

**MOTION OF THANKS ON THE  
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—Contd—**

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Well, if that is agreed, we will sit through lunch. As announced, the Prime Minister would intervene in the debate at 5 P.M. and I would request the Members to keep some time limit so that all persons who want to speak, are properly accommodated. Mr Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): No, I want to speak later.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN (Kerala): I want to know the time limitation within which the Members are expected to speak. How many minutes are allotted to each Member?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: At the most, fifteen minutes. So, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you don't want to speak now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not prepared just now.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Malaviya.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, we have been hearing most of the speeches and we have heard speeches from the hon. Members from that side singing Hosannas, singing praises for the Janata rule. But before I begin and continue further, I would like to bring your notice and to the notice of this House a statement by Mr. H Buxipatra, who is Orissa Minister of Industries and Mining and I would like to inform the House of what this Minister has said about the Janata Government. He said that even after a lapse of nearly eight months, the people in the country at large are yet to feel the change that his party had promised to usher in. And this Minister has squarely laid the blame on the door of the party's national leadership which, he said, is distinguished only by its policy of drift

and indecision. Furthermore, Mr. Baxipatra has said that the Janata party lacks direction. He says:

"... the party's lack of direction—he would even call it lack of ideology—was having a disastrous effect on the functioning of the governments both at the Centre and in the State. Delay has become the norm and decision making goes by default. This dilatory tactics, this tendency to please everyone, even if by inaction, is eating into the vitals of the party rank and file's faith in the leaderships

"This utter poverty of objectives has inevitably brought in its wake disunity. If three youth organisations claim to be the mass front of the Janata and if each enjoys the blessing of a group of senior leaders and each uses the Janata letter head, you can gauge the depth of disunity.

"The Assembly elections have exposed the true nature of the leadership as nothing else could. It looks, the party President, Mr. Chandrasekhar, could do with a Chief Minister or two of his own, as if to compensate for the four of the erstwhile B.L.D. and three of the erstwhile Jana Sangh."

This is what a Minister has said about this Government, a Minister of the Janata Government. Then, Sir, here is a statement by a Haryana Janata Party leader. I am reading from a paper 'Jan Shakti' which says:

"हरियाणा जनता पार्टी के महा-सचिव अयोध्या प्रसाद ने देवीलाल की सरकार पर आरोप लगाया है कि हरियाणा में मुख्य मंत्री देवीलाल की सरकार ने अत्याचार और भ्रष्टाचार के मामलों में बंसीलाल की सरकार को भी पीछे छोड़ दिया है। मुख्य मंत्री देवीलाल के पुत्र प्रताप सिंह ने मुख्य-मंत्री पर आरोप लगाया है कि वह धूर्तों और षड्यंत्रकारियों से घिरे रहते हैं।"

This Government is being run by a conglomeration. They have made a lot of promises. The most glaring thing is the misery that they have brought on the peasants. Sir, the agricultural policy of the Janata Government is being directed by Mr. Charan Singh. Now, here is a magazine 'Sunday' which carries an article by Mr. Ashok Mitra, the Finance Minister of West Bengal. He is a famous economist and he was sometimes the Adviser on Economic Affairs to the Government of India. He has called Mr. Charan Singh a quack economist. He has said that the policy of Mr. Charan Singh, the policy of the Janata Government, is to fatten the kulaks, the rich peasants. The article says:

"The State should offer inputs, including power, water, fertilisers, high-yielding strains of seeds, pesticides, at subsidised rates; it should ensure a low enough price for that other, but crucial input, namely, labour; at the same time, it should ensure a high enough product price; and it should not, heaven forbid, impose any tax burden on agriculture. Under this set of idealised conditions, the peasant proprietors would flourish, their kingdom would duly come."

Instead of enforcing land ceilings, they are enforcing land floors. The article says:

"Rather, accent should be on enforcing land floors, on the compulsory consolidation of holdings, never mind what it does to the small farmers or the landless labourers or the share-croppers who might be deprived of their hoped-for share of the land as a consequence."

Mr. Ashok Mitra says further:

"Sir, Mr. Charan Singh is against heavy industry because the latter, he argues, absorbs a disproportionate

large part of the State's resources; the real reason must be his cerebral dislike of the public sector and his fear of pressures developing to raise resources for the growth of heavy industry, by taxing agriculture. That without heavy industry there will hardly be an adequate base for the output of power and fertilisers is a point the Chaudhuri would let his adversaries to make; he does not have to raise it himself."

This then is Sir, the economic policy of the Janata Government.

Then, what is happening in the labour field. In the State of Karnataka, in South Kanara district, a very huge area of land was distributed. Sir, 186 tribunals were formed to redistribute the land, but when the Urs Ministry was gone the first thing the Governor did was to abolish the 186 tribunals by an Ordinance in the whole State so that the process of land distribution which was going on so well in Karnataka, which has paid good dividends to Urs Party where his Party has been returned to power with a thumping majority, could be stopped; this Governor tried to stop it.

Sir, the trouble is that in this Government the toadies, the sun-dried bureaucrats, those who betrayed the Indian people, those who betrayed the national movement, those who have served the British imperialist rulers, they are now the leaders of this Government. Mr. H. M. Patel, Mr. V. Shankar, Mr. Boothalingam, these are the persons who were the arch-enemies of the Indian people, who served the British rulers all their life and they are now dictating the policies of the Governments. And this Government largely consists of a lot of illiterate Ministers whose examples we see in the House everyday.

Then, Sir, the Chairman of the Police Commission was appointed in the person of Mr Dharama Vira, a

[Shri Harsh Deo Malaviya]

sun-dried bureaucrat, the less said about him, the better, they cannot find better people, they cannot find more honest people, they cannot find competent people who are oriented towards the people of this country.

Then, on the labour side, a few months ago a mini-MISA Ordinance was introduced in Madhya Pradesh which empowered the police to arrest without warrant and detain anyone found disturbing industrial peace. In Uttar Pradesh banning of strikes is a routing affair. Strike of engineering workers at Ghaziabad, electricity workers; IDPL employees at Rishikesh and some more strikes were banned. An Ordinance was issued to deal with the teachers' strike. Despite strong arm tactics of Government these strikes could not be stopped.

Coming to firings, the bogus banner of restoration of democracy has come only as a cover to increase repression on workers. Between June and December, 1977, seven firings took place in different parts of the country under the Janata democracy. Jharia iron ore mines, Dhanbad collieries, Bokaro Steel township, Sahibabad, Mullund, Lucknow, Swadeshi Cotton, Kanpur— these are the places. Official statements account for 23 workers killed and 171 wounded, but the real figures are much more. The Swadeshi Cotton Mill workers demanded a judicial probe into the beatings but the Government has not agreed to the demand and it is a general surmise in Kanpur that at least 100 people were shot dead. So, the police firings, lathi charges, tear gas, mass arrests, tortures and beatings inside jails remind us of the days of the British regime and that has again come today.

On the field of foreign policy recently we have heard a lot about "genuine" non-alignment. We are happy so far as the Government is

trying to improve its relationship with neighbouring countries. We welcome the visit of the Vietnam Prime Minister to this country. We congratulate the Government, the Minister of External Affairs, and the Prime Minister for the steps they are taking to improve our relations with Vietnam, to have more trade, aid etc. But along with it we cannot forget that there is a theory of "genuine" non-alignment. Under this theory of non-alignment in spite of the denials that have been made by the Ministers, we recently had a spate of visits. Number one was the visit of President Carter. President Carter came and before he came to India he gave an interview over the television in which he said: that India has been going very much into the lap of the USSR. Now there is a new Government with Shri Morarji Desai who is a very sensible person, etc. So, we are going to turn the tilt towards the USA which was hitherto towards the USSR. Obviously, a concerted attempt was planned. That visit was followed by a visit of a few Senators. And before the Senators visit, in view of the definite stand taken by our Prime Minister on the nuclear policy, Mr. Carter said that he will write a cold and blunt letter to Shri Morarji Desai. And that lacked out. When he spoke in the Central Hall, he was very sweet. He said: "We will give you enriched uranium for Tarapur, heavy water for Baroda etc." "But the very next day—i.e. on the third day—Seminar Ribicoff said: "Carter has no right. There is a law and we will not give you any nuclear fuel, we will not give you heavy water".

That visit was followed by the visit of Mr. Callaghan. This was followed by a visit of the Shahenshah of Iran. During the visit of the Shah of Iran, there was a lathi charge and beating of Iranian students. There were arrests—which fact has been criticised in this House so many times. Just today also it was criticised. This was followed by a visit of Mr. Orville Freeman, leader of a big monopolistic

firm. He came with representatives of 55 multi-nationals. There were long talks, during which their insistence was that India should create such conditions for investment as exist in South Korea, Mexico and Thailand—that is, those countries which are well-known puppets of the U.S. imperialists. The object is to reduce India into a puppet regime. Sir, there were 55 multi-nationals and among them were some of the worst criminals. There was one representative of Hughes International. This Hughes International, I would like to point out, employs nearly 40,000 scientists, researchers, engineers and other workers whose annual sales turn-over has never been disclosed manufactures weapon systems equipment, airborne armament control systems, guided and ballistic missiles, antisubmarine warfare and shipborne radar and data processing systems together with global communications, space explosive and infra-red devices. Its other major products include oscilloscopes, inertial guidance and ballistic defence systems. Hughes International has an armament research centre at Santa Barbara which is run in close cooperation with Pentagon and the CIA. Then there was the Rockwell International of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. These were the multi-nationals which had come to India. This Rockwell International employs 1,23,265 persons and has an annual turn-over of over five billion US dollars. Apart from supplying major aerospace components to NASA, the firm manufactures tactical air-to-surface missiles, military aircraft, rocket engines unmanned satellites, advanced warfare systems and electronic equipment. Sir, these multi-nationals now seem to be very welcome in India and they are pressing the Indian Government. And there is a certain method in this.

This was followed by a visit of Chinese representatives. We want very good relations with China. But

we cannot forget the treachery which China has committed on India. We cannot forget that they have constructed a 3,000 miles long pipeline from Sinchiang to Tibet and through that pipeline, oil is coming to Tibet. So millions of dollars have been saved because formerly trucks and other forms of transport were used to bring oil to Tibet. That money has been saved and now Tibet has 40 divisions. According to a reputed newspaper columnist Shri Rajinder Puri, China has now 40 divisions in Tibet. And in Tibet, the worst kind of oppression is going on. The human rights are completely denied. There is food shortage. People are starving in Tibet. And we talk of human rights and the spirit of human rights. We seem to forget what China is doing there. Looking at this we feel there is concerted attempt—look at the Chinese visits, look at the Americans' visits, look at Mr. Callaghan's visit, look at the Shah of Iran's visit—to pressurise India. The pressure is directed to a certain objective. And the objective was stated by President Carter before he came to India. And that objective is that somehow a wedge has to be drawn between the long, tried and trusted friendship between the Indian people and the Soviet people, the Indian Government and the Soviet Government. Therefore, whatever is happening should be taken serious note of. We all know that a friend in need is a friend indeed. Our entire history of thirty years shows that it was the Soviet Union, the Socialist countries which were our real friends in times of real need; whether it was Kashmir, whether it was Bokaro, whether it was Bangladesh, it was the Soviet Union which proved to be our real friend. And I certainly appreciate the steps which have been taken by the Government to continue our friendship with the Soviet Union. But we must also be aware of the fact that there is a definite and concerted attempt on behalf of certain powers of the world to draw a wedge between us and the

[Shri Harsh Deo Malaviya]

Soviet Union people and that we should stand guard against it.

Another point is the policy of the Government towards the public sector. We hear repeated contradictory statements from the Central Ministers. One Minister says that we are not against the public sector while the other Minister says that the whole trouble of this country is because Jawaharlal Nehru gave all attention to the building of the public sector. This is a very dangerous trend. This trend must be stopped. There should be more intelligence in the Government.

Sir, there are lot of rumours afloat. "Believe it or not", the Organiser says "the Information and Broadcasting Minister of the Government of India is still I. K. Gujral and not Shri L. K. Advani." The Organiser says:

"The Press Information Bureau handout in Malayalam, V.P. 321, dated February 6, 1978, speaking about the dubbing of regional language pictures into other languages, states that "Information and Broadcasting Minister I. K. Gujral" has expressed his Government's intention of regional pictures being dubbed into other languages."

Mr. Gujral has gone as Ambassador to the Soviet Union long time ago and even now here is the handout of the Government which still continues to call I.K. Gujral as the Minister of Information and Broadcasting. This is the level of this Government. This reveals that this Government is being run by utterly incompetent people. This also reveals that this Government is being run by people who contradict each other. This conglomeration, this hotch-potch of the Government is leading the country to ruins. There is utter discontent. There is complete breakdown of law and order. Mind you; you are sitting on top of a volcano. Do not take things for granted. To-

day's results in Karnataka should be a revelation to the Government that their ways are wrong, their methods are wrong, their policies are wrong. The people have exhibited faith in the Government which ruled this country for thirty years. Therefore, your policies are wrong. Let you be beware. Let them wake up, otherwise the people of Karnataka have shown and, perhaps, the election results of Andhra, Maharashtra and some other States will also show. This should be enough warning for this Government that unless they wake up, unless they come to correct policies, unless they stop blaming the previous government for all the ills of this country, they are doomed and they will not be in power again; they may not even continue the five years for which they are supposed to be in power in this country.

श्री रामानन्द यादव (बिहार) : उप-सभापति महोदय, प्रेसीडेंट साहब ने अपने भाषण में कुछ बहुत महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्नों के ऊपर ध्यान नहीं दिया है। मैं उन प्रश्नों को सदन के सामने आपके माध्यम से रखना चाहता हूँ। जिस शकल में यह चीजें सरकार आज कर रही है उस पर मैं थोड़ा प्रकाश डालना चाहता हूँ। सर्वप्रथम राष्ट्रपति ने अपने भाषण में यह कहा है कि उनकी सरकार ने व्यक्तिगत स्वतंत्रता, प्रेस की स्वतंत्रता, न्यायालयों की स्वतंत्रता, रेडियों की स्वतंत्रता और दूरदर्शन की स्वतंत्रता को पुनः हासिल कर लिया है। लेकिन सर्वप्रथम मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने प्रेस की स्वतंत्रता का हनन कहां तक किया है। अभी इलाहाबाद में इन्टेलिक्चुअल जर्नलिस्ट्स और पत्रकारों के समक्ष, उनकी एक गोष्ठी में बोलते हुए स्टेटमैन के मैनेजिंग डाइरेक्टर ईरानी ने कहा कि आज भी प्रेस की स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त नहीं है। सरकार परोक्ष-रूप से अखबारों पर नियंत्रण रखे हुए है। याद रखने की बात है कि ईरानी साहब प्रेस स्ट्रक्चर और समाचार एजेंसियों

के रि-स्ट्रक्चर के लिये जो कमेटी बनी थी, उसके वह सदस्य हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि कमेटी बैठी हुई थी और उस समय जब ड्राफ्ट किया जा रहा था तो एक सज्जन यह मैसेज लेकर आये कि अमुख मिनिस्टर यह चाहते हैं कि यह प्रावधान इस ड्राफ्टिंग में कर दिया जाय। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि पत्रकारों को हर तरह के प्रलोभन दिये जाते हैं जैसे कि घर का, स्कूटर का, कार का, रेलवे में फ्री ट्रैवल का और इस प्रकार से पत्रकारों पर असर डालने की कोशिश की जाती है। सरकार चाहती है कि अपने मन के लायक जो चाहे वह कर लें। तो इस तरह की प्रेस की स्वतंत्रता आज प्राप्त है। अभी मध्य प्रदेश के चीफ मिनिस्टर श्री सखलेचा साहव, मुख्य मंत्री बनने के बाद सागर गये थे, वहां के विद्यार्थियों ने आन्दोलन किया। वहां पर 6 पत्रकारों को अरेस्ट कर लिया गया था। पत्रकारों की एक टीम जो इस बात की जांच करने गई थी, उसने कहा कि यह 6 जर्नलिस्ट जो अरेस्ट किये गये हैं, यह गैर कानूनी है। वह इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचे कि यह पत्रकार जो कि अरेस्ट किये गये हैं, सरकार द्वारा बिल्कुल गैर-वाजिब ढंग से, सत्ता के मद में सरकारी अधिकारियों द्वारा किये गये थे।

आप एडवर्टिजमेंट की बात ले लीजिये। आप देखेंगे कि उन पत्रों को विज्ञापन नहीं दिये जाते हैं, जो सरकार की नीति की आलोचना करते हैं। या तो उनको एडवर्टिजमेंट नहीं दिया जाता है अगर दिया भी जाता है तो बहुत कम दिया जाता है यह कह करके कि इसके सरक्यूलेशन कम है। सरकार यह कहती है कि यहां पर प्रेस की स्वतंत्रता है, यह गलत है। स्वतंत्रता किस के लिये है? सरकार के लिये और पूंजी पतियों के लिये। पत्रों में काम करने वाले मुलाजिम हैं, उनकी क्या स्थिति है? आप को इस बात को जान कर आश्चर्य होगा। अभी गोरखपुर में पत्रकारों के मालिकों की बैठक हुई थी कि

जो अखबारों में काम करने वाले लोग हैं उन पर नियंत्रण किस प्रकार रखा जाये ताकि काम चल सके। प्रेस की स्वतंत्रता गोयनका साहव के लिये है, सच लाइट के बिरला जी के लिये है, टाइम्स आफ इण्डिया डालमिया आदि को अवश्य है। यह ठीक है कि इन लोगों को तो स्वतंत्रता है परन्तु उनके जो मुलाजिम हैं, सही मायने में जो काम करने वाले वर्किंग जर्नलिस्ट हैं, उनको कोई स्वतंत्रता नहीं है। आप कहते हैं कि हमने डेमोक्रेटिक राइट्स रेस्टोर कर दिये। डेमोक्रेसी में लेजिस्लेटिव ढंग से जो गवर्नमेंट बनी हुई है, उसके खिलाफ हर एक नागरिका को शांति पूर्ण ढंग से डेमांड-शन करने का अधिकार है, विरोध में भाषण करने का अधिकार है और मीटिंग करने का अधिकार है। आज क्या है सोनीपत में मजदूर अपनी मीटिंग नहीं कर सकते। कानपुर में स्वदेशी मिल के मजदूर अपनी बाकी रकम पूजापति मिल मालिक से मांगने गये तो उन्हें गोलियों से उड़ा दिया गया। सरकारी एजेंसियों का कहना है कि 27 से कम मजदूर नहीं मरे, सरकार कहती है कि 10 ही मरे। एक इन्क्वायरी कमेटी बनी उसके अध्यक्ष यू०पी० के सरकारी मुलाजिम है। उन्होंने स्टेटमेंट दे दिया कि गोली चलाना आवश्यक था। उनको यू० पी० के मुख्य मंत्री ने चीफ सेक्रेटरी बना दिया। इस प्रकार वरकर्स के जो डेमोक्रेटिक राइट्स हैं वह स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त नहीं है। मीसा आज तक नहीं उठा, मध्य प्रदेश में है, काश्मीर में है, बिहार में गंडा एक्ट है, कालदूत एक्ट है। आप श्रीमन्, ताज्जुब करेंगे कि कुछ महीने पहले श्री कर्पूरी ठाकुर के रिजिम में 10 हजार लोग कालदूत अभियान में जेलों के अन्दर बन्द थे। आज विद्यार्थियों पर लाठी चलायी जा रही है, क्यों? क्या इसलिए कि वे एजुकेशन सिस्टम में सुधार लाना चाहते हैं, फीस को कम कराना चाहते हैं, लिक्विड फेसिलिटीज चाहते हैं, पढ़ने लिखने के साधन पूरे रूप से उपलब्ध कराना मांगते हैं, योग्य टीचर्स चाहते हैं, सस्ती किताबें चाहते हैं और पढ़ने के अन्य उपस्कर सस्ते

[ श्री रामानन्द यादव ]

चाहते हैं ? जब वे इसकी मांग करते हैं तो आप उन पर लाठी चलाते हैं और कहते हैं कि विरोधी पार्टी इनको यूटीलाईज कर रही है। इतना ही नहीं बल्कि संसार के हर कोने में यह हक है कि कोई आदमी डिमांडेशन कर सकता है। परन्तु जब शाह ईरान के खिलाफ ईरानी विद्यार्थियों ने और यहां के विद्यार्थियों ने डिमांडेशन किया तो आपने तुरन्त उन्हें पकड़ लिया। आप यहां तक आमादा हो गये। अगर इस देश का पब्लिक ओपीनियन इस बात का विरोध नहीं करता तो शायद यह जनता सरकार उन विद्यार्थियों को बूचड़ के यहां ईरान में भेज देती। इसके लिए मैं यहां की जनता को धन्यवाद करता हूं। सदन के बाहर और भीतर हर जगह इस बात का विरोध हुआ और सरकार को बाध्य होकर इन विद्यार्थियों को छोड़ना पड़ा। इंग्लैंड में जब हिन्दुस्तान आजाद नहीं था वहां हमारे विद्यार्थी आंदोलन करते थे। हम लोगों ने स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई में भाग लिया है हम 5-5, 6-6 वर्ष जेल गये हैं, हम जानते हैं, हमने इतिहास को देखा और पढ़ा है कि किस तरह से हमारे यहां के विद्यार्थी जो बाहर पढ़ते थे, आंदोलन करते थे। ब्रिटिश सरकार ने वहां के विद्यार्थियों पर उस तरह से कभी अन्याय नहीं किया जिस तरह से इस जनता सरकार ने जो अपने आपको कहती है कि उसने डेमोक्रेटिक राइट्स को रेस्टोर किया उन विद्यार्थियों को अरेस्ट करके और ईरान भेजकर उनके सारे परिवार को बरबाद करने की कोशिश कर रही थी। इसलिए मैं यहां पर कहता हूं कि डेमोक्रेटिक राइट्स रेस्टोर्ड नहीं हैं।

अब रेडियों की बात देख लीजिए। रेडियो और टेलीविजन में प्रतिदिन आप देखेंगे कि 15 मिनट तो श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी और विरोधी पार्टियों के खिलाफ प्रचार होता है। सरकार रेडियो और दूरदर्शन

को तथा समाचार एजेंसियों को अपनी एजेंसी बना रही है। समाचार एजेंसियों में आर० एस० एस० के लोग भरे जा रहे हैं। जो प्रगतिशील विचार रखने वाले लोग हैं उन्हें निकाला जा रहा है तथा दकियानूसी ख्यालात के लोग भरे जा रहे हैं। आपको मालूम होना चाहिए कि इस तरह से सरकार समाचार एजेंसियों, दूरदर्शन और रेडियो को विरोधी पार्टी के नेताओं के खिलाफ गंदा प्रचार जनमानस में करके जनमानस को उनके खिलाफ बनाने का एक साधन मात्र बना रही है। आप उसे आजाद नहीं कह सकते हैं।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यह सरकार जो न्यायालयों की स्वतंत्रता का ढोल पीटती है कि उसने न्यायालयों की स्वतंत्रता को कायम कर दिया। परन्तु मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि अभी जिस तरह से चीफ जस्टिस आफ इंडिया का एप्पाइंटमेंट कम्यूनल और पार्टी बेसिस पर, पार्टियों के बीच बहस करके, जनता पार्टी के कैबिनेट में बहस करके, अखबारों में प्रचार करके, रेडियो में प्रचार करके पोलिटिकलाईज किया गया, वह आज तक कभी नहीं किया गया था। हम लोग चाहते थे कि कमिटेड जुडीशियरी हो लेकिन “वाट डू यू मीन बाई कमिटेड जुडीशियरी” आप क्या चाहते हैं कमिटेड जुडीशियरी नहीं बल्कि आपके पांव चाटने वाले लोग चीफ जस्टिस हों। आपको यह बर्दाश्त नहीं है कि इस देश की जुडीशियरी स्वतंत्र हो। आपने जिस ढंग से चीफ जस्टिस के एप्पाइंटमेंट को पोलिटिकलाईज किया यह एक अच्छा उदाहरण नहीं है। आज आप यह चाहते हैं कि जजों आपके पास आकर अपने एप्पाइंटमेंट के लिए आपको सलामी दे, पैरवी करें, पैसा दें। इसलिए मैं यह मानता हूं कि इस देश की जुडीशियरी से न्याय वही हासिल कर सकता है जिसके पास पैसा हो। गरीब आदमी कभी नहीं हासिल कर सकता है। तो आज भी जुडीशियरी स्वतंत्र नहीं है। प्योरिटी आफ एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन

हो, एड्मिनिस्ट्रेशन स्वच्छ हो, जनता को उसमें विश्वास हो, राष्ट्रपति ने इस पर भी भाषण दिया और कहा कि कठिन काम करने के लिए आयोग बनाए गए हैं—उनका रेफरेंस था शाह कमीशन से। शाह कमीशन का अपाइन्टमेंट कैसे हुआ, किस के लिए हुआ ? अगर आपने पिछली सरकारें जो कांग्रेस की थीं देश में और प्रांतों में, उन के लिए इन्क्वायरी कमीशन बनाए, तो फिर आपने क्यों नहीं संविद सरकारें जो मध्य प्रदेश में थी, बिहार में थी, उड़ीसा में थी, उस पर इन्क्वायरी कमीशन बैठाए। एक ही पार्टी के ऊपर इन्क्वायरी कमीशन क्यों बैठा रहे हैं ? फिर देखें, कमीशंस के चेयरमैन कौन हैं ? जितने इन्क्वायरी कमीशन होते हैं उनके चेयरमैन वही लोग हैं जो पिछली सरकार की प्रगतिशील नीति की वजह से या एड्मिनिस्ट्रेटिव आर्डर से प्रभावित हुए हैं और जिससे उनको हानि हुई है और इस प्रकार जो हमारी कांग्रेस सरकार से नाराज हो गए थे उन्हीं लोगों को चेयरमैन बना दिया गया। शाह कमीशन जिस काम को कर रहा था उसके लिए पहले एक दूसरे सज्जन चेयरमैन बनाए गए थे परन्तु उनको तुरन्त निकाल कर अपने मन के मुताबिक एक ऐसे सज्जन को लगा दिया जिनकी नीयत के संबंध में पहले भी छप चुका है। (Time bell rings) मुझे बोलने दिया जाए। मैं दूसरे पर नहीं बोलूंगा।

**श्री उपसभापति :** 15 मिनट का समय मैंने दिया है।

**श्री रामानन्द यादव :** अभी कोई बोलने वाला भी नहीं है।

**श्री उपसभापति :** बहुत लम्बी लिस्ट है। ऐसी बात नहीं है।

**श्री रामानन्द यादव :** तो मैंने कहा जनता पार्टी के स्वार्थ की रक्षा के लिए शाह कमीशन की नियुक्ति हुई है। शाह कमीशन

इन्दिरा जी के खिलाफ प्रचार करने का साधन सरकार का बना है। लेकिन उस कमीशन से बहुत बड़ा जनता का कमीशन है। वह कमीशन जो दिल्ली से वाहर बैठा है उसके पास क्लर्क नहीं है, फाइल नहीं है, स्याही नहीं है, दूरदर्शन नहीं है, अखबार नहीं है, रेडियो नहीं है लेकिन वहां से बैठा हुआ आपके कारनामों को देखता है। उसने फैसला किया—दक्षिण में फैसला किया, अब उत्तर में भी होने वाला है, वह दिन दूर नहीं कि आप पर भी कमीशन बैठेगा ठीक ही कहा है, जयप्रकाश नारायण जी ने कहा कि ये जनता पार्टी के लोग नहीं समझते है कि उन पर भी कमीशन बैठ सकता है।

फिर पिछड़ी जाति के उत्थान के लिए कमीशन बैठाने की बात है। इस सरकार ने बैकवर्ड क्लास कमीशन बनाने की बात की और उसके बारे में राष्ट्रपति जी ने भी कहा है। बैकवर्ड कमीशन काका साहेब कालेलकर की अध्यक्षता में बना था 1953 में और 1957 में उन्होंने एक अच्छी रिपोर्ट दी। उस कमीशन की सिफारिशों का आप इम्प्लीमेंट क्यों नहीं करते ? उसने एक अच्छी रिपोर्ट दिया है, बहुत अच्छे सुझाव दिए हैं। आप उसके बारे में क्या करने जा रहे हैं ? क्या इसलिए आपने कमीशन की बात कही क्योंकि दक्षिण में इलेक्शंस हो रहे थे ? काका कालेलकर ब्राह्मण थे ; उन्होंने अपनी रिपोर्ट में कहा कि पिछड़ी जाति के लोगों को सर्विसेज में पापुलेशन के अनुपात से सर्विसेज में 60 परसेंट रिजर्वेशन दो। उन्होंने कहा था कि टैबिनकल इंस्टीट्यूशंस में पिछड़ी जाति—हरिजन, आदिवासी, मुसलिम—इन सबों को संरक्षण दो। (Time bell rings) आपने आज तक सदन की पटल पर क्यों नहीं इस पर डिसकशन किया। कमीशन क्या बनाएंगे। कभी आपने शेड्यूलड ट्राइब्स कमीशन बनाया, उसमें जोशी साहेब को अध्यक्ष बना दिया; क्या आपको हरिजन या आदिवासियों में से कोई नहीं मिला। माइनारिटी कमीशन आपने बनाया भी तो उस कमीशन में आपने रखा



[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

किस को, मीनू मसानी साहब को, जो पूंजी-पतियों के दलाल है। मुसलिम भी गरीब लोग हैं जिनके हक़ों की रक्षा मसानी नहीं कर सकता, उसके लिए एक ऐसा आदमी रहे जो उस तबके का हो। आपने ऐसा क्यों नहीं किया, यह हमारी समझ में नहीं आता है।

अभी राष्ट्रपति जी ने चुनाव के संबंध में भी चर्चा की है। आयु घटाने की बात हो रही है। चुनाव में ऐज तो घटा दीजिएगा। लेकिन जिस तरह से उत्तर भारत में लाठी और डंडे से गरीब हरिजन, पिछड़ी जाति, गरीब मुसलमान, गरीब आदिवासियों के वोट रोक कर के, पोलिंग बूथ पर आने नहीं दिया गया (वह सरकार को मालूम है) जनता पार्टी के लोग जो बड़ी जाति के हैं हरिजनों का वोट अपने फेवर में गिरवा कर जिस प्रकार अपने को गद्दी पर बिठाया उस में क्या आप रिफार्म नहीं करना चाहते हैं। अगर आप सचमुच में रिफार्म करना चाहते हैं चुनाव के मामले में तो केवल वोटर्स की ऐज घटा देने से ही काम नहीं चलेगा आज भी उत्तर बिहार में हरिजन अपनी मर्जी से वोट नहीं दे पाते हैं। राम नरेश यादव और कर्पूरी ठाकुर जिस ढंग से चुनाव जीते हैं उस को आप सब लोग जानते होंगे। उन चुनावों में जनता को सचमुच में वोट देने का हक़ नहीं मिला है। फिर स्वतंत्र एलेक्शन कैसे हों और गरीब जनता कैसे वोट दे सके। रुपये पैसे का रोल एलेक्शन में कैसे खत्म किया जाय इन सब बातों पर सोचने की आवश्यकता है।

श्री उपसभापति : आप अब समाप्त कीजिए। समय हो गया है। यह सारी बातें आप पहले भी कह चुके हैं। आप इन पर घंटे भर और बोल सकते हैं। समय की कमी है और इस लिये आप समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : जब हम लोग हैमर करेंगे तभी यह सरकार समझेगी, तभी

यह सुनेगी। यह तो बहरी सरकार है। बार बार कहा जायेगा तभी यह समझेगी।

श्री उपसभापति : समय बहुत हो गया है। अब खत्म कीजिए।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : उपसभापति जी, राष्ट्रपति जी ने भूमि सुधार के संबंध में चर्चा की है। कांग्रेस की पिछली सरकार सचमुच में कुछ भूमि सुधार करना चाहती थी, लेकिन यह सरकार कुछ नहीं कर रही है। विभिन्न प्रान्तों में जो लैंड सीलिंग बिल पास हुआ उस में कुछ जमीन निकलनी थी। लेकिन वह जमीन भी यह सरकार नहीं निकाल रही है और पहले जो जमीन का वितरण हो रहा था वह भी आज नहीं हो रहा है। कांग्रेस सरकार ने कर्ज माफी की थी, भूमि बंदोबस्त का प्रोग्राम चल रहा था और लैंडलेस को जमीन दी जा रही थी। मजदूरों को मिनिमम वेजेज दिये जा रहे थे। वह सब खत्म हो गया। सारा काम ठप्प हो गया। आप ने अखबार में पढ़ा होगा कि बिहार में मधुबनी थाने में एक हरिजन को कर्जा न देने के कारण एक सुदखोर ने इतना पीटा कि वह मर गया। कांग्रेस सरकार ने जिस का कर्ज माफ़ किया था उस कर्ज को आज लाठी डंडे के जोर से जबरदस्ती वसूल किया जहा रहा है और भूमि सुधार के सारे कार्यक्रमों को इस सरकार ने ठप्प कर दिया है ?

यह भी एक दुख की बात है कि ऐसे समय में जब कि देश एक बहुत बड़ा परीक्षण कर रहा है, प्रैक्टिकल परीक्षण कर रहा है ऐसे समय में राज्यों में दूसरी पार्टी की सरकारें हैं और केन्द्र में एक छिचड़ी सरकार है जिसमें विभिन्न पार्टियां सम्मिलित हैं। प्रान्तों में जो सरकारें हैं उनमें कोई साम्प्रदायिक है और कोई वाम पंथी है। कोई लेफ्टिस्ट है कोई किसी तरह की और उस समय उन प्रान्तों की सरकार को और अधिकार दिये जायें इस प्रश्न को उठा कर देश की राजनीति को आज दूषित किया जा रहा है। यह मांग वही लोग या वही पार्टियां कर रही हैं जो मोर पावरफुल

हैं। जब हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हो रहा था तो उस समय उन्होंने ही अंग्रेजों से कहा कि उनको सिखिस्तान दे दो। यह वही शक्तियाँ हैं कि जो बंगाल में बृहद् बंगाल की मांग कर रही थीं। यह वही शक्तियाँ हैं जिन्होंने कहा कि देश का बंटवारा होना चाहिए। दुःख तो इस बात का है कि जनता पार्टी ऐसी शक्तियों को पनपने का मौका दे रही है। अकाली पार्टी को उन्होंने मौका दिया और वह पंजाब में सरकार बनाने में सफल हुई। सी पी एम को उन्होंने मौका दिया और वह बंगाल में आयी और जो इसी तरह के एलीमेंट थे उनकी इस पार्टी ने मदद की है और आज वह रोना रो रहे हैं। मैं एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूँ। वह सब से बड़ा दुःख का समय होगा कि जब इस देश की एकता छिन्न-भिन्न होगी। हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी तभी गयी है कि जब केन्द्र कमजोर रहा है। केन्द्र मजबूत रहे तो आजादी देश की सुरक्षित रहती है। एडमिनिस्ट्रिव रिफार्म कमीशन बना था। उसकी रिपोर्ट है और उसने इस बात की जांच की थी कि प्रान्तों के जो कांस्टीट्यूशनल राइट्स हैं उनको मद्धे नजर रखते हुए, क्या उनमें कुछ परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। और उसने लिखा है कि उनमें परिवर्तन की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। जो उनके लिए एक्जिस्टिंग कांस्टीट्यूशनल प्रावधान हैं उन से ही प्रान्त अपना सर्वांगीण विकास कर सकते हैं। दुःख की बात

2 P.M. है कि हमारे अन्दर देश की एकता में विश्वास करने वाले लोग हैं उन में से ऐसे लोग हैं कि जो इस मांग को दोहरा रहे हैं। इसकी मांग श्री वसु ने, तन्मूदरीपाद जी ने की है। लेकिन जनता पार्टी के लोग भी कहते हैं लेकिन डिसिपलिन के डर से सामने नहीं कह पाते। मैं चाहूंगा कि देश की एकता को अक्षुण्ण रखने के लिये आवश्यक है कि इस प्रकार के प्रश्न अभी न उठाये जायें।

औद्योगिक पालिसी को लेकर राष्ट्रपति जी ने काफी चर्चा की है। और यह साफ 1911 RS—6.

बात है कि हमारी इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी में बहुत बड़ा चेंज हुआ है।

**श्री उपसभापति :** अब आप अपनी पार्टी के दूसरे सदस्यों का डाइम ले रहे हैं। पाड़े जी बैठे हैं। अगर आप ही सारा समय ले लेंगे तो उनको बोलने का अवसर नहीं मिलेगा।

**श्री रामानन्द यादव :** आप ने एक तो हमें रिसेस में समय दिया है ...

**श्री उपसभापति :** आपकी पार्टी के दूसरे लोग नहीं बोल सकेंगे। आप घंटे भर बोलें, लेकिन अगर दूसरे लोग न बोल पायें तो मुझे मत कहियेगा।

**श्री रामानन्द यादव :** उपसभापति जी, इस देश में हरिजनों पर बड़े अत्याचार हो रहे हैं। आपने देखा होगा कि इस सदन में और उस सदन में भी और प्रान्तों के सदनों में भी बराबर इस पर चर्चा होती रही है कि हरिजनों पर अत्याचार हो रहे हैं। इस विषय पर वहां आये दिन बहस होती है, प्रश्न होते हैं, लोग बोलते हैं और मध्य प्रदेश में तो लिखित जवाब मिला है सरकार से कि मार्च, 77 और दिसम्बर, 77 के बीच 105 हरिजन मार दिये गये। बिहार में तो आज हरिजनों को वक्रे की तरह में कत्ल किया जा रहा है। मधुबनी में, रोहतास में हरिजन को जिन्दा जला दिया गया। बाबू जगजीवनराम की कांस्टीट्यूयेंसी में एक हरिजन को जला दिया गया। धर्मपुरा में चार हरिजनों को गोली मार दी गयी। बेलची में, पथरठा में और उत्तर प्रदेश के बांदा में, देवरिया में और बनारस में जो घटनाएं हुईं उनसे साफ जाहिर है कि हरिजनों पर जो अपने आर्थिक विकास के लिये, अपनी उचित मांगों के लिए अड़े हुए हैं, उनको दवाने के लिये उन पर अन्याचार किये जा रहे हैं। उनके खिलाफ इस तरह का पड़यंत्र किया जा

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

रहा है। बनारस की घटना आर एस एस ने कराई। आप सब समझते हैं कि वह कांग्रेसमैन जिन्होंने बराबर सैकुलरिज्म की बात कही वह ऐसा काम नहीं कर सकते। यह कहना कि उसे कांग्रेस वालों ने कराया गलत है। बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी आर एस एस का अड्डा है। कौन नहीं जानता कि मालवीय जी ने ऐसी नीति अपनाई कि जिसके कारण वह हिन्दूइज्म का गढ़ हो गयी है और वहाँ पर अगर डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द जी की मूर्ति को गंगा जल से धोया गया तो यह कार्य जनसंघ का ही हो सकता है जो जनता पार्टी का एक अंग है।

लास्ट में मैं एक बात कह कर बैठ जाना चाहता हूँ। आप अपने विरोधियों को डरा करके दवाने की चेष्टा मत कीजिए। दुःख की बात है कि इस देश की भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री इन्दिरा गांधी पर दो बार उन को जान से मार देने के लिये हमला किया गया। एक बार जो पहला हमला किया गया उसके सम्बन्ध में जो व्यक्ति अरेस्ट हुआ उसने पुलिस को बयान दिया कि 70,000 रुपया मुझे इन्दिरा गांधी को मार देने के लिये मिला था। कोर्ट में केस चल रहा था। सरकार ने यह लिख कर कि यह व्यक्ति पागल है, इन्मेन है, उस केस को उठा लिया। दूसरी बार जब वह एक मीटिंग एड्रेस करने जा रही थीं तो उन पर हमला करने के लिये रिवाल्वर निकालते हुए पुलिस विभाग के लोगों ने एक व्यक्ति को पकड़ा। उस केस को भी जनता पार्टी के मिनिस्टर बयान देकर जिस तरह से हत्या करना चाहते थे उस से साफ मालूम होता है कि आप अपने विरोधियों के प्रति कोई टालरेंस नहीं रखना चाहते। आप इस बात को जान लीजिए इस देश में आज तक हमारे बगल के देशों में राजनीतिक विरोधियों की हत्याओं की जाती हैं, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में राजनीतिक विरोधियों की

हत्या करने की परिपाटी को आपने बढ़ावा दिया तो ठीक नहीं होगा। जिस तरह से श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की हत्या करने के षड्यंत्र में लोगों को रिलीज करते रहेंगे तो यह अच्छी बात नहीं होगी। आप बहुत बड़े गलत मिसालें रखने जा रहे हैं जो कि आपने किया। मैं आपको श्रीमन्, धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का समय दिया।

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Shyamlal Yadav) in the Chair].

श्री सतपाल मित्तल (पंजाब) : वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण पर जो चर्चा हो रही है सदन में इसके बारे में एक फिकरे में कुछ कहना हो तो यह कहा जा सकता है कि जो पार्लियामेंट के चुनाव हुए जिससे कुछ पहले इस जनता पार्टी का जन्म हुआ, तो इन्होंने चुनाव घोषणापत्र में अपने लिखा, अगर उसकी तलाश करनी हो तो राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में वह नहीं मिलेगा। जो वायदे इन्होंने किये थे, जिनकी विनाह पर ये जीत कर आये, वे वायदे ऐसे हैं जैसे कि वायदे इनके वजीर, प्रधान मंत्री और दूसरे मंत्री करते हैं। 10 साल में बेरोजगारी दूर कर देंगे, 8 साल में नशाबन्दी कर दी जाएगी, इतने लोगों को रोजगार दे दिया जाएगा, इतने साल में इंडस्ट्रीज बढ़ जायेंगे, यानी अन्नी उम्र को बढ़ाने के लिए यह समझ कर कि इस देश में 10 वर्ष तक जनता पार्टी राज करेगी, इस तरह से वायदे किये जाते हैं। इनको मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जनता जो एक बार वहाकावे में आकर धोखे में आपको बोट दे गई है वह 11 महीने में इनकी कार्यवाही से मायूस हो गई है। इनके वायदे उस शेर की तरह हैं—

“तेरे वायदे पै जिये हम, तो ये जान झूठ जाना,

खुशी से मर न गये होते, अगर ऐतबार होता।”

उसके बारे में देखना हो तो स्टेट ऐसेम्बलीज के इलेक्शन के नतीजे से आप अपनी कार्यवाही को देख लें । लोगों की कितनी निष्ठा और कितनी तसल्ली आप पर है, यह देख लें ।

राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में बहुत वायदे किये गये हैं । लोकराज जम्हूरियत बरवाद हो गई थी, अखबारों की जम्हूरियत बरवाद हो गई थी, पामाल हो गई थी, उनको बहाल किया गया है । अपने दिल की तसल्ली करने के लिए सब कुछ कह लो । लेकिन आजादी बहाल हुई है किसी वर्ग की तो आजादी बहाल हुई है ब्लैक मार्केटियर्स की, जखीरेवाजों की, अंटशंट लिखने वालों की । आप प्रेस की आजादी की दुहाई देते हैं । प्रेस की आजादी मिल नहीं रही है । जो कहेंगे प्रेस की है वह कौन नहीं जानता है, इनके मालिक कौन हैं ? बिड़ला, टाटा, डालमिया, गोयंका ये लोग हैं । वे चाहेंगे कि उनके अखबारों में गरीब के लिए, आदिवासी के लिए, हरिजन के लिए, किसी कर्मचारी के लिए कोई भी ऐसा लिखा जाए जो इनके हक में हो ? वह नहीं चाहेंगे । सही बात यह है कि यह जनता पार्टी बड़े-बड़े सरमाधेदारों, जागीरदारों, पूँजीपतियों और धनवालों की पार्टी है । अखबारों के मालिक भी बड़े-बड़े पूँजीपति हैं । बड़े-बड़े सरमाधेदार हैं, वह कब चाहेंगे कि जनता पार्टी की आलोचना की जाए । आजादी की दुहाई देने वालों को यह समझ लेना चाहिए कि जो अपनी कलम उठा कर न जाने किसको खुश करने के लिए पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के ऊपर भी, उनके जीवन पर भी कीचड़ उछालने की कोशिश करते हैं, उनके लिये आजादी है । आजादी मिली है उनको जो इस देश के पिता महात्मा गांधी के चरित्र पर कीचड़ उछालते हैं । आजादी दी गई है स्मगलरों को । आप यम्बई और दिल्ली में जाइये, कलकत्ता और मद्रास में जाइये और देखिये कि कौन सी चीज ऐसी है

जो स्मगलड होकर देश में नहीं आ रही है । कौन सी चीज ऐसी है जो स्मगलड चीज मार्किट से नहीं खरीदी जा सकती है । डेरों इम्पोर्टेड चीजें खुले आम बिकती नजर आयेंगी । आजादी मिली है देश का अमन और अनुशासन भंग करने वालों को । पिछले 11 महीनों में कानून का बुरी तरह से मजाक उड़ाया गया है । इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जनता पार्टी अपने मन को तसल्ली देना चाहे तो दे ले लेकिन हालात ठीक नहीं हैं । इस देश के लोग आपसे बहुत सख्त मायूस हैं । मैं आपको, अगर मानें तो यह सलाह दूँगा कि वायदे करने के बजाए, टाइम कैप्सूल खुवदाने के बजाए, कमीशन मुकर्रर करके पुराने मुद्दों जो गड़े हुए हैं उनको उखाड़ने के बजाए इस देश की गरीब जनता की तरफ ध्यान दें, देश के हरिजनों की तरफ ध्यान दें ।

मैं फिर बताना चाहता हूँ कि आजादी मिली है हरिजनों को जिन्दा जला देने के लिए । आजादी, जिसकी आप चर्चा करते हैं उन लोगों को मिली है जिन गरीब लोगों को, हरिजनों को कांग्रेस सरकार के द्वारा जमीनें बांटी गई थीं उनसे उनकी जमीनें छीनने के लिये है । जो जमीनें घर बनाने के लिये दी गई थीं उन जमीनों को जगह-जगह पर छीना जा रहा है । आप बिहार की बात करते हैं और मैं पंजाब की बात करता हूँ । पंजाब में ऐसे केसेज हुए हैं जहां हरिजनों पर अत्याचार हुए, भूमिहीनों को, जिनको कांग्रेस ने जमीनें दी थीं उनसे छीनी जा रही हैं । वे चिल्ला नहीं सकते । उनकी रिपोर्ट भी पुलिस थाने नें दर्ज नहीं की जाती । अगर कहीं गलती से दर्ज हो भी गई तो सरकार और अफसर की सलाह पर उसको दबा दिया जाता है । उस रिपोर्ट को आगे बढ़ने नहीं दिया जाता । इस किस्म के हालात पिछले 11 महीनों में हुए । आज आप देख रहे हैं कि कीमतेँ आसमान से बातें कर रही हैं । खाने-पीने की चीजें बहुत महंगी हैं । सीमेंट

[श्री सतपाल मिश्र]

की बात आप करते हैं। सीमेंट डिपो पर सीमेंट नायाब है लेकिन गोदाम भरे पड़े हैं। काला धंधा करने वालों से जितना सीमेंट आपको चाहिए आप ले लीजिए। आपको उनको ज्यादा पैसे देने पड़ेंगे और सीमेंट मिल जायेगा। कौन सी ऐसी चीज है जो ब्लैक मार्केट में नहीं मिल रही है। इस आजादी की चर्चा करना कि हमने आजादी बहाल कर दी है तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन ताकतों की बहाल हुई है जो इस देश के डेमोक्रेटिक निजाम को, लोकतांत्रिक निजाम को दरहम-बरहम करना चाहते हैं।

यह जो पार्टी जनता पार्टी के नाम से बनी है, अगर कोई अंधा अपना नाम नैनसुख रख ले तो वह नैन सुख नहीं हो जाएगा, इसी तरह से घर में बैठ कर 10 पार्टियों के लीडर इकट्ठे हो कर एक पार्टी बना लें और नाम जनता पार्टी रख लें तो वह जनता की पार्टी नहीं बन जाएगी। लोगों में अशांति थी, निराशा थी, नाराजगी थी उसका फायदा उठाकर आप जीत कर आ गये लेकिन आप ज्यादा देर तक इस कुर्सी पर, इस गद्दी पर बैठे नहीं रह सकते। आप यह समझ नहीं रहे हैं कि इस महान देश में 60-62 करोड़ के देश में कितने बेकार लोगों को रोजगार मुहैया करना है। उन पढ़े-लिखे लोगों को, जिनको पढ़ाने के लिये उनके मां-बाप ने अपना सब कुछ बेच कर उन पर खर्चा किया, आज उनमें मायूसी है। फिर आप शिकायत करते हैं कि वायलेंस बढ़ रहा है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसको बढ़ाने के लिये आप खुद जिम्मेदार हैं।

मैं हरिजनों पर किये जा रहे अत्याचारों की चर्चा नहीं करना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि उसकी चर्चा इस सदन के प्रायः सभी सदस्यों ने की है। लेकिन मैं एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूँ। अत्याचार और जुर्म होने की एक सीमा होती है। देश के अन्दर ऐसी हालात पैदा

हो जाती हैं जिनके कारण इस तरह के अत्याचार होते हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐ जनता पार्टी वालों, तुम्हारा भी रोजेमाशा होने वाला है। चौधरी चरण सिंह ने यह देख लिया था कि जनता पार्टी का शासन ज्यादा समय तक नहीं चल सकता है। इसलिए मैं उनकी दूरदर्शिता की कद्र करता हूँ। उन्होंने यह देख लिया था कि अगर एक साल गुजर गया तो फिर जनता पार्टी के लिए वह वातावरण नहीं रहेगा जो पिछले साल था। इसीलिए उन्होंने पिछले साल नौ एसेम्बलियों के इलेक्शन करवा लिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर आपने आज एक साल बाद चुनाव कराये होते तो आपका वही हाल होता जो अभी कर्नाटक में हुआ है। इसलिए मैं आपकी इस दूरदर्शिता की दाद देता हूँ कि आपने पिछले साल ही नौ एसेम्बलियों के चुनाव करा लिये जब कि लोग गुस्से में थे और कांग्रेस से नाराज थे। बाकी जिन स्टेटों के चुनाव नतीजे आने हैं उनसे भी आपकी हालत का पता चल जाएगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि हरिजनों, आदिवासियों और कमजोर तबके पर जो अत्याचार आजकल हो रहे हैं वे पिछले 30 सालों में इस देश की आजादी के बाद कभी नहीं हुए। आप लोग जिस तरीके से फिरका-परस्त पार्टियों, रीजनल पार्टियों और दूसरी इसी तरह की पार्टियों के साथ मिलकर अपनी सत्ता बनाए रखना चाहते हैं उससे यह मुल्क तकसीम हो जाएगा। पंजाब के अन्दर अकाली पार्टी, बंगाल के अन्दर सी०पी०एम० और तामिलनाडु में अन्ना डी०एम०के०, इस तरह की पार्टियाँ हैं जो अपने असली रूप में सामने आ रही हैं। वे आपके सामने प्रदेशों की ग्रेटर ओटोनोमी की बात कह रहे हैं और चाहते हैं कि उनकी स्टेटों को हर तरह की आजादी कुल मुक्तयारी मिलनी चाहिए। अभी तो ये पार्टियाँ कह रही हैं कि फारन एफेयर्स को छोड़कर, होम एफेयर्स को छोड़कर, रेलवेज को छोड़कर और कुछ एक दो और चीजों को छोड़कर सब के सबो को बाकी सब अख्तियार मिलने चाहिए। डिसेन्ट्रलाइजेशन

की बात करके ये पार्टियाँ जिस तरह की मांग कर रही है उसके पीछे इनका क्या मकसद है, इसका एक उदाहरण मैं पंजाब की अकाली पार्टी का देना चाहता हूँ। जब पंजाबी सूबे की मांग चल रही थी, उस वक्त के उनके नेताओं के बयान उठाकर आप पढ़ लीजिये, आपको कही पर भी यह नहीं मिलेगा कि पंजाबी स्पीकिंग जो एरिया है उसको लिग्विस्टिक आधार पर बनाया जाये। हर वक्त वे लोग यही कहते रहे कि सिखों को कुचला जा रहा है, सिखों की कोई बात नहीं मानी जा रही है। कही पर भी उन्होंने यह नहीं कहा कि पंजाबी बोली के आधार पर, जुबान के आधार पर जो पंजाबी बोलने वाले हैं उनको एक सूबे में रखा जाये। यह कभी अकाली दल की मान्यता नहीं रही। (Time bell rings) मैं बाकी विषयों को इस वक्त छोड़ देता हूँ। राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में फारन पालिसी के मुतालिक कुछ बातें कही गई हैं और पड़ोसी देशों के साथ मैत्री की बहुत चर्चा की गई है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह तो बड़ी अच्छी बात है कि पड़ोसी देशों के साथ हमारे मैत्री संबंध होने चाहिए। यह मुल्क तो सदा से अमन और शांति चाहने वाला रहा है। यह भारत देश गुरु नानक, गौतम बुद्ध, चिस्ती, गांधी और जवाहर लाल नेहरू की धरती रहा है। इस धरती पर पिछले 30 सालों से अमन और शांति कायम रही। हम हमेशा से अपने पड़ोसी मुल्कों के साथ शांति और दोस्ताना ताल्लुकात रखना चाहते हैं। लेकिन दोस्ताना ताल्लुकात का यह मतलब नहीं है कि हिन्दुस्तान की सर-जमीन पर दुश्मन का कब्जा हमेशा बना रहे। कोई भी जी-होश हिन्दुस्तानी यह पसन्द नहीं कर सकता है कि हजारों मील लम्बी चौड़ी हमारी धरती के ऊपर चीन का कब्जा हमेशा के लिए बना रहे। चीन वाले हमारे साथ पिग-पौंग डिपलोमेसी अस्तित्वार करके राह रसम की बात करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन, हमें इस बात को कभी नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि पंचशील के आधार पर और उसका नाम लेकर उसने

हमारी जमीन पर कब्जा किया है. . . (Time bell rings) अभी तो मुझे बोलते हुए 15 मिनट ही हुए हैं। कम से कम मुझे 25 मिनट तो बोलने दीजिये।

श्रीमन्, नहा 5-7 मिनट और चाहिए।

तो मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि चीन के साथ राहे-रस्म बढ़ाये जा रहे हैं। यह खुशी की बात है। मैं भी चाहता हूँ। लेकिन राहे-रस्म के दरवाजे खोलते ही हजारों मील जो धरती है जो कि हिन्दुस्तान की सर-जमीन का हिस्सा है, वह वापस मिलनी चाहिए। लेकिन अगर यह नहीं किया गया तो यह समझा जायेगा कि इस संसार में जो गुट बने हैं, जो धड़े बने हैं, उनमें से एक गुट को खुश करने के लिये या एक गुट के बड़े मुल्क के लीडरों को खुश करने के लिये चीन के साथ दोस्ती की नई राहें तलाश की जा रही है और उनकी कीमत यह दी जा रही है कि हमारी हजारों मील धरती जो है, वह उनके कब्जे में ही रहे। कहां गई मैकमोहन लाइन? कहां है वह बात बार्डर डिसप्यूट की जिसकी बिनाह पर झगड़ा हुआ था। उसको क्यों भुलाया जा रहा है? हमारी चीज हमको वापस आनी चाहिए। हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान का झगड़ा हुआ। जब लड़ाई हुई तो हमारे पास सैकड़ों मील पाकिस्तान का इलाका आ गया। लेकिन जिस वक्त मुल्ह की बात हुई तो दुनिया के मुल्कों की कौमों का जो एक सलीका अभी तक बना हुआ है, उसके मुताबिक हमने वह सारा इलाका पाकिस्तान को वापस कर दिया। हमारे विदेश मंत्री श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी अभी पाकिस्तान गये। बड़ी बड़ी उम्मीद थी। लोगों को उम्मीद थी कि काश्मीर या दूसरे जो मसले हैं, उनका हल तलाश करना तो मुश्किल होगा। लेकिन उनके जाने से यह तो होगा कि दोनों देशों के बीच तिजारत की नई राहें खुलेंगी और पंजाब और हरियाणा के लोग जो अपना खून-पसीना एक करके धरती से अनाज और अन्य चीजें पैदा करते हैं,

[श्री सतपाल मिश्र]

वे कम से कम यहां का जो हजारों लाखों टन आलू है, वह पाकिस्तान के जरिये ईरान भेज सकेंगे। यह उम्मीद थी उन लोगों को जिन्होंने इस वतने अजीज की आजादी के लिये अपना खून भी बहाया है, उन लोगों को उम्मीद थी जो कड़कती हुई धूप और बरसती हुई बरसात में भी धरती मां के सीने से अनाज पैदा करके सारे देश का पेट भरते हैं, उनको यह उम्मीद थी कि वहां पर तिजारत के रस्लोरसायल की बात होगी। परन्तु इसके बजाय उल्टा यह हुआ कि काश्मीर का मसला जो कि वर्षों पहले इस देश के और काश्मीर के लोग तय कर चुके हैं और जिसके बारे में अब सिवाय इसके कि, जिस इलाके पर पाकिस्तान का कब्जा है, वह वापस मिलना चाहिए, काश्मीर का वही मसला नये सिरे से ताजा कर दिया गया। क्या यह अचीवमेंट है? हमारा मंतव्य क्या है? आपका मंतव्य यह है कि किसी न किसी तरीके से जो संसार में एक गुट बना हुआ है अमरीका का, उसके इशारे पर रूस और रूस के लोगों के खिलाफ दुनिया में साफा राई किया जा सके। राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में एक ही फिकरे में यह कह कर कि रूस और दूसरे सोशलिस्ट देशों के साथ हमारे सम्बन्ध मजबूत होने की उम्मीद है और दूसरी तरफ यह कहा गया है कि अमरीका और मगरवी जम्हूरी देशों के साथ हमारे सम्बन्ध बहुत मजबूत और खुश गवार हैं। श्रीमन्, जरा ध्यान से सुनें, यह कहा गया है कि मगरवी जम्हूरी देशों और अमरीका के साथ हमारे बहुत मैत्री संबंध है, जो जम्हूरी कदरों और इंसानी कदरों पर आधारित हैं। रूस के मुतालिक सिर्फ यह कहने पर ही इकतरफा किया गया है कि हमारे ताल्लुकात मजबूत होने की उम्मीद है। यह ताल्लुकात चाहे बंगला देश का मामला आया, चाहे अमरीका का संबंध फ्लीट हमारे हिन्द महासागर में आया जो बंगला देश के मामले में इन्टरवीन करने के लिये, हिन्दुस्तान को डराने के लिए भेजा कि यह हिन्दुस्तान की नेवी को तबाह

और बरबाद करेगा, ऐसे संगीन और नाजुक वक्त में हमारे काम कौन आया? रूस आया और रूस ने अपना बेड़ा भेजा जो संबंध फ्लीट के इर्द गिर्द घूमता था। हिन्दुस्तान हमेशा अमन चाहता है। लेकिन जब कभी पाकिस्तान ने हम पर लड़ाई ठूस दी यू०एन०ओ० में काश्मीर की बात आई तो वीटो करके हिन्दुस्तान का साथ किसने दिया? सिर्फ रूस ने दिया। अमरीका और जो दूसरे जम्हूरी मुल्क थे वे हिन्दुस्तान को सजा देना चाहते थे। वे हिन्दुस्तान को सजा किस बात की देना चाहते थे क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान जेनुअन नान-अलाइनमेंट की पालिसी पर चलता है, गुटबंदी में शामिल नहीं होता है। हमारी जिसने मदद की, हमको बोकारो स्टील प्लांट उस वक्त दिया जब अमरीका और मगरवी जम्हूरियत मुल्कों ने यह कहा जितना लोहा चाहिए हम बेचने को तैयार हैं आपको, कारखाने बनाने की क्या जरूरत है। रूस ने हमारी हर वक्त मदद की और जिन देशों ने हिन्दुस्तान की हर वक्त मुखालफत की, जड़ें काटने की कोशिश की, हिन्दुस्तानी जम्हूरियत को फेल करने की कोशिश की वह भी इसलिए कि हम नान-अलाइनमेंट की पालिसी पर खड़े क्यों हैं हम उनकी तो तारीफ करने हैं। जो हमारी सहायता को आये जिन्होंने यह कहा कि हिमालय पर खड़े हो कर हमें पुकारो, हम तुम्हारा साथ देंगे, उनको यह कहा गया है। इससे जाहिर होता है जनता पार्टी वालों की जेन्यूइन नान अलाइनमेंट क्या है। यह जब जेनुअन शब्द इस्तेमाल करें तो इसका मतलब क्या है . . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्यामलाल यादव) :  
कृपया समाप्त कीजिये . . .

श्री सतपाल मिश्र : अभी एक मिनट में समाप्त कर रहा हूं। मैं तो यही कहूंगा :  
'हम जानते हैं हथ जो होगा सफीने का मगर कुछ एतिहातन नाखुदा से मशिविरा कर लो।'

अब सलाह-मशविरा कर लो कि कितने दिन पड़े है। कोई बजीर कुछ बोली बोलता है तो कोई कुछ बोली बोलता है। ऐसा लगता है जैसे किसी जू में दाखिल हो गये हैं। तरह तरह की बोलियां बोली जा रही हैं। पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू, जो अमने-आलम के पयम्बर रहे जो इस देश के निर्माता रहे उनके मुत्तालिक जिन शब्दों के साथ हिन्दुस्तान के होम मिनिस्टर और दूसरे बोलते हैं, शर्म की बात है।

चाहे कोई इंडस्ट्रीयल पालिसी हो, एजुकेशन पालिसी हो, एग्रीकलचर पालिसी हो, हर एक बजीर की अपनी बोली है, हर लीडर की अपनी बोली है ऐसा लगता है जैसे एक चाइना शाप में एक बुल की बजाय कई बुल दाखिल हो गये हैं और जब इतने बुल दाखिल हो जायें तो जो चाइना शाप है उसका क्या होने वाला है, यह सोच कर घबराहट होती है। जनता पार्टी का क्या ह्म्य होने वाला है वह तो सब जानते हैं लेकिन इसके साथ-साथ हमारे देश का भविष्य जो है वह खतरे में पड़ रहा है। देश की आजादी खतरे में पड़ रही है और देश की जो उज्ज्वल, रोशन, मुन्नवर मुस्तकबिल है, वह खतरे में पड़ रहा है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ ऐसी गम्भीर और संगीन हालत में जनता पार्टी बुरी तरह से फेल हो रही है। मैं उनको वार्निंग देना चाहता हूँ कि अब 10 साल, 8 साल के जो मंसूबे बना रहे हैं आपको यह भी पता नहीं कि कब आपका ह्म्य आयें, रोज़े-कयामत आयें और आपसे हिसाब-किताब किया जाये। धन्यवाद।

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, let me begin my speech by referring to a very happy ending that has taken place this week-end, namely the visit of the Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. This morning he has left after what appears to be very successful talks with the Prime Minister of India and other leaders of the Government. Some agreements have been signed

for economic and trade co-operation and for co-operation in the cultural field. We only sincerely hope that the spirit of agreement will be observed by this Government and will be implemented effectively and moreover they will be carried forward in political co-operation between these two countries whose friendship dates back to centuries. I say this thing because the friendship and co-operation between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and our country have significance not only for the well-being of our two people, for the development of our two nations, but also for the security and peace in Asia as also for the peace and security of the rest of the world. Sir, in this part of the world if the Vietnamese people and our people, who had been blended together in ties of friendship and solidarity in the old days of common struggle, could stand together, that would be a blessing to the cause of peace, national liberation and the progress of mankind. That is why we attach importance to this visit. This visit also signifies that the policy of peace and non-alignment of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-neo-colonialism stance and support to the national liberation movements has become a tradition with our great people, a way of life for them, which no change of Government or fluctuations in the political life of a country as a result of elections and otherwise can easily alter. Sir, therefore, I mention this happy event because it sets before us not only what appears immediately now but also brightens the prospect of international co-operation, especially in our region.

Sir, having said it, I should perhaps say that I would congratulate all those, including the members of the Janata Government against whom I will soon be launching my criticism, for their successful and fruitful talks. The Prime Minister, Mr. Pham Van Dong, said that friendship between our two countries is like a cloudless sky. I feel these words have touched our hearts because they are just like the feelings of Comrade Ho Chi Minh



[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

who, as you all know, respected our tradition, our freedom struggle and stood by us just as we stood by their struggle. Sir, I hope that no patches of cloud will be allowed to overcast the sky of friendly co-operation and solidarity between our two people. I would only hope that this Government would render all possible assistance to the Vietnamese people and I welcome the assistance that has been given by our food loan to the Vietnamese people. I do hope that the Government of India would also give them political support for the implementation of the Paris Agreement which is sought to be violated by the Carter Administration, especially in respect of clauses which provide for payment of compensation or rehabilitation fund money to Vietnamese people.

Now, Sir, I have got before me two President's Addresses. Last year it was the Vice-President, acting as the President, who delivered this Address and there he stated:

"Having regard to the gross abuse to which the Maintenance of Internal Security Act has been put during the last two years, a thorough review of the Act will be undertaken with a view to repairing it and examining whether the existing laws need further strengthening to deal with economic offences and security of the country without denying the right of approach to courts."

It was quite clear that MISA would be repealed and that the preventive detention law would disappear, that this kind of detention law would disappear from our statute book and the laws would be reviewed only for dealing with economic offences more effectively. That was the Address that was presented last year. That assurance has not yet been fulfilled. Yet it was included in the legislative programme for last year. Should it not have been implemented by now

But now we find that the President acting as the President, speaking for Mr. Morarji Desai and the Janata Government, says:

"A thorough review of the Maintenance of Internal Security Act has been made by Government and a Bill has already been introduced for the repeal of MISA and for amending the Code of Criminal Procedure."

No mention of economic offences referred to in the last year's Address finds a place here.

"Government has seen to it that while retaining the minimum necessary legal sanctions in the interest of security and defence of India, maintenance of public order and all services and supplies essential to the life of the community, necessary safeguards, including review by boards of judges nominated by the Chief Justices of High Courts, are provided to prevent any kind of arbitrariness in the exercise of such powers."

These are two different features of the statements; double talk coming from the exalted office of the President. One President or the Vice-President acting as the President promises one set of things while, without having fulfilled that promise another Address we get in which it is said, in effect, that the preventive detention law would now continue for dealing with the same type of offences as the Preventive Detention Act or the MISA had dealt with. This is what Mr. Sanjiva Reddy said. Is this the way to respect Parliament? Is this the way for the Government to honour the pledge given to Parliament and to the nation through the Presidential Address? I do not know; I do not go by the experience of the House of Commons. What would have happened in England if the Address of the Crown had been treated in this manner by the Government? I do not know how the House of Commons

would have reacted. But here, everything sells; everything sells here.

Well, now who is going to read the President's words? What is the guarantee that even this will be implemented? What is the guarantee that next time Mr. Sanjiva Reddy will not come and say something else? Sir, the Presidential office has been brought to defilement, and disrepute and its credibility has been damaged by this Government. I am not speaking about other things but this is how Article 74 of the Constitution is sought to be functioned by the Government which binds the President to read out whatever is given to him to read out. I do not blame Mr. Sanjiva Reddy. It is the Government's version that has come. But what is noteworthy in this connection is, they have not used Mr. Rajnarain to do this double talk or Mr. George Fernandes or the Samachar or the television or the All-India Radio; they have used the office of the President for indulging in such breach of faith with the Parliament, telling one thing on March 28, 1977 and another thing on February 20, 1978. It is a matter of shame. Sir, I leave it at that. I think we should be interested in maintaining at least the dignity of the President and I would like to know how Mr. Morarji explains this kind of thing. This is bitter but I have not quoted anything from any newspaper whose credibility or the authenticity might be questioned. I have quoted one set of words by the Vice-President acting as the President and another set of words by the President.

Now, Sir, I come to some other things. Many things have happened; many things have been said and much more will be said. Sir, two basic features stand out. We have given, from our group, 180 amendments. Each amendment is a charge against the Government in a way. Out of 264 or 265 amendments tabled, our group has given 180 amendments and I think the hon. Members who have gone through these amendments, know what

we have to say. I cannot obviously go into all of them but I shall only touch upon some of them. First of all, Sir, what stands out today in the economic situation is, the monopoly is being given concessions after concessions brazenly and in total disregard of the fact that it has played a most treacherous role in our economy over the past years. When we see the multi-nationals descending at our country like vultures, they are being offered new concessions, new opportunities, new grounds for investment, exploitation and plunder. Some of the Ministers are competing with others in order to placate the monopoly capital. Mr George Fernandes came here and canvassed for the German industrialists and everybody knows that he is very friendly with Mr. Brandit and others who are trying to exploit the situation. Specially, the right-wing elements in the Socialist International have been commissioned by the multi-nationals and the monopolists to exploit the situation in India through their contacts within the former socialist leadership in order to get more scope for inviting investment and exploitation. What has happened to Mr. George Fernandes' one billion dollars which we were told would be forthcoming. We do not want that money. But what has happened to it? Mr. George Fernandes is not a boy in a private school. He knows what he talks about. Then, Sir, efforts have been made by him and others with a view to preparing the ground for more concessions to these multi-nationals in industry. Now, we have seen how many missions have come. We had the Orville Mission representing more than 50 multi-nationals and they were dictating terms to us. They were telling that FERA should be amended, that all curbs should be removed and how we should behave in order to qualify ourselves to get investment so much so even Mr. Morarji Desai could not stomach it. Has it been denounced? Have we an assurance that such commissions and delegations will not be allowed to come to this country in order to take

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

advantage of the change in the political situation, to dig further into our economy and to create a situation which will be subversive not only of our economic life but of our political life as well? These multi-nationals are now jubilant. Then, Sir, they are thinking of having a kind of Asia-based economic operations by the multi-nationals with India as the base; India-based operations. Wall Street Bank is having its way. It is entering everywhere, in all spheres. I need not go into that thing. Monopolists have been given and are being given concessions. All curbs and restrictions on them have been removed. We are told that the public sector is not to go. But discouragement and sabotage of the public sector have already begun. They are not giving any encouragement to the public sector to expand and develop further. Having frozen it, now, in the name of helping the small and cottage industries—of course, they do need help; we stand for them and we are for helping them—what is actually being done is to open the doors to free enterprise in such a manner that these monopolists will be entering even the small and medium sector, where, with the funds in their hands, they will be allowed to make investment without any plan and priority and without any consideration for social justice and other aspects of our economic development. This is what we see today. Therefore, monopoly capital is being strengthened in many ways. Collaboration agreements are also being encouraged. We have already 5,000 collaboration agreements now. Additionally, new collaboration agreements are sought to be signed with a view to making our economy strong. Multi-nationals never made any economy strong. Profiteering, speculation, holding back of investment and political blackmail, everything will follow in its train if the Government acts in this way. Not only that. The Bhoothalingam Committee has been appointed with a view to finding arguments for freezing wages and to

deal with the problem of prices in a manner which will suit the monopoly interests; and, no doubt, the diversionary and other tactics of this Government. The Bhoothalingam Committee is certainly not an answer and a remedy for dealing with the price situation—prices continue to rule high and the disturbing trend continues—or with the problem of wages and the many expectations of our working people. This Committee should be dispensed with. Now, Sir, let me look at the working class and how the working class is being treated. The working class is under an attack. Ever since the Janata Government came to power, some in the monopoly sector have taken into their heads that power is in their favour. They have launched an offensive economically. They have launched an offensive on the trade union movement by denying the workers their rights, by trying to browbeat them and by using their so-called goondas, who are called security guards, they are trying to suppress the workers and their legitimate trade union movements. The Government instead of pulling up the employers has been helping them, conniving at their crime and we have seen the horrid example of what happened in Kanpur. Here more than 10, 12 or 20 workers have been killed as a result of police firing in the Swadeshi Cotton Mill. Strikes are banned. Threats are made against the working people and the posture of the Government is clearly anti-working class and that I would like to make absolutely clear in this House. Nowhere you have tried to accept the responsibility for what is happening on the industrial front. Why are the strikes taking place? It is because the Janata rule and the employers have assumed a very aggressive posture in attacking the working people in this country. I cannot but mention the LIC. What has happened to the LIC agreement? This Government says that it is trying to dismantle emergency, but what happened to the Act which was passed as a result of the settlement that was arrived at between the LIC class III and class IV

employees over the issue of bonus? Now a law was passed. The Government instead of repealing that law wanted to stand by it, deny the 15 per cent bonus to which these employees have been entitled to. They went to the Supreme Court to fight the LIC employees on the basis of the emergency law, by taking advantage of article 358 of the Constitution and on giving the same argument with which this flaw had been advocated in the past in the courts and elsewhere by the advocates and lawyers of the previous Government's regime. Still we are told that this Government is trying to dismantle the emergency. What happened in the Supreme Court? As you have seen, the Supreme Court in its judgment has rejected all the arguments of this Government. They rejected their argument that the bonus was not a property. They said: Bonus is wage and hence this right could not be taken away, could not be denied without violating article 31. The Court held that article 19 had been violated because the bonus denial is an unreasonable restriction. Then the Court has also said that article 14 had been violated because it had been a discrimination against the LIC employees. The argument given before the Court was that this wrong had been done during the emergency, that is to say, during the Indira Gandhi Government and the wrong done during the emergency could not be undone; that was their argument in order to deny bonus to the LIC employees. That argument has been rejected by the Supreme Court. That argument was there under the emergency provision of article 358 of the Constitution. What a shame, and still they talk of dismantling the emergency and at the same time of going to the Court and of arguing like emergency lawyers, like Niren Dey and others, denying the workers their right, their bonus. I would like to know how the bonus is going to be paid? Already two years bonus is due and another year's bonus will fall due. They are entitled to 15 per cent interest on what has not been paid to them for

the last two to three years. On about Rs. 20 crores they are entitled to a 15 per cent interest. The Janata Government have given 15 per cent interest on similar denial in the case of sugarcane growers. The same should be done here. I should like to know from Shri Morarji Desai whether the interest on bonus which is due to the employees will be paid at the rate of 15 per cent which has been sanctioned by the Janata Government to the sugarcane growers. What is the attitude of the Government towards the working classes? In the rural areas, attacks are going on every day on the Harijans. Only recently the papers reported that in Madhya Pradesh, between April and October last year, 105 Harijans had been killed. Yet Mr. Charan Singh would never believe that Harijans are not under any special or intensive attack after the Janata Government has come to power. In Jagjivan Babu's own constituency, a Harijan has been burnt alive and lynched. This is going on every day, though not reported in the papers. This is happening because the landlords think that with the Janata Government in power here in Delhi and other parts of the country, the power, in fact, is in the hands of the landlords. "Go, therefore, against the Harijans and the weaker sections of the society. Attack them, rape their women, burn their homes, burn them alive. Treat them as if they are not human beings. Deny all human rights to them and get on with the blessings and support of the Janata Government". This is not restoration of democracy. The attitude to democracy is not to be judged by the removal of certain hateful curbs of emergency *raj* but by the fact whether the working people are free, are having their rights and interests respected and protected, including the right to fight democratically for their just cause for social justice against the exploiters, monopolist landlords and others. Do I have that right? Do the working classes have that right? Are they free today to fight the landlords, to fight the Tatas and Birlas and to fight the multi-nationals

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

in a democratic manner? Are the workers free to go on strike without having to face the frown on the part of the Government? That will be the test whether the democratic rights exist. Where did the democratic rights exist on the 2nd of this month in the streets of Delhi when the Iranian students, who came out to demonstrate their anger and feeling against the suppression of human rights in Iran, were brutally lathi-charged by this Government's police force and taken to prison? I met them in the prison. Sir, it was a matter of shame. Young boys and girls who are students were beaten up here in Can-naught Circus and other public places in Delhi by Charan Singh's police. And yet we are told that they are the respectors of civil rights and liberties. Yet this Government, when some of their leaders were imprisoned, sent missions from this country on false passports—Mr. Subramaniam Swamy, for example, went to canvass the support of other countries, to appeal to the governments of other countries to rise and support them, to raise their voice for their leaders. When these Iranian students came here to raise their voice of protest against the Shah of Iran, against murders, against the callous intelligence and other slaughter agencies in Iran, for the release of thousands of prisoners there, for respect for human rights, Mr. Charan Singh's policemen pounced upon them, assaulted them right in front of large sections of the people who watched all this with shame and anger. This is what your standards of democracy are.

I mention these things because they disgrace our country and I hope the plans to push them out of the country, deliver them to the hounds of the Shah of Iran will not materialise and that will be prevented. I welcome the attitude of some Janata leaders and workers who protested against the behaviour of their Government. That shows a healthy sentiment in our public life. The Shah of Iran had to be pleased because they are looking for

Shah's money. Shah's money, Shah's weapons—the whole world knows what they stand for. In the whole of the Middle East, the Shah is running all kinds of forces who are operating to threaten peace and security. He is the biggest arms recipient of the United States of America building up bases and being supplied with weapons and money. Petro-dollars will be brought here with a view to getting hold over our economy, to balance it, and help also the American multi-nationals.

The Shah of Iran is a dangerous foe. He has his own ambitions in our region. He thinks he can be a kind of Shahanshah of the financial world in this part of the globe. That is what is his idea. The Shah has been put there in operation by the same forces which have been always opposed to us, himself being a supplier of arms to Pakistan, the mainstay of the Baghdad regime and of the C.E.N.T.O. among others.

Then came our Carter followed by Callaghna. What did you get from them I should like to know. What is the use of mentioning these things in speeches? They came here in order to facilitate the conditions for the exploitation by the multinationals in order to get India immune from anti-imperialist forces, from friendly nations into a position where willy nilly India will have to submit step by step to their gun-boat diplomacy, to their cloak-and-dagger methods. They are already succumbing to their machinations, intrigues and other things. They are here as part of the international offensive by imperialists and reactionaries to take advantage of the changes in the political situation in the country to take it away from the moorings of anti-imperialism, the moorings of peace, the moorings of non-alignment and they are frontally denouncing, decrying and repudiating the policy of non-alignment. Their policy of non-alignment guarantees something which cannot be easily done away with. Their line is to emasculate it particularly its anti-imperialist stance. That is the line of

imperialism. Therefore, I mention this thing.

As far as democracy is concerned, the less said the better. M.I.S.A. is there. The Bihar Goonda Act is there. There are ordinances which they would like to make into Acts. Madhya Pradesh has got M.I.S.A. You will have your Criminal Procedure Code in order to make the law pervasive so that you can arrest people at will. We have been told by the President that we are going to be arrested now.

Coming to the Centre-State relations, this is another major issue. I must say we have been doubly shocked by Prime Minister Morarji Desai over the manner in which he has rejected even the proposal for a national dialogue. This does not bring credit to his claim that he believes in democracy. If we want a national dialogue, is it right for the Prime Minister to say "No"? National dialogue has been demanded by various political parties, by at least two Chief Ministers of the country, by many others from this side of the House and, I believe, by some on the other side of the House also. And the Prime Minister says there will not be any national dialogue. Therefore, finality has come. We reject this kind of attitude. This is an authoritarian attitude. I tell you this has nothing to do with democratic attitude. National dialogue is a token verdict of the people in this matter. By all means, have your point of view but allow the people to express their point of view. Engage in constructive discussion and dialogue with them so that on the merits of the case people can judge who is right and who is wrong, so that you can take the right decision. Let them realise that national dialogue does not depend on the individual wish of Morarji Desai or Bhupesh Gupta. National dialogue depends on the will of the nation. And here, in Parliament, if we want to have a dialogue we can stop the proceedings of Parliament and start a dialogue. Who can stop us? But Mr. Morarji Desai

thought he should dictate in 3 P.M. this matter. Sir, I am sorry. I hope Mr. Morarji Desai will not commit the same blunder as he committed during the mid fifties when the issue of linguistic reorganisation of States in general and linguistic reorganisation of the composite Bombay State in particular came to the forefront. Mr. Morarji Desai would rather have 126 people killed in the streets of Maharashtra, Bombay and Gujarat rather than accept the demand for linguistic reorganisation of the State. Mr. Morarji Desai had to leave Maharashtra. Today he is the Prime Minister of the country. But must he not learn something from his own life's experience that when the nation is on the move, when certain basic, fundamental democratic urges begin to move people, well, it is the people who ultimately win and it is not for anyone, howsoever high he may be placed, to prevent such a thing?

Sir, Centre-State relations is a live issue of democracy today, an issue of national integration, an issue of national unity, an issue of democracy. The States must have economic power, specially wider powers and they must have their opportunities. Today they have become a kind of supplicant States under the cover of so-called discretionary grants and grants-in-aid when we find that the Divisible Pool has very little for them, when we find that only 20 per cent of the excise duties is distributed, when we find that customs duty and corporate tax form a good part of the Central revenue and they do not come into the Divisible Pool at all and when the States do not have the resources. Then, about the Concurrent List, the State List and the Union List, the Seventh Schedule should be revised and reconsidered. Autonomy of the States has been encroached upon. Even President Sanjiva Reddy, in his Republic Day interview, has said that it has been eroded. Whatever we had in the entire federal structure has been undermined over the past few years, specially during the Emergency. Sir, the talk about authorita-

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

rianism here. (*Time bell rings.*) Sir, I will take a few minutes more. Authoritarianism has grown. How could it grow? Could you imagine the Chief Ministers, Governors and Ministers of State behaving like chaprasis and *chamchas* before Sanjay Gandhi, had it not been for the fact that something has gone wrong in the Centre-State relations? If the Centre-State relations had been truly democratic and truly federal, such a phenomena—the Sanjay Gandhi phenomena—in such a horrid and despicable way when Chief Ministers, Ministers, Governors and others were lying prostrate at the feet of a young man who had no *locus standi* except that he could not even produce a car, would not have come about. Then you would not have had such a sight. Therefore, you talk about this thing on the one hand and, on the other hand, you retain the sources of authoritarianism. Centre-State relations today, as they stand, prove authoritarianism at the Centre and personality cult at the Centre. Potential mischief has to be noted there. In fact, they have demonstrated how it has worked. It is not a question of denial of some rights only. It is distortion, perversion and degradation of our polity, of our democratic life, of our democratic set-up and, in particular, Centre-State relations. Therefore, Sir, I admit, the degeneration has been particularly aggravated by the one-party bourgeois rule but is the Janata rule going to do something? Sir, it is no use overlooking this fact. As far as unity of the country is concerned, we stand for the unity of the country, we stand for some Central authority also, but that authority must be based on willing co-operation of the States, based on democratic foundations and must receive its sustenance from the people all over the State and must be a unifying force and not a degenerating, disintegrating and divisive force. Sir, that is why we say that we did it no less in the interest of national unity as we did it in the interest of the State people themselves.

Sir, I do not want to go very much into other things because there is no time for it, but I should like to mention one or two points. I do appeal to Mr. Morarji Desai: Accept the suggestion for a national dialogue on Centre-State relations. Accept in principle that the federal structure has to be strengthened. Accept in principle that the State should be given more powers, especially economic powers; and autonomy must not continue as a myth or fiction but should be made a part and parcel, a living vibrant reality, of our public and political life, especially in the State structure.

I should like to touch upon the point of the emergency excesses. I think that point has not been covered by many. Emergency excesses, as we all know, are being revealed every day by the Shah Commission, various other Commissions; and otherwise also they are being revealed. But they have posed certain fundamental questions about the functioning of the Cabinet, the parliamentary system and the top bureaucracy. We must go to the root of the problem. Things must not be judged only in terms of individual advantage or the convenience of the present rulers. The question is: How did a phenomenon like the cult of personality of Mrs. Indira Gandhi arise? How could a person who was an elected leader and led a party with its own Constitution and functioning under the Constitution could personify power, could assume all personal power and make head-long ride towards authoritarianism? How could the constitutional norms and principles be violated with impunity under the cover of the emergency in order to push dynastic ambitions? These are matters which you have to consider seriously. How could the Fundamental Rights be flouted in our society? That has to be thought of. There is no use fussing and putting blame on certain people. They are to be blamed. But we must go to the root of the system itself. That is not the job of the Shah Commission. That will not be done in the courts of law. That has to be done by the

political leadership of the country. And here we need discussion again.

Sir, in this connection, I must say something about the officials. We were having a very intriguing spectacle. During the emergency, we saw some high officials dancing attendance at Safdarjang Road taking orders from Sanjay Gandhi and the caucus. They were supposed to be learned IAS people, learned IPS people, or experts having foreign and other qualifications. Surely they knew the Constitution. They knew their Service Conduct Rules. They knew their codes of behaviour. They knew certain other things in life. But why did they behave in such a manner. Today, are they to get away by merely going before the Shah Commission and making confessions? Simply because they make confessional statements, they should not be allowed to go scot free. Sir, some of them may have been victims of pressure, terror and all that. I do not treat them in the same category. I speak about the big ones, the Secretaries and other top bureaucrats. Leave alone Dhawan, Dhawan was a Mathai of the emergency with added power given to him. The only thing is that, while Sanjay Gandhi's father was against Mathai, Sanjay Gandhi's mother was for Dhawan. Now, Sir, I do not want to go into all these things. But how could it happen? Have you examined it? Or, must you leave it to the Shah Commission to tell us what should be done and what should not be done? Sir, the bureaucracy has revealed its ugliness—the top bureaucracy. There are honourable men there; I take my hat off for them. Reward them by all means. But, what about those careerists, time-service, self-seekers, sycophants, traitors of the Constitution, anti-people and anti-democratic characters who pastured round the caucus in order to grease their palm, take advantage of the grim and ugly situation and the misfortune of the people? They wanted to stand up to the proliferation of authoritarianism. Whether it is the Governor of the Reserve

Bank or some other institution. Well, we want an answer to that. How are going to deal with them? There is no policy yet. On the contrary, we find that some of them are being rewarded by this Government because these officers know when and how to please them and above all which side of the bread is buttered. That is why they are having their way. Superannuated officials connected with businessmen are being brought to hold important positions when the persons in service are not being promoted. They are honest, they are men of integrity. Promote them. But that is not being done. Sir, bureaucracy has to be dealt with. I cannot think of the excesses, shameful crimes and horrors of the emergency without taking into account the utter degeneration, deterioration, corruption and loss of values or anything that makes for good human aspect on the part of the top echelons of bureaucracy who sit in the North Block, the South Block and other places and enjoy the privileges given by the Government and the State to them.

I have used harsh words because I find how readily they go before the Shah Commission and make their confessions. Let them make their confessions fully. Get more out of them. But the policy has to be changed with regard to these officials. The IAS, we are told, is a grand service. How has it shown itself during the emergency? What is grand in it? The ICS people were known traitors and anti-Indian. I am not blaming all the ICS officers. But these people, some of them, did all these kinds of things. What sort of men are they? If I had my way, I would have every one of them suspended and dismissed from the service by amending the law of the land and would promote others who showed courage at the critical time. Nothing of the kind is being done.

Sir, bureaucracy has grown during the Janata raj. Everybody knows that bureaucrats are enjoying more power. Driving the bull-doser, they are de-



[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

molishing the nationally accepted policy, some of the values and traditions of the people resolved over many years of struggle. That is what is happening. That is why we find that one of the officers for having told that Ghodse had murdered Mahatma Gandhi, quoting from the book by Mr. Morarji Desai himself, from the chapter called "Gandhi's assassination", was assaulted by the RSS and then thrown out of service.

Sir, I say these things because we have to go into the question of bureaucracy. Dismantling of emergency is inconceivable without dismantling the anti-democratic anti-people and corrupt degeneration in the higher echelons of the administration of the country. The whole thing should be reviewed, and I demand a review of this matter. (*Time bell rings*)

Sir, I shall mention a few other things and I shall finish. I shall cut out may things if you are ringing the bell.

THE VICE-CHIEFMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Kindly conclude.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Many questions have been raised. Electoral reform has been mentioned I demand proportional representation. Nothing sort of that can save democracy today.

This matter should be seriously considered by the Government. And I would ask all hon. Members to consider it because the present system distorts democracy. You see what it creates. Representation is not properly reflected in the House. Public opinion goes in one direction. The equation between the various political and social forces stands on one footing outside and here it is reflected in a different way. May I tell you what Acharya Vinoba Bhave said? During the Emergency, in fact last year, Com-

rade Dange, Comrade Rajeshwar Rao and I, on behalf of our party, went to meet Acharya Vinoba Bhave at his Ashram. When we talked about election and asked for his support and said that he should raise his voice for earlier election, Acharya Vinoba Bhave said "yes", but he made fun of the democracy that we have. He said "What is this democracy? According to this type of election, 51 is equal to 100 and 49 is equal to zero." This is how the Acharya defined democracy: 51 is equal to 100 and 49 is equal to zero. There is something in it. And today this absence of proportional representation has given all the opportunities to money power, to vested interests, to corruption, to defections and all the rest of the malpractices that we have. Not that a change in the system will by itself remove everything. But it will be a big step. Therefore, I say, the question of proportional representation should be seriously considered by the Government.

Now, Sir, a final word. Many things I have said. I have spoken about the Government. Sir, one thing more. I hope you will bear with me for just a few minutes. The election results have come in. Do you think the election results that are coming in now or what happens afterwards is going to solve the problems that we have, the problem of even the crisis of the present system? No, they cannot solve. We have entered into an entirely new period in some respects where by the traditional way you simply cannot go. The capitalist system is in crisis, we all know. It is everyday demonstrated in the rising prices, in the inflation, in the unemployment and in many other things that are happening, affecting the lives of the people, tormenting their day-to-day life. This artificial economy is affecting their life in many ways—the scarcities and so on. But today we have entered additionally into a period of political crisis. That political crisis is simmering. This political crisis is seen in the growing factors of instability. Uncertainty looms a head. Ask the people in the street. Nobody

would be in a position to say what is in store for us next year or the year after. The speculation is how long this Government will last, how long the other Government will last, what will happen to Parliament and what will happen to the legislatures. The speculation is what will happen to Mr. Charan Singh or what will happen to Mr. Morarji Desai or what will happen to Mr. Jagjivan Ram or what will happen to this combination or that combination. We have entered into, morally and politically, conglomerate politics of the ruling class where the crises of the system itself, of the party politics, of the party leadership are absolutely self-evident. Can they lead the nation? Can the Janata Party lead the nation simply because it has got a majority? Look at the Janata Party, its mindlessness, its contradictions, its internal feuding, its deals within itself to impose Chief Ministers in various States, creating discontent among their own followers and suspicion and misgivings among all sections of the people? Can such a party, can such a Government can such forces who have come to positions of authority and power, guarantee stability to the country, especially when its main policies are anti-democratic anti-people from the point of view of socio-economic questions? Never. Can the Congress, whether it remains as one group or is divided into two, give stability? No. It is there on the election results board. Go there and see the results on the board. Some may win, some may lose.

But see what has happened. The people are getting fed up. Not that they have not voted for some. Some in the Congress Party, some in the Indira Congress and other Congress may get votes. But one thing is quite clear. The people have lost faith or are losing faith. It is good they are doing it. The bourgeois party, the bourgeois leadership, is in its bankruptcy, is in its degeneration, is in its moral decay. It has lost its vision; it has lost its capacity to lead. Yet among them there are many people in all walks of life in the bourgeois

political party who want progress, who sincerely want to go forward, who stand for democratic norms and values. When I say bourgeois leadership, I had a concept in mind. I had a political and social force in mind, I had a certain phenomenon in mind. This bourgeois leadership is not in a position to lead the country any more. Therefore, we have entered a stage when a Sanjay Gandhi may lead to the fall of Indira Congress but the bourgeois leadership does not fall; the monopoly of bourgeois power still continues. Well it is continuing today in the Janata Party. An alternative has to be built by the people. The President would not have understood this thing because he is advised by the Council of Ministers. More and more people today are beginning to realise, we must have a new national upsurge, we must have a new national leadership, we must have a new realignment of forces in the country; not a conglomeration, not a patch party, not a usurper Congress or any other Congress, but a new realignment of forces in which they want to see all left forces, all democratic forces, all progressive forces, coming through different streams of struggle, from different political parties, joining their hands together in order to shoulder the burden of the nation, take the wheel of the nation, in order to put the nation in motion forward. That is what they want. We call them left and democratic forces. Today what is happening is that the Congress leaders talk of national problems as against those posed by the Liberals or others at that time. Today the time has again come when the Congress and other bourgeois leaders are there. Janata leaders are after all versions of bourgeois leaders; many of them are ex-Congressmen. They were there at that time. They had failed to solve any of the problems. On top of it they created a situation of instability which has been taken advantage of by external enemies of our country, imperialist and reactionary forces, and within the country by the forces which had never been identified with our freedom struggle. In the Janata conglom-

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

meration we find incompatibles are there. There are forces who had come from the mainstream of our freedom struggle; there are forces which had come from the Opposition struggle. After all what forces does the RSS represent, if not forces hostile to the freedom struggle? Therefore, I say a time has come when there is a crisis, when there is uncertainty and instability. And the problem is not going to be solved by election skirmishes, combination; the problem is not going to be solved by how many seats you get or how many seats I get or what Ministry comes within the existing framework and set up. The problem is going to be solved by the actions of the masses, by the struggles of the masses, by a new resurgence of the masses, national unity in which all progressive forces, left forces, democratic forces, must have their rightful place, in fact, symbolising the unity of the nation in a new way. Only then can we see the way forward. That is how we look at it.

Before I end I say I have spoken at length. I know I have given my views. Sometimes these views seem to have some relevance and I have very often found that they prove to be correct. But the trouble with my friend, Mr. Morarji Desai, is that he takes a lot of time to accept good views, and the trouble with my other friends is that they never accept good views. They know how to disguise their views in the language of plausibility, like some of my friends sitting here. If any Party knows its mind in the Janata conglomerate, if any Party has any purpose, if any Party has any strength and knows how to set about business, it is only one force and one Party which is the Jan Sangh and the RSS. Had I not been hostile and politically opposed to their ideology and views, I would have even congratulated them because you have the quality of purpose—wrong purpose and evil purpose. You have the character of

pushing yourself through, you have determination and you have a perspective of your own.

Sir, this is the information I gathered and it will be interesting to you. I am told that there is a Shadow Cabinet within the Janata Party now. We have heard of Shadow Cabinet in the lime-light of England—Shadow Cabinet of the Labour Party when the Conservative Party was in power and the Shadow Cabinet of the Conservative Party when the Labour Party was in power. These Cabinets are talked about publicly, reported in the news-papers and in the television in one way or the other. But we have a Shadow Cabinet in shadow—a Shadow Cabinet in darkness. This Shadow Cabinet, I am told, comprises a number of people. My friend Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee is supposed to be the Prime Minister of that Shadow Cabinet, I am told. Some others say of others. If you believe in shadows, of course, you have to accept it.

Remember these words I am uttering today. Well, they may not have the exactitude of mathematical science but have the political exactitude of those who know how to look at future and analyse the situation. There is a Shadow Cabinet within the Janata power and that Shadow Cabinet is comprised of RSS—Jan Sangh and their good, trusted friends.

Janata power itself is the result of something. That you know. And I think they will agree with me on this. The other day I told them: You should feel beholden to Shrimati Indira Gandhi. But for Shrimati Indira Gandhi, my friend Shri Sunder Singh Bhandari would not have been sitting in the Treasury Benches. But for Shrimati Indira Gandhi, my friends from there would not have got double, treble and four times promotions to go there. And poor Bhupesh Gupta shifted from that side to this side.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (DR. RAM KRIPAL SINHA): Shri Bhupesh Gupta misguided Shrimati Indira Gandhi in supporting the emergency. He supported the emergency here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Bhupesh Gupta would rather be a corpse than sitting as a member of the Janata power. They know it very well. Sir, shall I make another utterance? Shrimati Indira Gandhi is the mid-wife of the Janata power. History tells us facts. If the past history of the Janata power is to be written in one sentence—no matter where the Janata power was conceived, whether in Tihar Jail or the Central Jail—I do not know that—I know the mid-wife of the Janata power. I know the mid-wife of the Janata power is Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Shrimati Indira Gandhi is the mid-wife of Janata power. It is a historically settled fact. What a wonderful thing! She, by her crimes, excesses and because of the caucus, made it possible for you to come to power. Now you by your crimes, by your perfidy, by your treachery, by giving encouragement to the multi-nationals and undermining the concept of self-reliance and by your encouragement to the Harijan Baiters, are helping Shrimati Indira Gandhi to come back to power. She is already in power. What a wonderful relationship between the two. You come to power because of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and because of you she comes back to power. This is called the two-Party system. We want none of those things. Therefore, I have already said, I have already indicated, that the future lies not in the bourgeoisie politics, not in the politics of this class, but in the unity of the working class, and I do maintain that the future of India lies in the historical perspective, in the politics of the working class and of no other class. And, Sir, I am sure that the working class today is called upon to fulfil a historic mission, to rally round itself all other democra-

tic classes and forces as the true builders, reliable builders, selfless and fearless builders of national unity and national upsurge which alone will show the way forward and which alone will take this country out of the uncertainty, instability, darkness, fear, apprehension, frustration and disappointment into which Shrimati Indira Gandhi had plunged the country during her time and now these people are carrying forward that tradition. So, Sir, I say: Let us look forward to better days, not in the sense of getting any miracle, but in the sense of seeing our people in all majesty, in majestic, united, militant mass action for taking the destiny of the nation in their hands and, above all, in building up a national alternative of the left and democratic forces. Thank you, Sir.

श्री नगेश्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जैसा कि भूपेश जी ने कहा है, जनता पार्टी की मिडवाइफ इन्दिरा गांधी हो सकती है लेकिन जनता पार्टी का पिता तो स्वयं जनता ही है।

Shrimati Indira Gandhi may be the midwife. But the father of the Janata Party is the Janata itself.

जनता पार्टी को किसी पार्टी या किसी नेता ने नहीं बनाया। जनता पार्टी का स्वयं जनता ने बनाया है। और मैं चाहूंगा कि भूपेश जी मेरी बात सुनें। वह चले जा रहे हैं। भूपेश जी बड़े परेशान हैं मोरार जी भाई के बारे में, बाबू जगजीवन राम जी के बारे में और उन के दिमाग में यह बात है कि जनता पार्टी कोलाबोरेशन है कई पार्टियों का। लेकिन वह सी० पी० आई० के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहें। भूपेश जी को डांगे साहब देखना नहीं चाहें। सारी ताकत लगा रहे हैं भूपेश जी को कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी से बाहर निकालने के लिये। इसी तरह से भूपेश जी अपने दल के अन्दर ऐसी साजिश किये कि डांगे साहब को इस्तीफा दे देना पड़ा। मजबूर हो गये वे इस्तीफा दे

[ श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही ]

कर भाग जाने के लिये। अपने दामन की ओर देखने की कोशिश भूपेश जी क्यों नहीं करते। उन को जो कुछ कहना है वह जनता पार्टी के बारे में कहना है। अपनी पार्टी के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहना है। जनता पार्टी के राज में गोलियां चन रही हैं, अत्याचार हो रहे हैं लेकिन राजन कांड अगर हुआ तो वह सी. पी. आई. के शासन में हुआ। इस देश में किसी पार्टी के शासन में राजन कांड संभव ही नहीं था। राजन कांड होने के दो साल बाद तक उस को छिपा रखा गया। कांग्रेस में एक संजय गांधी हैं और सी. पी. आई. में कई संजय गांधी हैं। कांग्रेस एक तानाशाह और सी. पी. आई. में सभी तानाशाह हैं। कांग्रेस के तानाशाह से तो छुटकारा मिल सकता है मगर भगवान न करे कभी सी. पी. आई. की तानाशाही आ गयी तो देश जहन्नुम को चला जायगा। इसलिये श्रीमन्, चूँकि समय कम है इसलिये मैं एक दो बातें ही कहूंगा। आज का बर्निंग टॉपिक है, जैसा कि भूपेश जी ने कहा, स्टेट आटोनामी का। भूपेश जी ने बड़े जोर से कहा कि मोरारजी देसाई नेशनल डायलाग करने के लिए भी तैयार नहीं हैं। मोरारजी देसाई ने आमंत्रित किया कि जो कोई भी चीफ मिनिस्टर बात करना चाहे, मैं हमेशा बात करने के लिए तैयार हूँ। नेशनल आटोनामी के जोरदार समर्थक शेख अब्दुल्ला साहब गये भी, उनके साथ डेढ़ घंटे तक बातचीत हुई लेकिन स्टेट आटोनामी का जिक्र भी नहीं किया। श्रीमन्, सोचना पड़ेगा कि डायलाग किसके साथ हो। कौन स्टेट आटोनामी की बात कर रहा है। ज्योति बासु साहब कलकत्ता से गये, उनका हवाई जहाज न पटना में रुका न लखनऊ में रुका और सीधे श्रीनगर जाकर रुका और श्रीनगर से वे मद्रास चले गये और कहीं नहीं रुके। हमको देखना पड़ेगा इन लोगों के बारे में जो आज स्टेट आटोनामी की बात कर रहे हैं। बासु साहब 1962 में जब चीन ने इस देश पर हमला किया तो ज्योति बासु साहब और उनकी पार्टी ने यह

फतुवा दिया दुनिया के सामने कि हिन्दुस्तान ने चीन पर हमला किया। तो ज्योति बासु साहब की बात को हम भूल नहीं सकते।

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: You were in league with those people.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : हम इनके विचारों पर जब कभी बात करेंगे तो इनकी बातों को ध्यान में रखेंगे।

स्टेट आटोनामी के सपोटेर शेख अब्दुल्ला साहब जेल से छूटने के बाद पहला मौका मिला चीन के हमले के बाद कैरों में जाकर चाउ-एन-लाई से बात की। क्या बात की, इसका किसी को पता नहीं। जाहिर था कि जिस समय चीन और हिन्दुस्तान के सम्बन्ध बहुत ही खराब थे उस समय क्या बात करने गये थे। वैसे ही बात डी० एम० के० और ए० डी० एम० के० की है जहां से अक्बाज आ रही है स्टेट आटोनामी की। अलग राज्य, अलग देश की मांग करेंगे तो स्टेट आटोनामी के नाम पर नेशनल डायलाग की आड़ में क्या बात करना चाहते हैं, इस पर भी गौर करना पड़ेगा। एक व्यक्ति काश्मीर का शेख बनकर सन्तुष्ट नहीं है, विशाल काश्मीर का सुलतान बनना चाहता है। दूसरा व्यक्ति बैस्ट बंगाल का चीफ मिनिस्टर बनकर सन्तुष्ट नहीं है, वह विशाल बंगाल का स्वप्न देख रहा है और सीधे उसके कम्युनिकेशंस चीन के साथ होते हैं। डी० एम० के० और अक्बा डी० एम० के० इनका तो जन्म ही जिस आधार पर हुआ है, अराष्ट्रीय भावनाओं और अराष्ट्रीय नारों के ऊपर, वह सभी को पता है। जब ये लोग स्टेट आटोनामी की बात करते हैं तो स्वाभाविक है कि लोग सशंकित हों। स्टेट आटोनामी की बात करने वाले लोग अपने यहां जिला परिषदों को अधिकार देने की बात करते हैं लेकिन ग्राम पंचायतों को अधिकार देने की बात नहीं करते। डिस्ट्रिक्ट लाइजेशन आफ पावर की बात करते हैं। मगर जहां उन्हें अधिकार प्राप्त हैं

वहां उन अधिकारों को डिस्टेंडलाइज करने के लिए वह तैयार नहीं होते। दूसरे के अधिकार तो छीनना चाहते हैं, लेकिन अपने अधिकारों को बांटना नहीं चाहते। श्रीमन्, स्टेट अटोनामी की बात के पीछे एक मिसाल है। सेल्स टैक्स की बात आप जानते हैं कि हमने इसको अबोलिश करने की बात कही थी और पूरे देश की जनता चाहती है कि अष्टाचार के महान स्रोत सेल्स टैक्स को अबोलिश किया जाए। आप जानते हैं उसका विरोध कौन कर रहा है? वेस्ट बंगाल के चीफ मिनिस्टर श्री ज्योति बासु इसका विरोध कर रहे हैं। इसका विरोध मद्रास से हो रहा है, इसका विरोध कश्मीर से हो रहा है। क्या राज्यों को ऐसे अधिकार प्रदान किये जाएं, इतने अधिकार प्रदान किये जायें कि कोई राष्ट्रीय नीति चाहे वह आर्थिक मामलों में हो, चाहे किसी भी मामले में हो वह लागू न हो सके। जनता पार्टी इसे अबोलिश करना चाहती है पर करने नहीं दिया जाता। जनता पार्टी ने फैसला किया है कि वह इसको अबोलिश करके रहेगी। इसी कारण विधान सभाओं के चीफ मिनिस्टर इसका विरोध कर रहे हैं। वह यह नहीं चाहते कि राष्ट्रीय कार्यक्रम चल सके, आर्थिक और सामाजिक सुधार हो सके। भाषा के नाम पर दंगे कराये जा रहे हैं, राज्य सरकारें उनको उकसा रही हैं। आप जानते होंगे तमिलनाडु में क्या हुआ। तमिलनाडु में भाषा के नाम पर जिन लोगों ने बैलगाड़ियां जलाईं, स्टेशन फूके, दुकानें लूटी, उन्हीं को डी० एम० के० की सरकार ने पेंशन दी। सेबोटॉज और वायलेंस करने वाले लोगों को पेंशन दी। क्या इसी लिये वे स्टेट अटोनामी की बात करते हैं? भगवान बचाए ऐसी स्टेट अटोनामी से।

अब मैं दूसरी बात की तरफ आता हूँ जिसका जिक्र राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में किया। उन्होंने कहा कि कुछ दल और कुछ व्यक्ति देश में अशांति पैदा करने की तैयारी कर रहे हैं। देश में हिंसा और सेबोटॉज

करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। इसलिये श्रीमन्, मैं आपको एक बात सुनाना चाहता हूँ। लखनऊ के जिम्मेदार अखबार 'द संडे पायनियर' ने लिखा है कि :

"Whatever be the fate of her party in today's assembly elections, Mrs. Indira Gandhi's next move will be to organise as many strikes and bandhs as she can in the next few months, it is learnt. She will now concentrate on the labour front, and her helpers are already busy preparing for strikes in industrial undertakings wherever possible. Since the Congress (I) is proving to be a resourceful party what with a helicopter hired for Mrs. Gandhi's election tour reported at Rs. 4000 per hour, and she stays in posh hotels while away from Delhi.

इसी तरह से मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि 4 दिन पहले यानी 25 तारीख को तमिलनाडु में इन्दिरा कांग्रेस की स्टेट पार्टी की कांग्रेस थी। उसमें श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने यह कहा कि जनता पार्टी दक्षिण में हिन्दी लादना चाहती है। साफ-साफ शब्दों में उन्होंने कहा। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जिनको हम इस बात का श्रेय देते हैं कि उन्होंने कुछ साल पहले इसी तरह की शिकायतों का मुकाबला करने के लिये एंटी नेशनल एक्ट बनाया था। वह ही भाषा के नाम पर, धर्म के नाम पर, मजहब के नाम पर दंगे कराकर अराष्ट्रीय कार्य कर रही हैं। क्यों? क्योंकि गद्दी से अलग हो गई हैं और उस गद्दी को फिर से प्राप्त करने के लिए इतना बड़ा अराष्ट्रीय कार्य कर रही हैं। दक्षिण में जाकर इस तरह का भाषण दे रही हैं कि जनता पार्टी दक्षिण के लोगों पर हिन्दी लादना चाहती है। इसका क्या अजाम होने वाला है, इस पर विचार करने की जरूरत है। अगर ऐसे नेता, उंचे नेता इस तरह की भावनाएं फैलाने लगे तो इस देश का क्या हस्त होगा?

श्री सतपाल मिस्तल : श्री राजनारायण ने लोक सभा में क्या कहा था, उस पर आपका ध्यान नहीं जाता है।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : श्री राजनारायण जी ने लोक सभा में क्या कहा था, यह मैं नहीं जानता । मैं सिर्फ यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में जो संकेत दिया है उसकी पूरी तैयारी हो रही है और उस उद्देश्य के लिए हरिजनों को गुमराह करके, विद्यार्थियों को गुमराह करके, मजदूरों को गुमराह करके देश में अशांति पैदा करने की कोशिश की जा रही है । उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, चूंकि आप कुर्सी पर बैठे हुए हैं, इसलिए एक घटना का जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ । मैं जानता हूँ, आपके साथ भी उसी तरह का व्यवहार हो चुका है । हमने अखबारों में पढ़ा कि आपने जब इन बातों का विरोध करने का प्रयत्न किया तो आपको भी बोलने नहीं दिया गया है । जहाँ पर एक साथी ने कहा था कि राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ के लोगों ने यह सब कुछ बनारस में किया है । मैं बनारस से निकलने वाले एक अखबार की कुछ बात आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ जिसको आप रोज पढ़ते हैं । यह 31 जनवरी, का अखबार है । 30 जनवरी, को पुलिस ने क्या किया . . .

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: What is the name of that newspaper?

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : “आज” । इसमें लिखा है कि पुलिस ने कल सम्पूर्णानन्द संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय छात्रसंघ से संबंध 19 छात्रों को छुआछूत कानून के तहत गिरफ्तार कर लिया । छात्र संघ पर इंदिरा गांधी समर्थक राष्ट्रीय छात्र संगठन का कब्जा है । गिरफ्तार छात्रों में छात्र संघ के अध्यक्ष भुवनेश उपाध्याय और भूतपूर्व अध्यक्ष विजयशंकर पाण्डेय शामिल हैं । ये बातें “आज” अखबार में लिखी हुई हैं । दिल्ली से “नवभारत टाइम्स” जो अखबार निकलता है उसमें लिखा है कि हाल में श्री जगजीवन राम ने विश्वविद्यालय के निकट डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द की मूर्ति का अनावरण किया था, अनावरण के पश्चात् उरी दिन श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी

के नेतृत्व वाली कांग्रेस के कुछ समर्थकों ने मूर्ति को गंगाजल से यह कहते हुए धोया था कि चूंकि श्री जगजीवन राम ने इस मूर्ति को छू लिया है अतः गंगा जल से धोकर इसे पवित्र किया जा रहा है । उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, चूंकि आप वही के रहने वाले हैं, इसलिए इन बातों से भली प्रकार से वाकिफ हैं । आपने इसका विरोध किया तो आपको बोलने भी नहीं दिया गया । इस बात का जिक्र काफी हो चुका है । अलोकतंत्री शक्तियाँ इन सारे कामों के पीछे हैं । अपनी कुर्सी को पुनः प्राप्त करने के लिए किस हद तक आदमी जाने के लिए तैयार है, यह अब किसी से छिपा नहीं रह गया है । ये लोग भाषाई दंगे कराने के लिए तैयार हैं, रेलगाड़ियों उखाड़ने के लिए तैयार हैं और जातीय दंगे कराने के लिए तैयार हैं । यही लोग मजदूरों को गुमराह कर रहे हैं । जिन लोगों ने अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय एक बनाया, आज वे कहते हैं कि मुसलमानों के साथ बड़ा अन्याय हो रहा है । पिछले 30 सालों से अन्याय होता रहा, लेकिन इन लोगों का ध्यान इन बातों की तरफ नहीं गया । देश में प्रजातंत्र का नाम लेकर जीने वाले प्रजातंत्र की जड़ों को ही नष्ट कर रहे हैं । जनता ने एक फैसला दिया और तानाशाही राज को समाप्त कर दिया । लेकिन ये लोग जनता पार्टी के शासन को पांच साल तक भी चलने देने के लिए तैयार नहीं है । देश में हिंसा और सबोटेज का वातावरण बनाया जा रहा है । रेलगाड़ियों को उखाड़ने की कोशिश की जा रही है । श्रीमन्, मैं यह कहते हुए अपना भाषण समाप्त करना चाहता हूँ कि इस विषले वातावरण को बनाने से विरोधी पक्ष का कोई भी हित साधन नहीं होगा । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं प्रस्तावक महोदय के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ ।

श्री विश्वम्भर नाथ पांडे (नाम-निर्देशित): माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जब राष्ट्रपति महोदय के भाषण का प्रस्ताव मेरे माननीय

मित्र भंडारी जी ने प्रस्तुत किया तो मैं देख रहा था कि जिस तरह की दलीलें वे दे रहे थे, वह उसी प्रकार की दलील थी जिस प्रकार एक वकील किसी बैड केम को प्लोडिंग किया करता है। मैंने चाहा कि उसमें से कुछ सार निकले, पर न निकाल सका। उसके समर्थन में प्रो० रामजाल पारीख ने जो कहा, वह वही दोहराया कि जनता पार्टी गांधी जी के आदर्शों के अनुकूल चलने का प्रयत्न कर रही है। बेतुक गांधी जी की समाधि पर जाकर जनता पार्टी ने प्रतिज्ञा की कि वह गांधी जी के सिद्धान्तों के अनुसार चलेगी। क्या सिद्धान्त थे गांधी जी के, मैं जरा चाहूंगा कि उसकी रोगानी में राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण की आलोचना करें।

गांधी जी असल में पहली चीज तो यह कहते हैं और उन्होंने चार्ज किया कि पार्लियामेन्टरी डेमोक्रेसी की बुनियाद पर आधारित शासन करेणन को जन्म देता है, पार्लियामेन्टरी डेमोक्रेसी की बुनियाद पर पार्टी सिस्टम का जन्म होता है और पार्टी सिस्टम का यह बमून है कि एक पार्टी बरसरे इन्तदार शासन में है और दूसरी पार्टी भी यह कोशिश करती है कि उसे हटा कर वह खुद उस आसन पर जा बैठे। अगोजेशन का यह कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि वह बराबर शासक दल के चेहरे को काले से काले रंग से पोतती रहे और फिर खुद उस जाह पर वह बैठ जाय। पार्लियामेन्टरी डेमोक्रेसी यह चाहती है कि जो लोग शासन से अलग हुए हैं, फिर वही काम करे जो पहले विरोधियों ने किया था। तो इन्होंने एक टटन पैदा हो जाती है। इसलिये गांधी जी ने कहा कि पार्लियामेन्टरी डेमोक्रेसी एक उस बैरन ओमन की तरह है, जिससे गरीबों को भनाई नहीं हो सकती। पार्लियामेन्टरी डेमोक्रेसी तिरु 10 फीसदी लोगों को भनाई कर सकती है, 90 फीसदी लोगों को भनाई उतने नहीं हो सकती। उन्होंने कहा था कि Parliaments are talking shops. पार्लियामेन्ट तिरु बातों की दुकान

है, वहां कोई खास बात नहीं होती। हम अगर गांधी जी के रास्ते पर विचार करके चलना चाहते हैं तो पहली चीज यह है कि हमारा देश का जो सिद्धान्त था कि 'संच्छन्नं, संवर्धनम्'। अर्थात् साय साय विचार करो, साय साय बात करो, ऐसी चीज होनी चाहिए थी। जो हमारे देश की संस्कृति है, उसके अनुकूल हो। लेकिन यह नहीं हुआ। गांधी जी ने हमको वर्तित दी मगर फिर भी हम उस रास्ते पर चले गये। उस रास्ते पर जिस रास्ते पर पश्चिमी देश चले। आज पश्चिमी देशों में क्या हो रहा है। इंग्लैंड में क्या हो रहा है, फ्रांस को डेमोक्रेसी में क्या हो रहा है, अमरीकन डेमोक्रेसी का क्या हाल है? उसको अगर आप देखें कि कितना करेणन वहां होता है, किस तरह की उबाड़-मछाड़ वहां होती है। ये सारी चीजें लोगों को अचानकों के जरिये सब मालूम हो चुकी है। इसलिये इस पर मैं ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता। हमने बुनियाद ही गलत रखी है। हम बराबर शिकायत कर रहे हैं कि करेणन है। गांधी जी ने हमको जो रास्ता दिखाया है, हम उस रास्ते से भटक गये हैं और उस रास्ते से भटके के बाद इस तरह की शिकायत करना बेमानी है।

इस सबके बावजूद हमें यह सन्तोष था कि जनता पार्टी ने गांधी जी की समाधि पर प्रतिज्ञा की है कि हम गांधी जी के बताये हुए नक्शे-कदम पर चलेंगे। गांधीजी क्या सोचते थे और क्या नहीं सोचते, जरा इस पर नजर डालिये और फिर सोचिये कि जनता सरकार उस रास्ते पर चली या नहीं। मैं उनको दोष नहीं देना चाहता। क्योंकि मैं समझता हूं यह बुनियादी दोष है, दोष उनका नहीं है। दोष उस सिस्टम का है, जो पार्लियामेन्टरी डेमोक्रेसी के नाम से प्रचलित है। इसलिये किसी को भी दोष देना विन्युत बेकार है। लेकिन प्रश्न यह आता है कि गांधी जी ने क्या कहा था। गांधी जी ने कहा था कि हमारे मित्रों को



[ श्री विश्वम्भर नाथ पाण्डे ]

सादगी से जीवन बिताना चाहिए। क्या जनता पार्टी ने शिकायत नहीं की कि पिछले 30 वर्षों में सरकार ने इस बारे में कुछ नहीं किया और वह गांधी जी के रास्ते पर नहीं चली। ठीक है, जनता पार्टी ने अहद किया कि गांधी जी के रास्ते पर चलेंगे। गांधी जी का पहला सिद्धांत था कि मंत्री को सादगी से रहना चाहिए। उन्होंने कहा था “अगर हमारे सब मंत्री स्वतः सादगी के आदर्श अपना लें तो वे सारी दुनिया का ध्यान आकर्षित कर लेंगे और जनता का भी विश्वास प्राप्त कर लेंगे जिसे न कोई ढिगा सकता है न नष्ट कर सकता है,” इसे मैं कोट करता हूँ “इसके बावजूद गवर्नर और मंत्रियों को रहने के लिए राजसी स्थान चाहिए, बावर्दी खिदमतगार चाहिये। शानदार राजसी भोज और ठाठ-बाट मंत्रियों के जीवन का अंग बन गये हैं। यह सारी बातें मेरी समझ से बाहर हैं। देश के सम्मान को जो बातें धक्का पहुंचाते हैं वे भारत की जनता के लिए खाना, कपड़ा और आवास हैं इसके बजाय, कि सादगी के साथ वे मंत्री और गवर्नर रहें वे अपने चारों ओर फैले गरीबी के वातावरण के विपरीत वे शानदार इमारतों में तड़क भड़क के साथ रहते हैं।”

माननीय उपसभापति जी, क्या जनता पार्टी ने इन सिद्धांतों के अनुकूल आचरण किया? नहीं किया। मंत्रियों को शिकायतें हैं कि उनको छोटे मकान दिये गये, उनको छोटे मकान क्यों मिल रहे हैं। कांग्रेस की हुक्मत में इमरजेंसी के पहले गोलियां चलती थीं, मजदूरों के साथ अन्याय होता था, हरिजनों के साथ अन्याय होता था, तमाम शिकायतें उन्होंने की थीं वे आन्दोलन करते थे। आन्दोलन के बाद जब शासन में आये तो कैफियत यह है। मैंने कोशिश की कि मैं आंकड़े इकट्ठे करूं। रोज़ अखबार लेता हूँ और पढ़ता हूँ और आंकड़े इकट्ठे करता हूँ। जरा देखें। 868 हरिजन नवम्बर के आखीर

तक 11 महीने के अन्दर मारे गये। दंगों में 300 घर जलाये गये। 78 ऐसे मामले अखबारों में रिपोर्ट हुए जिसमें हरिजन महिलाओं के साथ बलात्कार किया गया। श्री चरण सिंह जी कहते हैं कि पहले कहीं इससे ज्यादा अन्याय होते थे। श्री जगजीवन राम जी कहते हैं कि पहले जो रिपोर्ट लिखवाने जाते थे उसमें 100 में से 90 रिपोर्ट लिखी जाती थीं। अब क्या होता है? अब 100 में कि 10 रिपोर्ट लिखी जाती है और 90 सेपाटो नहीं लिखी जाती हैं। अब सवाल यह है कि क्या इन सब चीजों के लिए जनता जात जिम्मेदार है? मैं यह नहीं कहता कि जन हूँ पार्टी जिम्मेदार है। क्या इसके लिए सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है? मैं तो यह कहता हूँ इसके लिए जिम्मेदारी समाज की है। समाज के हृदय में परिवर्तन नहीं आया है। अब आप बनारस की बात ही ले लीजिये। जगजीवन राम से जिस मूर्ति का अनावरण कराया गया था, उस मूर्ति को धो दिया गया। आप उस वक्त को भूल गये हैं जब बनारस में गांधी जी हरिजनों को मन्दिरों में ले जाने के लिये गये थे तो उन पर गोलियां चलाई गई थीं और बम चलाया गया था। मैं तो यह कहता हूँ कि अभी लोगों की आत्मा के भीतर से छूतछात का पाप नहीं निकला है। अगर समाज के हृदय में यह पाप बना रहेगा तो मैं आपको यह बता देना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसी घटनाएं होंगी। मेरी शिकायत किसी व्यक्ति से नहीं है, सरकार से भी नहीं है। मुझे शिकायत समाज से है। क्या हम समाज को बदलने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं? क्या समाज को हम सीधे रास्ते पर लाने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं? मेरा अपना ख्याल है कि हम पार्लियामेन्टरी डेमोक्रेसी के चक्कर में फंसे हुए हैं, पार्टी-बाजी के चक्कर में फंसे हुए हैं, हम एक दूसरे पर आरोप-प्रत्यारोप लगाने के सिवाय और कोई उपाय नहीं देखते। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह तरीका गलत है, यह अप्रोच गलत है। इससे काम नहीं चलेगा।

विद्यार्थियों की समस्याओं के बारे में गांधी जी ने स्पष्ट कहा था। विद्यार्थियों के लिए। राजेन्द्र बाबू बैठे हुए थे। उनकी मृत्यु से पहले उन्होंने कहा अगर इन नौजवानों को ठीक मार्ग दर्शन नहीं दिया गया तो यह नौजवान गलत रास्ते पर चले जायेंगे। उन्होंने कहा कि इसके लिए क्या किया जाये। इसके लिए बड़े नेता जी हैं उनको बाहर रह कर नौजवानों का संगठन करना चाहिए, उनको सरकार में नहीं आना चाहिए। इस काम के लिए कौन से नेता निकले? जयप्रकाश नारायण जी नौजवानों को संगठित करना चाहते थे परन्तु उनका स्वास्थ्य ऐसा नहीं है कि नौजवानों के लिए परिश्रम 4 P.M. कर सकें। जनता पार्टी के कोई भाई या आपके नेता सामने आयें जिन्होंने कहा हो कि हम सरकार को छोड़कर नौजवानों के संगठन का काम करेंगे। सरकार में वे नहीं आयेंगे। माननीय होम मंत्री जी यहां नहीं हैं मैं उनसे कहना चाहता था कि गांधी जी ने एक बात कही थी कि हमें भाषा हिन्दुस्तानी बनानी चाहिए। ऐसी भाषा जो सरल हो हिन्दू और मुसलमान दोनों उसको समझ सकें। हिन्दी और उर्दू दोनों लिपियों में वह लिखी जाय। वे एक ऐसी भाषा को राष्ट्रभाषा बनाने का सपना देखते थे। अगर वह नहीं बनायी गयी तो क्या जनता पार्टी के शासन में आने पर उसका यह कर्तव्य नहीं था कि वह उस रास्ते पर कोई कदम उठाती और गांधी जी का जो आदर्श था वह उसको पूरा करने की कोशिश करती। माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, बात तो जहां तक मैं देखता हूं, वह ऐसी है कि वह उस रास्ते को नहीं अपना रही है। रास्ते के दूसरी तरफ चल रही है। फिर आज इतनी परेशानी क्यों है जनता पार्टी में? शुरू में जब वे आपोजीशन में थे तो कहते थे बैंक कर्मचारियों का, केन्द्रीय एवं रेलवे कर्मचारियों की मांग पूरी हो। इनके लिए वे मांग करते थे, इनकी मांगों का समर्थन करते थे, हड़तालें करते थे

और सब कुछ करते थे। लेकिन जब वे शासन में आये तो वे सारी चीजें भूल गये। जिन चीजों को लेकर इन्होंने उनको उकसाया था जब आज वे अपनी मांगें दोहरा रहे हैं, जोरदार तरीके से कह रहे हैं और याद दिलाना चाहते हैं कि कहां है जार्ज फर्नान्डोज जिन्होंने हमें हड़ताल के लिए राजी किया, इतने दिनों हमारी मांगों के लिए हड़ताल कराई, क्या वे हमारी मांगें भूल गये? जो केन्द्रीय कर्मचारी थे वे आज इनको याद दिला रहे हैं कि उनके वादों का क्या हुआ? क्या इसी के लिए हमसे समर्थन लिया गया, हमसे वोट लिये गये? मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आग सुलगा देना एक बात है और उसके नतीजे से बचना, उसके नतीजे से भागना, उसके नतीजों का फेस नहीं करना उनका मुकाबला न करना, इसका मतलब यही है कि आप आग लगाने में होशियार हैं लेकिन बुझाने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। इसलिए समझना चाहिए कि हमें क्या करना है। आज हमारे भाई जो हमारे दोस्त हैं श्री भूपेश जी वह डेमोक्रेसी की बात कह रहे थे। लेकिन मैं उनको याद दिलाना चाहता हूं कि डेमोक्रेसी के सिलसिले में, जितने हमारे मार्क्ससिस्ट भाई हैं वे जानते होंगे कि खुद लेनिन ने कहा था कि वे स्काउंडल हैं जो इस बात पर विश्वास करते हैं कि पार्लियामेंटरी डेमोक्रेसी के जरिये वे कोई चीज हासिल कर सकते हैं। इसको तो हम अपने टोटल रिवोल्यूशन के लिए इस्तेमाल करते हैं, सर्वहारा वर्ग के क्रान्ति के लिए रास्ता तैयार करने के लिए इस्तेमाल करते हैं। परन्तु आज वह दुहाई देते हैं पार्लियामेंटरी डेमोक्रेसी की। बात यहां स्पष्ट है और वह यह है कि हमें दिशा भ्रम हो गया है इसलिए उस दिशा भ्रम में हम फैसला नहीं कर पा रहे हैं कि हमें कहां जाना है, क्या करना है। यही कारण है कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण लक्षहीन दिशाहीन, प्राणहीन

(श्री विश्वम्भर नाथ पाण्डे)

निर्जीव और निष्प्राण हो गया। अगर उनके सामने लक्ष्य होता तब वे कुछ कहते। यह माना कि साल भर में कुछ नहीं होता लेकिन आप अगर काबा जाना चाहते हैं परन्तु जा रहे हैं तुर्किस्तान तो काबा कभी नहीं मिलेगा। आपने एक कदम बढ़ाया होता, दो कदम बढ़ाये होते चाहे आपको उसमें सफलता मिलती या नहीं मिलती, यह दूसरी बात है। लेकिन इससे हमें यकीन तो होता कि आप सही रास्ते पर जा रहे हैं। आज आप सही रास्ते पर नहीं चल रहे हैं। आप वही जिसको कहते हैं राजनीतिक मक्कारी, उसी रास्ते पर चल रहे हैं और यही कारण है कि लोग आपसे परेशान हैं वे कहते हैं कि इनको शक्य अब सामने आ गयी है। राजनारायण जी ने इसी हाउस में कहा था कि जनता पार्टी एक दुल्हन है इसके चेहरे को आप देखें और अगर यह खूबसूरत लगे तो उससे प्यार करें। लेकिन आज लोग क्या कहते हैं? आज जनता पार्टी की इस दुल्हन के चेहरे को लोग देखते हैं तो कहते हैं यह तो कुरूप दुल्हन है और इसे सुन्दर नहीं कहा जा सकता।

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

आज विधायियों पर, मजदूरों पर गोलियां चली है, लाठियां बरसती है। एक बार नहीं 118 मॉर्चे इन 11 मशिनों में मजदूरों पर गोलियां चलाई ; हमारे विधायियों पर एक-दो बार नहीं 36 बार उनके ऊपर लाठियां और गोलियां बरपायी गयीं। फिर प्रश्न होता है इन प्रस्ताव का उत दिन समर्थन करते हुए प्रो० पारिव ने कहा कि वे गए थे एक बार इंटरैड की पार्लियामेंट में, लंदन में, और वहां लोगों से पूछा गया यहां स्ट्राइक होती है? तो कहां होती है। वह कहे लगे हमारे यहां स्ट्राइक होती है तो उतमें हमको बड़ी परेशानी होती है। तो हम उन से पूछना चाहते हैं कि क्या इंटरैड की स्ट्राइक में गोलियां चलती हैं मजदूरों पर, लाठियां

बरसती है मजदूरों पर? नहीं, मजदूरों पर लाठियां नहीं बरसती, गोलियां नहीं बरसती। यह इसलिए नहीं कि स्ट्राइक एक सोशल प्रॉब्लम रह जाना है लेकिन यहां एक भयानक अत्याचार किया जाता है। तो फिर किस तरह से काम चले? तो मैं आपसे बड़े अइब से माननीय उतसभारति जी, अइब कहां कि जनता पार्टी इन चोख को समझे और जो उतने वायदा किया था गांधी जी की समाधि पर कि उनके पद-विन्हों पर चलेंगे—अभी साल भर बीता है, कोई बात नहीं, वह इन पर विचार करें और विचार करने के बाद वे उत पर चलने का कोई कार्यक्रम बनाएं। आज तो कोई समस्या हल नहीं हो रही है। एक समस्या हल होने को बजाए दसियों समस्याएं पैदा हो रही हैं और यह कह देना कि यह तो इन्दिरा जी लोगों के अंदर भावना उभार रही है, इनसे बढ़ कर एक बेतुनी बात और मूर्खतापूर्ण बात और कोई हो नहीं सकती है। वह परिस्थिति है जो उभार रही है लोगों को, वे जज्बात हैं जो आपने उभारे थे—वह आपके सामने आ रहे हैं। गांधी जी ने स्पष्ट कहा था कि अगर ऐसी सरकार जो दुष्ट सरकार है, जो लोगों की भावनाओं की पर्वाह नहीं करती, तो लोगों को पूरा अधिकार है दो रास्ते चुनने का—एक रास्ता हिंसा का रास्ता है, दूसरा रास्ता अहिंसा का रास्ता है। लेकिन हिंसा के रास्ते वे समस्याएं सुलझेगी नहीं बल्कि लोग बर्बाद हो जाएंगे। एक अहिंसा का रास्ता है जिसमें समस्याएं सुलझ सकती है। आज सरकार को अपनी सरकारों के ऊपर काबू नहीं है, प्रादेशिक सरकारों पर काबू नहीं है इसीलिए प्रधान मंत्री मोरारजी भाई देसाई कहते हैं, सलाह देते हैं हरिजनों को कि तुम सत्याग्रह करो और सत्याग्रह करके अपने अधिकार की मांग करो। यह मैं समझता हूं बहुत ही अच्छी बात मोरारजी भाई ने कही है। जब कांस्टीट्यूशन बन रहा था तो डा० अम्बेडकर ने यह बात कही थी कि पार्लियामेंटरी डेमोक्रेसी के भीतर सत्याग्रह का कोई स्थान

नहीं है। लेकिन मोरारजी भाई ने आज उस चोख को मिटाया और कहा कि सत्याग्रह को स्थान है और अगर आपकी मांगें पूरी नहीं होंगी, आपके ऊपर जुर्म बंद नहीं होते, तो आपको पूरा अधिकार है आप सत्याग्रह करें।

तो प्रधान मंत्री के इस वक्तव्य के बाद अगर मजदूरों में, विशाखा में, महिलाओं में, हरिजनों में, दलित वर्गों में यह भावना उत्पन्न है कि अपने अधिकारों की मांग करने के लिये हम सत्याग्रह करते हैं तो आप मेहर-बानी कर के सोचें उतना इनाज लटो नहीं है उतना इनाज गोती नहीं है, उतना इनाज बताकार नहीं है, उतना इनाज कल नहीं है। उतना इनाज है, उतनी समस्याओं को ध्यान से सुनें, उतनी समस्याओं को हल करने का प्रयत्न करें और इस प्रयत्न में जहाँ कांग्रेस पार्टी ने पहले कहा था, रवतात्मक सहयोग, वह आपको देने को तैयार है, तो उतना अर्थ यही था कि उन समस्याओं की सुनाने में, उन बुनियादी समस्याओं की सुनाने में अगर आप सहयोग लेना चाहते हैं विरोधी दलों का, तो प्रधान मंत्री को आपको सहयोग देने को तैयार है; आप बैठें तो। लेकिन आप बैठने को तैयार नहीं हैं। आप अपने तरीके से सारे काम करना चाहते हैं, वही कूटनीतिक उपायों से। जिस तरह से एक पार्लियामेंटरी डेमोक्रेसी चला करती है उस तरीके से आप उस चीज को क्या हल करना चाहते हैं? मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपको केवल उम्मीदों पर काबू नहीं मिलेगा। आप भटकते जा रहे हैं उस रास्ते से। न आप जनता का दुख दूर कर सकते हैं न आप को स्थायी बना सकते हैं, न समस्याओं को हल कर सकते हैं क्योंकि एक भी समस्या इस देश में, आपके 11 महीने के शासन के भीतर, हल नहीं हुई। आप कहते हैं कि आपने इंडिविजुअल फ्रीडम लोगों को दिला दी। आपको याद है, उत्तर प्रदेश में 9500 आदिमियों को आपने गिरफ्तार किया इस

बात के लिए कि इन्दिरा गांधी की गिरफ्तारी पर प्रोटेस्ट कर रहे थे। आपने बिहार में 10,000 आदिमियों को गिरफ्तार किया क्योंकि हरिजनों के ऊपर अत्याचारों का विरोध कर रहे थे। आप ने मध्य प्रदेश में और दूसरी जगह तमाम लोगों को इंडिविजुअल फ्रीडम मांगने पर गिरफ्तार किया और उन को जेलों में बंद किया। तो यह तरीका नहीं है जो हमें गांधी जी ने बताया था। जब तक हम उन के बताये रास्ते पर नहीं चलेंगे इस देश का कल्याण नहीं होगा। अगर आप पार्लियामेंटरी डेमोक्रेसी के अपने विचार से उस रास्ते को छोड़ना चाहते हैं, अगर आप गांधी जी के बताये रास्ते पर नहीं चलना चाहते हैं तो याद रखिये इस देश में जैसा कि मोरारजी भाई ने भी कहा, यहाँ की जनता सत्याग्रह कर के अत्याचारों को रोक सकती है, बलबे को रोक सकती है, और गांधी जी ने भी आगाह किया था कि बलवा रास्ता नहीं है, हिंसा रास्ता नहीं है समस्याओं को हल करने का, लेकिन लोगों को अपनी समस्याएँ हल करनी हैं और वह अपनी समस्याओं के हल होने के लिये आखिर कब तक प्रतीक्षा करें। उस के लिये आप को जवाब देना होगा, सरकार को जवाब देना होगा, विरोधी दल को जवाब देना होगा, समाज की जवाब देना होगा और देश की आत्मा को जवाब देना होगा। इसलिये मेरा विनम्र निवेदन है कि हम इन बातों पर हम गंभीरता के साथ विचार करें और गंभीरता के साथ विचार करते कोई निराकरण निकालें, कंस्ट्रक्टिव निराकरण निकालें तभी इस देश का कल्याण हो सकता है। धन्यवाद।

SHRI U. R. KRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it gives me great pleasure to participate in this debate on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. I am very glad that the present Government has outlined its policies and the steps they are going to take to implement the promises they had made before coming

[Shri U. R. Krishnan]

to power. But I have to say that in so many respects, the President's Address has not mentioned some of the burning problems. Not a single whisper has been made about the Centre-State relations. The House as well as the present Government knows that there are going to be so many conferences throughout the States on the Centre-State relations. The present Government is also aware that the States are demanding more powers and greater autonomy—and expressly the Southern States are making a demand for more powers in respect of States so that they could function efficiently in a federal structure. It is quite welcome to have more powers given to the States which are the federating units. Only if the States have more powers and sound financial status, the Central Government can function very efficiently.

I have to thank the Prime Minister and other Ministers who visited Tamil Nadu immediately after the cyclone havoc for the immediate help that they have rendered to the victims. Even though the amount of compensation given to Tamil Nadu is very small, we are thankful to the Government for the timely help. The Central Government is also well aware that the Tamil Nadu Government has asked for more and I hope that they will render more help to Tamil Nadu.

Regarding prohibition, I am very proud to say that only in two States in the entire country, there is total prohibition—one is Tamil Nadu and the other is Gujarat from where the Prime Minister hails. However, Tamil Nadu is losing more than 145 crores per annum. There were many requests from the people of Tamil Nadu to compensate the State for this financial loss and I hope the present Government will take that fact into account and give some assistance to the Government of Tamil Nadu.

About the unemployment problem, the present Government have not clearly stated what steps they are go-

ing to take. The House is well aware that this is a burning problem among the educated youth. I would like to mention one fact before this House. Immediately after the power of attestation of passports was given to the Members of Parliament, I used to get 20 to 30 passports for attestation daily—and that too from the educated youth who are in search of jobs. If this trend goes on, our educated youth will be going abroad in large numbers and we will have to face, after twenty or thirty years, the same problem as we are facing in the case of Indians in Sri Lanka, Burma and other countries. After 20 to 30 years, it will be a great problem for us to rehabilitate them, and in this respect also I think the Government will give due consideration.

As regards the educational programme, I would like to express that already the Government of Tamil Nadu has taken steps and are going to implement it to suit the present situation.

Regarding family planning the Government has to be more responsive in implementing their scheme to see that the goal is achieved within a limited time.

On thing which is silent in the President's Address is the language problem. Everybody knows that unless the language problem is solved within a specific and within a limited time it may strain relations between the Centre and the States. Our Government should try to solve the language problem so as not to impose Hindi on non-Hindi States.

Regarding the industrial policy, I am very proud that the Tamil Nadu Government has succeeded in bringing its industry to the comparable standards obtaining elsewhere. It is following the policy laid down by the Central Government. Even in the Budget submitted last week the Tamil Nadu Government has given importance to rural based industries and small scale industries.

I have also to congratulate the Government for appointing the senior-most Judge of the Supreme Court as

the Chief Justice of India. The President's Address has mentioned the appointment of several Commissions and the action being taken by them. But I am sorry to say that in this direction there is no mention about the the Sarkaria Commission against the former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. There was a mass discontent among the people of Tamil Nadu for delaying to take actions against former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu regarding Sarkaria Commission's report. We have one of the eminent lawyer of India as our Law Minister and he can properly guide the government to take immediate action. With these words I conclude my speech.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I thank you very much for calling me. I would not waste your valuable time by way of introduction. Sir, what surprised me, I should say at the very beginning, is a report which says that while addressing the Joint session of the two Houses, the President was compelled to make a commitment that next year he would speak in Hindi. It is said that he said this as a matter of compromise—I do not know whether he was intimidated—and spoke a few words in broken Hindi. This is quite surprising to me. I hail from the State of Kerala where Hindi is being taught for the last 30 years as a compulsory language from the 5th standard. Every student from the 5th standard onwards knows a little bit of Hindi. That is the position. We are not hostile to Hindi. Hindi is acceptable to us. But this kind of bigotry on the part of the so-called pro-Hindi speaking people produces counter-action from the other side. Sir, it is these people who have compelled some people in some areas of South to turn against the *lingua franca*. This may be taken as a word of caution.

I do not want to go into the President's Address nor the election manifesto of the Janata Party nor the Economic Policy Statement of that Party. As a matter of fact, Mr. Advani himself had forgotten his promise to the Members of this House made last year

that every Member of this House will be supplied with a copy of the election manifesto of the Janata Party. When I reminded him a couple of days back, he was kind enough to give me a copy. I had my press clipping all right with me but that was not complete. Going through the Janata Party election manifesto, I want to say that I am now speaking on the *post-mortem* speech of that manifesto because Mr. Advani himself has forgotten the manifesto.

There are certain things said about the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I want to pinpointedly draw the attention of this hon. House to certain problems that have been raised not from this side but from the ruling party side in their election manifesto. Though some of them have been reiterated in the Economic Policy Statement, some have been omitted in the Economic Policy Statement. That is the trick of the trade. The election manifesto mentions certain things and the Economic Policy Statement mentions certain things. The election manifesto says that they will abolish private property. Has anything been done or is there any indication that something will be done in that direction? I am not disappointed because I know what exactly the Janata Party is and what exactly was the inspiration that catapulted the Janata Party into power. They have their belief in everything mediaeval and if mediaevalism is the guiding spirit behind the Janata Party, there need not be any surprise. Unfortunately, when the Prime Minister broadcast his first speech over the radio, he mentioned that he still believes in the trusteeship theory of Mahatma Gandhi. It was an honest statement. But what does it mean? Trusteeship in respect of capitalism means leaving the workers to the tender mercies of the capitalists. Trusteeship in terms of land means leaving the agricultural labourers to the tender mercies of the kulaks and landlords. Nothing more than that. Mahatma Gandhi had said so many things and had written so many things

[Shri K. K. Madhavan]

but to try to reconcile all those things you will find very difficult. Anyway, I do not want to enter into that controversy.

I am coming back to the election manifesto. What they have promised is this:—

"Landlordism will be abolished. Surplus lands and other reclaimed lands will be distributed among the landless, particularly Harijans and Adivasis. They will also be provided the wherewithal effectively to cultivate their holdings."

Something almost near to that has been said in the Economic Policy Statement also. Then they have said something about casteism, untouchability and all that. About the property right they have mentioned at page 10 of the Manifesto: "In order to remove this specious alibi once and for all, the Janata Party will move to delete property from the fundamental rights chapter of the Constitution, leaving it as an ordinary statutory right like any other which may be enforced in a court of law." Here is a glaring contradiction in the promise made saying that they will take away the right to property from the Fundamental Rights, place it in the Statute Book so that it will be enforceable in a court of law. That is the strangest contradiction. Regarding the property right declaration made by this Government, this is a contradiction, I may be permitted to say.

Then, about the Scheduled Castes, untouchability and all that, something has been said in the Janata Party's Election Manifesto at page 22: "The stigma of untouchability must be effaced through legal and educational measures—I emphasise, "legal and educational measures"—and by social action"—I underline "social action" twice. "The carrying of head loads for scavenging will be banned and alternative facilities provided. The Party

will formulate a special programme within the framework of the Five Year Plans—it has yet to come—for the substantial advancement of the scheduled castes and tribes and other backward classes and will provide adequate funds for the purpose. Special machinery will be set up to implement the programme and assure fulfilment of the relevant constitutional guarantees." Then there is a very important sentence which follows. It reads: "Caste distinctions must be ended." But, have they ended the distinctions? Have they made an honest attempt, at least a beginning, towards that end? I hear only of so many Dwivedis, Chaturvedis, Desais, Vermas and all sorts of people. But I do not find an ordinary Indian here. Are you prepared to delete your caste tail from your names? This is an honest appeal in the interest of the country, in the interest of longevity of the nation.

Then the tribal interests have also been referred to in the Manifesto. It is stated: "The land and forest rights of the scheduled tribes will be safeguarded. Forest policies should not be formulated or implemented at the cost of the adivasis. Nor should forest contractors be permitted to exploit these simple people. Forest villages should be converted into revenue villages." I do not know what is the purpose of this conversion to revenue village. "Tribal cultures are part of India's varied heritage and shall be given due protection and every encouragement."

I do not want to read something from the Statement on Economic Policy. All I want to say is this. In the Economic Policy Statement what is stated in para 39 is: "Quality of Human Factor". What is this "human factor"? Towards the close of the para it is stated: "This quality depends upon historical and cultural factors, social environment, quality of health and education as also the kind of leadership provided by the Government." What is the type of leadership provided by the Government?

The leadership provided by the Government is nothing but atrocities on Harijans. Now para 40 of the Janata Party 'Statement on Economic Policy' says:

**"Needs of Change in Mental Attitude"**

The Janata Party will work for a change in such of the values, attitudes and motivations of our people as stand in the way of economic development. Large sections of our society lack the urge to improve their economic condition by their own efforts."

Now I come to the most vital thing. I am sorry I have wasted a lot of time. What are the things that have happened? I read this from the "Times of India" dated January 16:

"Mass rape, arson in Bihar village."

This is about the atrocity committed on the Adivasis of a village called Jamatara, an obscure hamlet 6 km. from Dumka in Bihar.

Earlier we had heard so much about Belchi. But earlier than that there were other incidents. Here are numerous press cuttings which speak in volumes of the atrocities on the Harijans soon after this Government came to power. That is the most significant factor. The time factor is most significant. I want to refer to the recent episode at Varanasi on January 24. Our revered leader, Shri Jagjivan Ram unveiled the statue of no less a person than Dr. Sampurnanand who did not believe in caste, who did not observe or any of the unholy things, and when the nation was getting ready for the celebration of the Republic Day, the statue was washed by certain people. I do not know who they were. The Government may say that they were from the other side, but some other people may say that they were instigated from the top of the Government. I do not want to apportion the blame on any body. But the real fact is that conditions have been created in this country during

the last one year or 11 months wherein these happenings have taken place. That is the most important fact to be looked into.

The other day, the Prime Minister was saying that he was prepared to take up the cause of the Harijans and that he was prepared to join them even in a satyagraha. I appreciate his intentions, honest intentions and *bona-fides* but it is necessary on the part of the Prime Minister of a country like this to say that he will go in for satyagraha rather than implement the law. You should implement the laws in favour of the down-trodden people of the country. I am speaking not for me alone but for the crores of the people inhabiting this country with a heritage of their own.

Thank you.

**श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र (बिहार) :**

श्रीमन्, आज तीन दिनों से राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर सदन में वाद-विवाद चल रहा है। बहुत से हमारे सदस्यगणों ने राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में जिन मुद्दों की चर्चा अभिभाषण में नहीं हुई है उन पर अच्छी बहस की है और आपके माध्यम से राष्ट्रपति जी का ध्यान उन मुद्दों पर आकर्षित करने की कोशिश की है। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि एक दो मुद्दे जो देश की जटिल समस्याएं हैं उन पर राष्ट्रपति जी का ध्यान गम्भीरतापूर्वक नहीं गया है।

यद्यपि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में प्रखण्ड 13 में किसानों की समस्याओं के सिलसिले में सरसरी तौर पर कुछ इशारा किया गया है, लेकिन पूरे अभिभाषण को पढ़ने के बाद ऐसा लगता है कि किसानों की जिन समस्याओं को लेकर जनता पार्टी सत्ता में आई, उस रूल इकनोमी की तरफ, जिस पर हमारे देश की 80 प्रतिशत जनता निर्भर करती है, बहुत कम ध्यान दिया गया है। राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण को पढ़ने के बाद कोई ठोस दिशा-निर्देशन किसानों की समस्याओं को हल करने के बारे में है, ऐसा मेरी समझ



[श्री महेन्द्र मीहन मिश्र]

में नहीं आता। श्रीमन् हमारे सामने सवाल यह है कि सरकार का किसानों की समस्याओं को हल करने के लिये नजरिया क्या है। आप श्रीमन्, देखेंगे कि अगर एक छोटे से कारखाने में भी लेबर ट्रबल हो जाय, आर्थिक परेशानी हो जाय, बिजली मुहैया करने में कमी हो जाय तो सरकार के सारे विभाग के लोग, बिजली विभाग के लोग तथा अन्य लोग इस तरह से तत्पर हो जाते हैं, ताकि वह कारखाना बन्द न हो। परन्तु इस तरह की नीति हमारे 80 प्रतिशत लोगों का जिससे संबंध है, उनके जीवन यापन का संबंध है, उनके साथ नहीं है। चाहे खेत का मालिक हो, चाहे मजदूर हो, खेत में काम करने वाले 80 प्रतिशत लोग हैं, वह उपेक्षित हैं। प्रधान मंत्री महोदय हमेशा चर्चा करते हैं कि देश में उन 80 प्रतिशत लोगों के लिये कोई ठोस कार्यक्रम रखा गया, जिनका जीवन खेती पर आश्रित है। उनकी जो समस्याएँ हैं, उन समस्याओं को दूर करने के लिए जिस तरह से उद्योगों में अधिनियम बनाकर समस्याओं का निदान किया गया है, ऐसा उन लोगों के लिये नहीं किया गया है। उद्योगों की सारी समस्याओं का निदान करके उद्योगों की रक्षा करते हैं। लेकिन किसान भाइयों की ओर कोई भी नजर नहीं डालता। अभी हाल ही में एक महीने पूर्व हमारे गृह मंत्री की जन्म-तिथि पर एक किसान रैली का आयोजन हुआ तो उस समय हम लोगों को एक आशा जगी थी कि किसान, जिनकी संख्या 80 प्रतिशत है और जो खेती में लगा है, उनकी समस्याओं के लिये हमारे गृह मंत्री जागरूक होंगे। लेकिन राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण के बाद ऐसा लगता है कि वह रैली कुछ व्यक्तिगत स्वार्थ की पूर्ति के लिये थी, न कि किसानों की समस्याओं के समाधान के लिये। आप अगर देखें कि हमारे जो किसान हैं, अगर वह 6 महीने हड़ताल कर दें तो हमारी जितनी भी योजनाएँ हैं वे सब खत्म हो जायेंगी, लोग भूखो मर जायेंगे। उन लोगों की तरफ

सरकार का ध्यान नहीं जाता है। उनकी समस्या बीज की है, उनकी समस्या मार्केटिंग की है, उनकी समस्या पानी को मुहैया करने की है, उनकी समस्या बिजली की है, उनकी समस्या लैंड सरचार्ज की है। ये समस्याएँ उनके सामने हैं। उनके पास कोई फाइनेंशियल एजेंसीज नहीं है, जिस तरह की उद्योगों के पास हैं। पिछली सरकार ने बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया। उसका मुख्य मुद्दा यह था कि देहातों में उनको ऋण की सुविधाएँ प्राप्त होंगी। इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर पिछली सरकार ने हमारे सामने रखा था, ताकि किसानों की समस्याओं का निदान हो। सरकार से हमें उम्मीद थी उसका खैया किसानों की तरफ उदार होगा लेकिन श्रीमन्, हम देखते हैं कि इस तरह का खैया सरकार का नहीं हुआ है। श्रीमन्, मैं आपके माध्यम से चाहूंगा प्रधान मंत्री जी भी इस समय यहां मौजूद हैं, जब भी हमारी योजनाएँ बनें तो उसमें इस तरह के प्रावधान रखे जायें ताकि हमारे किसानों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा राहत मिल सके।

श्रीमन्, अब मैं दूसरी समस्या की ओर इशारा करना चाहूंगा। और वह है कानून और व्यवस्था की स्थिति। इस सदन के बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने इसकी चर्चा की है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप कहीं पर भी जाकर देखें और सुनें कि लोगों की भावनाएँ क्या हैं। कोई भी व्यक्ति अपने को सेफ महसूस नहीं करता है। चोरी की घटनाएँ बढ़ रही हैं। मेरे दिल्ली के निवास पर इस महीने के 11-12 की रात को चोरी हो गयी। यह स्थिति है। लॉ एंड आर्डर की यह हालत है, यह तमाम देश में है। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी बहुत जागरूक हैं। वे चाहते भी हैं, हम लोगों को उम्मीद भी है। उनकी नीति भी रही है लेकिन कुछ कठिन समस्याओं के बीच वे पड़े हैं जिससे नहीं हो पा रहा है। इसी तरह मैं श्रमिता बेरोजगारी के संबंध में दो-चार शब्द कहना

चाहता हूँ। दुर्भाग्यवश राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में शिक्षित बेरोजगारी को दूर करने की कोई चर्चा नहीं है। उस सिलसिले में यह देखा गया है कि हमारे जो पब्लिक सेक्टर हैं, चाहे प्राइवेट सेक्टर हों सुन्दर मैनेजमेंट की यहां पर कमी है। हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत से ऐसे केन्द्र हैं जहां से हर साल काफी लड़के शिक्षित होकर टेक्निकल नो-हाऊ लेकर निकलते हैं लेकिन दुर्भाग्यवश बहुत से प्रान्तों में पब्लिक सेक्टर अंडरटेकिंग्स हैं वहां पर उन लोगों का समावेश नहीं होता। मेरा यह निजी अनुभव है बिहार में भी हमने देखा कि हाल ही में दो-चार वर्ष पूर्व एक संस्था खोली गई जिसमें मास्टर आफ बिजनेस एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की पढ़ाई होती है। हर साल 125 लड़के वहां से निकलते हैं। उस प्रांत में भी पब्लिक सेक्टर अंडरटेकिंग्स में 30-32 को नियुक्त करने की गुंजाइश होती है। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी का ध्यान खास कर इन मुद्दों की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। आई० ए० एस० और आई० पी० एस० जैसे आल इंडिया केंद्र हैं उसी तरह मैनेजमेंट का भी एक आल इंडिया केंद्र हो ताकि मैनेजमेंट के शिक्षित लोग इस कांडर में आ सकें और अधिक से अधिक लोगों का पब्लिक सेक्टर अंडरटेकिंग्स में समावेश हो सके।

दूसरी बात आंतरिक सुरक्षा अधिनियम-के संबंध में काफी चर्चा की गई है। अभी बिहार में एक गुंडा एक्ट लाया गया है जिसके अन्तर्गत कलेक्टर और कमिश्नर का निर्णय फाइनल निर्णय माना जाएगा और उसके बाद किसी सिविल कोर्ट में उसको चैलेंज नहीं किया जा सकता उसके पीछे एक नारा दिया जा रहा है कि देश में अराजकता है इससे बचने के लिए यह एक्ट लाया गया है हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने भी इसकी चर्चा की है। देश में अराजकता हो, हम यह बिल्कुल नहीं चाहते। हम अहिंसा के पुजारी हैं हम नहीं चाहते देश में हिंसा का वातावरण हो, हम लोग इसमें विश्वास नहीं करते। लेकिन आज जो,

एक बुनियादी अधिकार है कि हर एक अपनी मांगों को रख सके, हिंसा का रूप दिया जाये इसको अराजकता का रूप दिया तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बात वही होगी जो कभी-कभी हम लोगों पर आरोप लगाया जाता था। जनता पार्टी की घोषणाएं हमेशा धोषणाएं ही रहेंगी। वे यह कहते थे जब हम शासन में आएंगे, इन मुद्दों को हटा लेंगे लेकिन आज करीब एक साल हो रहा है। इन मुद्दों को हटाने की बात तो दूर रही। आज क्रिमिनल प्रोमिजर कोड में प्रिवेंटिव डिटेन्शन एक्ट के अधिनियमों को जोड़ा जा रहा है। हर स्टेट को सुविधा देने जा रहे हैं कि हर एक स्टेट अपने अपने राज्य में मिनी मीसा बना कर के इस तरह का प्रावधान कर सकते हैं। इसलिए जो राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा आंतरिक सुरक्षा कानून का रिव्यू कर के खत्म किया, मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बात सही नहीं है। इसी तरह हमारे जो सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं। उन लोगों का मौलिक अधिकार है कि वे अपनी मांगों के लिए शांतिपूर्वक सत्याग्रह करें। अगर करते हैं तो उन पर बैन लगाया जाता है। उनको भी अपनी चीज को सरकार के समक्ष रखने की गुंजाइश नहीं है, अधिकार नहीं है। इस तरह की व्यवस्था हो रही है। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, as I come from Bengal, I will start with some aspects of the present situation there and in that process I will draw the attention of the Prime Minister to certain developments because this Government also comes into the picture.

The Government, before it came to power, started with killings. Those incidents I narrated in this very House to the Prime Minister. But,

[Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay]

the election dates were announced and so I do not think anything was possible for him to do about it. Then the CPM came to power. They declared that the mistakes they committed in 1969, 1970 and 1971 would not be repeated and they would just carry on the administration for the welfare of the people and not from a partisan point of view. They started well and we from our Party, as we stated in the Parliament, said in the State Assembly that we would extend our co-operation to whatever they do for the good of the people, but oppose and oppose tooth and nail anything that would be detrimental to the interests of the people. So, with that assurance from our side and from the side of the other opposition Parties they started functioning

Then the time came for the cultivation season. We found that the people, mainly the share-croppers who had received land during the Congress regime because they were landless labour, were one by one deprived of their lands. This was done both by the Janata Party members as well as the members of the CPM. The Janata Party did it because they thought that they would get protection from the Centre. The CPM did it to satisfy the hunger of those share-croppers and marginal farmers who belonged to their cadre. There were killings, arson, etc. in many places. We drew the attention of the people towards this. As the PCC President, I personally took a deputation to the Chief Minister and handed over 150 cases with instances where the lowest of the low in the rung of the social structure, the landless, the Scheduled Castes and Harijans were being deprived of their land, and the killings that took place. The Chief Minister came to the Assembly and on the floor of the Assembly he said: 'Yes, there are killings on the paddy fields but not by my Party. If my Party is involved, the victims was not the Congress.' It was very funny. The victim was not the Congress,

but the killing was there. He admits himself. And gradually it went on. But they gave a caution to the Party cadres to go slow. Their strategy was that they did not put up the red banners and they did not clock themselves round their necks as they did last time. But internally, their Party cadres started forcibly taking away the lands and also killings.

I will give a recent example of some gruesome murders that took place. There is a tea garden called the Shambiang Garden in Darjeeling district, Kanngpong Sub-Division, Gora Padan Police Station. 5,000 feet above sea level. It is a small garden. The CPM workers thought that they could hold everything and they started forcibly occupying the Union offices.

They occupied the union offices and other places belonging to the Congress Party. Similarly, in Shambiang, where the Congress is having a very strong Union, in this small garden, they first started intimidating the members of that Union and they wanted to take over the Union. It is a very old Union held by the Congress. They had a rehearsal on the 20th January. Some CPI(M) workers came and mercilessly beat up two people working there and threatened the other saying that the next day they would come and kill the whole batch. On the 25th January, our trade union leaders, numbering five went to the police station at Gorupatan at 7 o'clock in the morning and they entered a case in the diary—I can give you the diary number also—and told the police that they had been threatened and that their lives were in danger and asked them to give them protection. That was their plea. At 11 o'clock, after they came back, only an Assistant Inspector of Police in civil dress—he did not have even the police dress on him; he was not in his uniform—came to visit the garden with only one constable with a bamboo stick in his hands, and he called the trade union people and told them: "Go and

join your duty". Having been persuaded, 23 people came and they said: "How can you protect us? You have come all alone. You don't have your own uniform. How can you, protect us when they come and murder us?" He said: "I am a Government officer. Don't you see? Rest assured. I am saying this". At 11 o'clock, when they were still arguing and when the police officer was persuading them to go and start the work there, they found that about 200 CPI (M) workers, armed with all kinds of weapons they could lay their hands upon, like spears, bows and arrows, small daggers and whatever they could have, with festoons and banners, were coming towards the garden. Then the labourers said: "How can you save us? Look: They are coming.". The officer said: "All right. Let me see.". But, as soon as these people reached that place, this officer fled because he did not know how to protect himself, not to speak of protecting others. Then these people came and surrounded the garden. So, for fear of danger to their lives, these labourers entered the factory and closed the doors and the windows and took shelter there in the factory. When these 200 people came, they tried to set the building on fire. But they could not. Then they tried to break open the windows and hack open the doors and entered the room by jumping into the building from the roof and, Sir, one by one, they butchered six persons; in that room and mercilessly beat up the other persons. So, on the spot, six persons were killed. The other injured persons are in the hospital. Then, there was a drier, a drying machine. The function of the drier machine is to dry the leaves and after the leaves are dried, they make the tea dust or dust tea. So, when they were tired of killing, they put one person inside that machine and put the machine on. The result was that that person was smashed, his body was smashed. Another 17-year old boy, was put inside that machine. Because he was a little bit heavy, his

two legs were outside and they could not crush his whole body. But he was injured and he is still lying in the hospital in a very precarious condition.

For hours and hours—for about four hours—they went on doing it. Three of the five persons who went to the police station were killed on the spot. Three of the sons of the trade union leader were killed inside the factory. The bodies of two other sons had been found later on. So, when this gruesome news came to us, we sent a team of MLAs. Five Congress members went there. They took all the evidences. They went on the spot and came back. Shri K. P. Chhetri an elected Member of Lok Sabha from that constituency, also went there. He also investigated the whole thing. Similarly the local MLA belonging to my party, Mr. Davan Nargolwala, also went there. I sent a telegram to the Prime Minister seeking an interview. Then he was due to visit West Bengal with in a few days of this incident. I asked the Chief Minister of West Bengal three things on behalf of my party: One, an inquiry commission headed by a person of the Judiciary; two, compensation for the lives lost; and three, opening of the tea garden immediately and make all other arrangements. No person was arrested for five days. Then we started protesting. They just went there and arrested about 13 persons. But the main persons who were responsible for this gruesome murder are still at large. They went scot free what prevented the Prime Minister from seeing us, I do not know. On another occasion, I sent a telegram to him, seeking an interview on the Farraka issue. His office was prompt. The next day I got a reply giving us the date and time. This time I also expected that when this gruesome murder took place, as the Prime Minister he should know what is happening within India. May be, West Bengal is a State run by the State Government. I am not raising the whole question of law and order situation in West Bengal, because I do not want this Go-

[Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay]

vernment to come up with an excuse a plea, of escaping the whole thing by saying that law and order situation is a State subject. We are sorry, we cannot do anything. I gave specific instances of this gruesome murder of the tea labourers and sought an interview. When I did not get any reply, I rang up the Chief Secretary to know if they had received any thing and to check up whether it has been misplaced. The Chief Secretary, after enquiry told me: Sorry Madam, there has not been any instruction. Now, what is happening in this country? I want to know this. There has been no word of precaution or cautioning the State Government by the Government of India. The Government of West Bengal concedes our demand of payment of compensation, if lives can be compensated. However, that was one of our demands. But what about a proper inquiry? So many inquiry commissions are going on in this country. Encouraged by this silence by the Government of India, only the other day in my own district there has been a gruesome murder of a share cropper. I have brought a photo along with a mass petition which I will submit to you. This is what is happening. In the name of the Union Government they think that it is beyond their jurisdiction and that they must have good relationship with each State Government. Yes, let the Government have good relationship with each State Government, because otherwise they lose the character of Union Government. But in what manner? Can't they assert their rights? Can't they assert their authority? Can't they even tell the Chief Minister to institute an inquiry? Is it an interference in the working of the State Government?

5 P.M.

I do not understand this. Sir, you know that I also had the privilege of sitting in the Treasury Benches in

my State continuously from 1952 to 1967. When I speak about this, I know the jurisdiction of the Government of a State and the Government of India. Repressions are going on. Atrocities on Harijans and the weaker sections are going on. Now, they can always escape by saying that it is the State Government which is responsible for law and order. Side by side, there is the demand from the Government of West Bengal which took the initiative for asking for more powers for the State Governments. Walls of lanes, by lanes and the main road are full with the slogans: 'Give more powers to the State. Central Government does not have to enjoy so much power. We also know what are the powers that the State Government enjoys and what are the powers that the Government of India enjoys. When they are considering the Constitution of India, they may re-examine it. But that should not stand in the way of the development of the country and the States. Only one thing that the Government of India never gives to the State Governments is licensing policy of giving licenses and examining the question of licences. Only this much. Otherwise, the Railway cannot be handed over to the States. The Communications cannot be handed over to the State Governments. Military also cannot be handed over to the States. The Chief Secretary of the State Government has to write for the help of military if they want the military help. So, what is this slogan? What does it mean really? It is to divert the attention of the people from the main issues. Our party gave its election manifesto before they stood for elections. Are they being implemented? Let the Government of India implement the manifesto given to the people before the elections by the Janata Party. Let the State Government implement the manifesto given to the people. This issue may be re-examined. I do not mind. During the time of Dr. B. C. Roy beginning from 1950, 1951 and 1952 till the Government of West Bengal was in the hands of the Congress, we always

wanted larger share in each Finance Commission. Our memorandum carried only this point. Give us larger share. That is one thing that any State Government can want. But to camouflage the whole thing in the name of powers to the State and to create a bitter relationship between the Centre and the State is not a good thing for the people of India. Even then, we do not think that the Janata Party is speaking on the subject with one voice. Some of the Ministers say: "Yes, it needs further study. It can be given." Some Ministers say: "No, no, you will make the Centre a weak Centre. They have no policy. They have no directions. Even on that vital subject, we do not find the Janata Party and the Janata Party Government going in the same direction. (*Time bell rings*). In West Bengal and in other States, we want the Centre to be strong. We are not in power today. But we are the citizens of India. We want a strong Centre. But it does not mean that no more powers can be given in the hands of the States and they will not re-examine the issue. When they are opening up chapters after chapters of the Constitution, they can also examine this issue. But to avoid any vital problem will create more misunderstanding in this country. Look at the results that are coming today from different States. Speaking for myself and my colleagues. I can say that we are not led by one blow of wind to one side and by another wave to the other side. We stand for certain principles. Whether we win or we lose, we stick to them. Sir, the Janata Party in every State is not a homogeneous party. The Janata Party Ministries speak in different voices. Sir, there is a Minister of the Cabinet rank in the Janata Government who admits that he is responsible for so many sabotage incidents in the Railways. He is still in the Cabinet. Why do you blame our children for playing with fish-plates? Well, you are harbouring a Minister and I have no personal grudge against any Minister. But look at this. A person who is proud

to announce that he is responsible for all this and his union is responsible for all this, is still sitting in the Ministry Sir,.....

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS  
(PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE):  
Where is the contradiction?

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: You have enough time to contradict me and contradict the people.

So, Sir, at that time, the wave was in favour of us. This time, in the Lok Sabha poll, the wave was in favour of the Janata Party. But their failure in implementing or even attempting to implement the policies will take this country to chaos and more chaos.

With this warning, Sir, I conclude my speech.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I must apologise for my inability to remain present throughout the debate and have the benefit of hearing what the hon. Members said about the Presidential Address. Even so I was here during the last one hour and I heard a few hon. Members' views and criticism on the Presidential Address. I have also gone through the reports of what has been said so far. What has been said now, I find, is typical of the general criticism that has been made.

I will start with the criticism about the imposition of Hindi when it was said that the President should not be compelled to read out the Address in Hindi. The President was not compelled and will not be compelled. There is no question of compelling the President to speak in Hindi. If the President is able to speak in Hindi, then he will speak in Hindi. But that is not compulsion. And then again it is said that the President need not speak in Hindi. This would be going in the opposite direction. I do not

[Shri Morarji R. Desai]

know why this is said. But more than that, a fantastic statement has been made that the Government has been spending Rs. 100 crores every year on the propagation of Hindi. I do not understand from where the hon. Member got this figure. What is spent on the propagation of Hindi is Rs. 5.15 crores, one-twentieth of what was said. Out of that Rs. 2 crores are given to the States for this purpose and the rest is spent on the Central Translation Bureau, the Official Language Committees, Hindi Sections of the Ministry of Education and expenditure on Hindi relating to Foreign Affairs and grants to non-official organisations. It will, therefore, be seen that there is no question of spending Rs. 100 crores on the propagation of Hindi. The policy of Government is very clear, namely, that there is no question of thrusting Hindi on anybody. But the fact is that the Constitution has recognised Hindi as the official language; at the same time, English is to continue to be used until all the States accept it. That is the present position and that position is not sought to be changed. I have no doubt that the compulsion of patriotism itself will convince all States that it will be in the interests of the country to have Hindi as the official language. It is forgotten that English is not one of the languages in the Schedule. That also is very significant and I am not responsible for it. This was unanimous and all the founding fathers of the Constitution did this. It was done unanimously. Therefore, that significance must also be taken into account.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, on a point of order, Sir. The Prime Minister has said that there is a constitutional provision for the English to continue as far as the people require it or want it. At the moment there is no constitutional provision. I have only demanded that such a provision should be in our Constitution.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I never said that there is a constitutional provision to continue it as long as they demand it. This is the policy of the Government, I said. Therefore, that must be clearly understood and I am not going to make any constitutional provisions, as suggested. That is the policy. I do not know why that is asked for.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: The people of non-Hindi areas will require a constitutional provision and they shall have it if the unity of this country has to be achieved.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: We shall not have it. Loud voice does not make a thing more emphatic. That must be understood. On the contrary, that shows loss of confidence and less of conviction.

Then, much was said about the Centre-State relations and a dialogue at the national level which has been started by the Chief Minister of West Bengal. What I have said and said as a result of experience that I have had for many years past is that the Constitution has been framed by the fathers of the Constitution in a very able, understanding manner considering the needs of the country as a whole and also the needs of the States. The division of powers between the two—I think, is very appropriate and these powers of the States will not be affected in any way. That is what I have said very clearly. It is not that we want only the Centre to be strong and the States to be weak. No. We want both the Centre and the States to be strong. If the States are not strong, the Centre will not be strong. If the Centre is weak and not strong enough, this country will not be able to hold together.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Tamil Nadu): Why not we have a dialogue on this question?

(Interruptions).

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I am prepared to discuss with anybody who

wants to discuss with me. I have said it that I will discuss it with him too. But I am not going to call a conference and I am not going to attend a conference, let that be understood. That is not possible. Why should I? Because somebody wants a conference, that does not mean that I should attend that conference... (*Interruptions*) Now, that dialogue need not be started here. In any case, it is not necessary to do that. But I am only making myself clear in this matter. I am saying that I am prepared to discuss with whosoever wants to discuss it with me, not once but as many times as they want to discuss, so that either they get convinced or they convince me. This can go on. Until I am convinced, I cannot accept their stand. That is what I have been saying all the time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am very sorry that you are taking this attitude.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I am not saying I am sorry for what you said; I only say it is unfortunate.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: That is equally unfortunate.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Then the question comes of law and order about which it has been said that the law and order position has deteriorated and the deterioration is unprecedented. If they had said that the law and order position has not much improved, I would not have a quarrel with them, but when they say it has deteriorated, I would say that this is only a political argument without any basis...

AN HON. MEMBER: No, no. That is not so.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: That can always be said, but at least I am also entitled to say what I say from facts and figures. It is said from the fact that there are more strikes and more of student trouble now. It is forgotten that in 1975-76, this was all bottled up and nobody could say

anything, and that bottling up had a reaction as soon as the freedom was restored. It is nobody's argument that the freedom should not be restored; it is nobody's argument that emergency should be there and we should govern through emergency only in order to keep law and order properly. That would be a disastrous attitude. Therefore, there is no question of bringing in emergency like that for that purpose. The law and order position is being attended to and by and large, it is not worse than before. At least that is what the figures show. But what the more pertinent thing is, the Government was breaking the laws and doing all kinds of unlawful things before, during those two years, which is not now done by the Government at all. Not only that, but we are trying to see that if there is any wrong action on the part of the Government, we would immediately enquire into and take action. We are also improving the law and order position; but the Government of India has a very limited function in it. It is a State subject, and not a Central subject. Of course, when they refer to Delhi the Centre is certainly concerned with it. The Centre is also responsible for it. I cannot, therefore, say that that is not the Government of India's responsibility.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: What about the States run by your own party?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: After all, when they want the States to be independent, that is, to exercise their powers independently without interference from the Centre, they want a double standard from me for the States which are governed by my party and for the States which are governed by other parties. Is that a democratic thing? Let my hon. friend think of his own State. What is happening there? Commissions have to be appointed there for what has been done, that is, the State of Kerala from where my hon. friend comes. Therefore, I see things like that and I am



[Shri Morarji R. Desai]

not sitting in judgment either. I am only saying that law and order situation must go on improving. There will never be a day when no crime will be committed whatsoever. I do not think that can happen within living memory because human nature is not going to be perfect. We must go on reducing crime to the minimum and constantly go on doing that. This is the attempt which this Government is making. The working of the police has been so distorted and wrog that it takes time to improve it. It is not the fault of those who are there. It is the fault of what was done in the past. But now, that has got to be undone and changed and we are trying to do it. It cannot be made merely by force or by another law. It can be done only by proper education, by proper execution of laws and efficient working of the Government machinery as well as the co-operation of the people. That is how it has got to be achieved. I do feel that steps taken to that effect will show results gradually as the country will see.

Now, something was said about what was happening in West Bengal, about law and order. I cannot sit in judgment on that now, nor I am going to give any opinion about it, without going into all the facts and be convinced about it. But whenever instances come to my notice of a dis-order of some sort, I do bring it to the notice of the Chief Ministers concerned and they also reply to me. I would not say that they do not reply to me. But they have different versions to make and, therefore, one has to go further into it. It is also a question of persuading them to see this viewpoint and not forcing them to do anything which I cannot do. Of course, if a condition arises in any State where it totally fails and there is anarchy, this Government certainly steps in. But it steps in only to see that the people have a new chance to have their own representatives elected again. Only for the purpose of election, the Central Government will

interfere, but not for imposing President's Rule. That is the policy of this Government.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADH-YAY: Mr. Deputy Chairman, may I interrupt the Prime Minister for a moment? We never suggested President's Rule. You might have got two versions. That is why we demanded an enquiry commission. The Prime Minister perhaps knows that in Assam and in the elections in the eastern region, the C.P.I. (M) and the Janata Party went together and the C.P.I.(M) assured that if they are elected, they will allow the Janata Party and help the Janata Party to form a Government. Is that one of the considerations for not instituting or asking for institution of an enquiry?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I do not understand what the hon. Member wants me to say about. In Assam, there has been no understanding between the C.P.I.(M) and the Janata Party.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADH-YAY: I was there for a fortnight.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Therefore what? Among political parties, there may be some election adjustments. That does not mean that there is a coalition between the two or that there is an agreement between the two on everything. It does not mean that at all. In this case, there was no adjustment either. But in some States, there were.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I would like to point out to the lady Member that as far as our Party is concerned, our party's declaration of support to the Janata Party to form a Government in case the need arises is a unilateral decision. It was a declaration made by us.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADH-YAY: Sir, will you allow me to reply to the hon. Member?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I do not want my hon. friends to get into a discussion now. Otherwise, I will be left with little time to say what I have to say. Therefore, I think, they should discuss it amongst themselves. I do not want to get involved into it.

I do not think my hon. friends are novices in politics. They should not forget what they had done in the past. Let them remember that. They need not tell me anything about it. About atrocities on Harijans, I hope and trust my hon. friends do not make it a party question.

AN HON. MEMBER: Nobody is making.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: You must treat it as a national question and see that all these things stop as quickly as possible, wherever they are happening. I cannot say that atrocities have not taken place but there are cases, may be between Harijans and Harijans and between Adivasis and Adivasis, and still it is said as if atrocities are being committed by some other people. That also is not correct. Formerly, these things were not being given prominence, in the press for two years, but now, of course, it happens with great prominence. I do not object to that prominence being given to this but giving it a wrong angle is certainly dangerous. I would certainly like that this should be published properly so that we also know how we control the situation. Therefore, this publication is necessary. And I would like to see that we reach a day soon when no such thing takes place and untouchability disappears entirely and becomes a thing of the past. We also want to see that the Adivasis and the weaker sections of the people ....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I invite the attention of the people here that on the 24th of November in the Madhya Pradesh Assembly the Minister himself admitted that between March and November last year 105

Harijans were murdered in Madhya Pradesh?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I have already written to the Chief Minister about it and I have asked to know the facts. (*Interruptions*). Thousands? I do not know whether my hon. friend knows what thousands and hundreds mean. If this is the way the figures are to be given, who is going to believe them?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What about 105 murders in a few months?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I have already said that. If my hon. friend does not want to hear what can I do? I have already said that I have written to the Chief Minister. As soon as I read it in the newspapers I wrote to the Chief Minister about this to know what facts are, so that I can say something about it. I have written to all the Chief Ministers. I am writing every time anything comes to my notice and I am trying to see that all those people who are concerned with these things are brought to book quickly and are properly dealt with, so that it becomes a deterrent to such incidents in future. But that is one aspect of the case. We have got to go further into it and also take measures to strengthen these people, so that it is not possible for others to do anything like that to them. That is also a direction in which we are taking steps. It is for that purpose that I have said that if Harijans are oppressed somewhere and they are going to do Satyagraha, I am prepared to strengthen them by joining it. That is the meaning of it, not the meaning that I want to make some demonstration like that. The spirit of it ought to be understood, and if the hon. Member wants to criticize me for that purpose I have no quarrel and I have no objection to it.

Coming to the question of the Minorities Commission, it was said that it has no confidence of minorities. Does the hon. Member who spoke represent all the minorities or even his own minority? Who can claim that? And

[Shri Morarji R. Desai]

what is the use of saying that it does not have the confidence of minorities? It has not yet begun its work. Before that if you say that, what is the meaning of it? Therefore, if that is the attitude taken up, then it will be very difficult for anybody to work properly, for such a Commission also to function properly. Therefore, I will beg to my friends to see that such criticism are not made only to throw some stones at us. They can throw as many stones against us but not against the work that is being done for the people who want to be helped. The Minorities Commission has been put up very properly and the Chairman is also an able person, well known. If they say that he is a capitalist, he was also a socialist. Where is the question of being a capitalist? And I do not know whether some of my socialist friends or some of my communist friends are not connected with some of them. I know some of them are. Therefore, what is the use of saying capitalists one way and capitalists another way. That is not the right way of discussing anybody.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: There is a word of secularism and not socialism.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Then it is asked if we will stick to secularism. We will certainly. There is no question of not sticking to secularism. But secularism means respect for all religions. It does not mean want of spiritualism altogether, as the English definition says. It means respect for all religions. And I would go as far as to say that if somebody does not believe in religion and calls himself an atheist honestly, I would also have full respect for him. It is not a question that one should have respect for a person who believes as you believe. One should respect all beliefs. That is the spirit of India. It is nothing new; it is there for thousands of years. But we have heard about it many times. That is our frailty, but not the frailty of the culture, or the

frailty of the philosophy. We have to be equal to it and see that we carry it out properly in the spirit of our culture and that is what we are seeking to do.

Then, it was said about MISA that we are not abolishing it. We are abolishing it. We have said that. Then some thing was said by my hon'ble friend opposite that the President said last year about economic offences also and that is omitted this time. Therefore, we seem to be neglecting economic offences. That is not true.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The two statements are there.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Those statements should be read properly. It does not mean that the same words should be lifted. It means very clearly . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Please credit me with some knowledge of English.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I do credit you with more knowledge of English.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I respect your knowledge of English. Please read these two statements.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I readily accept the greater knowledge of my hon. friend because he was educated in England and I was not. But I do not expect him to be objective and impartial. That is where the meaning becomes different. Now he can say that I am not objective. I cannot say that I am completely objective. Nobody can be completely objective. That I grant, but some are more; some are less. What we are doing . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I can understand it. Last year, that was your stand. Today you have changed.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: No, we have said the same thing—that we are examining the laws. We had said

there that we were examining the laws to see how best these offences can be stopped. That is what we had said and that is what we are doing now. We are not trying to curb any political work of political party. That is not what we want to do. But if there is violence—and there are indications of it in several places; then we have to take preventive action. If we do not do that, then we will not be doing our duty. And, therefore, we want proper safeguards which nobody can doubt. Preventive detention will be for a shorter period and not for longer than a year. That is what is said... (Interruption)... Well, that is not the point here for discussion. Therefore, I am only mentioning the points.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: President is being misused.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Then the question of Urdu was raised and it was alleged that I got angry, that I said in anger that Urdu was the cause of India's partition. Now I do not know how he said that. The hon'ble Member must not have been present there; otherwise he could never have said that. It is something fantastic. When they said that Urdu was being neglected by the Government of India, then I gave them the history.

SHRI MOHAMMAD YUNUS SALEEM (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, on a point of order. I was myself present in that assembly where the learned Prime Minister expressed his views. If the tone in which he spoke did not demonstrate his anger. I don't know what else.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Now he refers to the tone. Now he refers to my tone. He will say that even now I am angry. That is what he will say. It is not a question of being angry at all. It is a question of seriousness. If my hon. friend cannot see any difference between seriousness

and anger what can I do? I cannot help it.

SHRI MOHAMMAD YUNUS SALEEM: That was the feeling of everybody.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I know I have crossed sword with my hon. friend many a time. And that is why I am not surprised at what he says. What I had said was that if Urdu has become weaker today it is more because the Muslim League, which was responsible for the partition of the country, considered and propagated that Urdu is the language of the Muslims. That created a reaction and that reaction injured it. I am not interested in keeping it weak or injuring it. I am interested in seeing that it receives support. But when it is said that I should introduce it as a second language in U.P. or Bihar it is not possible for me to do so. Under the Constitution it is for consideration of the States. I also said that if the States adopt it, I shall be happy. On the one hand they say that Centre-State relations should be proper so that the States are strong and on the other hand they expect me to interfere with them at every stage. Where will this attitude take us? So on the question of Urdu that is the attitude of this Government. I have the highest respect for Urdu which belongs to India.

Another question raised was about prices. Now they are seeing that the prices are getting under control. They have also seen that the prices are no higher than what they were in March last. That is not a small achievement against heavy odds. Then it is argued that extra money supply is not tenable. I agree. I have said that many a time. We are trying to see that we do not take to the strategem of excess money sup-

[Shri Morarji R. Desai]

ply. We will devise proper methods to see that no inflationary trends affect the level of prices and no inflationary use is made of supply of money. Nor do we want deficit financing to continue for long. We want to stop it. But immediately to stop it becomes a very difficult proposition on account of the manner in which the whole economy has been kept in a muddled position, if I may say so. That is where the whole difficulty lies. It may be that those who were responsible for it thought that they were doing good to it. I do not doubt their *bona fides*. But the result has been that the whole economic condition is in a difficult position. Therefore, we have to rescue it from that position. On the one side we have to see that development goes ahead in the rural areas and also in heavy industries, in agriculture, education and in all other fields. On the other side, the resources have been so muddled up that it becomes difficult to increase them. We have to find out a way and that is what we are engaged in doing at present.

Strangely, a reference was made to the working of the Shah Commission, that reputation of persons appearing before the Shah Commission is not safe. What am I to do about it? If they appear before the Shah Commission and if their statements are published and if those statements take away their reputation, is anybody else responsible for it?

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: On a point of information. It was reported in the press that a running commentary is being made by the presiding officer of the Shah Commission.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Well, I am not going to sit in judgement over what Justice Shah does in the Commission. I have no business to tell him to do anything. But I do not see that there has been any unju-

dicious behaviour in any way. He has been a man of the highest judicial integrity and independence, one who is not cowed down by anybody in the whole world. That is his integrity. That is his courage and I respect it and value it. Therefore, he was appointed the head of the Commission.

But if things are being exposed and they become inconvenient, why blame him, I cannot understand. Let those who go before him behave properly. If they do not behave properly, then what....

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA (Gujarat): His integrity was doubted by your colleague, Mr. Fernandes and others.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Well, they were obviously wrong at that time. That is all that I can say. Now they do not say anything . . . (Interruptions) . . . And then it is said even lawyers appearing before it are threatened with prosecution. Now I don't think that Justice Shah will do anything which is against the law or improper or out of vindictiveness. As far as I have read, he has said that there is no question of taking sides; he will see what the truth is; that is all that he is finding out and nothing else. Well, I do not see how he can in any way be charged like this. I cannot understand it.

The question of family planning certainly is important. It is true, there was some adverse reaction to family planning in the last year because of the terrible excesses committed during the Emergency period, but now we are trying to get it over persuading the people to see that it is in their own interests to see that the size of their families is limited, and I do not think there should be any people who would not be persuaded in this matter when properly approached and this is on which we are now concentrating our attention upon. At the same time....

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND (Punjab): But your Minister says that he hates the words "Family Planning"

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: He does not hate the words "Family Planning". He wants to make it more effective according to his definition of it. We have accepted it also. It is the definition of the Ministry.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV (Uttar Pradesh): Let us know what is the result of this effectiveness.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Did you ask your Health Minister who he meant the author was when he said he has read "Hilton, Milton and Shakespeare"? Who is that Hilton?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: You better ask him, why ask me. I was not present when he said that. Therefore, I cannot say anything about it. You can ask him... (Interruption)... Well, if that way everybody is to be asked about what he said, I do not know where my hon. friend also will be. He can also be asked about many things which he says.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He might have said....

(Interruption)

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: One must not be one's own law.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: On a point of information. This paper was not with me when the hon. Prime Minister was making the statement questioning the validity of the figures I gave. In the Lok Sabha, the Times of India of the 23rd . . .

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I do not yield ground; I do not think you can say it.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Uttar Pradesh reported the maximum number of 1,382 in three months, from October to December, 1977. This was reported to the Lok Sabha by Mr. Dhanik Lal Mandal.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Papers write many things. Papers also wrote that Mr. Palkhivala was going to become and Chief Justice of Supreme Court.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): It is not the paper. It is the Minister's statement in the Lok Sabha.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Some of the papers wrote that Mr. Palkhivala was going to be the Chief Justice of Supreme Court. Then another time he was made Finance Minister also. There are many such things stated by some of these papers. Therefore, one cannot take such statements in one's support.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: This is not a paper report. The hon. Member is quoting a statement made by your Minister in the Lok Sabha.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: If my hon. friends do not want me to say anything, I will sit down but this is not the way to hear it. And this was not done to them when they were saying all kinds of things. This is not the way to deal with the debate and it is possible that it is not convincing to them. That I can understand. But that does not mean that I should not be allowed to say what I have to say. But this is what is happening. If at every stage there is interruption like that, what can I say? I know what he says when he is interrupted—not even interrupted, only when I make some point; even then he says so; I do not say anything. But he is incorrigible in this matter. He is a lawyer.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, Sir. I am incorrigible. I have to be incorrigible because of the way you treat us.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I am glad that he accepts that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, I am incorrigible and I will continue

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

to be so. I will continue to be so because you are investigating into the JNU trouble . . .

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: This is again taking law into his own hands.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Witch-hunting is going on there... (*Interruptions*) And we are incorrigible, and not you!

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. Order please.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: He can do all sorts of things.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You can talk in that language... (*Interruptions*). I would say that you are incorrigible. Sir, if he uses such language, I will hit back. If he is incorrigible, he is a danger to the country. If I am incorrigible, you lose very little. You should realise, Mr. Morarji Desai, that we are not children. We have also grown in politics; you have grown in politics. We have differences—only differences. Don't try to use such words as 'incorrigible'. I would say that you are a hundred times more incorrigible than I am.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: All right. My hon. friends now will realise... (*Interruptions*). Let my hon. friends realise that when they say something like this, others also can feel offended; but I do not say anything. When I say that he is incorrigible, I am not saying something which he has not accepted. Why does he want...

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I did not utter a single word and say that Mr. Morarji Desai is incorrigible. I questioned the Government's policy brought things to their notice. It is you, Mr. Morarji Desai, who are incorrigible. Such an attitude we shall never tolerate.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Don't tolerate.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You may be the Prime Minister of the country, but we have also our self-respect.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Who says: No? But, how am I going to tolerate? But I am tolerating it, and I will, because I am non-violence and he is not. That is the difference between us... (*Interruptions*). Let them qualify before they understand Mahatma Gandhi. Even to understand Mahatma Gandhi, let him qualify. Then I will talk with him.

Then it is said that Mahatma Gandhi's name is misused by the Janata Party. In what way do we misuse his name? We are not quoting him in order to justify ourselves. On the contrary, we say that we want to follow his line of action, his methods, and what he has taught us. That is what we are trying to follow. If we fail, it will be our fault. But that does not mean that we are trying to take shelter behind him. That is very wrong to make such an accusation. I do not know why that is done. But when there is nothing else to say what else can be said? That is how all such criticisms are made. Well, I have no objection nor any quarrel with it. But then, if I explain these things, why should there be any objection to it? If they cannot agree with me, let them not agree with me. But then if I do not agree with them, should I also do the same thing with them, when they speak? How will we carry on a debate in this House, I do not know. That is what I am pleading all the while. It is not that I want to do anything. How can I? But am I also not entitled to plead with them that this is not the way to carry on? We must observe the rules of the House. But sometimes they are not observed. And therefore we get into difficulties. Now, where am I to complain against it? I am only pleading about it with my hon. friends, that this is what we have got to see, that is how in debates we can come to more useful conclusions and we can do things much better, which may be even of common benefit,

of common understanding, in which both of us can agree. In what we do not agree, we can differ. We can agree to differ—that also we can do—and we can go our own ways, in a friendly way. But, why take up the kind of attitude that is being taken to make allegations in the manner they are doing? This is what I am not able to understand. But I think it will take some time before we are able to wipe out our habits of the past. I thank all the hon. Members for all the frankness with which they spoke. I wish the frankness were accompanied by more facts and less vehemence. Thank you very much.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now I shall first put the amendments to vote please. Amendment Nos. 1 to 132, 152 to 184 and 204 to 206 are in the name of Shri Sanat Kumar Raha.

*\*Amendment Nos. 1 to 132, 152 to 184 and 204 to 206 were negatived.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos. 145 to 148 are in the name of Shrimati Hamida Habibullah.

*\*Amendment Nos. 145 to 148 were negatived.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos. 185 to 195 are in the name of Shri Ramanand Yadav.

*\*Amendment Nos. 185 to 195 were negatived.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment No. 200 is in the name of Shri Triloki Singh.

*\*Amendment No. 200 was negatived.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos. 207 to 235 are in the name of Shri Ananda Pathak.

*Amendment Nos. 207 to 235 were negatived.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos. 236 to 247 are in the name of Shri Bishambhar Nath Pande.

*\*Amendment Nos. 236 to 247 were negatived.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos. 248 to 262 are in the name of Prof. D. P. Chattopadhyaya.

*Amendment Nos. 248 to 262 were negatived.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now I shall put the Motion to vote.

The question is:

“That an address be presented to the President in the following terms:—

“That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 20th February, 1978.”

*The motion was adopted.*

श्री उपसभापति : अब सदन की कार्यवाही कल प्रातः 11 बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है ।

The House then adjourned at fifty-two minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 28th February, 1978.