

SHRI N. G. GORAY : We shall be grateful 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 very seriously interested in it.

Because, if you lay down as to what should be published in the newspapers, even when the censorship is removed, some Member will get up and say that his whole speech has not been published and that it will be a contempt of the House. . . (*Interruptions*). As far as the Members of this House are concerned, they have full freedom to speak here and as far as their publication is concerned, there is no rule under which they have a right that the whole speech should be published . . .

(Interruptions)

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

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

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

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING  
APPROVAL OF THE PROCLAMATION  
OF EMERGENCY MADE BY THE PRE-  
SIDENT ON THE 25TH 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 situation an Indian Gray to come out with this modified, couplet :

"The curfew tolls 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 a certain unusual undertone, my hon. colleague Prakash Virji has made two allegations against the Government. The first one is that by declaring internal emergency in the country, the Government has gagged the Opposition voice." But what is that in saying, "yes, the Government has gagged the Opposition voice." But what is that voice? The voice that incites the people to go on ransacking the public undertakings 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 is asking the students to boycott their 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 Opposition. 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 gagged, thousands of times, this country will applaud to gag the voice of the Opposition. But as far as the Opposition voice for any constructive suggestions to the Government and to the people is concerned, definitely that voice would never be gagged. And at 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 led to the declaration of this sort of emergency. They have explained at length the social, the political, the socio-political and the socio-economic 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 course, that step had to be taken in a very unusual circumstances. The unusual circumstances have already been very much clearly narrated and explained here before this august House 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 that 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 of 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

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power? That is in the year 1966, probably the date was the 24th January. Many things have not been done in this country. Yes, we agree. But, let me give some statistics. During the last few years, the 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 sober 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 extended their 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 country 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 are bountiful, magnanimous, and through this House I extend my greetings, my taslim 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 the 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 rate 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 the 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 (Uttar Pradesh) : What about *mehangayi* ?

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI : I will come to that.

मंहवाई का जवाब मैंने दिया था नाईटिन्थ रैली के समय ।

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 year 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 India 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 moved in a much more efficient manner, if the Opposition had also co-operated 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 you 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, I do not know whether any sensible man on this side will go and denounce it. Certain

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rights 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 part 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, I 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 you.

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 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 strangled 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.

श्री महावीर त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी सबसे बड़ी परेशानी यह है कि बावजूद इतनी लम्बी-लम्बी तकरीरे सुनने के बाद मैं अभी तक यह नहीं समझ सका कि जो इमरजेंसी का ऐलान किया गया है उसके क्या कारण हैं। मोटे तौर से होम मिनिस्टर साहब का और प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिब का जो बयान छपा है और हम लोगों को मिला है उसमें भी माफ-माफ पता नहीं चलता है कि असली कारण क्या है। एक बात बार-बार दोहरायी गयी है कि जयप्रकाश नारायण ने इमरजेंसी से एक दिन पहले दिल्ली में एक मीटिंग दी जिसमें उन्होंने आर्मी को कहा Not to obey illegal orders of the Government गवर्नमेंट के गैर-कानूनी हुक्म को मत मानो, इसकी वजह से इमरजेंसी हो गयी। एक आदमी ने एक तकरीर की कि सरकार के गैरकानूनी जो आर्डर हैं उनको मत मानो। यह तो कोई ऐसी चीज नहीं हुई। अगर कहा होता कि गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ रिबोल्ट करो तो भी समझ सकता था। मुझे इस वक्त एक बात यह कहनी है कि मेरा

बचपन से आर्मी से ताल्लुक रहा है क्योंकि जवानों की उम्र से पहले ही 19 वर्ष की उम्र में ही मैं ब्रिटिश आर्मी में शामिल हो गया था फर्स्ट-ग्रेट-वार के समय। और मुझको परशिया भेजा गया था फील्ड मार्क्स पर। वहाँ मैंने दो साल तक फील्ड मार्क्स की है और आर्मी का बिल्कुल एक हिस्सा बन कर रहा हूँ, ब्रिटिश आर्मी का। उसके बाद फिर मुझे मौका मिला यहाँ मिनिस्टर आफ डिफेंस होने का और उस हैमियन में चार वर्ष तक आर्मी के साथ भेरा गहरा ताल्लुक रहा है। मैं आर्मी की बाबत बहुत कुछ जानता हूँ और यह बताना सकता हूँ और शायद हाउस इस बात को पसन्द करेगा कि मिलिटरी के अन्दर जो आबाहुवा होती है वह मेरे अपने तजुर्बे में एक जेलखाने में ही हो सकती है या किसी क्लब में हो सकती है और कही नहीं हो सकती। मिलिटरी के आदमी रम पीते हैं, व्हिस्की पीते हैं, इसमें कोई शक नहीं, लेकिन उनके पास जी बहलाने का कोई जरिया नहीं रहता। जो उनके क्लब है, मस हैं, उनमें जा कर वह घंटे-दो घंटे बैठने है और वही उनका जी बहलाने का एक जरिया होता है। पर वहाँ हर किस्म की बात होती है। जयप्रकाश जी ने एक बार कहा होगा, लेकिन मुझे ताज्जुब है कि आप की पार्टी तो बार बार दोहरा दोहरा कर कह रही है कि जयप्रकाश जी कह रहे हैं मिलिटरी को कि रिवोल्ट करो, रिवोल्ट करो। इसका तो एक बार जिक्र आया और उसके बाद वह खत्म हो जाना चाहिए था। मिलिटरी के अफसर के पास या सिपाही के पास जी बहलाने का कोई तरीका नहीं है। वह लोग अखबार पढ़ते हैं और अगर उसमें रोज-रोज आयेगा कि हिन्दुस्तान की मिलिटरी को भड़काया जा रहा है और वह रिवोल्ट करेगी और रोज रोज ही 'रिवोल्ट रिवोल्ट' की बात उनके कान में जायगी तो उसका गलत असर पड़ेगा। तो मैं आप से कहता हूँ कि अगर आप इस चर्चा को बार बार दोहरायेगे तो आप ही उसके जिम्मेदार होंगे, मिलिटरी के रिवोल्ट के। हिन्दुस्तान की जो फौज है वह इतनी शानदार है कि जिसमें रिवोल्ट का कोई चर्चा नहीं है और वह रिवोल्ट नहीं कर सकती। वह गवर्नमेंट के हर आर्डर को वफादारी के साथ पूरा करेगी। लेकिन एक बात ममझ लीजिए कि जयप्रकाश नारायण ने जो यह कहा

कि गैरकानूनी आर्डर हो उसको अमल में मन लाओ इस बात को मिलिटरी भी जानती है। अगर आप आज मिलिटरी से कहें कि देश में कहीं जलयावाला बाग बना दो और भीड़ पर गोली चला दो आर्मी कह सकती है कि हम लोग गोली नहीं चलायेगे, क्योंकि आर्मी का यह एक रिवाज है कि जिस के पास मुकाबले में गोली चलाने के लिये नहीं है, कोई हथियार नहीं है या जिसमें हाथ ऊपर कर दिये हैं, उसके ऊपर आर्मी गोली नहीं चलाती है। आर्मी के हिमाब से उन लोगो पर गोली चलाना बुझदिलपन है। इसलिए हमारी फौज कोई ऐसा काम नहीं करेगी जिससे उस पर बुझदिलपन का इल्जाम आ सके। इसलिए जयप्रकाश नारायण ने जो यह कहा कि वह गैरकानूनी काम नहीं करेगी और बिल्कुल नहीं करेगी यह बात तो पक्की थी, लेकिन उसके मायने आपने लगा लिये कि आर्मी रिवोल्ट करेगी। आप ने पढ़ा कि इल्लिगल आर्डर्स को मन मानो तो उसमें कोई गलत बात नहीं थी। लेकिन इसको आप बार बार दोहरा कर इन्डाइरेक्टली रिवोल्ट की तैयारी करा रहे हैं। आप चाहते नहीं कि रिवोल्ट हो, लेकिन आप गलती कर रहे हैं। आर्मी के लोग बार बार इस बात को पढ़ने रहेगे कि पार्लियामेंट में इस बात की चर्चा हुई कि आर्मी रिवोल्ट करेगी, रिवोल्ट करेगी और इसका इन्डाइरेक्ट असर यह पड़ेगा कि आर्मी का रुख बदल जायगा। (Interruptions) इसलिए मेहर-बानी कर के इस रिवोल्ट वाली बात को आप मत दोहराइये। इसका असर खराब पड़ना है। इसको दोहरा कर आप खुद अपने को नुकसान पहुंचाते हैं। (Interruption) आप को कहना चाहिये कि हमारी आर्मी वफादार है और उस पर हमको गर्व है ताकि वह वफादारी के साथ अपना काम करे। मैं बावजूद इसके विरोधी दल में हूँ, लेकिन मेरी इच्छा यह कभी नहीं है कि गवर्नमेंट सर्विसेज का कोई प्रादमी गैरवफादार हो। गवर्नमेंट की शान इसी में है कि उसके प्रति सब वफादार रहे। हममें आपस में मतभेद हो सकते हैं, लेकिन गवर्नमेंट का स्ट्रक्चर उसकी सर्विसेज है। उसमें कोई मतभेद हमारा नहीं हो सकता। क्योंकि सर्विसेज जो गवर्नमेंट है उसकी पालिसी को कौन आउट करती है, उनसे क्या दुश्मनी है। अगर नारायणी भी है, मतभेद भी है तो गवर्नमेंट से हो सकता

[श्री महावीर त्यागी]

है जो पालिसी तय करने है। लेकिन जो पालिसी करी आउट करते हैं उनके लिए नागरजी से कोई मतलब नहीं है। जो भी गवर्नमेंट की पालिसी है उसको वफादारी ने वह लोग अमल करते हैं। आज आपकी गवर्नमेंट है, कल को कहीं दूसरी आयेगी तो उसके साथ वफादारी करेंगे। इसलिए सरकारी अफसरान को और मिलिटरी अफसरान को मत बिगाड़ो। उनकी वफादारी गवर्नमेंट के साथ कायम रहनी चाहिये। जितनी ज्यादा वफादारी होगी उतनी ही ज्यादा मजबूत गवर्नमेंट होगी। इसलिए महंगबानी करके मिलिटरी के रिबोल्ट का चर्चा बन्द कर दीजिए। इसके माने यह नहीं थे और आप यह करके नुकसान पहुचायेंगे देश को।

केवल यही नहीं, मिनिस्टर आफ डिफेंस आर्गनाइजेशन की हैसियत से 4 वर्ष तक मिलिटरी से मेरा बहुत क्वांज कान्टैक्ट रहा। मैं कहता हूँ कि हमारी फौज गौरव के काबिल है, बहुत ऊँचे आदर्श पर चल रही है। उनके जांस्टेडंडम है उनको बिगाड़ना नहीं चाहिये और अपोजिशन भी कोई ऐसी हरकत करना है जिनसे आर्मी के डिमिप्शन में खराबी आती है तो वह भी टूँचरी है। हमको कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि आर्मी और सरकारी कर्मचारी वफादार कर्मचारी रहे। हा अगर गवर्नमेंट से मतभेद है तो उनकी गवर्नमेंट हटायेगे और दूसरी गवर्नमेंट कायम करेंगे यह हमारा कर्तव्य है। वह वफादार रहेगे तो सब गवर्नमेंट के लिए वफादार रहेगे। इसलिए यह कहना कि इसलिए इमरजेसी कर दी, गलत चीज है। मचमुच मे कोई ऐसी चीज नहीं है जिसमें इमरजेसी का मवाल होता। असल वान क्या थी। एक रैली जयप्रकाश नारायण ने की, वह कामयाब हो गई। जब प्राइम मिनिस्टर के खिलाफ एक जजमेंट आ गया था इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट का तब से कुदरती तौर से वह परेशान थी। मैं समझ सकता हूँ लेकिन अपील में उनकी गुजाइश है, केम होगा तो जीत जायेंगी। जब तक अपील जारी है तब तक वह प्राइम मिनिस्टर हैं, इसमें कोई शक नहीं। लेकिन उनके खुशामदियों ने क्या किया कि हजारों आदमियों की रैली करनी शुरू कर दी कि इस्तीफा मत दो। वह रैलियां रोज होती रहीं, ट्रकों पर बैठकर लोग लाये गये कि इस्तीफा मत दो, इस्तीफा मत दो। यह भी मुझे ऐतराज नहीं है। मगर जब इस्तीफा मत दो की रैली हो सकती है तो इस्तीफा दे दो की रैली भी हो

सकती है। जयप्रकाश नारायण की रैली 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 लगानार ये रेलियां कि इस्तीफा मत दो, इस्तीफा मत दो ठीक थी तो फिर इस्तीफा दे दो—यह भी ठीक थी। इसमें इमरजेसी लाने का कोई कारण नहीं है। लोगों ने इस्तीफा मांग लिया इसलिए इमरजेसी लग गई। इमरजेसी इसलिए भी नहीं लग सकती।

दूसरी बात, होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने मुझे बताई, वह भी मुझे ताज्जुब हुआ। एक बताई यह कि कांविनेशन आफ अपोजिट 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 है, कम्यूनल है, लेकिन मिलकर खड़े हो गये। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यह हिन्दुस्तान की बड़ी भारी समस्या है। आज हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर 18 पार्टिज रिकग्नाइज्ड है। इलेक्शन होता है, 18 पार्टियां अपने अपने उम्मीदवार खड़े करती हैं। पार्टी पावर में जो है वह मेजरिटी में मੈम्बरो की है, लेकिन वह बोटो की मेजरिटी नहीं है। उनकी जो पार्टी पावर में है उनको 43.7 परसेंट वोट मिले है, मुखालफत में जो बाकी रह गई है उनको 56.3 परसेंट मिले है। लेकिन 56.3 परसेंट वोट आपस में बंटे हैं 18 पार्टियों के बीच में। अब आप ख्याल कीजिए कि जब 18 पार्टियां इलेक्शन लड़ेंगी तो डेमोक्रेसी कहा जाएगी? आपकी कांग्रेस के डम हाउस में 139 मੈम्बर है, सी०पी०आई० के 12 है, जनसघ के 12 है, डी०एम०के० के 12 हैं, बी०एल०डी० के 9 हैं, कायेम आ० के 7 है, सी०पी० आई०एम० के 7, मुस्लिम लीग के 5 है, सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के 2, अकाली दल के 2, अग्रा डी०एम० के 2, फारवर्ड ब्लाक का 1, पी०एम०पी० का 1, रिपब्लिकन का 1, ए०पी०एच०एल०सी० नागालैण्ड का 1, मेघालय का 1, यू०डी०एफ० नागालैण्ड का 1, पी०डब्ल्यू०पी० महाराष्ट्र का 1, इडिपेंडेंट 12 है और नामिनेटेड 11 है। ये 28 पार्टियां हैं। तो क्या 28 पार्टियां डेमोक्रेटिक वे में चलती रहें कोई पैट्रीओटिक डमको पसन्द करेगा? आखिर आपने भी मुस्लिम लीग वगैरह से मदद लेने की कोशिश

की थी। मैं कहना हूँ कि कम्युनल आर्गनाइजेशन जनसंघ है, अगर यह कम्युनलिज्म छोड़ देना है, उसूलों के साथ चलना है और एक साथ चलना है तो नुकसान क्या है? इतनी पार्टियाँ जो इलेक्शन लड़ती हैं उन पार्टियों को एक जगह इकट्ठा करने की कोशिश करना मेरी राय में पैट्रिओटिक काम है, लेकिन आपके दिसाब से यह एक कारण हो गया है कि मुखालिफ पार्टियाँ मिल कर एक हो गई हैं, इसलिए इमरजेंसी हो गई। अभी वे एक हुई नहीं, वे साथ-साथ हैं लेकिन कोशिश की गई है कि जो पार्टियाँ हैं वे ज्यादातर मिल कर जल्दी नजदीक आ जाएं। इसमें तो आपको भी साथ देना चाहिये। जितनी कम पार्टियाँ होंगी डेमो-क्रैसी के लिए उतना ही अच्छा होगा। लेकिन आप इसे एक नुकसान की बात बताते हैं और कहते हैं कि सब एक साथ हो गए हैं इसलिए इमरजेंसी लगाई गई है। इमरजेंसी का असली कारण हमको अभी तक नहीं मालूम हो सका है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि वोटों के हिमाब से अगर देखा जाए तो 43-7 परसेंट वोट ही आपको मिले हैं। जनता के 43 परसेंट वोट ही आपके साथ रहे हैं जबकि औरों के साथ बहुत कम है इसीलिए आप मैजोरिटी में माने जाते हैं। ठीक भी है, डेमोक्रेसी चलाने के लिए मानना ही पड़ेगा कि यह मैजोरिटी पार्टी है लेकिन वास्तव में माइनोरिटी पार्टी है, अगर वोटों को गिना जाए। इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि बजाय इसके कि 18-23 पार्टियाँ इलेक्शन लड़ें जितनी कम लड़े उतना डेमोक्रेसी के लिए अच्छा है। 18 पार्टियाँ नजदीक आ रही थी तो यह आपके लिए नुकसान की बात हो गई और आपने इमरजेंसी लगा दी। उनका प्रोग्राम क्या था? प्रोग्राम जो उनका छपा था उसमें यह था कि एन्टी-कorrप्शन एजिटेशन हो, कorrप्शन के खिलाफ एजिटेशन हो। आपने अभी एन्टी स्मगलिंग को काफी अच्छे ढंग से चलाया है और आपने इसमें इस इमरजेंसी का फायदा उठाया। क्योंकि जो स्मगलिंग की जोरदार बात हो रही थी उसको रोकने में काफी अट्रैक्टिव काम किया है उसके लिए मैं आपकी मराहता करता हूँ। मेरा कहना है कि अपोजिशन पार्टी का यह कर्त्तव्य है कि जो गवर्नमेंट अच्छा काम करे उसकी तारीफ की

जाए और जो गलत काम करे उसकी मुखालफत की जाए। (Interruptions)

जयप्रकाश नारायण ज़िद करते थे कि एन्टी-कorrप्शन कैम्पेन चलाओ, एन्टी-कorrप्शन तभी सफल होगा जब अपने घर को ठीक करेंगे। उसके बाद सरकारी अफसरों को देखेंगे और उसके बाद दूसरों को देखेंगे। इसीलिये जयप्रकाश नारायण जी ने एन्टी-कorrप्शन कैम्पेन चलाया था और इसके लिए इमरजेंसी की कोई ज़रूरत नहीं थी बल्कि इसका आपको स्वागत करना चाहिये था। (Interruptions) आपको जयप्रकाश जी से कहना चाहिये था कि आओ, इसमें आपकी हम मदद करेंगे। मेरा कहना है कि पहले आप अपने मिनिस्टर्स को ठीक कीजिए, फिर बाद में दूसरों को। (Interruptions)

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : त्यागो जी, एक मिनट। अध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज की इस परिस्थिति में सारे देश में एक अनुशासन की लहर आई है तो आप हमारे मदन के सदस्यों को भी यह कहिये कि वे बीच में बोलने की अपनी परम्परा को बदलें। आपके लोग भी जब बोलेंगे तो मदन से मदन भाषा में उत्तर दे सकते हैं, लेकिन एक सीनियर मੈम्बर बोल रहा हो तो उसे शान्ति से सुनना चाहिये। बीच में जो व्यवधान है यह परम्परा के विपरीत है।

श्री महावीर त्यागो : एन्टी-कorrप्शन कैम्पेन जयप्रकाश जी की स्कीम में एक था और इसी की वजह से इमरजेंसी हो गई। क्योंकि एन्टी-कorrप्शन जो है वह न मालूम किम-किस के घर भेजा जाएगा, न मालूम किम-किस की जेब हिलेगी, न मालूम किमकी गर्दन पर छुरी चलेगी। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस इमरजेंसी का जस्टिफिकेशन क्या है? मुझे अभी तक इस बात का पूरी तरह में अन्दाज़ा नहीं हो सका है कि आखिर इस इमरजेंसी का कारण क्या है। मैं यह साफ तौर पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि किमी लीडर की स्पीच के ऊपर किसी भी देश में इमरजेंसी लागू नहीं की जाती है। इमरजेंसी लागू करने के लिए एक वातावरण होता है, जनता की एक स्थिति होती है। ऐसी हालत में मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसी कौन-सी बात हो गई थी जिसकी वजह



[श्री महावीर त्यागी]

से सारे देश में इमरजेन्सी लागू की गई और इस प्रकार से इमरजेन्सी का नाजायज ढंग से इस्तेमाल किया गया ? मैं इस इमरजेन्सी की मुखालफत करता हूँ हालांकि इस इमरजेन्सी के जरिए से एन्टी-कorrप्शन और एन्टी-स्मगलिंग की जो एक्टिविटीज की गई हैं उसकी मैं तारीफ करता हूँ। लेकिन जिन प्रकार से इमरजेन्सी का इस्तेमान लीडरो को गिरफ्तार करने के लिए किया गया है, विरोधियों को दबाने के लिए किया गया है, यह बहुत बेइंसाफी की चीज है। कांस्टिट्यूट असेम्बली में जब यह इमरजेन्सी का आर्टिकल पास हुआ था तो मैंने उसके संबंध में एक बहुत लम्बी स्पीच दी थी और इस धारा को सपोर्ट किया था और यह कहा था कि गवर्नमेंट को इस किम्म की इमरजेन्सी का एलान करने का अधिकार 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 आपने इमरजेन्सी का एलान कर दिया और यह भी नहीं बताया कि किन लोगों को गिरफ्तार किया गया है ? मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जिन लोगों को पकड़ा गया है उनका कसूर क्या है ? क्या उन्होंने कोई दोष किया है ? कांस्टिट्यूट असेम्बली में जब गिरफ्तारी के मामले पर चर्चा हुई तो यह कहा गया कि 24 घंटे के अन्दर यह बताया जाना चाहिए कि तुम्हारे ऊपर चार्ज क्या है और तुमने क्या कसूर किया है ताकि गिरफ्तार आदमी भी अपनी सफाई दे सके। लेकिन इस वक्त जो इमरजेन्सी लगाई गई है और इसमें जिन लोगों को गिरफ्तार किया गया उनके बारे में यह नहीं बताया गया है कि उन्होंने क्या जुर्म किया है। विरोधी दलों के जो नेता लोग हैं या पार्लियामेंट या असेम्बलीज के मेम्बर्स हैं उनको आप आसानी से गिरफ्तार कर सकते हैं; क्योंकि आपके ऐसा करने से विरोधी दल नहीं रहेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की कार्यवाही से आप इमरजेन्सी का नाजायज इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं। आप समझते हैं कि यह कौमिल आफ स्टेट्स इन सब बातों के लिए तैयार हो

जाएगी ? हम इस बात के लिए कभी भी तैयार नहीं हो सकते हैं कि आप जब चाहे किसी को भी पकड़ लें। इस प्रकार की इमरजेन्सी के मायने तो यह हुए कि आप अपने विरोधियों को जड़ चाहे गिरफ्तार कर लें और अन्य लोगों को उनसे बात भी न करने दें।

इन बातों के साथ-साथ मैं यह भी जानना चाहता हूँ कि आप मेहरबानी करके यह बताइये कि आज तक कुल कितने आदमियों को गिरफ्तार किया गया है। आप उनका टोटल नम्बर बताइये। इसके साथ ही दूसरी बात में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपने पब्लिसिटी पर रोक लगा दी। आपने उन लोगों के नाम तक भी नहीं बताये जिनको गिरफ्तार किया गया है। इतना ही नहीं जिन लोगों को गिरफ्तार किया गया है उनके बाल-बच्चों को भी उनसे मिलने की इजाजत नहीं दी जा रही है। श्री एम० एन० मिश्र जी की वाइफ उनसे मिलना चाहती थी, लेकिन उनको मिलने नहीं दिया गया। मैंने भी काफी इधर-उधर टेलीफोन किये, लेकिन मिलने की इजाजत नहीं मिली। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह क्या न्याया है ? जो क्रिमिनल होने हैं, बाकायदा कविकट होने हैं उनको भी मुलाकात की इजाजत होती है। लेकिन जिन बेकसूर लोगों को गिरफ्तार किया गया है उनके बाल बच्चों तक को उनसे मुलाकात करने की इजाजत नहीं दी जा रही है। आपने पब्लिसिटी पर रोक लगा दी और किसी के बारे में कुछ नहीं बताया और इस इमरजेन्सी का बहाना लेकर आपने उनको जुडीशियल फैमिलिटो देने से भी इन्कार कर दिया है। वे लोग अपनी डिफेंस में कोई दलील भी नहीं दे सकते हैं। प्रेम पर आपने पाबन्दी लगा दी और कोई भी बात इस बारे में अखबारों में नहीं आ सकती है। इस हाउस की कार्यवाही भी अखबारों में नहीं छपेगी और सिर्फ वही बातें छपेगी जो गवर्नमेंट को कवनिगंट हंगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह आपकी उचित कार्यवाही नहीं है। इसलिए अन्त में मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि कृपया आप यह बताइये कि आज की तारीख तक कुल कितने आदमियों को गिरफ्तार किया

गया है। क्या आप उनको कोई एलाउंस भी देते हैं; क्योंकि मुझे याद है, जिस वक़्त मैं बजारत में था तो मैंने शेख अब्दुल को डिटेन किया था तो उस वक़्त उनको काफी एलाउन्सेज दिये गये थे। जवाहरलाल जी ने खुद कहा था कि डिटेन करने के बाद उनको पूरा एलाउंस देना चाहिये, इसलिए उनको एलाउंस दिया गया। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ : जो डिटेन हुए हैं क्या उनके वास्ते कोई एलाउंस दिया गया है और अगर उनके बाल-बच्चों की गुजर-बसर के लिए कोई खिलाने या पिजाने वाला नहीं है तो क्या आपने उनकी फ़िक्र की है? डिटेन करने के मानी यह है कि आप जानती हैं कि आप देखें कि जल न उनका खान-पाने का इंतज़ाम हो और उनके बच्चों की देखभाल का इंतज़ाम हो। मेहर-बानी करके हमें बताएं इसके लिए आपने क्या किया।

यह इसका विरोध है।

**SHRI RISHI KUMAR MISHRA** (Rajasthan) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the honourable Member, Shri Mahavir Tyagi, whom we all have great respect, has said that he supported the provisions in the Constitution which have enabled the Government to proclaim the national emergency and, in fact, when he supported the relevant provisions in the Constituent Assembly, he said :

"It is no use issuing orders after disorder has actually started. The emergency powers must be resorted to before the emergency actually arises. So, this clause is the most important clause as it enables action to be taken in advance. I, therefore, lend my whole-hearted 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

Constituent 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 listening to the speeches of many honourable Members who have scant faith in democracy and who say this proclamation of emergency has negated democracy in our country. What is the experience in other democratic countries, I mean those countries which Members like Prakash Vir Shastriji and other friends would call democratic? 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, not because there was any internal disorder, but because the economy of the United Kingdom at that time was facing a crisis. The House of Common then enacted the Emergency Act and empowered the Government. Emergency was declared. We are not of the working of the American Constitution. Though the American newspapers have been criticising India saying that Mrs. Indira Gandhi has completely butchered democracy, we remember very well that during the time of President Wilson, he used his powers as the President and the Commander-in-Chief in order to restore the economy of the United States. France, all of us are had 17 Constitutions during the last 150 years. No body says that France is not a republic or that it is not a democratic country because of this fact and nobody says that the U.K. ceases to be a democracy because of the Emergency Act of 1920 and nobody says that the United States of America ceases to be 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, who 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

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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 be restricted in the name of the State. But if the safety of the State 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 used in this manner 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. Krishnamachari, who was no less a democrat than many of those who pretend to be—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 readjustments which demand immediate settlement and partly because there are 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 are very grateful to the framers of the Constitution that they did not derelict in their duty and they have inserted this provision and, 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 emphasize the basic roots of the present situation. In fact, since our country became independent, a pattern has been going on in this country between two diametrically opposed forces. What are those diametrically opposed forces? There are forces of modernism on the one side and obscurantism on the other, forces of secularism on the one side and religious revivalism on the other. There are forces which believe in planned economic development on one side and those who believe in free economy and in the freedom of the exploiters to keep the people oppressed, on the other. There were forces which wanted India to take the path of anti-imperialism, which wanted India to strengthen its ties with non-aligned countries, 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 forces in the country which wanted India to adopt the path of non-alignment and there were 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 and 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.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, senior Members of this 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 forgotten 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 people 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

CP(M) and their friends to power in West Bengal, it was democracy. But when the people rejected them at the polls, it was rigging and fascism. This is a strange way of defining democracy. If 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 anti-democratic 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 economy 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 rights 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 right are forgotten by a nation or by a greater part of it. I think I can say

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that whatever out other failings 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, freedom gradually becomes something like a licence. Licence ultimately means mental disintegration. And if there is mental disintegration in the body politics, obviously it affects every limb of it. That applies to newspapers also. If the freedom they have and the element of licence, and the utter irresponsibility increases, then not only 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 were not spared. Even in that hour of 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 falsehood 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 themselves. 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 Adivasis 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

maintained over bureaucratic waywardness. And I admit that there is danger that the powers 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.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have gone round some parts of the country and I 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. Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

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 a 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.1 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 the 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 to 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.

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? Jayaprakash 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 contradiction 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 contradict 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 Jadhavpur 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 HON'BLE 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 Jayaprakash 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 conscience . . .

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: I 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 2½ 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 Jawaharlalji 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



[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. Is 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. I 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. Advani 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 while 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 towards chaos, and, therefore, I am appealing, Sir . . .

(Interruption)

SHRI RANBIR SINGH: Not to us.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: I never appeal to you because I am sure that tomorrow if Indiraji release Jayaprakash and has talks with him and says: "All right, you co-operate with me" you will say: *dekho, kaisa kiva*. 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 house-tops 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. Kamalapati 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 Sangh, they are the Brahmins and the higher castes.

DR. V. P. DUTT: Gandhiji spoke.

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 us 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

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 attacked. 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 attacked Mr. Wilson because he was trying to take his country to the European Common Market. He had to go and plead with his people and he conducted a referendum. He never said: You people are opposing me. I 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.

Sir, I know that the contradictions are 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-

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

श्री कल्प नाथ (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति जी द्वारा इस इमरजेंसी की घोषणा का स्वागत करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज एक मुख्य सवाल यह है कि इस इमरजेंसी के उद्देश्य क्या है और मैं इसी सवाल को पहले लेना चाहता हूँ। आज सब से बड़ा सवाल है जनतंत्र को बचाने का। आज सब से बड़ा सवाल है देश को बचाने का और सब से बड़ा सवाल है प्लान्ड इकोनामी एवं विश्व शान्ति के रास्ते पर जा रहे हिन्दुस्तान के मूल्यों को बचाने का। आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे विरोधी दल के लोगों ने प्रजातंत्र की बात की है, आदरणीय गोंरे साहब ने प्रजातंत्र की बात की है, मैं उन से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या चुनी हुई विधान सभाओं को भंग करने की बात करना प्रजातंत्र है ? क्या चुनी हुई विधान सभाओं के एम०एल०एज० और एम०पीज० का घिराव करना उन को मारना पीटना, उनके घरों को जलाना प्रजातंत्र है ? क्या प्रधान मंत्री की सभाओं में लगाना ईंट, पत्थर और जूने फेंकना प्रजातंत्र है ? क्या प्रधान मंत्री की उमेज को लगातार घटाना गाली गलौच और उन की चरित्र हत्या करना प्रजातंत्र है ? क्या नष्टे मुन्ने बच्चों को लगातार साल भर तक कालेज छोड़ने का आह्वान करना प्रजातंत्र है ? क्या पटना और गुजरात के नवजवान विद्यार्थियों को और दस-दस वर्ष के बच्चों को मगीन के आगे झुकाना प्रजातंत्र है ? प्रजातंत्र की बात करना विरोधी दलों ने सीखा है, लेकिन प्रजातंत्र की हत्या करना और प्रजातंत्र को जड़ से समाप्त करने का काम विरोधी दल के नेताओं ने किया है। आर०एम० एम० क्या प्रजातंत्रीय है कि जिस का सिद्धांत है कि जिस प्रकार शरीर की मारी कर्मेन्द्रिया और ज्ञानेन्द्रिया मन के इशारे पर काम करती है उसी प्रकार मारे राष्ट्र का संचालन केवल एक आर० एम०एम० के इशारे पर किया जाय। जनसंघ,

आतन्दमार्ग, सी०पी०एम० आदि इन सारी पार्टियों का एक मोर्चा बनाना क्या प्रजातंत्र है ? एम० वी० डी० के जमाने में जब कलकत्ता में उन की हुकूमत बनी तो वहाँ किसी घर पर तिरगा फहराता देख कर क्या उस घरवालों की हत्या नहीं की गई ? क्या यह प्रजातंत्र है ? एम० वी० डी० के जमाने में जाँ हजागे कांग्रेस वर्कर्स की हत्या की गयी वह क्या प्रजातंत्र है ? आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हिन्दुस्तान एक चौराहे पर खड़ा है। ऐसे रास्ते पर खड़ा है कि जहाँ उस की आजादी खतरे में है और जहाँ उस का नेतृत्व खतरे में है। आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हमारे हिन्दुस्तान की पूरी आजादी खतरे में है। आज दुनिया की सारी साम्राज्यवादी और प्रतिक्रियावादी और दक्षिणपंथी ताकतें मिल कर हिन्दुस्तान की प्रधान मंत्री को आज गद्दी से हटाना चाहती है। क्या आप को नहीं मालूम है कि आज चाइना हमारे अरुणाचल प्रदेश के पाम दम लाख सैनिकों की ताकत से एक अटॉमिक मिसाइल अड्डे का निर्माण कर रहा है ? क्या दुनिया के साम्राज्यवादी पाकिस्तान को अरबों और खरबों रुपये के शास्त्रास्त्र से लैस कर के हमारे हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला करने के लिये उकमा नहीं रहे हैं ? क्या अमरीका का छठवा बेटा अपने अटॉमिक हथियारों से लैस हो कर घूम नहीं रहा है ? क्या अमरीका का सातवाँ बेटा हिन्द महासागर में आ कर आज पूरी तरह से हिन्दुस्तान की नाकेबंदी करने की कोशिश नहीं कर रहा है ? क्या आप के कोलंबो से 1,500 किनोमीटर दक्षिण दिगोर्गाजिया में अमरीका द्वारा अटॉमिक हथियारों से लैस एक अड्डे का निर्माण नहीं किया जा रहा है ? क्या एशिया की धरती में लगातार साम्राज्यवादी एक के बाद एक देश में पराजित होने के बाद अब हिन्दुस्तान में अंतिम रूप से अपनी अंतिम लड़ाई नहीं लड़ना चाहते हैं ? या पालिटिक्स को ध्यान से हटा कर हम सोचना चाहते हैं और दुनिया की साम्राज्यवादी और प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकतें दोनों मिल कर हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी को इस के जनतंत्र को मिटा नहीं देना चाहते हैं ?

आदरणीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, हिन्दुस्तान के इति-  
 हास की लड़ाई 1969 से शुरू होती है जब 1969  
 में राष्ट्रपति गिरि का इलेक्शन हुआ। जैसे बाढ़  
 के समय में मारे गांवों के खेतों की मेंटें टूट जाती  
 हैं, उसी प्रकार राष्ट्रपति गिरि के इलेक्शन में  
 एक तरफ प्रगतिशील ताकतों और दूसरी तरफ  
 दक्षिणपथी ताकतों का बटवारा हमारे देश में  
 हुआ। वे ताकतें जो प्लांड इकोनामी में विश्वास  
 करती थी, वे ताकतें जो जनतंत्रीय व्यवस्था में  
 विश्वास करती थी, वे ताकतें जो नान-अलाइड  
 कट्टीज के साथ, सोशलिस्ट कट्टीज के साथ अलाइन  
 करना चाहती थीं एक और वह ताकतें थी और  
 उस समय में हमारे देश की राजनीतिक ताकतों  
 में बटवारा हुआ जब कि इस देश में अमरीकी  
 साम्राज्यवाद का गठजोड़ नहीं था। उसके बाद  
 1971 का डिमांडमिव इलेक्शन हुआ। उसके बाद  
 मारे देश के पैमाने पर विरोधी पार्टियों ने भयंकर  
 रूप से बैकों के नेशनलाइजेशन का विरोध किया,  
 राजा महाराजाओं के प्रिवीपर्स समाप्त करने का विरोध  
 किया और सरकार के प्रगतिशील कदमों का विरोध  
 किया। 1971 के बाद बंगला देश का जन्म हुआ।  
 बंगला देश की लड़ाई में हिन्दुस्तान की कामयाबी इतनी  
 बड़ी कामयाबी थी जिसकी मिसाल दुनिया के इति-  
 हास में नहीं है। प्रधान मंत्री इंदिरा गांधी के  
 नेतृत्व में बंगला देश में इतनी बड़ी कामयाबी हुई  
 जिसके लिए हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को, मुख्य रूप  
 से गोरे साहब और आदरणीय जयप्रकाश नारायण  
 साहब को प्रधान मंत्री की लगातार 10 वर्ष तक  
 बधाई देनी चाहिए थी। लेकिन इतनी बड़ी उप-  
 लब्धि के बाद, बंगला देश की विजय के बाद इन  
 लोगों ने देश में बड़े पैमाने पर हड़ताल, लूट खसोट,  
 घेराव, मत्स्याग्रह, बन्द का मिलमिला शुरू किया। क्या  
 आप नहीं जानते थे कि बंगला देश के युद्ध के बाद  
 महगाई बढ़ेगी। जब जंग होगी तो महगाई बढ़ेगी  
 हमारी सुभीबते बढ़ेगी परेशानियाँ बढ़ेगी  
 जब बंगला देश का सवाल आया  
 तो मारे देश की विरोधी पार्टियों ने कहा कि बंगला  
 देश को मान्यता दो। राजनारायण जेल में गये,  
 नानाजी देशमुख मुजीबुर्हमान का फोटो लेकर  
 आये, 10 लाख लोगों का प्रदर्शन किया गया।

जब मान्यता दी गई तो जाहिर है कि जंग होगी।  
 लड़ाई हुई, उसमें खरबों रूपयों का सफाया हुआ  
 और हमें खुशी है कि हमने अगर 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 घटनाएँ हुई यह मैं आपको  
 बताना चाहता हूँ। हमारे देश के 14 प्रांतों में  
 सूखा पड़ा, बाने आई। विरोधी पार्टियों ने इन  
 कामों में भी सरकार का साथ नहीं दिया। इसके  
 बाद 1972 का इलेक्शन हुआ। 1972 में 16  
 विधान सभाओं के इलेक्शन हुए जिनमें कांग्रेस  
 पार्टी की विजय हुई। इसके बाद हमारे देश की  
 इकोनामी विलकुल शैटर हो गई। इधर देश की  
 इकोनामी नष्ट हो रही थी तो 1973-74 में देश  
 में बड़े पैमाने पर रेलवे स्ट्राइक जार्ज फरनांडिस  
 के नेतृत्व में हुई आप जानते हैं कि 125 करोड़  
 रुपये का नुकसान रेलवे का हुआ और 15 सौ  
 करोड़ रुपये का नुकसान मारे देश की इकोनामी का  
 हुआ। श्री जार्ज फरनांडिस ने यह भाषण दिया था—

“Realise the strength which you  
 possess. A seven-day strike of the Indian  
 railways, and every thermal station in  
 the country would close down. A ten-  
 day 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.”

आदरणीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, रेलवे की हड़ताल  
 जो देश के पैमाने पर सन् 1974 में मई में कराई  
 गई वह क्या दुनिया के साम्राज्यवादी सी०आई०ए०  
 और हिन्दुस्तान की गिरकानरीज का वह षडयंत्र  
 नहीं था? जब हिन्दुस्तान के 38 करोड़ लोग 4  
 घाने पर गुजारा कर रहे हो तो रेलवे के अच्छे  
 इंजनों को भड़काकर राष्ट्रीय हानि करना, यह  
 षडयंत्र नहीं था। मारे विरोधी दलों ने यह षडयंत्र  
 नहीं किया? उसके बाद गुजरात की घटना घाती  
 है। गुजरात की विधान सभा भंग करो, यह कौन  
 सा जनतंत्र है? एम०एल०एज० का घेराव करो,  
 इसको जिन्दा जला दो, इस तरह इन्होंने लोगों को

[श्री कल्प नाथ]

भड़काया। बिहार बंद के दौरान में एक वर्ष तक कैंप्लेट वहां के विद्यार्थियों की शिक्षा नहीं हुई, उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि उत्तर प्रदेश की युनिवर्सिटियों के इम्तिहान इस अगस्त महीने में हो रहे हैं और नवम्बर के महीने में उनका रिजल्ट निकलेगा और एम०ए०, बी०ए० में उनका ऐडमिशन हिन्दुस्तान की और युनिवर्सिटी में नहीं होगा।

तो क्या देश के अन्दर इस तरह की स्थिति नहीं पैदा की गई। जब प्रधान मंत्री ने गुजरात का दौरा किया था तो आपने पढ़ा होगा कि गुजरात के दोरे के अन्दर हर रोज अखबारों में छपता था कि आज इन्दिरा गांधी पर 100 जूते पड़े। दूसरे दिन छपता था कि आज 15 इंटे पड़ी, उनको बोलने नहीं दिया गया। हिन्दुस्तान के मोनोपली प्रैम, देश की दक्षिण पंथी प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकतें मिल कर प्रधान मंत्री के नेतृत्व को समाप्त कर रही थी। मारे देश में उनकी इमेज नष्ट कर रही थी। आज खुश किम्ती है हिन्दुस्तान की कि इस देश को एक अन्तर्गोष्ठीय ख्याति प्राप्त नेता मिली हुई है।

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

मैं पूछना चाहता हू कि हमारे देश की विरोधी पार्टियाँ, मुख्य रूप से आर०एस०एस० जिनका बेस फासिज्म है क्या वे हिटलर के रास्ते पर हिन्दुस्तान को नहीं ले जा रहे हैं? क्या आर०एस०एस० की स्टेजों पर भाषण नहीं दिए जाते हैं कि गांधी जी मुसलमानों से दोस्ती की बातें 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 मनेच्छों का जीना भी हम पाप समझते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हू कि इस तरह के आर०एस०एस० के संगठन को, आनन्द मार्गी के संगठन को और सारे दक्षिण पंथी ताकतों को इकट्ठा हो कर देश की प्रधान के तख्तों को पलटने की क्या आवश्यकता थी?

आदरणीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस इमरजेंसी के दौर में, मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से कहना चाहूंगा कि कुछ प्रगतिशील और क्रान्तिकारी काम करें जिससे कि हमारे देश के मेहनतकश और गरीब जनता को ऊँचा 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 जाए जिसका वचन हमने देश की जनता को दिया था। जब तक मोनोपली प्रैम का डिफ्यूजन नहीं करेंगे, मोनोपली हाउसेज का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं करेंगे तब तक राईटिस्ट रिअक्शनरों 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।

आदरणीय अध्यक्ष 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 और दूसरा हिस्सा वह है जिसका नेतृत्व अमरीका कर रहा है और तीसरा हिस्सा नान एलाइन्ड नेशन्स का है जिसका नेतृत्व करने की ताकत हमारे देश की नेता प्रधान मंत्री में है। नान-अलाइन्ड कटरीज का जो सम्मेलन अल्जीरिया में हुआ था उसमें हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा था। लेकिन हमारे देश का विरोधी पक्ष आज उनके बिना को, आज उनकी इमेज को मारे देश के सामने खराब कर रहा है और देश की दक्षिण पंथी प्रतिक्रियावादी घेरे में ले जाना चाहता

है। मेरा कहना है कि वह दिन बहुत दूर है जब ऐसा हो पाएगा। आजकल सी०आई०ए० की बात की जा रही है। हिन्दुस्तान में सी०आई०ए० की एकटीविटीज दिन-दूनी राज चौगुनी बढ़ती जा रही है और यह सब इन्हीं के कारण है। यदि नहीं तो वियतनाम में जहाँ 30 लाख आदमी मौत के घाट उतार दिये गये क्या उसकी निन्दा इन्होंने की? 10 लाख लोग कम्बोडियाई मार डाले गये क्या उनकी निन्दा इन्होंने की? बंगला देश के 30 लाख लोगों की गर्दन काट दी गई क्या उन्होंने इसकी निन्दा की? दजर्राडल और अरब मघर्ष में कई लाख लोगों की यातनाये मिली क्या पीलू मोदी ने इसकी निन्दा की? आज इन ताकतों ने एशिया को अपने कुचक्र का बहुत बड़ा अखाड़ा बना रखा है और हिन्दुस्तान जैसे देश को वे अपना रण क्षेत्र बनाना चाहते हैं जिसकी नाकाबन्दी उन्होंने समुद्र के रास्ते कर रखी है। चीन के रास्ते से कर रखी है। इस वकन पर आर०एस०एम० और सी०पी०एम० जैसी दोनों ताकतें एक जगह इकट्ठी हो गई हैं।

दुनिया की राजनीति में इस प्रकार की हालत कही भी पैदा नहीं हुई जहाँ पर इस प्रकार की दो विरोधी विचारधारायें आपस में मिली है। हमारे देश में यह हालत हो गई थी कि लेफ्ट एडवेंचरिस्ट और राइट रिपब्लिकनरी ताकतें आपस में कम्बाइन होकर इस मुल्क की कानून और व्यवस्था की स्थिति को खत्म करने की साजिश कर रहे थे। लेकिन मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री को और कांग्रेस की सरकार को इस बात का ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि केवल इमरजेंसी को हिन्दुस्तान में कायम कर देने से जनता को संतोष नहीं होगा। हमारे देश की जनता की खुशहाली के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि जब तक आप इस देश के इकनॉमिक स्ट्रक्चर में बुनियादी परिवर्तन नहीं करेंगे, जब तक आप मोनोपली हाउसेज का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं करेंगे, मोनोपली प्रैम के ऊपर कंट्रोल नहीं करेंगे, उसको डिफ्यूज नहीं करेंगे, जब तक आप चीनी मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं करेंगे तब तक इस देश में वास्तविक अर्थों

में समाजवाद नहीं आ सकता है। 12 जून को जब इलाहाबाद हाई कोर्ट का जजमेंट आया था तो दूसरे दिन से हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स ने गालिया उगलनी शुरू कर दी। दिल्ली से निकलने वाले स्टेट्समैन और इंडियन एक्सप्रेस ने प्रधान मंत्री पर हमला करना शुरू कर दिया और दूसरी तरफ यह स्थिति थी कि श्री के० के० बिरला देश के पूजोपतियों 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 हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की प्रधान मंत्री ने और कांग्रेस पार्टी ने जो समाजवाद का रास्ता तय किया है और उसने जो विश्व शांति कायम करने, नान-ग्लोएन्ड राष्ट्रों 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 जब तक कि इस देश से मोनो-पोली हाउसेज और पूजोपतियों का वचेस्व खत्म नहीं किया जाना है। मैं विरोधी दलों के लोगों से यह बात कह कर अपना भाषण खत्म करना चाहता हूँ कि—

मर फिरोशी की तमन्ना अब हमारे दिल में है,  
देखना है जोग कितना बाजुयें कानिल में है।

**SHRI K. A. KRISHNASWAMY (Tamil 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. Krishnaswamy]

Nadu consider the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, not as a leader of a particular 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 Minister 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 I request

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 the 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 DISPOSAL OF GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. I 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 allotted
1. Further discussion on the Resolution regarding Proclamation of Emergency.	4 hours (in addition to the time taken on July 21, 1975.
2. Statutory Resolution regarding continuance of President's Rule in Nagaland.	2 hours
3. 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
(c) The Conservation of Foreign Exchange and Prevention of Smuggling Activities (Amendment) Bill, 1975.	4 hours
(d) The Defence of India (Amendment) Bill, 1975	3 hours
(e) The Kerala Legislative Assembly (Extension of Duration) Bill, 1975.	2 hours