

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur: Sir, my submission is only this. This Bill is coming after such a long time. When Mr. Mirdha moved this Bill, there were a lot of objections from all sides of the House.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: That Bill has already been passed. This is another Bill.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: We do not know what is the object of the Bill. We want to know that.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Item 19.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI F. H. MOHSIN): It is only to give effect to the recommendations of the Third Pay Commission concerning All India Services.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I want to speak on that.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In that case we take up the Private Members' Business. When the House is not in agreement, we shall take up the Private Members' Business.

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COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS
FIFTY-THIRD REPORT

SHRI S. P. BHATTACHARYYA (Uluberia): I beg to move:

"That this House do agree with the Fifty-third Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 24th March, 1975."

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That this House do agree with the Fifty-third Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 24th March, 1975."

The motion was adopted
15.37 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: GROWTH OF
FASCISM IN THE COUNTRY—
Contd.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now we take up further discussion of the Resolution moved by Shri Shyamnandan Mishra. The time allotted was 3 hours and 30 minutes, and already 3 hours and 15 minutes have been taken. I have got a long list of speakers here..

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT (East Delhi): The time should be extended.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): I have no objection to the time being extended. But I want to seek a clarification from you. The next Resolution in order of priority is mine which, on the last occasion, could not be moved by me. But under the rules, under the Directions by the Speaker, it was protected in the sense that because the time for Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra's Resolution was extended, it did not mean that my Resolution lapsed; it remained. But I want to know what will be the position now. As it is, if the whole of the Private Members' time today is taken up again with Shri Shyamnandan Mishra's Resolution, the whole of the time, I will not be in a position even to move my Resolution. Then, does it lapse or is it protected for the next time? I want to know this.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Sir, I have no objection to the time for Shri Shyamnandan Mishra's Resolution being extended. But this must come to an end. We have not been able to come to a conclusion as to who is fascist. I do not know if more time is needed. It is better that the matter is referred to arbitration.

Another thing is that Mr. Indrajit Gupta's Resolution, the next Resolution, is extremely important. This is International Women's Year. I want that he should be allowed at least to move his Resolution.

Another request of mine is that, during this year, the International

[Shri S M. Banerjee]

Women's Year, there should be some women Chairmen. Some ladies should be included in the panel of Chairman. It is a shame that in our House there is no lady Chairman.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We will be very glad to have ladies in the panel of Chairmen.

About what Mr. Indrajit Gupta has said, I do not know what will be the effect of the new rule 9A. Instead of going into that, I would suggest that we may finish the discussion on Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra's Resolution at least five minutes before 6.00 p.m. and Mr. Indrajit Gupta may move his Resolution which can then be kept pending.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I agree.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): What about my Resolution?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I do not know what will be the effect of rule 9A. If you get the benefit of that, it is all-right...

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I have been told so. Since mine got the first priority for today, if it is not reached, then my Resolution will spill over to the next occasion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That I shall have to look into. Offhand I cannot say.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री : (पटना)
जिन चार सदस्यों ने संशोधन दिए हैं उनका क्या होगा ?

Will they get any time to speak or not if we are going to extend the time? They must get time.

MR. CHAIRMAN: They will be guided by the same procedures which guided other resolutions.

Now, let us not waste our time these technicalities.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री : आप समय बार बार बढ़ा रहे हैं। जिन्होंने एमंडमेन्ट पेश किए हैं उनको मौका नहीं मिल रहा है।

MR. CHAIRMAN: We will try to accommodate them as far as practicable, but the present decision is that the discussion on this resolution will come to a close just five minutes before 6 p.m.

Now, I am told that nobody was on his legs. So, I call Shri Narsingh Narain Pandey.

श्री नरसिंह नारायण पांडे : (गोरखपुर) : सभापति महोदय, मिश्र जी ने फासिज्म के ऊपर जो प्रस्ताव रखा है और इस पर चर्चा करने का मौका हमें दिया है उस में भाग लेने का आपने मुझे जो अवसर प्रदान किया है उसके लिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। देश में जिस तरह की स्थिति चल रही है, जिस तरह देश के अन्दर कुछ लोग विधान को, पार्लिमेंटरी डेमोक्रेसी को खत्म करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं और ऐसी फोर्सिस को साथ ले कर खत्म करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं जो देश के अन्दर अशान्ति का वातावरण फैलाना चाहती हैं उनकी जितनी भर्त्सना की जाए कम है। हमने देश के लिए जो व्यवस्था स्वीकार की है, जो संविधान हमने बनाया है उस में अगर कोई कमी है, या उसको लागू करने में कहीं कोई कमजोरी दिखाई देती है तो उसको मिल कर दुरुस्त करने की कोशिश की जानी चाहिए थी, उसके बारे में सोचा जाना चाहिए था। लेकिन इस संकल्प को यहां पेश करके उन्होंने हमें जो अपने विचार व्यक्त करने का अवसर प्रदान किया है उसके लिए मैं उनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

अपने भाषण में उन्होंने बहुत सी बातें कहीं। उन्होंने यहां तक कहा है कि देश में मंदी अराजकता की भावना पैदा करने के लिए यदि कोई जिम्मेदार है तो देश की प्रधान

जिम्मेदार हैं, यह भी उन्होंने कहा है कि देश में तानाशाहियत कोई लाना चाहता है तो प्रधान मंत्री लाना चाहती हैं। आप देश के पिछले पांच दस साल के इतिहास को देखें। आप यह जानते ही हैं कि हमारी पार्टी सब से बड़ी पार्टी है। इस पार्टी ने ही देश को आजाद कराया है। इसने ही देश को संविधान दिया है। देश में ऐसा वातावरण पैदा करने की भी इस पार्टी ने कोशिश की है ताकि देश की आर्थिक और सामाजिक व्यवस्था को सुधारा जा सके। इस पार्टी को कुछ साल पहले तोड़ने की कोशिश की गई, इसको विभाजित करने की कोशिश की गई। वह एक साजिश थी। जो शक्तियां तब इसके पीछे थीं वे दूसरे नेताओं के बल पर देश में फिर से वैसा ही वातावरण पैदा करने की कोशिश कर रही हैं। यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आई है। जय प्रकाश बाबू को उन्होंने आगे किया है। ये पार्टियां क्या चाहती हैं, जय प्रकाश बाबू क्या चाहते हैं और यह जय प्रकाश जी को किस मंतव्य के लिए इस्तेमाल किया जा रहा है इसका हमें समझना होगा। कांग्रेस का विभाजन किन परिस्थितियों में किया गया उसको भी हमें देखना होगा। जब हम इस सत्र पर गम्भीरता से विचार करते हैं तो एक ही बात सामने आती है। देश में कुछ शक्तियां हैं जो यह समझ चुकी हैं कि बोट के जरिये देश का शासन वे अपने हाथ में नहीं ले सकती हैं, उनका बोट में विश्वास नहीं रह गया है, प्रजातंत्र में, पार्लिमेंटरी सिस्टम आफ गवर्नमेंट में विश्वास नहीं रह गया है और वे इस कोशिश में हैं कि देश में ऐसी भावना पैदा की जाए कि हर आदमी यह समझने लग जाए कि देश में भ्रष्टाचार ही व्याप्त है और हर किमी को भ्रष्ट सिद्ध करने के लिए तमाम तरीके सदन में भी और सदन के बाहर भी इस्तेमाल किए जा रहे हैं और जो जाने-माने नेता हैं, राजनीतिक नेता हैं उनकी प्रतिभा को धूल धूसरित करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। लेकिन जनता ने उनके इस नारे को कबूल नहीं किया और जब उन्होंने

इस बात को देखा तब उन्होंने जो देश के सामने संकट हैं उसको नाज़ायज़ लाभ उठाने की कोशिश की। दुनिया में आर्थिक संकट है, हमारे यहां भी है। हमारे यहां सूखा पड़ा। अब इनका लाभ इन शक्तियों ने उठाने की कोशिश की और आंतरिक स्थिति को बिगाड़ने की कोशिश की। उसी समय इनकी समझ में यह आया कि बिहार में कोई आन्दोलन छेड़ा जाए। तब उन्होंने जनता द्वारा चुने गए लेजिस्लेटर्ज को फोर्स करना शुरू किया कि वे इस्तिफा दें और जब उन्होंने हंकार किया तो उनका उन्होंने घेराव किया। इस तरह से प्रजातंत्र की मजबूत नींव को जोकि भारतीय संविधान ने हमें प्रदान की है, उमको तोड़ने फोड़ने की इन्होंने कोशिश की। उसके बाद देश के विद्यार्थियों को उभाड़ने की इन्होंने कोशिश की। जहां जहां दुनिया में अशान्ति फैलाने की कोशिश की गई है वहां वहां इस तरह की बातें हुई हैं। हिटलर कहा करते थे .

Do not let young men think with the head, but with the blood.

उन्होंने एक फोर्स तैयार की थी। पूजीपति ताकतों के साथ मिल कर नौजवान बच्चों के दिमाग खराब करने की, नौजवानों को तैयार करने की उसने कोशिश की और इस तरह से जर्मनी में वह फासिज्म लाया। इसी तरह के तरीकों को अपनाकर इटली में फासिज्म लाया गया। यही हथकंडे यहां भी इस्तेमाल किये जा रहे हैं। जो अपरिपक्व तत्व हैं, जो विद्यार्थी हमारे स्कूलों और कालेजों और यूनिवर्सिटियों में पढ़ते हैं और जिन को देश का भाविष्य मुन्दर बनाने के लिए इस्तेमाल किया जाना चाहिये था, इस काम के लिए उनको तैयार किया जाना चाहिये था उनको उन्होंने इस काम के लिए तैयार करने की कोशिश की। इन बच्चों का दामन इन्होंने पकड़ा। उन बच्चों को ऐसी अराजकता की स्थिति देश में पैदा करने के लिए जो आप इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं उसके लिए आपको शर्म आनी चाहिये। जो नेता एक जमाने में देश के नव निर्माण

[श्री नरसिंह नायण पाण्डे]

की बात करते थे, पार्लिमेंटरी सिस्टम आफ गवर्नमेंट को मजबूत करने की बात करते थे, भारतीय संविधान के अन्तर्गत शान्ति और व्यवस्था की बात करते थे, आज वही इन अपरिपक्व बुद्धि के बच्चों का ऐसे कामों के लिए इस्तेमाल करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। मार्क्सवादी पार्टी के नेताओं ने भी आज ऐसी पार्टियों और ऐसी जमायतों, ऐसे समूहों की सोशल आर्गनाइजेशन बनाई है। जिन समूहों और जिन जमायतों ने देश के राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी जैसी पुण्य आत्मा को गोली का शिकार बनाया उनको साथ लेकर ये आन्दोलन कर रहे हैं। आप देखें कि आज ललित बाबू जैसे नेता की हत्या कर दी गई है। प्रधान मंत्री जब अदालत में बयान देने जा रहीं थीं तो पिस्तौल-धारी आदमी को वहां भेजा गया। चीफ जस्टिस आफ इंडिया की कार पर बम फेंका गया। ऐसी स्थिति देश में पैदा करने की कोशिश की जा रही है ताकि हमारा जनतंत्र कमजोर हो, देश में जनतंत्र की नींव कमजोर हो। ऐसे लोगों से मेरा निवेदन है कि वे इस मार्ग को छोड़ दें। उनमें और हम में फर्क हो सकता है, सोचने समझने में फर्क हो सकता है, शासन चलाने में फर्क हो सकता है, विचारों में फर्क हो सकता है, उन से हमारे मतभेद हो सकते हैं, लेकिन देश के जो साठ परसेंट किसान हैं और जो देश की रीढ़ हैं और जिन के बच्चे यूनिवर्सिटियों और कालेजों में पढ़ते हैं उन बच्चों का इस्तेमाल आप अपनी राजनीति देश में चलाने के लिए न करें, उनका भविष्य बरबाद न करें, देश में ऐसी परिस्थितियां पैदा न करें जिन से फासिज्म आए, देश में पार्लिमेंटरी सिस्टम खत्म हो। जो शक्तियां इस तरह के मुहाज्र बना रही हैं, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय कार्यों में संलग्न हैं उनको देश आज बरदाश्त करने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। लोग बहुत अच्छी तरह से अनुभव करने लग गए हैं कि कुछ विदेशी शक्तियों का भी इसके पीछे हाथ है। फारेन कांस्टीब्यूशनल बिल

ज्वायंट सिलेक्ट कमेटी में है। उसको होम मिनिस्टर ने पायलट किया था। उसमें कहा गया है कि उसकी जरूरत इस बास्ते है कि आज कुछ विदेशी शक्तियां हैं जो देश में पैसा खर्च करने लोगों को उभाड़ रही हैं। जिस तरह की इन शक्तियों ने विदेशों में स्थिति पैदा की है वैसी ही स्थिति यहां भी पैदा करने की ये कोशिशें कर रही हैं। आन्तरिक व्यवस्था को तहसनहस करने की कोशिश कर रही हैं। इसलिए देश के नागरिकों को ऐसे तत्वों से सावधान हो जाना चाहिये, ऐसे लोगों से सावधान हो जाना चाहिये और देश की नेता श्रीमति इंदिरा गांधी जो देश में सैक्युलरिज्म पॉलियामैन्ट्री सिस्टम, डेमोक्रेसी आदि को मजबूत करना चाहती हैं उनके हाथ मजबूत करने चाहिए।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Guha, before you speak, I have got before me a list of 11 Members from the Congress side and also quite a large number from the Opposition. It may be, the time may be there.

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE (Rajapur): Will this time be enough for Fascism?

MR. CHAIRMAN: May I request the Members to confine themselves to seven to eight minutes each so that everybody may have a chance to speak? I am giving you two more extra minutes. Ten minutes should be sufficient for a man like you to finish your speech.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): Sir, although the Resolution is a very timely one, it appears to me that historically and ideologically it will be an inept political expression to say that condition has been or is being created in India for Growth of Fascism. It would have been better if the word 'authoritarianism or totalitarianism' would have been there instead of the word 'Fascism'. Either consciously or unconsciously, I consider that a condition is being created—I do not want to say that they

are creating this condition—and I say that is being created by the policies that are being pursued by them. In consequence of that, a situation has arisen in the country for the growth of—I would not use the word 'Fascism'—of totalitarian or authoritarian type of rule in this country. Fascism has both philosophical and historical meaning of its own. There are certain characteristics of Fascism.

The first one is an overzealous faith in an articulated super-racial Mission of a Nation—like Roman Nationalism of Italy, Aryan Nationalism of Germany, historical Nationalism of Spain and second is rise of an assumed superman like Mussolini, Hitler or Franco.

Equally, Fascism has a wellknit organisation as also a well organised organisation in the world. It has its political ideology as was the case of national socialism in the case of Hitler's Germany or Fascism in the case of Italy and also the case of Franco. Equally, the most important part, I should say, of Fascism is the paramilitia like the black shirt of Italy, storm trooper of Germany and the Falangist of Spain. Most of these are pre-conditions for growth of Fascism as found in the rise of Fascism in pre-war Italy, Germany or Spain. The rise or growth of Fascism is absent in India. I say that none of the pre-requisites of Fascism exists in the Ruling Party of India except the rise of a personality cult. But, the image of that personality cult is fast fading out from the minds of the people. The deity of the personality cult is no longer considered even inside the party as it was considered years before. That image is fading out. I hope they will be taken note of by the Ruling Party. But, Sir, although these factors are not there for the rise or growth of Fascism in this country as it happened in the case of Germany, Italy or Spain, certain conditions have been created. I do not want to say that they have been created consciously by the Ruling Party. Still, the Congress talks about parliamentary institution, democracy

and so on and so forth. But due to the policies that they have pursued during the last few years a compulsion is being created and forces have already been released in the country that are taking our Parliamentary democracy in some kind of propulsion which may lead ultimately either to getting into the trap of authoritarian rule or a rule of totalitarianism.

The condition in the sub-continent is almost equal to the one that is found in Pakistan or Bangladesh. There is political instability and socio-economic forces have been released which are beyond the comprehension of the common people and also are not within the grip of the common people. Sheikh Mujib who fought Pakistan to establish Parliamentary democracy in Bangladesh ultimately due to the forces that were released unconsciously has himself become the victim. He considered himself to be the saviour of Bangladesh but he has to resort to totalitarian measures which are against the very ideals for which he fought. In Pakistan Mr. Bhutto fought against Yahya Khan and Ayub Khan for setting up Parliamentary democracy but now we find in Pakistan also they have already developed one-party rule. Therefore, the fear is not unrealistic. We are engulfed by the shadows of totalitarian rule due to compulsion that has been created in the sub-continent from the two sides. Therefore, there is sufficient reason to get ourselves alarmed about the future that may overtake the fate of Indian democracy.

Before I enter into other things I want to stress one point. Apart from the peoples' movement that has been launched by J. P. to develop a peoples' power against this trend of development of authoritarian politics or authoritarian mentality in the ruling party, he is also trying to build up peoples' power atmosphere. He gave a timely and significant warning to the nation when he appealed to the Armed Forces, Police and the para-militia of our country reminding them that the loyalty of the

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Army, Police and the para-militia is to our Constitution, Parliamentary democracy, people and to our National Flag. If any attempt is made—as we have seen attempts have been made by our two sister countries—by the ruling party and if they want to take advantage of the present situation and try to assume role of a saviour for democracy, . . . saviour of Indian people and they try to use either the Armed Forces or the para militia or the police to set up an authoritarian rule or a totalitarian rule or a one party rule, then, it will be the duty, it will be the right, not only the right, I should say, it will be the patriotic duty of the Armed Forces, of our para militia, of our police even to resist that force and not to agree to obey the dictates of that force, if they want to establish, if the ruling party wants to establish an authoritarian rule in the country.

16 hrs.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Sir, this will not do. This is a serious matter.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Guha, please cooperate. I am asking you to cooperate because there are so many Members.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Sir, I seriously feel about this. This is the fourth day the House is discussing this matter. This is a very vital issue that we are discussing. As a representative of my party and as one of those participants in the movement of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, I think it is my right and I think I should do justice to it. It is not merely of theoretical interest. It is not a question of theoretical interest or having some jugglery in debates or using or framing some words. I feel that the danger is lurking around that an authoritarian rule will be established.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I do not deny that you are more emotionally involved. But, should you come in the way of others expressing their views? Therefore, I would request you to conclude in five minutes. (*Interruptions*). You should prove that they are wrong by concluding within five minutes.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Don't put a limit in that way. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has done a great service to the nation. There is reason for us to be apprehensive. Sir, what is the reason for supersession of so many Army officers? Does it not create certain doubts in our mind? Sir, in reply to one of my questions and in reply to certain questions by my friends like Mr. Bosu and others, we have a list of a few hundreds of brilliant officers, Brigadiers, Lt. Generals, and Colonels who have been superseded by an euphemistic term of retirement. They have been retired. This retirement is just an euphemistic term. I do not know whether it is a fact. It may be even a sinister motive to have a pack of officers of their choice. Therefore, Sir, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has done the right thing. When this supersession of the officers is done suddenly, then, we have reasons to become apprehensive. When we find that these forces, the CRP, the BSF, the ISF, the NBF and other para militia forces—their total number is more than the Defence Forces and this is about 8-9 lakhs—instead of being used for the specific purpose for which they have been set up are being used, on the contrary, to suppress the legitimate democratic movements of the people, we have reasons to become apprehensive. Sir, several times, before this House, before this august House, promises have been made that MISA will not be launched against any kind of democratic movement. But, we find, Sir, that these promises are being fulfilled more in breach. Then, we have reason to become apprehensive. Then, Sir, on flimsy grounds, this

emergency is being continued. It was declared in a certain context. But, the context has radically changed. But, still, the emergency is being continued. What is the purpose? That is why, we become apprehensive. What is this RAW? We were talking about the Intelligence or the CIA and somebody talked about the KGB. What about this RAW? This is not merely an intelligence agency. This is a counter intelligence agency. This is doing espionage work political and otherwise. Even today, I asked a very innocuous question. I asked: what is RAW, its function, programme, objective? Which Ministry controls it? What is its budget? Look at the reply: the Research and Analysis Wing is not attached to the Prime Minister's Secretariat but is part of the Cabinet Secretariat. For C, D, E, F and G the reply is: It is not in public interest to give the information. They are the custodian of the interest of the public; this Government is the sole custodian; it is the reservoir of all the interest of the nation. We have come here—for cutting grass? We are in no way interested in the nation, in the people, in the peasantry and in the labour? All the interest vests in the ruling party. What abnormal and Fantastic amount is being spent by RAW. In Delhi alone there are eight or ten offices with innocuous signboards. When a number of incidents were attributed to Naxalities in Calcutta, what was happening? A number of police officers were killed and many other persons were killed. We have seen the counter-espionage, counter intelligence.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): I wanted to tell you this. What was done in Calcutta by RAW was done by an officer named Satya Brate Bose.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I will be glad to be told that I am in the wrong. Let the Government come out and tell us the truth. We are sanctioning money; people are giving

money. You spend it on counter-intelligence. But have we no right to know what it is? Counter-intelligence is being done in this country as is being done in other countries also to scuttle the whole basis of democracy. That suspicion groves in our mind. These are the mechanics and tentacles that are developed to cripple the whole democratic institution.

There are other philosophical reasons; I am not going into details. What skyhigh aspirations you raised in the minds of the people? What a fall into the hell because they are not being fulfilled, not an iota of their aspirations had been fulfilled. This hiatus has created a complete loss of faith in the minds of the people in the ruling party as well as even the opposition parties. Even in the Opposition they have not much faith since cynicism and frustration are developing in the country. This is one aspect of the thing where totalitarianism and authoritarianism grow. This is the general psychosis. Such a kind of psychosis is created in the country. Cynicism and frustration lead to the growth of this psychosis which leads to totalitarianism.

Politically they had not fulfilled their commitments. But dangerously they have vitiated all means of democratic norms, all means of democratic practice, all means of democratic values. If there is any philosophy in the mind of the ruling party, it is the philosophy of politics of convenience. This politics of convenience can vitiate any means, any type of means. Today the Government can vitiate any means. They need to have committed judiciary, they need to have RAW, they need to continue the Proclamation of Emergency. All is justified by the politics of convenience. In this psychosis see the developments. This has happened for the first time in 27 years. They have absolute power, developed an absolute mentality, developed the thirst for power and just for power. Not only so. You roll into it; you

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walk into the powers. This sense of absolute powerism—this psychosis of powerism—has seized the ruling party. For the first time in 27 years, an old man, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan is challenging the ruling party with the people's power. For the first time in 27 years, the ruling party is facing a real challenge of getting out of power. When I came out of the jail in the middle of 1946, there was a sudden change in the whole climate of the country. There was a radical change in the atmosphere. A similar thing has happened today. A radical change in the political climate of the country has come about.

Out of their psychosis of powersim and philosophy of political convenience, they can take any measures. They will develop a rationale of their own, a justification of their own, which may be called self-generated or tautomeric political justification, when they will say, "What can I do? I am wedded to the institution of parliamentary democracy. But for the sake of saving our people from the crisis, which is our over-riding duty and responsibility, we have to take this step". This is what is lurking in the mind of the ruling deity, in this situation of assumed role of saviour of democracy.

The alternative is given by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan—to build up the people's power, not a United Front of opposition parties, but people's power at a higher qualitative level. I appeal to my friends inside the ruling Congress: This is a historical opportunity. If they do not avail of it, they will be also scuttled. Let them organise themselves and resist this temptation, this growth of totalitarianism and tautomeric or self-generated justification for fascism. That is their responsibility.

It is the responsibility of the opposition parties not to try to take

advantage of the J.P. movement for their own political ends. Jayaprakashji is the saviour of democracy. He will never come to power. He has never aspired for power. If he wanted, he could have become Prime Minister long ago. But he does not want power. It is the duty of the opposition parties to help Jayaprakashji in building up not the United Front, but the people's front—janta raj, janta morcha, janta sangharash janta candidate

जनता उन्ही द्वारा जनता का राज कायम
करने के लिए ;

Let the opposition parties forget their petty differences, unite under the leadership of Jayaprakashji to save Indian democracy on the basis of a socio-economic programme. Let us save our faith in democracy, in the Constitution and in the future of the Indian people.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Who will save the poor Chairman?

SHRI SYED AHMED AGA (Bara-mulla): I would like to start by quoting a verse:

फनकार है वह जिनको फन जुर्म आ गया
मजरिम है हम जिनको शऊरे खता नहीं।।

[فن کار ہیں وہ جن کو فن جرم آگیا
مجرم ہیں ہم جن کو شعور ختم نہیں۔]

Let us try to understand who creates this fascist tendency. We are not doing it. We don't need to. We are in the saddle. Even when we were at war with Pakistan during the liberation days of Bangladesh, our parliamentary democracy was functioning. The State Assemblies were functioning. We proved to the world that we know the value of democracy. Throughout the war period, the opposition leaders were consulted. The opposition parties are trying to dissuade the people, but they cannot do it. Now they are boosting up one person to the skies into air.

They do not know that every body must have his feet on the ground. They failed miserably during the 1971 elections. Again in 1972 they failed. When they were disappointed at the ballot, they have taken recourse to other methods. They could not win the people with the grand or grander alliances. Today they are boosting up one person day in and day out. whatever the subject under discussion. When they talk of unanimous election, what do they mean? It means only no election and no vote but coercion. They will say, "you have to tolerate this one person when we have boosted up". They want to come not by votes but through the mob. It may be 50,000 or 20,000 or 5,000. The mob tries to boost up something without knowing what it is boosting up. This is a fascist tendency. They ask the army to have mutiny. They ask the police to disobey orders. They ask the civil servants not to obey orders. If this is not fascism, what else is? they create the cult of hatred. They killed one of our dear colleagues, Shri Lalit Narayan Mishra. (*Interruptions*). They at once came out with a revelation that he is not the real target but somebody else is the real target. The slogan they therefore gave was that the cult of violence will continue. There was a revelation again, an astrological forecast, in *Motherland* that in some mysterious circumstances, the Prime Minister will be killed. I thought it was all nonsense and I brushed it aside. But what happened at Allahabad? I remembered then what I had read in *Motherland*. Was it a prophesy or divine revelation or something of a plot of fascist character? I do not want to give the verdict. Let the country give the verdict. What happened the other day to the Chief Justice? These are fascist and terrorist methods.

They say that there will be a march to Parliament, to say that there will be a total revolution, I ask, what is total revolution? I can understand a proletariat revolution. I can understand the people and the masses ask-

ing for their rights to have equality and all that. But I cannot understand a revolution which is supported by some capitalists. From 8th April, they are now wanting a mass *satyagraha*—again mobocracy. They do not want to go to the voters; they do not want to prepare for the next elections?

This is one side of the coin. I will now try to analyse the other side of the coin. That side of the coin is that we are maintaining the traditions which Pandit Nehru had built when he was the first Prime Minister of India, and what ideals Gandhiji had left. We have the policy of non-alignment, a policy that means that we should express ourselves as freely as we can on each case on merits. We are maintaining that policy. We have become inconvenient for the imperialist forces, imperialist powers, outside. They feel that Indiraji has become inconvenient to them. Therefore, the CIA activities are going on in this country.

Some days ago, I read in the newspapers that in Calcutta the U.S. Consulate's assessment was, "attract Congressmen to J.P.'s movement if J.P. is to succeed." They had the audacity to say to our very senior Congressmen to join the J.P. movement. They got a proper rebuff from Mr. Jagjivan Ram and Mr. Y. B. Chavan. These CIA activities inside our country are trying to create subversive activities.

Sometime ago, I read about a cheque of 14,000 Dollars received from West Germany. For whom it came, I do not know. I thought the Ministry of Home Affairs must have already inquired into it and found out who sent the cheque, for whom it was sent and why. I want to know whether they have made any inquiry into that. They should tell us today. These are the things that are going on in the country.

*SHRI THA KIRUTTINAN (Sivaganga): Mr. Chairman, Sir, in support of the Resolution of my hon. friend, Shri Shyamnandan Mishra, I would like to express my views.

With a view to focussing the attention of the country through this House that the Central Government is creating conditions for the growth of fascism in the country and that concrete steps must be taken to counteract this dangerous trend, this Resolution has been moved. I should say that this Resolution has come up for discussion at the most opportune moment in the history of our country. Eminent leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan are engaged in the solemn and sacred duty of educating the public about the growing threat to democracy in this country as a result of the authoritarian rule at the Centre by the Congress Party. It is but proper that the elected representatives of the people should draw the attention of this House,—in fact, I should say that if they do not that, they will be failing in their duty—more particularly the leaders of Opposition Parties in this House, to the slow but steady growth of autocracy and authoritarianism in the country.

We from the Opposition benches have time and again pointed out on the floor of this House that the Central Government is creating conditions in which democracy will be uprooted. When some Press-man asked of our late lamented great leader, Arignar Anna, as to what was the difference between him and Jawaharlal Nehru. Arignar Anna replied that Jawaharlal Nehru was a finished structure and that he was just a brick on the road-side. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam under the leadership of Arignar Anna had held Jawaharlal Nehru in such great esteem and honour. After honouring him with this garland of encomium, Arignar Anna went on to say that Jawaharlal Nehru was the last democrat in

the Congress Party and the People of the country should hasten to get their grievances redressed during this benevolent rule. Sir, this prophetic statement of Arignar Anna has come true today.

During his life time, Jawaharlal Nehru nourished and nurtured democracy in our country. So long as he lived, democracy was fostered by his feather-touch. After him, the first victim of this wayward Central Government has been democracy. I would go to the extent of saying that the machinations of the Central Government have mauled democracy in our country. The seeds of fascism have been shown by the ruling Congress Party at the Centre. I can give any number of illustrations to substantiate my contention.

In the 1967 General Elections, the undivided Congress Party was routed. The Opposition Parties came to power in Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Orissa, Bihar, West Bengal, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and in many other States. The undivided Congress Party came to power at the Centre with wafer-thin majority. During the years 1968 and 1969 all the Opposition Party Governments in the States were brought down unceremoniously.

The ruling Congress Party at the Centre with all the resources at its command manoeuvred to malign and discredit the Opposition Party Governments in the States. More than the intolerance at the Opposition Parties continuing in power, the ruling party at the Centre during this period revealed its avarice for power and pomp. I am sorry to say that this has been the trait of the ruling Congress Party since Independence.

When the undivided Communist Party of India was ruling the State of Kerala, its fall was stage-managed by the Congress Party. But, now in Kerala, without least compunction,

*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

the Congress Party is sharing power with the C.P.I. This unholy alliance is being acclaimed euphemistically as the crying need for political stability. In Orissa the Opposition Party Government was replaced by a tottering Congress Party Government which was propped up by the Congress Government at the Centre. In West Bengal, prominent political leaders like Mukherjee were ruling the State. There also the Congress Party at the Centre succeeded in severing the faith of the people in the Opposition Party Government. Succinctly, vested with all the powers, the Congress Party at the Centre does not leave any stone unturned in the interest of perpetuating its power. Are we wrong in saying that the Congress Party at the Centre has not only laid the foundation stone for fascism in the country but has also started the super-structure?

Let us see how the Congress Party went to the hustings in 1971. Shrimati Indira Gandhi, at the helm of affairs, understood the complete alienation of the people from the Congress Party. She realised that if the Congress Party was not to be annihilated from the political scene of the country, she would have to don the mantle of a progressive. She coined the slogan of GARIBI HATAO. She utilised the Congress Party platforms for assuring the people of the country that her Government would implement progressive policies and usher in an era of egalitarian society in the country. We witnessed the emergence of two distinct political elements in the country—Progressive forces and Reactionary forces. All the progressive political parties like the D.M.K. gave their unstinted support to the refurbished Congress Party. In Tamil Nadu, the Congress Party sought the alliance of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. The Congress Party got the much sought after massive mandate from the people of the country. No Opposition Party

could become a stumbling block in the way of the ruling Congress Party in fulfilling the assurances given to the people in 1971 Elections.

But, during the past four years, the Congress Government at the Centre has let down the people of the country. It has not been able to deliver the goods. It is not a surprise that the assurances given by the Congress Government could not be fulfilled in the arid zone of Government's ineptitude and inefficiency. The Congress Party at the Centre is now engaged in finding scapegoats for its failure. It is a sad commentary that the ruling Congress Party should call the Opposition Parties demanding the early establishment of a socialist society in the country as reactionary parties. Here I will illustrate the failure of the Central Government in some spheres.

Sir, you know that the 14 major commercial banks were nationalised with the laudable objective of utilising the public money for the upliftment of the society.

The D.M.K. gave its wholehearted support to this move of the Government at the Centre. It was an acknowledged fact that these commercial banks in the private sector were the principal instruments in the aggrandisement of monopoly industrialists in the country. The public money was being utilised for the benefit of the privileged few, at the cost of millions of common people. After nationalisation what has happened? The Central Government has become a monopolist. The people who support the ruling Congress Party, who contribute liberally to the Election Funds of the Congress Party, who help the Congress Party in coming back to power, are the recipients of bounties from these nationalised banks. The Central Government is utilising the vast sums of public money in these Banks for distributing its patronage. The Opposition Parties were demanding the nationalisation

[Shri Tha Kiruttinan]

of major commercial private banks on the ground that it was anti-social to utilise the public money for the growth of vested interests in the country. Now, the Central Government is doing the same anti-social activity. I would like to know whether this will not be creating conducive atmosphere for the growth of fascism in the country.

The leaders of the ruling Congress Party day in and day out talk about the need for fostering the integrity of the country. It is claimed that the Congress Party alone can nurture the unity of the country. Our leader and the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Dr. Kalaingar Karunanidhi has been saying that in the interest of the country the States must be given adequate powers. We want that a new Constitution must be formulated for the purpose of making the States strong so that the Centre can also be strong. Weak States will not strengthen the hands of the Centre. But we are called the advocates of secession. We have given up many years ago the demand for secession. Our Chief Minister, Dr. Karunanidhi, has declared any number of times that India is one country and it must be strong. Let us see what the Congress Party at the Centre is doing to strengthen the bonds of unity in the Indian sub-continent. India is a land of diverse cultures, languages and races. The concept of unity in Diversity has been given to the world by India. But, the ruling Congress Party is imposing Hindi on all the people of the country, as if Hindi is the only language spoken in the country.

The Congress Government at the Centre wants to have only one race in the country—no Aryan race or no Dravidian race. The Central Government is keen to merge diverse cultures of India into one single culture. Similarly, the Congress Government at the Centre is conniving in splitting

the Opposition Parties. In Tamil Nadu, the run-away Anna D. M. K.—it can be called the grafted Congress Party—is being supported by the Congress Party. I am afraid that in the name of unity and one country, the Congress Party is pursuing policies to establish one-party rule in the country. It looks as though that the entire country is going to be for ever in the clutches of the Congress Party. Is this not a sure indication of the growth of fascism in the country.

Before I conclude, I would like to compare Jawaharlal Nehru regime and Smt. Indira Gandhi regime. During 17 years of Nehru's rule, the President's rule was imposed in the States for eight times. But during 8 years of Smt. Indira Gandhi's rule, the President's rule has been imposed in the States for 17 times. While 17 Presidential Ordinances were proclaimed during Nehru's regime, 56 Presidential Proclamations have been issued during Smt. Indira Gandhi's rule. In order to ensure democratic traditions to take deep roots in the country, Jawaharlal Nehru used to bring the Chief Ministers of the States in the Central Government as Cabinet Ministers. But, now, the favourites of Smt. Indira Gandhi, who are Ministers of State in the Central Council of Ministers are sent as Chief Ministers of the States. Shri Bahuguna, Shri Sethi, Shrimati Nandini Satpathi were all Ministers of States in the Central Council of Ministers. Now they are Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa respectively. I charge that the Congress Party at the Centre is creating favourable climate for the growth of authoritarianism in the country. The Enforcement Wing and Revenue Intelligence which should have been under the charge of the Finance Ministry are in the Department of Personnel under the Prime Minister The C. B. I which should rightly find a place under the Home Ministry is under the charge of the Department of Personnel. How do you expect the Finance Ministry and the

Home Ministry to function efficiently and effectively without these respective Departments? Does this not show that all the powers are getting concentrated in one hand, which should inevitably lead to autocracy?

Lastly, Yesterday this House passed the Army and Air Force Amendment Bill. The High Court of Jammu and Kashmir gave a judgment that the Service personnel committing civilian crimes can be tried under the penal laws of the State. Disagreeing with this view, the Central Government filed an appeal in the Supreme Court. Even while the appeal is pending before the Supreme Court, the Government has foreclosed the judgment of the Supreme Court by amending the relevant Acts through this Bill. Is this the way to foster democracy in the country, by dishonouring one of the three pillars of democracy, i.e., the judiciary? This is not a solitary example. The Delhi High Court declared null and void the election of a Congress Member to this House. An appeal was filed in the Supreme Court. Before the appeal was finalised, the Central Government brought an amendment to the Election law and got it passed by this House. Even a Presidential Ordinance was promulgated for this purpose, when the Parliament was not in session.

This Resolution seeks to highlight the fact that an environment is being created by the Central Government in possession of all the powers, in which fascism will not only grow but take deep roots in the country. I wholeheartedly support this Resolution and I wish that this House also gives its approval to this Resolution.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): Sir, how does Fascism come? Let us consider so as to understand the basic thing. Social contradictions are aggravated; political and economic crisis deepens. The ruling classes are isolated from the people as it is happening to-day. They

look for the support from the reactionary people. They become completely dependent on the repressive forces. We have seen, for example, in Italy and Germany, it took the garb of national socialism. That is National chauvanism. We have seen Mussolini. What was his slogan? He talked about socialism—the so called Socialists talked about one country, one party and one leader. The same slogan is being repeated here. Here the aspiring dictator sings the same song by taking fuller control over the State machinery or money power. We say semi-fascist police state for this. Why I say this is because they are maintaining a facade of democracy. The teeth of Fascism can well be seen in West Bengal. From the year 1970 onwards, they are not even allowing little bit of criticism in the papers. Their weekly papers have only a small circulation of 20,000 or 30,000 copies. They have ransacked the news paper offices of *Dharpan, Bangladesh* and so on and so forth. They want to gag the press because they do not want the people to know the real thing. We have seen how they are interfering continuously with the editorial freedom of the papers in the case of Mr Sarkar of Searchlight, the case of Mr. Verghese of Hindustan Times and the case of Shri Vivekanand Mukerjee of Basumati of Calcutta. In 1972, what did they do? I shall quote from the papers which are not run by political parties but they are very close and subservient to the establishment. Here is a quotation from the *Times of India*:

"It makes for an ungainly sight to watch teeny-weezy parties and men rejected by the voters, struck back on the centre of the stage just because the Congress is desperately anxious to restore itself to power in West Bengal."

Here is another quotation from the *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta.

"Never before the country has seen such mobilisation of troops and

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

paramilitary forces to maintain law and order during election. The rural areas of the State will also see lots of them. It is during elections that the policies of a democratic country like ours find expression in the most impressive form. Troops employed in West Bengal will surely learn a lesson from this election..."

Further it says:

"They refuse an enquiry on police firings which even the foreign rulers thought was a justifiable one. When I asked the Prime Minister to tell me categorically whether it was done with the consent of the Prime Minister and the Home Minister she did not hesitate to write to me something which is an unmixed untruth. I am sorry to say. She had stated something which had no relation to the truth."

"The Commissioners in Calcutta have been repeatedly bettering and saying "P.D. Act or no P.D. Act, we shall shoot at sight"."

It is on record. Now, I am quoting from a newspaper publication:

"In the course of two days, in Baranagar area, with the help of the Actions Squad—Annihilation Squads of the Research and Analysis Wing. The Central Intelligence, the Subsidiary Intelligence and part of the State Intelligence, in one or two days in Baranagar, they murdered no less than 100 to 120 youths and their dead bodies are thrown in the river Hooghly. In Dum Dum, in one day, sixty people—youths—were murdered. In Barasat, dead bodies were thrown on the road side. There were about ten murders in jails even when the man is completely without any relief. He is defenceless. They have taken recourse to this."

What did they do? In 1972 to win the elections in West Bengal, they pipe gunned and some storm troopers were mobilised. At that time, the ruling-class, aided by anti-social elements and protected by the police party, came to power. Even a paper in London like the 'Economist London' said 'Indira imports thugs in West Bengal'. The Economic Times of Bombay said 'Gunners capture polling booths'. You would not have got more than 60 to 70 seats. Now the Congress Party—I have come to know from very reliable sources—are now rehearsing and they are repeating the same thing in many more States should they become confronted with a sizeable Opposition—Opposition Confrontation'. Because if they stick to the normal process of Parliamentary democracy, they would be outright rejected. So, they have to depend on the State machinery for using repressive measures.

Sir, there is secret killing of political opponents both from CPI(M) and Naxalites. In West Bengal alone they have killed 3,000 persons. The master-hand behind this is RAW. They have crack-shot clothesmen and hardened criminals. Sir, in two years in West Bengal 88 murders were committed in jails. There is torture in jails and there are inhuman conditions. The minimum conditions which are guaranteed in the Human Rights Charter are not provided for.

Sir, what is left of democracy in this country. The courts have become redundant. Since June alone there would have been three to four hundred additions. Uptil June, 1974 16,825 persons had been detained under MISA and most of them are political opponents. West Bengal which has population of 9 per cent of the entire country contributed to the extent of 72 per cent of the MISA detenus because West Bengal is the only State where Mrs. Gandhi was badly defeated in 1971 elections. They learnt the lesson in 1971 elections and in 1972 they took resort to gunmen, Central

Intelligence, crackshot plain-clothesmen and police men who went and shot down. J. P. has said very clearly and rightly that MISA is the most abused law. An assurance was given by the piloting Minister. Shri K. C. Pant. He said:

"I can assure him and my friend Shri Shashi Bhushan that this Bill is not being put forward to suppress any legitimate movement of workers or farmers or students. I am very serious. I am saying it in all seriousness."

Sir, we have seen in Tripura even when the Assembly was in Session how MLAs were arrested for leading a legitimate agitation. Is it democracy?

Then we have hundreds and hundreds of Ordinances in the country. Ordinances are promulgated, re-promulgated and re-re-promulgated. Whenever they are put to inconvenience they want to by-pass the courts and take recourse to this. You know, Sir, how quickly an Ordinance was brought for suspending fundamental rights. Even though the present Constitution is limited yet the Supreme Court stricture was by-passed. What did the Supreme Court say? "The West Bengal Government has contravened the provisions of Section 14 by re-arresting those who were released by the Supreme Court." The Supreme Court gives a judgement on MISA detention and West Bengal Government flouts it. What has a Judge in the Andhra Pradesh High Court said very recently? What has he said with regard to a young man who was dismissed by the Post Master General because he went and participated in some meeting? If democracy is there, if a party is a legal one, if a party is not banned, you cannot restrain a man from going and attending a meeting of a party, as long as the party remains a legal one. In spite of that, your executive, under your orders, flouts the fundamentals of the Constitution. This is what they are doing. Sir, to protect the Chair of the Prime Minister . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Sir, there is shortage of electricity. This Bell should be sparingly used. I hope you will not enter Parliament. You will be a High Court Judge in no time.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Finish your speech as early as possible.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I won't make any speech when you become a High Court Judge because I will never be a lawyer.

Sir, to protect the Chair of the Prime Minister, the Supreme Court judgement was reversed by the Ordinance. Because of one person, because of the Rae Bareilly election petition, the whole thing was reversed. Sir, fascism cannot be established without making it a police state. Similarly, a police state must be with storm troopers and gestapos. Democratic rights must be suppressed and 'one party and one leader slogan' must be kept alive. I would like my friends in the CPI not to forget what happened to Social Democrats in Germany. We have seen the attitude of the Government to the railway employees during the strike. In a democracy, there will be collective bargaining. What were they wanting? They were wanting a need-based wage and a wage on par with the public sector enterprises of the Government. What did they get? Dismissal, break in service, beating up including raping. That is what they did.

Sir, today. I was horrified to hear that in Haryana, a senior politician, Mr. Rathi, a person who was blind and aged 60, because he criticised Bansi Lal in a public meeting, he was caught, his face was tarred with cow dung, a garland of shoes was put around his neck, a stick was pushed into his rectum and he was taken round the market-place with somebody spitting on his face. Sir, under the very nose of the Central Government such sorts of things are happening in

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

Haryana. This is not for the first time. We know what the police did in Rewesa. An elderly man was made naked, he was forced to go and lie with his own sister who was in a police lock-up. This is what they are doing here.

Sir, my letters are opened in the Gole Market post office. If you make a surprise visit, you will see a boiling kettle and steam moistening the envelopes. Letters are opened and letters have been read. Inconvenient letters are being destroyed. Telephones are being tapped, round the clock. Taxi-walas' numbers, who come to our places, are taken and they are interrogated 'where did you pick up' and so on. It has become a police state.

Sir, there is this Research and Analysis Wing. The major source of their money is the Discretionary Fund. I will quote from one Ministry, the Ministry of External Affairs. In 1969-70, the Discretionary Fund was Rs. 3.72 crores. In 1970-71, it was Rs. 6.6 crores, 1971-72, Rs. 11.50 crores and in 1974-75 it was Rs. 13.47 crores. This year, because they are wanting economy. Mr. Piloo Mody, from Rs. 13 crores it has gone up to Rs. 23.69 crores. Why should the Ministry have Discretionary Fund to the extent of Rs. 23.69 crores? Then, the Intelligence Branch. In 1969-70, it was Rs. 4.49 crores. For 1974-75 it is Rs. 887 lakhs and for 1975-76 it is Rs. 1037 lakhs. In addition to the Research and Analysis wing which consumes more than Rs. 35 crores, they had imported bugging gadgets to the tune of Rs. 13 crores. Two police officers went to Bombay to bring the crates which contained them. I was surprised to hear a young Congressman from that side tell me that the police officer told him: yes, Mr. Bosu's contention is right but those crates contained ammunition, not bugging gadgets. That man did not have the grey matter in his head to understand that if those crates contained ammunition the weight would have been

four times the weight that I was told. Bugging gadgets have come from UK, West Germany and America and Japan. For the first time in the history of Indian administration Mr. Ramnath Kao a police officer had been given the status of a Secretary. For the first time in Indian history, the Director General of Border Security Force, Rustomji had been given the rank of a Secretary. There are hundreds of cover jobs. Indian police officers are being put in different organisations under the garb of different designations and they are called cover jobs. The Prime Minister's security alone costs Rs. 3,600 in Delhi while outside in Madras the Chief Minister has to give accounts. In the Research and Analysis wing joint committee on intelligence there are at least nine officers. Another man Mr. Sankaran Nair is No. 2 to Mr. Kao. This is the Indian CIA. This Parliament must have the right to discuss matters of RAW because in other countries such as America there is a Senate Sub Committee with full rights to go into the matters of the CIA and similar organisations.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please co-operate and conclude now; I have given you the maximum time.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: We had a bigger border when Bangladesh was East Pakistan and at that time we had 42 battalions of the border security force. Now it is 77 battalions. Why? Because they apprehended revolt in the infantry battalions. To counteract, the border security forces were recruited and they were given a higher basic wage to fight them. I want to ask a question. Mr. Mohsin is here but I do not think that he had even seen the file. How many of our intelligence officers had been trained under CIA in the United States and how many of them had been trained in Bangkok under other American organisations? How many of them were sent out to be trained in electronic gadgets and bugging gadgets in foreign countries? Even the interrogation rooms in Delhi and at Fort William

in Calcutta had been designed by American designers. They talk about right reaction; they talk about RSS. They criticise them openly. But they are also persons who finance them; they grant them padma bhushan. For their own sake they have to keep alive the right reaction, RSS and other things. It is running with the hare and hunting with the hound. That is the character of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. I have got evidence to show that the Siva Sena in Bombay had received money, protection and police help in the hands of V. P. Naik under the Congress High Command's directive. I have got evidence in my possession. I do not say anything more. I have seen and faced it. You will also see it one day, unless you wake up now. Otherwise, perhaps, it would be too late for you and me both, because the coterie led by Indira Gandhi wants to remain in power, like General Franco, for all her life.

17 hrs.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT (East Delhi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have every respect for Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu. So, even giving him the benefit of doubt, I will say that, to say the least, he is a Professor in Chaos. I had the privilege of hearing the other two professors, Professor Samar Guha and Professor Mishra. I heard both professors talk on fascism and I cannot help saying that they are confused professors. I do not believe they are fascists or they believe in fascism. While they really think they are trying to save the country from the clutches of fascism, they are in fact preparing the ground for fascism. The resolution of Professor Mishra itself shows that he is being used to project the cult of fascism in this House.

I would say with all respect that we must consider the situation dispassionately, because this is a situation which requires serious and objective pondering over. One argument which has been given by Professor S. N. Mishra, and in fact he quoted it with some

kind of excitement, is that in this country the Prime Minister is called the leader of the nation or the Supreme leader of the country. The same argument was given by my friend, Professor Guha. He said that the cult of personality is being projected and that the Prime Minister has become the only leader of her party and that she is trying.... (*Interruptions*). That is the argument given by them.

Let us consider this question dispassionately. Shrimati Gandhi will not become, and has not become, the leader of her party or the leader of the nation, because I call or refuse to call, or you call or you refuse to call her the leader of the nation, but because the nation gave her the mandate. Since the nation has given her the mandate, so she has become the leader of the nation. Nobody can become a leader of a nation without a mandate.

A leader in a democracy is an absolute necessity, and in a bigger democracy like India a leader amongst the leaders is also a necessity.

17.03 hrs.

[SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SINHA in the Chair]

What is your tragedy? You are searching for a leader. In that search for a leader you are trying to find a partyless leader for a combination of parties. You want to have a partyless leader to lead a heterogenous group. The opposition parties do not have one leader. Left to themselves, the opposition parties do not have one leader; they have so many leaders. The tragedy is we have people like Shri Piloo Mody, who are leaders without parties, and we have parties without leaders. That is the tragedy of opposition in this country. And Professor Mishra made a speech like an orthodox professor who goes to the class and says "Let me now explain the binomial theorem".

[Shri H. K. L. Bhagat]

I appeal to him to consider this question dispassionately, because I still believe in his good sense. A country like India, a big democracy like India, cannot be governed by a mere Prime Minister. In the interest of democracy and in the interest of the country, it is necessary that the Prime Minister should also be the leader of the nation. And she became the leader of the nation after leading the nation, with your support on some crucial questions, after passing through various trials and tribulations. That is how she became the leader of the nation. That is what irks you. The people calling her the supreme leader irks you. But she became the leader of the nation with the mandate of the people. You are projecting a leader without a mandate. You are projecting a leader who has not yet got any mandate. He is like a commander without an army (*Interruptions*)

Who is spreading the cult of fascism? Is it those who have the mandate of the people, or those who have no mandate of the people and yet are claiming to be the leaders of the nation, who have no majority and yet claim to speak on behalf of the nation, who have no parties behind them and yet speak on behalf of the parties?

I will give another example to show who is encouraging the fascist outlook, the fascist tendencies. Who is supporting the campaign or preaching the idea of ridiculing parliamentary and democratic institutions? Who has done it or who is doing it? Who is trying to bring Parliament and the Legislatures into contempt and ridicule? Did we do any such thing? You are the people who are doing it. I want Shri Mishra to understand, I want it to be put on record, if democratic institutions disappear from this country, do not think you will be safe; probably, you will not be able to save yourself. I know you believe in democracy and that is why I am telling you this.

Who started this campaign of ridiculing democratic institutions in this country? Did we ask for dissolution of the legislatures? Who started gheraoing MLAs and parading them on donkeys? Who used coercive tactics? Who started intimidation? Who is talking of the no-tax campaign? Who is responsible for the bomb explosions in this country? I want you to dispassionately explain the position. Who is indulging in undemocratic behaviour? Who stands in this House and says "no, we will not allow you to proceed"? Who talks that language in this House? Fascism always starts with the tyranny of the minority. They will always be small in number but they become more aggressive and totalitarian in approach and they talk the language "I am the nation".

Shri Samar Guha was telling us: do not indulge in hero worship. He has discovered a God. The other day he said that he has discovered a God; perhaps without worshipping it. Now the simple question is this... (*Interruptions*). Your intolerance again shows that you are well-meaning but misguided. The simple question is: who has done it? He has said that both the police and the military disobey orders. I want to tell Shri Guha that both the police and military have this country defended with their blood, the freedom and democratic structure of this country. They have done it and they will not be misguided by misguided and confused people like you and your leaders. They have done their duty to the country when foreign attacks came, when we were fighting for certain principles, certain policies and for the democratic structure, for our secular outlook. The police and the military are not going to fall in your trap. I can assure you that they are too patriotic to be misguided or misled by you.

Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu spoke of RAW and what not. As I have said, he always tries to show as if he is an expert who knows something, but what he brings virtually means nothing.

Here we have so many *pailokars* sitting here. They are always talking of the elections. If they win an election, then it is a fair election; but if they lose an election, then it is unfair. This is their approach and outlook. People will see how opportunistic they are in their outlook. Some time ago they thought that they would not be able to win any single election, because the elections are not free and fair. Some of them were thinking of even boycotting the elections. Some of them said that until there are electoral reforms, they will not stand for elections. When they won a few bye-elections, they changed their stand. I am happy that they are coming to elections. It should be for the nation to decide. When the elections come in 1976, when they are due, they will choose you or your opponents. The Congress has always bowed to the verdict of the people. The Congress will go by the verdict of the people.

They are talking of storm-troopers. Mr. Samar Guha was talking about racial superiority. He is in the company of Jana Sangh Party which has been talking of racial superiority. Who in this House talks of racial superiority, superiority of one class of people against the other? It is not the Congress party. It is the company which Mr. Samar Guha is keeping that is talking about it. It is the Jana Sangh that is talking about it. They have para-troopers in this country. They are the people who indulge in this kind of activities. You are in that company. It is a pity that J.P. led a demonstration to Parliament, he was then demanding a ban on the RSS when Gandhiji was killed. It is the same man who says, if they are fascists, "I am also a fascist".

I say, you search your heart. In your political desires, in your search for annihilating the Congress, denigrating the Prime Minister, denigrating the institution of democracy, to what limits are you going? That

is the question. He was talking of democracy. He mentioned Ayub Khan and Bhutto. I want to ask Mr. Guha: Who was the leader in India who supported the idea of basic democracy of Ayub Khan which was the negation of democracy? It was not the Congress party; it was not the Congress leader. It was your leader, your God, your J.P. who supported the idea. You say, you are fighting for democracy but, in the name of fighting for democracy, you are helping the undemocratic forces, you are helping the right reactionary forces and you are helping to create conditions in the country which are now leading to fascism.

You go on saying so many things. You say, there is no freedom of the press. You say that the press in this country is not free. Could there be a greater myth to say that? In fact, the press in this country is free to the extent of having a licence. Yesterday, I quoted a paper which had incited the murder of the Prime Minister in its article. And this blessed Government has not taken any action. Still you say that there is no freedom of the press. I have my grievance against the Government. I say that fascist trends are being developed; the people are making speeches; they are giving utterances; they are writing in periodicals and in newspapers. I have my grievance, a very strong grievance, against the Government. Why are they not coming forward with a White Paper giving all the details of such speeches, utterances and writings in periodicals and newspapers? I assure you, if they were to come out with it, some of you will be exposed beyond any shadow of doubt and it will come out that it is some of the parties sitting on the other side that are promoting anti-democratic means and so on.

It is a tragedy for an Opposition in this country. During the last 27 years, the question of question is: How is it that no alternative to the Congress has developed? That is

[Shri H. K. L. Bhagat]

the question which you should seriously ponder over. And the only answer is that, instead of bothering about their own working, about their own attitude, about their own policies, they have taken a negative attitudes towards the Congress. Somehow or other, they have a knack of missing the bus. Whenever there is a crisis in the country, if the Opposition were to stand together, cooperate and adopt a constructive attitude, may be the nation would have appreciated them. The difficulty is that, when fire starts burning, they put oil in the fire; when difficulties come, they start creating greater difficulties; when some abnormal conditions start, they try to make them more abnormal; they try to create confusion and chaos. The worst thing is this. They say that the Congress is ruling by brute majority. You can check up the records of this Parliament. You may see all the crucial decisions, including the Amendments to the Constitution. I would say that 90 per cent of the members of this House, including the Opposition, have supported those amendments. It is the greatest myth and falsehood to say that the Congress is ruling by brute majority. In the case of all crucial decisions which have been taken, most of the Opposition members have also supported these.

You call the Prime Minister a totalitarian leader or this leader or that leader. My friend from DMK was pouring praises on Panditji. We agree with him that Panditji was a great democrat. You were shining in the glory of Panditji's belief in democracy. I want to tell the Opposition that, if with all their undemocratic attitude, with all their intolerance, with all their mud-slinging, with all their character assassination, with all their fabrications and false allegations, they are still making their mark somewhat, though out of proportion to them weight as an Opposition, though irresponsible, they are shining in the glory of the Congress

which believes in democracy and its Leader who believes in democratic functioning. That is what I want to tell them.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All the members can speak very well on this subject. I would request them to be very short.

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara): Please give me ten minutes, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: When I say 'short', I mean only five minutes.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: I take the cue from what Prof. Swell has said that the best speeches are short speeches. Let me have my own way of speaking, and I will obey the Chair whenever it wants to cut me short.

Now, I quote from the speech of Shri Shyamnandan Babu, an experienced Parliamentarian, unlike many of us. He has said:

"One of the devices..."

for the growth of fascism

"...was of national socialism in Germany; pseudo corporatism in Italy; Similarly, in Japan, there was aggressive nationalism; in France, there was a device of popular front..."

I presume, he means Charles De Gaulle.

"In America....."

This is the anti-climax.

"In America you might say, there was a device of New Deal."

If Shri Shyamnandan Babu is going to say that Mr. F. D. Roosevelt who brought in the New Deal was a dictator.....

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): There are the devices by which contradictions are sought to be resolved. It was resolved in

the United States by the method of New Deal. In other countries they were resolving such contradictions in some other ways.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: I am quoting only from your speech:

"When such situations arise, you have to take recourse to some of these methods..."

The entire theme being fascism, if you now say that it is not so, then I have nothing to add. You can stop me whenever I become irrelevant.

If you are going to say that FDR was a dictator, then your definition of 'dictatorship' is not fair.

Then he also quotes a play-boy writer and says: 'The leader is right, our future is bright.' and goes on to say, 'So the leader must be proclaimed to be right in all possible circumstances.' Now, to the best of my knowledge, I do not think the person who put forth this, *viz.*, Mr. Kuldip Narang, to be exact, speaks on behalf of the Congress Party. I think he speaks for himself. Under the circumstances, we, in the Congress Party, cannot be held responsible for that.

Then, to take his own quotation, at the time when he spoke on the 14th March, Shyamnandan Babu has said, 'Now the personal rule of the supreme leader is absolute.' All these hallucinations Shyamnandan Babu is entitled to have, but the essential and the most operative part of his argument and, similarly, that of Prof. Samar Guha today is—I do not want to enter into a conflict of personalities—is that JP has come in order to save democracy in this country. Sir, I do not know much about the politics of India, a decade or two ago, being a fresh recruit to public life. If I can sum up the entire philosophy of Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, he sounds to me very much like an echo of what the Congress manifesto was at the time of the mid-term poll in

the year 1971. Whether it is unemployment or whether it is a question of the student unrest or the abolition of poverty, there has been, as far as the basic objectives are concerned, absolutely no conflict. But the problem before the country or the government of the country is: how to implement it. There is this enormous unemployment problem. Unless we change the values, the unemployment problem gets aggravated because the organized sector of labour has developed certain vested interests in which they want more and more. Under these circumstances, I think it would be a very difficult proposition to get into a dialogue with one's own echo because the echo will exactly reflect what has been said.

Shri Shyamnandan Babu also said something about our Party, a combined Party to which Shyamnandan Babu belonged prior to 1969. If I distinctly remember his words, he said that the Congress Party is a party which stands for certain values and he said that there has been a fall in the democratic traditions of the Congress. Without meaning any offence to our friend, Shri Mohan Dharia *et al* i.e. and others, I would like to know whether there is any one party either in a democracy or in any other situation where the divergence of opinions and the differences of opinion are expressed so freely and come out in the public and take place on the same scale as it happens in our party. Does it happen in the CPI? Does it happen in the CPM? Does it happen in a party which a large number of people there have joined together?...

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Yes.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: Obviously, it has reached the place where it should go. I think if there is a catholicity in the expression of varying opinions, varying shades of opinion, from the extreme right to the extreme left, it is in the Congress Party and which

[Shri B. V. Naik]

party would be so liberal in dealing with their dissidents that not even a show-cause notice was issued? I did compliment the other day the party of the hon. Member, Shri Indrajit Gupta that within a week's time of something that happened at Koderma, a member of their party, Shri Chandrasekhar Singh was suspended. We would like that discipline...

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): You have not suspended Shri Tul Mohan Ram.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH (Hoshiarpur): Shri Tulmohan Ram is very much in the court.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: We would very much like a certain amount of discipline in our Party. There is only one more thing—or two more things—which I would like to refer to. I am particularly asking Shyamnandan Babu. For the last 27 years who was in charge of the affairs of the country? Was it Mrs. Indira Gandhi? No. Was not Mr. J. P. Narayan in the forefront of the national affairs in this country? Was not Mr. Shyamnandan Babu very much in the Central Cabinet? Was not Mr. Morarji Desai, Minister of Finance of the Government of India and Chief Minister of Undivided Bombay? You were all with the congress. What you see now is the total accumulation of the mistakes done by the same people who are now rallying round under the umbrella of Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan. Mr. Morarji Desai was there; Mr. Kamraj was there. Mr. Shyamnandan Babu is an intellectual. Let him ponder over and answer whether these people have or have not been responsible for the deterioration of the situation. Mrs. Gandhi came on the scene only in 1965. Under these circumstances, calling the Prime Minister, Lady Hitler would be utterly unjustified. Do you know what happened in Germany about the persecution of minorities? She is a

minority herself from the point of view of the caste politics of this country. I therefore humbly request Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra to withdraw his resolution.

DR. HENRY AUSTIN (Ernakulam): I want to participate in this discussion because I was very much surprised to hear the reasons which Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra has adduced for bringing up this Resolution seeking to draw the attention of the House to a certain situation which does not exist in the way he puts it.

Or, if it exists, in any form the one force which is trying its best to avert such a situation is the Ruling Party.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I would like to speak.

DR. HENRY AUSTIN: Sir, today, some reference has been made by some speakers to the Congress Ruling Party. Now, Shri Mishra knows the character and composition of the Congress Party. One of the reasons for this Party holding its own for the last over a quarter of a century and even after Independence is the fact that it seeks to represent the aspirations of the people, viewed as a whole. In the Party, a section takes ultra-Leftists stands and yet another section may be represent viewpoints which majority may not like. Thus by seeking to represent various shades of opinion the Congress Party seeks to reflect the soul of the Nation. By so doing, the party has developed some weaknesses as well. But, yet, all-told, this party represents the nation and its soul which is reflected through basic postulates such as democracy, socialism, secularism and in external affairs non-alignment. Such a party therefore cannot be assailed as going against these high principles and encouraging Fascism. It is here that I would like to say one thing. The most important factor now afflicting our body-politic is the tendency of certain parties who, which proclaiming from house-tops their commitments to

socialism, secularism and democracy at the same time, finding that their own party does not have any hold on the people, are trying to fall back behind certain leaders whose ideals and programmes cut at the very roots of these ideals. That is what is happening today. Shri Mishra's own party is afflicted with this situation. I have no ill will against any party or individual. But there are certain forces which are operating in this country which need to be watched and understood. Look at the case of Shri S. N. Mishra and his party. He wants to focuss the attention of the House to the emergence of Fascism in our country. What is actually happening here? A party which has no strength of its own is surrendering itself to what Shri Jayaprakash Narayan is doing and preaching. His philosophy is also backed by the Jan Sangh, Anand Marg and some others also. On the other hand, the Congress party believes in democracy, and secularism and feel that this country and the party should fight for democracy, fight for secularism and socialism. I know Shri Shyam Nandan Mishra and his honesty of purpose. I remember my association with him in the Congress Socialist Forum from the 1950. Can he honestly say now that there is any other party or any other collective force in this country which stands so steadfastly and so resolutely against the forces of Fascism like ours? The Resolution which he has brought forward is very very distressing. I do not know why he has thought it fit to bring it here? In a way, the Cong. (O) or Syndicate Congress of which Shri Shyam Babu is leader in this House is falling into the trap of Fascism. You have gone on record as championing the cause of secularism and democracy. Then, how can you reconcile yourself with Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's addressing a rally of Jan Sangh delegates? *Interruptions*). You seem to have no concern over certain forces exhorting the country to take steps which are bound to take our people backward to the feudalistic age or to the age of communalism? The Congress,

under the Leadership of Prime Minister, Shrimati Gandhi comes to the forefront as a leader of the progressive forces in the company of the progressive parties like the C.P.L. and other parties which see the danger inherent in the times. Instead of appreciating the bold stand which the Congress has taken to defend Democracy against fascist trends why should he talk like this? If we want to establish Fascism in the country, there is not much difficulty in our way. What has happened in African countries? But our philosophy is against these kind of forces. Shri Mishra has no complaints against the Jana Sangh and the Ananda Margis or other reactionary forces which have the potentiality to lead the country towards Fascism. We are very much distressed that he brought this matter here. Our Prime Minister has time and again said that the Congress Party stands committed to certain basic values—values which are cherished by progressive people the world over. I am just coming after attending a reception to the Foreign Minister of Tanzania who is here not only as the leader of that country, alone but as the leader of the delegation of Organisation for African Unity (OAU). According to him there is so much of freedom in our country and that the Opposition Parties are given so much of freedom to propagate what they want. This can never be in a country with a fascist background. If there had been any such tendency in our country, do you think J.P. would have been allowed to propagate his views some of which are repugnant to the concepts of democracy and socialism? On the other hand we give him and his movement absolute freedom, because Congress has the tradition of tolerance and the ability to absorb what is best in a movement or even in Opposition parties. That in a way reflects the genius of the Indian culture. We try to assimilate what is best in others. So, when our party and Government are wedded to such policies and are leading the country towards the goal

[Dr. Henry Austin]

Of democratic socialism how dare you say that the ruling party is preparing the country for fascism. This is uncharitable of you to say the least. Even in the United States or the Scandinavian countries you will find the sort of freedom which we are having under Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, is not available. Even against the backdrop of the eruptions of violence, as we have seen recently in Samastipur, Allahabad, and Delhi, we are holding fast to the ideals of democracy and this achievement of our Government is being praised by world leaders. I may tell you that in the coming days and months you will find that the J.P. movement will continue to shrink to find itself centring largely on Anandmargis and Jansanghis only which the country will continue to be ruled by progressive forces led by the Congress under the charismatic leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

श्री श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना) : सभापति जी, विश्व के कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन के एक बड़े नेता और विचारक स्वर्गीय श्री परमदत्त ने "फासिज्म एण्ड सोशल रेवाल्यूशन" नाम की एक बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण किताब लिखी थी। उस किताब को, मुझे उम्मीद है, हममें से ज्यादातर लोगों ने पढ़ा होगा और जिन्होंने न पढ़ा है, मेहरबानी कर के उस किताब को आज भी पढ़ लीजिये। उस में उन्होंने विस्तार से इस बात का उल्लेख किया था कि जर्मनी और इटली में फासिज्म ने कैसे मिर उठाया, किस तरह से दुनिया का एकाधिकार पूंजीवाद जब उस का काम साधारण तरीके से नहीं चलता, जनतान्त्रिक तरीके से नहीं चलता, तो वह नंगा होकर फासिस् रूप ले लेता है ताकि जनता, मजदूर और गरीबों का खून ज्यादा से ज्यादा बेरहम होकर चूस सके। इस बात पर उन्होंने बड़े ही प्रभावशाली ढंग से प्रकाश डाला है। मैं चाहूंगा कि आज जब हमारे देश में

फासिज्म का खतरा धीरे-धीरे बढ़ता जा रहा है इस स्थिति में उस किताब को जरूर पढ़ें। उस से हमें मालूम होगा कि विश्व का इजारेदार पूंजीवाद, चाहे भारत में हो, अमेरीका में हो और चाहे इंग्लैंड में हो, वह अपने जनवादी नकाब को उतार कर के फेंकना चाहता है और देश के अन्दर फासिज्म लाना चाहता है जिस का ताजा उदाहरण हम कुछ ही दिन पहले चिली में देख चुके हैं कि वहां किस तरह से जनतांत्रित हुकूमत की जगह पर फासिस्ट हुकूमत लायी गई जिस के नीचे वहां की जनता कराह रही है है। इस बात को हमें नहीं भूलना चाहिये और विचार करना चाहिये। जो स्थिति जर्मनी में, इटली में थी, जनता में जो असंतोष था, यहां भी सरकार की पूंजीवादी नितियों के कारण जनता में असंतोष है और उस असंतोष का इस्तेमाल कर के हमारे देश के कुछ लोग, प्रतिगामी शक्तियां, जिस का नेतृत्व जयप्रकाश जी कर रहे हैं, सब मिल कर यह चाहते हैं कि यहां जनतांत्रिक प्रणाली को नष्ट कर के फासिज्म कायम करें ताकि यहां के 75 पीनोपली हाउसेज मुक्त हो कर जनता का खून चूसें।

इस संदर्भ में आप से मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अभी पूरे देश में जयप्रकाश नारायण के नेतृत्व में जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है, उस के पीछे तमाम दक्षिण पंथी और प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकतें हैं, खेद है कि उन के साथ सोशलिस्ट और मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग भी चले गये हैं जिन्हें नहीं जाना चाहिए। लेकिन आज नहीं तो कल जरूर उस आन्दोलन की असलियत उन्हें मालूम हो जाएगी। आप देखें कि इस संदर्भ में बिहार में क्या हो रहा है? हम सब को जनतांत्रित तरीके से बोलने का अधिकार है, लेकिन अगर इस वर्तमान आन्दोलन के खिनाफ बोलते हैं तो हमारी मीटिंगों में पत्थर फेंके जाते हैं; बम छोड़े जाते हैं, डंडे चलाये जाते हैं। क्या यह फासिज्म नहीं है?

अब भागलपुर जिले में जयप्रकाश नारायण के आन्दोलन ने नारा दिया है कि जनता की सरकार बनाओ। वहां एक गांव है हलकरावक हेमरा, सुल्तानगंज थाने में जो भागलपुर के इस जिले में जमिंदार घराने से आये हुए उनके कार्यकर्ता हैं उन्होंने जनता की सरकार बनाई। उन लोगों ने 27-1-75 को जबरदस्ती चन्दा वसूल करने की कोशिश की। दो भाई कहीं जा रहे थे—नरेश मंडल और गणेश मंडल उनसे जब चंदा मांगा गया तो उन्होंने कहा कि हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है। इस पर उन को गोली मारी गई। उन के भाई उपेन्द्र शास्त्री, जो छात्र और जन संघर्ष समिति के कार्यकर्ता थे तथा तृतीय वर्ष के राजकीय संस्कृत महाविद्यालय भागलपुर के छात्र भी हैं, उन्होंने इस घटना के बाद, अपने दो भाइयों के ऊपर जो गोली कांड हुआ उस के बाद जयप्रकाश जी के नाम एक चिट्ठी लिखी: “जे० पी० के नाम छात्र संघर्ष समिति के सदस्य का खुला पत्र” उन्होंने लिखा कि: “दुख के साथ लिखना पड़ता है कि आज तक जो दुःख विदेशी या देश सरकार हमें न दे सकी वह दुख छात्र और जन संघर्ष समिति के लिये चन्दा वसूल करने वालों ने मेरे भाई नरेश मंडल को सीने में गोली मार कर दिया है। मेरे भाई का कसूर यही था कि चन्दा देने के लिये उस के पास उस वक्त नकद पैसा नहीं था और वह बंद में चन्दा देने की मोहलत मांग रहा था। लेकिन सामन्तों की श्रीलाद—गोपाल चन्द्र राय उर्फ र. जीव रंजन राय, दयानन्द राय, जनार्दन राय ने एक न सुनी। दुष्टों ने मेरे भाई पर रिवाज से तीन फायर किये जिस को एक गोली सीने में लगी और आर पार निकल गई। यह फासिज्म नहीं है तो और क्या है? फिर वह आगे लिखते हैं: “ऐसी घटनाओं के बारे में आप क्या कहते हैं? क्या इस को आप सार्वजनिक भर्त्सना करेंगे? क्या आप खुली घोषणा करेंगे कि आप किस वर्ग के साथ हैं? उत्तर की प्रतीक्षा में, आप का उपेन्द्र शास्त्री।”

लेकिन आज तक जयप्रकाश नारायण न उक्त कांड की न भर्त्सना की और न इन्हें कोई जवाब दिया। एक छात्र संघर्ष समिति के सदस्य की जबानी आप से सुना कि बिहार में क्या हो रहा है? गोली कांड हो रहे हैं, स्वर्गीय ललित बाबू मारे गये। “मदरलैंड और जनसंघ के लोगों ने प्रचार किया कि गिरफ्तार होने वाले लोग कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के मेम्बर थे। यह बिल्कुल झूठ बात है। बिहार की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने उ. का खुला खंडन किया। आज “जनयुग” में एक खबर निकली है—“मिश्र हत्याकांड में जनसंघ का कार्यकर्ता गिरफ्तार”—इसे मैं पढ़ कर सुना देना चाहता हूँ। श्री शिव लाल शर्मा गिरफ्तार किये गये हैं, उन के यहां तलाशी हुई थी और उसी के बारे में है—“शिवलाल शर्मा उन 25,30 जनसंघी कार्यकर्ताओं में से एक हैं जिन्होंने नवम्बर, 1973 में प्रदर्शन के बाद मगहर जिला सप्लाई कार्यालय पर हमला किया था। पुलिस लाठी चार्ज से शिवलाल शर्मा के दायें हाथ की हड्डी टूट गई थी और इस पर प्लास्टर लगाया गया था। शर्मा को राम लखन गुप्ता के साथ जेल भेज दिया गया था। शिवलाल शर्मा की रिहाई पर जनसंघ ने टाउन हाल में उस के अभिनन्दन के लिये एक समारोह का आयोजन किया था। इस समारोह की अध्यक्षता जनसंघ के तत्कालीन वार्ड कमिश्नर हरि वर्मा ने की थी। रामलखन गुप्ता ने शिवलाल को गले से लगा कर “जनसंघ के क्रान्तिकारी सैनिक” का प्रमाणपत्र दिया था। क्या गुप्ता इस का भा. खंडन करेंगे।” और गुप्ता जी बिहार प्रदेश जनसंघ के अध्यक्ष हैं और बिहार विधान परिषद के सदस्य हैं।

तो यह दो उदाहरण मैं ने पेश किये कि किस तरह से ‘साम्प्रदायिक शक्तियां, आर० एस० एस०, जमायते इस्लामां और भ्रानन्द मार्ग के लोग देश के भन्दर फासिज्म का प्रचार कर रहे हैं और उन को किस तरह से जयप्रकाश जैसे व्यक्ति का सहारा मिल गया

[श्री रामानन्दर शास्त्री]

है। स्वयं उन्होंने जनसंघ के सम्मेलन में कहा है कि अगर ए०एस०एस० फ़ासिस्ट है तो मैं भी फ़ासिस्ट हूँ। मैं तो दोनों को फ़ासिस्ट मानता हूँ। तो इस तरह के खतरे बढ़ रहे हैं। जरूरत इस बात की है कि इस तरह की शक्तियाँ पर पाबन्दी लगायी जाय, सख्ती की जाय चाहे इस तरह का कोई संगठन हो, या व्यक्ति हो। नहीं तो जो हमारा जनतंत्र है, धर्मनिरपेक्षता का सिद्धान्त है और समाजवादी नीति है, यह खत्म हो जायगी। और समय समय पर आप भी फ़ासिस्ट तौर तौर तरीके अपनाते हैं जिससे आप को बचना चाहिये। जैसा आपने रेलवे स्ट्राइक के जमाने में किया। तो हम कहीं भी अगर फ़ासिस्ट तरीका अपनाया जायगा उस की मुखालिफत करते हैं।

मैं विश्वास करता हूँ कि मैंने जो संशोधन पेश किया है जिस में कहा गया है कि इस तरह की ताकतों पर बंदिश लगायें, इस को माननीय गृह उप-मंत्री स्वीकार कर लें जिस से इन फ़ासिस्टों को सत्रक सिखाया जा सके क्योंकि यह देश का बंटवारा करना चाहते हैं। मैं मार्किस्ट भाइयों और सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के लोगों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप जयप्रकाश जी का पल्ला छोड़िये। यदि आप ने ऐसा नहीं किया तो जिस रास्ते पर हिटलर और मुसोलिनी गये उसी रास्ते पर हिन्दुस्तान के फ़ासिस्टों को, उन के हमदर्दों को, उन के साथियों को जयप्रकाश जी के जाना होगा क्योंकि जनता ने यह फैसला कर लिया है। जनता सर पर कफ़न बांध कर मैदान में निकल चुकी है इन शक्तियों से लड़ने के लिये।

श्री राम सहाय पांडे (राजनन्द गांव) : सभापति जी, माननीय श्यामनन्दन मिश्र के इस प्रस्ताव को बड़ी गंभीरता से लिया गया है। उनको अपनी विदत्ता का अजीर्ण है,

अभिमान और अहंकार बहुत दिनों से उन को है। इटल्यूचुअल सो काल्ड वह हैं। माननीय श्याम बाबू के दिमाग में सोते सोते कभी आया होगा कि फ़ासिज्म नाम की कोई चीज है। ख्वाब में देखा होगा फ़ासिज्म और चूकि प्राइम मिनिस्टर का उनको फ़ोबिया है जिससे वह बहुत सफ़र करते हैं लिहाजा वह यह प्रस्ताव ले आवे। वह तो मैं समझ सकता हूँ **मैं श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु के संदर्भ में यह नहीं कहता लेकिन मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि विरोधी दल के लोग भी अहमास करते हैं।

MR. CHAIRMAN: No talk here about Central Hall. Central Hall talks are not to be reported in the House.

श्री राम सहाय पांडे : इसको बहुत सीरियसली नहीं लेना चाहिए क्योंकि हमारा देश बड़ा सनातन है। इसके विचारों में पुष्टता है, एक दृढ़ता है, कुछ परम्पराय हैं। यह फ़ासिज्म का कान्सेप्ट जो है, यह बारोड है, बाहर का है, पुराना है, घिसा पिटा है, यह यहां नहीं लागू हो सकता है। हमारे यहां सवाल कुछ राजनीतिक हो सकते हैं जैसे कि रोटी का सवाल है। वह बिल्कुल एक गंगीर सवाल है। मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इसको हल करने के लिये और राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं को हल करने के लिये प्रधान मंत्री ने क्या इस सदन में बार-बार नहीं दोहराया कि माननीय विरोधी दल के नेता अगर हमारे साथ बैठकर इन समस्याओं को हल करने में उनका निर्णय करने में हमारा साथ दें, तो हमको बड़ी प्रसन्नता होगी। मैं श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि मिश्रा जी आप बताइये कि प्रधान मंत्री के आवाहन के औचित्य को वे क्या सिद्ध नहीं करेंगे कि राष्ट्रीय सदस्याओं के संदर्भ में बार-बार उन्होंने विरोधी दल के माननीय नेताओं का आदर किया है और कहा है कि आइये हमारे साथ बंठिये और हमारे साथ मिल कर

बात कीजिये और हो सके तो मार्ग दर्शन कीजिये । यह लोकतंत्र की एक परम्परा है, जिसका वह आधारशील है । उन्होंने बार बार इसको कहा है लेकिन जिस प्रदेश से श्रीमन पीठाधीश जी आप आ रहे हैं वहां क्या हाल हो रहा है । मैं आपसे केवल दो प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूं यद्यपि फ़ेसिज्म के परिवेश में मैं आपको ले जाना नहीं चाहता लेकिन एक हल्की सी झलक वहां दिखाई पड़ी । जब वहां पर विद्यार्थियों का जलूस निकल रहा था तो उनके मुंह पर पट्टी बांध दी गई । मौलिक अधिकारों में मुंह खुला हुआ हो, वाणी मुखिरत हो और पट्टी न बांधी जाय । तो वहां पर फ़ेसिज्म की झलक दिखाई पड़ी । वाणी स्वतंत्रता की होती है और प्रबुद्ध राष्ट्र बोलना जानता है । अगर आवाज है तो बोले ।

इसी तरह से आप देखें कि यहां पर दिल्ली में जब प्रदर्शन हुआ तो इस चीज की एक झलक यहां दिल्ली में भी दिखाई पड़ी । ये जनसंघी पीली टोपी लगा कर गये और अपना झंडा लिये पहुंचे, तो जय प्रकाश नारायण जी ने कहा कि हटाओ इसको । मुझे न झंडा चाहिए, न पंडा चाहिए और न डंडा चाहिए और सबकी टोपियां उतरवा दी । इससे जनसंघ में एक बड़ा विद्रोह हो गया कि हमारा तो बड़ा अपमान हो गया और वे कहने लगे कि हम किस नेता के चक्कर में फ़ंस गये जिसने हमारी टोपी भी उतरवा दी । यह फ़ेमिज्म की दूसरी झलकी है ।

मैं आप को एक रहस्य की बात बताता हूं । इस सबके पीछे क्या है ? यह आक्रोश, हिंसा, पुलिस विद्रोह और आर्मी के विद्रोह की बात जो कही गई है वह क्या है यह झगड़ा दो डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर्स का है एक डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर बन कर निकले, उनको निकाल दिया गया जिनके चेले हमारे श्री श्याम नन्दन मिश्र जी हैं । एक दूसरे हैं जिन

को पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने कहा था कि आप हमारे साथ आइये और काम कीजिये और हम आपको डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर बनाते हैं । वे भाग गये और डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर नहीं बने और दूसरे बन कर हट गये । इसलिये यह सारा का सारा राजनीतिक ढ़न्द है, जिसमें घृणा, नफ़रत और विद्रोह की बात है । इसके पहले क्या जय प्रकाश नारायण जी सोते रहे, क्या इलैक्शन रिफ़ार्म्स आज ही हो जायेंगे क्या ऋपशन अभी दूर हो जाएगी । वे भूदान में लगे रहे और उन्होंने एक पार्टी बनाई थी सोशलिस्ट पार्टी, उसको मिटा दिया । नासिक में एक विचारधारा की गंगा बहाई गई थी उसका सत्यानाश कर दिया । इनका धर्म क्या है ? क्या ये पलायनवादी हैं ? मैं आप को बता देता हूं कि यह जो बड़े बड़े लोग झंडा लेकर उनकी छत्रछाया में सोचते हैं कि वे उसका लाभ उठा लेंगे और प्रधान मंत्री को तानाशाह कह कर और त्रायमाण त्रायमाण कह कर उन के चरणों में धाराशाही हो कर गिरेंगे और फ़ायदा उठा लेंगे तो यह कुछ नहीं होगा । वे किसी दिन खड़े हो जायेंगे और कह देंगे कि मैं तुम्हारे साथ नहीं हूं क्योंकि मुझे आप का झंडा पसन्द नहीं है मुझे आप की टोपी पसन्द नहीं है । वे आपके मुंह पर पट्टी बांधवा देंगे और आप को पता है कि हिटलर ने सन 1934 में क्या किया था ? उसने सब से पहले पार्लियामेंट को डिजोल्ड कर दिया था और उसकी पावर खत्म कर दी थी । ये पट्टा बांधवा देंगे । फ़ेसिज्म कहां से आएगा । जहां से इस समय आप आ रहे हैं । वहां थोड़ा सा दिखाई पड़ता है । यह देश नहीं जानता है कि फ़ेमिज्म क्या है । यह देश नहीं जानता है कि आप क्या हैं ? वह इतना जानता है कि प्रधान मंत्री ने हमसे कहा है कि हमें एक ऐसा शासन चाहिये जो स्थायी शासन हो और काम करने के लिये उसने मेसिव मेजोरिटी आप को दे दो और इस लोकतंत्र की मर्यादा की रक्षा के लिये आप का यह कर्तव्य है कि जितनी भी समस्याएँ हैं उन

[श्री राम सहाय पांडे]

सब समस्याओं का समाधान करने के लिये आप प्रधान मंत्री का साथ दें। प्रधान मंत्री के प्रति आप के मन में आदर है, यह मैं जानता हूँ और विरोधी दलों का भी आदर है क्योंकि यह आदर न हो तो जय प्रकाश नारायण जी क्यों जगजीवन राम जी को याद करते हैं और चव्हाण साहब को याद करते हैं। आप विद्रोह भी करते हैं और ऋपशन का चार्ज भी लगाते हैं और हमारे नेताओं को तोड़ने की कोशिश भी करते हैं। यह किस का फ़ेसिज्म है। यह एक बड़ा भ्रम है, एक बड़ा मिराज है, एक बड़ा चक्कर है, इस से आप बच कर रहिये। मेरा कहना तो यह है कि जितने लोग आज विरोधी दल के यहां दिखाई पड़ रहे हैं उतने भी दिखाई नहीं पड़ेगे अगर जय प्रकाश नारायण जी के चक्कर में रहेंगे। न घृणा रहेगी, न हिंसा रहेगी और न विद्रोह होगा और न पुलिस का विद्रोह होगा, श्रीमान, अगर इस रोटी की समस्या का समाधान हो जाय और उस में हम लग जायेंगे तो परिस्थिति ठीक हो जाएगी। इसलिये आप को फ़ेसिज्म की चिन्ता नहीं होनी चाहिए। रोटी का प्रश्न है और गरीब जनता आशान्वित हो कर देखती है कि इस सदन के माध्यम से रोटी मिले, सुरक्षा मिले, वस्त्र मिले, शिक्षा मिले, ज्ञान मिले और लोकतंत्र की रक्षा के लिये आस्था मिले।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध करता हूँ और भगवान से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि भगवान इन को सद्बुद्धि दें। श्री श्याम नन्दन मिश्र बड़े विद्वान हैं लेकिन उन को कुछ अर्जीण दिन पर दिन होता जा रहा है। ये जो संभाल संभाल कर अपने बालों को झुंघर उधर करते हैं जैसे जब चाणक्य अपनी

चोटी बांधता था तब उसे अपनी विद्वता की याद आती थी, इसी तरह से जब ये अपने बालों को, अपनी जुत्फों को संभालते हैं, तो इन को अपनी विद्वता की याद आती है। मैं समझता हूँ महाराज, फ़ेसिज्म बग़ैरह यहां पर कहीं नहीं है और इसको लेकर आप जो इतनी जोर जोर से बोल रहे थे और भगत जी बोल रहे थे, तो इतनी जोर से बोलने की जरूरत नहीं है। यहां देश में फ़ेसिज्म नहीं है। हिटलर का फ़ेसिज्म होगा, मसोलीनी का होगा, लेकिन हमारा देश तो गांधी जी का है, हमारा देश जवाहर लाल जी, लाल बहादुर शास्त्री और इंदिरा गांधी जी का है और आप का है पीठाधीश जी।

18 hrs.

श्री इंकर देव (बीदर): मैं जय प्रकाश जी का बड़ा आदर करता था। जब उन्होंने अपना आन्दोलन शुरू किया तो मैंने समझा कि वह ब्लैंडलैस रेवोल्यूशन लायेगे, रक्तहीन क्रान्ति लायेंगे। लेकिन थोड़े दिनों के अन्दर बिहार में गोली चली। उसके बाद मुझे निराशा हुई। मैंने समझा ब्लैंडलैस रेवोल्यूशन नहीं तो लैस ब्लड रेवोल्यूशन होगा। लेकिन उसके बाद की जितनी कार्यवाहियाँ है उनसे मुझे बंधद निराशा हुई है। सर्व संघ संघ में जहाँ आध्यात्मिक भावना को लेकर, भारतीय संस्कृति के आध्यात्मिक आधार को जो विनोबा जी ने देश के सामने प्रस्तुत किया है और उसी को आधार बना कर संघ की स्थापना की है, उसकी बैठक में मैं गया और जय प्रकाश जी भी वहाँ उपस्थित थे और विनोबा जी के विचारों को सुनने के लिये गया था तो मैंने समझा था कि कम से कम यहां पर तो जय प्रकाश जी में सर्वोदय की भावना मुझे दिखाई देगी, उसके तो दर्शन होंगे और केवल एक आबजर्वर की हैसियत से ही मैं वहां गया था, दर्शक की हैसियत से ही मैं वहां गया था लेकिन जब बाहर के लोगों ने मुझे देखा कि एक कांग्रेस का एम० पी आया है तब

वहां पर जितने भी बिहार के, आर० एस०एस० के, जनसंघ के लोग थे, उन्होंने मेरा घेराव कर लिया और मुझे बाहर फेंक दिया और मुझे मुक्के मारे। इस तरह से आप देख सकते हैं कि, किस तरह से एक आध्यात्मिक संस्था में भी, सर्व सेवा—संघ में भी घुसकर ये लोक भारतीय संस्कृति को खत्म करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। महात्मा गांधी ने लोकतंत्र के बारे में जो कुछ कहा था वह मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा था—

सरकार यदि गलती करती है तो जनता उस गलती की तरफ सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित कर सकती है उससे अधिक कुछ नहीं। जनता चाहे तो सरकार को हटा सकती है। लेकिन सरकार के विरुद्ध कोई आन्दोलन छोड़कर एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में बाधा उत्पन्न नहीं कर सकती है।

महात्मा गांधी के जो विचार थे, जो सिद्धान्त थे उनसे जे पी साहब अच्छी तरह परिचित हैं। पंद्रह साल तक जे पी गांधी जी के चरणों में बैठे हैं और उनसे सबक उन्होंने ग्रहण किया है लेकिन मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि गांधी जी की जब मृत्यु हो गई तो उनकी चिंता के पास ही उन्होंने उस पाठ को भी भस्म कर दिया।

आप यह भी देखें कि जे पी ने कहा कि हम जनता कैंडिडेट सेट अप करेंगे और इसकी उनको छूट मिल गई और जनता कैंडिडेट जीत कर भी आए। उन्होंने कहा कि हम जनता की सरकार बनायेंगे। उनको कहा गया बना लीजिये कोई बात नहीं। इस हद तक उनको स्वतंत्रता मिल गई। अब मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इससे ज्यादा और स्वतंत्रता वह क्या चाहते हैं? इससे ज्यादा स्वतंत्रता इंदिरा गांधी की गवर्नमेंट से वे और क्या चाहते हैं यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आया। मैं चाहता हूँ कि श्यामनन्दन जी इस पर गंभीरता से विचार करें और बतायें कि इससे

अधिक स्वतंत्रता वे किस बात की चाहत हैं जब कोई हिंसा पर उतारू हो जाता है तो उस वक्त सरकार को कुछ तो कार्यवाई करनी ही पड़ती है मजबूर होकर ऐसी प्रवृत्तियों को दबाने के लिये। अब जब उस स्थिति में यह कहने कोई लग जाता है कि यह फासिज्म है, हमें दबाने की कोशिश की जा रही है तो यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है।

श्री नरसिंह नारायण पांडे : बाहर—
कैसे फेंका गया यह तो बता दें।

श्री शंकर देव : वहां मैं दणक की हैसियत से गया था और मुझे उठा कर बाहर फेंक दिया गया। इससे आप समझ सकते हैं कि कैसा वातावरण बना दिया गया है। मैं आपका अधिक समय लेना नहीं चाहता। मैं मिश्र जी से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह देश के अन्दर शान्तिमय वातावरण पैदा करने के लिये अपनी तरफ से पूरी कोशिश करें। लोक सभा के प्लेटफार्म को शांति भंग करने का; उसका प्रचार करने का, प्रजातंत्र के विरुद्ध लोगों को काम करने के लिये भड़काने का वह साधन न बनायें।

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
(SHRI F. H. MOHSIN): Mr. Chair-
man, Sir I have heard with great
interest the debate which has taken
place for a number of days.

The resolution was first moved on
30th August, 1974. The background
of the resolution was the Congress (O)
session held at Calcutta which passed
some resolution on Bihar situation and
also on some resolutions on economic
matters were passed in the said
session. This resolution was the out-
come of that. Perhaps, Mr. Shyam-
nandan Mishra had much to do with
the resolution that was moved in the
Congress (O) session and he just
continued it and kept it alive by

[Shri F. H. Mohsin]

bringing forward this resolution. Whether he subscribes to that ideology or idea today or not, that is a different matter. Much water has flown since then. Perhaps he might be thinking that there are some forces of fascism in the country, not knowing where they are: If he just pauses and ponders over the fact, over the situation in the whole country, and looks for himself where exactly the fascist forces are alive, are working, he would see them only on his sides, to the right or left of his sides, and not at all on the front, in the Treasury Benches.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): What about back?

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Of course, I did not refer to Mr. Indrajit Gupta.

AN HON. MEMBER: He is on his right.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Some other people also take that place; I mean the extreme right.

It is true that fascism, under the leadership of Mussolini, had two contradictory ideologies or appeals. First and foremost, they were the enemies of socialism and communism and thus gained the support of the propertied classes. Fascists are the enemies of socialism and communism and they represent the propertied classes. Now, Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra may think over as to who is in the company of the propertied classes.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has defined 'fascism' in his book *Glimpses of the World History*. He observes:

"Fascism had no fixed principles, no ideology and no philosophy behind it, unless the mere opposition to communism, socialism and liberalism might be considered to be a philosophy. It had, however, a definite technique of violence and

terrorism. The motto of the fascists was: 'No discussion—only obedience'."

I know very well that Shri Shyamnandan Mishra is one of the great admirers of the great leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and I think he subscribes to this definition that has been given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Violence is part and parcel of fascism. Who takes to this violence? He has gone on analysing what he means by fascism and how the Government has become fascist in his wisdom. One of the traits that he has referred to in his speech is identification of the State to the Party. He has alleged that there is no difference between the Party and the Government and every resource of the Government is used for party purposes. We are all well aware that every pie that is spent by the Government comes before Parliament; it is voted by the Parliament. I cannot understand how he could make such a devastating statement that Government's funds are used for Party. He says that some money was spent in the AICC Sessions in Calcutta and Narora. But he cannot substantiate whether any government money was spent for those purposes. Still he makes such wild allegations that government money was used for Party purposes.

Another point that he makes is that there is a personality cult, the personality cult of the Prime Minister. Of course, many of my friends have dealt with that aspect. Perhaps, the towering personality of our Prime Minister is always a constant fear in the minds of the Opposition; they have this apprehension. It is true that our Prime Minister has got a towering personality, which has received a world-wide appreciation not only in our own country but elsewhere also and she has won the hearts of the people not only by her words but by her actions also. So in the last elections

we have won 352 seats out of 518 seats in the Lok Sabha. Then, again, our Party became strong. Now, the Party's strength is 356 out of 523 in the Lok Sabha and out of 2757 Assembly seats, we won 1936. So, with the massive votes of the people if we have come into power and if Shrimati Indira Gandhi has become the Prime Minister, then, would it be called fascism? It is those who still insist and use force who should be called fascists and not the people who have come here in a majority, with a massive majority and with the backing of the people.

Many persons have got this fear of the towering personality of the Prime Minister. They some how want to besmear her popular name and they want to bring in her name somehow or the other. The other day it was tried by some of the political parties, not that of Shyamnandanji, to connect her name with the incident that happened in Samastipur. Then, everything is now known—who was at fault and who are behind all these incidents. So, these incidents show to the world how some Parties are working, how some people are working and which elements are working under the friends of fascism....

PROF. S. MADHU DANDAVATE: (Rajapur): There was a starred question this morning as to who was responsible. No answer was given.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Mr. Mishra made another point that so many people were arrested under the MISA. Of course, some arrests were made under the MISA, but they were made in the interests of the security of the country, but, not as many as some of the Opposition Members feel. I would like to give some figures of the persons who have been arrested under the MISA who have some political affiliations.

Out of 1498 who were detained under the MISA during the period from 7-5-71 to 30-6-74 who have some

political affiliations, the Congress people are also there and their number is 134 whereas the Cong. (O) people are only 16. Of course, CPM are more—1153. So, these are the persons who have been detained under the MISA during this period. These are the people who have some political affiliations. Of course, political affiliation is no criteria for being detained under MISA. Only when some act is done which is against the interests of the State, then only a person is detained under the MISA. So, the number shows that the party workers of some of the Parties who are here are also under detention, but the number of Shyamnandan Babu's party is as low as 16.

The hon Member made a point that the Prime Minister wanted to have her own way and when the Congress Party came in her way, it was split. Shyamnandanji knows in what atmosphere the Congress had to break. It was only when the popular leader, Shrimati Indiraji was thrown out of the Congress, it was only when her primary membership was cancelled, that the whole Party workers and Members of Parliament rallied behind her realising that it was the dictatorship of some of the few people who had no hold among the public and who had no hold in the country which fact was also proved later...

SHRI D. N. TIWARY (Gopalganj): Not in the Party.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Of Course, there were some in the Congress Party. Sir, perhaps they thought that Indiraji's leadership would vanish; but what happened? People supported us in large numbers. Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra's party was reduced to a very small group of 16 members for the whole of country. When she found she was not allowed to have certain socialist programmes passed in the Lok Sabha she had to seek fresh mandate from the people and Lok Sabha was dissolved in 1970 and elections were held in 1971.

[Shri F. H. Mohsin]

About emergency it is true that emergency is still continuing. That is because of the situation prevailing in the country today. Even now we are not free from threat of war. Prime Minister Bhutto is often speaking in terms of war again. He is getting arms, lethal weapons etc. from America, Iran, Turkey and so many other countries which Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra is aware of. Can we say threat to our country does not exist today? No. Can we say everything is all right regarding the security of our country? No. The situation today is so different today from the situation which was prevalent when the emergency was declared. This is the position today. The threat of war is still there. But that does not mean that emergency should be continued for ever. It is not to be so. This is being reviewed. A constant review is made. If there is any atmosphere to revoke emergency Government will not hesitate to revoke the emergency. We do not think at present circumstances are there which call for revoking emergency.

Some Members on our side have replied to some of the points raised by the opposition parties. But I don't altogether say that there are no forces in our country which have got some tendency of fascist ideology. There are some individuals and some forces which have got some leanings towards this kind of fascist ideas and ideologies. They cling to these things and the Government is quite alive to these forces and they are taking effective action to unearth such forces and take action against them and to contain them. Actually it should be the endeavour of all of us including Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra to see that these forces are kept at bay which day after day try to destroy democracy. They have spoiled our democratic traditions. The very fact that such kinds of speeches are made here shows

how broad-minded we are and how democracy is functioning in this country. If there were really fascist tendencies I don't think opposition people would have dared to make such speeches in Parliament and out side. Of course they have a right to speak, I don't deny that. It is a fundamental right as per our Constitution.

I would like to say I appreciate one sentence which was passed by Congress (O) which says:

'In a democracy democratic and constitutional means should exist for righting grave wrongs and replacing one Government by another Government which promises to be more efficient and responsive.

We are not afraid of elections again. If the Government is not liked by people, we are not willing to stay even a day longer.

If we are forced, let us face the election. Let us not take to the extra constitutional methods like terrorising the Parliament Members and the Assembly Members to resign from the Assemblies and to dissolve the Assemblies. This is not a parliamentary method. This is not a democratic method. This is not a constitutional method. Let Shri Mishra act upto the Resolution which has been passed in the Congress (O). These are now the tendencies which are now taking place. Let us analyse the situation. Where shall we go if the elected Members are slapped or if they are taken in procession on the back of the donkeys with a clean shave? Where can democracy survive. Let us all condemn such acts which go against the Constitution and the democratic principles. If you want we are not afraid of the election. The elections are being held. So far, the Congress is very popular. The number of seats for which the elections were held in 1971-72 was 14. In 1971-72 by elections that were held for 14 seats, ten seats were won.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: We are convinced.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Let him say that. The election and by-elections to the Lok Sabha were held between 1971 and 1974. Out of 32 Congress has won 16. So, in 1975 out of 2 elections, we have won one. I do not think Shri Mishra's party has won any seat. We have before us the democratic principles. We always adhere to these. I would appeal to all the Opposition Parties to use constitutional methods. Prime Minister is the symbol of progressive forces. Let us all try to see that Fascism is put an end to—I mean, let us put an end to the Fascist elements—and let us adhere to the democratic principles.

I oppose this Resolution moved by Shri Mishra and I agree to the amendment moved by Shrimati Subhadra Joshi.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: Sir, he has not answered my question. He has answered the points of the Opposition. Why should not the Government issue a white paper about these extra-constitutional means and put them in a consolidated form. The Government should state these things clearly in their white paper. Why should not the Ministry of Home Affairs or Minister of Information and Broadcasting try to bring out a white paper about what is happening in this country. I want an answer to this from the Home Minister.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: That is a very good suggestion. We shall certainly consider it:

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is a matter of deep regret that some of the basic points raised during the course of the debate have not been replied to by the hon. Members from the other side.

Perhaps it was unrealistic on my part to have expected the replies to

the points that I had raised because they were, as I have submitted to you, of a basic nature. They have just escaped them.

But I do not hope that the hon. Minister has got his speech cleared or screened by the Prime Minister according to her latest diktate. That is one of the proud acts of our democratic Prime Minister which she recently promulgated—every statement of an hon. Minister must get the clearance from the Prime Minister but the Officers of Ministers Secretariat. That means not the Prime Minister but the officers of her Secretariat.

Now, Mr. Chairman, if you go by the debate in this House you will agree that J.P.'s movement has already succeeded, I might say even eminently succeeded. On everybody's nerves, on the other side J. P. seems to be sitting perpetually. My hon. friend Mr. Indrajit Gupta says that J.P. is hovering like a ghost over their heads. I hope he has asked his party at least not to be haunted by that ghost.

Mr. Chairman, It is not only during the course of this debate on this important motion that J.P.'s movement has been mentioned; it is the recurring phenomenon in this House and almost daily at least for a dozen of times J.P.'s name figures in this House. They have been denouncing J. P. without realising that they have already accepted what he stands for. Therefore J.P. to my mind is being unduly criticised by unthinking people as doing something which is detrimental to democracy. What J.P. is trying to develop is peoples' power and, if you do not have peoples' power as countervailing force to State power, than you will have a dictatorship and authoritarian rule. J.P. is striving for participative democracy.

But what have you been doing? You seem to have complacently concluded that democracy functions only

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra]

through Parliament and State legislatures. I do concede that Parliament and State legislatures are the most important organs but there is something like local democracy and peoples initiative. Tell me in how many Municipal and district organisations you have been able to hold elections and in how many you have come in the way of holding elections. If you lay all your stress on Parliament and the legislatures then what you would have is anaemia at the extremities and apoplexy at the Centre. is what J.P. is trying to avoid.

The hon. Members on the other side seem to have come to a facile conclusion that if two things are done then everything would be all right with our democracy. What do they suggest? They suggest that if the movement outside that is going on, is stopped or called off and if the Opposition does not behave in Parliament and in other State legislatures as they do then everything would be all right with the country. Therefore, their conclusion is that Opposition must fold its tent and go and sit at home. That is precisely the language of fascism. Now, if the Opposition does not function in this House in the manner and with the vigour as it does democracy would be weaker on that account. What they call character assassination is the legitimate criticism of corruption. I have always asked my hon. friends on the other side not to equate exposure of corruption with character assassination. If exposure of corruption is called character assassination, here, I have to tell you, from this side, from the entire Opposition, that we would go on exposing corruption of the ruling party wherever we find. That is precisely the business of the Opposition. But, here the Prime Minister would go about in the country and telling everybody, evoking their pity, sympathy and compassion that they want to remove her from Prime Ministership. Have you heard any-

where in the world any Prime Minister making a grievance of the attempt to remove him from office? But, this is what the Prime Minister is doing and this is what the sheepish flock of the Prime Minister in the House is doing. This is not the way in which democracy can be expected to function.

They have tried to blame the opposition of acts of violence and disorder. But, have they paused to ponder for a moment that during the interrogation in connection with the Samastipur blast, not a single member of the opposition had been interrogated? I can name so many from your side who have been interrogated. Who prevented that investigating authority from interrogating the members of the opposition if they happen to be involved in this matter? You very lightly throw charges of violence and disorder on the opposition, and here, you hold up your face against the mirror that it is all the members of your party who have been interrogated by the investigating agency during the course of investigation in connection with the Samastipur blast.

Now, my hon. friend, Mr. Bhogendra Jha said that the monopolists and capitalists were posing a threat to democracy. I agree with him that monopolists and capitalists pose a threat to democracy. That is precisely what they are doing via the ruling party. They are heaping all the resources that they can command on the ruling party; they are making this democracy a black democracy with the help of their black money. I, therefore, completely agree with him. But, may I ask my hon. friend, who does not happen to be here just at the moment, to honestly tell us whether these capitalists and monopolists have not been strengthened considerably by the policies of this regime? If this is so, who is responsible for making these monopolists and capitalists pose a threat to democracy?

Now, has not my hon. friend ever considered it necessary to assess the working of the MRTP Act? Does the Monopolies Commission function in the same way in which we conceived it? The Monopolies Commission is as good as dead. Yet, my hon. friends of the Communist Party of India would ask us to believe that here is a progressive Prime Minister who must be protected against the forces of the opposition. Then, may I ask them also to assess the working of the licensing policy? There is no such thing as licensing policy now, and therefore, the monopolists are having a field day and they never had it so good.

My friend Mr. Vasant Sathe posed a question to me: Can there be free enterprise when there is fascism? My answer is, No. Fascism cannot tolerate free enterprise. But, what you find detrimental to democracy is not free enterprise so much and it is not the threat of free enterprise that you find in this country or wherever fascism took its birth, but the monopolistic or the oligopolistic phase of the capitalist economy which precisely constitutes a threat to democracy and which brings about the emergence of fascism.

My hon. friend Shri R. S. Pandey spoke of the respect the Prime Minister shows to the Opposition. Repeated utterances of the Prime Minister denouncing the Opposition do not seem to confirm his views. The Prime Minister had at times called the Opposition anti-national; the Prime Minister says the Opposition constitutes the road block to progress. If that is the attitude of the Prime Minister do you think that any claim of that kind could be established? The Prime Minister asked the people; dialogue with whom? dialogue for what?

But my hon. friend asked me: Has not the Prime Minister been seeking your views and holding consultations

with you on important matters? My answer to that is: in 99 per cent of the cases, no. Only on those occasions which suit her she summons us to a meeting. In fact, what the Prime Minister is showing is not respect for the Opposition but intolerance of the Opposition and that is one of the vital features of fascism that the opposition is not tolerated. During the course of her interview with the Blitz, the Prime Minister says: they say, remove Indira Gandhi; is that negotiable? That is, removal of Indira Gandhi, according to the Prime Minister, is not negotiable. Everything is negotiable in the opinion of the Prime Minister; principles and programmes are negotiable but the removal of the Prime Minister is not. That, again, is not the language of a democrat but of an authoritarian leadership.

They spoke of the conditions of liberty which we have been enjoying in this country. How can you expect full freedom of thought, speech and association in this regime? Will this House forget what happened to hon. Member Dharia the other day? What was his fault? I ask the hon. Members. It was pointed out to me that no action had been taken against Mr. Mohan Dharia. We do not want that any action should be taken against him. But the indictment by Mr. Dharia of this Government was the severest and if those charges remained unreplied to, the country will think that they are completely true. You have not replied to any of his charges on the floor of the House. Why do you blame the Opposition? The Opposition has been saying precisely the same thing. We are glad that there is at least one honest person who has come out openly in a manner which confirms that the charges made by the Opposition are completely justified.

श्री शंकर देव : पवनार के अन्दर जे.पी.० की सवारत में मेरे लिये क्या हुआ ? यह बताइये । मुझे वहाँ से रिमूव कर दिया गया ।

श्री श्याम नन्दन मिश्र : आपके साथ जो बर्ताव हुआ उसमें आप के साथ हमें पूरी सहानुभूति है। मगर वहां तो बिनोवा जी से स्पष्टिबे हमारी पार्टी के ऊपर तो इसका इल्जाम नहीं आ सकता। मगर मैं पूछूँ, 7-जंतर मंतर में 1969 निर्जलिगप्पा के ऊपर श्री मोरारजी देसाई के ऊपर हाथ उठाने वाले आप की पार्टी के लोग थे। आप भूलिये मत। आप की पार्टी के लोगों ने 7 जंतर मंतर के ऊपर रेप किया।

सभापति महोदय : आप अपनी बात कहें।

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The hon. Member Mohan Dharia advocated national consensus on all important issues and problems. That was his crime. Then again he advocated a dialogue with the Opposition, dialogue with JP; that was his crime. Do you think that any shred of freedom of thought and action prevails in your party if a person who advocates a dialogue with the Opposition and wants a national consensus on all important issues and problems is treated in the manner in which he had been treated? We read in this morning's papers that Mr. K. R. Ganesh, Minister, is going to be another prey to this freedom that prevails in this party. He has been guilty of saying that the concept of national sector is a subversion of the public sector. Why this new-fangled concept of national sector when the public sector had been accepted by the nation and by Parliament? You are introducing a new concept.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: On a point of order, Sir. He is not replying to the points raised but making a new speech.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is quite right. While replying to a debate, the mover cannot make any new points.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Very soon we might hear the good tidings that Mr. K. R. Ganesh is no more in the Council of Ministers. That is the kind of party you have. Public sector is a concept accepted by the House and by the country. National sector is a new-fangled idea of an individual. What is the strange concept of a national sector? Was this public sector not a national sector? Was it an anti-national sector?

It had been said by an eminent writer that "Fascism was to Italy's autobiography". The conditions that prevail in the ruling party make me remark that if fascism comes about—but it would not come about because I have great faith in the vitality of the people, in the level of their consciousness, in the vastness and variety of this land that would be only because of the autobiography of the ruling party in this country.

They have quoted from the speeches made by many of us on many occasions. But may I recall to the House, it is not without significance that a member of the ruling party advocated limited dictatorship and had spoken effusively on its virtues, but he escaped any stricture from the party. If the hon. Member, Mr. Mohan Dharia could be dropped from the Cabinet for making an honest statement but a member of the party who dwells on the virtues of limited dictatorship is not taken to task would not one conclude that there is approval of the concept of limited dictatorship in the party.

Now we hear whisperings that extraordinary powers are necessary to fight the crises.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil): The Prime Minister has declared openly in Delhi that she has not approved the idea of dictatorship.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Do they sound convincing to you when she seems to be making profuse protestations of passion and love for parliamentary democracy?

One of the glaring instances of the parliamentary system being reduced to a farce by the ruling party was provided by no less a person than the Speaker of the Haryana Assembly, who wrote to the Prime Minister in January 1972. Brig. Ram Singh, the Speaker of the Haryana Vidhan Sabha, wrote to the Prime Minister on the 20th January 1972... (*Interruptions*). If they go on interrupting I will have to take more time. He has said that there have been only 55 sittings in ten Vidhan Sabha sessions held between July 1968 and January 1972, which included five budget sessions. Thus the average number of sittings per session came to approximately five days. Besides, there were only two non-official days in the life of the Vidhan Sabha.

श्री बरबारा सिंह : काम ही न हो, तो क्या करें।

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The Legislature functions only for five days in a session. That is what the hon. Speaker of the Haryana Assembly wrote to the Prime Minister in 1972.

Similarly, in Bihar the number of Ordinances issued was so large that one wondered whether there was an Assembly in Bihar, or even if there was one, whether it has not existed only in name. But why travel that far? What happens in this House? The hon. Prime Minister does not spend more than an hour a week in Parliament, or, say, only 24 hours during the course of a year. What did we see when Prime Minister Nehru was there? Prime Minister Nehru had such a passion for this Parliament that every day he devoted quite

a few hours here. But the present Prime Minister does not spend even one day in terms of hours during the course of a year. And the Parliament sits for nearly six months. It is this attitude of the Prime Minister which..

श्री ए० ए० बनर्जी : नेहरू जी के समय में उनके कमरे में टेलीविजन नहीं था।

श्री श्याम नन्दन मिश्र : क्या आज टेलीविजन वहाँ जाता है।

The hon. Minister spoke about the working of the emergency and MISA in this country. I have got a number of figures which I could quote. But here is a figure—not less than 20,000 people are detained for offences of political nature in one State alone. Now, you choose to call them extremists; you do not call them as political workers.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: That is wrong.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: It is not on our definition that we shall work. If I go into all the details, that will put you to shame. In what conditions these prisoners are kept behind the prison bars? The All India Women's Association came out with a report about the treatment to which women prisoners are being subjected. I would not like to report to the House exactly in the same terms in which the All India Women's Association reported on the conditions of the women prisoners during this regime.

Many prisoners are being kept as under-trials for more than three years. I ask them: would it happen in any democracy that for more than three years people are being kept as under trials?

Now, these are the conditions which would convince us that it is only an

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authoritarian regime, a totalitarian system which could work with extraordinary laws of the Emergency, the DIR and the MISA.

One final thing on which I would like to lay stress on is the stock tactics of the ruling party to create myths primarily through their mass media. I was asked about the Samastipur incident so many times, in so many ways. What did the All India Radio report on the Samastipur blast? They reported that the function had already been performed, when it had not even started, and this wonderful House has swallowed it. The function was not performed at all by that time. Yet, it was relayed by the All India Radio that the function had been performed. The All India Radio had also broadcast that the injuries caused to the late Mr. L. N. Mishra were only skin-deep and they kept on repeating it.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: It was a report by the PTI, not by the All India Radio.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: It is quite clear that as a result of their policies, contradictions are being created in the society which it is beyond their capacity to resolve. They have no coherent framework of philosophy within which they can resolve these contradictions. So, it is my humble submission that it is the Government which is responsible for creating these conditions. No other small party could create such conditions.

We have been reminded of the smallness of our strength. It is not necessary for them to make us aware of this. We are quite aware of the smallness of our party. Therefore, we say, it is only their elephantine party and their mighty Government which can create conditions for the growth of fascism in this country. It is not given to any element

in the Opposition to create such conditions. It lies only in their physical and unprincipled strength that they can create conditions for the growth of fascism.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Are you withdrawing it?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: No, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now first I put amendment No. 1 moved by Shri Daga to the vote of the House.

Amendment No. 1 was put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Then, I put the amendment moved by Shri Ram Avtar Shastri to the vote of the House.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I am on a point of order, Sir. Any amendment that negates the main resolution is not permissible at all.

Here, the entire tenor of the original resolution is against the Government. It says:

"This House is of the opinion that the Government is creating conditions for the growth of fascism in the country..."

Mr. Ram Avtar Shastri's amendment wants to delete the word "Government". That means, the very substance of the original resolution is sought to be negatived by this amendment. Therefore, this particular amendment of Shri Ram Avtar Shastri negates the main resolution and is out of order.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is too late to raise this objection. This amendment is already before the House. I will have to put it to the House. So far as I am concerned, there is no other alternative.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Sir, a point of order can be raised at any stage of the debate.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is true. But I hold that I will have to put it before the House.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Why don't you give your ruling? Your contention is that it is too late....

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: It runs counter to the main resolution. It is not a permissible amendment at all. That is precisely our submission. If they want, they may come forward with an independent Resolution on that.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Under the Rules of Procedure, at any stage of the debate, point of order can be raised, objections can be raised. Therefore, Sir, you may please give a ruling on this. Otherwise, you will set a very bad precedent. Let me humbly point this out to you. It is a very clear case of the Amendment negating the main Resolution.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: A point of order can be raised at any stage. But at the same time if there is any objection to an Amendment being admissible or not, the stage for that to be raised is when the Amendment is moved. Firstly, no objection was raised on the Amendment when it was moved. Now the Amendment is before the House. It has to be put to vote. It is too late in the day to raise this objection. That would be against the rules.

Secondly, I do not agree with him when he says that this negatives the main Resolution. The Resolution is for condemnation of fascism. He thinks that Government is responsible, but the mover of the Amendment thinks that some other people are

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responsible. But the basic Resolution is the tendency of fascism. Therefore, the Amendment does not negate the basic purpose of the Resolution. It is in order.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Under the rules, if an amendment seeks to negative the main Resolution, then it is ruled out of order by the Speaker or by the office itself. In this particular Resolution, what is the main substance? It is about the forces of fascism. Whether it is Government or some other forces, that is not the point. Professor Madhu Dandavate was skilfully saying that the crux of the problem, that the main part of the Resolution, was the Government. It is not so. Who is responsible for bringing fascism, whether it is Government or some other forces? According to Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra, it is the Government that is responsible. In the wisdom of the other members who have wisely thought, there are certain reactionary and communal forces and individuals who are responsible. According to Mrs Subhadra Joshi, certain communal and reactionary forces and anti-democratic forces are responsible. So, the substance of the Resolution about fascism is there; it has not been changed. Therefore, the amendment has not changed its complexion. Who is bringing fascism, whether it is government or some other people, that has been challenged by this amendment. Therefore, this amendment is in order. It has been accepted by the Chair and it cannot be challenged now. Otherwise, there will be no democracy.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: There are two points on which you will have to give categorical rulings, specially on the point raised by Shri H. K. L. Bhagat. I can quote to you any number of precedents in this House. Even when a particular Bill or Resolution was in progress, after the discussion had taken place and certain Clauses were also adopted, some of us have intervened at that

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

particular stage and have challenged the Constitutionality and legality of certain aspects of that Bill or Resolution, and in such cases the Speaker, and on some occasions, the Deputy-Speaker, had withheld the particular Bill or Resolution and said that this would have to be modified. On the same lines, I want to make a plea that, though at the stage of moving the Amendment no objection was raised, it is the freedom of every member of this House to rise and record his objection through a point of order at any stage of the debate. There is one article which clearly says that, so long as the amendment is not put to vote or any Resolution is not put to vote, it is perfectly in order to rise and protest against any particular aspect of the Resolution or amendment, if it is not perfectly in order. That is one aspect.

The second aspect is this. Mr. Banerjee has said that the crux of the problem is fascism. It is not so. If it is merely an academic discussion on fascism, a Resolution of this type would not have come at all. The Resolution is specifically about the responsibility of the Government for creating conditions of fascism. Therefore, the entire theme of the Resolution is the behaviour of the Government. The Government has been put in the dock by the Resolution. If you look at the debate, you will find that there was no general discussion on fascism. While on this side of the House the responsibility was thrown on the Government, on that side they tried to reply to the debate by saying that the Government was not responsible for the fascism. That was the crux of the problem. Therefore, I feel that this particular amendment which is moved by Shri Ramavatar Shastri completely negatives the resolution and at any stage we can raise a point of order and we, therefore, request you to kindly rule the amendment out of order.

19 hrs.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: I am quoting the rule. Kindly read the relevant rules.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I am sorry to say is not correct. Please see rule 177.....

SHRI SAT PAL KAPUR (Patiala): Mr. Dandavate is trying to mislead the House.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: What does rule 177 says:

"After a resolution

(1) After a resolution has been moved, any member may, subject to the rules relating to resolutions, move an amendment to the resolution.

(2) If notice of such amendment has not been given one day previous to the day on which the resolution is moved, any member may object to the moving of the amendment, and such objection shall prevail, unless the Speaker allows the amendment to be moved"

That clearly shows that an objection can be raised at the stage of moving the amendment. That has not been done here. That was the stage when he should have brought this objection. Then, kindly see another rule 347 which says:

"The Speaker may put the amendments in such order as he may think fit....."

This also shows that the objection can be raised not at this stage but at the stage when the amendment was moved. Therefore, the rules are absolutely clear. It was for them to have raised the objection at that stage. The only discretion given in 347 to the Speaker is that if he considers any amendment to be frivolous, he may refuse to put it to vote. That is that it gives a discretion to the Speaker to put the

amendments in such order as he thinks fit, and he can disallow any amendment which, in his opinion, is frivolous. There is no question of objecting to the amendment at this stage. Certainly, the amendment is not frivolous.

Now, the crux of the matters is that the fascist tendencies are growing.... (*Interruptions*). I think probably Shri Shyamnandan Badu seems to have been caught in his own trap. He must blame himself for that, by bringing forward this resolution.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I draw your attention to Rule 344 regarding amendments. It says:

"An amendment shall be relevant to, and within the scope of, the motion to which it is proposed."

MR. CHAIRMAN: This point has been raised by Prof. Madhu Dandavate already.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: In August 1974 when this amendment was moved, nobody objected to it.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I pointed out to you the exact wording of the rule. That is No. 1. We have to see whether this amendment is within the scope of the Resolution. What is the scope of the resolution? That the instrument, namely, the Government is creating conditions of fascism in the country. That is the crux of the whole matter. It is the government here. The relevant portion of the resolution is that the Government is creating conditions for the growth of fascism in the country.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Had the Government not created the conditions, then you are not against the Government?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Therefore, there is no scope for an amendment which is almost going totally opposite the main resolution. The rule is

clear that there cannot be an amendment which is completely and substantively different in nature.

The second point is: 344(2) says:

"An amendment shall not be moved which has merely the effect of a negative vote."

This amendment has merely the effect of a negative vote. The amendment moved by Shri Ramavatar Shastri is completely negative in character and, therefore, it does not stand. Of course, the Government can vote out the resolution of Shyamnandan Babu but this amendment is not in order.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Let him withdraw it.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: It is substantively different in nature.

An amendment, the scope of which is not there, the net effect of which is of a negative vote, shall not be accepted.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: Sir, Prof. Madhu Dandavate made a submission on his point of order that according to his thanking—his subjective thinking if I may say so, —

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Objective understanding of the rules of procedure...

SHRI B. V. NAIK: You may set a precedent by letting a resolution which is negative in character, and, according to Prof. Madhu Dandavate again, you may make a breach of the rules which have been laid down. But there are two things involved in this. You may also, in the course of saying yes to Prof. Madhu Dandavate set a precedent and here is an objective factor at the time when the resolution was moved and an objective factor when the amendment was moved by the two members that you may set a precedent that in future on a Resolution at any particular point of time the question of amendment may

[Shri B. V. Naik]

be turned down. There are two precedents either way which may set in. The question now for us is to understand what is the operative part of the Resolution. Is it the Central Govt. which is creating conditions of fascism or are there conditions of fascism only? Government can create conditions of fascism in two ways one, by itself being fascist in its tendencies, and, second, by not curbing the elements and the forces of reaction and of fascism. If Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra says that Government has been inactive in dealing with these fascist forces in this country then there is lot of strength in what Mr. Ramavatar Shastri has been saying. Under the circumstances, what I request you is, kindly take an objective view and not the subjective view of Prof. Madhu Dandavate. Let it be left to objective considerations of the House to come to a conclusion.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: May I suggest a way out? It will be acceptable to you also. You can keep the ruling pending. We can talk out the resolution. Otherwise it will set up a very bad precedent. We don't protest against the ruling. Please do not force us to stage a walk-out because we do not want to do it against the ruling of the Chair. Therefore what I suggest is, keep the ruling pending; we will not insist upon putting the resolution to vote.

MR. CHAIRMAN: As far as I am concerned, I have got clear views about it. The first thing is that the amendment has already been moved and it was not objected to at that stage according to rule. According to rule, this objection should have been taken at that stage. There is the rule which Mr. Bhagat has read out. I have seen that rule. The second thing is this. Growth of fascism is a dangerous thing. Now, if the House is convinced that conditions exist for growth of fascism then it has to give a finding.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Kindly read the wording of the resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have read it. If the House agrees that conditions exist, then, in that case, it has to give a finding as to who is responsible for it, and if necessary, also provide the panacea as to how to eradicate it.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: On a point of order. You have been pleased to mention two things. Once it was objected to.

MR. CHAIRMAN: How long will it go on?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: He has not given his ruling. (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, please. I have given a ruling. But, if you want to make a submission I shall listen to you for a minute or two.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: I am rising on a point of order for two reasons. One is that you have been pleased to say that at the time the amendment was moved no objection was taken.

This is a peculiar condition stated by the Chair. You are now setting a very bad precedent. This is not an ordinary thing which the Chair would be doing. The rule is clear that no amendment which falls outside the scope of the motion can be admitted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is a matter of scope. It is not a question of negating it.

SHRI ISHAQUE SAMBHALI (Amroha): After your ruling can the matter be reopened?

SHRI DARBARA SINGH: Have you given your ruling or not? That is what I want.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have permitted Shri Mishra to make a submission. What I say is the actual position and what he says is not. He is only making a submission. I am listening to him.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: This is not a sufficient condition for the Chair when it comes to judging the amendment on merits—the merit in the sense of its admissibility. Now the Chair has its own duty. If, for example, the Members have been remiss in not taking an objection to an objectionable amendment, then do you mean to suggest that the Chair has no duty in the matter? The Chair has a certain duty. Secondly, you have not read my Resolution in the spirit in which it has been conceived. My humble submission is that you have to interpret it not in a way, that has never been contemplated by me. In the Resolution I have tried to throw the blame squarely upon the Government for creating these conditions. That is the crucial point in the Resolution. That is, it is the Government which is creating the conditions and it is because of that that I say that it was a Resolution of censorious nature. I wanted to censure the Government for creating these conditions. Now, you want to shift the responsibility. I repeat I wanted to lay the blame squarely on Government. Now you see the amendment urges something different. That, I think, is not in keeping with the letter or spirit of my Resolution.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I shall read the Resolution of my hon. friend Shri Mishra.

"This House is of the opinion that the Government is creating conditions for the growth of Fascism in the country and therefore resolves that a Parliamentary Committee be constituted to make recommendations to counteract this dangerous trend."

Sir, the amendment moved by my friend is very clear.

For 'the Government is'

Substitute 'certain reactionary and communal forces and individuals are.'

I have heard the hon. Member, Shri Mishra's talking of freedom of expression or freedom of speech. But, Shri Shastriji's freedom to move his amendment should not be there.

He has moved it in the month of August 1974. The vigilant Member as Shri Mishra is, has read it many times. Perhaps he always takes the C.P.I. very seriously.

He must have read this particular amendment. He might have thought that this Resolution is going to continue indefinitely and that is why he did not take care of it. This amendment is in order.

Mr. Chairman, I give you an example. Long back some hon. Members from the Congress party moved that the left Communist parties be banned. Sir, there was no party as left Communist Party. Then, I moved an amendment that those who left the Communist Party, be banned. It was, taken up although ultimately both the Resolution and my amendment were withdrawn. Sir, I am surprised to find how in the wisdom of Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra this particular amendment which is more positive than this Resolution is not in order. Are we not entitled to express our views. That is why I request to you to allow Mr. Ramavastar Shastri to move his amendment.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am putting this amendment to vote.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Shri Samar Guha and Prof. Madhu Dandavate then left the House.

Amendment No. 2 was put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the amendment of Shrimati Savitri Shyam to the vote of the House.

Amendment No. 4 was put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the amendment of Shrimati Subhadra Joshi to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That in the resolution,—

(i) for "the Government is" substitute "certain communal, reactionary and anti-democratic elements are"

(ii) for "resolves that a Parliamentary Committee be constituted to make recommendations to counteract this dangerous trend"

substitute—

"recommends to the Government to effectively check such activities of those reactionary and communal forces and individuals in order to save our independence and democratic values which are being threatened by the said forces" (2)

The motion was adopted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the Resolution, as amended, to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"This House is of the opinion that certain communal, reactionary and anti-democratic elements are creating conditions for the growth of fascism in the country and therefore recommends to the Government to effectively check such activities of those reactionary and communal forces and individuals in order to save our independence and democratic values which are being threatened by the said forces."

The Resolution, as amended, was adopted.

19.19 hours

RESOLUTION RE: MEASURES TO REMOVE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INJUSTICES TO WOMEN.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): Sir, with your permission, I beg to move the following Resolution:

"On the occasion of the declaration by the United Nations of 1975, as 'International Women's Year', this House urges upon the Prime Minister to initiate a comprehensive programme of specific legislative and administrative measures aimed at removing the economic and social injustices, disabilities and discriminations to which Indian women continue to be subjected, particularly in the field of marriage and divorce laws, dowry customs, maternity and child welfare in the rural areas, unequal pay for equal work, educational and employment opportunities, vocational training and facilities for working mother."

I am very glad....

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member will continue with his speech next time. I wish you all a very happy Holi. The House stands adjourned to meet at eleventh hours on 7th April, 1975.

17.20 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, April 7, 1975 Chaitra 17, 1897 (Saka).