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SHRI N. G. GORAY: We shall he ju-attful if you tell us what you propose to do.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have brought it to my notice. I will look into it.

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN: We want you to rise to the level of Vithalbhai Patel.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It has already been suggested. Why are you speaking?

SHRI RISHI KUMAR MISHRA: Sir, Mr. Goray has raised a very dangerous point. As a newspaper man, *I* am v-;ty seriously interested in it.

Because, if you lay down as to what should be published in the n-. even 1 .the censorship is re some Member will get up and say that whole speech has not been published and

it will be a contempt of the Hons (//;. r). As far rs of j re concerned, they have full to speak here and as far as their publication is concerned, there is no rule ,ich they have a rifrht that the whole speech should be published . . . (Interruption

MR. CHAIRMAN: Don't enter into a discussion. Shri Sardar Amjad Ali.

K. MATHEW KURIAN : He has denigrated his own profession . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Sardar Amjad Ali. You will have 15 minutes only.

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING **ROVAL OF THE PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY MADE BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE 2STH JUNE, 1975 -{Contd.}

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI (West Bengal): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion moved by the hon. Home Minister before this House yesterday, speeches of my hon. colleagues. It is rather

a fantastic thing that since yesterday, I Sir, I had the privilege of hearing the have been hearing some coined phrase, rather phrases, from Dr. Kurian, who every now and then repeats that democracy has been butchered, that democracy has been slaughtered by all the things that ' have been done by the ruling party and the Government. I believe, Sir, all my colleagues here might have read Thomas Gray's Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard'. The first line says: 'The curfew tolls the knell of parting day." Dr. Kurian was using that phrase. He said that 135 nails of the ruling party have stuck up to the coffin of democracy. Sir, I would like at the present situtatio." to come out with this modified, couplet : lolls the knell of the the reaction and the ultra-leftists day."

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Opposition colleagues have attacked the Government in. their usual undertones. Of course, with certain unusual a undertone, hon. colleague Prak my Virji has made two aHe Government. against the The first one is that by declaring internal country, the Government the the Opposition voice." But what- is that in saying, "yes, the Government has gaged the Opposition voice." But what is that voice? The voice that incites the people to go on ransacking the public ings and properties that has been gagged. And it is in the interest of the country that this sort of voice has got to be gagged, Yes, we have gagged the voice of the opposition that : the students to boycot educational institutions and all that. We have gagged it. And thousands of times, in the interest of the country, this sort of voice will have to be gagged. We have gagged the voice of the Oppposition. What is that? The voice that calls to cause the total destruction, to cause chaos and confusion and ultimately to cause an insurrection and a total revolution, a

rebellion as far as the Army and the Police of

the country are concerned. If that sort of

voice has got to be gaged, thousands of times, this country will applaud to gag the voice of the Opposition. But as far as ihe Opposition voice for any constructive suggestions to the Government and to the people is concerned, definitely that voice would never be gagged. And a! least there are such conscionable Members in this side also who will oppose when any Government, whether it is the Congress Government or any Government, comes to gag that constructive voice. Definitely you will find so many voices on this side also who will come out and say that we oppose that sort of gagging of the voice which comes out to give constructive suggestions for the betterment and uplift of the country.

Mr. Chairman, I have risen on this occasion to extend my support to the Emergency that has been declared by the hon. President in his wisdom in accordance with the Constitution.

My friends from this side as well as from the other side have explained the conditions that lea to the declaration of this sort of emergency. They have explained at length the social, the political, the sociopolitical and the socio-eonomic conditions that led to this sort of a declaration. So, I would not traverse on those points once again.

But, Mr. Chairman, Sir, if certain actions of this nature had to be taken by the Government in any country, of coarse, that step had to be taken in a wy unusual circumstances. The unusual circumstances have already been very much clearly narrated and explained here befor: this august Mouse by my colleagues.

Mr. Chairman. Sir, Mr. Prakash Veerji has stated that if the emergency had been proclaimed before the decision of the Supreme Court, or, rather the interim order of the Supreme Court, it would have been very good I am definitely not one with him on this matter because it is only after the interim order came, a series of meetings were held by the most irresponsible men, in an ugly way, by some of the opposition elements In order to create a total chaos

in the country. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan had said th.it he will give a call to do these things at an appropriate time. So, I say that in view of that appropriate time, this was the most "appropriate time" when the internal emergency has been declared. Therefore, in view of that appropriate time, I would ask my colleagues to support this time as the only appropriate time on the part of the Government to declare this sort of emergency.

Mr. Chairman, Sir. what has happened in this country during the last few years. I do not think in any other country the things were happening in such a way as they were happening here. Yes. I am one ot those who believe that the wheels of progress and development ought to have moved in a direction which we all wanted, but which unfortunately have not moved in the same direction. But, is it all for which the opposition should clamour all the time. I would only say that from a series of attacks and series of demonstrations which they have launched against the Government, the ultimate thing that they wanted was to denigrate the institution of the Prime Minister. It is not a question whether he is the Prime Minister or she is the Prime Minister. In a democratic set-up the office of the Prime Minister is an institution and when any attempt in a most ugly way, in a most nuisance way is started by any of the opposition forces or any of the political parties, then it is the duty of the Government in a democratic set-up to maintain the sobriety, the dignity, the honour, the reverence and the respect of that institution of the country and. therefore, it has been very rightly done. Now, the main target was Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The Opposition friends might think that I am a chum of the Prime Minister. Yes, I am so long as she is the leader of the party, not only the leader of the party, but the leader of the country. We are all chums. We should be. In all normal decency in a democratic set-up it is held that the leader of the country should be regarded. The only thing that can be criticised against is the activities and the programmes. When did she come to

[Shri Sardar Amjad Ali]

power? That is in the year 1966, probably the date was the 24(h January. Many things have not been done in this country. Yes, we agree. But, let me give some statistics. During the last few years, ine opposition or some Opposition parties have used this Parliament as well as the whole country and so many other forums only to scandalise the Government and the image of the Ministers and the image of the Prime Minister in a most ugly way. Is that the way? They can criticise the programmes of the Government. But, at the same time, I believe, it would have been a very sobre and normal responsibility on the part of the Opposition to place before the nation that this Government has done things also, which may not be enough in their estimation. They could also place certain proposals and programmes before the Government and say that these will have to be implemented by the Government in power. They did not do it.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, from 1965 I come to 1966. This has been the whole target of the opposition. I do not mean all. I mean some of the Opposition parties which tried to denigrate the institution of Prime Minister and Shrimati Indira Gandhi because they knew that they have thoroughly been beaten at the 1971 elections, have thoroughly been frustrated in the 1971 elections, rather. if I may say, have been thoroughly rooted out by the people of this country who are really magnanimous, bountiful and benevolent. In spite of their sufferings, in spite of their many shortcomings the people have extendi J (heir support to the Congress Party because they believe that it is the Congress Party that can take the whole country in the right direction. Whenever any difficulties were faced by the counlry from within or without, it is only this party which has given the right direction to the whole country and to the people of the country. That is why they aie bountiful, magnanimous, and through this House I extend my greetings, my taslini to the 600 million people of this country who are

half-starved, who are naked and who had so many difficulties in their lives.

What was the gross national product in 1965-66? It was Rs. 21,865 crores. That was when Shrimati Indira Gandhi. the object of the most ruthless attack of the non-sensible, insensible, nonsense Opposition here in the House came into power. The Opposition says the Government did not do anything, that Shrimati Indira Gandhi or the Congress Government has not done anything for !he country. In 1973-74 the gross national product went up to Rs. 52,193 crores. What was the annual growth rate? In 1965-66, Mr. Chairman, the annual growth rale of GNP was 9.3 per cent which went up to 11.3 per cent in 1973-74. What was the per capita net national product in 1965-66 when Mrs. Gandhi came into power? It was 2.6 per cent. It rose up to 3.1 per cent in 1973-74.

Mr. Chairman, I would quote some figures in so far as agricultural performance of the country under the stewardship of Shrimati Indira Gandhi is concerned. What was it in 1965-66? The total foodgrains production was 72.35 million tonnes which rose to 103.61 million tonnes in 1974-75. What about other cereals? Production of other cereals was 10.09 million tonnes in 1965-66 and it was 11.97 million-tonnes in the year 1973-74.

Let me come to fertiliser production. Every now and then the Opposition benches clamour very much on this point. In 1965-66 this • country produced 233,000 tonnes of nitrogenous fertiliser. It went up to 1060,000 tonnes in the year 1973-74. Is that a mean achievement? That is my question. These are economic parameters by which performance of the Government will have to be judged. Of course there are certain other economic parameters and will come to them after some time.

SHRI OMPRAKASH TYAGI (Utter Pradesh): What about mehangayi?

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI : I wili come to that.

मंहगाई का जवाव मैंने दिया था नाईटीन्थ रैली के समय।

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The gross capital formation by the Central Government in the year 1965-66 " was Rs. 520.4 crores which rose during the stewardship of Shrimati Gandhi to Rs. 767.4 crores. That is the net capital formation by the Central Government. What was the gross financial assistance for capital formation? It was Rs. 1,285 crores in 1965-66 while it was Rs. 1,966.4 crores in the yeai 1973-74 during the stewardship of Shrimati Gandhi.

Now employment in the public sector. That is definitely another point which many times has not only agitated the mind: of the Opposition but also this side of the House. Mr. Chairman, in the year 1965-66, the employment was 93.78 lakhs in public sector, and during the stewardship of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, it went up as on March, 1974 to 124.87 lakhs. Is that a mean achievement? That is my question to the Opposition. If this be the picture, much of what has been done has been done with the humble contribution of the poor people of this country.

In the net national exchequer that has been raised, what has been the assistance from outside? The picture is that in the year 1966-67, the total external assistance was Rs. 1,131.4 crores, while it declined in the year 1973-74 to Rs. 849.3 crores: and the grant was Rs. 60.7 crores in the year 1965-66 which was reduced to Rs. 20.7 crores in the year 1973-74. This is the performance.

Now, let us come to another point. What about the foreign exchange reserves, the balance of trade conditions here? It was Rs. 478.4 crores in 1966-67. which rose to Rs. 947.0 crores in the year 1973-74.

Now, what is the object of placing all these statistics before this House? Mr. Chairman, political parties have in a sense to form public opinion. My honourable friend Shastri yesterday has very rightly said that there are three channels—the television, the All Tndia Radio and the Press. I humbly ask the Opposition

colleagues here: Have you on any day said to the nation and the country that well irrespective of the fact that the external assistance has gone down low and low, your contribution made to the national exchequer has brought the country at least to a certain advancement—not the advancement which you all expected? Mr. Chairman, not for a single day or for a single moment, have they utilised either the All India Radio or the television or the Press of this country to explain to the people that this is the achievement of this country. We do not boast of what we have done. Mr. Chairman. certain people may take a very much exaggerated view of what I have stated. But definitely I would say with all benign humbleness that the figures I have given, of course are not the also parameter to judge though we have taken the country to at least a direction which is wanted by the people. There are people as yet, about half of the total population of the free country, who are partly starved. But for that, the gear and the wheel of progress could have moved1 in a much mere efficient manner, if the Opposition had also cooperated in a wise way, in a reasonable way, and in a rational way. It is unfortunate that they did not do it. Certain restrictions have been imposed in an unusual circumstances while the locomotives cannot move, while people will not be allowed to go to schools and colleges, when girls cannot go out to schools and colleges and offices, when every time it is being egged on the incited that vou go and ransack the whole administration, asking the Government officers, asking the public employees to go out in an ugly demonstration leaving aside their jobs without having any respect and reverence for the duties which have been imposed on them by the Constitution, by the Legislature and by the rule of law and for which they are being paid from the national exchequer and the burden for which falls on the poor people of this country. If in this unusual situation some rights have been curbed, Mr. Chairman, 1 do not know whether any sensible man on this side will go and denounce it. Certain

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lights definitely have to go because we do not want that sort of liberal democracy in which we will say, 'Well, direct the people not to run the locomotives, direct the people not to perform their duties by which foodgrains from one pan of the country will move to the other part so that the poor people waiting with their begging bowl to go to the ration shops to get their cereals, get it. If this is the way, that sort of right will have to be curtailed.

Mr. Chairman, by finishing this, 1 would humbly suggest to the Government and to the honourable Home Minister that taking advantage of this internal emergency, certain officers are also ransacking.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): What about employers?

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: I leave it to vou.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You will have to conclude now.

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI : Mr. Chairman, for instance, I will say, it was on the 26th, the emergency was declared and on the 27th, in Calcutta port, the office of the Land Manager was declared as a protected place. What is this Land Manager? He is the person against whom there is a serious report by the Public Accounts Committee that this fellow, the Land Manager, has done so many wrong things. Taking advantage of the emergency, he declared his office as a protected area. We have to go into details with regard to those types of serious activities. Some employers have come into take advantage of the clauses in the industrial laws by which an employee can outrightly be dismissed from service. This is a very serious thing. Although the people at large have accepted the way the country is being moved and the way the emergency has been proclaimed, definitely there are cases which might cause frustration. It is constant vigilance j which is required to protect the liberty,

the independence and freedom. While there is international round-up all over the borders of this country, internal dangers from those getting money from some outside banks in order to cause agitations here and who claims to have come out of very revolutionary working class, I refer to the case of George Fernandes getting money from outside to cause disaster inside the country, this sort of opposition will have to be strangulated and for that, the country will render all the support to the Government because this country does not want to go the way they want. The country will live in peace and let peace come them. With this I would only appeal to the opposition, your voice has not been gagged. There are points; there are programmes. Come with us. Let us go to the people and say that these programmes have got to be implemented. And if you do it, your voice will never be gagged If you do it in the wrong and opposite way, the whole country, not to speak of the Congress members only, will say definitely that their voice will have to be suppressed.

approval of Proclamation of

Emergency

श्री महाबीर स्थागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी सबसे बड़ी परेशानी यह है कि बावज़द इतनी लम्बी-लम्बी तकरीरें सुनने के बाद मैं प्रभी तक यह नहीं समझ सका कि जो इमरजेंसी का ऐलान किया गया है उसके क्या कारण हैं। मोटे लौर से होम मिनिस्टर साहब का भौर प्राइम भितिस्टर साहिबा का जो बयान छपा है धीर हम लोगों को मिला है उसमें भी साफ-गाफ पता नहीं बलता है कि ग्रमली कारण क्या है। एक बात बार-बार दोहरायी गयी है कि जयप्रकाश नारायण ने इमर-जैसी से एक दिन पहले दिल्ली में एक स्वीच दी जिसमें उन्होंने पार्मी को कहा Not to obey illegal orders of the Government गवनेमेंट के गैर-कानुनी हक्म को मत मानों, इसकी वजह से इमर्जेंसी हो गयी। एक बादमी ने एक तकरीर की कि सरकार के गैरकानुनी जो बाइंर हैं उनको मत मानो। बह तो कोई ऐसी चीज नहीं हुई। बगर कहा होता कि गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ रिवोल्ट करों तो भी समझ सकता था। मुझे इस थक्त एक बात यह कहनी है क मेरा

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बनपन से प्रार्मी से ताल्यक रहा है क्योंकि जवानी की उन्न ने पहले ही 19 वर्षकी उन्न में ही मैं ब्रिटिश धार्मी में शामिल हो गया था फस्टे-गेट-बार के समय। और मझको परिशया भेजा गया था फील्ड मुनिस पर। बहां मैंने दो साल तक फील्ड सर्विस की है और आर्मी का बिल्कुल एक हिस्सा बन कर रहा है, ब्रिटिश धार्मी का । उसके बाद फिर मझे मौका मिला यहां मिनिस्टर प्राफ डिफेंस होने का और उस हैसियत से चार वर्ष तक प्रामी के साथ मेरा गहरा ताल्लक रहा है। मैं भामीं की बाबत बहुत कुछ जानता हं ग्रीर यह बता सकता हं ग्रीर शायद हाउस इस बात को पसन्द करेगा कि मिलिटरी के प्रन्दर जो आबोहबा होती है वह मेरे अपने तजबें में एक जेलखाने में ही हो सकती है या फिसी क्लब में हो सकती है और कहीं नहीं हो सकती। मिलिटरी के बादमीं रम पीते हैं, व्हिस्की पीते हैं, इसमें कोई शक नहीं, नेकिन उनके पास जी बहलाने का कोई जरिया नहीं रहता। मो उनके क्लब हैं, मेस हैं, उनमें जा कर वह घंटे-दो घंटे बैठते हैं सौर वहीं उनका जी बहलाने का एक जरिया होता है। पर वहां हर किस्म की बात होती है। जयप्रकाश जी ने एक बार कहा होगा, लेकिन मुझे ताज्जुब है कि माप की पार्टी तो बार बार दोहरा दोहरा कर कह रही है कि जयप्रकाश जी कह रहे हैं मिलिटरी को कि रिबोल्ट करो, रिबोल्ट करो । इसका तो एक बार जिक साया धौर उसके बाद वह चत्म हो जाना चाहिए था। मिलिटरी के प्रफमर के पास या सिपाही के पास जी बहलाने का कोई तरीका नहीं है। वह लोग प्रख्वार पढ़ते हैं भौर भगर उसमें रोज-रोज षायेगा कि हिन्दुस्तान की मिलिटरी को भडकाया जा रहा है और बह रिवोल्ट करेगी और रोज रोज ही 'रिबोल्ट रिबोल्ट' की बात उनके कान में जायगी तो उसका गलत ग्रमर पहेगा। तो मैं भाप से कहता ह कि प्रगर ग्राप इस चर्चा को बार बार दोहरायेंगे तो भाष हो। उसके जिम्मेदार होंगे, मिलिटरी के रिवोल्ट के। हिन्दुस्तान की जो फीज है वह इतनी शानदार है कि जिसमें रिदोस्ट का कोई चर्चा नहीं है ग्रीर वह रिवो-ल्ट नहीं कर सकती। वह गवनंमेंट के हर धाईर की बफादारी के माथ पूरा करेगी। लेकिन एक बात समझ लीजिए कि जयप्रकाण नारायण ने जो यह कहा

कि गैरकाननी छाउंट हो उसको धमल में मत लाखी इस बात को मिलिटरी भी जानती है। घगर धान प्राज मिलिटरी से कहें कि देश में कही जलगांवासा बाग बना दो धीर भीड़ पर गोली चला दो प्रामी कह सकती है कि हम औम गोली नही चलायेंगे. क्योंकि धार्मी का यह एक रिवाज है कि जिस के गास मकावने में गोली चलाने के लिये नहीं है, कोई हिषयार नहीं है या जिसने हाथ ऊपर कर दिये हैं. उसके ऊपर आर्मी गोली नहीं चलाती है । ग्रामीं के हिसाब से उन लोगों पर गोली चलाना बङ्गविसपन है । इमलिये हमारी फीज कोई ऐसा काम नहीं करेगी जिससे उस पर बन्नदिलयन का इल्जाम आ सके । इमलिये जयप्रकाश नारायण ने जो यह कहा कि वह गैरकामनी काम नहीं करेगी धौर बिल्कुल नहीं करेगी यह बात तो पक्की थी. लेकिन उसके मायने प्रापने लगा लिये कि बार्मी रिबोस्ट करेगी। ब्राप ने पड़ा कि इत्सीगल आईसं की मन मानों तो उसमें कोई गलत बात नहीं थी। लेकिन इसकी द्याप बार बार दोहरा कर इन्डाइरेक्टली रिबोल्ट की तैयारी करा रहे हैं। प्राप चाहते नहीं कि रिवोस्ट हो, लेकिन ग्राप गलती कर रहे हैं। ग्रामीं के लोग बार बार इस बात को पहते रहेंगें कि पालियामेंट में इस बात की चर्चा हुई कि बार्मी रिवोल्ट करेगी, रिवोल्ट करेगी बौर इमका इन्डाइरेक्ट प्रसर यह पड़ेगा कि प्रामी का रुख बदल जायगा । (Interruptions) इसलिये मेहर-बानी कर के इस रिवोल्ट वाली बात को ग्राम मत दोहराइये । इसका ग्रसर खराब पटना है । इसको दोहरा कर साप खद सपने को नकमान पहुंचाते हैं। (Interruption) प्राप को कहना चाहिये कि हमारी खामीं बफावार है और उम पर हमको गर्व है ताकि वह बफादारी के साथ ग्रंपना काम करे। मैं बावज़द इसके विरोधी दल में हैं, लेकिन मेरी इच्छा यह कभी नहीं है कि गवर्नमेंट सबिसेज का कोई पाटमी गैरवफादार हो। गवर्नमेंट की शान इसी में है कि उसके प्रति सब वफादार रहें। हममें ग्रापम में मतमेद हो सकते हैं. लेकिन गवर्नमेंट का स्टब्कर उसकी सबि-सेज हैं। उसमें कोई मनभेद हमारा नहीं हो मकता। क्योंकि मुबिसेज जो गवनेमेंट है उसकी पालिसी को कैरी प्राउट करती है, उनसे क्या दृश्मनी है। प्रगर नाराज्यों भी है, मनबेद भी है तो गवर्नमेंट से हो सकता

[श्री महाबीर स्यागी]

है जो पालिसी तय करते हैं । लेकिन जो पालिसी कैरी आउट करते हैं उनके लिए नाराजगी से कोई मतलब नहीं है । जो भी गवनंमेंट की पोलिसी है उसकी बफादारी ने यह लोग अमल करते हैं । आज आपकी गयनंमेंट है, कल को कहीं दूसरी आयेगी तो उसके साथ बफादारी करेंगे । इसलिए सरकारी अफसरान को और मिलिटरी अफसरान को मन विशाड़ों । उनकी बफादारी गवनंमेंट के साथ कायस रहनी चाहिये । जितनी ज्यादा बफादारी होगी उननी ही ज्यादा मजबून गर्वनमेंट होगी । इसलिए मेहरबानी करके मिलिटरी के रियोस्ट की चर्चा बन्द कर वीजिए । इसके माने यह नहीं वे और आप यह करके नुकसान पहुंचायेंगे देश को ।

केवन यही नहीं, मिनिस्टर आफ डिफेंस आर्ग-नाइजेशन की हैमियत से 4 वर्ष तक मिलिटरी से मेरा बहुत बलोज कान्टेक्ट रहा । मैं कहता हं कि हमारी फीज गौरव के काबिल है, बहुन ऊंचे ब्राईश पर चल रही। है। उनके जो स्टेंडइंस हैं उनको बिगाइना नहीं चाहिये भीर अपोजिशन भी कोई ऐसी हरकत करता है जितसे आर्मी के डिसिप्लेन में खराबी चाती है तो वह भी देचरी है। हमको कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि ग्रामी ग्रीर सरकारी कमंचारी वफादार कमंचारी रहें। हां श्रगर गवनं मेंट से मतभेद है तो उनकी गवनं मेंट हटायेंगे स्रीर दुसरी गवनंमेंट कायम करेंगे यह हमारा करंब्य है। यह वफादार रहेंगे तो सब गवनेमेंट के लिए बफादार रहेंगे । इसलिए यह कहना कि इसलिए इमरजेंसी कर दी, गलत चीज है। सबमुच में कोई ऐसी चीज नहीं है जिसमें इमरजेंसी का सवाल होता। ग्रमल बात क्या थी। एक रैली जयप्रकाश नारायण ने की, यह कास-याब हो गई। जब प्राइम मिनिस्टर के खिलाफ एक जजमेंट या गया था इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट का तब से कृदरती तौर से वह परेशान थीं। में समझ सकता हं लेकिन अपील में उनकी गंजाइश है, केस होगा तो जीत जायंगी । जब तक ग्रापील जारी है तब तक वह प्राइम मिनिस्टर हैं, इसमें कोई शक नहीं । लेकिन उनके खुशामदियों ने क्या किया कि हजारों घादिमयों की रैली करनी शुरू कर दी कि इस्तीफा मत दो। बह रैलियां रोज होतो रहीं, टकों पर बैठाकर लोग लाये गये कि इस्तीका मन दो, इस्तीका मन दो । यह भी. मुझे ऐतराज नहीं है। मगर जब इस्तीफा मत दो की का हो सकती है तो इस्तीफा दे दो की रैली भी हो

सकती है । जयप्रकाश नारायण को रेली हुई, उसमें यह हुआ कि प्रधान मंत्री का इस्तीफा मांगा जाए, वह नुकसानदेह हो गई । इसलिए मेरा कहने का मतलब यह है कि अगर 10-12 रोज तक लगातार ये रेलियां कि इस्तीफा मत दो, इस्तीफा मत दो ठीक थीं तो फिर इस्तीफा दे दो—यह भी ठीक थीं । इसमें इमरजेंसी लाने का कोई कारण नहीं है । लोगों ने इस्तीफा मांग लिया इसलिए इमरजेंसी लग गई । इमरजेंसी इसलिए भी नहीं लग सकती ।

दूसरी बात, होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने मझे बताई. वह भी मुझे ताज्ज्ञुब हुमा । एक बताई यह कि कांबि-नेशन ग्राफ बपोजिट पार्टीज है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने भी कहा है कि अपोजिशन पार्टीज जिनका आपस में मतभेद था वह सब मिलकर एक हो गये, यह भी एक कारण हो गया । उसूल मिलते नहीं हैं, कम्यूनल हैं, लेकिन मिलकर खड़े हो गये। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हं कि यह हिन्दस्तान की बड़ी भारी समस्या है। आज हिन्द्रस्तान के अन्दर 18 पार्टीज रिकाग्नाइज्ड हैं। इलेक्शन होता है, 18 पार्टियां श्रपने अपने उम्मीद्वार खड़े करती हैं । पार्टी पावर में जो है वह मेजारिटी में मैम्बरों की है, लेकिन वह बोटों की मेजारिटी नहीं है । उनकी जो पार्टी पावर में है उनको 43.7 परसेंट बोट मिले हैं, मुखालफत में जो बाकी रह गई है उनको 56.3 परसेंट भिले हैं । लेकिन 56.3 परसेंट बोट ब्रापस में बंटे हैं 18 पार्टियों के बीच में । ब्रब ग्राप स्थाल कीजिए कि जब 18 पार्टियां इलेक्शन लड़ेगी तो डेमोकेसी कहां जाएगी ? शापकी कांग्रेस के इस हाउम में 139 मैम्बर हैं, सी॰पी॰माई॰ के 12 हैं, जनसंघ के 12 हैं, डी एम ब्लेट के 12 हैं, बीव्यलव्डीव के 9 हैं, कांग्रेस ग्रोव के 7 हैं, सीव्यीव श्राई०एम० के 7, मुस्लिम लीग के 5 हैं, सोणलिस्ट पार्टी के 2, प्रकाली दल के 2, श्रन्ना डी अएम व के के 2, फारवर्ड ब्लाक का 1, पी०एस०पी० का 1, रिपब्लिकन का 1, ए०पी०एच०एल०सी० नागालैंडका ा, मेघालय का 1, य्०डी०एफ० नागालैंड का 1, पी०डब्ल्यू०पी० महाराष्ट्र का 1, इंडिपेंडेंट 12 हैं भीर नामिनेटेड ।। हैं। ये 28 पार्टियां हैं। तो क्या 28 पार्टियां डैमोकेटिक वे से जलती रहें कोई पैट्टीम्रोटिक इसको पसन्द करेगा ? म्राखिर आपने भी मस्लिम लीग वर्गरह से मदद लेने की कोशिश

की थी । में कहना हूं कि कम्युनल ग्रागेंनाइक्रेक्सन जनसंघ है, अगर यह कम्युनलिज्म छोड़ देता है, उसुलों के साथ चलता है और एक माथ चलता है तो नुकसान क्या है ? इतनी पार्टियां जी इलेक्शन लड़ती हैं उन पार्टियों को एक जगह इकट्ठा करने की कोणिश करना मेरी राय में पैट्रीओटिक काम है, लेकिन आपके हिसाब से यह एक कारण हो गया है कि भ्यालिफ पार्टियां स्थित कर एक हो गई हैं, इसलिए इसरजेंसी हो गई। अभी वे एक हुई नहीं, वे साथ-साथ हैं लेकिन कोशिश की गई है कि जो पार्टियों हैं वे ज्यादातर मिल कर अल्दी नजदीक ब्राबाएं। इसमें तो अरापको भी साय देना चाहिये । जितनी कम पार्टियां होंगी हैमी-कैसी के लिए उतना ही ग्रन्छा होगा। लेकिन ग्राप इसे एक नुकसान की बात बताते हैं और कहते हैं कि सब एक माथ हो गए हैं इमलिए इमरजेंसी लगाई गई है। इमरजेंसी का असली कारण हमको सभी नक नहीं मालूम हो सका है।

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दूसरी बात यह है कि वोटों के हिसाब से ग्रगर देखा जाए तो 43.7 परसेंट बोट ही आपको मिले हैं। जनता के 43 परसेंट वांट ही ब्रापके साथ रहे हैं जबकि झीरों के साथ बहुत कम हैं इसीलिए आप मैंजोरिटी में मान जाते हैं। ठीक भी है, डैमोक्रेसी चलाने के लिए मानना ही पड़ेगा कि यह मैंबोरिटी पार्टी है लेकिन बास्तव में माइनोरिटी पार्टी है, प्रगर बोटों को भिना जाए। इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि बजाय इसके कि 18--23 पार्टियां इलैक्शन लड़ें जितनी कम लड़ें उतना डैमोकेसी के लिए ग्रणका है। 18 पार्टियां नजदीक ग्रा रही **थीं** तो यह आपके लिए नुकसान की बात हो गई और भ्रापने इमर्र्जेमी लगा दी। उनका प्रोग्राम क्या था ? त्रोग्राम जो उनका रूपा था उसमें यह था कि एन्टी-करणान एजिटेंबन हो, करण्यन के खिलाफ एजिटेंबन हो । आपने भ्रभी एन्टी स्मर्गालग को काफी अच्छे ढंग से चलाया है ग्रीर ग्रापने इसमें इस इमरजेंसी का फायदा उठाया । क्योंकि जो समर्गालम की जोर-द्वार बात हो रही थी उसको रोकने में काफी अट्रेक्टिव काम किया है उसके लिए में ग्रापकी सराहना करता हूं। मेरा कहना है कि अपोजिशन पार्टी का यह कत्तंव्य है कि जो गवर्नमेंट ग्रन्छ। काम करे उसकी ताईद की अगए और यो गलत काम करे उसकी मुखालफन की जाए। (Interruptions)

जयप्रकाण नारायण जिंद करते थे कि एस्टी-करस्थान कैम्पेन चलाओं, एस्टी-करस्थान नभी सफल होगा जब अपने घर को ठीक करोगे। उसके बाद सर-कारी अफसरों को देखांगे और उसके बाद दूसरों को देखोंगे। इसोलिये जयप्रकरण नारायण जी ने एस्टी-करस्थान कैम्पेन जलाया था और इसके लिए इसरजेंमी की कोई जम्दत नहीं थी बल्कि इसका आपको स्वागत करना चाहिये था। (Interruptions) आपको जयप्रकाण जी से कहना चाहिये था कि आयो, इसमें आपकी हम सदद करेंगे। मेरा कहना है कि पहले आप अपने मिनिस्टरों को ठीक कीजिए, फिर बाद में दूसरों को। Interruptions)

श्री प्रकाशयोर शास्त्रो : त्यागी जी, एक मिनट । यध्यक्ष जी, मैं यापसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि साज की इस परिस्थिति में सारे देश में एक अनुशासन की लहर ग्राई है तो आप हमारे सदन के सदस्यों को भी यह कहिये कि वे बीच में वीलने की ग्रपनी परम्परा को बदलें । आपके लोग भी जब बोलेंगे तो मख्त से सख्त भाषा में उत्तर दे सकते हैं, लेकिन एक सीनियर मैं स्बर बील रहा हो तो उसे शानिन से सुनना चाहिये । बीच में जो व्यवधान है यह परम्परा के विपरीत है ।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : एन्टी-करप्शन कैम्पेन जय-प्रकाश जी की स्कीम में एक था और इसी की वजह से इमरजेंसी हो गई। क्योंकि एन्टी-करप्णन जो है वह न मालूम किस-किस के घरभेजा जाएगा, न मालूम किस-किस की जेंब हिलेगी, न मालूम किसकी गर्दन पर छुरी चलेगी। मैं जानना चाहना हूं कि इस इमरजेन्सी का जस्टिफिकेशन क्या है? मुझे मभी तक इंग बात का पूरी तरह मे अन्दाजा नहीं हो सका है कि ग्राखिर इस इमर-जेन्सी का कारण क्या है। मैं यह **भाफ तौ**र पर कहना चाहता हूं कि किसी लीडर की स्पीच के ऊपर किसी भी देश में इमरजेन्सी लागू नहीं की जाती है। इमरजेन्सी लागू करने के लिए एक बाताबरण होता है, अनता की एक स्थिति होती है। ऐसी हालत में मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि ऐसी कौन-सी बात हो गई थी जिसकी वजह [श्री महाबीर त्यागी]

से मारे देश में इमरजेन्सी लागुकी गई स्रौर इस प्रकार से इनरजेन्सी का नाजायज ढंग से इस्तेमाल किया गया ? मैं इस इमरजेन्सी की मखालफत करता हूं हालांकि इस इमरजेन्सी के जरिए से एन्टी-करप्शन और एन्टी-स्मगलिंग की जो एक्टोविटीज की गई हैं उसकी मैं तारीफ करता हूं। लेकिन जिस प्रकार से इमरजेन्सी का इस्तेमाल लीडरों को गिरपतार करने के लिए किया गया है, विरो-धियों को दबाने के लिए किया गया है, यह बहुत बेइंसाफी की चीज है। कॉस्टिटयुएन्ट असेम्बली में जब यह इमरजेन्सी का ग्राटिकल पास हुन्ना था तो मैंने उसके संबंध में एक बहुत लम्बी स्पीच दी थी और इस धारा को सपोर्ट किया था और यह बहा था कि गवनैमेंट को इस किस्म की इमरजेन्सी का एलान करने का ग्रधिकार होना चाहिए। उस वक्त हमें इस बात का यकीन था कि इस इमरजेन्सी का नाजायज इस्तेमाल नहीं किया जाएगा। लेकिन मुझे इस बात का अफसोस है कि द्यापने इमरजेन्सी का एलान कर दिया और यह भी नहीं बताया कि किन लोगों को गिरफ-तार किया गया है? मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि जिन लोगों को पकड़ा गया है उनका कसूर क्या है ? क्या उन्होंने कोई दोध किया है ? कांस्टिट्यएन्ट धसेम्बली में जब गिरफ्तारी के मामले पर चर्चा हुई तो यह कहा गया कि 24 घंटे के अन्दर यह बताया जाना चाहिए कि तुम्हारे ऊपर चार्जेज क्या हैं ग्रीर तुमने क्या कसूर किया है ताकि गिरफ्तार ब्रादमी भी धपनी सफाई दे सके। लेकिन इस वक्त जो इमरजेन्सी लगाई गई है भौर इसमें जिन लोगों को गिरफ्तार किया गया उनके बारे में यह नहीं बताया गया है कि उन्होंने क्या जर्म किया है। विरोधी दलों के जो नेता लोग हैं या पार्लियामेंट या ग्रसेम्बलीज के मेम्बर्स है उनकी श्राप द्यासानी से गिरफुतार कर सकते हैं*:* क्योंकि द्यापके ऐसा करने से विरोधी दल नहीं रहेगा। मैं समझता हुं कि इस प्रकार की कार्य-बाही से ग्राप इमरजेन्सी का नाजायज इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं। ग्राप समझते हैं कि यह कौंसिल ग्राफ स्टेटस इन सब बातों के लिए तैयार हो

जाएगी? हम इस बात के लिए कभी भी तैयार नहीं हो सकते हैं कि धाप जब चाहें किसी की भी पकड़ लें। इस प्रकार की इसरजेन्सी के सायने तो यह हुए कि बाप प्रपने विरोधियों को जब जाहें गिरपतार कर लें और ग्रन्य लोगों को उनसे बात भी न करने दें।

इन बातों के साथ-साथ मैं यह भी जानना चाहता हं कि प्राप मेहरबानी करके यह बताइये कि स्राज तक कूल कितने स्नादिमयों को गिरफ्तार किया गया है। भ्राप उनका टोटल नम्बर वता-इये। इसके साथ ही दूसरी बात में यह कहना चाहता हं कि धापने पब्लिसिटो पर रोक लगा दी। श्रापने उन लोगों के नाम तक भी नहीं बताबे जिनको गिरफ्तार किया गया है। इतना ही नहीं जिन सोगों की गिरफ्तार किया गया है उनके बाल-बच्चों को भी उनसे मिलने की इजाजत नहीं दीजा रही है। श्री एस० एन० मिश्र जी की बाइफ उनसे मिलना चाहती थीं, लेकिन उनको मिलने नहीं दिया गया । मैंने भी काफी इधर-उधर टेलीफोन किये, लेकिन मिलने की इजाजन नहीं मिली। मैं जानना चाहता हं कि यह क्या तमाश्रा है ? जो त्रिमिनस्स होते हैं, बाकायदा कंविकट होते हैं उनको भी मुलाकात की इजाजत होती है। लेकिन जिन बेकसूर लोगों को गिरफ्तार किया गया है उनके बाल बच्चों तक को उनमे मलाकात करने की इजाजत नहीं दी जा रही है। श्रापने पब्लिसिटी पर रोक लगा दो ग्रौर किसी के बारे में कुछ नहीं बताया भ्रीर इस इमरजेन्सी का बहाना लेकर ग्रापने उनको जुडीश्रियल फीमलिटी देने से भी इन्कार कर दिया है। वे लोग अपनी डिफोन्स में कोई दलील भी नहीं दे सकते हैं। प्रेस पर ब्रापने पाबन्दी लगा दी ब्रीर कोई भी बात इस बारे में अखबारों में नहीं या सकती है। इस हाउस की कार्यवाही भी प्रखबारों **छपेगी श्रौर मिर्फ वही** छपेंगी जो गवनंमेन्ट को कविनिएन्ट होंगी। मैं समझता हं कि यह भ्रापकी उचित कार्यवाई नहीं है। इसलिए भन्त में मैं यह जानना चाहता हं कि कृपया आप यह बताइये कि म्राज की तारीख तक कुल कितने आदमियों को गिरफ्तार किया

नया है। क्या थाप उनको कोई एलाउन्स भी देते हैं; क्योंकि मुझे याद है, जिस बक्त में नजारत में या तो जैने शेख घब्दुला' को डिटेन किया वा तो उस बक्त उनको काफी एनाउन्सेन दिवे गये ये । जवाहरलाल भी ने खद कहा था कि डिटेन करते के बाद उनको पूरा एलाउंस देना बाहिये, इसनिए उनको एलाउंस दिया गया। में पूछना चाहता हूं :ओ ब्रिटेन हुए हैं क्या उनके वास्ते कोई एलाउंस दिया गया है भीर भगर उनके बाल-बच्चों की मृतर-बसर के लिए कोई खिलाने या पिलाने बाला नहीं है तो बया आपने उनकी फिल तो है? डिटेन बारने के मानी यह हैं कि बागा करत विम्मेदारी जाती है कि बाप देखें कि मेल में उसके खाने-पीते का इंटजाम हो प्रौर उनके चल्चों की देखनाल का इंत्रचाम हो। मेहर-बानी करके हमें बताए इसके लिए बालने क्या इतकान किया ।

में इसका विरोध करणा है।

SHRI RISHI KUMAR MISHRA ii) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the honourable Member, Shri Mahavir Tyagi, hom we all have great respect, has it he supported the in Constitution which have provisions enabled the Government to proclaim the national y and, in fact, when he supported the relevant provisions in the Consti-Assembly, he said:

"It is no use issuing orders afte order has actually started. The euier gency powers must be resorted to before the emergency actually arises. SdJ this clause is the most important clause as it enables action to be taken in advance. I, therefore, lend my wholehearted support to it. I only want that some more categories must be added to the three categories mentioned in this article."

Therefore, Sir, the honourable Member, Shri Mahavir Tyagi, had himself advised at that time the Constitution-makers, the

Constitutent Assembly, to insert this provision so that the Government might take action in advance before disorder has started. I was therefore, surprised today when he got up and opposed the Proclamation of Emergency.

Sir, since yesterday, we have been listen ing to tie -speeches of many honourable Members who have scant faitti in demo cracy and who say this proclamation of emergency has negated democracy in our country. What is the experience in other democratic countries, I mean those coun tries which Members like Prakash Vir Shastriji and other friends would call de mocratic? What is our experience of those countries? In 1920, in Britain, an Emergency Act was promulgated. Why was it promulgated? Not because there was any external aggression, there was any internal disorder, but be cause of the United King dom at (hat time was" facing a crisis. The ::d Hon i the uency Act and empowi Govern

ment ergenev deel: was working We e of the American Constitution. Though rican newspapers have been critic; India saying that Mrs. Indira Gandhi :<i democracy, we re commember very well that during the time of President Wilson, he used his pr the President ;>.nd the Commander-in-Chief in older to restore the economy of the United States. France, all of us are Coristitfttgfis durine 150' years. No bodr itys that France is not a republic or ths* it is not a de mocratic country because of this fact nobody hays that the U.K. ceases to be a democracy because of the Emergency Act of 1970 and nobody says that the United States of America ceases to he a democracy because President Wilson used his emergency powers in order to set right the economy of his country. But all these people, who would otherwise praise the USA, 'vho would otherwise praise the other Western democracies, find that this step taken by the Government of India and the Prime Minister is a negation of

27 Re Resolution seeking [Shri Rishi Kumar Mishra]

democracy. Mr. Chairman, Sir, the late Jawaharlal Nehru was the greatest democrat that we have had in this country. Nehru gave to us this democratic polity which we have now. Jawaharlal Nehru said in 1952:

"For my part, I cherish the freedom of the individual, as I do not want freedom to he restricted in the name of the Stite. But if the safety of the Stale is at Stake, the freedom of certain individuals has to be curbed ..."

12. Noon

In fact, we cannot allow certain individuals to play with the destiny of our nation. Yesterday, Shri Prakash Vir Shastriji said that if the Constitution makers had known that this emergency power would be .i-ei in this iranner they would perhaps not have inserted it. Mr. Chairman, Sir, this provision was inserted in our Constitution after great debate and discussion, and the last Shri T. T. Krishna-machari, who was no less a democrat than many of those who pretend to he- what had he to say in the Constituent Assembly? At that time he said:

"Surely, the framers of any Constitution at the present day would be failing in their duty, if they do not take note in times like this, of the difficulties that abound around every country. Not merely are there threats of " war and undeclared wars and internecine disturbances, but there are also other calamities which are likely to arise, partly because of economic conditions that exist within the countries and economic maladjustments which demand immediate settlement and partly because there pre forces in the world that wish to make the economic maldistribution the basis for subversive political action and in the result make these worse than what they actually are . . ."

Shri Krishnamachari said:

"Therefore, if the Constitution framers do not provide safeguards for protection of the Constitution in times of emergencies that might arise, I feel the framers of the Constitution would be guilty of a grave dereliction of duty ..."

We are very happy and we arc very grateful to the framers of the Constitution that they did not derelict in iheir duly and they have inserted this provision am!, therefore, they enabled the Government and the President at this time to take this action to save the country from chaos.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to em phasize the basic roots of the present situ ation. In fact, since our country became independent, a pattern has been going on in this country between two diametrically opposed forces. What are those dia metrically opposed forces? There forces of modernism on the one side and obscurantism on the other, forces of secu larism on the one side and religious re vivalism on the other. There are forces which believe in planned economic deve lopment on one side and those who be lieve in free economy and in the freedom of the exploiters to keep the people op pressed, on the other. There were forces which wanted Tndia to take the path of anti-imperialism, which wanted India to strengthen its ties with non-aligned coun tries, which wanted India to strengthen its ties with the socialist world. and there were forces which wanted that India should be dependent on imperialism and communal forces. There were foi in the country which wanted India to adopt the path of non-alignment and there forces which wanted India to align itself with military blocks. Now, this pattern has been going on. There are forces of democratic socialism on the one side forces of communalism and reaction on the other side. And the reactionary and communal forces and vested interests have tried to capture power and they have waited for a national calamity to overtake this country so that they may capture power.

House would recall that when the first great calamity overtook this country in 1962 after the Chinese aggression, there were forces in this country which wanted the head of Jawaharlal. But the same forces did not succeed because the people of India stood by Jawaharlal Nehru. But in the process we had to sacrifice Krishna Menon. And after Jawaharlal Nehru's death they wanted to capture this country's political power by capturing Congress. They formed the Syndicate and they tried to capture Congress and thereby capture power. They tried in 1969 to capture political power by a constitutional coup, by capturing the presidency in 1971. They tried to capture power by forming a Grand Alliance' in 1971 and 1972. But they failed. In Uttar Pradesh and Orissa when they found that the progressive and democratic forces had rejected them in the midst of grave economic prices and rising prices, they decided to use terror, intimidation and violence and used parliamentary means for destroying parliamentary democracy. If one is to go by what they say about democracy, then democracy is to describe this Parliament as a House of pimps, touts and prostitutes. We have not forgotton that parliamentary privileges and rules were used by these forces and the so-called freedom of the press was used by them to describe this Parliament as a House of pimps, touts and prostitutes. You will also recall, Mr. Chairman, that according to them, democracy is not the verdict of the people. In 1971, when the people of India gave a verdict in favour of Mrs. Gandhi and the Congress, what did they say? They did not respect that verdict. They said that that had been achieved by some invisible ink. Is this the respect they have for democracy? Is this the respect they have for the verdict of the people? No one can say that in any State where the voted a non-Congress party or a combination of parties in power, we have stood in their way of coming to power But when people voted Congress, then they said that it had been done by an invisible ink. When people voted my friends of the

Mr. Chairman, Sir, senior Members of this CP(M) and their friends to power in West Bengal, it was democracy. Bui when the people rejected them at the polsl, it was rigging and fascism. This is a strange way of defining democracy, li this definition of democracy is going to be accepted, then we will not have democracy. We will have dictatorship of a small opportunist minority which wants to impose on this country a dictatorship of the vested interests and antidemocratic and reactionary forces. Mr. Chairman, is it democracy to give a call to the various security forces, police and the army to disobey the orders and to decide what is legal or illegal, to undermine the executive, to undermine the head of the executive who is the Prime Minister, to undermine the judiciary, to threaten, intimidate and try to pressurise the judiciary either by a physical attack on the Chief Justice or by trying to undermine him in public, to preach rebellion in the security forces, to undermine the econominy and to terrorise Parliament and not to allow it to work? If this is democracy then we will have to think whether this is the type of democracy which is really in the interest of the people of India and whether this is the type of democracy which is really going to help India to become a strong prosperous nation where the poor may look forward to an egalitarian and a just order.

> There has been a reference to the freedom of the press. Mr. Mariswamy yesterday quoted from what Jawaharlal Nehru had said. I am sorry to say that Mr. Mariswamy misquoted by reading only one sentence of a speech which the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had delivered in 1950 at the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference. What Jawaharlal Nehru said was:

"We have been fighting for our riehts and have finally achieved them and are apt to forget that a right by itself is incomplete and in fact cannot last long if the objectives which accompany that rigt are forgotten by a nation or by a greater part of it. I think I can say

[Shri Rishi Kumar Mishra]

that whatever out other tailings might be, at the present moment the amount of freedom of expression that is allowed to or indulged in by the press can hardly be exceeded in any country in the world.

"I shall be quite frank with you", Jawaharlal told the newspaper editors. He said:

"And that freedom seems to me exceedingly dangerous. Without responsibility, grafldually becomes something freedom a licence. Licence ultimately means like mental disintegration. And if there is mental disintegration in the body politics, obviously it affects every limb of it. That applies also, If freedom they to newspapers have and the element of licence, and the niter irresponi-bility incerases, then not only they they will endanger their freedom but their reputation also." Mr. Chairman, a section of the press in India have endangered their freedom by confusing freedom with licence. They have acted in a manner which will make any honest newspaperman hang his head in shame. We have had occasions in this House to see how day after day, even the Chief Justice of India and the Judges were not spared. Not only they, as I had pointed out, after the late Shri L. N. Mishra was murdered, even members of his family not spared. hour of in that Even agony and personal sorrow, there were newspapers run by the Jana Sangh which did not even have the human decency of not writing things which, will add to their sorrow and which will add to their agony. We have seen absolutely total false-! having pervaded through newspapers, concoctions and all that. When you act in this manner, you will see, as Jawaharlal had warned at that time, and I am sorry to say that a section of the press and some political parties who thought that they were using this press in order to project themselves, only helped them to deceive They thought that the masses of India were behind them, and now they thought that that section of the

press only helped to deceive themselves and that the masses of India were not behind them.

Mr. Chairman, before I conclude, I would like to emphasise one thing. This battle against reaction, against fascism and for the preservation of democracy, for deepening of the content of democracy, for really linking economic democracy with political democracy and for taking the country forward unitedly towards its goal has not ended with the proclamation of Emergency. It has only begun and has acquired a new dimension. I am very happy that organisations like the RSS and the Anand Marg have been banned. Dr. Mathew Kurian is not here. Otherwise, I would have asked him: Have you forgotten that when "the Anand Marg attacked Jyotirmoy Bosu, at that time, you demanded that the Government should take action against such groups who are engaged in sinister, murderous activity? The politics of human skulls, the politics of murder, the politics of degrading our youth cannot be allowed to be continued in this country. But that is only the negative part of it. There is a positive programme of economic revival of this country, a positive programme of seeing that the downtrodden and the oppressed do not feel that they have been let down, that promises made are kept, and a positive programme which would see that our rural India is restructured, that the poor Harijans and the Adi-vasis who are living in degrading conditions are really able to live like human beings. The 20-point programme which the Prime Minister has announced, I am sure, is only the beginning. But the implementation of this programme is not an easy task. Let us admit and let us recognise the fact that it cannot be implemented merely by depending on bureaucracy. The entire people of India, irrespective of the political parties to which they belong, those who have faith in this programme, faith in democracy, secularism and socialism, have to be combined together in every village and in every district. And popular initiative has to be released and popular vigilance has to be

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maintained over bureaucratic waywardness. And I admit that there is danger that the power's which have been vested in the bureaucracy may be misused. And, every such misuse of power has to be opposed if innocent people are made victims because of any capriciousness on the part of any section of the bureaucracy. We are all there to oppose it.

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Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have gone round some parts of the country and 1 have seen and I am quite sure that a new sense of hope has been revived in the country and a new sense of confidence is there in the country. Let us not allow this confidence to be sapped. Let us not allow this hope again to be turned into despair. Let us remove all the bottlenecks, political, legal and constitutional which stand in the way of our march towards our goal of socialism.

Thank you. [Mr. D-'puty Chairman in the

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra): Sir, let me begin my speech by making a candid admission that our perception of the situation and your perception of the situation differ in a fundamental manner. There is ;t wide gap between the two perceptions. It seems that all of you on that side have come to the conclusion that the best and the safest place for people like me is in jail. And, we have come to the conclusion that an egalitarian democracy is impossible in India unless you are removed from power. This is the contradiction which we should not try to hide, because if you hide this, it will be difficult to understand the developments that have taken place during the last three or four years.

Sir,- without meaning any disrespect to the speakers who have spoken from that side, I would like to single out three speeches. One, that of Shri Brahmananda Reddi, who initiated the debate, then that of Shri Raju who was frank enough to tell us that there is no question of going back to where we were so far as democratic rights were concerned and the last, but not

the least, that of my friend, Professor Dutt, who told us that what is necessary is to speak honestly and I am assuring him that I shall try to be honest. I shall try to present to you my point of view as frankly and as honestly as possible.

Sir, I begin with the speech of Shri Brahmananda Reddi. He presented to us a long chargesheet in which the accused No.l was, of course, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. I would like to ask him if he would allow me to publish a white paper as they have published, detailing all the shootings and all the butchery that they have indulged in during the last 25 years, or, is it going to be only a one-sided affair and I have to listen time and again on the radio, on the T. V. in the press that we are the people who have stood in the way of progress, who have stood in the way of democracy, who have stood in the way of social reform. I would like to ask him whether such a liberty of the press, liberty of expression is available?

Just now. Sir, I pointed out to the Chairman that only what the Minister has spoken will be published and that what we have said here will not be published. The Chief Censor has given guidelines to the press that only the names of those who participate will be mentioned, not the contents. Is this the ideal democracy? Is this the tryst with destiny about which Jawaharlal Nehru had spoken? Therefore, Sir, let us be very frank and let us admit that what has happened today is considered by some of you as the dawn of a new era while we on our side consider that it is the beginning of a long night of authoritarian rule, of suppression of liberty and, may be even of disintegration of this country. I do not know.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Let the Minister make it clear if such instructions were issued.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him continue.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: I only want to know whether such instructions have been issued

SHRI N.G. GORAY: Tyagiji, I have read it and I have pointed out to the Chairman that this is the order that was issued by the Chief Censor to the press.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Shame.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: Now coming to the various charges that have been levelled against this movement as such, let us try to understand what the charges are. Charge No. 1 is that those who have been duly elected are being deprived of their right to continue in Legislatures for the full | term of five years. I would like to ask you: Who has given you the right to prolong this tenure? You say under the Constitution you have the right. Just now you have heard that the Kerala Legislature Is being extended by six months. What was the mandate? The mandate of the people was only for five years. Now under the Constitution you are going to extend it for six months. Under the Constitution, if you like it, you can cut it short. What is your authority? No authority at all! It is as if under the Constitution gives you a right to subvert the Constitution and if we say that the people have lost faith in you and therefore you should resign, then you say, "What atrocity are these people committing! How can they ask us to vacate the seats ?" But you can ask them ti) continue in the seats for one year more, two years more or three years more as it suits you. There is no bar on you. You do not want to go to the people. Sir, his particular instance is being flung into our face again and again even by so eminent a person as Prof. Dutt, and I would ask him: Why is it that elections are not held in Kerala? Is the Kerala population in revolt? What is happening in Kerala? Because you know that this emergency is not accepted by the people of Kerala and it will be very difficult for Achuta Menon and his group to come back to power, you give them six months more.

approval of Proclamation <</ Emergency Now the charge is about violence. I would

like to ask you: How many people your police and your Border Police have killed by shooting innocent people? Jaya-prakash had asked for a judicial inquiry which was never granted. I have been to the places in Bihar where young students who had committed no offence at all were shot at sight simply because they were on the road when they should not have been on the road. Have you got any remedy against it? Will you please publish your records and say how many times, after independence, police opened fire and how many people were killed? Without any fear of contradicition I will tell you that the British never shot at people like this.

I am not saying that they were angels. But how many times you fired without the least provocation—when the police opened fire, and they opened fire to kill? Will you give account of that ? Is it not true that in West Bengal—if there is anything wrong that I am stating, I would say the representatives from West Bengal should stand up and conlradict me—the finest flower of youth has been liquidated under the pretext that they belong to the Naxalites.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: I stand to support you.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: I would like to ask this from our Professor from Jadhav-pur University. Simply because you did not want them, the finest flower, the first class students who always topped in the examinations, they were shot. I say this is nothing short of genocide.

AN HONBLE MEMBER: It is absolutely false.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: Therefore, when you practice this violence, when the police shoot like that, has not a man like Jaya-prakash every reason to appeal to the police to consult their conscience, not to shoot whenever the orders are given, because they are shooting their own brothers and sisters? Don't forget what happened in My-Lai in Vietnam. There also the

American soldiers were carrying out orders, but American society is a comparatively free society; the press brought out every thing and those who indulged in these atrocities were punished. Nearer home, what did the Pakistani Army do in Bangladesh? Were not terms and conditions laid down by Mujib that all those people would be tried for genocide? Were not the Army people carrying out the orders of the superiors? They were. They were not acting on their own. Therefore, if a man like Jayaprakash says that whenever an order is given to you to shoot, don't shoot; you try to understand whom you are shooting, try to understand who those people are; don't shoot on innocent people, what is wrong? And the question that has been asked again and again—and I was sorry to hear it from Dutt; he was again and again repeating it-was: What have you to say when Jayaprakash appealed to the Army?

SHRI V. P. DUTT (Nominated): That is only one of the things.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: I am dealing with other aspects also. Therefore, I am saying that why is it simply because Jayaprakash appealed to the Army to exercise its consience . . .

SHRI V. P. DUTT: I did not want to interrupt the hon'ble Member, but I want to respectfully submit that we should not be misrepresented. I did not say that just because he said 'don't shoot on innocent people' therefore he was "arrested. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan said that the time has come when you should regard our struggle as your struggle. He also said that the appropriate time has now come, when the Government should be removed by force. Now I did not want to interrupt him. I am a democratic person. I believe in the full expression of opinion. The only thing I request is that we should not be misrepresented.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: 1 have not the least intention to misrepresent you. But I

am telling you that if J. P. made a statement like that, as you said just now, all right you send him before a court of law, send him to 5 years' or 10 years' imprisonment. Lokamanya was sent for 6 years. Mahatma Gandhi was sent for 2-1 years. Jawaharlal himself was sentenced for three years. I do not mind if that is done. But simply because Jayaprakash said something to the Army, to the people, to the students, you hold the entire country to ransom! Why do you prevent me from speaking? Why do you prevent the press from publishing whatever we say? The press is duty bound to publish what you say, but they will not publish all that we say.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: It is a responsible press.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: What is a responsible press? I am coming to that point. I say the Indian press has played a very prominent part in our national struggle, and after Independence also.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Here you are.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: I remember I was in the other House and my friend was also there in the other House. The Chinese aggression at Ladakh was first reported by our press and there is a record of Jawaharlaiji saying that he did not want this news to leak to the people because he wanted friendship between China and India to continue. Who were the people who told us of the Chinese aggression? It was they the press. Who told us about the arms supply that was resumed by America to Pakistan ? It was the press. At that time, Sardar Swaran Singhji was the Defence Minister. He did not know and then he made enquiries and he came to know that what was reported in the press was true. Why are you afraid of that press? I would like to ask my friends like Dr. Dutt, are you going to make democracy a woman in purdah that nobody should look at her, nobody should touch her and nobody should speak to her and

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[Shri N. G. Goray] only you people will speak to her? Is that democracy? Many of you must have read that the Japanese Prime Minister was knocked down while he was going to a meeting and presented with a dagger and a request that he should kill himself. That was an attack from the rightists. They did not like his signing the non-proliferation treaty. Did the Japanese Parliament declare emergency because the Prime Minister was attacked? There is a photograph; he is lying on the ground and the attacker is with a dagger.

Just imagine what happens in England. Dr. Dutt had asked can you imagine Wilson leading a morcha against the Parliament? Certainly not. But can you imagine Heath shooting down the coalminers when they declared a national strike? He will not do it and, therefore, Wilson also does not do it. Both sides must play the game. When you cannot answer the people, all the answer that you have is to put them in jail, throw them in jail and put them behind the bars. Ts this the answer? And even what we speak here, I know, will not be allowed to go out. When we come to attend Parliament session, you arrest us. Sir. I am reminded of an incident when I attended the British Parliament in a delegation. T was taken a back. Sir, it was a Conservative Government and one member from the Labour Party got up and said: "A man who was avoiding arrest, came to me in the morning because he belonged to my constituency and he was arrested at my doorsteps. Why did you arrest him when he was approaching his M. P.?" And, Sir, to my surprise, the Conservative Minister for Home got up and said: "I apologise for what has been done and I assure you that this thing will not happen again." Sir, yesterday, I pointed out to you. the President calls us here for attending the Parliament and as soon as we come here, we are arrested. You ask us to go to a meeting and when we go to the meeting, we are arrested. My friend Madhu Dandavate was arrested; Mr. Ad-vani was arrested, Mr. Mishra was arrested.

Why? Because they were attending a meeting which you yourself had called. What is this? Is this democracy? I wanted Mr. Dutt and others to raise their powerful voice and say that whille we would like to have emergency, we would not have this sort of emergency which is running amuck. If you say that Jayaprakashji's forces were running amuck, are you as counter measure running amuck yourself? So, Sir, my plea is that it is really an action and reaction. You are angry with us; we are angry with you. This will not save democracy. This will not take our country anywhere except to-waids chaos, and, therefore, I am appealing, Sir . . .

(Interruption)

SHRr RANBIR SINGH: Not to us.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: I never appeal to you because I am sure that tomorrow if [ndiraji release Jayaprakash and has talks with him and says: "All right, you cooperate with me" you will say: dekho, kaisa AIM;. YOU have already stopped exercising your intelligent judgment. Therefore, I do not talk with you at all. I know what you are and, therefore, I am appealing to those people who still have their heads on their shoulders. That is the point. What I am saying is, you take this 20-point programme. Let me come to the brass tacks. What is new in that ? You have been announcing this programme from the housetops ever since there was a rift in the Congress. There is nothing new. What prevented you from implementing this programme? What are the main characteristics of this programme? Give land to those who have no land. Who has prevented you from doing it? Complete the land registers. Who has prevented you? In Bihar there is no land register at all and in Bihar ever since independence it is your Ministry which is functioning. Who has prevented you?

AN HON. MEMBER: Right reaction.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: It is you. I am coming to the point of right reaction. Mr. Dutt yesterday talking about the RSS said that it is a Brahmin-dominated organisation. Who are these people on the front benches? Mr. Umashankar Dikshit, I suppose, is the greatest Sudra. Then, this gentleman, Mr. Kamlapati Tripathi, is the most secular of secular people. Mr. Dutt, if you are engaged in a really serious discussion I will tell you that in this unfortunate land everything has been decided by twenty per cent people. It is they who fight and it is they who rule. It is they who build and it is they who destroy. It is they who legislate and it is they who dispense justice. This is what has happened for centuries. Only once during the last three thousand years the genuine voice of a Sudra was heard when Dr. Ambedkar spoke. It was only once during the last three thousand years. Otherwise, whether you look at the Communist party or the Socialist party or your party or the Jana

DR. V. P. DUTT: Gandhiji spoke.

Sangh, they are the Brahmins and the higher

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SHRI N. G. GORAY: Speaking about Gandhiji I would not put him on the same pedestal as Dr. Ambedkar so far as speaking on behalf of the downtrodden is concerned. I am sorry to say that, but I have to say it. Therefore, do not say that this is what you are doing for the down-trodden. You are doing that for yourself, including this twenty-point programme. If you are really serious, then it is not by eliminating ns who have been all the while for the implementation of this, but it is by eliminating many on your side that you can fulfil this programme. (Time bell rings) I ask you a straight question: Are you ready for such a showdown with your own people? I am not blaming anybody, but it is these people who have stopped all these programmes from being implemented. Now, they say there is no land for distribution. It is because they have distributed land to a grandchild which is yet to be born. This is what is happening. I have not said a word against Indira Gandhi. Since

Emergency I came here or even outside I did not say anything against Indira Gandhi because it is not personal. You say that she is being attached. Naturally it is because she is the Prime Minister. If she is not the Prime Minister, nobody will mention her. Therefore, when she is the Prime Minister of the country and she is leading the party that is ruling this country for the last so many years, naturally the attack will be on her. Naturally they attached Mr. Wilson because he was try-ins to take his country to the European Common Market. He had to go and plead with his people ana he conducted a referendum. He never said: You people are opposing me. 1 will put you in jail. This is not the way of democracy. Democracy ought to be a sturdier plant winds, can stand all the blows and all the winds, however harsh they may be. Therefore, before I conclude I would say about this twenty-point programme, why does not the Prime Minister propose that this is the programme? Let all the parties come together and discuss it. May be we shall have to add two more or subtract two and make it a shorter programme. It does not matter. In fact, as I have said, have five or six main items. Hammer them out and complete them and then move to the next item. Why not ask Jayaprakash Narayan, why not ask all those people whom you have incarcerated? Bring them round the table. Say, this is the programme and any body who goes against it you will set him aside. Do not put him in jail, but set him aside. Do not suppose that all the bridges need to be blown up. Do not think that you will be able to manage India with only Shrimati Indira Gandhi and your party behind her; it is too vast a country, with so many people, so many shades of opinion, so many religions.

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Sir. 1 know that the contradictions arc glaring. I know that we have differed. Still there is no other way for us. If you think that the only way is to shut the mouths of all the Opposition, then I tell you, you are not only harming the Opposition, you are not only harming demo[Shri N. G. Goray]

cracy, you are harming yourself. And with this appeal I conclude.

श्री कल्प नाथ (उत्तर प्रदेश) : ग्रादरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपनि जी द्वारा इस इमरजेंसी की घोषणा का स्वागत करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूं । आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, याज एक मुख्य सवाल यह है कि इस इमरजेंसी के उद्देण्य क्या है श्रीर मैं इसी सवाल को पहले लेना चाहता हं । ग्राज सब से बड़ा सवाल है जनतंत्र को बचाने का । ग्राज मब से बड़ा सवाल है देश को बचाने का और सब से बड़ा सवाल ह प्लान्ड इकोन)मी एवं विश्व शान्ति के रास्ते पर जा रहे हिन्दुस्तान के मृत्यों को बचाने का। ग्रादरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे विरोधी दल के लोगों ने प्रजातंत्र की वातें की हैं, धादर-णीय गोरे साहब ने प्रजातंत्र की बात की है, मैं उन से पुछना चाहता है कि क्या चुनी हुई विधान सभाग्रो को भंग करने की बात करना प्रजातंत्रं है ? क्या चनी हुई विधान सभाओं के एम०एल०एज० ग्रौर एम०पीज० का घराब करना उन को मारना पीटना, उनके घरों को जलाना प्रजातंत्र है ? क्या प्रधान मंत्री की सभाक्षों में लगातार ईट, पत्थर ग्रीर जुते फैंकना प्रजातंत्र है ? क्या प्रधान मंत्री की इमेज को लगातार घटाना गाली गलीच और उन की चरित्र हत्या करना प्रजातंत्र है ? क्या नन्हें मन्ने बच्चों को लगानार साल भर तक कालेज छोडने का धाहवान करना प्रजातल है ? क्या पटना और गजराद के नवजवान विद्याचियों को ग्रीर दस-दस वर्ष के बच्चों को संगीन के धागे झकाना प्रजातंत्र है ? प्रजातंत्र की बात करना विरोधी दलों ने मीखा है, लेकिन प्रजातंत्र की हत्या करना भीर प्रजातंत्र को जड़ से समाप्त करने का काम विरोधी दल के नेताओं ने किया है। ग्रारव्एसव एम० क्या प्रजातंत्रीय है कि जिस का सिद्धांत है कि जिस प्रकार शरीर की सारी कमेंद्रियां और ज्ञानेन्द्रियां मन के इशारे पर काम करती हैं उसी प्रकार सारे राष्ट्र का संचालन केवल एक झार० एस०एस०के इशारे पर किया जाय । जनसंघ, ग्रानन्दमानं, सी व्यो व्हम । ग्रादि इन सारी पाटियों का एक मोर्ची बनाना क्या प्रजातंत्र है ? एस० वी० डी० के जमाने में जब कलकत्ता में उन की हकमत बनी तो वहां किसी घर पर तिरंगा फहराता देख कर क्या उस घर वालों की हत्या नहीं की गई ? क्या यह प्रजातंत्र है ? एस० वी० डी० के जमाने में जो हजारों कांग्रेस वर्कर्स की हत्या की गयी वह क्या प्रजातंत्र है ? आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, झाज हिन्दस्तान एक चौराहे पर खड़ा है। ऐसे रास्ते पर खड़ा है कि जहां उस की आजादी खतरे में है बौर जहां उस का नेतत्व खतरे में है । ग्रादरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, भाज हमारे हिन्दस्तान की पूरी आजादी खतरे में है । ब्राज दुनिया की सारी साम्राज्यवादी भौर प्रतिकियाबादी भौर दक्षिणपंथी ताकतें मिल कर हिन्दुस्तान की प्रधान मंत्री को आज गद्दी से हटाना चाहती हैं । क्या ग्राप को नहीं मालुम है कि ग्राज चाइना हमारे ग्रुक्णाचल प्रदेश के पाम दस लाख सैनिकों की ताकत से एक अटामिक मिसाइल अडडेका निर्माण कर रहा है? क्या दनिया के साम्राज्यवादी पाकिस्तान को ग्ररवों द्योर खरबों रुपये के शास्त्रास्त्र से तैस कर के हमारे हिन्दस्तान पर हमाला करने के लिये उकसा नहीं रहे हैं ? क्या धमरीका का छठवां बेड़ा अपने ग्रटामिक हथियारों से लैस हो कर धुम नहीं रहा है ? क्या ग्रमरीका का सातवां बेड़ा हिन्द महा-सागर में थ्रा कर थ्राज पूरी तरह से हिन्दुस्तान की नाकेबंदी करने की कोशिश नहीं कर रहा है ? क्या ग्राप के कोलंबो से 1,500 किलोमीटर दक्षिण दिगोगांशिया में धमरीका द्वारा घटामिक हथियारीं से लैस एक घड्डे का निर्माण नहीं किया जा रहा है ? क्या एशिया की धरती में लगातार साम्राज्यवादी एक केबाद एक देश में पराजित होने के बाद ग्रव हिन्दुस्तान में ग्रंतिम रूप से ग्रपनी ग्रंतिम लड़ाई नहीं लड़ना चाहते हैं ? या पालिटिक्स को ध्यान से हटा कर हम सोचना चाहते हैं और दुनिया की साम्राज्य बादी और प्रतिक्रियानादी ताकतें दोनों मिल कर हिन्दुस्तान की भाजादी को इस के जनतंत्र को मिटा नहीं देना चाहते हैं ?

ब्रादरणीय ब्रध्यक्ष महोदय, हिन्द्स्तान के इति-हास की लड़ाई 1969 से शुरू होती है जब 1969 में राष्ट्रपति गिरि का इलेक्शन हम्रा । जैसे बाढ़ के समय में सारे गांधों के खेतों की मेंहें टट जाती है, उसी प्रकार राष्ट्रपति गिरि के इलेक्शन में एक तरफ प्रगतिशील ताकतों और दूसरी क्षरफ दक्षिणपंथी ताकतों का बंटबारा हमारे देश में हुआ । वे ताकतें जो प्लांड इकोनामी में विश्वास करती थीं, वे ताकतें जो जनतंत्रीय व्यवस्था में विश्वास करती थीं, वे ताकतें जो नान-ग्रलाइंड कंट्रीज के साथ, सोमलिस्ट कंट्रीज के साथ अलाइन करना चाहती थीं एक स्रौर वह ताकतें थीं सौर उस समय में हमारे देश की राजनीतिक ताकतों में बंटवारा हुन्ना जब कि इस देश में भ्रमरीकी साम्राज्यंबाद का गठजोड़ नहीं था । उसके बाद 1971 का डिसाइसिव इलेक्शन हुआ। उसके बाद सारे देश के पैयाने पर विरोधी पार्टियों ने भयंकर रूप से बैंकों के नेशनलाइजेशन का विरोध किया. राजामहाराजाओं के प्रिवीपर्स समाप्त करने का विरोधी किया और सरकार के प्रगतिशीब कदमों का विरोध किया। 1971 के बाद बंगला देश का जन्म हमा। बंगला देश की लड़ाई में हिन्दुस्तान की कामयावी इतनी बड़ी कामयाबी थी जिसकी मिमाल दुनिया के इति-हास में नहीं है । प्रधान मंत्री इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में बंगला देश में इतनी बड़ी कामयावी हुई जिसके लिए हिन्द्स्तान की जनता की, मध्य रूप से गोरे साहब और आदरणीय जयप्रकाश नारायण साहब को प्रधान संबी को लगातार 10 वर्ष तक बधाई देनी चाहिए थी । लेकिन इतनी बढ़ी उप-लिध के बाद, संगला देश की विजय के बाद इन लोगों ने देश में बड़े पैमाने पर हडताल, लट खमोट. वेराव, मत्याग्रह, अन्द का मिलमिला शरू किया। क्या ग्राप नहीं जानते थे कि अंगला देश के यद्ध के बाद मंहरा।ई बढ़ेगी । जब जंग हीगी तो मंहराई बढ़ेगी मुसीबते बढेगी परेशानियाँ बहेगी जब संगल देश का भवाल ता सारे देश की विरोधी पार्टियों ने कहा कि वंगला देश को मध्यता दो । राजनारायण जैल में समे ं नाताओं देशमुख मुजीव्र्रहमान का फोटो लेकर आये, 10 लाख लोगों का प्रदर्शन किया गया ।

45 Re Resolution seeking

जब मान्यता दी गई तो जाहिर है कि जंग होगी। लड़ाई हुई, उसमें खरवों ध्पयों का मफाया हुआ ग्रीर हमें खशी है कि रूस ने ग्रगर हमारी मदद न की होती तो बंगला देश की लड़ाई में हमारी इतनी शानदार विजय न होती । इस विजय के बाद हमारे मुल्क में क्या घटनायें हुई यह मैं आपको बताना चाहता है । हमारे देश के 14 प्रांतों में मुखा पड़ा, बारे ग्राई । विरोधी पार्टियों ने इन कामा में भी सरकार का नाथ नहीं दिया । इसके काद 1972 का इलेक्शन हथा । 1972 में 16 विधान सभाग्रों के इलेक्सन हुए जिनमें कांग्रेस पार्टी की विजय हुई । इसके बाद हमारे देश की इकोनामी जिलकुल भैटर हो गई । इधर देश की इकानामी नष्ट हो रही थी तो 1973-74 में देश में बड़े पैमाने पर रेखने स्ट्राइक जार्ज फरनांडिस के नेतृत्व में हुई श्राप जानते हैं कि 125 करोड़ रुपये का नुकसान रेलवे का हुन्ना स्रीर 15 सी करोड़ रूपये का नुक्सान सारे देश की इकानामी का हुआ ! श्री जार्ज फरनोडिस ने यह **भाषण दिया था**-

"Realise the strength which you possess. A sevenday strike of the Indian railways, and every thermal station in the country would close down. A tenday strike by the Indian railways, and every steel mill in India would close down and the industries in the country will come to a halt for the next 12 months. If once a steel mill's furnace is switched off, it takes nine months to re-fire it. A 15-day strike in the Indian railways, and the country will starve."

ग्रादरणीय ग्रध्यक्ष महोदय, रेलवे की हडताल की देश के पैमाने पर मन 1974 में मई में कराई गई वह क्या दुनिया के साम्राज्यवादी सी०प्राई०ए० ग्रौर हिन्द्स्तान की रियक्शनरीज का वह धडबंद नहीं था ? जब हिन्द्स्तान के 38 करीड़ लोग 4 द्याने पर गुजारा कर रहे हों तो रेलवे के **ध**क्छे इंप्लाईज को भड़काकर राष्ट्रीय हानि करना, यह चडयंत्र नहीं था । मारे विरोधी दलों ने यह चडयंत्र नहीं किया ? उसके बाद गुजरात की घटना आती है। गजरात की विधान सभा भंग करो, यह कौन **सा जनतंत्र है ? एम०एल०एअ० का घेराव करी,** इसको जिन्दा जला दो, इस तरह इन्होंने लोगों को [श्रीकल्पनाथ]

भड़काया । बिहार बंद के दीरान में एक वर्ष तक कंप्लीट वहां के विद्याधियों की णिक्षा नहीं हुई, उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि उत्तर प्रदेश की युनिवर्सिटियों के इम्तिहान इस अगस्त महीने में हो रहे हैं और भवम्बर के महीने में उनका रिजल्ट निकलेगा और एम०ए०, बी०ए० में उनका ऐड़-मिश्रम हिन्दुस्तान की और यनिवस्तिटी में नहीं होगा।

तो क्या देश के अन्दर इस तरह की स्थिति
नहीं पैदा की गई । जब प्रधान मंदी ने गुजरात
का दौरा किया था तो आपने पटा होगा कि गुजरात के दौरे के अन्दर हर रोज प्रखबारों में छपता
था कि आज इन्दिरा गांधी पर 100 जृते पड़े ।
दूसरे दिन छपता था कि आज 15 ईटे पड़ी,
उनको बोलने नहीं दिया गया । हिन्दुस्तान के
मोनोपली प्रैस, देश की दक्षिण पंथी प्रतिक्रियावादी
ताकतें मिल कर प्रधान मंदी के नेतृत्व को समाप्त
कर रही थी । सारे देश में उनकी इमेज नष्ट कर
रही थी । आज खुश किस्मती है हिन्दुस्तान की
कि इस देश को एक अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय ख्याति प्राप्त
नेता मिली हई हैं ।

आदरणीय अध्यक्ष महोदय. अभी हमारें एक मित्र ने, जो विदेश में रहता है, एक पत्न हमको लिखा है। 15 जुलाई को उन्होंने पत्न लिखा है भारत की राजनीतिक स्थिति के संदर्भ में । उन्होंने लिखा कि भारत की राजनीतिक स्थिति के संदर्भ में जो भी प्रकाशन यहां अखबारों में हो रहा है वह अच्छा नहीं है। मुझे तो पूणं आशा है कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का नेतृत्व देश को मिलता रहेगा। वह दिन दुर्भाग्य का दिन होगा भारतवर्ष के इतिहास में जब वे देश का नेतृत्व नहीं कर पाएंगी। इस तरह के पत्न हमारे देश की लिखे जाते हैं।

मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि हमारे देण की बिरोधी पार्टियां, मुख्य रूप से झार उएस उएस उ जिनका बेस फासिज्म है क्या वे हिटलर के रास्ते पर हिन्दुस्तान को नहीं ले जा रहे हैं ? क्या झार उ एस उएस उ की स्टेजों पर भाषण नहीं दिए जाते हैं कि गांधी जी मुसलमानों से दोस्ती की बार्ते करते थे । मुसलमानों से दोस्ती की बात बहुत गलत बात है । जो गऊ माता है, जिसको हम माता कहते हैं उस को काट कर, उसके खून में भिगो कर दो रोटी खाते हैं उनके साथ कैसे दोस्ती की बात की जाए । उन मलेच्छों का जीना भी हम पाप समझते हैं । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि इस तरह के ब्रार०एस०एस० के संगठन को, बानन्द मार्गी के संगठन को ब्रौर सारे दक्षिण पंथो ताकतों को इकश्चा हो कर देश की प्रधान के तखने को पलटने की क्या धावश्यकता थीं ?

आदरणीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस इमरजैसी के दौर मैं, मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से कहना चाहूंगा कि कुछ अगतिशोल और जांतिकारी काम करें जिससे कि हमारे देण के मेहनतकण और गरीब जनता को ऊंचा उठने का मौका मिले । अब समय आ गया है जब कि मोनोपली हाउसेज का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाए । मेरा कहना यह भी है कि समय आ गया है चीनी मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया आए जिसका बचन हमने देण की जनता को दिया था । जब तक मोनोपली प्रैस का डिफ्यूजन नहीं करेंगे, मोनोपली हाउसेज का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं करेंगे, तब तक राईटिस्ट रिअक्शनरीज का बेस हिन्दुस्तान में कायम रहेगा और जब तक यह रहेगा तब तक हम प्लांड इकोनोमी को आगे नहीं बढ़ा पाएंगे और न शान्ति कायम रख सकेंगे ।

प्रादरणीय प्रध्यक्ष महोदय, आज दुनिया के पैमाने पर दुनिया तीन हिस्सों में बंटी हुई है। एक हिस्सा तो वह है जिस पर रूस नेतृत्व कर रहा है ग्रीर दूसरा हिस्सा वह है जिसका नेतृत्व अमरीका कर रहा है ग्रीर तीसरा हिस्सा नान एलाइन्ड नेशन्स का है जिसका नेतृत्व करने की ताकत हमारे देश की नेता प्रधान मंत्री में है। नान-प्रलाइन्ड कंटरीज का जो सम्मेलन ग्रह्जीरिया में हुआ था उसमें हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा था। लेकिन हमारे देश का विरोधी पक्ष आज उनके चित्र को, ग्राज उनकी इमेज की सारे देश के सामने खराब कर रहा है ग्रीर देश को दक्षिण पंथी प्रतिक्रियावादी घेरे में ले जाना चाहता

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है। मेरा कहना है कि वह दिन बहुत दूर है जब ऐसा हो पाएगा । भ्राजकल सी०भ्राई०ए० की बात की जा रही है। हिन्दुस्तान में सी०आई०ए० की एक्टीविटोज दिन-दूनी राज चौगुनी बढ़ती जा रही है ग्रीर यह सब इन्हीं के कारण है । यदि नहीं तो वियतनाम में जहां 30 लाख ग्रादमी मौत के घाट उतार दिये गये क्या उसकी निन्दा इन्होंने 10 लाख जोग कम्बोडियाई मार डाले गर्य क्या इनकी निन्दा इन्होंने की ? बंगला देश के 30 लाख लोगों की गर्दन काट दी गई बया उन्होंने इसकी निन्दा की ? इजराइल ग्रीर ग्ररब संघर्ष में कई लाख लोगों की यातनायें मिली क्या पीलू मोदी ने इसकी निन्दा की ? इन ताकतों ने एशिया को अपने कुचक का बहुत वडा अखाडा बना रखा है और हिन्दस्तान जैसे देश को वे अपना रण क्षेत्र बनाना चाहते हैं जिसकी नाकाबन्दो उन्होंने समद्र के रास्ते कर रखी है। चीन के रास्ते से कर रखी है। इस बक्त पर आरव्यमव्यमव और सीव्यीव्यमव जैसी दोनों ताकर्ते एक जगह इकटठी हो गई हैं।

दुनिया की राजनीति में इस प्रकार की हालत पैदा नहीं हुई जहां इस प्रकार की दो विरोधी विचारधारायें आपस में मिली हैं । हमारे देश में यह हालत हो गई थी कि लेफ्ट एडवेंचरिस्ट ग्रीर राइट रिएक्शनरी ताकतें ग्रापस में कम्बाइन होकर इस महक की कान्न ग्रीर व्यवस्था की स्थिति को खत्म करने की साजिज कर रहे थे । लेकिन में यह भी कहना चाहता हं कि हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री को और कांग्रेस की सरकार को इस बात का ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि केवल इमरजेंसी को हिन्द्रस्तान में कायम कर देने से जनता को संतोष नहीं होगा। हमारे देश की जनता की खुणहाली के लिये यह ग्रावश्यक है कि जब तक ग्राप इस देश के इकनोमिक स्ट्रक्चर में बुनियादी परिवर्तन नहीं करेंगे, जब तक आप मोनोपली हाउसेज का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं करेंगे, मोनोपली प्रैस के कपर कंट्रोल नहीं करेंगे, उसको डिफ्य क नहीं करेंगे, जब तक भ्राप चीनी मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं करेंगे तब तक इस देश में बास्तविक ग्रर्थी

Emergency में समाजवाद नहीं स्नासकता है । 12 जुन को जब इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट का जजमेंट ग्राया था तो दूसरे दिन से हिन्द्स्तान टाइम्स ने गालियां उगलनी शुरू कर दी । दिल्ली से निकलने वाले स्टेट्समैन ग्रौर इंडियन एक्सप्रैस ने प्रधान मंत्री पर हमला करना शरू कर दिया और दूसरी तरफ यह स्थिति थी कि श्री के० के० बिरला देश के पंजीपतियों की तरफ से प्रधान मंत्री से मिले और उन्होंने इस इमरजेंसी का स्वागत किया । ऐसी हालत में यह जाहिर है कि इस प्रकार की दोनों चीजें इस देश में नहीं चल सकती हैं। मैं स्पष्ट रूप से कहना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान की प्रधान मंत्री ने ग्रौर कांग्रेस पार्टी ने जो समाजवाद का रास्ता तय किया है ग्रीर उसने जो विक्व मांति कायम करने, नान-एलाएन्ड राष्ट्रीं को मजबूत करने, गुलाम राष्ट्रों की आजादी के लिये काम करने और हिन्दुस्तान का विकास करने का रास्ता अपनाया है उसमें तब तक कामयाबी नहीं मिल सकती हजब तक कि इस देश से मोनो-पोली हाउसेज श्रीर पंजीपतियों का वचेस्व खत्म नहीं किया जाता है । मैं विरोधी दलों के लोगों स यह बात कह कर अपना भाषण खत्म करना चाहता हं कि---

सर फिरोणी की तमन्ना अब हमारे दिल में है.

देखना है जोर कितना बाज्ये कातिल में है। SHRI K. A. KRISHNASWAMY (Tamli Nadu) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the Proclamation of Emergency is a constitutional device to safeguard the unity, stability and integrity of the nation. The framers of the Indian Constitution had envisaged certain conditions and incorporated them in the provisions of the Constitution and this power has now been used to prevent the disintegration of the country and to maintain the unity and stability of the nation. The timely action by the Central Government has been a claimed by one & all throughout the nation. So far as the State of Tamil Nadu is concerned, it is second to none in responding to the action taken by the Prime Minister of India. Further, Sir, it would not be out of place to mention here that we the people of Tamil

[Shri K. A. Krish

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Nadu consider the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, not as a leader of a parti-cular political party, but we consider her and we see her as the symbol of a resurgent India, as a symbol of progressive forces and as a symbol of great social changes.

Sir, I would like to bring to the notice of this House only one point. The disturbing feature in this context is that the people of Tamill Nadu, when the Prime Minister of India took this timely action, unitedly supported her timely action. But the establishment, the ruling party and the Government there, is antagonistic and hostile to her economic programme and the Emergency declaration. The ruling party there, the DMK, recently passed a resolution on the issue of emergency stating that the action of the Prime Mininster is nothing but the inauguration of the advent of dictatorship and this clearly shows the unhelpful attitude of the Tamil Nadu Government. But they are in a powerful position and they can do anything. The subsequent conduct of the Government is not conducive to the national interest and 1 request

Krishnaswamy] the honourable Home Minister to see that necessary action is taken to help the Tamil Nadu people take part in the mainstream of Indian politics.

Further, I need not mention that the reaction and the subsequent conduct of tho Tamil Nadu Government is not conducive to the efforts for the promotion of unity in the present conditions. Therefore, I request the Home Minister to intervene and do the needful in the larger interests of the nation.

With these words, Sir. I conclude.

ALLOCATION OF TIME FOR DISPO-SAL OF GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

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MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: ! have to inform Members that the Business Advisory Committee at its meeting held today, the 22nd July. 1975, allotted time as follows for Government Legislative and other Business to be taken up during the current session of the Rajya Sabha:

Business	Time allowed
 Further discussion on the Resolution regarding Proclamation of Emergency. 	4 hours (in addition to the time taken on July 21, 1975.
 Statutory Resolution regarding continuance of President's Rule in Nagaland. 	2 hours
 Consideration and passing of— (a) The Nagaland State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill, 1975. 	1 hour
(b) The Maintenance of Internal Security (Amendment) Bill, 1975.	4 hours
(e) The Conservation of Foreign Exchange and Pre- vention of Smuggling Activities (Amendment) Bill, 1975.	4 hours
 (d) The Defence of India (Amendment) Bill, 1975 (e) The Kerala Legislative Assembly (Extension of Duration) Bill, 1975. 	3 hours 2 hours