

[Shri Hajarnavis]

chose a particular date and geography because on that particular date the place is covered with snow, and the result of it, therefore, is that members come in too late to take part in the various elections to which they are entitled and they go out before the next election is held.

When I began to consider the problem, as I said, with the greatest possible sympathy for the principle underlying the Bill, I was confronted with several difficulties. I will not dilate upon them, because those difficulties have been already expressed by the hon. Members of this House. Which exactly would be the best method of achieving the object is a matter to which we are giving the greatest possible consideration and we hope before the next election we shall come to the House with a solution to this problem. And I can assure the hon. Mover of the Bill that Government acknowledge the deep debt of gratitude which they owe to him for bringing this matter before this House and before the Government in this pointed manner.

But as has been pointed out by hon. Members, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava and Shri Sadhan Gupta—two hon. Members for whose legal acumen and resourcefulness I have very high regard—probably the solution that the hon. Mover of this Bill has suggested is not quite the correct solution because, as they themselves have said, if the House is dissolved how can hon. Members survive? Article 83(2) of the Constitution states that either by the dissolution of the House or by the expiration of a period prescribed under the Constitution the House ceases to exist. If the House ceases to exist, then I do not think that what the Constitution does not permit to be prolonged can be prolonged by a law made by this House that is to say membership cannot be continued beyond the dissolution of the House. Therefore I regret that in the present form the Bill cannot be accepted.

But I can assure the House that I am deeply grateful to the various hon. Members who have made various suggestions and in particular we shall examine with very great care the suggestion which fell from the hon. Member, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava, and which has the support of Shri Sadhan Gupta also as to whether those elections cannot under the present law be held earlier pending the other elections. If that could be done without affecting the rights of other hon. Members, I do not think there can be any better solution. I believe with this assurance the hon. Member may withdraw the Bill.

**Shri Hem Raj:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very thankful to this hon. House and to hon. Members who participated in this debate and sympathised with the aspirations of the hill people. I am grateful that both the Government and the hon. Members who supported the principle of the Bill have appreciated the difficulty and our hardship. As the third general elections are going to take place, I am sure the Government will be bringing forward certain amendments to the Representation of the People Act according to the recommendation of the Election Commission and in the light of the views expressed here will certainly try to solve this difficulty of ours. I am grateful to the Government that they have accepted the principle and I will request the House to grant me leave to withdraw it.

**Mr. Chairman:** Has the hon. Member the leave of the House to withdraw the Bill?

*The Bill was, by leave, withdrawn.*

16.54 hrs.

CATHOLIC CHURCH PREMISES  
 AND ECCLESIASTIC ORDER  
 (RESTRICTION OF POLITICAL  
 ACTIVITY) BILL

**Shri Nagi Reddy (Anantapur):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very thankful for the permission given to me to move

this Bill for the consideration of the House which is in the name of Shri T. B. Vittal Rao who, unfortunately, had to be away from Delhi today.

This Bill intends to strengthen and safeguard our secular democracy. In the statement of objects and reasons of this Bill it has been stated that—

“It has been noticed that the Catholic Church and its ecclesiastical personnel are engaging themselves in political activities. This is contrary to the concepts of a secular State. It has become necessary to restrict such political activities in the paramount interests of the secular State. Restriction of such political activities is also provided for by article 25(2) (a) of the Constitution. The Bill seeks to impose minimum restriction.”

Therefore this Bill does not put any religious restriction on the Catholic Church. This Bill restricts the political activity of an organised Church which of late has been taking immense interest in the political activities of the country and has tried to put all its weight—and official weight—in the political affairs of this country. We in this country have always believed that these incursions into politics are not only undesirable but are also undemocratic and dangerous to the democratic traditions of our life. Just as in politics we allow individual freedom for every person in the State to join any party or any political faith or programme he likes, so in religion according to our tradition we have always allowed every person to have individual belief and join any religion or any religious belief he believes in. Therefore, with that spirit in mind this Bill is being brought forward to strengthen these basic ideals.

Our tradition in our country with every religion is not to interfere with the political life of the person who holds that religious belief. But it is not so with the Catholic Church. Catholic Church is a dictatorial organisation which intrudes

into every aspect of a person's life from birth to death, from his education to his marriage, from his social life to his political life. There is not a single aspect of the life of a human being which is not touched by the Catholic Church and which is not taken into account when it tries to forcefully influence them in the way in which it wants to. And the life of the Catholic Church in our country is well-known to us. It entered into our country at a time when imperialism was strengthening in the world—I do not want to go into the history of the Catholic Church at this time.

**Shri Kottukapally** (Moovattupuzha): It came to this country 1800 years back.

**Shri Nagi Reddy**: I do not want to go into the history of the Catholic Church or any Church at this time. It is known to the country and to the world that in quite a number of eastern countries unfortunately imperialism has followed the church in quite a number of places. Leave it at that. But the question is what are its funds and who activates this organisation in our country? As per the news item which appeared in the *Times of India* on 29th January, 1959 a sum of Rs. 24 crores was the foreign aid to missions for 30 months ending June, 1958. That is the news item which appeared in the *Times of India*—in 1956 Rs. 9.28 crores, 1957 Rs. 9.53 crores, in the first half of 1958 Rs. 5 crores. These were the amounts of money that were received by foreign missionaries in our country, not from within this country but from outside the country. We must also know that the Catholic missions in our country have registered foreign missionaries, something like 4626 as was published by the *Times of India* on 29th January, 1959.

**Shri Kottukapally**: I question the figure.

**Shri Nagi Reddy**: It might be 4625 or 4626; it might be even 4628.

**Mr. Chairman**: He is asking you a question.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** Instead of 4626 it might be 4625 or it might be 4627. But in toto it is certainly more than 4500, not one less than that. It looks as though it is being directed by an organisation which is not in India. Its activities are being conducted by an organisation which is not in India; it is being financed by people who are not Indians and its activities naturally will have to be taken note of. That is my first point.

Fortunately or unfortunately I happened to have studied in a Catholic college. That was when I was in Intermediate and I know to my bitter experience how I had been fined in the year 1934 simply because I attended Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's meeting in Madras and I know how I had been fined simply because I would not accept the thesis of the progress about one of the historical personalities in History—Mohammad Bin Tughlaq. They would call him a mad man, and I would say: no, he is a genius. They would say: no, you are wrong, and I would say: yes, I am right. I would say: here is Easwar Prasad who is my guide and authority and they would say: here is Smith who is our guide. And if I do not accept that historical analysis of theirs, naturally I am fined.

17 hrs.

In 1953 my own brother was studying in the Loyola College, and he was fined because he was reading Blitz. This way the Catholic organisation tries to control the mind.

**Shri Kottukapally:** That is because they are shutting out politics from the college.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** In colleges one should not read? I do not know if it has been laid down that papers like the Hindu or Blitz should not be read, but only papers produced by the Catholic Church should be read.

**Shri V. P. Nayar (Quilon):** And the American Reporter.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** If that is the view and the opinion of the Home Ministry, I am sure the Home Ministry would have sent an order or a circular to that effect. That is a different matter.

Let me come to incidents which are within our memory. I know very well that in 1936 when India, under the leadership of Shri Nehru, was agitated as to what was happening in Spain. It was the Catholic Church that ran a propaganda in our country in favour of the dictatorial regime that was to be established at the time of the civil war in Spain. We know it was the Catholic Church that interfered in our struggle for the independence of Goa. This is recent history, I need not go into it.

**Shri Maniyangadan (Kottayam):** When did the Catholic Church interfere?

**Shri Kottukapally:** His Holiness the Pope was in favour of Goa being handed over to India.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** I hope the hon. Member will have some patience to hear some hard things which are true, but which are not palatable to him.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** Which are false.

**Mr. Chairman:** Let the hon. Member continue. Let this hon. Member take notes and reply afterwards. I will give him a chance to speak.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** They have established a monopoly for falsehood. Why do they want to share it with us?

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** I have with me the original of a circular which was circulated by the Bishop of Nellore dated the 20th January, 1955. I am not going to read the political content which concerns the elections of 1955 when the Communist Party was contesting seriously who should rule Andhra in 1955. But there is another portion in this circular which I would

request the Home Minister to particularly take note of. The heading of it is: *Enquiries by Officials or police*, and it reads:

"Recently enquiries have been made by the Government officials in a few headquarters as regards the value of ecclesiastical properties of foreign Missions etc. If any such enquiries are made in your Mission, please ask for a copy of the Order and send this to me personally, do not answer any questions, but refer the Authorities to me."

Do not answer questions if the police or Government officials ask you, that is the order that was passed. Why this secrecy I would like to know about the properties which the foreign Missions have in our country, and why this circular out of the fear that the Government are going to know the truth? Here is the next sentence:

"...I mentioned that the Standing Committee of the Catholic Bishops Conference of India resolved that all the Bishops of India should inform their priests and religious heads that questions from the civil and police authorities should not be answered by them individually on their own responsibility...."

It has been stressed over and over again in this particular circular. I would like to ask why this secrecy, if there is not the fear that the funds that are being used for the political activities will come to the light of day and the public of India will know the truth as to what is happening in the name of religion in this country of ours.

**Shri Achar (Mangalore):** What is that circular, if I may ask?

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** I read the name of the circular, and if you do not understand that, I am sorry. It is sent by the Bishop of Nellore to his own agents in different places, and the date is 20th January, 1955.

I am not going to speak about the threats of excommunication before the elections which have been mentioned here in this House quite a number of times, and the actual ex-communications that have taken place after the elections in Kerala. That is a well-known fact. There has not been a single religion in our country, either Hinduism or even Mohammedanism, or any other religions which are almost our own religions in this country, which have ever tried to interfere in the manner in which the Catholic church is trying to interfere in the daily political life of our country.

And still worse, I would like to mention another fact and leave it to my hon. friends to substantiate my charges or to oppose them and give facts that they are not true. Here, I have before me the answer given in a court by Rev. Maria Doss in a cross-examination. He said:

"Should there be a Papal Edict directing the Catholics in India not to vote for the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, the Church in India would demand of the laymen of the community strict compliance with that directive of His Holiness. The Catholics are enjoined to have implicit faith in the wisdom of His Holiness, whose decisions they are not expected to question under any circumstances."

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Even if he is unholy?

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** It may be that the Catholics today, as they have been doing at every stage in the history of the country, have been supporting reaction as against the communists. It may be that the ruling party might feel that it is the communists who are facing the music and not they, but the history of the Catholic church in our country is a history of support for reaction as against progress. It is a history of the support against the Congress in the days of British rule. It is a history of support against the

[Shri Nagi Reddy]

Prime Minister's policies, when he was in Opposition to Government at that time. Today also, it is the history of the very same church, to oppose either the communists or the R.S.P. or any other party, if they are for socialism and a socialist state of society. And here is an indication as to what they will do if perchance Prime Minister Nehru were to be more progressive and his Government were to be more progressive than what it is today, or if perchance tomorrow, probably the Swatantra Party grows in stature, and they are faced with the problem as to whom to choose between the Swatantra Party and the Congress, they will say, here is a communist in the garb of a socialist, vote him down, and here is a freedom-lover in the Swatantra Party, and, therefore, vote him up. And here is the possibility a Church taking up the political flag every day and dictating to everyone who is a member of that church that if he does not vote for the Swatantra, he will be excommunicated.

This threat of excommunication, this threat of interference in the political life of the country is one of the most dangerous aspects for the democratic life in our country, and, therefore, I think that religious incursions into politics will have to be put an end to with a stiff hand in order to maintain our democratic tradition, to maintain our secular State and to see that we strengthen the base of democracy and not give in to the threats of this religious fanaticism.

Mr. Chairman: Motion moved....

The Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri A. M. Thomas): He has not yet moved the Bill for consideration.

Shri Nagi Reddy: I am sorry.

I beg to move:

"That the Bill to restrict the use of Catholic Church for politi-

cal purposes and the participation of ecclesiastic personnel of the Catholic Church in political activity, be taken into consideration."

Mr. Chairman: Motion moved:

"That the Bill to restrict the use of Catholic Church for political purposes and the participation of ecclesiastic personnel of the Catholic Church in political activity, be taken into consideration."

2 hours have been allotted for this Bill. Out of this, 15 minutes have been taken by the hon. Mover. Therefore, 1 hour and 45 minutes now remain.

Shri Manlyangadan: I oppose the Bill. The hon. Mover of the Bill was saying that the Catholic Church entered this country at a time when imperialism was gaining strength. I do not know whether imperialism was gaining strength in India towards the beginning of the Christian era. Tradition and history have unequivocally established that Christianity took its root in India in 52 A.D. I do not know why the spokesman of the Communist Party says that Catholicism entered India only very recently. Anyhow, I do not want to go into those matters now. He said something about funds being received by foreign missions here and being utilised by agencies over whom India or Indians have no control. I do not quarrel with my hon. friend for being ignorant of the fact that the Catholic Church runs its affairs in India not by funds received from outside alone. ~~May~~ be certain missionaries have received certain funds from outside.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon (Mukandapuram): Here is the authority of the Madhya Pradesh Government.

An Hon. Member: The Neogi Report.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** I do not deny that certain funds are received.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Does he know how much?

**Shri Maniyangadan:** Certain funds from voluntary organisations abroad are received by missionaries and they are spent for the purpose by Indians. It is absolutely controlled by Indians and others who are allowed by law in India to function in India. No outside agency has any control over them.

My hon. friend quoted the authority of the Madhya Pradesh Government. That is a report which has been thrashed out very thoroughly. I do not want to go into it now.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Because it is to his disadvantage.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** My time is limited and I do not want to spend it in dealing with that....

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Let him take more time from us.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** ....which is not relevant for the purpose of this Bill.

Reference was also made to a circular issued by the Bishop of Vellore. I have not seen the circular.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** It is not Vellore, but Nellore.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** I stand corrected.

It may be that the Bishop of Nellore, not in his capacity as the religious head, might have thought that the order, by whosoever it was issued, was not proper, was illegal, and so he might have advised persons under him to refer it to him.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** If he says that, he would be excommunicated.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** My submission is that if such a direction was given, there is the law of the land.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** I see; I never know that!

**Shri Maniyangadan:** The law of the land would take note of that and take proper action, if there was anything illegal. If he merely brings in a paper and reads it, and that too separated from its context, I cannot answer it. What was the reason why such a circular was issued? All these matters must be gone into. Anyhow, that is not an interference in political matters.

Again, these funds received by the missions are utilised here for running hospitals, educational institutions and other charitable and useful institutions. The benefit thereof is derived by the people in India.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** Even Shri Nagi Reddy derived the benefit.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** The benefit was that he paid a lot of fine.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** My hon. friend said something about his college career, that the Catholic Church authorities were opposing Panditji's policies and Congress policies. He referred to some incident in 1936 during his college career. I do not want to remind this House of the activities of the Communist Party in 1942 and other times.

**Shri Kodiyam (Quilon—Reserved—Sch. Castes):** Is that a justification?

**Shri Maniyangadan:** It is certainly not a justification. What I submit is that all through the ages, from the very beginning of the Christian Church in India, the Church has never been acting in a way contrary to the interests of India, contrary to the national interest. It has never opposed the Congress. I challenge my hon. friends opposite to point out a single instance where the Church opposed the freedom movement in India.

[Shri Maniyangadan]

It may be true that in colleges and other educational institutions the students might have been asked not to take part in political matters or interfere in political matters. That is the reason why we find discipline maintained in schools and colleges conducted by Christian missionaries. There discipline ought to be maintained and for that purpose they proposed certain things.

There are ever so many institutions in India which fetter students from taking part in politics. Does it mean that they are all against the national movement? After all, the Catholic Church is not bound by any nationality. The Catholic Church is a worldwide one; it is spread throughout the world. It knows no nationality at all. Whichever be the country where it works, it goes according to the rules, customs and traditions of that country.

My friend's Bill seeks to restrict certain activities of the authorities of the Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic religion, as I said, has been here from the very beginning of the Christian era. (Interruption). My submission is that religion is a conception of life according to a certain outlook on the ultimate end of man.

Shri V. P. Nayar: Manifestation of divinity.

Shri Maniyangadan: India is a secular State and the object of the Bill is said to be to safeguard the interest of the secular State that India is. Secular State is not a State in which religion cannot have any influence in life. In fact, it has real impact on human life, including social, economic and political aspects. A secular State as envisaged by our Constitution is a State which restrains itself from interfering with religious questions. It leaves the religious communities alone, supposing they act according to the general rules of the country. The State will never

make any law against any religion as such.

I shall try to explain the position of the Catholic Church with regard to political matters. As I said, the Catholic Church is a universal one and the principles that guide this religion are the same throughout the world. Also, the Catholics do not claim any special privilege based on their religion. It is a spiritual institution acting in a secular polity. The policy of the Church has been, throughout ages, not to interfere in internal politics. I may be permitted to quote one sentence from the instructions issued by the Holy See as early as 1659 to its Ministers. It reads like this.

Shri Nagi Reddy: When?

Shri Maniyangadan: In 1659. It reads:

"Keep entirely aloof from political interests and matters of State so that you never meddle with the administration of civil matters even though requested and even importuned by many prayers to do so."

This is the policy consistently followed by the Church throughout ages and that has been reiterated in the decrees and regulations promulgated by the Plenary Session of the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of India held at Bangalore in 1954. And the rules promulgated at that session are even now in force. It authoritatively expresses the mind of the Church and the directions are binding on Catholics, priests as well as laymen. I may be permitted to read one or two rules of that.

Rule 75 reads like this:

"The clerics should never dare to employ the authority of their ecclesiastical state in order to promote the cause of political or popular parties."

Shri V. P. Nayar: Ecclesiastical State! Is it?

Shri Maniyangadan: Their ecclesiastical state; that is the position.

Rule 175(1) reads:

"By Canon law it is forbidden to clerics to help in any way internal wars and perturbations of public order."

Therefore, they must abstain from all party politics.

It goes on to say:

"We strictly forbid anyone to talk of political affairs in sermons and instructions, or of any other matter which may offer an occasion of reasonable offence to any one."

But that does not mean that the authorities of the Church are denied their citizens' right . . .

17.20 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Rule 175 says:

"Priests and the religious men who are citizens of this country shall exercise their political rights and as citizens they may rightly have their political opinions and manifest them as private opinions. But the exercise of this right must never be an impediment to the efficacious exercise of their ministry. Since, however, as priests and shepherds of the people, they have a state in the Church and represent her before the people, they must abstain from giving their name to any political faction."

These are the general rules which bind all the Bishops and priests and other ecclesiastical heads of the Catholic Church. But this does not mean that the Catholic Church is not

concerned with the political movements, doctrines and political affairs. The Church is very much concerned about the movements which are against the laws of God and takes upon itself the duty of advising its adherents from falling into pernicious paths. So, rule 161 says:

"All should remember that it is up to the Bishops to declare to the faithful whether the intention or the activity of any political party offends against God's law or that of the Church, to warn the faithful who are their subjects against the danger of faith and morals or harm to the Church that might result from their adherence to any such party and for this reason even to forbid their membership."

These rules enjoin on the faithful to make suitable investigations before adhering to any political party and as a guiding principle what is enunciated is as follows:

"Among the many associations which according to the above norms to which one may not belong we expressly name the following: (1) Associations or parties which are imbued with the principle of communism or which follow Marxian principles as are materialism, the use of violence in political matters and other similar things which are opposed to the "Divine Law and the doctrine of the Church".

Except this there is no specific prohibition imposed on Catholics by the decrees . . . (Interruptions.) This prohibition is not at all based on political grounds . . . (Interruptions.)

Now coming to the rules of the Church which prohibit its adherents to join organisations which are anti-Christian, I think nobody can object to an organisation, whether it is political or religious or anything else, to



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frame rules by which persons who are working against the objectives of those organisations or the fundamental and basic principles on which that organisation is founded are excluded from it. Will the Communist Party allow anybody who is an anti-communist? . . . (Interruptions.)

**Shri Nagi Reddy** It is a political party . . . (Interruptions.) The question is whether Hinduism allows anybody who is a communist.

**Shri Kodliyan:** Will the Government allow any person who is anti-Congress? . . . (Interruptions.)

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** You cannot interrupt because he is reading.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** Expulsions from organisations of persons who work against its interests is a natural right of every organisation. And Catholic Church alone is no exception.

A Catholic who gives up completely the Christian faith and becomes an atheist or a rationalist is an apostate. If he becomes a member of a non-Catholic sect, then also he becomes an apostate in a wider sense. According to the Canons of the Church an apostate is *ipso facto* excluded from the communion of the faithful and some of the main effects of this ex-communication are, loss of right to assist at divine services except at preaching, prohibition to receive sacraments, loss of participation at the indulgences, suffrages and public prayers of the Church, prohibition of the legitimate ecclesiastical acts, loss of right to be plaintiff in ecclesiastical trials except according to the norm of Canon 1664, prohibition of fulfilment of ecclesiastical charges and offices, prohibition of acts of jurisdiction and refusal to ecclesiastical burial. These are the main disabilities that an ex-communicated catholic subjects himself to. This ex-communication is not neces-

sarily by any act of the Church, but by the very fact that he renounces the church in the way which I mentioned earlier he gets himself ex-communicated. There is no necessity for any order to be issued saying that he is ex-communicated. That is the doctrine of the Church.

My submission is, there can be no objection to this. I read out the disabilities that a person has to subject himself to by, what is called, ex-communication. Why should anybody get angry about that (Interruption)? It is only catholics who value these things. Does a non-catholic value, what is called, Ecclesiastical Acts? Does he give any value to indulgences? Does he give any value to public prayers by the church (Interruption)? He is by rules excluded from that. My submission is, why should one grumble? He by his very act, knowing what the result would be, has deliberately disobeyed the law. He renounces the church and he wants himself to be a non-catholic (Interruption).

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** He is speaking about the entire church and not catholic church.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** What does the hon. Member mean by "entire church"?

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Is there no church other than catholic church?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** "Entire church" means, this side also to be included.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** The hon. Member does not know that.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** As I said earlier, ex-communication occurs by the acts of the person concerned. It is brought about by the person himself.

Is it the argument that the canons of catholic church which were in force for several centuries now and which form the basic foundations of the church should be re-written so as to allow persons who profess theories contrary to the tenets of that religion and who actively work against the interests of that religion to continue in the very same religion? Sir, is it not the duty of the authorities of the church to teach their adherents the tenets and dogmas on which the religion is based and to advise them not to join or help any other organisation or political party which accept theories that are contrary to their theories? If that be the case, it is equivalent to saying that the catholic church has not the right to manage its own affairs in matters of religion.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** In matters of politics.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** Sir, I have to read out some portions because there are certain authoritative matters which have to be brought before the House. I was reading out the authoritative rules and declarations made by the church regarding political activities of the catholic church and its office bearers. I respectfully submit, anyone who is capable of viewing things in an impartial way cannot take any objection to that.

Well, there might have been stray instances of deviations from the correct path by some persons; perhaps out of misconceived zeal some persons might have over-stepped the legitimate bounds. But that is no reason to incriminate the whole community. Can any organisation, for the matter of that, political, religious or any other, boast itself saying that none of its members has ever violated its rules? Sir, this is the true aspect.

Now I would like to submit the constitutional aspect. My submission is that this Bill is contrary to the provisions of articles 14, 15, 25 and

26 of the Constitution. In article 26 it is said:

"Subject to public order, morality and health, every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have the right—

(b) to manage its own affairs in matters of religion;"

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** These are matters of religion.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** Yes; these are matters of religion. So, it means that in domestic matters of religious denominations, the legislature cannot interfere unless the denominationalists are managing their affairs in such a way as to interfere with public order and morality and health. Here, the authorities of the church are discharging their duties and those matters are concerned with questions of religion. So, my submission is, how can the legislature interfere in them? The catholics are enjoined not to do certain things which are prescribed in the dogmas. When such acts are committed by a catholic, he, by the very fact of the commission, *ipso facto*, ceases to be a member of the church or is excluded from the communion of the faithful, or, in other words, gets himself excommunicated from the church. This is the only sanction that the church has. By the exclusion from the church, he does not lose anything which he values as important. He consciously violates the doctrine of the church and becomes disentitled to certain things which catholics alone are entitled to. It is only the catholics that value certain things; for example, sacrament, public prayers, office in church, indulgences, ecclesiastical burial, etc. He does not get himself involved in any legal disability. He is not deprived of any rights or privileges which are legally enforceable by a suit of a civil nature. Can he get a decree for compelling a priest to administer sacraments? Or,

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can he, by a decree of the court, get indulgences? Can he compel a priest to accompany the dead body of an apostate to the burial ground? So, no legal right which can be enforced in a court of law is denied to a person who is ex-communicated by the church. Thus, my submission is, this interference in the domestic affairs, in matters of religion of a religious denomination, violates article 26 of the Constitution.

Again, why should the catholic religion alone be made the subject-matter of such a legislation? That is another question. If the object of the Mover is that religious authorities should not exert their influence in political matters, why other religions are left out? There are other religions as well and there are Christian denominations other than catholics. There is the Muslim community, the Hindu community, the Sikh community; and so many other religions there are. Why should this discrimination against one particular religion?

Article 14 of the Constitution guarantees to every person equality before the law, and article 15(1) says:

"The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them."

So, my submission is, this Bill is a clear violation of these provisions. The preamble of the Bill says:

"...to restrict the use of the catholic church for political purposes and the participation of ecclesiastic, personnel of the catholic church in political activity."

So, this is a matter which concerns only the catholic religion no other religion. On the grounds of religion alone the catholic church is discrimi-

nated against and so it contravenes the provisions of article 15.

The question arises whether these persons are citizens or not. In the definition, all things are included: vicars, motor-superiors, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, seminaries, etc. All conceivable things are included. It becomes very difficult to distinguish between the two personalities. Take, for example, a bishop in the capacity of a citizen and in the capacity of a bishop. A bishop or a priest in exercise of his rights as a citizen takes part in politics. What the church strictly prohibits is only the use of his position in the church. That is, as priests, and as shepherds of the people, they must abstain from giving their names to any political faction. But as citizens of this country, they shall exercise political rights, and as citizens, they may rightly have their political opinions and manifest them as private opinions. How can that right be taken away by law, because certain persons happen to belong to a particular religion and occupy certain positions in that community? It is in effect denying a citizen's right.

In this connection, I may be permitted to read a paragraph from an election case, wherein also this question was raised by the petitioner. I am reading from Election Law Reports, Volume X, page 397:

"All clerical or spiritual influence is not, however, undue. In the proper exercise of their legitimate influence, priests and clergy may lecture the people, and address their congregations upon the conflicting claims of the different candidates, even in their chapels, for a priest is a citizen and entitled to have his political opinions, and to exercise his legitimate influence legitimately. So also, if priests believe that a spirit of antagonism to their church, religion or clergy has

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arisen, and recognise in a particular party elements of danger to religion, they may use their influence to assert and maintain due respect to religion, and may express their opinion, in suitable language, that issues of great importance to religion are involved in a pending political contest . . . . . The Catholic priest has, and he ought to have, great influence. His position has sacred character, etc. ensure it to him.... In the proper exercise of that influence on electors, the priest may counsel, advise, recommend, entreat, and point out the true line of moral duty, and explain why one candidate should be preferred to another, and may, if he thinks fit, throw the whole weight of his character in the scale."

That is the judicial pronouncement in favour of allowing those persons to exercise rights, which this Bill seeks to prevent.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Is the hon. Member trying to conclude?

**Shri Maniyangadan:** This Bill affects a particular community and perhaps I am the only speaker from that community. So, I may be permitted to speak for a few minutes more.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He began at 5:10 and he has spoken for 26 minutes already. 2 hours are allowed to the Bill. So, he may finish within 5 minutes.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** They were speaking of ex-communication before elections and after elections. The mover of the Bill referred to an order of ex-communication, which was referred to earlier by Shri A. K. Gopalan. He referred to a circular. The mover exhibited a photostat copy. At that time I was here. I had not seen it earlier. I got it subsequently. That circular is from our Fr. Bonaventure, O.C.D. to Panikkasseri

Francis. It is in Malayalam. The Photostat copy contains a Malayalam letter. I do not know if Shri Nagi Reddy knows Malayalam, but Shri A. K. Gopalan, who knows Malayalam, misrepresented the facts here. That is not very much surprising. This Panikkasseri Francis belonged to an association called the Carmelite Third Order. Fr. Bonaventure was the Director of that Association. He got information that Panikkasseri Francis was working for the communist party. He sent a circular to Panikkasseri Francis saying, "I have information that you are working for the communist party and unless you inform me that you have stopped that, you will be expelled from this association." What it says in Malayalam is *Moornam sabhayil ninnum bahishkarikkim* and it has been translated here as "You will be ex-communicated from the Church". This association is called the Carmelite Third Order. It is an association within the Church. It is a voluntary association. It has its own rules and regulations. If those rules are violated a member can be expelled by that association or by the authorities of that association. It is that association and not the Catholic Church. That association has the right to expel a person who works against the interests of the association. That right is exercised here. It says "*Moornam sabhayil ninnum bahishkarikkim*". But the translation is very funny, namely, "you will be ex-communicated from the Church". They are always terming this expelling from an association as ex-communication. I do not know whether the term ex-communication could be applied to that. For violating the rules of the Communist Party if one member is expelled from the Party . . . (Interruption) I do not know whether it is ex-communication or not. It may be perhaps in the sense if *bahishkarikkim* could be translated as ex-communication. I have no quarrel with that. If *bahishkarikkim* is ex-communication, nobody can quarrel with ex-communication. But this is how things

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are misrepresented to the whole world. Photostat copies are there, but if people who do not know Malayalam throughout India read this they will say, "See, this Catholic Church, this Father Bonaventure for working for the Communist Party issues a circular ex-communicating a person from the Church". But what actually took place is this. My hon. friends were saying that truth will prevail. My submission is that truth is here and it is staring at them.

I will now just refer to the provisions of this Bill. Catholic Church is defined here as follows:

"Catholic Church means a Church, a Chapel, a Shrine or any other place of worship."

that is, building. I do not know what it means. Church premises are also defined. In clause 3 it says:

"Any Catholic Church and/or any church premises or resources shall not be used for any political activity."

If that be so then in a compound belonging to a Church or in a school belonging to a Church perhaps no political meeting will be there. For the matter of that in a Sunday School, because on Sundays some religious activities are going on there, no meeting can be held there. If I go there it will be an offence. Suppose I go to a particular place and there is no suitable building for calling some people I call them there, then it is an offence under this Act. I suppose it is going too much.

Shri Nagi Reddy: But all the same it was true.

Shri A. M. Thomas: Shri Nagi Reddy himself has been benefited.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: To make it a little mellow.

Shri Maniyangadan: Then it says:

"Any person who uses any Catholic Church or the Church

premises or resources for any political activity in violation of section 3.....

No Cardinal, Archbishop, Bishop, Vicar, Mother-Superior...."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now he should conclude.

Shri Maniyangadan: I have another thing to submit also. Here the authority is vested in the executive to act under this Bill. The judiciary does not at all come into the picture. Suppose there is an offence committed under a law existing in the country then where the offence has been committed and all those matters must be gone into by a judicial authority. But here the judiciary has no function. That is a peculiarity with regard to this Bill. Of course, it may be their speciality to exculde the judiciary as they are always afraid of the judiciary. So my submission is.....

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: Why are you pointing out the hon. Home Minister when you say they are afraid of the judiciary?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He is pointing out to the provisions of the Bill and not to the hon. Home Minister.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: He said 'they' and pointed out to the hon. Home Minister. I think he is afraid of him.

Shri Maniyangadan: My submission is this this Bill is intended mainly to malign a particular community. Of course, the time in which they have brought this Bill is also important. It was introduced at the time when in Kerala the struggle against the Communist Government was going on. They made much at that time that the Catholic Church was doing this and that. Of course, they might have wanted to wreak vengeance and perhaps they might have been dreaming if the Catholic Church could be prevented

from doing all these things they could continue in office for sometime more. Anyhow, my submission is . . .

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** Of course, there was no holy benediction on the Government.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** As a Catholic, I think I know more about the rules and regulations of the Church than these people. I have been in the Congress for a long time and no catholic authority has prevented me from doing that. I am not bound by anything. As I said, if anybody by mistake asks me to do a particular thing, I am not bound by that. That is the position. So, my submission is that this Bill should not be passed by this House.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, my friend tried to make a very eloquent argument to support his case and I am very glad that he made certain very good admissions on behalf of the Catholic Church. We on this side have never been against catholicism or catholic religion. Last time when my hon. friend Shri Prakash Vir Shastri brought forward a Bill which sought to restrict proselytisation by the missionaries, it was we from these benches that opposed the Bill tooth and nail on the ground that it would be a restriction upon the fundamental rights as guaranteed under Article 25 and even then we pointed out that the actual measure that is required to prevent the misuse of religion is a legislation under the second item of Article 25 and not a Bill as had been introduced by my hon. friend.

We do not mix together, Catholics, catholic religion, catholicism and Catholic Church and also certain doings of the Catholic Church in this country as has been experienced by us. My hon. friend tried to put the entire blame on the Communist Party and the Communist benches and that this Bill has been brought with a particular motive. But everything

that is being submitted here from these benches and from any other bench is supported by very weighty documents, the findings of the commissions appointed by the Government and the pronouncements of very high dignitaries who once upon a time were within the fold of the Catholic Church. The question is not whether a fundamental right exists in this country to propagate belief and have faith in the Catholic religion. That is guaranteed and nobody is against that. The whole question is whether in a secular State in the name of a religion the rights of religion and the religious offices could be misused in order to influence the doings of the State in a particular country. Our only objection is this that the religious office and the religious dogma, as has been said by my hon. friend, could not be put into operation in order to interfere in the political activities of the country.

My hon. friend said that in the long long history of the Catholic Church, the Catholic Church has been forbidden from entering into the politics. Time forbids me to go into the history of the Catholic Church from the medieval ages onwards, from the date of inquisition, from the days of Palestine wars and upto the very recent period of Spanish civil war. Whatever we have seen here—and we have seen it in India today—wholeheartedly supports the idea that the Catholic Church in this country is directly interfering into the politics.

My hon. friend said that Shri A. K. Gopalan made a mistake on that letter. But could my hon. friend deny the fact that the Archbishop of Trivandrum immediately after the elections issued a circular ex-communicating all those who not only voted for the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party in Kerala, but those who . . .

**Shri Maniyangadan:** How could the Archbishop know who voted for the Communist Party?

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** It has come in the papers. It has never been denied. If my hon. friend denies that the Archbishop of Trivandrum had not issued a circular I am prepared to accept that.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** I do not deny that.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** But the Bishop of Trivandrum has issued the circular that all those who have worked for the Communist Party and all those who have voted for the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party are excommunicated from the Church.

In the name of religion, a large amount of money comes from foreign lands, from unknown sources, and that money is being spent in this country for political purposes, which cannot be denied by anyone.

My hon. friend said that the Catholic Church has its own resources in the country, and a very small amount comes from the foreign countries.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** No money comes from any unknown source.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Menon might be knowing the sources.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** I know, here are the figures. From January, 1950 to June 1954 a sum of Rs. 29,77,00,000 has come.

**The Minister of Transport and Communications (Dr. P. Subbarayan):** From where?

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** From January, 1956 to June 1958 a sum of Rs. 23,92,00,000 has come; from July, 1958 to December, 1958, a sum of Rs. 4.84 crores has come; from January, 1959 to April 1959 a sum of Rs. 3,50,00,000 has come into this country.

**Dr. Melkote (Raichur):** What is the source of your information?

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** The source of information is the hon. Home Minister who gave this answer three times on the floor of the House. The Home Minister also added that the Government did not keep a check upon the spending of this particular money. There is nothing preventing the Catholic Church, when it enters into direct politics, or the Bishops from spending this money for political agitation. It is true that they themselves have laid down certain standards in the books that Catholic priests are forbidden from entering politics or taking sides in politics. That they have decided, and he has quoted that also, but in effect, every Catholic Church especially in Kerala is taking part in the elections. Every Catholic priest is using the pulpit for making propaganda on behalf of a particular political party.

**Dr. Gangadhara Siva (Chittoor—Reserved-Sch. Castes):** On a point of information, may I ask whether he can show recorded evidence for what he has said with regard to this money affair?

**An hon. Member:** It is not contested.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** Regarding the money, it is on the records of this House.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** I can show record that that is a false allegation because there are judicial pronouncements.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** Whatever might be the fact, the pulpit has been used by every Church on every Sunday on every election which has come since the Constitution has come into being in order to propagate the ideals of a political party. Secondly, Catholic priests have walked in processions which were organised in order to subvert a legally established Government. They have taken part. In many cases they have issued circulars that the Government had to be removed. In educational institutions they are propagating the ideas

That not only Communism, but anything that is against God, against the Church, is bad, and that they should not vote for a particular political party. I do not grudge if the Catholic schools teach religion. In the religious sphere let them have their say, let dogma prevail, but religion should not be brought into other spheres, and the Bishops and the Pope and the priests should not come in.

I shall bring to the notice of the House the case of Father Mendonza who has been for 29 years in the Jesuit Order in India. Recently he had to renounce the Order and resign from the Catholic fold. In an interview to the press he has given reasons for that.

The first and foremost reason he has given is that he was never allowed to have nationalist thinking or nationalist feelings, and whenever he expressed such feelings especially on the Goan question, the Catholic Bishop tried to prevent him from doing so. Father Mendonza had the courage to pronounce his own views on questions of philosophy. He is a Doctor of Philosophy of the Gregorian University and of the Paris University. For 29 years he was in the Jesuit Order in India, and he was a professor of the St. Xavier College. Because he wrote a thesis on existentialism which is opposed to the conception of the Church, he has been pursued by the Church, and finally an attempt was made to murder him.

In the press statement he has given the following reasons: The Church overlords stoned his house, on rainy days the roof of his house was broken by the Church people, stolen property was planted in his house, electricity was cut, he was stabbed from outside the windows, all his servants were spirited away, and a seductress was sent to his house. He says 1,874 threatening letters were sent to him by the Catholics. He very relevantly points out that he has been in the Jesuit Order for 29 years

and says that the Jesuit Order in India and also in the other countries is the most violent potential political danger to the country, and he gives the reasons for that.

**Shri Kottukapally:** The Jesuit Society is not like the Communist Party; their way of doing things is entirely different.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** We know it is not a political party, but is it a religious institution at all?

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** Whatever might be said, he has been in the Jesuit Order for 29 years and he has come out with a public statement that the Jesuit Order is directly interfering in the politics of India on behalf of a foreign Power. He has quoted instances to show that this Jesuit Order was the all-powerful Order of the Catholic Church to be used as an instrument of political intervention in other countries. And he quotes just one example when an attempt was made to prevent that; he quotes the example of Clement XIV and says that he suppressed this Order because of the unbridled interference of this Order in the political affairs of this country; and within seven days, Pope Clement XIV was poisoned by the Order, and afterwards no Pope has ever endeavoured to suppress this Order. This Jesuit Order is functioning in India.....

**Shri Kottukapally:** It is functioning in the whole world.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** And many other Orders and many other Societies like the Catholic Action Society are functioning in India. The fundamental question is this. It is unquestionable that for a Catholic, whatever is issued by the Pope is a dogma. And whenever there is a conflict between the policy of the State and also the Constitution of this country and the decision of this Parliament on the one hand, and the



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Papal Bulls that have been issued on the other, on whose side will his loyalty be? That is a question before every Catholic and the Catholic will answer 'My loyalty stands with Rome and my loyalty is not to this country' whenever there is a conflict, because the Catholic religion preaches whatever instruction issued by the Pope is a dogma. That is the difficulty.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** And not to Moscow and Peking.

**Ch. Ranbir Singh:** What about the loyalty of the communists?

**Shri M. C. Jain:** Devil quoting scriptures.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** I know that devils sometimes quote scriptures also.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** He is a good devil, and he is quoting good scriptures.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. The conflict between the two must continue always.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** The second danger from them is in the educational institutions. In many educational institutions, they have taken it as their ideal that where non-Catholic students are there, their purpose is to spread the Catholic religion among them; and they do not hide the fact that the whole purpose of the educational institution is to spread the Catholic religion. Thousands and thousands of examples are there where they have tried to force the Catholic religion upon the non-Catholic students and attempt at forcible proselytisation.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** Not a single instance.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** I shall now read out a passage from the report of the Committee appointed by the Madhya Pradesh Government, on

which there was a very eminent chariman, and there were very eminent members. In respect of their recommendations, the Madhya Pradesh Government have today taken a decision, and it was said in the Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha that the decision had been forwarded to the Central Government for approval. That committee have come out with certain conclusions on very fundamental issues.

Firstly, regarding the conflict of loyalty, the committee are unanimous in their opinion, after seeing the example of the Catholic Missions in Madhya Pradesh that whenever there is a conflict of loyalty, they will stand with the Pope and the Church in Rome and not with this country. It has been admitted, according to para. 38 at page 150 of their report, which reads thus:

"In an article 'Christian Awake' it is propounded that 'when there is a conflict of loyalty between Christ and country, the true Christian has necessarily to choose obedience to Christ'."

The Committee further say:

"We have before us a pamphlet entitled 'For Christ and Country' issued in America. We wonder whether the Americans would accept this interpretation of the duty of a Christian in America."

Even in Pre-Independence days, as my hon. friend has said, the Church has interfered in politics; when the national movement was there, the entire Catholic missionaries in Central India were against the independence movement. Even when in certain native States like Udaipur, decisions had to be taken for integration with India, it was the Catholic missionaries there who made the entire movement of subversion subside in order to prevent their integration with India. And the committee has found this out. That is a

direct evidence of how Catholic men and the money that has come from foreign countries have directly taken part in politics.

18 hrs.

**Shri Kottakapally:** What did the Communist Party do during the Quit India movement?

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** He said that in no case has the Church come in the way of the freedom movement and independence of India. Here is an extract of an article from the organ of the Catholic mission quoted by the Committee:

"Why does India desire that Portugal which has been exercising sovereignty for 400 years over Goa should surrender it? The fact is that a large majority of residents of Goa are quite contented with their present condition. Only a handful of Goans resident in Goa and in India are shouting for the merger of Goa with India. This attitude is not justified and those who are following this course are giving unrighteous lead to India."

The simple point is that Rs. 20 crores a year come from foreign countries. The major part of it is from America, and the next part from Portugal. That money is utilised for printing and disseminating material propagating the case on behalf of Portugal against the Indian freedom movement in Goa. Is this not political interference in the affairs of the country on behalf of a foreign country? Unless this is controlled by Government, unless there is a check on the way in which this money is utilised, there is an inherent danger of the administration of this country being subverted.

I will point out one more example of the conflict of loyalty that takes place. The Planning Commission have decided that in the best interest of India, there should be birth control. In various hospitals, we have birth control clinics.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** Is it a political activity?

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** A Catholic, according to his conscience, is against the idea of birth control. Therefore, the nurses who are Catholics, who are drawing Government money in hospitals, are prevented from propagating the idea of birth control among those who come to hospitals for birth control operations. This is because the conscience of the Catholics dictates to them against birth control. This is an instance of how they are acting against the policy of the State and the policy of Parliament.

**Shri M. C. Jain:** Is that also a political activity?

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** Yes, because they are government servants.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** It is political activity in the sense that when the Planning Commission and Government have come to a decision in order to prevent increase of population and are enforcing it, these Government servants, because they are Catholics and their conscience dictates them, work against this policy. Is it not sabotaging of the policy of the Government, sabotaging of the economic policy of Government?

**Shri M. C. Jain:** Acharya Vinoba Bhave is also against it.

**Shri Nagi Reddy:** But he is not a Government servant.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** He is not a Government servant.

Therefore, I am saying that on innumerable occasions, in different spheres of the political and democratic life in the country, there is a conflict of loyalty—one is to Rome and the other to India—which comes into play.

**Shri Kottakapally:** According to their conscience, the loyalty of the Communists is to Moscow.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** The enormous amount of foreign money

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that comes in is an inherent danger. Therefore, it must be controlled.

Another question is relating to a constitutional right. It was contended that it is the fundamental right of any Indian citizen to belong to any religion, to practise any religion. That fundamental right is there. But our Constitution never presupposes that that fundamental right is unrestricted. Just as the fundamental right envisaged in article 19 is subject to reasonable restrictions as embodied in clause (2) thereof, the Constitution-makers of our country had foreseen a situation where uncontrolled fundamental right for the propagation of religion would be claimed. That was why article 25(2) was enacted. That article says that a law can be made by the legislature of this country in order to restrict the political and economic activities associated with religion. Therefore, nothing unconstitutional can be pointed out in this particular Bill.

It may be that my hon. friends may not agree with the policies which are inherent in the Bill, but as far as the constitutional question is concerned, there is nothing wrong in it. As a matter of fact, when the Madhya Pradesh Government wanted to appoint that Committee, a writ of *mandamus* was asked for to prohibit the Committee from proceeding with its work. That petition was dismissed with this observation that it was within the right of the Government to appoint a Committee and let it come with its findings.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** There are also observations regarding the duties of the Committee and their questionnaire.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** That is there. The only question is whether the Parliament here is competent under the Constitution to enact a law which will restrict, in the interest of the public, in the interest of morality,

interference of a religious order in the political and economic affairs of this country. To that the answer is 'yes' and it has been said by Chief Justice Chagla of the Bombay High Court when the question was referred to it.

So my contention is that there is nothing unconstitutional in the Bill. The only question is the question of policy.

**Shri Maniyangadan:** Let my hon. friend not misrepresent Chief Justice Chagla. I have also read his observations.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** My hon. friend can think of nothing but misrepresentation. That pricks his conscience and he says that others are misrepresenting.

My hon. friend made a big claim that being a Catholic, he knows more about these Catholic rules. I being a Communist know about them more because the burden falls upon me. I have seen all the atrocious and ferocious activities of the Catholic Church against the people.

He has not seen because that is coming from the other side. It is coming again today. (*Interruption*).

**An Hon. Member:** The cat is out of the bag.

**Shri Narayanankutty Menon:** Yes; the cat is out of the bag. Not only that. It has come against us today; it will come against Government tomorrow, just as it came in 1955 when the Goa trouble was there. The Catholic Church was on the side of the Portuguese. That is the finding of this Commission. It will come as my friend has pointed out. Now there is no other go because on this side are the Communists and the Socialists and Marxists and the Congress on the other side. Therefore, the better thing is to fall in line so that they may salvage whatever is left.

the country, just as what happened in Spain in 1936. They have done it in Kerala. The Church bells were sounded at that time and the Church organised bandits against the Republican Government of Spain. That has been vouchsafed by our Prime Minister when he visited that country. The same thing will happen when a rightist party comes into power. Therefore, there is danger not to the Communist party but real danger to secular democracy, the democracy of our country. In the interests of that it should be prevented and the Catholic Church should not take part in these affairs.

Before I conclude I will say that the only thing that is said in the Bill is that if the religious order or the religious power is utilised for political purposes and the religious places are misused for political power, his name will be published in the Official Gazette. That is the punishment that is stated in the Bill. It can never be said that it is a very severe punishment. This is required because it has been admitted many times, in the case of the Naga Hill and in many other

cases, that these people interfered in politics. There should be at least a mild check administered by this House to them before it is too late. Otherwise, when things get out of control, it will not be possible, if I may say so, even to prevent this. Therefore, I feel the hon. Home Minister should accept this Bill. (Interruption).

It is not at all injurious. Only if certain things mentioned in the Bill are done his name will be published in the Official Gazette. I hope this House will take a bold lead in order to protect our infant secular democracy. We do not want to turn ourselves into a theocratic State, as it has happened in many other States.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The discussion will be continued next time.

Now, the House stands adjourned to meet again at 11 A.M. tomorrow.

18.08 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, the 2nd April, 1960/Chaitra 13, 1882 (Saka).

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