothing will be lost if about an hour of the House is lost in allowing people who want to speak to speak?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: With all respect to him, may I point out one thing? When the debate started, I said that the scope was limited.

Under the rules, there can only be a short debate on the motion for adjourning the debate and then voting. That is all.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH: Since the point has been raised here by the hon. Member, let the Prime Minister say what our attitude has been.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I wanted to have information about that. Later on, rule 109 has been referred to. According to this rule, they want that the House should be adjourned. If they want to listen to the

Prime Minister in regard to our attitude in the Security Council..... SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI
rose—(Interruptions).

SHRI RANGA: Only facts.
(Interruptions).

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH: If they do not want to listen to the Prime Minister, then we have to go on to the next business. *(Interruptions).*

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI: We want to know only one thing from the Prime Minister, namely whether they instructed our representative to abstain, and whether he has abstained or not. That is the only information that we want. If he has abstained, then the right course would be for the Prime Minister to resign and then only the House can proceed with its business. There is no other statement that we want now.

THE MINISTER OF LAW (SHRI GOVINDA MENON): She has to say what has happened there.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Let us hear what the facts are, because all sorts of interpretations are being placed on the statement that she made yesterday.

SHRI RABI RAY: We do not want any interpretations or explanations.

THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MORARJI DESAI): May I plead with my hon. friends about one thing? I can understand the excitement and their anger and everything else. *(Interruptions)* Before condemning the Prime Minister, is it not necessary that we should hear her and hear her version of what has happened. Unless we know that, unless a full statement is made, what can be done? Let the statement be made and then hon. Members may say what they like. But first they have to hear the Prime Minister.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAEYEE: After that we shall have our say.

15-20 hrs.

STATEMENT RE: U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION RELATING TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF PLANNING AND MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, yesterday and day before yesterday, I explained what a very serious situation had arisen. *(Interruption)* I hope the hon. Members will forgive me if I say that they are not exhibiting much seriousness here.....*(Interruptions).*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order. Mr. Sondhi, I will have to name you if you continue like that. *(Interruptions).*

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Name him.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peermade): We will also give him something now. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, order. You will also get your opportunity. Let us hear the Prime Minister.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We have heard very moving speeches here. We have been reminded of our Independence movement. There may be some people here who are too young to remember the Independence movement. There are many others who are older but who did not take part in the Independence movement. I belong to neither category. I was there in the thick of the Independence movement. *(Interruptions).*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I will not permit anyone now. Nothing will go on record except the Prime Minister's statement. *(Interruptions)*