

(Shri H. S. Narasiah)

श्री उपसभापति : सदन की कार्यवाही
2 बजे तक के लिये स्थगित की जाती है ।

The House adjourned for lunch
at seven minutes past one of the
clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at
five minutes past two of the clock.
Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

**MOTION OF THANKS ON THE
ADDRESS BY THE VICE-PRESI-
DENT ACTING AS PRESIDENT—
contd.**

SHRI H. S. NARASIAH (Karnataka) :
Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, while asso-
ciating myself with the noble sentiments
expressed in the Address delivered by the
Vice-President acting as the President
about our late lamented President, Shri
Fakhuruddin Ali Ahmed, and also wel-
coming his assurance that his Government
will honour all the commitments made by
the previous Government in the realm of
external affairs, I deeply regret to
state that the Address has failed
completely to make any reference
whatsoever to some of the solid and sub-
stantial gains achieved by the Indian people,
their elected representatives and their
Government in the last few years, in the
fields of discipline, agricultural production,
industrial growth, inflationary curtailment
and accumulation of foreign exchange.

Sir, while the present Government had
found sufficient time to enumerate and
catalogue some of the aspects of the pre-
vious administration, which it character-
ised as 'executive arbitrariness', 'emer-
gence of personality cult', 'extra-consti-
tutional centres of power', and 'traumatic
experience' during which many atrocities
were said to have been committed on the
people of India, it should have in fairness,
in my opinion, also found sufficient time
to see the good aspects of the same period.
The excuse of the Mover of the Resolu-

tion and the Seconder that the new Govern-
ment was there in the saddle only for a
few days and that they had not got suffi-
cient time to include all aspects of the ad-
ministration, is, I must say, rather a lame
one.

Sir, it is undeniable and admitted on all
hands that discipline in all walks of life
had considerably improved in the
fields of education, industry and services.
India had established a most successful
record of curbing what was considered as
the most violent inflationary pressure
which had gripped many of the countries
of the world in 1974. The country's
foreign exchange reserves had reached an
all-time record of more than Rs. 2000 crores
by vigorous export promotion and import
substitution. Agricultural production
had gone up to 121 million tonnes of
foodgrains, with a buffer-stock of 18 million
tonnes. Industrial growth rose from
2.5 per cent to 5.7 per cent and ulti-
mately to 10.12 per cent from stage to
stage. National income rose from 0.2
per cent to 8.8 per cent. Exploitation and
exploration of soil turned out to be almost
a miracle and transformed the economy
of the country. Scientific competence
and technological capability built up and
demonstrated by the explosion of the nuclea
device for peaceful purposes placed India
on a footing of equality with the most
advanced nations of the world.

These are facts which in the language of
law we say *res gestae* (things speak for
themselves). Instead of acknowledging
these facts with grace and gratitude, the
Mover of the Resolution surprised this
House by saying that they have created
problems for the new Government to
solve.

Sir, let me repeat that the unchallenge-
able achievements of the previous Govern-
ment acknowledged universally by all
countries, whether capitalistic, socialistic

or non-aligned, have pedestalled the present Government of India on commanding heights of economy wherefrom they are in a position to launch a massive attack on the age-long citadels of poverty, unemployment, ignorance and disease in this country. Should they still fail to do it, the blame is not ours. They have come here with the mandate of the people. We respect the verdict given to them. I wish them all success in their new tasks.

Thank you, Sir.

श्री भोला प्रसाद (बिहार) : उपसभापति महोदय, कार्यकारी राष्ट्रपति द्वारा जो भाषण मैं सरकारी नीति घोषित की गयी है उस में अगले दस साल में गरीबी मिटाने की घोषणा की गयी है । इस तरह से देश से गरीबी मिटाने की घोषणा इस देश के पहले की सरकार ने भी की थी और खास तौर से 1971 के चुनाव के वक्त और उस के बाद भी सरकार ने बहुत जोरदार तरीके से कहा था कि जनता ने जो निर्णय दिया है उस के मुताबिक हम गरीबी मिटाने की ओर दृढ़ता से कदम उठावेंगे । लेकिन नतीजा यह देखा गया कि 1970-71 में जब कि गरीबी और दरिद्रता के नीचे स्तर पर जीने वाले लोगों की तादाद देश में 40 प्रतिशत थी तो 1975-76 आते आते गरीबी और दरिद्रता के स्तर से नीचे जीवन बिताने वाले लोगों की तादाद 60 प्रतिशत हो गयी और दूसरी ओर देश के बड़े बड़े पूंजीपति जो आजादी के बाद और भी मोटे हो गये थे और जिस को खुद इस देश की सरकार ने भी माना कि देश के 50 या 75 घराने ऐसे हैं कि जिन के हाथ में देश की जनता की कमाई का धन निजी क्षेत्र में आधे से ज्यादा जमा हो गया है । इन बड़े बड़े पूंजीपतियों के पास धन का इकट्ठा होना और शोषण का बढ़ते जाना जारी रहा और उस के फलस्वरूप 1970-71 में इन बड़े पूंजीपतियों के पास जो पूंजी एकत्रित हुई थी

वह बढ़ कर 1975-76 में उस की डेढ़ गुना, दो गुना हो गयी । तो क्या मौजूदा सरकार, जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने जो गरीबी मिटाने की घोषणा की है उन की नीति भी गरीबी मिटाने के संबंध में वही है कि जो पिछली सरकार की रही है ? क्या इस नीति में सरकार कोई परिवर्तन करने जा रही है ? ऐसी कोई भी घोषणा इस सरकार ने नहीं की । पिछले वर्षों में इमरजेंसी के बाद भी इस के बजाय कि इन बड़े पूंजीपतियों के शोषण और उन को दिये जाने वाले लोन्स पर कोई रोक लगायी जाती, उस को और तरजीह दी गयी । उन को और रियायतें दी गयीं । उन पर टैक्सों में कमी की गयी और सरकारी वित्तीय साधनों का इस्तेमाल करने की उन को और ज्यादा लिबरल तरीके से छूट दी गयी । उन को उत्पादन बढ़ाने के नाम पर, उनको पैदावार बढ़ाने के नाम पर तरह तरह की रियायतें दी गयीं । क्या मौजूदा सरकार बड़े बड़े पूंजीपतियों की यह रियायत देने की जो नीति है, जो पहले से चली आ रही है और पिछली सरकार ने भी जिस को प्रोत्साहन ही दिया था उस को बदलने जा रही है । उपसभापति महोदय, सरकार ने जो नीति संबंधी घोषणा की है वह अभिभाषण में हो या प्रधान मंत्री जी द्वारा राष्ट्र के नाम दिये गये संदेश में हो, उस में बड़े पूंजीपतियों को रियायतें देने की जो नीति है उस को कायम रखा गया है और उस को और आगे बढ़ाने की नीति को अपनाया गया है और यही कारण है कि देश के बड़े बड़े पूंजीपतियों के संगठन अपनी ओर से प्रधान मंत्री जी को बधाई दे रहे हैं जो नीति निर्धारित की जा रही है और जो नीति बर्ती जा रही है और उस के संबंध में जो घोषणा की गयी है उस से प्रोत्साहित होकर ।

जहां तक तात्कालिक समस्याएँ हैं, देश में बेकारी और मंहगाई को कम करने का सवाल है, राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में

[श्री भोला प्रसाद]

कहा है कि हमारी जो नीति होगी, जो योजनायें होंगी वह ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों को काम देने की तरफ, रोजगार उन्मुख आर्थिक नीतियां होंगी। पिछले दिनों में भी जबकि बड़े-बड़े रोजगारियों को रियायतें दी जा रही थीं तो रोजगारियों की ओर से यह आश्वासन दिया गया था कि सरकार को तरफ से जो पूंजीपतियों को रिमायतें दी जा रही हैं उससे पैदावार बढ़ाने में और देश के अन्दर रोजगार को ज्यादा प्रवर्धन देने में मदद मिलेगी। उनसे जो मुनाफा होगा उसका इस्तेमाल देश में नये उद्योगों को खड़ा करने में और पुराने उद्योगों को जो बीमार पड़े हुए हैं, उनके आधुनिकीकरण में लगाया जाएगा और इससे नये लोगों को काम मुहैया होगा। लेकिन ठीक इसके विपरीत जब कि रोजगारियों को काफी रियायतें दी गई, उनके हाथ में मुनाफा बढ़ाया गया, उन्होंने अपने धन का इस्तेमाल औद्योगीकरण के लिए नहीं किया। उन्होंने उस धन का इस्तेमाल कारखानों के आधुनिकीकरण के लिए नहीं किया बल्कि उसने बड़े पैमाने पर मजदूरों को काम से बैठा दिया और उनकी छुट्टी कर दी। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि मौजूदा सरकार से, जब आप कहते हैं कि आप बेकारों को काम दे रहे हैं तो सबसे पहले आपका फर्ज था कि इस बात की घोषणा करे कि पूंजीपतियों ने सरकार की तरफ से बढ़ावा पाकर जिन लाखों मजदूरों को काम से बैठा दिया है उनको फिर से जल्दी में जल्दी काम दिया जाएगा। ऐसी कोई भी नीति सरकार अख्तियार करेगी और पूंजीपतियों को इसके लिए मजबूर करेगी, ऐसी आशा थी, लेकिन सरकार ने कुछ नहीं किया।

ठीक उसी तरह से मंहगाई बढ़ रही है। इमरजेंसी के वक्त थोड़े से कुछ महीनों के लिए जब कड़ाई की गई और उसका असर हुआ कि अब मंहगाई को रोकने के लिए पूंजीपतियों को मुनाफाखोरी पर कड़े से कड़े कारगर कदम उठाये जायेंगे तो थोड़े समय के लिए मंहगाई कम की गई। लेकिन उसके बाद जब पूंजीपतियों को रियायत देने का सिलसिला बढ़ता गया तो

फिर मंहगाई शुरू हो गई और एक साल में 12 परसेंट से ज्यादा मंहगाई थोक चीजों के दामों में हो गई।

अभी सरकार ने राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में नीति के बयान में या राष्ट्र के नाम सन्देश में इस बात का संकेत नहीं किया है कि मंहगाई को रोकने के लिए सरकार कोई कदम उठाने जा रही है। क्या सरकार जिन्दगी की जरूरत की चीजों को कम दाम पर लोगों को उपलब्ध कराने के लिये जो पब्लिक वितरण प्रणाली है जिसे शुरू से ही कारगर ढंग से लागू करने की जरूरत है, क्या उस ओर ध्यान देगी? ऐसी कोई नीति सम्बन्धी घोषणा नहीं की है कि हम मंहगाई को रोकने के लिए कुछ करेंगे। हालांकि इसको रोकने के लिए पिछले वर्षों का जो लम्बा तजुर्बा है वह यह है कि जिन्दगी की जरूरत की चीजों पर एकाधिकार पूंजीपतियों का होता है, उसके उत्पादन पर उसकी बिक्री पर, जब तक कारगर ढंग से नियंत्रण नहीं होगा, उसको रोकने के लिए कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की जाती तब तक वह ठीक प्रकार नहीं चल सकता। यह मौजूदा सरकार भी इस पब्लिक वितरण प्रणाली को जनता के हित में, लोगों के हित में मंहगाई को रोकने के लिए जो सही नीति अख्तियार करनी चाहिए इसके सम्बन्ध में इसने कोई घोषणा नहीं की। और तो और, पिछली सरकार ने यद्यपि बड़े-बड़े पूंजीपतियों को रियायतें तो दीं, लेकिन कम से कम ग्रामीण जीवन में आंशिक सुधार लाने के लिए जो हमारे यहां सामन्ती जुल्म, शोषण, लूट चल रहे थे उसको दूर करने के लिए कदम उठाये। जुल्मों से गांवों के गरीब किसान, खेत मजदूर, मेहनत करने वाले किसानों को मुक्त कराने के लिये आंशिक कदम उठाने का फैसला किया था। 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के जरिये भूमि सुधार एवं मजदूरों को रहने के लिये घर देने की व्यवस्था करने, जो खेत मजदूर और गरीब किसान महाजनों के कर्जों से दबे हुए थे उससे उनको छुटकारा दिलाने के लिये, या दूसरे जो और अच्छे कदम उठाये गये या कानून बनाये

गये उन पर भी इस सरकार ने अमल करने की बात नह। कहीं है उस पर चुप्पी साध ली है। यही कारण है कि आज गांव के अन्दर, जनता पार्टी के जीत के बाद, बड़े-बड़े जमींदार, बड़े-बड़े भूस्वामी जो हैं, उनके हाँसले बुलंद हैं और यहां तक बुलंद है कि आए दिन यह खबरें आ रही हैं—मैंने पहले भी इस ओर आपका ध्यान दिलाया था कि किस तरह से बड़े-बड़े भूस्वामी खेत मजदूरों के ऊपर, हरिजनों के ऊपर, गरीबों के ऊपर हमला कर रहे हैं। जो भी पिछली सरकार ने कानून बनाये उनके हित में, जो भी 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के जरिये काम किये गये उनके ऊपर अमल करने की कोई घोषणा इस सरकार ने नह की। मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूं कि 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के जरिए हम गरीब किसानों की गुलामी से मुक्ति दिलाने के लिये संघर्ष कर रहे थे उस पर, नई सरकार की कोई नीति स्पष्ट न होने के कारण, बड़े पैमाने पर हमले हो रहे हैं और यह हमले इस लिये हो रहे हैं कि सरकार ने जी नीति निर्धारित की है उससे बड़े-बड़े भूस्वामियों को, बड़े-बड़े जमींदारों को प्रश्रय मिल रहा है। इसके बाद भी अभी तक सरकार की ओर से, होम डिपार्टमेंट की तरफ से, या प्रधान मंत्री की तरफ से कोई बयान नहीं निकला है कि जो खेतमजदूरों के ऊपर, गरीबों के ऊपर भूस्वामियों के जरिये, जमींदारों के जरिये कातिलाना हमलें हो रहे हैं उनके खिलाफ प्रशासकीय कदम उठाये जायेंगे। जो इन्होंने इस बात पर चुप्पी साधी है इससे यह साबित होता है कि ये लोग जमींदारों को प्रोत्साहन दे रहे हैं, यह सरकार उनको बढ़ावा दे रही है।

श्रीमन्, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि सरकार ने जो बात कहीं है कि हम कृषि के विकास के जरिये, ग्रामीणों के विकास के ऊपर जोर देकर उसको ज्यादा से ज्यादा प्रश्रय देकर, कृषि पर आधारित छोटे उद्योगों को प्रश्रय देकर, उसको प्रमुखता देकर देश की आर्थिक हालत को सुधारना चाहते हैं वह नहीं होगा।

एक तरफ जब आप कृषि के विकास के जरिये तरक्की करना चाहते हैं तो क्या वह सिर्फ बड़े-बड़े भूस्वामियों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा छूट देकर उनके मुनाफे में बढ़ोतरी करना चाहते हैं। जिस तरह से यह सरकार बड़े-बड़े भूस्वामियों को रियायतें दे रही हैं इससे साफ जाहिर होता है कि सरकार भूमि-सुधार कार्यक्रम को अमल में नहीं ला रही है। सरकार ने भूमि सुधार के बारे में एक शब्द भी नहीं कहा है। इसलिये हम कहते हैं कि हम सरकार की जो नीतियां हैं, सरकार की जो आर्थिक नीतियां हैं, राष्ट्रपति के अभि-भाषण में जो कहा गया है उसका समर्थन नहीं कर सकते। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं बैठता हूं।

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, before I come to the amendment moved by me, I would like to deal with the Address as such.

At the outset, Sir, I must express my appreciation of the able manner in which the honourable Mover of the Motion of Thanks and also the honourable Seconder of the same Motion have tried to make a good case out of a bad one.

Sir, the Address is more of a recital of the past than a programme for the future and it is more negative in its approach than positive in its action and I am really surprised to see this programme coming from those who swear in the name of the great Mahatma and who, before assuming office, paid a visit to his *samadhi* just to seek inspiration from his teachings and his life. I wonder if that was more a ritual than anything else because...

SHRI MOHAMMAD YUNUS SALEEM (Andhra Pradesh) : Hypocrisy.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH : I would not go to that extent. If one were to carefully go into the past, one would find that after the great Mahat-

ma, there was very little hope for the poorest in the country and that is the position now so far as the Address goes. Sir, it is amazing to find that the one-time protectors of the rights and privileges and pensions of the princes have decided to remove destitution. I take it, Sir, that the use of the Word "destitution" has been carefully made. They have nothing to say about poverty, but only about destitution, and even for that limited objective, a time-limit is ten years. Who does not know that more than 250 million people of this country live below the poverty line? At least I was not among those who absolved the previous Governments, whether they were headed by the late Jawaharlal Nehru, the late Lal Bahadur Shastri or Shrimati Gandhi, and which also included men like the present Prime Minister, of the responsibility of giving due attention to and taking proper care of the lowliest and the lowest and the poorest among the people of this country during the last thirty years or so. But much hope was raised as a result of the massive mandate which the Janata Party got, particularly in the region north of the Narmada. Now what do we find? I know that removal of poverty cannot be done overnight. I also know that it is a long-drawn-out process. But does this Address give any indication or raise any hope that sooner or later this Government will take steps to alleviate the sufferings of the poorest in this country? Sir, they have taken only of drinking water to be provided to not more than one lakh of villages. But what about food, what about clothing and what about the other wherewithals? The Address does not make any mention of these things. It talks of drinking water only. I agree that it is the first necessity. But drinking water alone would not feed anybody. Something must have been said about food, about clothes and about the other basic necessities of life.

Then, Sir, I am surprised that in the second paragraph of the Address, the Government's claim is that the massive

mandate is for the Rule of Law. Sir, here I would like to stress the words "Rule of Law". But what the Government has done, its first action, has been against the law. Article 74 (1) of the Constitution of India says that there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head. It does not provide that there shall be the Prime Minister alone. It provides that there shall be a Council of Ministers, with the Prime Minister at the head. The very first action of this Government, the appointment of the Prime Minister, has not been in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. I have no doubt in my mind that this is wholly illegal. It is another thing whether it is justiciable. I have consulted the best legal authorities available in the city of Delhi and they agree with me. The present Prime Minister said that if anything wrong is brought to his notice, he would be Gandhian enough not only to admit it but also to rectify it. But I am sorry that they seem to stick to what they have done either out of sheer 'zid' or, may be, out of a false sense of prestige that if it comes out that they have done something wrong it will mar their image in the public eyes not only in India but also in the outside world.

The Address further says that the use of Article 356 would not be made for extraneous purposes. Sir, I have studied the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir, under which the Governor has assumed the power and the Legislative Assembly has been dissolved. It is couched almost in similar language as Article 356. The present Government is anxious to undo the wrongs done by the previous Government. But what is the history of Article 356? If one were to look into it, it would be seen that instead of 'Governor-General', the word 'President' has been substituted. It is a legacy of the past. I wonder how the founding fathers could think of incorporating the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, in our Constitution. Sir, I expected from this Govern-

ment, who swear in the name of democracy, that they would remove this undemocratic article that finds place in our Constitution. But, Sir, as soon as they assumed office, within three or four days what do we find? What we find is the outgoing Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir advising the Governor to dissolve the Assembly and taking it over. Admittedly, he had lost the support of the majority. Is it not the duty of the Governor to find out who else is able to form the Government? If Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was not able to run the Government, he had lost all rights to advise the Governor. I would like to remind the House that in Britain, whose Constitution we have copied in so far as the governance of this country is concerned, the practice is that unless the King asks the outgoing Prime Minister for advice, he would not give him any advice. Once he has handed over his resignation, he loses all rights to render advice. In 1923, the Conservatives wanted Curzon, who was a Lord, to become the Prime Minister of Britain. The outgoing Prime Minister, Bonar Law, was with the King for forty minutes. The King had come to know about it. But the King never asked Bonar Law as to who the successor should be. As soon as he had left, he immediately called the next person, Baldwin, because he wanted to uphold the tradition that no Lord should become the Prime Minister of the U.K. In 1902 this practice was set up.

But what do we find here? Within three or four days of the assumption of office—I was really surprised to see—the hon. Home Minister supporting the action of the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, although the action taken by the Governor in Jammu and Kashmir goes directly against what has been laid down in the President's Address. Sir, we hear so much about amendments to the Constitution. Perhaps, they are rushing through a Bill which is very likely to come to this House during this session. What is that

Bill for? The main thrust of that Bill is, as it has appeared in the press and which I have no reason to disbelieve, that there is a hurry to hold elections to the Assemblies. Therefore, the term is going to be reduced to 5 years instead of 6 years. If there was one thing which was repeated by all the leaders who occupy the Treasury Benches today beginning from Mr. Morarji Desai and ending with Mr. Bahuguna, it was that they had little time to hold elections. Their one grievance against Shrimati Indira Gandhi was that the elections were being held at a very short notice. These worthy people, if I may call them so, have forgotten what they said 8 weeks earlier. Today they are in a hurry to hold the elections to the Legislative Assemblies. What a difference. They think that the people in India are of short memory. But that is not so.

The same is true of corruption. I was really amazed to find people belonging to the other side hurling abuses at persons who are not Members of this House and who have no opportunity to defend themselves. Those persons were never in the Government. But they forget—and I would like to remind them—that people sitting in glass houses should not throw stones at others. Let them go through the Council of Ministers. I can cite examples here and now. But I would refrain from doing so. But if the hon. Member from the other side insists, I would have no hesitation in doing so. Is it not a fact that inquiries were held against some of those who occupy the Treasury Benches or who are members of the Council of Ministers? They were found unfit to hold high offices (*Interruptions*) of a Minister or of a Secretary to the Government. What is this? Is this a House for mud-slinging? They can make allegation against anyone on this side, but one should have the opportunity to defend himself. Making allegations against those who are not Members of this House, is not proper. The speech here is privileged. But this privilege should not be

reduced to licence. I would most respectfully submit to the hon. Members opposite that they should not misuse privilege of speech for the simple reason that they can not be hauled up outside the House for what they say here.

Sir, it has been said in the President's Address that there was very little time, a few days only, to draft the Address. The President's Address is nothing more and nothing less than the programme of the Government for the future. If we look into the election manifesto over which they got a massive mandate from the people of India, it gives rise to a feeling that there is some rethinking about the commitments made by the Janata Party and the Congress for Democracy. As soon as they assumed office, they kept silent over it. At least some part of it should have been implemented unless there is some rethinking on the manifesto issued by them and upon which they sought the vote of the people.

Sir, as I said in the very beginning, one does not find a word about poverty. If destitution is held to be poverty, then it is a question of language. Well poverty is to be removed within 10 years. How will they do it? There is not a mention except that of the provision of drinking water which will not remove poverty.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is sufficient to remove poverty.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is sufficient to drown.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH : It may be sufficient for some of the hon. Members on the other side also. Only drinking water is not enough. I am not only thirsty. I am also hungry. Not that I am myself hungry. I see the hunger of millions and millions of people in this country, whose number runs into legion, more than 25 or 30 crores. Therefore, Sir, I had expected from the Janata Party—which, if translated into English, means nothing else than a people's party—that

they would pay due attention to the needs of the poorest in this country. But the Address does not hold out any hope in that direction.

Now, Sir, I come to the amendment moved by myself. I would also like to refer to the amendments moved by my friend, Shri N.K. Bhatt and some others. Does one find any reference to the rise in prices? No, not a word in the whole Address. And can anyone in his wildest imagination ever believe that the succour to the millions of poor in the country can be brought about without checking the rise in prices or without checking inflation? One does not find a word about it. I take it that they are a shrewd people. Some of them have been in the administration for a number of years. I was never in Government, Sir. But I know that some of those sitting on the opposite side, occupying the Treasury Benches, are seasoned politicians. They cannot say that they are new to the art of government. They have occupied high places in States and also here at the Centre. So, they cannot say that. If there is something lacking in the Address itself, it certainly gives rise to the feeling that they have nothing to offer, they have given the go bye, they think that they are not able to do anything to check the rise in prices. As an hon. Member just now pointed out, there has been a 12 per cent increase during the last year in the prices. And I find it also, Sir in Manifesto issued by the Janata Party. Perhaps, my friend took the figure of 12 per cent from them, Sir, 12 per cent rise is not a small thing. And this is going up and up. But nothing about it has been mentioned in the address. Nothing about the inflation has been mentioned.

Then, Sir, the former Government has been accused of indulging in corruption, and not a word about corruption was mentioned in the Address. And, Sir, I was really surprised when the hon. Mover of the Resolution talked about corruption in the former Government. It is easy to

talk about it. I do not deny it. Corruption is of many kinds. And I wonder, Sir, if ever it would be possible for us to root out corruption totally from this country. There is a long history behind it. In fact, when I left the Congress in 1949, it was on one ground and one ground alone and that was corruption. But what do we find now? You, Sir, have been a Member of Parliament for a long time. You, Sir, have been a Minister also in the former Government. You, Sir, have been a Member of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly and also its Speaker. And today you adorn the Chair as Deputy Chairman of this august House. Sir, you know it no less than myself and, I think, all the Members of this House also share this feeling as to how can we remove corruption if we are not very particular about it, in this House and outside. So far as the hon. Members of Parliament are concerned, nobody can raise his finger against us. But, Sir, the practice here as in other parts of the country, in so far as corruption is concerned is, that we have paid least attention to it. But I expect one thing from the Government, coming as it does with a trumpet nobody thought that they would come into power : they themselves did not hope for it. The compulsions under which the differing forces, people diametrically and diagonally opposed to each other are sitting together and have come together, who did it? It was Smt. Indira Gandhi who was defeated at the polls, her party was also defeated at the polls. It was she, Sir, who brought about this change in the Indian body politic. The two-party system compelled those who till yesterday were fighting with each other, were fundamentally opposed to each other, called each other bad names, not only bad names but even as enemies of the country, to come together, join hands together. What for? Not to do good to this country but to remove Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her Government.

(Time Bell rings).

Sir, I will take one minute more, if you

do not mind. Have I your permission, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All right.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH : All this talk of mandate is bunkum. I tell you, Sir, the only thing, the only point, which made them win this election, this sweeping victory, was because of the coercive methods adopted in the family planning programme that was the main reason. In addition to this, there were also placed some curbs upon the press and also upon the people during the course of the emergency. This is all. They had no policy, no programme, nothing of the sort.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI (Uttar Pradesh) : What more is lacking then?

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH : I am really amazed at the interruption made by the hon. Member on the opposite side. He is asking "what more is lacking"? What I have submitted just now during the last 15 minutes, I had never thought would fall on deaf ears. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, after hearing the eloquent speech made by the elder statesman I think there is very little that I can add to this debate. But, for the first time Sir, in the history of this Government, we, from this side, had to say something against the President's Address, the Acting President's Address. The Acting President's Address has really left nothing for us to debate on or for the Government party to speak on so far as their programmes or achievements are concerned. Since they have come to power very recently, they have expressed in this House and also in the other House that their programme will be thought of and that they will be able to place in due course before this House their programme for the people of this country. But, Sir, they have not lost any time criticising the previous Government, even without scrutinising or

examining any defects, the President has made a reference in his Address about some allegations and now they are constituting committees to find out whether those excesses have actually been committed by the previous Government. The Acting President has made a mention about the excesses committed by the bureaucracy and the political excesses but even about those things they are not definite and they do not know whether any crimes have been committed by the previous Government or not. My hon. friend has just now pointed out one programme in which we might have faltered and where the bureaucracy has let down the previous Government. Excepting that there is no mention about any other programme which the previous Government had adopted and which they could be courageously criticised. The charges which they have levelled against the previous Government are totally unreasonable. They did not even examine them and they are not in a position to pinpoint any of the defects; yet the Acting President had to mention those things in his Address. Sir, this Address is nothing but a catalogue of charges, imaginary charges, against the previous Government. At one time, a sane Member would feel that the same Vice-President, acting as President had approved the actions of the previous Government and on various occasions he spoke about the great achievements of the previous Government and suddenly he discovered that the previous Government had committed atrocities. I think the very system of the Presidential form of Government is defective because the same President probably may not even hesitate to say, when some other Government comes into existence, that this Government was a clownish Government. He might ever say this kind of thing. Therefore, I was thinking for a moment whether this Presidential form of Government is suitable for this great country. This office of the President is maintained by the starving millions and its paraphernalia has to be maintained and the country has to spend

such huge amounts of money on a person who has Constitutionally and morally proved to be not efficient and not responsible. Therefore, I think we will have to think of even changing this system of Government, having a President who is not at all responsible for any actions of the Government and who does not correct the Government when it is making a y blunder; but he supports every action of the Government and, at the same time, has to be the head of the State and he has to be maintained at a very high cost. I do not know for what reason should the country be forced to finance this high office and I do not know whether the people of this country would accept this kind of proposition....

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI : What is the alternative ?

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA : The alternative is the American system where the President would be more responsible. The President of this country is not all responsible, which has been proved, and he approved every action of the Government and suddenly he discovers all the faults, all the anomalies and everything. Today he becomes so impartial to say that the previous Government has committed atrocities. I think, many of the sophisticated people, who are really very well-paid, may approve of this kind of a system but definitely the poor people of this country cannot maintain this kind of a high office.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu) : I think, Mr. Krishna will allow me. This attack on the President is an attack on the Council of Ministers, because the Address is prepared by the Cabinet and the President reads it. Therefore, it is not an attack on the President.

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA : I am prepared to answer your question, I am coming to the Council of Ministers, my

dear friend. In the Council of Ministers, some of them are really people with mettle and they are there for their truthfulness ; they are for their sacrifice. Even those people have descended so low that they have reduced the position of the President to a leader of a group. They have definitely done a lot of injustice to the Acting President by asking him to read an Address which has not given anything to the people of this country. We expected, the people of this country who have voted this party to power, expected them to pronounce what are the benefits they are going to get from them ; but, instead of giving them anything or commenting on the programmes of the previous Government, they have only said about democracy and dictatorship. I would like to ask Mr. Lakshmanan one thing. Do the people in this country understand what is meant by democracy ? Do the millions of the down-trodden people in this country, whether they are living in Tamil Nadu or any other part of the country, understand what is meant by democracy ? Atrocities are being committed everywhere. People do not have any voice. No harijan and no tribal can even protest against the atrocities committed against them. (Interruptions). Therefore, let us not forget about these things. This Government which has spoken so much against the previous Government, should not feel shy to mention some of the best things which have been done by the previous Government. All of you sitting opposite, including some of the leaders who have been arrested spoke about the twenty-point programme and about the freedom which has been given to the millions of people who are dumb and who had no right even to protest against the land-lords who were exploiting them. That right, that freedom, was given during the last two years. I am not supporting the previous Government for arresting some good people. But the

freedom of speech and the freedom of expression which was not given to the millions of poor people earlier was given by the previous Government. Nobody can forget that. Now, what are we seeing ? We have seen the pronouncements of some the Ministers against the public sector. We have seen the pronouncements of some of the leaders in regard to the restoration of land. Is it going to help the poor people who got an assurance from the Government that their lot would improve, that they would be able to live like others and that their standards would be improved ?

In spite of all these things, first of all, they did not even mention the things which are recognised in the whole world. They have not said anything about the increase in the foreign exchange reserves. You may also be able to get more foreign exchange. But everybody would agree that the status of this country in the international world, which was at the bottom earlier, was raised by the previous Government. Whenever any Indian visited any foreign country, he was considered to be an equal with others, whether they were Americans or Russians. This was the stature which we attained during the time of the Congress regime. I would beg of this Government, please, in your haste, do not try to spoil the image of this country and in your haste, do not try once again to give a lead to those people who have been the exploiters in this country. Whatever the Congress Government had done, had been for the poor people. There are still millions of poor people in this country. Therefore, please do not spoil some of the measures which have been taken by the previous Government for the benefit of the poor people. Once you start that, once you start spoiling them, it will be impossible for you to get over it. Some of the leaders who are sitting on the other side may be therefore too long. Whatever has been preached by the Father of the Nation,

with great difficulty have been implemented in this country. Even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was not able to implement certain measures. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru built the industrial India, the modern India. He has created educational institutions. He has made education free to almost everybody. But when a person is educated, when he comes out, it would be very difficult to provide him with a job and to give him some vocation. Nowhere in the world the unemployment problem had been solved fully. We might have committed mistakes. You have also started committing blunders even within this short period. I am not saying that you are not competent to administer this country. But you have also committed blunders. We have been in power for so many years. Naturally, we might have committed more mistakes. But there is nothing wrong with the aim, the objective and the goal which the Congress has. None of you were courageous enough to say that the land reform measures were bad. You are really getting into such a corner that you will not be able to get out of it. 3 P.M. Though it is too late, even now you should at least pronounce your policies, tell us what is your aim—whether it is going to be a joint sector, whether it is going to be only the private sector. About public sector, of course, you have already said that you will have to discard some of the things and try to encourage the private sector. It is very clear. But what is your aim and objective about land reform? What are you going to do about all these things? You don't have any programme. So, all that we from this side request you is to see that you do not in your haste, try to disturb the things which have taken nearly 30 years for the previous Government and the people to build. It will be impossible for the people of this country to forget you if you do that. Therefore, my humble request is that the Government should at least be in

a position now to tell the people what are the things they are going to retain, what are the things they are going to accept and what are the things they are going to discard. Unless this is explained to the people, I don't think you will be able to make any mark.

You have said about the price rise in the foodgrains. There also, you don't talk about agricultural labour. The previous Agriculture Minister, when he was asked about land reforms etc. said that the Chief Ministers of the States were not cooperating and therefore the Central Government was not in a position to implement them. Now the Government is in your hands and you are really keen to help this lot of people. So please bring forward something which will really help agricultural labour alongwith the increase in price. Our party has already said that wherever you adopt such measures as are going to be helpful, it will be able to cooperate with you. Any one of you cannot dispute or disregard or doubt the sincerity with which this assurance was given to you. Our party is definitely going to come back. But you are not in a position even till today to settle even one issue, because it is very clear that none of your Ministers is in agreement with the things which the other Ministers want to bring and announce in the House. It would have been better if the President, address were to say that it would take some time for all the groups to sink their differences, forget their political ideologies and to come together and only after that, the Government would come out with a programme to this country. That would have been a more sensible, more honest statement to Parliament and the country. Unfortunately, that has not been done. That is our cry and I am sure this Government will understand the mood of the people and very soon the people will also understand what is the type of people who have been elected to Parliament

[Shri M.R. Krishna]

The time is not too far away when they will also give their verdict. Thank you very much.

SHRI V. V. SWAMINATHAN
(Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I must thank the acting President for his Address which is short and crisp. It is also sharp in bringing out the broad outlines of the programme and policies of the Janata Party, proposed to be implemented. I welcome at the outset the time-bound programme, mentioned in the Presidential Address, for the abolition of poverty within ten years and for creating new employment-oriented agro-industries and small and cottage industries. I expect that the new Ministry will come up with a proposal for an employment-guarantee scheme under which an uneducated, unemployed man or woman must be paid at least Rs. 100/- P. M. and an educated, unemployed person must be paid at least Rs. 150/- P. M. Only by such measures can we bring about improvement and wipe out poverty.

There is also reference to supply of drinking water. Top-most priority must be given to drinking water because, even after nearly thirty years of independence, about one and half lakhs of villages are without drinking water. In many villages the people are able to get only brackish water. Therefore, top most priority must be given to the problem of drinking water. We should not hesitate to import foreign know-how for creating drinking water in villages near the sea-shore because the know-how for desalinising sea water is available only in the foreign countries. We are spending Rs. 2,500 crores on Defence. The Janta Government must entrust the work of finding drinking water in the village to the army men. We are spending at the rate of Rs. 50/- per citizen on the army and so there is nothing wrong in entrusting this work to the army men.

Sir, there is reference to the emergence of a two-party system. Certainly, formation of an alternative Government by the Janata Party is a healthy sign and it would strengthen democracy. Even the Congress Tamil Weekly, *Ananda Vikatan* has welcomed this feature by editorial.

Our party, the All-India Anna DMK also welcomes the formation of an alternative party at the national level which would serve as a safety valve to bring about a bloodless revolution. That is why our party leaders met the Prime Minister Mr. Morarji Desai, Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram and other leaders on the 1st of April. I never thought that such a courtesy call and meetings would be so much misunderstood by our colleague of the DMK Party, Mr. Kamalanathan and make him nervous. Mr. M. G. Ramachandran never came to Delhi to enchant anybody. If anybody is enamoured of him and his party, it is not our fault but our fortune. Why should Mr. Kamalanathan, envy us ?

Mr. Kamalannathan quoted certain portions of the speeches of our party leader. This is out of season and has no bearing on the Presidential Address. Perhaps the crashing defeat of the DMK party is fresh in his memory and he is afraid that the Janata Party would not have any alliance anymore with them in the ensuing Assembly elections. The DMK Party misled the Janata Party that it is all in all in Tamil Nadu and that the people of Tamil Nadu would prove that the Sarkaria Commission is a politically motivated one. But the voters proved that the people are not behind the DMK Party. The DMK Party was censured by the people.

In the North, people voted for Mr. George Fernandes in large numbers even while he was in jail and the Baroda dynamite case against him was withdrawn before he was sworn in as a Minister. This is a people's verdict. So, when the court of

the Chief Metropolitan Magistrate was moved to drop the case, it readily consented to it. But this was unfortunately not possible for the DMK leader. They anticipated it but they were thoroughly disappointed. Of all the contesting DMK candidates in the election only one was returned.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Ranbir Singh) in the Chair] So, it is for the top leaders of the Janata Party at Delhi to assess and review the alliance it had with the DMK as rather bad company in its own interest and in the national interest. We never wanted to shine on borrowed wings.

Sir, in this connection I want to bring to the notice of the Government a contemptuous statement made by a prestigious citizen of Madras. He says : "We find serious charges are levelled against a person. He is hauled before a court of law. Suddenly we find the Government asking for the withdrawal of the case. The Public Prosecutor, parrot-like, repeats it and the court accedes to the request". Further he says : "If A was in power B was criminal. If B was in power, A became a criminal". This prestigious person is none other than the acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court. He made this contemptuous speech on the 27th March. The Baroda dynamite case was withdrawn on the 26th March. Sir, he had forgotten that he was a judge and talked like a politician in a most irresponsible way. I would request that he must be shunted back to his original place and the Judge superseded must be allowed to occupy his post before the summer vacations begin in the interest of the restoration of law.

There is a reference to the restoration of freedom of speech, rule of law, free and fearless press. The Indian people have proved that they have got unquenchable thirst for freedom of expression and it cannot be quelled by MISA, DIR or

COFEPOSA.

We are glad that you are piloting Bills to ensure freedom of press. But, Sir, I want you to assure freedom of expression in cine films also. No doubt, in the President's Address mention has been made that the Films Division would function in a fair manner. You know, Sir, my revered leader M. G. Ramachandran is not only the founder and the General Secretary of the All-India ADMK Party but he is also a cine artist of immortal fame in Tamil Nadu. He is a producer, actor, director and writer. With a view to arresting his popularity, the erstwhile DMK Government enhanced the entertainment tax to the highest possible rate. If a review is made, you will find that the highest rate of entertainment tax is in Tamil Nadu. Further, he is well known for his fighting scenes with sword or fist and fence with sword or stick. But the fighting scenes were censored and there was discrimination of censorship as far as Tamil Nadu is concerned. In many Hindi films gruesome murders, not one but three, were allowed to be depicted. Even some films were listed to be banned, but they were freely allowed to be exhibited. Strict censor rules were applied only to Tamil Nadu, and that too especially in films in which M. G. R. acted. Such discriminatory and politically-motivated censor should be done away with. You must assure us a fair, free and liberal censorship.

Some honourable Members from the Congress side pointed out the past performance of the previous Government. Yes, Sir, there was a comfortable position with regard to the foreign exchange reserves to the extent of Rs. 2,500 crores. highest in the record of history. But the economic condition of the common man was not felt comfortable. No doubt, we need not go to any foreign country with a begging bowl, but millions of our men and women were no better than beggars. You may say that you have contained inflation. Compliments were paid even

[Shri V. V. Swaminathan]
by the World Bank. But, Sir, the purchasing power of the people dried up. You may add that the rupee has become a respectable currency in the international market. But it is not available to many. It is beyond the reach of the poor. We have food reserves worth more than Rs. 2000 crores of rupees, an unprecedented record. But nearly two-thirds of our population are below the poverty line. Banks were nationalised, but the real beneficiaries are not the poor and the weaker sections of society but the big monopoly houses. These factors are embarrassing and enigmatic. You have to find an immediate solution for them.

Many persons complained that the fall of the previous Government has been due to excesses in family planning and transfer of power to extra-constitutional persons by the ex-PM to her second son. But besides and above all these factors is the high rise of prices of essential commodities during the past eighteen months which is responsible for this. Sir, the prices of essential commodities, including edible oils, are rising day by day. I am afraid the wholesale price index might cross the 200 mark. The retail prices increased by 15 to 25 per cent. Unless effective measures are taken by the present Government, the situation will be very serious. It is easy to win elections but it is difficult to sustain it on mere expectations. So steps must be taken to see that the essential commodities are sold at lower, reasonable prices.

I am glad that the Prime Minister promised that the South would not be neglected. If it is to be so, I would request him to sanction Rs. 70 crores. for three gas turbines each to produce 70 million watts to produce electricity to avoid enhanced cut because power is necessary for proving agriculture and for the establishment of agro-based industries. I also welcome another Conference made in the Presidential

address that small farmers have been denied reasonable and fair price for their products. It is true that they have been fighting for the past two or three years that there must be reasonable and remunerative price for paddy. We read in the papers that on or before the 11th of this month the Government is going to announce the price of kharif products. I request the Government to announce at least a 10 rupees rise per bag for paddy and more reasonable price for cane in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh because as is it the price fixed for cane in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka is much lower than the price fixed in Northern States.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAN-BIR SINGH : Please try to wind up.

SHRI V. V. SWAMINATHAN :
I am winding up. Thank you, Sir.

شری محمد یونس سلیم : (آندھر

پردیس) - خطاب وائس چیرمین صاحب - پریزیڈنٹ کے ایڈریس پر کئی پہلوؤں سے روشنی ڈالی جا چکی ہے اپوزیشن بیلنچوں کی طرف سے بھی اور ٹریڈوں بیلنچوں کی طرف سے بھی -

بہت کچھ کہا گیا ہے ایمرجلسی کے متعلق - خطاب وائس چیرمین صاحب - ایمرجلسی کے زمانے میں بھی بعض لوگوں کو تکراروں اتھانی پڑیں بعض لوگوں کو کچھ مشکلات کا سامنا کرنا پڑا اس سے انکار نہیں کیا جا سکتا - لیکن ایمرجلسی کی وجہ سے اس ملک کو جو فائدے پہنچے ہیں اس سے انکار کرنا ٹھیک نہیں اور دیانیت داری نہیں ہے خاص طور سے ان لوگوں کے لئے جو گاندھی وادی ہونے

کا دعویٰ کرتے ہیں اور اس دعویٰ سے آئے
ہیں ہمارے سامنے کہ ہم گاندھپی
طریقہ سے اس ملک کو چلائیں گے -
گاندھی جی کا یہ طریقہ نہیں تھا
کہ حقیقتوں پر پردہ ڈالا جائے اور
اپنی غلطیوں سے انکار کیا جائے اپنی
غلطیوں کو ماننا نہ جائے - وائس
چیرمین صاحب - میں اس ایوان
کا زیادہ وقت نہ لیتے ہوئے صرف دو
باتیں بتاؤں گا کہ اس ایمرجنسی کے
زمانہ میں اس ملک کو کیا فائدہ
ہوا اس ملک کی اکانامی کو کیا فائدہ
پہنچا - جادو ہے جو سر پر چڑھ
کر بولے - خرد پرائم منسٹر صاحب نے
اپنی تقریر میں جس کا ایک جملہ
میں آپ کو پڑھ کر سنانا چاہتا ہوں
اس کو تسلیم کیا ہے - یہ پرائم منسٹر
کی وہ تقریر ہے جو انہوں نے ریڈیو پر
دو دن پہلے براڈکاسٹ کی تھی -

"We are in a happier position
today in regard to our foreign ex-
change reserves than we were some
time ago, but the fact remains
that we cannot rest on our laurels;
not only do we have to keep it up
but we have also to continue to im-
prove our financial resources etc."

جناب وائس چیرمین صاحب -
آپ اچھی طریقہ سے واقف ہیں کہ
یہ جو فارن ایکسچینج کے ریسورسز
میں ترقی ہوئی ہے یہ ایمرجنسی کے
طفیل سے ہے -

اگر ایمرجنسی نافذ نہ کی جاتی
اس ملک سے سیکلنگ کا خاتمہ نہ

کیا جاتا اس ملک میں جو پھر کل
اکانامی چلائی جا رہی ہے اس کو
ہیشہ کے لئے روکا نہیں جاتا تو جس
طرح سے قیمتیں آسمان سے باتیں کر
رہی ہیں ان کو روکا نہیں جا سکتا
تھا اور اس کا اعتراض تمام دنیا میں
کیا جا رہا ہے کہ ہندوستان تہ معمرانہ
طریقہ سے قیمتوں کو بڑھانے سے روکا ہے
ہم اس ملک میں کریشن کو دور
کرنے کی باتیں کرتے ہیں ہم اس ملک
سے اسمگلنگ کو ہٹانے کی باتیں کرتے
ہیں - ابھی اس حکومت کے برسر
اقتدار آنے سے دو روز پہلے ایمرجنسی
ہٹائی گئی اور جو میسج کے تہمت
اسمگلرس چیلوں میں ڈالے گئے تھے ان
کو چھوڑا گیا ہے ابھی مشکل سے
ایک ہفتہ ہوا ہے ایک ہفتہ میں اس
ملک کی کیا حالت ہو گئی ہے آج
کے اخبار میں ٹائمز آف انڈیا نے اس
پر روشنی ڈالی ہے آج ناشکر گدار
لوگ اس بات کا بھی اعتراض نہیں
کرتے کہ ہمارے ملک کی منڈیاں جو
یاد سے آئے ہوئے اسمگلڈ مال سے
بھری پڑی دھتی تھیں کلکتہ - بمبئی
اور مدراس میں ایک سال بھر سے
ریبڈہ ہوا اس کا خاتمہ ہو رہا تھا
اور باہر کی بلی ہوئی ایک سوئی
بھی ہم کو نہیں ملتی تھی لیکن
آج بازار میں پھر وہ مال آ گیا ہے
اور اس اسمگلنگ کی اینٹیڈیوٹیز پھر
شروع ہو گئی ہیں - میں ٹائمز آف

[شری مسعود یونس سلمہ]

انڈیا کے ایڈیٹر ریل سے چند سطریں
پڑھ کر سلانا ہوں -

"Whether all suspects, who are now out of jail, are back at their old game or are lying low may be debatable. But there can be no doubt that their release has made others bolder. Smuggled radios, cigarettes, perfumes and whole range of consumer goods are again being sold openly on the pavements in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and elsewhere. The price of Scotch whisky in the black market has fallen and the price of gold has somewhat eased in anticipation of illicit consignments from overseas. Apart from such staples as textiles, cameras and watches, the police have of late seized from the smugglers ceiling fans made in China, battery-operated tube lights of Japanese manufacture, woollen blankets woven in Spain and brassieres from Hong Kong."

Sir, this the condition.

آج ایمرجلسی ہوتے آئے
دس دن نہیں ہوئے آپ کے
بازار میں یہ حال ہو گیا - کم سے کم
اس کا اعتراف تو کیجئے یہ گاندھین
طریقہ ہے کہ آپ حقیقتوں کو
چھپائیں نہیں - آپ کہتے کہ جس
وقت ایمرجلسی نافذ ہوئی اسوقت
ملک کی کیا اگناسی، تباہ اور برباد
ہو چکی تھی، اس کو روکا گیا
ایمرجلسی نافذ کر کے اور ہم گاندھین
طریقہ پر عمل کرنے لگے لوگ ہیں
ہم اپنی غلطیوں کا اعتراف کرتے
ہیں - ہم سے اس زمانہ میں کچھ
غلطیاں ہوئی ہیں اور زیادتیوں بھی
ہوئی ہیں نہ ہوتیں تو اچھا تھا

لیکن ہم ان پر شرمندہ ہیں لیکن
جو حکومت کرتا ہے ملک کو چلاتا
ہے تو اچھائیاں بھی کرتا ہے اور اس
کے ساتھ غلطیاں بھی ہوتی ہیں -
ہم دلیری اور بہادری کے ساتھ ان کو
مانتے ہیں لیکن آپ کیا کرتے ہیں -
آپ گاندھی جی کا نام لے کر جو
اھلسا کا دیوتا تھا اس کا نام لے کر
ایسی باتیں کہتے ہیں کہ جو جھوٹ
اور دھوکا دہی پر مبنی ہیں -

جنگل وائس چھرمہن صاحب -
میں اور ہاتوں پر نہیں جاؤں گا ایک
فائدہ تو کم سے کم ایمرجلسی کا اور
ہوا ہی ہے جس کی طرف میرے
دوست دھاریا صاحب نے اپنی تقریر
میں دھیان دلایا اور وہ یہ ہے کہ
اگر اس ملک میں ایمرجلسی نہ
آتی تو جنتا پارٹی بھی وجود میں
نہیں آتی - یہ جنتا پارٹی جو وجود
میں آئی ہے یہ ایمرجلسی کی طفیل
ہے - پرسوں دھاریا صاحب نے اپنی
تقریر میں اس بات کا اعتراف کیا ہے
کہ ہم لوگ جب جیل میں تھے تو
ہم نے جیل میں دھکر اس بات کا
ارادہ کیا تھا کہ ہم جنتا پارٹی کو
بڈائیگے یعنی مطلب یہ ہوا کہ ملک
کی حالت اس مقام پر پہنچ گئی
تھی کہ جو مسیز اندرا گاندھی ہمیشہ
کہا کرتی تھیں کہ دیموکریسی اس
ملک میں اسی وقت پلپ سکتی ہے

جب دو پارٹی مسٹم قائم کیا جائے۔ ایسوجنسی نے یہ موقع فراہم کیا کہ آپ لوگ ایک جگہ ملے اور ملے کے بعد اگرچہ آپ میں اور آپ کے ساتھ جو ملے ہوئے لوگ ہیں ان کی تہلکنگ میں فلاسفی میں ان کے طریقہ کار میں زمین آسمان کا فرق ہے لیکن محضر متفق ہونے کے لئے اور اندرا گاندھی اور کانگریس کی حکومت کو ہٹانے کے لئے آپ ایک کیسپ میں جمع ہو گئے ہیں۔

میں ایک جملہ پڑھنا چاہتا ہوں—

“But so far as the Janata Party was concerned, it was in the jail itself that the Congress Government provided the opposition leaders the opportunity to come together. The Janata Party, like Lord Krishna, has taken its birth in the jail itself.”

اس پر زیادہ وقت ضائع نہیں کروں گا—میرے کہنے کا مقصد یہ ہے کہ ایمرجنسی اس ملک کے لئے جو ترقی لائی ہے کس طرح سے اس ملک میں تسلیں قائم ہوا ہے اس کو نظر انداز نہیں کیا جا سکتا—جس طرح سے کالجوں کے یونیورسٹیوں کے لڑکے ایک عام انقلاب ایک ٹوٹل انقلاب کا نعرہ دے کر اسکولوں اور کالجوں سے نکال کر سڑکوں پر پھلا دیئے گئے تھے کہ وہ موٹروں کو روکیں بسوں کو روکیں ان سے ناجائز طریقہ سے روپیہ وصول کریں دوکانداروں سے روپیہ وصول کریں کم سے کم اس کا خاتمہ تو ہوا—

لڑکے اسکولوں میں جانے لگے۔ کالجوں میں تعلیم ہونے لگی۔ امتحان میں چہرا دکھانے کی وارداتوں کی حقیقتیں تھیں وہ تو ختم ہوئیں۔

وائس چیرمین صاحب—آپ کا کھنتی کی طرف ہاتھ بڑھ رہا ہے ذرا مہربانی کیجئے میرے حال پر— میں نے وائس چیرمین صاحب— دیکھا ہے کل پروفیسر رام لال پارکھ کے ساتھ آپ نے بہت مہربانی کی تھی وہ برتاؤ ہیں بھی چاہوں گا۔

उपसभाध्यक्ष श्री रणवीर सिंह : उत्तरी मेहरवानोम्राज मुञ्जिल है, समय कम है ।

شری محمد یونس سلیم : ایک

بات کہنا مشکل ہے گاندھی فلاسفی کو پریچ کرنا اور اپنے کارناموں پر پردہ ڈالنا یہ کوئی اچھی سیاست نہیں ہے کیسے کیسے لوگ آپ کے ساتھ آئے ہیں۔ کہسے کہسے نریشن کرنے والے آئے ہیں لیکن جن لوگوں نے سب ورسو ایکٹوٹیوز میں حصہ لیا جنہوں نے اس ملک میں ریسل کے نظام کو درہم برہم کرنے میں حصہ لیا ان کو آپ نے معاف کر دیا۔ کل ہوم منسٹر صاحب کہہ رہے تھے کہ مہسا میں جو ایسی بلدی ہیں ان کے لئے دیکھ رہے ہیں کہ ان کے خلاف کیا جرم ہے۔ ذرا ایسا دامن بھی دیکھئے کہ آپ کی آستہلیں کس طرح سے معصوموں کے خونوں سے داغدار ہیں ان کو نہ بھولئے۔

[شری محمد یونس سلیم]
دوسری چیز جو میں کہنا چاہتا
ہوں کہ پرویزینٹ صاحب کے ایڈریس
میں سخت حیرت ہوتی اور تعجب
ہوا کہ مائینٹنی کے متعلق اس میں
ایک لفظ بھی نہیں کہا گیا - نہ
مائینٹنز کے اہم مسئلے کے متعلق کہا
گیا نہ اہم اردو زبان کے متعلق کہا
گیا۔ اس کو کہنے کی ضرورت کیوں
تھی وہ کہنے کی اس لئے ضرورت
تھی کہ آپ کی کنستٹیوٹنٹ پارٹی نے
سی - ایف - تی نے اپنے مینی فیسٹو
میں خاص طور پر مائینٹنز کی پرابلم
کے بارے میں کہا تھا کہ موجودہ یہ
سرکار مائینٹنز کی پرابلم کو حل کرنے
کی اور مائینٹنز کے ووٹ کو اٹریکٹ
کرنے کے لئے طرح طرح کی باتوں
اختیار کی ہیں اور مائینٹنز کو یہ
دلاسہ دیا کہ مائینٹنز کے ساتھ آج کی
حکومت انصاف نہیں کر رہی ہے
کل ہم آپ کے ساتھ انصاف کریں گے
میں اس پارٹی کا جو مینی فیسٹو
ہے اس کا ایک جملہ پوھر سلوانکا -

"The Janata Party is pledged to preserving the secular and richly diverse character of our State. It will accord the highest respect to the rights and legitimate needs of the minorities. It believes that all citizens are equal and should be treated as equals and that they should have full freedom against discrimination of any kind. There are numerous complaints about discrimination against minorities in industry, trade and commerce and in the matter of employment. The Janata Party pledges itself to pre-

vent any discrimination against the minorities, religious, cultural or linguistic or against any citizen or group of citizens in the country.

"The Party will establish a Civil Rights Commission, an independent and autonomous body, to see that the minorities and the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes do not suffer from backward classes do not suffer from equality..."

جناب وائس چیئرمین صاحب -
یہ ایکسٹریکٹ ہے چلتا پارٹی کے
مینی فیسٹو کا -

श्री रबी राय : (उड़ीसा) आप इससे
साथ सहमत हैं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
((SHRI RANBIR SINGH): Please sit
down.

श्री रबी राय : इससे लगता है आप
इससे सहमत हैं ।

شری محمد یونس سلیم : اب
میں سی - ایف - تی کے مینڈ فیسٹو
سے پڑھتا ہوں -

"...Necessary administrative measures would be taken to ensure for minorities not only their protection, but their rights as well. Urdu will be given its rightful place. We pledge to spread the sense of equality and fraternity among all communities. Special regard has to be paid to the difficulties, both economic and social, faced by the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and the Untouchability Act should be effectively implemented to drive out the curse of untouchability from society. . ."

جناب وائس چیئرمین صاحب -
یہ ایکسٹریکٹ ان دونوں پارٹیوں کے
مینی فیسٹو سے پوھر سلوانے کا جو
مطلب ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ یہ پرویزینٹل
ایڈریس ہے یہ ایڈریس اس حکومت

کی آئینہ کی پالیسیوں کا ایک پروگرام
ہے اس کے اندر ایک لفظ بھی نہ تو
مائنورٹیز کے متعلق کہا گیا ہے نہ
شیڈولڈ کاسٹ کے متعلق کہا گیا ہے -
نہ بیک ورڈ کلاسز کے لئے کہا گیا ہے
نہ اردو کے لئے کہا گیا ہے تو کیا میں
یہ سمجھوں کہ یہ مینی فیسٹو جو
مائنورٹیز کے حقوق کی حفاظت کے
لئے ہے یہ محض دھوکا دینے کے لئے
ہے تاکہ مائنورٹیز کی ووٹ حاصل ہو
سکے ؟

श्री रबी राय : मेरा ऐसा कहना था
कि हम लोगों को थोड़ा सा समय दीजिए
सिविल राइट्स कमिशन के सिलसिले में
और माइनोरिटी के सिलसिले में । जो हम
लोगों ने यहां इस मैनिफेस्टों में कहा है
सारी जनता पार्टी और सी० एफ० डी०
जो कि जनता पार्टी का पार्लियामेंट में एक
अंग है और दूसरे मمبر जो हैं हम सब
उसे पूरा करने के लिये बचनबद्ध है और
प्रेजिडेंट के प्रति सरकार बचनबद्ध है । यह
हम लोगों का ध्येय है । हम इसे पूरा
करेंगे ।

श्री कल्प नाथ राय (उत्तर प्रदेश) रबी राय
से पूछा जाए वह किस बात के लिये बचन-
बद्ध है ।

श्री रबी राय : सिविल राइट्स कमिशन ?

Interruptions

सभाअध्यक्ष श्री रण बीर सिंह : आर्डर,
आर्डर प्लीज ।

श्री محمد یونس سلیم : وائس

چیرمین صاحب—میرے دوست کو
دیکھ ہو رہا ہے کہ میں نے ان کی
دکھتی دگ کو پکڑا ہے -

श्री रबी राय : खुशी हो रही है ।

شہری محمد یونس سلیم : اگر آپ

کو خوشی ہوئی - اگر آپ کے وعد
سچے ہوتے تو ایک جملہ ایک پراگراف
پریذیڈنٹیل ایڈریس میں ہوتا -

श्री रबी राय : जब बजट आया उसने
सब कुछ आया ।

Interruption

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
RANBIR SINGH): Order, order,
please.... (Interruptions).... Order,
please. The Member is not yielding.

شہری محمد یونس سلیم : میں

اپنے دوست کو چیلنج کرنا چاہتا ہوں
وہ یہ ایڈریس پڑھیں اور وہ اس
میں ایک لفظ بھی بتا دیں اس میں
مائنورٹیز کے متعلق اردو زبان کے متعلق
کہا گیا - یہاں مینی فیسٹو تک
ہی نہیں پہنچی ہے مزارچی
کی تقریر کا ایک جملہ پڑھکر
سنانا چاہتا ہوں جو انہوں نے انبالہ
میں کس جگہ دوسری مارچ کو کہا تھا-

"The Janata Government will set
up a Minorities Commission for pro-
bing into the grievances of the mi-
norities and the recommendations
will be mandatory on the Govern-
ment."

Where is this found in the Address?

یہ جو کہا ہے میں اس کو کیا
سمجھوں—میں مائنورٹی کے ایک
ممبر کی حیثیت سے یہ جاننے کا حق
دکھتا ہوں جس وقت یہ ووٹ لینے
کے لئے جا رہے تھے انہوں نے کتنی
چھتری باتیں کی تھیں تاکہ مائنورٹی
کا ووٹ مل جائے - دوسرے امام صاحب
بولے مائنورٹیز کو بھگانے کے لئے لے کر گئے

[شری محمد یونس سلیم]

تاکہ پبلکلی پالیٹیکل تکریر کرائی جائے۔

امام صاحب کو یہ لوگ مسجد میں لے گئے اور مائنٹیننس کے مذہبی جذبات کو ابھارا گیا۔ یہ سب دیکھ کر مجھے بہت دکھ ہے۔ مسجد ہمارے عبادت کی جگہ ہے لیکن ان لوگوں نے ان کو پالیٹیکس کا اکھاڑ بنانے کی کوشش کی ہے۔ وائس چورمیں صاحب۔ آپ کو یاد ہوگا جب جامع مسجد میں گولی چلی تھی تو میں نے یہاں کہا تھا کہ میرے طبقہ اور حیدر کی کوئی انتہا نہ رہی جب میں نے دیکھا کہ میرے بعد جن سنگھی ساتھی اور دوست مسجد میں بیٹھکر امام صاحب کے ساتھ صلاح کر رہے تھے۔ یہ سازش اس وقت سے شروع ہو رہی تھی۔ سب لوگ اس بات کو جانتے ہیں کہ مسجد مقدس جگہ ہے اور امام صاحب صرف وہاں پر نماز پڑھاتے ہیں اس کے علاوہ ان کا کوئی دوسرا کام نہیں ہوتا۔ وہ ہمارے دیلی راہنما نہیں ہوتے ہیں دیلی پیشوا نہیں ہوتے ہیں۔ لیکن جامع مسجد کے امام کو دیلی راہنما اور دیلی پیشوا بنانے کی کوشش کی گئی۔ آپ کو یہ سنکر تعجب ہوگا جس دن یہ سرکار برسر اقتدار آئی اس دن جامع مسجد میں روشنی کرائی گئی۔ آپ جانتے ہیں کہ جس دن پرافت کا

برتنہ دن ہوتا ہے یا رمضان کا دن ہوتا ہے اس دن جامع مسجد میں روشنی کرائی جاتی ہے لیکن اس طرح سے نہیں کرائی جاتی ہے۔ یہاں پر سب رائٹ تھیلنگ اور سنجیدہ لوگ بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں ان سے پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کیا اس طرح کی چیزوں کی کسی بھی حکومت میں اجازت دی جاسکتی ہے اگر مسجد کے اندر کانگریس سی۔ پی۔ آئی کا سی۔ ایم کا اکالی دل کا یا جلتا پارٹی کا اس طرح پروپیگنڈا کیا جائے گا تو یہ ملک کے لئے اچھا نہیں ہے۔ مسجد۔ شوالے۔ گورودوارے یہ سب عبادت کی جگہیں ہیں ان کو سیاسی اکھاڑا نہیں بنایا جانا چاہئے۔ اس ملک کے اندر طرح طرح کے دھرموں اور مذہبوں کو ماننے والے لوگ رہتے ہیں۔ ہر ایک مذہب میں پوجا پاتھ کی آزادی ہے اور اس لئے مسجدوں مندروں اور گردواروں کو سیاسی پلٹ فارم نہیں بنایا جانا چاہئے وہ ہماری عبادت کی جگہیں ہیں۔ مجھے یہ دیکھکر بہت تعجب ہوا جب جامع مسجد سے آر۔ ایس۔ ایس۔ پر پابندی ہٹانے کی بات کہی گئی۔ میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر اسی طرح کی حالت چلتی رہی تو یہ قصہ کبھی ختم ہونے والا نہیں ہے اس لئے مہری گزارش ہے کہ اپنی خود غرضی کے لئے مسلمانوں کو بہکانے کی کوشش

نہیں کی جانی چاہئے جب یہ پارٹی حکومت میں آئی تو انہوں نے یہ جتانے کی کوشش کی کہ جیسے یہی مسلمانوں کے کسٹودین بننے والے ہیں۔ میں آپ سے عرض کروں گا کہ آپ اس طرح کی سستی شہرت اور ناموری کمانے کی کوشش نہ کریں۔ اس دیہ میں میں جو بھی مسجد شوالے گرجے اور گوردوارے ہیں ان کو سیاسی ماحول سے دور رکھیں اگر ایسا نہیں کیا جائے گا تو اس سے جھگڑے فساد بڑھیں گے اور لوگوں کا دھما دوبہر ہو جائے گا۔ وائس چیرمین صاحب — میں نہایت درد دل سے خالص سچائی کے ساتھ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ آپ عبادت کی جگہوں کو سیاسی ماحول سے دور رکھیں۔ مجھے امید ہے کہ آپ میرے ان خیالوں پر غور کریں گے اور آپ نے جو مجھے بولنے کے لئے وقت دیا ہے اور اپنے خیالات ایوان میں رکھنے کا موقعہ دیا ہے اس کے لئے میں آپ کا شکریہ ادا کرتا ہوں۔

†[آئی مہممد یونس سلیوم (آंध प्रदेश): जनाब वाइस चेयरमैन साहब। प्रेजिडेंट ने एड्रेस पर कई पहलुओं से रोशनी डाली जा चुकी है। अपोजीशन बेंच की तरफ से भी और ट्रेजरी बेंच की तरफ से भी। बहुत कुछ कहा गया है एमरजेंसी के मुताबिक। जनाब वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, एमरजेंसी के जमाने में बाज लोगों को

तकलीफें उठानी पड़ीं, बाज लोगों को कुछ मुश्किलात का सामना करना पड़ा, इस में इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता। लेकिन एमरजेंसी की वजह से इस मुल्क को जो फायदे पहुंचे हैं इसे इन्कार करना ठीक नहीं और दयानतदारी नहीं है। खास तौर से उन लोगों के लिए जो गांधीवादी होने का दावा करते हैं और इस दावा से आये हैं हमारे सामने की हम गांधीआईट तरीके से इस मुल्क को चलायेंगे गांधी जी का यह तरीका नहीं था कि हकीकतों पर पर्दा डाला जाय और अपनी गलतियों से इन्कार किया जाय, अपनी गलतियों को माना न जाये। वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, मैं इस ऐवॉन का ज्यादा बक्त न लेते हुए सिर्फ दो बातें बताऊंगा कि इस एमरजेंसी के जमाने में इस मुल्क को क्या फायदा हुआ, इस मुल्क की एकानमी को क्या फायदा पहुंचा— जादू वह है जो सर पर चढ़ कर बोले। खुद प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने अपनी तकरीर में जिसका एक जुमला मैं आपको पढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूं इसको तसलीम किया है— यह प्राइम मिनिस्टर की वह तकरीर है जो इन्होंने रेडियो पर दो दिन पहले ब्राडकास्ट की थी—

“ We are in a happier position today in regard to our foreign exchange reserves than we were some time ago, but the fact remains that we cannot rest on our laurels; not only do we have to keep it up but we have also to continue to improve our financial resources etc. etc.”.

जनाब वाइस चेयरमैन साहब—आप अच्छे तरीके से वाकिफ है कि यह जो फोरन एक्सचेंज के रिसोर्सेज में तरक्की हुई है ये एमरजेंसी के तर्फैल से है।

अगर एमरजेंसी नाफिज न की जाती, इस मुल्क से स्मगलिंग का आत्मा न किया जाता, इस मुल्क में जो पेरलल एकानमी

[श्री मुहम्मद यूनुस सलीम]
चलाई जा रही है उसको हमेशा के लिये
रोका नहीं जाता, तो जिस तरह से कीमतें
आसमान से बातें कर रहीं थीं उनको
रोका नहीं जा सकता था और उसका
एतराफ तमाम दुनिया में किया जा रहा है
कि हिन्दुस्तान ने मुअज्जाना तरीके से कीमतों
को बढ़ने से रोका है। हम इस मुल्क में करेप्शन
को दूर करने की बातें करते हैं हम इस
मुल्क से स्मगलिंग को हटाने की बातें
करते हैं। अभी इस हुकूमत के बरसरे
इकतदार आनेसे दो रोज पहले एमरजेंसी
हटाई गई और जो सीमा के तहत
स्मगलर्स जेलों में डाले गये थे उन को
छोड़ा गया है। अभी मुश्किल से एक
हफ्ता हुआ है। एक हफ्ते में इस मुल्क
की क्या हालत हो गई है। आज के
अखबार में टाइम्स आफ इण्डिया ने
इस पर रोशनी डाली है। आज ये नाशु-
करगुजार लोग इस बात का भी अहतराफ
नहीं करते कि हमारे मुल्क की मण्डियां
जो बाहर के आये हुये स्मगलर्स माल से
भरी पड़ी रहती थी - कलकत्ता बम्बई
और मद्रास में, एक साल भर से ज्यादा
हुआ इसका खात्मा हो रहा था और
बाहर की बनी हुई एक सुई भी हम को
नहीं मिलती थी लेकिन आज बाजार में
फिर वह माल आ गया है और स्मगलिंग
की एकटीविटीज़ फिर शुरू हो गई है।
मैं 'टाइम्स आफ इंडिया' के एडिटोरियल
से चन्द सतर्हें पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ -

"Whether all suspects, who are now
out of jail, are back at their old game or
are lying low may be debatable. But
there can be no doubt that their release
has made others bolder. Smuggled ra-
dios, cigarettes, perfumes and whole
range of consumer goods are again
being sold openly on the pavements in
Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and elsewhere.
The price of Scotch Whisky in the black
market has fallen and the price of gold
has somewhat eased in anticipation of

illicit consignments from overseas. Apart
from such staples as textiles, cameras
and watches, the police have of late
seized from the smugglers ceiling fans
made in China, battery operated tube
lights of Japanese manufacture,
woolen blankets woven in Spain and
brassieres from Hong Kong."

Sir, this is the condition.

आज एमरजेंसी हटे आठ दस दिन नहीं
हुये, आप के बाज़ार में यह हाल हो
गया। कम से कम इसका एतराफ तो
कीजिये। ये गांधीयन तरीका है कि
आप हकीकतों को छिपाये नहीं। आप
कहिये कि जिस वक्त एमरजेंसी नाफज़
हुई उस वक्त मुल्क की एकानमी तबाह
बरबाद हो रही थी - उस को रोका
गया एमरजेंसी नाफज़ करके और हम
गांधीयन तरीके पर अमल करने वाले
लोग हैं हम अपनी गलतियों का एतराफ
करते हैं हम से इस ज़माने में कुछ
गलतियां हुई हैं। और ज्यातियां भी हुई
हैं, न होती तो अच्छा था लेकिन हम
उन पर शर्मिन्दा हैं लेकिन जो हुकूमत
करता है, मुल्क को चलाता है
तो अच्छाईयां भी करता है और उसके
साथ गलतियां भी होती हैं। हम दिलेरी
और बहादुरी के साथ उन को मानते हैं
लेकिन आप क्या करते हैं? आप गांधी जी
का नाम ले कर जो अहिंसा का देवता था,
उस का नाम लेकर ऐसी बातें कहते हैं कि
जो झूठ और धोकाधड़ी पर बैमानी है।

जनाब वाइस चैंबरमैन साहब, मैं
और बातों पर नहीं जाऊंगा। एक फायदा
तो कम से कम एमरजेंसी का और हुआ
ही है इस की तरफ मेरे दोस्त
धारिया साहब ने अपनी तकरीर में ध्यान
दिलाया और वह यह है कि अगर इस
मुल्क में एमरजेंसी न आती तो जनता
पार्टी भी वजूद में नहीं आती। यह जनता

पार्टी जो वजूद में आई है यह एमरजेंसी की तर्फ है। परसों धारिया साहब ने अपनी तकरीर में इस बात का एतराफ किया है कि हम लोग जब जेल में थे तो हम ने जेल में रहकर इस बात का ईरादा किया था कि हम जनता पार्टी को बनायेंगे। यानी मतलब यह हुआ कि मुल्क की हालत इस मकाम पर पहुंच गई थी कि जो मिसेज इन्दिरा गांधी हमेशा कहा करती थी कि डेमोक्रेसी इस मुल्क में उसी वक्त पनप सकती है जब दो पार्टियाँ सिस्टम कायम किया जाये एमरजेंसी ने यह मौका फराहम किया कि आप लोग एक जगह मिले और मिलने के बाद अगरचे आप में और आप के साथ जो मिले हुए लोग हैं उन की थिंकिंग में, फिलासफी में, उन के तरीकाये-कार में, जमीन आसमान का फर्क है लेकिन महज मुतफिक होने के लिये और इन्दिरा गांधी और कांग्रेस की हुकूमत को हटाने के लिये आप एक कैप में जमा हो गये हैं। मैं एक जुमला पढ़ना चाहता हूं।

"But so far as the Janata Party was concerned, it was in the jail itself that the Congress Government provided the opposition leaders the opportunity to come together. The Janata Party, like Lord Krishna, has taken its birth in the jail itself."

इस पर मैं ज्यादा वक्त जाया नहीं करूंगा। मेरे कहने का मकसद यह है कि एमरजेंसी इस मुल्क के लिये जो तरक्की लाई है किस तरह से इस मुल्क में डिसिप्लिन कायम हुआ है उस को नज़र अन्दाज़ नहीं किया जा सकता। जिस तरह से कालेजों के, यूनिवर्सिटियों के लड़के एक आम इन्कलाब, एक टोटल इन्कलाब का नारा दे कर स्कूलों और कालिजों से निकाल कर सड़कों पर फैला दिये गये थे कि वे मोटरों को रोके, बसों को रोके, उन से नाजायज़

तरीके से रुपया वसूल करें, दुकानदारों से रुपया वसूल करें - कम से कम इसका खात्मा तो हुआ। लड़के स्कूलों में जाने लगे, कालेजों में तालीम होने लगी, इम्तेहान में छुरा दिखाने की वारदातों की हकीकते थी वो खत्म हुई।

वाइस चैंयरमैन साहब, आप का घंटी की तरफ हाथ बढ़ रहा है ज़रा मेहरबानी कीजिये मेरे हाल पर। मैंने वाइस चैंयरमैन साहब, देखा है कल प्रोफेसर राम लाल पारिख के साथ आप ने बहुत मेहरबानी की थी वह बरता मैं भी चाहूंगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री रणबीर सिंह) : उतनी मेहरबानी आज मुकिल है, समय कम है।

श्री महम्मद यूनुस सलीम : एक बात कहना मुश्किल है गांधीयन फिलासफी को प्रीच करना और अपने कारनामों पर पर्दा डालना यह कोई अच्छी सियासत नहीं है - कैसे कैसे लोग आप के साथ आये है। कैसे कैसे करप्शन करने वाले आये है लेकिन जिन लोगों ने सबवरसिव एक्टिविटीज में हिस्सा लिया, जिन्होंने इस मुल्क में रेल के निज़ाम को दरहम बरहम करने में हिस्सा लिया, उनको आप ने माफ कर दिया। कल होम मिनिस्टर साहब कह रहे थे कि मीसा जो अभी बन्द है उन के लिये देख रहे है कि उन के खिलाफ क्या जुर्म है।

ज़रा अपना दामन भी देखिये कि आपकी आस्तीने किस तरह से मासूमों के खूनों से दागदार है - उन को न भूलिये।

दूसरी चीज़ जो मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि प्रेज़ीडेंट साहब के एड्रेस में सख्त हैरत हुई अगर ताहज़ुब हुआ कि म.प.नॉ. टीज के मुतालिक इस में एक लफज भी नहीं

[श्री मुहम्मद यूनुस सलीम]

कहा गया। न मिनारिटीज के अहम मसले के मुतालिक कहा गया, न अहम उर्दू जवान के मुतालिक कहा गया—उस को कहने की जरूरत क्यों थी वह कहने की इसलिये जरूरत थी कि आप की कास्टीट्यूट पार्टी ने सी० एफ० डी० ने अपने मेनिफेस्टों में खास तौर पर मायनोरिटीज की प्राब्लम के बारे में कहा था कि मौजूदा यह सरकार मायनोरिटीज की प्राब्लम को हल कर देगी और मायनोरिटीज के बोट को एक्स्टेंड करने के लिये तरह-तरह की बातें एक्खार की है और मायनोरिटीज को यह दिनासा दिया कि मायनोरिटीज के साथ आज की हुकूमत इन्साफ नहीं कर रही है। कल हम आपके साथ इन्साफ करेंगे मैं इस पार्टी का जो मेनिफेस्टो है उसका एक जुमला पढ़ कर सुनाऊंगा—

“The Janata Party is pledged to preserving the secular and richly diverse character of our State. It will accord the highest respect to the rights and legitimate needs of the minorities. It believes that all citizens are equal and should be treated as equals and that they should have full freedom against discrimination of any kind. There are numerous complaints about discrimination against minorities in industry, trade and commerce and in the matter of employment. The Janata Party pledges itself to prevent any discrimination against the minorities, religious, cultural or linguistic or against the any citizen or group of citizens in the country. The Party will establish a Civil Rights Commission, an independent and autonomous body, to see that minorities and the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribe and other backward classes do not suffer from any discrimination or any inequality....”

जनाब वाइस चैयरमैन साहब—यह एक्सट्रेक्ट है जनता पार्टी के मेनिफेस्टो का

श्री रबी राय : आप इसके साथ सहमत हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RANBIR SINGH) : Please sit down.

श्री रबी राय : इस से लगता है आप इस से सहमत हैं।

श्री मुहम्मद यूनुस सलीम : अब मैं सी० एफ० डी० के मेनिफेस्टो से पढ़ता हूँ।

“.....Necessary administrative measures would be taken to ensure for minorities not only their protection, but their rights as well. Urdu will be given its rightful place. We pledge to spread the sense of equality and fraternity among all communities. Special regard has to be paid to the difficulties, both economic and social, faced by the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and the Untouchability Act should be effectively implemented to drive out the curse of untouchability from society.....”

जनाब वाइस चैयरमैन साहब—यह एक्सट्रेक्ट इन दोनों पार्टियों के मेनिफेस्टो से पढ़कर सुनाने का जो मेरा मतलब है वह यह है कि ये प्रेजिडेनशियल एड्रेस है, ये एड्रेस इस हुकूमत की आइन्दा की पालिसियों का एक प्रोग्राम है। इस के अन्दर एक लफज भी न तो मायनोरिटीज के मुतालिक कहा गया है और न शडयूल-कास्ट के मुतालिक कहा गया है। न बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के लिये कहा गया है, न उर्दू के मुतालिक कहा गया है। तो क्या मैं यह समझू कि यह मेनिफेस्टो जो मायनोरिटीज के हक की हिफाजत के लिये है यह महज धोखा देने के लिये है ताकि मायनोरिटीज की बोट हासिल हो सके ?

श्री रबी राय : मेरा ऐसा कहना था कि हम लोगों को थोड़ा सा समय दीजिये सिविल राइट्स कमिशन के सिलसिले में

और माइनोरिटी के सिलसिले में। जो हम लोगों ने यहां इस मैनोफेस्टों में कहा है सारी जनता पार्टी और सी० एफ० डी० जो कि जनता पार्टी का पार्लियामेंट में एक अंग है और दूसरे मैनोफेस्टों में जो हमें सब उसे पूरा करने के लिये बचनबद्ध है और प्रेजिडेंट के प्रति सरकार बचनबद्ध है। यह हम लोगों का ध्येय है। हम इसे पूरा करेंगे।

श्री कल्पनाथ राय (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
रबी राय से पूछा जाय कि वह किस बात के लिये बचनबद्ध है।

श्री रबी राय : सिविल राइट्स कमिशन
....(Interruptions)

उपाध्यक्ष (श्री रणबीर सिंह) : आर्डर
आर्डर, प्लीज।

श्री मुहम्मद यूनुस सलीम : वाइस
चैयरमैन साहब—मेरे दोस्त को दुःख हो
रहा है कि मैंने उन की दुखती रग को
पकड़ा है।

श्री रबी राय : खुशी हो रही है।

श्री मुहम्मद यूनुस सलीम : अगर आप
को खुशी होती, अगर आप के वायदे
सच्चे होते तो आपका जुमला, एक पैरा-
ग्राफ प्रेजिडेन्शियल ऐड्रेस में होता।

श्री रबी राय : जब बजट आयेगा
उस में जब सब कुछ आयेगा।

....(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
RANBIR SINGH) : Order, order,
please....(Interruptions)... order, please.
The Member is not yielding.

श्री मुहम्मद यूनुस सलीम : मैं अपने
दोस्त को चैलेंज करता हूँ—वह यह ऐड्रेस
पढ़े और वह इस में एक लवज भी बता

दे, इस में मायनोरिटीज के मुतालिक,
उर्दू जवान मुतालिक कहा गया।
बात यहां मैनोफेस्टों तक ही नहीं पहुंची
है। मोरार जी की तकरीर का एक जुमला
पढ़कर सुनना चाहना हूँ जो उन्होंने अम्बाला
में किसी जगह दूसरी मार्च को कहा था—

“The Janata Government will set up
a Minorities Commission for probing
into the grievances of the minorities and
the recommendations will be mandatory
on the government.”

Where is this found in the Address?

यह जो कहा है मैं इस को क्या समझू
मैं मायनोरिटीज के एक मेम्बर की हैसियत
से यह जानने का हक रखता हूँ। जिस
वक्त ये वोट लेने के लिये जा रहे थे
उन्होंने कितनी चुपड़ी बातें की थी ताकि
मायनोरिटीज का वोट मिल जाये।
दूसरे ईमाम साहब लेकर गये, मायनोरिटीज
को बहकाने के लिये लेकर गये ताकि पब्लिकली
पोलीटीकल तकरीर कराई जाये।

ईमाम साहब को ये लोग मस्जिद
में ले गये और मायनोरिटीज
के मजहबी जजबात को उभारा गया।
यह सब देख कर मुझे बहुत दुःख है।
मस्जिद हमारे इबादत की जगह है लेकिन
इन लोगों ने इन को पालिटिक्स का
अखड़ा बनाने की कोशिश का। वाइस
चैयरमैन साहब आप का याद होगा जब
जामा मस्जिद में गोली चली थी तब मैंने
यहां कहा था कि मेरे देश और मेरी
हैरत की कोई इन्ताह न रही। जब मैंने
देखा कि मेरे बाद जनसंघी साथी और
दोस्त मस्जिद में बैठ कर ईमाम साहब के
साथ सलाह कर रहे थे। यह साजिश उस
वक्त से शुरू हो गई। सब लोग इस
बात को मानते हैं कि मस्जिद मुकसद

[श्री मुहम्मद यूनस सलीम]

जगह है और ईमाम साहब सिर्फ वहां पर नमाज़ पढ़ाते हैं इस के अलावा इनका कोई दूसरा काम नहीं होता। वह हमारे दीनी राहनुमा नहीं होते, दीनी पेशवा नहीं होते, लेकिन जामा मस्जिद के ईमाम को दीनी राहनुमा और दीनी पेशवा बनाने की कोशिश की गई। आपको यह सुनकर ताज़्जुब होगा जिस दिन यह सरकार बरसरे इक़तदार आई उस दिन जामा मस्जिद में रोशनी कराई गई। आप जानते हैं कि जिस दिन प्राफिट का बर्थ दिन होता है या रमज़ान का दिन होता है उस दिन जामा मस्जिद में रोशनी कराई जाती है, लेकिन इस तरह से नहीं कराई जाती। यहां पर सब राईट थिंकिंग और संजीदा लोग बैठे हुए हैं। मैं इनसे पूछना चाहता हूं क्या इस तरह की चीजों की किसी भी हुक्मत में इजाज़त दी जा सकती है? अगर मस्जिद के अन्दर कांग्रेस, सी० पी० आई० का सी० पी० एम० का, अकाली दल का या जनता पार्टी का इस तरह प्रोपेगण्डा किया जायेगा तो यह मुल्क के लिए अच्छा नहीं। मस्जिद, शिवालय, गुरुद्वारे, यह सब इबादत की जगह है इनको सियासी अखाड़ा नहीं बनाया जाना चाहिए। इस मुल्क के अन्दर तरह तरह के धर्मों और मज़हबों को मानने वाले लोग रहते हैं। हरेक मज़हब में पूजा पाठ की आज़ादी है और इसलिए मस्जिदों मन्दिरों और गुरुद्वारों को सियासी प्लेटफार्म नहीं बनाया जाना चाहिए, वह हमारी इबादत की जगह है। मुझ यह देख कर बहुत ताज़्जुब हुआ जब जामा मस्जिद से आर० एस० एस० पर पाबन्दी हटाने की बात कही गई। मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस तरह की हालत चलती रही तो यह किस्सा कभी खत्म होने वाला नहीं है। इसलिए मेरी गुज़ारिश है कि अपनी खुदगर्जी के लिए मुसलमानों को बेहकाने की कोशिश नहीं की जानी चाहिए। जब यह पार्टी हुक्मत में आई तो उन्होंने यह जताने की कोशिश की कि जैसे यही मुसलमानों

के कस्टोडियन बनने वाले हैं। मैं आपसे अर्ज करूँगा कि आप इस तरह की सस्ती शौहरत और नामवरी कमाने की कोशिश न करें। इस देश में जो भी मस्जिद, शिवालय, गिर्जे और गुरुद्वारे हैं उनको सियासी माहौल से दूर रखें। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया जायेगा तो इससे झगड़े फ़साद बढ़ेंगे और लोगों का रहना दुश्पर हो जायेगा। वाइस चैयरमैन साहब— मैं निहायत दद दिल से, खालिस सच्चाई के साथ, अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आप इबादत की जगहों को सियासी माहौल से दूर रखें। मुझे उम्मीद है कि आप मेरे इन ख्यालों पर गौर करेंगे और आपने जो मुझे बोलने के लिए वक्त दिया है और अपने ख्यालात एवान में रखने का मौका दिया है उसके लिए मैं आपका शुक्रगुज़ार हूँ।

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI (Assam) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, after 30 years of rule by the Congress we are out of it. A new party has come. I have no grudge. Rather I am very happy that I have been able to sit in the Opposition during my life-time. It is not by their grace that the Congress has ruled for thirty years. The same democracy prevailed. We were voted and we were ruling. And now we are out-voted. Therefore, we are in the Opposition.

I do not quarrel over the manifesto or anything. We will work. And as the Leader of our Party in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Chavan, has said, we are for constructive co-operation. But that co-operation does not mean that they will get our vote for whatever they bring forward. It does not mean that. When they are going to implement some good programmes to remove poverty, for the provision of drinking water, for distribution of land, for fighting inflation, then they will get our support. We are not just for criticism.

Sir, so far as the President's Address is concerned, I agree with every word of my esteemed friend, my senior friend, Mr. Triloki Singh. Sir, the President's Address is supposed to be an indication of the policies to be pursued by the Government. But here a deviation is made. If they were short of time, then they should have postponed the President's Address. But the party which has formed the Government has been thinking about it for a long time. Only abuse of emergency has been mentioned. I take pride that we have admitted our mistakes and our excesses. We have been defeated because we committed excesses in family planning. Our former Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, revoked the internal emergency. Don't you give credit to her? She resigned and she removed the internal emergency. You have removed the external emergency. If she had removed the external emergency, probably you would have blamed her saying that the country has been left open for attack. What is Janata Party? The same Congressmen are leading the party. Shri Morarji Desai Shri Jagjivan Ram and Shri Bahuguna are in the Treasury Benches. I am in opposition by nature. Even when my party was the ruling party, I spoke the truth. I used to be a ruthless critic of Shri Morarji Desai when he was the Finance Minister. My speeches are on record. I am not a blind follower of anybody. I don't demonstrate that I am a Gandhian. Gandhism is not wearing Khadi and spinning. Gandhism is the philosophy of non-violence, love for the poor and respect for the truth. Gandhiji could be the first president. The man who led the country to freedom did not become the President. He made Jawaharlal Nehru as the Prime Minister and opened a new chapter. In other countries, people like Lenin and Hitler who led the revolution, became the Presidents. Gandhiji is not only murdered, Gandhiji is de-d. When necessity arises,

the hypocrites take the name of Gandhi and cheat the people. In this country, there are hypocrites everywhere. There are saints also. There are sprititual gurus in India. But their number is few. This Parliament is nothing but a jugglery of words. I won't quarrel if something for minorities was not mentioned. It is the performance which matters. We also failed in performance. For 30 years we could not give drinking water. Why do you promise to remove poverty in ten years? This is unfair. You ask for 5 years or 6 years. You want another term. This is unfair. Then what is this extra-constitutional centre of power? I say that the post of President is unnecessary. The President is the spokesman of the Government. He reads written speeches. What is this paraphernalia of the Rashtrapati Bhavan? Why is there this pomp and show? Can you remove this thing, Mr. Morarji Desai? I am not saying this only today. I spoke the same thing from the Treasury Benches. My speeches are there. You can go through my speeches. Well, austerity must be there. When Mr. Morarji Desai was my Finance Minister and I was his camp follower, I said this. I know that Mr. Morarji Desai is a man of austerity. But personal austerity is not sufficient. Austerity means the austerity in the country. There are many people who live with austerity.

Many people take vegetarian food and goat milk. That does not mean they are non-violent. They should be non-violent in thought. Take this simple living. Many people lead simple lives because they are the most misers. That does not mean they make simple living. Now, you will have big houses, luxurious life. But you demonstrate your simple living. We will be very happy. You demonstrate what we failed. But the same bureaucracy goes on expanding. It is old wine in a new bottle--same Mr. Morarji Bhai, same Mr. Bahuguna. And I would have been happy if Mr. Rajnarain had become the Prime Minister. My colleagues, Mr. Chandra Shekhar and

Mr. Mohan Dharia are there. Today, poor fellow Mr. Mohan Dharia, has become a Minister, and he was saying about Lord Krishna. Where do you find Krishna? Are you becoming Krishna? Krishna was a charioteer of Arjuna. It was Krishna who installed them in power. But Yajuvansa became mad with power. They quarrelled among themselves. They insulted Krishna. Ultimately they were destroyed. I would have been happy if Mr. Chandra Shekhar or Mr. Mohan Dharia had been made the Prime Minister. That is the revolution. But I find the same Government, only change of persons. Therefore, Sir, I am in the centre. While Mr. Morarji Desai was in the Congress, my seat was here. In the opposition also, my seat is here. My position is very good, Sir. Many people asked me, "Why don't you resign and come to us? What for? Where will I go? I will be here only. If I go to the Janata Party, I will find the same position, in the centre. It is better to be an independent. I am still a Congressman. But I do not find any difference.

About corruption, Sir, it has become a nuisance in India. Nobody worries about corruption when they get power. Yesterday, my friend, Mr. Kalyan Roy, raised a specific question about corruption. Why do you have those controversial people in the Ministry, and why not Mr. Chandra Shekhar, who fought the Birlas, who fought Mr. Morarji Desai? Mr. Biju Patnaik, at one time, was my good friend. When the Chinese Aggression took place, he wanted to mobilize help. Afterwards, you read about him. Still, he continues to be my good friend. I have no fear. So, you should practise all these Gandhain principles.

Now, emergency is lifted. We have no quarrel. You try any body who was an offender, who had committed atrocities. But do not try to divert attention to what you call the extra-constitutional power. Then, where were you? Then the Parlia-

ment was sitting. Somebody may commit an economic offence or do something. They may be tried. Why is this extra-constitutional power? I do not understand such a thing. I was never asked to follow the Prime Minister or any Minister blindly. I used to speak frankly. If some officers did something, these officers always caught hold of some politicians. They misuse the power and give a bad name. Don't think that within six months of the lifting of emergency, atrocities will be stopped. So, maintain discipline. Emergency has done certain good things. The officers maintained punctuality. After the emergency is lifted, I find the officers coming late. There is no punctuality. After the lifting of emergency, after the Janata Raj has come, I have the experience to see that the trains are running late. The trains are not punctual, the buses are not punctual. People in the telephone exchange do not respond.

Half an hour before I went, I called at the Office, the telephone exchange, but they were not responding. Hello, hello but no answer. Previously they used to respond and say so and so is speaking. I did not telephone for any permit or anything. It was just to inform the man that I would be reaching. I have no connection with any officers. Therefore, I say that you demonstrate by doing some good work. But, if you want to divert the people's attention, that will not work. I say it is the same pattern of the Congress, the same old men, the same old people are living in this country. They cannot change. They may speak many good words because they are masters of words. I do not lament for the people. I am only sorry for them. Automatically some of the old people will die within ten years or twelve years. But the whole country will be affected and there will be chaos and disorder. (*Time Bell rings*).

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, let me say that if any kind of revolution comes, bloodshed comes, civil war comes, the first target

will be those people, rich men. I have nothing to lose. My children will take care of themselves. I will not lose and, therefore, I am not afraid of the revolution. But the result would be that the country would lose and the nation would lose. If once you terrorise or violent dictatorship is established or chaos comes, then the whole country will go. (*Time Bell rings*.) One minute, Sir.

Sir, our leaders, after independence, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad, laid the foundation of our nation. This foundation has been strengthened by three Prime Ministers, namely, Pandit Nehru, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Do not denigrate their services. They have laid the foundation, the basic foundation of the Congress ideology, the nation's ideology and must not be destroyed. Secularism, socialism, unity and stability of the country have to be maintained. I am not afraid of this Government or that Government because I am not an aspirant for ministership. Whoever comes to power I will speak the truth, like Shri Bhupesh Gupta. So, I am not afraid. But thing is that please do not destroy the nation (*Time Bell rings*). Do not destroy the nation for ministerial *gaddi*.

Then, Sir, I want to say one more thing. please reduce the number of Parliament sessions. Go to the field and work there. Somebody once told me—I do not defame Parliament and I do not insult Parliament—when I wanted to attend the Session of Parliament: Why are you going to that talking shop? You should do some good work here. We have offered constructive co-operation. Therefore reduce the number of sessions and demonstrate some spectacular good work.

Then, Sir, I come to the post of President and to the Rashtrapati Bhavan. Make it simpler. Rashtrapati's post is also not necessary. Rashtrapati should not be there. The Address can be read by the Lok Sabha Speaker or the Prime Minister. You have

copied America, you have copied Britain. I do not support that. When I say all these things. I am sorry because I do not use Parliamentary language. I am not a lawyer. (*Time Bell rings*). If this is the Address, Rashtrapati's post should not be there. It can be read by Mr. Morarji Desai or any body else. This is very luxurious. All these things should be abolished. Try to do something revolutionary instead of abusing us.

श्री जगबीर सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
अधिष्ठाता महोदय, मैं भैरोंसिंह शेखावत जी द्वारा धन्यवाद का जो प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया गया है उस का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं ने कुछ मा'नीय सदस्यों के भाषण बहुत ही ध्यान से सुने और विशेषकर यूनूस सलीम साहब का भाषण बहुत ध्यान से सुना। उन का भाषण सुन कर मुझे उर्दू का एक कपलेट याद आ गया, जो इस तरह है :

सब ने इल्हाहे गुलशन के बायदे किये,
नजवे गुलशन किसी ने संवारा नहीं,
सभी हकदार है, तायराने चमन,
फस्ले गुल पर किसी का इजारा नहीँ।
हम ने चुप रह के जोना भी चाहा, मगर,
सहने गुलशन में यूँ भी गुजारा नहीं,
नेरे रहते जने चमन बागवां,
कैसे कह दूँ कि तेरा इशारा नहीं ॥

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इतना ही नहीं, उन्हें बड़ी परेशानी थी माइनारिटीज के बारे में। मैं केवल एक बात उन से जानना चाहता हूँ। कहां थी उन की परेशानी उस रोज जिस रोज कि कैराना की मस्जिद के अन्दर नमाज पढ़ते हुए लोगों को गोली मारी गयी? कहां थी उन की परेशानी जब कि मुजफ्फरनगर में मुसलमानों को इस बात पर गोली मारी गयी कि वह फैमली प्लानिंग के तहत आपरेशन नहीं कराना चाहते थे? और फिर क्या हुआ। नहीं फिर

सरकार ने उसे हिन्दू मुसलिम झगड़े का रूची देना चाहा दो हिन्दू लड़कों को मार कर । मैं समझता उनको परेशानी प्रगर उस समय भी उन्होंने अपनी जुबान से कुछ कहा होता मैं समझता अगर उन्होंने कहा होता कि यह सरकार ज्यादाती कर रही है । मैं समझता कि अगर उन्होंने कहा होता कि यह सरकार की ज्यादाती है तो मैं उन का माइनारिटीज से प्रेम समझता । आज इस प्रकार माइनारिटीज का नाम ले कर भाषण दे देना और यह कहना कि राष्ट्रपति भाषण में उन का कोई जिक्र नहीं है क्या ठीक है ? हमने यह खुद कहा कि हमारा पूरा भाषण इस प्रकार का है कि जिस में सब पालिसियों का जिक्र नहीं है । उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, दो या तीन दिन पहले जिस सरकार ने काम सम्हाला हो वह इस अभिभाषण में किस तरह से अपनी पालिसियों का स्टेटमेंट दे सकती है कि क्या सरकार करने जा रही है और क्या नहीं करने जा रही है । सब कुछ इस में दिया ही नहीं जा सकता था । इस में तो केवल संकेत मात्र है और इस को इसी तरह से लिया जाना चाहिए ।

मैं इमरजेंसी का जिक्र नहीं करना चाहता था क्योंकि माननीय नेता विरोधी दल ने यह कहा था कि इमरजेंसी का जिक्र नहीं करना चाहिए । लेकिन मैंने उस के बाद भी देखा कि उधर से जो भाषण हुए सभी में इमरजेंसी किस लिये लगायी गयी इस बात का जिक्र किया गया और इमरजेंसी से क्या क्या फायदे हुए इस का भी जिक्र किया गया ।

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI : No, I have not said it. I said it was a mistake.

SHRI JAGBIR SINGH : I am not meaning you , please.

आप सुन लीजिए । तो इन सब चीजों का जिक्र किया गया और जिक्र यह किया गया कि इमरजेंसी के फायदे हम को मान

लेने चाहिए । मैं बहुत सफाई के साथ इमरजेंसी का एक फायदा मानने के लिये तैयार हूँ जिस का जिक्र यूनुस साहब भी कर रहे थे । इमरजेंसी से इस देश में जड़ मजबूत हो गयी है प्रजातंत्र की, इस से हम इनकार नहीं करते । इस देश में न होता दो पार्टी सिस्टम अगर इमरजेंसी न लागू होती, चाहे उस की जिम्मेदारी हमारे सिर रखी जाय या किसी और के सिर, लेकिन यह फायदा केवल इमरजेंसी का है । अगर और कोई फायदा उस का बनाया जाता है तो मैं उन को मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस चुनाव ने यह साबित कर दिया है कि जनता ने किस प्रकार वोट दिया । एक मित्र फरमा रहे थे कि यह नार्दन इंडिया की सरकार कहो जा सकती है, नहीं है साउथ की इस में नुमाइन्दगी । मैं उन से कहना चाहता हूँ कि न सोचें वह देश के दो भागों की बात । वे सोचें इस देश की बात, पूरे देश की एक इकाई की बात और तमाम देश की जनता ने आज कांग्रेस को ठुकराया है और कहा है कि आप हमारे नुमाइन्दे नहीं है । जनता पार्टी को उन्होंने कहा है कि अब जनता पार्टी हमारी नुमाइन्दगी करेगी और जनता पार्टी को यह सौभाग्य उन्होंने दिया है कि जनता पार्टी अब उन की सेवा करेगी । लेकिन

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA :
(Karnataka) : The entire country has not supported your party.

श्री जगबीर सिंह : मुझे तकलीफ इस बात की है कि शायद माननीय सदस्या समझ नहीं पा रही हैं मेरी बात को । मैं आंकड़े देना चाहता हूँ कि जहां आप कहते हैं कि मैं सिव मेंडेट मिला है, सबसे ज्यादा वोट कांग्रेस को मिले तो आंध्र प्रदेश में मिले और वहां भी जितने मिले हैं, उनका प्रतिशत 57.36 है । वहां पर जनता पार्टी को 33 परसेंट वोट मिला है । जहां से

4 P.M.

[श्री जगवीर सिंह]

तमाम सीटें, एक को छोड़कर कांग्रेस को मिली है वह। भो जनता पार्टी को 33 परसेंट वोट मिले। जिस प्रदेश से आप हारे हैं, वहां पर कांग्रेस को 17.95 प्रतिशत वोट मिले हैं और बाकी वोट जनता पार्टी को मिले। बिहार में 22.2 परसेंट मिले कांग्रेस को मैं चाहूंगा कि इन आंकड़ों की आप तस्दीक करें।

SHRI N.K. BHATT (Madhya Pradesh) : I have not said that.

श्री वी० बी० राजू : चेयर को अड्रेस करके आप आंध्र प्रदेश बोलें तो चेयर क्या जवाब देगा ?

श्री जगवीर सिंह : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह बात सिद्ध होती है कि जनता पार्टी को बहुत बड़ा बहुमत इस देश में प्राप्त हुआ है और यह मौका दिया गया जनता पार्टी को कि वह इस देश की सेवा करे।

देश की आजादी के बाद यह पहला मौका है इस देश के अन्दर जब बहुमत की सरकार बनी। वरना आज तक इस देश के अन्दर कम वोट पाने वाली सरकार ने हुकूमत की। इसलिए उसने जनता की भावनाओं का ख्याल नहीं रखा है। पहली बार इस देश के अन्दर स्वतंत्रता के बाद बहुमत की सरकार बनी है। उस तरफ विरोधी पक्ष बैठा हुआ है इसलिए मैंने मान लिया है कि अगर इमरजेंसी से इस देश में कुछ फायदा हुआ है तो वह यही है कि इस देश के अन्दर प्रजातंत्र की जड़ें मजबूत हुई हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह कहा गया कि इमरजेंसी से डिसिप्लिन आया, रेलें ठीक समय पर चलने लगी, विद्यार्थियों ने काम करना सीख लिया, गोली चलाना बन्द कर दिया। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूं कि इमरजेंसी से ये फायदे हो गये हों, लेकिन यह इमरजेंसी इसलिए नहीं लगाई गई।

इमरजेंसी इसलिए लगाई गई कि हाईकोर्ट का फैसला आ गया, एक आदमी की कुर्सी बचाने के लिए यह लगाई गई। यह कानून बनाया गया कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट में फैसला होने से पहले यह सब कानून लागू होंगे जो कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट के सामने हैं। एक खेल खेल दिया गया।

The rules of the game are being changed.

श्रीमन, यह देश डिक्टेटरशिप की ओर जा रहा था इसलिए यह इमरजेंसी लगाई। श्री त्रिलोकी सिंह जी मेरे नेता हैं, मैंने स्यासत शुरू की थी तो उनके नेतृत्व में की थी। उन्होंने बताया कि कांग्रेस किस लिए हारी। ठीक है, उन्होंने एक बात एडमिट की लेकिन मैं एक बात उनसे अदब से कहना चाहता हूं कि—जिसको वह स्वयं जानते हैं, पता नहीं उन्होंने क्यों नहीं कही—अगर वह कह देते इस बात को कि इस देश के अन्दर कांग्रेस की हार हुई है तो इसलिए हुई है कि कांग्रेस डिक्टेटरशिप की तरफ चली जा रही थी, तो शायद पूरा इंसाफ वे करते। लेकिन उनको मैं बधाई देना चाहता हूं, लेकिन पूरे तरीके से उनको बधाई तब देता।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह फैमिली प्लानिंग का जहां तक सवाल है यहां पर जितने कांग्रेस के लोग बैठे हैं, मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है कि उन सब ने माना कि ज्यादातियां हुई और गलती करके ज्यादातियां मान ली तो उनका जिक्र नहीं करना चाहिए। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि ज्यादातियां किस प्रकार की हुई। इतना ही नहीं कि कायदे की ज्यादातियां हुई, अगर जेल के अन्दर किसी को भेज दिया गया तो उसके ऊपर झूठे मुकदमे कायम किये गये। जेल में डालने के लिए एक एफ० आई० आर० सब के लिए लागू होता था चाहे प्रोफेसर साहब हों, चाहे हम हों या कोई भी हों। उन सब पर एक ही एफ० आई० आर० लागू

होता था। एफ० आई० आर० सब जगह एक ही, हर सूबे में एक ही।

मैं आपको एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ अपनी जेल का जिसमें मुझे रखा गया था। वहाँ पर एक आर० एस० एस० का अनिल कुमार था उसको पकड़ने के लिये पुलिस गई तो वह अनिल कुमार नहीं मिला तो उन्होंने दूसरे अनिल कुमार को पकड़ लिया। हमने कहा कि यह अनिल कुमार नहीं है यकीन कीजिए यह दूसरा अनिल कुमार है तो कहने लगे तुम झूठ बोल रहे हो। (Time tellings) मैं सिर्फ एक-दो बात कह कर समाप्त कर दूंगा।

जिस रोज़ इमरजेंसी लगाई गई 25 जून, 1975 को वह दिन इतिहास के अन्दर ब्लैकस्ट डे इन द इंडिपेंडेंट इंडिया कहा जाएगा।

यह कहा गया कि हमने तो इमरजेंसी वापस ले ली थी। ठीक है, जनता ने आपको हरा दिया तो वापस ले ली। इन्दिरा गांधी का नतीजा रात को तीन बजे आया और पांच बजे आपने वापस ली इस बात से मैं इंकार नहीं करता।

मैं खासतौर से बधाई देना चाहता हूँ प्रेजिडेंट महोदय को दो बातों के लिये जो उन्होंने अपने एड्रेस में कहीं हैं। उन्होंने एक बात बहुत तरीके से इसके अन्दर कही है :

“The people have given a clear verdict in favour of individual freedom, democracy and the rule of law and against executive arbitrariness, the emergence of a personality cult and extra-constitutional centres of power”.

Then, again, he says : “My Government pledges itself to fulfil in every way the mandate given to it by the people. In doing so, it will not take the

people for granted or assume that they know nothing and that the Government alone knows all answers and solutions”.

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आज उन लोगों से जो कि सरकारी पक्ष में बैठे हुए हैं विशेषतौर से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह भी इस बात का ख्याल रखें कि अगर उन्होंने भी भूल की तो जो हाल इन्दिरा गांधी की सरकार का जनता ने किया वे उन्हें भी माफ नहीं करने वाले हैं। जो वायदे जनता पार्टी ने किये हैं जो आप जनता को वायदा देकर आए हैं मेरा विश्वास है आज का मंत्रिमंडल मोरारजी के नेतृत्व में उन सब को पूरा करेगा और किसी बात की कोई शिकायत नहीं आने देगा।

अन्त में एक बात और कहकर मैं खत्म कर दूंगा। आप जानते हैं कि आज किसान की फसल तैयार खड़ी है। किसान की कीमतों के लिये मैनीफेस्टो में कहा गया है और लीडरों ने इलेक्शन में अपने भाषणों में भी कहा है कि रेम्युनरेटिव प्राइस देगे। अगर आज किसानों को रेम्युनरेटिव प्राइस नहीं देंगे तो इस देश का किसान खामोशी से इसबात को बर्दाश्त करने वाला नहीं है। अगर किसानों की उपेक्षा की तो किसान उसे बर्दाश्त नहीं करेंगे। आज गांव में रहने वाली जनता, गांव के मजदूर, किसान जाग उठे हैं व किसी को बख्शने वाले नहीं हैं चाहे इधर के बैठने वाले हों या उधर के बैठने वाले हों।

मैं इन शब्दों के साथ सरकारी पक्ष में बैठने वाले मित्रों से यह प्रार्थना करूंगा आपके माध्यम से कि जल्दी से जल्दी इस पर निर्णय लें और उनकी रेम्युनरेटिव प्राइस, जो वह इलेक्शन में कह कर आए हैं, दें। क्योंकि उस समय आपने माना था कि 105 रुपये रेम्युनरेटिव प्राइस नहीं है। मैं श्री भैरों सिंह शेखावत के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRIMATI SAROJ KHAPARDE (Maharashtra) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to give my best wishes and congratulations to the party in power and particularly to the Prime Minister who happens to be an old Congressman of our country.

Sir, I have been hearing with attention the speeches made by the hon' ble members from the Government side on the Motion of Thanks to the Vice-President acting as President for his Address. As regards economic policies, the policy of decentralisation of agro-rural industries, of doing justice to the rural class, to the agricultural class and giving them a better price for their produce—all that is therein the President's Address. The only thing that hurt me in the Address was the little sense of euphoria that could be seen in the very first page. There is an attempt to condemn generally the previous Government and to say that the verdict of the people of this country has gone against the proclamation of Emergency and the 42nd Constitution Amendment Act.

I beg to submit for your kind consideration and that of the House whether this analysis is really borne out by facts. It is said that in the entire northern belt there has been an avalanche, a flood, an earthquake of resentment, discontent, dissatisfaction and anger of our people against the Congress because of the excesses committed during the emergency. No one can deny that. And the Congress, as our leader, Shri Yashwantrao Chavan has said in the other House the other day, has to learn a lesson. If we do not, we will never be able to face the people again. So, I agree that there has to be an introspection, a look within the heart by the Congress organisation. But when we try to analyse and say that this has been a vote against the proclamation of emergency under those circumstances—to which I will come presently—then we must remember that the proclamation of emergency was for the whole country and not only for the north. If the people were

against the emergency, then they would have reacted in a similar manner throughout the country.

Remember the other wave, the 1971 wave to which some of our friends were contributors and were benefited. In that wave, on the call of garibi hatao, on that promise, on that assurance and on that hope, the entire country had reacted from Kanyakumari to Kashmir, from Bombay to Bengal, from Goa to Gauhati. The whole country reacted in the same manner except Tamil Nadu where the issue was a local and not a national one. If one can say that the reaction was that of the whole country, it does not appear to be that the resentment throughout the nation was against the emergency.

Some people say that it is against the 42nd Constitution Amendment. If that was so, the people would have reacted against the Congress throughout the country. But that has not happened. I am not going into the percentages.

What will be the conclusion ? Why has not the country, in a unanimous manner, reject the Congress ? The answer is simple. The excesses committed in the north angered the public so much that it created a disgust in the minds of the people there. That is why it ran through the whole of north. Therefore, by analysing the situation unless we come to a correct diagnosis of the disease throughout the country, we will not be able to provide a proper remedy. So I would plead with my friends on the Government side to consider that the resentment is not against the 42nd Constitution Amendment itself, as our leader said in the Lok Sabha.

Sir, many Members discussed the significance of the election results and the pattern of voting.

We have conceded that we have lost the elections and the mandate of the people has been against the emergency. As the man-

[SHRIMATI SAROJ KHAPARDE]

date had gone against the emergency, we had withdrawn the emergency. I think our country has said good-bye to the emergency for good. But I think, at the same time, the significance of the election has been that it rejected the emergency. It did not accept the Janata Party at all. I feel this is a matter of interpretation. I am told the Janata Party has yet to come into existence in the month of May, some time in the first week, a very revolutionary work. I am quite sure the members of the CPI (M) would take great pride in that. Of course, I do not know the feelings of the Swatantra Party. According to my information, this is a rejection of the rigours of the emergency. We, the Congressmen, have accepted it. Also we have taken a lesson that the delegation of powers without adequate checks and balances either to the Executive or to the bureaucracy can be misused and abused. This is certainly a lesson one needs to keep in mind. I feel that this would guide the political life of India in days to come.

The President's Address referred to the verdict of the people and the need for the consequential action. We accept the verdict of the people in all humility. We shall function not only as a responsible and constructive Opposition but also, I hope, as an effective Opposition. We shall also extend all our help in the implementation of the programmes to realise the verdict of the people. We wish the new Government well. The country's requirements do not change with a change in Government. The need of the hour is a strong and stable Government which can bring about rapid social and economic growth. We do not think it would lead to de-stabilisation, and we shall naturally feel free within the rules of constitutional propriety to draw the attention of the new government to the lapses and shortcomings, when we find that the policies are being initiated which, in our opinion, are not conducive to the welfare of the people

or for achieving the common objective that we have before ourselves, that is, of a better life for millions of our countrymen. Then we shall disagree with the policies that the new Government may wish to embark upon and may put before Parliament and present alternative policies which we consider to be more vital for the achievement of the common objective.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to express my feelings on the Motion of Thanks to the Acting President.

श्री गुरुदेव गुप्त (मध्य प्रदेश) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, कांग्रेस का 30 वर्ष पुराना शासन गिर गया और जनता पार्टी की सरकार आज सत्तारूढ़ है। यद्यपि जनता पार्टी का अभी तक कोई वैधानिक अस्तित्व नहीं है, क्योंकि इसमें आज भी विभिन्न घटक हैं। चुनाव के दौरान विभिन्न घटकों ने अपने-अपने चुनाव घोषणा-पत्रों के द्वारा जनता के बीच वायदे किये और अपने दल की रीति-नीति और विचारधारा का प्रचार और प्रसार किया। इनमें काफी मत वैषम्य रहा और उनकी रीति-नीति में काफी अन्तर रहा है। आज वे केन्द्रीय मन्त्रि-परिषद के रूप में एक ही विचारधारा का प्रतिपादन कर रहे हैं किन्तु यदि निकट भविष्य में ये विभिन्न घटक अपने-अपने दल का विलीनीकरण करके जनता पार्टी के रूप में कार्य करने लगते हैं तो यह स्वागत-योग्य होगा और तभी इस सरकार को जनता पार्टी की सरकार कहलाने का नैतिक हक होगा।

कार्यवाहक राष्ट्रपति द्वारा अपने अभि-
भाषण में इसे दो-दलीय प्रणाली की दिशा में एक मील पत्थर कहना अभी अपरिपक्व है। किसी देश में जनतंत्र के स्वस्थ विकास एवम् उसके स्थायित्व के लिए दो-दलीय प्रणाली का होना नितांत आवश्यक है। बिना

सबल विरोध पक्ष के देश का शासन-तंत्र निरंकुश और स्वेच्छाचारी हो जाता है जो जनतंत्र की प्रगति में भारी खतरा है । आज जनता पार्टी के सत्तारूढ़ होने पर कांग्रेस पक्ष एक सबल विरोधी पक्ष की भूमिका निभा रहा है । कांग्रेस की नीति सदैव ही जनतंत्र का पोषण करने की रही है और इस चुनाव में कांग्रेस ने अपनी पराजय को जिस सहज रूप से स्वीकार करके जनता पार्टी की सरकार को देश का प्रशासन चलाने के लिए अपना रचनात्मक सहयोग देने का आश्वासन, हमारे नेता श्री चव्हाण द्वारा, दिया है, वह कांग्रेस का जनतंत्र के प्रति आस्था का प्रतीक है ।

श्रीमन्, देश में विगत 30 वर्षों के कांग्रेसी प्रशासन में जनता पार्टी की सरकार के वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री श्री मोरारजी देसाई का भी महत्वपूर्ण योगदान रहा है । सन् 1969 तक उन्होंने तत्कालीन कांग्रेसी शासन में विभिन्न पदों पर कार्य किया है । वे महात्मा गांधी के परम अनुयायी हैं एक कट्टर देशभक्त और कर्मयोगी । अतः उनके द्वारा कोई अप्रजातान्त्रिक कार्य न होगा ऐसी मेरी मान्यता है । किन्तु इस समय वे ऐसे चक्रव्यूह में फँस गए हैं कि मैं परमात्मा से कामना करता हूँ उनके स्वास्थ्य की, उनके दीर्घजीवी होने की । माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जनता पार्टी द्वारा विगत 30 वर्षों में कांग्रेसी शासन की जिस प्रकार से भर्त्सना की गई है वह न केवल कांग्रेस की ही भर्त्सना है, बल्कि उसके अन्दर जाकर देखें तो वह उनके वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री की भी भर्त्सना हो जाती है । सत्ता पक्ष के अनेक सम्माननीय सदस्यों ने बताया है कि कांग्रेस ने 30 वर्षों में कोई जनतान्त्रिक कार्य नहीं किया और देश की प्रगति में उसका कोई महत्वपूर्ण योगदान नहीं रहा । विगत 30 वर्षों की कांग्रेस की उपलब्धियों पर मैं बाद में विस्तार से प्रकाश डालूंगा किन्तु मैं आपके माध्यम से शासनारूढ़

सरकार से इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस की सबसे बड़ी उपलब्धि यह है कि उसने जनतंत्र को 30 वर्ष की अवधि में इतना मजबूत बनाया, इतना प्रभावी बनाया, उसकी जड़ें इतनी गहरी कर दीं कि आज इतना भारी परिवर्तन बड़े शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से और सौहार्दपूर्ण तरीके से हो गया । अगर कांग्रेस ने जनतंत्र में विश्वास न किया होता, अगर कांग्रेस ने जनतंत्र में अपनी आस्था न रखी होती, अगर कांग्रेस ने जनतंत्र को पल्लवित और घोषित करने का कार्य न किया होता तो आज इस देश में भी वही हालत होती जो कि हमारे पड़ोसी देश में चुनाव के बाद हो रही है ।

श्रीमन्, कांग्रेस की पराजय को जनता पार्टी की ओर से कांग्रेस की नीतियों एवम् कार्यक्रमों की पराजय कहा जा रहा है । मेरी दृष्टि में यह कथन सत्यता से परे है । यदि ऐसा होता तो देश के जिन अनेक भागों में कांग्रेस जीती है, वह कैसे जीती है ? श्रीमन्, कांग्रेस की पराजय हमारी नीतियों एवम् कार्यक्रमों की खराबी से नहीं बल्कि उनके कार्यान्वयन में गफलत की वजह से है । आपात काल के दौरा न केवल कुछ मुख्य मंत्री व मंत्री, बल्कि हमारे कांग्रेस संगठन के नेता तक, व्यक्ति-पूजा में इतने निमग्न हो गए थे कि भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी तक वस्तुस्थिति का पटुचन कठिन हो गया था । इन मुख्य मंत्रियों की बातों पर उन्होंने इतना भरोसा कर लिया कि स्थिति काबू के बाहर हो गई और उन्हें पराजय का मुंह देखना पड़ा । वरना 30 साल के कांग्रेस शासन में जिसमें 11 वर्ष भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का शासन-काल भी शामिल है, देश में जो चतुर्मुखी प्रगति हुई है और महत्वपूर्ण उपलब्धियाँ हुई हैं वे किसी भी राष्ट्र के लिए सम्मान का विषय हो सकती हैं । कृषि, शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, उद्योग, बिजली, कपड़ा हर क्षेत्र में प्रशंसनीय प्रगति हुई है । इस बारे में मैं कुछ आंकड़े प्रस्तुत करना चाहूंगा । कृषि के बारे में— 1947 में स्वतंत्रता की प्राप्ति पर भारत में

[श्री गुरुदेव गुप्त]

खाद्यान्न का कुल उत्पादन 47 मिलियन टन था, जबकि 1975-76 में यह लगभग 114 मिलियन टन हो गया। इसी अवधि में कृषि के अन्तर्गत जोत का क्षेत्रफल 326 मिलियन एकड़ से बढ़ कर 422 मिलियन एकड़ हो गया। 1950-51 में रासायनिक खाद का प्रयोग मात्र 55 हजार टन था। 1970-71 में वह बढ़ कर 2.5 मिलियन मीट्रिक टन हो गया।

इसी प्रकार से शिक्षा की दिशा में काफी प्रगति हुई है। साक्षरता 51-52 में 14 प्रतिशत थी जो आज बढ़ कर 35 प्रतिशत हो गयी है। 1950-51 में कुल 23 मिलियन छात्र स्कूलों में पढ़ते थे जो कि अब 87 मिलियन हैं। 25 वर्ष पूर्व 6 से 11 वर्ष की आयु के 10 में से 4 बच्चे स्कूल जाते थे जब कि अब 10 में से 8 जाते हैं। भारत में 36 हजार कालेज व 90 विश्वविद्यालय हैं तथा विश्व में वैज्ञानिकों व इंजीनियरों में यह तृतीय स्थान रखता है। इस कानम्बर यू० एस० ए० व यू० एस० एस० आर० के बाद ही आता है।

इसी प्रकार से स्वास्थ्य की दिशा में भी काफी प्रगति हुई है। मृत्यु दर 28 व्यक्ति प्रति हजार से गिर कर 15 प्रति हजार रह गई है। जीवन आयु 29 से बढ़ कर 55 वर्ष औसतन हो गयी है। शिशुओं की मृत्यु दर 180 प्रति हजार से घट कर 130 प्रति हजार रह गई है। जन्म दर 1959-60 में 42 प्रति हजार से गिर कर वर्तमान में 35 प्रति हजार रह गई है।

इसी प्रकार उद्योग की दिशा में भी काफी प्रगति हुई है। एल्युमिनियम का उत्पादन 1951 में केवल 4,000 टन था जो अब बढ़ कर 1,50,000 टन हो गया है। सीमेंट का उत्पादन 3 मिलियन टन से बढ़ कर 15 मिलियन टन हो गया है। पेट्रोल शोधन क्षमता 1950-51 में 0.2 मिलियन टन से बढ़ कर अब 20 मिलियन टन हो गई है। रासायनिक

खाद का उत्पादन 18,000 टन से बढ़ कर 2 मिलियन टन हो गया है।

विद्युत् की दिशा में भी इसी प्रकार से यथेष्ट प्रगति हुई है। 1951 में 3,700 गांवों में बिजली थी। अब 1,62,000 गांवों में है। तमिल नाडु, केरल और पंजाब, हरियाणा में लगभग सभी गांवों में बिजली है। पावर उत्पादन 1951 में 2.3 मिलियन किलोवाट था जो अब बढ़ कर 20 मिलियन किलोवाट हो गया है। बिजली का उत्पादन 1961 में 6.9 बिलियन यूनिट्स था जो बढ़ कर 1973 में 70 बिलियन यूनिट्स हो गया था। बिजली का उपभोग 1950 में 14 किलोवाट घंटे से बढ़ कर अब 94 किलोवाट घंटा हो गया है।

डाकघरों की संख्या 1950-51 में 36 हजार के मुकाबले 1973-74 में 1 लाख 17 हजार तक पहुंच गई। टेलीफोनों की संख्या 1 लाख 68 हजार से बढ़ कर 16 लाख 37 हजार हो गई।

1950-51 में देश में केवल 4 लाख किलोमीटर लम्बी सड़कें थीं जो कि अब 8 लाख किलोमीटर लम्बी है। सूती कपड़ा 44 करोड़ गज से बढ़ कर 795 करोड़ मीटर बनने लगा है। तैयार इस्पात का उत्पादन 1948-49 के 8 लाख 60 हजार टन के मुकाबले 1973-74 में 45 लाख टन हो गया। कोयला और कोक का उत्पादन 1948-49 के 2 करोड़ 80 लाख टन से बढ़ कर 1973-74 में 8 करोड़ 12 लाख टन हो गया।

इस उल्लेखनीय प्रगति के दौरान भी देश को चार युद्ध लड़ने पड़े। प्राकृतिक प्रकोप भी हम पर आया। 1965-66 और 1972 में सूखा पड़ा था। 1973 में बंगला देश के एक करोड़ शरणार्थियों को हमें शरण देनी पड़ी। उन की सेवा सुश्रुषा और खाने-पीने का व्यय भार भी हमें सहन करना पड़ा। अस्तु इन सब उपलब्धियों को नजरअंदाज नहीं किया जा सकता।

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, let me at the outset point out that the recent election that was held to the Lok Sabha was really a turning point not only in the history of our country, but in the history of democratic process itself. The great voters of our country have made it possible what everybody thought was impossible. It was till recently the impression in this country that it was not possible to bring down the Congress Party from power and nobody thought it possible for any other party to take their place. But our voters have proved that what many thought impossible can be made possible. And they made it possible. The Congress Party also realised that their responsibility was not merely to rule the country always but also to sit in the opposition and contribute constructively for the development of this country. I definitely congratulate the Congress Party to the extent they have played their role as constructive opposition.

I welcome the speech of the President. He had said therein that the most urgent task before the new Government is to remove the remaining curbs on the fundamental freedoms and civil liberties of the people and to restore the rule of law and the right of free expression to the press. Even the freedom of the Members of Parliament, which is the supreme legislative body of the country, was restricted and they could not speak what they wanted to. Even today the speeches of the Members of Parliament would not be published by the press. That curb is still there. For whom are we speaking here? It is not for the benefit of fellow Members. It is for the benefit of the people outside. I am quite sure the Government would soon bring forward legislation and see that the restriction imposed on the press to publish our speeches is removed.

I am quite happy that the new Government has done away with compulsory

family planning. Compulsion and coercion were the order of the day. Hereafter the family planning programme will be carried out only voluntarily. Previously compulsion was exercised on all people in every nook and corner of the country. I will cite one example from my personal experience.

In Moradabad there is one Dr. Shamin, MB., BS., He was arrested under MISA because he was against compulsory family planning. The authorities were willing to release him on parole on condition that not only he would undergo sterilization, but his wife also should undergo the operation. He was given the parole on this condition that he would undergo sterilization operation and also that his wife would undergo sterilization operation and he was asked to put it in writing. If this was the case with regard to an educated man in the country, you can very well imagine the gravity of the compulsion that they introduce in the case of the illiterate and ignorant masses of this country.

Sir, 'during the last thirty years' the minorities of this country and the backward classes did stand behind the Congress and the minorities and the Muslims were told that if the Congress was not voted to power, the Jana Sangh would come to power and if the Jana Sangh came to power, what would be the position of the Muslim minorities in the country? This was the propaganda that was being carried on throughout the length and breadth of the country. But the last elections have proved that the bulk of the Muslim community in India, in spite of the propaganda that was being carried on by the Congress, did stand against the Congress and that they have voted for the Janata Party and for the other non-Congress parties in the whole of India except in some parts of the South. By this I do not mean that the Congress is no more a force in the country. Congress is a force in the country and there is no doubt about it. The Congress Party should be an

[Shri Hamid Ali Se'annad]

alternative party and there is no doubt about that also. I do not say that the Congress has been completely crushed. It is a party and it continues to be a party still in the country.

Sir, the economic policies and the other policies of the Government are not quite clear and it is because within the short period that they had they could not come out with clear-cut economic and other policies. With regard to the manifesto of the Janata Party and with regard to the promise that has been given to the minority communities that a permanent Commission would be set up, Sir, it has been said by some friends here that this party has fooled the masses. I do not think so. You should give them time. We have given the Congress 30 year's time. But the never, never thought of appointing a minorities commission to go into the affairs and grievances of the minorities. So, we shall now give this government some time. If they feel, as some Member on the other side has said, that they are fooling the people, I would say that the Congress has fooled the people for years on end. We shall see whether these people also are fooling the people or whether they are doing something constructive to bring the backward communities and the Muslims to the level of the other communities. After all, the Muslims form part of the nation and bringing such a backward community to the level of the other communities is only doing a good service to the nation and nothing more than that.

Sir, when we speak about civil rights and the freedom of the Press and freedom of the people and so on, we should not think of too much of freedom and I would say that freedom should not be given to the undesirable and rowdy elements and to these people who would disturb the tranquillity of the atmosphere in the country. Definitely there should be a check on that kind of freedom and it is in the best interest of the nation. Also, hoarders, blackmar-

keteers and other unsocial and antisocial elements should be dealt with severely and there should not be any soft corner for these people. They would upset the economic balance in the country and they should be dealt with properly. This Government should show to the world that without the emergency and without the MISA they could check the smugglers, they could check the blackmarketeers and they could check the hoarders and the profiteers.

Now, as far as our foreign policy is concerned, Shri Vajpayee has said that we would be friendly with the Arab countries and we are very glad about it. He has gone further and said that Israel should vacate the occupied land and he has also said very clearly that he wants to be friendly with Pakistan. I am very glad about it. But one thing Sir, As far as our foreign policy is concerned, we should not engage our foreign policy either to Russia or to America, but we should have our own independent foreign policy so that our nation is pushed to the topmost position in the world. Thank you, Sir.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA :
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to say that this Motion of Thanks I cannot support. I do not think any Address presented to the Joint Houses of Parliament has ever been as negative as this one which has been presented this time. *(Interruptions.)* After all, the people voted the Government for something positive, to do something and not to undo all the time. What we feared right from the election campaign was proved in this first act, this first public act, of the Government when they presented to the nation a negative policy. Should like to tell them that this country expected from them a positive programme, something that they were going to do, and not what they were going to undo. I would say that at least now they should realise that they are no longer an Opposition but a Government. A govern-

ment is there not to oppose, not to be negative and not to undo. A government is there to do and to guide and to take a positive stand. And the sooner they realise it, the better it would be for them and for the country.

We have heard during the election campaigns, as also inside and outside the House, big stories about extra-constitutional authority being exercised. But I would like to ask today: What is this great extra-constitutional authority that is operating from the Jaslok Hospital? Is he a Member of Parliament? Is he the President of your party? What is he? He announces that elections should be held. He announces, in spite of laws on the Statute Book, that smugglers should be forgiven at his instance. It is to him that people go to discuss what is happening in Jammu and Kashmir. It is to him that people send messages regarding the advice to the Governor to dissolve the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly, without its being even placed on the Table of Parliament. Is this not an extra-constitutional authority? We have every day messages on the radio and television from him. We see his pictures on the T. V. every second day. Is this not extra-constitutional authority that is operating today, in spite of having an established government and the Prime Minister heading that Government? What is he? You have one set of standards for yourself and an other set of standards for others.

Then, I would speak about the recent election. Much has been said about it. Right, you have been voted to form the government. But let me tell you that the people have not rejected the Congress policies. They have not rejected the Congress party uniformly in this country. If they had rejected all that the Congress Party stood for—our dedication to Socialism, our dedication to the Indian democratic system, our efforts in making the country a country to be honoured internationally then they would have voted us

out everywhere. But some parts of the country have returned us in a very large majority. Is that a vote against the Congress? What has happened in the north-eastern region, even in these so-called Hindi belts—although I do not like to speak about languages in the north and the south—millions of votes have come to the Congress. It is not that we were rejected completely. Yes, we faced defeat. But then I would say that it is not a defeat for the Congress policies. The party was defeated in some States because of the wrong implementation of certain policies at certain times. So, do not be over-confident and keep on throwing stones at us. Remember, those living in glass-houses should not throw stones at others. Your histories are known to us. We know what you did and what you did not do when you were outside the Government. Today you sit and you preach as if you are the only people with clean hands... *(Interruptions)* ...as if you are the only people with clean hands in this country... *(Interruptions)*. There are many more of us.

Then, there is a great, new argument that since we have lost the election to Parliament in some States, the State Assemblies should go because, you say, the people have lost faith in us. But what about the State Assemblies in the south where we have come back in very large numbers? What is this?

What is this argument? What happened in Jammu and Kashmir? We won... all the seats with whatever the alliance was during the elections. The Congress got all the seats and the Janata Party did not get a single seat there. Yet you dissolved that Assembly in spite of the fact that the people had reaffirmed their faith in us. It is because it did not suit you. I ask you what happened in Tripura. Do you have all the seats there for the Janata Party? You went there and turned the Ministry upside down by bringing in the CPI(M) even though they did not get a single

[Mr. Deputy Chairman) in the
Chair]

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA :

As far as the economic policy is concerned, Mr. Deputy Chairman, we were told that they had no time to form policies and yet they did, in that Address, have time to say that the farmers will get higher prices. That was the only policy statement they had time to announce. Why? It was because only the farmers' lobby was there to receive their immediate attention since they came to form the Government. Then, I would ask you a question. There was a statement made outside the House. This has become a normal practice. Statements are made outside the House, and statements are made to the entire country through radio and television without first coming to Parliament. These are things which probably the new Government has to learn and we do not blame them for it. But I would like to ask whether it is the policy of this Government to reverse the trend of building of a public sector and of moving towards greater national control of the means of production? The Prime Minister made a statement that he believes in going back to the trusteeship theory of Mahatma Gandhi. Who are the trustees of the public? The landlords, the rich businessmen and the mill-owners of Gujarat according to what I have heard from their statements. They are talking about handing back the mills in Gujarat. These are the sick mills which had been closed down and which we have opened under the National Textile Corporation. Are then moving towards the aims of the Swatantra Party, when as announced by their Finance Minister Government is to hand over the consumer industry to the Private Sector? It includes cloth and it means production of cloth. They had time to think of these policies. They spoke about consumer goods being produced in the private sector alone. What does it mean? Is cloth not consumer goods or would you call it capital goods? Then there is another question which I would like to ask the Prime Minister since he is here. It was on the nationalisation of

banks that the Prime Minister had left the Cabinet in 1969.

(Interruptions)

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : She is yielding the floor to me. Do you believe in trusteeship philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi or not?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA : No, I don't. I am not the Minister to answer questions in the House.

[Shrimati Margoret Alva]

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like to know, in keeping with the committed policy for which our Prime Minister had once fought, whether he would go back to his stand and denationalise the banks, and whether he would say that there shall be no further nationalisation. He has the authority to do it. He stood for that principle. I would like to know whether the Government intends to go back on that. Would you give back the Privy purses the abolition of which you objected to when you were in the Opposition? Today you are in the Government. Are you going to restore them and bring back as you had opposed the bill at that time? Now, do it. The power is in your hands. Why are you undoing things? Keep doing also. Do these things and show the people what your policies are so that they may judge you a little better.

Then, I read in the newspapers about your moves to let these smugglers go. Reprieve for them is being announced. We have already read the editorials which have come out about smuggled goods being available all over the coast and all over Bombay. Thanks to the Janata Party, these smugglers have openly made a statement—some of them in Bombay—that they have undergone a change of heart after you took over the Government. What does it mean? Smugglers have undergone a change because the Janta Party has come. What do we understand from these statements? They were in jails when we were in Government. But they undergo

a change of heart and they are going to help you fight smuggling on the coast. Why? Because the Janata Party has come and they want to welcome you. What does the nation make of the statements like this? Is it that you are supporting them or they are supporting you? This is the question which I would like you to think about.

The foreign exchange position has improved tremendously in this country thanks to the efforts of the Congress Government during the last 20 months. Even the Prime Minister has admitted this. The other day, perhaps, in an unthinking moment, somebody in the Government said that the World Bank Reports are all bunkum. You may call them bunkum. But you have to go back to the same World Bank to get the aid that the Americans are wanting to give you through the World Bank. Let me tell you that the World Bank has in its report spoken about the tremendous economic recovery which India has made over the last 20 months. I would quote from the American press itself which has always been hostile to the Congress Government, and we know what their stand was all these months. I would quote an editorial which has been reprinted in the Times of India?

“Under the previous Government lots of coercion, discipline and subordination of selfish interests went into India's dramatic gains against inflation. The public sector was prodded into greater efficiency and the cumulative effect of all these efforts has encouraged the World Bank officials to urge upon the Indians to substantially expand their capital. While Mrs. Gandhi's emergency will go down as a lapse of Indian credentials to democracy, it must also be credited with facilitating a transition from the chaos which obtained in 1974.”

These are the editorials in the American Press which was absolutely anti-Indian because of the Congress policies all these years. And today they have welcomed

your new Government. They are offering you aid, they are wanting to come in a big way to help the Janata Government. Let me tell you friends that the policy of the Congress Government and of India during these last two or three years has been one of equality. 'We want no aid but trade' is the concept of the new economic order. If you go back on this, go back to aid, accept what these capitalist countries are going to give you, let me tell you that it will be a retrograde step and let us not fall into the trap of this free aid which comes from the capitalist countries. In the long run this is a drain on the national resources of any developing country.

Well, food production, you say, has increased because of rains. I hope you will have better rains when you are there so that we will have enough food to eat. So, I do not want to contradict you. You cannot also deny that the economic growth rate last year was 8.5 per cent. It is certainly a fact which has been accepted.

As far as the foreign policy is concerned, it has been said that we are going into a phase of genuine non-alignment as if there was no non-alignment all these years.

This statement created such a confusion that the U.N. circle almost announced that the Bureau Meeting in New Delhi was not to come about because India had gone off the non-aligned bloc and our representative at the United Nations had to make a special statement explaining that it did not mean a departure from our policy and that India was still in the non-aligned movement. And, as if to crown it all—I wish to say this again—I think it was the greatest insult to the non-aligned movement the way the remarks were made by the Prime Minister against the Chairman of the non-aligned bloc, Mrs. Bandaranaike. As a member of the non-aligned movement, we owed a duty to respect the Chairman, whether it was a man or a woman, irrespective of whatever personal sentiments one may have in this matter. ■

Regarding the Treaty with the Soviet Union, certain statements are being made now and then to the effect that it will be reviewed; we will keep our commitments but we do not want it to come in our way. Let me remind the House of the events of 1971. Which is the country which stood by us when the American Seventh Fleet was in our waters? Did anyone of you stand up to use your influence to get it out of the Indian Ocean? Or, was it these friendly socialist countries led by the Soviet Union that stood by us?

Then, was it the American capital that came to help us build up our industrial base when we needed money in the early years of Indian independence? It was the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, which helped this country to build its basic heavy industries. Capital did not come from the United States of the West. It came from the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries. Let us not forget these early relationships and this great foreign policy which we built under the influence of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the early years of our freedom.

I am again speaking on the foreign policy and I would like here to quote an editorial from the African Press. The African Press and many of the African countries announced the defeat of the Congress Party in black-bordered editorials in their evening papers that very evening and one of them, namely, the Mail from Zambia, which is in original here, stated: "While we welcome the new Government, which is now being put together, to give some semblance of national unity, the new leaders will do well to remember that the people of India, more than at any time in the past, need a leadership today which is committed to the cause of the masses and to ending the exploitation of man by man. And, to do this, they will have to rise above their religious differences and their hatred of Mrs. Gandhi, which, in the past, had been their only rallying point. This is the only

way in which they can assure their people that India without the Congress Party will continue to enjoy the respect of the non-aligned world community and be a powerful and good friend of the Third World." Even the African countries have voiced their reaction to what has happened in recent times.

Then, Sir, there is one more point which I want to make before I conclude. What is all this talk about inquiries, inquiries into this and inquiries into that, commissions into this and commissions into that? Go ahead, but let me tell you that if you are talking about inquiries and commissions there are many files that we would like to reopen also. We know about these files and I have got before me here Debates of Parliament of the Rajya Sabha. Here is the Debate which records the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha in which Mr. Chandra Shekhar, as a Member of this House, made certain allegations about people—I do not want to name those people here now—about the involvement of certain people, who are now in Government, with the Birlas and their effort to hide the files, from coming before Parliament in spite of these demands. I was not a Member at that time, but I would say that he has brought in here the name of Mr. L.K. Jha, who is today the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, and his involvement from those days with some members of the Government in these matters. This today solves the riddle which arose last week about the unbelievable attitude of Mr. L.K. Jha in dissolving the Jammu & Kashmir Assembly. He has been named in these Debates by no less a person than Mr. Chandra Shekhar, a member of your party. This is the debate dated the 5th March, 1969, in the Rajya Sabha. And yet today you talk about inquiries against us. And those were the days when our Prime Minister was the Finance Minister.

And, then there is the speech here of our Prime Minister today, during the
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debate on Mr. Jagjivan Ram's tax returns I have a reference here which says that a Minister should maintain some standards and that he had advised that Mr. Jagjivan Ram should quit. At that time, 5 P.M. he should have quit. Then how is he today a member of your Government? And here Mr. Morarji Desai said that this was the duty of the Prime Minister to ask him to quit. Today, he is the Prime Minister and he now has him as a Cabinet Minister. I do not know how your stand can change from the opposition side to the Government side and yet you speak of our having double standards and you speak of enquiries. I would like to ask: What about this gurdiscandle in Delhi in which Mr. Sikandar Bakhat, who is now a Minister, was involved? I want to know what are these scandals you want to enquire about? Against your Mr. Biju Patnaik, there were so many charges. Who are the other Ministers who have got clean hands? We can name them one after the other. Not now. A time will come when we will have an opportunity to open files and quote them in the House for your memory.

You have withdrawn cases of violence which had been instituted. You are sending back into the public sector the people who had been dismissed during strikes because of violent acts, because of destruction and because of other such charges. Send them back into all the public sector industries. Send them back to the jobs and create the same old atmosphere, which existed in 1974, of violence, of defiance of authority and of destruction so public property. "Sow the wind" it is said, "and you will reap the Whirlwind".

Mr. Deputy Chairman, another thing which has been said during this debate is about family planning, and I have the courage to speak about family planning here. This is an under-developed country which requires a programme of family planning. Even you cannot do without it, no matter what Mr. Rajnarain says and where he says it. We are increasing at the rate of 13 million

people a year and can this country improve its economic condition without a programme of family planning? We have it in the South. This has been a Programme since our freedom, since 1950. And it has been implemented. Something went wrong, in our over enthusiasm, in the implementation of this programme in certain States. We are still going ahead, in our States, with this family planning programme without a protest. It is true that its implementation went wrong. But because its implementation went wrong due to certain mistakes, you cannot throw the programme out. You have removed the words 'Family Planning' from the name of the Ministry of Health. Mr. Rajnarain has said so. Where are you going to attach it to? Are you going to bury the programme altogether? I appeal to you not to stop this programme, if you want to contain population growth in this country, which is one of our major economic problems.

And then, as far as the Health Ministry is concerned, I just want to make one observation. Why is it that since you formed the Government in every single Government hospital, including the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, the name plates, the badges of every single employee have been changed from English to Hindi even in the All India Institute of Medical Sciences which is an all India Institute? Is it because Mr. Rajnarain does not believe that we have other languages also in this country? Why is it being imposed? Somebody said just now: Do not talk about Government of the North or the South. What is the impression you are giving us in the South when within one week you start changing the name plates? I would like to ask my friend, the hon. Member of the D.M.K. who has been championing the cause of the Government, whether he is happy. He can also introduce it in Tamil Nadu as the first phase in the South. We have a national language policy. I am not against Hindi. In fact, I speak better Hindi, perhaps, than I can even speak

English. But that does not mean that you impose it forcibly on the people just because you have formed the Government seven days ago. I have met people there they told me that they have been forced to change their badges from English to Hindi within three days of Mr. Rajnarain becoming the Minister and so they did it. I would tell you that this is actually what is giving us the impression that this is a Government of the North which is going to ignore the interests of the South.

And here, Mr. Desai said the other day: I will see that your interests are safeguarded. Are we foreigners? Are we the people who do not have our own rights under the Constitution that you have to say that you will safeguard our rights? We have our rights and you have to safeguard the rights of everyone equally. We do not want a special privilege from you in the North. It is not your Government. It is my Government as well.

What was the statement? 'We will protect you people in the south, We have objected to this statement We do not want this patronage from anybody in any part of the country'.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, We respect the independence of the judiciary. But let me tell you we also believe in the supremacy of Parliament. We are not going to concede that a handful of judges, that a couple of judges appointed by somebody, should have precedence over the elected representatives of the people. We are the elected representatives of the people and the supremacy of Parliament has got to be maintained in this country. Do you mean to say that a handful of judges appointed by you have more freedom, have more right to decide issues and have more right to throw out laws than the people and the elected representatives of the people? They are not responsible to Parliament. They are not responsible to the people. They are not responsible to the electorate. Whom

are they responsible to except their own class interests and their own backgrounds? Therefore, I would appeal to you that while we all share your views on the independence of the judiciary, do not make it a matter of prestige and say that every thing that was done to restore the supremacy of Parliament should be done away with.

Finally, I would say we are with you. We are going to be a constructive opposition. I would say that it was the Congress Party which led the freedom movement in this country. It was the Congress Party which took the initiative in drafting the Constitution of this country when even Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan stayed out of that job. We are the people, the Congress Party, in the last 30 years, who laid the foundations of a democratic system in this country. We will keep up the traditions of this country. We are capable of giving to the Indian democratic system what it has needed most—a constructive, enlightened and a united opposition. We will give it to you. We will not call for total revolutions. We will not call the students and the workers out on the streets to fight. We are not going to force the elected representatives, even if they are your representatives, to resign and pull them out of their hospital beds. We are not going to preach violence. Nor are we going to tell the Police and the Army to revolt. We will be a constructive opposition. We have a tradition of which we are proud. Let me tell you here that we have a future which will be greater and more glorious than our past.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, if I may begin with what the last speaker spoke I think it would be possible for me to put the whole debate in its proper perspective. I must compliment her on the eloquence with which she spoke. But I am afraid, it was deficient in substance. She promised

at the end to be constructive. But was the speech constructive or was it destructive? Let her judge. I do not want to pass any judgement on her. It is not for me to do so.

SHRI SIKANDER ALI WAJD
(Maharashtra): Instructive.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI:
You have to earn something more before you become instructive. It is very easy to be instructive. But it is not easy to instruct one self. I am trying to do that for my part and I am also trying to learn from them too. I only hope they will follow that example to some extent at any rate.

How unreal was the criticism can be seen from the reference to Kashmir. This has been explained very clearly, but still it is being repeated here that the Government did this in order to deprive them of a chance to rule in Kashmir State. As I have said, Sir, in the lower House, I had a discussion about it with the Leader of the Opposition there and also Dr. Karan Singh. And I explained to them the facts and the law. And they saw it. I had no option left before me. But I am more surprised that the hon'ble Member should have criticized the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir State. He was not appointed by us. He was in the confidence of the last Government more than anyone else. And yet he goes on finding fault with him, because it does not suit her and her party that he should be independent and exercise his functions in a proper manner.

What is the position in Kashmir State? There is a separate Constitution in Jammu and Kashmir. I do not know whether the hon'ble Member knows it. Enthusiasm is not enough and cannot take the place of knowledge. It is quite clear in that Constitution. She is just like my daughter, and more than that, I treat her as my daughter. But I must tell her that she

[Shri Morarji R. Desai]

should utilise her capacity in more reasonable manner. The Constitution says that the Governor has no option but to dissolve the House or the Assembly if the Chief Minister in the Council of Ministers recommends it. He has no choice. And, therefore, when the Council of Ministers recommended dissolution to the Governor, he had no alternative. Does the hon'ble Member want that I should do an unconstitutional act? And this provision has been there all the while in this Constitution. If her party members or the hon'ble Members in Kashmir Assembly had been wise enough and had imagination enough and had known the law, and if they had passed a vote of no confidence in the Council of Ministers before they could recommend the dissolution, I could have certainly instructed the Governor not to act on that recommendation. But that was not done. They carried on only a propaganda in the newspapers, but in the Assembly no resolution was passed by that party. What was I to do? I could not, therefore, reject the advice of the Governor and the action which he had to take. I hope the hon. Member realises the facts now and will not repeat the mistake which she committed here in the matter of this Constitution, because once one makes mistakes in such matters, one loses the substance of facts in other matters too. One should keep one's credibility.

She also threatened us with making enquiries against us. She is welcome to do so even now. Let her not wait for power. I do not want to grudge if she gets power. We have no monopoly of power. It was only her party which wanted to have a monopoly of it. And when she criticises us in this manner, then she has to hear criticism, she says that we are only negative and not positive. With all the eloquence that she possesses and the intelligence which she has, she does not seem to understand the Address that was delivered by the President. She

says that we have made no programme. What is there on page 3? I would refer her to that. I do not want to take up any more time of the House. We have outlined as fully as possible in the short time available to us what our programme will be and what our policies are. If she had cared to read the manifesto of our party, she would have seen in detail what we are going to do. But they do not want to see this.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER:
Which manifesto?

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: The manifesto of the Janata Party.....
..... (Interruption) Well, if they do not want to touch it, they are welcome not to touch it. I have no quarrel. But this would be uninformed criticism of us. But, what do the hon. Members, who have also spoken in this strain, want?

They said that we are criticising the last Government and not giving anything positive. But when a slate is messed up and all kinds of writings are made on it, have we not to wipe it out before we can write on it? If there is dirt in a house and I have got to go and live in it, have I not to remove the dirt before I can live in it? If I have to construct a house and I have to lay a foundation, have I not to prepare the ground for it by clearing it? This is all that we are trying to do. We are not trying to find fault with any particular person. But if we have to go into complaints which are given to us and they are positive complaints of oppression and suffering of some people, we would be failing in our duty if we do not go into them.

Most certainly, Sir, I myself always maintain that Parliament is supreme, but what does it mean when it is supreme? Does it mean that Parliament can pass a legislation turning the whole Government into a dictatorship? Then that will be

no Parliament. Therefore, Parliament has also to see that it does nothing except what is democratic and no democratic traditions are violated.

The founders of the Constitution did not imagine that a Government could utilise the loopholes in the Constitution and turn it into a dictatorial Constitution. We have got to remedy this. That is not taking away the right of Parliament at all. On the contrary, we want to see that Parliament is not misused by any future Government and that is what we want to do. We cannot accomplish this unless the measures are accepted by Parliament. It is not by a fiat that we are going to do it as it was done by the last Government when an emergency was imposed on this country in a manner which was highly arbitrary and dictatorial. It is clear that it was only the decision of one person, not of the Cabinet. That also is very clear. And yet all kinds of things were being said here. It is said that the emergency was imposed against the Opposition and the Opposition has also benefited by the emergency. Well, if it has benefited by the emergency, it is in spite of them and not because of them. But I am surprised, when the Leader of the Opposition in the Lower House says that this is a vote against the emergency and people have rejected the emergency, how can Congress Members in this House go on praising the emergency and justifying it? Well, I hope they listen to their own leader. Otherwise I would not want to hurt their feelings at all. I have no desire to do so.

They are most welcome to say anything about me. But one has to be careful in what one says so that there are no repercussions afterwards about which one may have to regret. This is what I would plead with my hon. friends opposite. I do not want, Sir, in any way to say anything which would hurt the feelings of

any people if I can help it. It was said by one honourable Member here that the Prime Minister has expressed regrets too often and that it lowers his dignity or lowers his capacity. But he should be happy if that happens. Why is he bothered about it? I have expressed regret in one matter because I did not want to hurt the feelings of any people and I did not want that controversy to go on. But let me say here that, if I have committed any mistake, I will certainly express regret for it. I would be sorry if I did not express regret for it. I must regret it. It is open to the honourable Members not to express regret for whatever wrongs they may have done, but to glat over them does not redound to their credit. I do not want to follow that example. Let Therefore, let us be very clear about the reality of the situation. If we have had to speak about the wrongs that have been done in this country, we have to say that because we have got to clear the debris which was created. We lost our reputation in the whole world and the democratic world thought that we were not fit for democracy, as a result of what had happened during the last two or three years. Now that reputation has been regained. Anybody who has eyes to see and ears to hear can say that. But, if you want to put cotton wool into your ears and blinkers on your eyes, I cannot help it. Therefore, why go on trying to justify what is unjustifiable? We do not want to do anything which will undo any good that has been done by the past Government. Nobody can say that nothing good has been done by the past Government. I believe that no person is entirely good or entirely bad. Everybody has some good in him; everybody has some bad in him. But, when we find that the substance of good is very little and that the debris of wrongs is much more voluminous, we can only look at the debris; the substance of good is lost in the debris. What are we to do about it? That is the position of what happened during the last few years.

Shri Morarji R. Desai]

That is why we have to mention certain things which we have got to clear otherwise, we would not have mentioned them. I would not do anything which may even appear to be vindictive. It is not enough to be vindictive; I believe that we should also see to it that we do not appear to be vindictive. But when a case comes to us of an oppressed person of his suffering, are we not to look into it? Are we not to make inquiries into it? And it is not as if these cases are coming up for the first time. They were there even before and nothing was done. That is why we have got to do it. We were pledged to such inquiries.

And even then it is said that it is not a vote for the Janata Party but a vote against those who are in the Opposition. Well, I am glad that that much is being reluctantly recognised. But, is it not clear that the voters had to vote for the better person or the better party? And they have voted for us. Does it not mean that they consider us better than they? Why is it not recognised? It is possible that in subsequent elections voters may consider others to be better than we. I would not grudge it. But it is the people's judgement which has got to be accepted by all of us. And people have shown a maturity which is very rare in the world today; and I am very happy about it. Let my honourable friends also be happy about it and proud of this heritage in this country. We are here to see that the poor in the country cease to be poor. We have mentioned it in the Address. We cannot mention programmes in the Address. It is not possible to do so. Is it expected that within two days we should outline a programme? What about the mantras of the 20-Point Programme or the 25-Point programme? Nothing is mentioned in it except points; there is no programme. They had all the time in the world to plan them. Yet, we are expected to give a definite programme within two days. Well, they can certainly do

so if they want to, but it does not become realistic. It becomes very difficult for the Members on this side to restrain themselves in that case, and yet I would request all my friends on this side to restrain themselves whatever may be the provocation because we must set up standards in both the Houses. Otherwise, democracy cannot function properly. We will also have to undo what has been done in the past. There was a Government which is responsible for what has happened, and we will be responsible if we do not take a proper line in this matter. It is, therefore, in that context that I request my honourable friends opposite to co-operate with us, and whether they co-operate or not, we will certainly co-operate with him. That promise I can make to them without any reservation. Thank you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We have suggested from this side of the House—one of my amendments gave the suggestion—that the Prime Minister should hold discussions and dialogues with the opposition parties. It was not done in the past. I am not going into the past story. But I think it is very essential today, in view of the changed situation all the more, that Mr. Morarji Desai immediately resumes this process of discussion and consultation over matters where such consultations are undoubtedly called for. The Honourable Prime Minister has not said anything on the subject. I do not know whether he has looked into some of the amendments given. But, I do like him to give a clear assurance—I think he will have no hesitation in doing this—that in all matters of policy including the functioning of Parliament, he will hold regular consultation with the leaders of the Opposition Parties and groups and I hope he will not go by the concept of the so-called two-party system, much as he may respect the Leader of the recognised Opposition.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I have no hesitation in saying that we will

always have very fruitful discussions with the leaders of the Opposition. That is what I said. On the contrary I have gone further. I said that even if my honourable friends did not co-operate with me I will co-operate with them. What further assurance can I give? But let us do that. Let them give us some time before we can do all this. That is why from the next session all this will be done and I am sure that on this account my honourable friends will have no cause for grievance whatsoever.

SHRI MOHAMMAD YUNUS SALEEM Sir, just now, the Honourable Prime Minister, in his sermon, while replying to certain points raised by the lady Member, Shrimati Margaret Alva, advised her to read the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir first and then to speak on the subject. May I Sir, through you, draw the attention of the Honourable Prime Minister to this. I may be permitted to complete my submission. I want to know from the Prime Minister if, when he was mentioning about the Constitution of Jammu & Kashmir, he himself had read section 92 of this Constitution. He has just now said that it was mandatory on the Governor to accept the advice of the Chief Minister and dissolve the Assembly.

Sir, I say it is not correct. The language of article 92 of the State's Constitution is identical to article 356 of the Indian

Constitution, where it is discretionary, and the circumstances..

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is not a new point.

SHRI MOHAMMAD YUNUS SALEEM : Please, Sir, bear with me for one minute.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: He cannot have the right of speech again.

SHRI MOHAMMAD YUNUS SALEEM : The article says:

"...is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, the Sadr-e-Riyasat may by Proclamation"

It is not "shall". So it is incorrect to say that it is mandatory.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This matter has already been discussed in the House. It need not be raised again.

SHRI MOHAMMAD YUNUS SALEEM: The House has been misled when he said that it is a mandatory provision.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: May I say that he is reading a wrong article? If he gives me the Constitution, I can show him where that other article is. I do not want to enter into a debate with him. But may I say one thing? Was it not very suggestive and completely indicative that in the other House, the Leader of the Opposition withdrew the motion, withdrew the opposition to this? Was it not enough that the adjournment motion on Kashmir was withdrawn? Was it not indicative that he accepted my stand?

AN HON. MEMBER: No.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we shall put the amendments to vote.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN (Kerala): On a point of information.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No information now, please.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: In the Janata Party manifesto, in item No. 18 of the Political Charter, it is stated that they would delete the right to property from the fundamental rights.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please resume your seat, hon. Member. Amendment No. 1 is in the name of Shrimati Lakshmi Kumari Chundawat. She is not here.

**Amendment No. 1 was negatived.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendments No. 2 to 6. Shri Sawai Singh Sisodia. Not here.

**Amendments No. 2 to 6 were negatived.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendments No. 10 to 99. Shri Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are asking me whether I press them or not? You see, generally I make up my mind after hearing the reply of the Minister, in this case the Prime Minister. It seems he has not touched any of my 90 amendments. Sir, I took the trouble of having a communication with the Prime Minister not by making a speech but by tabling 90 amendments. Now, the first amendment is in regard to bonus. You should scrap the amendment which was made in the Bonus Act.....

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: All these amendments were debated. Sir, I want to say that these amendments were moved and the whole motion with the amendments was put to debate. Now what further question arises?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Bhandari, you are very intelligent. I know very well. But I find that you are better here than in the Treasury benches. Will you come back here?

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: I will bring you to this side.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, in the Bonus Ordinance, the workers lost their bonus and it seems I have lost my friend there. Now I wanted that the position as in the Bonus Act of 1973 should be restored and the CDS should be scrapped. Now, I would like to know.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member may kindly indicate if there is any amendment which he wants to press.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have named, as you see, a number of officials who functioned as operators of the extra-constitutional centres of power...

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I am prepared to discuss all these with him whenever he wants.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He has not referred to any of the points that I have brought to his notice. I can understand his preoccupation with the speech of his "daughter" Shrimati Alva. But I thought we are all his brothers. Shri Morarji Desai is undoubtedly kind to his sisters and women should have no complaint. He is unkind to his brothers and we complaint. Since he has not touched upon my amendments, I am pressing all my 90 amendments.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Would you press all your amendments?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If Kamalpathiji supports me, I thought I should press only two of my amendments on bonus and CDS. But he is not supporting. So, I am pressing all my 90 amendments.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. I will put all your amendments to vote.

**Amendments Nos. 10 to 99 were negatived.*

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH: I am not pressing my amendment No. 100. I wish to withdraw it.

**Amendment No. 100 was, by leave, withdrawn*

**Amendment Nos. 103 to 127 were negatived.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment No. 128 is in the name of Shri N. K. Bhatt. Would he like to press it?

SHRI N. K. BHATT (Madhya Pradesh): I press my amendment.

विपक्ष के नेता (श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी) : मान्यवर, आपकी आज्ञा से मैं माननीय भट्ट जी से यह अनुरोध करूंगा कि अपने एमैंडमेन्ट को वे प्रेस न करें और इस अवसर पर जो प्रस्ताव कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन का पेश किया गया है उस पर मत विभाजन न कराया जाये। मुझे आशा है कि इस संशोधन में जो भाव व्यक्त किये गये हैं उनकी ओर सरकार का ध्यान गया है और वह ध्यान देगी।

SHRI BUPESH GUPTA : I think he should press it.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI : May I thank my hon. friend Shri Tripathi ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Would Shri Bhatt like to withdraw his amendment ?

SHRI N.K. BHATT : On the advice of my leader, I withdraw it.

**Amendment (No. 128) was, by leave, withdrawn.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Amendment Nos. 129 to 131 are in the name of Shri V. B. Raju.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : I wish to withdraw my amendments by leave of the House.

**Amendment Nos. 129 to 131 were, by leave, withdrawn.*

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra) : I also want to withdraw amendments Nos. 134 to 136 that stand in my name.

**Amendment Nos. 134 to 136 were, by leave, withdrawn.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Would Shri Narasiah like to press his Amendment No. 137 ?

SHRI H. S. NARASIAH : I wish to withdraw my amendment.

**Amendment Nos. 137 was, by leave, withdrawn.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Amendment No. 138 is in the name of Shri Shyam Lal Yadav. Are you withdrawing it ?

श्री श्यामलाल यादव (बिहार) : मान्यवर, मुझे एक बात कहनी है। मुझे बोलने का मौका आपने दिया नहीं। जो संशोधन मैंने रखा है वह जनता पार्टी के मैनीफेस्टो में लिखा हुआ है। उन्होंने स्पेसिफिकली लिखा है कि 25 से 30 प्रतिशत रिजर्वेशन बैकवर्ड क्लासेज को काका कालेलकर कमीशन की सिफारिश के मुताबिक दिया जायेगा। मुझे आशा थी कि इस सम्बन्ध में अभिभाषण में कहा जायेगा या प्रधान मंत्री जी अपने जवाब में इस तरफ ध्यान आकृष्ट करेंगे क्योंकि मेरा संशोधन विशेष तौर से जनता पार्टी के मैनीफेस्टो की तरफ इशारा करता था। अगर प्रधान मंत्री कुछ कहना चाहें तो बहुत बेहतर होगा।

**Amendment No. 138 was, by leave, withdrawn.*

SHRI DEORAO PATIL (Maharashtra): Sir, I wish to withdraw my amendments.

**Amendment Nos. 139 to 148 were, by leave, withdrawn.*

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

The question is :

"That an address be presented to the Vice-President acting as President in the following terms :--

"That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are

[Mr. Deputy Chairman]

deeply grateful to the Vice President acting as President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 28th March, 1977."

The motion was adopted.

SHRI MOHAMMED USMAN ARIF (Rajasthan) : Sir, you can adjourn the House now.

SHRI KAMLAPATI TRIPATHI : Sir, we can take up the whole thing on the 9th. We can adjourn now.

श्री उपसभापति : अगर 9 तारीख को सारा कार्य किया जा सकता है तो मुझे कोई ख़ास एतराज नहीं है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, may I make a special request to the Prime Minister ?

Sir, we understand that in the other House some Constitutional amendments are being introduced. I was telephoned by the Law Minister and it was good of him to have done so. As far as the question of restoring the five year term for the Assemblies is concerned, we are all in favour of it. But I thought that the Prime Minister would, in such matters, hold consultations with the leaders of the Opposition groups. The example of bringing forward Constitutional amendments by disregarding the Opposition that way is not good although we are all in favour of restoring the five-year term to the Lok Sabha and also the Assemblies and there is no doubt about it. But the move was not good. There was an impression that the Prime Minister would consult the major Opposition groups and other parties including the members of the ruling party in order to see how best we could take up such business as amendments to the Constitution. I do hope that in the matter of bringing forward any legislation and Constitutional amendments in particular, the Prime Minister would hold consultations with the Opposition parties and groups not only with regard to the content, but also with regard to the manner in which the

legislation should be passed. Sir, I hope that this will not be pushed through during this very Session. If they have already introduced it, let it be there. But let there be consultations and we can proceed with it later on and not now. This is my request. Also, do not extend the time of the Session. Sir, the Prime Minister is here. I am not opposing these things. But I think we can take a little time because, after all, you can do it in the next Session also. This is all that I have to say.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI : We are not pushing it through.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA The Parliamentary Proceedings (Protection of Publication) Bill, 1977

SECRETARY-GENERAL : Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha :

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Parliamentary Proceedings (Protection of Publication) Bill 1977, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 7th April 1977."

Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Sir, I could not hear what the Prime Minister said. I wanted to hear what he said.

(THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE) : Your request is already conceded.

SHRI MOHAMMAD YUNUS SALEEM (Andhra Pradesh) : Sir, are we sitting on the 9th ?

श्री उपसभापति : सदन की कार्यवाही 9 अप्रैल प्रातः 11 बजे के लिये स्थगित की जाती है।

The House then adjourned at forty-four minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Saturday, the 9th April, 1977.

*For the text of the Amendments *vide* cols. 137-40 in debate dated the 4th April, 1977.