

[Shri Kalyan Roy]

Damodar water in Durgapur, in Raniganj, in Asansol industrial belt. Now the D.V.C. has issued a circular not to use the water. What would be the source of supply of water to the entire field workers of Burnpur, of Kulti and mine workers in Raniganj fields who number about two lakhs? Sir, the entire water has been contaminated because of the crop seed and the fleshies that have got mixed up with the Damodar water and the water which is coming out of Chasnalla is being pumped into the Damodar river. So, I would suggest the Health Ministry should immediately send a high-powered team to see the extent of pollution and suggest what alternative arrangements could be made.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENTS ADDRESS—Contd.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Before I call honourable Shri Hamid Ali Schamnad, I would request all the Members that since there is a big list of Members who want to participate, they should not take more than 10 minutes—only 10 minutes. Shri Schamnad.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD (Kerala) : Sir let me at the outset express my gratitude to the President for having addressed the joint session of the Parliament. Our revered President has by his Address given the policies of the Government of India to the nation as a whole. He has made many observations for the good of the country. But, at the same time, Sir, I regret to note that the President has not said anything about the grievances of the Muslim minorities of this country—Muslim minorities not only as a minority but as a backward people. About their education and social uplift nothing has been said. Nor is there anything said about giving them due representation in Government services in the All-India sector and also in various States. It has been expressed and requested by many Members of this House and the

other House that at least a Commission may be appointed to find out why the Muslim community does not come forward in Government services and in various walks of life. A Commission may be appointed to find out the remedy so that they may be brought on to the level of the other forward communities. I only appeal to the Government to see that a Commission is appointed, and it may be directed to find out why they are socially and economically backward and how they could be lifted to the level of other backward communities. I once again request that Government would consider this humble suggestion of mine. At the same time, I express thanks to the Government for the good thing that they are doing for this community for its uplift. I am really grateful to them. I do not say that the Government is not doing anything about this Muslim backward community; definitely they are doing something; I am grateful to them.

I should like to say something about the 20-point programme announced by the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, and also about the emergency. As far as the emergency is concerned, I do not want to say anything. With regard to the 20-point programme, during the last session some Opposition parties had boycotted the session of Parliament. One Opposition party, that is the Kerala Congress coming from my State, also boycotted it. On the other hand, I not only participated in it but also supported the economic programme that has been announced by the Prime Minister of India. On the other hand, the Kerala Congress came to me and told me, "Why do you support it and why don't you boycott the session?" I said, "As far as I am concerned, I am supporting it. I do not have any grievance against the Central leadership; it is only that we have differences in Kerala State. As such, I said that I would support it, and I supported it, while the Kerala Congress did not support it, they boycotted the session. Today you will find that the Kerala Congress has come into the Cabinet in Kerala and they

are at the helm of affairs in the Government of Kerala. They are implementing the 20-Point programme. But at the same time many of our leaders are behind the bars. That is the state of affairs. *(Interruptions)* I am just talking about the politics that is being played in the country.

As far as the MISA is concerned, I should only say that the MISA is being misused in various States. I should like to draw the attention of the Home Minister to this. I do not say that they have done it intentionally, but in many States you will find the MISA being misused miserably.

AN HON. MEMEBER : In what way?

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD : I will tell you. I do not say that only the Government is responsible for bringing this emergency; I definitely say that some of the Opposition parties also are responsible for forcing the Government to bring the emergency. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan definitely cannot plead innocence; he is also equally responsible for bringing the country to this state of affairs. When he led a movement in Gujarat asking the elected Government to step down and when he also asked the Bihar Government to step down, he definitely acted against the democratic principle. He had no patience to wait for five years so that he could get his own chance to see that his partymen contested. That democratic procedure has not been followed by him. But at the same time, even innocent political parties have been affected by this emergency. That is my plea. Even those people who did not support Jayaprakash Narayan's movement, who did not even welcome Jayaprakash Narayan's movement, have been victimised. As far as Kerala is concerned, many of the members of political parties are behind the bars. They had never taken the law into their own hands. They never supported Jayaprakash Narayan's movement. They never demonstrated against the emergency. They never spoke against the 20-point

programme that has been announced by the Prime Minister of India, which is a national programme today. They never did anything against this economic programme of the country. But, at the same time, you would see that some of these leaders have been put behind the bars. I appeal to the Home Ministry and the Government to consider their cases and find out whether a just cause is there to put them behind the bars. I am one of those who supported the MISA Bill when it was passed in this House. But today you would find that it has been used against us. To maintain the unity of the country and to keep tranquillity and peace, sometimes it is necessary that the MISA should be used and some persons should be brought behind the bars when they cannot be brought within the regular law of the country. But if a person could be controlled without using the MISA, where is the necessity to use the MISA? For example, if the authorities tell me not to address a meeting on a particular day and if I am prepared to obey, why should I be put behind the bars under the MISA? If I am prepared to obey the Government, to obey the authorities is it necessary that the MISA should be used against me? The MISA should be used on grave occasions when the ordinary law of the land is not sufficient. I submit that the Government should consider and see if such innocent people are put behind the bars. Their cases should be considered. That is very important.

(Time bell rings)

As far as Kerala is concerned, one thing I should like to submit. May be what has been said about Tamil Nadu is true or false. The Government might have become highhanded in Gujarat also. In Kerala also, I do say there is violence not by the Congress Party or by the Opposition parties, but the authorities are making use of this MISA to suppress some other political parties who are working peacefully. As has been put by Mr. Om Mehta, a constructive opposition is necessary for the welfare of democracy. And opposition is the life blood of democracy. If we are prepared to work here as a

[Shri Hamid Ali Schamnad]
constructive opposition, is it not the duty of the Government to give us good wishes and encourage us? That is absolutely necessary in the interest of democracy. In this connection, our Chief Minister, Mr. Achutha Menon made a statement. He is a very honest Chief Minister; there is no doubt about it. And because of his honesty, he might have made that statement. He said, "In case election comes to Kerala, we will allow freedom to the opposition parties to function." That definitely shows there was no freedom so far for the opposition parties to function. That is the statement given by Shri Achutha Menon, Chief Minister of Kerala. So what I submit is, I do not say that the MISA has been used very badly everywhere, but in my state the MISA has been misused. Especially the MISA has been misused against parties which are prepared and willing to work peacefully, without demonstrations, without opposing the 20-point programme. In such cases, the MISA should be used. They must be allowed to function and concentrate on their political organisation work. This is my humble submission. With these words, I conclude. Thank you very much.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

SHRI B. C. BHAGAWATI (Assam):
Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this chapter which has begun with the promulgation of emergency and the 20-point economic programme, has been welcomed by the people at large. This chapter has ushered in a new era for the common man. This has a message of discipline and dedicated work to make the country strong and prosperous. People and workers are all united and they support the stand and measures taken by the Prime Minister in this chapter.

Sir, if the 20-point programme is faithfully implemented and it is carried to its logical conclusion by taking subsequent steps, I believe it will bring about structural changes in the socio-economic system in this country. We all know that

in the meantime some achievements have been made. Inflation has been contained economic offenders have been brought to book; and a sizeable amount of unaccounted money has been brought to surface. All these have created a new climate and people have begun to feel that their problems are going to be solved.

Sir, it is, however, necessary that we do not become complacent. We on this side and the administration have a great responsibility to discharge. When I think about this great responsibility that has been imposed on us, I always feel overwhelmed. We have so much to do to the country and this chapter has really created great hopes. This time we have to succeed. I believe we shall succeed. I am sure we cannot afford to fail. So in this hour it is necessary that we on this side and the administration realise our responsibility in the depth of our heart.

Sir, I am really very much impressed by what the President has said in his Address regarding the method of evaluation of performances. He said that the method should be changed to make the administration accountable. That is what is necessary. It has to be seen whether the man who is in charge has really discharged his duties properly and his performance has yielded good results. That is the only criterion to judge a man who has been put in charge of any project or any assignment. I think if this method is applied, then there will be much progress in this country in many directions and people cannot evade responsibility. Because responsibility will then be fixed.

Sir, after declaration of this emergency and the 20-point programme, we have worked in the field and certainly implementations have been started in good speed. But I would like some assessment to be made even now about the progress made in implementing this 20-Point programme, particularly regarding those five points which specifically relate to the rural poor. It may be very useful if the universities are persuaded to conduct some

sample surveys in the rural areas. They may send students in batches to the rural areas and try to find out whether the moratorium on rural indebtedness has been really effective, whether the people who suffer from the burden of usurious private lending have been given relief, whether the house sites have been given possession of to the people, whether the land ceiling act has been properly implemented and whether surplus lands have been properly allotted to the landless cultivators. On all these matters they can conduct some sample surveys and these surveys would be very useful to know the exact condition and on that basis we can carry on our future activities.

Sir, India's problem is the problem of rural areas. Now, the Prime Minister has rightly pin pointed the problems of the rural masses and has specifically suggested five points to give relief to this section of the people of the country. It is our bound duty to work in that field so that these points are properly implemented to give relief to the poorer sections of the people. For that it will be necessary to create certain agencies also. I believe that at present the Labour Ministry at the Centre and the Labour Departments in the States are not well equipped to look into these matters in the rural areas because they were dealing with industrial workers in the past and they do not have enough staff also. Apart from that, they are also not trained to do this sort of work in the rural areas. So, it will be necessary to reorganise the Labour Departments in the States and the Labour Ministry at the Centre so that they can carry on these activities in the rural areas properly for the benefit of the agricultural workers and others.

Sir, the Prime Minister has announced a scheme for the participation of workers in the management. That will go a long way to remove the distrust and the misgivings in the minds of the workers. For that it will be necessary that the management also takes them into confidence and allows them to know what planning for the plan is. The workers should also know where the

investments are made and they should also be informed about the nature of planning and about the purchases they make from time to time. If they know all these things, I think many loopholes may be plugged and wastage may be eliminated. Mahatma Gandhi said that labour is the equal partner with capital and he also went to the length of saying that capital is nothing but accumulated labour and if that concept is accepted and worked out as suggested by the Prime Minister, I think we will begin a new chapter of the national life in this country.

Sir, now as regards employment, we are facing a very big problem so much so that there is an actual shrinkage of employment in certain industries. In tea, in textiles, in jute and in certain other industries, there is a shrinkage of employment. Apart from that, there are lay-offs, lock-outs and retrenchment in many concerns. That is a serious problem for us and I should think that there should be some legislation to stop lay-offs, retrenchment and lock-outs. Unilaterally they go on declaring lock-outs, lay-offs and retrenchment. I think that should be stopped and there should be a legislation for that purpose. Now, Sir, the employment position is really very bad. According to an estimate of the ILO, in the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the number of unemployed or partially employed persons is 283 million or so.

It represents 40 per cent of the total labour force which is 480 million in those countries. The annual rate has increased very much. I think it was about 0.6 per cent between 1900 and 1930. But now it has gone up to about 2.6 per cent between 1960 and 1970. In India, according to the Employment Exchange live registers, in 1970 the number of registered job seekers was 4.6 million. Now, in 1975 it will be found from those live registers that the number has gone up to 8.7 million. So it has gone up very much. The number of the educated unemployed also in 1970 was 1.82 million. In 1975 this number has gone up to 4.1 million

[Shri B. C. Bhagwati]

This is a very big problem. I am very glad that the Prime Minister in her economic programme has laid stress on handloom and other industries. That may solve the problem to a great extent. We should have a labour intensive and decentralized economy in this country, and for that purpose it is very necessary to lay stress on self-employment . . . (*Time bell rings*). By making provisions for ensuring the right to work in the Constitution and introducing an Employment Guarantee Scheme and by laying stress on self-employment on organised basis, I am sure, we can go a long way in solving this problem of unemployment.

Sir, recently there was the Chasnala tragedy. The President has referred to it, and he has called it a very great tragedy. The Government has taken steps, so far as giving relief and pumping out water from the mine are concerned. This is really very important for the time being. But what is more important is to take effective safety measures. I am sorry to say that many of the recommendations of the Safety Conferences have not been implemented. And it is really surprising that the Mines (Amendment) Bill, which was passed by the Select Committee, is pending before Parliament for the last two years and has not been passed. I request the Government to see that this Bill is passed and effective safety measures are taken . . .

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE (West Bengal) : That's why this Chasnala tragedy . . .

SHRI B. C. BHAGWATI : It is very necessary that safety measures are taken. The Chasnala tragedy has highlighted the hazards of the mines operations. So the Government should take note of it and take effective steps . . . (*Time bell rings*).

In conclusion, I would only say that now as the Bonus Bill will be brought before the House on the basis of the Bonus Ordinance. I will request the Government and I would appeal to the Prime Minister that before this Bill is brought before this House or the other House, it

will be better if the Prime Minister herself or some of her representatives discuss it with the representatives of workers, organized workers, and trade unions as to how to formulate the provisions of this Bill. It is very necessary and I think it will be possible to find out a formula which will give full satisfaction to the workers also. This is not very difficult. We do not want to go against the interests of the people. We do not want to do anything which may not be helpful for the growth of the economy. We only hope that the workers' case will also be looked into. Their grievances will also be looked into. If we sit together, possibly a formula may be found out which will give satisfaction to all concerned. With these words, I support the Motion for Thanks.

SHRI K. A. KRISHNASWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address on behalf of my party, Anna D.M.K. In his Address, the President has highlighted the dangers ahead that are confronting the Indian nation both from external and internal forces. L. N. Mishra was the first victim of the fascist forces and as the attempted assault on the Chief Justice Ray showed, other precious lives would have been claimed by the fascist conspirators had the emergency not been proclaimed and severe measures taken to flush out the violent sects operating under spiritual, religious and other garbs.

Even after six months of the proclamation of emergency, mischievous efforts continue to be made to poison the people's minds against the unquestionable achievements of emergency and against the sense of discipline and order that has been growing.

Sir, the Union Home Minister had sent a note to the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr. Karunanidhi in the first week of the last month. Sir, in that note to C.M., it was reported, the Home Minister wrote as follows. I quote Hindu, dated the 1st December, 1975.

"The Union Home Minister is understood to have expressed his concern that the local authorities including the Police in Tamil Nadu were either hesitant or unwilling to intercede effectively for the maintenance of law and order in the State. He urged that the local authorities should discharge their duties and responsibilities in an absolutely impartial manner to inspire confidence among different sections of the people."

Sir, yesterday, in this august House, the Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. Om Mehta had forcefully said that the Centre had received reports of Police indifference and discriminatory attitude in the matter of political activities opposed to the D.M.K. in Tamil Nadu.

Sir, last year, our party, Anna D.M.K., had decided to show black flags to the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Shri Karunanidhi, to condemn his repressive measures against the Indian National Congress and the C.P.I. while they had shown black flags to J. P. Narayan during his Madras visit. In that connection, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and the Tamil Nadu Police had filed cases against our leaders, Shri S. M. Dorairaj, M.L.A., our party Treasurer and Mr. Muni Adhi, M.L.A., one of our party Secretaries and 100 others. The Chief Judicial Magistrate at Chingleput, Tamil Nadu, has acquitted all the accused and has made severe strictures on the Tamil Nadu police. Sir, I quote from Hindu, dated 31-12-1975.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN (Tamil Nadu) : On a point of order, Sir. It will be sub judice. The Government has gone on appeal. It is better that it is not referred to. What is your ruling?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He is only quoting the judgment.

SHRI K. A. KRISHNASWAMY : "The Chief Judicial Magistrate observed that the materials placed before the Court led him to suspect very strongly that the Inspector of Police for reasons best known

to him and without properly investigating rushed to lay a charge-sheet against the accused leaving the real culprits."

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : On a point of order, Sir. The case is referred to the superior court. Will it be reported here? I would like to know from you. . .

SHRI K. A. KRISHNASWAMY : It further said:

"The very fact that the Inspector rushed to lay the charge-sheet even without examining the accused, who had to be sent to the Government General Hospital, Madras. . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Sir, I want general guidance from you. He cannot refer to it. . .

SHRI K. A. KRISHNASWAMY : . . . Indicates that the Inspector was not interested in fair investigation but was bent upon charging the accused somehow. . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Sir, I want your guidance. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I would like to tell you that he cannot refer to any proceedings in the court with regard to a case. But there is a judgment to which he has just referred. . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : On the basis of the judgment, an appeal has been made.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Mariswamy, the judgment is a public document and he could quote from it. There is nothing wrong in it.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : If the case is sent to the appeal court. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He cannot talk about the merits or demerits of what is being contested in the court. He has just referred to the judgment.

SHRI K. A. KRISHNASWAMY: Sir, the Judge further remarks in that judgment, and I quote:

"... It is not known what promoted him to act like that. Those who were attacked had been brought before the Court as accused, leaving the attackers, who took law into their own hands, to go scot-free. This does not redound to the credit of the Police force. This case is really a blot on the renowned Tamil Nadu Police force which has in its fold several officers and men of high integrity and efficiency, who are zealous in upholding the rule of law."

Sir, the judicial pronouncement clearly reveals the true nature of the Police force in Tamil Nadu. Sir, I would also like to bring forth one factor that the Police in Tamil Nadu is the tool of the ruling party. Moreover, I would like to mention that the stricture on the Tamil Nadu Police is nothing but a stricture on the Chief Minister, who is holding the Police portfolio also.

Sir, the next point I would like to bring forth is about the press censorship. Sir, after the proclamation of Emergency, the D.M.K. has acted *suo motu* on powers conferred on it to arbitrarily seize copies of the progressive newspapers like the *Thennagam*, the official organ of the Anna D. M. K., and the *Makkal Kural* which is a neutral paper supporting the Prime Minister and her 20-Point Economic Programme. Sir, it is not out of place to bring forth one fact that I am also an editor of a News Daily in Tamil—the *Thennagam*. It is the official organ of our Party, the Anna D. M. K. We have been victimised because of the biased and partisan attitude of the Tamil Nadu Government regarding press censorship in Tamil Nadu. I would like to say that censorship regulations are not being uniformly applied, and the ruling party in Tamil Nadu shows party-bias. A big section of the reactionary Tamil Press has been successfully undoing the censorship by ingenious means of innuendoes, insinuations, cartoons, etc. A regular technique has been evolved to

picture the present day India as analogous to Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy and further Prime Minister Indira Gandhi as Hitler and Mussolini. These things largely appeared only in 'the Murasoli', a Tamil Daily owned by the family of Chief Minister Mr. Karunanidhi, and edited by Thiru Maran his nephew and a Member of the other House. Sir, the matter does not end here. They are encouraging prejudicial reports in their Party papers. They are mischievously quoting out of context the speeches and writings of national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, the Tamil poet Bharathi, the Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Arignar Anna. Sir, last but not the least, our party official organ, 'Thennagam', has been seized by the Tamil Nadu Government more than ten times. This has been brought to the notice of the Home Ministry and the Chief Censor. The real culprit is the Tamil Nadu Government which is abusing the censorship regulations.

Lastly, Sir, I would like to bring to your notice one unhealthy trend that is prevailing in Tamil Nadu today. The ruling party in Tamil Nadu, the D.M.K. Government, is openly encouraging defiance of the emergency which is nothing short of inciting rebellion against the Central Government behind its back. If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, it is the bounden duty of the Government to fully educate the public about the damage to democracy that the forces of reaction like the D.M.K. are doing.

Sir, it is not out of place to mention that the D.M.K. ruling party in Tamil Nadu has come out opposing the promulgation of emergency as the advent of dictatorship in the country and calls for the release of the arrested leaders of the reactionary parties. The very next day after the declaration of emergency, on June 27, 1975, the executive of the D. M. K. party passed a resolution stating that the recent approach adopted by the ruling Congress and the methods practised by the P.M., Mrs. Indira Gandhi, have tended to put out the fight for democracy and lead the country into the gloom of dictatorship. According to the D.M.K., Sir, the emer-

gency is proclaimed only to save the P.M., Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the Congress and not to save democracy or the Indian nation. That is their political thinking which they are consistently propagating in Tamil Nadu nowadays.

So, Sir, the D.M.K. Government in Tamil Nadu is out to misuse the emergency in order to push the reactionary forces. Its disruptive ideas on 'State autonomy' are more and more going to be pressed for this purpose.

A few days back the Prime Minister told the people at Visakhapatnam that the threat to country's freedom and integrity was not only from its northern borders but also from the deep seas and called upon them to be united and vigilant against the machinations of external and internal elements trying to undermine our democracy.

Sir, I have gone through recently a press report in *Blitz* dated 3-1-1976. The American Lobby and C.I.A. agents are working overtime to keep Tamil Nadu outside the mainstream of national politics and the influence of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Further, it is understood from the report that the American Ambassador, William Saxby, had a private talk with some D.M.K. leaders including Mr. Mariswamy and Mr. Maran in the last week of October at Madras. So far no contradiction has come from the D.M.K. party. (*Interruption*).

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Sir, so far as I am concerned I have never met Mr. Saxby or anybody else. You must pull him up. You must ask him to sit down when I am on my legs. I have not met any Saxby nor do I know if Mr. Maran has met Mr. Saxby. If at all I know anything about Mr. Saxby, I know that our Prime Minister had dinner and lunch with him. This is all that I know. (*Interruption*) Sir, it is a debate on President's Address and not a commentary on the D.M.K. Government. If you allow it, there is no end to it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is a point of clarification.

SHRI K. A. KRISHNASWAMY: Sir, nowadays Tamil Nadu becomes the political asylum of all reactionary forces and discredited politicians and all the anti-social elements are seeking shelter in Tamil Nadu from all parts of India. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, Tamil Nadu is a coastal State and a very sensitive part in the Indian sub-continent. It is very near to Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

Finally, I request the hon. Home Minister to take cognizance of these anti-national forces in Tamil Nadu, particularly relating to the D.M.K., and bring Tamil Nadu in the mainstream of Indian national politics.

With these words, I conclude, Sir.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Sir, I said that I never met Mr. Saxby.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Mariswamy, you have been a Member of this House. You know that several things have been said by several Members of this House which are absolutely and blatantly false sometimes.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: I am glad that you got the point.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Even then it was refuted and both the statements go on record.

श्री रणबीर सिंह (हरियाणा) : उपसभापति जी, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के ऊपर बहस आपातकालीन स्थिति की बहस हो गई है। उस पर बोलते हुए माननीय सदस्य कृष्णकान्त जी ने कई बातें कही। उन्होंने प्रधान मंत्री जी से मित्रता का दावा किया; उन्होंने कहा कि जो प्रधान मंत्री जी के आज साथी है वे सब साजिश है, वे साजिश करना चाहते हैं। इनके अलावा उन्होंने कहा कि श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण को जेल में बीमारी ऐसी करा दी गई जो हमेशा उनके जीवन भर रहेगी। इसी के साथ-साथ उन्होंने गांधीवाद का दावा किया, गांधीवादी

[श्री रणबीर सिंह]

होने का दावा किया। जब कृष्णकान्त जी बोल रहे थे तो मुझे लाला अचित राम जी की याद आ रही थी। वे गांधीवादी थे, कभी उन्होंने महात्मा गांधी को, राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी को, गांधी नहीं कहा लेकिन जब कृष्णकान्त जी बोल रहे थे, राष्ट्रपिता को गांधी कह रहे थे। यह उनकी गांधीवाद में आस्था का सबूत है और मैं बहुत सोचता था, मुझे शक होता जाता था कि लाला अचित राम के सुपुत्र बोल रहे हैं या किसी अंग्रेज के सुपुत्र बोल रहे हैं। उनको मित्रता का दावा है प्रधान मंत्री जी से। उपमहापति जी, कृष्णकान्त जी एक सरकारी मुलाजिम थे और उन्होंने इस्तीफा दिया; उस इस्तीफे के फौरन बाद उनका राज्य सभा का सदस्य, प्रधान मंत्री जी की कृपा से, बताया गया और उसके बाद में कांस्टीट्यूट एसेम्बली में लाला अचित राम जो उनके पिता थे, उनसे पहले मैं सदस्य बना था। मेरे मुकाबले में श्री कृष्णकान्त को मेबर बना दिया गया और मुझे कहा गया कि विरोधी दल की राय लेकर के सदन में मेबर बन कर आओ, और उनकी मित्रता का दावा किया था। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने तो कितना उनके पिता का और कितना उनका लिहाज किया। इस बात से आप अंदाजा लगा सकते हैं उनकी (कृष्णकान्त) मित्रता कैसी थी, कि जिम वक्त प्रधान मंत्री जी के ऊपर हिन्दुस्तान के उच्चतम न्यायालय ने फैसला देने हुए यह कह दिया कि वे प्रधान मंत्री रह सकती हैं, लेकिन उसके बावजूद प्रो० शेर सिंह के मकान में बैठ कर उन्होंने प्रधान मंत्री जी को मलाह दी कि वे इस्तीफा दे दें; उनको प्रधान मंत्री नहीं रहना चाहिए। तिस पर वे अपने आप को प्रधान मंत्री जी का मित्र होने का दावा करते हैं।

एक और वक्त आया था—मुझे वह भी याद है—कि जिस वक्त उन्होंने इस सदन के अन्दर मेम्बरस में ललित नारायण मिश्र जी के खिलाफ मवाल उठाया था और जब मंत्री महोदय उसका जबाब दे रहे थे तो यहां वह यह कहते मुनाई दिए थे— मैं उनके करीब था—जब उन्होंने कहा था कि कितनी ही छुपाने की कोशिश की जाए, हम ललित

नारायण मिश्र को तंगा करके छोड़ेंगे। यह उनकी कांग्रेस के प्रति वफादारी थी, यह उनकी प्रधान मंत्री जी की दोस्ती थी। जहां तक मेरे और लायक दोस्त चन्द्र शेखर या, मोहन धारिया जी का संबंध है मैं उनके बारे में समझ सकता हूं उन्होंने आखिर अपना राजनैतिक जीवन शुरू किया था जयप्रकाश जी के नेतृत्व में, उनकी पार्टी में शामिल होकर के आये थे। उनके बारे में तो समझ में आ सकता है क्योंकि प्यार भी कुछ हो, चाहे उनके नेता गलती भी करे तो भी उनका प्यार दिखाना चाहिए, दिल में प्यार उमड़ सकता है, लेकिन मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि कृष्णकान्त जी को कैसे दिखायी देता है कि प्रधान मंत्री जी गलत रास्ते पर जा रहे हैं? और उन्होंने सलाह दी थी कि श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण जी प्रधान मंत्री जी से बातचीत करें। हमारे जयप्रकाश नारायण जी क्या कहते थे? वे कहते थे कि एक साल के लिए बच्चे अपनी परीक्षाएं न दे और पढ़ना छोड़ दें। असेम्बलियों के सदस्यों को पीटा जाय, उनका घेराव किया जाय और उनको मजबूर किया जाये कि वे असेम्बलियां छोड़ दें। सारी असेम्बलियां टूट जायं और जितने लोग असेम्बलियों में चुने गये हैं या पंचायतों से चुने गये हैं उनके स्थान खाली घोषित किये जायें। इस तरह से उन्होंने प्रधानमंत्री जी को मलाह दी थी कि वे जयप्रकाश नारायण से मलाह करें। मेरी समझ में यह बात नहीं आई कि वे किस बारे में मलाह करने के लिए कह रहे थे। उनकी आठ मांगें थी जो इस प्रकार से थी:

1. एक वर्ष के लिए स्कूलों, कालेजों और परीक्षाओं का बहिष्कार करना।
2. विधान सभा सदस्यों का घेराव करना और उन्हें सदस्यता में त्याग पत्र देने के लिये बाध्य करना।
3. विधान सभा सदस्यों का सामाजिक बहिष्कार करना।
4. समानान्तर विधान सभा का निर्माण करना।
5. सरकारी कार्यालयों में काम ठप्प करना।
6. कर न देने का अभियान चलाना।

7. अदालतों का बहिष्कार करना ।

8. समानान्तर सरकारों और अदालतों की स्थापना—जनता सरकारों और जनता अदालतों सशस्त्र सेनाओं, पुलिस और सरकारी कर्म-चारियों को उकमाना ।

इन मांगों के बारे में कोई भी ममझदार आदमी यह कह सकता है कि प्रधान मंत्री जी किस बारे में श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण से सलाह करें ? वे इस बात को भूल गये कि इन मांगों के वावजूद भी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण को दावतनामा दिया था । श्री कृष्ण कान्त जी सत्य से बहुत दूर हैं । श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण अपने को गांधीवादी कहने का दावा करते हैं, लेकिन मैं यह बात मानता हूँ कि वे आज भी इस देश को गलत रास्ते पर ले जाना चाहते हैं और तथ्यों से बचना चाहते हैं ।

प्रधान मंत्री जी ने श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण को अपने निवास स्थान पर बुलाया और उसके बाद श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण ने कहा कि जब तक हमारी मांगें नहीं मानी जायेंगी तब तक हम आगे कोई बात नहीं कर सकते हैं । प्रधान मंत्री जी को देश की जनता ने चुनकर यहां पर भेजा है और उनके ऊपर लोगों का पूर्ण विश्वास है क्योंकि वे सारे भारतवर्ष की जनता की नेता हैं । वे इस पार्लियामेंट की नेता हैं और कोई डिक्टेटर नहीं है । इन सब बातों के वावजूद भी मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि वे क्या चाहते थे ?

श्री कृष्णकान्त हमारे बारे में कहते हैं कि हम लोग माजिश कर रहे हैं और हम लोगों से ही खतरा है । उन्होंने इस बारे में बंगला देश में मुजीबुर्रहमान और एलेन्डे की हत्या का जिक्र किया और कहा कि उनके ही समर्थकों ने उनकी हत्या करवाई । लेकिन मैं उनसे यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वे कल तक तो हमारे साथ थे और जब कठिन समय आया तो क्यों भाग गये ? आज वे सत्य से भागना चाहते हैं । अगर वे इतने ही सत्यवादी हैं तो उन्हें अपनी जगह से इस्तीफा दे देना चाहिये क्योंकि वे यहां पर प्रधान मंत्री जी की कृपा से ही आये हैं और इस सदन के सदस्य

हैं । वे पहिले अपनी मददगार से इस्तीफा दें और फिर से इस सदन में आये तब ही उनकी बात पर विचार किया जा सकता है । वे कभी भी मैदान में नहीं आये और हमारे दोस्तों की बातें उन्हें नहीं करनी चाहिये ।

मोहन धारिया जी मंत्री बने और मंत्री बनने के बाद भी वे उलट-फुलट बोलते थे । चन्द्र शेखर के बारे में यह कहा जा सकता है कि उन्हें इस बात का गिला था कि उन्हें मंत्री नहीं बनाया गया । इसी तरह से कृष्णकान्त जी को भी प्रधान मंत्री जी से गिला हो सकता है कि उन्हें भी मंत्रीमंडल का सदस्य क्यों नहीं बनाया गया ? मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या हर एक मेम्बर को मंत्रीमंडल का सदस्य बनाया जा सकता है ? क्या यही वफा-दारी है ? क्या यही दोस्ती है ? क्या यही कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्य के नाते हमने जो कसम खाई है ? और उस कसम के प्रति यही हमारी निष्ठा है ? जो अपने को गांधीवादी होने का दावा करते हैं, क्या वे भूल गये हैं कि सब से पहिले हिन्दुस्तान में महात्मा गांधी जी ने श्री विनोबा भावे को पहिले मत्याग्रही चुना था और उन्होंने ही सब से पहिले सत्याग्रह किया था । श्री विनोबा भावे जी ने श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण को सलाह दी थी कि वे राजनीति का झगड़ा छोड़ दें । नहीं तो सर्वोदय की हानि होगी । विनोबा जी कांग्रेसी नहीं हैं । किसी राजनीतिक पार्टी से उनका सम्बन्ध नहीं है, उनकी सलाह क्यों नहीं मानते । श्री कृष्णकान्त के दिल में तो महात्मा गांधी के लिए, राष्ट्रपिता के लिए कोई श्रद्धा नहीं रह गई है । कल का बच्चा महात्मा गांधी को गांधी कह कर बोलता है । पहले अंग्रेज कहता था लेकिन कोई हमारे सामने कहता तो हम उसे दिन में तारे दिखा सकते थे आज लाला अचिन्तराम का सपूत महात्मा गांधी को, राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी को गांधी कह कर बोलता है । यह शर्म की बात है ।

उपसभापति जी, इसके साथ-साथ मैं और भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ । जहां तक बीस-सूत्री प्रोग्राम का सम्बन्ध है, उन्हें वह भी दिखाई नहीं देता । 70 लाख बेघर लोगों को मकान बनाने के लिए जमीन दी गई और भूमिहीनों को खेती के

[श्री रणबीर सिंह]

लिए भूमि दी जा रही है। जबरदस्ती जो लोगों से काम लिया जाता था उसको बन्द किया गया। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने प्रधान मंत्री बनने के बाद जो कार्य किया वह दुनिया जानती है। उनके नेतृत्व में इस देश ने सबसे पहले जीत हासिल करके दिखाई, पाकिस्तान को हरा कर दिखाया, आर्य भट्ट को आसमान पर चढ़ा कर दिखाया, एटम का विस्फोट जमीन में करके दिखाया जिससे किसी को नुकसान नहीं हुआ। इसके साथ साथ दूसरा, विस्फोट हुआ। जो धन की चोरी किए हुए थे गैरकानूनी दौलत इकट्ठा किए हुए थे, 1500 करोड़ रुपये से ज्यादा उनसे बाहर निकलवा कर दिखाया। इनको वह दिखाई नहीं देता। वे कहते हैं कि जनता के लाखों आदमी अन्दर है। पता नहीं, इनको यह संख्या कहा से मिलती है। कोई हिन्दुस्तान के सुपर इस्पेक्टर जनरल है इनके पास हमें जो सूचना है उसके अनुसार कोई सौ-दो सौ भाई एक-एक प्रदेश के अन्दर जेलों में होंगे। अगर वे सभी कैदियों की गिनती अपने साथ कर लें तो समझ में आ सकता है, वरना इस देश के अन्दर ऐसा नहीं है।

उपसभापति जी, प्रधान मंत्री जी ने देश के पंचायत समितार के मिनमिने में कहा था कि उनके प्रदेश के अन्दर बीम-सूखी प्रोग्राम को ऐसे ढंग से लागू किया जा रहा है कि जिससे आपम में बिगाड़ हो। हमने हमेशा सीलिंग के कानून का समर्थन किया है। हमारे नेता कमलापति जी बैठे हैं, वे जानते हैं कि उनके उत्तर प्रदेश के अन्दर उन भाइयों ने, जिन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी को कायम रखने के लिए लेफ्टीनेट जनरल से लेकर जवान तक काम किया, तराई के घने जंगलों को, जहां शेर रहते थे, जहां हाथी रहते थे, जहां एक तोला अनाज भी पैदा नहीं होता था, आबाद किया और उत्तर प्रदेश का सबसे बढ़िया इलाका बनाया। उन्हें कोई गिला नहीं है। जो कानून सीलिंग का बना है उसको ईमानदारी से लागू किया जाये। हमारा प्लानिंग कमिशन और उत्तर प्रदेश का सीलिंग का कानून यह मानता है कि सिर्फ पिता, उसकी पत्नी और नाबालिग बच्चे की जमीन इकट्ठी करनी है। कहीं कानून में यह

नहीं लिखा है कि जो जवान खेती करने हैं, जो वयस्क हैं, उनकी जमीन भी उनके पिता की जमीन के साथ जोड़ी जाये। सबकी जमीन जोड़ी जा रही है। बहुत से भाई फौज में हैं। अभी तक तो इससे उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार का संबंध था। अब बाबू जगजीवन राम जी का सीधा संबंध है। वे हमेशा कामयाब हुए हैं। पहली दफा जब वे कृषि मंत्री बने थे तो उन्होंने इजाजत दी थी कि कोई भाई विदेश से ट्रैक्टर मंगा सकता है उसके ऊपर सीमा-शुल्क नहीं होगा। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि जिन किसानों ने देश को अनाज के लिये स्वावलम्बी बनाया। इन्दिरा जी अब प्रधान मंत्री बनी थीं तब 70 लाख टन अनाज पैदा होता था, आज 114 लाख टन अनाज पैदा होता है। उन किसानों की बात भी मुनी जाय वे जागीरदारों के बेटे नहीं हैं, वे जमींदारों के बेटे नहीं हैं, वे राजाओं के बेटे नहीं हैं; वे धरती के सपूत हैं, वे किसान हैं जो देश की लड़ाई के वक्त रक्षा करते हैं दुश्मनों से और अमन के वक्त देश के लिए अनाज पैदा करते हैं। उनकी मांगों का भी ख्याल किया जाये। एकमाइज इयूटी ट्रैक्टरों पर से हटाई जाये। इसी तरह से खाद के ऊपर से एकमाइज इयूटी घटाई जाये। ताज्जुब की बात है कि अनाज की कीमत गिरी और जो चीजें अनाज पैदा करने के काम आती थी उनकी कीमत बढ़ी। चाहे वह डीजल है, उसकी कीमत बढ़ी है, बिजली के दाम बढ़े हैं, मिर्चाई की दर बढ़ी है और जो दूसरी चीजें हैं, इनपुट्स हैं उनकी कीमत बढ़ी है। बाबू जगजीवनराम जी बड़े न्यायकारी हैं और हमें पूरा यकीन है कि जिन भाइयों ने उनका नाम ऊंचा किया—जब वे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर थे और कृषि मंत्री थे, उस वक्त उन किसान पुत्रों के हितों की वे रक्षा करेंगे और उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार को यह हिदायत करेंगे कि इन भाइयों को जो चोरी से पैसा नहीं इकट्ठा करते, जो स्मगलिंग नहीं करते, जो रिश्वत नहीं लेते, जो मेहनत की, खून-पसीने की कमाई से अपना गुजारा करते हैं, उनको गैरकानूनी तरीके से तंग न किया जाये। इसके साथ साथ मैं आपको यकीन दिलाना हूँ कि किसान के जो पूत हैं वे

बीस-सूत्री प्रोग्राम को आगे बढ़ाने में सबसे आगे रहेंगे जिस तरह वे देश की रक्षा में आगे रहे हैं। जो आर्थिक प्रोग्राम प्रधान मंत्री जी ने बनाया है उसमें भी वे सबसे आगे रहेंगे। धन्यवाद।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

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

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

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA (Karnataka) : I rise to make a few observations on the President's Address. We have been listening to the speeches from either side of the House for the last two days, and I certainly support many of the issues which have been referred to by my friends from the other side, which have been in the interest of the development of the country as a whole. The President in his Address has mostly dealt with the things which have happened in the past year and has not made many references to the programme of the future. But in those efforts which have been made by his Government towards the developmental activities in the country, towards economic development, I support them. Particularly, about the 20-point programme which has been referred to by many Members on both sides of the House, I do not think there has been anybody who is not one with that programme. My friend, Mr. Goray, when he was speaking the other day—I was very happy—quoted a letter from Mr. Jayaprakash Narayana from detention in which he himself has said that the 20-point programme should be taken up as a national programme and should be worked out. Towards this, I do not think there is any opposition from the Members of any party here.

Before I come to the subject of emergency, let me say a few words about some of the points which are in this 20-point

programme and other things which have been referred to by the President. Measures like the abolition of bonded labour and increasing the minimum wages for agricultural labour were hailed by everybody, and I support them. It is only regrettable that these have come much too late. But since they have come, it is for every section of this country to support and work for them. I do not agree that these could not have been brought earlier because of the attitude of the Opposition. Even though it is not directly said like that, the indications are such because it is said that the emergency was necessary to bring forth some of these measures. The President in his address says:

"Their activities seriously threatened internal security. They were directed towards undermining Government's vigorous efforts to curb economic offences."

The indication here is that the efforts of the Opposition or some sections of the ruling party were such that they came in the way of the Government curbing economic offences. In fact, it is not so. When the Bihar movement started—whatever its implications were later on, and with many of which I may not agree myself—it started as a movement against widespread corruption in the country. It is very difficult to agree to the reference here that the Government could not come forward with steps to curb economic offences because of the Opposition. It is not so. In many cases the measures have been suggested and supported by them.

Then there are various other items which have been mentioned here. With regard to the growth of industries, I am very happy that there has been a lot of industrial growth and efforts to increase exports have been made. However, I would like to mention that the role of traditional exports like plantation crops and others should be given a little greater stress and there should be a greater effort from that section. Even though non-traditional exports are necessary we should not neglect the traditional exports which are the largest earners of foreign exchange. And there are not many fiscal and

[Shri L. K. Lakshmana Gawda]

other policies of the State and the Central Governments which are coming in the way of increased production in that line; particularly in plantation crops like tea, coffee and rubber, greater attention should be paid to remove such constraints.

I am very happy that there has been a reference to bringing more acreage under irrigation in the next Annual Plan. I am also very happy that reference has been made about reforms in the financial administration. It is so centralised now. The different Ministries and departments should have delegated powers to deal with their budgeting and finance so that a lot of red-tapism is done away with. Even for a sanction for research purposes, there has been a lot of red-tapism. These delays can be done away with. I commend the efforts in this direction and I hope the committees which are going to be appointed will do their job very well and see that we do away with these delays.

With regard to family planning, there has been a reference. The President in his address says :

“The Government is aiming to reduce the birth rate to 30 per thousand in the next three years. To achieve this, the family planning programme will have to become a mass movement. New schemes of incentives and disincentives are being evolved...”

I would like to mention here that the major difficulty with regard to this has been in the working class section. There are certain legislations which need certain changes. For example, the maternity benefit Act, in my view, should be so amended as to see that after the second or the third child, the maternity benefit is taken away and thus it should become a disincentive. And incentives should be provided for family planning. This is one important matter.

Sir, then there has been reference to our relations with our neighbours. A reference has been made to Sri Lanka. I am glad that here it is said :

“With Sri Lanka we have strengthened the tradition of informal and mutually beneficial exchanges and collaboration on matters of common interest.”

I would like to mention here that still there is one sore point, and that is about repatriation of Indians who are working in the plantations in Sri Lanka, who are mostly of Tamilian origin. I understand that there are a lot of bottlenecks and a lot of harassment is taking place with regard to that. I would like the Government to bestow more attention to it.

So far as development of areas or projects is concerned, I am very happy that Government is taking action to get Iranian collaboration for the Kutharamkku project. I come from that area and I hope this will materialise soon and I hope the project will be taken up quickly and work will start. This project will also help the development of the Malnad areas which are backward.

I would like to say one word about the emergency. Everybody has hailed the emergency from that side whereas from this side there were certain criticisms and references to the drawbacks of the emergency by some friends in the opposition. Shri Brahmananda Panda said that there is no going back to the position which existed one year earlier and wanted discipline. Nobody says that we do not want discipline. If you are not going back to the situation as it existed one year earlier, do you mean to say that we have to continue with the existing system in which case it means that we will have this emergency for a long time to come. Is it so? Or, as many of the leaders from your side had said, is it only a temporary measure and will have to be withdrawn after sometime? Yesterday my friend Shri Om Mehta was making some references to Gujarat and Tamil Nadu. This is one outcome of the emergency. Now, the Congress Party or party which is not in power and is an opposition party in those States have made complaints about certain things happening there. What prevents parties in the opposition in States ruled by the

Congress Party from making similar allegations? This is one of the outcomes of the emergency. If elections are to be held in the near future, then what is the position? Are we to continue with this existing system? This is something like riding a tiger. You are safe so long as you are riding it. But the minute you get down, it will eat you up. The situation is like that. If the emergency is relaxed and if people under detention released and if there is the apprehension that some difficulties will arise because of that, then how are you going to solve those difficulties? Therefore, some friends on this side have suggested a dialogue. This position of confrontation in my view is very dangerous and should come to an end. Some *detente* should be started. Otherwise it becomes very difficult to function or to have the election or to go back to the democratic set up. I do not mean to say that the democratic set up is completely given up. But there are certain constraints now and some people from the opposition are in jail and some legislators are not able to participate in the discussions in the Houses of Parliament and the Press is gagged and people are not getting sufficient information and they, therefore, resort to getting information from rumours. These will have to end sometime. I am sure the ruling party which has the largest majority and which has been able to bring forth so many pieces of legislation during this period, should be in a position to find a way out. There have been suggestions from ruling party side which seem to indicate a vindictive attitude that emergency shall have to be continued for a long time to come because there are underground movements and many things are still happening. If this is the attitude taken, then I really wonder whether we can ever lift the emergency. My humble appeal to the ruling party is that what has happened. By that I do not mean to say that opposition did not over-react in certain matters.

And, Sir, there have been differences of opinion amongst the people with regard to certain programmes of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan such as the one of forcing the

elected members to resign or the other one of asking the students not to attend the colleges. But there have been certain other programmes also in his movement aimed at ending corruption and strengthening of democracy. So, a way must be found and we should not continue to have a vindictive attitude right through. Certain parties have been banned and many of the things which have happened should not have happened also. I certainly agree. But there is a time for everything and six months have elapsed and many of the top leaders are still under detention. Let me hope, Sir, that when things cool down—already six months have elapsed—some efforts will be made, and some initiative will be taken by the leaders in the ruling party to see that this state of affairs ends, that this confrontation ends and that there is *detente* so that our cherished goals of republicanism and secularism will be retained and we would be a model to the other developing countries of the world. Thank you Sir.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI (Assam) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it is a great privilege for me to participate in the debate on the President's Address. We are very fortunate to have a person as our President who was a great freedom fighter and who is a man of vast experience, sagacity and sincerity. He is a great source of strength to our Prime Minister and we the followers are not the only people who are proud of our Prime Minister. Today, all the countries in the world are proud of her because she has maintained India's prestige in the international sphere and she has given strength to our country and she has brought about progress in the country for our people.

Sir, since the proclamation of the emergency on 26-6-1975. India entered a new era of economic, social and political progress. The emergency has brought about a climate of discipline in our social and political life. In fact, normalcy has come to the loyal citizens of our country, particularly to the poor people who were exploited and oppressed by the vested interests like the capitalists and the feudalists

[Shri Sriman Prafulla Goswami]
 who enjoyed all kinds of comforts and who led an extravagant and luxurious life at the cost of millions and millions of our people.

Sir, this Address has correctly reflected the policies of the Government. This Address is very brief, but it is very very expressive and is very very convincing. I need not go into the past history and explain the conditions which necessitated the proclamation of this emergency. The whole world knows it. In spite of the malicious and false propaganda by some interested foreign Press, not only our country, but the whole world knows this and is convinced of the imperative need for this emergency which was imposed by the President on the advice of our Prime Minister. This Address which our Rashtrapatiiji has given explains what the policies are and what the coming programmes are during this year, particularly during the emergency period. Sir, it is in this Address that the reform of financial administration has been mentioned and it has become very necessary. During the last 27 or 28 years, Sir, we have experienced a lot of hindrances on account of this type of financial administration and the other things which we have inherited from the British bureaucracy. Now it is going to be reformed so that progress can be made speedily and justice can be meted to the common people.

Then, I come to another question: reduction of birth rate. This is very, very important for India. The population growth is so high and such a huge population cannot be maintained. This must be controlled. And it cannot be controlled unless it is planned. This family planning is the way of life for civilized people. Even in ancient times also, there was family planning; not like modern days, but there were certain restrictions and self-imposed discipline by which the birth rate was less. And then there were natural calamities like cholera, malaria, earthquakes and epidemics which carried away most of the people. But today in this modern age we have controlled these epidemic diseases. Therefore, people do not

die. In modern days we have adopted family planning on modern lines. This is also very important for India.

In India, hundreds and hundreds of women were subjugated. They are called the weaker section. Of course, those who were very civilized and educated and rich, led a higher standard of life. But the common people, the common women, led hard lives. Therefore, this emphasis is correctly given that we should give them equal opportunity for development because women have been lagging behind in education, in social life and political life. Therefore, they should be given such privileges so that they come up on an equal footing. We can see in Parliament and in Assemblies how many women there are. Although 50 per cent women are there, although the policy is there, they are kept behind by clever manipulations. I wish that in Parliament and also in Assemblies 40 per cent or 25 per cent women must come. Leave aside education, there are lots of women social workers in villages. Bring them to Parliament and Assemblies, and they will represent the labourers in a better way. Today, by clever manipulations, some women may come, some men may come, but they do not represent millions of our oppressed and suppressed women. Therefore, I wish, as Mahatama Gandhi wished, that those women who are in the lower strata, must come up. I do not decry educated women. They should come. But along with them there should be some women who are at the bottom, because it is not the degree or anything which is of importance, but it is their day-to-day life experience that will have to be reflected in our Parliament and Assemblies. Therefore, I give emphasis to bring women in political field also. But he has not said so much as I have said, because I feel it from the bottom of my heart.

Then, Sir, today we are proud of our science and technology. India can be self-reliant in science and technology. But I must observe that even now there are foreign manipulations. Foreign investments are going on in our country. Many foreign

people have invested their money. There are some industries which are in the joint sector. Let me mention Oil India. Crude oil is very important from our national and strategic point of view. But Oil-India has not been nationalized. Leave aside nationalization, it should be majority share. Then and then only, our Auditor-General can go and curb this extravagant and wasteful expenditure. I was Chairman of Oil-India. But today I must say these things. Minister Shri Malaviya has failed to bring 51 or 52 per cent share during one year of his tenure of office. They manipulate and people think that Oil-India is going on in the public sector. I know how the officials of the Petroleum Ministry are bribed and influenced with foreign liquors and all kinds of things. I worked there for two years. Today, Malaviya is not here. I am prepared to give them brief about all these things.

We are proud of our foreign policy. This policy of non-alignment has been initiated by Jawaharlal Nehru and today it has been recognised in the world. In the beginning, many people in our country and many foreigners were decrying this policy of non-alignment. It has proved to be the best and we are happy that our relations with our neighbours are improving. Some people thought that non-alignment will mean isolation. But we are establishing good relations with all the countries. We are trying to establish good relations with Pakistan in spite of so much provocation. Our Prime Minister has shown the greatest patience with Pakistan and even after victory, we established peace. It is unfortunate that some powers, especially America, are trying to foment trouble. C. I. A. and others are trying to infiltrate. They are influencing many of the so-called opposition parties. Even in politics, sophisticated techniques have developed. They create internal disorder and disruption. If there is internal disorder and disruption in our country, then we cannot progress. We cannot build up our country. Our defence expenditure would increase and we won't be able to provide food for our

poverty-stricken people. Therefore, many people try to create disorder, disruption, dislocation and strikes in our country. They want to weaken our country. We are very proud of our Prime Minister. She is the third Prime Minister. But this Prime Minister has become superb. I am not flattering. I never flattered in my life. I opposed even Gandhiji. She is superb. She knows that her father was checked by his own colleagues and he could not carry out the programmes. He prepared all the plans. But he fell a prey to the conspiracy of the political leaders at the implementation stage. Today, Shrimati Indira Gandhi is implementing the programmes. She has the courage and conviction. It is our bounden duty to implement these programmes. It is the bounden duty of every citizen, particularly of the legislators, whether they are in the opposition or here, to carry out what we pass in the legislatures. We have yet to go to the bottom. The other thing that the Prime Minister said is that you should go to the villages. You should teach them. You should explain the 20-point programme. Many people are still exploited at the bottom level. They are suffering. It is our bounden duty and moral duty—and this emergency has made it obligatory upon us—to help them, organise them. Yes, the Emergency has brought discipline. But this discipline should be the way of life. Many people are today disciplined out of fear. The smugglers and blackmarketeers are keeping quiet because they are terribly afraid. Many officers at the lower level are still trying to harass our people. Out of fear many people are now disciplined. Therefore, this should be the way of life. That should be brought about and that will come. Therefore, I support the continuance of Emergency.

Another thing I should emphasise is this we must avoid conspicuous consumption. We must stop our luxurious way of life. Everybody who is in an advantageous position should demonstrate some austerity whether he is a Minister or an M.P. or a legislator. I do not expect austerity

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from those smugglers, those rich people and those feudalists and capitalists. Sir, once I told Shri Morarji Desai during the debate on Budget—he was very austere—

“Your personal austerity will not help until and unless it is reflected in the Government.” Therefore, I do not expect austerity from rich people. There are many *sadhus* posing to be very austere. But they exploit people, they accumulate wealth and they go on investing in black money. When I speak of austerity, it is not austerity in dress but austerity in its real meaning. You must not accumulate wealth. Therefore, Sir, this Emergency should be taken advantage of by us in true spirit. Sir, many politicians also try to manipulate things and take advantage. This should be stopped. I know that our Prime Minister knows from bottom to top. But she alone cannot look to everyone. Once I appealed to the Opposition also. If they really mean the good of the country, if they really mean to serve the people, they should go to the bottom because, after all, there should be land to the landless and justice to the people. If the Opposition really want to help the people, they should go to the bottom and point out if we are corrupt and if our officials do something wrong. The Opposition's duty is to point out the wrongs but not to disrupt the country, not to break the Parliament, not to *gherao* our Ministers.

Sir, I conclude my speech with these remarks that we are blessed and we are proud that during our life time, socialism and what the Prime Minister says, democratic socialism is coming. And we are proud that during our life time, we will be able to bring it. We fought for freedom; we brought freedom. We have learnt democratic socialism from Jawaharlal Nehru, and under our beloved leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, we are going to implement it. I hope during my life time, I will see India becoming prosperous and progressive, free from exploitation and free from corruption.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE (Maharashtra) : Sir, I represent the Republican Party and we welcome the proclamation of Emergency. When we draw up a balance-sheet, I can say that despite certain restrictions that have been imposed...

डा० चन्द्रमणि लाल चौधरी (बिहार) : हिन्दी में बोलिये।

श्री एन० एच० कुम्भारे : इसके बावजूद भी हमारे देश में ऐसी परिस्थिति है जिसके कारण यह कहा जाता है कि देश में आजादी करीब-करीब समाप्त हो गई है, प्रेस पर नियंत्रण हो गया है नियंत्रण के बावजूद भी अगर हम इसका लेखा जोखा करें तो जहां तक हमारे गरीबों का सवाल है, इस इमरजेंसी को गरीबों के दृष्टिकोण से अगर हम देखते हैं तो मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि इस इमरजेंसी का अगर कोई दुष्परिणाम हुआ होगा तो मैं नहीं जानता, लेकिन गरीब आदमी के ऊपर उसका कोई दुष्परिणाम नहीं हुआ है। इस इमरजेंसी के दौरान खाम करके चीजों के भाव में कमी आई है। आप जानते हैं कि हमारे देश में पिछले दो तीन सालों में चीजों के भाव में बराबर बढ़ोतरी हो रही थी। हर साल चीजों के भाव बढ़ते ही जा रहे थे। इस दृष्टि से अगर हम इस इमरजेंसी को देखें तो पता चलेगा कि बहुत सी चीजों के दाम अब घट गये हैं। इससे पहले चीजों के दामों में लगातार वृद्धि होने के कारण गरीब आदमी की आमदनी में कोई वृद्धि नहीं हो रही थी। उसको दो रुपया या ठाई रुपया जो भी मजदूरी मिल रही थी उसी के अन्दर उसको अपना जीवन चलाना पड़ रहा था और इस महंगाई के कारण वह बहुत परेशान था। ऐसी स्थिति में मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि इस इमरजेंसी की सबसे बड़ी उपलब्धि यह है कि अब चीजों के भाव बढ़ने से रुक गये हैं और जहां पहले थे वही पर रुक गये हैं। महंगाई के कारण गरीब लोगों को बड़ी मुश्किल का सामना करना पड़ा रहा था। इसलिए मैं यह साफ तौर पर कहना चाहूंगा कि इस इमरजेंसी से गरीब लोगों को एक बहुत बड़ी राहत मिली है। मैं फिर कहना

चाहूंगा कि इस इमरजेंसी की अगर कोई सबसे बड़ी एचीवमेंट है तो वह यह है कि चीजों के भाव बढ़ने से रुक गये हैं।

इस संदर्भ में मैं आपका ध्यान 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम की ओर भी आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा। 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम में एक अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण निर्देश दिया गया है कि खेतों में काम करने वाले जो मजदूर हैं और उनको जो मजदूरी दी जाती है, उस मजदूरी में वृद्धि की जाएगी। इस संबंध में जहां तक मेरी जानकारी है, चार प्रान्तों ने इस मजदूरी में 6 रुपये से 6.50 पैसे की वृद्धि कर दी है। पंजाब, हरियाणा, पश्चिमी बंगाल और केरल की गवर्नमेंट्स ने खेतों में काम करने वाले मजदूरों के वेतन में 6 रुपये से लेकर 6.50 पैसे की वृद्धि कर दी है। उसी तरह से, जैसा कि श्री पारीख साहब ने कहा है, गुजरात गवर्नमेंट ने भी मजदूरी की दरों में वृद्धि कर दी है और अब वहां पर 5 रुपये या 5.50 पैसे मजदूरी दी जाती है। किन्तु दुर्भाग्य से आज भी कुछ स्टेट्स ऐसी हैं जहां पर बेजज बढ़ाने की दिशा में कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया है। कई स्टेट्स में आज भी मजदूरों को सिर्फ 3 रुपये प्रातः दिन के हिसाब से मजदूरी दी जाती है। एक तरफ तो एक प्रान्त में 6 रुपये या 6.50 पैसे मजदूरी मिलती है, वहां दूसरी तरफ हम देखते हैं कि कुछ प्रान्तों में सिर्फ 3 रुपये वेतन दिया जाता है। इस संदर्भ में इस बात का भी उल्लेख करना गलत न होगा कि हमारे माननीय यूनियन मिनिस्टर साहब ने सारे प्रान्तों के लेबर मिनिस्टर्स की एक मिटिंग बुलाई थी। उस मिटिंग में यह फैसला किया गया कि 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के अनुसार खेतों में काम करने वाले मजदूरों के वेतन में वृद्धि की जाये। मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा का ध्यान इस बात की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं कि यद्यपि यूनियन मिनिस्टर की तरफ से बुलाई गई कांफेंस में यह फैसला किया गया था कि मजदूरों के वेतन में वृद्धि की जाये, लेकिन मेरी जानकारी के मुताबिक आज कम से कम छः प्रान्त ऐसे हैं जहां पर मजदूरों के वेतन में वृद्धि करने के संबंध में

कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया है और वहां पर अभी तक मजदूरों को 3 रुपये या साढ़े तीन रुपया ही वेतन दिया जाता है। इनमें से कुछ राज्यों के मैजिस्ट्रेटों का यह कहना है कि हम मजदूरों की मजदूरी बढ़ाने के पक्ष में हैं, लेकिन हमने मजदूरों के वेतन पिछले सालों में ही बढ़ाये हैं और कानून के मुताबिक उनके रिजिजन के लिए कम से कम दो तीन साल का वकन देना पड़ता है। इस संबंध में हमारा यह कहना है कि जिस वकत 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के अनुसार रेट बढ़ाने की बात कहीं गई थी उस वकत यह बात भी ध्यान में थी कि हमारे देश में मजदूरों की मजदूरी तीन रुपये और साढ़े तीन रुपये के बीच में है। और मजदूरों के लिए न्यायपूर्ण वेतन-वृद्धि की जाए, यह उद्देश्य था, लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि क्या कारण है कि तीन-चार प्रातः है जिन्होंने आज भी रेट नहीं बढ़ाया है और उनका इरादा भी रेट बढ़ाने का नहीं है। तो फिर सवाल आता है: फिर कैसे इम्प्लीमेंटेशन हो? यह ऐसी बात नहीं है जिससे कोई प्रीब्लम हो, कोई समस्या हो, जिसके कारण रेट बढ़ाना संभव नहीं। ऐसी बात तो नहीं है। फिर रेट बढ़ाने के बारे में इस तरह से दलीलें क्यों दी जाती हैं? फिर, कभी कभी हमें लगता है कि कई प्रांतों में जमींदारों की लाबी आ गई है, वे नहीं चाहते खेत में काम करने वाले मजदूरों को न्यायपूर्ण वेतन प्राप्त हो। इसलिए इस बात की छानबीन बहुत आवश्यक है, नहीं तो 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम का मखौल हो जाएगा। एक तरफ हमारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर महोदया का यह कहना कि वेतन वृद्धि की जाए और दूसरी तरफ देखते हैं कि कई स्टेट्स हमारे वेतन बढ़ाने के विरोध में हैं।

तो मैं सिर्फ यह बात कहते हुए अपने भाषण को समाप्त करता हूं और उम्मीद करता हूं कि सारी स्टेट्स इस अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण कार्य करने में सहयोग देगी। मेरे ब्याल से यह अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण निर्णय है एग्रीकल्चर लेबर के वेतन के बारे में, इस बारे में सारे प्रान्तों में वेतन का कम से कम एक स्तर हो। मैं फिर उम्मीद करता हूं कि सारी स्टेट्स इस बारे में कदम उठा कर मजदूर

[श्री एन० एच० कुम्भार]

का एक दिन में 8 घंटा काम करने का समय मान कर छः रुपया रोज देने की व्यवस्था करेंगी।

डा० चन्द्रमणि लाल चौधरी : मोहतरिम डिपुटी चैयरमैन साहब, मैं राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण का तहे-दिल से समर्थन करता हूँ और साथ ही इस तरफ तबज्जह दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जो बहुत से हमारे लायक दोस्त, अपोजिशन पार्टी के, यहां जो बातें सदन में नहीं बोलनी चाहिए थी वह भी बोले और मारे चार्ज हमारे कांग्रेस वालों पर और प्रधान मंत्री पर आए। लेकिन यह मालूम नहीं उनको कि इमरजेंसी क्यों हुई और किसलिये हुई। सारी जबाबदेही आप लोगों के ऊपर है। हमारे कांग्रेस का एक वर्कर था चम्पारन में—आपको शर्म होनी चाहिए—उसको आपने घायल करवा दिया। उसके बाद और भी जितने हरिजन सेक्टर थे, कमजोर सेक्टर थे कांग्रेस में, वहां आपने आक्रमण कराया और बेतहाशा आक्रमण किया। मेरे दोस्त जो यह इमरजेंसी देखते हैं, उनको समझना चाहिए कि हिन्दुस्तान की संस्कृति और हिन्दुस्तान की मर्यादा बहुत खतरे में थी। आप यह चाहते थे कि हिन्दू और मुसलमानों के बीच जगह जगह फिरकापरस्ती बंसे करा देंगे जिससे मुल्क कमजोर हो जाए, मुल्क की ताकत कमजोर हो जाए और दूसरे मुल्क हम पर हावी हो जाएं; यह साजिश थी आपकी। फिर भी मैं लायक दोस्तों से कहूंगा कि भाई, लोक सभा और राज्य सभा में बड़े बड़े लोग मेम्बर रहे हैं। उनकी स्पीचेंज को भी आप पढ़ें। उनमें कितनी गहराई मालूम होती है। और, सच बात को कहना चाहिए। मर्द वह है जो सच बोलता है और झूठा किसी भी मैदान में हो झूठा ही होता है।

डा० रामकृपाल सिंह (बिहार) : महिलाएं भी तो सच बोलती हैं।

डा० चन्द्रमणि लाल चौधरी : महिलाएं तो बोलती हैं। आपके बड़े लायक दोस्त हैं, बहुत कोशिश किए हुए हो गिराने की जन संघ की तरफ से। लेकिन आप कामयाब नहीं हुए। तो मैं आपको यह जरूर कहना चाहूंगा डिप्टी चैयरमैन साहब,

कि मेरे दोस्त अपने कठिन से कठिन प्रयास के बावजूद भी सफल नहीं हुए और हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने मुल्क को बचाया, देश को बचाया, जो फिरकापरस्ती इरादे थे उनसे कंट्री को सेव किया, हर सिटीजन को किया। मैं मासेज में घूमता रहता हूँ, बहुत फख से लोग कहते हैं कि इमरजेंसी क्या हुई उनकी इज्जत बन गई। इनकी पार्टी के लोग उनके आगे जाते थे और कहते थे, निकालो चन्दा अगर तुम्हें जिंदा रहना है नहीं तो दुकान लूट ली जाएगी। बिहार में मेरी आंखों से देखी कान से सुनी बात है—खड़े हो हो कर कहा। इन्होंने व्यापारियों को तंग किया, बहुत से व्यापारी मेरे दोस्त भी हैं; उन्होंने कहा कि भाई, इमरजेंसी से हम लोगों की बहुत राहत हुई है, तमाम स्टूडेंट्स का काफिला आता था, कम से कम हमारी दुकान में डाका नहीं होता है, नहीं तो कहते थे कि सेठ जी, रुपया निकालो, नहीं तो साइनबोर्ड उतरेगा। हम अपने दोस्तों से कहते हैं भाई ठीक हैं। आप जो भी चाहे कहो, लेकिन जब तक हमारी इन्दिरा गांधी जिन्दा है तब तक हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि भारतवर्ष का हर नागरिक यही चाहता है कि उनके नेतृत्व में हमारा देश दिन प्रति दिन तरक्की करता रहे। आज उनके नेतृत्व में हर नागरिक को अटूट विश्वास है और जब तक उनका नेतृत्व रहेगा तब तक हिन्दुस्तान का कुछ भी कोई बिगाड़ नहीं सकता है और आप लोगों के चिल्लाने से कुछ होने वाला नहीं है।

मैं सदन को यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे विरोधी पार्टियों के लोगों ने गरीबों को उठाने के लिए किसी प्रकार की कोई कोशिश नहीं की। आपकी पार्टी के पास हमारी पार्टी की तरह कोई भी बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम नहीं था। आप लोगों को गरीब लोगों के साथ कोई प्रेम नहीं है और न ही आप लोगों के पास कोई प्रोग्राम उनकी भलाई के ही लिए है। आप लोगों के पास सिवाय हल्ला करने के अलावा और कोई प्रोग्राम नहीं है और इस तरह की बातें करने से हकूमत नहीं मिल सकती और न कभी आप इस बारे में कामयाब हो सकते हैं।

डिप्टी चैयरमेन साहब मैं बड़े अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में जो इमरजेंसी डिक्लेयर हुई, वह एक बहुत ही अच्छी बात हुई। मैंने अपने कानों से सुना है कि इस इमरजेंसी में कुछ आफिसरों को और भी ताकत की जरूरत है। उन्हें जितनी ताकत मिलनी चाहिये थी उतनी ताकत नहीं मिली है। इसलिए मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब से दरखास्त करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हमारे आफिसरों में जितनी ताकत उन्हें लगानी चाहिये थी अगर उन्होंने लगाई होती तो मैं समझता हूँ कि पचास वर्षों तक के लिए देश में अमन व अमान हो सकता था और सारे लोग सीधे हो जाते। इसलिए मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमें और सख्ती के साथ से वर्ताव करना होगा क्योंकि आज हर जगह सख्ती की जरूरत है।

आज देश में हर जगह सख्ती की जरूरत है नाकि हम गरीब लोगों को बचा सकें। मैं जब गांवों में जाता हूँ और देहातों में जाता हूँ तो मैं देखता हूँ कि जो दबे हुए लोग हैं, चाहे वे हरिजनो में हों, चाहे वे ब्राह्मण जाति में हों, आज उनकी हालत अच्छी नहीं है। जब मैं पहिले पूज्य जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी के नेतृत्व में इलैक्शन लड़ता था तो उस समय में ऐसी विधवा ब्राह्मणों में मिलता था जो दबी हुई थीं, और मजबूर थीं। वे बेचारी दूसरों के सहारे अपनी जिन्दगी बसर कर रही थी। इसलिए मैं आपका ध्यान उनकी ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ। मैं एक नेशनलिस्ट हूँ और मैं कोई कौम, धर्म का मानने वाला नहीं हूँ। मैं एक इंसान हूँ और इंसान का यह फर्ज होता है कि वह सब से मुहब्बत करे। जो इंसान मुहब्बत नहीं करता है वह न खुदा से प्यार करता है न मां से, न बहिन से और न ही देश से प्यार कर सकता है। इसलिए मैं यह जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमें देश की हालत को सुधारने के लिए सख्त से सख्त कदम उठाने चाहिये।

मैं इस समय यह भी अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जिस समय बिहार में बाढ़ की वजह से हाहाकार मचा हुआ था तो हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने वहां पर जो काम किया उसके लिए बिहार के सारी

नागरिक आभारी हैं और बहुत ही आभारी हैं। उन्होंने डूबने हुए मर्दों को उठाया और मैं फिर यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि साउथ बिहार और नार्थ बिहार में जो प्रलयवाली बाढ़ आई थी, जिसकी वजह से सब जगह प्रलय का ही दृश्य दिखलाई देता था उस समय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने वहां के लोगों को बचाने के लिए जो प्रयत्न किये उसके लिए सारे बिहार वाले बहुत ही ज्यादा आभारी हैं।

मैं एक और बात की ओर भी ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि हमारे मुल्क में जितनी भी फिरकापरस्त पार्टियां हैं उन पर बैन लगा दिया जाना चाहिये। ये जो फिरकापरस्त पार्टियां हैं वे कुछ बैकवर्ड और कुछ फारवर्ड हैं और ये देश में तरह तरह की फिरकापरस्त बातें फैलाती रहती हैं और उन पर रोक लगाई जानी चाहिये। ये जो पार्टियां हैं वे तरह तरह का हल्ला मचाती हैं और इस तरह से देश में खतरा पैदा करती हैं। इसलिए मैं बहुत ही अदब के साथ अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस तरह की जो फिरकापरस्त पार्टियां हैं, जो देश में तरह तरह की बातें फैलाती हैं, उन पर रोक लगाई जानी चाहिये।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि हर मूबे के चोफ मिनिस्टर को आप आदेश जारी करके जमीन दिलावाने का काम जल्दी करवायें। आपके मजबूत हाथों से यह काम होगा तो मैं समझता हूँ कि गरीब जो आपके साथ आज है, हमेशा आपके साथ रहेंगे। जरूरत होगी तो वे आपके झंडे के नीचे जान भी देने को तैयार होंगे। जिस प्रकार आपने बड़े बड़े लोगों को ठंडा किया है उसी तरह भूमिपतियों को भी ठंडा करें जिससे कि गरीबों को राहत मिल सके।

राष्ट्रपति के भाषण के लिये बड़े बड़े लोगों ने कहा कि इसमें यह नहीं है वह नहीं है। हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो हिन्दी में भाषण दिया मैं समझता हूँ कि एक बड़ा काम और ओजस्वी भाषण था। हर सेक्टर को उन्होंने छुआ किसी को नहीं छोड़ा।

[श्री चन्द्रमणि लाल चौधरी]

बिहार में जो पिछड़े हुए गरीब हैं, उनके लड़कों को पढ़ाने के लिये बहुत ज्यादा खर्चा करना पड़ता है। तीन सौ, चार सौ, पांच सौ रुपये कमाने वाले जिसके 3-4 बच्चे हैं, अपने बच्चों को पढ़ाने में बहुत मुश्किल होती है। मैं खास-तौर से प्रधानमंत्री से प्रार्थना करते हुए कहना चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम उन गरीबों को मैट्रिक तक की पढ़ाई किसी भी हालत में फ्री कर देनी चाहिए ताकि गरीबों के बच्चे भी शिक्षा पाकर ऊँचे से ऊँचे ओहदों पर जा सकें।

एक मेरा सुझाव है। बड़े बड़े मिल अग्निस, बड़े बड़े इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स को आप लोन देते हैं। गांवों में जो काश्तकार हैं, अगर आप उनको जमीन खरीदने के लिये कर्जा दें तो इससे बड़ा लाभ होगा। उस जमीन को गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया गवर्नमेंट आफ बिहार और गवर्नमेंट आफ उत्तर प्रदेश जमानत में रख ले। मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे हिन्दुस्तान की उपज में बहुत ज्यादा वृद्धि होगी और उससे हमारे देश की एकानामिक कंडीशन जो है उसमें बहुत ज्यादा फर्क पड़ सकता है। मजदूरों या काश्तकारों को आप जमीन खरीदने के लिये लोन दें, कर्जा दें और उस जमीन की वे किश्त देते रहें। इस तरह जमीन उनकी हो जायेगी, उपज सरकार की और देश की होगी। इससे उपज में बहुत फर्क पड़ सकता है। जयहिन्द।

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI (Nominated) : Sir, I have refrained from speaking on the President's Address for the last six years or so but as a reference was made to me by my friend Dr. Dutt, I am making a few observations on the state of Indian polity at the present juncture. Dr. Dutt referred to some colleagues who sit behind him perhaps in good mood, perhaps taking them as a sort of *alter ego* but he was not fair when he said that the two persons whom he cared to refer to were indulging in unrestrained opposition.

Sir, I speak as an Independent Member and I have the unique privilege of having differences not only with big, highly placed people in the ruling party but even

with those in the Opposition. Dr. Dutt uttered a picturesque threat : Emergency is not a tea party. He was so fond of it that he repeated it in the course of his learned contribution. I expected him—learned man that he is—to apply some balm on the bruised soul of a proud people. He showed a fist. That was the language of the rod. The wielders of rod have come on the stage of history in unpteent numbers and they have gone their way. I fondly believed, and I do believe, as I am speaking these words, that India is not destined to swell the rank of the lesser brand of the anti-heroes of history.

Dr. Dutt, I would like to remind you that all of us have been found out, have been exposed in last June, not merely the ruling party, not merely the opposition, but men like yourself and myself also. Precious little contribution did we make to the strengthening of democracy in this great land of ours which won the status of a Republic after ages for the first time. And here we are. Democracy is like a banyan tree, which is also termed by the foreigners as an Indian tree. The higher it goes it thinks of returning downwards by sending branches that strike roots into the soil. Democracy can survive if its branches take roots. Then it would stand any storm. But precious little was done by people like Dr. Dutt and myself—I take this share of blame. There should be many, many institutions which can protect democracy against a storm. But we almost collapsed at the first whiff. We have been exposed. Let us own this. I was pained to hear the chorus, the hangover of the euphoria of the last session, on emergency. Whom do you want to impress by singing this song? Have some second thoughts. See how the 'derailed' train can be put again in motion.

There is some truth in what somebody has suggested though not without a tinge of cynicism—

सर्वे धर्माः विनश्येयुः दण्डनीती हतायाम्।

All vocations of life could not be pursued if the power of rod was completely eroded.

One could see some truth in it at certain points in history, though I personally believe that that government is the best which governs the least and I do agree with the prophet Marx that the governments that are strutting about in this planet will some day wither away.

3 P.M.

Kautilya has, however, said—

तीक्ष्ण दण्डः उद्देजनीयः ।

Do not use the rod too much, that is, too severely. (*Interruptions*) Your too much is a little different from mine. Because too much is resented, is counter-productive.

Being a man of language and poetry and education, I want to make a point today before this august House about the pollution of language. I thought some day our country would host a Language Pollution Conference. But I find that our languages are polluted no less. Look at the word 'democracy', look at the word 'fascism', look at the way the words are being bandied about. I hear that in Madras there was an anti-fascist conference and a matinee hero was there, that it was a success, that there was a crowd of about 20,000 people. I was not there. Again, the same week there was another anti-fascist conference held by the opposition and attended by double that number, as I hear. This is how we use words.

I do not agree with many things of the ruling party, certainly not with the emergency and the gagging of the Press and putting the opposition behind the bars. Objectively as a citizen I do not agree because I fought for freedom. Do I become a fascist if I say this?

J.P., Morarji Desai, Atal Behari Vajpayee, Piloo Modi—I think some dramatist might write a play 'Piloo Modi in Jail' and the rest, the RSS and the Anand Margis, the blackmarketeers and the smugglers are all lumped together. The word 'conspiracy' is used. Where is that blessed thing? Put it up in an open court. Bring it so that we can see its face.

Words are used in a very peculiar sense, particularly the word 'democracy'. A political scientist of eminence, my friend Dr. Dutt, finds everything right when opponents are behind bars and when the Press is gagged. Truth, non-violence, nationalism, these words are also bandied about as one chooses them. Today, 'truth' is being dinned into our ears by one group of people through the mass media. Is truth what power speaks? We thought of truth in some better terms. The same is the case about 'violence' and 'non-violence'. The political scenario that we have today shows that might is right, might riding roughshod over the feelings of those who hold a little different opinion, an opinion which is a little different from yours.

श्री कमलनाथ झा (बिहार) : बड़े-बड़े पूंजी-पतियो के पेट भरने थे ।

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI : Do not remind me about 'poonjipathis'. I have a feeling as an Indian citizen that we have replaced—it seems—the British, white sovereignty by brown rulers and we are now almost on the point of falling into the lap of the indigenous moneyed man. Moneyed men are the best beneficiaries from the present predicament.

Take the word 'Nationalism'. Are all these people anti-national, non-patriotic? (*Interruptions*) I want to know from this friend who is trying to remind me of something: Tell me, have people like me who hold opinions different from yours, ceased to be progressive? Do we at once become reactionaries? How is it that you have denigrated all persons who did not belong to the Congress Party and to the CPI and written them off as reactionary fascist and all that? Sift, please. Identify the enemies of progress. Bring them before the courts. Punish them.

DR. V. P. DUTT (Nominated) : Why do you apply to yourself what I said about the RSS? I talked about the RSS.

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI : I have moved further. I am referring to the interrupter. . . Do all you can; pounce upon

[Shri Umashankar Joshi]
them. Not a tear will be shed if you, i.e. the powers that be, punish those who deserve to be punished. But why lump all these people together?

As a literary man, I have been editing—'Sanskriti'—undergoing a loss—from January 1947, that is, from the British period onwards. It is a monthly magazine, I would not go to the censor. It is below me. We may be decimated. But why should I go to the censor? I had to stop publication. I am one of the editors of a weekly—'Nireekshak'—which is mainly dealing with public affairs—I do not like the word 'politics'. Even Congressmen have read it with it avidity. Have we not been responsible? Why should we go to the censor? The Prime Minister, rooted as she is in the great traditions of the freedom fight, used a verb, which if I recollect, was the right word. She said, "I abhor censorship". No word could be more appropriate. But now there is almost a built-in censorship and it would almost appear that as far as freedom of speech is concerned, we have returned to the days of later Moghuls. Why should the emergency be utilised for such purposes? I appeal to our politicians that the time has come when we should salvage whatever is left of the values and traditions of this country with a view to building a glorious future. There is no need of continuation of the emergency. As the election case because malignant after a certain time, let this thing also not deteriorate into a malignant thing. (*Time bell rings*) I have taken hardly 10 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken 15 minutes.

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI: I will wind up. Thank you, Sir, you are always kind to me. You have always given me time.

There was a reference yesterday by Mr. Om Mehta to Gujarat. I speak as one who has expressed differences with the Janata Front and even with the Janata Front Government. As a citizen, I say, for whatever it is worth, that there

is some malignity the escalation or what seems to be an escalation of a movement against the Gujarat Government and the Tamil Nadu Government. I hold no brief for either. The wise founding fathers of our Constitution had envisaged multi-party Governments and if a non-Congress Government is an anathema, it would not be conducive to a brighter future for this country. Send a delegation. The Home Minister was pleased to say this morning that there is no need for doing so. Please reconsider. If you do something before going into the matter at an all India level, it will rebound on you in an unfavourable manner.

Meeting as we are just after Christmas may I hope and pray that every political leader and every leader in every walk of Indian life will be able to say with the Lord: "I have come to fulfil; I have not come to destroy".

श्री सुलतान सिंह (हरियाणा) : उपसभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो अभिभाषण दिया उसमें उन्होंने सारे देश का चित्र थोड़े शब्दों में खींचा है। मैं समझता हूँ, दत्त साहब जो प्रस्ताव लाए और उस पर बोले, उन्होंने एक बात बड़े स्पष्ट तरीके से कही है। जब मैं जोशी जी की तकरीर सुन रहा था तो मुझे एक बात जान कर बड़ा रंज हो रहा था। जोशी श्री बुद्धिजीवी हैं, दत्त साहब भी बुद्धिजीवी हैं; इन दोनों विद्वानों का आपस में टकराव है। कुछ बात के ऊपर यहां बहुत चल रही थी तो मैं सोचता था कि इतने बड़े विद्वानों के बाद में खेती करने वाला एक किसान बोल रहा हूँ, तो क्या बोलूंगा? मुझे दुख इस बात का होता था कि जोशी जी कह रहे थे कि जो सरकार—उन्होंने कौटिल्य का भी जिक्र किया—सख्ती करती है, दण्ड देती है, वह समाप्त हो जाती है। मुझे यह जान कर दुख होता है और आपके माध्यम से मे पृष्ठता हूँ कि जोशी जी,...

श्री उमाशंकर जोशी इसका जवाब देता है। जन-शक्ति जब खलाश हो जाए तो कोई राज्य नहीं चल सकता है।

श्री सुलतान सिंह : जोशी जी, मैं आपसे इतना निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ, आप पढ़े-लिखे हैं, बुद्धि-जीवी हैं। इस देश के अंदर जो कुछ पिछले साल ठेढ़ साल में देखा, क्या यह सरकार के लिये उचित नहीं था जो उसने किया है ? हमारे देश की दशा क्या थी ?

श्री उमाशंकर जोशी : सबकी गलतियाँ है।

श्री सुलतान सिंह : हमारे देश की दशा क्या थी। जब बन्चो के इम्तिहान का दिन आता था तो टीचर्स स्ट्राइक पर थे, जब किसान को बिजली चाहिए द्यूब वेल के लिए तो बिजली वाले स्ट्राइक पर थे, जब हमको एक जगह से अनाज डिफिसिट स्टेट में भेजना पड़े तो रेलवेज की स्ट्राइक थी और जब इस देश के थर्मल पावर हाऊसेज के लिए कोयला भेजना पड़ता था तो कोयला खानों पर स्ट्राइक हो रही थी। यही नहीं, इसके अलावा एक बड़ी अजीब हालत है कि लोकतंत्र के मुहाफिज वे लोग बनते हैं जो इस देश के लोकतंत्र को बरबाद करना चाहते हैं। अजीब बात है कि लोगों द्वारा चुनी हुई पार्लियामेंट के सदस्यों को और असेम्बलियों के मेम्बरो को वे सदन में नहीं जाना देना चाहते थे। ये लोग अपने को गांधी वादी कहते थे और अपने को लोकतंत्र का मुहाफिज कहते थे। मैं जोशी जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वे जरा ठण्डे दिल से सोचें। क्या यह उचित है कि गुजरात जैसे प्रान्त में जहाँ इस देश के राष्ट्रपिता ने जन्म लिया था, जिसने सारी दुनिया को शान्ति का पाठ पढ़ाया था, वहाँ पर जब बाबू जगजीवन राम जी भाषण करने जाते हैं, जो कि हमारे देश के गरीबों के प्रतीक हैं, तो उन पर पत्थर फेंके जाते हैं। इस देश के अन्दर जिस बहादुर इंसान ने रेलों को चलाया और ऐसे कठिन समय में चलाया जब कि इस देश के खिलाफ विदेशी साजिशें हो रही थी, जब कि हमारे देश की अर्थव्यवस्था को तोड़ने की कोशिश की जा रही थी, उस बहादुर इंसान श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र की हत्या कर डाली गई। क्या यह बात इस देश के लिए उचित थी ? क्या इस देश के लिए यह बात उचित थी कि जिस देश के प्रधान मंत्री ने इस देश की

मान और शान को बढ़ाया और हमारे देश के लोगों की ताकत बढ़ाई। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने न केवल हमारे देश के लोगों की ही ताकत बढ़ाई, बल्कि सारे एशिया के देशों के लोगों की ताकत बढ़ाई, दुनिया के गरीब देशों में जो शोषित लोग हैं, जो पूँजीवादी के शोषण के शिकार हैं, जहाँ पर पूँजीवादी अपने हथियारों के बल पर और विज्ञान के बल पर वहाँ के लोगों में फूट डालने की साजिश करते रहते हैं, उन सब देशों की गरीब जनता की ताकत बढ़ाई। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री इन्दिरा गांधी ने दुनिया के देशों के लोगों में एक बात यह कही कि वे पूँजीवादी देशों के चंगुल में न फँसे। आज हमारे पूँजीवादी देशों ने अरबों के बीच में इजरायल को बिठा दिया है। वहाँ के मुल्क जब भी तरक्की करना चाहते हैं तो ये पूँजीवादी देश इजरायल द्वारा उन पर हमला करवा देते थे। इसी तरह से हमारे मिर के ऊपर पाकिस्तान को बिठाना दिया है। जब हम तरक्की की बात सोचते हैं, जब हम ज्यादा कोयला, लोहा और दूसरी चीजों का उत्पादन करना चाहते हैं, तो पाकिस्तान को फौजी शस्त्र देकर हमारे ऊपर हमला करवा दिया जाता है ताकि हम दस साल तक पीछे चले जाएँ। इसी तरह से पूँजीवादी देशों ने दक्षिण कोरिया, दक्षिण वियतनाम, लाओस और कम्बोडिया में अपने अट्टे बना रखे थे। इस देश की प्रधान मंत्री ने न केवल इस देश को बल्कि दुनिया के देशों को बतलाया कि अगर हम में साहस है, हिम्मत है, तो पूँजीवादी देशों के अस्त्रों की जितनी ताकत समझी जाती है उतनी ताकत उनमें नहीं है। क्या हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों ने यह बात साबित करके नहीं दिखला दी जब कि 13 दिन की लड़ाई में पाकिस्तान ने जिन अमरीकी हथियारों का इस्तेमाल करके हमारे देश के ऊपर हमला किया था, उन हथियारों को हमारे जवानों ने अपने कदमों में खूब लिया ? क्या इस चीज से हमारे देश की शान ऊँची नहीं हुई ?

बंगला देश में भी अमरीका वालों ने साजिश की और वहाँ पर भी उसके हथियार कामयाब नहीं रहे। वियतनाम और दूसरे देशों में भी अमरीकी हथियारों को किसी तरह की कोई कामयाबी नहीं हुई। हमारे मिसाल

[श्री सुलतान सिंह]

को देखकर फिलिस्तीनियों को भी हिम्मत आई, अफगानिस्तान के लोगों को और दूसरे गरीब देश के लोगों को हिम्मत आई कि ये जो पूंजीवादी हथियार है, वे केवल षड़यन्त्र करने के लिए ही दिये जाते हैं और उनमें कोई ताकत नहीं है।

आप सब लोग अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि बंगला देश में किस दर्दनाक हालत में मुजीबुर्रहमान की हत्या कर दी गई थी। इसी तरह की साजिश हमारे देश में भी चल रही थी। हमारे देश में भी जब इलाहाबाद हाईकोर्ट का फैसला हो रहा था, उस समय प्रधान मंत्री जी की हत्या करने की कोशिश की गई थी। हमारे देश में जिस तरह से चीफ जस्टिस के ऊपर बम फेंका गया और जिस तरह से भगवान ने उन्हें बचा लिया, वह सब लोग जानते हैं। तो इस तरह से कालेजों और यूनि-वर्सिटियों में ये लोग छावनी बना देना चाहते थे। इन लोगों ने पुलिस वालों को और फौज वालों को बगावत करने के लिए कहा था और इस तरह से लोकतन्त्र को नष्ट करने की कोशिश कर रहे थे। लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इन लोगों की हार हुई, हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी के साहसपूर्ण नेतृत्व में। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जब यह सोचा कि इस देश को लाला लाजपतराय ने अपने सीने पर लाठी खाकर आजादी दिलवाई है। भगत सिंह ने फासी के तख्ते पर चढ़ कर लिया है और नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस ने पहाड़ियों में लड़ कर लिया है और जिसके लिये राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी ने दुनिया के सब से गरीब और भोले लोगों के बीच साउथ अफ्रीका में इस अभियान को चलाया था। वह आजादी खतरे में पड़ जाय, वह अमरीकन शस्त्रों-अस्त्रों की ताकत से चली जाय, हमारे देश के हाथों से ही वे उसे बर्बाद करवा दें तो ऐसे वक्त में वह चुप नहीं रह सकती थीं और मैं कहता हूँ कि उन्होंने ठीक कदम उठाया और ऐसा करके देश को आगे बढ़ाया। जोशी जी, क्या आप नहीं जानते थे कि इस देश के खजाने की क्या हालत थी। कोई टैक्स नहीं देना चाहता था। हम नोट छाप-छाप कर के काम चला रहे थे। हमारी करेंसी सादा कागज बन कर ही रह गयी थी

उस की कोई वैल्यू नहीं रह गयी थी। इतना इंफ्लेशन आ गया था, रुपये का फैंनाव इतना हो गया था कि उस की कीमत दो कौड़ी की रह गयी थी। इन्दिरा गांधी के कदम ने दुनिया को हैरान कर दिया। उन्होंने इंफ्लेशन को रोका। कोई एक, दो रुपये की बात नहीं, 15 अरब की पूंजी जो इस देश में छिपी पड़ी थी उस को लोगों ने वालंटियरीली जाहिर किया। विज्ञान की दृष्टि में जो हमारे देश को पीछे समझते थे, वह पीछे था भी और लोग समझते थे कि हिन्दुस्तानी भोले-भाले हैं, लोग समझते थे कि विज्ञान की शक्ति इस देश में नहीं है, वह लोग भूल जाते थे कि इस देश में पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू विज्ञान की बुनियाद डाल गये हैं और उन्होंने पुराने और नये युग को इकट्ठा किया था। पं० जवाहरलाल ने एक साइम का दौर शुरू किया था अपने जमाने में और उस का नतीजा यह हुआ कि आज आर्यभट्ट आसमान पर घूमता है अमरीकन सग्यारों के साथ-साथ घूमता है। इस देश में एटम का विस्फोट होता है किसी की बर्बादी के लिये नहीं, बल्कि शान्ति के लिये। अब ऐसे हालात अगर इस देश में आये तो जोशी जी, क्या वह अमरीकन चुप रह सकते हैं? क्या उन को शान्ति आ सकती है? और फिर जिन नेताओं को गिरफ्तार किया, जिन को जेल में डाला और जिन के दर्द में आप आंसू बहा रहे हैं मेरे खयाल में जोशी जी, उन के लिये जितना दुःख आप को है उतना या तो बी० बी० सी० को है या फिर वायस आफ अमरीका को है। इस देश के आदमी को उतना दुःख नहीं है।

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI : I am no friend of America.

श्री सुलतान सिंह : माफ करोगे, मैं आप की तरह इंटेलिक्चुअल नहीं हूँ। मैं तो अनपढ़ आदमी हूँ, लेकिन इतना कह सकता हूँ कि इस देश में दुःख उन के लिये या तो जोशी जी को है या गोरे साहब को है और उनके अलावा अगर किसी को दुःख है तो वायस आफ अमरीका को या बी० बी० सी० को है। अमरीका के अखबारों को है। तो यह अजीब बात है। अब कृष्णकान्त जी बड़े तीसमार

खां बनते हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि वह इस बात को भूल जाते हैं कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने लिहाज किया है उनका, उन का नहीं, बल्कि उन के बाप का, लाला अचितराम का और उस लिहाज की वजह से यह यहां हैं। मुझे याद है कि रात को उन्होंने इस्तीफा दिलाया सरकारी नौकरी से और चौधरी रणवीर सिंह जी और मैं रात को 12 बजे यहां से उनको ले कर गये और चंडीगढ़ में जाकर उन का नामिनेशन पेपर दाखिल करवाया। वही कृष्णकान्त जी आज गांधीवाद की बात करते हैं, शांतिवाद की बात करते हैं। वह इस बात को भूल जाते हैं कि लाला अचितराम जी भूदानी थे और वे संत विनोबा के कदमों में बैठ कर अपने को ऊंचा और पवित्र समझते थे। आज कृष्णकान्त जी विनोबा जी से बात कर के देख लें। विनोबा जी को कुर्सी नहीं चाहिए। उन को तो गांधी जी ने इतना बड़ा तमगा दिया था कि शायद किसी हिन्दुस्तानी को इतना बड़ा सौभाग्य प्राप्त नहीं हुआ। जब हमारा व्यक्तिगत सत्याग्रह चला तो गांधी जी ने कहा था कि इस व्यक्तिगत सत्याग्रह का नेता विनोबा होगा। आज वही विनोबा जी कहते हैं कि यह इमरजेंसी नहीं, यह तो अनुशासन पर्व है। जिस को विनोबा जी अनुशासन पर्व कहते हैं और विनोबा जी का नाम लेवा और उस के कदमों में बैठने वाले लाला अचितराम का बेटा उस अनुशासन पर्व की बुराई करत है तो मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ जैसा कि चौधरी रणवीर सिंह जी ने कहा कि कृष्णकान्त जी कुछ नहीं हैं। जो कुछ उनके पास है वह प्राइम मिनिस्टर जी की बदौलत है। राज्य सभा में उन्होंने उन को बिठाया। एक बार इस गद्दी को वह फेंक कर दिखलायें फिर हम उन को मान जायेंगे। फिर उन को बोलने का अधिकार होगा। आज तो हमारी दी हुई तलवार ही वह हम को दिखला रहे हैं। आज वह हमारी दी हुई पूंजी से ही खेल रहे हैं। अपनी तलवार दिखला कर हम से लड़ें, फिर हम उनको मान जायेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक बड़ी भारी कायरता है, बड़ी भारी कमजोरी है और उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपकी मार्फत मैं सरकार को इतना कहे बगैर नहीं रह सकता कि यह देश जो अग्नि की

भट्ठी में जल रहा था, जिस का भविष्य अंधकारमय था, यह देश जिस को अर्थव्यवस्था बिगड़ चुकी थी, यह देश जिस के चारों तरफ अग्नि के शोलें भड़क रहे थे वहां इस देश की सरकार ने इमरजेंसी लागू कर के उन शहीदों की आत्माओं को शान्त किया है, जिन्होंने कि इस को आजादी दिलायी थी। इन शब्दों के साथ में जो प्रस्ताव दत्त जी लाये हैं उस की पुरजोर तारीफ करना हूँ और राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो एक-एक शब्द कहा है, वह इन देश के लिये पूर्ण उपयोगी है, इतनी बात आप से कहना चाहता हूँ।

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I want to make use of this occasion to put the record straight and deny certain misleading statements uttered here against the D. M. K. party and its Government. Yesterday, Mr. Om Mehta proudly proclaimed that he hoped that the State Governments would ensure that the police and the administrative machinery function to safeguard the interests and rights of all people alike irrespective of their political affiliations. What a wonderful advice! The entire world knows to whom this message should be addressed to.

Sir, yesterday, Mr. Om Mehta created an unusual precedent by reading out a private complaint against a State Government without even verifying it with that Government. Today I made a phone call to Madras and I can state with all the force at my command that the so-called letter contained untruth and nothing but untruth. Sir, in fact, the mergerists wanted to take out a procession on the 20th of last month without even getting permission from the police and the police did not take any action against them. If only Mr. Om Mehta had tried to find out what sort of person the complainant is and what are his antecedents, I am sure he would not have read that letter in this august House.

My question is : is it a good practice to give publicity to such complaints without verification? We also get many complaints against your Government. Will you

[Shri M. Kamala nathan]
give me an opportunity to put them before this House and get them published in the press? I am told, in Madhya Pradesh, a 7-year old girl affected by polio has been arrested under MISA. Is it true or not? I know Mr. Om Mehta made this unverified and untrue statement only because there is emergency and there is a gag on the press and the opposition. I want to know whether it is a part of the planned conspiracy to sling mud on the D. M. K. Government.

I hope the hon. Prime Minister would come forward to set an example and not allow her colleagues to make untrue allegations . . .

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : Please read your own newspapers.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN : There is a Censor sent by you, Madam.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : You just read them. I am not saying anything else. Just read them.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN : Hereafter do not allow your colleague to make any untrue, baseless allegations against the State Government without verification. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI B. RACHAIAH (Karnataka) : Sir, I thank you for calling me to speak on the motion moved by Dr. Dutt. Sir, many members have participated in the discussion from both the sides. Particularly, Sir, I was very happy that Mr. Sultan Singh was able to reply in a befitting manner to the objections raised by the opposition.

Sir, all of us are aware of the uncertainty and the pessimism that prevailed when we met last year. I do not want to take the time of the House by narrating the events which led to the declaration of Emergency. Suffice to say that but for the declaration of Emergency we would not have been able to restore discipline on all the fronts.

That democracy has been tending towards dictatorship was one of the accusations made by the Opposition. And some of the objections, particularly from a Member from the CPM were that in the normal course of things, the Government could have ensured discipline and carried on the work. Sir, if you recall the date on which Jayaprakash Narayanji gave a call to the Army and the Police force to disobey such orders which in their opinion are wrong, and you analyse that statement. Who is to judge whether that order was right or wrong? If a soldier has to sit in judgment over this order, then there is an end to discipline. So, it was only motivated to see that a mutiny sets in this country. Therefore, in order to curb the disruptive tendencies, it was necessary to bring in Emergency. Sir, we should look into the good part of Emergency. Production has increased not only on the agricultural front but on the industrial side also. We have seen that work in the Government and also in factories is going on without any dispute between the management and the labour. Punctuality in offices improved.

Sir, when we look into these things, we have to consider the plight of the poor people and what they feel about this Emergency.

I come from a rural area. The common man is not worried. He is, on the other hand, very happy. It is only those people who are indulging in smuggling, who are engaged in disruptive tendencies in order to create chaos in the country, who want to lead a life without any hard work, who are really worried about this emergency. The common man is not bothered about these things. This emergency has really brought good to the nation and it has created a healthy atmosphere both on the industrial front and the agricultural front. I feel, Sir, that we should not even for a moment think that these disruptive tendencies are no longer existing. These tendencies are in cold-storage now and they will raise their ugly head as soon as the emergency is lifted. Last time when I

participated in the discussion on the proclamation of emergency, I voiced forth my views and said that the emergency should continue at least for another five years so that your nation is able to get its rightful place in the comity of nations.

Sir, I was very much annoyed by certain remarks made by Mr. Joshi. Proper appreciation should come from both sides and not from the ruling party alone. The opposition who are criticising the action of the Government should research their hearts first and tell us whether their action in disrupting the duly elected Governments and the proceedings not only of Parliament but of State Legislatures also is fair or not. By their action of resorting to violence instead of resorting to discussion and negotiation they were tending to go towards dictatorship and not preservation of democracy.

Sir, I am very happy at the increases obtained both in the industrial production and the agricultural production. The increase in the agricultural sector has been very favourable this year because nature was very kind to us and we had timely and adequate rains. We are expecting about 140 million tonnes of foodgrains. Even the rabi crop is expected to be much better than in the previous years. Sir, so far as agriculture is concerned, I would like to make use of this opportunity and say that fifty per cent of national income comes from agricultural sector. It is good that the President's Address makes a mention that irrigation facilities for five million hectares of land are going to be provided in addition to the existing area.

Sir, there are several inter-State water disputes pending and on account of those disputes many projects have been held up. It is good that at a national level a council is being thought of which can settle these river water disputes. I am happy at the accord reached among the States on Godavari waters. I request the Government that they may stretch this principle to other river water disputes, particularly to the Krishna

waters and the Kaveri waters in the south.

Sir, I am very happy to note that an accord has been reached with regard to the development of Kudremukh iron-ore project between Iran and India. On behalf of myself and on behalf of Karnataka State I express my gratitude to the Prime Minister who has been responsible for bringing about this accord.

Sir, I was happy to know that the Government of Karnataka has proposed a scheme for the export of handloom fabrics, particularly silk fabrics, and the project is awaiting the approval of the Government of India. I would request the Government of India to see that approval is accorded to the scheme sent by the Government of Karnataka for the export of silk fabrics.

Lastly, Sir, I want to impress upon the Government to see that the voluntary disclosure scheme is further given some time so that the still undisclosed wealth is further disclosed and is used for productive purposes.

With these few words, Sir, I support the Motion moved by Dr. Dutt in thanking the President for his inspiring and instructive Address. Thank you.

SHRI D. D. PURI (Haryana) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, Shri Kamalanathan from the DMK made references to certain incidents and thereafter he and his leader have both disappeared from the House. This is somewhat unfair but in so far as the fact of the matter is concerned, Sir the background of the whole matter is that Congress (O) members are coming back and joining our Congress Party and what started as a trickle is now turning into a torrent. I am very glad that he is back here now so that I can really answer that point as best as I can.

The meeting to which Shri Kamalanathan was referring apparently, took place in Trichi. It was a pro-mergerites meeting and it was held, as far as I am aware, on the 2nd December, 1975. The

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three Tamil newspapers, *Nav Shakti*, *Makkal Kural* and *Thannagum* which highlighted the decision of the pro-mergerites at the Trichi meeting, in their edition dated the 3rd December, 1975, were seized by the Tamil Nadu Government soon after they came out of the press on the 3rd morning. So much about the allegation that has been made about our censors and about our newspapers in general.

Sir, I would not have participated in this debate at all but for the speech made by my friend Shri Krishan Kant. He comes from Haryana; I have the honour of coming from Haryana too. Sir, we in Haryana were all deeply disturbed rather distressed, to hear what he said yesterday. I wanted to give him a fitting reply yesterday as best as I could. The speech pained us very very deeply. Mr. Krishan Kant has barbs on his tongue as they say. I did not wish to reply in anger. I wanted to ponder over the matter yet again. I pondered over the matters that have troubled all of us and I wanted to be very very careful in my words that I choose in giving my reply to Shri Krishan Kant. Let me very briefly put it this way. From what I understand as the pith and substance of his speech, I ask him to reflect on a basic question that I pose let each of us ask ourselves this question. Is this emergency undemocratic? Does the freedom of speech and of the press include the right to destroy these freedoms? Does the right to elect representatives also include the right to coerce intimidate, physically force and prevent elected legislators from functioning? Does it include the right to *gherao* them in their homes and even when they are in hospitals? Does it include the right to use violence to get forced resignations? In short, is it a democratic right to destroy democracy by coercion and by violence? Each one of us has to ask ourselves this question.

Does it include the freedom to throw hand grenades at Supreme Court Judges? Does it postulate the freedom to murder Ministers at public functions? If the honest answer to these questions is in the affirmative,

the emergency in that case is most assuredly undemocratic. If it is in the negative, then the promulgation of constitutional provisions and here I emphasise the word "constitutional" was very very much in accordance with the Constitution. Here if I may pause for a moment, I will go into some details.

In another debate, attention was drawn to the fact that no person other than Shri Jayaprakash Narayan wrote a letter, no person other than Shri Mahavir Tyagi is on record in the debates of the Constituent Assembly, calling these very provisions that have been employed now inadequate in order to maintain the integrity of this vast country. I do not want to go into details, I do not want to read those speeches. These very constitutional provisions devised precisely to meet situations of this kind are the essence of democracy I maintain. Failure to use them would have been undemocratic and unpardonable for all those who believe in and cherish democracy.

Sir, what happened in Gujarat and I will have a little word to say about that in a moment almost repeated itself in Bihar. Coercion, intimidation and violence engulfed Bihar. It would have spread all over the country, all the legislators in the States and here in Delhi would have been subjected to violence and coercion. Is that the democracy of Gandhiji's dreams? Is that the democracy that Shri Krishan Kant wants?

Sir, one part of his speech is very significant. He turned a blind eye to Samastipur. He did not find any time for that at all. Does he want more Samastipurs? From the words he used and I listened very carefully this is what touched me to the quick. He almost threatened that there are going to be more Samastipurs. Sir, I will refer very briefly to some of the phrases he used; I have the proceedings of the House of his speech yesterday. He says here :—

"It was not Tajuddin or Kamal Husain, who openly disagreed with the Sheikh, who assassinated him. It is those

who pretended to be loyal to him all the time, who encouraged in plunging Bangladesh into darkness and an environment congenial to destabilisation, who conspired successfully against him. In Chile too, it was the Chief of Staff whom allende trusted who finally stabbed allende in the back. A person who wants to stab you in the back has to stand behind you and not oppose you openly."

These and other references in the speech seem to have a very deep-seated hint and threat. And I do not want to use any hard words. All that I want to say is that it seems as if Shri Krishan Kant regrets that the cult of Samastipur did not catch on. It hurts me to say anything more in that regard.

If any fault is to be found with this Government, it is not that they acted; it is that they did not act so long and are not acting even now. Gujarat should not have been permitted to be coerced into resignations and to go down the drain. Gujarat should not have been thrown to the wolves.

Sir, after what Shri Om Mehta stated in the other House. Yesterday and after what we learnt this morning at Question Time, I made some inquiries and put in a supplementary also and I am informed that amongst those who were murdered in cold blood simply because they were Congressmen were, to give only a few, Ibrahim Qureshi of village Salaja, district Jamnagar, Karabhai Virabhai of village Salvai, district Junagadh, one Sarpanch in Rapar Taluk in Kutch district.

One Khasatri in Bakraul Taluka in Keda District was also murdered. In Sarali Panchayat Elections, after the election was over, the winning candidate who was the Congress candidate, was being taken out in a procession after his victory and acid was thrown on him. Mr. Uttam Bhai, a tribal MLA, a man who served his life in the service of the tribals, has written to the present Chief Minister drawing his attention to these incidents, with-

out result. The fault that we find with our Government and the Prime Minister is, she is so steeped in democratic traditions that she deals with a heavier hand where her own party is concerned but today what is happening in Gujarat, I think does call for much sterner action than was evidenced during the Question Hour this morning when the Home Minister apparently throw his hand in despair and said that in fact that law and order was the responsibility of the State Government and that there was nothing he could do about it. Where our party State Governments are functioning, say in Uttar Pradesh and in other places, we dealt with them with a much heavier hand than we are doing in Gujarat and the criticism is not that we did act but they did not act and they are still not acting with a hand heavy enough to meet the situation. Sir, the Prime Minister after what happened in Samastipur and elsewhere, held her hand not only till the eleventh hour and the fifty-ninth minute but well past the hour. The hour had struck. If she had moved earlier, the life of Shri L. N. Mishra may have been saved.

Sir, in this House we owe our membership to nomination by a political party and to election by the State Vidhan Sabha, that is our constituency. Shri Krishan Kant has never in his life fought a popular election. Do we then under the circumstances, owe no responsibility to anyone at all. The party that nominated him has repudiated him. The constituency that elected him, namely the Haryana Vidhan Sabha, has repudiated him and I stand here without any fear of contradiction to say that the Haryana Vidhan Sabha repudiates the views expressed by Shri Krishan Kant yesterday. And the people of Haryana, I wonder how much contact Shri Krishan Kant has with them, repudiate him also. I repudiate Shri Krishan Kant's speech yesterday in the name of the people of Haryana whose real good name he has brought into disrepute. Sir, the achievements of Indira era have been explained in some detail by my brother Chaudhary Sultan Singh. All that I say is that in the face of all this, Shri Krishan Kant's speech is a voice in

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wilderness, neither representing the party nor constituency, nor people at large. The light and the glory that shine from the achievements of the Indira era will outlive the words uttered in anger and in frustration and the solitary voices in wilderness.

नूरे खुदा है कुक की हरकत पै खन्दाजन
फूको से यह चिराग बुझावा न जायेगा

SHRI IRENGBAM TOMPOK SINGH (Manipur). Sir, I also rise to join hands with my colleagues who had already supported the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. However, I would like to ventilate some ideas and some observations. This year is a year of achievement in different fields of the country in the political field, in the economic field and the international field. Many speakers from our side, the ruling group, have dwelt extensively on the circumstances which led to the proclamation of the emergency and the 20-point programme. But I would like to say a word about J. P. off and on, people from this side and the other quoted the name of J. P. As a young man coming from a corner of the country bordering Burma, who was once an admirer of J. P. since 1952, I can say J. P. is no longer in the minds and hearts of those admirers who had been trained by him. He was a deserter from the socialist movement. There is no consistency in his policy and programme. He left all youngsters in 1952 after getting defeat in the first Lok Sabha poll. And from among the people of Manipur, from a tribal constituency, we could send a Member to the Lok Sabha in 1952. It is on record that all the time we had been sending people either in the Lok Sabha or in the Rajya Sabha from amongst the socialist trained people. But unfortunately we bid good-bye to J. P. because he is not consistent in his policies and programmes. I have recently read a book J. P. by name. And when I read in between the lines, I find the name of Gorayji and other socialist leaders. In those days, the letter written by J. P. to the great Prime Minister Nehru regarding the socialist programme to be incorporated. If one can analyse at the

moment, sober elements, sensible persons like Gorayji should come to our side and have good relations with us—all those who are sitting on the other side of the House. This is my appeal, because Prime Minister is a socialist and 20-point programme is being implemented. There are no two opinions that the whole country has benefited by this emergency, particularly our part of the country. We have been educating ourselves listening to the illuminating speeches from this side or that, from people belonging to bigger States, from North, from South, but very little and feeble voice is being heard from this part of the country. What has happened in Gujarat it is very painful for us. What Bihar had witnessed that pained us. Probably you may be hearing or listening or reading through the newspapers what has been happening in Nagaland or Mizoram and what is the plight of the people, loyal people, of that part of the country. In this House, I would only make one observation, i.e. about the accord of the underground Nagas with the Government; those Naga friends, because of the futility of their approach, have come to their senses. They are no longer listening to the voice of Fizo who had sought asylum in England, who is no longer an Indian citizen. And I find that Mizoram is following the footsteps of Nagas. Large surrenders have taken place in Mizoram. In the month of November, 101 people have come overground and surrendered. India is such a vast country, where socialism is there, where democracy is there. The minorities can also play their affective role in the mainstream of national life.

4 P.M.

When partition took place in 1947, we were studying in the third standard. At that time we were fighting against the then Maharajahs. This is a year of happiness for us, for the hill tribes, that our sister State, Sikkim, has come into the Indian mainstream. That has also been incorporated in the first page of the President's Address. And it is also a matter of pride for us that we, the small hilly States, are given protection, by the Centre under the leadership of the Prime Minister. The

then Prime Minister Nehru was the first national leader; we could see as Indian leaders after independence. Unfortunately, born and brought up in a hilly tract, we were not able to see Mahatma Gandhi. But we could see that leaders visited that part of the country, may be of Congress, the Socialist Party or the Jana Sangh or the CPI. That kind of visit was something of a cementing force. Integration is taking place very fast; but that does not mean that full integration has taken place.

Regarding Bangla Desh, Nepal and Burma, they are friendly countries and they concern us. About Pakistan, we may say good things or bad things but they will not listen to India's good counsel and they will not come to their senses. But the Passing away of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is particularly sad to our country and to the eastern zone. We have been all the time thinking of the old relations with Dacca. Calcutta was far away from our region before the partition. In those days of Indo-pak conflict, we used to fly via Bagdogra only. If we are to travel from Delhi by train it takes four days crossing the whole country and going through UP, Bihar, West Bengal and Assam to reach the State capital. It takes four days for MPs who are coming from Nagaland or from my State. Therefore, the problem is to maintain good relations with Bangla Desh. Even sometimes I used to dream about a confederation, about these two parts of the sub-continent being united so that we can have a confederated State. Bhutan is there. It is a very friendly country. India is a secular State. Nepal is a country where there is Hinduism; with monarchy and democracy. We are maintaining good relations with Nepal. There are so many Nepalis and Gurkhas in our defence services also.

Regarding the food policy, the prices have come down. This is a year of bumper crop except in Bihar where there was flood and there was havoc. Therefore, if the food situation improves, then we can

save some money from the import of foodgrains from foreign countries and many of the developmental works can be taken up.

Sir, there are bigger States with big capital cities. Industrially they are coming up and townships are coming up. But merely having some skyscrapers and big buildings in Delhi or in some other parts of the country does not mean that India is developing very fast. For example, in the rural areas or in far-flung areas, cement is not at all available, building material is not available and transport bottle necks are there. Therefore, developmental work in other parts of the country is hampered. So the question of regional imbalance sometimes comes to our mind. Somehow or other, since India is a common family, a common market, a common pool, we are being fed from the Central pool. The smaller States like Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh are not in a position to stand on their own legs. Economic viability was a question which was put to us at the time of the statehood movement. Even now if proper grant or assistance is not given from the Centre it will be very very difficult for us to stand on our own legs. We also do not want to take aid all the time from our bigger brothers or from the Central pool. But if we get special grants and other assistance, we will be able to stand on our legs in due course of time. The regional imbalance is not only in the eastern zone but right from Ladakh in Jammu and Kashmir, the whole of the northern hilly and mountainous zone, up to the Burma border, that is, Nagaland, Mizoram and Manipur. We have been confronted with some special difficulties since time immemorial. Here in Delhi there is no problem of drinking water and light. At least electricity and water are in need for development. Sometimes I think that the life of the grasses in Delhi is better than our life, life in those far-flung areas. We have no water to drink. We have no light, no kerosene even. We have to use the pine tree for lightening. We cut it into pieces and use it for lightening. This

[Shri Inengbam Tompok Singh]

is the condition in those places. I would like to draw the attention of the House through you, Sir, and of the Prime Minister that if she pays visits often to that part of the country and looks after us properly, we will be able to stand on our own legs. (*Time bell rings.*) We are always thinking of, not to speak of heavy industries, how to preserve and develop our handloom and handicrafts which can be a contribution to the mainstream of our national life, besides earning some foreign exchange. In the matter of civil aviation and other things also, this neglected zone, I am sorry, these backward areas, need special attention. It has good flora and fauna right from Assam onwards. Kaziranga in Assam is a national park. In my State of Manipur, there is a special variety of deer, the brow antler; deer of that species is available only in that part of the country. Our Prime Minister is also very keen and she is all the time giving directions to the State Governments for protection of that rare species of deer. This eastern zone has scope for development of tourism. For example, there is a lotus abundantly available in my State; it is a special variety which consists of 108 leaves. It is not available even in Kashmir. My friends from Kashmir are sitting here. They can tell me if it is available in Kashmir. It is because of the physical distance, because of the physical factors, social and political factors, that we have been kept quite aloof from the rest of the country. Recently the Home Minister paid a visit to Lung Le in Mizoram. Before the Mizo uprising, a match-box was selling at rupee one and a seer of salt at Rs. 3.

But now things are coming up and fastly changing because of the attention given from here.

My humble submission to both sides of the House, members of this side and opposition members, is that if you believe in democracy and if you believe in national integration, you kindly pay us a visit. I can assure you, you can find a very hospitable, amiable people and loving friends in

Mizoram, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh. Now Sikkim has also become a member of our family. We in that part of the country are quite happy and proud to belong to this big family of Indians. This emergency is a healthy sign for national discipline to all of us. It is good for the country. The twenty point programme is being implemented in that part of the country, especially in the tribal belts. To protect the tribal way of life is also part of the programme. We have land for the people. We have self-sufficient economy. Only the modern thinking and modernisation sometimes affect the tribal way of life. But the 20 point programme clearly says that protection should be given to the tribal way of life. The years of 1975 and 1976 will be glorious years for us with full of achievements and happiness in that part of the country because of Naga accord and Sikkim's entry into our family fold.

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN (Tamil Nadu): While I rise to talk on the Presidential Address, my mind goes to the past when we, as a nation, were under the rule of a monarchical system of Government in this country. And we had a very long association with the Britishers. With weapons unknown to the world, namely, truth and non-violence, our great leaders got us freedom and a democratic way of life because of the experience that we gained from the Britishers. While framing our Constitution, our leaders examined various Constitutions provided to the world and then framed a Constitution best suited for the Indian nation. Going through the Constitution I find that our leaders have failed to define the responsibility of a citizen to the State whereas they have defined the rights of the individual including the right to destroy, right to set fire to the transport buses, carriages and vehicles and right to burn the Bokaro plant. All these rights are there. But the fundamental responsibility of a citizen to the State has not been mentioned at all. Coming back to 1947, the year of our independence, we gave ourselves a Constitution in 1950. After that, that great

leader, the greatest democrat the world has ever seen, the father of the present Prime Minister, Pandit Jawarlal Nehru, led the nation at Avadi Congress session and gave us a socialist pattern of society.

Having found that it has not come to fruition and it has not given the expected results, in Bhubaneswar, Sir, under the presidentship of the uncommon common man, the late Shri Kamaraj, we adopted the concept of democratic socialism and we have spent about fifty thousand crores of rupees on the first four Five Year Plans. Yet, Sir, the poor have become poorer and the rich have become richer. The Opposition parties in this country and even one of us here, who are elected by the people of the country forget the people as soon as they are elected to the Parliament. We forget them as soon as we come to the Parliament because we approach them once in five years only and we people, whether in the Opposition parties or in the ruling party, have not kept the interests of the down-trodden in the fore-front and we have failed them. I would like to mention one thing, Sir.

When the Allahabad High Court gave a decision which was not in favour of the Prime Minister, Sir, the Opposition parties took advantage of that and I am grieved over it because I feel that the Opposition parties did not correctly behave in this respect. An ordinary citizen has got a right of appeal to the Supreme Court and unless the Supreme Court decides the case, nobody can be called a culprit or an offender. That right is not allowed to be given to the Prime Minister. The Opposition parties whipped up the feelings of the people demanding the resignation of the Prime Minister. Is it the way in which the Opposition should behave? The ordinary citizen's right is not extended to the Prime Minister! Instead of extending the right of the ordinary citizen to the Prime Minister also. Sir, they wanted every duly elected Member, democratically elected Member, to resign. I have seen in the newspapers reports about of the legislators having been asked to

resign. Their heads were shaven and they were garlanded with chappals. Is this the way in which they should behave? Is it for this purpose that our great leaders got us democracy and taught us to make democracy a success? There were demonstrations, mass demonstrations, in the country in which even the leaders, for whom I have the highest regard, were asking for the dissolution of the duly elected assemblies. Now, I will put a question: If the Opposition is voted to power and the ruling party is on the offensive, can it not take to the same way which they have shown to ask for the dissolution of the duly elected assemblies? What will happen then? Where will democracy end then? Is it the end of democracy? Is it for this purpose that democracy has been brought in here? Is it for this purpose that the principle of democracy has been enshrined in our Constitution? Therefore, Sir, I say that the Opposition, instead of behaving constitutionally and co-operating in the interest of the have-nots, wanted to pull down the ruling party and come to power.

Sir, the fifty thousand crores that we spent did not yield any results and, therefore, the Opposition parties took advantage of it to destroy the democratic set-up. They decided to go on a strike and they gave a call to go on strike on the 29th June. What would have happened on the 29th June had not this emergency been declared? I am sure, Sir, many ignorant citizens, many innocent citizens, would have been shot and many would have been shot because that would have been a revolution and nothing less than what Gandhiji taught us or our great leaders taught us. It may be that he taught us truth and non-violence and non-violent satyagraha. But satyagrahas will ultimately end in violence and, therefore, the Government could not sit tight. It cannot sit tight and it has to rule by asking the army and the police to interfere. What will be the result? There would have been a loss of innocent lives in this country. Is it for this purpose that we got democracy or that we wanted democracy? Therefore,

[Shri T. V. Anandan]

Sir, I give credit to the Prime Minister for having declared the emergency and having saved thousands of innocent lives. This is how I feel, because I have been moving with the working class people and I know what satyagraha is and I know that a strike or a students' strike ends in violence and, ultimately, innocent poor workers are shot. So, Sir, I wish to say that the Prime Minister has done well and saved the lives of many innocent people.

At the same time, you have announced the 20-point programme. And you also saved the situation. How have the commodities which were not visible in the open market come in abundance in the open market today? The middlemen who have been exploiting the situation have been brought to book. I am so sorry to say that some of the Opposition parties criticized when some hoarders and black-marketeers were arrested under MISA. Is that the way? These blackmarketeers were financing political parties in this country. I felt ashamed when I read in papers about some political party accusing the Government when under MISA a man was arrested. What kind of freedom is it when millions of people are starving in this country, a few dozen people live a wasteful and luxurious life in this country? Is it for this purpose that this country gained its freedom, for which our national leaders suffered and were shot at by the Britishers? It is for the down-trodden people of the country.

Sir, I have been moving amongst Central Government employees for the last 40 or 50 years, and I asked them: Why do you come late? They said: we come late and we sit late and we complete our work; why do you worry about it? Today I find people running to reach office in time. This is discipline. Everything is going on well. This is the way we want.

At the same time, I appeal to the Prime Minister. Madam, Prime Minister: You are the illustrious daughter of the greatest democrat in this country, and you have always showed that you will safeguard

democracy. Safeguard democracy by acquitting all these Opposition leaders. Prove to the world, Madam Prime Minister that you are for democracy and that you are to show a successful democratic set-up of government in this world. We know that very many foreign countries do not like our country progressing. Crores and crores of rupees worth of goods used to be exported to other countries. But today we are proud to say that not less than Rs. 600 crores worth of products are being exported to other countries. Do you mean to say that those countries will sit idle. 'This country should not progress' is the aim of those countries. I tell you honestly as a trade union leader that my President was called by an Embassy and the first question he was asked in the Embassy was: Did you not fight when this emergency was enforced? This is how foreign nations are interested in this country. They try to see that our countries should not progress. Many countries are averse to our progress. One thing I say to people of India, the Indian nation, whether it is one party or another, when some Janata Front is being framed: Instead of 37 political parties, let it come to a decision to have two or three parties. I request the Janata party: Forget your political differences amongst yourselves and bring in a solid and sound constitutional Opposition party in this country and see at the same time that it succeeds.

At the same time, I may bring to the notice of the Prime Minister that your 20-point programme is most important, Madam Prime Minister, to offer employment. But I may bring to your notice, Madam, Prime Minister, that thousands and thousands of workers are being retrenched at a time when you want to cut short unemployment in this country. You want to provide employment, but those in employment are being retrenched. Where does your 20-point programme stand, Madam Prime Minister? This has happened in the Indian Railways which employs a million and a half workers. I know in one Railway they have retrenched about 2000 people. Whatever letters I write, Madam Prime Minister, nobody cares. At the

same time, when 2000 Class IV employees are retrenched, what is the necessity to maintain so many officers? Is there any officer being retrenched along with Clerks and Class III and Class IV workers?

That must also be. Those people who sit in those offices and promulgate orders should also realise that the life of a Class IV man is as precious as that of an officer in this democratic set-up of the country under the able leadership of Madam Prime Minister. Emergency has set the order. I think it cannot be continued forever. She has already assured the people of India that it will not be. If you want Madam Prime Minister, to solve the problem of unemployment, it is not an easy job. I would say one thing. Let there be a cess levied on those who earn more than Rs. 300 per month including the Members of Parliament and the Ministers. It can be a graded cess and there should be a matching grant. Until you provide employment to all the educated young men who are in possession of diplomas and degrees, they should be given an unemployment dole. An idle brain is a devil's workshop. It has happened in other countries. Let it not happen in this country. With these words, I support the Motion of Thanks for the Presidential Address.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir during the last session we discussed the proclamation of emergency and there is no need to repeat what was said either in justification or in opposition of the proclamation. What is necessary now is to do some stock-taking, to review the working of the emergency in the seven crucial months of our national life and to come to objective concrete conclusions. There must not be either denunciation or euphoria. Both seem to be the order of the day depending on who speaks. But a great nation like ours must come forward and it should not be afraid of taking a bold step on the one hand and even finding out when something goes wrong in the implementation of that step or in carrying it forward. We must be self-critical as we shall be rightly entitled to justify the actions that

we took some seven months ago to suppress, for the time being at least, the forces of destabilisation in our country. At the far end of the debate, we have to set about the task with an approach of review of emergency situation or the emergency powers.

Sir, before I do that, I should like to make a statement that you cannot possibly review the emergency or its working without taking into account the background against which the emergency was proclaimed and against which it is still in operation. It was not a question of one party being dislodged from power or one leader being dislodged from power. May be some people had all kinds of feelings in them. It was a question of defending our Independence, national unity, security of the country, our democratic institution and secularism against the menacing advancing forces of right reaction and fascists backed fully by American imperialism. Well, when that is the issue at stake, the other considerations must, in a way, be secondary to the prime consideration of saving our Independence and the unity of the nation. We approach the emergency in that spirit of understanding and in the spirit of patriotism in the name of the union for the sake of the nation. Unless we take that approach, emergency will not be understood in a proper way, nor will its working be appreciated or evaluated correctly. Therefore, we are not apologetic when we pinpoint the abuses of the emergency powers just as we are not shy of pointing to the world and to ourselves the achievements of the emergency period. Mr. Deputy Chairman, the background should be very clear.

Well, this should now be clear to those who had some doubts in the past. Within seven days of the adjournment of the last Session, something happened, not very far from our country. What happened in Bangladesh should be an eye-opener. Was it not a destabilisation act committed and a crime rare in the history of fascism. Even the President, the beloved leader of the people together with his family was murdered in cold blood by the dastardly forces

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] of destabilisation. It is well known that at that time, and the whole world knows that the American Embassy was not only active in Dacca but its men were seen in the Cantonment and other areas, the political scene from where suddenly the forces of assassination and destabilisation sprang up to carry out that *coup d'etat* and blood-bath in Dana Mandi. It is well-known today. No, I should like to know from the friends here: Why don't you say even a word in condemnation? Mr. Goray, Mr. Krishan Kant, Mr. Mariswamy and others have made very brave and eloquent speeches on other subjects. But I was anxiously waiting to hear from them a word of human condemnation of the crime that had been committed in Dacca. Why was there no condemnation? There should be an explanation from them. Then what do I take it? Was it the Dacca edition of the total revolution? Say so if you think so. If it was a Dacca edition of the total revolution, we do not like the Delhi edition to be enacted in the streets of Delhi. And hence Emergency was called for. It is not a question of *modus operandi* or the actual crimes that were committed. It is a question of throwing the Government out and bringing about destabilisation which will help the rightist and reactionary forces on the one hand and the American imperialism and also now the Maoist on the other. This is what we were up against. This is what we are up against even now. I would like to hear my friends to say something on the subject before they talk about this dialogue and other things. Dialogue for what, dialogue, the fashionable phrase to which we have been accustomed on electoral reforms? And dialogue started over many other things. All dialogues were given the go-by and appeared in the streets with *morchas* and so on. With whom the dialogue? You cannot dialogue in this manner. It is not the way to have a dialogue. Jayaprakash Narayan's letter was quoted. Fortunately, I also had a copy of this letter because all these things were circulated. Mr. Goray should

have read the other parts of the letter. Then he would have seen what spirit the dialogue has in it. You do not speak for dialogue with a language of aggression and war. This is not the language. But that is there in that letter. May this letter be laid on the Table of the House either by the Prime Minister or by Mr. Goray so that we will have some better glimpse into the philosophy of dialogue by looking into and reading that letter.

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra) : I am ready to lay it on the Table provided the Chairman agrees.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Well, there is no meeting ground between the forces of destabilisation on the one hand and the forces that stand for democracy, secularism and unity of the country on the other. So, how could there be any meeting ground between those who led to the assassination of Mujibur Rahman, who have brought about destabilisation in Bangladesh on the one hand and those men and their followers who are the victims of the *coup d'etat*, the bloody massacre and murder in their homes and in the prison? Is there any meeting ground, I should like to know. Even Mr. Goray, I believe, being reasonable that he is in certain matters, would not venture to make a suggestion of this kind although Mr. Shamim in the other House called upon the Prime Minister by quoting certain misconceived jurisprudence to prove that the Americans are active in our country.

Must I prove that the Americans are active in our country after they have chopped off many heads, carried out murders, captured political power and brought the forces of hooliganism into the streets to drown people's independence, security and their hopes and aspirations? We do not go in for that kind of law of evidence or that kind of jurisprudence which strikes before they strike and it is for them to withdraw. Our Prime Minister was quite right when she said what other proof is needed. They themselves are giving the proof in their publications, in their Congressional committees and so on. Am I to understand that India has been exempt-

ed from being one of their targets and has been given immunity from the operation of destabilisation? No. India, on the other hand, is one of their main targets because we are anti-imperialist, we pursue a policy of non-alignment, we are friendly with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and, at home, we are pursuing a policy broadly of democratic secularism and national independence being strengthened by our actions. Friends, therefore, one should have the commonsense to anticipate the enemy and forestall its action before we are overwhelmed by such kind of activity and such kind of destabilisation operation. Well, is it not a fact that the D.M.K. Government and the Gujarat Government are acting as a kind of operational bases as though they are the Miamis directed against Cuba? These are your Miamis just 90 miles away from Cuba. Here, on the Indian soil at least two Governments are directly backing the destabilisation forces, conspiratorial activities and helping in the publication of clandestine leaflets. May I know from where George Fernandes is publishing all these leaflets that we receive sometimes containing scurrilous attack against individuals and others and provoking people to resort to violence and all kinds of crimes? Well we should like to know. Certainly, many of them may not be printed in Delhi or elsewhere. People say many of these are printed in Gujarat or Tamil Nadu. How is it that the Government are not in a position to find that out? Well, one should be very very careful as far as our friend's Government, the D.M.K. Government is concerned. Only recently they held a conference in Coimbatore, this last month and what did we hear there? We heard the same old separatist slogan. The leader, Karunanidhi, appeared before the audience like a Roman emperor and stood up and said "If there is no election what will happen". He paused for a while to get the response. The word was "bloodshed". Karunanidhi then resumed his speech.

(Interruption)

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : No, totally

wrong, Sir, I was physically present. There was no such thing. He is absolutely wrong. He must withdraw what he has said.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am very glad. Heroism in Coimbatore is met by the same partyman with cowardice in the House. You should admit it, great man that you are.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Why should I admit it? If you say something wrong, why should I admit it. You must admit it when it is not correct. Otherwise you are a cowered. You should withdraw it.

(Interruption)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : There was an attempt to revive the anti-Hindi sentiments in the 1965 style. In the name of autonomy the speeches that were made were blatantly separatist. Well, do you know what they said? I have got the report with me as to what would happen if the elections are not held as Karunanidhi wants. Again 'bloodshed'. And, then, it was the call that Karunanidhi would become the Prime Minister of Tamil Nadu.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Sir, this is baseless. If he shows me one printed paper that carried this news, I am prepared to resign my membership here and now. Let him show me one paper that carried this news.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I would not like my friend, Mariswamy, to lose his job because then he would immediately be made a Minister in the Government of Tamil Nadu. I do not want that. Now, let me proceed further.

Let us not talk about it as long as emergency is there. Let us try to save the nation from destabilisation and that outshines every other thing to begin with. That does not also mean that wrong things are not happening.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would ask the Prime Minister to consider what I say now

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

by way of criticism. After all, a great responsibility has devolved on all of us who are fighting destabilisation. We saw in the recent period what a great demonstration was there all over the country, these anti-fascist conferences in the villages, towns, district headquarters and State headquarters which culminated in the international conference against fascism inaugurated by the Congress President and I must say that his speech will be remembered with great satisfaction. What did we see there? We saw there an upsurge, a national upsurge, a patriotic upsurge of our people in order to meet the state of destabilisation which is resisted by the domestic reaction of fascism. There we saw a desire, an ardent desire of the people to go forward in united action to defeat these forces of fascism and destabilisation. So we noticed with great joy and assurance the urge for social and economic reforms and changes in order to destroy the social and economic base of fascism. And that is the task which we must undertake today. Remember, even now in Parliament, a Janata Front has been formed. Janata Front does not exist anywhere except in Gujarat. It is born in some bungalow, I do not know. If it is born in Mr. Goray's bungalow, then the Janata Front, I must claim, is my neighbour. Now the Janata Front has been born. What for? A kind of revival of Grand Alliance to usup the sagging morale of the rightist forces, to eke them out, to strike for taking positions and to gain stature in Parliament. And that is what is going on. We should be very careful, therefore, that unless we counter the forces of destabilisation in the social and economic sphere, we shall always be left with the threat of recurrence of such offensive as we witnessed some months ago. Therefore, it was a very noble desire on the part of Congressmen and others that they want to fight the forces of destabilisation, not merely at the political level not merely by administrative measures but politically and also in the economic and social sphere by bringing about radical economic and social changes. Here is the time for

carrying forward this spirit of emergency into bold gigantic action for the remarking of the nation by striking down vested interests on the one hand and by unifying the people on the other. Great responsibility devolves, as I said before, on all of us but first of all on the Congress Party and its leader. They must not go alone; they must take the whole nation together. And I am very glad to say that the resolutions passed at the Chandigarh session of the Congress will be taken note of in the proper spirit, and will be implemented. You cannot blame the bureaucrats if your own resolutions are not implemented. This is for you to implement and others to respond to your positive calls. I have no doubt in my mind about it. Many hon. Members sitting there are serious and sincere about implementation of their own resolutions. If these resolutions spell out the patriotic urge, the fighting urge of the people to go forward and take the nation forward by a unified and common action, I have not the least doubt in my mind that all other patriotic forces will give their co-operation.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, about evils of emergency, there have been many. Let us not try to shut our eyes. I was glad to read about the Prime Minister giving a very strong warning against the external and internal forces of destabilisation and I must confess my satisfaction to hear from the Congress platform such forthright and courageous call to the nation and courageous warning, that is given against the forces, internal as well as external forces of imperialism, although she, for her own reason, did not name the culprit but everybody knows the culprit.

I would not ask the Prime Minister for the names. It is enough. Take the warning and act upon it; the CIA and their agents and their forces who were responsible for destabilising Bangladesh are active in our country. Vigorous measures should be taken against them and their friends and that will be one of the ways of implementing and paying heed to the warning.

Other abuses have taken place, abuses have taken place. The Bonus Act is given

the go-by. The right of bonus is taken away from the workers. What crime did they commit during this emergency. Is it not a fact that the working people stood by the Prime Minister, stood by the Government and stood by our struggle against the forces of right reaction and ignored the appeals by Jayaprakash Narayan and others? Were they to be punished then? Their right was taken away. It was an anti-working class act. It was not in the spirit of the emergency. We very well know that the Prime Minister herself became a party to it. I wish she were not a party to it. On the contrary, if any other Ministers in the Government were wrong, she would have corrected them. I still urge upon her to revoke the Ordinance and not to bring it up before this House.

The monopolists are having a field day. The monopolists are enjoying concessions after concessions. During this emergency the monopolists have received many concessions in the name of increasing production and in the name of many other things. I must say, Mr. Pai is here, is this the spirit of emergency? What are you doing in the industrial sector, you and my friend Mr. Subramaniam, if I may say so, who is not here? It is contrary to the spirit of the 20-point programme. Do you have a 20-point programme for the rural and other sectors and some 200-point programme for the industrial sector to be administered by Mr. Pai and Mr. Subramaniam? I would like to know.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Communists' tactics; I know them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The monopolists are saying that they never had it so good. All of us, Mr. Deputy Chairman, and the Prime Minister know very well how fascism rises everywhere, in every situation, in every country. Fascism has grown first from monopoly capital whether in Italy or Germany or in any other country or in any other situation. India is not going to be an exception. They may help you in some way, they may feign loyalty to your 20-point programme but the class interest of the capitalists is unpatriotic and

secretly or openly, depending on the situation they will be interested in bolstering monopoly capital.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : This is anticlimax !

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Deputy Chairman, the 20-point programme is not being implemented in a proper way. Popular committees should be formed and they are not being formed. The Prime Minister and others are not satisfied with the implementation, I know. But the point is, find out why it is not being implemented, take remedial measures, form committees and take other action in order to ensure speedy implementation of the 20-point programme. They are interested in the failure of the 20-point programme. They pay lip service to the 20-point programme and outside they are just hungering for the failure of the programme because they have a stake in the failure just as we have a stake in the success of the 20-point programme.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now you will have to conclude.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : A few points and I will finish. Apex committees have not been formed in many States. Why? The Labour Minister is sitting, not at the apex but not very below either. But may I ask him why apex bodies are not being formed in the States and why he should not send another circular letter from the Prime Minister to the States asking them to form apex bodies and that task should be undertaken and carried out? There should be no attempt to break unions and I hope my friend Om Mehta will note it. It is not good to break unions or try to break unions. Neither you, nor we nor anybody should do it.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : You can break our union.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, no, not do that. You want to break our head.

I say that because all kinds of forces are at work. On the contrary we should work for unity in the working class.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

Well, the Delhi Administration should be criticised for the manner in which *jhuggis* and *jhonparies* are being demolished. It is not good. It is really inviting reaction and giving encouragement. . .

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala): Does every party get two speakers ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You can have as many speakers.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Don't be jealous. If I have managed the time you should emulate me in this matter.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI (West Bengal): Three members have spoken from his party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Therefore, I say the question of demolition of *jhuggis* and *jhonparies* should be gone into. In some places where built-up houses are being demolished, it should not be done. This is a very serious matter.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I must point out that MISA is being used against our party taking them to be members of other parties wrongly but since I know it from our party, they are members of our party. In Himachal Pradesh, in Madhya Pradesh and two in Haryana have been detained without trial. I have brought it to the notice of the Government but no remedy is coming yet. I think the emergency powers are meant to suppress the enemies of progress, democracy, friends of imperialism and fascism, who are bent to encourage anti-democratic activities. Sir, only yesterday all over the country the INTUC went on hunger strike but not a word appeared in newspaper.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : This is happening in Kerala also. Not a single trade union meeting is allowed in Kerala.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If you want to have democratic process, let it be known why the working class is sought to be suppressed. You cannot curb the just demands of the working class. I cannot agree that the position taken by the INTUC is undemocratic. The INTUC is

expressing itself in a constitutional, democratic and legal manner and surely this is not the way to curb them. Therefore, I demand that such an action should not be taken. All those who have been detained under MISA, all the members of our party, should be set free.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: What about other political parties in Kerala? What about the working class and trade unions as a whole.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I cannot understand your point.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : You are demanding release of your partymen. What about other parties ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Dr. Kurian, you have been more a doctor of letters. Otherwise you would have understood my point that I have made. I have said, all those who are in the democratic movement, who are fighting the rightists, who stand for stabilisation of democracy should have the freedom of expression. That is what I have said. Have you understood or not?

Now, Sir, finally let me finish.

Dr. K. MATHEW KURIAN : It applies to Kerala also.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why do you disturb me ? Is this your party programme now ? I am very glad that you have not joined the Janata Front. Become a little cool. Don't join the language of the Janata Front even if it means interruption.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him wind up his speech.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Now, Sir, some changes in the Constitution and other things. I entirely agree the Constitution calls for certain radical changes and I may appeal to the Prime Minister that this should be done through proper consultation and should not be left to the lawyers, whether belonging to the Opposition or belonging to the ruling party. It should be done openly, publicly through a

right approach, to strengthen our democracy, to strengthen our parliamentary institution, to strengthen democracy in such a manner that the people are involved more and more with the working of the system and it should be amended to weaken the position of monopolists, capitalists and landlords and other vested interests, and also in order to create a situation where they are not in a position to create the forces of fascism and destabilisation which periodically threaten us.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now you finish.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, I do not want to say anything now except one last thing Chasnalla. President will be annoyed if I do not take note of it. He is very right in expressing sentiments over the Chasnalla affair.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : No discipline for him

AN HON'BLE MEMBER : He is the son-in-law.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : About the Chasnalla disaster, it must be remembered that if the recommendations of the various conferences had been implemented, perhaps this tragedy would not have occurred. If the recommendations of various committees and commissions of inquiry had been headed, perhaps we could have spared this. Therefore, I take it as a result of some calculated neglect. I think Government should take proper measures to enforce the safety laws—safety regulations are not enough. And this, I think, should be taken up in this session.

Once again, while I fully support the proclamation of emergency, I would urge upon the Government in all sincerity in all seriousness, a machinery should be set up. To prevent abuse of MISA bureaucracy should not be strengthened; some other agency should not come into being, but by properly adjusting the accepted and established institution in order to administer the emergency measures. Emergency measures must be taken in a very democratic and open way, in such a manner that the position of all people is kept in view

and the position of the exploiting people and fascists and other vested interests and right reaction, not to speak of imperialism, is constantly undermined and eliminated.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I call the Prime Minister to reply now.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Mr. Deputy Chairman, may I start with the last point mentioned by the honourable Member opposite, Shri Bhupesh Gupta. Chasnalla is very much on the minds not only of those sitting here but of the entire nation. These last days since we first heard of the calamity, our thoughts and our sympathies have been with the families of the miners who are trapped there. We do not yet know whether it is possible to save them, but we dare not give up hope until the very last moment. But we do offer our sincere prayers and send our deep sympathy to the affected families. It may be true, as Shri Gupta said, that all the safety measures have not been taken I do not know. That is why we have instituted a judicial inquiry which will give its report soon—well, it will take some time before it can start, but once it starts, it will give it soon—and whatever remedies they suggest, even if it is too late to help the people in this particular case, will be a pointer for safety in future in all mining projects.

5 P.M.

This debate has been understandably largely concerned with the declaration of emergency. I have spoken on this matter at the earlier session of Parliament and I do not have much that is new to say. My colleagues who have spoken from this side have very ably put forward our case. It is not true that the world has not understood it. If you think that the world consists of just half a dozen countries, then perhaps what you are saying is correct. But the non-aligned world, the socialist world and many other countries have expressed their full understanding of the situation in India, the reasons because of which emergency had to be proclaimed and the fact that we have acted entirely according to our Constitution. I do not want to go into the question of what the Press

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi] either here or abroad would have said or has said because other Members have drawn attention to what they have been saying about India these many months and years. long before the emergency was declared. We know where they stood at the time of Bangladesh. At that time there were no Press curbs; nobody was under detention here; nobody could say that there were curbs on democracy. But the Press of which today the Members of the Opposition speak, apart from some exceptions, mostly the Press and many governments stood on the other side; they stood on the side of the nations which made no pretence of democracy. Today also we find no criticism of those countries which do not have parliaments, which do not have elections, which do not have a free Press of any kind except, the government Press. No. All this opposition, all the accusations, the allegations, these are reserved only for India. And why ? because they say that they expected something different from India ! We are special angels dropped from the sky; we are so good that we cannot even be helped. Before we had committed anything or we can be said to have curbed democracy, let us remember that we got precious little help when we were dealing with the refugees from Bangladesh, and some help was even cut off at that very critical time in our national history.

I was interested to hear what Mr. Goray said. He came to see me sometimes ago. He had written to me. He was in America at that time and he wrote from there. I asked a question in my reply to his letter. He has not replied to that question. And I would like to ask that question not only of Mr. Goray but also of some of his other colleagues, the learned Mr. Joshi and others. They are very much concerned today about the demise of democracy; they are concerned when somebody says something about other people. But we did not hear their voices when the Gujarat Assembly was being removed in an entirely undemocratic, unconstitutional manner. They did not raise their voices when the same thing was sought to be re-

peated in Bihar. We did not hear their voices when there was the threat of *satyagraha* on the floor of the House or when a Member of his honourable House wanted to go and occupy the chair of the Secretary. We did not . . .

SHRI N. G. GORAY : I have dissociated my party from that.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I am glad. I do not know how many others have done that.

AN HON. MEMBER : What about Mr. Rajnarain ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : It is a motley crowd. Some body said "Why do you lump together all these people?" It is not we who are lumping people together. It is they who have lumped themselves together of their own free choice. Who has forced these parties to come together. Has anybody threatened "If you don't come together, we will murder you", as we have been told "If you don't do this, you will be murdered" ? They were not being intimidated. They have entered into these alliances, the Janata Morcha or whatever you like to call it, of their own free will. If Shri Goray is to-day aligned with the RSS and the Jan Sangh, it is his choice. It is not we who have asked him to go along with those people.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD (Uttar Pradesh): He is their leader.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : We point out to what is known history. All these things are in print. I am not inventing them. I cannot give the date and the figure, but I can produce that literature—I have it in my house. I have it in my office here—all the speeches the Jan Sangh the R.S.S. made about Mahatma Gandhi, about my father. To-day the examples of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru are put before me. But they do not care to see and to read what was said about them in their life-time. And are we to believe that they have changed their policy to-day ? Are we to believe that there has been a change of heart in parties that are so deeply rooted in violence, in hatred ? Shri Joshi complained about the

use of the word 'Fascism'. May be he does know what it means, but I do claim to know what it means. I was in Europe when there was Fascism. And when we had an anti-Fascist conference in Patna, to which Shri Bhupesh Gupta referred, there were many delegates there who had been in Hitler's concentration camps. They were not speaking of something that they had read about in books. There were people whose families had suffered. They knew what it meant to be under a Fascist regime. So when they spoke about Fascism, it was from personal experience. I wonder what personal experience Shri Joshi has had. You can read a lot of books, but I do not think you can know what it means unless you have seen it happen with your own eyes. It is just like those people here who talk sometimes about freedom, who have had nothing to do with the freedom struggle. They cannot know what it meant to us at that time. It was not a question of being in prison. It was not a question of being beaten up by the police or having bayonets stuck into your chest by the British military. That was not the hard part of it. It was the constant humiliation of the Indian nation. This is what they did not realise at that time. At that time they were with the British. Don't forget that. Don't forget that out of the R.S.S. was born the murderer of Mahatma Gandhi, and to-day you welcome that party in Gujarat. We have Shri Ramlal Parikh here, an old associate. He spoke about the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi. But in his State—Shri Manubhai Shah rightly reminded him—some of the members of his party stood on the Jana Sangh ticket and under the Jana Sangh symbol in Rajkot district, in Gandhiji's district. So you make these fine and learned speeches. I am not a learned person. As my honorable friend, Shri Sultan Singh said "I am not a learned person". I am not educated in the sense that the honourable and learned professor is learned. And quite frankly I do not think I have missed anything. If I have had education, it has been in the villages of India, it has been in the prisons of India, it has been where

Fascism was being fought in countries far-off from India.

Emergency was declared not because we wanted to declare emergency. Emergency was declared not because we are afraid of elections, not because we are afraid of abuse or false allegations or threats or intimidation. Had it been so, had we been afraid, we would have declared emergency a long time ago. Please look at the newspapers, the national newspapers and see what they have been saying for the last two years, what kind of falsehood, what kind of misinterpretation, was found in the papers. And it passed under the name of freedom of the Press. People who never went to villages were writing about what we should do for rural welfare.

People have been blaming me all the time for ignoring the village. I had an American correspondent just about a fortnight ago. He said "Oh ! I have gone round the city here and they say you are very anti-city. You are only concerned about the rural people". I said : "Only the other day, your papers and our papers were blaming me for ignoring the rural people. If I am dealing with them, at least you should be pleased to that extent."

Emergency had to be declared because of acts of sabotage, because there was a very deliberate, conscious, declared effort to paralyse the Central Government. These words are not my words. They have been used by the leaders of movement. As somebody quoted, the words that the fight should be on the streets, were not my words. Nor was that our intention. It was the motley crowd which had got together, which raised this slogan that the fight would be on the streets. We can fight in this House with words and we can also fight with numbers on the street and when I say 'fight' we do not mean throwing stones which Jan Sangh and other members of the Front were doing at every Congress meeting, addressed by Jagjivan Ramji, myself and other Congress leaders during the Gujarat election

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

What is the use of their telling me : "You prove it"? I saw it with my eyes. There were lakhs of people and they would send small boys of this size shouting abusive, vulgar slogans. Who taught them these slogans ? Is it the way to create a nation ? Is it the way to teach them democratic and Constitutional and national values ? Little boys of 9 and 10 years of age went about waving black flags and shouting vulgarities and obscenities. I heard them with my own ears. I do not need anybody to come and report to me. I saw how in a huge meeting just 30 or 25 people would get up or only 10 or 15 would rise. In Ahmadabad there were just 10 people who got up. But they threw stones and shoes. They must have collected them before hand because they were not throwing their own shoes. This was how fair and free elections were being held. You heard Shri Manubhai Shah told how in the Surukwa village—I do not know whether I am pronouncing it correctly—of Borsala taluk of Khera District, the Presiding Officer was caught red-handed by our polling agent himself admitted that he had already cast 24 votes in favour of Jan Sangh. He had 24 more in his hand. He is now behind the bars. These are facts. Just by saying that everything was clam and peaceful in the country and everything was going democratically, you do not change facts. The fact remains that every single visitor from abroad, whether from a capitalist country or a socialist country or from the Asian countries, has said to me : "Mrs. Gandhi, do you think this is democracy? Do you think if you continue like this, this country can survive ?" Every single one of them has asked me this question. I have mentioned either in this House or in the other House, that once an Ambassador had called on me to state : "I come at the request of the Head of our nation. What are you doing to India ? We cannot understand your inaction." I had to hear such remarks. Why ? Because I believed in tolerance. Because I thought that whatever hatred there was and frustration there was in the hearts of the opposition, they would not cross a cer-

tain limit for they would realize that beyond a limit there would be chaos, instability and danger to this country, its unity, its integrity and to its very freedom.

Democracy is a value which we deeply cherish. And it is we who have brought democracy. I have no hesitation in saying that parties like Jan Sangh have had nothing to do with it and if they had, India would not have been a democratic country.

Some honourable Member—I was not there, but I have received his speech—compared me to Hitler and to Mussolini, two very different people, by the way. But perhaps he does not know. Well, I do not know whether he was trying to pay a compliment because now they are all together with the Jana Sangh and we know that the Jana Sangh and the RSS have been great and open admirers of Hitler and Mussolini. Openly they said so. I have myself read their speeches and I have also pointed this out to the Jana Sangh leaders and they have mentioned that that is the kind of government that India needs. So, may be they thought that they were paying me a compliment. But I can do without such compliments or any complaints from such quarter.

What does totalitarianism mean ? Would we be sitting here and listening to you if this was a totalitarian Government? Would you be free at all if this was a totalitarian Government ? I spoke earlier of the Press. All over Europe, India is being blamed because some people are detained, because there are some curbs on the Press. But, have they had anything to say about the murders in Bangladesh? No. If you kill your opponents, it is all right. But, if you detain them, then you are a dictator. May be that is what you would have preferred because, then, the question would be finished and nobody could raise it any more.

I request you : Get hold of old European news-papers and see how many of them, excepting for brief news reports, have commented on those murders as they

have done and as, they continue to do day after day about India's emergency. Therefore, as my hon'ble friend here has pointed out, it is time that the Opposition took a look at these with whom they are marching in step. Are these the people who have stood for India's strength? Are these the people who have stood for India's unity? Are these people who have stood for India's progress? Why are they praising the opposition today? Why are they so concerned about you today? They are not concerned about the people who have been killed or the people who have been democratically elected in other countries. They are not bothered about those people being killed. For them it was a good thing and they welcome it. But you are prepared to march step in step with them. Well, you choose your company; it is your affair. But don't talk to us about democracy because it has nothing whatsoever to do with democracy. If we have placed curbs today, it is because democracy was in danger and it is because a handful of people, representing a minority of the Indian people, were trying to stop the functioning of the will of the majority of the people. And, this was not something unique to this country. Any time if anybody wants to do something new, any time the people want to change the *status quo*, powerful forces come up; some are obvious and others are not so obvious. But the forces and their strength are tremendous. It is no use saying that you are a few in number. You ask the man whose house was burnt down in Gujarat how long it took and how much money and how much effort and how many labourers were needed to build that house. But how many people were needed to burn it down to the ground. One or two people were enough. What is the use of saying that we are so many and you are only few and what can a few people do? They did it and they have burnt down the house. We know that countries have been destroyed by handfuls of people. It is not a mass movement that is needed to destroy a country. If you are so sure as you today say, "Go to the elections and see", why didn't you wait yourselves for the elections? Why

did you want to destroy the government just a few months before the elections?

So, I am afraid, many many questions await answers. Even if I were to deal with them all, my whole speech would contain only questions to you all. You have not been able to answer any of those questions in fall your speeches.

Emergency obviously means some curbs on democracy. Nobody has said that it doesn't. But it has been said that those curbs were necessary because of the behaviour of a very small number of people in our country and because they were not reluctant to take support from other elements. Many of you may believe in non-violence. I am not saying that you all believe in violence and I am not saying that you all believe in wrong methods. But, because you did not have public support, you were willing to give in to those who did believe in violence.

As today, although the Jana Sangh does not have a majority in the Gujarat Government, the Gujarat Government is virtually in the hands of the Jana Sangh. It does not matter who the Chief Minister or the other Ministers are. This is obvious from their actions and from what is being allowed to be done there.

For a country, democracy is important. But democracy is not an end. Democracy is a tool, is a means, of achieving something. And what are we striving for in our country? We are striving to take a country of 600 million people from one age to another. We are striving not only to bring a better physical and material life to them, but also to bring something more to them—a new life where they can have the fullest development of their personality.

But this cannot happen without some curbs. You cannot say that a few people will have every luxury, whether that luxury is material luxury in the form of land or of many houses or property or black money or a luxury of doing exactly as they like even if this harms the interests of the many. This is a luxury which

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi] cannot be allowed if we want to change this country and bring about a transformation of society. And thus, Emergency had to come. A sense of discipline has grown. But there are two islands where every effort is being made to destroy that discipline, where every encouragement is being given, who want to seek aid from outside to speak against India, who try and think of their interests before the national interests. I have said in this House before, and I have no hesitation in repeating, that I do not mind which party forms the Government, provided that part is going to stand for the unity and integrity of India. But what do we find with the Opposition? Are they willing to hear the voice of our people, or do they listen to same voice outside? What do we find? Many of our intellectuals are much enamoured of the written word or speech that comes from other countries, even though that picture of India and, how it should grow, is entirely removed from the realities of the situation here. Until we can strengthen the nation enough, we cannot meet this onslaught. I admit, Sir, that it was my fault. I fully admit that was my weakness that I allowed such a situation to arise. I admit that the sort of tolerance I displayed was a crime against India at that time. And I have to make up for that crime now, and make this country strong. . . (Interruptions) . . . and make this democracy strong. . . People who threaten to get elected Assemblies dissolved have no right to talk of democracy, and. . .

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : But who dismissed the Government in Kerala ? . . (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Nobody dismissed the Government there. I do not know whether you were there. . .

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : I was very much there. Who was responsible ? . . . (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : The Chief Minister of Kerala said that he could not handle the law and order situation. . . .

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : No, that is completely wrong. The Kerala Government was dismissed by the Centre.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Any how, if that was a wrong decision in our very small part of India, can you declare it to be the right thing for the entire country? Therefore, you make up your mind about the right or wrong. . . . (Interruption)

We heard of instability. I will talk about it, because I happen to know about it.

When there has been instability in one or more States, we have not interfered. We have tolerated the situation. We have had opposition governments and coalition governments in many States. We have not toppled those Governments or made any effort to topple them.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : But you admit that in Kerala you did so.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : But when something is sought to be done at the Centre, it is not the same thing. If the Centre is weakened, then what holds the country together? What keeps aggression away, how are, industry and agriculture dealt with? What holds the different parts of the country together? If the Centre is not there, there cannot be a whole country as we see India today. There cannot be any democracy if the Centre is weak. Therefore, when you say that people do not know the meaning of fascism, I would very humbly say that a lot of people do not know what democracy means and they are the loudest in speaking.

The hon. Member from D.M.K. has made a suggestion about having a Round Table. Now was it not the very same opposition which proclaimed that it would not recognize me as Prime Minister? It was not prepared to talk with me. It was not prepared to meet me as Prime Minister. Therefore, whether the table is round or square. I do not know how any talks can be held unless the opposition changes its attitude.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : I am sorry, Madam. Who said that he would not meet you?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : The Opposition front said it. (*Interruptions*) We have listened to you all patiently. Now you just sit down. If a person who occupies the high position of Deputy Prime Minister can say that he will offer *dharna* in the House, can you have talks?

Reference has already been made to the tenor of a particular letter which I received. It was not only that. Some of you have come and met us. When we used to meet in Room No. 9, what was the atmosphere? The atmosphere was not one of talking. It was one of attack. If we called the meeting before the draft outline of the Plan was ready, we were told: "Why have you called us? What is there to discuss when the Government has not made up its mind?" All right, then we draw up the draft outline and call them. We were asked: "Why have you called us? The draft outline is ready. What can we do now?" We have been through many such episodes. I have always been the first to approach the opposition and say, Let us talk on such and such issue. But they have found excuses. The latest excuse was when they said that we had approached the parties separately. We should have gone through one particular person. This was not in this House. It was in the other House. But whatever it was, some excuse or the other was found so that there could not be any meaningful discussion. Earlier on, we did have discussions. We did talk more frankly to leaders of the opposition than we were prepared to do in this House or in public. We were prepared to take them into confidence. It is they who destroyed that atmosphere. It is they who created a situation in which little by little we agree apart, because we found that they were misinterpreting us. They were saying things outside and they could not keep our confidence. So, we have stretched the hand of friendship to the opposition for 25 years. But they have not grasped it.

While I am on the D.M.K., I would like to say something else. Something was said about the Press. Now, in a paper called 'Tamil Murasu', a daily from Madurai, dated October 27, 1975, there is a tirade against Northerners in general and Hindi in particular in language that is bound to incite people and urge them to violence. It is not said that you must be violent. But the language used is such that young people listening might get excited and want to do something. Similarly, in another paper called—I do not know whether I am pronouncing it right—'Kandeepam' of the 20th November, they have written against India with regard to the Chinese intrusion into our territory.

So, this is how some of these people are functioning. Shri Mariswamy was criticising the Censor in Madras as being unfair to the D.M.K. papers. Now I learn that my colleague, Shri Om Mehta, was in Madras recently and he was told that one of the newspapers—and later, I think, the cutting was sent to me—which was supporting another party but is now supporting us has been seized by the Tamil Nadu Government more than seven times. And every time it is seized, there is a loss of many thousands of rupees to the publisher. The publisher and the editor have approached us and represented their case and they have said that the seizure was on some very minor ground and only because the D.M.K. did not like the trend of some of their reports. So, all these . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : The point . . .

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Shri Mariswamy, I am not yielding. You see this is the trouble. While the Opposition shouted abuse and did all types of things, we could not say a word. But if we say, anything, and I am not using any abusive word, I am not saying anything against them. They are so thin-skinned, they cannot bear it. What is this if not a guilty conscience? . . . Shri Mariswamy, I do not yield.

Now, I want to say a word about my hon'ble friend, Shri Ramlal Parikh. It was obvious from his speech—I think he was

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi] trying to be very sincere—and he himself admitted that he had no knowledge of this House. Therefore, he did not know what sort of things were happening here before the Emergency was declared—the noise, the shouting, the threat, the intimidation was not occasional. It was a constant feature, a daily feature whether in debate or the Question Hour or on some other occasion. He spoke of reason and rationalism. But I am afraid that we saw little of it in the last two years in this House or the other House. He spoke also about rumour-mongering. I have said before and now I should like to repeat it. It is a major part of the opposition strategy to spread rumours. They have been doing it earlier, long before there was any emergency. They have done it through the Press. They have done it through whispering campaigns, all kinds of nonsense about me, about my family, about the Congress and about other individuals. And this is how, they created that atmosphere of hate, of calumny, of falsehood which led to the assassination of our colleague, Shri Lalit Narain Mishra. And even after that tragedy, although they expressed their sorrow, nothing was done to change that atmosphere so that such an incident would not happen again. On the contrary, some were heard to say, "Well, it should happen to more people so that the Congress learns a lesson." Shri Ram Lal Parikh thought that the Janata Front is an alternative to the Congress. I do not know whether this was his way of being funny—I can only see it as a joke—because if you say that a motley crowd, which does not agree on any policy, either on foreign policy or economic policy or social policy, can give an alternative Government, where will the country go? It is all right if it is a small place or a small problem when you don't have to do anything positive or take any real decisions or face up to other countries. But once the moment comes when you have to take a stand, what stand will they take? They will take the Jana Sangh stand. And as I said, the Jana Sangh is no believer in democracy. He spoke of 'no disturbances'. Has he denied that ten Christian houses were burnt down after the Assembly elec-

tions because when they were asked, "Whom did you vote?", they said that they voted for the Congress? Is this their idea of safeguarding minority rights? It's not enough to have a Minority Commission or a Committee. You have to have that feeling in your hearts. And I am afraid the Jana Sangh and the R.S.S. certainly do not have it. You speak of democracy. I have taken long time, but with your permission, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I must spend some time on this issue.

Those of you who are in the Congress, do you remember anything about the history of the Congress; how is it that years ago people kept on leaving the Congress in State after State; how was the Bangla Congress formed in Bengal and how were other groups formed and why did they leave the Congress? They left because within the Congress there was no room for them. Not because they openly criticised or went against the party. No, nothing as much as that. They were forced to leave because there was a suspicion that these people were not with the local boss of that time. That is how, in State after State, there was a division. The split that took place in Bangalore was not the first time that the Congress was split. This had happened many times and for the same reason that the party boss could not bear people who were even a little bit different or who did not echo the party boss. This is why the Congress kept on splitting. Those are the people who are teaching us now how to behave in our own party and how to deal with our party members. Some of our members have gone out of their way to align themselves with the thinking of the opposition parties, with the thinking of the so-called Janata Morcha. It does not need much study to see what has been happening when they think that somebody is with me the attack is on that person. But when the same person is against me he becomes perfectly good and honourable and independent-minded.

AN HON. MEMBER : Just like Chimanbhai.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Not only Chimanbhai; I am talking of people who are with us.

They also quoted Professor Laski who was not my professor so much as one of my guardians when I was a student in England and mentioned doubt. It is all right to encourage doubt as an intellectual pastime but when a country or house is on fire, is that the moment to sit and doubt about it or is it the moment to take some water and put off the fire? At a time when our country was facing the biggest crisis of its life, and not only in our country, it was a moment of crisis for the whole world. It was a moment when the entire world was in the grip of the biggest financial crisis that the world has known, when there was inflation in every country. The consequences were very severe for a poor country like India specially coming after a war, the whole traumatic experience of Bangladesh, its refugees, the prisoners of war and war itself, followed by two years of severe draught. Was that the moment to sit and doubt and think about it as to what to do or was it the moment to save the lives of the people? None of these matters seemed to concern you. It may be a pleasant pastime to sit and think and talk and discuss these things with newspaper people or among yourselves. But, we have the responsibility. When there was drought we could not sit and think what to do. There was only one thought how do we prevent people from dying of starvation? How do we reach grain to them? And, we did reach it to them. When there was war, there was only one thought, how to win that war and we did win that war. At every stage when there was a crisis we have had only one thought and that was how to face that crisis and we have faced it with boldness. May be, we have made mistakes but I do not think anybody could not entirely prevent mistakes when faced with crises of such vast proportions.

Some hon'ble Member has said here that Jayaprakashji was released because we were worried about his health. Well, it is true we did wish him good health and we did wish him to get the medical treatment which he considers best. But it is wholly wrong and baseless to say that his illness began while he was in detention. We are

all aware of his long medical history and of the treatment he had to undergo in Vellore and in the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, I think this was answered in a question either in this House or in the other House. The best medical attention was given to him and to whoever else is in need of it. It is quite untrue to say that we want anybody to be ill-treated or harassed.

But it is true that some complaints have been made and whenever a complaint has come to me, I have had it investigated. I have personally written to the Chief Ministers, to Delhi Administration, to everybody concerned, to see that any such harassment is removed. But most of the complaints were found to be untrue. Unfortunately we do have insensitive and unimaginative people and so sometimes things happen which, if we could have prevented, we would have prevented. And when we learn about them we try to take whatever remedial action is possible. But many of these things are not happening merely because of the emergency. If there are some policemen who are misbehaving in some remote places, well, it also happened before the emergency. I am not saying this is a good thing. It is something that has to be changed and we are trying to change it, but it is not true to say that this is a sudden development because of the emergency. It may be that some people in the bureaucracy, in the police or otherwise are trying to settle old personal scores. Some may even be trying to give a bad name to the Government. That is why I have specially asked the Chief Ministers to exercise vigilance and to look into these matters themselves and not leave them to any junior official or even a senior official. But if the public has any knowledge of any such happening, they should bring it to our notice and it will certainly be looked into.

There was a great deal of talk about concessions to monopolists. What is the situation? No favours have been shown. Whatever we have done is in order to stimulate production. The anti-inflation measures were taken somewhat like antibiotics, designed to cure economic illness, but by

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themselves they do not lead to higher production. Other steps have to be taken. I do not deny that over all these years since Independence, many people who should not have become richer have become richer. In the beginning, I suppose, we had no other way out because in order to manufacture articles in our own country, we had to depend largely on those who had the know-how, those who had the equipment and those who had most of the resources. But I know that this has created an imbalance. Now we are trying to redress the imbalance. But our system being what it is, we can only do it in a manner which will not cause complete disruption because that also hits the workers indirectly. If a factory shuts down, it creates unemployment and it creates other types of problems. So, all the time while we want to ensure that the commanding heights of the economy come into the State sector, we do have a mixed economy and I personally think that if it works well that is the best system for India and, if it is not working well, then the fault is ours as well as of the others, and we must try to remove whatever difficulties there are.

We know that sometimes, just as when we are tolerant towards the Opposition they took undue advantage of it, the same thing happens with the industrialists also. When we think we are helping them out in the national interest to increase production, there have been cases when they have taken advantage of us. We must try to prevent such things happening. But I should like to assure this House that my fullest sympathy is with the workers. They are a class. They are a class which is important to our economic progress. But they are not a class apart from the rest of India. They are a part of this country and what happens to other people will also happen to them.

Higher payments were not backed up by greater production and we found that this was generating more inflation and at one stage of inflation it hit the workers as much as it hit other people. A mere eight per cent bonus does not help them to meet

the increase in the prices of other articles which they need. In principle, I personally feel it is unjustifiable to expect bonus when a company is losing. There is no other country, and I include the socialist countries, where this is done. I think the week we declared eight per cent bonus, I happened to go to Ranchi, where a foreign delegation from a socialist country was on a visit. They asked me, "How can you do this? Will you be able to survive with this?"

You must look after production first and then only can you think of benefits. So, I know that our workers are not paid as much as in some of the other countries but it is a process towards which we can work. Giving higher bonus now is not going to help us to reach that position quicker. Some of our leftist friends are painting a fanciful picture of the situation and I am afraid they are trying to instigate our workers I would like to congratulate the workers on the tremendous patriotism which they have shown. People who have visited factories tell me that the workers are full of confidence and are cooperating with all their strength and enthusiasm in increasing industrial production.

Some people express concern that agricultural prices are falling. But it is one of our national objectives that we should bring down all prices and food prices as well as industrial prices have fallen. Only fuel prices have gone up and you know that is for reasons which are entirely beyond our control. Government has reduced fertilizer prices by subsidizing fertilizer and in providing credit to help our farmers. We also have several programmes to help marginal and small farmers. Many millowners have not been behaving and the whole matter of textiles is not in a happy situation. The Ministry and all the Ministries concerned are taking a close look at it. This must be given topmost governmental priority.

Now just a word about the Constitution. Have hon. Members on both sides of the House forgotten that just a little while before the emergency, what was one of the demands of the Opposition? It was to change the Constitution. It was their slogan.

I know that it was said here, either in this House or in the other House or in both Houses, that it was essential to change the Constitution, to change the educational system and the electoral system. So, it is astonishing to hear that those who, such a short while ago were demanding the overhaul of our entire political system, have now become such staunch champions of the *status quo*. There can be no *status quo*. Changes are constantly taking place in the world, in our country and our society and we have to keep pace with them. Changes are needed in order that the people's hopes are realised, and if changes are needed they will be made. Our concern is more for the people's rights than for what the Opposition says or for what other countries say. Personal rights are sacred but not more sacred than the nation's right to exist and to prosper.

Today we are functioning within the framework of the Constitution. If any changes are made they will be made after due deliberations and the widest possible consultation, not to lessen democracy but to make it more purposeful, more meaningful for all sections of the people. Just a little while before one of my colleagues sitting behind me, showed me a British periodical. The article has nothing to do with our situation, but it just shows how change is resisted everywhere. This particular article happens to be about the rights of women. This editorial states that "people today who view the removal of the legal bias operating against women"—this is not here, this is in Britain—as an unwarranted interference with individual liberty, are the lineal descendants of those who in the last century saw the State's acceptance of the right of all children to be educated as the greatest infringement on the freedom of parental choice.

The battle was eventually won by the collective weight of public opinion. Such is the battle which every change has to face, and will continue to face.

It is obvious that the opposition movement in India was not merely getting publicity, but was actually built up by our press; and it is because we denied the

opposition the benefit of this, their special type of publicity, that the emergency has succeeded. In a battle the antagonists lines of supply have to be cut off, and this is what censorship has done. It is true that some Censors have acted with a complete lack of imagination, I regret to say. But the reason is not difficult to understand. It is because we have no experience in this sort of thing. Many countries which claim to have a free press have many subtle methods of ensuring that the press does not get too much out of line, out of hand. We being very new and not being too subtle in such matters have not been able to manage it so well. But I am sure that honourable Members will agree with me that the type of character assassination and the spreading of quite baseless and total lies is not part of the freedom of the press. Nobody raised any voice when this whole campaign was being waged, neither the bigger newspapers themselves, nor members of the opposition. And unless the opposition is willing to take the responsibility for democracy, things cannot proceed smoothly. The Government has a responsibility to see that the opposition is enabled to function, but the opposition has an equal responsibility to see that governmental and national work is not obstructed and that trends are not set in motion which can destroy the nation's unity and strength. I do not want to say anything about foreign critics. As I have said, to them China today is the world's greatest democracy! If they want to have it that way, let them! A special correspondent who visited India very recently announced later that our food production had fallen tremendously in this year, when it is one of the biggest ever. So I think we need not bother too much about foreign criticism. Perhaps some of you have heard the story that appeared—I heard it in Chandigarh—in a foreign newspaper—that a particular country admitted that its intelligence service functioned mostly through the press and correspondents. This we see what is happening in the world, and how we must be alive to the situation.

I need not take more of your time, but just 5 minutes to tell you something about

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 what is happening in Delhi. The Delhi Development Authority has told me that they have developed 20,000 plots for low and middle income groups—8,000 have already been allotted and the rest are being allotted. They think that by March all will be allotted, providing accommodation for 40,000 families or about two lakhs of people. Twenty-five per cent of these have been reserved for the scheduled castes and tribes. In addition, many other houses are also being built. They have said that the Delhi Development Authority itself will construct about one lakh houses under its public housing programme for allotment to poor people, low income and middle income people. It will provide accommodation to one lakh families or about 5 lakh individuals. Some people have been removed, but they have all been provided with new places to live in and with alternative employment. Sometimes, there is a little dislocation, but I think this was necessary because now they are getting, or will get—most of them have got; others will get—all the basic civic amenities including pucca roads, drains, street lights, public latrines, pure water supply, parks, playgrounds, schools, dispensaries, etc.—and these will be permanently theirs.

In most of the new resettlement colonies libraries and adult literacy centres and community TV centres have also been set up. All squatter families which have been shifted from their old and disorganised slums where the conditions of living were extremely unhealthy, are being resettled in these new colonies. There are lists of where they have gone, and so on. This is not really 'Operation Demolition' but Operation Resettlement' through which the following advantages have accrued to these people.

These families have now become regular allottees of the DDA, instead of being squatters. They now live in a much better environment. Various development projects which were held up because of non-availability of land due to haphazard squatting are now being executed, and a number of new over-bridges, roads, schools, shopping centres, housing estates and residential colonies are

being fast constructed and developed. Similarly, the congestion in the heart of the city has now also been cleared. Of course, when people have to move, it does cause some hardship. But if you are going to give them a better future, then that temporary hardship has to be borne. And there is no doubt that as a result, especially the Jama Masjid area and so on have become much cleaner and much better looking. The people who were squatting on the steps of the Jama Masjid or on the public land around are now resettled in the new market in Urdu Bazar and Mayapuri. Loha Mandi which was in Motia Khan, has been relocated in the newly developed Naraina Warehousing area and so on. It is a long list. But the point is that everyone of them has been given a place and has been given employment. If you know of any case where they still have hardship we will certainly look into that.

I have taken a lot of time of the House. Sir, I want only to say that we are here not to further our interests. While every political party is interested in elections, we are not concerned merely with winning or losing elections. It is my information from almost every State that if we hold elections now, we would undoubtedly win. But that is not the point. The point is not whether we win or not; the point is whether in disturbing the emergency just now we will have greater unity and strengthen the country or whether all the old disruptive forces will be let loose and create the sort of atmosphere in which the students were not learning, the teachers were not teaching, the workers were not working and the factories were not producing. In that way a poor country will only become poorer and before long, the whole fabric of society would fall apart. Perhaps, this is what some people opposite and some people outside might desire. But we are here for a different purpose; we are here to further the national interest, to carry the country and the people to higher achievements and greater strength.

Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall put the amendments to vote now. Amendment No. 16 of Shri Salil Kumar Ganguli.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI: In spite of the statement of the Prime Minister, since there are innumerable instances of abuses and excesses committed and discriminations practised by the executive on the citizens and the press, I feel that these should have found a place in the President's Address. I want the House to accept my amendment.

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

**Amendment No. 16 was negatived.*

Amendment Nos. 17 to 50 were negatived.

Amendment Nos. 55 to 62 were negatived.

6 P.M.

Amendments Nos. 63 to 72 were negatived.

Amendment Nos. 73 to 82 were negatived.

Amendment Nos. 88 to 101 were negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the motion to vote. The question is :

"That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms :—

'That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 5th January, 1976.' "

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at two minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 9th January, 1976.

*For text of Amendment Nos. 16 to 50 and 55 to 101, See Rajya Sabha Debate dated 6th January, 1976.