

Sir, my submission is, before I conclude I wish to express grateful thanks to the people of India for their understanding and cooperation. And I am sure, Sir, you would have noticed in the few weeks that have elapsed, a large volume of opinion, overwhelmingly large volume of opinion from several walks of life has supported the promulgation of this emergency and you, as representatives of those people, would certainly give your support to the promulgation of this emergency and the Motion that I have moved.

Thank you.

The question was proposed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now the Resolution is open to discussion. There are quite a few speakers. So I think we have to sit till 6 p.m. today.

The House stands adjourned till 2.15 P.M. today.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at sixteen minutes past two of the clock.

Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING APPROVAL OF THE PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY MADE BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE 25TH JUNE, 1975—*Contd.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we are discussing the proclamation in an extremely grave and critical situation. The proclamation of emergency, however, must be viewed and considered against the background not only of rightist countries' revolutionary offensive and bid for political power within the country but also against the hopes of American imperialism to destabilize India.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER : What about the USSR?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I say destabilize because it is obvious from many actions they have taken internationally in our region that one of their main objectives is to subvert India's democratic institutions, unity and secularism and to bring about a situation where a rightist government will be in the seat of political power. That has been the declared American policy and this remains so. Only last year, President Gerald Ford, in his press conference, proclaimed to the world that his Government and his country, imperialist United States of America, had a right to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. You can well imagine that they would never forgive our country because we had stood by the Bangladesh liberation, we had supported the Vietnamese struggle for liberation; we had also stood by the brave Arab people fighting Israeli aggression, backed up by American imperialism. We had been not only friendly to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and worked with them for the cause of peace and progress of mankind in international arena but we have lately built up our friendship still deeper with these socialist countries and other non-aligned nations, with a view to promoting the cause of international peace and security and helping the forces of liberation in all parts of the world. Naturally we have invited the wrath and fury of American imperialism and they have always been at their favoured game in order to punish us for having taken such a step. Therefore, Mr. Deputy Chairman, the development of India, internal as they are and external developments to which I have made a reference, are interconnected.

It is not accidental that the right reactionary forces in our country have, from the beginning, taken the support of the American imperialism and international reaction in different countries. And it is seen also after how they have reacted to the proclamation of emergency. I have got

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before me two journals—they are not available to the library or the Members of Parliament here—the journal TIME magazine July 7, 1975 which has on the cover page, the picture of the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. I have got another journal NEW-SWEEK, American of the same date July 7, which again carries the cover page of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister. Now, what do they say? They have eulogized in the journal, Jayaprakash Narayan, Piloo Mody, Morarji Desai and other rightist leaders.

For example, the Time magazine has said :—

“Newspapers like the New York Times already considered Mrs. Gandhi a dictator and labelled her actions a coup. Democracy has ended in India for the time being, “the Times said” .

Now, if you go through this article you will find that the whole article and other write-ups are in the same strain in order to defame and denounce India as anti-democratic and undemocratic. Significant enough they have also favourably quoted the New China News Agency which has accused the Government of India and accused our country of “suppressive measures and creating an atmosphere of terror.” Now, here I am mentioning these because these things should be available. The most scurrilous cartoons have been published. Cartoons on Indira Gandhi have been published in this paper. Now, here again I have got the Newsweek. There also some significant quotations are there. Here they say :—

“But that did not deter Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who last week loosed massive crackdown on political dissent in India and in the process dealt possibly mortal blow to democracy in the second largest nation in the world.” Then, again, they go on :—

“Confronted with a court order that could cost her the Prime Ministership and even threatened by a call for civil disobedience, Mrs. Gandhi ordered the

arrest of hundreds of her critics, including every prominent political opposition leaders in the country. Now, as she manoeuvred to cling to power, the Prime Minister seemed on the verge of scrapping that heritage in favour of one-woman rule.”

I can give many more quotations, but I need not do that. These two journals are very popular and have mass circulation in the United States and the world. This shows how the American imperialism and the organs which they support react to the development. In this connection I should also like to invite the attention of the House to an American television broadcast. I am quoting from the ABC-channel 4 USA, commentator, Mr. A. K. Smith. That broadcast was telecast and was made on July 2, 1975 :—

“... She is snob... psychic, like Louis XIV of 18th century France... considers herself a Joan of Arc, thinks that India is Indira and Indira is India...”

Now, this is the kind of propaganda which has been let loose in the Western countries against India. (Interruptions). Now, you may like that, but we know it very well. When the Western and American press criticises somebody in this manner, when the American press defames our country in this manner when the American press and other imperialist press, who had always opposed the Vietnamese people and the Bangladesh liberation struggle, come out in this manner against our country, we think that the action that has been taken against right reaction is justified because their friends are angry. Their anger is a sign of the correctness of the timely step that has been taken. Mr. Deputy Chairman, our party in its resolution has declared that this stern action against the rightist fascist and communal forces was justified and necessary and life has shown that it is justified and necessary. Without that pre-emptive strike against them, possibly we could not save whatever we understand by Indian democracy or democratic institutions because these forces do

not believe in democracy. Since when Mr. Morarji Desai has become a believer in democracy? Since when Mr. Piloo Mody, who proudly flaunted a badge saying that he is a CIA agent, has become the champion of India's national honour, I should like to know.

The RSS and the Ananda Margis and the friends of the Jana Sangh and of the other parties have always spread their reactionary ideology; at one time they even spread all kinds of things against the minority community; even now they are doing that. Since when they have become the unifiers of our country and the champions of our democracy, I should like to know. These were the—very forces—monopoly capital, landlords and other vested interests—who in 1969 made a big bid for political power in the shape of a Grand Alliance, and they were defeated in two elections, one in 1971 and another in 1972, in the State elections also. Now, we must recall these things to mind today, because unless we assess these forces which are behind the so-called movement for total revolution or whatever you call it or the total satyagraha proposed to be launched in this Capital of India on the 29th June, unless we recall the antecedents of these people, unless we recall their class character and their affiliations, national and international, we would not be correctly assessing the threat that was posed by them and is still posed by them. It is significant that while in the West, the imperialist press and their hangers-on abroad are denouncing India daily through mass media, through television, radio and mass circulation papers, we find that the Soviet Union, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the GDR and other Socialist countries as well as non-aligned countries in the third world like Egypt, Syria and Sri Lanka are rallying by India; they have supported the action taken against right reaction because they know from their experience in their own countries and abroad outside of their own countries, what reaction means. Reaction today is in collusion with American imperialism, the

CIA and other forces. Have we not been reading in the newspapers in recent years how the CIA had been plotting to murder political leaders, how the CIA was getting orders even from the White House to murder, to assassinate, Fidel Castro, the leader of Cuba? These facts are there. Many books have been published. Some are available, which reveal the plots of the CIA in the non-aligned countries against independence, against democracy, against secularism, against democratic forces that stand for peace, non-alignment and progress. Now, the same conspiracy was here in our country. I have given the background in which the conspiracy developed. Therefore, it is very important for us to take note of these facts. That India remains a peace-loving, anti-imperialist, non-aligned nation is the concern of all progressive States and of all progressive man-kind. That is why today the Socialist states, non-aligned states, progressive movements all over the world have stood by India and have supported the action that has been taken by the Indian Government with a view to preventing right reaction from making a powerful bid for political power. Of course, once they are in political power—it has been shown in history—nothing is left of democracy. Even independence, security and unity of the nation are all threatened. That is the common experience. Surely, Mr. Deputy Chairman, we are not prepared to undergo that experience, that nightmare. It was better to stop it before it struck. Therefore, the pre-emptive strike, in our view, was justified. It is wrong to talk about this movement as if it is a movement of some democratic forces. Which of these forces are democratic, I should like to know. I would not mention the friends that were embroiled into them. But those who ran the movement, conducted it, took strength from people like the Ananda Margis and the RSS. These are certainly not forces of democracy. They are the forces of counter-revolution; they are the forces of national ruin. They are the forces on which imperialism and the enemies of India abroad hang heavily. All these forces were unleashed.

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How can you call it a struggle by democratic forces? Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is available to the various political parties to seek changes in the Government by democratic methods, through election and otherwise; it is given in our Constitution. Even today in some States non-Congress governments exist. We have Gujarat. We have got Tamil Nadu. We have got Goa and such Governments existed in other places also. Therefore, our quarrel is not with those people who want to change the government by democratic means. Well, our quarrel is with those who want to employ anti-democratic, un-democratic, extra-Parliamentary and sometimes even Parliamentary methods to bring about a counter-revolutionary reversal of national political life, counter-revolutionary reversal of all policies, foreign as well as national. We are against these forces because if these forces gain upper hand in the political life of the country, leave alone political power, ruin is inevitable. This is what we have seen everywhere. After all, why are the Americans so interested in them? It is well known that Americans have been supporting them in many other ways apart from writing in favour of them because they know that once they are in power they will be at least gaining some comfort in our country after their losses in Vietnam, in Bangladesh and in other parts of the world as a result of the struggle of the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces. That is why Americans are in favour of such a strategy. They know that their strategy can never succeed in region unless India is humbled and is put in charge of imperialist, reactionary, anti-democratic, anti-unity forces. That is why they have staked so much on this so-called movement led by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, now I should like to come to the internal situation a little. I would ask the Government to publish a White Paper giving details of information. It is also necessary for the rest of the world to know what kind of conspiracy was there.

SHRI OM MEHTA : With your permission, Sir, I may tell the hon'ble Member that I have placed on the Table of the House the necessary document.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have not seen it.

SHRI OM MEHTA : If you like I would send a copy to you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is very, very essential because it is just not an agitation here or a satyagraha there or a protest meeting there. It was a most cold-blooded, diabolic move in order to mobilise all the anti-national forces to bring about a counter-revolutionary take-over of the country.

श्री काली मुखर्जी (पश्चिमी बंगाल) : चेयरमैन साहब, उनको बतला दीजिए कि प्रैम नरेंद्र है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It was a monopoly press. It was a press belonging to monopoly which took part in building this movement. If the monopoly press had not pumped in so much money the situation would not have been so grave, so serious.

Coming to the other side, Mr. Deputy Chairman, the grand alliance tried to capture political power in 1969. But it was rebuffed. It was defeated in elections. Then again it was defeated in the State Assembly elections in West Bengal and other places wherever they appeared. It was defeated in the State election in 1972. But it never reconciled to the democratic verdict of the people. The grand alliance or the parties belonging to the grand alliance never reconciled to the democratic verdict of the people. They were biding their time. And when the economic situation became critical as a result of the manipulations of the monopoly capital, landlords and other vested interests and also as a result of certain policies of the Government which feed these vested interests, right reactionary forces tended to regain their ground by building up step by step, politically, by all kinds of

teacherous and subversive acts a counter-revolutionary movement in the country exploiting the discontent and the suffering of the people.

It was done in the familiar Fascist style. I would like hon. Members to read Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and the programme of the Nazi Party before they came to power. They will find that almost identical slogans have been given against unemployment, against rising prices, against corruption, with a view to misleading the German people into the ruinous course of Nazism and Fascism and ultimately leading to the capture of political power by using the parliamentary institution on the one hand and also by extra-parliamentary methods like the one which has been used in our country by these Opposition forces, the rightist forces. It has happened. It is part of history. It is very necessary to recall it. It is better to be on guard and to be vigilant before a Chile is enacted in our country. It is better to strike the hands down before they strike you and drown the democratic institutions, the working people and the masses in blood. That is how the world has drawn the lesson. Now, what happened then? In 1974 Jayaprakash Narayan started his movement in Bihar which came to be known as the "Bihar type movement", which they wanted to start elsewhere also. What was that movement? Forcible dissolution of the Assembly, intimidation of the MLAs, even physical attacks on them, destruction of public property, arson, loot, sabotage, all these became part of the curriculum of Jayaprakash Narayan's total counter-revolution. And unfortunately, many Opposition parties fell in line with it and, in fact, became its spearhead. Jayaprakash suddenly became the Messiah of the entire rightist and counter-revolutionary opposition in our country. And it pained us when even a party like the CPI(M) acclaimed Jayaprakash as their Messiah. So, that movement has been going on. But Jayaprakash did not succeed. He was rebuffed in West Bengal and in U.P. He was pushed back, driven back, even in his home State, Bihar. He could not

gain much ground elsewhere. And in desperation he took other action; he wanted to start a movement in the Capital of India relying on Jan Sangh cadres and RSS cadres, just as he relied on Anand Margis and RSS cadres in Patna. Well, that is the movement. Now, what was the nature of this movement? One should dispassionately examine it. It is not at all a democratic movement. When the Allahabad judgment came, they immediately took it up in order to demand the resignation of Indira Gandhi. But this resignation demand is nothing new. In fact, they have been demanding it ever since 1969. Indira Gandhi had become their target because they did not like some aspects of her policy, because they think that so long as Indira Gandhi is in power, it would not be possible for them to push India into the lap of American imperialism or to bring about a situation where American neo-colonialism, the CIA and their friends, with or without Piloo Mody showing a badge saying "I am a CIA agent", will be dominating the scene. That is why they do not like Indira Gandhi. It is not a personal dislike at all. Their likes and dislikes are politically motivated. When they attacked L. N. Mishra on charges of corruption, they did not say a word against Ramnath Goenka against whom so many charges were there because Ramnath Goenka happens to be a friend of Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan. When they attacked Indira Gandhi, they did not say a word against Shrimati Gayatri Devi, from whose place contraband gold and diamonds and other things, worth several crores of rupees, have been found. I have never heard them saying anything against such estimable ladies and gentlemen of the other House. Well, their cases are pending. At least, the case of one is pending. Therefore, it was a selective campaign. The target was Indira Gandhi. Why? Because if you remove her from the scene, the path will be clear for a rightist walk-over. That was their plan in 1969. At that time, they used the Presidential election to bring about that change. This time they took advantage of the economic crisis,

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economic depression, difficulties, hardships and sufferings of the people, the frustration of the people, to build up a movement of that type which would combine rowdiness within the houses of legislature with such chaotic, anarchic, violent action outside, to achieve their goal.

That is their strategy. It is a conspiracy and sinister political plot inspired by American imperialism, financed by monopoly capital and backed by monopoly press. It is no wonder that big business people in Bihar and other places openly supported Jayaprakash Narayan. These business people believe in double book-keeping because it is these very people who openly supported Jayaprakash Narayan, later led deputations to the Prime Minister's house and pledged their loyalty to her. These people who believe in double book-keeping in economics also believe in double book-keeping in politics. I would like to warn my honourable friends there to beware of this double book-keeping. I am very glad that the Prime Minister has given a warning about this double book-keeping in so far as financial deals are concerned . . .

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : What have you got to say about the Prime Minister's declaration to them that there would be no further nationalisation? Have you nothing to say on that?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I will say what I have to say. I will not say what you have to say.

I was saying that this plot has been engineered step by step, month after month and year after year. It is the continuation of the same plot of 1969. Now the Allahabad judgment came handy for the and it was immediately made a weapon not only to revive the slogan asking for the Prime Minister's resignation—this demand for her resignation has always been there and we heard in the previous sessions

of Parliament some of our friends sitting here demanding her resignation so many times—but to exploit the situation resulting therefrom. Allahabad judgment was sought to be exploited with a view to mobilising public opinion, some sections of the public opinion even within the Congress Party. In the name of democratic conventions, democratic customs, democratic usages and Parliamentary decorum and what not, they were interested in paralyzing the Parliament. They were interested in blocking the work of Parliament and legislatures by seeking the resignation of M.L.As. and M.Ps. in Bihar and other places. They were interested in laying siege to Assembly House in order to see that they do not function. They were demanding Shrimati Indira Gandhi's resignation in the name of Constitutional decorum. I am not going to say anything on the judgment because you will not allow me to do that. It is such a simple thing. We never heard such a crime in the past. Here it was exploited because it was politically inspired and these people thought that it was a god-send opportunity and therefore they used this judgment to mobilise people who had wrong notions of democracy. This rightist campaign combined with counter-revolutionary actions which they indulged in and certain manoeuvres in Parliamentary circles and lobbies, who started in order to create a situation in which Shrimati Indira Gandhi will be forced to resign. Is it accidental? Despite the fact that Allahabad judgment has given an absolute stay, some of the hon. Members belonging to the opposite were meeting secretly, counting not so much on defection, but creating a situation when the rightist opposition supported by the CPM will find a chance with some people on their side to present before Shrimati Indira Gandhi a *fait accompli* of Lok Sabha majority which would demand her resignation. That was the plan. Let there be no mistake about it. Jayaprakash Narayan was pursuing this plan in various other ways also. Let us be clear about it. The plan was to combine Parliamentary manoeuvres with violent, anti-national and treasonable activities.

A reference has been made to the speech of Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan delivered on June 25 right in the heart of Delhi in the Ram Lila Grounds. What did he say? I am quoting from "The Deccan Herald" and there is also the "Hindustan Times".

"Mr. Narayan renewed his appeal to the armed forces and the police not to carry out the illegal orders. He also asked the Central and State Government employees generally to ponder over what their duty was in the circumstances now obtaining in the country due to Mrs. Indira Gandhi's refusal to quit office . . ."

What is the meaning of that?

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Mark the words "illegal orders". Underline those words.

SHRI BHPUESH GUPTA : Mrs. Indira Gandhi as continuing in office absolutely legally and there was no illegality about it and no court has said so. You were talking about the Supreme Court at one time. So, why don't you take their verdict now in this matter? What does this mean? He was calling the armed forces, the police, the government officials, etc. to force Mrs. Indira Gandhi to resign, if necessary by mutiny.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : No, no.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has said this thing. You may say "No". But Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has at least the gumption to say things straightway and openly. He has said this :

"I have said this things deliberately here. Let the Home Minister, Mr. Brahmananda Reddi, try me for treason."

That is to say, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan himself was clear that he was committing treason by asking the armed forces to revolt, asking the police to defy

authority and asking the government officials to defy the established authority and he knew that he was committing treason and he threw the challenge to the Home Minister. It is because he thinks that he is supposed to be the Mahatma Gandhi of 1975. But nothing has happened as a result of his arrest and we have seen that. Now you are suffering from a lot of self-delusion, illusions, about him. We are not going into those things now. But not only this. He will ask even the Supreme Court Judge to behave in a particular way and he will tell him as to how he should behave. You will see that he will very well tell that he should not sit on the Bench and he will ask him not to act. About the Judges of the Supreme Court, who have been appointed by the President, we never talked like that. He was trying to intimidate the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court while appealing to the armed forces and yet these people are talking about the Rule of Law, rule of democracy, democratic conventions, usages and all that kind of things. These are all hypocritical things. (*Time bell rings*). Sir, I have given these facts. But more facts are there. What was their plan? Their plan was to launch a satyagraha before the Prime Minister's House. The members of the rightist movement went there one by one and they were leading the battles of the satyagraha and the Fuhrer was blessing them! This was the kind of thing that was happening. What was their plan? Ten thousand and more RSS people assembled in Delhi in order to participate in the satyagraha. Sir, since when the conspirators of the murder of Mahatma Gandhi have become the champions of satyagraha, I should like to know. And, Sir, here we have published a photograph in this paper of the things that have been found in their offices. What are they? Daggers, swords, military equipment, military kits, etc. All these things have been found in large numbers in Delhi itself. Why all these things? Gandhiji never taught satyagraha in this manner and he never taught anybody to conduct satyagraha with swords, daggers, American ammunition and so on. Military shoes are there and military jackets are there and many other things

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are there. Even the Anand Margis are using them. We have seen the case of the Anand Margis which is pending in a court of law and we have seen how they believed in annihilating or killing people who were not with them or who would not subscribe to their views or who would not remain within their fold. I have said all these things because the CIA was very active at that time in Delhi and everybody knows it. Everybody knows it. Who can deny that the American Embassy people were very active in Delhi? Their cars were moving about here and there, we are told. I shall not go into this. The Government should be knowing it. In those critical days, there was also the CIA movements in the capital of India and also perhaps in other parts of the country. Therefore, we have to take the combined plan of the US outfit and internal reaction and internal forces with a view to creating a situation of violence and anarchy. They thought that by their combined strength and by mobilizing their combined sources they would be able to capture political power and force Indira Gandhi to resign even before the Supreme Court gives its decision. They did not even wait for the verdict of Justice Krishna Iyer, which though conditional, was well-known. He made it very clear that she must continue as the Prime Minister, that she could function as such in Parliament. But they did not wait for the court's final verdict. On the contrary, before the final verdict could be given, they calculated: Here is a God-sent opportunity; make use of it and create a situation by a counter-revolutionary action so that Indira Gandhi is forced to resign. Once she is out of power, they thought, she will not be back in power even if the Supreme Court gives a verdict in her favour. That was the desperation.

Now, I have stated this fact, because this should be known. Government should make it known . . .

(Time bell rings)

Finally, I would like to say in this connection that the Government has announced its economic programme. I wished that

the Home Minister had dealt with this aspect of the emergency also. I think that the economic programme that has been announced is a good beginning, and it should be carried forward. Our Party welcomes it. We have placed some demands before the public and before the Government and some of these demands merit immediate attention of the Government, because today in order to fight right reaction we must not only improve the conditions of the people and mobilize them but we must also destroy the socio-economic base of right reaction, because right reaction in our country is sustained by monopolistic capital, by hoarders, by smugglers, by profiteers and other such kinds of people, landlords and others, who thrive on the miseries of the masses and on the exploitation of the masses. Therefore, structural economic changes are of very great urgency in order to dismantle the socio-economic base of right reaction. I hope that emergency power will not be used against democratic activity or democratic movement at a time when we need democratic forces to be released. I do not like in some ways this Press censorship. Press censorship should be used in order to curb right reaction, curb imperialistic forces and strengthen the forces of democracy. The Press should be in a position to mobilize the democratic forces against right reaction for the implementation of the programme for the well-being of the people and for organizing vigilance all over the country, including vigilance against sabotage. Sir, . . .

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : His speech should be published as an Appendix to the White Paper . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Well, I do not know . . .

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Here I would like to say that it is of crucial importance that the economic programme should be implemented. Bureaucracy cannot imple-

ment the economic programme. I am glad that the Congress Working Committee has taken up a Resolution for public cooperation for the implementation of the economic programme. I am also particularly glad, because the West Bengal Congress and the Communist Party are moving together for the implementation of the programme. And this is happening in other States also. Here is an occasion when, I think, in order to carry the fight further and give it a proper direction and meaning, we should go in a united manner in order to seek proper implementation of the programme. Just one of two points and then I will finish. We have made a number of suggestions which will take time. But why should you not nationalise sugar, textile and jute? This is very very important today. Also, you should organise the campaign against sabotage which is proposed or being planned in the industry. Land reforms should be carried out. Suggestions have been made in the proposal that we have put before the Government for certain actions on the economic front. They should put an end immediately to victimisation of railwaymen and withdraw the cases against them. The hon. Minister referred to the railway strike. Let us not go back to that day. Today, it is very very essential to withdraw actions of victimisation because we want to mobilise the working people in the fight not only against reaction, but in the fight for certain basic changes for immediate relief and for the implementation of economic actions. We are very glad that the trade union leaders have held consultation with the Prime Minister and other Ministers for working out norms to increase production, for vigilance against sabotage and for ensuring workers' participation in the management at top level. This is a very welcome move. I think they will be successful.

(Time bell rings)

Mr. Deputy Chairman, in the end, I should only like to say that this emergency has to be viewed not as a minor incident in our national life. It must be viewed against a major threat which has the backing of American imperialism in which all

the reactionary forces combine not to bring about certain changes and modifications here and there, but to capture political power in order to bring about total devastation of everything that is democratic, secular and progressive in our national life. We would not like a situation in which Mr. Piloo Mody, Mr. Morarji Desai and Jayaprakash Narayan declare emergency with the American imperialists' backing and let loose the hooligan forces of R.S.S. and Anand Margis to slaughter the progressives, communists and non-communists, in the streets. We would not like to go through such a situation. Therefore, I think that the fight is not only administrative, but it is political and more on the economic front. The struggle against right reaction has to be continued by all the anti-rightist and genuine left democratic forces. In this context, naturally, the Congress and the Communist Party have a special duty to come together and fight and expose the right reaction and develop mass initiative and mass action at grassroot level for the implementation of the policies which have been announced and also for the implementation of the policies that are necessary for the improvement of our national life and national economy. Multi-national corporations must be given no quarter. They are the backers of counter-revolution. They are the backers of right reaction. They work as an agency of American imperialists, the C.I.A. and the Security Committee of Mr. Kissinger. I would, therefore, ask the Government not to give any quarter to them. *(Time bell rings)* *(Interruptions)* I know what you will say. You will say the same thing which you had said before. But the trouble is that people do not rally around you. They have seen what you stand for. I would only ask some other friends who are not rightists but who permitted themselves to be drawn into a conspiracy, willingly or unwillingly, to rethink and come out of it because the rightists should be exposed and identified. They should be given no quarters in our political, social and economic life. Democracy can never be safe in our country if the rightist forces, pro-imperialist forces, communal forces and the sadist forces are allowed to grow. Two things cannot run

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on parallel lines. Either the one runs or the other runs. We stand for secularism. We stand for independence. We stand for democracy, social progress and advancement of the country. We stand for the unity of all democratic, and secular forces in the country. (*Time bell rings*) Hence we demand that political action and mass action be developed against the rightist forces. The Government has an important role to play for mobilising the country in the glorious fight against right reaction.

They must give a better account of 3 P.M. themselves in the economic sphere above all, apart from the fact that ruling party owes to the nation, to itself and to the people that it plays the rightful part in uniting and mobilizing all forces that stand against the right reaction for democracy, for independence, for unity and for the progress and the well-being of this great nation of ours.

SHRI V. B. RAJU (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, 25 years have passed, a quarter of a century has passed, since we gave unto ourselves a Constitution and since we resolved to constitute this country into a sovereign democratic Republic. It is an important milestone in the political history of this country. . .

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Tombs-tone.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: . . . and the Indian independence movement is a part of the global de-colonization movement, and the success of the humanity in its struggle against imperialism and colonization is going to see its fruition in the next few months after the few pockets which are now in the process of liberalisation have attained their independence. In fact, the Indian political freedom opened the gates for many of the peoples in Asia and Africa who were under the imperial rule to get liberated. And India thus provided a great inspiration and also showed the way how the people of the globe could be liberated.

Sir, we have chosen as our path the system of parliamentary democracy and five elections have taken place. Let us remind to ourselves that ours is the world's largest democracy. Now, with a capacity for hindsight, let us review what had been our achievements and what had been our failings. Our people have participated in the effort of building democratic institutions and it is to the credit of our people that in spite of the prevailing illiteracy and non-experience, they have been able to imbibe the new ideas of democracy and socialism. And even for a while we might say that these ideas are super-imposed on a social structure which has such diverse elements based on caste, religion, language and colour. In spite of all these unfavourable conditions, our people have shown the capacity to understand and to help the leadership in building up this democratic structure. Now, if we make a review at this moment, the first question that comes to our mind is : Was it really democracy that the opposition parties tried to actually present to the people? That is a moot point now for examination.

The Government has not done now anything illegal or unconstitutional. And I don't think the Opposition would charge the Government that way. The constitutional and political aspects, as far as the Proclamation of Emergency is concerned, are quite clear, and the Government is on strong ground. The only thing that our friends in the opposition or the critics of the ruling party or the critics of the Government might advance by way of an argument is the propriety of it, the political aspect of it. I would request the opposition which is very critical to leave this question to the future to determine whether results justified the action or not.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Why don't you speak in the future?

SHRI V. B. RAJU : As long as the party in power feels that it has a responsibility to maintain harmonious relations in the community among the various sections

of the people, maintain law and order and see that the democratic institutions function in an orderly manner and when the ruling party or the Government feels that there is a threat to these factors and if it does not take proper measures, the future historian might condemn that there was a very serious omission on its part. In history the Congress Party would not like to be condemned, would never like to be condemned, that it had not taken realities into consideration and it had not come to the rescue of this nation. It has to rise to the occasion.

SHRI OM PRAKASH TYAGI : Mr. Raju, it will be condemned.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : That is why I say, let us wait to see in the future how the thing gets evaluated.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : What about the beating of political leaders in prisons? Is it legal or illegal?

(Interruptions)

SHRI V. B. RAJU : Dr. Kurian is a knowledgeable person; he is an economist, he is a politician and he is pleading for the preservation of democracy. I congratulate him.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Please answer my question.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : I have said the Governmental actions have been legal and constitutional. The actions have been perfect and even the founders of our Constitution, the framers of our Constitution had to provide for these contingencies. They anticipated that people like Jayaprakash Narayan, or, for that matter, Dr. Kurian if he would accept, would emerge as leaders in 1974-75 and might create difficulties for the nation in marching forward. And, I think that with so much of foresight they might have provided in this Constitution these safety valves or whatever you might call them. As you know and as everybody would accept, like the human body, the body politic is also ex-

posed to certain external pressures and internal strains. It is a very nice analogy if we can accept it. Our first duty, the duty of politicians as social doctors, is to diagnose—always have our fingers on the pulse of the nation—and see what is actually wrong with the body politic.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : But, after diagnosing do not prescribe poison.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : When we find that the body is shivering under internal strains it is no use simply applying some external ointment; we have to take to some shock treatment.

AN HON. MEMBER : An operation.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : Not an operation. I have not gone that far.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Poison.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : Now, as a doctor . . .

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : You are a witch doctor.

SHRI V. B. RAJU : We have a responsibility to serve the nation to the best of our ability. We have seen, in the last 90 years the history of the Congress Party was the history of the country. Particularly the last fifty years of the political history of this country is the history of the Congress, I would put it. History has recorded and the future historian will record that but for the Congress Party, this country would not have been united politically. Can Dr. Kurian or anybody for that matter say that in history, at any point of time, this country was politically under one umbrella except under the rule of the Congress under the leadership of Gandhi and Nehru? Can this fact be forgotten? Can this historical fact be obliterated? . . . *(Interruption)* . . . In fact, just as the House of Commons in the United Kingdom is called the Mother of Parliaments, the Congress is the mother of political parties in India.

श्री रणबीर सिंह (हरियाणा) : नालायक बच्चे हो गए ।

श्री बी० बी० राजू : मैं नालायक तो नहीं कहूंगा, शरारती कहूंगा और इज्जत कहूंगा ।

At one time or the other, many of my friends sitting there now, were occupants of the Congress benches and they were participants in the building up of the country under the leadership of the Congress.

This democracy has provided for variance of opinion, difference of opinion and we are in a multi-party system. Therefore, in our heat of anger or because something has happened which we could not understand probably, let us not forget history. That is why I appeal to the Opposition: "Let the things unfold themselves and you will get a clearer picture". Even we in the Congress also do not have full control over what is going to happen tomorrow. We do not know what would emerge out of this. In fact I would sincerely submit to the Opposition that many of us did not know. Our leadership took the decision. But when we went to the countryside, when we went to the towns, to our greatest pleasant surprise, how the people responded. They had not reacted adversely. This is a wonderful experience to us; it is an education to us. Now we feel why our leadership had not taken such measures two years ago. I would plead with my leadership why Shri Jayaprakash Narayan was not put behind the bars one year ago. We could have avoided all this today. Therefore, Sir, what we should see are the big waves that emerged. What my friend, Dr. Kurian says or what V. B. Raju says is not going to matter very much.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: India is Indira Gandhi and Indira Gandhi is India.

(Interruption)

SHRI V. B. RAJU: I will reply to Dr. Kurian. Some personalities actually become personalities of destiny. We cannot

help it. You may not like it, but you and I cannot become. That is the whole trouble. Everybody cannot become. Now I would remind to myself and also remind to the House of what Pandit Nehru said in his time: "Some of us have become great. Yes, we are great. Why are we great? Our names are associated with great events in this country." This must be the aspiration of every politician. We shall see that we will be participants in great events, big events. Now why do you get frustrated and say that democracy has collapsed?

श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी (मध्य प्रदेश) : यह क्या कुरियन को शिक्षा दे रहे हैं ?

SHRI V. B. RAJU: Nothing has collapsed.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: He is giving a lecture to his own party.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: I am not giving a lecture. I am not a professor like you.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You are a doctor prescribing poison to democracy.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: Certainly, I claim myself to be a social doctor. I do not have to give my biography here. We count very little. We are too small. I want to emphasize on this point that there is a historic role that the Congress has to play. (Time bell rings) I will require a few minutes. I will not take much time.

Sir, Gandhi and Nehru left a tremendous influence on the peoples of Asia and Africa as Marx and Lenin on the peoples of the West, that is Europe. These are two distinct things that we see. What did Gandhi and Nehru tell us?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu): And now what are you doing?

SHRI V. B. RAJU: That is exactly what I want to say. They said, the aspirations of the people, the structure of the aspira-

tions of the people must be supported by four pillars and what are they? Firstly, they said national unity and as I said, but for the Congress national unity could not have been achieved. If the Congress breaks there is a threat to the national political life.

Secondly, a secular society. There is no difference of opinion on this. We have to keep it up. We have actually to build up a secular society because of so many religions and divergence of faith. Then the third is the democratic polity. I may differ with Mr. Kurian and that is what is meant by democracy. Fourth is the socialist economy. These are the four pillars which we are strengthening. Now in the process, supposing some political forces try to weaken the foundations of a particular pillar in the name of democracy, if some would like to destroy democracy, what should be done? If somebody says that he is a follower of Gandhi, that he is a preacher of non-violence and in the name of democracy if he is trying to destroy democracy I cannot keep quiet.

SHRI UMASHANKAR JOSHI (Nominated): You can name the man.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: No names are necessary. When one opposition leader put me this question: "Sir, when are you going back, I said "where"? "To our democratic system" he said. Now what is democratic system? Is it to gherao the Vice-Chancellors? I am addressing the very learned Vice-Chancellor. Is it gheraoing the Vice-Chancellor and beating the legislators and making them sit on a donkey with actually a garland of shoes which they did in Bihar to a CPI member of the legislature? Is it forcibly making the legislators resign and in fact one legislator in Gujarat when he was in hospital with a heart attack was beaten and actually forced to give resignation and force was sought to be used when a lady legislator did not resign? Should I go back to all that? I say, the Congress vehicle has no reverse gear.

We do not go back to that state of indiscipline whatever may happen... *Interruptions*). We have heard statements from responsible people here and outside that they will settle the matter in the streets. Is this what we want to perpetuate? Is this what we want to perpetuate? The answer from the Congress Party to this is "No". Sir, in the process of preserving democracy, some inconvenience may have been caused to some people. We regret it. So we have to see what is the direction in which we move. Sir, democracy largely depends on the accent on the basic norms and rules of the game of politics by all political parties. Dr. Kurian cannot have a right of throwing only stones, and I have a right of throwing words only.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You throw bullets.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: Sir, I plead that democracy is best suited to the genius of the Indian people, and the federal character of the polity and the diverse nature of society find in democracy full opportunity for articulation. We believe in democracy. We want to preserve democracy but democracy is the most difficult term to define, and democratic system is the most difficult system to successfully implement also. But still we are committed to it and we will certainly keep it up.

Lastly, I put it that one significant factor had emerged in Indian democracy in its functioning and it was that the people could not throw into service a viable and responsible opposition which could be an alternative to the National Congress on a national level. This has created a difficulty. The Opposition cannot expect the Congress to build up its own opposition. The only way is that the country could progress towards its destination with greater pace and in an orderly manner if the Opposition feels more responsible than it is today, and if the Opposition could function in a democratic way.

[Shri V. B. Raju]

But one thing I would like to say. This political democracy is not an end by itself. Without economic democracy, political democracy is incomplete and inadequate. Supposing in reaching the economic goal and in reaching higher levels of a socialist society political democracy has to readjust itself, then it has to do it. It is democratic socialism that is the objective. And socialism has three components—eradication of poverty, removal of disparities and elimination of exploitation. Now, in attaining these things supposing political democracy has some difficulty, it has to readjust. Therefore, what has happened is in the best interest of the nation. I am sure the Opposition will certainly realize that what the Congress Party and its Government has done is correct.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Your speech will come in the papers.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति जी, स्वाधीनता के 28 वर्ष पश्चात् आपातकालीन स्थिति के नाम पर जो यह भयंकर जवालामुखी का विस्फोट हुआ है इससे देश में प्रजातंत्र की जड़ें हिल गयी हैं। मैं उपसभापति जी, सौभाग्य से उन सदस्यों से से हूँ कि जिन को राज्य सभा के अनिर्वाचित लोक सभा में भी बैठने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त है। मैंने अपनी आंखों से इस तरह के अवसर एक बार नहीं, तीन, चार बार देखे हैं कि जब मारा मदन एक स्वर में बोला है और जब मारे मदन की भाषा एक थी। 1962 में जब चीन का आक्रमण हुआ, उस समय मारे मदन की भाषा एक थी। 1965 में जब पाकिस्तान का आक्रमण हुआ, उस समय चाहे वह सत्ताधारी दल के सदस्य हो या विपक्ष के, उन सब की भाषा एक थी। 1971 में जब बंगला देश की मुक्ति का आन्दोलन छिड़ा उस समय भी मदन के सभी सदस्य एक स्वर में बोल रहे थे और ऐसी स्थिति एक वर्ष पहले तब आयी जब पाकिस्तान की अमरीका ने हथियारों पर लगे प्रतिबंध को हटाया और उस के कारण देश में रोष की लहर आयी उस समय भी मैंने सदन के सभी सदस्यों को एक स्वर में बोलते हुए देखा। ऐसे अनेकों प्रसंग और भी आये होंगे। ऐसे भी प्रसंग आये कि जब सत्ताधारी दल के

और विपक्ष के सदस्यों ने आपस में काफी गरमा-गरम बहसे की और एक दूसरे पर आरोप-प्रत्यारोप भी लगाये। एक दूसरे की युक्तियों का विरोध किया। लेकिन ऐसा अवसर आज मैं 28 वर्ष के पश्चात् पहली बार देख रहा हूँ कि जब विरोध के स्वर को बंद करने के लिये जेलों के दरवाजे खोले गये हैं और लोक सभा और राज्य सभा के सदस्यों को जेलों के अंदर बंद किया गया है। मैं, उपसभापति जी, आप के माध्यम से बड़ी नम्रता के साथ सत्ताधारी पक्ष को और सरकार को कहना चाहता हूँ कि आन्तरिक सुरक्षा कानून और दूसरे कानूनों के अन्तर्गत जो राजनीतिक नेताओं की, समूह के सदस्यों की और विधायकों की या और भी इस प्रकार की जो गिरफ्तारियां हुई हैं उनके लिये न्यायालयों के दरवाजों को बंद कर देना यह संविधान की आत्मा का उपहास है। अगर संविधान के निर्माताओं को यह पता होता, उनको यह जानकारी होती कि आपत्कालीन स्थिति की धारा जो संविधान में रखी जा रही है, इसका आगे चल कर दुरुपयोग भी हो सकता है तो मेरा स्पष्ट अनुमान है कि संविधान के वह निर्माता, वह दूरदर्शी हमारे विधि विशेषज्ञ इसके साथ कुछ पंक्तियां शायद और भी जोड़ते जिससे इस आपत्कालीन स्थिति का दुरुपयोग न होने पाता। जिस समय आपात्कालीन स्थिति लागू हुई पूरे देश में तो संसद के कुछ सदस्यों का एक ज़िप्टमंडल राष्ट्रपति जी से मिलने के लिए गया। सौभाग्य से मैं भी उसमें था, त्यागी जी थे, उस सदन के और इस सदन के कुछ और सदस्य थे। राष्ट्रपति जी से हम लोगों ने जाकर यह कहा कि सरकार के पास और दूसरे बहुत से कानून इस प्रकार के थे, संसद ने सरकार को इतने अधिक अधिकार दिये हुए हैं कि जो काम सरकार करना चाहती थी या जो विकास के कार्य सरकार करना चाहती थी उन कानूनों में, उन अधिकारों का उपयोग करके कर सकती थी। लेकिन आपात्कालीन स्थिति लागू करके जो एक ब्रह्मास्त्र छोड़ा गया है, जो अंतिम शस्त्र का प्रयोग किया गया है, इसके कुछ दुष्परिणाम भी हो सकते हैं। सबसे बड़ा दुष्परिणाम इसका यह हो सकता है—वर्तमान सरकार इस आपात्कालीन स्थिति की आड़ में जैसा वह कहती है कुछ सुधार और विकास के कार्यों को तेजी से कार्यान्वित करना चाहती है, लेकिन मैं आपसे यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जैसा कि गांवों के अंदर एक छोटी सी कहावत है कि किसी परिवार की बुढ़िया

मर गई, तो लोगों ने कहा कि घर की दादी के जाने का हमें अफसोस नहीं है जितना अफसोस हम बात का है कि मौत ने घर का दरवाजा देख लिया। आपत्ति इस बात की है कि जिस तरह से आपात्कालीन स्थिति का उपयोग किया जा रहा है मुझे भय यह है कि कभी केन्द्र के अन्दर कोई इस प्रकार की सरकार हुई जिसका प्रजातंत्र में या संविधान में या इसी प्रकार की बातों में विश्वास न हुआ, वह अगर इस परिस्थिति का दुरुपयोग करने लगी तो उसके लिए आपने क्या रोक लगाई है। आप ऐसा मार्ग प्रशस्त कर रहे हैं कि जिस मार्ग को खोलने के बाद आगे चल कर इस पर प्रतिबन्ध नहीं लगाया जा सकेगा। आपने कुछ निश्चित कदम उठाये हैं, लेकिन इसकी क्या गारन्टी है कि कल को कुछ और लोगों के हाथ में यह अन-लिमिटेड पावर चली आए और वह पावर अपने हाथ में रखने के लिए संविधान को ताक पर रख दे, इसके लिए भी हम को सोचना चाहिए था। मैं विशेष नम्रता के साथ अपने दोस्तों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि श्री खास कर जो सत्ताष्टक दल के लोग हैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि छोटे-छोटे बच्चों से हम कई वर्ष पहले सुनते थे “संभल के रहना अपने घर में छिपे हुए गदारो से”। मैंने कई मस्किन के ग्रन्थों में और वेद के मंत्रों में भी पढ़ा है कि शत्रु से तो मावधान रहो, लेकिन मित्र से भी मावधान रहो।

“अभयम् मित्राद् अभयं अमित्राद्”

शत्रु से सावधान रहो। लेकिन शत्रु से पहले उस मित्र से सावधान रहो जो दोस्त बन कर तुम्हारे घर में घुसा हुआ है, जो तुम्हारी कमर में छुरा घोंपना चाहता है। कही ऐसी बात नहीं कि आपको भी वह दयनीय स्थिति कर दे जिस दयनीय स्थिति में आपको फंकर पश्चाताप करना पड़े। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन कदमों को उठाने से पहले हमको बहुत दूरदर्शिता से और बहुत आगे जाकर सोचना चाहिए।

दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि आपात्कालीन स्थिति किस परिस्थिति में लागू हुई है ? मैंने बहुत ध्यानपूर्वक गृह मंत्री श्री ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी का भाषण सुना, मैंने माननीय राजू साहब का भाषण भी सुना। इन दोनों का भाषण सुनने के बाद मैं भी इसी निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचा और मैं राजू साहब को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि एक वाक्य उनके मुँह से निकल पड़ा कि ये कदम एक वर्ष पहले अगर

उठाये जाते तो ज्यादा अच्छा होता। राजू साहब के मुख से ये शब्द निकले। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिन परिस्थितियों में यह पग उठाया गया है और यह आपात्कालीन स्थिति लागू की गई है उसकी देश में तरह-तरह की व्याख्या है। मैं, उपमहापति जी, उन सदस्यों में हूँ जो इस बात को पसन्द नहीं करने थे कि हाई कोर्ट का निर्णय आने के बाद विरोधी दलों की ओर से किसी भी प्रकार के प्रदर्शन किये जायें। न्यायालय का निर्णय न्यायालय के स्तर पर हल होना चाहिए। न्यायालयों में भी वह लड़ाई लड़ी जा सकती थी। न्यायालयों के निर्णयों को सड़को पर नहीं लाना चाहिए। लेकिन मैं इस पक्ष में भी नहीं था कि हाई कोर्ट का निर्णय आने के बाद दिल्ली की डी०टी०सी० की बसों का इस्तेमाल किया जाये, इस प्रकार के प्रदर्शन किये जायें। मैं इन दोनों बातों के पक्ष में नहीं हूँ जो इस प्रकार न्यायालय के निर्णयों को लेकर सड़कों पर इस प्रकार के प्रदर्शन किये जायें या किसी अन्य प्रकार का व्यवहार किया जाए। लेकिन मैं अपने मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूँ और विशेष रूप से सत्ताष्टक दल के सदस्यों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह घोषणा अगर न्यायालय के निर्णय आने से पहले हो जाती तो इसकी दूसरी व्याख्या होती। हाई कोर्ट का निर्णय आने के बाद, सर्वोच्च न्यायालय का अन्तरिम आदेश आने के बाद जब यह निर्णय लिया गया है और इसकी दूसरे ढंग की व्याख्या की जाए तो उसको आप और हम रोक नहीं सकेंगे। क्योंकि यह निर्णय महीने भर पहले या पन्द्रह दिन पहले भी लिया जा सकता था। लेकिन जिन परिस्थितियों में यह निर्णय किया गया, इसको कम से कम मैं अच्छा नहीं समझता हूँ और इसको स्वस्थ परम्परा भी नहीं माना जा सकता। तीसरी बात जो मैं विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह कि आपात्स्थिति का जो आज दुरुपयोग हो रहा है। श्री ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी और श्री ओम् भट्टा गृह राज्य मंत्री यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं। इनको विशेष रूप से सुना कर कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर सत्ताष्टक दल के सदस्य इस बात को कहने में सदन में हिचकिचाए तो मैं सरकार के मंत्रियों के कानों में इस बात को अवश्य डालता हूँ कि आपको इस आपात्स्थिति का पुलिस जिस प्रकार से दुरुपयोग कर रही है उसका आपको ज्ञान नहीं है। कुछ इस प्रकार के राजनीतिक कार्यकर्ता भी हैं जो पुलिस की

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

आड़ में आकर अपने दुश्मनों से बदला निकाल रहे हैं। मैं इस बात को पसन्द करता हूँ कि तस्कर व्यापारियों को गिरफ्तार किया जाए, मैं इस बात को भी पसन्द करता हूँ कि चोर-बाजारी करने वालों को और जमाखोरों को गिरफ्तार किया जाए, महंगाई बढ़ाने वालों को भी गिरफ्तार किया जाए। इन कदमों का मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। लेकिन सरकार के इस कानून की आड़ में आकर पुलिस जो आज अपनी चादी बना रही है। क्या श्री ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी और श्री मेहता जी ने इस बात को भी देखा है? राज्यों के अन्दर और बड़े-बड़े शहरों के अन्दर पुलिस किस प्रकार से आपातस्थिति के अधिकारों का दुरुपयोग कर रही है? अगर आप इस पर चैक नहीं लगाएंगे तो मैं आपको सही कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस उद्देश्य से आपने देश में आपातस्थिति लागू की है या जिस लक्ष्य पर आप यह आपातस्थिति लागू करके पहुँचना चाहते हैं उस पर पहुँच नहीं सकेंगे। कब, कैसे और कहा जाकर इसकी परिणति होगी इसको मैं अपने शब्दों में नहीं कह सकूँगा। इतनी बात अवश्य कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस आपात स्थिति के लागू होने से देश के अन्दर चाहे जैसा वातावरण हो लेकिन मारा देश स्तब्ध है, भौत्तका है। यह निर्णय नहीं ले पा रहा है कि किस प्रकार से इस स्थिति का अन्त हो। इतना अवश्य है कि दुनिया के दूसरे देशों में इस पर तरह-तरह की व्याख्याएँ हो रही हैं। उन तरह-तरह की व्याख्याओं में हमारे प्रजातन्त्र का जो स्वरूप निखरता जा रहा था और उसकी व्याख्या में यह बात कही जा रही थी कि दुनिया के सबसे बड़े किसी देश में अगर प्रजातन्त्र का परीक्षण हो रहा है तो वह भारत वर्ष में हो रहा है। आज हमारी उस तस्वीर पर धुंधलापन आ गया है। यह धुंधलापन हम कैसे, कब मिटा पाएंगे यह सोचना या निर्णय लेना सरकार का काम है। इस निर्णय के लेने में शायद विपक्षी दल ज्यादा सहायक न हो सकें। अगर आज भी हमारी, 28 वर्षों के बाद गांधी जी में आस्था है तो गांधी जी के शब्दों और गांधी जी के सिद्धान्तों को मार्ग प्रशस्त करने वाले सिद्धान्त मान लेना चाहिए। हमारी सरकार को गांधी जी के उम वाक्य को नहीं भूलना चाहिए जिसमें गांधी जी से किसी ने पूछा था कि 'बापू आपकी भाषा में स्वराज्य का क्या अर्थ है' ?

गांधी जी ने एक ही लाइन में इसका उत्तर दिया था — मेरी स्वराज्य की परिभाषा यह है — व्यक्ति के जीवन में शासन के कम से कम हस्तक्षेप का नाम है स्वराज्य। यह उनके स्वराज्य की व्याख्या थी कि व्यक्ति के जीवन में शासन का कम से कम हस्तक्षेप हो। गांधी जी की परिभाषा कहा तक सही उतर रही है, मैं इस समय कसौटी पर नहीं कसूँगा। विपक्षी दल और सत्तारूढ़ दल के सदस्य इसे अपने हृदय की कसौटी पर कसे कि हम कितना सही उतर रहे हैं और कितना हम सही निर्णय लेने चले जा रहे हैं। मेरा अपना कहना यह भी है कि अगर सरकार को यही करना था कि इन नेताओं को गिरफ्तार करके दूर तक रखना है उससे देश में विकास और दूसरे कार्यक्रमों को आसानी से लागू किया जा सकेगा तो मैं इसको उचित समझता कि उनको तिहाड़ में या पड़ौस की किसी जेल में रखने। केवल 8 दिन का तो अधिवेशन ही हो रहा है कोई महीने, दो महीने का अधिवेशन तो हो नहीं रहा है, उनको ऐसे मौके पर अपने विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर देने। क्योंकि वे भी तो जनता के प्रत्यक्ष या अप्रत्यक्ष ढंग से चुने हुए प्रतिनिधि हैं। संसद् का अधिवेशन समाप्त होने के बाद उनको वापस तिहाड़ जेल पहुँचा सकते थे। उनको आप बहा से लाने और ले जाने की व्यवस्था कर सकते थे। इन आठ दिनों के अधिवेशन में उनके भाग लेने से यह पता लगता कि आपकी नीयत वैसी नहीं है जैसी कि व्याख्या की जा रही है। लेकिन उन लोगों को जेल में बन्द करके उनके स्वर पर प्रतिबन्ध लगा करके, उनके मुँह बन्द करके हम यह कहें कि नहीं हम प्रजातन्त्र को बच रहे हैं, हमारे कदम प्रजातन्त्र की ओर जा रहे हैं ये दोनों बातें उसके विपरीत हो रही हैं। इस बात को गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिए।

कुछ लोगों का कहना है कि यह संसद् का अन्तिम अधिवेशन है लेकिन मैं ऐसा नहीं मानता। मेरी अपनी मान्यता है कि संसद् का अन्तिम अधिवेशन नहीं है। लेकिन जो भी हो, सात दिन के बजाए अधिवेशन चार दिन का हो, दो दिन का हो मेरा कहना है कि जो जनता ने प्रत्यक्ष या अप्रत्यक्ष ढंग से प्रतिनिधि चुन कर भेजे हैं उनको उसमें शामिल होने देना चाहिए, अवसर दिया जाना चाहिए। बड़ी बात यह है कि आप मैज्योरिटी में हैं। अगर थिन मैज्योरिटी

होती और दो-चार का अन्तर होता तो भी बात समझ में आ सकती थी। लेकिन इतनी थर्मिंग मैजोरिटी (भारी बहुमत) लेने के बाद भी उनके स्वर पर प्रति-बन्ध लगाना, मेरी समझ में बात नहीं आती। और फिर सबसे बड़ी बात उपमभाषिणी जी यह है कि जो लोग आज जेल के अन्दर बन्द हैं उनमें से कई इस प्रकार के लोगों को जानता हूँ जो शारीरिक दृष्टि से बहुत सबन नहीं है और जिनकी आयु भी बहुत हो चुकी है। लेकिन आज स्थिति यह है कि उनके स्वास्थ्य के सम्बन्ध में किसी प्रकार के कोई समाचार नहीं आ रहे हैं और यह भी पता नहीं चल रहा है कि उनका स्वास्थ्य कैसा है, बीमार हैं या उनका कोई आपरेशन हुआ है। इस सम्बन्ध में तरह-तरह की बातें कही जाती हैं। मैं यहां पर उस अशुभ बात की चर्चा नहीं करना चाहता जिसके सम्बन्ध में समाचार-पत्रों में सेन्सर लगा होने के कारण कोई खबर नहीं आई है। लेकिन समाचार पत्रों पर सेन्सर लगा होने का परिणाम यह हुआ कि एक दिन पहले दिल्ली शहर के अन्दर जयप्रकाश जी के बारे में एक रूमर बड़ी तेजी के साथ फैली जिसको मेरी जिह्वा कहने में भी समर्थ नहीं है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसा क्यों हुआ? गांधी जी को जब पूना की जेल में बन्द किया गया था तो ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेन्ट ने भी गांधी जी के स्वास्थ्य के बारे में जानकारी दी थी और उनकी बीमारी के समाचार डाक्टरों के बुलेटिनो में प्रकाशित होते थे और देश को पता चलता था कि गांधी जी किस स्थिति में हैं। मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप नैतिकता के नाम पर भले ही और कुछ मत कीजिए। लेकिन कम से कम देश के जो पांच छः जाने माने नेता हैं उनके स्वास्थ्य के सम्बन्ध में तो जानकारी देने रहिये ताकि देश को इस बात का मन्तोप हो सके कि उनका स्वास्थ्य किसी तरह की भयावह स्थिति में नहीं है।

दूसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि राजनैतिक कार्य-कर्ताओं को आप राजनैतिक कार्यकर्ताओं से मिलने की अनुमति न दे, एक बार तो यह बात समझ में आ सकती है, हालांकि मैं इसको नहीं मानता। लेकिन अगर यह मान भी लिया जाये तो भी उनके परिवार के सदस्यों को मिलने की अनुमति देने में क्या आपत्ति है। अगर आप उनको उनसे मिलने की अनुमति

देगे तो कम से कम उनको यह मन्तोप होगा कि उनका स्वास्थ्य ठीक है। आखिर ऐसी कौन सी स्थिति आ गई या इतनी ज्यादा आपात्कालीन स्थिति हो गई कि उनके परिवार वालों को भी उनसे मिलने नहीं दिया जाएगा, मित्रों को नहीं मिलने दिया जाएगा और उनके स्वास्थ्य के सम्बन्ध में कोई जानकारी नहीं दी जाएगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह आपात्कालीन स्थिति की चरम सीमा है, उसका दुरुपयोग है। आपात्कालीन स्थिति की सही व्याख्या मैं इसको नहीं मानता।

एक विशेष बात मैं समाचार माधनों के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। उपमभाषिणी जी, हमारे देश में समाचारों के जो माधन हैं वे तीन ही हैं—समाचार-पत्र, आकाशवाणी और दूर-दर्शन। जो अभी कुछ ही दिनों से चालू हुआ है। उसमें से दो माधन तो इस प्रकार के हैं जो पहले से ही सरकार के नियन्त्रण में हैं। उनका दुरुपयोग किम प्रकार से किया जाता है उसके संबन्ध में इस सदन में और दूसरे सदन में बार-बार सदस्यों ने शिकायतें की हैं और यह बताया है कि सरकार उनको किम प्रकार में अपने हित में प्रयोग कर रही है। लेकिन समाचार-पत्र कुछ इस प्रकार के माधन थे जिनकी दूसरी स्थिति थी। मैं यहां कहना चाहता हूँ कि हो सकता है कि कुछ एकाध समाचार-पत्र इस प्रकार के हों जो किसी निहित स्वार्थ में आकर या किसी विदेशी प्रेरणा में आकर या विदेशी धन के प्रभाव में आकर अपनी स्वतंत्रता का अनुचित लाभ उठा रहे हैं और अपनी स्वतंत्रता का इस प्रकार से लाभ उठा रहे हों जो आगे चल कर राष्ट्र के लिए भयावह स्थिति पैदा करें। लेकिन आज समाचार-पत्रों पर इस प्रकार से सेन्सर लगाने का परिणाम यह है कि देश में तरह-तरह की अफवाहें फैल रही हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में मेरा कहना यह है कि सरकार का अगर लोकतन्त्रात्मक प्रणाली में विश्वास है तो समाचार-पत्रों पर जो कठोर सेन्सर लगाया हुआ है उसको सरकार को वापस ले लेना चाहिए और सरकार को समाचार-पत्रों में कहना चाहिए कि आप स्वयं अपने ऊपर अकुण लगा कर चले, हम आपके बीच में किसी प्रकार नहीं आयेगे। लेकिन आपका स्वयं का अकुण इस प्रकार हो जिसमें आपका कोई पग इस प्रकार का न हो जो विदेशी ताकतों को प्रोत्साहन देने वाला हो या जो राष्ट्र की अखण्डता को

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

चुनौती देने वाला हो या जो राष्ट्र की एकता को खंडित करने वाला हो। आप इस प्रकार की गाइड-लाइन्स उनको दे सकते हैं और मार्ग-दर्शक रेखाएं निर्धारित कर सकते हैं। लेकिन इस प्रकार से सरकारी कर्मचारियों का उनके लिए प्रयोग करना, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती।

एक तथ्य मैं स्पष्ट रूप से स्वीकार कर लेना चाहता हूं और उसमें मुझे किसी प्रकार की आपत्ति भी नहीं है। मैं अपने भाषण का दूसरा भाग डमलिया देना चाहता हूं कि जिस प्रकार की परिस्थिति आजकल हमारे देश में है उस परिस्थिति का भी अगर हम चाहें तो सही ढंग से उपयोग कर सकते हैं। आपातकालीन स्थिति को जिस प्रकार की हालत दिल्ली में है, अन्य स्थानों की स्थिति की मुझे जानकारी नहीं है, उसका परिणाम यह हुआ है कि सरकारी दफ्तरों में उपस्थिति अब ठीक समय पर होने लगी है। वरना अब तक स्थिति यह रही है कि 11 बजे अफसर लोग दफ्तर पहुंचते थे, फिर चाय आती थी और फिर घड़ी की तरफ देखा जाता था और तब तक लंच टाइम हो जाता था। उसके बाद 4 बजे के बाद ओवर टाइम काम किया जाता था। पीछे सरकार ने यह भी सूचना दी है—एक वर्ष में सरकार को 55 करोड़ रुपये ओवर-टाइम के रूप में देना पड़ा। इस प्रकार यह एक लाभ तो जरूर हुआ है—

डकबाल तरे इश्क ने सब बल दिये निकाल,
मुदत से आरजू थी कि सीधा करे कोई।

अब तक इस प्रकार की दफ्तरों की स्थिति थी। अब कम से कम इस स्थिति के अन्दर अन्तर आया है, परिवर्तन आया है। पंडित कमलापति त्रिपाठी जी यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं। बिना टिकट यात्रा करने वालों के कारण सरकार को करोड़ों रुपये की हानि हो रही थी और जंजीर खींचने की घटनाएं जिस प्रकार से होती थी उससे ऐसा लगता था कि भय और शमन नाम की कोई चीज ही नहीं हैं। मोदी नगर से रेलगाड़ी के अन्दर लड़किया बैठी थी और बीच में कालेज के लड़के डिब्बे में घुस आते हैं और पूरे गाजियाबाद तक उनकी वह दुरंगति हुई कि जो अकथनीय है। इस प्रकार की घटनाएं आए दिन समाचार पत्रों के अन्दर आती रही हैं। ऐसा लगता था कि कानून नाम की चीज समाप्त होती जा रही है। इसलिए एक बात जरूर हुई और इसको स्वीकार करने

में मुझे कोई आपत्ति नहीं है और इसको मैं खुले दिल से स्वीकार करता हूँ कि इससे कम से कम इस प्रकार की प्रवृत्तियों पर बन्धन लगा है। पर मैं यह भी साफ-साफ कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह अस्थायी पग नहीं होना चाहिये। इसके अन्दर स्थिरता आनी चाहिए। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी इसी प्रकार की बात कही है। यह जो इस प्रकार से लोग शमन के भय से काम करना चाहते हैं, यह उपयुक्त नहीं है, उपयुक्त यह है कि आत्म अनुशासन की भावना से काम किया जाये और यह काम भी सरकार को करना चाहिये तथा सबको सहभागी होकर काम करना चाहिये।

जहां तक 21 सूत्री आर्थिक कार्यक्रम का संबंध है, मैं अधिकारपूर्ण भाषा में अपने और से और अपने दल की ओर से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमें उस कार्यक्रम का स्वागत करने में किसी प्रकार की कोई हिचक नहीं है। हम उस कार्यक्रम का पूर्णतः स्वागत करते हैं। यह कार्यक्रम आज से नहीं बल्कि जब पहले से लागू हुआ था उस समय भी हमने इसका स्वागत किया था। उस समय हमारी इच्छा इस प्रकार की थी कि इस कार्यक्रम को 21 सूत्री कार्यक्रम न रखा जाये बल्कि इस कार्यक्रम को 25 सूत्री कार्यक्रम बना दिया जाये या 26 सूत्री कार्यक्रम बना दिया जाये। इस कार्यक्रम के सम्बन्ध में मेरा कहना इस प्रकार से है और मैं चाहूंगा कि अगर सरकार उचित समझे कि वह जो कदम आगे उठाने जाने वाली है, उसमें इस कार्यक्रम को भी अवश्य सम्मिलित करे। हो सकता है कि इस सम्बन्ध में कोई एक आध राजनीतिक दल आपका विरोध करे। लेकिन देश के अन्दर एकता के नाम पर, देश की प्रगति और विकास के नाम पर यह आवश्यक है कि सब से पहिले काम यह किया जाये कि देश के अन्दर जो 45 प्रतिशत पूंजी 85 परिवारों में ही सिमट कर रह गई है, इस प्रकार के जो मोनोपोलिस्ट हैं, वह खत्म हों। इस विषय में हाथ खोलकर और आख खोलकर काम किया जाना चाहिये। यह भी आप अपने आर्थिक कार्यक्रम में सम्मिलित करे।

एक दूसरी बात मैं आप से यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप अपने आर्थिक कार्यक्रम में यह भी शामिल करें कि यह जो अरबों खरबों रुपया अपने देश के अन्दर ब्लैक-मनी के रूप में पड़ा हुआ है, उस ब्लैक-मनी को किम तरह से व्हाइटमनी किया जा सकता है? जिस तरह से दुनिया के कई देशों ने हाउसिंग प्राबलम्स को

साल्व करने के लिए इस मनी का प्रयोग किया है, इंडस्ट्रियल प्राबलम्स को साल्व करने के लिए किया है या और कैसे भी इसका प्रयोग किया हो। मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह जो अरबों और खरबों रुपया ब्लैकमनी के रूप में पड़ा हुआ है, उसका उपयोग होना चाहिए। उपयोग ही नहीं होना चाहिए बल्कि आगे भी इस तरह के पग उठाये जाने चाहिये जिससे ब्लैकमनी का किसी रूप में भी बनना बन्द हो जाय। यह भी आपको अपने आर्थिक कार्यक्रम में सम्मिलित करना चाहिये।

एक बात आपको अपने आर्थिक कार्यक्रम में यह भी सम्मिलित करनी चाहिये—जैसा कि दुनिया के कई उन देशों ने किया है जो अपने को ममाजवादी भी नहीं कहते। लेकिन व्यवहार में उन्होंने अपनाया है। जितनी भी आर्थिक असमानता है, खासतौर पर सरकारी कर्मचारियों में और बेतनभागियों में उन्होंने यह किया है कि उनके बीच में 1 और 20 का अन्तर नहीं होगा। आप एक और बीस का करे, एक और पन्द्रह का करे, एक और दस का करे, यह आपका काम है। लेकिन मेरा कहना यह है कि आर्थिक कार्यक्रम में इस प्रकार की योजना सम्मिलित की जा सकती है।

आपने गांव में किसान की जमीन के लिए सीलिंग लागू कर दी है और अब शहरी सम्पत्ति पर लागू करने जा रहे हैं। लेकिन मेरा कहना देश के प्रधान मंत्री जी से यह है कि जो हमारे देश में मिनिस्ट्रो की जो फौज है, उस पर भी सीलिंग होनी चाहिये। यह जो इतनी बड़ी लम्बी फौज है और इन पर जो इतना बड़ा भारी सरकारी खर्चा हो रहा है, उस पर भी हमें सीलिंग लगानी चाहिए। ब्रिटिश शासन में जब देश का विभाजन नहीं हुआ था, रंगून से लेकर द्वारिका तक और पेशावर से लेकर कन्याकुमारी तक, सारे हिन्दुस्तान में उस समय पांच मिनिस्टर थे और कहीं भी कोई पत्ता हिलता था तो दिल्ली में पता हो जाता था। आज हमारे देश में मिनिस्ट्रो की इतनी बड़ी फौज है और उसके पश्चात् भी जब हम हाउस के अन्दर कोई सवाल करते हैं और मिनिस्टर जवाब देने के लिए खड़े होते हैं तो जवाब नहीं मिल पाता है और आफिसर गैलरी की ओर देखते हैं जहां से झट आफिसर कागज लिखकर भेजते हैं। मेरा कहना यह है कि यह जो सीलिंग आप और चीजों पर लागू कर रहे हैं, उसे सरकारी खर्च पर भी लागू

करना चाहिये। किस तरह से सरकारी खर्चा कम हो सके। इन सब को आप अपने आर्थिक कार्यक्रम में सम्मिलित करें।

एक बात से मैं बहुत प्रसन्न हूँ और मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि इस बात पर और विचार करना चाहिये। संसद को ही विचार नहीं करना चाहिये बल्कि पूरे देश को विचार करना चाहिये। आपातकालीन स्थिति लागू होने के बाद कही प्रधान मंत्री जी के मुह से एक वाक्य निकला और मैंने उस वाक्य को ध्यानपूर्वक पढ़ा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस बात को सहज में ही न लिया जाय बल्कि इसको गम्भीरता पूर्वक लिया जाना चाहिये। मैं उन सदस्यों में से हूँ जो आज से नहीं बल्कि आठ दस वर्षों से इस बात का भी प्रयास कर रहे हैं। इस देश में जितने अधिक राजनीतिक दल होंगे उतना प्रजानन्द के लिए अभिशाप रहेगा। लेकिन अगर राजनीतिक दल निकट आना चाहते हैं तो सत्तारूढ़ दल दुखी क्यों होता है। कभी-कभी कोई कहता है—समझ में नहीं आता है—कि एक्सट्रीम राइटिस्ट और एक्सट्रीम लैफ्टिस्ट, ये दोनों कैसे मिल रहे हैं। अगर एक्सट्रीम राइटिस्ट और एक्सट्रीम लैफ्टिस्ट मिलकर किसी तीसरे रास्ते पर आ रहे हैं तो इसमें आपको खुशी होनी चाहिये दुखी नहीं होना चाहिये। आप इससे दुखी क्यों हैं? अगर कोई एक्सट्रीम राइट से हट रहा है या एक्सट्रीम लैफ्ट से हट रहा है, राष्ट्रीय धारा में जाना चाहता है तो इसकी आलोचना करने की क्या आवश्यकता है? इस पर तो प्रसन्नता व्यक्त करने की आवश्यकता है, हमें इस बात के लिये प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। मैंने कई देशों में देखा है विशेषकर जर्मनी में मैंने देखा है कि 5 प्रतिशत से कम मत जिन पार्टियों को प्राप्त होते हैं वे रिकगनाइज्ड पार्टी नहीं मानी जाती। इस प्रकार का रास्ता निकलना चाहिए जिससे देश में राजनीतिक दल कम से कम हों। अगर देश में दो या तीन राजनीतिक दल होंगे तो आए-दिन छोटे नारे, छोटे प्रदर्शनों की आवश्यकता नहीं रहेगी। दूसरे देशों में दो-तीन राजनीतिक दल होते हैं तो बड़ी गम्भीरता से सिद्धान्तों

[श्री प्रकाशदोर शास्त्री]

को लेकर काम करते हैं। कैसे यह परिस्थिति यहां आये इसको हमें मिल कर सोचना चाहिये। यह वर्तमान राजनीतिक दलों के मामले ही नहीं देश के मामले एक चुनौती आयी है। अगर इस आपातकालीन स्थिति में से कोई रास्ता इसके लिये निकल आये तो मैं समझूंगा कि बुराई में भी भलाई का जन्म हुआ है और उसको देख कर मुझे बड़ी खुशी होगी।

यहां पर उपायों की दीक्षित, श्री ब्रह्मनन्द रेडडी और कमलापति त्रिपाठी तीनों बैठे हैं। इस आपातकालीन स्थिति का एक लाभ यह उठा सकते हैं कि जितने विवाद देश में चले रहे हैं 27 वर्षों से उन्हें सुलझा ले। जैसे नदी-जल विवाद है, देश में 105 नदियों के विवाद चल रहे हैं, जिनमें 13-14 बड़े विवाद हैं। उनमें ऐसे-ऐसे विवाद भी हैं जिनके हल न होने से इस अभाग्य गरीब देश को एक करोड़ रुपए प्रति दिन की हानि हो रही है। इस आपातकालीन स्थिति का लाभ उठाकर अगर आप नदी जल-विवादों को सुलझा दें तो मैं समझता हूं कि देश के लिये आप एक सुनहरा पग उठायेगे। इसके साथ ही मैं चाहूंगा कि इस आपातकालीन स्थिति का लाभ उठा कर बेल्गाम और चंडीगढ़ की समस्याओं का भी समाधान कर देंगे तो आप बड़ा मजबूत कदम उठायेगे। आपको सोचना चाहिए और इस दिशा में काम करना चाहिये।

जहां तक इस देश के युवकों और छात्रों का सम्बन्ध है, इस स्थिति के बाद से छात्रों के अन्दर भी, खासकर उत्तर भारत के छात्रों के अन्दर गम्भीरता आनी प्रारम्भ हुई है। दक्षिण भारत के छात्रों की बात मैं नहीं कहता हूं, दक्षिण भारत के छात्रों का मैं पहले से जानता हूं। जब यूनियन पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन के एक सदस्य से यह बात सुनने को मिली तो बड़ा दुःख हुआ कि दक्षिण भारत के छात्र तो अपनी योग्यता के आधार पर आगे आते हैं और उत्तर भारत के छात्रों को उनका कोटा पूरा करने के लिए उत्तीर्ण करना पड़ता है। कुछ दिनों से हल्के रास्तों पर वह चल पड़े थे। इसके लिए आप क्या कुछ करेंगे, यह आपके

देखने की बात है। मैं सुझाव के तौर पर एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ—कह नहीं सकता कि आप कहां तक इस काम को कर पायेंगे—कि छात्रों के कानेजों और विश्वविद्यालयों में जो यूनियन होती है उनकी सदस्यता वैकल्पिक बना दीजिये। क्योंकि मैं जानता हूँ कि 95 प्रतिशत छात्र पढ़ना चाहते हैं लेकिन 5 प्रतिशत छात्र ऐसे होते हैं जो 95 प्रतिशत के भाग्य से खिलवाड़ करने हैं। इस स्थिति का लाभ उठाकर आप इस काम को भी कर सकते हैं।

एक बात मैं उन सरकारी कर्मचारियों के सम्बन्ध में नहीं कहूंगा जो भागने-भागने दफ्तरों में पहुंचते हैं तो चित्र अधूरा रह जायगा। आज मैंने समाचार पत्रों में पढ़ा कि एक आदमी को दफ्तर 10 बजे पहुंचना था, बम फूट गई, वह लाइन छोड़ कर बम पकड़ने के लिये दौड़ा, लेकिन बम का डंडा हाथ से छूट जाने से उसके हाथ-पैर टूट गये। हाथ-पैर टूटने की बात उसके मुंह से नहीं निकली, उसके मुंह से केवल यही निकला “हाय ! मैं लेट हो गया”। यह समाचारपत्रों के अन्दर आया है। तो मैं चाहता हूं कि जितने भी सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं उनका यदि आप चाहते हैं कि ठीक 10 बजे काम करना प्रारम्भ करें तो जिन-जिन कोलोनियों में सरकारी कर्मचारी आते हैं वहां यानायान की सुविधाएं इतनी सुलभ कर देनी चाहियें कि किसी कर्मचारी को सुबह 8 बजे से लाइन में न खड़ा होना पड़े। मैं सरकारी कर्मचारियों के लिये ही नहीं कहता हूँ, दिल्ली के नागरिकों के लिए भी कहना चाहता हूं कि ऐसा कर देना चाहिये कि अगर बम स्टैंड पर 10 मिनट से ज्यादा कोई आदमी खड़ा मिलेगा, उसको बम नहीं मिला तो ट्रांसपोर्ट अधिकारी को दंड दिया जायगा। आप प्राइवेट बगों को लगाइये, अपनी बगों को लगाइये, —अगर आप कर्मचारियों को ठीक 10 बजे दफ्तर पहुंचाना चाहते हैं तो उनको साधन दीजिये ताकि वे 10 बजे पहुंच कर अपना काम प्रारम्भ कर दें। उनके लिये यह तो सम्भव है नहीं कि रोज टैक्सी लेकर आएं और 10 बजे हाजिर हों इस दिशा में भी आपको सोचना चाहिये।

अंतिम बात जिस को कह कर मैं बैठ जाना चाहता हूँ वह है उन लोगों के बारे में कि जिन के द्वारा अवैध विदेशी धन अपने देश में आ रहा है। पहले यह धन राजनीतिक दलों को आता था। हो सकता है कि अब भी कुछ राजनीतिक दलों को प्रत्यक्ष रूप से या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से यह आता हो। लेकिन उपसभापति जी, मैं विशेष रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज करोड़ों और अरबों की संख्या में यह विदेशी धन देश के धार्मिक संगठनों को आ रहा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि गृह मंत्रालय इस बात की जांच करे कि देश के धार्मिक संगठनों को जो यह करोड़ों और अरबों की संख्या में यह विदेशी धन आ रहा है वह क्यों आ रहा है और कहाँ से आ रहा है। लखनऊ की सड़कों पर एक बड़े नेता का नाम ले कर तमाम गालियाँ लिखी हुई हैं। आज हिन्दुस्तान के प्रजातन्त्र का मजाक उड़ रहा है, संविधान का मजाक उड़ रहा है। कहाँ से यह पैसा उन को मिला जनता के पास तो इतना पैसा नहीं है कि वह उनको दे सके। तो यह जो विदेशी धन राजनीतिक संगठनों को या धार्मिक संगठनों को आता है या किसी को भी आता हो इस की उच्चस्तरीय जांच होनी चाहिए और आप इन दरवाजों को बंद कीजिए वर्ना जो लाभ आप प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं इस देश के विकास के कार्यक्रम की दिशा वह आप प्राप्त नहीं कर पायेंगे।

अंत में एक बात और कह कर मैं बैठ रहा हूँ। आप ने जिन परिस्थितियों में इस ब्रह्मास्त्र का प्रयोग किया, मेरा ऐसा अनुमान है कि कानून की और धारायें हो सकती थी कि जिन के द्वारा बिना इस ब्रह्मास्त्र के प्रयोग के ही आप इन परिस्थितियों पर अधिकार और नियंत्रण प्राप्त कर सकते थे, लेकिन मैं नहीं कह सकता कि कौन मिस्र इम मलाह को देने वाले। प्रधान मंत्री जी के संबोध में मेरी निश्चित राय है कि कोई भी महत्वपूर्ण निर्णय लेते समय वे अपने मस्तिष्क का उपयोग अधिक करती हैं। किन्तु इस निर्णय को लेते समय उन्होंने किसी से राय न ली हो,

इतना बड़ा निर्णय लेते समय उन्होंने किसी से पूछा न हा, ऐसा मैं नहीं मानता। लेकिन जिन लोगों ने प्रधान मंत्री जी को आपातकालीन स्थिति लागू कर के स्थिति पर नियंत्रण करने की राय दी, उन्होंने प्रधान मंत्री जी के साथ अन्याय किया और इस देश के साथ भी अन्याय किया। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध करता हूँ और इस से अपनी असहमति व्यक्त करता हूँ।

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA : We have just now been regaled to a highly Mahatmic speech by a gentleman who chooses to oppose the Resolution and yet support the Emergency. It was a speech of a fence sitter. Actually behind his speech and behind his perorations in support of the many measures taken by the Government, I could see the language of reaction to which I shall come later. The tone and his statements are exactly the statements which are being made by the most reactionary sections of Indian society and foreign reaction. I shall come to it later.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri V. B. Raju) in the Chair]

The hon. Home Minister in his detailed speech has given a very thorough analysis of the circumstances which led to the proclamation of the emergency. It has been a very thorough and detailed analysis. He has lightened our burden. What follows essentially is that a hotch-potch set of leaders ranging from Piloo Mody, Rajnarain, Charan Singh and led by Jayaprakash Narayan had combined together to set the country on fire. This is a hard fact which we have to realise. They were actively engaged in sabotaging our production. They were actively engaged in defeating our food procurement programmes. They were spreading disaffection and violence among the college students. They were openly calling upon the Army and the Police to revolt. No Government could tolerate such state of affairs. In fact our feeling honestly is that we tolerated them too long and what was done today should have been done two years before and then the country would have been spared of many other difficulties.

[Shri Harsh Deo Malaviya]

What is interesting is to keep certain facts in mind. The R.S.S. office was raided in Jhandewala. Inside the office in a secret and subterranean room, the Police found a number of swords, and any number of weapons. And, Sir, what is more interesting is that there were US cartridges there, cartridges with US markings. These guns, these cartridges, these swords, etc. were not there for public display; but they were meant for something else. Then, there is another interesting thing which we have to bear in mind and it is that the Naxalites, who have been fighting our forces, who have been killing our people and, of course, who had to be crushed by our own forces, have also been using the US weapons and the US cartridges. How come this? Then, the gentleman on the opposite just now singing Hosannas to the unity of the extreme right and the extreme left and he was also asking if both the extreme left and the extreme right could come together, what was the harm in it? Well, Sir, it is dangerous. If the extreme right and the extreme left come together, then there is something behind it, there is some story behind it and it is clearly a proof of foreign links.

Sir, some time ago, after the Allahabad judgment, quite a few of us received a circular letter, a cyclostyled letter, signed by a certain Congress Forum for Justice and Democracy. Nobody has ever heard of such a forum. I do not have a copy of the letter. But it was arguing that Mrs. Indira Gandhi was playing the dictator, she was defying the law, she was imposing herself against law, against the court and against justice and so on. Then it said that it is not that Mrs. Gandhi is not indispensable. It also said, "Sorry, honey . . .". This expression is not used even in Britain in any decent circle or in any other English-speaking country. This is an exclusively yankee contribution to Western culture.

Now, this reveals the hands behind this circular and if I may be permitted to say,

I charge—I would not name the persons—that some members of this House who are behind the prison bars today were keeping in touch with one Mr. William Grimley, Second Secretary of the US Embassy and I hope our Home Minister knows about it. I will not name those persons. But there have been definite links and the American Embassy and the CIA have been interfering in our affairs inside the country. Sir, there is a book recently published, "Inside the company: C.I.A. Diary", written by one Philip Agee. This man was a CIA operator in the Latin American countries for about ten years. Now, probably, he got disillusioned as he says in the book and he wrote a book about the Latin American countries like Ecuador, etc. In this book, are mentioned CIA operators who were engaged in Latin America in upsetting the governments there. Some of the names mentioned in the book are known and some of them are here today and one of them is the top CIA operator, one Mr. Paul Dillon, who is now the Counsellor or the First Secretary in the US Embassy. Yes he is here.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Why don't you throw him out?

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA : This question you better ask when you speak. Sir, how is it that our country and our Prime Minister have drawn the attention of the US in the context of its global plans? It is because of our policy, our approach, our independent stand, our policy to build democratic traditions, our policy to build a socialist society in India, our policy of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union, our policy of support to the freedom movements, whether it is in the Portuguese colonies in Africa or elsewhere, our opposition to the US bases in Asia, in Diego Garcia and our support to Vietnam, etc. But India does influence lots of countries in Asia and Africa. So our country has been a thorn

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in the eyes of USA—not from now, for quite some time. I won't go into all those details. That is why they are always interested somehow to do something to upset the balance of things in India.

What is interesting, what is mortifying, Sir, if I may say so, and what is bewildering is the fact that in India today there is a collusion between the Peking agents and the CIA. I am not quoting from any secret information I am referring to certain newspaper reports which I have read. There have been coming to India agents from Peking and meeting Naxalites and others. Very recently, one person—he is called Girdhari Lal Takkar—came to India from Peking early this year. He calls himself a leader of the leftist movement in Britain. He calls himself a leader of the Forward Bloc in India. But he is practically at the service of Peking. He has visited Peking a number of times. He gets instructions from them. He gets armaments from them. He is trained in subversive methods. This Girdhari Lal came to India and said that he wanted to unite what he called the "third world forces" in India on the basis of a common platform and common programme. In his list of "third-world forces" in India are included pro-Maoist Naxalites as distinct from pro-Lin type Naxalites. Out of the 26 organizations banned, 8 or 10 are Naxalite. Besides this, Girdhari Lal also contacted some leaders of the 'great' Revolutionary party of Dr. Mathew Kurian, the CPI-M, and they are together. It is funny. It is strange that these things we do not know, but these appeared in the 'Christian Science Monitor' of U.S.A. In the 'Christian Science Monitor' such things appear about the supposed rebellion in north-eastern India, in Mizoram and Nagaland and Peking's guidance to the pro-Maoist Naxalites in India. It is very funny and very interesting.

Sir, in these days very many of us are getting some secret circulars, cyclostyled circulars. They are under different names. One is dated 19th July received by us the other day supposed to be issued by the Lok

Sangharsh Samiti. Now this is the document. If you read it, well, it would be very difficult for anybody with a sense of decency to hold his patience. I am not going to read the whole of it. I won't like to waste the time of the House. But it says :

"Indira Gandhi is like the queen bee which kills the drones . . ."

Then it says :

"Shri Rajnarain . . ."

whose performance we very well know and we are happy that he is not here to disturb the House as usually he does. It says :

"Shri Rajnarain is a grass-root socialist, more dedicated to socialism than all the Indira camp put together, and now after proving that Indira is corrupt has been consigned to dungeons . . ."

Well, I am sorry for that, such kind of language does not behove any decent person. I would like to proclaim that even all the leaders of the Opposition rolled 20 times would be no match for our Prime Minister.

This Lok Sangharsha Samiti's Letter has the gumption to deny that R. S. S. had any role in the murder of Mahatma Gandhi. It says that R.S.S. had nothing to do with it. They want to re-write history. They say that Indira Gandhi is telling blatant lies, Indira Gandhi threatened the staff of the Allahabad High Court, Indira Gandhi transferred the Home Secretary and certain other officers and there are all kinds of lies which are sought to be propagated.

I happened to meet a foreign diplomat in Malcha Marg the other day. He told me that a certain boy came running on a cycle and threw envelopes containing cyclostyled material on a yellow piece of paper into various diplomatic houses. The contents were that Indira Gandhi is selling India to Soviet Union and communists have infiltrated into the Congress, the things about which our friend Mr Prakash

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Veer Shastri warned us. This paper was in the same tone and had the same arguments. It said that democracy is threatened, everything has gone to dogs, people have to rise in revolt, etc. if India is to be saved. It was in the language used by Dr. Mathew Kurian that Parliament has been reduced to a farce, democracy has been murdered, Indira Gandhi has butchered democracy and that there is a consistent efforts to undermine democracy. It contained charges against Indira Gandhi, against us and against the Congress Party. It is very interesting to note that the tone is the same. (*Time bell rings*) The tone is the same which was used by Shri Prakash Veer Shastri or Dr. Mathew Kurian. Here is a documentation of certain comments which appeared in the West German press such as Munchner Merkur, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Welt am Sonntag, Der Spiegel and Frankfurter Rundschau. What do they write? With your permission, I will just read out certain passages.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Your time is over. Please take only two or three minutes more.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA : Here is a quotation :

"Father Nehru had censured the world, preached reforms and searched for power. His daughter Indira has fulfilled the paternal legacy.

Legions of Indian politicians regarded this woman in a country of men only as a plaything. They were wrong. The woman turned out to be a queen-bee attracting drones only to repudiate them."

Another quotation :

"The disproportionality of means has catapulted Indira Gandhi to a point of hardly a return. The charisma of Nehru's daughter has suffered ugly cracks which will be difficult to be brushed over again."

Yet another :

"Obviously, she cannot imagine someone else governing India. Her style of governing which has already been authoritarian now assumes even dictatorial forms. Only a small step—and the last remainders of Indian democracy are gone. Indira's father Jawaharlal Nehru would veil his head if he could see how his daughter handles his legacy."

And another :

"Bharat Mata—the 'Mother of India', this is how the 57-year old daughter of the Late Premier Nehru is called. But this word has been coined in a propaganda laboratory, in reality only her father was admired—his daughter is being feared for her arrogance, political cleverness and quest for power."

It goes on like that. (*Time bell rings*). This is very strange. I entirely agree with Shri Bhupesh Gupta that as against this, the whole of non-aligned world—Cairo, Syria, Iraq and Tanzania—and the countries of the socialist world have supported India and as always, in this hour of crisis also, the Soviet Union has given us their support. I have a quotation here from Pravda and Sovetskaya Rossia. They completely see the justification for the economic programme which has been given by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Sir, there are certain things about Shri Jayaprakash. I would not take much of your time but with your kind permission I would like to read one very nice quotation . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Make it your last point.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA : In 1940, Sir, I was in Deoli detention camp. Hon. Dr. Z. A. Ahmad was there and Shri Jayaprakash was also there. Smt. Prabhavati, his wife, went to see him. He wanted her to smuggle out a paper. She was a great Gandhian. She said, "I do not do

so. This is against the Gandhian principles." And that paper was caught by the British Government. It was the famous Deoli letter in which Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, as early as 1940, advocated political dacoity and even murder. It was before the 1942 Movement. I have got the details but I have no time to narrate them. It is a notorious letter. And Mahatma Gandhi expressed his severest condemnation at the method advocated by Jayaprakash Narayan. Then, Sir, recently he went to the RSS gathering. The RSS murdered Gandhi. And when Jayaprakash Narayan began his Bihar movement, he said that his view was to finish Mahatma Gandhi's unfinished revolution. He was to finish Mahatma Gandhi's unfinished revolution with the help of those who murdered Gandhi. It is a contradiction in terms.

Lastly, Sir, I would just read a quotation from a letter from Sardar Patel to Panditji about JP. He wrote on June 15, 1948, and I quote :

"I would not have troubled you with this letter had it not been that you have been publicly praising him . . ." That is JP. " . . . I feel that such irresponsible utterances and embarrassing attitude on his part hardly justify any faith in him. I have all along been of the view that if the future is in the hands of men like JP, it would probably be the most unfortunate circumstance. Recent events and his attitude after Gandhiji's death bear out this view and I sincerely feel that it is time he was pulled up . . ."

Now, Sir I want to say . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Make it the last sentence.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA : Sir, the whole nation has welcomed this Emergency. Those who have eyes can see. Those who choose to . . .

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : This is the third sentence !

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA : You are very fond of the music of your voice Dr Kurian. But we are not quite so fond of it.

Sir, the fact of the matter is, those who have eyes should have seen that one million people came to Delhi on the 20th June. They came in waves. Poor people, agricultural labour, hungry people, oppressed people, they all came. And the Congress still represents the best in the Indian society. And, Sir, as you said in your speech, India's destiny is linked with the destiny of Congress. Congress is the mother of all parties. Minus the Congress, India would not have been what it is today. And we have decided to fight reaction. We gave it too long a rope. It is a hydra-headed monster, coming out in different forms, combining together all sorts of people, poor hungry people, frustrated people, even madcaps. But it is ultimately the voice of reaction, a hydra-headed monster. Under the leadership of our respected and beloved Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi, we have decided to fight this reaction. We shall fight it out and fight it out to the finish and fulfil our target of achieving an India of the dreams of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI S. MARISWAMY : Sir, I heard the uninterrupted and very inspiring speech of my good friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, for about 45 minutes. Out of the 45 minutes that he spoke, he would have spent more than 20 minutes on America and the C.I.A. activities in India. Sir, even though I look modern as you are—rather you look better than me, but in my heart of hearts, I am a villager and am reminded of a village story.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : I was thinking that you are more modern than me.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : It is not a story, it is a real happening, Sir. There was a youngster in a village who was one day seen crying brinjal, brinjal and running in the streets in a way that really per-

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plexed the onlookers. He was caught hold of and taken to an allopathic doctor. The doctor examined the youngster but said that he could not cure him. He was then taken to a psychiatrist. He said that he must keep him under observation for a month but he could not also cure him. One day while the boy was crying brinjal, brinjal in the street, a village old man was coming from the opposite side. He just went to the gathering and enquired what the matter was. When he was told the story, he coolly went to the nearby field, plucked one brinjal, gave it to the youngster to eat and then the trouble was over.

Sir, I am here for the last 11 years. Whenever my friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, gets up to speak on anything, whether it is an internal affairs or a foreign affair or a Faridabad affair or whatever affair it is, he immediately goes to C.I.A. and America and sees American hand as the boy was seeing all around him brinjal. Sir, the best way to cure him is that you may, in your wisdom, select a handful of people to constitute a committee which may include Shri Bhupesh Gupta and in which I may also be included, and we will go to America and we will fix up a girl or a lady and get him married. Then only the trouble will be over. Otherwise, this problem will continue.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Very kind to him. You are a married man.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Since he is an eligible bachelor, matrimony must take place. Then only he will be rid of the C. I. A.

Then, Sir, coming to the subject, I want to make it very clear that we are opposed to this emergency but not to the P.M. as a person. As a matter of fact, you know very well, Sir, that the D. M. K. Party has stood by her as a rock of Gibraltar whenever there was a crisis which she was facing. You remember, Sir, in the year 1969-70, the very foundation of the Congress Party was shaking and the

D. M. K. came in a very big way to lend their support. Suppose ten D. M. K. Party M. Ps. had not voted their support, suppose 20 D. M. K. Party M. L. As. had not lent their support, the entire history of India would have taken a turn, which my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, would not like to be told. But, he will agree with me that we came in a very big way to lend our support. Therefore, Sir, we have got nothing against her personally. We have only admiration for her. As a matter of fact, a couple of years ago, if I remember correctly, my Chief Minister, myself and a few other colleagues like Mr. Kamalanathan, went to Allahabad. We went to the Anand Bhavan. We were taken round the place. They showed us the place where the last meeting of the Working Committee had taken place. That was the last Working Committee meeting which was attended by Motilalji. Motilalji was ill at that time. They wanted to fix a venue for the meeting and Mahatma Gandhi told them that Motilalji was anxious to know what is happening to the Congress and to the country and so let the meeting of the Working Committee be held at Anand Bhavan, very near to him. He attended on him and nursed him and when Motilal passed away he said that he had become a widower. When I narrated this thing to my Chief Minister, he was visibly moved and he was so much impressed with the way in which the things were happening at Anand Bhavan. I told him that every stone, every grain in the stone in Anand Bhavan would tell the story of the Indian Independence movement.

In the same manner, a couple of years ago I went abroad. I was in Rome. Mrs. Gandhi was passing through Rome to go to Stockholm. Our officer at the Indian Embassy in Rome extended to me a pass.

I did not want to go there and trouble her. She was addressing a press conference at the airport and many correspondents went there out of whom I met half a

dozen. They were all praise for her. They said she is a real democrat, true daughter of the great man, Jawaharlal Nehru, etc., etc. The next day all the papers of Rome were full of the pictures of Mrs. Gandhi, her interview, etc. Because I do not know Italian, I had it translated through somebody, and I was very happy to note that she had captured the imagination and admiration of the people of Rome. That was the image she was building up. But what has happened now? The things that had taken place in the last two weeks have really shattered the image of India. This is our honest view.

We are living in a democracy and so we must voice our differences. Supposing we do not voice our differences, then either we have become snobs or cheats. So we must speak out what we feel in the matter.

So far as our relationship with Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan is concerned, you know it very well. As a matter of fact, when Morarji-bhai was in power, he was our worst enemy. He never spared his opponents. As a matter of fact, he was very critical of us and we also were critical of him and there is no love lost between us. As regards Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, this House must know that many a time I have spoken here about JP's movement in Bihar and I never associated myself with his demand for dissolution of a legally elected Assembly. But as a man I have my admiration for him, my respect for him and I cannot say a word against his patriotism or the amount of sacrifice he made for the country's cause. If I do that, I will be simply trying to play to the Congress gallery, not the public gallery, and I will be out to get something out of them. Otherwise no sane man would doubt the *bona fides*, honesty and integrity of JP in this respect.

What have they done? Why has this emergency been clamped on this country? If you go through the Constituent Assembly records, you will find how this emergency was introduced. Sir Alladi Krishna-

swamy Iyer, on behalf of the Drafting Committee in the Constituent Assembly, when the effect of a proclamation of emergency on fundamental rights was being discussed, had said :—

“We are envisaging a situation threatened by war, in a country with multitudinous people, with possibly divided loyalties, though technically they may be citizens of India. We trust that the time will come when the citizens of India will not look to far off countries but we cannot proceed on the footing that in regard to all citizens of this country their loyalty is assured. Freedom of speech may be used for the purpose of endangering the State and resulting in crippling all the resources of the country.”

This was the real test he put forth and he wanted the Emergency Bill to be passed.

What is the external threat we are facing now? I am asking a simple question. Has Pakistan invaded our country or has China sent two divisions of army to our eastern borders? What has happened to the country? We signed an agreement at Simla with Bhutto. And for the last few years our people in the South Block are very happy that they see a ray of smile on the face of Mao Tse-tung and also they see a twitch of the lips of Chou En-lai whenever he sees our Indian ambassador or Indian people. So we are quite happy with our present relationship with Peking. And what danger has come now? I am an innocent man. Let the other side answer my question.

They say JP has made inflammatory speeches. My good friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta took out *Hindustan Times* or *Deccan Herald* and quoted a passage from Jayaprakash Narayan. I listened to it very carefully. To my knowledge, if that statement is correct, he can be hauled up by the ordinary law of the country and made to stand in the dock. Why don't you do that? He himself has challenged. “Put me in the dock. I will answer it”. He said

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"Don't obey illegal orders". He has said it. What is wrong in that? Supposing my friend who is in the army tells me "My captain has asked me to do this and that".

Suppose he says that it is illegal and he won't do that, will he be put behind the bars? Will he be prosecuted under the Emergency Act and put in detention? This is a really fantastic theory. We cannot subscribe to that and no sane man would agree to this.

Dr. Ambedkar, when he was moving the D.I.R. said that if a man is put behind the bar, the reasons for it will be given to him as early as possible, that is within 24 hours he will be given reasons for which he has been put behind the bar. In those days there was Jawaharlal Nehru. In those days there were other leaders. They remembered very well what amount of difficulty they had to face when they opposed the British. So they were tolerant. The present generation has forgotten our struggle with the British and they are mostly guiding our Prime Minister in this matter. I am afraid this is my honest opinion. She should have sought the help and guidance of elderly people who have participated in the Congress movement and who joined the Congress in the pre-Independence days, and not of these latest recruits who have gone there like the Trojan horse. They are misleading the Madam, Mrs. Gandhi. This is my honest opinion. And I do not mind anybody mistaking it.

Now, Press censorship has been introduced. It is a long history. If you would recollect the struggle for independence and about the pressures we had to put up with the British, there are a hundred and one brilliant stories—B. G. Horiman, S. A. Brelvi, Sadanand and a number of other eminent writers. We had a long war with the British to get this kind of freedom. That is why at one time, about the Press Pt. Nehru said :

"I would rather have a completely free Press with all the dangers involved in the wrong use of that freedom than a suppressed or regulated Press."

This is the statement given by no other person than Jawaharlal Nehru. And I want this to be put on record and given to Mrs. Gandhi and also her other colleagues sitting over there... (*Interruption.*) This is what Jawaharlal Nehru had written. During his lifetime, I have seen with my own eyes, some Anglo-Indian papers and English papers carried scurrilous attack on him. They called him names. They attributed motives to him. During the jeep scandal by Krishna Menon and Mundhra affair how many columns were written against Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru himself? But he did not ban a single paper. I know this. I am a Journalist. Now if I write something, any I supposed to take it to a 'chhotta' bureaucrat and stand before him and ask him to go through my writing? I can understand if you ask me to submit to a senior editor. But am I to go to an ordinary fellow who does not know even the A, B, C of Journalism and submit it to him? Are we living in free India—India which fought with the British for 150 years to win its independence, not a country that has been given freedom like the Portuguese Government as a gift on a platter? We fought every inch for the freedom of speech and freedom of writing, etc. But what is the stage we are facing today?

Sir, our country, as you know, is a very peculiar country. Our public are not very alert and vigilant as you find people in England. Suppose in the UK, emergency were clamped in normal peace time, the Britishers would have risen as one man and thrown the Government into the Thames. But, unfortunately, that vigilance is not available here. Here that vigilance is lacking.

But now you have curbed the press also. Then how do you judge the

general public opinion? I am putting a particular question. In U. K. they too have different regulations. They call it DORA; we call it DIR. If a person is arrested, he is put behind the bars. In 24 hours, he must be given the reasons for it and he must be given the amount of freedom that he can enjoy in jail, and also what are his rights in prison. His petition is immediately reviewed within 48 hours, and at the most he can be put behind the bars for not more than six months. That could happen at the time of the Second World War. And the total number of persons detained during war was not more than 100 or so. Now what is the figure? Would my good friend Mr. Brahmananda Reddi give the figure as to how many people have been put behind the bars? In my honest opinion, it may be 3000 to 4000. That is the least. I think I am correct. It may be much more. In the Second World War, Britain was fighting for its life—bombs were falling on London and other places had been razed to the ground. Under DORA, 100 and odd people were arrested. And what has happened to this country? And they say they made inflammatory speeches. I read for your information how inflammatory speeches are dealt with in America. In America, if a man asks the Army to revolt, he is immediately hauled up not for instigating the people but the Army, and he is asked to give his reasons for this. There is a judicial Committee which reviews these reasons. If the reasons are good reasons, he is let off immediately. That amount of freedom is there. Suppose my son is in the Army. He comes and tells me that he is asked to do something illegal. Then I would tell him: 'Disobey'. Then I have a right to tell him that, I do not think I am committing a sin. In the same manner, if illegal orders are given, I can say: 'Don't obey'.

Sir, when you were speaking there you said the Congress Party is the mother of all parties of India. I am 100 per cent in agreement with that. Who started

the satyagraha? Who asked the people to come out of schools and colleges and also circulate some of the cyclostyled things, as my friend Mr. Malaviya was saying? I am a left-hander. I would have written 1001 pamphlets during 1942-43. I am proud of it. But when you gag me, what is the outlet for me?

AN HON'BLE MEMBER : That is a different matter.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : That is what I am trying to say. Don't try to become bureaucratic. We fought against the bureaucrats not because they were white in colour. Gandhiji made it very clear. We were fighting against the bureaucracy because bureaucracy could not do good to the people.

If you gag the press, what will happen? All kinds of rumours will spread. My Chief Minister was addressing a public meeting in which he said, as an example, that one fellow was found vomiting; there was some black liquid coming. The other fellow went to the next street and said that man was vomiting a black liquid after black liquid. The third fellow said, that man was vomiting crows after crows. That is the sort of rumour if freedom is not given. In England they do not have a situation of this sort.

And if the Government does anything wrong, the people are so alert there. But in America, they have a Constitution. They have got a Bill of Rights where the fundamental rights are guaranteed. Even there, Sir, if a man is arrested for gross violence of defence regulations and put behind the bars, the privilege of filing the Habeas Corpus Petition is not denied to him. He can file the Habeas Corpus Petition, in America. But here, can he file it to bring Morarji or J. P. before the court? That is completely taken away. This I am not able to understand.

About the so-called inflammatory speech, I read a passage from a speech which was

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delivered during the lifetime of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and which was delivered openly. It came in print also : "A Government is not always defeated only in the election. Sometimes there are other ways too. I am not talking of bullets. In fact, it is the Government which is using bullets all the time but if hunger and the tyranny reach excessive heights, the Government may be changed by other means also. If these things are so bad that the Congress Party collects money by methods of terror as well as temptation, vitiates the people's mind at the time of elections, twists the political debate and dishonestly cripples the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies, then our volunteers should be prepared to lead the crowd to take over Secretariat, Parliament, Radio Station and armoury. I am being accused of propagating violence but if the only way to save ourselves from this cruel, inhuman and barbaric violence is that we take to organise violence, then I will be willingly taking to organise violence". This was the speech delivered in 1962 while Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was alive when all the other leaders were alive and when the same draconian measures were available. But the man who delivered this speech was not arrested. Why ? The man who delivered the speech was Dr. Rammanohar Lohia and he delivered it in the presence of Mr. Nehru himself. He did not take any action because he knew it was Rammanohar Lohia.

In the year 1918, the Congress Party appointed a committee to draft a Resolution on civil liberties. Again, after 10 years, in 1928, Jawaharlal Nehru himself was the chairman of the committee to draft another Resolution on civil liberties. At the Karachi Congress, a long resolution was passed about civil liberties. But now, where have they gone ? We have forgotten the history. Is it justifiable to bring this sort of thing ? Is it justifiable, this hundred per cent blackout of news and gagging the press : Against how many

people all sorts of strong arm methods have been used ? I heard some people saying that they are very happy and that the country has taken this as a blessing. You release the press for 10 days from these regulations, you release the press for 10 days from these censorship regulations and then see whether the country has taken it rightly or wrongly. As I told you, we are hundred per cent with Mrs. Gandhi in some of her socialistic theories and some of the reforms which she wants to bring about. As a matter of fact, out of the 20 point programme, for your information, Sir, we have already executed 15 or 16 points. Another 4 still remain to be implemented for want of funds. We have introduced prohibition. Your own party men went and said that if you do not introduce prohibition, we will go on *dharna*. As a result of this, we lost 56 crores of rupees. My good friend Mr. Brahmananda Reddy would know that in spite of the financial stringency, we were able to execute 16 point programme out of the 20 point programme, a long time before. And as a matter of fact, another 4 points we are prepared to execute provided our good friend Mr. C. Subramaniam helps. I do not find him now-a-days. What has happened to him ? Where is he ?

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER : He is under house arrest ?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : I do not know because things are happening in such a manner and I do not understand it at all. Now, if you take these arrest, the leaders were detained or arrested in the early hours of 26th. Then at 6 O'clock Cabinet meeting took place and then the President issued the Proclamation, putting the cart before the horse.

You put the cart before the horse. Usually the proclamation should be issued after the Cabinet meeting. The Cabinet must meet first and everything must come after that. Now, you have put the cart before the horse. The leaders were arrested. Then the Cabinet meeting was held and then the proclamation came out. I do not know

what has happened to Mr. Subramaniam. If you by any chance meet him, kindly recommend to him, on my behalf, to be a little liberal and give us some more money, so that we can finish the remaining of the twenty-point programme.

Sir my last point is this. I do not think I have taken too much time. Because Mr. Jayaprakash Narain had said that the Army should disobey any illegal order this action has been taken. As regards the RSS and the Anand Marg I confess my ignorance. I do not know much about them. They are hardly seen in Madras. There is no Anand Marg. There are only a handful of RSS people and I am not competent to speak about them. If they indulge in violence I am one with you in opposing them. I can give you one assurance on my behalf and on behalf of my party. If there is any threat to the life of Mrs. Gandhi take it from me that we are ready to lay down our lives to save Mrs. Indira Gandhi. We are ready to lay down our lives. We are second to none in defending the integrity of our country. Especially for saving Mrs. Gandhi's life, we will be the first persons to be sacrificed. During Mahatma Gandhi's stay in South Africa, the whites gave a lot of trouble. There was one lady who braved all the troubles and turmoils. She came forward, stood by Mahatma Gandhi and laid down her life. Her name was Valli Ammal. She was from Madras and we are proud of her. We have got hundreds of Valli Ammals and hundreds of Murugans and Subramaniam —not this Subramaniam to defend our Mrs. Indira Gandhi. If she has any more economic programme to be carried out, let her chalk it out and we will implement it. If Mr. Qureshi will give us a wagon I will put all the programmes in the wagon and take it to Madras and implement them. So, that is not the point.

Now, Sir, the point is we want to preserve the image of India and our democratic set-up and for that I beg of Mrs. Gandhi to see that she lifts this emergency and also releases the leaders. Do

not send them to me. I am very particular about it. I should like them to go to a court of law and answer the charges that you have framed. If the court does not give them punishment, well and good. If they give them punishment, it is also well and good. The point is by not giving them that freedom to appeal and by putting them in prison, you definitely spoil the image of Mrs. Gandhi. When I look at Mrs. Gandhi, I do not look at her as an individual. I see in her pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I see in her Motilal Nehru. I see in her the panorama of our independence struggle. Let us not spoil that good image. Let not the Hitler type of dictatorship inspire fear. A leader like Mrs. Indira Gandhi must whisper enthusiastically. The Hitler type of dictator says: I will do it. Let not Mrs. Gandhi say: I will do it. Instead Mrs. Indira Gandhi must say: We will do it.

So far as solidarity is concerned, yesterday I read in some paper that she has taken all these measures for the sake of the solidarity of the nation. I can give an example of that solidarity. As early as 1954 Jawaharlal Nehru said: I am prepared to shelve the Five Year Plan for the sake of national solidarity. I am prepared to carry on negotiations with the opposition parties. He started a dialogue with the PSP. He wanted very much J. P. to join the Cabinet. J. P. came forward. They had discussions and J. P. presented a 14-point programme. Am I right Mr. Goray?

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Yes.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : And that programme was not acceptable. Now, Sir, for solidarity Jawaharlal Nehru said: I am prepared to shelve my five-year plan for the sake of national solidarity. We will all join together. Like that Mrs. Gandhi should give a clarion call to all the people to join together for the sake of our country's unity but there is one condition. Within twenty-four hours the emergency must be lifted. The fetters that tie the hands of

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the press must be taken away and the press must write what it feels in the matter. I want another assurance from you. Sir, you are a very generous man. Would you kindly use your good offices with Mr. V. C. Shukla or with Mrs. Gandhi or with our friend, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, to see that at least half of my speech is published tomorrow morning?

DR. V. P. DUTT (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are discussing very serious and vital matters, and I am glad that my esteemed colleague, Mr. Mariswamy, has said that he would like to speak honestly. Let us speak honestly; let us all state our opinions honestly. But the difficulty has been that some people think that only they speak honestly and that nobody else is honest. Let us at least concede to each other honesty of purpose, honesty of objectives and honesty of vision. Now, I hold that the proclamation of emergency was the inevitable result of the politics of hate, violence, calumny, character assassination, agitations, direct action and the large-scale use of undemocratic means relentlessly pursued by some opposition parties and some opposition leaders. The country was being pushed to the fateful brink of disaster, disintegration, division and dissolution. In fact, my esteemed colleague, Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri mentioned some of the things that were happening in our country—in the offices, in the trains, in the universities. I would say, he was half conceding the necessity of the proclamation of emergency. He said that this country was being lauded as the largest democracy in the world, he mentioned that those people who were lauding this democracy were today critical of it. First of all, I would like to say that those people who are criticising today were never lauding our democracy; in fact, they were making contemptuous remarks about our democracy. However, that is beside the point. I would like to ask: If there is criticism of some of the measures that have been taken now for the proclamation of emergency, who is res-

possible? And I say, Sir, my honest opinion is that the responsibility lies at the door of some opposition parties and some opposition leaders. Would Mr. Mariswamy deny that these opposition parties—some of them; I am not including everyone—called for a boycott of schools and colleges and examinations? Who would have benefited from that? They proposed gheroes of duly elected MLAs, to compel them to resign their membership. They threatened social boycott of the legislators. Is this democracy? They insisted on the formation of parallel Assemblies. He said that only because Mr. Jayaprakash Narain said something about the police and the army has this action been taken. It is not only because of that. Who gave the call for the formation of parallel Assemblies? They declared from the house-tops that they would paralyse the work of the Government.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Just a second. I read a quotation—

“If our people—and also I—lead a procession to the house at Gopalapuram...”

—wherein our Chief Minister resides—

“...what will happen? Will anyone be left alive in the house to give evidence in the court of what we did to the inmates of Gopalapuram house?”

This was uttered by a so-called political leader. Does this constitute a responsible statement? It is a public statement. We did not arrest him. And to this man, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, your leader gives an interview.

DR. V. P. DUTT: I do not want to engage in odious comparisons. But we know how you occupied the Speaker's seat. We know what you did in the Assembly. Therefore, I do not believe in these comparisons. I am asking a straightforward question. Is it not a fact that some of the Opposition parties and leaders declared from the house-tops that they would paralyse the work of the Government? They launched upon a no-tax campaign. They called for the boycott of

courts. Now, only recently, that is the last one month, they have shown a touching regard for the sanctity of the courts. Now, they are the people who asked for the formation of parallel courts and parallel Assemblies. How can this be called democratic functioning?

They incited the Armed Forces. I will quote chapter and verse. They incited the police, the government servants. Sir, is this democracy? Is this democratic functioning? Even before the Allahabad judgment came conditions were created for the forcible dissolution of elected legislatures. The elected representatives were gheraoed, manhandled and abused. They were insulted and stopped from functioning. The minority dictated to the majority. Is this democratic functioning? Never before, Sir, have so few been allowed to dominate so many. They would not even wait for the verdict of the people in the forthcoming elections. Well, you say that the people are with you. Why do you not wait for the next six months and show your strength in the elections?

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: Elections are being postponed.

DR. V. P. DUTT: Why can you not wait for the verdict of the people?

The urban population was advised not to pay income tax. The peasants were told not to give levy to the Government. They openly asked for insurrection by the police and the army. Is it not a fact that justice Krishna Iyer was openly criticised in a public meeting in Delhi for saying that there was no legal bar on the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, to continue as Prime Minister. Is this not a fact? This is reported in the Hindustan Times.

Aspersions were openly cast on the integrity of the Chief Justice. Is this democratic functioning? They wanted to pick and choose their own Judges who would hear the cases. They gave an open call that they would march upon the residence of the Prime Minister in order to bring about confrontation to provoke bloodshed

and violence. Sir, I am giving my honest opinion that they were in effect asking for nothing less than an unconstitutional coup d'etat, not coming into power through elections and the verdict of the ballot but seeking a short cut path through direct action without the sanction of the people. If I may be allowed to use a Chinese proverb they thought that they would create so much disturbance in Heavens that the entire world would fall in their lap. They threatened rebellion.

They clamoured for immediate power. And what was this conglomeration to whom power was to be handed over? Sir, we have heard of the three-headed janus guarding the gate of hell. But here was a five-headed monstrosity which spit fire but eventually proved to be a paper tiger.

Now, Sir, Mr. Mariswamy was saying that only some innocent call was given to the army and the police not to obey illegal orders. Sir, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, speaking in Rohtak on February 26, asked the people to remove the Government even by using force. Then he addressed a public meeting in Visakhapatnam where he called upon the students of Andhra Pradesh to start a Bihar-type movement with "dharnas" before the State Secretariats, "gheraos" before the Assembly, satyagraha before courts and defiance of prohibitory orders. Then he said:

"Take the people along with you. Make the functioning of the Government impossible."

And it was not only that he called upon the police and the army to disobey illegal orders. In the first instance, I would like to ask: Is there any democratic country where this kind of a fine distinction is sought to be made between legal orders and illegal orders? Who is to decide what is an illegal order? Is it to be decided individually by one policeman, by one police officer, by one military man? You can imagine the chaos and the anarchy in any democratic country that would result if every officer were to decide for himself what is legal and

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what is illegal. One officer obeys one order but disobeys another. Another officer obeys one order and disobeys another because he thinks it is not legal. It is a mockery of democracy. It is a mockery of all forms and norms of democracy.

Then Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan in his last speech here—again I am quoting from the newspapers,—asked the army and the police to revolt. He said :

“Friends, the time to which I have been repeatedly referring is now coming.”

So, it is not merely a fine distinction between legal orders and illegal orders, but actually he was saying that “the time has come when you should actually get up and revolt and consider this struggle as your struggle”, that is to say, involving them in the political struggles of the country.

Sir, Nanaji Deshmukh in the same public meeting called for “bandhs, agitations, gheraos, social boycott of all those who supported the Prime Minister and agitating workers, peasants, students and everybody, bringing them out on the streets”. Mr. George Fernandes and his supporters asked for a mass civil disobedience. In the April meeting of the Co-ordination Committee, he asked for a mass civil disobedience movement in six weeks’ time. This again was reported in the papers. I would like to ask : Which democratic country would allow this ? Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan in his speech here also said—I quote from the newspapers again :

“The days of the Lok Sabha are numbered.”

Now, again I would like to ask: How can you have democratic functioning in this kind of an atmosphere ? Sir, just as the Government has to be responsible, the Opposition also has to be responsible. You cannot have an irresponsible Government and a responsible Opposition. You cannot also have a responsible Government and

an irresponsible Opposition. In a parliamentary democracy, a responsible Government and a responsible Opposition must go together.

Sir, I believe in democracy. I believe in tolerance of other persons’ views and I believe it is healthy for a democracy to have a responsible healthy Opposition. But at the same time, I should say—I have great respect for my esteemed colleague, Mr. Goray ; I know he is upset about it—if the Opposition declares that it would not obey any law, that it would not observe any restraints of democratic functioning, that it would not be limited by the niceties of propriety and rules of the game, then it ceases to be a democratic Opposition ; it is an Opposition within a democratic framework that degenerates into sedition against the democratic system.

5 P.M.

Many examples were given by Shri Mariswamy who did not have the patience to sit and listen. But I would like to ask him and my other friends one question, since we are honestly expressing our opinions. Shri Goray is my esteemed colleague. I respect him. Can you imagine that before the last elections, if Mr. Wilson were to lead a movement in England—Shri Mariswamy was talking about what happens in England—in which he asked the Police and the Army to revolt, in which he asked the people not to give income-tax, in which he was asked the peasants not to give grains to the Government, in which he was asking Government servants not to obey the Government, would he have continued as the leader of the Labour Party ? Shri Mariswamy was saying that such a Government would have been thrown into the Thames. I say such a leader would have been thrown into the Thames by his own Party. The Labour Party would not have tolerated such a leader.

I will give another example. Can you imagine what would be the fate of American democracy if the Democratic candi-

date in the next election were to oppose Mr. Ford and carry on a campaign of violence and hatred and ask the Police and Army in the United States to revolt, asked the people not to give income-tax to Mr. Ford and ask the peasants not to give grains to Mr. Ford? Will such a Democratic candidate be allowed to be accepted by the people or even by his own Party to continue in the Party? For a democracy to function successfully and fairly, you must have responsibility from both the sides. One great problem that I often face in these matters is that we try to apply or we make no distinction between what I call compulsions of slave India and the norms of free democratic India. We are all the time quoting from what Gandhiji or Jawaharlal said in the British days or what they were advising the people during the British times. These are not the British times. We have a Parliamentary democracy. We have a Constitution freely given by the people of this country to the people of this country. You cannot use the logic of the programme of slave India or extend it to a free and democratic India.

One other point. Behind this so-called movement for total revolution was the ugly face of the RSS and the Anand Margis. I expected Shri Mariswamy to say something about it. He could not be ignorant of these organisations. He could not certainly be ignorant of what happened in 1947, 1948 and in 1949 when after the assassination of Gandhiji RSS was banned. He has been quoting Jawaharlal. But he has forgotten what Jawaharlal said about RSS. He said that RSS was a cancer eating into the body politic of our country; that it was a worst kind of Fascist organisation and that it was the Indian variety of Fascist organisation. I choose my words carefully. What is a Fascist organisation? I am not using words unscientifically. What is a Fascist organisation? A Fascist organisation is one which preaches racial arrogance, which uses authoritarian secret methods and which proposes to institute an authoritarian regime. All these are correct about RSS.

In June 1970, Shri Golwalkar the then Chief of RSS gave a press conference in Delhi in which he said that he did not believe the Muslims as being in the mainstream of the Indian national life. And you remember the campaign about the so-called Indianisation of the Indian Muslims that was started at that time. At that time the Hindustan Times wrote an editorial in which it was said that the view that Shri Golwalkar expressed at the press conference came dangerously close to the propagation of the Master Race Theory.

And, Sir, those who propagate the Master Race theory are fascists. Similarly, the RSS is also an organisation of this kind and it has not been an openly functioning organisation and it does not believe in open functioning and it does not believe in any democratic norms. Mr. Mariswamy did not say anything about the RSS (*Time bell rings*). I challenge any body to disprove me when I say that the RSS has, even after all the years of its work among the business community, its base being among what is called the shopkeeper class, contempt for the Muslims, for all the minorities and for the low castes in the Hindu society and that it is still a Brahmin-dominated organisation. Therefore, such organisations cannot be expected to lead any democratic movement. Actually, Sir, what was happening was that the movement, the so-called total revolution was being led by an impulse and the organisational cadre for that was being provided by the RSS.

SHRI OM PRAKASH TYAGI: You are quite ignorant about the RSS.

DR. V. P. DUTT: Pardon?

SHRI OM PRAKASH TYAGI: You are quite ignorant about the RSS.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Dr. Dutt, you need not reply to the interruptions.

DR. V. P. DUTT: I know about the RSS from my childhood. Sir, I have mentioned something about the functioning of

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the RSS. The entire functioning of the RSS is in the morning only. There is a drill, there is a lecture and there is what is called

“सूचना आ गई, सोचना बन्द”.

It is no longer necessary for them then to think, to exercise their brains, and they depend on what their leaders have said and it is a fascist organisation. I challenge anybody to disprove this.

Lastly, Sir, I would like to say that the people were sick of the din and noise, of the froth and foam, of all the shouting and clamour, of the purely negative and agitational politics. And, Sir, Mr. Prakash Veer Shastri, my esteemed colleague, mentioned some of the things that were happening. But I would like to put it to him that the entire moral fibre of the country was on the point of collapse. But the Emergency has cleared the air. Nobody is happy about the rigorous measures that have to be taken. (*Time bell rings*). Sir, if I may use a strong phraseology, the Opposition cannot function like a rouge elephant, stampeding everything that is before it, trampling upon all laws and norms of democracy. The Opposition must function as a healthy and responsible Opposition just as the Government also should be a responsible one. You cannot quote the law and the Constitution and the conventions part of the time and resort to direct action rest of the time just as you cannot quote scriptures part of the time and play ball with the devil all the rest of the time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): You have to finish now.

DR. V. P. DUTT: One more point I would like to say and it is only a negative aspect of the matter in a way. These people are not probably convinced of the need for the Emergency although they have claimed that they are close to the people, that their ears are close to the ground and so on. If that is so, they should hear what the people are saying and

then they would know whether the people are welcoming the Emergency or not. But, Sir, apart from this, I would like to say that the Prime Minister has announced a 20-point economic programme and many friends here have welcomed this programme and all over the country this programme has been hailed. I would like to make one point...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): No. You have to finish now.

DR. V. P. DUTT: I will take one minute more and I will finish. Sir, I had an occasion to say in this House before that one of the banes of our society had been the domination of our economy or politics or society by parasites and there were the economic parasitism, political parasitism and social parasitism and all the parasitical elements had been dominating the scene. The blackmarketeers, the hoarders, the real estate agents, the commission agents, all those who do not contribute directly to production, have been dominating our economy.

Secondly, Sir, organized industrialists, entrepreneurs, organized sections of the working class, and organized intelligents have also been demanding more and more from the national cake than proportionately given to the society, to the nation. This distortion must end. And here is the chance. I welcome the 21-point programme because it is for the first time that we are grappling with the country's problems with realism... (*Time bell rings*). Real India is in villages. Therefore, we must turn towards the countryside. We cannot adopt classical methods of development of other countries where the labour of the children and women and of the poorer sections has been mercilessly exploited to bring out an industrial revolution as in England or the industrial revolution of Spain. We have to embark upon a new method of development and that is taking all the complex—industry, agriculture, education, skills and all these—to the countryside and solve the problem of development in the countryside itself. We

hope that while we discuss some of the negative aspects, the positive opportunity available to this country would not be missed. We must come ruthlessly down on those who violate the law, who disturb the living of the people, people who cheat, so that this country can go forward.

श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश). उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, गृह मंत्री महोदय ने एक लम्बा चार्जशीट विरोधी पक्ष के विरोध में पेश किया। मुश्किल यह है कि उन्होंने विरोधी पक्ष के विरुद्ध चार्जशीट पेश कर दिया और जजमेंट का भार भी अपने ही ऊपर ले लिया क्योंकि उनके पास बहुमत है। यह चीज कहां तक न्यायसंगत है इस बारे में मैं सरकारी पक्ष को आह्वान करता हूँ अगर वे इस चार्ज के बारे में जो उन्होंने विरोधी पक्ष के ऊपर लगाया है सच्ची बात और न्याय चाहते हैं तो इसके लिए सुप्रीम कोर्ट का कोई बैच या कोई इंडिपेंडेंट ट्राइब्यूनल बना देना चाहिये और उसमें इस बारे में न्याय तथा अपनी व्यवस्था देने के लिए कहना चाहिये। उससे यह भी फैसला देने के लिए कहना चाहिये कि सरकार ने जो कदम उठाया है वह जनतंत्र के हित में है, क्या देश में जो इमरजेंसी लागू की गई है, उसके लिए देश में इस प्रकार की स्थिति थी। इन बातों का वह फसला करेगा। लेकिन आपका तो सरकार में बहुमत है, आपने चार्जज लगा दिये हैं और आप ही फैसला भी करने वाले हैं। इस तरह की बात कहीं भी दुनियां में देखने को नहीं मिलती है और न ही यह न्याय-संगत बात है कि आप आज सुप्रीम कोर्ट के भी दरवाजे बन्द करना चाहते हैं। आज उसका फैसला भी आप नहीं होने देना चाहते हैं कि जो आपने कदम उठाया है वह संविधान के अन्तर्गत है या नहीं? क्या आप इस चीज को स्वीकार करने के लिए तैयार हैं? आज हमारे देश में क्यों इस प्रकार की स्थिति आई है और क्यों आप ने विरोधी पक्ष के ऊपर चार्जशीट लगाया है?

20 RSS/75-8.

मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम देश को आजाद हुए करीब 27 साल हो गये हैं और इस देश में जो तबाही आपने लाई है उसके लिए जिम्मेदार आपके सिवाय और कौन हो सकता है? आज देश में भ्रष्टाचार, बेरोजगारी, जातिवाद, कुम्हारपरस्ती और जो दूसरी बुराइयां हैं, जिस की वजह से आज देश में इस तरह की स्थिति पैदा हो गई है, उसके लिए अगर 20 फीसदी जिम्मेदारी विरोधी पक्ष के ऊपर है, तो 80 फीसदी जिम्मेदारी सत्ताशुद्ध दल के ऊपर है। आप इस जिम्मेदारी से कैसे बरी हो सकते हैं। जिस मुल्क में पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू प्रधान मंत्री रहे हों, जिसमें 50 साल का इतिहास लेकर 1947 में कांग्रेस पार्टी सरकार में आई हो, जिन्होंने 27 साल तक इस देश में शासन किया हो, जिन्होंने देश की हालत इस तरह से कर दी हो, जहां की जनता दाने दाने के लिए तरस रही हो, जहां पर भ्रष्टाचार, बेरोजगारी, कुम्हारपरस्ती जातिवाद और दूसरी बुराइयां फैली हो, उसके लिए दोषी केवल यह सरकार ही हो सकती है। इस बुराई को दोषारोपण दूसरों के कंधों पर डालना और अपने को मुबकदाष बना लेना उचित मालूम नहीं होता है।

‘धरा के पटल पर अहो चित्र कितने
प्रकृति ने बनाये, समय ने मिटाये।’

इस देश का दुर्भाग्य रहा है कि सदियों-सदियों से इसको अजीब उल्टीइन में से होकर गुजरना पड़ा है। मेरे ऐसे भी सिपाही थे जिन्होंने देश की आजादी की लड़ाई में हिस्सा लिया था। गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में देश ने आजादी हासिल की, एक सपना पूरा हुआ। देखा यह जाता था, सोचा यह जाता था कि हमारे देश का प्रजातन्त्र दुनिया के सामने एक मिसाल बनेगा। इस आशा को आप धूमिल कर रहे हैं महज इसलिए कि कुछ लोगों ने आपके विरोध में कुछ बातें कह दीं। जिनको कोर्ट के सहारे से सजा दिलाई जा सकती थी उसके लिये इतनी बड़ी तोप ले आये। मुझे एक घटना याद आती है बचपन की। मैं प्राइमरी स्कूल में पढ़ रहा था। मेरा स्कूल डेढ़ मील

[श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा]

दूर था। शाम को लौट रहा था, मेरा एक बड़ा गहरा दोस्त भी मेरे साथ था। हम आ रहे थे, छोटा सा जगल पड़ा। उसमें हमने देखा कि एक कबूतर का बच्चा उड़ने की कोशिश कर रहा था लेकिन उड़ नहीं पाया, जमीन पर गिर पड़ा, फड़फड़ा रहा था। मेरे साथी ने झपट कर उसकी हाथ में ले लिया। मैंने कहा मैं इसको पालूंगा। उसने कहा, नहीं, मैं इसको पालूंगा। नतीजा यह हुआ कि उस छीना-झपटी में बेचारा कबूतर का बच्चा मर गया और हम दोनों बैठ कर उस पर रोये और उसको दफन भी किया। मैं सत्ता-रूढ़ा पक्ष से यह कहता हूँ कि हो सकता है कि बहुत सी बातें ऐसी हुई हों विरोध पक्ष की तरफ जो प्रजातन्त्र के सिद्धान्तों के खिलाफ रही हों लेकिन उससे कहीं ज्यादा ऐसी बातें हुई होंगी जो सत्तारूढ़ दल की तरफ से प्रजातन्त्र की भावना के विपरीत की गयी हों। इस लिये उस कबूतर को आप इसलिये मत मांगिये कि कौन उसको पालेगा। आज मेरा कहना यह है कि अगर आपने छीनाझपटी की तो नतीजा होगा कि जनतन्त्र तो मरेगा ही चाहे आप जिम्मेदार ठहराये जायें इतिहास में, चाहे हम जिम्मेदार ठहराये जायें, चाहे दोनों जिम्मेदार ठहराये जायें लेकिन देश का अहित होने को है।

दूसरी चीज जो मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि क्या सचमुच इमरजेंसी की स्थिति आ गयी थी। आपने स्वयं कहा कि कई वर्षों से इस तरह की चीजे चल रही थी। जब कई वर्षों से चीजें चल रही थी, बड़े बड़े आन्दोलन भी हुए, 6-8 महीने पहले बिहार का आन्दोलन हुआ, तो कौन सी ऐसी बात थी कि इतना बड़ा कदम आपको उठाना पड़ा? आपके सामने इतिहास साक्षी है कि इंग्लैंड सारी मुसीबतों से घिरा हुआ था, सारे योरोप के ऊपर हिटलर का जूता चल गया था, कहीं कोई मुक्त आजाद नहीं रह गया था, अकेला इंग्लैंड—रूस अलग मुस्कुरा रहा था, अमरीका अलग मुस्कुरा रहा था—उनकर्म से निकलने के बाद टूटी फूटी फौज लेकर स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई लड़ रहा था, प्रजातन्त्र की लड़ाई लड़ रहा था,

धोर अंधेरे छाये हुये थे, लेकिन उस संकट काल में भी उसने जनतंत्र से नमस्ते नहीं की। आपने ऐसी कौन सी परीक्षा दी है? मजबूत, जनतंत्र के चार खम्बे हैं, एक तो डिस्टिन्क्ट जूडिशियरी, दूसरा है स्वतंत्रता और निष्पक्ष चुनाव, तीसरा है फडामेंटल राइट्स, चौथा होता है जहां तक सम्भव हो बहुत अधिक पार्टियां न हो और बेहतर हो कि जनतंत्र को चलाते के लिये केवल दो पार्टियां हों। यह उस के चार मजबूत पाये हैं। क्या आप बता सकते हैं कि इन पायों को तोड़ने में आप ने क्या क्या नहीं किया?

एक माननीय सदस्य: खाम चीज है फीडम आफ प्रेम।

श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा: वह फडामेंटल राइट्स में आता है तो क्या क्या आप ने नहीं किया जहां तक चुनाव का मवाल है, कोई इन्कार नहीं करेगा कि लाखों लाख रूपया चुनावों में खर्च हुआ और उन की स्वतंत्रता नष्ट हुई। व्योरोकेसी को भी उस में हाथ डालना पड़ा। सारा चुनाव बिगड़ कर केवल थैलो और अशुद्धाचार के हाथों में चला गया। कैसे आप ने उस की रक्षा की। जिम्मेदारी आप की, नतावारी पार्टी की थी, जिस के हाथ में शासन था। कौन आप उस जिम्मेदारी में बरी हो सकते हैं। डिस्टिन्क्ट जूडिशरी की बात है। कौन इस बात को कर रहा है कि आप जो इमरजेंसी लागू कर रहे हैं उस को हाईकोर्ट में ले जाने का किमी को अधिकार न रहे? क्यों आप इस अधिकार पर कुशराधान कर रहे हैं? यह विरोधी पक्ष का कूटि रस्ती, यह उस की गलती रही और हम इस बात को तमलीम करते हैं कि उसने छोटी-छोटी दमनों पार्टियों में बंट कर कोई ठीक और एक कार्यक्रम देश के समक्ष नहीं रखा। हम इस बात को महसूस करते हैं और हम इस बात को कांशिश कर रहे थे कि यह स्थिति न रहे। जिम्मेदारी के साथ कोई एक पार्टी विरोध में आये और देश के समक्ष कोई एक कार्यक्रम रखे। हम इस बात के प्रयास में थे, लेकिन आपका क्या कार्यक्रम है।

जहाँ कहीं भी जरा सी गुंजायश रही सारी तोड़ फोड़ आप ने की। एम एल एज की और एम पीज की कितनी मिसालें दी जायें कि जिन को हर प्रकार का प्रलोभन दे कर आप ने विरोधी सरकारों को तुड़वाया आप को यह नहीं करना चाहिए था। विरोधी ऐसा कर जाते तो कर जाते, उन की यह भूल क्षम्य थी। वह संख्या में कम थे, लेकिन आप ने जो यह गलती की उस का नतीजा हुआ कि कभी भी मध्यक रूप से विरोधी पक्ष पतन नहीं पाया।

श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी. आप का गुनाह, गुनाह नहीं है, आप की चोरी चोरी नहीं है और हमारा गुनाह गुनाह है, हमारी चोरी चोरी है।

श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा : अब तीसरा सवाल आता है कि आप इस इमरजेंसी से क्या निकालना चाहते हैं। आखिर आप चाहते क्या हैं। जहाँ तक इस 21 सूची कार्यक्रम का सवाल है कोई बाधा आपके शासन को नहीं थी कि वह इस कार्यक्रम को पहले भी पूरा न कर सकता। जहाँ तक अनुशासनहीनता का सवाल था, किसी पार्टी ने भी लोगों को अनुशासनहीन बन जाने को नहीं कहा। किसी ने नहीं कहा कि आप ब्लैकमार्केटिंग या भ्रष्टाचार को कंट्रोल न करें। कौन कहता है कि आप ऐसे लोगों को रोकने में, पकड़ने में सक्ती न करें। हम लोग बराबर चिल्ला रहे थे कि यह काम नहीं हो रहा है। लेकिन इस के लिए इमरजेंसी की क्या जरूरत थी यह आप हम को बतलाइये। [किसी भी औद्योगिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक या राजनीतिक पहलू की समस्या जो देश में है उस को मुलभूत के लिए इमरजेंसी की क्या जरूरत थी? बड़ा भारी बहुमत आप के साथ है। कितना ही विरोध विरोधी दल करे, शासन तब तक आपके हाथ से नहीं जा सकता जब तक कि आप के पास बहुमत है। फिर इसकी जरूरत क्या थी? इतनी बड़ी तलवार चला दी कि जिससे बेमोत्रेसी की जड़ ही उखड़ जाये इसकी क्या जरूरत थी। आप का यह दावा है कि हमारे सारे कदम संविधान के अंतर्गत हो रहे हैं। क्षमा कीजिएगा, हिटलर ने भी यही दावा

किया था और उस के बाद ही उस ने अपनी तानाशाही कायम की संविधान के अंतर्गत। संविधान का मतलब यह नहीं है कि उसकी सारी संस्था ही समाप्त हो जाये। हिटलर ने दावा किया था कि हम ने सारी शक्ति जो ली है वह विधान के अंदर ही ली है और उस का दावा था कि उसने कोई अवैधानिक कार्य नहीं किया। क्या आप भी उसी रास्ते पर जाना चाहते हैं इस संविधान में वह सारी सत्ता है जिस से आप संविधान की सारी स्पिरिट खत्म करके तानाशाही कायम कर सकते हैं और फिर आप कह सकते हैं कि हमने यह सब संविधान के अंतर्गत किया है। यह कोई दलील नहीं इस तरह की दलील से आप अपने पक्ष को प्रबल नहीं कर सकते।

अब मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ कि यह कदम तो उठाने में बड़ा अच्छा लगता है, लेकिन उसके दूरगामी परिणाम क्या होते हैं। होते होते यह होता है कि स्टालिन के जमाने में दो बजे रात को दरवाजे पर खटका लगता था और उसके बाद वह गायब हुए हुजूर को कभी पता नहीं चलता था कि कहाँ गये और क्या हथ्थ उनका होता था। यही नहीं, जो उनके बहुत नजदीक के लोग रहते थे, मलाहकार रहते थे, वह आज तो उनकी मलाह में हैं और कल को उनका पता नहीं कि कहाँ चले गये। यह एक परिपाटी होती है। जब आप एक फिसलन की जगह पर पहुँचते हैं, नीचे को फिसलना शुरू होता है तो उसकी कहीं सीमा नहीं होती कि किस सीमा तक वह जा सकता है और क्षमा कीजिएगा सत्ता का लोभ कुछ ऐसा होता है कि जब उसका चस्का लगता है तो आप उसके सामने कुछ सोचते नहीं। इसीलिए उस पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाने की जरूरत पड़ती है। इसीलिए आपके संविधान में जुडी-शिपरी रख छोड़ी, इसीलिए और भी बंधन रख छोड़े। आप उन बंधनों को तोड़ कर इस फिसलन की ग्राउंड पर चल निकले हैं। अगर

[श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा]

आप संभलते नहीं है तो आप खड़ब में गिरने स बचेंगे नहीं और उसका परिणाम जितना दूरगामी होगा आज उसकी आप कल्पना भी नहीं कर सकते।

हमारे देश का एक सपना था कि दुनिया की सबसे बड़ी डेमोक्रेसी है और हम दुनिया के सामने एक मिसाल रखने जा रहे थे कि इंग्लैंड की अंग्रेज कौम ही नहीं चला सकती थी प्रजातन्त्रीय पद्धति को बल्कि भारतवर्ष भी चला सकता है। दुनिया के सामने एक मिसाल आई। आप जानते हैं कि दुनिया भर में आज तक सफलतापूर्वक केवल अंग्रेज कौम ने ही प्रजातन्त्र को चलाया है। सारे पड़े लिखे मुल्कों में, यूरोप में, एशिया में, अफ्रीका में, साउथ अफ्रीका में, कहीं पर जनतन्त्र कामयाबी से नहीं चल सका। हमारा देश था जहाँ हम इसको बड़े पैमाने पर एक विनाश देश के अन्दर इस जनतन्त्र को चला रहे थे और हमने ऐसी चीज उसके अन्दर पैदा कर दी कि अब खतरा पैदा हो गया है कि एक बार अगर आपने इन सारी धाराओं का उल्लंघन करके कदम दूसरी तरफ बढ़ाया तो आप सोच लीजिए कि परिणाम क्या होगा। जिस शासन व्यवस्था का भार केवल पुलिस और सेना के ऊपर रहता है क्योंकि जनता का संपर्क धीरे धीरे टूट रहा है, जिस आधार पर जवाहरलाल नेहरू, जिस आधार पर आज तक आप थे वह था जन आधार, जन आधार के सामने दूसरी कोई शक्ति पनप नहीं सकती है। वह जन आधार अगर टूटने के बाद अगर पुलिस और सेना का ही सहारा रह गया तो याद रखिये कि वह सेना और पुलिस भी किसी दिन सोच सकती है कि जब मेरे ही बल पर यह हुक्मत चलने को है तो फिर इनको क्या अधिकार है हुक्मत करने का? यूगोस्लाविया, हंगरी या पोलैंड के रास्ते पर जा सकते हैं, कन्हें को आजादी हो, कच्चा दूसरों का हो। कहां तक जा सकता है आज उसको नहीं कहा जा सकता है। रास्ता खतरनाक है। इसलिए आपके द्वारा सत्तारूढ़

दल से मेरा बहुत विनम्र अनुरोध है कि इसको पार्टी का सवाल न बनाएं। यह पार्टी का सवाल नहीं है, देश की जिन्दगी और मौत का सवाल है। जिस दिन जनतन्त्र खत्म होगा उस दिन आप इस देश को इकट्ठे नहीं रख सकते, कितनी भी कोशिश कीजिए, कितना भी प्रयास कीजिए। इस देश की ऐसी भौगोलिक, ऐसी सामाजिक परिस्थितियां हैं कि आज अगर यह एक है तो केवल इसलिए है कि देश के कोने कोने से, मद्रास से लेकर काश्मीर तक, बंगाल और मणिपुर से लेकर गुजरात तक विभिन्न वेश-भूषाओं के, विभिन्न भाषाओं के विभिन्न रहन-सहन, विभिन्न रंग और विभिन्न धर्मावलम्बियों, विभिन्न जातियों के मारे नुमाइशें आपकी पालियामेंट में आते हैं। उन भेद-विभेद के बावजूद महसूस करते हैं कि हमारा देश एक है, हमारी पालियामेंट एक है। जिस दिन आपने इस बंधन को तोड़ दिया भूल में आकर तो उस दिन मारा इतिहास साक्षी है कि हिन्दुस्तान कभी भी एक नियंत्रण में नहीं रह पाएगा। इसलिए मेरा नम्र अनुरोध है कि आप इस को पार्टी का सवाल, प्रेमटेज का सवाल मत बनाइए। यह इस देश की जिन्दगी और मौत का सवाल है। विश्व के सामने एक मिसाल आप उपस्थित करने जा रहे थे जो धुंधली हो जाएगी। यहां आप भले ही भले बन ले लेकिन सारी दुनिया के सामने आप मुंह सफेद नहीं कर पाएंगे उस पर कालिख लग जाएगी। यह गिरी पड़ी जनता जो है इसका आधार क्या है? मैं साफ आप से पूछता हूं कि क्या हरिजनों के उत्थान की बात इसलिए नहीं होती है क्योंकि 20 फीसदी वोट हरिजनों के हैं। मुसलमान जैसे अल्पसंख्यकों की बाते आप और हम इसलिए करते हैं क्योंकि उसके 15 फीसदी वोट उसके साथ नत्थी है। अगर यह वोटों की चीज हट गई तो इस गरीब दुखी जनता को कोई देखने वाला नहीं होगा। आप चाहे जितना कह लीजिए। जो इतना बड़ा हीसला आपका है वह इसी वजह से है। लेकिन सारे प्राकृतिक नियमों के खिलाफ जा कर आप अपने ही बल पर देश को एक जगह नहीं बांध पाएंगे।

अंत में मेरा एक वित्त्र सुझाव है कि अगर किसी जमाने के जाने दुश्मन चीन और अमेरिका परिस्थितियों के बस हो कर कुछ बात कर सकते हैं तो हम आपके तथा देश के साथ रहने वाले भाई-बंधु हैं चाहे उस पार्टी के हों या इस पार्टी के, जब हिन्दुस्तान का जनतंत्र खतरे में है। आपको शिकायत विरोधी पक्ष में है और विरोधी पक्ष को शिकायत आपसे है। क्या यह संभव नहीं है कि आप आमने-सामने बैठ कर जो प्रश्न आज हमारे सामने रख रहे हैं उनको हल किया जाए। अगर उनके सामने देश का कोई सवाल है या देश की प्रोब्लम आपके सामने है जैसा कि आप कह रहे हैं तो यह नया बात है कि आपकी जितनी जायज बातें होंगी उन जायज बातों से कोई इंकार नहीं कर पाएगा। इसलिए रास्ता यह है कि कृपया इस को प्रेसटेंज का सवाल न बना कर दोनों तरफ से जो गलतियाँ हुई होंगी, हमारी तरफ से भी गलतियाँ हुई होंगी इससे इंकार नहीं करना उनको आप रिट्रेस कर दे, देश को बर्बाद न करे। सही रास्ते पर आ जाएं। एक अंडरस्टैंडिंग हो जाए, फ्री इलैक्शन फेयर इलैक्शन और इंडिपेंडेंट्स जुडिशियरी, नो कोएसिव मैजोर फ्राम आइदर साइड। स्वतन्त्र रूप से प्रजातंत्र को जीवन दान मिल जाए क्या यह संभव नहीं है? अगर यह संभव नहीं है तो फिर मुझे यह कहना पड़ेगा कि आपके सामने देश की भावना नहीं है। प्रेसटेंज और पार्टी की भावना आपके सामने है। मैं आपसे अपील करूंगा कि देश की भावना को सामने रखिए, जनतंत्र की भावना को सामने रखिए। उसको सामने रख कर, आप सत्तारूढ़ में है, इन्सिस्टिव लीजिए। यह आपके जिम्मे पड़ता है। जिम्मेदारी आपकी बढ़ी है। जनतंत्र समाप्त होगा तो 80 फीसदी जिम्मेदारी आपके ऊपर आती है। इसलिए आपके ऊपर यह भार पड़ता है। यह वह नेता है जो लब्ध प्रतिष्ठित नेता है। बहन इन्दिरा जयप्रकाश जी की पत्नी प्रभावती की माता जी कहती थी। यह उनका पर्सनल रिलेशन है। उनकी देश सेवाओं को वह जानती है, उनके कामों को जानती हैं। अगर किसी गुप्ते में भ्रम में ही सही कोई

बात हो गई तो इसके मायने यह नहीं है कि उसकी सजा सारे देश को भोगनी पड़े। सारे देश को उसकी सजा आप क्यों दे रहे हैं? आप सारे देश को उसकी सजा मत दीजिये। आप एनीसिस्टिव लीजिये। उन लोगों को इकट्ठा कीजिये, उनसे बात कीजिये और बान करके कोई रास्ता निकालिये कि किस प्रकार से हमारे देश में जनतंत्र की रक्षा की जा सकती है। आप इस इमरजेंसी को फौरन हटा दीजिये।

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह (बिहार) : उपमहाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति द्वारा 25 जून, 1975 को संविधान की धारा 352 के अन्तर्गत जो आपातकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा की गई है, उसका मैं समर्थन करती हूँ। इस धारा के अन्तर्गत क्लॉज (1) में स्पष्ट रूप से लिखा गया है कि "If the President is satisfied that grave emergency exists.....etc. etc." इसमें आगे चल कर लिखा है कि "internal disturbances..." "...which endangers the security of the country". हमारे सामने सवाल यह है कि वह कौन सी परिस्थिति थी जिसकी वजह से हमारे देश में आपातकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा करनी पड़ी? इस प्रकार की स्थिति किसी बाहरी आक्रमण के कारण पैदा नहीं हुई थी बल्कि अन्दरूनी स्थिति इस प्रकार की थी कि जिस के कारण राष्ट्र को खतरा हो सकता था। Internal Security के माने क्या हैं? उसके आधार क्या हैं? पहला जनता में शान्ति, दूसरा पुलिस Law and order maintain करने के लिये और तीसरा सेना outer aggression बाहरी खतरा रोकने के लिये।

श्री श्रीम प्रकाश त्यागी : वास्तव में कांग्रेस के अन्दर अगड़े पैदा हो गये थे।

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह : त्यागी जी, यह बहुत गंभीर मसला है, यह हमी मजाक का विषय नहीं है। इस समय हमारा देश बहुत ही गंभीर परिस्थिति से गुजर रहा है। हमें इस बात पर विचार करना

[श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह]

है कि यह गंभीर परिस्थिति किन कारणों से पैदा हुई और किन कारणों के कारण आपात कालीन परिस्थिति की घोषणा करनी पड़ी और यह नहीं कदम था या नहीं। ये कुछ सीधे सीधे सवाल हैं जिनका हमें उत्तर दूँना है। मुझ से पहले बहुत से माननीय सदस्य बोल चुके हैं और सबसे अधिक इस चीज को सफाई के साथ गृह मंत्री महोदय ने अपने वक्तव्य में दे दिया है। उन्होंने सारी बातों को स्पष्ट रूप से सामने रखा है और यह बताया है कि ये इन्टरनल डिस्टरबेन्सेज पिछले दो सालों से इस देश में पैदा की जाती रही है। वर्तमान परिस्थितियों में हमारे देश में जो आपातकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा की गई है उसकी पृष्ठभूमि को देखने के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि पिछले दो वर्षों में हमारे देश में जो घटनाएँ हुई हैं हम उन घटनाओं को देखें। हमारे देश में ऐसी कौन-सी विचारधारा थी जो चल रही थी और जिसके कारण यह सारी परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हुई। एक दिन में यह परिस्थिति उत्पन्न नहीं हुई और न ही इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट के जजमेंट के कारण यह परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हुई है। मबाल यह है कि पिछले दो वर्षों में, मुझ से पहले जो लोग बोले हैं, उन्होंने माननीय जय-प्रकाश जी के वक्तव्य को देख कर बताया है कि किस प्रकार की विचारधारा इस देश में पैदा की जा रही थी जिसमें इस बात पर जोर था कि सत्ता बन्दूक की नली द्वारा हासिल की जा सकती है। उन्होंने कहा कि गुजरात के जो विद्यार्थी हैं उन्होंने जो कदम उठाया है उसको देखकर मुझे प्रकाश मिला है और मैं पिछले दो साल से अन्धकार में भटक रहा था और सोच रहा था कि कहा जाऊँ, कौन-सा रास्ता अख्तियार करूँ और किम प्रकार से देश में बगावत उत्पन्न करूँ। गुजरात ने मुझे इस सबंध में मार्ग बताया। यह ठीक है कि इस समय देश में महंगाई है और महंगाई के कारण साधारण जनता को कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ रहा है, लेकिन महंगाई मारे संसार में है। जिन देशों की आर्थिक स्थिति या आर्थिक जीवन आयाल बेस्ड था उनको महंगाई का सामना करना पड़ा है। इसमें भारत का कोई

कसूर नहीं है और न ही इसमें अमेरिका का कसूर है। मबाल इस बात का है कि जहाँ जो चीज पैदा होती है वहाँ उनको अपनी आवश्यकताओं के मुताबिक अपनी चीजों के दाम बढ़ाने पड़ते हैं। अरब देशों की भी यही स्थिति थी। उनको भी अपनी जरूरतों के मुताबिक तेल के दाम बढ़ाने पड़े। अगर तेल के दाम बढ़ेंगे तो जाहिर बात है कि कृषि के लिए जो फर्टिलाइजर होता है या इंजस्ट्री चलाने के लिए जिन चीजों की जरूरत होती है उनके दाम भी बढ़ेंगे। आर्थिक जीवन के हर क्षेत्र के अन्दर तेल के कारण कीमतें बढ़ी हैं। लेकिन खेद इस बात का है कि ग्रामों के लोगों को या शहरों के लोगों को इस चीज को सही ढंग से समझाने की कोशिश नहीं की गई और लोगों के अन्दर जो असंतोष पैदा हुआ उसको देखकर जिनने भी हमारे विरोधी दलों के लोग हैं उनके मन लपलपा गये और उन्होंने सोचा कि इस चीज का फायदा उठाया जाय और देश में विद्रोह पैदा किया जाय। बाहर के लोगों ने भी foreign powers ने भी इसमें मदद थोड़ी बहुत आर्थिक साधन cultural organisation तथा bogus religious organisation द्वारा भेज कर दी।

उपमभाध्यक्ष महोदय, किसी भी चीज को तोड़ देना कितना आसान होता है और खामकर स्कूल के बच्चों को जो स्कूल जाते हैं, जहाँ पर उनके सामने कई किताबें हैं, उन्हें किताबें नहीं मिलती हैं, उन्हें कॉपियाँ नहीं मिलती हैं, उनके मैम का बिल ज्यादा होना है, उनको खाने की सब चीजें महंगी मिलती हैं और उनको होस्टल में सीट नहीं मिलती है। इस तरह की सारी दिक्कतें उनके सामने हैं और इस तरह से इन विद्यार्थियों को भड़काना कोई मुश्किल बात नहीं है। इन विद्यार्थियों के अन्दर अभी कम उम्र में गम्भीरता नहीं होती है, लेकिन उनके अन्दर बेचैनी होती है कुछ कर दिखाने की जो शिक्षक हैं उनको सही रूप से पता नहीं पाते हैं। इन सारी चीजों के कारण जो ये नेतागण हैं, चाहे वे श्री जय प्रकाश नारायण जी हों, चाहे माननीय मोंगरजी भाई हों, इन सबने उनकी स्थिति का फायदा उठाया क्योंकि इन्होंने समझा

कि हमारी उम्र तो काफी हो गई है और इस स्थिति का जितनी जल्दी फायदा उठाया जाये उतना अच्छा है। उनके सामने निर्णय यह एक मकसद था और उन्होंने वहाँ के विद्यार्थियों को भड़काया और उनकी जिन्दगी खराब कर दी और कितनी माँ की गोद खाली कर दी इन लोगों ने इस तरह की जो कार्यवाही की वह केवल इस मकसद से थी कि दिल्ली का मिहामन तख्तताऊम की तरह उनकी आँखों के सामने नाचता झूलता नजर आ रहा था और ये लोग सोचते थे कि जितनी जल्दी हो सके हम अपनी बची हुई उम्र में दिल्ली की गद्दी पर आसीन हो जायें। इसलिए इन लोगों ने गुजरात में वहाँ की जनता और वहाँ के विद्यार्थियों को भड़काया। इसी तरह में बिहार में भी वहाँ की जनता और वहाँ के विद्यार्थियों को भड़काया बिहार में तो 18 मार्च को जो कुछ हुआ उसके बारे में क्या जो हमारे वयोवृद्ध नेता हैं उन्होंने कभी सम्भरता में सोचा ? क्या उन्होंने इस बात के बारे में सोचा कि जिस जनता को और जिन विद्यार्थियों को वे आग में झोंक रहे हैं उनको उस आग से जलने कौन निकालेगा ? आज उन्होंने जहाँ पर इन लोगों में इन्डिस्प्लिन फैला दिया है और कल उस पर डिस्प्लिन कौन लागू करेगा ? वे जंग गांधी जी की मिसाल देने हैं और कहते हैं कि हम तो गांधी जी के बड़े अनुयायी हैं और उनके बड़े सेनानी रहे हैं। मैं भी मानती हूँ कि वे देश के एक बड़े सेनानी हैं और उन्होंने देश के लिए बहुत बड़ी कुर्बानी की। श्री जय-प्रकाश नारायण जी हमारे प्रदेश के हैं और वे हजारी बाग के जेल की ऊँची दीवार से भागकर कूदकर निकले थे। इन सब बातों को जानते हुए उनके प्रति हम लोगों में श्रद्धा है। लेकिन जो पहले साधु रह चुका हो और आगे भी साधु बना रहेगा इस बात की गारन्टी क्या हो सकती है। वह साधु से गिरकर दूसरी जिन्दगी की ओर भी जा सकता है और इस तरह के हमारे शास्त्रों में बहुत से उदाहरण मिलते हैं हमें ऐसे बहुत से उदाहरण मिलने हैं कि जो पहले बड़े बड़े साधु थे वे किस तरह से अपमर्यादों को देखकर फिंमल गये आज हम देश में जो साधु हैं उनके लिए अपमर्यादों की गद्दी है। आज वे अपने को भूल गए

हैं और सत्ता पाने की चेष्टा में हर रंग के कपड़े यानी बामपंथी और दक्षिण पंथी कपड़े पहिन कर, तरह तरह के प्रलोभनों में आकर वे इस अपमर्यादों की गद्दी को लेने की तरह तरह की कोशिश कर रहे हैं।

उपमहाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ और अपने विरोधी भाईयों से पूछना चाहती हूँ कि पिछले दो सेशन में किस तरह से स्वर्गीय श्री ललित बाबू की चोरी पकड़ने के लिए सदन का समय बर्बाद किया गया और जनता का रुपया इस तरह की व्यर्थ बर्बादी में अव्यय किया गया।

हमारे मोरारजी भाई ने लोक सभा में किस तरह की बातें की, उनके बारे में कहना मुझे शोभा नहीं देता है किन्तु उन जैसे वयोवृद्ध नेता के लिए असोभनीय था मैं अपने दिल के दर्द को दबाकर यह बात कह रही हूँ। उन्होंने कहा था कि सी० बी० आई० की रिपोर्टें स्वर्गीय ललित नारायण बाबू के बारे में अगर सदन में पेश नहीं की जायेगी तो अपनी जान दे दूंगा। इस तरह से विरोधी दल के लोगों ने हिमालय से लेकर कन्या कुमारी तक ललित नारायण बाबू को चोर कहा और उनके प्रति नफरत, घृणा की भावना पैदा की। उनकी समस्तीपुर बम विस्फोट में मृत्यु हो जानी है और फिर इन नेताओं के पाम कहां से समय आये कि वह सी० बी० आई० की रिपोर्ट को पढ़ें। किसी ने पढ़ा ? मैं पूछती हूँ किसी ने उनके बाद देखा कि उस पर क्या कार्यवाही हुई ? क्या ? क्योंकि इन लोगों के पाम खबर पहुंच चुकी थी कि कांग्रेसजन भी प्रीमियम मेगनेट का केस, गोल्ड स्मगलिंग का केस निकालेंगे। जब उस समय सी० बी० आई० की इन्क्वायरी हुई थी और जब उसी लोक सभा में ज्यॉन्सिंग बसु ने कहा था कि इस रिपोर्ट को टेबल पर रखा जाये तो यही माननीय मोरार जी देसाई उस समय कैबिनेट के सदस्य थे। उन्होंने कहा था कि अगर सी० बी० आई० की रिपोर्टें रखी जायेगी तो मैं कैबिनेट से रिजाइन करूंगा और क्राइसेम पैदा करूंगा। क्या बात थी ? आज तो जनता

[श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह]

पूछेगी कि क्या बात थी ? ललित नारायण मिश्र मर गए, लेकिन साजिश में शामिल बताए जाते दूसरे सब लोग तो नहीं मर गए, वे तो जिन्दा हैं। लेकिन सवाल ललित नारायण मिश्र का नहीं था, सवाल था कांग्रेस के ऐसे व्यक्ति का जिसकी बजह से कांग्रेस मजबूत रहती है, जैसा कि ज्योतिर्मय बसु ने खुद ललित नारायण मिश्र के मरने पर अपने भाषण के आरम्भ में कहा था—
“I was against Lalit Narain because he was pillar of strength for Congress.” These are the words of Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu, not of Congress, not of us, not of any one of our members.

उपमहाध्यक्ष महोदय, गुजरात में मदस्यों को दबा करके उनसे रेजिमेंशन लिया गया। एक दफे कहा गया कि असेम्बली तोड़ दो, उसके लिए भूख हड़ताल की। जब असेम्बली टूट गयी और गुजरात बहुत बड़े दुर्भिक्ष से गुजर रहा था, पिछले तीन वर्ष से वहाँ पानी नहीं बरसा, दूर-दूर से लोग पानी लाते हैं उस दुर्भिक्ष का ख्याल न करके फिर आप आमरण भूख हड़ताल करने हैं क्योंकि दुर्भिक्ष हरे न हो, लोग मरे जाएँ, इससे हमें मतलब नहीं है, हम तो गद्दी चाहते हैं, इसलिए पहले गुजरात का चुनाव करवाओ। ठीक है हमारी माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने उनकी बात मानी क्योंकि उन्होंने सोचा कि कोई कल यह न कहे कि उनकी जिद की बजह से विरोधी दल का नेता इस मंसिर में चला गया। इसलिए उन्होंने जिद मानी। वहाँ चुनाव हुआ। चुनाव में क्या हुआ। चुनाव विरोधी दल के लोगों ने अपने बच्चों को क्या सिखाया ? मुझे भी वहाँ जाने का मौका मिला था। उन्होंने रोड़े फेंके गान्धी गालिया दी। उनके जो नेता लोग थे उनके पास कहने को कुछ नहीं था, इसलिए गालिया देते थे, भड़काय की बात करने थे, आग लगाने की बात करने थे क्योंकि कांग्रेस की जो उपलब्धिया है उनके सामने वे टहर नहीं पाते थे। मैंने उनके बहुत से नेताओं के भाषण सुने। उनके पिल्लू मोदी, महारानी ग्वालियर के भाषण मैंने सुने। जब हमारी मोटिंग्स होती थी दम-दम हजार की गावों में, एक जगह मनुभाई शाह भी मौजूद थे, जब

हम अपनी उपलब्धियों की बात करते थे कि हमारी कांग्रेस के समय में बंगला देश की आजादी हुई, हमने अंतरिक्ष में उपग्रह भेजा हमने न्यूक्लियर बम का विस्फोट किया, इतनी बड़ी-बड़ी उपलब्धियाँ की तो ये अपने लोगों को सुनने नहीं देना चाहते थे और रोड़े फेंकते थे। उपमहाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सीधी सी बात पूछना चाहती हूँ कि अगर हम लोग भी चाहते हैं क्या हम रोड़े नहीं फेंक सकते थे... (Interruption) त्यागी जी, आप बैठ जाइए आपको मैं खूब अच्छी तरह से जानती हूँ।

उपमहाध्यक्ष महोदय, उन लोगों ने रोड़े फेंके। हम लोग भी फेंक सकते थे लेकिन हम लोगों ने नहीं फेंके। उन लोगों ने बाबू जगजीवन राम जैसे व्यक्ति पर रोड़े फेंके, लेकिन उस का जवाब भी हम लोगों ने नहीं दिया और उस का रिजल्ट क्या हुआ कि 41.7 परसेंट वोट वहाँ हम को मिला और 35 प्वाइंट कुछ वोट उन लोगों को यानी पांच पार्टियों को मिलाकर मिले। उपमहाध्यक्ष महोदय, वहाँ जब एक गांव की बहिन में मैंने कहा कि यहाँ तो कांग्रेस हार गयी तो उसने कहा कि कांग्रेस कैम हारी। आप को तो 75 सीट्स मिली है और उन लोगों को 5 को मिला कर 86 मिली है, तो वह जीते हैं कैसे ? वह तो नहीं जीते। क्योंकि छोटी सी बात है कि अगर आप के पास 75 टका मिलेने है तो आप बाजार में जा कर मनचाही खरीदारी कर सकते हैं। आप उसके बल पर मनचाही योजना बना सकते हैं और उसे कार्यान्वित कर सकते हैं। लेकिन अगर वह मिली-जुपी बात है तो कोई कहेगा कि हम का लाल रंग की चीज चाहिए और कोई कहेगा कि हम को गफर रंग की चीज चाहिए और उसमें फिर खरीदारी नहीं होगी, झगड़े में ही तमाम समय चला जायेगा। तो उनकी उपलब्धिया क्या हो सकती है। इसी तरह बिहार में जब कभी भी जयप्रकाश जी ने वक्तव्य दिया:

उसके बाद क्या हुआ इसे आप देखें। उन्होंने कहा था कि power comes through barrel of guns. उपमहाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे थोड़ा सा समय दिया जाये। बिहार में बार-बार लोगों को भड़काया गया। 18 मार्च को जो घटनाएं हुईं उनको और गुजरात की घटनाओं को देखने के बाद हमको

पना चलता है कि वहां 52 प्वाइंट समर्थित लाख की हानि हुई और बहुत लोगो की जान गई। इसी तरह बिहार में 45 लाख रुपयो की हानि 18 और 19 मार्च के बीच में हुई। वहां दुकानों को लूटा गया, होटल और प्रेस जलाये गये और उसके बाद भी आप कहते हैं कि इमरजेंसी की कोई जरूरत नहीं थी। सही बात तो यह है कि जयप्रकाश जी ने जैसा खुद कहा कि अन्धकार से उन को प्रकाश हुआ कि छात्रों को आगे रख कर और पीछे गुंडों को रख कर वह जनजीवन को नष्ट भ्रष्ट कर देना चाहते थे उस के बाद तो अपने आप ही विद्रोह होगा। दो स्थानों पर ऐसा कर के जब उन्होंने दिल्ली के बारे में सोचा तो सोचा कि उनको कुछ बड़ी योजना बनानी चाहिए और उससे बहुत बड़ी योजना उन की बनी ब्लू प्रिंट तैयार हुआ। लेकिन एक चीज वह मिस कर गये। अफ्रीका में रोमेल की जब माटगोमरी में लड़ाई हुई तो रोमेल ने दो बार तो दम द्रवार मैनिफेस्टर लेकर खूब धूल उड़ाई और ऐसा गमा खड़ा किया कि लाखों की सख्या में फौज है और ऐसा कर के उस ने माटगोमरी को भगा दिया, लेकिन जब रोमेल की बात समझ में आ गयी तो फिर माटगोमरी ने रोमेल के छक्के छुड़ा दिये। गुजरात में कुछ हद तक उनको जरूर सफलता मिली, बिहार में भी उनको कुछ सफलता मिली, लेकिन उस के बाद क्या हुआ कि लोग समझ गये। रोज-रोज के बन्द में नुकसान किस का था। रिकशे वालों के रिकशे नहीं चलने थे और मछली वाले को मछली नहीं बिकती थी। स्कूल और कालेज लोग नहीं जा सकते थे तो उसमें नुकसान उन्ही का था जो लोग इकोनॉमिकली, आर्थिक दृष्टि से लोयेस्ट लेवल पर थे उनका ही नुकसान था उस लिये उनकी बातों पर लोगों को विश्वास नहीं रहा और अन्धबागों में छप गया कि जनता सरकार बन गयी है। आखिर कहा है वह ? हमें तो कही दिखायी नहीं पड़ी। बिहार में अगर किसी से पूछो तो ग्राम की भाषा में कहना है—अभी मैं पटना नहीं थी, वहां इमरजेंसी के बारे में बात की तो वह लोग कहते थे कि जयप्रकाश जी चाहते रहलन कि इंदिरा का पटक देई और ऊ यही कोशिश में लगे रहलन, लेकिन इंदिरा तो ऐसा

पटकलम कि अब वह न उठि पड़ हैं। इसका सीधा सा मतलब यह है कि...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० बी० राजू) : आप सीधे हिन्दी में बतला दीजिए।

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सि इसलिए उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इतना ही कहना चाहती हूं कि इंदिरा जी ने, प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो कुछ भी किया है वह सही समय पर और सही समझ कर किया है, क्योंकि उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रधान मंत्री इन्दिरा जी के सामने जो 25 तारीख की रामलीला ग्राउंड की मीटिंग की रिपोर्ट है वह है और उस को अन्य सदस्यगण पढ़ चुके हैं और मैं उसको दोहराना नहीं चाहती। वरना यह मानी रिपोर्ट है कि उसमें उन्होंने क्या क्या कहा था, किस तरह से मार्ग मार्गज की थी उसको रोका नहीं जाना तो उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जनरल चौधरी ने एक बार मुझे कहा था कि जब सीमा पर दो फौजे खड़ी होती है ता बन्दूक चलाने को कोई तैयार नहीं होता। जब पहली बन्दूक चल जाती है लोग खून देखते हैं तो तब दूसरी तरफ से बन्दूक चलती है। तो मबाल था कि 29 में 5 तक जो नौजवान बच्चे हैं वह जायेगे प्रधान मंत्री के घर पर एक हजार की टोलियों में, दूसरे मंत्रियों के घरों में जायेगे, घरों में घुसने की कोशिश करेंगे और कुछ ऐसी हरकत करेंगे कि पुलिस को बाध्य हो कर गोली चलानी पड़ेगी। जब गोली बजायेगे तो बच्चे मरेगे तो उसको लेकर देश में विद्रोह करेंगे इसके साथ-साथ इटर्नल सेक्युरिटी के लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है ? इटर्नल सेक्युरिटी के लिये Law and order के लिए पुलिस और बाहरी प्राक्रमण में बचने के लिये मेना इन दोनों बातों पर निर्भर करती है। पुलिस ला एण्ड आर्डर की जिम्मेदार है और दूसरी सेना जो हमारी है फोरन एंगेजेशन से बचाने के लिए जिम्मेदार है। इन दोनों को आपने बगावन करने के लिए कहा। और कहा कि अनुशासन भंग करो। विरोधी दल के माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि इल्लीगल/लीगल और इल्लीगल आर्डर को भेद समझ कर काम करने को जयप्रकाश जी कहते हैं। अब इन का भेद कौन करेगा ? इसलिए यह किसी

[श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह]

भी देश में अगर सेना को बगावत सिखाई जाए, पुलिस को बगावत सिखाई जाए, जनता के शान्ति-प्रिय जीवन को नष्ट करने के लिए उकसाया जाये इन बातों के जो जिम्मेदार हैं उनको क्या टीजन न कह कर दूसरी चीज कहकर पुकारते हैं ? ठीक है, ये माननीय सदस्य वयोवृद्ध हैं, इनके बारे में इंसान का कुछ कहना भी कठिन मालूम पड़ता है। लेकिन किसी भी देश में इस प्रकार की बात को देशद्रोह ही कहा जा सकता है। जिस हरकत से देश की 66 करोड़ जनता का शान्तिमय जीवन नष्ट हो जाये वह सही नहीं हो सकता है और चुपचाप मंजूर नहीं जा सकता है। लेकिन जो बात है, अगर बगावत चलती और इसके साथ जैसा कि अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी ने मितम्बर मेहेंदराबाद में कहा कि the war has to be fought in the streets in the Chamber and Legislature, in the corridor of power in all the power centres of establishments (Interruption) इन सारी बातों से, इन सारी नीतियों से आप जनता से पूछ करके देखें तो पता चलेगा कि इसका मतलब स्पष्ट रूप से देश में अराजकता लाना था। तो क्या इंदिरा जी इस बात का इंतजार करती कि दिल्ली की गलियों में खून की नदियां बहने लगे ? और जब देश की परिस्थिति बेकाबू हो जाए और तमाम बाहरी गिद्ध मडराने लगे तो क्या तब हम जागे ? यह सवाल था कि हम तब जागे जब कि बात बिगड़ चुकी हो और जब जागने से भी बात न बने। सवाल यह था कि हम डूबते को बचावें या जाल फेंक कर लाश निकाले क्या करें ? हम आग लगने दें या ऐसी स्थिति बनावें कि आग लगे ही नहीं। और यही कारण है कि जनता पर Emergency लादी नहीं गई, उमने बाहों पर ले कर स्वागत किया है। प्रिवेंटिव काम करे या आग लग जाने पर राख बटोरें तो मैं तो यही कहूंगी --

भाग इन बुराफरोशों से, ये कहा के भाई।

मदाल यह था कि देश की स्थिति पिछले दो सालों में ऐसी बिगड़ चुकी थी कि देश की जनतांत्रिक पद्धति को बचाने के लिये इमरजेंसी

को लागू करने के अलावा कोई रास्ता इस देश के सामने नहीं था।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Mr. Salil Kumar Ganguli. (Interruptions). Is it the desire of the House to sit till 6.20 p.m. ?

SHRI RANBIR SINGH : We would like to hear him. Let him finish.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Yes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Yes, Mr. Ganguli.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI (West Bengal) : Sir, we have been under an emergency already proclaimed since 1971 under article 352 of the Constitution. The Chapter on Emergency Provisions authorises the President and thereby the Government to declare an emergency if the security of India or of any part of the territory thereof is threatened, whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbance.

6 P.M.

The present declaration of Emergency has not conferred any new or additional power on the Government. The effect of the new proclamation is identical with the one already existing.

So many allegations have been made against Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and various other persons about their criminal and illegal activities. I wonder why they were not arrested under the ordinary law of the land and why a spurious Emergency which is an additional emergency has to be declared at all.

Sir, a very large number of Members of Parliament, including Members of the ruling party, have been detained without trial and a mockery has been made of the Constitution, the Parliament and the democratic system as a whole. A large number of people from various walks of life have

been detained under the MISA and news papers have been gagged. A fresh declaration of emergency has been caused to be issued not because of any real threat to internal security but because of the threat to the security of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's position within the ruling party as its leader and the Prime Minister.

SHRI RANBIR SINGH : No.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI : You will kindly allow me to speak. Sir, the extraordinary powers which are being used by the Government to suppress democratic movements, the trade union rights and the Opposition parties including the CPI(M) could have been used and were being used under the Emergency already existing. The MISA was passed under the existing Emergency.

Sir, the suppression of the railway strike and the wholesale arrests of Opposition Members of the Tripura Assembly very recently proves the point that all these extraordinary powers were not at all necessary to be assumed. It is only a publicity stunt for the consumption of the public to confuse them.

For the last three years our Party has been constantly warning the people that very soon parliamentary democracy will be replaced by one-party dictatorship headed by one leader. That has come true. We now find that strikes have been virtually banned whereas thousands of workers are being laid off and retrenched. Large scale closures and lock-outs are being declared in all the factories with impunity.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER : Where?

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI : In the Metalbox, for example.

SHRI N. K. BHATT (Madhya Pradesh): It is a lie.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI : Why are you saying "lie"? You should use parliamentary language. It is a fact.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : No discussion, please.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI : In the interests of the ruling class MISA, DIR, total rigging of elections in West Bengal, suppression of all opposition forces became necessary to keep the ruling party in power. The group within the ruling party which is exercising real authority today has taken this opportunity of assuring monopoly houses that there would be no more nationalisation, that there would be further intrusion by multinational corporations in this country and have also increased the prices of coal, kerosene, diesel oil, aluminium, steel and coarse cloth to mention only a few items which means that price of every commodity will increase because of the increased cost of transportation and power.

That parliamentary democracy has ceased to exist is evident from the pronouncement of the Congress President, Shri Devkant Borooah, after the adverse court verdicts in the High Court and the Supreme Court as well as the adverse verdict of the people of Gujarat to the effect that India is Indira and Indira is India. Earlier we used to call the CPI as the Communist Party of India. Now the leader of that Party, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, has himself today in his speech admitted that there was an apprehension of large scale defection within the Congress Legislature Party and as a result, taking the entire Opposition together, Mrs. Indira Gandhi's leadership could be challenged. Mr. Gupta in his speech mentioned that Mrs. Gandhi's absence from the post of Prime Minister even for a little while would totally ruin democracy and socialism in the country as if Mr. Brahmaanda Reddy, Mr. Kamlapati Tripathi, Mr. Borooah and others are all nincompoops.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I did not say that. All I said was that they wanted to remove Mrs. Indira Gandhi in order to pave the way for a rightist takeover of the country.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI: How is it possible with so many leftists sitting over there ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Both of you are deciding the fate of the Congress.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI: I am saying that that is the attitude. I totally oppose the new declaration of emergency and its ratification, on behalf of the CPIM. We cannot betray the interests of the people and be mere silent onlookers.

Now, how is this total butchery of democracy being sought to be justified ? What case is Shrimati Gandhi making out ? She is claiming that it has been done to defeat Right reaction and also the so-called Left extremists. All this "left" manoeuvring is meant for the consumption of the public abroad and the people in this country to confuse them. This is the only purpose of the high-powered propaganda campaign about a so-called conspiracy. Much is being made of the call to the police and the army not to obey illegal orders. If there was anything wrong in the speech of Jayaprakash Narayan, why could not the ordinary law of the land and the existing DIR be utilised against him ? That has not been answered.

Sir, against this high-powered hoax of a campaign, what is the reality ? Let us take the Government's attitude towards the RSS and the Anand Marg which it has banned now. It seems that the Government's attitude towards these organisations changes from time to time suit its convenience. In 1965, during the Indo-Pak War, the then Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, handed over Delhi to the RSS for civic guard duties. The present Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, paid glowing tributes to the RSS Chief, Guru Golwalkar on his death in the course of an obituary reference in this Parliament.

As for the Anand Margis, the Government did nothing when it tried to assassinate our leader Jyoti Basu at Patna Railway Station and the person standing next to him was killed. The Chief of the Anand Marg,

along with three others, is facing charges of killing their own men. Twelve lakhs of rupees were given to this same Anand Marg by this Government for relief of Bangladesh refugees in 1971, of which Rs. 2,80,000 are not accounted for. At one time, the ruling party encouraged the Naxalites and gave them all assistance in West Bengal to liquidate the cadres of our party. Today of course, they stand disunited.

It is too naive to expect the people to believe that these organisations with no mass base have suddenly become such a threat to internal security that an additional state of emergency had to be declared. Sir, if their ideology and politics were wrong, they could have been fought and defeated politically and ideologically. If they are involved in criminal offences, they can be proceeded against under the ordinary law. Sir, the measures taken by the Government in the wake of the declaration of additional emergency unmistakably show that the thrust is against the people. Whatever restricted democratic rights the people had have been taken away. Part III of the Constitution enshrining the fundamental rights has become totally nugatory. Articles 14, 21 and 22 have been suspended. It means that there is not even equality before the law. Any discrimination can be practised by the executive. Any person arrested need not be produced before a magistrate. The news of his arrest whereabouts and condition can be kept immediately secret. He may be physically liquidated by the police and no one need know anything about it.

Meetings and demonstrations have been banned throughout the country. A brutal Press censorship unheard of even in the days of alien British rule has been imposed on publications. No criticism of the Government or the Congress Party, however mild, is allowed and no news of exploitation of the people by the vested interests which may contain even a remote criticism of the Government, is allowed. No movements of the workers peasants and agricultural workers can take place under the plea of obstruction to production. And no strike also can take place under the same plea.

For whose interests this dictatorship has been imposed? Whose interests this great dictator is now serving, let us see. The industrialists in the name of productivity can impose any work load and retrench workers. Wage cuts and DA cuts can be resorted to and any resistance will be crushed. Working conditions can be worsened and the least protest will be met by summary dismissal. No movement against this exploitation will be tolerated. In rural areas, agricultural peasants fighting against eviction or fighting against exploitation will be meeting the same fate. This is why these measures virtually amount to a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and landlords against all other sections of the people. No wonder these measures have received full-throated support from big industrialists and associations of big traders and big merchants, and for the first time in Indian history, a big industrialist like K. K. Birla accompanied by his friends went to Mrs. Gandhi to congratulate and express their support.

Sir, while the Government talks about its measures being against right reaction, over 1,800 leaders and cadres of our party and two members of the Lok Sabha, Comrades Jyotirmoy Bosu and Nurool Huda, were arrested and the threat of arrest hangs over everyone who dares to struggle against the vested interests and in defence of democracy. The arrests of the leaders of Central and State Government employees and various trade unions are going on. These arrests are meant only to crush trade union and democratic movements.

Pre-censorship has been introduced and even poems of Rabindranath Tagore are not allowed to be published.

During the last 27 years of independence, only the monopolists and landlords have become rich and powerful. Evictions of poor peasants have taken place on a large scale which is admitted in official reports. The ranks of landless labour have swelled enormously as the successive census figures reveal. The handicraftsmen, the handloom and powerloom workers, coir workers, etc. as

also small scale industrialists are facing ruination.

Smt. Gandhi's own Government's official statistics show that those living below the poverty line have increased from 50 to 70 per cent of the population.

Our Party has been in the forefront of the struggle of the masses and for this we have been suppressed for a very long time. Semi-fascist terror was let loose in West Bengal since 1971 putting thousands in jails, organising political murders, gangster attacks on offices of political parties, trade unions, mass organisations and individual houses of political elements. Beatings and killings in lock-ups and jails, forceful evictions of thousands of people from areas dominated by left influences, even murder, torture and raping of women etc. have been going on with the connivance of the State Government and under the direct supervision of the Central Government. Again it was under the direct leadership of Smt. Gandhi that faced with sure electoral defeat, her party rigged the elections in West Bengal in 1972 with the use of official machinery combined with terror. Was this democracy?

Because the ruling Congress realised that they have lost the support of the masses as demonstrated in the last three elections of 1967, 1969 and 1971, the State Assembly elections in West Bengal were totally rigged in 1972. Although now it has been admitted by the Chief Minister of West Bengal that the right reactionary forces are very insignificant there, nevertheless the attacks on the left and democratic forces and the condition of the semi-fascist terror are in full sway. The same is now being sought to be extended to Kerala. Smt. Gandhi had shown the scantest regard for parliamentary democracy. She herself as the President of the Congress organised the so-called liberation struggle against the Communist led Government of Kerala in 1959 and got her father, the then Prime Minister, to dismiss that Government. Since then innumerable non-Congress Governments in various States have been subverted to suit the partisan interests of Mrs. Gandhi's Party. Facing this repression

[Shri Satil Kumar Ganguli]

not only has the movement developed in these two States, it has extended to other areas. The people are now on the move and calling the bluff of Garibi Hatao and Bekari Hatao. It is in this background that the movement led and organised by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has gathered momentum. Our Party clearly stated our differences with Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. At the same time we gave our support to the democratic demands which he has championed. Whatever our differences with the movement, we have defended and will defend their right to organise satyagraha, strikes, bandhs, which are all legitimate weapons in the hands of the people. The movement led by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan had accepted the challenge of Smt. Gandhi to face elections and they were getting prepared for that. It was Smt. Gandhi who developed cold feet after the Gujarat elections. Sections of the ruling Congress were themselves involved in the Gujarat and Bihar movements. The factional struggle rampant in all the States started in the Centre too. It is no secret. Shri Bhupesh Gupta himself confirmed it and said that after the Allahabad judgement and the Supreme Court order there was a massive challenge to Smt. Gandhi's leadership in the Congress Parliamentary Party itself. The threat to the Congress monopoly of power combined with the threat to Smt. Gandhi's position in the party and in the Government was the immediate cause for the rape of democracy, its long-term aim being the ruthless suppression of common people. Now to hoodwink the people Smt. Gandhi has come forward with a 21 point programme—or I do not know whether it is a 20 point programme. What is new in it? Who prevented the implementation of the ceiling laws all these years?

The Planning Commission's Task Force Report bears eloquent testimony to the fact that it was the Congress Government and the Congress party that effectively sabotaged the implementation of the ceiling Acts because there was lack of political will and because of the innumerable links of the landlords with the administration.

In West Bengal, during the United Front Government, six lakh acres of benami land was distributed to the agricultural workers—a fact testified to again by the Planning Commission, and after the UF Government was removed, more than half of that land has been forcibly taken away by the landlords with the assistance of the Congress Government's police—a fact which is vouchsafed by the Congress Party's ally, the CPI. But why? Because the Congress Party is dominated by landlords. Who again sabotaged the State monopoly of wholesale trading in foodgrains which was considered as a revolutionary measure? Was it not the Congress Government and the Congressmen themselves?

Sir, the nationalisation of the banks in 1969 was paraded as a great revolutionary measure. But whom have the nationalised banks helped? Have they not helped as ever the big monopoly houses and the speculators all these years to grow more rapidly and play havoc with the people's livelihood? And, Sir, what are these wonderful measures which are so radical that these so-called right reactionary parties would have opposed? Was any Emergency necessary to distribute taccavi loans? Or, was an Emergency necessary to distribute house sites to the landless in the villages? Despite all the tall talk, what the Emergency amounts to is the suppression of the democratic forces. Who will believe that by suppressing the popular forces who are fighting against the monopolists and landlords, by suppressing their agitations and by denying them all democratic rights, Shrimati Gandhi is fighting right reaction? Sir, it is unfortunate that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and some other Communist Parties have allowed themselves to be misled by the facade of attack against right reaction and do not see that the real thrust of these measures is against the people fighting for a better existence. They do not see that because of the basic policies of the Government, the contradictions between the Government and the people are intensifying. The CPI, betraying the working class and the toiling people, continues to function as Her Majesty's loyal

Opposition. Our Party considers it its foremost task to awaken and organise the people against the grave peril they are facing and draw them into the struggle for the withdrawal of the Emergency and restoration of whatever democratic rights they wrenched after innumerable struggles and untold sacrifices, for the resignation of Shrimati Indira Gandhi from the Prime Ministership and for the release of all the political prisoners. Sir, we appeal to all the democratic forces and men of goodwill, all who cherish the right of the peo-

ple to struggle for a better life, to join us in this struggle. With these words, I conclude, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A. M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at seventeen minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 22nd July, 1975.