

12.30 hrs.

DISCUSSION RE. ATTEMPT ON
THE LIFE OF SHRI A. N. RAY,
CHIEF JUSTICE OF SUPREME
COURT OF INDIA

MR. SPEAKER: Now, this is a motion under Rule 193. We had agreed to on that occasion and there was a clear understanding on that day that we will have two hours for this discussion. The Members wanted to make submissions. I said, you could make submissions during this discussion that we have fixed. We had also agreed that the time that we spent on it and the business that lags behind will be finished at the end of that by taking over more time.

इसका दायित्व-लिमिट कितना करे? यह फैला हुआ वा-सिमेज-न-मिशन है।

Let us have about 7½ minutes each.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi):

It is a discussion on a matter of great concern. We would like to place our view-points. We should get more time.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai):

Usually, the Mover takes at least 20 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sure the whole House will unanimously condemn this dastardly attack on the Chief Justice of India and also express their sense of relief that Justice A. N. Ray and his only son are safe. At the same time, I am sure, the House will express its great concern and anxiety about happenings of this kind, about the violent activities and terrorism, not only in Delhi, as we have seen in the recent case of attack against the Chief Justice of India, but also in other parts of the country.

What may be the reason for this attack against the Chief Justice of India? If we try to analyse, it may be any one of these reasons. It may be wrecking a kind of personal vengeance against the Chief Justice of India, or it may be the outcome of the criticism about supersession of judges or the criticism about committed judiciary; he may be an indirect victim of that; or, it may be the outcome of the atmosphere of violence, as is being said by the Congress members, that is prevailing in the country.

I do not accept the theory of personal vendetta against the Chief Justice because the Chief Justice of India is a devotee of Swami Ramakrishna; almost every week he, with his wife, visits the Ramakrishna Mission without any security arrangements, and if at all anybody wanted to do any harm to him, he could have availed himself of that opportunity when he had no security arrangements at all and was mixing with other people in the Ramakrishna Mission as any other free citizen of India.

About the theory whether he is the victim of the criticism of supersession of judges or committed judiciary, I do not accept it because Justice A. N. Ray was not responsible for supersession; it was the Government which was responsible for that; this House never attacked Justice A. N. Ray but only criticised the Government's policy of supersession and thereby trying to create some kind of a committed judiciary in the country. Therefore, the responsibility for that lies squarely and firmly on the Government and not on Chief Justice A. N. Ray. So, it cannot be accepted that, for that reason, he would have become the target.

It may be, as the Prime Minister has said a day earlier, that a cult of violence is permeating the whole country. But, before we enter into

[Shri Samar Guha]

the background of this theory of cult of violence as propagated by the Prime Minister and other members of the Congress, let us not take an alarmist view of the situation in our country because we know the happenings in Bangladesh and Pakistan. Numerous violent activities and dangerous situations have developed in Bangladesh and Pakistan, and compared to the position there, I should say that the situation in our country, is perfectly normal. Therefore, to say that a cult of violence is permeating the whole country or that it has seized the people of our country will be overemphasizing the present situation that is obtaining in the country.

Before we discuss even this cult of violence that has been propagated by the Prime Minister as well as the Congress Party, let us again try to analyse the whole situation on the basis of a few postulates. What may be the postulates? What are the reasons for this growth of the cult of violence, if it is true, according to the observation made by the Prime Minister? (1) It may be due to the climate that has been created by Jayaprakash Narayan's movement as has been accused by the Congress Party (2) Secondly, it may be due to any counter-intelligence activity indulged in by the three big powers as also by Pakistan (3) The third postulate may be that it may be that some organised political agency is trying to subvert democracy in our country and seize power through insurrectionist means. (4) Fourthly, it may also be that some counter-intelligence organization by the Government themselves wants to create a condition in the country to divert the attention of the people from the present national crisis and continue the state of emergency as it exists to-day (*Interruptions*).

These are the four basic postulates. Before we pinpoint what are the real causes of the cult of violence, the cult

of violence develops out of an atmosphere of cynicism and frustration. There is no doubt that just a few months before Jayaprakash Narayan came into our national scene, the whole Indian people were seized with a psychosis of cynicism and frustration. They have lost their faith not only in the political Party, that is ruling the country but also in the opposition. The whole political system and the political community as a whole became a subject of some kind of an apathy, even contempt by the people as a whole. The reason is this. In no time in our country any political party had such an absolute power at the Centre as also in the States and had so much over-powering control over the legislature, executive, administration as well as the party that is ruling the country. The opposition parties faded into insignificance since 1970. There has been no challenge from the side of the Opposition. There has been no challenge from the side of the people. The absolute power with which the ruling party had the authority or as they call euphemistically, a massive mandate of the people, raised sky-high aspirations in the minds of the people when they made innumerable promises. But when the big gap between promises and the performance became a reality and when it came in the context of the present situation in the country, when it came in the context of the problems facing the country and faced by the common people, such a big hiatus between performance and the promises which were not only futile but were nothing but mere political shibboleths, mere political slogans for retaining power, led to a sense of cynicism developing over the ruling party. This was the main cause. There are the Opposition Parties also. Since 1967 there had been many opposition governments in many States. There also the opposition parties could not make much of an impression on the minds of the people. Therefore, as I have on account of the big hiatus between the perfor-

innance and promises of the ruling party and the failure on the part of the opposition parties, a sense of cynicism and frustration developed in the minds of the people. This sense of cynicism and frustration is the source of all kinds of violence.

Therefore, Jayaprakash Narayan rightly pointed out that the country is facing potentially an explosive situation because the people have lost all their faith in the political system and also in the political community as a whole. In this background, I know that the criticism will be coming against Jayaprakash Narayan. In this background, as I said and I repeat it again, that Jayaprakash Narayan came in the national scene, at the present critical moment of our country as a gift of God. Even United Front theories which some of the opposition gave could not create much sense of response in the minds of the people. But people are joining in millions in the people's movement led by Mr. J. P. Narayan. His movement has qualitatively raised the whole concept of people's movement and this has created a new awareness in the thoughts and actions of our countrymen. His movement has created a tremendous appeal and response throughout the country. People are veering round his movement. This single man by adopting peaceful, non-violent means has given the call for a new type of movement, not the kind of united front movements, or anything of that sort. I want to say this that if the Government had any sense, instead of attacking him day in and day out, they should take warnings and lessons from this movement launched by him against political immorality, political corruption, against the issues of price-rise, unemployment etc. JP does not want political power for himself. If he wanted that he could have got it.

He has not got any desire to have political power. The opposition parties have taken advantage, naturally, because they agree with the whole concept of J.P.'s movement. The rul-

ing party should not start a counter-offensive, but it should draw lessons from this movement. He has started this struggle for total revolution and already we have seen the positive results it has achieved. It has given a positive direction to the whole national scene and the whole political movement in the country.

Firstly, it has removed the sense of cynicism and frustration in the minds of people the cynicism that seized the minds of the people is fading out; it has given rise to a sense of new hope in future.

Secondly, we have seen, frustrated students and young community have been roused to a new sense of hope and of inspiration; they have become the vanguards of the people's movement started by Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan.

Thirdly, J. P. has successfully pointed out the main source of corruption in the country, that is, political corruption, working as a principle source and aspiration of socio economic and administrative corruption.

Fourthly, J.P.'s movement has created a new awareness in all political parties that in future no corrupt politician will get the people's sanction in election.

Fifthly, J. P. has successfully pinpointed and highlighted the main issues behind the present national crisis in the country, namely, price-rise, unemployment, corruption, political immorality, electoral reforms and socio economic programmes for the development of the country.

J. P.'s movement should be treated as a cultural revolution of India. He has not only given a new dimension to the political movement in India, but he has saved the country from an explosive situation, political chaos and anarchy. You have seen the peaceful People's March held in Delhi

[Shri Samar Guha]

a six-mile long procession, lakhs and lakhs of people were there, there was not even any single element of disturbance or violence anywhere

So, how to deal with the cult of violence? The Prime Minister and other leaders talked of cult of violence prevailing in the country. The responsibility for this, squarely lies with the Government. Will Government develop a democratic nexus for a dialogue with the Opposition? Will the Ruling Party and the Opposition parties pledge anew their communal to nationalism, democracy, parliamentary institution and peaceful and non-violent means of democratic mass movement? I again say that Government must develop a democratic nexus for a dialogue with the Opposition parties. The Government day in and day out attacks the Opposition Parties whenever there is a democratic movement or agitation of the people. Whenever there is an attempt made by the Opposition Parties to mobilise the masses so that they can oust the Government by a democratic means, the Government always tries to attack the Opposition Parties as if they are trying to subvert the democracy, as if they are leading an anti-democratic movement and as if they are trying to spread the atmosphere of violence and terrorist activity in the country. The mentality of the Government must change. Only then can we deal with the present situation obtaining to-day effectively. I have certain reasons to suspect, but I do not know whether the super-powers are acting through their espionage agencies to subvert our democracy? The information lies with the Government. They have got the information as to whether Pakistan is trying to play mischief. Surely, the information must be with Government. There is no proof about any organised forces working to subvert Indian democracy. Attacks on RSS or Ananda Marga are nothing but a fantasy as was made by Donquixot

Day in and day out the Government and the ruling party are talking about violence and chaos in this country. We had seen many informations about the activities of certain counter intelligence during the time of nexalite movement in West Bengal and other parts of the country and I do not know whether there is any counter intelligence in the name of the Research and Analysis Wing and whether Government is trying to divert the attention of the people by creating this sort of growing violence obtaining in this country. I do not also know whether Government is trying to divert attention, as I said, to create the conditions for the continuance of the emergency. Let the Government come out clearly as to what is the objective behind this RAN? What are its programmes and functions? What is the Budget allotted for his? This suspicion will be very genuine in the minds of the people that Government is creating counter intelligence activities themselves.

So, I would urge upon the Government not to start a counter offensive against the JP's movement. You will not be able to counter the cult of violence in the country by starting a political counter offensive against the people's movement led by JP for a total revolution. This will only aggravate and accentuate the climate of violence and create a condition of anarchy and chaos. You have got absolute power. You cannot challenge the JP's people's movement by launching political counter offensive against JP's movement. Politically and morally who is responsible for the present situation in the country?

Let the ruling party, which commands absolute power at the Centre and in most of the States, never known before, accept the challenge of JP's people's movement by launching a counter-offensive not against JP and his people's movement but against:—

- 1 Political immorality which is now responsible for demigra-

tion of political values and democratic institution.

2. Socio-economic corruption.
3. Administrative corruption and bureaucratic lethargy and highhandedness.
4. Suffocating Price Rise and Inflation.
5. Sub-human level power of 67 per cent of common people.
6. Massive unemployment of educated youth and landless rural people.
7. Failure of Land Reform measure.
8. Failure to increase production.
9. Rigging of Election and Malpractices to scuttle the edifice of Parliamentary Democracy.
10. Cynicism and Frustration of the common people;
11. Foreign Espionage and Subversive activities by Big Power's Agents.
12. Infiltration of Big Power's Agent inside the Ruling Party and in Ministries and Administration of the country;
13. Practice of Extravagance and Wasteful Expenditure inside the Administration.
14. Psychosis of Absolute Powerism inside the Ruling Party.
15. Anti-democratic activities inside the Legislature to subvert the norms of Parliamentary democracy.
16. Any adventurism to impose Authoritarian or Fascist Rule in the country.

If the ruling party starts a counter-offensive against this, then only you will be able to create a new atmosphere in the country. If there is any cult of violence creeping anywhere, raising its hydra head anywhere, it

would disappear like a mist before the morning sun.

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI (Gauhati): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the attempt on the life of Chief Justice of India, Mr. Ray, has made every right thinking Indian to sit and think. If this would have been an isolated incident as was the case when an attempt was made on the life of former Chief Justice, Mr. Hydatullah few years ago probably we could have taken the consolation that this is an act of an angry or frustrated soul for some alleged injustice. But the way this attempt was made, the attending circumstances and the events of the last few days or last few months do not permit us to take such a consolation.

The manner in which the attempt has been made, the calm and calculated plan behind it, the weapon used, the failure of the authorities to get any trace of the culprit or culprits in spite of the massive, manhunt, the earlier incident at the Allahabad High Court, the Samastipur tragedy and the various other incidents involving personalities in the fields of politics or education only leads to the conclusion that these are not stray or individual incidents but all these are parts of a jigsaw puzzle.

The puzzle has now become clear. The puzzle is that there is a concentrated, deliberate and concerted effort to destroy the foundations of the democratic system in the country which has taken centuries to be built and substitute it by chaos and confusion. After all, we should not forget that violence is never a Selector of any values. Its only creed is destruction and the more important is the victim—greater is its unholy triumph. That is why, I say, violence is the most powerful monster ever known to the mankind.

Fortunately, except for some emotional issues in which sanity gave way to reason, deliberate and calculated

[Shri Dinesh Chandra Goswami]
 violence never played important part in the policy of our country. The incident for which we have to hang our head in shame is the one regarding the shooting of Mahatma Gandhi. In West Bengal also an attempt was made for a short period to terrorise people through violence and veteran leader like Hamanta Bosu was killed. But because of popular resistance these forces had to surrender and withdraw. Unfortunately, today a climate of violence is being gradually built up and in today's *Indian Express* issue a very disquieting news has appeared. It is reported by Mr. Kuldip Nayar. I quote:

"Terror has come to Delhi. A band of extremists with VIPs as their targets is believed to have reached the capital. Message from West Bengal to the Centre a few days ago had warned that the band was on its way to Delhi to kill people in high places. Authoritative sources rule out involvement of any political party. It is conceded that Naxalite activity has increased in the last few months in West Bengal and to some extent in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. But the suspicion is that a new breed of terrorists not connected with Naxalites is around."

Therefore, it makes us sit and think as to where this country is going. Obviously, if some political or non-political forces are trying to create this atmosphere, what is our duty? What is the duty of those who are sitting in this Parliament? It is our duty to see that such an atmosphere is created in which these forces are made to retreat.

Sir, it is our view, the Members of the Opposition obviously may join issue on this, that unfortunately these forces had been encouraged by certain utterances of the members of the Opposition parties in the recent past. You will join issue with us. We also feel, Sir, that to a great extent the situation has also come because peo-

ple who talk in terms of democratic dissent but encourage non-democratic ways and means have also to a certain extent contributed to it. Democracy gives the right to everyone to dissent but it should be expressed within the limits of law. A theory is being preached today in many quarters that if fair means are not going to accomplish the ends of political goal, then, there is nothing wrong in employing foul methods. Sir, we also see that in the name of total revolution, people have been encouraged to take to extra Constitutional methods. We know that violence has been encouraged in factories, in workshops, in educational institutions and among masses. Even the Army and the Navy have been asked to disobey orders. The greatest tragedy of the country today is that all this has been done in the name of non-violence and Gandhian methods. I would request the Opposition Members to ponder and consider whether when you encourage the forces which took away the life of Mahatma Gandhi, in his own name and in the name of his ideals, are we not killing Gandhiji again and is this not an attempt which is more sinister than the blow which was dealt by Nathuram Godsey. Sir, the big question lying over the horizon of Indian polity today is, should we permit these conditions to continue? Should we permit this cult of violence to threaten and permanently debase our society? Should we go to a state of barbarism giving a good bye to all cultural or intellectual development that we have made so far after making so much efforts? Should we subject our way of life to the concept that progress flows from the barrel of the gun or the Hitlerian concept that for success, constant and regular use of violence is necessary? Therefore, Sir, I would appeal to all the Members of the House and all the political parties to stand unitedly and fight these forces. Sir, we have noticed that people's abhorrence of the cult of violence to a great extent has been eroded because of irresponsible utterances from many

quarters, Sir, may I in this connection draw your attention to a report which appeared in the issue of *Motherland*, on Friday March 21:

"Political observers in the capital are shocked and amazed over the throwing of two grenades in Chief Justice Ray's car. They are shocked that anybody should have thrown a grenade and that too at the Chief Justice. But they are also amazed by the circumstances of the incident. The two grenades were hurled into the car while it was standing for green light at the crossing of Tilak Marg and Dr. Bhagwandas Road, only 100 feet from the Supreme Court gate. The thrower has been described...."

It is further said:

"Observers are asking a number of questions. This crossing is manned by the police. Where were they today. What were they doing?"

There were four persons in the car—Shri Ray, his son, an attendant and the driver. While Shri Ray is too old to run after a miscreant, how is that the other three failed to chase and catch the man who had no other visible weapon on his person? Why could not the Chief Justice and his son get down and the driver and the attendant chase the man by car?

They had no reason to be afraid of the grenades exploding. Having failed to explode in the first five seconds, they could not have exploded later."

The allegation is that everything is stage managed. What an insinuation against the Chief Justice of India, that he became a party to a stage managed show. I do not know whether *Motherland* belongs to any political party. But, every party and every individual who wants that the cult of violence should not grow in this coun-

try will not encourage such reports because these reports undoubtedly encourage such persons to create such conditions, and therefore, my respectful submission will be, Sir, that all political parties and all individuals should stand against it.

13.00 hrs.

I do agree with Shri Samar Guha in one respect that it is also, to a great extent, the responsibility of Government to see why restlessness in the younger generation is growing and also find out measures as to how we can really bring these youngsters today from the negative outlook to their participation in the mainstream of national reconstruction. The Home Minister should also see wherefrom these weapons are coming. These are weapons, hand grenades and so on, which are normally used by the army. Recently reports have appeared that some foreign powers are showing keen interest in many regions of the country. Then there is a report in the *Evening News* of Saturday, March 22 which says:

"The Defence authorities should tighten security measures to prevent explosives like grenades etc. falling into civilian hands. When army units go out for exercise, no explosives should be left behind unused."

Today we have a newspaper report today that two kids died because an explosive was left in a place where the army were making these exercises.

Since my time is up, I will conclude by saying that it is the duty of all of us to curb this monster because I feel that if this cult of violence is not done away with, not only shall the values or which we have stood be lost, but like the proverbial demon, whether it succeeds in killing us or not, it will ultimately undoubtedly succeed in killing its own master. Therefore, those who have released this monster or have encouraged it in its activities

[Shri Dinesh Chandra Goswami]
 should be more careful to see that the cult of violence does not grow and the values and concepts for which we have fought so long and have achieved, to a certain degree, are kept and maintained in this country.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): It is fortunate that the poor Chief Justice who was going to be a victim of some powerful person's operation or propaganda material has ultimately escaped unhurt. Again my suspicion is that this is a planted operation, and a poor traffic constable has been victimised. How one person could remove two pins—wearing a *Hawai* chappal, a very unsuitable footwear to do a hit and run job—within so short a time, in broad daylight, in the busiest hour and the busiest place, wrap both of them in handkerchief and hurl both of them at the same time—all this sounds so mysterious to me.

I have done this job, not in an illegal way, once upon a time, and to me it looks absolutely impossible. We are told that the man was given a hot chase by so many. What is the result? Nothing.

During the second world war, when science had not advanced as it has today, failure of a hand grenade to explode was almost unheard of. Here both the grenades did not explode. Moreover, the exploding time here was 4 seconds instead of the previous pattern during the second world war which used to be 7 seconds. The thrower must have tried to commit suicide or *harakiri* as he could not have escaped because the radius of the effectiveness of these grenades is around 25 yards. So I do not think there is anybody who would run away and at the same time look as if he was wanting to commit suicide or *harakiri*.

These are military grenades. Our ordnance factories have very modern machines. I trust some of them have electronic gadgets (*Interruptions*). The Minister is disturbing me—The ordnance factories are very well equipped

and I have a feeling that some of them have electronic testing gadgets. There are metal testers also. Everything is tested carefully. Tell me how in the case of both grenades the springs remained inactive. Is it not something very mysterious?

And the police dogs even went against the Government's interest. They did not want to oblige the Government. They went a certain distance and came back from Mandi House. I am very sorry the dogs did not oblige the Government sitting opposite.

This is not an isolated case. This is one of the many. Let us take the Allahabad case. Wonderful propaganda was made that an attempt on PM's life was organised. What is the expenditure on the Prime Minister's security? While she is in Delhi, it is Rs. 3,500 a day. When she goes out, it multiplies, by how much I cannot say. How could this happen?

I went to the Allahabad High Court as a *patrokar* or observer.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul): As an observer

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I did.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Not as a *patrokar*?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I went as both, for your satisfaction.

What happened to me? What happened to Shri Madhu Limaye? What happened to Shri Piloo Mody? All three of us went. We were at first (*Interruptions*). This is disturbing.

MR SPEAKER: This member himself cannot tolerate a whisper when he is speaking while he keeps on interrupting me and others when they speak.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Never. While others speak, I only prompt them.

I went as an observer to the Allahabad High Court. First I was checked at the gate. They wanted to check my pass. At the first checking point, I was checked; but my pass was with the lawyer inside the court room. So the pass came.

MR. SPEAKER: This is about the incident concerning the Chief Justice.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: This is not an isolated incident. Let me explain.

MR. SPEAKER: Do not make use of this discussion to bring in some other matters.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Crossing the first barrier, a few yards after I had to pass through the metal detector. Then I went into the court room. Tell me, how could this gentleman, Mr. Govind Mishra, cross the first barrier and go to the metal detector.

MR. SPEAKER: I would request you not to go into the details of that case which is pending investigation. You are speaking as if you are cross-examining a witness.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: This is not an isolated incident. It is very relevant.

MR. SPEAKER: It is not relevant at all on this issue.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I do not know whether this gentleman had a pass. If not, how could he reach the metal detector. Who gave him the pass.

MR. SPEAKER: This is not a relevant part in this debate.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: This is not an isolated incident. Everybody has spoken like this. Shri Goswami spoke about so many things.

MR. SPEAKER: He made a passing reference to events in the coun-

try. You are going into every detail of some other incident. After all, there is a limit.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Is it not a fact that Mr. Govind Mishra was accompanied by Mrs. Sahni, Director of Information, UP? Is this man not a Congressman?

MR. SPEAKER: At this rate, I cannot allow this part to be on record, if you go on like this. You cannot go into other matters. This is about the incident concerning the Chief Justice. You are talking about Mr. Govind Mishra. This is very wrong.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Let us take the case of Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma. The servant has confessed that the wife made him put those things in order to enhance the image of Dr. Sharma.

MR. SPEAKER: Do not treat it so lightly.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What about the Samastipur case? I do not want to go into contradictions, from a time bomb down to grenade, rolling the grenade and hurling the grenade.

MR. SPEAKER: That has been discussed by the House.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: This is part of a concerted game that the ruling class are playing today. What has happened between 2nd February when Shri Lalit Narayan Mishra was murdered and today, the 24th March? Every week we hear from Shri Brahmananda Reddy or his department that the people involved are almost about to be arrested. Nothing comes out. Nothing will come out, because the unseen hand is there.

Let us come to the famous case of Hemant Bosu's murder. On the eve of the 1971 elections to the Lok Sabha as well as the West Bengal Assembly, in the busiest place, in broad daylight, he was murdered, immediately

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

afterwards the present Chief Minister Siddhartha Shankar Ray issued a press statement alleging that the CPI(M) did that. What was his idea? He tried to create an atmosphere of hatred against the CP(M) so that in the elections they could be damaged. Five years have passed. What is the outcome? Nothing tangible had been done. Hemanta Bosu's murder remains unsolved and criminals are abroad. What is the reason? The real culprit is in the ruling class, in the Government. You cannot touch them.

There was another case of Justice Mukerjee who was taking a stroll near the lake. Just before the elections, to create an atmosphere of hatred against the CP(M), they do these things. He was attacked seriously. There was another case of Justice Roy. So many cases were there, just before the 1971 elections in West Bengal. Of course the 1976 election is coming.

Let us go back to what happened in Germany in the early thirties. The Nazis were growing. Under Goering's leadership they set fire to Reichstag to establish their case for people's consumption. They got some confessions written by their own agent provocateurs stating "we were employed by the Communist Party to set fire to the Reichstag". The Nazis started rounding up people; merciless repression was let loose; they arrested people indiscriminately and therefore prolonged trials. The arrested included George Demetrov who later became the Secretary General of the Communist International and the first Prime Minister of Socialist Bulgaria. Even the Nazi court had to release him. His statement before the court has become part of world's history.

Even here in the British days there was the famous case of Badduridin Darga. Two hours before the search of the premises of the freedom fighter's house, he sent one of his informers and agents—provocateurs to

plant a bomb in the courtyard of that man's house in Faridpur district. There was the planting of the bomb and the revolver. There was this sort of gimmick.

MR. SPEAKER: Please conclude; your time is up.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: My last utterance is this. The Research and analysis wing of India, the CIA of India, was receiving its training till 1969 under the CIA. After that they are receiving training elsewhere. These people have to justify their existence, justify increased policing, justify increased money in the budget. What is their budget for this year? The discretionary fund of the External Affairs Ministry's RAW has increased by more than fifty per cent. In 1969 that figure was Rs. 6 crores, this year it is Rs. 23 crores. So these people have to justify their existence, situations have to be created and therefore they are employing Goebel's method. For example in Nagaland they wanted to get rid of the CDF Government and so propaganda had to be intensified that Nagas were going unabated to China for army training. They were even indirectly casting aspersions against the UDF Government. They want to have summary powers and to continue the emergency perpetually. They want the Emergency to continue and also MISA. They want to cling to power by hook or by crook, by taking recourse to all undemocratic methods. This is one of the operations that they are doing now. Let that not be lost sight of.

SHRI VAVALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil): Listening to Mr. Bosu, I was not surprised in the least because nobody in the country attaches any importance, any credibility to his statement. I shall cite one instance. I remember a statement about two months ago that Mr. Ramanathan, an officer of the CBI, was killed by a speeding truck. Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu immediately issued a statement alleging many things

which have been proved wrong. That is why he dare not say a word now about it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I have said it twenty times. Let there be a probe.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: It was probed and proved wrong. That is why the people of the country never accept the credibility of your statement.

In this country today the most unfortunate thing, as Mr G. K. Reddy of the Hindu has pointed out few days ago, is that the cult of violence is increasing, the politics of violence is increasing. Men of great importance and status are not prepared to condemn it but give a philosophical and theoretical explanation. This is the biggest danger I do not know whether the Members of the House belonging to the different parties, whether any body at all wants violence in this country Mr. Bosu's party came to power in 1967 in West Bengal and they themselves became the victims because violence eruped in Naxalbari. You tasted the outcome of political violence and you were suffering. Unfortunately Mr. Bosu and others, including Mr Madhu Limaye, have taken the position that it is all done by the Government. That is why the Prime Minister said the other day that even if she were killed they would say that she had arranged it. That is the way the whole propaganda goes.

My only simple question is this: Does anyone of us want to continue this cult of violence. Does anyone want to encourage it? I will answer the argument of Mr. Bosu. But before that I shall refer to one other point. I know that today the hon. Members of the Jan Sangh may deny it, but who killed Mahatma Gandhi? Everyone knows it was Godse and to which party he belonged. The same cult of violence is increasing.

Mr. Bosu made the allegation just now that the Prime Minister's security costs Rs. 3,500 a days and they are accusing the Government of spending money on the security of the Prime Minister of the Chief Justice or people of importance. But at the same time they are accusing the Government of not giving protection to them.

Here I quote the *Motherland* dated 20th March. the same day the incident occurred:

"For years the police used to stop traffic at Tilk Marg, New Delhi, every time the Chief Justice of India goes to enter or leave the Supreme Court. When Shri Subba Rao became the Chief Justice, he discontinued the practice. He told the Court Registrar: There are no Maharajas among us, we are all equal but is learnt that the feudal practice has now been revived."

The same Jan Sangh paper accuses the Chief Justice of introducing the old practice. The very next day when the incident occurred, as Mr. Goswami pointed out, they published another report, I do not want to read the whole, thing, but only the relevant portion It says:

"It is quite possible, they point out, that the incidents are being staged-managed by the authorities."

One day they say that Chief Justice Ray has reintroduced the old system which is unwanted. The very next day after the incident they make this statement.

As Mr Bosu has pointed out it is not an isolated incident In this very House twice or thrise people came with daggers, bombs and pistols in the gallery. Then also somebody on the other side said that this was an eruption of the frustration and discontent of the people. That philosophical or theoretical appreciation was given to this problem.

12.19 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

We know who that man was. It was the man who tried to attack Mr. Borroah. He is the same man who tried to attack Mr. D. K. Borooah, Congress President, when he was leading a procession at Patna.

MR. MADHU LIMAYE (Banka): Who was he?

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi): Name him if you have got the courage.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: You can remember the name of your friend.

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): If you name him you will have to go out of the House.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: I stand by my statement. I still say the same man who came to the House, who was arrested and sentenced by Parliament, attached the procession led by Mr. D. K. Borooah at Patna I stand by it. You can challenge it. I come to the Samastipur incident. It is unfortunate that this politics of violence is increasing. All of us must combine together, condemn it and see that it is stopped. Instead of that, as Mr. G. K. Reddy has pointed out, making a theoretical and philosophical analysis, making insinuation against other parties and highest authorities in the country and trying to exploit it for political purpose is dangerous. The Samastipur incident took place on 2nd January. On 4th January, the *Motherland* wrote:

"Still others are of the opinion that it is a case of 'government by assassination'. Shri Mishra had become an embarrassment to the government. It was an open secret in New Delhi that he had sent in a letter of resignation. But acceptance of resignation would have only confirmed the guilt of

the government. And, in addition, an embittered Mishra might have blurted out the whole truth, involving persons more important, and more guilty than he. It is, therefore, possible, it is pointed out, that it was decided to liquidate Mishra. His exit at this stage would leave the question of guilt unsettled. He has been silenced for ever. And his death could even be exploited to foist the blame on the opposition parties."

This is the kind of nasty statement which appeared in *Motherland*.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: You are critical and we are also critical. But your Prime Minister gave Padma Bhushan to Mr. Hans Raj Gupta of the Jan Sangh.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: It was a wrong decision. (*Interruptions*). I will again quote from *Motherland*.

"In this situation, the official agencies may never unearth the conspiracy that conveniently killed off L. N. Mishra. Nothing short of parliamentary association with police and CBI investigations, it is pointed out, will carry conviction with the country."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Why are you giving so much importance to *Motherland*?

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Because it is the mouthpiece of the RSS and the Hindu communal forces in the country. They are failing in their duty to condemn violence. I will refer to a report in the *Washington Post* of January 10, which has been quoted by *Motherland*.

They make insinuations that the Prime Minister is responsible for the murder of Shri Mishra. I am not quoting any other foreign agencies except the *Washington Post*, which has a correspondent in New Delhi, and even such a newspaper gives such a story. The same story is given in *Motherland*. That is why

suspicion is raised. Instead of condemning violence, they are making insinuations.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Shri Ravi is making a mountain out of a mole hill... (Interruptions).

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: I am not blaming Shri Bosu or Shri Vajpayee or the Jan Sangh. I am only saying that instead of condemning the whole incident, they are always trying to justify by giving some insinuations. Sometimes they make a philosophic explanation also. Shri Bosu referred to the Allahabad incident. I could have called him or Shri Limaye a parikar but I call them hon. Members. As Shri Madhu Dandavate condemned violence in the House, Shri Bosu lacks the political maturity or political courage to condemn the violence, even if that person had come to the Allahabad High Court to kill Shri Limaye or Shri Bosu, or whomever it may be. This violence should be stopped. I am not saying that he wanted to kill X or Y; I am not going into that. But hon. Members must have the courage to say that the politics of guns and bombs should be stopped. But they are not prepared to do that. Even now during his speech Shri Bosu, unfortunately, tried to justify it and tried to give an insinuation, which will only encourage such incidents.

I do not want to enter into a controversy on some of the points raised by Shri Samar Guha. JP is going to Tamil Nadu and associating himself with a political party like the DMK. He is welcome to associate himself with any political party, but this is a political party which is channelised corruption. Yet, JP talks of rooting out corruption and a total revolution. When he preaches political morality and talks of the evils of political corruption, could he explain why he is associating himself with the DMK in Tamil Nadu? Because that party is in a precarious political position, that is why it is raising the question

of Centre-State relations or autonomy of the State. That party is doomed. There are rumours in Tamil Nadu that of the drought relief fund a sum of Rs. 6.5 crores has been misappropriated and given to the election fund.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: I only want to say that it is because of the DMK Government that some of you got elected from Tamilnadu. Otherwise, you could not have secured any seat from Tamilnadu.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara): It is because of Indira Gandhi that the DMK is in power today.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I may tell Shri Ravi that nobody will be able to swallow JP. He is too big, too powerful, to undigestible for any political party, however powerful it may be, whether on this side or that side of the House.

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam): Sir, I rise on a point of order. The hon. Member has got the full right to express his political views. He may agree with the views of the DMK or he may think that DMK is his enemy; I am not going into that. But he made a charge against the Tamil Nadu Government that it has misappropriated some drought relief fund and that Government cannot defend itself here.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: I said the DMK.

SHRI SEZHIYAN: The drought relief fund is being managed by the Government

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: There is also the Municipal Corporation... (Interruptions).

SHRI SEZHIYAN: If you want to condemn that Government, you can do that. But, why are you bringing it in this discussion? If you want to have a full discussion on that subject, I am prepared for it. You fix a day

[Shri Sezhiyan]

for the discussion. I am ready to face a full discussion.

My point is, if you want to raise the issue, you raise it on the floor of the Tamil Nadu Assembly. The Tamil Nadu Assembly is still functioning. It has not been superseded as it has now been done in the case of Nagaland. You have got your own Members there though no Member is elected on Congress ticket. You can raise the issue there.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: What is your point of order?

SHRI SEZHIYAN: My point is, whether it is proper on the part of the hon. Member to raise an issue against the Tamil Nadu Government on the floor of this House where it cannot defend itself.

श्री सधु सिन्धु : अध्यक्ष महोदय, कांग्रेस (धर) की तामिलनाडू में क्या हैसियत है. इसका डिंडीगल में पता चल चुका है।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I would only say this that what the hon. Member, Mr. Vayalar Ravi has said is out of order. It is not relevant to the subject under discussion. Therefore, there cannot be a point of order on what is out of order.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul): Under which rule is it out of order? He referred to the D.M.K. party... (Interruption).

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I say, it is out of order. Simply by shouting at me, it is not going to be better. Kindly sit down.

Most of the things that the Members have submitted have gone for beyond the subject under discussion. What are we discussing? We are discussing a certain incident, a very sad incident. But we go far beyond the scope. We mention many other things. I can understand the relevancy only to this extent when a Member says,

this is not an isolated instance and that this is an example of the pattern that is going on in the country. To establish that point, only a very brief reference can be made. But we bring in all political issues and other things. We mix up everything. I must say, this is not relevant. Therefore, there is no point of order. If you go out of the way to make a political issue, then the whole thing is clouded and the discussion cannot be contained within the scope of the subject matter.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Rather than omitting the quotations from Motherland, let him quote also from Fatherland so that both will neutralise each other.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Sir, you say, it is out of order. I said about a political party, the DMK party. May I understand from your ruling that hereafter, in this House, nobody can refer to State Governments?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am not saying that. I say, this is irrelevant with reference to the subject under discussion.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Prof. Samar Guha who initiated the discussion raised the issue about JP movement all along. You can go through the record. Half of his speech was about J. P.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That is why I have allowed you. Because these things were allowed earlier, I allowed you also. You have the right to refute. Therefore, I have allowed it. But don't go too far. Whatever you have said has gone on record.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: My submission is that it is a question of political morality or political ethics. About JP movement, it is a political movement against the Congress. They are good enough to get some people from inside the Congress. They are the people of dialogue. They could

win over some of them, not all. The other day, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee declared that they will support these people to get them elected to Parliament. They are throwing some breads on this side. Nobody is to eat that bread here.

I conclude with an appeal to the Opposition that instead of trying to give a political colour to it, please try to condemn it and see that the violence of politics must stop in the country and that the country of Mahatma Gandhi should not go that way.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Jainagar): Sir, in the beginning I would like to say that some of us have gone astray. We want that this House should discuss this issue and the related issues in a sober and serious manner. I do not think the mover, Shri Samar Guha, and other members of that Party, despite their verbal abuses or the words used by them, are mentally capable of doing such things. Similarly, I think every one knows that, in our present conditions, the capitalist road which is being followed by the Government is generating unemployment on a large scale, rising prices and desperation among the youth. These are the basic things which are creating a large scale discontent and are making the people a sort of cynics. Whether to believe or disbelieve anything, that is the atmosphere prevailing in the country. But I would like to say that in order to end the capitalist exploitation, in order to do away with the mass exploitation by capitalists and semi-feudal elements which this Government is protecting, which this Government is trying to utilise for its existence, no individual murders or political murders can be committed. Marx and Lenin have fought against individual terrorism, against individual murders, against political murders. In any sort of anti-capitalist revolution or anti-capitalist mass action, no individual murder has been

committed throughout the long history of the World Communist Movement. (Interruptions). In Czarist Russia, there were Nihilists; they were honest men but resorted to individual terrorism. Lenin fought against them and that is how the World Communist Movement has grown. Political murders or individual murders are against the tenets of Communist or Socialist movement. Wherever political murders have taken place, they have been committed by the forces which support capitalism or imperialism. *Coup d'etat* and murders of kings and princes have taken place in various parts of the world. Only persons dedicated to defend capitalism can commit such murders.

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE: :
 Trotsky was murdered.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: Trotsky's murder was done by a French man. Individual murders are against the very tenets of Marxism or Leninism. What I want to say here is this. In our country today attempts for individual murders are taking place in a particular context. There is discontent, there is the failure of the ruling party, there is the failure of Parliamentary democracy to fulfil the desires and aspirations of the people. But because of these things, individual murders should not necessarily follow. But why is such an atmosphere being created? I would like the hon. members to think over this, to ponder over it. They may say something to those of us in the Opposition and some of us this side may say something to them. But every one of us has got only a neck over the body. If things go that way, then none will be safe. Any one can be murdered for an honest expression of views, for opposing a certain thing or for supporting a certain thing. My hon. friend has said something about CIA. He wants to ridicule it. Does he ridicule the President Ford of USA who has openly said, 'CIA activities in unsettling governments of our dislike may not be discontinued.'? Formally

[Shri Bhogendra Jha]

the President of the mightiest capitalist power in the world has firmly said so. That is the only background. In our country, why should the Samastipur incident take place? Uptil now the culprits have not been found out. The same thing. The culprits who got President Kennedy murdered could not be found out. That is the CIA method. The culprit who murdered Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan could not be found out. In Kennedy's case the murderer who was caught was murdered....

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I can understand if you want to make out the case that the CIA has a hand in this.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: I am coming to that. There is a method. It is not an individual case if any one smiles at it, if anyone mocks at it, I think tomorrow he will smile or if his mocking may become true, I will be very happy. But the conditions are different. In such a situation as in the Samastipur incident the culprits have not been found out or the men behind them have not been found out, it is because the CIA operates on a bigger scale, not directly. There are five or six or ten channels. They are interconnected, no one knowing the other third channel.

In such a situation, here, in our country recently after the Samastipur incident, we have seen the Allahabad court incident where the Prime Minister had gone. Then, there was the midnight assault on the Vice-Chancellor. Dr. Shrimati herself in the Banaras Hindu University. I think there the identity cannot be denied because it was led by men who were men of the RSS. In that case, the identity cannot be denied.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You are discussing violence in the whole country instead of the limited question here.

श्री भगेंदर जहा (इलाहाबाद) :

इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय के व.इस-चांसलर परले सरते दूषे है। हम चाहेंगे कि इस बारे में यहाँ फिर से बहस हो।

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: I am coming to the limited question. In yesterday's *Indian Express* there is a news that's two-page handwritten communication received today at the office of the *Praja Neeti*, a sister weekly...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That news appeared beneath the cartoon of a dog

"Still other are of the opinion a news that a two-page handwritten communication received at the office of the *Praja Neeti*, a sister weekly publication of the *Indian Express* described the attempt on the life of Mr Justice A N Ray, Chief Justice of India, as the beginning of an armed revolution in the country That is in the name of Akhil Bharatiya Sasastha Vidyarthi Chatra Yuva Morcha. I do not want to go into the details of that. I simply want to say that after the Allahabad court incident of the 19th, the daily *Motherland* gave a news item. 'What would she do if the High Court decision went against her? Would she file an appeal in the Supreme Court and then continue as Prime Minister?' That is at the first page.

श्री राम रतन वर्मा (बाँदा) इस से क्या मतलब निकलता है।

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: On the March 19th, it says that the Prime Minister may lose and then she will continue with the help of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court Chief Justice, Mr. Ray how he was appointed Chief Justice—we know the background and the dispute. Suppose anyone honestly believes that he is supporting the cause this paper is espousing and if he feels that the Prime Minister is going to be unsettled and

the Chief Justice is going to allow her to continue, then why cannot I do away with him?... (*Interruptions*). I think those who are smiling—we pity for them. But those who are consciously doing, I think, are playing with the fire. All the murderers have brought to book by history from Hitler, Mussolini to Lon Nol and everyone has been brought to book. I think in India also these forces will not succeed. The murderers who are playing with the lives of the people shall not be tolerated. In our country also, murders are taking place, when the Chief Justice, the P.M., Ministers and many of our leaders are there, against whom bombs are thrown. There was an incident in my residence: some 20 people were there who chased them and they ran away, leaving one bomb unexploded. I don't want to say such about these things but this shows the sinister designs of some forces, well-directed and well-designed cult of violence which is fully politically motivated. I would like to quote what is stated by Motherland on 21st March. It says:

"Many in the capital see in these mysterious happenings the preparation of a ground to suspend the Constitution and establish naked dictatorship in the country. They see in these incidents Indira's counterpart of Hitler's Reichstag."

Why I say about all these things is because I want to give the political background for these things. The background is that she will continue as Prime Minister even after the High Court verdict goes against her and that the Supreme Court will come in and help her in this regard. This is the background. Anyone who believes in the sayings of this paper will naturally believe in that way and so what I demand is that a serious notice has got to be taken by this House about these matters. Today it is attack on Chief Justice or Prime Minister tomorrow it may be some others. My friend Mr. Samar Guha referred to the call of total revolution given by Mr. J. P. JP's call is for

doing away with the elected legislatures, forcing legislators to resign, by slapping them, forcibly bringing them out from their residences without touching their family members. These open calls create a mentality of violence in innocent young minds who follow J. P. Narayan.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Jayaprakash Narayan never said like that. It is totally wrong.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: My point is this.

जो रात बंद सिंह (महाराजगंज) :
 यह बिल्कुल गलत है। वस्तुस्थिति को
 ताड़-मरोड़ कर रखा जा रहा है।
 (शुबबान) ममस्तिपुर कांड में जो चार
 आदमी पकड़े गये हैं, वे चारों इन की पार्टी,
 कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी, के हैं। (शुबबान)

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA: Sir, I can understand protests but when my friend begins protesting too much, it becomes suspicious. Therefore, in such a situation we have to see what are the forces which are operating to create such a situation in the country. These are all interconnected. The entry of the Seventh Fleet in the Indian ocean, the construction of American military base in Diego Garcia and the other places, the threatening posture against us in the west by giving arms aid to Pakistan and in the north, inciting the Chogyal of Sikkim to create trouble for us, even by going to UNO etc. have all to be seen in this larger perspective and the underhand methods of the CIA and its agencies in the country are out to destabilise the entire system in our country and it is this background which we have to take into account.

My friend Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu referred to one accused of Gandhi Murder case having been honoured with Padma Shri.

So, Sir, we have to do away with the monopoly and to fight the hoarders and blackmarketeers. Otherwise, we will only be the victims of all sorts

[Shri Bhogendra Jha]

of things. Lastly, I want to warn those forced who are trying to create conditions for the Fascist Rule in India. Our people and Indian traditions will not permit that and the people will face that both inside the House and outside this House We will face it.

That is all I want to say

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I see that the Parliamentary Affairs Minister is not here at the crucial moment. He has sent a slip to me which, I think, is very legitimate. But I would like to have his assistance. He is not here. He said that a lot of important and urgent business is there. Because we are adjourning day after tomorrow, he wants to finish it. Unfortunately, this Nagaland question has also come. We have to vote the budget for Nagaland and all that. There is a time-limit for that. He has requested that this debate should be concluded by about 3 P.M. The matter is not solved just because you tell the Chair or request the Chair. You do not tell the Chair but you request the Chair.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: There are many holidays.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am concerned with this just now. The problem is not solved just by making a request to the Chair. I would like you to cooperate with me. Now the Minister is also here. I would like him to cooperate with me as to how this has to be done, because, I do not like to fight with Members everytime. That is not my duty. If you put a very narrow time-limit, I have got to fight with every Member. I know that a Member has only five minutes and it is difficult to make an effective speech within that time. And yet one of my best speeches in this House was made only seven minutes. That has gone on record. But, I find it very difficult (Interruptions). That was considered to be one of the best speeches that has ever been made in this House.

Now, if every Member has five minutes, he finds he cannot make his point, I have to fight with him. Here is a subject, although it is limited the political atmosphere in the country is so surcharged that the whole thing is politicalised. The Minister for Parliamentary Affairs has given me here 13 names from his party and even if I give five minutes to each of those 13, it comes to 65 minutes. Now, tell me, how is it possible? Every Member in the Opposition too would like to have his say naturally. How to conclude this by 3 P.M.? I would like to know that. I do not want to fight with every Member. But, tell me what should I do?

THE MINISTER OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAJHU RAMAIAH): If I may suggest, although five minutes for each speaker looks too little, considering the occasion and the number of Members who want to speak and also the fact that urgent Government work has to be finished day after tomorrow being a non-official day, this debate has been rightly interposed, notwithstanding all the inconveniences, I still suggest that each Member may take only five minutes which applies to both sides of the House and we shall close this debate at 4 P.M.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Let us try this by giving five minutes to each Member. If the Members from the Congress Party cooperate, it would be much easier for me to do that.

श्री स्वामी ब्रह्मानन्द जी (हमीरपुर)
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे यह कहना है कि आज देश में हिंसा का वातावरण फैल रहा है। मैं यह तो नहीं कहूंगा कि हिंसा कोई बुरी चीज है और अहिंसा बड़ी पवित्र चीज है। देश के लिए हिंसा की जरूरत पड़ी तो अग्रज को यहां से उखाड़ने के लिए हमारे क्रांतिकारी लोगों ने विदेश से सहायता ली। तो नीची सीधी बात है, आज बिरोधी लोग बार बार मबरमेंट की बात करते हैं और

कहते हैं कि इंदिरा गांधी को किसी हालत में उखाड़ना है। तो इन लोगों का पूरा पूरा षडयंत्र है कि चाहे हिंसा के द्वारा चाहे किसी तरह से इस गवर्नमेंट को कमजोर करो और इंदिरा गांधी की हत्या करो, फलां की हत्या करो, यह डरपोकपन की बात करती हैं। रही जयप्रकाश की बात, जयप्रकाश किसी वक्त बहुत पूजा के पात्र थे। लेकिन आज जयप्रकाश की वेश्या वृत्ति हो रही है जिन का कोई उसूल नहीं है, कोई सिद्धान्त नहीं है। उन को एक नारद मोह जैसा हो गया है। जैसे नारद को बुढापे में व्याह करने का शौक हो गया था वैसे ही जयप्रकाश क लगता है कि आज देश के अन्दर तमाम राजनैतिक पार्टियां मरी हुई पड़ी है, उन सब का नेतृत्व कर के खुद कुछ बनाना चाहते हैं। (व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: What J. P. has got to do with this!

श्री स्वामी ब्रह्मानन्दजी : जिस जनतंत्र का गीत ये लोग गाते हैं, उस जनता ने तो इन को रगड़ कर फेंक दिया है। अब ये सारी पार्टियां जयप्रकाश का बहाना लेकर सामने आना चाहती है। मैं कहता हूँ जय प्रकाश नारायण कोई पार्टी बनाए, कोई उसूल बनाएं, कोई सिद्धान्त बनाए और आएँ सामने, चाहे हिंसा में चाहे अहिंसा में। हम उन का मुकाबिला करने के लिए तैयार हैं। (व्यवधान) इन लोगों को बिदेशों से पैसा मिलता है, अमेरिका से पैसा मिलता है। उन से पैसा ले कर ये देश से धराजकता फैला रहे हैं और कांग्रेस के खिलाफ प्रचार कर रहे हैं। . . (व्यवधान) . . ये कहते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट यह सब करवा रहो है, इंदिरा गांधी करवा रही हैं। हम हिंसा करना चाहें तो क्या हमारे पास बम गोले नहीं हैं, क्या हमारे पास क्यूँक नहीं हैं जो हम किसी मुँडे से, किसी

भादमी की हत्या कराना चाहेंगे, ? कांग्रेस क्यों किसी की हत्या करायेगी ? (व्यवधान) कांग्रेस कोई मुर्दा नहीं है। (व्यवधान) ये हमारे नेताओं की हत्या करना चाहते हैं। ये समझते हैं कि इंदिरा गांधी के न रहने से कांग्रेस कमजोर हो जायगी, इन में फूट पड़ जायेगा। ये एसी हालत पैदा करना चाहते हैं। फिर अमेरिका और दूसरे देश जो इन को प्रश्रय देते हैं उन के लिए ऐसी हालत पैदा की जायगी कि जिस में वह हमारे प्रजातंत्र का खून कर देंगे। मैं राजनैतिक पार्टियों को प्रचार करने से मना नहीं करता। वे करे प्रचार। मगर यह जयप्रकाश नारायण तो बँध्या की तरह काम कर रहे हैं जिन का कोई धरदार नहीं। जिन अष्टाचारी मंत्रियों को हम ने निकाल दिया था उन्हीं मंत्रियों को उन्होंने अपने साथ ले लिया है। अष्टाचारी भादमियों को साथ ले कर कैसे वह अष्टाचार मिटाने की बात करते हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि जयप्रकाश को पकड़ कर के जेल में बन्द कर देना चाहिए और जो पार्टियां हिंसा फैलाएँ, जिन के भाषणों से हिंसा फैले उन को भी क्यों न जेल में बन्द कर दिया जाय ? जब अंग्रेज थे तब हम ने भी हिंसा फैलाई, हमने भी बम चलाए, हम में भी पिस्तौले चलाई। मैं कहता हूँ अपने गृह मंत्री से कि हमारे ललित नारायण मिश्र मारे गये, क्यों नहीं किसी को अभी तक पकड़ा गया ? पकड़ने का मतलब यह नहीं है कि दम भादमी जिन्होंने बम फेका हो उन्हीं को पकड़ना है। बल्कि जो बैठे बैठे बदमाशी करते हैं, यहाँ उनको नगद नारायण और क्या क्या नहीं कहा, गन्दी बातें कही गईं, एक महीने तक उन के खिलाफ वातावरण ऐसा पैदा किया गया, उम वातावरण से भी उन की हत्या हुई

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय . स्वामी जी, आपके पांच मिन्ट हों गए खत्म करिए।

14.00 hrs.

श्री स्वामी ब्राह्मणवर्मा : मैं अपने गृह मंत्री से कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारा गृह मंत्रालय क्या करता है ? हिन्दू-मुसलमान दंगे होते हैं। हरिजनों पर अत्याचार होते हैं, गृह मंत्रालय क्या करना है ? अगर उन से नहीं चलता तो मुझ सौपे में दो दिन में ठीक कर दूँ। इन लोगों को पकड़ कर रगड़ देना चाहिए। ये कौसे गृह मंत्री है जो इन तरह की कार्यवाहियाँ को सहन कर रहे है। मैं अपने गृह मंत्रालय को भी कहना चाहता हूँ—हमारे मुख्य न्यायाधीश पर बम फेका गया, एन्क्वायरी हो रही है यह एन्क्वायरी होती रहेगी और जो लागू एसा काम करते हैं, वे करते रहेंगे।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आप की घण्टी के बाद कभी नहीं बोलता हूँ, आज मैंने थोड़ी भी धृष्टता की है।

श्री राम रतन शर्मा (बादा) उपाध्यक्ष जी, पिछले चार वर्षों से देश में अंग्रेजकता गुण्डागर्दी एवं हत्या की राजनीति चलाई जा रही है।

श्री पद्मलाल बाबूपाल (गंगानगर) श्री उसके चलाने वाले आप है।

श्री राम रतन शर्मा : श्री ए० एन० र की हत्या का प्रयास जो दिनांक 20 मार्च 1975 को हुआ, उन राजनीतिक हत्याओं की एक कड़ी है। मैंने बहुत से मदस्यो की बाने यहाँ सुनी है। उपाध्यक्ष जी यह वान भी यहाँ उठाई गई कि भारतवर्ष के सुप्रीम कोर्ट के चीफ जस्टिस की हत्या से किस को फायदा मिल सकता था और श्री बलायूर रवि ने मधुरलैण्ड को कोर्ट करते हुए बतलाया कि मधुरलैण्ड में यह समाचार छपा है कि अगर श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी इलैक्शन पॉटेशन में इलाहाबाद में हार गई तो उस के बाद क्या होगा ? उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि सम्भव है कि इस तरह के कार्यों से उन लोगों को जो इस तरह की बातों को मानते हैं, उन को प्रोत्साहन

मिला हो कि वे चीफ जस्टिस राय की हत्या करने के लिए बम फेंके। लेकिन, उपाध्यक्ष जी, इन बातों में कोई वन नहीं है। हम काफ़ी दिनों से देख रहे हैं कि ये, जो सरफरर चलाते हैं, और जो इन की पूछ से बचे हैं—ये दोनों मिल कर देश में इस तरह का वातावरण पैदा कर रहे हैं जिस से कि कल देश में एक पार्टी राज्य हो जाय, डिक्टेटरशिप कायम हो जाय।

श्री एस० एन० बनर्जी (कानपुर) क्या समझ है वाह।

श्री राम रतन शर्मा : उपाध्यक्ष जी आप को याद होगा कि जब श्री गय चीफ जस्टिस हुए थे उस समय यहाँ पर कमिटेड जुडिशियरी की बात आई थी। आप का यह भी याद होगा—श्रीमि कुछ दिन पहले श्री शशिमूषण ने अखबार में एक बयान दिया था कि हम देश में मिमिटेड डिक्टेटरशिप की आवश्यकता है। आखिर ये सब बयान किम लिए आते है क्या इन से यह इंगिन नहीं होता है, क्या इन से यह दिशा नहीं मिलती कि हमारे देश का शासन चलाने वाले देश को किधर ले जाना चाहते है।

श्रीमन्, मैं इस सम्बन्ध में दो-तीन उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ—पिछन दिना नागरवाला काण्ड हुआ

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय वह केम हो चुका है।

श्री राम रतन शर्मा : उम के पीछे कीन था—मैं इतना ही बतलाना चाहता हूँ। ये हत्याये क्यों की जाती हैं किम तरह करते हैं और किम तरह से छिपाने हैं—आज तक उन के ऊपर बड़ा कोई प्रकाश नहीं डाला गया। नागरवाला मारा गया—किस ने मारा कुछ पता नहीं। ज च हो रही थी। जाच अत्रिकारी की हत्या की गई उस का भी पता नहीं। प्रसिद्ध लाइसेंस

स्कैंडल केस में जो पाण्डिचेरी का मामला था उस में ज च कर रहे अधिकारी की हत्या की गई—उस का भी पता नहीं। समस्तीपुर बम काण्ड हुआ जिस में हमारे आदर्शन य रेल यंत्री श्री ललित नारायन मिश्र की हत्या हुई—उस का भी आज तक पता नहीं कि किस ने हत्या की। ये लोग सरकार चलाने हैं या क्या करते हैं—इ को किसी चीज का पता नहीं है। अभी कुछ दिन पहले समाचार पत्रों में हम नें पढ़ा था—समस्तीपुर कांड में कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी के कुछ आदमी थे। उस में जो आदमी पकड़े गए वे उन के बारे में

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय शर्मा जी आप के 5 मिनट पूरे हो रहे हैं।

श्री ए : ० एम० बनर्जी : आप को पहले बनलाना चाहिए था कि किस के पी कौन है।

श्री राम रतन शर्मा : मैं वही बताना रहा था। श्री मिश्र की हत्या का अभी तक कोई सुराग नहीं लगा। आखिर किस ने हत्या की कौन हत्या करवाता है उम के पीछे कौन है। जो सरकार चलाने है क्या वह उन का कर्त्तव्य नहीं था कि देश में इस तरह का वातावरण बनाये ताकि हत्या करने वालों को बम फेंकने बानों को कस तरह का अपराध करने वालों को नहीं कोई पनाह न मिले। क्या आज लोगों को राजनीतिक पनाह नहीं दी जाती है ? क्या यह सही नहीं है कि जो शासन में बैठे हैं उन के इतिहास पर ये सब हत्याये होती हैं ? अपने सिध्द रास्ता साफ किया जाता है ताकि उन के पर जो कीचड़ उछलने वाली है वह न उछले और वे जिस तरफ देस को ले जाना चाहते हैं उधर ले जा सके।

उपाध्यक्ष जी उस दिन 20 मार्च की घटना में यह सब लोगों में आना है कि यह आदमी चप्पल छोड़ कर घाया और आज

ता० 24 है—क्या हुआ ? घटना के दूम्ते दिन हमारे गृह मंत्री जी ने एक स्टेटमेंट भा दिया और कहा कि दो-तीन दिन में वे घटना पर ज्यादा प्रकाश डाल सकेगे और हो सकता है कि तब तक अभियुक्त पकड़ भी लिये जाय। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ—उन चार दिनों के बीच वह अभियुक्त कहा गया क्या दिल्ली छोड़ कर चला गया उम को क्यों नहीं पकड़ा गया ? क्या गृह मंत्री जी ने उम को गिरफ्तार करवाने का प्रयत्न किया है ताकि सम्पूर्ण घटना पर जो काले बादल मडरा रहे हैं वे साफ हो सके। आप उन को कहते हैं ये आप को कहने हैं लेकिन इस घटना के पीछे कौन है असल बात जानने के लिए उम को सामने क्यों नहीं लाया जाता उस को क्यों नहीं पकड़ा गया ? यह बात सही नहीं है—जैसा मेरे टोम्स बायालार रवि कह रहे थे कि किसी पार्टी ने आउट-आफ-फ़ंक्शन यह काम कराया है। यह मुनियोजन पैडयल है जो वृक्ष कर देश में भय का वातावरण पैदा करने के लिए और अपने रास्ते से उन लोगों को हटाने के लिए किया गया है जो बाधक हैं जो किसी तरह से उन के रास्ते में रुकावट डाल सकते हैं। यह जानबूझ कर सरकार का और सरकार की माथी जो पार्टी है उन का मुनियोजित पैडयल है जिन के हिसाब से यह सब हो रहा है। एक दलीय शासन प्रणाली लाने एव प्रजातन्त्र को समाप्त करने और डिक्टर शिप लाने की साजिश है भारतीय कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी और शासक दल सब इस में मिले हुए हैं।

श्री ए०० एम० बनर्जी जो चप्पल मिली है वह इन को सुर्वाई जाय ताकि यह पता लगा सके।

श्री राम रतन शर्मा : मेरे दोस्त चप्पल की भाषा बहुत समझने है। इन को सीधी सादी बात में नहीं समझया जा सकता है। देश में कुछ लोग हैं जो भाषा दूसरी समझते हैं। देश उन को उस भाषा में जरूर समझा-येगा और उसी भाषा में जबाब दिया जायगा।

[श्रीराम रतन शर्मा]

मेरे दोस्त यह न समझें इस देश में उन को कोई जवाब देने वाला नहीं है। यह लोग श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण के भ्रान्दोलन को केवल बदनाम करने की कोशिश करते हैं उस भ्रान्दोलन को कालिख लगाने की कोशिश करते हैं। समय बतायेगा कि कौन गलत है और कौन सही माय पर है।

समस्तीपुर बम कांड क बाद जो घटनाये हुई.....

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : भ्रम आप खत्म कीजिए।

श्री राम रतन शर्मा : श्री गोविन्द मिश्रा जो इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट में पकड़ा गया....

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER. You have already asked the question; why have you not been able to apprehend the culprit? Is he still in Delhi?

श्री राम रतन शर्मा : श्री गोविन्द मिश्रा ने जो बयान दिया है कि वह कांग्रेस कायकर्ता है और हरदम अपनी सुरक्षा के लिए पिस्तौल रखता है इससे स्पष्ट है कि शामक दल सम्पन्न पर उतर आया है। इस तरह का जो चीप वातावरण बनाते हैं वह अच्छा नहीं है। इसी तरह से भूतपूर्व कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष के घर में भी एक नक्ली बम मिला। तो इन सब बातों से पता चलता है कि यह एक साजिश की जा रही है ताकि एकतंत्रीय शासन प्रणाली देश में ला सके। प्रधान मंत्री और सी० पी० आई० में मिल कर तथा के० जी० बी० की सहायता से जिस वातावरण को बनाने की आप कोशिश कर रहे हैं यह बहुत ही घृणित साजिश है।

अन्त में भूँकि आप घण्टी बजा रहे हैं, मैं इतना ही कहूँगा कि हम इस घटना का पूरी तरह से विरोध करते हैं। यह घटना दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण है और मैं मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करता

हूँ। कि अगर कोई इस तरह के कल्पट है तो उन को जल्दी से जल्दी गिरफ्तार किया जाय ताकि देश के सामने जो दुराचिन्तायें हैं वह खरम हों।

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal): While giving his consent to the discussion yesterday, the Speaker had said that this is not the concern of only one party but a national concern, because the highest person in our judiciary has been attacked, and it should be the concern of everyone of us here, to whichever political party he belongs, to raise the debate to a higher level and go into the facts which are helping such forces who believe in violence to resort to such methods.

A few years back, a Supreme Court Judge, Shri Grover, was also attacked, but the Chief Justice, Shri Hidayatullah, came to his rescue. Here some political parties seem to take a sadistic pleasure in taking advantage of this discussion and resorting to mudslinging and character assassination. If you want to achieve our objective of highlighting the dangers involved in this incident and our anxiety to see that parliamentary democracy is well-established and the rule of law prevails in this country, we have to eschew our political prejudices, individual likes and dislikes, and give a constructive ideas and suggestions for Government to act upon. More than any other political party, the Congress Party has got vested interest for maintaining law and order and stability in this country. To say that the Congress Party and the Government is responsible for this violence or attack on personalities is mischievous and uncharitable; it is politically motivated propaganda. The attack on our Chief Justice is symptomatic of things to come in due course of time. This and the incident at Allahabad when our Prime Minister was giving evidence go to show that there are forces in this country who want to plunge this country into anarchy and chaos and get the maximum benefit out of it, thus ruining the eco-

army and stability of the country. The Government of India must be ware of such forces and take suitable measures to create a sense of confidence among the people in the management of the country. In foreign and national newspapers we had been reading about the exploits of the CIA. Even their own papers, the American newspapers are coming out with startling revelations how Governments had been overthrown and what the CIA was capable of doing. It is no wonder if the CIA had spread its tentacles in our country. They do not want to see the biggest democracy in this country under the leadership of Indira Gandhi to prosper and prove to be the bastion of democratic elements in developing countries. They want to destroy the very base of it. I only warn the Opposition Members not to fall a prey to their machinations and try to take political advantage. When parliamentary democracy is faced with several challenges, it is our duty irrespective of party affiliations to maintain parliamentary democracy and political stability at any cost.

There is one disturbing factor. There is growing discontentment; the economic situation is there; there is the unemployment problem. I was attracted when Bhogendra Jha was analysing the reasons. To a great extent it is true. The present economic structure in our country has given rise to distortions and economic unrest. Even today we are not able to help the under privileged, oppressed and depressed, especially the Harijans when they are being harassed. How is the society going to give a sense of security to the common man? We are under an octopus hold of certain capitalist elements who are trying to suck the blood of this country. Unless we go to the base and solve the problem difficulties will be there. I agree, not to the total revolution which JP envisages but a total revolution of the society by getting rid of the bourgeois and capitalist elements, so that equality of opportunity is given to all. Then only we will be able to

do that, JP is a respected leader and I do not want to attribute any personal motives to him. In the stand he has taken, he is encouraged by the fascist forces in the country.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Absolutely wrong and a lie.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: It shows the desperate position of the Opposition Parties. The Sarvodya leader is being used as a camouflage by them.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I thought of paying you a compliment at the end of your speech for the cool reasonableness you have brought to the debate but now you are spoiling all that

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: I am not spoiling.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please conclude now.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: In the end I may say that it is most unfortunate that an attempt has been made on the Chief Justice with whom I have only a nodding acquaintance because we often meet when we go for a walk. It is not against a person as such, but against the system that this attempt has been made. So, I appeal to the Home Minister to see that he reorganises the entire set up so that such things do not occur, to see that he takes appropriate and speedy action to stop such incidents.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: The Chief Justice going for a walk should not form part of the proceedings, because it will go to the press and people will come to know about it!

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now he will not go for a walk!

*SHRI J. MATHA GOWDER (Nilgiris): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, on behalf of my party, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, I associate myself in condemning the violent attempt on

*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

[Shri J. Matha Gowder]
the life of the Chief Justice of the
Supreme Court, Shri A. N. Ray.

Sir, I take this opportunity to mention that in a democracy violence has no place. Democracy means deliberation, discussion and consensus. Violence is antithesis to democracy. Naturally, all the people who have faith in democratic government should and would condemn the spread of violence in our country which is known as the largest democracy in the world.

The three pillars of democracy are: Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. If anyone of these three pillars is brought down, then democracy collapses. The Court is the temple of justice. Any dispute that arises is not settled through violence; it is taken to the Court for an amicable and peaceful settlement. In this case, the chief man of the highest place of Justice has been threatened. If this is going to be the trend, how can you expect Justice to hold the balance of life?

Sir, violence does not solve any problem; in fact, it breeds many other problems. Democracy and political parties are concomitant and one cannot exist without the other. No political party, whether it is the ruling party or the opposition party, will be able to achieve anything concrete by conniving at violence or by encouraging violence. I would like to say categorically that for their very survival the Opposition Parties will not abet violence. It is a futile effort on the part of the ruling party to abuse the Opposition Parties of trying to spread a climate of violence in the country and also to fish in the troubled waters. After the next elections, the present ruling party may become an Opposition Party and one of the present Opposition Parties may become the ruling party. I would like to ask of the ruling party how they would feel if the ruling party at that time accused the Opposition of having tried to spread violence in the country. I would only say that it does not behove the ruling party to find a scape-goat in the Opposition party for its failure to contain the growing violence in the country.

Here, in the broad day-light, on a road bustling with traffic, two hand-grenades were thrown at the car of the Chief Justice. Even the pins at the top of the grenades had been removed. The car was not moving because of the red-light at the traffic point. It is strange that the culprit who threw the grenades could not be caught. The man involved in this violence was not an ordinary man; he was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Yet the Police from the adjacent Police Station took its own time. The sluggishness on the part of the Police has been proved by its helplessness in catching the culprit.

This is not a solitary instance of the inefficient and ineffective functioning of the security people. The Police has not yet been able to solve the mysterious death of Nagarwala who was involved in stealing many lakhs of rupees. The Police has not yet been able to catch the culprit who was responsible for the death of Shri Chopra, the Collector of Daman, in broad day-light on a busy road. The culprit whose reckless driving killed one Ranganathan, a C.B.I. Official on one of the busy thorough fares of the Capital, has not yet been traced. The security staff has not yet been able to trace out the culprits who killed the high police officials in Mizoram.

I have narrated these instances to show the inefficient management of the security of our country and of our officials and leaders. Does this rebound to the credit of this Government that the investigations against such dastardly crimes should take such a long time for completion? Does it go to the credit of the Police Department, on whom crores of rupees are being spent, that they should take such a long time in tracing out the culprits? I would also like to know whether this kind of inordinate delay in catching the culprits is not an indirect encouragement for further violence. I wonder what are the hurdles and road-blocks that stand in the way of efficient functioning of the Police Department. I would also like to know

how many more years the Government will take to create an alert and efficient Police force in the country. I should like to ask whether the Government is not ashamed of the existing state of affairs in the country, in which violence seems to flourish.

In these circumstances, if the ruling party members try to attribute political motives or if they try to make political capital out of this violence by blaming the Opposition Parties in the country, they are only trying to hide their Government's inaptitude. They do not seem to stop at that. For example, Shri Vayalar Ravi referred to D.M.K. Government in Tamil Nadu.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have made a very effective speech; you have given relevant points. Don't go into that. I have ruled it out of order. Why pay attention to that?

SHRI J. MATHA GOWDER: If you rule out of order the speeches of all the ruling party members, it would be better.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: What Ravi said about the D.M.K. Government, I have ruled out of order. You need not refer to it.

SHRI J. MATHA GOWDER: I only say that the ruling party members should not find scape-goats in the Opposition for the failure of their Government in putting an end to violence in the country.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Don't spoil your good speech. You have made a very efficient speech. Please conclude.

SHRI J. MATHA GOWDER: I would conclude by saying that 'Might is not right' in a democracy and democracy cannot survive in an atmosphere of violence; without democracy no political parties can survive; hence no political party will encourage violence.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola): Sir, today's debate, as everyone has been pointing out, raises the issue not only of the attempted attack on the Chief Justice but what is more a matter of anxiety is the climate of violence that is being generated, from which this attack was the result. Unfortunately, an effort is made even to ridicule the security arrangements and lower the gravity of this matter, by giving it a twist. I will just quote some portions of the editorial which appeared in *Motherland*, dated 22nd March, which is the organ of an important political party:

"Security in Danger—The apparent attempt on the life of Chief Justice Ray will shock and surprise everybody. Many will see it as only the latest in a line of mysterious incidents, all of them had suspicious birth marks.

It is for the Government to say whether it is all that incompetent or it had closely staged these stunts with ulterior motives. But the way Government is exploiting these incidents through its monopoly radio and TV gives a distinct impression that the incidents are stage-managed."

In para 6 it is said:

"It would seem that this Government will stop at nothing, literally nothing, to perpetuate itself in power and to prevent the opposition from ever coming to power through the ballot box. The prospect is as chilling as it is challenging."

This editorial speaks for itself. What is the challenge? If the editorial of an organ representing, voicing, the views of a very important political force in the country is to say that it is not possible for the opposition to come to power through the ballot box, then the conclusion is that the only way to come to power is by methods other than the ballot box; if it is not the ballot box, then, naturally, it is the bullet or the grenade. If this is the line of thinking of an important

[Shri Vasant Sathe]

political force, which has a disciplined but fanatic followers, and if they start believing that this is the only course open to them, then what will be the situation in the country? There is yet another editorial.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Motherland again?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It looks *Motherland* has muscled the Chief Justice out.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: It seems so. To them, even the attempt on the life of the Chief Justice is a stunt. They say in another editorial under the heading "Right to Disobey"—I will not quote any more—

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: If you quote that too often they, will get wide publicity.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I do not care whether they get publicity or not

The editorial says:

"Nor need the Red Queen be shocked by anybody's refusal to obey illegal orders. All Government is a compact between the people and the Government, and a Government which fails the people can always be disowned by them. Regicide—the death of a tyrannical king has, therefore, been recognised right by people throughout history."

This is the advocacy that is being done in the country by a section of responsible people, politically-oriented people.

डा० लक्ष्मीनारायण पांडे (गाजीपुर): मर्यादाक के अपने विचार हो सकते हैं। यह आप कैसे कह सकते हैं कि विपक्ष के ये विचार हैं? इस पर जरा गंभीरता से सोचिये फिर बोलिए।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Leave *Motherland* out. Come to the subject of the Chief Justice.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Is a discussion on *Motherland* not permissible?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Give notice of a motion; it would be considered.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT (East Delhi): I gave notice of it under rule 377, it was not allowed. Incitement for murder of the Prime Minister is a very serious thing. Even though I gave notice, permission was not given for the last ten days. In this very article there is incitement against the Prime Minister, which Shri Sathe is not reading. There is very much more in this article. I am going to comment on it

SHRI VASANT SATHE: As far as the Chief Justice is concerned, it is pointed out, and this is directly relevant:

"The fact that the grenades did not explode perhaps because they were too old and therefore, one bad would suggest that the thrower and his god-fathers knew them to be inoperative. Had they wanted to kill Shri Ray, they would have made sure with their weapons. It would seem that the grenades were thrown to create a climate of violence and scare away the law-abiding citizens from any resistance to the Government."

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now, come to your conclusion. What do you want to conclude from all this?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: I leave it to the sense of the House to understand the gravity of this thing. I have quoted *Motherland*. If those who share the opinion also feel the same way, then we can understand what the seriousness of the situation is. About those who do not share, there is nothing to worry. Those who share can

easily appreciate the seriousness of the climate of violence against prominent leaders of this country. This we must eschew. That is all I have to say.

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र : श्री ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी साहब चले गये हैं। मैं उनकी तारीफ़ करना चाहता हूँ। उनके महकमे ने बड़ी मेहनत की है और तीन चार दिन तक मेहनत करने के बाद यह पता लगाया है कि जो हैड ग्रैनेड सर्वोच्च न्यायालय के मुख्य न्यायाधीश पर फेंके गए थे बंगला भ्रूखवार में लपेटे हुए थे। इतना ही पता लगाने से जो हकीकत है वह सामने आ जाती है कि हैड ग्रैनेड लिया जाए, उसका पिन निकाला जाए, उसे भ्रूखवार में लपेटा जाए और फेंका जाए। यह सब तो सरकार ही कर सकती है कोई कलप्रिट नहीं कर सकता है। जो भी हैड ग्रैनेड के बारे में कुछ जानता है वह यही कहेगा कि ये वोगस थे, धोखा था और इसके अलावा कुछ नहीं था।

मैं गोस्वामी जी के भाषण को बड़े ध्यान से सुन रहा था। उन्होंने इंडियन एक्सप्रेस को कोट किया है। उसी भ्रूखवार को जब मैं आगे पढ़ने लगा तो आखिर में यह लिखा हुआ मने पाया :

"Though India is far from being a police State, the Central Government's expenditure on the police has increased 52 times in 24 years from Rs. 3 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 150 crores in 1974-75."

इतना खर्चा करने के बाद चार दिनों में इनके मंत्रालय ने यही पता लगाया कि हैड ग्रैनेड जो पकड़े गए हैं वे बंगला भ्रूखवार में लपेटे गए थे।

एक माननीय सदस्य : एक चप्पल भी रह गई थी।

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र : हैड ग्रैनेड चलाने वाला हवाई चप्पल पहन कर ही गया था और भाग गया। पता नहीं कैसे ये समझ चुके

हैं कि वह छूट गया है? गम्भीरता के साथ जब एक गम्भीर विषय पर चर्चा नहीं होती है तो मुझे तो हंसी आती है। माननीय श्री पीलू मोदी, इलाहाबाद यूनिवर्सिटी में बोलने के लिए भाषण करने के लिए गए थे और कांग्रेस पार्टी के लड़कों ने उनके ऊपर वहाँ चप्पलें चलाईं

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : गलत बात है।

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र : श्री ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी साहब और इलाहाबाद मंत्रालय विरोधी पार्टी के लोगों की समझौते पर चप्पलें फिरवाने के आदेश दी गए हैं और ऐसे लोगों को चप्पलें चोरी कर विरोधियों पर फिरवाया करने हैं वम तो कनम का वम मुर्शीम कोर्ट के जजों पर बहुत पहने चना दया गया था। एक ही न.क पर न.न जजों का सहाय्य कर दिया गया था। लेकिन अब यह नकनी वम क्यों चनाया गया? कारण यह प्रतीत होता है कि सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में यह विचारार्थ है कि मीसा कंटिन्यु करे या न करे। सर्वोच्च न्यायाधीश की गाड़ी पर यह वम इसलिए फेका गया है कि जज महमूम करें कि देश को हानत अभी खतरनाक है इसलिए मामा को कंटिन्यु करना चाहिए। क्या यह सानिग नहीं हो सकती है? इलाहाबाद का जन श्रमता इंदिरा गांधी के खिनाफ याचिका पर विचार कर रहा था। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी इलाहाबाद गई थीं। उस समय मैं लिमये जी व आ ज्योतिर्मय बसु साहब की ले कर हाई कोर्ट में जा रहा था। लेकिन हम लोगों को रोक दिया गया। इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट मेरे चुनाव क्षेत्र में आता है। जो रोक रहे थे। हमको पहचानते थे। मैंने कहा कि मैं कह रहा हूँ कि ये लोग मीम्बर पार्लियामेंट हैं, तुम भी इनको पहचान रहे हो लेकिन उन्होंने कहा कि जा कुछ भी हो हम आपको जाने नहीं देंगे, हमें पास चाहिए। हम लोगों को यह पास भिला था उपाध्यक्ष महोदय।

[श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र]

जब पास मिलेगा, तब ही घाप जा सकेंगे। तो फिर वह धादमी तमंचा ले कर कैसे पहुंच गया ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That point was made before.

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र : यह हम बता रहे हैं कि हमको रोका गया लेकिन वह धादमी पहुंच गया। पार्लियामेंट का प्राइविटी कार्ड दिखाने के बाद भी उसे को नहीं जाने दिया गया, तो वह धादमी बिना पास के कैसे पहुंच गया, यह एक गंभीर मामला है। इलाहाबाद में पुलिस कप्तान ने पहली बार उससे पूछा तो उसने बताया कि हमारे बाप पोलिटिकल पैशन पाते हैं, कांग्रेस पार्टी के लगातार मेम्बर रहे हैं। मेरी भी हमदर्दी कांग्रेस पार्टी के साथ है।

उसकी कोई नीयत प्रधान मंत्री पर हमला करने की नहीं थी। उसके ऊपर दफा 302 के मुकदमे चलते रहे हैं। वह अपनी हिफाजत के लिए तमंचा ले कर चलता था। लेकिन सारे हिन्दुस्तान में और न केवल हिन्दुस्तान में बल्कि रूस के 'प्रावदा' में छपा है कि हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसी हालत हो गई है कि प्रधान मंत्री की ज़िन्दगी को खतरा है। श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी यहाँ नहीं हैं। उनके यहाँ कल्चरल प्रोग्राम के नाम पर कब्जाली होने वाली थी। उन्होंने जब यह सुना तो उन्हें बड़ा सदमा पहुंचा।

श्री नरसिंह नारायण पांडे (गोरखपुर) : श्री वाजपेयी जी बैठ गए हैं, उनसे पूछ लीजिए कि वहाँ क्या हुआ ? कब्जाली होने वाली थी कि रासलीला होने वाली थी ?

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र : सदमा लगने के बाद पंडित जी ने सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रम स्वयं गत कर दिया। हमें हंसी आती है।

प्रधान मंत्री के ऊपर पुलिस के सिपाहियों का वैभिक भत्ते का खर्च हुआ है वह 2 लाख

रुपये है। तीन लाख की है, उस हजार पुलिस के सिपाही इलाहाबाद के कहर से बचने के हरेक सिपाही को रोपाना कुराक का 4 रुपये भत्ता देना पड़ता है। उस हजार सिपाहियों पर 4 रुपये के हिसाब से 40 हजार रुपये एक दिन का हो गया। वह दो दिन पहले आते हैं और दो दिन बाद जाते हैं। इस तरह से दो लाख की रकम हो जाती है। केवल अपने ऊपर हुए इस खर्च को जस्टिफाई करने के लिए कांग्रेस पार्टी के एक कार्यकर्ता की जेब में बेसी तमंचा पकड़ा कर यह देश को दिखाना चाहते हैं कि बहुत बड़ा हल्ला है। वह मत समझिये कि चीफ जस्टिस की गाड़ी पर नकली बम फेंका गया है। इनके एक मिनिस्टर श्री शंकर दयाल शर्मा हैं। उनके घर में भी एक बम मिला था। बाद में उन्होंने कहा कि वह नौकर ने मजाक करने के लिए रखा था। कौन जाने कल को श्री ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी साहब कह दें कि चीफ जस्टिस की गाड़ी पर जो बम फेंका गया था वह मजाक करने के लिए फेंका गया था। यह समझ में नहीं आता है कि यह कब मजाक करना चाहते हैं और कब गंभीर रहना चाहते हैं। पूरे देश को, पूरी संसद को और दुनिया को यह बताना चाहते हैं कि इस समय इनकी ज़िन्दगी पर खतरा है, जहाँ पर खतरा आ रहा है, जहाँ खतरा पर खतरा आ रहा है। जयप्रकाश जी का नाम लेते लेते अभी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के भिन्न भ्रमगीका तक पहुंच गये। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह का ड्रामा अब इन लोगों को खत्म करना चाहिए।

मझे भालम हुआ है कि इस समय इस तरह की चर्चा चला कर के सरकार एंजर्जेंसी को और बढ़ाना चाहती है और उसके साथ साथ यह भी साजिश चल रही है कि आइन्दा आने वाला पार्लियामेंट का चुनाव न होने दिया जाये। गृह-मंत्रालय से सब जगह के कलेक्टरों को यह खबरे जा रही हैं। एन-मिनिस्ट्री इस पर सलाह कर रही है कि

ऐसा माहौल देश में पैदा करे कि संसद् का झगला चुनाव न होने पावे। इनके हाथ में हमेशा ताकत बनी रहे और ये लगातार तानाशाह बने रहें। अगर ये तानाशाह बन कर रहेगी तो आप भी खत्म किये जा सकते हैं, संसद् भी खत्म की जा सकती है। ऐसी हानत में यह एक गंभीर ममला है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जिस तरह से ये लोग विरोधी लोगों को फंसाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, उन पर आरोप-प्रत्यारोप लगाते चले जा रहे हैं, हम आपसे भ्रष्ट करेगे कि आप मत्कारुद बल के लोगों को कहिए कि ये इस तरह की हूरकतें बन्द करे। अगर इनमे हिम्मत है तो चीफ जस्टिस पर बम फेंके जाने और जब प्रधान मंत्री बयान देने गई थी उस समय देवी तमन्बा पकडे जाने के बारे में जाच करने के लिए एक सर्वदलीय कमेटी ममद् के मदर्यों की बनावे। इस संमद् में बहुत से नेता लोग हैं, जो उनसे कम जिम्मेवार नहीं है, जो उनसे किसी खराब क्षेत्र से चुनकर नहीं आये हैं। इस जाच से पता चलेगा कि आप हिंसा फैला रहे है या विरोधी दलों के लोगों की राजनीति के कारण हिंसा फैल रही है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर इस तरह की जाच के लिए कोई कमेटी बनेगी तो श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी और श्री ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी कटघरे में जायेंगे।

जब मैं इलाहाबाद गया तो मुझे इस बात का गौरव था कि इलाहाबाद में जहाँ मैं तीन-तीन प्रधान मंत्री आये, उसी इलाहाबाद को यह धमण्ड होने जा रहा है कि प्रधान मंत्री को कटघरे में खड़ा किया जा रहा है लेकिन मैंने देखा कि इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट पूरा-पूरा कटघरे में खड़ा था। चारों तरफ से उसे घेर लिया गया था। एक तरफ प्रधान मंत्री जब हाई कोर्ट में जाय तो हाई कोर्ट की इमारत को कटघरे में फेर दिया जाये। जब सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जजों का सुपरसेशन किया जायेगा और समय बह जायेंगे को छोटी हैसियत का बना

वेंगी तब इस तरह की घटनाएँ तो होंगी ही और उसकी जिम्मेदारी आप पर होगी।

आखिर में उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं संसदीय जाच की माग पर जोर देते हुए अपनी बात खत्म करता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि होम मिनिस्टर में इतनी सद्बुद्धि आये कि इस भांग को स्वीकार करें।

प्रो० नारायण चन्ध पराशर (इमीरपुर): माननीय उपाध्यक्ष जी, इस प्रति गंभीर विषय को जिस विनोदप्रियता से हमारे कुछ साथी ले रहे हैं, मैं उसका घोर विरोध करता हूँ और उनसे यह अपील भी करता हूँ कि और भाषा भी करता हूँ कि वह हालत की नज़ाकत को समझे और जो पोलिटिकल वायोलेंस, राजनीतिक हिंसावाद का नया युग शुरू हो रहा है, उसके उदय से कुछ सबक ले।

माननीय उपाध्यक्ष जी, 3 जनवरी, 1925 को मुसोलिनी ने अपने फाशिष्ट राष्ट्र का नया कंसंभन मसारा को पेश किया और 50 साल बाद 3 जनवरी, 1975 को श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र हमसे जुदा हुए। यह घटनाओं का चक्र-क्रम है, जिसको एक्सप्लेन करना या ब्याख्या करना हमारे लिए आसान नहीं। 18 मार्च, 1974 को जय प्रकाश जी का आन्दोलन शुरू होता है और 18 मार्च, 1975 को एक साल बाद एक आदमी इलाहाबाद में कोर्ट में पिस्तौली लेकर पहुंचता है। यह को-इंसीडेंट ही है। और उसके ठीक तीसरे दिन यहाँ पर चीफ जस्टिस पर हमला किया जाता है। यह उसको और गंभीर बनाने वाली बात है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आज भारतवर्ष में सभी राजनीतिक लोग इस बात को समझे कि वृणा के वातावरण से कोई काम हुल होने वाला नहीं है। हिंसा के अशुभुदय से जिस सत्ता को वह कब्जा करना चाहते हैं, वह सत्ता उनको समाप्त कर देगी, उनके हाथ नहीं आयेगी।

[प्री० नारायण बन्द पराशर]

इसलिए जो हमारे साथी श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र ने यह कहा कि प्रधान मंत्री की सुरक्षा के लिए बहुत खर्च किया गया, तो मुझे बड़ा अचम्भा हुआ कि जय प्रकाश जी की सुरक्षा के लिए जो खर्च होता है, उसके बारे में उनकी जबान बिल्कुल बन्द है। मैं गृह-मंत्री महोदय से आपके द्वारा यह प्रपील कल्याण कि हर प्रकार के राजनीतिक नेता की सुरक्षा के लिए पूर्ण प्रबन्ध किया जाये चाहे कितना भी उस पर खर्च क्यों न हो। गृह-मंत्री महोदय इस बात की गारण्टी हमको दे कि इस देश के विचारों, स्वाधीनता और स्वाधीनता के प्रचार और राजनीतिक गतिविधियों पर अगर किसी प्रकार का कोई अतिक्रमण होता है, खतरा पैदा होता है तो होम मिनिस्ट्री उनकी सुरक्षा का प्रबन्ध करेगी।

प्रधान मंत्री की तो सुरक्षा होनी ही चाहिए और अच्छा प्रबन्ध होना चाहिए, जहाँ भी वे जायें। मैं यह कहूँगा कि "बाल्टायर" के शब्दों में कि हम आपसे भिन्न मत रखते हैं लेकिन आपके भिन्न मत को प्रकट करने के लिए हम आपका सबसे बड़ा समर्थन करते हैं। इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि आप स्वाधीनता से अपनी बात करें।

माननीय उपाध्यक्ष जी, जस्टिस ए० एन० राय पर आक्रमण कोई एक छोटी मोटी घटना नहीं है। मैं 26 जनवरी के गणतंत्र दिवस पर छपे "मदरलैण्ड" अखबार का एक उदाहरण आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ जिसमें भविष्यवाणी की गई है कि इन्दिरा जी किस मिस्ट्रीरिम्स हालत में, रहस्यपूर्ण वातावरण में इस देश से जुदा होंगी। मैं और देश यह जानना चाहते हैं कि क्या यह सारे कदम उस एक दिशा की तरफ नहीं हैं जो किसी ने यह दिशा निर्धारित की है? किसी का विमान है, या कोई संगठन है या कोई विरोधी की बात है।

जब प्रधान मंत्री ने श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र की हत्या के बाद यहाँ पर 7 जनवरी को कांस्टीट्यूशन क्लब में शोक दिवस पर अपने भाषण में कहा कि यह एक बहुत बड़ी रिहर्सल हो रही है तो बहुत से लोग अचम्भे में पड़ गये और उनको काँटैम करने की बात हुई। लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री की वह भविष्यवाणी क्या आज अक्षरशः सत्य सिद्ध नहीं हो रही? यह रिहर्सल देश के भविष्य को खतरे में डाल रही है और सौभाग्य से माननीय जस्टिस ए० एन० राय आज जिन्दा हैं। तो देश के सबसे ऊँचे एक व्यक्ति पर जो प्रहार हुआ विफल हुआ, यह हमारा सौभाग्य है। वह शरारती भी पिस्तील लेकर इलाहाबाद में पहुँच गया। सरकार के जो प्रमुख व्यक्ति हैं इस देश में उन पर वार करने का प्रयास असफल हुआ। लेकिन राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर, नेशनल स्तर पर, सेट्रल स्तर, लैबल पर यह 3 जनवरी को उदय होने वाला हिंसा का जो युग है, हम इसकी घोर भर्त्सना करते हैं।

मैं अपने विरोधी भाइयों से भी यह अपील करता हूँ कि इस मिटैलिटी के खिलाफ चाहे किसी एक व्यक्ति का काम है, चाहे किसी संगठन का काम है, चाहे किसी और का हाथ है या बाहर से किसी का हाथ है, इसकी घोर निन्दा होनी चाहिए और अगर आप निन्दा नहीं करेंगे, तो आप अपने पांव पर कुल्हाड़ी मारेगे। "वतन की फिक्र कर नादा, मुसीबत भाने वाली है, तेरो बर्बादियों के मशवरे हैं आस्मानों में।" आज जम्हूरियत को खतरा है, प्रजातंत्र को खतरा है। माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की सुरक्षा के लिए दो लाख रुपये खर्च कर दिए गये। लेकिन श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण की सुरक्षा के लिए क्या खर्च किया जा रहा है, उस का उन्होंने खिच नहीं किया। हम तो कहेंगे कि अगर श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण के जीवन की रक्षा के लिए इस से भी ज्यादा खर्च करने की आवश्यकता हो, तो वह करना चाहिए। देश के किसी भी विरोधी नेता को

यह आशंका नहीं होनी चाहिए कि उस का जीवन खतरे में है।

मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब मे यह इल्लजा करूंगा कि इस की जिम्मेदारी उन पर भी धाती है, क्यों कि श्री मिश्र 3 जनवरी को हम से झगल हुए और मध्यु कमीशन चालीस दिन के बाद बना। इन चालीस दिनों में होम मिनिस्ट्री ने क्या किया? किस को पकड़ा? किसी को क्यों नहीं पकड़ा? किसी अधिकारी के खिलाफ क्या कार्यवाही की गई है? आप इस जिम्मेदारी से बच नहीं सकते। अगर आप इस बारे में पग नहीं उठायेगे, तो जहाँ कुछ संगठनों की तरफ से चलाई जाने वाली मूवमेंट देश के पोलिटिकल सिस्टम के लिए खतरा पैदा कर देगी, वहाँ यह अकर्मण्यता, यह काम न करना, पग न उठाना, उनको एन-फरेज करेगा।

हम अ.ने वयोवृद्ध नेता, श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण, की कभी कद्र किया करते थे, लेकिन उन के बारे में हमारी आशंकाये दिन-प्रति-दिन बढ़ती जा रही है। यह कहते हैं कि पुलिस और धार्मी सरकार के साथ को-आपरेट न करे। इस समय हमारे देश के सामने इतना बड़ा संकट है कि आज यह आवश्यक हो गया है कि हर व्यक्ति अपना कर्तव्य निभाये, हम अहिंसा के मार्ग पर चलें और हिंसा के वातावरण को पनपने से रोके, ताकि देश और प्रजातंत्र का भविष्य सुरक्षित हो, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में सारा राष्ट्र तरक्की करे, और सारे संसार के लिए एक नई आशा का उदय हो।

SHRI P. M. MEHTA (Bhavnagar):
 The attack on the life of the Chief Justice of this country is a matter of concern for all of us. It concerns the whole nation. We should express only the concern and we must not express opinions. We must not give a lead to the investigation agencies and we must not lay tracks for the investigating agency. What happens in this country whenever such incidents oc-

cur? We always see that the ruling party makes definite assumptions. This is highly objectionable. In the event of Samastipur blast what happened? Soon after the incident they attributed motives to the movement of J. P. Narayan; about this Allahabad incident also the same opinion was expressed. Even in this case also opinions are expressed. Now, this is highly objectionable. To express opinion and give lead to investigation and lay tracks for investigating agencies is more reprehensible because it is done by the ruling party. This is objectionable because it will prejudice the conduct of investigation and pervert the ends of justice.

Therefore, Sir, we demand an enquiry by a Parliamentary Committee to go into the reasons and causes for such incidents which led to create a climate of violence in this country which is dangerous to democracy.

श्री नरसिंह नारायण पांडे (गोरखपुर):
 उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री ए० एन० राय पर जो हमला हुआ है, उस हमले को इस देश को, और लोक सभा को, बहुत ही आसानी के साथ लेने की जरूरत नहीं है। यह एक बहुत बड़ा षडयंत्र मालूम होता है। यह षडयंत्र दम सालों से मुतवातिर किसी न किसी रूप में किया जा रहा है, और इधर 1969 के बाद तो इस की तेजी और भी बढ़ गई है।

पहले तो राजनैतिक नेताओं की चरित्र-हत्या का प्रयास किया गया, और जब उस प्रयास में नाकामयाबी मिली, तो देश के सब से प्रमुख और सर्वमान्य न्यायाधीश पर उन की कार में हैडब्रीनेड से हमला किया गया। आज सारे देश में जो एक प्रक्रिया चल रही है, उस का एक स्वरूप हमारे सामने आया है। आज देश में जो स्थिति पैदा हो रही है, या पैदा करने की कोशिश की जा रही है, उस में सरकार को, और देश की जनता को, बड़ी सावधानी के साथ अपनी जिम्मेदारियों का निर्वाह करना पड़ेगा। आज ऐसी कोई स्थिति

[श्री नरसिंह नारायण पांडे]

नहीं है, जिस में केवल इक्की-दुक्की बटनावें हो रही हैं। इस के पीछे अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय शक्तियों का तो हाथ है ही, लेकिन हमारे देश के अन्दर भी ऐसी शक्तियाँ हैं, जो अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय शक्तियों के साथ मिल कर इस देश की शान्ति और व्यवस्था में खलल डालना चाहती हैं, यहाँ आन्तरिक व्यवस्था पैदा करना चाहती हैं और इस देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को नष्ट करना चाहती हैं।

जो लोग सताईस साल तक चुनाव की प्रक्रिया और संविधान में विश्वास करते रहे हैं, अब वे हारे हुए जुधारी की तरह कल्ट आफ वायलेंस का सहारा लेने लगे हों, तो हर देशवासी और हर राजनैतिक पार्टी को यह सोचना पड़ेगा कि हम क्या करें और किस तरह से इन शक्तियों के साथ लड़ें। आज जो बाहरी शक्तियाँ हम पर हमला करने की तैयारियाँ कर रही हैं, वे हमारे देश की आन्तरिक स्थिति को अस्त-व्यस्त करने के लिए कुछ आन्तरिक शक्तियों को बढ़ावा दे रही हैं। कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा है कि यह तो एक प्रापेण्डेड है, एक साधन है, सारे देश में एक स्थिति पैदा करने के लिए, जिस में मीसा और इमर्जेन्सी को कांटीन््यू किया जा सके, लेकिन तथ्य इस के विपरीत हैं। आज सारे देश में एक खतरनाक स्थिति पैदा हो गई है।

जो हैडक्वार्टर मिलिटरी द्वारा लड़ाई में इस्तेमाल होते हैं, वे कई जगहों पर पाये गये हैं। अभी कुछ दिन पहले हमारे देश में एक जर्मन नागरिक अमृतसर में पकड़ा गया, जिस के पास विदेशी हैडक्वार्टर पाये गये। आज हमारे देश के पूर्वी प्रदेशों में किस तरह की गतिविधियाँ चल रही हैं? इसी मदन में फ़ारेन कांटीन््यूअन्स के सम्बन्ध में एक बिल को ज्वॉइंट सलेक्ट कमेटी में विचार करने हेतु भेजा है। उस के अन्दर यह कहा गया है कि गृह मंत्री के पास और गृह मन्त्रालय के पास इस बात की सूचना है कि यहाँ पर

कुछ फ़ारेन फ़ोर्स काम कर रही हैं, पैसा बांट रही हैं चाहे एजूकेसनल इस्टीमेशन के जरिए हो, चाहे पोलिटिकल पार्टीज के जरिए हों, च है दूसरे किसी जरिए से हो, अपने पैसे का इस्तेमाल वह यहाँ पर कर रही हैं। ऐसे समय में माननीय मिश्रा जी ने एक मन-गढ़त बात कर दी। आप का विरोध हो सकता है, व्यक्तिगत विरोध हो सकता है, मान-रस देश के बहुत बड़े नेता हो सकते हैं, लेकिन इस का मतलब यह नहीं है कि व्यक्तिगत विरोध की बिना पर सारे देश में ऐसा वातावरण आप फैलाए जो वातावरण इस गरीब देश को कबूल न हो। आज यह देश जैसी स्थिति में चल रहा है उस में विरोधी पार्टियों का कर्तव्य था, हमारे मदन के सारे लोगो का कर्तव्य था कि हम एक हो कर उस आर्थिक परिस्थिति से लड़ते। आज हमारा कर्तव्य था कि अनेम्प्लायमेंट या जो दूसरी ऐसी स्थिति है जिस में कि नौजवान आज बेसब्री का अनुभव कर रहे हैं, हम मिलजुल कर ऐसा वातावरण पैदा करते जिस में उस का कुछ हल निकलता। लेकिन इस देश में ऐसा वातावरण पैदा न करके कांस्ट्रिक्ट अपोजिशन न करके, इस देश में अपोजिशन ने और गार्डेट फोर्स ने यह समझ लिया है कि अब देश के सामने एक ही विकल्प है कि हम हिमा का सहारा लें और उस का सहारा लेने के लिए मार्क्सिस्ट कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लीडर ऐमे धार्मनाइजेशन जिस धार्मनाइजेशन के ऊपर महात्मा गांधी की हत्या का आरोप लगा था उस को 'सोशल धार्मनाइजेशन' कहने हैं। यह मामूली बात नहीं है। इस देश में अगर प्रजातंत्र को पुनोत होना है, विधान के अनुसार पार्लियामेंट; डेमोक्रेसी को चलना है तो इस के लिए जरूरत है कि देश के अन्दर ऐसा वातावरण पैदा किया जाय जिस से शान्ति और व्यवस्था के साथ देश चलाया जा सके।

15.00 hrs.

मैं केवल एक शब्द गृह मंत्री से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज जो कुछ देश में हो रहा है

शक्तिपूर्वक के लिए कहा जाता है कि वे निम्नलिखित डिक्टेटरीयम की बात करते हैं, लेकिन मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश में जो परिस्थिति पैदा हो रही है अगर इसी तरह से डेमोक्रेसी और पार्लियामेन्टरी सिस्टम बना तो इस देश में विधान को देश की आवश्यकताओं के अनुसार बदलने से कोई रोक नहीं सकता ? आज देश में उन सामान्यवादी ताकतों तथा राइटिस्ट फोर्सेज के लिए अगर विधान को भी बदलना पड़े तो हम प्रोग्रेसिव पार्टियाँ जो देश की भलाई और जनता की भलाई के लिए हैं वे डकट्टी हो कर ऐसा कर सकती हैं, यह हम कहना चाहते हैं ।

SHRI ARAVINDA BALA PAJANOR (Pondicherry): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, on behalf of Anna-DMK I join with the unanimous opinion of this august House in expressing our opinion against the violence and the attempt on the life of the Chief Justice of India. Sir, I wonder how much respect we give to this Third Estate, in Democracy that is, the judiciary, which is also part and parcel of our democratic system. Not only the members of the ruling party but also the members on this side make me amused on the simple issue regarding the conduct of ourselves in this House. The people outside watch us with great interest. We express our views on violence palatably but we practise our violence in words and they see up and try to function in their own way.

My friend from DMK party expressed the view, that his party is against violence but, in this connection, I would like to say what he preaches in this House is contrary to what his Party practises outside. This may look a philosophy of convenience for many of us but it is a *fait accompli* that what we preach we do not practise. One cannot deny the attempt by DMK members on the life of my leader and Member of Parliament Mr. Manoharan and many other incidents.

My feeling is that we do not have the conviction on certain principles. If we have a real conviction we will express ourselves boldly and whatever may be the consequences, we will stand by it and not practise something different.

Secondly, I want to tell the Home Minister that let the world not think that we are a nation of cowards and incapables. This is a small matter and we are trying to give colour to it by adding one to another. A number of incidents have taken place in this country and unnecessarily we are giving too much colour to it and we are barring the Home Minister from functioning in other important matters. If we have faith in our own police system, if we have some faith in our strength, we should not make much ado about something. That day, it was against the Prime Minister and yesterday it was against the Chief Justice and we say that these are people who are engaged in the destruction and annihilation of democracy. Let us remember that people are opposed to it and they are the real strength. Of course, it may not be palatable to some of the Members, including Members from our side when I say that very often, we are disturbed and prevented from expressing our views in this House. I have felt. Mr. Deputy-Speaker. Sir, from my little experience in this House that if only we are able to shout, if only we are able to cry aloud, our violent expressions dominate here and people outside think that force is might even in Parliament. Then if a stranger is not getting reward for his work and when a common man is denied justice, then, they are encouraged to indulge in violence in clothed form and the so called total revolution and other things are brought in. They give colour to it and try to cover up their own mistakes. That is the reason I say that we should rise up to the occasion and give up all this kind of sweet words. I would call it hypocrisy. Let us not mock democracy. If we are going to be sincere to our faith in democracy, then

[Shri Arevinda Bala Pajantor]

all political parties should stand together and condemn violence in practice and in preaching. There cannot be two opinions on this because, we are all against violence. The only thing that I would ask of the Home Minister is, that he should gear up his machinery, find out the culprit, not only find out the culprit, but also, as provided in the criminal law prevent such incidents in future. If you are not able to prevent such things, then, you are unfit and you should better get out. That is the only thing I can say. All these people who speak so much must have faith in what they say and practice it. I would like to make another request to the hon. Home Minister. Let there be an assessment of all the political parties, who speak so high here, with regard to their practice outside and let this be submitted to this House and we shall examine it.

In the end, I once again express our strong condemnation against the acts of violence and the attempt on the life of the Chief Justice of India and let there be no repetition.

SHRI SYED AHMED AGA (Baramulla): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I was amused to hear Mr. Janeshwar Misra speaking that the grenades were fake, that the pistol was fake and that all these things are only to create an impression that there is a necessity for continuing MISA. This is notionally amazing. This is even amusing. Sir, for some time past, we have been seeing that terrorist activities are going on. We saw that first of all, when Mr. Lalit Narayan Mishra was attacked, prompt came the revelation that he was not the real target. That indicates who is the real target? I will come to that later on. But, the point is that, the revelation was that the violence cult will continue. That was exactly what it meant. When they said that he was not the real target, that means, the cult of violence will continue. What happened then? Then, at Allahabad a man with a pistol went in. What was his name? Govind Misra. Then, soon after that,

hand grenades were thrown into the car of the Chief Justice. Now, all this in so close a succession. What does it indicate? Sir, the point is, let us try to understand why an attempt was made on Shri L. N. Mishra and why was he killed? Let us try to understand why the Chief Justice is being made the target? Let us try to understand why the real target is the real target? These are the only three things. I do not want to say anything beyond these three things. Sir, Shri L. N. Mishra was killed because he stood against the dissolution of the Bihar Assembly and he wanted to see that the democracy functions. He also stood against the students being asked to join mob violence and things like that. Therefore, he was removed completely. They always say, day in and day out, that this judiciary has been cut to size. How did it happen? Because, Mr. Ray was appointed, and therefore, the judiciary was cut to size. What is the real target? The real target is Smt. Indira Gandhi. They say so many times—and as *Motherland* has also been quoted—that Indira Gandhi will be killed in mysterious circumstances. Why all this?

The point is that they want to remove Sbrimati Indira Gandhi from the scene because they cannot win against her at the ballot box. This is one thing they are sure of. They know they cannot win. They know they cannot by votes come to power. Therefore, the only way open to them is to remove her from the scene physically. Therefore, all these things are there.

Now at the top of this, let us try to analyse and understand in a little broader perspective what is happening today in the world. What is happening now?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I thought you had come to our conclusion. But now you are trying to analyse the world.

SHRI SYED AHMED AGA: I am only wanting to connect these things.

Let me quote one instance before I come to this point. Sherpao was trying to bring about some rapprochement between Wali Khan—and Bhutto.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now you are going to Sherpao.

SHRI SYED AHMED AGA: I am trying to connect the point. If you will only allow me, I will do so. He was removed because.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: How do we know?

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar). He knows because he gets letters from Pakistan. This must be investigated.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You Kashmiris stand on a special footing in these matters.

SHRI SYED AHMED AGA: He seems to know everything about me. I think he knows it very well. It was in news here.

The point I am making is that at the back of all these things is the organisation known as CIA. What is CIA wanting to do? Through CIA, they are wanting the destabilisation of normal conditions in the sub-continent also. Pakistan is being rearmed. Then here if they want to kill democracy, if they want to kill all these things, it is through CIA funds. Only sometime ago....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You are entitled to your opinion, your views. But your time has run out. Only five minutes to each member.

SHRI SYED AHMED AGA: I always co-operate with you.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You are entitled to our views. But your time has run out.

SHRI SYED AHMED AGA: I am making my last point. On the one hand, they say that the army should revolt, the police should revolt, the

civil servants should revolt. If this is the propaganda that is to be made, if all these funds of CIA come over here, if the highest dignitary of the judiciary is to be removed physically, if the Prime Minister of India is to be removed physically, if all these things are going to happen, this is the action of the CIA who want to destabilise normal conditions here:

How they talk of 'total' revolution. What is 'total' revolution? I can understand a proletariat revolution, but I cannot understand a revolution backed by Mr. Goenka. I cannot understand that as a revolution. If that is the revolution, they are talking about, it is something very different.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I sometimes wonder whether by all that we may here we are really helping in creating a better climate in this country. I really wonder whether we are not further fouling the atmosphere. I am not quite sure in my mind

SHRI S M BANERJEE: Ultimately it is for you to decide what should be on record.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It has gone on record. My only worry is whether what we are saying is helping to create a better climate or it is worsening the climate. I am not quite sure in my mind.

SHRI SYED AHMED AGA: It is a question of trying to understand the climate that has already been created. I am trying to expose that climate. You have to understand that it is bad enough.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That is my difficulty. I do not have that much of intelligence to understand it.

SHRI SYED AHMED AGA: That is why I say that the CIA think that it is their right to create this disturbance here.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I will balance one Kashmiri by another. Shri Shamim. You have five minutes

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You tell us where we should go.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: Iron cuts iron. I will reply to him.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: You seem to be impatient; if you only bear with me for 2 1/2 minutes, I shall tell you where we should go. The first thing we should decide is whether we want this system of parliamentary democracy, whether it is a luxury which was handed down to us by our forefathers and whether we could prove ourselves worthy of that system; with these allegations and counter allegations the very basis of the system is likely to be threatened. Mention had been made of events in Pakistan. Only a few months ago we boasted that the system of parliamentary democracy in our country has succeeded; we said that we had a stronger basis of democratic institution than Pakistan had. But as ill luck would have it, the same sort of situation and circumstances are created in this country which were there in Pakistan a few years ago and which are there even today. ..(Interruptions).

डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, आज की बहस क्यों हो रही है, इस से क्या मतलब निकल सकता है, क्या फायदा हो सकता है? मैंने इस सदन में अभी तक जो तकरीरें सुनी हैं, उन से मुझे यह अन्दाजा होता है कि बहुत हद तक यह बहस बेमानी बहस है।

AN HON. MEMBER: What does that mean?

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: It means 'useless'. I shall speak in English then. To my mind the whole discussion has proved to be useless and fruitless because both sides are stating their known position.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Why waste time and words on it if it is useless?

AN HON. MEMBER: Why are you comparing India with Pakistan?

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: Just to prove how useless it is. The Government side says that it is the Opposition which is creating and generating violence while the Opposition says that it is the Government which is planting all these stories. If that was the only purpose this discussion should not have taken place. Having heard both sides and giving credence to both sides, the relevant question is: where are we going? If as the Government says the opposition is generating a climate of violence, it is very disturbing and it should not be so. If instead of creating a healthy atmosphere in the country the Opposition is spreading a poisonous atmosphere the relevant question is where are we going? If the Opposition stand is correct and if the Government is accused, rightly or wrongly, of creating this atmosphere and planting hand grenades, the situation is much worse and the question again is: where are we going?

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: If I had spoken in Urdu, you would have understood. I am saying that we were feeling proud that ours is a functioning democracy. This very system is being threatened by the atmosphere of suspicion on both sides. Who is to be blamed? That is the question for the jurists, for the Opposition and for the Congress. I am in the happy position of being a partyless democrat to the extent I do not belong to any party and I am qualified to say that it appears to me that his Government is responsible in Parliamentary system for 60 per cent and this side of the House is responsible for 40 per cent. Each one of us must accept his blame and contribution in making the system non-functional. Nobody denies that there is an atmosphere of violence in the country. You cannot dismiss it by saying that this is an individual instance or one or two incidents; they do not mean

Just because one party wants to remain in power and the other parties want to dislodge it, is it because of that the country is seized of this violence? Had there been no violence in Indian polity long before JP came? The Indian polity was seized of violence long before Mrs. Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister. So we have to ask one question, whether the political parties which constitute this polity are not contributing sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now I know the way.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: Unfortunately Parliament which should have been the baromet, the index of what the country thinks and how it should function, has not proved itself to be so. As my friend said, violence in words, violence in action and violence in thought expressed in Parliament does help in generating an atmosphere of violence and we have to ask Members of Parliament, the Members of the Government to consider, instead of accusing each other, how much each has contributed to this.

It was suggested that the Home Minister should strengthen the security measures of the VIPs including MPs. No policeman can save the system, no CRP, no armed forces can save the system. The vital question is whether we can save the Parliamentary system or not and I think with the present atmosphere of violence, the very system is in jeopardy.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I know the way now. The way is to do away with all the parties. Is it? You and I are in a happy position.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDER MOHAPATRA (Balasore): In the present world the largest democracy in the world, India, has a mission to perform. Whatever individual terrorism we may suffer, I have no doubt that

the vision is clear and India has to march forward.

There has been a cult of violence in every country in the world whenever the Government has become a success. When the socialist revolution in Russia became a success, there was also an attempt at foreign intervention to subvert the socialist strata of society, Abraham Lincoln was killed by an individual. There was an attack on Lenin. Mahatma Gandhi had to die also because of individual terrorism.

We have to understand one thing, whether these things are happening out of adventurism or if there is a deep rooted conspiracy to subvert the liberty and stability that India has achieved. Happenings in Bangladesh and India are almost the same. I personally feel that it is part of a total international conspiracy or a conspiracy of the national vested interests to subvert the independence of Bangladesh and the stability of India.

I know certain individual cases of adventurism. There was an attack in the house of the last Prime Minister of England. Even in the Tower of London there was a bomb explosion. All these things sometimes ago to prove one thing, that the people want to focus attention on certain things. What is the point on which attention is going to be focused here? Is it unemployment, price rise or growing unrest. If it is so, then I think the Government has a duty to perform to reduce the grievances of the people. But I personally believe that after the success of the Congress Party in the 1971 elections and the mandate which the people gave us to usher in an egalitarian society, vested interests have come to the surface and all the things that were seen today are the outbursts, the outer surface, of that study of mind.

We saw individual terrorism in West Bengal during the United Left Government. It was not possible for outsiders to move in the streets of West Bengal after dusk. Every woman and child from outside West Bengal

[Shri Shyam Sunder Mohapatra]

was afraid of going to the city of Calcutta at that time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please come to the Chief Justice.

MR. SHYAM SUNDER MOHAPATRA: I personally feel that in the present situation the Government should be very strong to curb at the slightest all incidents of these outbursts and the police administration has to perform its duty. True, as one Opposition Member said, the expenditure on the Police administration has gone up 30 times.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Fifty.

MR. SHYAM SUNDER MOHAPATRA: If it is so, the police, the intelligence, Central Information Service, the CBI, all these people cannot sit and they have to account for each incident that is happening in this country.

A very senior police officer told me that a senior private detective informed the Government on 7-7-1974 and 11-11-1974 or so that there was going to be an attack on the life of Shri L. N. Mishra.

Some news came out in the *Hindustan Times* of the 4th January. Did the police know about it? If so, what action did they take? On 6th June, 1974, the same private detective in a closed sealed cover sent an intimation to the Inspector General of Police, Delhi, saying that he heard a few constables near the P.M.'s residence in Teen Murti Lane were conspiring something. The I.G. gave it to the DIG, Security, who gave it to the Additional S.P. and 10 days after that, that company was removed and another company was reinstated. The Additional S.P. came to the residence of the private detective, thanked him and asked him to give more information whenever such things occur. If this was true—I have addressed a letter to the

Home Minister—I want to know what action was taken in the matter. The police department should not be nonchalant or careless if they hear any such news.

So far as the attack on Chief Justice Ray is concerned, four days have passed and we do not know who was the culprit. My request to the Government is, they should not be idle or nonchalant. They should be very vigilant. The life of the P.M. and the lives of the Speaker, Members of Parliament and State Legislatures who are in public life should be safeguarded. So, the cult of violence should be put an end to and the police should remain very vigilant.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Burdwan). Sir, our party has condemned in no uncertain term: this attempt on what is considered to be the life of the Chief Justice of India. Speaking personally, I am doubly happy because of my personal acquaintance with the Chief Justice from my childhood. His son is like a brother to me.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM: That is why you spoke against his appointment as Chief Justice.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I did that because of the extraordinary method that was adopted whereby the image of a good man and a capable man was tarnished. I did not make any personal allegation against the Chief Justice.

We ought to make an objective assessment as to how it could happen. Was it the work of a maniac, a disgruntled litigant who had lost his case or was it an attempt on the part of interested parties to create a sense of feeling in this country which will help the ruling party to carry on some of their activities which are very much affecting people's lives in general. Let us first consider why it happened and how it could happen at a place next to the Supreme Court building

where the Government ought to make arrangements for proper security. Could the intended assailant have been taking a chance there with handgrenades that the car might stop at the red signal? It might not have stopped if there was no red signal. These are various questions to be gone into, but this country is entitled to know from the Home Minister how it happened, before they come to explain who did it and why the ordinary security precautions were not taken, why the Supreme Court building is left completely at the mercy of whoever come in including people carrying handgrenades. In his statement, the Home Minister did not touch on these things nor have we been told up till now why this lackadaisical method of providing security to the Judges of the Supreme Court has been followed so far. We do not know when the investigation will be completed or whether it will at all be completed because when such inconvenient matters regarding the Government are concerned, the investigations never seem to be completed. The Samastipur case is not complete. The Nagarwala case has not been completed and we do not know the truth. We do not know how so much money came out of the State Bank. We do not know why the investigation has not been completed till now and how some of the people connected with the investigation also came to grief.

But we know one thing. This Government has been utilising such occasions for its political purposes and has been trying to utilise this as a stick to beat the opposition with. When this Government is primarily charged with the responsibility of maintaining law and order and protecting the lives of all citizens, including those who are in high offices, instead of explaining why these things happen and why the investigations are getting postponed for days, months and years, they start blaming the opposition, make a reference to the cult of violence and bring in this individual or that individual or some political party. The Prime Minister is referring to rehearsals.

Till this date the Government has not been able to find out the culprits in the case of Shri L. N. Mishra, yet the Prime Minister of this country is trying to beat the opposition with this reference to rehearsals and what not. Who is responsible for that? Instead of feeling ashamed that they are not able to protect the lives of important people of this country, they go on bragging about, they start beating the opposition, they go on blaming the opposition without an iota of basis.

It is very easy to say that somebody belonging to some political party is spreading the cult of violence. What is happening in West Bengal, where your party is very much in power? What steps are you taking there to prevent the cult of violence? You have killed in three years 120 persons belonging to a particular political party. What is happening there, is it a cult of violence or not? Your own Youth Congress men are fighting inside the Rebindra Bhavan University, as a result of which the university had to be closed down. Have you ever condemned that? Your own men are fighting in the streets of Calcutta, fighting amongst themselves, because of inter-party rivalries as a result of which 23 main roads of Calcutta were blocked for hours together. Yet not a single arrest was made for four days. What did your police do?

Therefore, do not imagine that you can sell this to the people of the country all the time. When you have failed to do something properly when you have failed to protect the lives of important people, if you go on blaming the opposition, do not think that the people of this country will take you at your face value. Instead of the opposition, it is the ruling party, it is the Home Minister here who has to explain to the people of this country why the life of the Chief Justice of India is not secure in the hands of this Government, why the life of the Railway Minister was not secure in the hands of this Government.

Before anything could be found out as to what really happened at Allah-

[Shri Somnath Chatterjee]

bad, when so many questions remained to be answered, when so many aspects had to be investigated, they come out with all sorts of banner headlines in their conveniently supporting newspapers that this was an attack on the life of the Prime Minister. Why should they assume that it was so? It could have been meant to terrorise others; we do not know. Therefore, instead of trying to utilize the situation which are born out of the failure of the government, to suit their own political ends, they are saying that the opposition is supposedly creating an atmosphere of violence.

Are we not entitled to say that this Government is creating this situation so that they can carry on with their repressive policies, so that they can find out excuses for continuing with the emergency, so that they can find out excuses for continuing with the MISA and DIR? Who are suffering because of the DIR and MISA except the opposition parties and the ordinary people of this country?

Therefore, I would request the hon. Home Minister and my friends on the other side to search their own hearts first before they start blaming the opposition. They should give an explanation to the people of this country why they are unable to do their duty in spite of the hundred-fold increase in the police budget. Why is it that they are not able to take the ordinary precautions to save these people from such attacks. Instead of doing that this Government thrives by throwing hints or making attacks against the opposition, when it cannot protect the lives of the people of this country or provide them with the ordinary necessities of life.

श्री चन्द्र शंखरी (हाजरत) :

उपाध्यक्ष जी, भारत के मुख्य न्यायाधीश की कार पर हथबोलों फेंके गये और उन की जान लेने का जो नापाक इरादा प्रकट किया गया, यह कोई मामूली बात नहीं है। अर्थात् मैं अपने

विरोधी बल के कुछ लोगों को सुन रहा था। उन्होंने इस कांड के ऊपर जो वातावरण बनाने की कोशिश की है, वह मैं व्यक्त करता हूँ कि धाज के इस प्रजातंत्र में यह उन का जो रवैया है, यह अच्छी बात नहीं है। हमने यह देखा है कि अर्थात् इस कांड के कुछ ही दिन पहले जब देश की महान नेता श्री लोकप्रिय प्रधान मंत्री इलाहाबाद में इन्साफ़ के मन्दिर में अपने चुनाव पेटिशन के सिलसिले में गई थी, वहां पर कमरे में एक व्यक्ति को नाजायज़ तमन्च, हाथ में लिए पकड़ा गया। इस से पहले भारत के संचार मंत्री के भोपाल स्थित निवास-स्थान पर बम पाए गये और उस से पहले सनस्ता-पुर में रेल मंत्री स्वर्गीय ललित नारायण मिश्र के साथ जो कुछ हुआ, जो बम विस्फोट हुआ, ये एक के बाद एक भयानक घटनाएं घटित होती चली जा रही है। इन्होंने देश के उन नागरिकों को, जो सच्चे माइन, मे देश की एकता में, देश की अखण्डता में देश के प्रति श्रद्धा रखते हैं और विश्वास रखते हैं यह सोचने पर मजबूर कर दिया है कि अर्थात् ये कारण क्या है, वजह क्या है, जो इस तरह का माहौल पैदा किया जा रहा है।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, समय मुझे मजबूर कर रहा है, जैसा कि धाज का आदेश है, मैं अपने मन की पूरी बात तो नहीं कह पाऊंगा लेकिन इतना अवश्य कहूंगा कि ये जो लोग इस तरह का वातावरण पैदा कर रहे हैं और इस तरह का माहौल जो बनाया जा रहा है मुलक में, यह प्रजातन्त्र विरोधी है, जनतंत्र विरोधी है और वे लोग जो इस बात में कीन करते हैं कि देश की नेता श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में देश जो तरक्की कर रहा है, प्रगति कर रहा है, उस को कैसे रोका जाए, इन लोगों के मन की यह बात है। मेरा यह विश्वास है कि इन का यह संसुबा, इन का यह अभिप्राय पूरा नहीं हो पायगा और जब तक देश की जनता प्रजातंत्र में पूरी तरह से विश्वास और श्रद्धा रखेगी, तब तक इनके

हर अपवित्र कार्य को नाकाम कर दिवा जाए, जिस को वे लोग करना चाहते हैं ।

मेरा आप से निवेदन है और मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि ये कौन सी ताकतें हैं, कौन सी शक्तियाँ हैं, जो ये घटनाएं कराती हैं । इस के पीछे किस का हाथ है ? कौन इस के पीछे है, इस का पता लगना चाहिए ? क्या इस के पीछे वे लोग नहीं हैं जिन्होंने राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी की हत्या की थी ? मैं बड़े विश्वास के साथ इस सदन को और इस सदन के माध्यम में देश की जनता को बताना चाहता हूँ कि दिन पर दिन जो इस तरह के कांड हो रहे हैं, उन के पीछे उसी जड़नियत के लोग काम कर रहे हैं जिन्होंने पूज्य महात्मा गांधी की हत्या की थी और मैं सरकार से यह निवेदन करूँगा और मांग करूँगा कि बहुत तमाशा हो गया, अब यह तमाशा ज्यादा बढ़ाई नहीं किया जा सकता । मैं गृह मंत्री जी से यह निवेदन कहूँगा कि वक्त आ गया है जब ऐसी शक्तियों पर, ऐसी ताकतों पर, जो इस तरह क कुत्रल्य करती हैं, बंद लगा दिया जाए । मैं किसी व्यक्ति को और किसी पार्टी को दोष तो नहीं देना चाहता, लेकिन यहां पर जो प्रतिक्रियावादी और जो सामन्तवादी और जो इस तरह की ताकतें हैं जो कि प्रजातंत्र विरोधी हैं, जनतंत्र विरोधी हैं, ऐसी ताकतों का पता लगना चाहिए और उन को जाच होनी चाहिए । इस तरह के काण्ड के पीछे जिन का हाथ है उन शक्तियों की मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि बताया जाए क्या विदेशों से कोई मदद मिलती है, बिदेशों से पैसा मिलता है, अस्तिसेंस मिलती है और अगर मिलती है तो कौन सी वे शक्तियाँ हैं जिन से मिलती है ? मैं केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब वक्त आ गया है जब ए० एस० एस० जैसी जो फॅमिस्ट ताकतें हैं, भ्रान्त मार्क्स जैसी जो ताकतें हैं उन पर कब्जा स्थापित जाए और उनकी गति-विधियों पर कड़ी नज़र रखी जाए ।

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the shocking attempt on the life of our Chief Justice is to be condemned because it brings once again to the forefront the increasing atmosphere of the politics of violence that is unfortunately spreading in our country. But this serious incident affords to this august House an opportunity to go into some of the fundamental issues involved. Judging from these two angles, I must say that I feel somewhat sorry that this debate has not produced the kind of thinking points for us, and, what is more important, for the country at large, which during the discussion, in the speeches, that have preceded, of many of my hon. friends belonging to both the sides, we had generally expected.

When we talk of the politics of violence, when we talk of the climate of violence, do we really think and find out how and why this climate of violence is spreading? Is it not because, although our ideals of democracy are so beautifully enshrined in our Constitution, that our behaviour and practices, apparently according to those ideals, are quite different? It is this increasing gulf between the two that has made the people of this vast country suspicious and doubtful about the bonafides of the intentions of the Members of Parliament, Members of Legislative Assemblies, various political parties, politicians and public leaders. Therefore, this is not a question of this or that party. It is a question which affects the entire polity, and that is why I feel that this comparatively short discussion can become meaningful if we mention the larger and deeper issues involved without going into petty, personalised and peevish considerations and controversies. It is unfortunate, and I was sorry, I was compelled to hear many unnecessary and may I say even uncharitable remarks about this or that individual. Maybe, the individual belongs to the establishment or to the forces opposing the establishment. But in democratic politics, do we discuss the individuals or do we discuss the policies of those indivi-

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

duals who are functioning either in power or outside power?

As I was saying, our fine Constitution has dealt with certain fundamentals of public life, certain principles and behaviour of a civilized political life. The ideals, principles and values of this democratic functioning have been writ large on the pages of our Constitution. We, the Members of Parliament, the moment we first enter this place, take the oath that we shall be faithful to our Constitution both in letter and in spirit. Mr. Deputy-Speaker, you were perhaps rightly distressed a little while ago when you asked whether what was happening in the debate today was helping to purify the climate and atmosphere or the other way round. I am also not very sure whether we are contributing meaningfully to the health and restoration of democratic values or whether we are adding only more fuel to the already burning fire in our great country. Unless the necessary climate is created we cannot function effectively and significantly in a democracy. And let my friends in the Congress Party remember that, if people in the Opposition, not only the Opposition members but also the people who are opposed to the present regime are feeling increasingly distressed about the various things, it is not because all of them want to be in power replacing them, but it is because they feel that the functioning of the democracy is not coming to the expected standard they feel that although we have a democratic polity on paper, in practice we do not seem to have any spirit or idea of democracy—in our behaviour. That is why I am tempted to say that a democratic society must precede a democratic government. If a democratic society has to precede a democratic government, not only in Parliament and Legislative Assemblies but in our families, universities, academic campuses and in the various social, political, economic, educational and cultural bodies there must be a growing climate of trying to understand

each other. I feel sorry that there is an increasing absence of toleration. We must learn to tolerate, not only tolerate but tolerate gladly and generously. Because that is the very basis of a democratic temper and a democratic behaviour.... (Interruptions). I am sorry. I am not telling this to my friend, Mr. Naik. I am addressing these remarks to ourselves. I am not making compartments of Opposition and Government or this Party or that Party. I am concerned with the entire nation. Therefore, I was saying that flinging abuses and dirt on individuals is mad politics and, focussing attention on this and that person and attributing motives without a proper foundation and proper evidence is bad politics. And, unless we get away from these strains of mad and bad politics, my fear is that we will go more and more towards the direction of explosive violence in our politics.

If democracy implies discussion and debate and if it means a free debate and the debate must continue always, then persuasion is important and not persecutionist tactics. Attacks on persons is not democratic politics. Criticism of policies is democratic politics.

Therefore, I want to say in conclusion, these few words. An increasingly alarming and a continuously explosive situation in our country is doing good to no-one of us. A cult of violence and the politics of assassination will do no good because you must remember and you must tell our brethren in our parties and in our non-party units that violence is both destructive and deceptive and it brings about a deterioration and degeneration of all that a civilized society stands for.

Let me say one word before I sit down, and I am sorry to say that Credibility of almost all political parties and politicians has reached an all time low to-day. People in the country including independents if any, who are talking in terms of mad politics and bad politics. (Interruptions): Mr. Janeswar Mishra is right. Therefore, I am saying that the

credibility of all political parties and almost all politicians in the country is at an all-time low to-day and, therefore, everybody believes almost anything about any VIP whether he is in power or outside.

There is a tendency and almost a temptation to suspect those in power and those in positions of status. All this must go. We must find out what is at fault and when we find it, we must mend it.

Therefore, I want to conclude with a warning, a twin warning to the hon. and esteemed Home Minister and his large majority sitting behind him. The twin warning is that unless corruption and misrule end, let us remember that it will only create an atmosphere of more and more violence. Secondly, if inquiries about these serious incidents, right from Nagarkhanda down to the attack on the Chief Justice, are not quick and full and if investigations are not speedy and thorough and if the culprits are not located and tried in a court of law and the guilty men isolated and punished promptly, the Governmental prestige and authority will fade away before our own eyes and we shall find this vast and ancient country of ours ripe and ready for surrendering herself to the fascist and primitive forces. May this never, never happen!

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT (East Delhi): I agree with Mr. Mavalankar that a democratic behaviour is the essence, the soul and spirit which is necessary for the survival of a democracy. All the more so, a democratic behaviour is expected from Members of Parliament, particularly, when they speak in Parliament because they are supposed to be the custodians of democracy. One of the norms of democratic behaviour, accepted norms of democratic behaviour, is that the Parliament cannot become an investigator into a crime. But, unfortunately, some of us, particularly, those on the Opposition side, arrogate to themselves the entire wisdom in the whole world and start giving their own version and com-

ments in regard to the cases and offences which only the real investigators are competent to do. I was really shocked. It is impossible for anybody sitting in this House unless he gets some information—that also if he has, he can pass it on to the investigating agency—to come here and talk on the merits of the incident, to talk whether and why this was a genuine incident, why the culprit must leave his chappals there and all that. I wanted to tell Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu because he said it, that all criminals are not as intelligent as he, not to leave any clues behind. I want to tell Mr. Somnath Chatterjee that all criminals are not fools as to leave easy clues behind. The criminals have their own weaknesses and their own strength and I and you cannot sit here and trace the culprit and the criminal participants in the conspiracy. That is for the investigators to do. The real question to-day, the real relevance and significance of this incident to-day is this. My friends may not like it. I would like to raise my feeble voice and say this.

What does this incident show? Whoever may be the participants, whatever may be the intention, one thing is clear—this shows that an atmosphere of violence is existing and developing in this country with extra-constitutional means. This is another grim warning to us who believe in democracy and democratic methods. Parliament should consider this question and ponder over it. I would ask a few questions for reply from the Home Minister. I have faith in him, I have respect for him. I don't think we need really today any evidence for this. It is a fact that an atmosphere of violence with extra-constitutional means is developing in this country and that unparliamentary extra-constitutional means is propagated through speeches through newspapers, through articles and even in this House, the forum of this House is used to propagate this particular atmosphere. Who are the people? Who are the forces?

[Shri H. K. L. Bhagat]

Have they been identified? My friend Mr. Sathe made a reference but I am not very happy to quote Motherland; this is not fit to be quoted. Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the most lenient interpretation of this Article would be,—I leave it to you and I hope you would agree with me—that the paper has made out that circumstances exist in our country where the assassination of the Prime Minister would be justified. This is what the paper has made out and I will read out the relevant portion from the issue dated the 2nd March. It says;

“Of late Jayaprakashji has been telling civil and military personnel in the country not to obey any illegal orders. That the communists should have twisted this to mean incitement to revolt is characteristic of their perversity. But that the P.M. should also see red, shows how far she has become a prisoner of her ‘allies’ To do illegal things like tapping telephones or stuffing ballot boxes or beating up people in lock-up is illegal, and not all the orders or ordinances of the government can make them legal. Jayaprakashji has only reminded them of the sanctity of the law—and of the life, limb and honour of the citizen.

Nor need the Red Queen...”

—The reference is to Prime Minister—

“...be shocked by anybody's refusal to obey illegal orders. All government is a compact between the people and the government. And a government, which fails the people, can always be disowned by them. Regicide—the death of a tyrannical king—has, therefore, been the recognised right of people throughout history.”

Now, Sir.... (Interruptions).

श्री कर्णेश्वर सिन्हा ‘भारतवर्ष’ को टिकल पर रखा जाये और उस पर बहस की जाये ।

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT: Now, Sir, I shall tell you. It is not a story. I would request Shri Sharma not to show his guilty conscience. Let him please sit down. What I am submitting respectfully now is this. It is not advocated as a theory. Certain circumstances have been mentioned in this. This has been an incitement to murder which is clearly there. My hon. friend, may indulge in this derisive laughter. But, I want to give to my hon friends a warning that they are playing with the fire; there is a deliberate conspiracy in this country to create a critical atmosphere in which the Prime Minister can also be physically done away with. I warn them and the hon Home Minister with all the emphasis at my command that it is not an isolated instance of one write-up; there are scores of write-up which are creating that atmosphere of violence against the Prime Minister. I do not know what my friends in the Home Ministry and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting are doing and whether they are acting on that or not. This is what I want to know. I want an answer from the Home Minister and also from the Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Interruptions). Please do not interrupt me. I want to know from them why they have not acted? Will they now act? I want to know that.

I am now concluding with three sentences. I want to know: why are they not acting when the situation has been created like that. The so-called parrokars, little Baluchis, are trying to float in the atmosphere with some kind of artificial air. I am warning that the Prime Minister today symbolises the aspirations of the millions of the people. I can tell you that in a growing democracy like India, our country can be governed not merely by a Prime Minister. It

can only be governed by a leader of the nation. P. M. has acquired this position, status and authority through various trials and tribulations when she has led the country to success; trying to denigrate the image of the country you are only doing a disservice to the country. I warn you again that the millions of this country will never tolerate you if anything happens to our Prime Minister. This warning with all seriousness should be taken by those who are creating such atmosphere.

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र : यह हाउस की मर्यादा के खिलाफ है कि इतनी स्पष्ट क्लैटिंग यहाँ की जाये।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We had earlier decided—why don't you allow me to speak? (Interruptions) Mr. Naik, you will please sit down—about the timing. I do not know why Members are afraid of any words coming from the mouth of poor person sitting in this Chair? Why don't you allow me to regulate the House? Please sit down.

We had earlier decided to conclude this debate by 4 P.M. I still have four members from the Congress Party. I have finished with the names of the Opposition. Now, I would like to know—this is the headache with the beautiful baby or the vociferous baby of the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs to get through his business here—whether he still wants these four Members to speak? I have to call the Home Minister at 4 P.M. It is for him to say.

SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH: I see two fingers being raised by Mr. Naik which indicates two minutes for each of them. That may be done accordingly.

16.00 hrs.

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara): My submission is that Mr. Bhagat has made a very valid point. Although he has stated his fears in a moment of

exasperation or emotion yet he has made a distinct change. In order to disservice the minds of the people of this country, I think, the time has come for that Opposition against whom these fears have been expressed to get up and say that they have no such designs and these fears are not well-founded. I would request the hon. Members of the relevant Opposition party, Jana Sangh, against whom the Motherland has been quoted to get up and say that they have no such designs. I think, they will have the moral courage to say so.

SHRI R. R. SHARMA: There is nothing wrong in the Motherland.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: Since the hon. Members of Jana Sangh refuse to commit themselves....

SHRI R. R. SHARMA: What sort of commitment you want!

SHRI B. V. NAIK: So, Sir, they are not disowning what they have stated in the Motherland. They have shown their cards.

SHRI R. R. SHARMA: Say anything which you like but please speak sense.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: I am only saying that it is the same party and they are in the same company of Mr. Bhattacharyya who on the 6th March swore by violence after killing Gandhiji in 1948.

श्री राम रतन शर्मा : इस बारे में अदालती जांच हुई है। अदालत ने यह माना है कि गांधी जी की हत्या में झार० एस० एस० या जनसंघ का कोई हाथ नहीं था। झूठ बोलते हो।

श्री बी० बी० नायक : मारा देश जानता है कि गांधी जी का कत्ल किस ने किया।

श्री राम रतन शर्मा : तुम सदन में झूठ बोलते हो। तुम सब भ्रष्टाचार में डूबे हुए और चार-सौ-बत्ती हो।

SHRI B. V. NAIK: The hon. Member has used the word 'jhoot'. I request you to get it expunged as it is an unparliamentary word. (Inter-ruptions)

आप झूठ ही नहीं बोलते हैं आप दस्त भो करते हैं।

I join my sentiments with Mr. Mavalankar when he said about eschewing the cult of violence which has become the order of the day. We should eschew violence and resort to constitutional methods. This can be done only if Parliament functions in a better way.

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER: We had fixed 4 P.M. for presentation of Estimated Receipts and Expenditure of the State of Nagaland and also the Supplementary Demands by the Finance Minister. I am mentioning this because the other day the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance had to apologise for having presented these demands first in the other House, before he did it here. I do not want the same thing to happen. I think we should adjourn this debate a little while and allow the Minister of Finance to present his statements and then we shall resume this debate.

16.05 hrs.

NAGALAND BUDGET, 1975-76

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM): Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I beg to present a statement of the estimated receipts.....

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Burdwan): Sir, on a point of order. This morning, we raised a question on the constitutionality of the proclamation imposing President's Rule in Nagaland. Sir, hon. Speaker was pleased to observe that when the matter is taken up tomorrow, we shall make our submissions. If our submissions are upheld, then, no Budget can be presented here. If the proclamation is not good, then, the House has no authority. The Budget cannot be presented here.

MR, DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have made the point. The proclamation is a fait accompli. It has been done. The Minister of Home Affairs had also laid the relevant papers on the Table of the House. Now, this action of the Finance Minister is only consequent on the proclamation that has been made and on the papers that have been laid.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Serampore): Another irregularity.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Whatever it be, you will have the opportunity to discuss about that proclamation and this House will come to any decision. But, it does not mean that it should stand in the way of this. If the House decides tomorrow that everything is unconstitutional, suppose—it is a hypothetical statement that I am making—you Members, in your wisdom, decide that the whole thing was unconstitutional, the Chair cannot pronounce that it is constitutional or not constitutional. What the Chair can do is, whether the rules bar a particular thing to be done. That is within the jurisdiction of the Chair. But, whether a particular action is right or wrong, it is the House which will have to decide. If the House decides tomorrow that the whole thing was wrong, then, this also will be wrong. Unless the House so decides, we cannot stand in the way.

SHRI C SUBRAMANIAM: Sir, I beg to present a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the State of Nagaland for the year 1975-76.

Statement

As the House is aware, the President has, in exercise of the powers conferred by article 356 of the Constitution, by Proclamation on the 22nd March, 1975, assumed to himself all functions of the Government of Nagaland. The Proclamation provides for the powers of the Legislature of Nagaland being exercised by or under the authority of Parliament. Accordingly, I lay, before the House, the Annual Financial