

Shastri, Shri Ramanand
Sheth, Shri T. M.
Shiv Chandika Prasad, Shri
Shukla, Shri S. N.
Siddayya, Shri
Siddeshwar Prasad, Shri
Singh, Shri D. N.
Sinha, Shri Mudrika
Sinha, Shrimati Tarkeshwari
Sonar, DR. A. G.
Suder Lal, Shri
Supakar, Shri Sradhakar
Surendra Pal Singh, Shri
Sursingh, Shri
Swaran Singh, Shri
Tamaskar, Shri

Tarodekar, Shri V. B.
Tiwari, Shri D. N.
Tula Ram, Shri
Venkatasubbaiah, Shri P.
Verma, Shri Prem Chand
Virbhadra Singh, Shri
Vyas, Shri Ramesh Chandra

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

“That this House do agree with the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Reports of the Committee on Private Members’ Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 21st and 28th August 1968, respectively”.

The motion was adopted

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The result* of the Division is : Ayes :78; Noes : 140.

The motion was negatived.

17.29 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: MOVEMENT
IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA—*Contd*

17.28 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS’ BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Further discussion of the following Resolution moved by Shri Surendranath Dwivedy on the 14th August 1968 :

THIRTY-SIXTH AND THIRTY-SEVENTH
REPORTS

SHRI BHALJIBHAI PARMAR
(Dohad) : I beg to move :

“That this House do agree with the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Reports of the Committee on Private Members’ Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 21st and 28th August 1968, respectively”.

“This House hails the brave people of Czechoslovakia in their bid to liberalise and democratic, the political life of their country, reiterates its faith in the policy of non-involvement and non-interference in the internal affairs of any country and appeals to all freedom loving countries to extend their support and sympathy to the movement in Czechoslovakia”,

along with amendment moved.

*The following Members also recorded their votes :

AYES : Sarvashri Gulam Mohammad Bakshi, K. P. Singh Deo and Dr. Ranensen

NOES : Sarvashtri J. N. Pramanik, G. Venkataswamy and A. S. Saigal.

Out of 2 hours, we have taken 1 hour and 3 minutes, leaving 57 minutes. The Mover will need some time to reply. How much time will the Minister require ?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT) : 10-15 minutes.

SHRI ASOKA MEHTA (Bhandara): I am very grateful to my friend Shri Surendranath Dwivedy for giving us this opportunity to express our concern for and solidarity with Czechoslovakia. Why are we so concerned about Czechoslovakia? Because of its history, its long history of struggle for freedom, of a profoundly rich culture and traditions of which any country can be proud. We are concerned with Czechoslovakia because we have enjoyed the valued friendship of that country; it rushed to our help when we were in difficulties, to strengthen our defences; it has helped us to build up our economy. I know something about it because for a period of time I was Co-chairman of the Economic Commission between India and Czechoslovakia. We are more concerned about Czechoslovakia because there a struggle of paramount importance is being waged and people are struggling to make socialism—or, the proper word is communism—humane. It is the effort at giving humanity, imparting humanity, into communism, that evokes our admiration. It is not only a struggle for humane communism; it is also a struggle for humane international order. Between nations and between peoples, there has got to be a civilised code of behaviour, a code of behaviour which would evoke the allegiance of the 20th century man. Because it is that kind of struggle that is being waged there, that as socialists we are deeply and profoundly concerned.

Sometimes, it is said : why is it that some of us take such keen interest where the communist countries are involved ? The reason is very

simple. Those who claim to be the wave of the future have to maintain standards which have to be very different from those who are only the backwaters of the past. The communists claim to be the wave of the future. We are entitled to judge them by the standards that history demands of us. In this House there are many of us who are friends of the Soviet Union. I have myself had various opportunities of dealing with the leaders of the Soviet Union and but for the changed circumstances I had already planned a visit to the Soviet Union in the next month. Therefore, there is no question of our not being friendly with the Soviet Union. Because we are friendly to the Soviet Union, it becomes all the more necessary that when that country makes a grievous mistake, we do not hesitate to voice out protest and our deep regret.

Czechoslovakia has many lessons to teach us. When the people are endowed with a purpose and when the people are able to have a leadership that is committed to a cause, nobody is able to cow them down. There are many colleagues of mine in this House who are constantly worried about arms. They do not know what will happen to India if we do not get all the arms that we need. I too am concerned about my country's defences. But it is not arms that will ultimately save a people; it is the mind and the heart of the people themselves. If there is one country in the world that teaches this lesson that when the people are united, when they are filled with noble purposes, when their gropings are graced with a goal and when they have a leadership which is able to inspire them, even the mightiest of the army is not able to do anything, that is Czechoslovakia. Trying to shape our policies in the quest of arms may have validity up to a point. But when we are concerned with deep and profound issues, we must ultimately anchor our hopes in the unity and the faith of our people and not in borrowed arms.

SHRI ASOKA METHA

Then again, Czechoslovakia : Whatever has happened, it was said that 10 days shook the world in 1917, two days shook the world in 1968. In those two days, the people of Czechoslovakia have shown that given the unity they are able to assert their will to a great extent. If they have not succeeded fully, it is because we have failed them; it is the peoples of the world who have been somewhat mute in the support to the people of Czechoslovakia. We salute them for their solidarity, strength, determination and the dedication that they have shown. It is our failure. Let us accept that at this critical hour, when people, not with arms but with their bare bodies, with their hearts and minds, were trying to oppose aggression and tyranny, we did not stand up for them.

This is our sovereign Parliament, and I would therefore like to invite your attention to what the National Assembly of Czechoslovakia had to say on the 28th August. It adopted a resolution. I wish it were possible for me to read the entire text of it and let it form part of the records of this House, but I will read only two paragraphs from it :

"The National Assembly considers forthwith the occupation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by the armed forces of the five Warsaw Treaty countries as illegal and contrary to international treaties and in violation of the United Nations Charter as well as the Warsaw Treaty."

It goes on to say :

"The National Assembly insists on uncompromising pursuance of the principles and policies proclaimed and adopted in the Action Programme of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Programme of the Government. The Members of the National Assembly pledge that they will do their utmost to keep the process of democratisation continued without any disturbances."

It is the will of the National Assembly, the will of the Czechoslovakian people that was expressed by the National Assembly in the declaration made on the 28th August.

For me, it is a matter of deep sorrow and abiding regret that our Parliament is the only Parliament in the world that has gone on record saying that there has been no violation of the United Nations Charter.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Shame, shame.

SHRI ASOKA MEHTA : Sir, may I next invite your attention to what the President of the National Assembly said. Like our Speaker, Sir, he is the tribune of the people of Czechoslovakia, and what has the tribune to say after his return from Moscow ? He says : "It is a painful subject. We chose the path of compromise, but it was not easy. Please believe we put forward every argument we had. We were aware in Moscow that the agreement which was concluded could be considered as unacceptable and even be interpreted as treason." He added :

"But it is only thanks to the grand firmness of our people that we were not obliged to accept a long occupation and an imposed Government. It was this firmness which finally influenced the position taken by the opposite side."... "Of course, there are moments when one must reject all compromises and risk the worst."

He went on :

"We made our decision as patriots and soldiers in the light of the number of cannons and planes on our territory."

18,000 tanks, 1,000 planes and 6,50,000 soldiers—that was the force of occupation that was imposed upon the little country of Czechoslovakia. He continued :

"We arrived at the conclusion that the ultimate moment had not yet come and that we could seek

compromise while bearing in mind the material and moral risks this would entail."

"The future will judge our decision. It will describe our choice either as wisdom or as treachery."

No one can charge, even history will not charge, the brave leaders of Czechoslovakia with treachery. But I do not know whether some of us will be condoned of that crime by history. They have been compelled to accept this compromise. What is the compromise? The President said:

"It will be necessary to grant the Government special power concerning measures to be taken regarding the press and radio, the dissolution of clubs and bans on new political parties."

It is said :

"Czechoslovak party and Government leaders today worked against time to find a communist party leadership acceptable both to Czechoslovak and to Moscow and to restore order throughout the country."

They have to find a leadership acceptable to some one outside their country! That is what that country is being called upon to do. It is being called upon to give up a part of its liberalization programme. What is the crime that Czechoslovakia has committed? It has given freedom of the press and freedom of expression. This the Soviet Union calls counter-revolutionary. In this House, we are functioning in a multi-party Parliament. In this country, there is full freedom of speech and full freedom of the press. If this is counter-revolution, I have no doubt that every single democrat in this House would be proud to be called a counter-revolutionary. If revolution is to smother the free voice of Czechoslovakia, I say, fire upon that revolution. If counter-revolution is to let the people speak out and express their legitimate right, that counter-revolution is something which the Indian people have cherished. Therefore, let no

attempt be made to cow us down by using these words. This House stands fully, firmly and squarely behind the rights for which the Czechoslovak people are fighting. They have been told, they will not be permitted to fight for those rights. They are being compelled to compromise. Why are they compromising? It is because 14 million people can fight only up to a point. What about the rest of humanity? What about 500 million people of India? To what extent are we giving them our hand of friendship and cooperation? To what extent is our shoulder being put by the side of their shoulder in their fight for these rights? This is the humane phase for which we have been working. This is what the Father of the Nation taught us. This is what we learnt from our leaders. If they are fighting for that, surely we are with them. If we do not say that, if millions of people in other parts of the world do not say that firmly and unequivocally, if they are frightened and pertified, if their own small interests come in the way of assertion of their basic personality, are we entitled to blame the Czechoslovak people and leaders? Let him cast the first stone who has never sinned. I am a sinner and I will never cast the first stone at them.

God forbid, that our country should ever face this kind of situation. But if it ever does, I hope and trust that our people and Parliament would behave in the manner in which the Czechoslovak Parliament and people have done. This is the only tribute I can pay to Czechoslovakia. If ever, God forbid, such a situation comes, we shall emulate that illustrious example.

Why did the Russians do it? Mr. Ota Sik, one of the Deputy Prime Ministers of Czechoslovakia was asked by the world famous Italian Novelist Alberto Moravia, what he thought was the motive of the invasion. This is what the Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia had to say :

"Certain groups in power felt threatened by the happenings in

[Asoka Mehta]

Czechoslovakia. If our attempt had succeeded, for them, it would have been the end. Hence the reaction. It was a reaction not against a definite change, but against any sign of life or movement. It was the pure and simple defence of the political *status quo*."

It is with this attempt at freezing the whole situation in the world and at controlling the movement of the spirit of man that this offensive was launched with 6.5 lakh soldiers, 18,000 tanks and 1,000 aeroplanes. It is against that, as the embodiment of the same human spirit, we are being compelled to raise our voice of abiding protest.

There are many writers here. I also claim to be a humble writer. The occupation forces in Czechoslovakia have recently destroyed, razed to the ground, the Writers, Building because of their wrath against writers. As a humble writer, I would like to convey to the writers, in Czechoslovakia that they can raze the structure, but they cannot destroy the spirit.

Sir, It is necessary for us to give our utmost support to Czechoslovakia. There is a very respected journal in our country. It had the most exalted association. I was distressed to find that from its mast-head it has removed the famous motto "freedom is in peril, defend it with all your might". May be the journal thinks it worthwhile to erase that motto, but the deathless message that our departed leader gave this country will never be forgotten. Freedom is in peril. Wherever it be, we shall defend it with all our might.

May I, therefore, through you, Sir, appeal to the House, to both sides of the House, that the Government, the Parliament and the people, must in unequivocal terms, continue to support the people of Czechoslovakia because it is only then that they can be free. They are on razor's edge if we do not stand by them. We read this morning in the National Herald that Czechoslovakia had been threatened that Slovakia would be

made a part of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia would probably be made something else. Anything can happen there. Therefore, let us discard, let us throw aside, limited ideas and think in terms of the greatness of the issues involved and extend to Czechoslovakia the fullest of support and our solidarity as the Resolution moved by my hon. friend Shri Dwivedy seeks to do. To those who seek to traduce and trample upon the protagonists of humane socialism all that I can say in the immortal words of the Spanish Republicans during the civil war "*no pasaran*".

SHRI N. K. SOMANI (Nagaur) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, a lot of water has flowed along the Jamuna and the Volga during the last two crucial weeks since the eve of independence when Shri Dwivedy first introduced the Resolution supporting the aspirations of the people of Czechoslovakia for the first time in this House. I must say that some of the worst fears that some of us had in respect of the treacherous intentions of the Soviet Union have now been surpassed and the illustrious words of Shri Asoka Mehta which he has just said have amply proved that Soviet Union today is probably trying to rule the world by the adage "might is right" and has no concern either for humanity or for the U. N. Charter of Human Rights.

Sir, a few days ago we were told and Czechoslovakia was told that the internal reforms planned by a country amongst the Socialist Group or the Communist Group are not entirely its private affairs and they will have to be decided upon by the consensus of the Kremlin powers. I would like once again to echo a question that has not been answered so far either by the Prime Minister or by any of the Ministers. That question is, what happens if the Soviet Armies march into India just because they do not like the socialism or the socialist system which is being practised by the Congress Party? What is going to be our situation if by our behaviour in the U. N. Security Council or our

behaviour in the world affairs we show that we are in an oblique manner supporting the ideology and thesis of the Soviet Union? In that case what is going to happen to the fate of this country (*Interruption*). Two weeks ago I ran into the hon. Shri B. R. Bhagat in the lobby just before this Resolution was about to be introduced. I asked him harmlessly and in an innocuous manner.....

AN HON. MEMBER: Lobby talks should not be quoted.

SHRI N. K. SOMANI: All right. May I say that the attitude of the Government of India at one time appeared as if the country was expecting them to send a light brigade to Czechoslovakia. We did not expect the Minister to send his Avadi tanks either we did not expect the Government of India to send either our Squadron of MIGS or even the submarines supplied by the Soviet Union in support of Czechoslovakia. No. All that the world and the people of this country and the Parliament asked was that we should have expressed righteous indignation at the barbarous deeds on the part of the Soviet Union and that is where we have failed miserably.

There is a Sanskrit saying, and I subject that the Government is following that saying. It says न सत्यं ब्रूयात् अप्रियं ब्रूयात् which means that if it is going to be unpalatable to your big brother, you should not take the courage of speaking the truth. I do not know whether this country belongs to that tradition where Lord Krishna has told people who were facing a situation like ours क्लैब्यं मा स्म गमः पर्य At that time of distress, people were asked, Partha was asked, to pick up courage, by Lord Krishna. That is exactly the situation with which the government is faced today.

A few days ago, the hon. Shri B. R. Bhagat, while declaring open the pompous conference of the United Nations held in New Delhi was quoting Upanishads and Gita and he was eloquent on human rights. He was

talking a lot about human rights. But when he comes to this august House, or sends a message to the United Nations headquarters or consults other world counsels, he certainly follows a different rule.

Here I would like to quote a brilliant Russian physicist, who used to be a very distinguished personality who has produced a 10,000-word essay on the subject of 'Thoughts on progress, peaceful co-existence and intellectual freedom'. He is a physicist by the name of Andrei. Sakharov who says that in the world today public life has got to be based on two principles. One is that division of mankind threatens it with destruction and, secondly, intellectual freedom is essential to human society. This is what a brilliant Soviet scientist has got to say just last month, a thing which we have completely denied to ourselves.

Writing in the *Bhavan's Journey* very recently, one of our old and revered leaders, Acharya Vinoba Bhave has a few meaningful things to say to this government. He says that the chief goal of any independent country like ours should be—he expresses it in Sanskrit as Abhaya—fearlessness. I will quote him now :

"It is my view that if we cannot build up a fearless society, there is no use in having a State or Government."

I hope at least these words will be taken counsel of by the Government.

Acharya Kripalani said the other day, while discussing the motion moved by Suchetaji that the Prime Minister and the Government of India claim today deep and intimate friendship with the Soviet Union and its satellites. As Shri Asoka Mehta has just now said, friendship can only be proved provided in times of distress and in times of need you have the courage to tell the truth.

[Shri N. K. Somani]

I am not concerned at all with what happens to the Czechoslovak people. Because, they have shown a character which will not buckle under stress. I am deeply impressed by their unity and valour, by their indignation. What I am concerned is only about the buckling, about the poor character shown by the Government of India, not only on this question but when the question of arms supplies to Pakistan came up or on this question when they have taken such a stupid and impotent stand on the Czechoslovak affair. This is what starts bothering us as a country.

Therefore I for one am not unduly either distressed or concerned about the future of the Czechoslovak leaders or its people because they have shown the difference, they have shown what an aroused and a brilliant leadership can do to a people—you just now heard our hon. friend, Shri Asoka Mehta, describing—what leadership did to that country—and you have been yourself a witness to what leadership can do in this country. It is a great pity that there are no public opinion polls like in western countries in this country yet. It is very unfortunate. This Government would have been compelled to resign a long time ago if we had those.

SHRI SONAVANE (Pandharpur) : Then Swatantra Government would have come.

SHRI N. K. SOMANI : Give us a chance. Certainly we will do better.

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur) : I do not know but perhaps a more self-respecting government would come.

SHRI N. K. SOMANI : I would terminate by posing a challenge to Shri Bhagat.

SHRI NATH PAI : When we shall rule this country, there will be no aggression anywhere in this world.

SHRI N. K. SOMANI : It is impossible. There is no use trying. They are incorrigible people.

SHRI NATH PAI : So strong will be India then.

SHRI N. K. SOMANI : I would like to terminate my speech on a question either to Shri B. R. Bhagat or to the Prime Minister. Did Shri Dhamija, who is our Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, send or not send a factual and an honest report by means of three telegrams; did he not follow it up with an honest report stating that this is a real revolution of the people and that the Soviet army and authorities are extremely unwelcome in Czechoslovakia; therefore our stand should be based on realities? May I know whether this Government even dared to read those telegrams or act according to the assessment of the diplomats... (Interruption)

AN HON. MEMBER : Place them on the Table.

SHRI N. K. SOMANI : Another brilliant diplomatic assignment we witnessed recently. Our High Commissioner to U.K., Shri Dhawan, when he should have been in his headquarters being used as a listening post for this Government, enjoys a free ride to this country on the 22nd of this month. If this is the standard of diplomacy that we have on behalf of our country, there is no doubt that we follow the dictates of the Soviet Ambassador to India in all our foreign affairs.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : May I know how much time the Minister will require ?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Ten minutes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The next Resolution is important. If you want to spare some time... (Interruption)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) : मुझे मूव करने का मौका दे दें और इसको अगले सेशन में लिया जा सकता है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : That is all right.

श्री शशि भूषण (खारगोन) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री अशोक मेहता ने बहुत अच्छी बातें कही हैं। उनके प्रति इस देश में बहुत श्रद्धा है। वह समाजवादी हैं और हाउस में जो कुछ उन्होंने कहा उस पर चारों तरफ से तालियां बजीं....

श्री म० ला० सोंघी (नई दिल्ली) : तो आपका दिल दुख रहा था।

श्री शशि भूषण : चैकोस्लोवाकिया के लोगों ने बहुत बहादुरी से इस मुसीबत का मुकाबला किया। अभी मैं पिछले दिनों चैकोस्लोवाकिया में था। वहां मैंने देखा कि दुबचैक जिन्दाबाद के नारों से गलियां गूंजती थीं। लेकिन उसके साथ-साथ चैकोस्लोवाकिया में हो ची मिन्ह जिन्दाबाद के नारे भी लगते थे। जिस तरह चैकोस्लोवाकिया के लोग वियतनाम के साथ अपनी सालिडैरिटी बताते हैं जहां साम्राज्यवाद की एड़ी के नीचे लाखों नौजवान अपनी जानें दे रहे हैं, पीसे जा रहे हैं, उनके लिए आंसू बहाने वाला कोई नहीं है। आप चैकोस्लोवाकिया की बात करते हो। वहां के बहादुर लोग वियतनाम की जनता के साथ हैं। हिन्दुस्तान के नौजवान लोग जो चैकोस्लोवाकिया की बात करते हैं, उन्हें वियतनाम की भी करनी चाहिये। अगर सालिडैरिटी चैकोस्लोवाकिया के लोगों के पास है तो वियतनाम के लोगों के पास भी है और होनी चाहिये.....

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna) : Has not the Government of India condemned America for its action in Vietnam? Why does it not do it here? That is the question. It is not a question of what other people do. It is a matter of shame for any Congressman to stand up here and say these things.

श्री शशि भूषण : हमने यह कहा है कि उनका एग्जेशन है, उन्होंने वहां हमला किया है। आप गलत कहते हैं। लेकिन मैं केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वियतनाम की जनता के साथ भी सालिडैरिटी बताने को तैयार हैं और जिस प्रकार सोवियत यूनियन इत्यादि अपनी फौजें लाये और वापिस ले गए....

श्री म० ला० सोंघी : ले गए ?

श्री शशि भूषण : उसी प्रकार की आज वहां चीज नहीं है। दुबचैक खुद कहते हैं कि अमरीका को भी अकल आनी चाहिये कि अपनी फौजें वहां से वापिस ले जाये क्योंकि आप जुल्म कर रहे हैं, एशिया की धरती पर जुल्म कर रहे हैं। इन लोगों को दुरंगी पालिसी पर नहीं चलना चाहिए। अगर ये इन्सानियत और आजादी के लिए लड़ना चाहते हैं, तो फिर चाहे वियतनाम की जनता हो या चैकोस्लोवाकिया की जनता हो, इन्हें उन दोनों का समर्थन करना चाहिए और उन पर आक्रमण करने वालों की निन्दा करनी चाहिए।

18 HRS.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : I am surprised that the Congress people do not feel ashamed to advocate a cause which is absolutely and thoroughly wrong and against the principles on which we fought....

श्री शशि भूषण : इन के दो न्याय चलते हैं। एक तरफ तो ये वियतनाम के मामले में अमरीका का साथ देते हैं और दूसरी तरफ चैकोस्लोवाकिया के प्रश्न को लेकर रूस की निन्दा करते हैं।

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : I do not care what happens to Czechoslovakia ; I care for what happens to our people. Are we going to be

[Shri J. B. Kripalani]

cowards in this hour of trial? My friend talks of what other people say about the 'United States' action in Vietnam. What did his Government say? That is the question. We are not talking of what we say or anybody says; we are talking of what Government says. Government has condemned the U. S. aggression in Vietnam.....

श्री शशि भूषण : माननीय सदस्य गलत कह रहे हैं। गवर्नमेंट ने वियतनाम के प्रश्न पर अमरीका का कन्डैमनेशन नहीं किया है। उस ने उस मामले में भी मुखालिफ़त की है और इस मामले में भी मुखालिफ़त की है।

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : Why don't you advise that Government? Do not talk of us, do not talk of anybody. Has the Government not condemned the USA for its aggression in Vietnam? Why does that very Government not condemn the aggression in Czechoslovakia? We may have the right to talk or not to talk, but those who speak with double voice are to be condemned....

श्री शशि भूषण : दो आवाज़ों से तो ये बोल रहे हैं। ये फ़ारमोसा के सपोर्टर हैं। एक ही जैसा काम करने पर ये अमरीका का समर्थन करते हैं और रूस की निन्दा करते हैं।

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : What is it that you are talking? I should say that, on this occasion at least, the Congress people should have sat silently and not tried to justify saying that somebody did not say something about Vietnam. You have to do your duty. You do not take your duty from us. I say, it would be a dangerous thing if we take our morality from our neighbours whom we condemn. The Congress people have condemned those who have not condemned the USA for their aggression in Vietnam. So, they cannot take their morality from those who have not condemned this. They have a morality of their own. If they have

any morality of their own, any sense of shame left in them, if they call themselves Indian National Congress, if there is the least consideration for those who built that Congress, I say: do not shame that Congress, take away the name of Congress from your organisation; take away that name; for God's sake, do not call yourself an Indian National Congressman.

श्री शशि भूषण : जो गांधीजी को मारने वाले हैं, जो गांधीजी के मरने पर मिठाइयां बांटते थे, वे आज इन के लिए तालियां बजा रहे हैं और इन का समर्थन कर रहे हैं। यह तो गांधीवादी भी नहीं हैं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : May I appeal to Acharyaji? In this Parliament, when grave issues are debated like this, every member has a right to express his opinion.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : That was what I did.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : But if he attributes certain other motives and says that he is not telling the truth, debate is impossible.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : I have not attributed any motives. I have told them to live up to the traditions of their own organisation.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : In a House like this, every member speaks according to his own conscience. Shri Nambiar.

SHRI NAMBIAR (Tiruchirappalli): Every member has got his own point of view to express. Shri Shashi Bhusan has expressed his. I have got my own view to state (*Interruptions*). They cannot bully us down like this. We heard them patiently. Let them do the same to us.

This Resolution says :

"This House hails the brave people of Czechoslovakia in their bid to liberalise and democratise the political life of their country."

What political life of their country?

SHRI M. L. SONDHI : Dubcek.

SHRI NAMBIAR : Czechoslovakia is a socialist country. It has got its own freedom. It has built its own socialism under a theory of dictatorship of the proletariat. Let our hon. friends on this side and the other understand that dictatorship of the proletariat is a thing different from the so-called democracy that they visualise.

AN HON. MEMBER : What is the difference ?

SHRI NAMBIAR : I will explain. I will even take the cross to them and explain. But let them listen patiently.

Dictatorship of the proletariat means that when the proletariat, the toiling millions of a country, come to power, they will suppress the might of the little minority which wielded power and money, the vested interests, and throw them out by the might of the working class by force. Yes. Once that dictatorship comes to power, it will not view the so-called freedom which they visualise in the parliamentary, democratic system. We have the so-called parliamentary democracy in this country....(*Interruptions*).

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Not so-called.

SHRI M. L. SONDHI : Are you a so-called Speaker ?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Let him correct himself.

SHRI NATH PAI : What is so-called ?

SHRI SRINIBAS MISRA (Cuttack) : A member of this House cannot say that this House is so-called.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : The aspersion is a gross violation of our Constitution.

I rise to a point of order. This is a violation of the basic tenets of our Constitution.

SHRI NAMBIAR : It is so-called because....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : In this House, as I said, this is an issue on which there are vital differences and every one is trying to give out his own mind.

SHRI NATH PAI : It is not so-called democracy.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : That particular expression 'so-called democracy' was an unfortunate one.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peer-made) : It is parliamentary.

SHRI NATH PAI : It is unwanted, uncalled for.

SHRI NAMBIAR : I am going to explain.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : There are types and types of democracy. Perhaps he wanted to say that. But he should not have used that expression.

SHRI NATH PAI : It is derogatory to Parliament.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI (Kendrapara) : Under our rules, expressions of a derogatory nature are not permitted. This expression is derogatory to Parliament. So according to our rules, it cannot go on record.

SHRI NAMBIAR : I shall explain it. For getting elected as a Member, one has to spend lakhs of rupees. Where is the money with the common man? Only those who have got money can fight elections.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Not the danda of a party....(*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : If you want to advance some theoretical arguments be careful....(*Interruptions*). If you say that our form of democracy is different from that of Czechoslovakia, it is within your right. If you say that it is so-called democracy, it is derogatory....(*Interruptions*).

SHRI H. N. MUKHERJEE (Calcutta North East) : It is a very serious matter. We want your ruling on this. Are not Members of Parliament entitled to say what they feel in regard to the democracy which happens to prevail in our country?

SHRI NATH PAI : It is downright slander. Anybody who runs down the democracy of our country is indulging in the slander of our country and I have a right to say what I have said.... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI UMANATH (Pudukkottai) : There is no question of running down the country. It is a question of the particular system. When he says 'so-called', he means that it is democracy for the capitalists and the moneyed classes. I have got every right to my ideological views in this House.. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI : According to the rules any remarks which are derogatory, unparliamentary and defamatory should not go on record.

Dr. RANEN SEN (Barasat) : It is not unparliamentary.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI : I admit. But it is derogatory. A Member who has taken oath under the Constitution cannot say like this. They have every right to say what they like outside this House. In the House they should not use these derogatory remarks. This must be expunged.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I upheld the objection raised, when he used the expression 'so-called' democracy. If tomorrow some Members in the same strain were to say this so-called Parliament, where shall we stop? If he were to say that our democracy is basically different or it is on a different pattern, then it is within his rights. I felt so and that is why I said that it was an unfortunate expression and he has corrected himself.

SHRI NAMBIAR : My point is that to get elected a Member has to spend lakhs of rupees....(*Interruptions*). I am building up my arguments. I am in a debate and I am making my points. If you can demolish it, demolish it by your argument. But do not try to put me down. That, you cannot do. Now, Sir, we have got another democratic system, an elective democratic system in America. What is happening? What did you see there? The candidate for the Presidentship was shot dead, and you know how much money each party, the democratic party or the republican party, had to spend. So, the democracies, the so-called parliamentary democracies which are being practised in many countries are not the democratic set-up of the common man, the people in the street, the workers or the peasants and of the working class, the toiling millions.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Nambiar, your time is up.

SHRI NAMBIAR : For how many minutes have I spoken, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : 15 minutes. (*Interruption*)

SHRI NAMBIAR : There is no meaning in pulling me up. My opinion cannot be bullied down. My opinion cannot be changed by a shot or a bullet. What is the use of this attempt?

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR : He must be allowed to make out his argument.

SHRI NAMBIAR : Well, they are all breaking their heads against the rock. Please hear my point and if you agree, agree. If you do not, throw it out by your argument. I have my view-points. My argument is this. That is a democratic system which is completely different from the democratic system which is prevailing in India or in America or in Britain. In the case of Russia, it is the dictatorship of the proletariat. There are forces working inside Czechoslovakia

smuggled into it from West Germany and many other countries who are trying to change it, and the Czechoslovakian communist party is trying to curb this infiltration; that, they could not do, and today, they have agreed with the Soviet counterpart and they are building up their society in the way that they wanted. Therefore, the question of liberalisation or the liberalisation of the democratic set-up is wrongly understood by many Members here. (*Interruption*) Therefore we should not sit in judgment here over what is happening inside the Czechoslovakian communist party, because you are not fully informed about it; you are not rightly informed. So, what is the question now ?

Here, the question is,—and here comes the crux of the issue—the hon. Member Shri Surendranath Dwivedy wants this resolution to be adopted by this House, by the Indian people, on what is happening inside the communist party of Czechoslovakia. Tomorrow, suppose the National Assembly of Czechoslovakia passes a resolution concerning the Indian National Congress affairs in India, how will that look? It will be ridiculous. People will laugh at it. Therefore, let us not adopt this resolution.

My point is this : we must look at the Czechoslovakian issue from its proper perspective and not with a coloured vision. There are forces in India, there are forces all over the world to put the clock back, to see that a reactionary set-up is brought into Czechoslovakia by whatever means possible. There are forces inside Czechoslovakia and outside, inside the working class movement, to fight that reaction. Therefore, the struggle between the two is taking place. We sympathise with the Czechoslovakian people. We sympathise with all those who are fighting for the working class and their dictatorship not only in Czechoslovakia but all over the world. A day will come when the dictatorship of the proletariat will triumph in this country also. We will have a communist government built

up on socialism, sure and certain. Therefore, let us not think that we are masters of everything that happens in the world. Let us not befool ourselves by adopting a resolution of this kind, which is wrong.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं श्री सुरेन्द्रनाथ द्विवेदी को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ, उन्होंने इस प्रस्ताव को पेश कर के सदन को इस बार्त का मौका दिया है कि सदन चेकोस्लोवेकिया के प्रति अपनी एकजुटता प्रकट कर सके और चेकोस्लोवेकिया की जनता तथा उन के नेताओं को यह विश्वास दिला सके कि अपने अधिकार और अस्मित्व की रक्षा के लिये वह जो संघर्ष कर रही है, उस में हमारी सहानुभूति और सद्भावना उन के साथ है।

यह प्रस्ताव इस लिये भी महत्वपूर्ण है, कि कुछ दिन पहले जब हम ने चेकोस्लोवेकिया की स्थिति पर विचार किया था तो हमारे कांग्रेस के सदस्यों ने श्रीमती सुचेता कृपालानी जी का संशोधन ठुकरा दिया था। वह ऐसी गलती थी जिसका प्रायश्चित्त करना जरूरी है और आज हमारे कांग्रेस के मित्र श्री द्विवेदी द्वारा प्रस्तुत प्रस्ताव के पक्ष में वोट दे कर उस भूल का प्रायश्चित्त कर सकते हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कैसी विचित्र स्थिति है, संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में हम ने इस बात का समर्थन किया कि चेकोस्लोवेकिया में संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के घोषणा-पत्र का उल्लंघन हुआ है, लेकिन उसी आशय का जो संशोधन सदन में आया, उसे सरकार ने और कांग्रेस के बहुमत ने ठुकरा दिया। हम ने सुरक्षा परिषद् का सदस्य होते हुए भी चेकोस्लोवेकिया का मामला खुद खड़े होकर नहीं उठाया। जब मानवता पर आंच आती है, जब किसी देश की स्वाधीनता संकट में पड़ती है तो भारत शान्त नहीं रह सकता, सुरक्षा परिषद्

के सदस्य के नाते तो हमें और भी अपने कर्तव्य को करना चाहिए था, हम चेकोस्लोवाकिया का मामला स्वयं उठा सकते थे, लेकिन दुख की बात यह है कि जब वह मामला औरों ने उठाया, हम तटस्थ रह गये, हम ने चेकोस्लोवाकिया के पक्ष में वोट देने का साहस नहीं दिखाया। भारत सरकार शब्दों के जाल में फंस गई। क्या आक्रमण के सामने हम शब्दों की माया खेलेंगे, किसी देश की स्वाधीनता का अपहरण होता हो, संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के घोषणा-पत्र की हत्या कर के एक राक्षसी शक्ति रात के अन्धरे में लुटारों की तरह से एक छोटे से देश के अस्तित्व को समाप्त करने के लिये आगे बढ़े और स्वाधीनता, विश्व-शान्ति और महान भारतीय संस्कृति का अभिमान करनेवाला देश संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में बैठ कर शब्दों के बारे में लड़े—इस से बढ़ कर दुख और लज्जा की बात कोई नहीं हो सकती। भारत सरकार के प्रतिनिधि ने वहाँ ऐसा आचरण किया कि चेकोस्लोवाकिया की बहादुर जनता के सामने हमें सिर उठा कर देखना मुश्किल हो गया है। लेकिन उस पाप का प्रायश्चित्त किया जा सकता है, यदि आज सदन सर्वसम्भति से श्री द्विवेदी के, प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करे। चेकोस्लोवाकिया की जनता अपनी स्वाधीनता के लिये संघर्ष कर रही है, पशुबल का सामना कर रही है, उन की समाजवाद में आस्था है, वे सोवियत रूस और अन्य साम्यवादी देशों के साथ अपनी मित्रता रखना चाहते हैं, लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि उन्हें एक नये साम्राज्यवाद का शिकार बनाया जा रहा है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जब पश्चिम में साम्राज्यवाद तिरोहित हो रहा है, समाप्त हो रहा है, जब पश्चिम में उपनिवेशवाद इतिहास के पन्नों में विलीन हो रहा है, विश्व के क्षितिज पर एक नये साम्राज्यवाद का उदय हो रहा है, यह

साम्राज्यवाद पश्चिम के साम्राज्यवाद से भी अधिक भयंकर होगा, क्योंकि यह मुक्ति के रथ पर बैठ कर आता है, यह मानवता को स्वाधीन करने का नारा लगाता है, मजदूरों और शासकों की हुकूमत कायम करने का दावा करता है। क्या सर्वहारा में चेकोस्लोवाकिया में रूसी हस्तक्षेप का विरोध नहीं किया, क्या चेकोस्लोवाकिया के मजदूर, किसान बुद्धिजीवी, विद्यार्थी आक्रमण का मुकाबला करने के लिये सामने नहीं आये? साम्यवाद का बड़ा धिनीना चेहरा चेकोस्लोवाकिया में सामने आया है, हमें उसकी निन्दा करनी चाहिये, हमें उसे बेनकाब करना चाहिये, हमें चेकोस्लोवाकिया के प्रति अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करना चाहिये और जैसा मैंने निवेदन किया, अभी भी कांग्रेस के सदस्यों के लिये अवसर है कि आज वे सरकार के आदेश की प्रतीक्षा न करें, अपने हृदय पर हाथ रख कर श्री सुरेन्द्र नाथ द्विवेदी के प्रस्ताव के पक्ष में मतदान करें। धन्यवाद।

श्री रणधीर सिंह (रोहतक) : डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, जो रेजोल्यूशन हाउस के सामने हैं, इस को मैंने बारबार पढ़ा है। इस में जो स्ट्रिट है मैं उस की ताइद करता हूँ और तारीफ़ करता हूँ। अगर छोटी मछलियों को बड़े मगरमच्छ इस तरह से निगलेंगे जैसे चेकोस्लोवाकिया को रूस ने निगला है तो इस दुनिया में किसी भी छोटे मुल्क का आबाद होना मुश्किल हो जायेंगा। हमारी सरकार ने पूरे जोर से इस बात को कहा है और न सिर्फ़ कहा है, बल्कि महसूस करते हैं कि ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये। लेकिन इस तामाम किस्से की एक बैंकग्राउण्ड है। जजबात की री में हिन्दुस्तान के इस सब से बड़े इदारे को नहीं बहना है। हिन्दुस्तान के प्रमुख नेता यहाँ बैठे हैं, इन्हें सारी दुनिया के माहौल में अपने

देश के बिकार को कायम रखना है और उस के मुस्तकबिल का ख्याल रखना है। हमने पूरे जोर से कहना है और डंके की चोट कहना है और कहा है कि रूस ने जो हमला किया है चेकोस्लावेकिया पर, वह इस्लाक है, सियासत में, कानून से और ज़ान्ते से गलत था। आज कल जिस भट्टी से हमारे भाई चेकोस्लोवेकिया के लोग गुजर रहे हैं, जितनी उस की ज्यादा से ज्यादा मज्जमत की जाय, रूस के इस किरदार की, वह कम है। लेकिन मैं साथ ही साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि जल्दबजी से काम न लें। सियासत में जज़बात हर एक के हैं, आप भी इन्सान हैं और हम भी इन्तान हैं, लेकिन डिप्लोमेसी और पोलिटिक्स अलग चीज़ है, जज़बात अलग चीज़ है। मैं आदरणीय कृपालानी जी का अहतराम करता हूँ, वह बड़े जबरदस्त नेता हैं, जो बात कहते हैं देश भक्ति के ख्याल से कहते हैं, दूसरे मेरे भाई हर पार्टी के उन की इज्जत करते हैं—लेकिन हम ने कोई हथियार नहीं बन जाना है—एक ऐसे नुस्ते निगाह का जो किसी बात को लेकर डिप्लोमेसी की जंग में हम को चित कर दे। इस लिये मैंने अपने भाइयों को, सब को खबरदार करना है—हम जहां तक इस की स्ट्रिट का ताल्लुक है, पूरे जोर शोर से इस की ताइद करते हैं। लेकिन कहीं इसमें किसी मुल्क के अन्दरूनी मामलात में दखल देने की बात तो नहीं है जैसा कि इस रेजोल्यूशन की आखिरी लाइन से जाहिर है :

“We appeal to all the nations-of the world to support the movement which is launched in Czechoslovakia.”

जरा खयाल करेंगे, इस बात का मतलब कितना दूररस निकलेगा। कहीं इसका मतलब किसी मुल्क के अन्दरूनी मामलात में दखल देना तो नहीं होगा ? अगर

हम दखल देते हैं तो कल अगर पाकिस्तान यहां पर रजाकार भेजे और फिर रूस कहे कि वह रजाकार ठीक कर रहे हैं, या कल चीन पंजाब में या मशरकी बंगाल ने रजाकार भेजे और रूस कहे कि वह ठीक कर रहे हैं, तो फिर आप रूस की गर्दन नहीं पकड़ सकेंगे। राज-नीति तो एक दिन में बदलती है।

डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, मैं छोटी उम्र का हूँ लेकिन मेरे से ज्यादा उम्र के भाई यहां पर हैं। मैं यह दख्बास्त करना चाहता हूँ कि मुल्की मफाद में, सातवें आसमान पर उड़कर बैनुल-अकवामी सियासत को लेकर, अपने देश को न छोड़ दें, इस देश के चारों तरफ भयानक दुश्मत मौजूद हैं, एक चीन है तगड़ा दुश्मन और पाकिस्तान है जोकि हमको नेस्त-नावूद करना चाहते हैं। और फिर देखना है कि नेपाल क्या चाहता है, सिक्किम में क्या हरकत हो रही है, भूटान के क्या खयालात है, बर्मा के क्या खयालात है और इन्डोनेशिया के क्या खयालात हैं। सीलोन में भी, मेरे आदरणीय लीडर कृपालानी जी खयाल करें, आज के अखबार में आया है कि हिन्दुस्तान सीलोन पर हमला करना चाहता है। तो इन हालात में हमें अपनी फारेन पालिसी को ढालना है और एक-एक कदम फूंक-फूंक कर आगे रखना है। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने जो मजबूत कदम उठाया है, मैं तो समझता हूँ—मुझे गलत न समझा जाये—अगर पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू भी आज जिन्दा होते तो ऐसा मजबूत कदम न उठाते। मेरे दोस्त स्पेन की बात करते हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि पंडित जी ने सन् 1937 में कहा था कि मैं स्पेन में जाकर लड़ना चाहता हूँ। . . . (व्यवधान) सन् 37 में कश्मीर का मसला नहीं था, उन दिनों तिब्बत बफर स्टेट थी, चीन

[श्री रणधीर सिंह]

का उसपर कब्जा नहीं था और हमारी सात लाख फौज पहाड़ पर नहीं थी। तो इन सारे हालात में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश के मफाद को देखते हुए हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर और कांग्रेस सरकार ने जो नीति अपनाई है वह यही नीति है कि सांप भी मर जाये और लाठी भी न टूटे, हिन्दुस्तान का फायदा भी हो और चेकोस्लोवाकिया की मदद भी हो। इस हद तक मैं इस रेजोल्यूशन की मदद करता हूँ और सरकार ने जो पालिसी अपनाई है उसकी पुरजोर हिमायत करता हूँ और सारे हाउस से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप भी सरकार के साथ रहें और इस बेकार के झंझट में न फँसें।

श्री महाराज सिंह भारती (मेरठ) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, चेकोस्लोवाकिया की लड़ाई जो है वह बुद्धि की एक पुरानी लड़ाई है। एक दशन, थोसिस की शकल में आता है, दूसरी उसकी एन्टी-थोसिस होती है और उसके बाद सिन्थीसिस के रूप में आता है और फिर थोसिस बन जाता है। बुद्धि की इस तरह की अन-वर्त् लड़ाई चला करती है लेकिन जब कोई यह कहने लगता है कि यह थोसिस जो है, अब इसका कोई एन्टी-थोसिस नहीं है, यह अन्तिम सत्य हो गया, तब दुनिया हंसा करती है। यह गलती साम्यवादी आन्दोलन में भी होती है और पूंजीवादी आन्दोलन, मैं भी हुआ करती है। चेकोस्लोवाकिया की लड़ाई वही लड़ाई है। श्रीमन् मैं पहले पूंजीवादी देश की मिसाल चाहता हूँ। अमरीका में केनेडी ने लाख कोशिश की कि अमरीका की जनता इस बात को समझ ले कि एशिया और अफ्रीका के जो पिछड़े हुए देश हैं उनके अन्दर कोई अरबपति नहीं हैं जोकि फौलादी कारखाने लगा सकें और अगर हमको जनतन्त्र कायम रखना है तो वहाँ पब्लिक सेक्टर को मजबूत करना

पड़ेगा, लेकिन वह बेचारा उनको समझ नहीं पाया। वह भी इसी तरह से बिदकते थे जैसे अब कुछ लोग बिदकते हैं।

यही हालत कम्युनिज्म की भी है, साम्यवाद की भी है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जिस वक्त यूगोस्लाविया का झगड़ा रशा से हुआ था, क्या वह इसी तरह का झगड़ा नहीं था? सवाल सिर्फ इतना है कि वह अपने को बचा ले गया और चेकोस्लोवाकिया अपने को बचा नहीं पा रहा है, बस इतना ही तो फर्क है। आज साम्यवाद के नाम से हमको चार तरह की कृषि प्रणाली देखने को मिलती हैं, यूगोस्लाविया के अन्दर छोटे किसानों की व्यक्तिगत खेती है, पूर्वी जर्मनी के साम्यवाद के अन्दर किसानों की सहकारी खेती है और चीने के किसानों के अन्दर कम्यून वाली खेती है और रशा के अन्दर सामूहिक खेती है, कलेक्टिव फार्मिंग है। चार तरह की खेती है और तीन तरह का औद्योगिक हिसाब-किताब भी हमारे सामने आ जाता है। एक जगह सरकारी उद्योग हैं, दूसरी जगह कम्यून के उद्योग हैं और तीसरी जगह यूगोस्लाविया में सरकार के उद्योग होते हुए, जो प्रबन्ध है वह मजदूरों के हाथ में है। फिर क्या आप राजनीति में एक ही तरह का पैटर्न बनाकर बैठ जायेंगे? जब खेती चार तरह की चलेगी, उद्योग तीन तरह के चलेंगे तो फिर उनकी राजनीति के अन्दर भी कई तरह के प्रकरण बनेंगे। इसको आप रोकना भी चाहें तो रोक नहीं सकेंगे। यह भूल पूंजीवाद भी करता है कि हम साम्यवाद को नहीं आने देंगे, पब्लिक सेक्टर को नहीं आने देंगे लेकिन पूंजीवाद की लाख कोशिश के बाद भी समाजवाद आयेगा। इसी तरह से साम्यवाद के वे लोग जो यह समझते हैं कि अब अन्तिम सत्य आ गया है, अब जो हम बोल रहे हैं वही सत्य है, मानव बुद्धि

अब कुंठित होकर बन्द होनी चाहिए, आइन्दा कोई और सन्य आने वाला नहीं है, वे भी जनतन्त्र को रोक नहीं सकते हैं।

अन्त में मैं एक बात कहकर समाप्त करूंगा। जो बात मैंने कही उसको कांग्रेस के लोग भी महसूस करते हैं, अकेले में जब मिलते हैं तो सभी कहते हैं लेकिन उनके सामने एक दिक्कत है। बीस साल के नियोजन के बाद भी देश की रोटी अमरीका से बंधी है और हमारा विकास और रक्षा रूस के साथ बंधा हुआ है। इसलिए तुम्हारी हिम्मत नहीं रह गई कि खुलकर उस बात को कह सको। तुम्हारी दिक्कत का भी हमें पता है। तुम इस बात को कह नहीं सकते। लेकिन मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि अपनी रोटी अमरीका के साथ -बांध कर और अपनी रक्षा और अपना विकास रूस के साथ बांध कर आज आप गलत बात को कहें। सही बात को न कह पावें तो फिर क्या किसी दिन भी कहने लायक हो पावेंगे? चायना 8 साल इस के पीछे रहा, और उसने अपनी सेल्फ-जेनेरेटिंग एकोनामी बनाई और अब दुनिया में हाथ मारकर कहता है कि रूस और अमरीका दोनों ही लड़ने के लिए चले आवो। हमने बीस साल तक सारी दुनिया में मांगा लेकिन अपनी सेल्फ-जेनेरेटिंग एकोनामी नहीं बना पाए। यह तुम्हारी मजबूरी है। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि द्विवेदी जी अगर यह भी लिखते कि यह सरकार इतनी अशक्त और अपाहिज है कि इस भले प्रस्ताव को दिल से मानते हुए भी इसका समर्थन नहीं कर सकी तो सबसे बढ़िया होता। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU (Chittoor) : Sir, what will happen to the half-an-hour discussion?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You will have to forego it. I cannot help it.

श्री डा० ना० तिवारि (गोपालपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष जी, चेकोस्लोवैकिया के सम्बन्ध में सरकार और विरोधी दलों के विचारों में क्या फर्क है? फर्क केवल शब्दों का है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर का जो स्टैंड है उसमें उन्होंने अपनी नाराजगी जाहिर की और डेप्लोर किया और ये चाहते हैं कि कन्डेम करें। फर्क केवल इतना ही है। . . . (व्यवधान)

SHRI NATH PAI : I would like to know where the word 'condemn' is?

. व्यवधान

श्री डा० ना० तिवारि : आप लोग चुप रहिए। मैं अपने खयालात का इजहार कर रहा हूँ, आपके खयालात का इजहार नहीं कर रहा हूँ। . . . (व्यवधान) इस सदन में एक नयी पद्धति परिलक्षित हो रही है और वह है अस-हिष्णुता की। मैं अपने शब्द बोलना चाहता हूँ और अपनी बात को रखना चाहता हूँ। आपकी बात में यहां पर नहीं रखना चाहता। आपको जब समय मिले तब अपनी बात कहियेगा। इस समय मुझे अपनी बात को रखने दीजिए। विरोधी दल चाहते हैं कि मैं उनके ही शब्दों में बोलूँ, उनके शब्दों में मैं कन्डेम करूँ। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि मैं जो नाराजगी जाहिर करूँ वह अपने शब्दों में जाहिर करूँ। यह हो नहीं सकता है कि मैं सांघी साहब की भाषा बोलूँ, वाजपेयी जी की भाषा बोलूँ या नाथ पाई की भाषा बोलूँ। मैं तो अपनी भाषा ही बोलना चाहता हूँ (व्यवधान) मुझे बोलने दीजिए। मैंने आपको कभी नहीं टोका फिर आप क्यों मुझे टोक रहे हैं? गवर्नमेन्ट का स्टैंड प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने

[श्री डा० ना० तिवारी]

अपने बयान में दिया है, उन्हीं शब्दों को हम दोहरा सकते हैं। यह हो नहीं सकता है कि हम आपकी बात को दोहरायें। द्विवेदी जी बड़े महान नेता हैं अपने दल के या वाजपेयी जी हैं, तो क्या आप चाहते हैं कि मैं आपकी बात को दोहराऊँ ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आप अपनी बात कहिये।

श्री डा० ना० तिवारी : मेरी बात तो प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कह दी है। इस बात का मुझे अफसोस है कि पार्लमेन्टरी डिमोन्स्ट्रेशन में जो एक परिपाटी होती है उसको हमारे साथी और हमारे नेता, श्री अशोक मेहता जी ने नहीं निभाया है।

एक परिपाटी है कि जब कोई मिनिस्टर रिजाइन करता है तो वह कुछ दिनों तक चुप रहता है क्योंकि गवर्नमेंट के डिमोन्स्ट्रेशन में उस का हाथ होता है। मुझे यह भी मालूम है कि जब इस समस्या के बारे में और सरकारी रुख अपनाने के बारे में उच्चस्तर पर मंत्रणा हो रही थी उस में श्री अशोक मेहता भी शामिल थे। उन्होंने उस ड्राफ्ट को बनाने में कुछ मदद भी की थी, अब पीछे क्या हुआ यह वह जानें परन्तु कम से कम उन्हें इस परिपाटी को कायम रखना चाहिए था कि जो मिनिस्टर रिजाइन करता है वह कुछ दिनों तक चुप रहता है।

जहां तक देश के सैलिंग आऊट का सवाल है अगर असल तौर पर पूछा जाय तो यह सैलिंग आऊट आज नहीं हुआ है बल्कि यह सैलिंग आऊट उस वक्त हुआ था जबकि उन्होंने प्राइम मिनिस्टर को डिवैलुएशन करने की सलाह दी थी और डिवैलुएशन कराया था . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

मैं ने माननीय सदस्यों को ध्यानपूर्वक सुना है और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि वह मुझे बिना इस तरह से टोके बोलने देंगे क्योंकि मेरे पास समय बहुत कम है।

जहां तक चैकोस्लोवाकिया पर इस देश के स्टैंड का सवाल है मेरा कहना है कि हमारा स्टैंड वही होना चाहिए जैसा कि ऐसे मौकों पर अन्य देशों का हमारे प्रति हुआ है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब हमारे देश के ऊपर चीन अथवा पाकिस्तान का हमला हुआ तो क्या किसी भी देश की पार्लियामेंट ने उस एग्जेशन को कंडेम किया था ? क्या चैकोस्लोवाकिया या अन्य किसी दूसरे देश ने अपनी पार्लियामेंट में हमारे ऊपर हुए चीनी अथवा पाकिस्तानी हमले को कंडेम करने वाला कोई प्रस्ताव पास किया था ? हकीकत यह है कि किसी देश की पार्लियामेंट ने ऐसा कोई भी प्रस्ताव हमारे लिए पास नहीं किया था। आप क्या चाहते हैं कि जो हमारे साथ जैसा व्यवहार करते हैं वैसा व्यवहार हम उन के साथ न करें और हम उन के साथ दूसरा व्यवहार करें ? राजनीति का तकाजा है कि जैसा व्यवहार हमारे साथ दूसरे राष्ट्र करते हैं वैसा ही व्यवहार ऐसे मौकों पर हम उन के साथ करें।

जहां तक इस बारे में हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर द्वारा अपनाये गये स्टैंड का ताल्लुक है वह सब से अच्छा है और हमें इस मौके पर उन्हीं के कहे हुए शब्दों को दुहराना है। मैं श्री सुरेन्द्रनाथ द्विवेदी से अपील करूंगा कि वह अपने संकल्प को वापिस ले लें। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर का स्टैंड बिलकुल उचित व तर्कसंगत है . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

मैं माननीय सदस्यों को उन की भाषा में बोल कर ओबलाइज नहीं कर सकता हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि सारी विदेशी नीति

के मामले में हमारी वही नीति होनी चाहिए, हमारा वही व्यवहार होना चाहिए जोकि दूसरे देश हमारे साथ करते हैं। अब अगर किसी देश ने हमारे ऊपर हुए चीनी व पाकिस्तानी अटैक को कंडेम नहीं किया तो हमें क्या जरूरत है कि हम दूसरे के अटैक को कंडेम करें? मैं समझता हूँ कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर के स्टेटमेंट द्वारा इस मामले के ऊपर हम ने जो अपनी नाराजगी व चिन्ता प्रकट कर दी है वही हमारे लिए काफी है और उस से आगे जाने की हमें जरूरत नहीं है।

SHRI SRINIBAS MISRA : On a point of order. Is it permissible for any member to bring before the House what transpired in their party meetings, whether somebody persuaded the Prime Minister to devalue the rupee, or whether somebody had a hand in drafting a Resolution? Is this permissible?

SHRI NAMBIAR : It is to our benefit.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You were not here when this controversy took place. It was openly then alleged and not contradicted authoritatively about what transpired. Now to get up and ask whether it is permissible, is not correct. It was permitted then and it is on record.

SHRIMATI SUCHETA KRIPALANI (Gonda) : May I say one word? If Mr. Asoka Mehta had done a criminal act by his advising on devaluation, were the other Congress members sleeping? Why did they not oppose it? I was not a Member of the House then....(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : This is casting aspersions on the Party. I publicly made a speech in the Central Hall. It is a question of discipline of the Party when people vote for it.

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SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : This is very objectionable. Whatever you may have said as a Congressman.. (Interruptions) you are now in the Chair. Just a few minutes back you said that it was on record.. (Interruption) I want to verify the record.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I am prepared to stand by my record.

SHRI NATH PAI : On what, we have a better record than the Congress Party. We challenged Shri Mehta on the question of devaluation. I do not know whether any Congressman did so.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : There were several allegations in the Press Shri Dwivedy was a member of the House at that time also. He knows about it. On that basis, if somebody makes a statement I cannot just erase it, because it was said. As regards what Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani said just now, in every party there is party discipline and there is a conscience. There are two parts to it. Here if any person were to say about what happened in a member's party at a particular moment and what opinion he sponsored, and if a debate were to start on that here, where is the end?

SHRI S. KUNDU (Balasore) : But you should not be concerned with these things when you are in the Chair.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Where will this sort of discussion end? This is not fair.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur) : Before you call upon the Minister, let me have five minutes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : No. We have already exceeded time by 15 minutes. It is not possible. There are other important matters coming before the House.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : Nobody has spoken from my Party.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He sends a chit at the end. What can be done ?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : On a point of order. You have made an observation concerning what you said in the Central Hall at a party meeting. Certainly, you have a right to make that observation, but not from that Chair. Before you did so, you should have come down, put somebody else from the Panel on the Chair and then you could have made that observation. But by your making the observation you did while occupying that Chair, I am sorry to say you have violated the basic principle of the impartiality of the Chair. You cannot argue from the Chair in the way you did. You cannot take a partisan view from there. You are in a neutral position, an umpire, while there. You have no right to behave like a party man while there. This is very undesirable, extremely undesirable.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT) : Normally....

SHRI S. KUNDU : Where is the Prime Minister? This is such an important matter.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Let us finish the debate. The Prime Minister will come at the proper time.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Normally, when the House is about to adjourn, members show calmness. But probably it rather augurs well for us because the House has extraordinary vitality so much so that even after a long session when it is about to adjourn, the members are in an excited mood.

I will only crave the indulgence of members to bear with me for a few minutes in the same spirit.....

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : We have shown the anguish of the House.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : We have also anguish.

SHRI RANJIT SINGH (Khalilabad) : Do you have a soul? There is a hole in your soul.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : If this goes on like this, I will not allow the next Resolution to be taken up, because we have exceeded time.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Those who have anguish do not exhibit it the way they do. They should also realise that anguish can be expressed in other ways, better ways.

The hon. Mover and the House will appreciate that when this Resolution was taken up for discussion originally, the context was entirely different. The events and developments since then have overtaken the spirit of the resolution. The House has expressed itself; the Government have made their stand clear and it is not for me to repeat those things. I have only to state that the events that have taken place subsequently go to prove that the stand taken by the Government....

18.56 HRS.

[SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR *in the Chair*]

SHRI NATH PAI :.. was disgraceful

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT :... was absolutely correct. They were not only dictated by the national interests but they reflected the true spirit of this country.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Have you consulted the Czechoslovak people?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : We are in touch with all the concerned persons.

SHRI NATH PAI : The Czech Ambassador refused to thank your Government.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : The Czech ambassador is not present here; I do not know of what ambassador he is speaking. . . . (Interruptions). On the basic issues such as the right of a country to determine its own form of Government, the solution of the basic problems through peaceful negotiation and non-interference in another country's affairs, the use of armed forces, etc. the Prime Minister's statement as well as the statement made by our representative in the Security Council have made plain our views in categorical terms. If those who are still expressing doubts about our basic stand have ears and eyes and have some objectivity left in them and if they have no other smaller and petty pursuits in their mind, they will be convinced that the stand taken by the Government is correct. As I said, the events have shown the wisdom of the stand taken by the Government.

18.58 HRS.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Some hon. Members said that there is the danger of another type of imperialism. I have great regard for the hon. Member Shri Asoka Mehta. I am in complete agreement with his yearnings for freedom and democracy, the right of a country to determine its own future without outside interference. Those of us who have been the children of revolution in this country cannot compromise on those basic principles. I wish to remind the House of the famous statement of the Leader who used to sit here, when he was charged that India was following a policy of neutrality; he said: where freedom is in peril, India will not be neutral.

AN HON. MEMBER : Then why did you abstain ?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Therefore, I am saying that on all these basic issues, non-involvement and non-interference, etc. we have not made any compromise.

If you have any objectivity left in your minds, you read the statement of the Prime Minister. We have not compromised on that. We have made a statement for the withdrawal of troops. (Interruption) Let us dispassionately evaluate and assess the present situation, although we may be excited on these issues.

SHRI NATH PAI : We refuse to be excited. We are keeping quiet.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : You are evidently excited.

SHRI NATH PAI : I do not believe in hypocritical silence. For instance, if I go to my friend over there and tell him very calmly, "You are a rogue, you are a scoundrel," what is that calmness? It can be done calmly also.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : With all respect to my friend, Shri Nath Pai, I think he is behaving as in the proverb, "the lady is protesting too much." He is excited.

SHRI NATH PAI : What is the relevancy ?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : The relevancy is that the hon. Member is behaving like an excited person.

SHRI NATH PAI : I am not excited. I am angry. And I confess, I do not plead guilty for feeling angry.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : He has the right to be angry but I would only ask him, let him not judge important issues in anger.

श्री अब्दुल गनी डार (गुड़गांव) : मेरा प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर है। क्या कोई अनरबल मेम्बर हाउस में श्री नाथ पाई को बदनाम करना चाहे तो उस के लिये वह सब लेडीज को बदनाम कर सकता है। लेडीज उन से कहीं ज्यादा अच्छी हैं, जैसे श्रीमती सुचेता कृपलानी ने अपने ठंडेपन का सबूत दिया है।

श्री अब्दुल गनी ख़ान

شہری عبدالغنی خانو (گورنمنٹ) : سہرا

یونائٹڈ ان لڑھو یہ ہے لیا کینی انجیل

مسٹر ہاؤس میں شہری ناث پائی کو

بخنام کرنا چاہے تو اس کے لئے وہ سب

لہجہ کو بخنام کر سکتا ہے۔ لیکنز ان

ہے نہیں کیا لہجہ میں۔ جسے

شہری سوجھتا کھلتی نے ہے

تہذیب میں کا تہذیب کیا ہے ؟

19 Hrs.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : The hon. Member need not have troubled himself on this score. I have the greatest respect, a genuine respect, for Mr. Nath Pai. He knows it. I was saying that in the present situation, let the House ponder and think over calmly. Let them calmly think over the events that are taking place, the situation in Czechoslovakia, particularly after the agreement in Moscow, the appeal by the Czechoslovakian leaders, and the declaration of the National Assembly of Czechoslovakia asking them to be left alone to determine their future. So, while expressing our opinion, may be in anger or in excitement or in high emotion, let us not complicate their problem; let us pay a tribute to the valiant people of Czechoslovakia. I think the House will agree with me that we should not say anything which will complicate the problem.

SHRI NATH PAI : Support their freedom movement. (*Interruption*).

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : We support the heroic people of Czechoslovakia. Why do you say everytime support, support? In this context, I do not want to speak anything more. Whether it is a question of imperialism—fighting this or that, whether it is a question of freedom or democracy, on that point, we are second to none. Rather we will do

everything to uphold that principle. For instance, Mr. Vajpayee may have a particular method of fighting imperialism. But we in our country repeatedly have said that the only way to fight imperialism is to stand on our own legs, to unite the people in the cause of freedom, to make the people strong. That is the only way in which we can stand up against this imperialism or that imperialism. If we look to one side against another, if we are not strong within ourselves, economically, politically and socially, and if we do not stand as one united nation, we will not be able to fight imperialism. We will fight all imperialism and the spirit of the country is like that.

Similarly about democracy and freedom. We have won freedom after making a very great sacrifice and we know the value of freedom and the traditions that we have followed and laid down. It is ingrained in the hearts of the commonest people in the rural areas, the villages.

AN HON. MEMBER : Teaching the old students of Delhi ?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Yes; the students, the workers, the peasants. The spirit is there. As long as this Parliament represents the will of the people, as long as the freest spirit of the people is there, democracy and freedom is safe in this country. This is our tradition. Wherever freedom is in peril, we are not neutral. We will fight with all our might to uphold that freedom.

On this issue, the Government have made it clear where our support and sympathy lies. It is in favour of all those people who are fighting for freedom and against armed intervention in any country. That is absolutely clear. The hon. Member had moved the resolution, but the context has entirely changed. The situation is delicate. I do not want to oppose this resolution.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI (Kendrapara) : Sir, I am glad that at least the Government is taking a neutral stand on this matter.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Where is the neutrality ?

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI : You have not stated that you are supporting this resolution.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : He can see how we vote.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI : That is very good. If you are supporting it, my task is easier. I only want to point out that even some of our friends who have spoken in support have some doubt that the intention is something else. This is an innocuous resolution which only says that we reiterate our faith in non-involvement and non-interference in the internal affairs of any country. Even my friend, Mr. Nambiar, who has opposed this resolution should realise that this has nothing to say about the communist party of Czechoslovakia. It is about the people of Czechoslovakia. We are extending support and sympathy to them.

I am really surprised that Mr Bhagat still maintains that their stand has been vindicated. I shall only quote what Mr Dubcek and Mr Svoboda have stated after their return from Moscow. Mr. Svoboda said; as for the Moscow negotiations

“they were not easy—neither for us nor for you”.

Mr Dubcek said that further bloodshed must be avoided at all costs but that did not mean that the country would adopt an attitude of submission. Therefore, it is very clear that there has not been a real rapprochement between the two parties. This is a forced compromise. To avoid bloodshed, they have accepted this position. Let us not read any other meanings into this.

Mr. Mukerjee said the other day that he has nothing against the spirit of the resolution. But he saw in it a venomous attempt. He said that this is a venomous resolution, the motivation is something else. The motivation has been very clearly stated

by the Soviet Review in which they have said that when they went there many Czechoslovakian citizens expressed their gratitude to the troops of the allied army for their timely arrival in Czechoslovakia to help them in their struggle against counter revolutionary forces. Why have they gone? He says it is for fulfilling their international duty to protect socialist forces in Czechoslovakia. I would like to ask my hon. friend, Shri Mukerjee, if China which accuses Russia of revisionism is to discharge its international duty by invading Russia, would he welcome that?

Therefore, let us not go into this question. Let us not also forget what has appeared in today's paper about Dubcek who went and was forced to be present at the negotiation table. It has been said that he was bundled out of his headquarters last Wednesday, manhandled and flown to a secret destination in Slovakia in a Soviet military aircraft. So the danger remains as it was. Let not anybody think that things have settled down. I will, therefore, be happy if the House passes this Resolution unanimously. Even those who have voiced some protests here, if they really support democratisation and liberalisation, should also extend their support to it. I would be very happy if not a single vote against the Resolution is recorded in this House.

I will end by quoting from a resolution of the Yugoslavia Communist Party which they passed condemning the aggression. We are not condemning it here. But they have pointed out the real thing why the Russians are intervening in Czechoslovakia. They have stated very clearly :

“Progress of socialism, it is noted in the Resolution, is being opposed by the forces of bureaucratic-statism, which endeavour to identify socialism with statist dictating and monopolistic role. This leads to the closing of socialism into the narrow borders of camps and its isolation from the world, i.e., closing of prospects to socialism, the mani-

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedy]
 festation of lack of confidence in man and peoples, and to the strengthening of dogmatism and compromising of the idea of socialism.”

That is the real picture. There is nothing else except this.

After the Government has come forward to support it I want only to say that for the blunder they committed by abstaining from voting on the Resolution at the United Nations I have given them at least some scope to express and resurrect India's prestige. It is not the Government alone but the whole House, the whole sovereign Parliament of India must unitedly pass this resolution.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I shall first put the amendment moved by Shri Shinkre to the vote of the House.

SHRI SHINKRE (Panjim) : On my amendment I want to say something.

AYES

DIVISION No. 23. 19.17 Hrs.
 AHIRWAR, SHRI NATHU RAM
 AHMED, SHRI F. A.
 AYARWAL, SHRI RAM SINGH
 AZAD, SHRI BHAGWAT JHA
 BAKSHI, SHRI GHULAM MOHAM-
 MAD
 BARUA, SHRI BEDABRATA
 BASUMATARI, SHRI
 BASAWANT, SHRI
 BHAGAT, SHRI B. R.
 BHAGAVATI, SHRI
 BHARATI, SHRI MAHARAJ SINGH
 CHANDA, SHRI ANIL K.
 CHANDRIKA PRASAD, SHRI
 CHATTERJI, SHRI KRISHNA
 KUMAR
 CHATURVEDI, SHRI R. L.
 CHAUHAN, SHRI BHARAT SINGH
 CHAVAN, SHRI Y. B.
 DAR, SHRI ABDUL GHANI
 DASS, SHRI C.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I cannot allow any speech now. He wants to withdraw it? Has he the leave of the House to withdraw his amendment?

Amendment No. 1 was, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I will now put the motion of Shri Surendranath Dwivedy to the vote of the House.

The question is :

“This House hails the brave people of Czechoslovakia in their bid to liberalise and democratise the political life of their country, reiterates its faith in the policy of non-involvement and non-interference in the internal affairs of any country and appeals to all freedom loving countries and people to extend their support and sympathy to the movement in Czechoslovakia.”

The Lok Sabha divided:

DESHMUKH, SHRI B. D.
 DESHMUKH, SHRI K. G.
 DESHMUKH, SHRI SHIVAJIRAO
 S.
 DILLON, SHRI G. S.
 DIXIT, SHRI G. C.
 DWIVEDY, SHRI SURENDRA-
 NATH
 GAJRAJ SINGH RAO, SHRI
 GANPAT SAHAI, SHRI
 GAVIT, SHRI TUKARAM
 GHOSH, SHRI BIMALKANTI
 GOYAL, SHRI SHRICHAND
 GUHA, SHRI SAMAR
 GUPTA, SHRI LAKHAN LAL
 HAZARIKA, SHRI J. N.
 HIMATSINGKA, SHRI
 JADHAV, SHRI TULSHIDAS
 JAHDV, SHRI V. N.
 JAMIR, SHRI S. C.
 JHA, SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA

JOSHI, SHRI JAGANNATH RAO	RANE; SHRI
JOSHI, SHRI S. M.	RANJIT SINGH, SHRI
KACHWAI, SHRI HUKAM CHAND	RAO, SHRI J. RAMAPATHI
KANDAPPAN, SHRI S.	RAO, SHRI THIRUMALA
KASTURE, SHRI A. S.	RAUT, SHRI BHOLA
KATHAM, SHRI B. N.	RAY, SHRI RABI
KEDARIA, SHRI C. M.	REDDI, SHRI G. S.
KHAN, SHRI GHAYOOR ALI	REDDI, SHRI M. N.
KOTOKI, SHRI LILADHAR	ROHATGI, SHRIMATI SUSHILA
KRIPALANI, SHRIMATI SUCHETA	SAMANTA, SHRI S. C.
KUNDU, SHRI S.	SAMBASIVAM, SHRI
KUSHOK BAKULA, SHRI	SAPRE, SHRIMATI TARA
MALHOTRA, SHRI INDER J.	SARMA, SHRI A. T.
MANDAL, DR. P.	SEN, SHRI DWAIPAYAN
MANE, SHRI SHANKARRAO	SEN, SHRI P. G.
MANGALATHUMADAM, SHRI	SETHI, SHRI P. C.
MASTER, SHRI BHOLA NATH	SHAH, SHRIMATI JAYABEN
MISHRA, SHRI BIBHUTI	SHARDA NAND, SHRI
MISRA, SHRI SRINIBAS	SHARMA, SHRI NAWAL KISHORE
MOHAN SWARUP, SHRI	SHASTRI, SHRI PRAKASH VIR
MOHINDER KAUR, SHRIMATI	SHASTRI, SHRI RAGHUVIR SINGH
MOLAHU PRASAD, SHRI	SHASTRI, SHRI SHEOPUJAN
MRITUNJAY PRASAD, SHRI	SHASTRI, SHRI SHIV KUMAR
MUKERJEE, SHRIMATI SHARDA	SHIV CHANDIKA PRASAD, SHRI
NAIDU, SHRI CHENGALRAYA	SHUKLA, SHRI S. N.
NATH PAI, SHRI	SINGH, SHRI J. B.
NAYAR, SHRI K. K.	SOMANI, SHRI N. K.
ORAON, SHRI KARTIK	SONDHI, SHRI M. L.
PANDEY, SHRI K. N.	SUBRAVELU, SHRI
PARMAR, SHRI BHALJIBHAI	SUPAKAR, SHRI SRADHAKAR
PARTAP SINGH, SHRI	SURENDRA PAL SINGH SHRI
PARTHASARATHY, SHRI	SURYANARAYANA, SHRI K.
PATIL, SHRI C. A.	TARODEKAR, SHRI V. B.
PATIL, SHRI DEORAO	VAJPAYEE, SHRI ATAL BIHARI
PRAMANIK, SHRI J. N.	VENKATASUBBAIAH, SHRI P.
RAJASEKHARAN, SHRI	VIRBHADRA SINGH, SHRI
RAJU, SHRI D. B.	VISWAMBHARAN, SHRI P.
RAM SUBHAG SINGH DR.	VYAS, SHRI RAMESH CHANDRA
RANA, SHRI M. B.	YASHPAL SINGH, SHRI
RANDHIR SINGH, SHRI	

NOES

CHANDRA SEKHAR SINGH, SHRI	RAMANI, SHRI K.
*GHOSH, SHRI P. K.	SEN, DR. RANEN
MUKHERJEE, SHRI H. N.	SHASTRI, SHRI RAMAVATAR
NAIR, SHRI VASUDEVAN	UMANATH, SHRI
NAMBIAR, SHRI	

*Wrongly voted for 'NOES'.

MR.* DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The result of the Division is : Ayes : 117;

Noes : 9.

The motion was adopted

19.14 Hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: STATUS OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The House will now take up the next resolution by Shri Vajpayee.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय....

SHRI UMANATH (Pudukkottai) : Sir, I have got a serious point of order.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Not at this stage. He has not moved it. He cannot raise a point of order in a vacuum.

SHRI UMANATH : The point is that after he has moved it and made a speech. The discussion will start only in the next session. When it start I must be allowed first to raise a point of order.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ: "इस सभा की राय है कि जम्मू तथा काश्मीर राज्य की वर्तमान असंगत स्थिति का अन्त किया जाना चाहिये, जिस में यह राज्य भारत का अभिन्न अंग होते हुए भी इस का अलग संविधान है, अलग राजाध्यक्ष है और अलग झंडा है, और इस राज्य को पूर्ण रूप से भारत के अन्य राज्यों के

समान लाया जाना चाहिए और इस प्रयोजनार्थ यह सभा सिफारिश करती है कि सभी आवश्यक कार्रवाइयाँ जैसे कि अनुच्छेद 370 का निराकरण, तुरन्त आरम्भ की जायें।"

SHRI UMANATH : I now rise on a point of order.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I must first place it before the House. Then you can rise. He has only formally moved it to keep it alive.

श्री अब्दुल गनी डार (गुड़गांव) : डिप्युटी स्पीकर साहब, मैं अपनी एमेंडमेंट मूव करता हूँ कि इस को काश्मीर एसेम्बली को रेफर किया जाये।

شروی عبدالغلی ڈار : ڈیپٹی سپیکر صاحب - مہن اہلی ایمینڈمنٹ موو کرتا ہوں کہ اس کو کشمیر اسمبلی کو ریفر کہا جائے۔

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Next time; not now.

श्री भोला राजत (बगहा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे भी अपना प्रस्ताव पेश करने के लिए आधा मिनट दे दिया जाये।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : That is not possible.

SHRI UMANATH : Sir, I was rising on a point order against the moving, discussion or adoption of the Resolution because two serious questions of competency and so many other things are involved. You said that immediately after he moved it, I can do so because at that time there was nothing before the House. Since he has moved it, I want to raise my point of order.

*The following Members also recorded their votes AYES: Sarvashri P.K. Ghosh and M.L. Sondhi.