

who will not look to those days with a certain amount of nostalgia. Those were the days when the House was not only the mirror of the nation, as indeed it is today, but also a sensitive barometer of its moods and tantrums at a period that may be considered as a 'watershed' in its history. Those were the days when we witnessed democracy breaking itself loose from the precincts and confines of the elite, percolating to the grassroots, and imbuing the common man of India with a new awareness of his strength and importance. In such a situation, clashes of issues and personalities were inevitable. A meeting often sparkled with brilliance of which any Parliament in the world could be proud. It went to the credit of the House that despite all those clashes, it never overstepped its limits, and it went to the credit of the common man of India that he also was never swept off his feet, and when he was called to renew his mandate to the House he did it with a maturity and poise that took every one of us by surprise. In the context of what is happening in the rest of the world today, especially in countries neighbouring on ours, this action of the voter of India is of extraordinary significance.

From those exciting days to the present is like a journey through choppy sea to placid shores. Many of us looked to this occasion with great eagerness, but now that we have arrived, I am some what afraid of the prospect. I am afraid of the going being too smooth and easy, lest we sink into a sort of happy insensibility, lest we fail to resist the temptation to forget the clear and massive mandate that the people of India have given to this House. For, if we do so, it will be a disaster, and nobody can predict the direction that the nation will take thereafter. I am sure you will agree with me that we cannot afford to have that, and it must be our endeavour as Presiding Officers, as well as the endeavour of every hon. Member of this House, to measure up to the expectations of our people.

In the past our task was mainly to keep the House on an even keel. Today our task appears to be to try to look out and uncover hidden talents in the House, to devise some means by which these hidden

talents will have ample scope, so that the decisions that may emerge out of the discussions will prove equal to the exigencies of the situation and provide the country with the required leadership.

What we shall lack in this House because of the absence of political clashes we shall have to make up by greater awareness, greater seriousness, greater depth and greater articulation.

May I, in conclusion, thank you and the Prime Minister and the leaders of the various parties and groups for the many kind things that they have said about me.

4.00 hrs

STATEMENT RE : RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST BENGAL

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Swaran Singh.

SHRI S.M. BANERJEE (Kampur) : I wish to rise on a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER : Point of order on what ?

SHRI S.M. BANERJEE : You are aware that under the rules the Minister has every right to make a statement *suo motu* on any important matter which he thinks fit. My point of order is this, that Calling Attention Notices were tabled by us ..

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contal) : In the morning there was a meeting of the Opposition leaders, and we all agreed that a statement should be made.

SHRI S.M. BANERJEE : It is an important matter, it is a delicate matter, I know it. But a discussion should be allowed otherwise it becomes a one-way traffic. Government makes a statement and we simply hear it. So, I would request you either to keep the Calling Attention Notices

[Shri S.M. Banerjee]

pending—we have not been informed of their disposal—or the Opposition Member who who have tabled the Calling Attention Notices should be allowed to say something on this.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : I want to make this submission. The Prime Minister, I should say, showed wisdom in inviting the leaders of the opposition parties and we had an hour's discussion in the morning. We all agreed that the statement should be made by the Minister of External Affairs. Even the leader of his party was there. This is a solemn occasion; it is an occasion for expression of our firm determination, support and sympathy to the people who are suffering and it is in that light that we should accept this statement.

MR. SPEAKER : According to the procedures laid down, all of you are aware that when a Minister makes a statement it cannot be followed by questions.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) :...But by a discussion.

MR. SPEAKER : You are going to have a general discussion on the President's Address. Ample opportunities are available.

SHRI S.M. BANERJEE : There is a blood bath going on; massacre is going on.

MR. SPEAKER : I do not know how far it will be advisable.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS, MINISTER OF PLANNING AND MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : May I say that since this is a matter on which the whole House feels strongly, we might make an exception and allow the Members to express their opinion.

MR. SPEAKER : I quite appreciate the suggestion made by the Prime Minister; I am prepared to make an exception. I hope you will not repeat it. This is an exceptional exception.

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI SWARAN SINGH) : The Government of India cannot but be gravely concerned at the events taking place so close to our borders. We can, therefore, understand the deep emotions which have been aroused in this House and in the entire country.

Honourable Members are, I am sure, fully aware of political developments in Pakistan since November 28, 1969 when the President of Pakistan announced his plan for evolving a democratic Constitution and for the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.

The Government and people of India have always entertained the friendliest of feelings for the people of Pakistan. We had, therefore, hoped that a democratic evolution in Pakistan would follow its natural course and that the elected representatives would evolve a Constitution reflecting the urges of the vast majority of the people expressed through the elections held in December last year.

However, events have taken a different and tragic turn. Instead of peaceful evolution there is now a bloody conflict.

According to reports received, the Pakistan Army started taking action on the midnight of 25th and 26th March against units of the East Pakistan Rifles, the provincial police and the people. The reports are that casualties have been heavy. On the morning of March 26th, the Radio Station at Dacca was seized by the Army. Thereafter the Radio Station made an announcement of 15 new Marshal Law Regulations banning, among other things, all political activities, processions, meetings, speeches and slogans. Complete censorship of all news, Radio and Television programme was imposed.

More than two regular Divisions of the Pakistan Army are deployed in suppressing the people of East Pakistan. Our hearts go out in sympathy to the people who are undergoing great suffering.

We naturally wish and hope that even at this late stage it would be possible to resume

democratic processes leading to the fulfilment of the aspirations of the vast majority of the people there. We cannot but take note of the fact that such a large segment of humanity is involved in a conflict and that many people are suffering in the process.

Recently, when natural disaster overtook East Pakistan, the Government and the people of India along with other members of the international community responded to bring relief to the sufferings of the people there.

We are prepared to make our contribution once again, in concert with the members of the International Community or International humanitarian organisations, concerned with bringing relief to innocent victims of conflict.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN (Palghat) : What is happening in Bangla Desh, East Pakistan, is not a civil war in the real sense of a civil war. It is a war between military dictatorship on the one side and the democratic wishes and aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh on the other. In the election, the people of Bangla Desh voted for the Awami League and its leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and they fought the election on the basis of full autonomy, leaving one or two subjects—foreign affairs and defence—in charge of the Centre. Instead of accepting the result of the election and the wishes of the people, what Mr. Yahya Khan did was to suppress even the civil liberties of the people, and from the statement we understand that even the shouting of slogans is banned, and hundreds of people are shot dead.

They have also said that Sheikh-Mujibur Rahman has declared the independence of Bangla Desh and called the people to fight the occupation forces from West Pakistan.

There is another problem also which may face our country. That is, people may come from Bangla Desh—East Pakistan—and whether they are Hindus or Muslims, to give shelter to them is also a problem that will face us, and I hope an organisation has to be formed to see that all help is given to them.

We condemn the brutal onslaught and military massacre on the part of West Pakistan's military forces and wholeheartedly support this struggle of the people of Bangla Desh and call upon the people of India and the Indian Government to extend all support that should be rendered to the people of Bangla Desh.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has sought the help of Asia-African countries, in their struggle for independence, and if this continues, in course of time, we will have even to think whether we will have to support the independence of Bangla Desh and try to see that whatever help is possible is given.

SHRI H.N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta-North East) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is, as you said, an exceptional occasion when you will perhaps permit the expression of the emotion of our people in regard to something which has happened which goes against the grain of all human decency.

Bangla Desh, to which so many of us here in this House also belong, is bleeding in a thousand wounds because the people of East Bengal have risen in a kind of revolution almost without precedent in history and are now being sought to be punished by those who do not know anything but the law of the jungle.

Sir, in East Bengal, what had happened was of a great deal more significance than what the Government's statement seems to make out. In spite of the natural inhibition which must be in whatever Government is functioning in this country, I cannot understand why the wording of the statement is so lifeless and how even the evaluation of what has happened in East Bengal was so much against the true state of facts. What happened in East Bengal is something almost unprecedented in history. It was a revolution by consent. It was as a result of the ballot that a preponderant, overwhelming section of the population, in a measure which has never taken place in the history of elections, expressed themselves in favour of the autonomous rights of that province. There took place spectacles which at least a country which sweats by the name of

[Sh. H.N. Mukerjee]

Gandhi should salute in the manner that is called for at the present moment of time.

You know how when the *hartal* took place in Decca and the rest of East Bengal from the Chief Justice down to the Governor's cook, everybody stopped work. The person who was appointed Military Administrator or in some such comparable position was not given his oath of office, because the Chief Justice refused. We have never seen in history an example of a united people functioning in this manner, determined to go ahead in a peaceful and truly democratic spirit in order to bring about a change in their condition, the condition which they say is one of servitude to West Pakistan.

I am not entering into the merits of the matter, but we should all listen to the *cri de coeur* the cry from the heart which comes from East Bengal, the cry of agony. It is not the sort of agony which is weak and humiliating. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said, Bengalis know how to die like human beings. And, that is why they are fighting back. 70,000 troops are now engaged in the task of crushing the resistance of the people of East Bengal. In this posture of things, when in East Bengal a new precedent has taken place in the history of constitutional progress--You and the Deputy Speaker were talking about new parliamentary perspectives--I hope you and I learn a lesson from East Bengal, where a revolution by consent is sought to be brought about and that revolution by consent is thwarted by interests who are now at the beck and call of people whom we know very well. This sort of thing is happening. They want to make our country another battling ground for interests which want to fish in troubled waters. Here is East Bengal which wants autonomy. Here is East Bengal which wants an end to the oppression which has been exercised on it by certain interests in West Pakistan. Here is East Bengal which wanted autonomy for itself. It is being crushed. 70 million people are being sought to be crushed and we are here only talking about the embarrassment which might take place on account of something happening in a neighbouring country. There is not a word in the Government statement of genuine feeling in regard to people who

are our own people. I speak the same language as the language which is spoken in East Bengal, not me alone, but so many of us here. And, we are ashamed that the Government of this country makes a statement which makes no reference to the blood relationship which exists between our two countries. At this rate, this Government would go ahead in such a manner that in the north-eastern parts of our country--I include in it the area where Dr. Swell is resident--things might happen which might create a different sort of history than what is being looked forward to by certain people on the other side.

I wish, therefore, Government takes a more understanding view of the situation. I wish Government says, this kind of genocide against 70 million people will not be permitted. I wish Government to announce here that they would go to the United Nations or whatever other forum their Constitution might provide. Let them tell us that they are going to those forums in order to put up the case of the people of East Bengal, and we shall do so because they and we are one. We are one people. Mujibur Rahman has said so many grand things about the normalisation of relations and restoration of friendship between India and Pakistan. He did not want the demoralisation of Pakistan; he wanted only the trade and other friendly relations between our two countries should be resumed. The blackguards in that part of the country, the perfidious people who conduct negotiations in Dacca and then form the safety of Karachi declare martial law, those perfidious people are now going to do something which, as I said earlier, goes against the grain of all human decency.

I was not prepared that so soon after the election, which has given them so much of exuberance and exhilaration, they would forget even to express in a kind of humane manner, in a kind of reasonable democratic manner, the sympathy of this country for the people of East Bengal. I am very disappointed with the statement. I have no hesitation in saying I am very disappointed with the statement. If what Shri Swaran Singh has said is the last word on this subject this Government is making a terrible mistake. I hope the Prime Minister chooses—I do not know her choosing—I hope she chooses at the end of whatever discussion we

have had to far, to say something supplement the statement of Sardar Swaran Singh, and say something more concrete, say something about what India is doing or not doing in the international forum about the genocide and the bloody blackguardery which has been practised by the ruling junta in order to demolish democracy and everything that is human and decent in our country and in our sub-continent.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI (Bhubaneswar): Sir, this is the most serious moment in the history of India and Pakistan and in fact the whole of South Eastern region. From what has been reported in the newspapers and from the statement of the Foreign Minister we know the immense suffering of the people of Bangla Desh and we have to express the deep anguish in our hearts, in the heart of our Prime Minister, our government, all parties here and the whole people of this country. I think the Prime Minister should give a little expression to her anguish when she makes a statement to supplement what the Foreign Minister has stated so that the brave fighters of Bangla Desh, who are fighting against colonial domination, who are waging one of the biggest battles in Asia's history for upholding human rights and liberty would find a little solace from the anguished heart of our Prime Minister.

I would like to know from the Minister of External Affairs whether there has been any appeal from Mujibur Rahman and the brave fighters of Bangla Desh for any help from Asian countries, whether any such call has come to our government and whether their emissaries have reached our government. Secondly, is it not a fact that the Mujibur Rahman is exercising a moderating influence in Bangla Desh and if he is not helped in some way the extremist elements will take over, which would not be in the interests of India? I hope the hon. Minister will give a little clarification. Thirdly, will the Government see that no further arms go by Indian Ocean and the Indian Navy will take charge of it as our government have done in the case of over-flights of arms and ammunitions to Bangla Desh. Government should make their position clear on this. The people of India would like to know

whether in this moment of crisis the brave fighters of Bangla Desh have sought any assistance and whether this government is going to help them, at least by expressing our sympathy, so that they could carry on this unequal fight against the dictatorship of West Pakistan.

DR. V.K.R. VARADARAJA RAO (Belary): Sir, as a member of the ruling party, I rise to express my sense of great grief at the suppression of democracy which is going on in East Bengal today. Almost for the first time in Indian history, or the history of this sub-continent, a non-violent movement has succeeded beyond all expectations. I would even go to the length of saying it has succeeded beyond what it has in our own beloved country of India. The leader of that non-violent movement was carrying on peaceful negotiations; he was not demanding independence; he was demanding autonomy and the redress of long-standing grievances. That such a demand should have been met by the use of brutal force against an unarmed and wholly non-violent people is unimaginable. I do not think history has ever seen the Chief Justice of a part of a State refusing to administer the oath of allegiance to the martial law administrator. I do not think any radio station, of its own accord, has ever been taken charge of non-violently by the leaders of the people as in East Bengal. Such things did not happen in our own country during the height of the Gandhian movement. That such a wholly non-violent movement for the establishment of democratic rights of the people of East Bengal should have been suppressed by tanks and armed forces brought in within a period of seven days when negotiations were supposed to be going on is something which cannot be imagined.

12.00 hrs.

Whether it is our neighbour or not is not the point. East Bengal is a part of the world and we have proclaimed, as the President was himself pleased to say, that India's voice shall be raised wherever there is injustice, wherever there is oppression. I think, there can be no more outstanding example of injustice and oppression and

[Dr. V.K.R. Varadaraja Rao]

the use of violence than what we have seen taking place in East Bengal.

I would like to remind the hon. leader of my party that in 1947, when we had not yet formed a Government of this country and when her distinguished father was the leader of the so-called interim Government of India, he called an Asian People's Conference. I happened to be at that time. One of the 48 Members of the Indian delegation. That Asian People's Conference was called in order that the voice of India might be raised on behalf of those people of the world fighting against oppression and tyranny. There can be no better example of such a fight against oppression and tyranny than what is taking place across our frontiers of West Bengal. I know the leader of my party and the Prime Minister of India has got at least as much courage, if not more, as that of her father.

I must say, in this connection, that I am very much disappointed at the statement of my hon. ex-colleague, the Minister of External Affairs, in attempting to club India's offer of relief for cyclone victims with the relief for the people who are suffering in East Bengal from the armed attacks of tanks, etc. To give relief to whom? To the dead people in East Pakistan? I do not know. I would like to request the hon. leader of my party to take a leaf from her father's book and to convene an Asian People's Conference in order that the last vestiges of colonialism might be removed from the Asian continent and the people be permitted to live free and self-respecting lives and also be free to frame their future according to their own democratic rights.

SHRI KRISHNA MENON (Trivandrum): Mr. Speaker, Sir, what we say in this House has a much vaster audience than I see in the House and the whole of the country. There should be no doubt in the minds of the people that we recognise what has happened in East Pakistan is a national revolution a national movement against, colonial regime which has been going on for some years.

I do not want to take the little time that you will allow me in discussion. I

want to submit to the Government that we should make it very clear that we shall exercise our utmost obligation to provide the right of asylum to the oppressed people of East Bengal, whether you call them refugees or whatever it is. We should not be merely content with the denial of our air space arising from the skyjacking and the normal reprisal that follow. I hope, the Government will take immediate steps to invoke the Geneva Convention. This country will be responsible, in a large measure, in formulating a convention in view of things happening there.

So long as our diplomatic representatives remain in Islamabad, we should obtain correct information on which we will be able to argue the case in the United Nations.

It will be a great mistake at this time to be cynical and say, 'We can do nothing in the United Nations and Parliaments.' We have to use every forum of the world. When certainly a large volume of public opinion in this country is exercised about the repression and oppression that goes on in Mozambique and Angola or in other parts of Africa, when most of us are supporting the struggle of the Vietnamese people against imperialism or of the Arab people against another kind of imperialism, how can we remain unconcerned about the people who are next door to us? I am not for a moment suggesting that we should in any way violate international laws so long as they exist and we should not promote this revolution. We should not follow the bad example of Pakistan and do what they are doing in Kashmir. This is a spontaneous movement on the part of the people sanctified by the result of the elections permitted by the ruling party itself. Therefore, while it is a revolution by consent in the classical sense, it is a revolution which has been sanctified by the vote of the people and there can be no two ways about this. And I do hope that the Prime Minister will find her way to enable organizations like the Indian Red Cross to move out, and if the authorities concerned refuse, then other steps should be taken.

Afro-Asian opinion which is exercised by colonial rule persisted in promoting

the movements inside international spheres to draw attention to the situation where it not the opportunity to govern, it is not the desire for reform like separation of executive from judiciary but it is a revolution of the people, a revolution demanding independence. I hope the time will not be far off when this Government will recognise the new Government set up by the people and not make the mistake as in regard to North Vietnam and East Germany. (*Interruptions*) because delay in these matters makes it difficult. When a government is established, reasonably established, commands habitual obedience of the people and is able to perform its obligations, even under the American law, it ought to be recognized immediately. So, if an application or a request is made by the new Government of East Bengal—I do now call it Bangla Desh because there is another Bengal—whatever it is called, we should not tinker about it and take the risk of recognizing that Government.

Finally, I want to say, Mr. Speaker, that we should do everything in our power to prevent imperialist intervention in these troubled waters. The British Government which quit from this part of the world, first from India and afterwards from Ceylon is providing a base for observation if the news is correct. Other Great Powers of the world are doing the same. Imperialism has got a habit of fishing in troubled waters and our timely intervention and protest goes a long way, because intervention so close to our borders spells nothing but disaster.

I thank you, Mr. Speaker, for giving me an opportunity to say a few words.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Sir, to-day I am one of the happiest men in this sub-continent because I had the privilege to work with Mujibur Rehman for five years in East Bengal and I was dubbed a mad man for, as far back as 1952, I wrote a book in which I said that independent East Bengal is bound to come due to the internal contradictions of the two wings of Pakistan. Thereafter, I wrote several articles and books and every time I was dubbed as nothing but a mad man. But, Sir, the dream of a mad man to-day is being fulfilled and that is why I feel very much happy to-day.

The declaration of independence by Bangla Desh is the greatest event after Partition of the Indian sub-continent. Perhaps it will give us a momentous occasion, a historic opportunity to undo the misery—I don't mean Partition, but, undo the misery of the Partition. Sir, it is an example of a total revolution by the total people of Bangla Desh against the colonial rule of West Pakistan over 75 million of that country.

Mujibur Rehman has shown one of the wonderful revolutionary leaderships the world has ever witnessed. We all know when Mr. Bhashani was the leader of the National Awami League he was creating all kinds of troubles with the help of the Chinese. But now all the parties; the National Awami League, the Convention Muslim League, the National League of Pakistan, the Council Muslim League and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, all the parties and organisations are completely unified under the leadership of Mujibur Rehman.

It is a matter of great gratification that now the total civil administration of East Bengal is under the total control of the Awami League and their Sangram Parishad. Only in the cantonment areas and in some other urban areas the 80,000 people of the army of Pakistan have some limited control. May be, with the help of the tanks, with the help of planes and machine guns they may cause butchery, they may cause massacre of thousands of those revolutionaries in East Bengal. But ultimately they will have to bow down and surrender to them. Because, these 80,000 people of the army will be squeezed by 7½ crores the people.

Those who have any elementary idea of the geographical situation of Bangla Desh know this. There are many rivers there. It is impossible even for logistic reasons to suppress the total revolution of the total population there.

I would remind the Prime Minister that such movements in the life of a nation, in the history of a nation, do not come always. It is a decisive time. It is time for decisive action by the leader of the Indian Government. I said on many occasions that real solution of Indo-Pakistan problems does not lie in

[Shri Samar Guba]

Kashmir but in the revolutionary movement in East Bengal and in its concept of 'Swadhin Bangla.' If the revolutionary movement in East Bengal succeeds, which it is bound to, then there will be revolutionary change and political correlation in the entire sub-continent, and in the entire relations between India and Pakistan also.

I do say that immediately the Government should give recognition to the independence Republic of Bangla Desh. We have to see what are the conditions that a nation and a people must fulfil to exercise their complete sovereignty and to proclaim their sovereignty. It is to be seen that the Awami League secured 162 Membership, more than the total majority of the membership that represents the Pakistan National Assembly.

Therefore, if the internationally accepted democratic principles have any meaning, those people of Bangla Desh have every right to declare and proclaim themselves as an independent and sovereign State.

They are in physical control of the land of Bangla Desh completely. They are in physical control of civil administration having total loyalty of the total population there. They have their own government and own flag. All the conditions fulfilling sovereignty are all present there. Therefore they have every right in the real democratic sense to declare themselves an independent country and India has also a right, according to the International principles to accept and accord recognition to that Independent State of Bangla Desh.

This is a delicate matter. I don't say India should jump on East Bengal with her military. Short of military intervention, short of going against international code and diplomatic relations, India should go all out to give all possible help to the people of East Bengal and the revolutionaries there.

I would suggest a few things. India should immediately mobilise world opinion. I would remind the Prime Minister about this. This is the first time the leaders

of Bangla Desh have requested India, Ceylon and other Asiatic and world countries to extend to them all kind of help. They have declared it openly. Therefore this is not something against the will of the people of Bangla Desh. The sovereignty of the Independent Govt. of Bangla Desh has got to be recognised,

I would also request the hon. Prime Minister to take the matter of the genocide of the civilian people and the massacre of thousands of innocent freedom-lovers of East Bengal to the UN Human Rights Commission immediately and without any further delay.

I would also request the hon. Prime Minister to request the Government of Ceylon as also the Government of Britain not to allow the Colombo port and the Maldiva islands to ferry arms and ammunition and the Military personnel of West Pakistan into East Pakistan. I would request Government to invite the attention of the other Government to the fact that the Pakistan Navy may not be allowed to operate in the Bay of Bengal and in the Indian Ocean to carry the murderers, the killers and the butchers from west Pakistan to East Bengal.

I would also make one other request. I know that thousands of Bengalis of Bangla Desh are terrorised, and those terrorised Bengalis have taken shelter near the Karachi airport. They do not know what will happen to them. They are also being butchered. Therefore, I would request Government to permit them a safe passage through India over-route either by train or otherwise and by giving them all sorts of facilities for going back to their homeland.

In conclusion, I would say that this is a momentous occasion. Let us not fail in this historic moment. Let the Prime Minister act as a courageous daughter of Mother India, raise the banner of defending revolution in Bangla Desh and act up to the dawn of a future India.

My salute to Bangla Desh ? Jai Bangla: Jai Hindi ? Mujibur Rahman *zindabad*; Netaji *zindabad*! Netaji is the inspiration of Mujibur Rahman. I personally know that.

SHRI A.K. SEN (Calcutta North West) : This is not merely a grave moment but a very proud moment, and we are all happy to see, though very very anguished, that an entire nation has risen in revolution, and merely revolt, against the oppressors who have been exploiting them for years and decades. Many of the areas which are now crimson red with human blood are known to us personally. There were scenes in them in our struggle for freedom, where thousands of martyrs had shed their blood under the British bullets. Happily again, those are the scenes again where the bullets of West Pakistan have come to now down millions of innocent people who only want to live like decent citizens and want to cherish the great rights to which they are entitled. What have they done? They have merely voted their leader to power. They have voluntarily given all the authority to that leader. He did not wrest authority by military force like Ayub Khan or Yahya Khan. People gave all authority to him voluntarily, and the consent of the people was writ large every where. When these great leaders of the military were there in East Pakistan, they saw with their own eyes the flag of Bangla Desh flying aloft every house and every building, except the Government House and the military headquarters, and as a punishment, the military have unleashed the engines of war on an entirely innocent people who number about 70 million. Millions of women have come out into the streets, and we are all proud of them. They are the flesh of our flesh and the blood of our blood. They are people who still speak one of our languages. The songs that they have been singing on the radio have inspired our people for ages. And there are the people to lay who are going butchered by these brigades brought across the seas and armed with foreign arms for the purpose of killing these innocent individuals, men, women and children.

I recall those days when our Prime Minister's great father called the consciences of the world to unite against the Dutch who ferried across the sea their soldiers to suppress the freedom movement in Indonesia. That moment has again arrived. I would appeal to our Prime Minister to take the same leadership.

But this is not the voice of Bangla Desh alone. This is not the voice of West Bengal alone. It is not our individual voices, but the voice of Asia, the voice of the colonial world which is speaking out to the whole humanity for succour and help in their hour of distress and in their hour of enslavement.

Therefore the Prime Minister will be giving that leadership, which she has given to the country, to the whole of Asia if she takes courage in her hands and calls for a total human endeavour against this oppression and this conspiracy to enslave an entire people.

This is not a moment for India alone it is moment for the entire free world, and if we rise, then we shall always be remembered as a people who merely not shouted our help to the oppressed but have actually shown how that sentiment can be translated into action. Therefore, the time for action has come, not merely extending our sympathy to those related millions across our borders. They are closely related to us, they are friendly to us, they need our help, and if we deny that help to them today, we will not be forgotten by these free people in the future.

Let us organise ourselves and give all the help we can unofficially. Let Government as an institution rise up and stop all flow of arms into East Pakistan, blockade, if necessary, those ports and seize those ships which carry lethal weapons for the purpose of butchering an innocent people. That is a duty we owe by reason of our allegiance to the Charter of the UN, by virtue of our protestation in the past and by our being a signatory to the Genocide Convention. That enjoins on us to put a stop to genocide in any part of the world, particularly when it is practised on a people who are so near and dear to us.

The words of the External Affairs Minister, though very encouraging, though full of sympathy, have frankly disappointed many of us. I share the sentiments of prof. Mukerjee when he said that a much stronger language is needed, a much more decisive voice was expected to meet a situation which is unparalleled in the history of the world.

[Shri A. K. Sen]

I remember when the French Revolution started and the shouts of the Paris mobs reached Versailles the king asked: 'Are the people in revolt?' His Minister said, 'No, sir; it is a revolution!' Prof. Mukerjee will remember that.

Therefore, this is not merely a groan and anguish of a people who have been exploited for years, this is the voice of revolution of an entire people which cries out for not merely succour and sympathetic words but positive action so that the conscience of the world awakes and frowns upon and destroys those very people who, armed with foreign arms have descended themselves upon innocent people to butcher them.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN (Madras North): The statement of the Minister of External Affairs is not only not convincing but, I am sorry to say, terribly disappointing. The concern and feeling of the House have already been manifested by so many speakers who have preceded me. Shri A. K. Sen who spoke just before me has said that strong language is required to be used. So far as I am concerned, what is required is not strong language, but strong action to be taken, whether it is visible or invisible.

The ballot which has given status, recognition, position and independence to the people of East Bengal has been snatched away and killed by the bullets that have been poured ceaselessly by Islamabad. What is going on in East Bengal is not just a fight between some people in East Bengal and the military regime; the entire people of East Bengal in a full, complete, total effort are waging a war against certain military goondas engineered by the President of Pakistan, Yahya Khan.

In this context, what action could the Government of India contemplate? This is the question which must receive the attention of the majority of members here. I want to stress one point very clearly. Already the Government of India has been accused of instigating the people of East Pakistan. By means of an open declaration that we are for the people of East Pakistan, I am sure we are spoiling and ruining the cause of the people of East Pakistan. But secretly or otherwise what action the Government

could think of taking, we must leave it to the Government of India. Let us not embarrass the Government in that particular position.

So far as political parties in this sub-continent are concerned, I think public opinion can be created against the genocide that is being unleashed in East Pakistan, for which each political party can contribute a lot. All party conventions or all-party meetings can be held and through them we can mobilise public opinion. We can focus the attention of the entire sub-continent people, and we can show our moral sympathy with the people of East Pakistan. As to whether something more than mere moral sympathy can be given, that has to be left to some secret agencies or international agencies.

That does not mean that the Government can keep quiet. It can diplomatically move the issue. Government can raise the issue in the United Nations in the Human Rights Commission or any other forum which is suitable for focussing attention on what is going on in East Pakistan.

We had a meeting in the morning with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is much concerned about it, and the External Affairs Minister is equally worried about it, but in spite of this, the statement has disappointed us terribly. So, I request the Government of India to pay some more consideration, and convey the sentiments expressed by the people and the Members of this entire august body to responsible bodies, especially the Asian-African countries and mobilise world opinion.

While I say this I am not asking the Government to interfere in the internal affairs of any country. Now it has ceased to be an internal affair of Pakistan because lakhs and lakhs of people are being machinegunned, children have been massacred and ladies are being butchered and molested. We can take it up from the angle of human rights, and on that basis. I think the Government can do a lot for the people of East Pakistan. Let us create goodwill and thereby let us establish your contacts with East Pakistan and show our sympathy to the people of East Pakistan.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: No longer East Pakistan, but Bangla Desh.

SHRI K. MANOHARAN : Mr. Samar Guha has got his association with Rehman, and he has every right to say so. I have no objection to call it Bangla Desh or anything, but as it is today let us call it East Pakistan, and let us see that Bangla Desh also comes into being to the satisfaction of the entire people of the sub-continent.

SOME HON. MEMBERS *rose...*

MR. SPEAKER : Only a few Members sought Permission to ask questions or clarifications, but it has developed into a regular debate. That is the difficulty when you make an exception, that it develops into a debate.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi) : It is an important event, and every party should be allowed.

श्री जगन्नाथ राय जोशी (शाजापुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हाल में पाकिस्तान में जो बट-नाए हुए हैं उनसे सभी को बड़ा गहरा घबका लगा है। पड़ोसी देश पाकिस्तान में जो हो रहा है, उसकी ओर से हम प्रासों प्रोबल नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसका कारण यह भी है कि बंगाल के पश्चिम बंगाल में भी स्थिति कोई कम बिस्फोटक नहीं है। पाकिस्तान के जन्म काल से ही हम उम्मीद लगाए बैठे थे कि पाकिस्तान के साथ मित्रता के सम्बन्ध बनें। उस की दृष्टि से जो पहला काम हो सकता था वह यह था कि पाकिस्तान के अन्दर प्रजातन्त्रीय ढंग का शासन चले। इसलिए हाल में पाकिस्तान के अन्दर चुनाव सम्पन्न हुए और उन चुनावों के नतीजे निकलने के बाद हम आशा कर रहे थे कि पाकिस्तान में संविधान समा बैठेगी और प्रजातन्त्रीय ढंग का शासन वहाँ कायम होगा और चुनावी रूप से वहाँ का शासन चलेगा। किन्तु हाल की घटनाओं ने हमारी सारी उम्मीदों और आशाओं पर पानी फेर दिया है। दो दिन की खबरें आई हैं, उन से तो ऐसा लगता है कि केवल प्रजातन्त्र का ही जवा नहीं चोटा जा रहा

है, बल्कि, अध्यक्ष महोदय, वहाँ नर-नेष चालू है, खुला हत्या-काण्ड चालू है और यह जो गृह-युद्ध का रूप उन्होंने अभी लिया नहीं है, किन्तु वह गृह-युद्ध का रूप ले और किसी बाहरी ताकत का हस्तक्षेप, प्रत्यक्ष या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से, उस में सम्मिलित हो कर हमारे लिये समस्या को ज्यादा जटिल बनाने के पहले ही हम को कामन्वेल्थ कन्टीज या अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय भावाज संरक्षित करके, उस का दबाव डाल कर पाकिस्तान को इस से रोका जाय और पाकिस्तान की जनता जो खुले रूप से अपने प्रजातन्त्रीय अधिकारों के लिये संघर्ष कर रही है, उस के साथ केवल अपनी सहानुभूति प्रकट करने से ही काम नहीं चलेगा, बल्कि उन को यह अधिकार दिलवाने की दृष्टि से अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय दबाव पाकिस्तान पर ला कर वह अधिकार मिले, ऐसा प्रयत्न सरकार करे—यह मैं चाहता हूँ।

DR. HARI PRASAD SHARMA (Alwar) : The response of this House has been little more acute. We had been a little more emotionally involved than some cold-blooded diplomats in distant countries. I do not think we need a lot of explaining it. Our response has been so acute because of the attack on our fundamental values. Some of the basic things which we hold in esteem are being attacked. It is not only an attack by the Pakistan military junta against the other Part of the country but the values which we hold basic are also under attack. We have all along championed the cause of the freedom of people all over the world. We have also chosen one definite path of independence which we hold dear and still continue to cherish. The people of East Pakistan have been waging a non-violent disciplined struggle against the oppression by the other part of the country and I think the response which this country ought to hold to our neighbour should be a little more on the positive side.

There will be other problems coming up very soon. Events will be over-taking us if we do not make decisions at the right moment and if we postpone things. May I commend to the attention of the Govern-

[Shri Hari Parshad Sharma]

ment the proverb that justice delayed is justice denied; delay will be denying justice to the people of East Bengal and to their aspirations.

There would be another problem which would be coming up very soon--the question of the recognition of the *de facto* Government of East Bengal. I think the Government should be prepared. We do not want to go into the theoretical discussions on recognition and the requirement that a nation needs for recognition. It can easily be recognised that the four basic norms which are to be fulfilled for recognition are there. The people of East Pakistan have a territory; there is a definite population there; they have a definite ethnic identity and there is the *de facto* control by the Government, if I may say so of Mujibur Rehman. Because of normal restraints on Governments if they feel that they should not say too much it is understandable but I should point out that if we do not take steps at the proper time, we shall be betraying not only the interests of our neighbour but we shall also be betraying our own basic, cherished precepts. This is not the first instance. When similar developments took place in Indonesia, we did take positive action. We did not have to send, nor did we in fact send, any armed forces. There is always another line of action. There was a conference of the international community which was convened in New Delhi. I think the least we can do is to take some steps in that direction. I should only suggest that whatever the Government does should be done recognising fully the feelings of the entire population of this country and should be such that we might not be ashamed of in years to come.

[SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Bengal): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have no hesitation in saying that the statement made by the Government is pale and anaemic. I would even say that it is lifeless and it is particularly amazing that it should be so from a Government which with all its talk of massive strength behind it.

I would also like to preface my remarks by a few words because here we have been erred lightly on the side of caution. We have never spoken ill of Pakistan. Even

today, if we offer any remarks it is only with a view to getting it out of the trouble in which it has deliberately landed itself. But, at the same time, we cannot behave like the French noblemen who, when he was informed that a revolution had broken out, said that he had decided to ignore it. We cannot shut our eyes, as it has been very emphatically pointed out by other hon. Members, to the genocide going on our borders, to the ruthless suppression of human liberties and democratic urges and aspirations of the people who were till the other day our kith and kin, the very members of our families.

We cannot also shut our eyes to the clear attempts to undo the democratic elections which had been held recently in that area and particularly to the serious developments into to which may have many dimensions on our borders. I do hope that the Government would be keeping a watchful eye not only on our eastern borders but also on our western borders, because it is not a moment only to think about certain developments that are taking place in a particular area but they have a tendency to proliferate and to spread in some other areas in other ramification.

I would also like to hope that the Government would take steps that the outside powers like the GENTO or the SEATO do not intervene in this matter in any way and create an excuse for being on the neighbouring soil to the menace of all of us. That is another thing which the Government will have to keep in mind.

Now, ever we might say either on this side of the house or on the other side of the house must be in such a way that they are not construed to be in anyway pronouncement of a nature which might help the enemies of some of the healthy trends that are under way in Pakistan before the people because we are always painted as a perpetual enemy of Pakistan. And if such things are said here which might be construed both to their advantage, that is, the advantage of the enemies of those healthy trends, then we would not be able to do a distinct service to those democratic urges and aspirations which are unfolding themselves in Pakistan.

Lastly, my party would feel satisfied-

even though the statement made by the Government is not satisfactory in any manner—and we will be satisfied if we have an inkling of the fact that the Government has a real understanding of the situation in Bengal and it is in close touch with the fast developing situation there, because with their real understanding and very real alertness on the part of the Government we hope everything else would follow. We would not ask the Government to say more on this occasion.

Finally, we also cannot relent in our duty to project the fact before the international community that there is now a total ruthless suppression of human liberties and the appropriate manner in which it can be projected before them must be taken recourse to as soon as possible. The Government, I have no doubt, will not despair of the diplomatic moves that may be set in motion on this account, so that the situation there is brought under control and the democratic rights and aspirations of the people are brought to a consummation, as they were trying to do, through the results of the election, without much loss of human life. Let me convey on behalf of my party—now I find there is total solidarity in this House, not only this House but in the country outside too—that the people are suffering there for having waged a courageous, self-reliant and powerful movement for the expression of the sovereignty of the people. The movement seems to be so powerful and self-reliant that the Government of Pakistan can never have the excuse of saying that it is being backed by outside powers. Rather I am afraid the Government of Pakistan may arm itself with the support of the outside power to suppress them. The movement is bound to be self-propelling and self-reliant and ultimately it is my hope that the movement will succeed because of the moral strength that has been built in the people.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar) : Mr. Speaker, my heart bleeds for my brethren in East Pakistan and I share the agony and anxiety of this House with regard to the happenings in East Pakistan. But I must say that I am not carried away by emotion. In this great hour of crisis facing the millions of people in East Pakistan, we must not lose our head; we must not be carried away

by emotion. Every word uttered in this House should help to promote the freedom struggle of East Pakistanis, rather than give a handle to men like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, that destroyer of our Fokker Friendship, that destroyer of Indo-Pak relationship and that destroyer of Pakistan ultimately, to label Mujibbur Rahman as an Indian agent. I was a witness to the revolution in Pakistan in 1969 when only one charge was levelled against Mujibbur Rahman in the Agartala conspiracy case that he is a spy, an agent of India. Our remarks here should not strengthen the hands of Bhutto. (*Interruption*). Let us not lose sight of the harsh realities. Let us not lose sight of the existing conditions in Pakistan. So far we have got only a part of the report; we have not got the fullest report you to what is happening in East Pakistan, whether that great freedom fighter Mujib is alive or not, whether he is in the hands of Pakistanis or not. Let us not rush with suggestions that we should recognise East Pakistan. I am giving expression to my views in this case..... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Yours is an isolated voice.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM : It may be a minority voice. Still, let it be registered. I have my democratic right to convey my voice of dissent. In the same way as you express your views, I have my basic right to express my view.

Suggestions have been made that the case should be referred to the United Nations. I, as a Kashmiri, know what the United Nations does in situations like this. They make a mess of the whole thing. What have they done in Kashmir? You went to the United Nations and you expected a solution in eight days. Now 24 years have passed and still you have not found any solution.

The people of East Pakistan are facing aggression. They are facing the imperialist intrigues. This is not the way to rush with suggestions "let us accept" or "let us not accept". At this stage our agony and anger should find restrained expression. I am in full agreement with the government and I appreciate the stand taken by the government. I would like to say to the Foreign Minister

[Shri S.A. Shamim]

that the restrained tone of the statement is the need of the time.

Mujibur Rahman, who has started the movement, needs the sympathy of all of us. He never started the movement on the understanding that Indian Parliament, Indian Government or the Indian people will rush to his aid with arms. He is a brave individual. From whatever little I know of him, he is brave enough to fight against Pakistani imperialism, to fight against Pakistani army. Our expression of sympathy is there and it is placed on record. I am sure he will draw sustenance from this that the Indian Parliament, the representatives of India have expressed their sympathy and their agony on what is happening in East Pakistan.

In this hour of crises let us not forget that we have situations in this country which can be exploited by those whom we are accusing today, in Bengal and in other parts of the country. Are you not aware of the implications of supporting the right of secession to one part of the country or the other? I do not support secession and I do not agree that it should be done.....
(Interruptions).

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Seven and a half crore of people are declaring their independence. You have no right to say what you have said.....(Interruptions).

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM : This Government has recognised the Yahya Government. This Government has not withdrawn its recognition of Yahya Government up to this day. I am speaking consciously and I am speaking with a full sense of responsibility. I for one would not support the right of secession. We have to study the implications, legal and political, of what you are saying. My heart goes to the people of Bengal and I am grieved by what is happening in East Pakistan. But our expression should be a dignified expression, our expression should be a restrained expression. I convey on my behalf that in this battle against Pakistan army, in this battle against Pakistani imperialism, the Indian people, the people of Kashmir in particular are with Mujibur

Rahman, that great hero, that great freedom fighter.

SOME HON. MEMBERS *rose*—

MR. SPEAKER : This cannot go on indefinitely.

SHRI P. K. DEO : I would like to place before the House the views of my party.

MR. SPEAKER : He forgets that I have allowed all the major parties and also a few important members.

SHRI P. K. DEO : Ours is a national party and we would like our views to be recorded here.

MR. SPEAKER : I will give two minutes to Dr. Melkote and Shri Deo. After that the Prime Minister will be called.

DR. MELKOTE (Hyderabad) : We have to understand in the proper perspective what is occurring in East Pakistan. When we consider the developments in East Pakistan we have to remember our own past, when we were under colonial rule and the British dominated us and used such force against us as they deemed fit. At that time we expected the governments all over the world to come to our support and whenever we read in the papers that such support was forthcoming from some foreign governments in our travail in 1930 and 1942 we felt most happy. At this juncture we shall be failing in our duty if we do not express our feeling of sympathy and support to their cause. They have democratically shown that they have got a majority and they are fighting a battle in a non-violent manner. It will be a sorry day in India, to whom the whole world looks for guidance, fails to give encouragement and support to the people who are waging a non-violent struggle against a military dictatorship. That is the point that I would like to make before you. It is the duty of the people of India and the Government of India to help the oppressed people of East Bengal where the battle is going on. The Government has failed to express our sentiments adequately. This is an occasion when the support in every possible manner has got to be extended quickly to the people of East Bengal

who are raising a battle for independence in a very dignified and non-violent manner.

I support all the Members who have spoken of this. But I must say that the statement made by the External Affairs Minister is both insufficient and inadequate.

MR. SPEAKER : I have just received the news from the P.T.I., I think, it is coming from our own teleprinter. It says that the East Bengal leader Mujibur Rahman has been arrested. Radio Pakistan announced today...(*Interruptions*).

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Shame, Shame !

MR. SPEAKER : The arrest was made after mid-night last night. Shri P. K. Deo.

SHRI P. K. DEO : Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the Swatantra Party, I associate myself with the spontaneous and popular upsurge of 75 million people of Bangla Desh and support their aspirations for autonomy for which they got a clear mandate in elections of December, 1970.

When I speak of Bangla Desh, I remember Pakistan which is a geographical absurdity and the partition of the country on the basis of religion which might have been accepted by the Congress to step into the shoes of the Government. But we who surrendered everything, whatever our forefathers built, at the feet of the mother-land for the integration of the country cannot reconcile ourselves to that situation.

In this grave moment, I remind the Government of India to take a lesson from the follies they have made on the illegal occupation of Tibet by China or on the rape of Hungary or on the aggression of Czechoslovakia, and not to toe the wrongful line that they have taken in the past. They should rise to the occasion and they should fully support the aspirations of the people of Bangla Desh.

At this moment, I request the Government on behalf of the Swatantra Party to take the earliest opportunity to raise this question in the Commission on Human Rights at the United Nations and in the Afro-Asian

Conference and in all other international forums, and at the same time to send all sorts of relief and medical aid to the people there.

Lastly, I salute those brave martyrs who are laying their lives for their motherland. I have full sympathy with them.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS, MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all if, I may say so, you have the House, some news we have received.....

MR. SPEAKER : I thought the office had sent it to me to announce it. I do not know.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : The point is that this news has come through Radio Pakistan and, therefore, I cannot say whether it is true or not. We should not automatically take it as true because it could be just propaganda.

Sir, strength does not lie in words. If my colleague Sardar Sahib has not spoken with passion, it is not due to lack of feeling either on his part or on the part of the Government but because of the fact that we are deeply conscious of the historic importance of this movement and the seriousness of the situation.

Something new had happened in East Bengal—a democratic action where an entire people had spoken with almost one voice. We had welcomed this, not because we wanted to interfere in another country's affairs, but, because those were the values, as one of my hon friends pointed out, for which we have always stood and for which we have always spoken out. And we had hoped that this action would lead to a new situation in our neighbouring country which would help us to get closer, which would help us to serve our own people better and create an entirely new situation in this sub-continent. As our statement has said, this did not happen and a wonderful opportunity for even the strengthening of Pakistan has been lost and has been lost in a manner which is tragic, which is agonising and about which we cannot find strong enough words

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

to speak. This again is a new situation but in a different way. It is not merely the suppression of a movement, but it is meeting an unarmed people with tanks. We are in close touch, as close touch with the events as is possible in such a situation.

I am sure hon Members will understand that it is not possible for the Government to say very much more on this occasion. I would like to assure the hon Members who asked whether decisions would be taken on time, that obviously that is the most important thing to do. There is no point in taking a decision when the time for it is over. We are fully alive to the situation and we shall keep constantly in touch with what is happening and what we need to do. I agree with him also that we must not take merely a theoretical view. At the same time we have to follow proper international norms. Various other suggestions have been made about genocide and so on, about which we are fully conscious and which we have also discussed with the leaders of the Opposition. At this moment I can only say that we do fully share the agony, the emotions of the House and their deep concern over these developments. We have always believed that freedom is indivisible. We have always raised our voice for those who have suffered, but, in a serious situation like this, the less we, as a Government say, I think the better it is at this moment. I can assure the House that we shall keep in close touch with the situation and also we shall keep in close touch with the leaders of the Opposition so that they can continue to give us their suggestions and we can also give them whatever knowledge we are able to.

13.00 hrs.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, AND SHIPPING, AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJ BAHADUR): With your permission, Sir, I rise to announce that Government Business in this House during the week commencing from Monday, the 29th March, 1971, will consist of :—

(1) General discussion on the Orissa Budget for 1971-72.

(2) Discussion and voting on—

(a) Demands for Grants on Account (Orissa) for 1971-72.

(b) Supplementary Demands for Grants (Orissa) for 1970-71.

(3) General discussion on the West Bengal Budget for 1971-72.

(4) Discussion and voting on:

(a) Demands for Grants on Account (West Bengal) 1971-72.

(b) Supplementary Demands for Grants (West Bengal) 1971-72.

(4A) General discussion on Mysore Budget for 1971-72.

(4B) Discussion and Voting on:

(a) Demands for Grants on Account (Mysore) for 1971-72.

(b) Supplementary Demands for Grants (Mysore) for 1970-71.

(5) Consideration and passing of the Imports and Exports (Control) Amendment Bill, 1971, as passed by Rajya Sabha.

(6) Consideration of any item of Government Business carried over from the Order Paper of 27th March, 1971.

(7) Discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

(8) Consideration and passing of the Labour Provident Fund Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1971.

13.01 hrs.

ELECTION TO COMMITTEE

RUBBER BOARD

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE (SHRI L. N. MISHRA) : I beg to move:

"That in pursuance of sub-section (3) (a) of Section 4 of the Rubber