

does not work that way. The ultimate decision in the ruling party is with the leader and once the leader takes a decision and the party feels that it is in the right direction, it supports it. I therefore support this Bill.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2.15 p.m. today.

*(The House then adjourned for lunch at seventeen minutes past one of the clock).*

*The House reassembled after lunch at seventeen minutes past two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA) in the Chair.*

#### **PETITION RE. REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES OF HANDLOOM WEAVERS**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): Shri Kadershah will present the petition.

SHRI M. KADERSHAH (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I beg to present a petition signed by Shri N. V. Subburam President, Handloom Weavers Association and 105 other weavers from Dindigul in Tamil Nadu praying for the redressal of the grievances of the handloom weavers.

#### **THE HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE (EXTENSION OF DURATION) AMENDMENT BILL, 1976—**

*contd.*

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in spite of reservations, I voted for the Constitution (Forty-fourth Amendment) Bill yesterday and in spite of reservations, I shall also vote for this Bill but somewhat reluctantly, and only in the belief that this will be the last time that elections will be postponed. I am doing it as an act of faith—in the Prime Minister, faith in Mr. Gokhale, faith in Mr. Borooah, faith in the Congress Party and faith in the people of India. I would like to state my reservations and express my disappointment, my doubts and fears about this Bill. We have been told again and again that the time

is not ripe for holding elections. They say "The time is not ripe for this; the time is not ripe for that" and so on. It reminds me of what the British Government used to say in the old days to their colonies 'You are not ripe for democracy'. I remember, some years ago, a Jamaican politician told the British Government 'Do you think we are a bunch of bananas?' As for this country, Sir, we have been ripe for democracy for a long time and we are a democracy. Our problem today is to maintain the processes and the institutions of democracy. Then again, we are told that we have to consolidate the gains of the Emergency. Now, how long are we going to consolidate the gains of the Emergency? Unless fresh gains are made, what is there to consolidate? I believed that we shall make no more gains if the emergency continues much longer. In fact, already the negative effects of the Emergency are beginning to show. Various power groups have come up all over the country which are using the Emergency and the atmosphere created by it for unauthorised and unconstitutional activities. People, whether they are politicians, bureaucrats or other public figures, are using power for their own purposes in a most autocratic manner. This is one reason for the unrest that has arisen in some parts of the country. Mr. Borooah mentioned this morning—Mr. Gokhale has also said this—that there are still disruptive elements in the country. Of course, there will always be some disruptive elements. But we should put them down. Postponing the elections will only strengthen these elements. We are never going to have perfect conditions for an election. Postponing the election is in fact, what these reactionary elements want because they are not the people who believe in the normal democratic processes.

Sir, the Prime Minister has said that the Emergency is a strong medicine. I think it is a perfect analog because, I believe, the Emergency came about on account of some sick

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ness in the politics of our country. The medicine has worked well. The achievements of the Emergency are many and I appreciate the gains of the Emergency in various fields. But it should also be recognised that the drug we have been taking is beginning to have some side-effects. Indeed some people have got addicted to it and they do not know how to give it up. A medicine is, after all, a medicine and it is very important that do not make it a food and we do not become addicted to it. It is my view, and also that of many of my friends, many people I meet these days, that the Emergency has worked itself out. It has achieved what it was intended to achieve. It is now time that the country should give up this medicine and return to normal healthy food so that we can maintain a normal life. Whatever Mr. Gokhale may say, I find that far too many people in the Congress Party are going around saying that the life of the Lok Sabha can be extended as many times as they want, not only for one or two years, but also for four or five years or even indefinitely because the whole thing is constitutional, according to them, and they are also convinced, they have convinced themselves, that they reflect the will and the aspirations of the people.

DR. V. P. DUTT (Nominated): No responsible persons has said that.

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM: If I give you the list of the people who have said this thing, you would not publicly say that they are not responsible I assure you.

DR. V. P. DUTT: No responsible person has made any public statement that Parliament....

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM: No public statements. But Central Hall statements are truer than public statements. Very often, what people privately think these days is truer than public statements. You give so much importance to public statements.

They say they represent the will and the aspirations of the people. But how can any one be sure today, six years after the 1971 poll when the will and the aspirations of the people? After all, since 1971, we have millions, several millions, of new voters. How does any one know what their will is? Mr. Bhupesh Gupta mentioned this morning about Mr. Antulays remark that the masses did not care about the elections. This again I have heard so often from various people, not only Mr. Antulap, but this is a new attitude because so far we were taking, the Congress and its leaders were talking about the wisdom of masses, how intelligently they vote, how interested they were in elections in spite of their illiteracy. When it suits the Party, they say that what the people want is food but not liberty. And this is precisely what foreign observers had said some years ago. They said: What is the use of personal liberty for poor peasants, why do you go on talking of democratic processes? But I have always said, in England or wherever I have lived, that it is a stupid attitude. We must not underestimate our Indian people, because they have a much better idea of personal liberty than we, the so-called sophisticated or intellectual people, have. So, Sir, elections are a very important part of the democratic processes. In fact, it is the basis of our system and if we want to preserve the democratic system and it is essential that we held elections at regular intervals. I can understand that, in certain extreme situations, we have to extend the life of Parliament but I do not think that today, on this date in November 1976, we have that kind of a situation. The Government may have better information on the law and order situation in the country than I have because I cannot read about it in the papers those days, but I personally think that, in fact, we have a very favourable situation for elections. In any case, an election is also an education in democracy and millions of newly

eligible voters also need that experience so that they have faith in the democratic processes.

As you know, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta in his speech this morning said—he has said it rightly—that sometimes it seems to some of us in this country that people act as if U.P. and Haryana and the is what matters in India, that India consists of U.P. and Haryana and the problems of U.P. and Haryana are the problems of India and nothing else. So, whatever suits some people in these States becomes the official policy at some time or other. Therefore, Sir, I would like the Prime Minister and the Law Minister, at some point, to give a firm assurance that elections would be held as soon as possible because only that way can we lay at rest the doubts and fears of the people. Only thus can we defeat the cynicism and pessimism about the parliamentary system that seems to be spreading among the people.

I have been going round and telling people that we are certainly we are going to have elections in February or March but now all my cynical friends have laughed at me. And there are people who always say: Don't think of elections. If this is the kind of attitude that the Bill is going to create, I think it has very dangerous aspects and we should be very careful. We should dispel the fear that they have that this is the end of elections. We have been consolidating the gains all these years. We have consolidated the gains this year and also we will continue to do so in the next year. But if we take one year for every one point of the 20-point programme, we shall require another 20 years. So, there are people who are talking in this way. I do not agree with them. I still have faith in the Government and in the Prime Minister. Parliament should have supremacy but at the same time we should take every care to see that Parliament retains the respect of the people.

So, as I said earlier, I shall be voting for this Bill, in the hope and

faith that elections will be held soon, no matter to what date the life of Parliament is extended. I have faith in the good intentions of the Government. I have faith in Mr. Gokhale; I have great faith in the Prime Minister's liberal principles to which she has stuck very firmly in all these years. So, what I would like to point out is, between now and the time of the election, whenever it is, let us make some efforts to restore the health of some of the institutions that have been damaged by the excessive use of power since the emergency. And I am thinking in particular about the Press. I am sure, hon. Members in this House by now know something about the troubles that papers like the Statesman, the Indian Express and the Tribune of Chandigarh have gone through in the last few months, and in some cases, for some years. And it is the journalists who have suffered more than the proprietors. At the Indian Express, water and power were cut off; its press was sealed; censorship was enforced in a way that the paper could not go to the press before 8.00 a.m. And, of course, little of this has appeared in the Indian Press though much of it has appeared in the foreign Press. This again is a strange situation where the foreign Press in India today enjoys far more freedom than our own Press. If we do not have a Press which can at least speak out its mind freely, which can constructively discuss the issues before the country, how can we have fair elections? You take the Times of India. In all these weeks, they have not had one single article discussing the Constitutional amendment. Why? You know that there are so many journalists of repute who have been intimidated into a frame of mind where they cannot write anything or they are afraid to do so. Take the Seminar magazine. I have never agreed with everything that it said. But it was a forum which was used by many of our leading intellectuals who were in the good grace of the Government. But when those intel-

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Intellectuals were not in grace and were not useful to them, and when their dissenting views came in a monthly magazine with a circulation of a few thousands, censorship was imposed and it was closed. And this is another loss for freedom when things like this which are very important in any democratic society are not allowed.

A few months ago, a directive came from the Censors saying that no letters should be published about family planning. Now, this followed after a letter appeared in the *Indian Express* where a man said that his son had failed in the examination in the school. But the headmaster had told the boy, "If you can get your father vasectomised, then I will promote you." And the boy went and told his father. He told the headmaster, "I am 65 years old. Why should I get myself vasectomised?" And the headmaster says, "You get yourself vasectomised, otherwise, your son will fail."

Sir, these are some of the things which we should think about more seriously. And it is fashionable today to condemn intellectuals and say that they are negative, that they are cynical, etc. But I think it is important to restore the respect people have had for these institutions in this country because if you stop all criticism, then it only weakens our society.

So, I would end by saying this: Let us use the time over the next few months to restore some of the faith of the people in the democratic institutions in this country. And I would join with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta in requesting the Prime Minister to take some action by which she can prove her proverbial courage and let us have elections as soon as possible.

Thank you.

श्री अश्वीद आलम खान (दिल्ली) ।  
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, कोमों की जिन्दगी में अक्सर ऐसे वक्त आते हैं जब कुछ ऐसे फ़ैसले करने

पड़ते हैं कि जो शायद कुछ लोगों को पसन्द न हों। लेकिन वह फ़ैसले ऐसे होते हैं जो कोम के मफ़ाद के लिए, कोम की बेहतरी के लिए और कोम की भलाई के लिए किये जाते हैं। यह बात बिल्कुल उसी तरह की है जैसे कोई बच्चा बीमार हो और उसको कड़वी दवा देनी पड़े। बच्चे को यह कड़वी दवा उसकी अच्छाई और भलाई के लिए दी जाती है। मैं इस बिल की तारीफ़ करते हुए यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जिस लोकतन्त्र का रोना और दुहाई दी जा रही है उसका कुछ नक्शा हमारे सामने आ चुका है। इसका कुछ नक्शा मैं आपके सामने लाना चाहता हूँ। हमारे सामने इस वक्त इलेक्शन का सवाल है या लोगों की बेहतरी का है, यह सवाल सबसे अहम सवाल है। हम लोगों की खुशहाली चाहते हैं या इलेक्शन, इस सवाल पर हमें गौर करने की ज़रूरत है। हमारी भलाई किसमें है, इस पर विचार करने की ज़रूरत है। हम यह जानते हैं कि इस वक्त लोगों की भलाई इसी में है कि जिस तरह से इस वक्त कोम का काम चल रहा है और जिस ढंग से देश के अन्दर एक नई फ़िजा कायम की गई है, एक नया वातावरण बना है, उस वातावरण को हम आगे बढ़ाये। इसलिए आज ज़रूरत इस बात की है कि लोग इलेक्शन के चक्कर में न पड़े और अपने वक्त को और कोम के वक्त को बरबाद न करें। मैं समझता हूँ कि कोम की जिन्दगी को बेहतर बनाने का सवाल सबसे बड़ा सवाल है। हमने एक बहुत बड़ा काम शुरू किया है और वह काम यह है कि हम अपने कोम के अन्दर दिसिप्लिन लाये, उसकी बेहतरी के लिए काम कर और हमारे देश की पैदावार

बढ़ाई जायें ताकि हमारी इक्तिसादी या आर्थिक हालत में सुधार हो सके। जिस रास्ते पर, हम निकल पड़े हैं उसको अधूरा नहीं छोड़ सकते हैं। अगर हमारा काम पूरा नहीं होगा तो हमारी कौम का भला नहीं हो सकता है और न ही जो काम हम करना चाहते हैं उनका फायदा लोगों तक पहुंच सकता है। जो आशाएं लोगों के अन्दर बंधी हैं वे भी पूरी नहीं हो सकती हैं। अगर हमारे काम अधूरे रह जाएंगे और हम कौम की जिन्दगी को बेहतर नहीं कर सकेंगे तो आने वाली नस्लें इस बात को याद करगी और कहगी कि हमारे बुजुर्गों ने यह काम नहीं किया है। वे सोचेंगे कि अगर हमारे बुजुर्ग अपने काम को अधूरा न छोड़ते तो हमारा ज्यादा भला हो सकता था। मैं यह भी यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूं कि हमारी यह ख्वाहिश नहीं है कि इलेक्शन हमेशा के लिए मुत्तवी किये जायें या इलेक्शन बारबार मुत्तवी किये जायें। हमारी यह भी ख्वाहिश है कि इलेक्शन जल्द से जल्द किये जायें। मैं समझता हूं कि इसमें किसी को शुबहा नहीं होना चाहिए और न ही किसी तरह का शक होना चाहिए। यह तो कौम का फैसला है और जनता का फैसला है। फिलहाल जनता यह है कि हम कौम की भलाई के कामों में जुट जायें और उनको आगे बढ़ाये। यह कहना कि इसमें लोगों का इन्वाल्वमेंट हासिल नहीं है, सही नहीं है। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि 20 नुकाती प्रोग्राम को क्या लोगों का सपोर्ट नहीं है? क्या इसमें जनता का सहयोग नहीं है? मैं समझता हूं कि 20 नुकाती प्रोग्राम गरीब जनता का प्रोग्राम है। आप गांवों और शहरों में जाकर देखिये कि वहां पर किस तरह से लोग इस प्रोग्राम में हिस्सा ले रहे हैं। हमारा देश इस वक्त अपनी तरक्की की राह पर चल पड़ा है। यह एक ऐसा दौर है जिसमें हमारे मुल्क में एक इतिहास बना है। इसलिए ऐसे मौके पर हमें छोटी-छोटी बातों में नहीं पड़ना चाहिए और इस बात की कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि मुल्क

आगे बढ़ सके ताकि हम इस इतिहास को पूरा कर सकें। जिस मंजिल पर हमें पहुंचना है उस पर पहुंच कर दम लें।

ईमानदारी से यह बताने की हम कोशिश करना चाहेंगे कि इमरजेन्सी ने जो कुछ हमें दिया है इस जमाने में जो कुछ हमने हासिल किया है हम उसको किसी को देना नहीं चाहते। हमने यह जरूर है कि बहुत देर में यह काम शुरू किया लेकिन आज जब यह काम शुरू कर दिया है तो हम इस काम को लेकर आगे बढ़ें। यही एक तमन्ना है, यही एक ख्वाहिश है। यह सिर्फ सरकार की ख्वाहिश नहीं, यह सिर्फ पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बरान की ख्वाहिश नहीं, यह करोड़ों लोगों की ख्वाहिश है, यह लाखों जनता की ख्वाहिश है।

दरअसल अब हम तरक्की की मंजिलें तय करके एक ऐसे मुकाम पर पहुंच गए हैं जो कि हमारी कौमी जिन्दगी में बहुत अहम और एक बहुत तारीखी मुकाम है; यह वोह तारीखी मुकाम है जिसका हमें शिद्दत से इन्तजार था, मुद्दत से इन्तजार था और जिसका बहुत अरसे से इन्तजार था। अब जब हम इस मुकाम पर पहुंच गए हैं तो हम पीछे पलट कर देखना नहीं चाहते। हम यह नहीं चाहते कि हमारा वक्त किसी सूरत से बरबाद हो, हमारे सामने तरक्की के नए रास्ते खुल गए हैं और वह नयी मंजिल की तरफ ले जाना चाहते हैं। हमें, खुशकिस्मती से, तारीखी कयादत हासिल हैं और वह कयादत हैं जो रोशनी के मीनार की तरह से हमारी रहनुमाई कर रही है और यह कयादत न सिर्फ रोशनी ही दे रही है बल्कि गरमी भी दे रही है, रहनुमाई भी कर रही है, रहबरी भी कर रही है।

आज हमारा जो बीस-नुकाती आर्थिक प्रोग्राम है उसके अन्दर जो हमने तरक्की की है, उसके अन्दर जो गरीबों के लिए किया है, जो बेघर लोगों के लिए किया है, जो बेरोजगार लोगों के लिए किया है, जो मजदूरों के लिए

[ श्री खुरशीद आलम खान ]

किया है, जो कमजोर तबके के लोगों के लिए किया है, वह एक बड़ा कदम है। यह एक तारीखी कदम है जो इस मुल्क की तारीख में इससे पहले आपको कहीं नजर नहीं आया होगा और अब जब हमने इस काम को हाथ में ले लिया है और इस काम को शुरू कर दिया है तो अब आप कंधे से कंधा मिला कर हमारी मदद कीजिए, हमारा साथ दीजिए ताकि हम सब मिल कर आगे बढ़ और इस काम को पूरा करें। अगर हम छोटी बातों में उलझ कर रह गए या हमने ऐसा किया कि इलेक्शन की वजह से तरक्की के कामों को रोक दिया तो वह मैं समझता हूं न तो क्रौम के हित में होगा न मुल्क के फायदे के लिए होगा न हमारे आपके सबके फायदे के लिए होगा।

यह भी कहना गलत है कि इलेक्शन मुल्तवी करने का फैसला किसी एक शख्स का फैसला था या किसी एक शख्स का ऐलान था। यह तो हमारी पार्टी का फैसला है, यह तो जनता का फैसला है, यह तो सब ने मिल कर फैसला किया है और जब यह फैसला किया गया है तो आप देखिए जनता ने भी उसको अपनाया है, जनता ने भी उसको पसंद किया है इसलिए कि वोह अपनी अच्छाइयां और बुराइयां समझने लगी है और जब वह अच्छाई और बुरा या समझाने लगी है तो उनकी यह अच्छी तरह से मालूम है कि इलेक्शन में पड़ने के बाद जो तरक्की के काम हो रहे हैं, जो बोह काम बढ़ रहे हैं वोह न कभी बढ़ सकेंगे और न कभी आगे चल सकेंगे और इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि इस वक्त इलेक्शन की बात छोड़ कर हम अपनी तरक्की के कामों में लगे रहें।

मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि इलेक्शन को अगर एक साल के लिए मुल्तवी किया गया तो क्या आसमान टूट पड़ा? कौन सा नुकसान हो गया? कौन सी ऐसी बात है जो ऐसा होने से रुक गई? हमारी तरक्की रुक गई

क्या? हमारे लोग उसमें इन्वाल्व नहीं रहें? क्या हमारे लोगों को कोई खाम नुकसान पहुंचेगा या हमारे देश को कोई ख़ास नुकसान पहुंचेगा? कोई भी ऐसी बात नहीं। इलेक्शन का मुल्तवी होना कोई ऐसी बड़ी बात नहीं। इलेक्शन तो होते ही रहते हैं, होते ही रहेंगे और होंगे ही। फर्क इतना है कि हम में और आप में सिर्फ थोड़ा सा राय का मतभेद है। हम यह चाहते हैं कि जो हाथ में काम लिये हुए हैं पहले उनको निबटा लें, बाद में इलेक्शन करें। आप यह चाहते हैं कि जो हाथ में लिए हुए हैं उनको छोड़ दें और इलेक्शन में लग जायें।

इस वक्त मुल्क में जितनी सनाअती तरक्की हुई है, जितनी पैदावार बढ़ी है, जितनी हमारी आमदनी बढ़ी है; जितना हमारे मजदूरों को काम मिला है वह हमारी इस इम्प्रोवेन्स का एक ऐसा फल है जिसके लिए हम मुद्त से इंतजार कर रहे थे और लोगों में एक ख़ास उमंग पैदा हो गई है, एक ख़ास फिजा मुल्क के अंदर है और वह फिजा ऐसी सजावार है कि हम हर काम में तरक्की ही पाते चल जाएंगे और मुझे यकीन है यह वह तहरीक होगी जिसमें सब का जेवर होगा। जो सब को मुल्क में ख़ास तौर पर उन लोगों को इसका फायदा पहुंचायेगा कि जो गरीब तबके के लोग हैं, जो कमजोर तबके के लोग हैं या जो अक्वालिती के लोग हैं। आज आप के सामने यह कितना बड़ा फायदा है। उन लोगों की नजर में कि जो सांप्रदायिक दंगों से तंग आ चुके थे, न आज वह दंगे हैं और न सांप्रदायिकता फैलानेवाले लोग हैं या वह लोग हैं कि जो हमपर इल्जाम लगाते थे, अक्वालिती पर इल्जाम लगाते थे। आज वह दुनिया के सामने खुल चुके हैं, आज दुनिया उन को देख चुकी है कि किस तरह से वह बाहर के इशारे पर काम करते थे और वह कैसे-कैसे काम करते थे। यकीन रखिये कि आज भी अगर एलेक्शन हो जाय तो मैं आप को बता देना चाहता हूं कि उस से हमें कोई ख़तरा

नहीं है। अगर एलेक्शन होंगे तो हम फिर वापस आयेंगे। पता नहीं वे कितने हैं और कहां वापस आयेंगे। उन के बारे में मुझे बहुत शुबहा है। इस लिये आप जल्दी न कीजिए। आप इंतजार कीजिए। हम एलेक्शन से डरते नहीं। हम एलेक्शन को एक जरूरी बात समझते हैं और हम एलेक्शन जरूर लड़ेंगे और आप को यकीन दिला देंगे कि हम ने जो पालिसी अख्तियार की है, जिसमें एलेक्शन को मुक्तवी करना भी एक पालिसी है, उस को भी जनता ने पसंद किया था, उस को भी जनता ने अपनाया था और जनता हमारी इस राय में शामिल थी। गरीब शहरी को आज कपड़ा, मकान और रोटी चाहिए। आज उस को एलेक्शन की ज्यादा फिक्र नहीं है। आज उस को इन चीजों की फिक्र है और यह चीजें उस को मिल रही हैं। इस लिये आज यहीं वजह है कि जनता इस फ़ैसले पर अपनी राजमन्दी और मुहर लगा चुकी है और इस पर उसे कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। उसे इस बारे में कोई एतराज नहीं है।

मैं यह नहीं समझ सका कि इतना शोर क्यों किया जा रहा है एलेक्शन मुक्तवी करने पर। इतना एतराज क्यों किया जा रहा है कि इस पालियामेंट को यह अख्तियार नहीं रहा कि वह एलेक्शन मुक्तवी करे। यह बीज अब खुल कर सामने आ चुकी है, इस में कोई शको शुबहा बाकी नहीं कि इस का न सिर्फ अख्तियार है बल्कि हम को पूरा अख्तियार है और हम ने इस में अपने हक को इस्तेमाल किया है और हम ने इस हक को जनता के लिये इस्तेमाल किया है, जनता के फायदे के लिये इस्तेमाल किया है।

मैं यकीन के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि कुछ अरसे बाद वही लोग जो इस बात की मुखालिफ़त कर रहे हैं, वह हमारे साथ इत्तफ़ाक करेंगे और यह कहेंगे कि हम ने जो फ़ैसला लिया था वह एक सही फ़ैसला लिया था। इस सिले से सभी को फ़ायदा हुआ और

उनको अपनी इस गलती का उस वक़्त एतराज होगा जिस वक़्त कि उनको यह यकीन आ जायगा कि यह जनता का फ़ैसला था, यह जनता के लिये फ़ैसला था और यह जनता की बेहतरी के लिये फ़ैसला था।

हमारे देश में अजीब हालत थी। अगर कोई बाहर का दुश्मन देश पर हमला करता है तो आदमी चौकस रह कर उससे निपट सकता है, उनसे लड़ सकता है, लेकिन जब घर का भेदी ही दुश्मन बन जाय तो उसके साथ निपटना बहुत दुश्वार हो जाता है। हमारे यहां यह हालत कर दी गयी थी कि जो प्रतिनिधि चुने गये थे उनसे कहा जाता था कि वह इस्तीफ़ा दें। टोटल रेवोल्यूशन के नाम पर तरक्की और बेहतरी लाने का एक नया ढकोसला वह सामने लाये थे। आज वह सब चीजें आपके सामने खुल कर आ गयीं कि उनमें सिवाय प्रोपेगेन्डा के और सिवाय बहकाने के और कोई चीज नहीं थी। खास तौर पर मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारे विद्यार्थियों के साथ हमारे तालिबइल्मों के साथ जो सलूक किया गया था वह निहायत गलत था। उनको पढ़ने से हटा दिया गया था। जो उनका मकसद था उससे उनको दूर कर दिया गया था और एक वक़्त तो इस देश की तारीख में ऐसा आया था कि जब यह सालूम होने लगा था कि हमारे जितने भी पढ़ाई-लिखाई के इंदारे हैं, हमारी जितनी भी यूनिवर्सिटीज और कालेजें हैं, वह सब बंद हो जायेंगे और वे सब नालंदा के खडहरों में तब्दील हो जायेंगे। वह हमारे पढ़ाई-लिखाई के केन्द्र हैं। वहां इल्म की दौलत रहती है और इल्म पढ़ाया जाता है और वहां अगर हमने वह काम होने दिया होता, अगर हम उस की इजाजत दे देते कि वह तबाह और बर्बाद हो जायें तो हमारे तमाम इल्म के सोते सूख जाते और आने वाली नरखें कहती कि कोई जमाना बीसवीं सदी के आखिर में ऐसा आया था कि जब पूरी नरख ही बेपड़ी लखी हो कर रह गयी।

[ श्री खुरशीद आलम खान ]

आज जिस सूरतेहाल का मुकाबला कर रहे हैं जिस तरह से कर रहे हैं उसने माबित कर दिया है कि न सिर्फ़ हम मुल्क में बल्कि इस मुल्क से बाहर लोगों ने हर जगह पर, हर मुल्क में इस बात को माना है कि हमारी हुकूमत ने हमारी सरकार ने, हमारी जनता ने मिलकर अपने सहयोग से जो बंदम उठाये हैं उनसे मुल्क के अन्दर बेहतरी आई है, मुल्क की पैदावार बढ़ी है, मुल्क के अन्दर हर किस्म की तरक्की हुई है। हमारी रेलें ठीक से चल रही हैं, हमारे कारखाने ठीक काम कर रहे हैं, हमारे मजदूरों को काम मिल रहा है, हमारे यहाँ पैदावार बढ़ रही है। हमारे यहाँ खेतीबाड़ी का काम अच्छा चल रहा है। जब ये सब चीज़ें अच्छी चल रही हैं तो यह किसकी देन है। यह उस इकतसादी प्रोग्राम की देन है जिसको 20 नुकाती प्रोग्राम कहा जाता है। इस 20 नुकाती प्रोग्राम की देन है कि हम आज इस हालत में, इस तरक्की पर पहुँच गये हैं और हम बराबर तरक्की की मजिलें तय करते जा रहे हैं। तो आइये हम यह तय करें कि हम इस काम को पहले पूरा करेंगे। जब यह काम पूरा हो जाएगा तो हम खुद-ब-खुद इलेक्शन लड़ेंगे, इलेक्शन करेंगे और इलेक्शन को मुलतवी करने का या इलेक्शन को बढ़ाने का हम कोई बहाना नहीं ढूँढते। हम तो सिर्फ़ यह चाहते हैं कि हम जो कुछ कर रहे हैं पहले उन कामों को पूरा कर लें, अच्छी तरह से अपने लोगों की खुशहाली के इंतजाम पहले कर लें। इसके बाद जो कुछ होना है इलेक्शन में भी हम जायेंगे वहाँ भी दिखायेंगे और आपको यकीन हो जाएगा कि हमारे साथ जनता है और जनता की नियत हमारे साथ है और चूँकि जनता की हुकूमत है और जो जनता की हुकूमत होती है वह जनता के लिए होती है, जनता के जरिये से होती है, उसको कोई नुकसान नहीं होता।

मैं इन अलफ़ाज के साथ एक मर्तबा फिर इस बिल की तारीफ़ करता हूँ।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश)

लोक सभा 7 साल कर दीजिए और राज्य सभा को 9 साल कर दीजिए यह संसद सदस्यों की राय है। इसलिए ला मिनिस्टर इसमें कुछ संशोधन करें।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं उन सदस्यों में हूँ जिनकी अपनी राय है कि यदि चुनाव समय पर हो जाते तो सत्ताधारी दल के पक्ष में होने और देश में तरह तरह की भ्रान्तियाँ भी उत्पन्न न हुई होतीं। मैं श्री खुरशीद आलम खान की बात से भी सहमत हूँ कि आज यदि चुनाव होता तो इस चुनाव का निर्णय सत्ताधारी दल के पक्ष में ही जाता। लेकिन फिर भी मैं नहीं कह सकता कि किन भित्तों की राय से यह निर्णय लिया गया कि चुनाव की अवधि एक वर्ष के लिए बढ़ा दी जाए। इस एक वर्ष की अवधि को बढ़ाने के लिए जैसे प्राज ही प्रातः काल विधि मंत्री श्री गोखले ने युक्तियाँ दी थीं और अभी यहाँ बैठे हुए मेरे कुछ और भित्तों ने दोहराई भी थीं कि हमने जो विकास और प्रगति के कार्य प्रा रम्भ किये हैं उनमें किसी तरह की रुकावट ना आये। इसके लिए हम चाहते हैं कि चुनाव एक वर्ष के लिए और बढ़ा दिये जायें। लेकिन मैं अपने भित्तों से हृदय पर हाथ रखकर यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो लक्ष्य प्राप्त करने का तय किया है, जो गति है और जो सीमा तय की है क्या एक वर्ष उसके लिए पर्याप्त है? चुनाव का एक वर्ष बढ़ा दिया जाएगा तो सारे विकास के लक्ष्यों को आप पूर्ण कर लेंगे? या एक वर्ष और बढ़ा दिया जाएगा तो प्रगति की अंतिम सीमा तक पहुँच जायेंगे? मेरा कहना यह है कि उसके लिए तो पाँच वर्ष भी पर्याप्त नहीं हैं। जिस गति से देश चल रहा है और हमारी सरकारी मशीनरी चल रही है। वास्तविकता यह है कि पिछले एक वर्ष में तो हमने कुछ दाग बेल लगाई है, कुछ रेखायें खींची हैं, कुछ लक्ष्य निर्धारित किये हैं कि



जिनकी ओर हम चलना चाहते हैं। उसमें कुछ अंशों में सफलतायें भी प्राप्त की हैं। लेकिन हमको इस सत्य को भी स्वीकार करना चाहिए कि उनमें सबसे बड़ी सफलता आर्थिक क्षेत्र के अन्दर प्राप्त हुई है। हमने जो मुद्रा-स्फीति पर नियंत्रण किया है या जो विदेशी पूंजी को भारत में केन्द्रित करने के लिए कुछ व्यावहारिक पग उठाये हैं वह सराहनीय हैं। हमारे देश में कृषि के क्षेत्र में जो प्रगति हुई है या दूसरी जो शिक्षण संस्थाओं में अनुशासनहीनता आ गई थी उस पर जिस प्रकार का नियंत्रण हुआ है निश्चित रूप से इसकी सराहना करनी चाहिए। इसको जितना बढ़ाया जा सके, जितनी गति दी जा सके उसमें किसी की दो राय नहीं हो सकती। परन्तु मेरा कहना यह है कि एक वर्ष इन सारे कार्यक्रमों और दूसरे कार्यक्रमों के लिए पर्याप्त होगा, इसमें मुझे कुछ सन्देह प्रतीत होता है। पर साथ ही साथ मैं एक बात अवश्य कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह सरकार के सामने भी और देश के सामने भी एक बहुत बड़ी चुनौती आ गई है। चुनौती यह आई है कि हमने जो विकास की सोचा यहां रखी है, विकास के लक्ष्य निर्धारित किये हैं, अगर 44वें संविधान संशोधन विधेयक पारित होने के बाद, लोक सभा की अवधि एक साल नियमित रूप से और एक साल वैधानिक रूप से, कुल 7 वर्ष हो जाने के पश्चात् और चुनावों को स्थगित करने के पश्चात् भा अगर हमने लक्ष्य प्राप्त नहीं किया तो देश की दृष्टि में भी यह बात अच्छी नहीं होगी और दुनिया की दृष्टि में भी अच्छी नहीं होगी। अगर विकास की दृष्टि से कदम उठाये जा रहे हैं तो मेरा कहना यह है कि युद्ध स्तर पर विकास कार्यक्रमों को अपने हाथों में लेना चाहिये। इनमें किसी प्रकार की कोई ढील नहीं आने देनी चाहिये, कोई शिथिलता नहीं आने देनी चाहिये। इसके लिए दो काम सबसे पहले करने होंगे। पहला काम यह करना होगा कि आपातकालीन स्थिति लागू होने के

बाद, जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा कि कृषि के क्षेत्र में कुछ विकास हुआ है, उत्पादन के क्षेत्र में गति आई है, अनुशासन आया है हमारी शिक्षण संस्थाओं में, लेकिन एक क्षेत्र जिस पर इस आपातकालीन स्थिति का पिछले एक वर्ष में प्रभाव नहीं हुआ और जिसके बिना हमारी गति जितनी बढ़नी चाहिए थी, वह नहीं बढ़ सकी, वह है हमारा प्रशासनिक तंत्र, सरकारी मशीनरी। जब तक इस सरकारी मशीनरी को आप पूरी तरह से नहीं कसेंगे और इसको रास्ते पर नहीं लायेंगे तब तक आपातकालीन स्थिति का जो लाभ देश को मिलना चाहिये, विकास की जो गति होनी चाहिये वह नहीं बढ़ पायेगी। भारत की 15 प्रतिशत जनता शहरों में रहती है। क्या हुआ अगर शहर के सरकारी कार्यालयों में आपने अनुशासन ला दिया और लोग समय पर कार्यालयों में पहुंचने लगे, हालांकि उसमें भी ढील आने लगी है। लेकिन 85 प्रतिशत भारत की जनता गांवों में रहती है जिनका वास्ता पड़ता है सरकारी मशीनरी से, पुलिस वालों से, तहसीलदारों से, पटवारियों से और दूसरे लोगों से, उन पर आपातकालीन स्थिति का क्या प्रभाव है, सरकार को इस बात का भी जायजा लेना चाहिये। अगर 85 प्रतिशत जनता का जिस सरकारी तंत्र से काम पड़ता है उस सरकारी तंत्र पर आपातकालीन स्थिति का कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ा तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह निश्चय ही प्रभावहीन हो जाएगा। जिस लक्ष्य को लेकर हम चले हैं उस लक्ष्य का निर्धारण हम नहीं कर सकेंगे। एक सबसे बड़ी बात, मैं समझता हूँ शायद आप न कह सकेंगे लेकिन मुझे इसको कहने में किसी प्रकार की कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। वह सबसे बड़ी समस्या हमारे देश के सामने है परिवार नियोजन की। जितना विकास की गति को हम आगे बढ़ाते हैं, चाहे कपड़े का उत्पादन बढ़े, चीनी का उत्पादन बढ़े, चाहे लोहे का, सीमेंट का या और किसी चीज का उत्पादन बढ़े वह सारा का सारा उत्पादन वहां जा कर ठप्प हो जाता है।

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

मैं अब परिवार नियोजन की समस्या पर ही आता हूँ। यह जो परिवार नियोजन है वह इस प्रकार की समस्या है जिस को युद्ध स्तर पर प्रमुखता देनी चाहिये। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि चुनावों को आगे बढ़ाने में, सरकारी पक्ष के लोग भले ही यह न कहें, लेकिन एक कारण यह भी है कि परिवार नियोजन की समस्या से गांवों के अंदर या दूसरे छोटे-छोटे नगरों में जो वातावरण पैदा हुआ है उसको देख कर भी सरकार के सामने यह प्रश्न उठा कि इस समय चुनाव कराना उचित है या नहीं। इसी लिये उन्होंने सोचा जो कार्य हमने प्रारम्भ किया है उसको किसी एक रास्ते पर लगा दें तब चुनाव कराये जायें। मेरा कहना इस संबंध में यह भी है कि और भी कारण चुनाव को आगे बढ़ाने के हो सकते हैं। मैं स्वयं इस पक्ष का व्यक्ति हूँ कि अगर सरकार इस काम को स्वतः सावधानी के साथ और मजबूती के साथ नहीं करेगी तो सारी विकास योजनाएं एक ओर रखी रह जायेंगी। मैं इस पक्ष में तो नहीं हूँ कि इसके लिये इस प्रकार के साधन-इस्तेमाल किये जाएं जैसे कि आजकल कई गांवों में चल रहे हैं, शहरों में चल रहे हैं। लेकिन मैं इस पक्ष में जरूर हूँ कि इसके लिये कोई दूसरा मार्ग भी तैयार किया जा सकता है। उदाहरण के लिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर किसी व्यक्ति के दो बच्चे हैं या तीन बच्चे हैं तो उनसे इस प्रकार का शायद पत्र केन्द्रीय सरकार या राज्य सरकारें तैयार करवायें कि तीन से अधिक मेरे बच्चे हों तो मेरे ऊपर जुर्माना किया जा सकता है या और कोई सजा दी जा सकती है। अगर कोई व्यक्ति स्वयं किन्हीं साधनों से परिवार नियोजन करता है तो उसके लिये जो फैमिली प्लानिंग की नसबंदी योजना है वह लागू नहीं होनी चाहिए। कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं इसलिये मैं विशेष रूप से इस बात की चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ कि केवल मुसलमानों में ही

नहीं हिन्दूओं में भी प्रतिक्रिया हो रही है। आप इसका कोई विकल्प जरूर सोचिए और इस विकल्प को जो आप सोचेंगे व्यापक दृष्टि से उसका प्रचार कीजिये। यह ठीक है कि प्रचार आपने पहले भी बहुत किया है। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य यह हुआ कि जब इस काम को तेजी से प्रारम्भ किया तो उस वक्त वर्षा ऋतु थी। वर्षा ऋतु में जो आपरेशन हुए तो उसमें कुछ असफल हो गये। जब एक गांव में भी किसी एक-दो का आपरेशन असफल हो गया तो लोगों में यह भावना फैली कि इस प्रकार की चीज खतरनाक है। मैं एक निवेदन यह करना चाहता हूँ कि इस को अनिवार्य रूप में लागू करने के लिये लोगों के मस्तिष्क में यह बात भरनी पड़ेगी कि परिवार नियोजन क्यों आवश्यक है। इसको समझाने के लिये देश में खासकर ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में जैसा वातावरण बनना चाहिये था वैसा वातावरण पहले नहीं बनाया गया और इसका ही परिणाम यह हुआ कि उसकी उलटी प्रतिक्रिया हुई। दूसरा कहना मेरा यह है कि अगर स्वतः ही कोई इस बात के लिये तैयार हो—चाहे वह कृत्रिम साधनों का उपयोग करे या संयम के द्वारा इसका पालन करे या वह इस बात के लिए तैयार है कि अगर सीमा का 3 P. M. उत्खनन करे तो आप जो भी सजा मुकर्रर करें वह उस सजा को लेने के लिए तैयार है, जुर्माना देने के लिए तैयार है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि परिवार नियोजन की अनिवार्यता या बाध्यता को लागू नहीं किया जाना चाहिए। लेकिन अगर एक ही उपाय को लागू किया जाएगा तो उसका परिणाम यह होगा—उसकी प्रतिक्रिया होगी। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि अगर हमें अपने देश को विकास की सही गति पर ले जाना है तो परिवार नियोजन एक बहुत ही आवश्यक कार्यक्रम है। लेकिन परिवार नियोजन कार्यक्रम को आंख मूंद करके लागू नहीं किया जाना चाहिए। इसको अपनी बुद्धि को नियंत्रित करके चलाया जाना चाहिए।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप अपने मस्तिष्क में इस बात का ध्यान अवश्य रखें।

एक बात साथ-साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक हमारी विकास की गति का संबंध है और जिस तरह से हमारे विकास के कार्यक्रम चल रहे हैं उसके संबंध में हमारे मित्र श्री भूपेश गुप्ता जी ने आज प्रातःकाल इस विधेयक पर अपना भाषण करते हुए रक्षा मंत्री श्री बंसो लाल जी का उद्धरण दिया। अगर वे रक्षा मंत्री श्री बंसोलाल का जिक्र न करके श्री बंसो लाल का जिक्र करते तो मुझे इसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं होती। लेकिन रक्षा मंत्री के रूप में उनको सम्बोधित करके जब उन्होंने कुछ कहा तो मुझे थोड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ। उन्होंने कहा कि श्री बंसोलाल सारे हिन्दुस्तान को हरियाणा मत बनायें। इस पर मुझे थोड़ा सा आश्चर्य हुआ है। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान को हरियाणा बनाया जाना चाहिए। जिस तेज गति के साथ हरियाणा में विकास कार्यक्रम चले हैं उसी तेज गति के साथ हमारे राज्यों में भी चलने चाहिए।

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** I did not say that. I said do not think India is Haryana.

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** मेरा कहना यह है कि विकास की जैसी तेज गति हरियाणा में चली है वह ही तेज गति बिहार, पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश और बंगाल आदि पिछड़े हुए प्रदेशों में चलनी चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर विकास की गति अच्छे ढंग से चल रही है तो इसके लिए जो भी साधन प्रयोग में लाये जा सकते हैं, वे लाये जाने चाहिए।

दूसरी विशेष बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि आपने लोक सभा का कार्यकाल एक वर्ष के लिए बढ़ा दिया है। उसभाध्यक्ष जी, संसद् जिसको अंग्रेजी में पार्लियामेंट कहते हैं, वह तीन भागों में विभक्त है। संसद्

केवल लोक सभा का नाम नहीं है। संसद् केवल राज्य सभा का नाम नहीं है। संसद् लोक सभा, राज्य सभा और राष्ट्रपति, इन तीनों को मिलाकर बनती है। लोक सभा जब किसी विधेयक को पारित करती है तो उस पर राज्य सभा की सहमति लेनी पड़ती है और राष्ट्रपति जब उस पर अपनी स्वीकृति की मोहर लगाते हैं तब वह विधेयक कानून की शक्ल धारण करता है। मेरा कहना यह है कि अगर लोक सभा के लिए कोई निर्णय लिया जाता है और राज्य सभा और राष्ट्रपति को छोड़ दिया जाता है तो ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि उस कानून में कहीं कूटि रह गई है। आपने लोक सभा की अवधि 6 वर्ष के लिए कर दी है। आप जानते हैं कि राष्ट्रपति और उप-राष्ट्रपति का कार्यकाल 5 वर्ष के लिए होता है। ऐसी स्थिति में क्या एक लोक सभा दो राष्ट्रपतियों का चुनाव करेगी? पांच वर्ष के बाद अगर दूसरा राष्ट्रपति चुना जाना होगा तो वही लोक सभा मतदान करेगी। मैं इसको कानून की न्यूनता समझता हूँ इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार किया जाना चाहिए। इसी दृष्टि से मैं राज्य सभा के लिए यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब संविधान सभा ने संविधान बनाया था तो वे ऐसे बुद्धिहीन व्यक्ति नहीं थे कि किसी प्रकार की कोई विसंगति रखते। उन्होंने लोक सभा का कार्यकाल 5 वर्ष का रखा और राज्य सभा का कार्यकाल 6 वर्ष का रखा। मैं समझता हूँ कि उसके पीछे कुछ कारण रहे होंगे। उन कारणों में से सबसे बड़ा कारण शायद यह रहा होगा कि लोक सभा और राज्य सभा का जो काम है या उनका जो काम करने का तरीका है उसमें डेढ़ मास की अवधि का अन्तर तो प्रति वर्ष रहता ही है क्योंकि लोक सभा वर्ष में लगभग 6 महीने बैठती है और राज्य सभा वर्ष में लगभग साढ़े 4 महीने बैठती है। यह जो डेढ़ माह का अन्तर है, इसको देखते हुए संविधान निर्माता ने यह निर्णय किया

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

जिस प्रकार से लोक सभा का कार्यकाल 5 वर्ष का है उसको देखते हुए राज्य सभा का कार्यकाल 6 वर्ष का होना चाहिए ताकि उतनी ही अवधि राज्य सभा के सदस्यों को भी मिले जितनी लोक सभा के सदस्यों को मिलती है। लेकिन यह कहना कि चूंकि राज्य सभा का कार्यकाल 6 वर्ष का है इसलिए लोक सभा का कार्यकाल भी 6 वर्ष का किया जा रहा है, मैं समझता हूं कि इस युक्ति में विसंगति है। राज्य सभा तो प्रति वर्ष डेढ़ महीना लोक सभा से पीछे है। पांच वर्ष में अगर हर वर्ष का डेढ़ महीना जोड़ा जाय तो लगभग साढ़े सात मास हो जाते हैं। इसलिए राज्य सभा का कार्यकाल 6 वर्ष का रखा गया है और लोक सभा का 5 वर्ष रखा गया है।

दूसरी सबसे बड़ी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जब आप इस प्रकार का कोई निर्णय लें तो केवल लोक सभा के लिए निर्णय न लें। लोक सभा और राज्य सभा और राष्ट्रपति-उपराष्ट्रपति का पद, इन को सम्मिलित करके निर्णय लिया जाए, जो भी निर्णय लिया जाए। इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा कि आप इस तरह का निर्णय करते समय यहां पर अपने गृह मंत्री श्रीम मेहता साहब भी बैठें और हमारे हाउस के नेता पं० कमलापति त्रिपाठी भी बैठें हैं—जो लोक सभा के बारे में है, अगर एक के लिये ही करेंगे, तो उसमें अधूरापन रह जायगा। यह अधूरापन संविधान की बहुत बड़ी न्यूनता मानी जाएगी। हमारे संविधान में किसी प्रकार की न्यूनता नहीं रहनी चाहिए इस दृष्टि से भी विचार करें।

दूसरी एक बात जो मैं विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूं, मुझे पता नहीं कि लोक सभा का कार्यकाल बढ़ा समय आपके मस्तिष्क में यह बात रही है या नहीं। लेकिन

मेरे जैसे व्यक्ति के मस्तिष्क में यह बात अवश्य है। 1967 के पहले हमारे देश में संसद और विधान मण्डलों के चुनाव साथ साथ होते थे। उसका परिणाम यह होता था कि दोनों बार पृथक् व्यय की सीमा बढ़ गई है—एक बार संसद के चुनाव पर व्यय किया जाए और दो साल बाद विधान सभाओं के चुनाव में व्यय किया जाए वह नहीं थीं। अब स्थिति यह हो गई है कि संसद के चुनाव और विधान सभाओं के चुनाव एक बार नहीं कई बार होंगे; अब यू० पी० का हो रहा है, कल केरल का हो रहा है, परसो तमिलनाडु का हो रहा है, उसके बाद डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड के चुनाव हो रहे हैं, ग्राम पंचायतों के चुनाव हो रहे हैं, म्युनिसिपैलिटी के चुनाव हो रहे हैं, यानी चुनावों का ज्वर देश पर सवार रहता है उसका अभिप्राय यह है कि जो चुनावों में भाग लेने वाले नेता हैं, जो जनता का मानस तैयार करते हैं वे सीमित होते हैं। नतीजा यह है कि वे व्यक्ति हर समय चुनावों में दौड़ते रहते हैं। आज विधान सभा के चुनावों में जा रहे हैं, कल संसद के चुनावों में जा रहे हैं। मेरा कहना है कि देश में जो चुनाव का ज्वर बढ़ा रहता है, इससे विकास की गति रुकती है और ये हमारे जो कार्यक्रम हैं उनमें भी व्यवधान पैदा होता है। जो दफ्तर में बैठ कर निर्णय लेते हैं। वे जनता में जाकर भाषण करेंगे कैसे काम होगा। हमको इस दृष्टि से भी सोचना चाहिए।

मेरा यह कहना है कि यह विधेयक जो आया है उसमें न्यूनता रह गई है। इस न्यूनता को पूर्ण करना चाहिए। उसका प्रकार यह है कि लोक सभा, राज्य सभा और राष्ट्रपति-उपराष्ट्रपति का पद, जो तीनों मिल कर संसद होते हैं, विधान जब बनाया जाय, तीनों के लिए सम्मिलित बनाया जाए। दूसरे यह कि इस प्रकार का निर्णय लेते समय विधान मण्डलों को भुला न दें,

विधान मण्डलों के सम्बंध में भी निर्णय लिया जाए ताकि भारत जैसे गरीब देश में जो यह अनावश्यक व्यय बढ़ जाता है और हर वक्त चुनावों का जो भूत सवार रहता है, यह हमेशा सवार न रहे।

अभी अमरीका के राष्ट्रपति का चुनाव हुआ था तो उसके साथ साथ सीनेटर्स का भी चुनाव हुआ, सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज भी चुने जा रहे हैं, सिटी कारपोरेशनों के चेयरमैन भी चुने जा रहे हैं। एक लम्बा सा बैलट पेपर है, एक साथ जो होना है, सारे चुनाव हो गए। होने के बाद, अब ढाई साल-तीन साल जो रह गए उसमें तेजी से मिल कर काम करेंगे। लेकिन यह क्या हुआ कि हर समय चुनावों का ही दौर दौरा चलता रहे। इससे देश की गति रुकती है। मैं समझता हूँ इस पर विधि मंत्री और सत्ताधारी दल को भी गंभीरता के साथ विचार करना चाहिए।

SHRI H. S. NARASIAH (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I support this Bill and my task of supporting it has been considerably lightened by the able advocacy put in by my Party President, Shri D. K. Borooah, who spoke in support of this Bill. I shall, therefore, be very short in my submissions.

Sir, the crucial question that has to be taken into consideration in either supporting or opposing this Bill is not the interests of any political party in this country but the interest of the nation at large. The question to be considered is whether at this stage in the history of development of the nation and in the particular situation in which the country is placed, when we are just on the brink of having achieved some thing very substantial out of the emergency that was declared and are in the process of consolidating the gains that have emerged out of it and striving to reap further benefits out of it, the existing situation should be allowed to be disturb-

ed by plunging the nation into a general election. The answer to this question from any sensible student of Indian politics and understanding would be in the negative only. Sir, the hon. Prime Minister speaking the other day on the Constitution (Forty-fourth Amendment) Bill said this about the emergency and I am quoting:

"Emergency itself had not brought gains but it had awakened the people to their responsibilities and that awakening had brought gains."

Sir, a greater effort is necessary not only from one political party of this country but from all progressive parties of this land to jointly put in their strength to attain the objectives of the great socioeconomic revolution that has been set in motion not only by the 20-point programme of the Prime Minister but also, I will add, the 5-point programme of the rising youth leader, Shri Sanjay Gandhi. The need for elections not being liable to be judged from a party stand point of view but from the larger perspective of the national interest, we see that the two emergencies—external and internal—declared, still need to be continued in force. The danger to the country from external hostilities and also the menace to the country from internal subversive forces, appears to be not totally eliminated. The Prime Minister warned the other day and I quote:

"One found that as soon as people are being released and other measures are relaxed, the old tendency to laxity was creeping back."

In all her public utterances, she has not failed to emphasise the need for the people to keep up constant vigilance against external and internal dangers. Fascist forces are still strong and will raise their heads if an opportunity is given.

Sir, regarding elections, it has been pointed out by our beloved Prime Minister, and I quote her again:

[Shri H. S. Narasiah.]

"There were times when we must all rise above controversy and anything that could create chaotic conditions."

The learned friends in the opposition, Sir, have a proven record of raising trivial controversies and obscuring the main issues and often even arousing communal feelings. Today, these have to be avoided at all costs. Far more important decisions have to be taken in a number of fields so that we could maintain the precious foothold we had acquired on the steep path of our onward journey. With many pressures and challenges with which India was confronted, we could not afford any sliding back. At this moment, consolidation of economic gains was essential and our progress did depend on our ability to become more self-reliant. No nation could play with its stability. These are the very valuable observations, the learned Prime Minister made the other day on the floor of this very House when she spoke in defence of the Forty-fourth Amendment to the Constitution.

If in such circumstances, elections are postponed just for a year or two, would it mean that elections are given a go by permanently and the democracy of our country is scuttled? On the contrary, Sir, the people of India who have gained a degree of maturity during the past five General Elections and several by-elections, will surely appreciate the national needs and not react adversely to any postponement.

Sir, the political sagacity of the Indian voter, illiterate and impecunious though he may be, has always demonstrated that he has acted correctly and wisely in all our General Elections.

Elections, no doubt, constitute one of the basic features of the functioning of any democracy. The hon. Prime Minister pointed out once again that:

"Elections were important and we have had them regularly until the Emergency."

The hon. Minister of Law has also pointed out on the floor of the other House :

"We may have elections sooner than expected."

Parliament also can be dissolved earlier if the conditions turn out to be better or give an indication that the successful implementation of the twenty point programme would not be disturbed. As he has rightly said, Sir, postponing of the elections does not mean that until the ruling party has achieved all that it wants to achieve in the economic field, there will be no elections in this land. This country, it can be categorically asserted, will not deviate from democracy. Sir, postponement of elections is not something alien to the democracies of the world. Britain postponed it during emergencies like war and so on. As the learned President of the Congress pointed out this morning, Holland did it though there was no war. Besides, just now, Sir, we have turned a golden chapter in the history of Parliamentary democracy by reasserting and re-affirming the supremacy of Parliament and the supremacy of the Directive Principles over the Fundamental Rights. Several follow-up measures have to be taken to implement the socio-economic objectives adumbrated in our amended Constitution. Some time may also be needed for taking such consequential measures as may be necessary. Sir, the only fear I notice, of the Opposition, from their speeches is that, if time is allowed for the achievement of the aforesaid objectives and the betterment of the economic conditions of the masses of this country and for the successful implementation of the economic programme, which has now become a programme of the nation and which is also the sole aim with which the Constitution (Forty-fourth Amend-

ment) Bill was passed, what little chance the Opposition may still have at the polls will be completely obliterated. If that is their stand, Sir, God save them.

**SHRI PATTAM RAJAN (Kerala):**

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to strongly oppose this Bill because this is a total violation of the principle of democracy. Nobody with the minimum democratic norms can support the proposal for the extension of the life of the Lok Sabha for two years more, when the House was elected only for five years. When I take part in the discussion, I remember the fate of the Panchayat elections in Kerala, which are due for more than a decade. More than ten times, they, have been postponed. I fear what has happened to the Kerala Panchayat election is going to happen to the Lok Sabha elections also.

Sir, when the Constitution (Amendment) Bill was being discussed in the other House, some Members demanded a term of six years for the Lok Sabha. Before that, some Members, including some leading Congressmen, as well as Ministers, demanded that the present Parliament should be converted into a Constituent Assembly. Their intention was very clear to evade elections. While their demands were not conceded, the very purpose of their demands has been served by this Bill. Sir, I would like to ask the Minister whether he can say, when, and in what circumstances, the elections will be held again. I am sure he cannot say. Nor the Prime Minister can say because it depends upon the decision of somebody else. You would have understood it from the press statement made by such a person from Bombay against the holding of the elections or the postponement of the elections. After his statement the next day, the very next day, the Law Minister came to the other House and made the announcement about the extension of the life of the Lok Sabha. That is going on in our country. That is why I am sure that the Minister or the Prime

Minister or any other person cannot say under what circumstances the elections will be held.

From the Statement of Objects and Reasons, it is very clear that you are not prepared to revoke the emergency for a long long time and that you are trying to stabilise the emergency. You have tied the hands and legs of common masses and let loose the vested interest to plunder the workers and peasants. People in all walks of life, excepting some vested interest, are dissatisfied. They are hating the ruling Party and the Government. Those who had lent their support to you in the last election are now against you, are now hating you. It is a fact, Sir, during this emergency period thousands of small and big companies have been closed. No action has been taken against any of such employers. At the same time, whenever the workers have gone into agitation for their working conditions, the next morning you have used the DIR and the MISA against them. MISA and DIR are being used against workers all over the country. Two weeks back, from my own State ten persons have been arrested under MISA. They are not active in politics. Some of them are lawyers and some of them are teachers. Some of them are not the members of any political party. Yet they have been arrested by the Government, because they sympathised with the problems of workers and defended their cases. About the repercussions of the unrest among workers, our Labour Minister himself has stated in a Conference that there have been more lock-outs and more attacks on the working class. The peasants are not getting adequate price for their produce and the consumers are paying more. The economic crisis is deepening day by day because of the uncivilized policy of the Government and as a part of the crisis of world capitalist countries.

Sir, I feel that this Bill is a death bell of our democracy, parliamentary

[Shri Pattiam Rajan.]

system and the free and fair elections will be a mere dream to the people of India. If you have any faith in parliamentary democracy, I request the Minister to withdraw the Bill and go and face the masses and seek their verdict through a free and fair election after lifting the emergency and releasing all political prisoners.

Lastly, I am very glad to hear that my CPI friends are with us in opposing this Bill, but I humbly request Mr. Bhupesh Gupta to advise his colleague, Shri Achutha Menon, the Chief Minister of Kerala, to hold Panchayat and Municipal elections which are due for more than a decade.

With these words, I oppose the Bill.

**श्री मोहम्मद उस्मान आरिफ (राजस्थान) :** मोहम्मद वाइस चैयरमैन साहब मैं इस बिल की तारीफ करना हूँ जिसके जरिये लोक सभा की सियाद एक साल के लिये बढ़ाई गई है। जनाबवाला हम जानते हैं कि हमारे मुल्क की हकूमत कुछ उसूलों पर चलती है वे उसूल पायामेन्टरी जम्हूरी सोशलिस्ट और सेक्यूलर के निजाम के हैं। इन उसूलों पर हम शुरु से मजबूती से पाबन्द रहे हैं। पिछले अर्से तक हम बराबर नेकनीयती के साथ इलेक्शन कराने चले आए हैं और डेमोक्रेटिक तरीके से हकूमत बनती चली आई है लेकिन उसूल बाजदफा ढीले करने पड़ते हैं वक्त को देखते हुए हालत को देखते हुए। सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि मुल्क के लिये उसूल हैं उसूलों के लिये मुल्क नहीं है। अगर हकूमत उन वसूलों को मुल्क के फायदे के लिये ढीला करके इलेक्शन कराना मुनासब नहीं समझती है तो यह चीज मुल्क के लिए अच्छी है। जैसा कि हमारे सदस्यों ने बोलते हुए यह माना है कि इस वक्त हमारे मुल्क में हंगामी हालत है, इसरजेन्सी की हालत है। आप जानते हैं कि इसरजेन्सी लागू होने के

बाद हमारे देश की हालत में काफी सुधार हुआ है। हर तरफ तरक्की हुई है। एक नया वावतारण पैदा हुआ है। श्री भूपेश गुप्ता साहब ने जो तकरीर फर्माई उसका जवाब उसूलों और किताबी इस्तिलाहों के मुताबिक हमारे कांग्रेस प्रेजीडेंट साहब ने बहुत अच्छी तरह से दिया है। उसके साथ-साथ उन्होंने यह भी फरमाया कि वह एक बहुत अच्छे डेमोक्रेट हैं एक अच्छे पायामेन्टेरियन हैं लेकिन यह सादा है इसमें कुछ अल्फायज का इजाफा करना चाहता हूँ। वह सादा भी हैं और उनको किताबी इल्म भी है लेकिन अमली जिन्दगी का तजुर्बा उनको नहीं मालूम होता है। वे उसूलों के बारे में नेक नियत हैं लेकिन हमारे मुल्क में जो लोग उसूलों की आड़ में मुल्क को तबाह करना चाहते हैं जो फासिस्ट लोग हैं और जो इस मुल्क में फ़साद पैदा करना चाहते हैं मैं समझता हूँ कि श्री भूपेश गुप्ता जी उनकी कूटनीति से शायद वाकिफ नहीं हैं। इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं है कि इसरजेन्सी से हमारे मुल्क में बहुत फायदे हुए हैं। हमारा मुल्क तरक्की की राह पर चल पड़ा है। हमारे मुल्क में उन्निमादी और समाजी तरक्की हो रही है और उसके साथ-साथ तमाम मुल्क में सबसे बड़ी बात जो हुई है वह यह है कि मुल्क के अन्दर एक नई चेतना पैदा हुई है, एक नया एहसास पैदा हुआ है। आज लोग इस बात को समझने लगे हैं कि हमें इस मुल्क को आगे बढ़ाना है और अपने मुल्क को तरक्की की राह पर चलाना है और जो फासिस्ट ताकतें हैं जो तोड़फोड़ में यकीन करती हैं उनको खत्म करना है। इन्हीं उसूलों पर हमारे मुल्क की भलाई बरकरार रह सकती है।

इस सिन्डिसिले में मैं श्री शास्त्री जी के बयान को बड़े गौर से सुन रहा था। उन्होंने यह तो कहा कि मैं इस विधेयक का विरोध करता हूँ। लेकिन उन्होंने चन्द बातें ऐसी



कही हैं जिनसे इस बात की ताईद होती है कि मुल्क में इन हालात के अन्दर इलेक्शन नहीं होने चाहिए। विपक्ष के तौर पर उन्होंने फरमाया कि जो काम मुल्क की तरक्की के लिए, मुल्क की बहबूदी के लिए और जो काम लोगों की इक्कितादी और समाजी तरक्की के लिए किये जा रहे हैं उनको पूरा किया जाना चाहिए। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि यह जो 20 पाइन्ट का प्रोग्राम है इसको पूरा करने के लिए एक साल नहीं बल्कि कई सालों की जरूरत है। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि अभी तो एक साल ही हुआ है बाकी आगन्दा सालों में देखा जाएगा। हम कोई प्रडिक्शन नहीं कर सकते हैं। कौम की जिन्दगी में और सियासी जिन्दगी में कोई पेशगोई नहीं हो सकती है। शास्त्री जी ने जो कुछ कहा उससे तो इसी ख्याल की ताईद होती है कि जो प्रोग्राम हमारे सामने है और जिस तरीके में हमें मुल्क को आगे बढ़ाना है उसमें वक्त लगेगा। ऐसी हालत में जब हम कम से कम एक साल के लिए सुस्त रहे हैं और मुल्क में इलेक्शन नहीं करा रहे हैं तो यह ठीक ही फैसला किया गया है। शास्त्री जी की साफगोई की मैं दाद देता हूँ, उन्होंने जो बातें ईमानदारी से कही हैं, मैं उनकी पुरजोर ताईद करता हूँ। मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि फ्रेमिली प्लानिंग का प्रोग्राम हमारी कौमी जिन्दगी का एक बहुत अहम प्रोग्राम है। इसके साथ-साथ इसके बारे में न सिर्फ मुसलमानों में कुछ आतियाँ पैदा हुई हैं बल्कि दूसरी कौमों के अन्दर भी इस तरह की आतियाँ पैदा हुई हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि ये आतियाँ कुछ पंडितों, कुछ मौलवियों और कुछ कट्टरपंथी लोगों ने फैलाई हैं। हम यह चाहते हैं कि इन प्रोग्राम को अच्छे तरीके से लागू किया जाय और जो लोग गलत तौर पर बातें फैलाने की कोशिश करते हैं उनको ऐसा करने का मौका न दिया

जाय। लेकिन शास्त्री जी से मैं अदब के साथ अर्ज करता चाहता हूँ कि हमारे मुल्क में कुछ ऐसी ताकतें भी हैं जो गलत तरीकों से हुकूमत में आने की कोशिश करती रहती हैं और सियासी तौर पर ऐसे काम करने की कोशिश करती हैं जिनसे मुल्क कमजोर होता है। उनका भी इसमें बहुत बड़ा हाथ है; वोह डबल रोल अदा करते हैं; वोह शोर और तूफान का वातावरण—जो खुल्लमखुल्ला था—वोह नगा नाच, हिसा का जो जाहिर था वोह पंसेपदा हो रहा है, दब कर हो रहा है, छुप कर हो रहा है और इस सिलसिले में भी दोनों तरफ बहलाया जा रहा है। एक फ़िरके को कह दिया जाता है तुम्हारे मजहब में दखल दिया जा रहा है, दूसरे फ़िरके को समझा दिया जाता है कि वोह लोग फ्रेमिली प्लानिंग प्रोग्राम पर अमल नहीं कर रहे हैं, वह तादाद में बढ़ जायेंगे तुम पीछे रह जाओगे। मुझे ऐसे हालात भी मालूम हैं जब बड़े बड़े धार्मिक लोगों ने आम जत्तों में पब्लिक को भड़काया है, उनको उकसाया है और उन को गलत रास्ते पर डाला है। उसी के साथ साथ आप यह क्यों तपलीम नहीं करते कि उन्हीं के अपर के लोग गवर्नमेंट मशीनरी में भी बैसे हैं। बहुत से लोग गवर्नमेंट के मुलाजिम होते हुए भी, उनकी अपनी आईडियालाजीज हैं, मुत्किदात हैं, उनके खुद के आने असूल हैं और उनके अपने एक तरफ़ा झुकाव हैं। इसलिए वोह लोग भी जान कर इस प्रोग्राम को फेल करते हैं। जब इतना बड़ा नेशनल प्रोग्राम जिसके बारे में आमतौर पर मही फिजा पैदा हो गई है, उसको फेल करने के लिए अंदरूनी साजिशें की जा सकती हैं तो आप अंदाज लगाइए कि इलेक्शन के दौरान मैं जब हम शक्स को खुल्लमखुल्ला पब्लिक मीटिंग एड्रेस करने का मौका होगा और वातावरण जो जहरे साफ़ कर दिया गया था, वो फिजा जो शांत कर दी गई थी, उनको खराब करने में क्या रुकावट आ सकती है। इसलि

## [श्री मोहम्मद उस्मान आरिफ]

मेरी रस्तबस्ता अर्ज है कि इस मामले पर हमको गहरा गौर करना चाहिए। जहां मुल्क का सवाल है, हमें अपने तमाम पर्सनल इन्टरेस्ट तज देने चाहिए। वाइम चेयरमैन साहब, आपने भी फर्माया, भूपेश जी ने भी फर्माया कि इसमें शक नहीं कि कांग्रेस पार्टी इलेक्शन से ही डरती है और मैं भी दावे के साथ अर्ज कर सकता हूँ कि अगर इलेक्शन होंगे हम कामियाबी हासिल करेंगे और बहुत शानदार कामयाबी हासिल करेंगे। अब सवाल यह पैदा होता है कि आखिर हम क्यों वह कामयाबी हासिल करने के लिए आज ही इलेक्शन नहीं करा देते? क्यों नहीं इसका ऐलान कर देते? बात यह है कि कांग्रेस और कांग्रेस के बुजुर्गों के नक्शे कदम पर चलने वाले जी लोग हैं उनके लिए मुल्क का फायदा हमेशा सब से ऊपर रहा है। उन्होंने अपने हुक्काम या अपने इकतदार का उतना खयाल नहीं रखा है जितना मुल्क की तरक्की, साल-मियत और मजबूती का खयाल रखा है। जब हम आपके ही कहने के मुताबिक इलेक्शन में जीत सकते हैं तो हमारे इलेक्शन करने में क्या हानि है? वही चीज रुकावट की मानी है कि हम जानते हैं कि इलेक्शन इस वक्त स्कून की फिजा को खराब कर सकते हैं और जो लोग छुपे बैठे हैं, जो मुल्क को खराब और खस्ता करते पर तुले बैठे हैं, फिर अपने गलत प्रचार पर आ जाएंगे; फिर एक दफा और एक झगड़े का वातावरण पैदा होगा।

इसके साथ साथ, शास्त्रीजी, आप बड़े-बड़े मुल्कों में धूमे हुए आदमी हैं, आपका बड़ा तजुर्बा है सियासी जिन्दगी का, आपसे यह बात भी पोशीदा नहीं होगी कि गौर मुमालिक भी हमारे मुल्क की तरक्की पे नज़र रखे हुए हैं, उनको एक आंख यह तरक्की नहीं भाती। अब भी हमारे लोग उनसे मिले हुए हैं। आप लोगो ने बहसियत मेम्बर पालियामेंट दो खत ऐसे पाये होंगे जो अमरीका से भेजे

गये हैं। उन खत में क्या जहर उगला गया है। वहां से जो खत भेजे गए हैं वोह भी हमारे हिन्दुस्तानी भाइयों के भेजे हुए हैं और मैं कहूंगा हिन्दुस्तान की सब से बड़ी दुखद बात यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान जब जब पिछड़ा है या जब जब हिन्दुस्तान ना काम रहा है तो हमारे अपने लोगों की भूल—जिसकी मैं ग़दारी कहूंगा, उससे रहा है। उसी ग़दारी से हमारा मुल्क पिछड़ा है और हम ने शिकस्तें खाई हैं। आज भी हमारे लोग बदकिस्मती से दूसरो के पैसे पर और दूसरो की मदद पर बैठे हैं और वहां से ऐसे खत लिख रहे हैं जो मेम्बर पालियामेंट को जो हमारी जिन्दगी को, हमारे मुल्क को और हमारे मुल्क की आजादी को खतरे में डाल सकते हैं। हमारे हज़ारों बरसों की पिछली तारीख़ उठा कर देखिए, मुख्तलिफ़ मुकामात में जब कि कलुशल टाइम आया, हमारी जिन्दगी में कामयाबी हासिल करने का वक्त आया, तो कितने मीर जाफ़र पैदा हो गए, कितने सार्दिक पैदा हो गए और इसी तरीके से ग़दारी की भी तारीख़ है। गौर करें तो उसली तौर पर इसमें पालिया-मेन्टरी डेमोक्रेसी का असूल जो हमने अपनाया है और उसके मुताबिक इलेक्शन होना चाहिए। लेकिन वक्त का तक्राजा और ही है।

अब जब कि हम ने इस मुल्क की तरक्की का एक प्रोग्राम बना लिया है उस में हम को बराबर आगे चलना चाहिए और शास्त्री जी आप तो अब इंडिपेंडेंट मेम्बर की हैसियत से हैं। आप को यह सोचना चाहिए और गौर करना चाहिए कि आप हुक्मत को इस सिलसिले में जितनी मदद कर सकते हैं वह करें इस लिये कि वह मदद हुक्मत को नहीं होगी बल्कि वह मदद इस मुल्क को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए होगी। वह मुल्क की तरक्की के लिये होगी और हम और आप सब का लक्ष्य तो यह मुल्क ही है। अगर मुल्क रहेगा तो पालियामेंटरी डेमोक्रेसी रहेगी और अगर मुल्क रहेगा तो यह पालियामेंट रहेगी, हम

मेम्बर पार्लियामेंट रहेंगे। अगर खुदा न खास्ता इस मुल्क के लिये कोई खतरा आता है, इस मुल्क की आजादी खतरे में रहती है तो हम कहीं नहीं रहते। आखिर में मैं एक बात कह कर अपनी बात खत्म करता हूँ। एक फारसी के शायर ने कहा है :

“रमूजे मसलहते खश खुशबां दानन्द।”

फारसी का यह मशहूर मकला है कि जो हुकूमत चलाने वाला है उसको अपना राज खुद ही मालूम होता है। हमारे कांग्रेस प्रेसीडेंट बरूआ साहब ने एक जुमला कहा था कि मुझे तो बहुत से ऐसे हालात मालूम हैं कि जो औरों को पता नहीं हैं। तो यह जरूरी नहीं होता कि जो हालात हुकूमत को बहैसियत हुकमरा होने के मालूम होते हैं वह सब को मालूम हो। वह आम आदमी को मालूम नहीं होते। किस को मालूम था कि इस इमरजेंसी के पहले क्या क्या षड्यंत्र रचे गये थे। जब हमारे सामने सारे वक्त्यात आये तो पता चला कि वे कितने भयानक, हौलनाक और खतरनाक इरादे थे। इसी तरह से आप समझ लीजिए कि अन्दरूनी खाना, दबे हुए लोग अभी तक साजिश में लगे हुए हैं और इस लिये हमें हुकूमत को किसी तरह मजबूर नहीं करना चाहिए। हुकूमत खूब जानती है कि हालात कैसे हैं। इस लिये हम को इस में मदद करना चाहिए। इतना ही कहकर आखिर में मैं इस विधेयक की पुर्जोर ताईद करता हूँ। जय हिन्द।

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I stand to oppose this Bill purely on democratic lines. Sir, people in this country have begun to feel that Parliamentary system itself has become a tyranny. If I go to Madras, the taxi driver asks me: When will be the election? I tell him: Elections are going to be postponed till 1978. Then, immediately he says: This is the tyranny of Parliamentary Democracy. I am only reflecting the views of the common people in this

country. Why is it so? (Interruptions). Sir, you must give me protection. They are in large numbers. I am the sole person here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): You will not be prevented from speaking.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: Thank you, Sir. Why are the ordinary people in this country calling Parliamentary Democracy a tyranny? They do so for the reasons that in democracy thoughts of the people are being defeated by numbers. What is the thought of the people today? The thought of the people is that election should be held at least once in five years. And what is happening today? We are extending the life of Parliament by one more year, that is, to six years. And you have given it Constitutional sanction; and today we are extending it by one more year. Therefore, ordinary people in this country feel that Parliamentary Democracy has become a tyranny. As I said, thoughts are being defeated by numbers.

Sir, I will give you one instance. In Tamil Nadu when the great Kamaraj was the Chief Minister, the Tamil Nadu people wanted the then Madras State to be named as Tamil Nadu. Shri Sankaralinga Nadar, a great patriot, sacrificed his own life by undertaking an indefinite fast. He wanted the name of Madras State to be changed into Tamil Nadu. But Shri Kamaraj did not agree. He might have had his own reasons for that. Any way, he did not agree. A resolution was moved in the Assembly by the opposition. Mr. Kamaraj defeated the resolution with numbers because he had a huge majority and that resolution was, therefore, defeated. But what happened in the year 1967? The people defeated Mr. Kamaraj. It is not that he has not served the people. It is because of the fact that he did not respect the thought of the people and with sheer numbers he defeated their thought. That is what is happening now in this country, Sir. We may be in a minority. But we

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would say that definitely the Congress Party may come back if the elections are held and that is what is being told by the Congress Party leaders. But why are you not ordering elections? Last time, Sir, when the postponement was asked for, it was not then said that it would be postponed for one more year.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: How could it be said then?

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: Even today, this year, Sir, they are asking for postponement and a general talk is there, as my leader in the other House said the other day, that we should call ourselves as M.Ps., that is, "Members Permanent". You see, this is a mockery of democracy. We should set good examples and we should establish good traditions. Why, Sir, for the past 25 years, this postponement was not asked for either by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru or by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri or by Shri Gulzarilal Nanda. But the postponement is being asked for only now. Those people say that there are some forces and they are working against the interests of the country. If there are bad forces, definitely action should be taken against them. Our learned President of the Congress, the honourable Mr. Borooah, was mentioning the achievements of the emergency. Now, Sir, what are the achievements of the emergency? You know that. The trains are running on time. This is the achievement of the emergency. The office staff are going to their offices in time. This is also an achievement of the emergency. I would like to ask the ruling party and the Government one question. If the trains were not running on time earlier, why was no action taken against those people who had committed that mistake? Why were those people who were going late to their offices not given strictures and warning and punished according to the rules? What is the achievement? What is the achievement of the emergency, you know?

Sir, today, ten thousand of my colleagues, my political party friends, are in prison. That is the achievement of the emergency. And, Sir, twenty-five thousand of the Government employees, at the age of 50, both State and Central Government employees, have been retired or have been asked to retire and they are called "dead wood" and they are asked to go away and they are on the street now with their ten children or five children or six children. Last year, the Confidential Report of an employee was written in such a manner as to say that his conduct and character were good and that his performance was very good and that he had performed his duty very well. But, within two months, Sir, as soon as the emergency was declared, immediately he was found to be a dead wood and his work was poor and this way they have retired all these employees whom they did not like and all these people have petitioned to the Central and the State Governments, I mean the Central and State Government employees. But no action has been taken and that is the achievement of the emergency. As far as my party is concerned, it is the most democratic political party. If an individual is appointed or if a judicial commission is appointed and if he or that commission goes into the question and into the nature of the working and functioning of all the political parties in this country, I can say with pride that he or that commission will find my party to be the most democratic political party in this country. And, Sir, that party is being treated by the Government and the ruling party with the policy of apartheid of the South African Government and that attitude is being shown to the people of Tamil Nadu by the ruling party and the Government.

Sir, you will be surprised to know how the Government machinery is being used against my party, that is, the radio, television, etc. I will cite one instance. Before the birth day celebrations of the former Chief Minister of Tamil

Nadu, Dr. Kalaingar Karunanidhi—there is a charge that his “Murasoli” building which has been in existence for so many years has been built on corruption money; that is the charge and that is before the Commission of Inquiry now—that building was shown on the television. The entire machinery is being used to make propaganda against my leader and against my party. That is not correct method, Sir. My party’s organ ‘Murasoli’ is pre-censored. No other paper is asked to have pre-censorship. But my party’s paper is being pre-censored and given at 4 o’clock in the morning only and even advertisements have to be shown to the Censor. But here the Minister says that there is no pre-censorship. Another paper called ‘Tamil Mani’, that is also another paper propagating the views of my party is also pre-censored. It has only four pages. Then it will be allowed to be printed. Sir, a person who was the host of the ex-Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Shri Karunanidhi at Seerkazhi in the Tanjore district—he was not a party worker or a party sympathizer—was arrested the next day under the MISA. On another occasion the ex-Chief Minister went to Tindivanam in South Arcot. He addressed a meeting. The person who presided over the meeting was arrested the next day. Sir, another person N. V. N. Selvan son of an ex-Minister, who is no more, was asked to get permission from the Assistant Commissioner to hold a meeting to celebrate Anna’s birthday. He was allowed to come the next day. But he was arrested in the night under the MISA. He has not yet been released. I am narrating these things because these may also happen to you tomorrow as Opposition party. Supposing we come into power or some other party comes into power, it may happen to you. That is why I am narrating all these to you Sir, to celebrate the birthday of the ex-Chief Minister, people came in very large numbers. But they were not

allowed by the police. Buses coming from the ‘Mofussil’ were not allowed by the police. Students were not allowed. Licences were cancelled. These are the achievements of the emergency. That is why I say, Sir, that the policy of apartheid is being pursued by the Central Government and the ruling party, as far as my party and my leader is concerned. Sir, these are their achievement after the emergency. The honourable Shri Brahmananda Reddi says when he visits Tamil Nadu that the law and order situation in Tamil Nadu is very good. Whatever might be the provocation, we are the most cultured people. The Indian people got a democratic system, before America was discovered or Russia was discovered. We have got a tradition of 5000 years of civilization. Therefore, we are not taking any retaliatory action.

I am placing these things for the consideration of all Members. You forget political parties. Is it proper? I ask you. That is why I am using these words that a policy of apartheid is being followed by the Central Government so far as my party is concerned. But it is not the because of that, that I am opposing this measure. Elections should be held. It is a stock-taking day. Our respected Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has said that people are supreme and that Parliament is the creature of the people. What we say when we contest the elections, we go and ask the people. We tell them: “There have been good achievements during our five years’ rule. You can review them. We have got a policy for the next five years. We have an election manifesto for the next five years. If you approve of them, give us another chance so that we may continue to serve you.” That opportunity is not being given to the people. Supposing Shrimati Indira Gandhi was not the Prime Minister and some other person was the Prime Minister, and he had decided to postpone the election because of the

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constitutional provision, many of you would not be here. Mr. Gokhale would not be the Law Minister here. Supposing the British rulers had decided that the time was not ripe to give independence to this great country, because this was a vast country, millions of people were there, what would have happened? Therefore, this decision of the Government to postpone the elections is not proper. This is bad history that is being written in the Constitution of this country. And, therefore, this decision of the Government to postpone the election is not proper. I would appeal to the Prime Minister and the ruling party to leave aside our party affiliations and not to set a bad tradition in this country. We belong to Chanakya. Was there any Chanakya in the whole world? Was there any Agasthya in the whole world? Was there Thiruvalluvar who had written 1330 slokas in 'Kural' about 5000 years back which are applicable even today. We belong to a very ancient civilisation. Therefore, I would appeal to the Prime Minister and the Government to forget party affiliations. You may come back in elections. You may come at the all India level. You take the verdict of the people. What have you done during emergency? The entire working class is against you. You have strengthened the hands of the capitalists because bonus is not given to the worker, but the bonus and profits are kept by the capitalists and the landlords respectively in this country. Therefore, it is better that the people are approached. We will accept whatever be the verdict. Party considerations should not be there. You subordinate the thought to the numbers. Many of you among the Congress people come and whisper to us: What is this? Will these people continue for ever?

AN HON. MEMBER: Please mention names.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: I do not want any split in your party.

If you don't issue a whip and ask them to vote according to their conscience, you will see that the postponement of elections is defeated by the Congress Party itself. They say that they are democrats. They have come to power for five years. They are asked to continue for five years. Now, they are continuing for 7 years.

Sir, as far as my party is concerned, we oppose this Bill because we are creating bad traditions in our democratic way of life. Many Asian countries got independence with us. But it is India that is independent even today. Democracy is there even today. All the other Asian countries which got independence along with us have become either this or that. It is because of our traditions and our way of life. Democracy has not been imposed on us. Democracy is a way of life. We have got 5000 years of civilisation. Democracy lives in our hearts. As far as my party is concerned, whatever misunderstanding is there, we are prepared to co-operate with the ruling party and the Government. There are still 500 of my party colleagues in prison for the last one year. Even then, the rank and file workers of my party have not retaliated. They are very calm and quiet. It has been certified by the hon. Home Minister, Shri Brahmananda Reddi. We extend all co-operation. But please remember that the Congress Party does not fall a prey to C.I.A. What are their activities? (Time bell rings) C.I.A. wants that our nation should not march forward. Today, our nation as a whole is not marching forward. The Prime Minister can do it. The nation as a whole must march forward and we should not fall a prey to the C.I.A. Therefore, I would appeal to the Prime Minister to have a Round Table Conference of all the political parties. It can be done only by the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. Indians are pure and simple nationalists. At the time of Chinese aggression and at the time of Bangladesh crisis, we have stood as one

man. We have never exposed our country to other people.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): Please don't raise other points.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: We have stood as a nation. A conference of all such national leaders belonging to different ideologies and political parties must be convened and a decision should be taken on the code of conduct and functioning of all political parties. Sir, normalcy must be restored, emergency must be lifted and all those Government employees who have been dismissed must be reinstated—if they are very bad, I do not want them to be reinstated—and bonus should be granted to the employees. Normalcy should be restored in the country and then only, as far as this work is concerned, as far as my Party is concerned, I extend full co-operation to the efforts of our Prime Minister and the ruling party. But I oppose the postponement of elections.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GO-SWAMI (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, on a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): There is no point of order.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GO-SWAMI: Sir, the hon. Member has said that in the AICC, the whip is given. I am a member of the AICC since 1948. Never in the AICC whip is given. I do not know about the DMK. But on the AICC platform, never whip is given. We are very independent to speak, and then a majority decision is taken.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: I never said about the AICC. I said some people come and whisper to me from the Congress.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GO-SWAMI: No Congressman whispers. It is only the CBI. Therefore, Sir, it

should be recorded. And this is vulgarisation.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): Whatever you have said is recorded. Now the Minister.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am indeed very happy that the Bill has received very large support in this House. Sir, it is not very long time ago that we witnessed in this country a situation which was unprecedented so far as this country is concerned. At that time, for quite some months before the declaration of emergency, we heard the slogan of total revolution coming from the topmost leaders of the Opposition. That total revolution was soon realised as nothing else but a call for total anarchy and it did not merely stop at cries and attempts to disturb democratic institutions but it went so far as to make open appeals to the army and police to revolt. This was followed up at least in two States where duly elected representatives of the people were blackmailed, were forced and houses of some of the Members were burnt, women were molested on the demand that the Houses of the Legislatures in those States should be dissolved. It had come to a stage, wherein one State the Government, in view of the situation, had to dissolve the Legislative Assembly—the Legislative Assembly of Gujarat. Now, we are hearing loud talks about democracy. But I would like to ask these friends: Did they consider all this as democracy? None of these people who are talking about democracy ever came out condemning these actions. I did not want them to support us. I do not want them to support us now. But I should have expected, if they are really believers in democracy, at least in this situation where the Army . . .

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: As far as my Party is concerned, I am making it clear that we do not support any of these activities of any of these leaders . . .

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: You are making it clear today.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: We do not support all these activities of any leader however big he may be. I am making a statement.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: Mr. Lakshmanan is speaking here now after 18 months. But he did not open his mouth nor his colleagues in the party nor the members of the other parties who are so loud about democracy when the agitation was being instigated, when the army was asked to revolt and the police was 4 P.M. asked to revolt. None of them did it. Where was their faith and devotion to democracy at that time? Sir, I welcome their decision.

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM: Sir, is he only referring to party Members or to nominated Members also? I would like to make it clear that I was opposed to the J. P. movement right from the start.

(Interruptions)

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: I say the nominated Members because somehow or the other the nominated Members have been the loudest in demanding elections. You have a right to say so. It is not even necessary to be a Member to demand elections. Therefore, you are entitled to demand elections. I am not saying that but I did not want to make any distinction between nominated or other Members.

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM: I wish to say that I was against the JP movement from the very start.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: It is good that you have done it but obviously I am speaking about those people who are talking in the name of their parties and they have been the loudest. Some of them are not here just now and I am referring to them also and I have been seeing them being loudest with regard to democracy after the emergency was declared. But their mouths

were shut when a real support for democracy was necessary and when the very existence of democracy in this country was threatened. Why did not they say this then? They did not obviously say this then because most of these parties who are talking now in the name of democracy were, in fact, themselves participants in this agitation for the creation of chaos. How could they have said?

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: Sir, my party is not a participant. I want to make it very clear.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: Let those people to whom the cap fits, wear it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): The Minister has not mentioned your party.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: Sir, my grievance is this that all this talk about democracy is now coming before us when after the emergency things have been done and steps have been taken and when before the emergency, the very reasons which led to the proclamation of emergency, were such as at least required all these people to say that these things are anti-democratic and were not only anti-democratic but were subversive of democracy. None of them said anything then. I am speaking about everybody who is here and who has been protesting about democracy and about many people who are outside and who are not here. All this clearly shows that this talk about democracy now is because it is a fact that emergency has shown that democracy and democratic institutions in this country now being sought to be put in their proper shape and suddenly a new crop of enthusiasts, particularly, operating from some other countries, has come up. They are called Citizens for Democracy. They are here and elsewhere. They are now trying to protect our democracy sitting in Washington or New York. I described them as fugitives from the law when I spoke in the other House. They ran away from this country when, according to them,



their presence in this country was most required for the protection of that democracy about which they are loudly talking. But they won't be here. They will be in Washington, they will be in New York, they will be in London and they will be in other places and from there advise us as to how we should function to protect our democracy. Do we not know how these organisations are functioning and with whose support? Some of them had even the temerity to send letters individually to all Members of Parliament. I am quite sure you must have received it.

HON. MEMBERS: Yes, Yes.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: It is an insult to the Members of Parliament that these renegades from this country should write to the representatives of the people as to how democracy should function in this country. Sir, I do not want to mention any names. Some of them claim to be Presidents and Chairmen of associations and organisations and they have run away and some of them have even sought asylum in a foreign country. Do we not know this? Therefore what I am driving at is that the threat was there at that time and is there even today and behind this threat are not only the elements which are functioning in India but there are also elements which are operating from outside. It is very clear and you need not have evidence for this purpose.

Sir, it is quite obvious, the purpose for which this step had to be taken last year when we came to this House demanding the extension of the duration of the Lok Sabha by one year and we had given specific and clear reasons as to why it was necessary to do so. And we think that the same reasons continue today. We know that all these elements, the subversive elements are still active in this country. They may not be on the surface because of the emergency, because of the stern action taken—cowards as they are—they are not in

position to face the situation openly but they are clearly in a position to create conditions which will restore us back to the situation which existed in this country before the proclamation of emergency. Are we going to sell all the gains of emergency in the field of economics, in the field of discipline and in other fields for which the emergency has functioned, for a song because these people demand it? Our responsibility is not to these people; our responsibility is to the people of India. And some of them have been telling us: "I went in a rickshaw and I learnt from that man", some said: "I went in a taxi" and my friend Mr. Lakshmanan says that he travelled in a rickshaw and that person asked him when elections would be held. Well, I have met people and every one of us in this House has been in close touch with the people, in closer touch than most of my friends on that side of the House, and we ask people what is their reaction. What is the reaction of the common man? And the reaction of the common man is—I am repeating it here because it bears repetition—that their complaint against the Prime Minister was not because she proclaimed emergency but because she did not do it earlier; it should have been done much earlier. That is the reaction of the people. In Bombay—I belong to Bombay—there was not a day, before the proclamation of emergency, when without a violent *morcha* or a *bund*, people could work in any field of activity. They were not strikes. I am not against the trade-union activities; but whether it is this organisation or that organisation, the situation under the banner of these anarchists was exploited to create disorder, particularly in the bigger cities like Bombay and Calcutta. Do we not know it? But we do not see it now and that is due to the stern action taken in emergency.

Now, there has been a group of people who say: You must be democratic; democracy requires elections;

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five years have gone; you had one year and now you are asking for another year. But, Sir, nobody is telling us even here as to whether they can be sure that those disruptive elements do not exist now. How can they? They know that these elements still exist. I am not talking about all; but there are some of them who are in close harmony and close liaison with these people. Therefore, they would not say it.

It is true, Sir, that normally it is not a matter of great pleasure to postpone elections in a democratic country. In fact, it is not a matter of pleasure at all. Nobody does it merely because you do not want to hold elections. That is why, even in 1951, when the Constitution was signed, even as Mr. Borooah has very ably put it, Sir, at that time they were passing through a very serious condition. They had passed through a very serious condition, as a result of which independence came. And when they had seen a bloodbath of an order unheard of anywhere in the world, they knew a situation in this country could come in the future which would have to be dealt with not in the usual way but in an unusual manner. That is why, even at that time, they foresaw—it is really to the credit of the founding fathers—and they provided in the Constitution that in case of emergency, while, no doubt, it is true that elections will be held every five years, you will have the power to extend the period and the duration of Parliament for one year at a time. And they provided for one year at a time and not more because they also knew that it is not desirable in a democracy to have an indefinite extension of Parliament and, therefore, it should not be longer than a year so that when the situation arises, an objective assessment of the situation could be made and then the Government should be able to decide whether the elections should be held or not.

We know what the people are talking about. I made the announcement, for the first time, in the House last month, I think on the 30th or 31st of October. Ever since, it has been known; people have been talking to me and people have been talking to my friends who have been saying: Go on with this; we do not grudge your having one more year; but please, consolidate the gains of emergency and see that we do not return to those days of disorder. That is the reaction of the people and not the reaction which is mentioned here. It is not to say that we have not had gains. As I mentioned in my opening speech, we have had, particularly in the economic field, considerable gains. Our foreign exchange position has very well benefited by the actions taken during the Emergency. Our gross national product has gone up, as I mentioned. Production is on the higher side. It is going up. I must say here, labour also has very splendidly co-operated in this. But is it the time to be complacent or is it the time to be more vigilant? The rational answer is, this is the time to be vigilant and not to be complacent. Posterity will not pardon us if we allow the very same people to come up to the surface again and do the same thing which will enable these people to bring the country back to where we were before the declaration of the Emergency. We will be answerable to our people and we will be answerable to posterity for endangering democracy if we do not take the step which we are taking today. My friend, Mr. Lakshmanan, said that if a commission of inquiry is appointed to decide which is the best Government functioning, the commission would declare that the DMK Government was the best Government. Well, you have the opportunity. The inquiry is going on and the commission will say whether it was the best Government or it was the worst Government. But then, when a commission is appointed, you want to run away from it. When a commission is appointed, you do not

want to go before the commission and say 'We were the best Government and all these allegations and charges against us are false'. But when the evidence gets built up and when it becomes abundantly clear that it is almost indefensible, you give an excuse for one reason or the other and back out from the enquiry saying 'We will not defend ourselves'. Is this the type of commission which my friend wants? Is this commission not going to establish whether the DMK Government was the best Government or it was the worst Government? If the charges are proved, the result also will be known. Therefore, it is no use demanding commissions. When you have commissions, the tendency is to run away from the inquiry and when you do not have commissions, then, of course, you shout from the housetops 'Let there be a commission and we will prove it'. At least, it was very very ironical that this demand came from a DMK Member.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: I said, a commission of inquiry should be appointed to go into the functioning of all political parties. I have not gone into that commission because it is *sub judice*. I do not talk about it. I said, a commission should be appointed to go into the functioning of all political parties. It will prove that my party is the most democratic political party. You are confusing both the issues.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: Let us not quarrel over words. After all, when we talk about the commission, we know which political party was in power, the DMK. What is going to be proved is what this political party was. Let us not run away from the fact.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: If you know it earlier, it is good. I can understand it. You know it earlier. You know it earlier, what will be the decision.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: The real thing is that when you talk about democracy, you know that there is democracy. But you know that the people are not with you. You talk about commission. When the commission is appointed, you are not able to defend yourselves and, therefore, you ask for some other commission. This is the way the Opposition has been functioning in this country, unfortunately. My friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, spoke. I must say, his party has been taking a very constructive line from the beginning. At the time of the Emergency, his party supported it. Even today, I do not think he spoke against the Emergency as such. He supported the extension of the duration of the Lok Sabha last year. But he did not say as to how the situation has changed this year and why he is not supporting it. He is obsessed with two things, as his whole speech would show. Firstly, he is obsessed with the name of Kamal Nath or somebody who is in West Bengal. I have not heard his name. Every time, he mentions his name. Last week, in one or two speeches, he mentioned his name. Today, he mentioned the name of this gentleman. I do not know this gentleman. I have not seen his face. I am really not concerned with whether he is good or bad. How this Kamal Nath is going to decide whether it is good for the country to go for the elections or not? Has it any relevance? Secondly, he is obsessed with the Constituent Assembly demand. Has this Bill anything to do with the demand for a Constituent Assembly? As I have repeatedly said, in our party, there are various trends of thought and we like that; let people give their opinion. Ultimately, when the party decides the thing, as the Congress President mentioned this morning, they go with the party. What is wrong if somebody had said that it was necessary to have a Constituent Assembly? If he had said so, what is wrong? Mr. Bhupesh Gupta only said what happened for a short while in the Congress, in our

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internal discussions. And that is his talk on the present Bill as to whether at the present moment election should be held or it should not be held. Has it any relevance to the question at all? Then, Sir, he was talking about horse-trading. Again, Mr. Borooah has dealt with it very effectively in his speech. When Mr. Borooah was speaking, he said that the demand for six years was already there and when ultimately the Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha on the 1st of September there was a proposal for making the period six years for Lok Sabha at that time; and surely there was no Constituent Assembly in which to do this horse-trading which he thinks existed. He would not answer that. He would ignore completely whenever it suits him. In fact, I noticed when Mr. Borooah gave him a retort, he conveniently showed as if he did not hear. (Interruptions) The whole trouble is that when we are talking about a serious matter—it is no doubt a serious matter, not going to the elections and postponing the elections for one year and matters on which for serious and good reasons we are saying that elections should not be held—they talk about Kamalnath, about Constituent Assembly, about horse-trading and all that.

Then, my hon. friend there talks about a Commission of Inquiry, as if there had been no Commission of Inquiry. I was just mentioning to Mr. Borooah about the Commission of Inquiry which is there to look into the charges against the DMK Government and the hon. friend wants another Commission of Inquiry to be appointed. I say that when already there is a Commission of Inquiry which will prove ultimately whether their party and Government is bad or good. They conveniently walked out of the Commission. What logic is there? The whole trouble with our Opposition friends is—although they are good friends personally, all of

them, so far as I am concerned, they are good friends—that they are neither here nor there so far as dealing with the situation is concerned. The tendency is to run away from facts, the tendency is to run away from the issues and this has been the hall-mark of their politics for the last seven years in this country. When in 1971, much before the normal period of five years was over, the Prime Minister dissolved the House, don't they remember that some of them said that to dissolve the House is undemocratic? Some of them even went to the court, challenging the position of the Prime Minister and they were saying that it was undemocratic to dissolve the House.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: The hon. Minister has said that we ran away from the Commission. I want to bring it to your notice that they have prepared a list of 300 witnesses. We pleaded before the Commission and said that all the 300 witnesses should be examined. But the Commission said that they cannot examine all the 300. The Commission would select a few and examine them. That is why we walked out of the Commission.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: So, it is not only that the Congress Party should act according to their dictates but the independent judicial Commission should also accept their dictates. Otherwise, that Commission is not an independent Commission. A list of 300 witnesses is there. I do not know who they are. They may be Tom, Dick and Harry. Is the Commission not entitled to decide whether they are relevant, or they are going to hear a few of them?

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: A list of 300 witnesses is there on the record.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): Mr. Lakshmanan, you said that you want protection of the Chair when you were on your feet and I assured you of the protection. (Interruptions)

SHRI D. K. BOROOAH: Sir, may I have your indulgence? I think Mr. Gokhale slightly made a mistake. They did not walk out, they ran away.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: Although I did not say 'ran away', I thank you for correcting me. I should have used the words 'ran away'. Actually, when he is saying that according to him all the 300 witnesses should be examined, this shows that they want to be the judges of the Commission themselves and not the independent Judge of the Inquiry Commission. That is exactly what it comes to that they will decide what is relevant in their own case, that they will be the judges in their own case and not the independent Judge who is going to decide this. This is the thing. This is completely an illogical approach to everything, whether it is a judicial matter or something relating to the executive or Parliament. That is what the DMK has established in the last few months. I do not want to comment on anything, nor do I know anything about the merits of this Inquiry. I know this much that there are several charges and they are being investigated. I do not know, and even if I knew, I would not have spoken about it because it is a matter which is *sub judice*. Even these 300 witnesses I do not know. I am referring to it because he made a reference to it.

Therefore, Sir, my request for the consideration of the House is: Let us not be guided or carried away by those tall talks about democracy. Most of them have been people who have shirked the responsibility which was laid upon them to condemn anti-democratic actions, which they never did. But when the time came, at that time they were in the band wagon and these were the people who asked for total anarchy, "total revolution". That is what they wanted. In fact, I must concede this to the Opposition for their honesty. Both Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Lakshmanan—although

hesitatingly—said that we will come back again elected. They said that if elections are held, the Congress Party will be elected again. Obviously, it was a concession made out of sheer necessity. You make a virtue out of necessity, as the saying goes. But the fact is that there is no doubt that the party to which I belong will come back to the Lok Sabha, if elections were held, in an overwhelming majority, perhaps with a majority larger than the majority which it has in the Lok Sabha today. That is a fact. But as Mr. Borooah pointed out in the course of his speech, the main thing is not winning or losing the election because we will win the election. We have won five elections till now. Some people were saying to me: you have fought only one election. But they did not know that before I won this election I had lost two before, first in 1952 and then in 1967, and eventually I have succeeded in this democratic country—I genuinely call it a democratic country for people thought that I should come to the Lok Sabha in 1971. But, Sir, my coming or my going is not important; similarly whether the party wins or not is not important. What is important here is that if an election is going to be at this stage not in the larger interests of the country for the reasons which I have mentioned, then the mere reason that our party will come back to power cannot be the guiding criterion for deciding whether an election should be held or not. And much is made of this that the election can be held even before. In the other House, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's colleague, Mr. Indrajit Gupta, pointedly asked me, "Do you mean to say that the election cannot be held before?" And obviously the answer was that in law it can be held at any time because the power of dissolution is with the Prime Minister. As I said there and as Mr. Borooah today said here—I repeat—if in the history of this country there has been a single leader who has shown such a great understanding of the correct time at which a correct decision should be

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taken, it is the Prime Minister. And if the Prime Minister feels that the circumstances require a review of the situation, she will do it. Who am I today to say if elections will be held earlier or not. I did not say whether they would be held earlier or not. I said that I am asking for the extension for one year. The Constitutional provision is quite clear and, if the circumstances are such that the election should be held, it is ultimately and entirely for the Prime Minister to decide. And as Mr. Borooah rightly pointed out, it is not the Cabinet's, but it is the sole prerogative of the Prime Minister to decide about an election, whether the people should go to the polls, whether the House should be dissolved or not. This is well established all over the world where parliamentary democracy exists. But surely, our position is not, again, as pointed out—I am repeating for it is worth emphasising—as in England where, for example, there is a majority of one now. It is doubtful if even that majority of one is there or not. The Government there is saying that they are going to hold on to power. It is not my business to criticise the Government of any other country. I am not doing so. But sometimes people are very fond of pointing out what is happening in England. But at this moment they will not do so. The whole thing is that whenever something is bad here, they will compare it with England, and when something is good here, then, of course, they do not look to England for anything that happens there.

I would very strongly recommend to the House: Let us not only go by slogans. Let us take the reality into consideration, take the basic idea with which this provision was made into the Constitution by our founding fathers with great foresight and understanding of the problems of this country as to what could happen in the future and what required a specific provision to be made. And if

that provision is made under the Constitution, it is by Parliament, by law passed that the House is going to be extended. Nobody can, even in the name of democracy, object to such a thing.

Sir, I would recommend that the Bill be taken into consideration.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): The question is:

"That the Bill to provide for the further extension of the duration of the present House of the People, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): We shall now take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill. Clause 2: there is one amendment by Mr. Raha.

*Clause 2—Further extending of duration of the present House of the People*

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA (West Bengal): Sir, I move:

"That at page 1, line 10, for the words 'two years' the words 'not more than one year' be substituted."

*The question was put and the motion was negatived.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): I shall now put clause 2 to vote.

The question is:

"That clause 2 stand part of the Bill".

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

*Clause 2 was added to the Bill.*

*Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: Sir, I move.

"That the Bill be passed."

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

**ANNOUNCEMENT RE. SITTING OF THE HOUSE ON 15TH NOVEMBER, 1976, INSTEAD OF ON 13TH NOVEMBER, 1976**

श्री रणवीर सिंह (हरियाणा) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, कल दूसरा शनिवार है और आपकी मार्फत मैं अपने संसदीय कार्य-मंत्रों जी से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि अग्रा कल सदन बैठेगा या नहीं ?

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): Order, please. The Parliamentary Affairs Minister is here. Let him say that he wants to say.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA): Sir, as you know there is nobody more democratic than myself, and as there is a persistent demand from the Members, tomorrow being second Saturday and so a Government holiday, we may not sit tomorrow and instead of tomorrow, we sit on Monday and complete all the business on that day.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): I appreciate Mr. Om Mehta's gesture. He is more democratic when the sense of democracy is on leave.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): We shall now take up the Appropriation (No. 7) Bill, 1976. Mr. Pranab Mukherjee.

**THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 7) BILL, 1976**

THE MINISTER OF REVENUE AND BANKING (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1976-77, as passed by the Lok Sabha be taken into consideration."

This Bill arises out of the Supplementary Demands for Grants of Rs. 107.74 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on the 3rd November, 1976 and an expenditure of Rs. 36.25 crores charged on the Consolidated Fund of India. Briefly, Rs. 48 crores are required for grants to States and Union Territories for Family Planning in keeping with the momentum of the programme. A sum of Rs. 35 crores is required for short-term loans to State Governments for distribution of fertilisers and Rs. 5 crores for financial assistance to assignees of surplus land. Additional outlays on the Oil and Natural Gas Commission account for Rs. 52.30 crores, and Rs. 2.86 crores are required for the Hindusthan Petroleum Corporation Limited for the take-over of ESSO.

I would not burden the House with further details which are given in the Explanation below the statement of Supplementary Demands, but would answer any points that may be raised by hon. Members during the discussion. Sir, I move.

*The question was proposed.*

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA (West Bengal): Sir, I first congratulate the Ministry for taking over of ESSO. By taking this over we are today completely independent in oil matters. For this reason our congratulations go in favour of the Government and the Ministry.