

That is why I am appealing, not technically, not legalistically, to you to take a broad view and create proper instruments to see that this measure becomes a success. With all this caution—I do not want to use the word * warning '—I hope the Government will take into consideration all these suggestions and do things properly.

MESSAGES FROM THE LOK SABHA

I. The Nagaland State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill, 1975

II. The Taxation Law Amendment) Bill, 1975

SECRETARY-GENERAL Sir, I have to report to the House of the following messages received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha:—

"In accordance [with the provisions of Rule 120 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to inform you that Lok Sabha, at its sitting held on the 28th July, 1975, agreed without any amendment to the Nagaland and State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill, 1975, which was passed by Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 23rd July, 1975."

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"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Taxation Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1975, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 28th July 1975-

2. The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of article no of the Constitution of India."

Sir, I lay a copy of the Taxation Law (Amendment) Bill, 1975 on the Table.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2-15 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at seventeen minutes past two of the clock-The Vice-Chairman, (Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay) in the Chair.

THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNAL SECURITY (AMENDMENT), Bill 1975

Contd.

SHRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI (Assam) : It is a great pleasure for me to support this amendment of the MISA; I whole heartedly, with all my conviction, support this amendment. Since 1971 and 1972 after the massive mandate given by the people, our beloved leader, Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi ..initiated the economic programme to remove poverty of the suffering masses, to end the exploitation of the vast millions and millions of our people by the vested interests. These interests, along with right reactionary forces began to organise all kinds of obstacles including bringing various cases before the courts to hold up progress. In 1972 I said that it was a revolution of the ballot box. Now, this proclamation of emergency is a second revolution which has been started by our beloved leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, for economic programmes through constitutional means without bloodshed and democratically. The emergency is not only constitutional, but also it is legal and moral.] No government can be a helpless spectator to the situation which has prevailed for the last two to three years. These reactionary vested interests planned a great conspiracy to overthrow Government which has been democratically voted in to power, and particularly, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. They resorted

[Shriman Prafulla Goswami]
to the spreading of all kinds of falsehood, and incited violence and revolt amongst the army personnel and incited all kinds of strikes, gheraos, dharnas and what not. Not only that they wanted to destroy the functioning of Parliament. It is most unfortunate that all the vested interests, the conservative and reactionary force- of the country combined to obstruct the implementation of our economic programmes and put all kinds of obstacles in the way. Added to it, corrupt and criminal people like the smugglers, black marketeers, food adulterators, tax-evaders and people with black money resorted to filing petitions before the court. Many of them were released and were granted bail by the judge under the pretext of lacuna in the law, although these notorious people are well-known as smugglers and black marketeers. Intellectual lawyers interpret the law, according to their own interpretation and judges cannot see the intention of law passed by Parliament. The law made by Parliament is academic subject. It is with a definite purpose to maintain peace and order in the society and to protect the oppressed and exploited people from the tyranny of a handful of few vested interest.

During this period of two to three years our country was threatened with internal dangers. There was all kind of lawlessness. The country was passing through disorder and disruption and was heading towards a catastrophe and so-called "total revolution" by planned conspiracy of some Opposition leaders and anti-social elements combined together. At this moment the President imposed emergency which the Prime Minister called a "a painful necessity". But, Madam, I feel that it was not a "painful necessity" but it was absolute necessity. Had the emergency not been proclaimed the country would have been in disorder and chaos. We are thankful to the Prime Minister for saving the country from a catastrophe.

Madam, this emergency should be taken with all seriousness. The emergency is imposed to preserve our democratic structure and protect the law-abiding vast majority of citizens from the tyranny of minority which were conspiring to establish a kind of fascist dictatorship to protect the vested interest and kill the democratic process of socialisation in our country. We do not accept socialism with class struggle; we are trying to remove poverty by means of socialistic programmes. Emergency today has given a jerk not only to the country but also to our own partymen. We cannot be slack or show indifference to our obligations and responsibilities.

Coming to the MISA Act, most of the persons arrested under MISA are smugglers or anti-social agitators and a handful of political leaders belonging to the Opposition who were trying to foment disorder, dislocation and disturbances to have the so-called total revolution. Even from our own party some men are put behind the prison bar because it was considered necessary to maintain peace and order. I think our Prime Minister is so dignified and graceful to these handful of political leaders that their names are not published to expose their anti-State and anti-social, unpatriotic activities. Further they are not treated like criminals or antisocial but kept confined with all amenities and standard of daily life that they were accustomed to have in their homes while free. Of course, somebody wanted wine which was refused. Some prisoners arrested under MISA were in the habit of drinking foreign liquor.

Madam, all the smugglers, black-marketeters, economic offenders, food adulterators must be kept with ordinary criminals like thieves, dacoits, murderers in the same standard of C class irrespective of their own standard of life at home. Here I recollect that the Select Committee on the Bill for prevention of food adulteration is going on and they wanted further

important and urgent. I wish all our Committees are asked to complete their reports within three months of their titution.

Madam, today people are happy. They have welcomed emergency. As a matter of fact, today we are passing through normal times. Previous to the emergency it was most abnormal times because nobody could be sure of their day to day normal activities. Therefore, now it is normal times. Law-abiding citizens

are happy. They are leading their daily life peacefully without any interference from the organisers of strikes, etc. People are happy that they are having this emergency. Even those middle class intellectuals and lower middle class people who used to criticise the Government right and left for lack of social security, are now saying that they are now happy because after all, Shrimati Indira Gandhi has brought some order and security, protecting the law-abiding citizens from the handful of agitators and law-breakers who were out to disturb the peace of the society and then to create chaos.

Here in this context, in the application of the MISA, I want to impress upon the Government that all the antisocial elements, especially the smugglers, blackmarketcers, and food adulterators should be severely punished. This is not the first time that I am saying this. Since 1952 when I entered the Assembly, on the floor of the Assembly, on the floor of Parliament and on the floor of the AICC, I have been repeatedly saying that the black-marketeters and food adulterators require severe punishment. They are anti-social and they are more dangerous than anybody else. Even an ordinary thief is less harmful than the food adulterator. The food adulterator is more harmful than

even a murderer who commits murder some times because of some provocation. So the Home Minister should take note that nothing less than a severe punishment should be given. And the judiciary should go through a radical change

because the rich men now—I have said this repeatedly—go to the court, appeal in the name of fundamental rights and these intellectual lawyers twist things in such a way that they find some lacuna or there is a little bit of doubt and they are released. Madam, in our country who is considered to be the best lawyer? If a murderer is got acquitted by a lawyer, he become the best lawyer. But according to the ethics of their profession, a lawyer has to help in getting the real culprit punished and in getting the innocent acquitted. But here in our country those are the best lawyers who get murderers acquitted, who get dacoit acquitted. Therefore, the whole judiciary should go through a drastic change. I do not like to pass any remark, but judges differ. You see, sometimes the High Court says something and the Supreme Court says something else. Even in the High Court, the judges differ. The judgement is according to individual discretion. Judgements are not like mathematical formulas—two plus two is four. They are according to the judge's discretion and sometimes according to their whims. Sometimes they ignore the intention of Parliament in passing laws to control these anti-social elements but they go by their interpretation of the language. Corrupt officers and corrupt businessman are now inactive only for some time. It may be out of fear. But we must root out corruption so that in future such corrupt people and officers cannot come. Now in all spheres of life we find corruption. Of course, corruption is there in foreign countries also. But here the corrupt people are exploiting the poor people. In America or in other countries, corruption is prevalent on a greater scale, but that does not affect the ordinary people. But here if a corrupt businessman adulterates food, it affects millions of people's health. If a corrupt officer does not perform his duties, millions of our poor people suffer. In the West there may be capitalist corruption or manipulation but the day to-day life of the citizens is not interfered with. In foreign countries, you do not find so much food adulteration or any adulteration of food at all. But

[Shrinun Prafulla Goswami] here even food is adulterated. It would like to impress on the House that even in our party or among the politicians-if there is any lack of integrity they should be severely dealt with.

Now we should stand unitedly behind our beloved leader, the Prime Minister and we should observe discipline and the Prime Minister has said what kind of discipline it should be discipline not out of fear, discipline not like the Casa Blanca discipline, but discipline from within the heart, discipline with conviction and courage to carry out our programme under the leadership of our Prime Minister (*Time bell rings*) One minute. I just want to remind the House that as long back as 1964, under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, we passed the resolution on democratic socialism at Bhubhaneshwar. It was drafted by him and at that time Jawaharlal Nehru had anticipated the danger to democracy and Socialism. It was clearly stated there that I shall read from that resolution.

"Development of anti-social forces with its corrupting influence poses a threat to democracy and socialism which should be met by systematic and strong action". This was the assessment in 1964-After the split in Congress, the so-called opposition started working in a mere planned and scientific way to throw out our Government and create chaos and to establish a Fascist dictatorship. Therefore, it is our bounden duty and it is the duty of every law-abiding and patriotic citizen and more so our Party men and politicians who believe in democracy to raise the national conscience in the country so that national character is developed and patriotism is roused in order to build up our country and remove poverty. Here I would like to say that it is very good that the fanatical communal organisations like R.S.S., Anand Marg, Jamaat etc. have been banned. It is absolutely necessary. Some people belonging to those organisations are put behind the bar. But that is not all because

there are many people outside the jail whose minds are with these organisations. We have, therefore, to make tremendous political propaganda against them. We should not be complacent after keeping some people in jail. We should educate the people and organise them to resist the reactive forces.

(*Time bell rings*)

Last but not least, I feel proud of our beloved leader Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Why? Because she gets identified defining her own ends and means with precision and achieved the capacity to direct the opinions of others who are responding rationally and emotionally to the needs, demands and hopes and discussions of the largest number of people. She understands the climate and political situation and she is identified with the vast majority of down-trodden and exploited people of a handful of minority. She is above any clique or coterie. It is not correct. She derives her power from the ideology, from the people and from her followers. I am proud to be her follower. Long live Shrimati Indira Gandhi; long live her leadership; and long live our country.

SHRI AHMAD HOSSAIN MONDAL (West Bengal) : Madam, Chairman, it is a pleasure for me to speak for the first time in this House, the House of Elders. It is also a great pleasure for me to speak under your chairmanship.

Madam, I support the Maintenance of Internal Security Act, the second amendment of which has come up today for consideration in this House. It had already come up for consideration in the other House. Today it has come up here for our consideration. In this connection I might mention here that the proclamation of emergency has already been approved by this House. The present amending provision in the MISA are nothing but a necessary follow-up legal actions. The amendments brought before the House for our consideration are perfectly in accordance with the Constitutional provisions as embodied in article 22.

This Bill, madam, which has come up for consideration here today is nothing but cooperation with the period of emergency. Secondly, it will not be necessary now to disclose the grounds on which a person is sought to be detained by the appropriate authority under this amending Bill. Thirdly, it also provides that it is not necessary that the person detained should be given an opportunity to make a representation or to go for bail. It might be asked, why is this draconian law sought to be imposed banning all sorts of personal freedom ?

Madam, the answer, in my opinion, is that there are big sharks under the garb and in the shape of saboteurs, saboteurs in the name of the State, saboteurs in the shape of anti-social elements, who cannot be brought before the courts of law under the ordinary laws of our land. They are too big, Madam, and too powerful for our common laws. Therefore, this amending Bill is being brought and is considered necessary to be on our Statute Book. Antisocial elements are enemies of the State and, in my opinion, must be dealt with not only effectively and efficiently but firmly.

Madam, time and again, during emergency our Prime Minister has said that actions under the emergency are painful necessities. The actions proposed in the Maintenance of Internal Security (Amendment) Bill before us today here to amend further the principal Act are also painful necessities. However painful it might be, in the interest of our country and our people as a whole we must accept it.

Madam, I support the Bill in its entirety. Once again, Madam, I thank you for giving me the chance to support this Bill today—Thank you.

PROF. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN (Nominated): Madam, Vice-Chairman, I am not speaking specifically on the Maintenance of Internal Security (Amendment) Bill alone—I am speaking, Madam, on the entire situation which the people and the nation is facing.

What happened on the 26th of June is an important event in the history of republic of India. We have witnessed during the last couple of years a steady deterioration of norms of democratic functioning, of the style of parliamentary working, and attempts to destabilize the established system. Some of us have even written about it earlier and spoken with such conviction as one commands. It was a sorry spectacle to see that the world's outstanding example of a participatory parliamentary system was undermined by narrow partisan interests of certain groups which, instead of accepting the structure, were questioning the structure itself.

It is understandable that within the framework of Parliamentary system, the Opposition party or parties question the acts of the ruling party. It is permissible also, Madam, that the Opposition should have the right to air an alternative strategy of national development. What is not permissible for the Opposition, as for the ruling party, is to subvert the entire system as such. And I may be pardoned for saying that the experience of the last one and a half years, if not more, has been that certain forces in their anxiety to build an alternative structure of power were almost out to destroy the very edifice, a model, which India was building for the third world. The range of Opposition has been very wide in terms of ideology. It has varied from almost the extreme right to a certain segment of the extreme left. The reasons for the opposition also must be multiple. Sometimes, the reasons have been ideological. Sometimes, the reasons have been for partisan purposes by a State or multiple States and sometimes it became a single obsession that dislodging of the ruling party is the single point of the whole opposition. The alarming dimensions were reached when, last year, around a leader whose credentials we need not question because it is not question of personal motivation, but a leader whose outlook on different problems of political life was known, the whole assembly of opposition from the extreme right to the

[Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan.] extreme left got congregated which, a crescendo, attempted to disrupt the whole system. I had occasion to write about this in my last article in April, 1975 «» which I had mentioned that unless some attempt is made by enlightened public opinion in India, not only belonging to the ruling party, but different groups, to arrest the deterioration in this situation, what will happen is that with the bath water we will also throw away the baby. It is a fact whether one sees from inside or outside. I had occasion to see it from outside India. It was an alarming situation. What was happening in India was nothing but national indiscipline attempting to uproot the structure of industrial peace and attempting to foment trouble taking advantage of economic problems taking advantage of social chaos and taking advantage of the overall backwardness of economy. One can always raise accusing fingers against the ruling party for acts of omission and commission. But there are limits to it. If the opposition goes to the limit of uprooting the whole system without formulating an alternative, then the opposition is neither serving the purpose of being a parliamentary opposition nor is it serving the purpose of being a patriotic alternative to an available system. This was alarming. In offices, work was not being done. In schools and colleges, teaching was not being done. Agriculture was stagnated. For every act of omission of the Government, the people of India were penalised. What ought to have been legitimate parliamentary opposition, reached the limits of unconstitutionality. Therefore, what happened on the 26th of June, however one may perceive, has been a halting of deterioration and arresting of the rot. It has been an attempt to put back the system on its rails back again. Therefore, let us conceive emergency as an attempt to stop the drift towards anarchy and chaos. Let us recognise emergency as an attempt to mobilise people for stability of parliamentary democracy. Let us recognise emergency as a step to rebuild the structure of democracy and democratic values. But let us not think

of emergency as an alternative to a functioning parliamentary system. I am adding a word of caution particularly because three components are important in a participatory parliamentary democracy. One component is the leadership which is to examine the entire ethos of the people, lay down priorities and formulate plans for national development, for national stability and national security. That component has been available in India ever since the struggle for national independence. The second component is the component of mass mobilisation of people for action and growth. I may submit that that component has been somewhat weak after Independence. Mass mobilisation for development and growth has not had the same tempo as the mass mobilisation for emancipation from foreign rule.

This is the responsibility of the ruling party. Let the ruling party, the Congress party, which is the only national party in terms of its electoral appeal, in terms of its appeal in the different regions of the country, take advantage of the emergency and put its house in order. The Congress party is a mass-based party. I completely understand why the Congress party cannot be a cadre-based party. There are a variety of reasons for that. Firstly, because it is not an ideologically oriented party. Secondly, the whole heritage of the Congress has been a mass-party in which people from different regions speaking different languages are there. The Congress party ought to have two principles at least if it has to play the role of the engineer of social change. Firstly, it must have compositional homogeneity, like-minded people alone should be in a party. And, secondly, Congress ought not to be a forum, it ought to be a party. It has ceased to be a movement after the Independence. Strictly speaking, it is an amalgam, it is an agglomeration of diverse factions which are self-contradictory, mutually antagonistic, living under the same umbrella because Congress has been a stable power-base. That Congress is a stable power-base

is welcome but power for what? Is power the end or the means? If power is the means, then Congress must have compositional homogeneity. Even if it is not possible to have compositiona l homogeneity— I can understand that—, it must have a hard" core of Congress activists who are required in order to mobilise the people at least to implement the 20-point programme which the Prime Minister has rightly announced with the concurrence of the leadership of the Congress Party. The 20-point programme is a programme of pragmatic consideration. If at least five points of the 20-point programme had been actively implemented with the active support of the Congress activists, we would have achieved something, we would have taken a step forward.

The third component in the polity are those who are called upon to implement, *i.e.*, the administrators, the bureaucracy. While leadership of the party is all right, which is element No. 1, the mobilisation °f the masses which is done by the activists of the party is still very weak and, Madam, without passing an adverse comment on our civil service—let me say it is not their -fault but my feeling—I say that the whole style, structure and functioning of the civil service in India has not been attuned to developmental purposes particularly for the building up of democracy, secularism and socialism in the country. Let the Congress Party and all of us define what do we exactly mean by democracy in .this country what do we exactiy mean by secularism in this country and what do we exactly mean by socialism in this country ? The definition need not be doctrinaire. But, after having denned the hard-core of the elements of democracy, secularism and socialism, I do not find the option where bureaucracy ought not to be committed to these principles. Bureaucracy of a participatory parliamentary democracy must be involved in the implementation of the policy formulated by the leadership and acvtivised by mass mobilisation.

{Time bell rings'.

Madam, these are aspects on which we have to ponder because the emergency has also given us some breathing time. The whole world is observing us and we are observing ourselves. Certain people are afraid to speak. They are afraid to speak because they have skeletons to hide but those of us who have no skeletons to hide have to speak and I speak with my conviction which is this that the Maintenance of Interna] Security Act is an expedient measure. Welcome it at the moment. But, it is not the end. Let us start rethinking about the whole process and if we are thinking of normalcy, two words of caution I would like to add. It ought not to be hasty step-back. We have witnessed in this House how a small, irresponsible minority has stopped the working of the parliamentary system. Normalcy at that anarchic, chaotic level is to be com -pletely over ruled. Normalcy at higher level, yes. But normalcy how ? Normalcy in waich the ruling party must have a sense of purpose, bu- eaucracy ought to be committed. And let all of us stand up and discipline people. Let it not be said that only the period of emergency was a period of discipline and after the emergency was over we have reverted back into diffidence.

Madam, these are times in which other things have to be talked. I have to make two specific suggestions. Firstly, I think within the framework of emergency we also have to see how certain positive reforms are articulated to the people. Press is an important ingredient in a parliamentary system. Press in this country has been both a mixture of responsibility and irresponsibility. It has articulated the vested interests' position but it also articulated certain worthy causes. Let us re-examine that within the framework of emergency, how we can tackle this national press. My feeling is that unless we take a more creative view of press censorship, we might stifl e even creative dissent. The heart of a parliamentary democracy is to have

[Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan] creative dissent within the party and within Parliament. Dissent in the last ifj years has been very destructive. I would also entirely agree with the Prime Minister when she says that the Indian press has also built up a hysteria in the last rf years as if everything was collapsing. But while that extreme was bad, let us also not go to the other extreme.

We must make a sharp distinction between rectification of an error by the emergency and slipping over into autocracy. I am certain that neither the Prime Minister nor the Congress Party has any interest in building a structure of autocracy. But what we have, I entirely agree, is a structure of disciplined parliamentary system, and for a disciplined parliamentary system the emergency has given a breathing space. Let us go into rational rethinking about the whole affair. Now that criminals who have been committing crimes of economic character are all behind the bars,—happily so—the smugglers have been out and people who have been having nihilistic policies are out, this is an occasion where a national consensus has to be evolved as to how India ought to be a model of an active, participative parliamentary system committed to achieve the national goal of democracy, secularism and socialism and working as one man so that we can hold our heads high and be a model for the world to emulate.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Shri Nageshwar Prasad Shahi — Not here. Shri N. P. Chaudhari. Those who have given their names and are not present, I am eliminating their names from the list.

श्री एन० पी० चौधरी (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभापति महोदया, यह जो आंतरिक सुरक्षा कानून का संशोधन विधेयक लाया गया है, मैं उस का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। इस के कई कारण हैं जिस की वजह से यह विधेयक यहां लाया

गया है। राष्ट्रपति महोदय को इस के लिये आर्डिनेन्स जारी करना पड़ा और आज उसे रेगुलराइज करने के लिये यह विधेयक यहां सदन के सामने लाना पड़ा है। आप अच्छी तरह से जानती हैं कि कुछ राजनीतिक दलों ने अनेक वर्षों से देश में कुछ ऐसा वातावरण बना दिया था कि वह जिस के कारण स्थिति दिन पर दिन बद से बदतर होती जा रही थी। एक घृणा का वातावरण, एक हिंसा का वातावरण और तोड़ फोड़ की कार्यवाहियां इतनी हो गयी थीं, इतनी बढ़ गयी थीं कि देश की शान्ति और देश की सुरक्षा को हो खतरा पैदा हो गया था। यदि मैं यह कहूँ कि इसी हुल्लड़बाजी में या असंवेधानिक तरीकों से वह कांग्रेस के सत्ताधारियों को गैर-कानूनी ढंग से सत्ताच्युत कर के सत्ता हथियाना चाहते थे तो यह अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी। देश में एक ऐसी असाधारण स्थिति उन्होंने उत्पन्न कर दी थी कि ऐसा लगता था कि देश में कैओस हो गया है, एक कंफ्युजन की स्थिति उन्होंने पैदा कर दी थी। जहां तहां जमाखोरों ने अपने सर उठा दिये थे, मुनाफाखोरी दिन पर दिन बढ़ती जा रही थी, महंगाई बढ़ती जा रही थी, काला बाजारी बढ़ती जा रही थी, सकटग्रस्त क्षेत्रों में जहां पर बाढ़ और सूखे की स्थिति बनी थी, जब रेलों और ट्रक सामान लेकर उन लोगों के लिए जाते थे तो उनमें तोड़-फोड़ की कार्यवाही किया करते थे। देश के युवकों और छात्रों को उन्होंने बहकाना अपना एक कर्तव्य समझा। छात्रों को यह कहा कि युनिवर्सिटीज बन्द कर देनी चाहिए और इस हिंसात्मक कार्यवाही में उन्हें भाग लेना चाहिए। मुझे यह समझ में नहीं आया कि ये बातें कहां तक उचित थीं और किन नेताओं के दिमाग की यह उपज थी। जब देखिये, जहां देखिये, प्रदर्शन, हड़ताल, बन्द का वातावरण देश में बनता जा रहा था। तस्करों की विचित्र स्थिति थी। जहां देखिये, तस्करी का घंघरा चलने लगा था। तस्कर जहां तहां कानून का

उल्लंघन करके अधिकारियों से मिल कर करोड़ों रुपये की सम्पत्ति बना रहे थे। बाहर से करोड़ों रुपये का सामान मंगा कर देश की जो आर्थिक स्थिति थी उसको बिगाड़ने में भी अपना योगदान इस प्रकार से दे रहे थे। विदेशी मुद्रा का भी घोटाला कुछ कम नहीं हुआ बिगत कुछ वर्षों में। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश में जब ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हो गई हो और हमारे इस देश के विपक्षी दल के नेता जिन्हें कि कुछ लोग आजकल सब से बड़े नेता मानते थे, उन्होंने जब हमारे देश की सेना और पुलिस को इस बात का आह्वान किया कि उन्हें शासन का आदेश नहीं मानना चाहिए, तब फिर हमारे सामने इस देश की स्थिति को ठीक करने के लिए, इसमें शान्ति बनाये रखने के लिये, इसकी सुरक्षा को कायम रखने के लिए आपात्कालीन स्थिति के सिवाय, मीसा में यह संशोधन लाने के सिवाय कोई चारा नहीं था, कोई दूसरा विकल्प ही नहीं था। ऐसी स्थिति में जब यह संशोधन वर्तमान, आंतरिक सुरक्षा कानून में लाया गया तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक बहुत ही सामयिक कदम था।

वैसे तो हमारे सभी सदस्य जानते हैं कि वर्षों पहले जब यह स्थिति बनी थी तब लोग कहा करते थे कि हमें इस कानून को बदलना पड़ेगा। देश में जो गड़बड़ियाँ हो रही हैं उनसे निबटने के लिए प्रधान मंत्री को सख्ती से कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए। कठोर कदम उठाने चाहिए और अगर आवश्यक हो तो वर्तमान नियमों में संशोधन करके उनका सुधार करना चाहिए और

इन स्थितियों से निबटना चाहिए। परन्तु हमारी आदरणीया, प्रधान मंत्री महोदया ने उनको काफी छूट दे रखी थी। उन्होंने उस समय इसे उचित नहीं समझा; क्योंकि संविधान में कुछ अधिकार दिये गये जो हमारे यहां नागरिकों को, उन्होंने सोचा कि शायद स्वयं ये लोग सोच लेंगे और अपनी स्थिति को सुधार लेंगे, अपने कारनामों को बदल देंगे और देश की शान्ति और सुरक्षा के हित में काम करेंगे। परन्तु दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इनकी स्थिति सुधरी, न इनकी कार्यवाहियाँ सुधरीं। इनकी विघटनकारी कार्यवाहियाँ दिन पर दिन बढ़ती गईं। आपको स्मरण दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि गुजरात में और बिहार में जो आन्दोलन हुए वहाँ जो जन प्रतिनिधि थे, चुने हुए प्रतिनिधि थे, उनको या संसद् सदस्यों को किस तरह से परेशान करके, घेराव करके, डरा धमका कर किस तरह से उनको इस्तीफा देने के लिए मजबूर किया जाता था। यह चीज हम कभी भूल नहीं सकते। शायद ही दुनिया का कोई ऐसा हिस्सा रहा हो जहाँ पर इस तरह से कार्यवाही हुई हो। जो घृणा का वातावरण हमारे देश में इन विरोधी दलों के नेताओं ने उत्पन्न किया था, उसी का यह परिणाम है कि हमारे एक मंत्रिमंडल के सहयोगी श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र जी की हत्या की गई। ये बातें हमारे सामने हैं। तो हम उन स्थितियों से निबटने के लिए कानून बनाने के लिए

किस तरह से अपनी

3 P.M. आँखें बन्द कर सकते हैं।

मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो नये कानून बनाये गये हैं,

[श्री एन. पी. चौधरी]

आन्तरिक सुरक्षा कानून में संशोधन लाया गया है यह कोई नई बात नहीं है। इसके पूर्व भी सन् 1950 में और उसके बाद भी जब देश की आन्तरिक स्थिति को और देश की बाहरी स्थिति को किसी प्रकार से खतरा उत्पन्न हुआ तब हमने अपने देश के कानून में किसी न किसी प्रकार से संशोधन किया और उन संशोधनों के माध्यम से उन स्थितियों पर नियंत्रण पाया। हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री महोदया ने हमेशा जब ऐसी स्थिति आई तभी देश के लोगों को चेतावनी दी, उन्हें सावधान किया और यह कहा कि जो स्थिति निर्मित हो रही है उससे हमें सावधान रहना चाहिए, उससे खबरदार रहना चाहिए। इतनी खबरदारी के बाद भी, इतनी सावधानी के बाद भी जब स्थिति नहीं बदली तब वर्तमान कानूनों में संशोधन किया और स्थितियों से निबटने की कोशिश की गई। यह कोई नई बात नहीं है।

मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि अभी कोई अधिक गिरफ्तारियाँ नहीं हुईं। 60 करोड़ की आबादी हमारे देश की है। यदि इस 60 करोड़ की आबादी वाले देश की सुरक्षा हम कुछ लोगों को बन्द करके, कुछ लोगों को बन्दी बना कर कर सकते हैं तो क्या हमारे देश की आजादी और हमारे देश की शान्ति की सुरक्षा इस से महत्वपूर्ण है कि हम इन गड़बड़ करने वालों को जेल से बाहर रख। इससे किसी प्रकार किसी व्यक्ति को नाराज नहीं होना चाहिए, असन्तोष नहीं होना चाहिए।

मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी प्रधान मंत्री महोदया पर यह आरोप बार-बार लगाया गया कि उन्होंने यह कदम देर से उठाया। यह बात सही है और हमारी प्रधान मंत्री महोदया ने भी इस बात को स्वीकार किया। परन्तु जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा, वह चाहती थी कि हम एक अवसर दें अपोजिशन को सोचने का जिससे वे

अपने को सुधार सकें। जब उन्होंने अपने को सुधारा नहीं तब मजबूर हो कर उन्हें यह कदम उठाना पड़ा। इससे कोई घबराने की बात नहीं है। मैं जहाँ तक उनको कार्रवाइयों को समझ सका हूँ उन्होंने अपोजिशन को मौका दिया जिससे वे अपने अधिकारों के बजाय पहले अपने कर्त्तव्यों को समझ सकें। परन्तु दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि अधिकारों की दुहाई या संविधान में जो मौलिक अधिकार दिये गये थे उनकी दुहाई वे देते रहे, परन्तु अपने कर्त्तव्यों की ओर उनका ख्याल नहीं आया। देश में गड़बड़ी पैदा करने के लिये वे हमेशा उत्तरदायी रहे हैं। इस दोष से वे कभी छूट नहीं सकते हैं। मैं इन कारणों से इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ।

मंत्री महोदय से एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम लोगों के दिलों में कुछ आशंकाएँ हैं। पूर्व वक्ताओं ने भी कहा है कि काला-बाजारी करने वालों पर चोर-बाजारी करने वालों पर, गुंडागर्दी या तस्करी करने वालों पर हम मीसा का उपयोग करके उन्हें सही रास्ते पर ला सकते हैं। इसी तरह से जो हमारे शासन में बड़े-बड़े भ्रष्टाचारी लोग बैठे हुए हैं उन पर भी इसका उपयोग होना चाहिए। क्योंकि ये भ्रष्ट लोग हमारे देश में भ्रष्टाचार का रोग इस तरह से फैलाते जा रहे हैं, विशेष कर अधिकारी वर्ग कि यदि इन पर कोई रोक नहीं लगाया गया तो मेरा ऐसा ख्याल है कि आपातकालीन स्थिति ला कर या आन्तरिक सुरक्षा कानून में संशोधन ला कर हम सुधार की स्थिति ला रहे हैं उसमें विशेष कोई लाभ या स्थाई लाभ नहीं मिल सकेगा। मैं यह अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस पर ध्यान दें और जो अधिकारी ऐसे पकड़े जाते हैं जिन पर भ्रष्टाचार का आरोप है उन्हें मीसा के अन्दर गिरफ्तार किया जाना चाहिए।

मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि बहुत से पुलिस अधिकारी बदले की भावना से काम कर रहे हैं। जिन लोगों से उनकी पुरानी दुश्मनी है या जिन लोगों ने उनके खिलाफ

अदालतों में या दूसरी इन्क्वायरी में गवाही दी है वे पुलिस अधिकारी आज उन लोगों को मीसा का दुरुपयोग करके बंद कर रहे हैं। मैं स्वतः का अपना एक उदाहरण दे रहा हूँ। अभी कुछ दिन पहले मुझे पुलिस अत्याचारों के कारण अनशन पर बैठना पड़ा था और उस अनशन के दौरान जो इन्क्वायरी हुई थी उस इन्क्वायरी में कुछ लोगों ने पुलिस के खिलाफ गवाही दी थी। वे हमारे बहुत अच्छे कार्यकर्ता और सहयोगी हैं, कर्मठ कार्यकर्ता हैं। वह समय तो निकल गया लेकिन अब पुलिस को यह मीसा का अवसर मिला है। इस मीसा के अन्दर उन गवाहों को, उन कार्यकर्ताओं को, दो व्यक्तियों का विशेष रूप से नाम लेना चाहूंगा जिन्हें पुलिस ने बन्द किया है। उनमें से एक का नाम जफर अहमद है और दूसरे का नाम राज बहादुर सोलंकर है। इन दोनों ने पुलिस के खिलाफ गवाही दी थी इसलिये उन्हें दंडित किया गया। उनका केवल एक ही अपराध था कि उन्हें पुलिस के खिलाफ गवाही दी थी। इस पर पुलिस ने अपने अधिकारों का दुरुपयोग करके उनको मीसा के अन्दर बन्द कर दिया। इस तरह के एक नहीं, अनेक उदाहरण हैं। इस सदन में माननीय सदस्यों ने इस प्रकार के बहुत से उदाहरण दिये हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में मेरा आप से यह निवेदन है कि ऐसे मामलों की जांच-पड़ताल की जाय और जांच-पड़ताल करने के बाद कार्यवाई की जाय ताकि लोगों के अन्दर जो असुरक्षा की भावना और अन्य आशंकाएं पैदा हो गई हैं, वे समाप्त हों और लोगों को न्याय मिल सके। इसी प्रकार का एक उदाहरण मैं और देना चाहता हूँ कि जबलपुर के अन्दर पुलिस वाले मीसा के अन्दर उनको जितने भी अधिकार मिले हुए हैं उनका दुरुपयोग कर रहे हैं और अपने क्षेत्रों के सीधे और ईमानदार आदमियों को परेशान कर रहे हैं।

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

पुलिस वाले लोगों को डरा-धमका कर उनसे पैसा मांगते हैं और अपनी जेबें गर्म करते हैं अगर कोई सीधा-साधा आदमी किन्हीं कारणों से पैसा नहीं दे पाता है तो उसको मीसा के अन्दर बन्द कर दिया जाता है जबलपुर में इस प्रकार के सैकड़ों उदाहरण हैं जहाँ पर कि पुलिस वालों ने लोगों को धाने में बुलाया और जिन लोगों ने पैसा दे दिया उनको छोड़ दिया गया। इस प्रकार के काम वहाँ पर खुले रूप से किये जा रहे हैं। इसलिये मेरा विनम्र निवेदन है कि आप ऐसे कदम उठाये जिससे इस प्रकार के भ्रष्ट तरीकों पर रोक लगे और आप इस बात को देखें कि पुलिस वाले और अन्य भ्रष्ट अधिकारी मीसा का दुरुपयोग न करने पायें। जो पुलिस अधिकारी और भ्रष्ट अधिकारी जनता को परेशान करते हैं उनकी जांच करके उनके विरुद्ध सख्त कार्यवाही की जानी चाहिए। इस संबंध में मैं एक और उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। हमारे जबलपुर में एक डिस्ट्रिक्ट एक्साइज आफिसर है जो कि चपरासी का लड़का है। उसने चार साल के अन्दर 10 लाख की प्रोपर्टी बना ली है। मैंने इस केस को संबंधित अधिकारियों को दिया, लेकिन उसके ऊपर कोई कार्यवाई नहीं की गई। यह उदाहरण मैं इसलिए दे रहा हूँ कि इतने भ्रष्ट अधिकारी हमारे शासन के अन्दर बैठे हुए हैं लेकिन उनके विरुद्ध कोई कार्यवाही नहीं होती है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इस संबंध में जो आशंकाएं उठाई गई हैं उनके ऊपर सरकार सहानुभूतिपूर्वक विचार करेगी और लोगों को राहत पहुँचाएगी ताकि लोगों के दिलों की आशंकाएं समाप्त हों। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADH-
YAY (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman,
Sir, I rise to support the Maintenance of
Internal Security (Amendment) Bill and the
statutory provisions under it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): I congratulate you, Mr. Deputy Chairman. You came in time to relieve her, so that she can make her speech.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADH-
YAY: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we are passing through an emergency. The whole world knows about it. What is this MISA meant for? I congratulate my young friend, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, and Shri Om Mfhta. Shri Pranab Mukherjee is just entering the House and I hope he will not say that it is also by arrangement. I congratulate Shri Pranab Mukherjee, Shri Om Mfhta and the Home Minister for taking appropriate steps to curb the activities of people who deserve to be brought under MISA. Leave aside the political question. Smugglers, blackmarketeers and the other sharks are all being brought to book and many of the stalwarts in the country are already behind the prison bars. Coming to the political field, in the name of freedom and democracy everything was going on in this country. Everybody takes the oath in the name of the Constitution, but they have stretched too far the provisions of the Constitution. The Constitution guarantees freedom to the people. If freedom is interpreted as licence, then they have to be brought to book. It is high time the country realised all the political parties and political workers in different forums understood, what is the real spirit behind the letter of the Constitution. Till now what we have done is within the four corners of the Constitution. Some of my friends in this House said that, especially Shri Goswami in his speech on this subject asked, "Is this emergency? This is normalcy." I agree with him. This should have been the normal situation in the country. Every free nation, every patriotic people, men and women, should behave in a responsible manner. In the name of the free-dome of the press, every day we found that a systematic attempt was made at character assassination of the party in power, of the people who are running this party, both at

the Governmental and at the party level; every day character assassination was going on. Not even one paper protested against it; on the contrary, the papers treated it like yellow journalism; they knew that the persons attacked being in a dignified position would not come down to such a level as to contradict it. They took the fullest advantage of it. If they were determined to do that, then the Government had to see to it that the people were not misled in the name of freedom of the press.

The Constitution guarantees forming of association, whether it is a political organisation or a cultural organisation or an organisation for social welfare activities. But in the name of religion, we have so many institutions doing wrong things. Take the Ananda Marg. How is it that human skulls were found with them? What were they doing with human skulls and skeletons even in primary schools? Is it religion? They were murdering people. They are the agents of the C.I.A. It has been proved beyond doubt. Don't you think that any Government in power, worth its salt, will take action against this organisation, that it will be banned? So, we banned it, and we were right in banning any organisation which goes in the name of communalism. We believe in communal harmony. This country is a very vast country. We have so many religions, so many languages. But the one unifying factor is that we are all Indians; nobody is a second-class citizen here, whether Hindu or Muslim or Christian or any other. It does not matter to which caste or creed he or she belongs, the Constitution gives equal right to every citizen. But if any communal organisation, whether it is a Hindu communal organisation or a Muslim communal organisation or any other communal organisation, tries to function and disrupt that unity, any Government worth its salt will see that such a communal organisation does not exist. That is why we had to take action against the Jamayat-e-Islami and the RSS, the vanguard of the Jana Sangh. We did not take action against the Jana Sangh just

we find that the Jana Sangh is spreading disruption in this country in the name Of Hinduism, in the name of a particular religion ? India is not a country of Hindus alone. If any organisation preaches that India consists only of Hindus and that non-Hindus do not have a chance here, who can tolerate it ? Don't we know what role they were playing in the riots that took place, the Jana Sangh with their banners ? Officers were attending, in their galaxy of cars, meetings of the Jana Sangh, of the RSS, of the Ananda Marg of Ananda Murthy who is behind the prison bar.

When his disciple came here there were 150 cars waiting outside to have a <dimps of the Second Avadhoot. Where (are these officers hiding ? Are the Ministers (trying to save them. Why have they not all been brought to book ? We demand wherever *they are, in whatever positions they may be occupying in Government offices, whether <t is the Central Secretariat, whether it is the State Secretariats they must be brought to book. They have no right to "continue and enjoy the power given by the people which they are using for creating disruption. These reactionary parties'jare disrupting the country. They are disrupting the unity of this country. jThey are demolishing the system of this country at the instance of Anglo-American-Chinese axe. Do you mean to say that any Government worth the name, worth its sal, will ever tolerate this situation > We will not.

Sir, you will be surprised to know that even in the Ministry of Defence they have a panel for professors and Jlecturers for the defence personnel. In the Home Ministry you are supposed to have that list. In that list you will find the .names of Prof. Balraj Madhok and Shri Vajpayee. Are they preachers and professors to teach to fthe ^ defenes pirsoinsl .' Who I133 prepared that lis>? Bring them to book. These are the people who are still sitting in the Secretariat ndulging in nefarious activities. We demmd action against these officers.

Sir, lately the rally headed by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and the Congress Opposition wanted to besiege the Parliament House. A meeting took place and they declared their intention to hold a rally. The rally took place. Now what were these Officers doing ? Did not they know that a meeting was announced ? But no action was taken. Even when warrants were there against some people. Information goes to these people first from the Secretariat that they were going to be arrested and so if they have a place to hide let them go and hide. So these are the officers who are going to demolish what we build from the Government. They are saboteurs sitting inside the Secretariat. We want to find out who are these people. I congratulate the Prime Minister and the whole Cabinet for taking bold action against the disruptive forces.

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan comes to Delhi and declares in an open meeting that let Mr. Brahmananda Reddi and Mrs. Indira Gandhi arrest him, that he was inciting violence and that he was asking the army to revolt. Do you mean to say that if the Prime Minister or the Home Minister, Mr. Brahmananda Reddi, did not take action the people would have tolerated them ? They would not 4 That is why in this country we want these elements to be behind the bars. Those who are working against the interest of the country we want them behind the bars.

Now, Mr. George Fernandes received a sum of \$68,000 from Japan on the 14th June through the Reserve] Bank of India May I know who sent the money ? And for what purpose it was sanctioned ? Do you mean to say that these people should be i Uow-ed to remain out to destroy all that we stand for, to destroy the very texture of this country, toj destroy the whole human life of this country, to subserve the interest of the Chinese agents and American agents; ? We will not tolerate that. The Prime Minister has been kind to them. By putting them behind the prison bar she has been generous to them.

[Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay]

if they were allowed to roam about people would have been seen to it that they were liquidated.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, please excuse me for being emotionally involved in this. It is all because I have seived this country from my very childhood along with thousands of workers and I am still doing my bit in that direction. Do You mean to say that in the name of parliamentary democracy we will sit in the same House with these saboteurs, with these betrayers of the country ? No, the Constitution was not meant for that purpose.

That is why I fully support the Maintenance of Internal Security Act and the amendment that has been introduced today. Let us not misuse the power that has been entrusted to us. We will not misuse it deliberately or knowingly. But this power has been entrusted to those officers, the *bona fide* of some of whom are in doubt. We must keep an eye on those officers who are exercising this power. I am not blaming all the officers. There are patriots among the officers. There are very good people. I may be a Parliament Member here, but if they had been given the opportunity, they would have been better parliamentarians than I am. I do not doubt their *bona fides*. But there are a handful of officers who are out to see that sitting within us, sitting in the secretariat, they serve the nterests, not of the nation but, of those people who are working against the nation_ In the jails you get a report but nothing is given to the press because we know that if we give them freedom, they will again distort things; that is why we have withheld it. And what are they doing in jail ? Playing basketball. They are getting the best treatment, the best medical service. Do you know that the health condition of J. P. when he entered the jail was such that he would have died ? Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the Home Minister, Mr. Brahmananda Reddi, have saved his life by putting him in jail, by taking him to the best hospital and putting him under the

Dest medical care. That is what we have done for him. As a person* I have nothing to say against anybody. But as a citizen of India, as a patriotic person, I am wholly against those people who are working against the interests of this country, and thty are wrkirg igainst the interests of this country not for their own benefit only, but they are working against the interests of this country at the instance, of, at the instigation of and being bribed bought and purchased by, other countries who are out to see that India is demolished. You know, Sir, during our war against Pakistan and for Bangladesh who gave support to our enemies, who were helpin-our enemies. Those who helped our enemies at that time are waiting to see that we lose our ground. They are waiting to see that Indira Gandhi loses. They are not out to see that India loses its prestige in the comity of nations. But they are living in a fool's paradise. They should know that Indira Gandhi symbolises the aspirations and ambitions of the whole nation. She is not only the leader of my party; she is the leader of the whole nation. She is not only the leader of the Indian nation, but she is one of the greatest statesmen of the whole world. And it will not be easy for any nation, for any country to demolish what India stands for. For these agent provocateurs who are working at their instance, we have nothing but hatred. We have nothing but pity for them. If they realise their mistake soon, it will be good for them, good for us, good for everybody. Sir, I whole heartedly support this Bill.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, we had an inspiring enlightening, even an emotional speech. But ladies can never speak well unless there is some emotion in them. And such emotion for constructive reasons and for rendering good suggestions should be heartily welcomed even by men like me.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, as was to be expected in a situation of this kind, speeches have been made on various aspects of the present emergency and have not been, understandably, confined to, strictly speaking, the MISA or the use of MISA. The

MISA is only one aspect of the whole situation which we are facing. I am in agreement with many of the things Shrimati Purabi Mukherjee has said, especially her reference to the bureaucracy. It is understandable that she is surrounded immediately by admiring Members, both male and female. But nevertheless I would like to point out to you that what she has said in regard to the bureaucracy and the problems posed from that quarter deserves the most serious consideration by the Home Minister¹ and the Government. As far as the emergency is concerned, it is for the first time^e that we are in the midst of an internal emergency.

This is a national emergency, so to speak for internal reasons. We have had an emergency before in order to meet the threat arising out of external aggression. This time the threat to democracy, independence, unity and integrity of the country arose from within the country. This threat came from the forces of right reaction and fascism nurtured in some ways by the very capitalist society in which we are living. I cannot think of this threat assuming immense proportion in our country without taking into account the serious role of monopoly capital, landlords, profiteers, speculators and smugglers fully backed in every way by multi-national corporations and foreign monopolists in our country. As I said before, these elements sometime believe in double book-keeping even in politics. Their feigned loyalty to whatever is being done should not put us off the guard. These are the treacherous forces^s whose social and economic interests demand that they encourage and bolster the forces of reaction both in the economic and political fields as well as in our public administration. And here come the bureaucrats.

Let us not think that bureaucrats who are corrupt, reactionary and not committed to the principles for which we stand are just a creation of a particular administrative system. They are really the creation of the society in which still we find monopoly capital and some very wealthy people having

the upper hand in some vital spheres. Collision between these two elements—vested interests in the economic life of the country and the administrative apparatus in the upper echelons—is something which has to be taken care of by now above all in the emergency period.

Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyaya very rightly asked a few questions. We have not got satisfactory answers either in the Government publications or in the speeches as to why intelligence should have failed before the action was taken. Why certain preventive action could not be taken earlier? Why many of the movements were not noted in due manner? Why the activities of the U. S. Embassy in this country and the CIA outfit were not properly tackled down, exposed and action taken? These are legitimate questions to be asked today and the Government should give satisfactory answers to the questions posed by hon. Members in this House and such questions have been posed by people outside also.

Well, right reaction in this country could not have grown but for the direct encouragement given by these forces in the economic life and their friends in the administration. We have got newspapers and we have seen how the capitalists press behaved and how Indira Gandhi and L. N. Mishra and so others have been the target of attack day in and day out at least by some of them, as if others are all Caesar's wives. Did you ever hear Birla's press uttering a word about Badal who has now been found guilty of many corruption charges by a Commission of Inquiry. While bolstering always right reaction, did you ever hear them writing against the role of Biju Patnaik or Hare Krishna Mehtab or some other people who were once in positions of authority and power? Did you ever hear a word of criticism against the ex-Rajmata of Jaipur from whose palace contraband gold and many other things were found? There was no justification not to write anything because no case was pending against her so that it would come under the *sub-judice* rule.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

Not a word was said. We said it in this House. But these suspects were not even mentioned or reported when we said these things. So, we know what kind of a press it is. As you know very well, recently, in the case of a monopoly press, not a monopoly press that way, but a press owned by a very rich family, namely, the "Ananda Bazar Patrika", the offices of the editor and the paper and the residence of the editor were searched by Mr. Pranab Mukherjee's Ministry. Incriminating documents have been found and some money has also been found, about two lakhs of rupees or so. But money is not important. What is important is the incriminating documents. When the news went to the AIR, AIR did not broadcast the name of the paper or its owner. When papers such as ours bring out the names of such people, we are not allowed to do so. We took up the matter with the Press Censor in Calcutta. But we were prevented from publishing the name of this paper. Why? Why so? Why should not the name be published? Such people should be exposed and such a paper should be exposed, this "Ananda Bazar Patrika". Sir, if any newspaper in Calcutta is absolutely pro-American in the very bad sense of the term, if any newspaper is backed by the CIA and has got direct links in many ways with the CIA outfit in the country and if any paper in Calcutta maintains a large number of CIA men and CIA agents under cover or their associates in its establishment, it is "The Ananda Bazar Patrika".

In 1962, at the time of the Chinese aggression, this paper came out with a blistering attack and suggesting the removal of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Once, I remember, I took a clipping of the editorial of this paper and brought it to the notice of the then Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and he was a little surprised that the paper should have written such a thing during the time of emergency. Surely Sir, the Government can find this out by referring to the previous issues of this paper—Whenever the country has been in difficulties,

whenever an opportunity has arisen for getting something done for the Americans, this paper, "The Ananda Bazar Patrika" has always come out with its proposals with its insinuations, with its suggestions and all that kind of thing. This paper is doing the same thing during this critical period through which we are passing and we have been passing in recent months. But no action was taken against this paper. On the contrary, something also is done—That is why we take exception to such things

I know many such things are happening. I am told now that Mr. Kuldip Nayyar is in the prison now. I am not here to speak about individuals or individual things. But Mr. Kuldip Nayyar is a blatant liar and he is a rabid reactionary, a man of the American outfit. Well, what sort of a writing he has done during this period? It is nothing but half-truths and lies and many other things to promote characters, assassination. Such things go by the name of journalism and such people go by the name of journalists. They are the hirelings of the reaction and the hirelings of American imperialism. There are some such people and many of them get very high salaries we know. Many of them, the so-called big editors, get high salaries and all that kind of thing. There should be an investigation as to what their sources of income are and how they live and so on. Well, these are all matters to be gone into today because we are not against individual editors as such, but we are against certain things which have grown in this country and we want to dismantle the collusion between the unpatriotic and reactionary elements on the one hand and the agents of foreign imperialism on the other. This has to be done on every front—in the newspapers, in the academic institutions, in the industries and in the cultural life and wherever there is a possibility of such elements operating, action should be taken. Will there be such an investigation? We would like to know about this. We do not want to know your secrets that way. But I would suggest that you should at least take some people of this House into

confidence and then take their advice also to see as to how to fight this thing out. It is a long-drawn-out battle.

Editorial columns of leading papers in the West, in America, Canada, in western countries, are filled with filthy articles against our country maligning the whole nation of 60 crores of people, leave alone the Government. Everybody is being maligned, except those who are in prison. Lessons should be drawn. Why should you not draw lesson?

Surprisingly, Mr. Deputy Chairman, when something we say against American imperialism, it is censored. I cannot say the words 'American imperialism'; I can say "imperialism". America can say anything in their Press against India, anything against Indira Gandhi, anything against us, anything against our system or anything against our people. No censor. Their radio and television always attack us or talk anything against us, apart from the mass media of circulation and papers like the "New York Times" and other papers. But the moment we mention "American imperialism", we are told the word "American" has to be deleted. Why? Why? Why this kindness to America? I cannot understand. We have no quarrel with the American people. But the American people should be told through our Press and other media of propaganda as to what we feel about those people who are operating against the interests of our country. We have no quarrel with the American people. On the contrary, pro. gressive American people do understand the position we have taken. I have recently met some of them abroad. Why should there be such hesitation? We cannot take the name of "Ananda Bazar Patrika". We cannot divulge any of the things here. Yet these things need exposure today. I would ask the Government to bring out some publication giving an illustrated version of the conspiracy. And there you should also point out the role of the foreign elements. Why should there be hesitation? The world will understand our case better if

we bring out the connection as it exists between foreign, imperialist agencies on the one hand and the internal reaction on the other. That becomes a more convincing argument abroad rather than suppressing one aspect of the conspiracy, for whatever reasons I don't know.

May be, the Ministry of External Affairs is giving a wrong type of advice to other Ministries in the name of relations between our country and what they call "friendly" countries. Well, all people in the world are our friends. We want good, friendly relations with all people. But that is not the issue today. But do those who have taken advantage of our situation, those who build up forces of subversion and destruction of our country—do they deserve consideration that you are showing to them? Is that the way to build up relationship between India and the United States of America? I should like to know. Do you think that these pigmies and others would have been in a position to mount such a monstrous, vicious, sustained offensive but for the encouragement they are receiving from certain quarter 'n the Western side or America?

Shrimati Purabi Mukherjee has referred to the money coming from abroad through the Bank of Tokyo and other institutions. Why was this not brought to the notice of the Government in time? I should like to know. Has any investigation been made so far? Don't think it was a few lakhs of rupees. A few crores of rupees is nothing. Even the Rajmata of Gwalior can give a crore of rupees. For that you need not go, to Washington. If you go to Gwalior you can get that money. It is not difficult that way to get one or two crores of rupees. Crores and crores of rupees must have been placed at the disposal of those people. Is it not a fact that Mr. Vajpayee, thejjana Sangh leader, and our colleague in the other House went to the United States of America and carried a message from Gurui Golwalkar to President Eisenhower, greeting him and calling him the saviour of Asia and leader of Asia?

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] It is in their publication. We have tolerated all these things. The message was sent at a time when we were pressing for the implementation of the Geneva Agreement, and contributed to bringing about the agreement on Vietnam, and when the Vietnamese people were fighting for their liberty, independence, democracy and all that. It happened at that time. Is this the site of this? favors. This is about foreign aspect.

Diggers and other things and military kits have been discovered. I would suggest to Mr. Brahmananda Reddi—I wish the Minister of Information and Broadcasting had been here—that our Information and Broadcasting Ministry requires a lot of overhauling. Why do you not bring out publication and newsreels of the discoveries and other incriminating material and see that the newsreels are shown in every cinema house so that the people know what was the nature of the conspiracy? Bring some of them to the Central Hall and show them. Let the daggers, swords, spears and other lethal weapons discovered in the R.S.S. offices or the skulls discovered in the Anand Margi establishment speak for themselves as to what they meant and what they spelt. People will understand it much better than if we make a few speeches. The patriotic sense of our common people is unquestionable. They will understand these things. Your White Paper is not fully satisfactory that way. It is all tight that you have given quotations and other things. But these things should be known through cinema halls. Television is not a big factor in our country. The country should know what the conspiracy was, what the anatomy of that conspiracy was like, which were the forces for and against democracy, what was their *modus operandi*, what were the weapons they wanted to use and what were their foreign connections and foreign backing. The people should know about these things.

Why not publish the names of four or five foreigners, Americans and British you have sent out of the country or made them leave the country? They should be known. Anyhow, B.B.C. announced, having

known that you are going to ask its correspondent or representative to leave the country that they were withdrawing their correspondent from India as a protest against our action or certain policies of the Government in regard to them. Why should you leave it to them? Why should the All India Radio not announce that for hostile, unfriendly and subversive activities, the B.B.C. correspondent has been asked to leave this country? Why can't you say that? Why can't you announce it at the All India Radio in its national and international broadcasts saying that the representatives of the New York Times and Washington Post and West German papers have been asked to leave the country. That strengthens our case. That exposes the game of the international reaction. It should be done.

You should now think of discriminatingly using press censorship. Well, we are all equals! Bhupesh Gupta as an editor is in the same category as Kuldip Nayyar so far as censorship is concerned. Why should I be so? What crime have I committed in having exposed the right reactionary forces and Jayaprakash Narayan over the past few months? What crime have I committed that I should be equated with Kuldip Nayyar and the editors of the monopoly press that what I write should be censored in the same way as what they are writing? Well, if you do not equate Indira Gandhi with Jayaprakash Narayan and rightly so, nor can you equate me with those hirelings of the monopoly press who are writing on orders from reaction in order to pull down our democratic institutions and to play up the campaign of the character assassination. Is it not a fact that when Mr. L. N. Mshra was subjected to character assassination in this House and outside, when Indira Gandhi had been subjected to character assassination in this House and outside, we got up on the floor of the House very often incurring the wrath of all our colleagues on this side of the House to decry such character assassination to dissociate with them and condemn that kind of thing. You know very well of the so-called C. B. I. report. They went to the Committee to read that report in order

to spread their poisonous campaign which vitiated the atmosphere and led to the murder of L. N. Mishra. What did we do? We also read the G.B.I. report. We found out what was written in that report. We found out that in no way could L. N. Mishra be involved and we came out with a public statement about it. Have I to be put in the same category as these people? These are vital questions. You can lot take an attitude of neutrality Today we need the press, we need public opinion, we need the opposition, we need agitations and propaganda to expose and disown *ilt).i;.n'Ay*, politically, factually and in every other way the rightist conspiracy and all its ramifications and its agencies. The press, Parliament, the Legislatures, public forums and public meeting can all play their part. That should be done today.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have said these things and now I can tell you one example. We from the party headquarters sent a tele, gram that everywhere meetings should be held and these measures supported. That telegram was sent to every State and one telegram went to Tamil Nadu also but that¹ was censored and not allowed to go. I do not know why. You can imagine. A telegram was sent that all of us should

- mobilisj public opinion against fascist reaction and so on. Some meetings had been held here and in Chandigarh with the Chief Ministers and others participating in imy places. That telegram of all places was not allowed to go to Tamil Nadu where Mr. Kirunanidhi was holding the meeting supporting these people who were put in jail or those who had led the rightist campaign. He had called upon people that the tears of these leaders should be wiped out and many other things he has been saying. We sent a telegram launching a counter-campaign there with the help of the Congress, the C.P.I. , the Anna D.M.K. and others. That telegram was withheld, Mr. Brahmananda
- ^ Reddi should find it out. I was a little shocked. I do not say he has done it or anyone would have done it. Some officer may not have understood what it meant.

Once we saot a telegram "Suspend the land struggle in view of the emergency." Censor withheld it because the word 'struggle' was there. He forgot the word 'suspend'. What can I do ? I can deal with literate people. I cannot deal with illiterate people. You see, I can deal with common sense. I cannot deal with nonsense' You see now such things are happening These are very interesting episodes though somewhat painful.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have said some of these things about the bureaucracy, but, again and again I have said that I do not blame all the officers. There are many good officers in the country at all levels. They need to be encouraged, they need to be promoted, they need to be given a word of good cheer. Are we doing it ? We are not. And, who does not know that many of the police officials are Anand Margis themselves? Who does not know that many of the police and other bureaucrats have been associated with the R.S.S.? Some of them we had named also. Many of them are sympathetic towards Jana Sangh. I am not going into that. I am only mentioning their association with the organisations which have been banned now. What has happened to those who are trying to build Anand Margis in the Secretariat of the Government, in the Government offices, in the academic institutions like the Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur, where the R.S.S. was trying to build its base. What has happened to them? I know for a fact that Dr. Zaheer who was the Chairman of the Governing Body of the IIT, Kanpur, had to go because of the RSS. He was very much opposed to the RSS and he had to go because the RSS charged him with interfering in the internal administration of the Institute. Now these people are still there. How many of them are there you should find out. Your intelligence should be able to give you the information about the RSS and the Anand Marg. Well, I know it for a fact

[Shri Bbupesh Gupta] that some of the officers were recruiting people to the Anand Marg from amongst their juniors. Dcn'tycu knew that ? If I knew, how is it that your people do not know?

Mr. Reddi, why are you wasting your resources and energy by tapping our telephones all the time ? What is there ? We are speaking here what we have to say. How are you interested in secret and private talk ? For the time being at least you should resist the temptation of such everdropping in our cases. It is not necessary for you. May be you can get some little thing here and there, but is it worthwhile? Is it worth the candle? I do not know what you are doing.

You must mobilise your intelligence resources. They have more than enough on their hands in detecting the conspiracy and in detecting the ramifications in order to find out the elements who need to be exposed and dealt with. That is a better thing. Your intelligence requires a little orientation. In the past emergency, DIR and MISA were mostly used against the leftist people and others. The country was told that there were ten from the CPI and some other leftist people. I am here for the last 23 years. The irony of history is such that when we came to Parliament 23 years ago, we were denounced by the Charan Singh and Alorajis and others as people who had no faith in democracy and as people who had come to Parliament to subvert democracy. Today these gentlemen have exposed themselves in their criminal acts of subversion and treachery against the country and Some of them are behind the prison bars. Now therefore this changed situation should be reflected in your administration, in your Government including your intelligence. Your intelligence if I, not being so intelligent may say so, requires a little orientation. It must be given orientation. It is not easy to orient an intelligence service, or for that matter, any other service. You have to make efforts for doing it. Take for example, many of the things happening in the country. I knew

about many arrests of our party members which have taken place. These bureau, crats some of whom are Anand Margis are getting our people arrested in Bihar and other places—and some RSS people who are in service in Madhya Pradesh—to malign you, to discredit you and to give a handle to others so that they get the upper hand to some extent and disrupt the growing relations between us and our joint campaign against right reaction and the implementation of the economic programme. They know they cannot disrupt this thing. It is a growing fact of life today. But they know that they can stick to the effort of organising Congress here and there and create an extraordinary abnormal situation of ill will where cooperation may not develop. We are not of course provoked by such things, but we must bring it to your notice.

Take the case of the papers. As I said in the paper our news are being censored. Is anything against the Soviet Union being censored ? The Soviet Union is being maligned by the monopoly press even now. While I in my paper cannot mention American imperialism, the monopoly press is in a position to malign and carry on a vicious, slanderous campaign against the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist countries on one pretext or another. Read *The Statesman*, read the other papers. Every opportunity is being taken in order to malign the Soviet Union and how the Soviet people will feel you can imagine. It is being done by the monopoly press even under censorship, even in emergency when these people the socialist countries like the Soviet Union have stood solidly behind you, your Government, your people, your country and your honour, integrity and independence Is it not something to be taken serious note of ? I think if the press censorship has any meaning, it should be extended to those which are deliberately trying to create a misunderstanding between us, India and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. That should also be Seriously considered by you.

Now, some of the good things have happened. One is the resolution of the Congress Working Committee and the Congress leadership that there should be joint effort and joint action by the Communists, the Congress and others against the rightist forces and also for the implementation of the policies. That is what it should be. There should be a national approach spelt out convincingly to the people and the beginning is good but it should be implemented. There should not be any reluctance and reservation. I know many of you have different ideologies than I have. We belong to different sets of ideologies. But many things are common also. One common thing is, fight to the finish against the right reaction, for saving country, for saving the democracy, for saving this unity and for saving our independence. One common thing is the immediate measure that you may now take. Let us go ahead and implement it together. That should be done and I think at all levels it should be done.

It is a very legitimate demand that has come from your side and our side that the committees set up should be given some statutory power so that they become an instrument of implementation, not merely advisory and consultative bodies. Democracy must go to the grassroot levels. Participation of the common man is essential; involvement of the common man is not a matter of platitude where you talk about it. It must be ensured by measures, administrative, political and economic. Therefore, I welcome the agreement which has been arrived at. The co-operative effort of the INTUC, the AITUC and HMS in order to take care of the industrial production and deal with industrial relations etc., is a good thing and this has to be welcomed, and the Government should hail it and give full encouragement.

Emergency should not be used to curtail the legitimate democratic rights of the working people. Give them more confidence give them more fighting muscle; bring them together at the trade-union level and other

levels in the fight against the base of reaction. That is what it should be.

Something should be done in the rural and agrarian sector of the economy today I hope a step will be taken in that direction.

I know many of my friends may have some doubts and suspicions about other things. We may also have our views on them but they should not stand in the way of developing a co-operation in our efforts on matters which have an over-riding appeal today. Here, perhaps, I would like to take the opportunity to say that we were all disgusted at the Allahabad judgement. I am not giving any opinion on the judgement but law is important. In which country of the world is a Prime Minister sought to be debarred on a technical offence of the kind which has been mentioned in this Allahabad judgement? I should like to know in which country? Nowhere. As a student of political history and constitutional history, I do not know of any example in the world where a Prime Minister of the country having a majority in the elected legislature has been sought to be overthrown by taking advantage of a strict narrow technical and, legal point of the kind that figured in that judgement. Ponder over it. Ponder over it. I think it is time to ponder over such things. I am not speaking about individuals. It is a question of freedom in the country. We may do something today. It may be in regard to others also. Therefore, it is very very important. Surprisingly enough Britain which has been carrying on that vicious propaganda, nobody would even take notice of such things in Britain; it would not be held as an offence at all. But here in India it has not only been held as an offence, but it has been taken full advantage of by the forces of right reaction, not only to seek removal of the person whom they do not like from the Prime Ministership but bring about a rightist takeover of the country to subvert democracy and independence.

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4 P. M.

It is a serious matter. Now, I know people, some of them, may misunderstand, but we must face the facts. Today, Parliament is sovereign and Parliament must jay down clearly as to what happens to a majority, as to what happens to the leaders who commands a majority or the functioning of the institution. It should not be left to be determined and settled by a single Judge sitting in a particular court. I have all respect for the judge. I have all respect for our judiciary insofar as they go, but we know how they behave ; in matters of property and in other matters. We have our strong reservations about them, but here this crisis has been created also because of a serious lacuna which is impermissible in our law. It is not a question of the rule of law. Those who spoke about the rule of law did not believe in any rule of law. Had they believed in it, they would have waited at least for the final verdict of the Supreme Court. They never waited for it. I leave this point at that. I should like to be told by anyone. Unfortunately my adversaries are not here and unfortunately my speech will not be reported also. I do not know why I am speaking, but still I should like to share my ideas with them wherever they are. I should like to be told in which country in the world, ever since bourgeois parliamentary democracy came into existence three hundred years or so ago has a Prime Minister been sought to be eliminated from the scene on the basis of a judgement of this kind, despite the fact that the Prime Minister commands the confidence of the ruling party and the ruling party commands a big majority in the Legislature. Let anybody tell me if there is such a thing. You will not find it anywhere. So, I leave that point at that.

Finally, as far as bureaucracy is concerned, may I suggest, Mr. Brahmananda Reddi, for your consideration this ? Do not think that the opposition is gone—we are here and broadly we support it—and nothing else needs to be done by way of consulting

other private Member. I am not mentioning the opposition, but private Members you should consult. Why should not there be a consultative committee—not in that sense ? We should have some kind of committee in order to evaluate the officers of the Government of India or the officers in various undertakings under the Government of India. I again repeat it should not be from the point of view of narrow loyalties and politics, but it should be from the point of view of : (i) their attitude towards the rightist threat to our democratic institutions and (4) their antecedents and attitude in regard to the implementation of such measure that you are taking. Make these two points the acid test. Is the officer reliable from the point of view of the struggle that we are waging in order to save democracy and democratic institutions from the threat of right reaction which has been temporarily thwarted, but which has by no means ended ? It may occur again if we are not on our guard.

If that officer is reliable from the point of view of the implementation of the progressive measures that we propose to adopt and that may be adopted in future and if those officers are such as would command public confidence and generate some kind of credibility, in the administration, on the part of public—these two tests you can apply. But you can never do so by whispering into the ears of, or by consulting your officers only. Why should there not be consultation with certain bodies set up for this purpose ? Everybody knows that in almost all the Government departments there are people who actually belong to the other side, who may not have gone to jail but who are still there. They belong to that side. What about them ? How are you going to find them out ? Well you can do that only when vigilance is there, only if vigilance is exercised, only when you encourage vigilance by private members with probity and integrity, on your side and on this side of the House, who stand for the implementation of the measures and for action against the forces of right reaction—Well, that is very essential.

The multinational corporations and other things should be looked into. Do not think that these multinational corporations have been over-awed by the emergency and are inactive; they may change their tactics and behaviour. But they are operating on the scene. They have got their connections; they have the agencies. What about the Gandhi Peace Foundation? What happened? The Gandhi Peace Foundation, with its great name, became a centre of conspiracy. Did you ever think that such a thing would happen? But it did happen. There are many other institutions in Delhi with different sign-boards where, as everybody knows, the CIA activities and some other activities have been going on, almost openly. What happened to them? Therefore, these things should be found out.

Now, about the connections of your officers, I think it is better sometimes to find out the connections of your top officials not all, but some. We know that some officers are going to the Americans every day maintaining very good serial relations, at family levels, with the American people here. When we know these things, you should know better. If we draw our inference, you should draw your inference also. Why can't you do that? That will not be done if you, I advise it to the officials only. You must get advice from friends here. I see many friends sitting on this side of the House. I am very happy. And I will remember my association with them. For years, month after month, they had been warning you against SJC's officers, against such conspiratorial activities, against such collusion outside the office hours, in secret places and all that. But you thought that perhaps they were indulging in needless suspicions and so on. It is they who have proved right, it is we who have proved right, not the others who gave you all kinds of counsel.

Is it not a fact that we opposed the so-called dialogue with Jayaprakash Narayan? It was because we knew that Jayaprakash Narayan

was not interested in a dialogue to strengthen and save democracy and bring about the unity of the country. You did not believe us. Some of you thought that we were being needlessly ideologically and politically aggressive. We thought the time would come when events would tell you, and we were right and those who gave you counsel—the dialogists—were not right. I am not taking kudos in the fact that we were right. But the fact remains that those who were looked upon as being eligible for a high-power dialogue, were found to be men who would have murdered democracy in the streets of Delhi and drowned the city in the blood and tears of our people. I would only ask you to learn from it; all of us should learn from it. It is a critical phase through which we are passing. Let us emerge from the crisis with a sense of greater perspective, greater conviction and with greater ideas of how to act not only in a critical situation but also in a non-critical situation so that the critical situation may not arise again. That is what we should do. Therefore, Mr. Biahmananda Reddi, kindly take these things. Consult your friends. Do not rule out consultation. Do not leave things to bureaucracy. Even if they are good nothing will be lost by additional consultation with your own men to improve matters. If something is good it would be better. If something is bad it will be remedied. Consultation is good. That will be the net result of this consultation. I am not asking you to consult the rightist forces and others. It is very important.

Finally, I would only like to add one word about the use of MISA. While I brought to your notice how some of our people in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar and other places have been arrested, though their number is very small, a beginning has been made. Perhaps many others are being arrested. My friend was complaining that some of their people* have also been arrested. Go into these things. Do not allow these files to

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accumulate. We cannot use them. If Mr. Reddy, you bring a complaint to me about some misuse of power, authority or privilege against your partymen, I should go into it in order to look into this. That would be my spirit; otherwise how can I expect you to cooperate with me? Similarly, when I bring a complaint you should go into it. It may be that your machine may be cumbersome. It operates according to rules and regulations and what not. Do it. Do have a machinery at the Ministerial level, Centre as well as State. I think if the Prime Minister gives a warning on the Radio that those officers who misuse the emergency powers in favour of forces which are helping right reaction or which do not stand for the implementation of the economic programme, such officers will be liable to the harshest punishment by the Government, the abuse of power whether by the Superintendent of Police or by the District Magistrate or anybody else will end. They have also fear. It is not that some other people alone have fear. These officers are also afraid of their position and so on. This can be done. I would ask Mr. Reddy to kindly set up an apparatus in his Ministry. Put some of your Minister as in charge who would look into this thing from day to day on an emergency basis. We would not demand action unless we are convinced that such an action is called for. You have to take a political decision. A political approach to the use of emergency powers has become very necessary. Emergency powers cannot be handled in a narrow, sectarian, administrative dyed in the wool administrative wing. It must have a political approach also. The battle is against right reaction. The battle is for strengthening democracy, taking it to the grass roots. The battle is to go on. Give protection to those who stand for democracy, for progress, for social transformation and not to those who want to abuse the authority and power in order to subvert democracy, destroy unity and ruin the future and independence of the country. "That is how the political approach should

be there. But that can be done only at the political level with political imagination, statesmanship, farsight, confidence in the future of the country.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, the battle which we have launched is a grim and grave battle. It will continue till one or the other lives. It will not end even with the end of emergency whenever it comes. It is a battle which goes to the root of our socio-economic, political life. The battle has to continue on all fronts, in every sphere of public life, by all men of goodwill, patriotic and democratic forces, by joining their forces and by putting our heads together. We should do it in order to politically isolate the vested interests, and right reaction, in order to see that they are not in a position to return to the counter-offensive again as they have done in the past. We should not allow them the same opportunity that they enjoyed after the 1971 general elections. But our approach should be a political approach. We can defeat them ideologically. We can defeat them politically. We can isolate them from the masses provided we mobilise the people, mobilise the masses into action and carry out reforms and measures the people are dying to have. It is possible to do so. Let us not have a defeatist outlook. The grand speech which Shrimati Purabi Mukherjee made will rouse the Congress ranks and even others. It will be a contribution to building up unity and united effort. Other friends are making speeches here. I have come here to hear their speeches because otherwise I cannot get them. These speeches should reach the people. They will mobilise the people. We think we are also speaking in order to mobilise people. The masses should be mobilised. The voice of democracy, the fighting voice of those who have taken a vow to have it out with the forces of reaction must never be silenced. Their strident voice should go out, and ways and means should be found to tell the people what you, sitting on that side, feel, what your arguments are and what your case is. I

do not think that the raucous voice of right reaction will be in a position to get the better of the judgment of the people. It is not possible. Therefore, let us take a final decision here. The battle is on. We go in the spirit of democracy, to radicalise democracy, to strengthen it, to give it a new meaning, direction and dimension, to take democracy to the doorstep of the people, to n/rlva the mt>".2S—:hoss who live in slums, hovels and so on, and approached only at the tim? of the election—in the functioning of chi deji)cratic system. We shall see that Parliament is strengthened. We shall see t'lit iti.it'itions are strengthened. We shall see that reaction is defeated, beaten and that they are put in a position from where they will no longer be in a position to return to heir offensive again . Thank you.

श्रीमती रुचिता बहिन (दिल्ली):

माननीय डिप्टी चैयरमैन साहब, आज हाउस के सामने जो मीसा के अमेंडमेंट का बिल पेश है मैं उस का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ी हुई हूँ। यह बहुत ही ठीक समय पर आया है। इस वक्त की बड़ी जरूरत थी कि इस मीसा के बिल को अमेंड किया जाये और ज्यादा स्ट्रांग क्लोजेज उसमें डाले जायें जिस से अभी गलत काम करने वालों, ऐंटी नेशनल तरीके से काम करने वालों को जो प्रोटेक्शन मिल जाता है वह न मिल पाये। और जिस से देश का हर नागरिक समझ सके कि मुझे नागरिकता की पूरी स्वतंत्रता है, लेकिन अगर गलत काम करेंगे, ऐंटी नेशनल काम करेंगे तो उस के लिए सजा भुगतनी पड़ेगी।

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

आज हम एक विशेष परिस्थिति में से गुजर रहे हैं। हमारे देश में इंटरनल इमरजेंसी है। यह बहुत जरूरी थी क्योंकि हालात इस तरह के हो गये थे। हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी प्रजातंत्र में अटूट विश्वास रखती हैं और उन्होंने वर्षों से यह

कोशिश की कि जो विरोधी पार्टियां हैं उन से मिल कर देश की प्रगति के कार्य को चलाया जाये। बार-बार उन से मिलने के प्रोग्राम रखे गये कि वे कम से कम देश के विकास के कार्यों में रोड़े न अटकायें। लेकिन मर्ज बढ़ता गया ज्यों-ज्यों दवा की। जितना वे हाथ बढ़ाती रहीं उतना ये समझते रहे कि शायद इन्दिरा जी डर कर हम से मिलना चाहती हैं। फस्ट्रेटेड लोगों ने, टूटे हुए लोगों ने जो लोकतंत्र के तरीके से कुछ हासिल नहीं कर सकते थे, उन्होंने पावर के लालच में इस तरह के कदम उठाने शुरू कर दिये, वे नेशनल और ऐंटी नेशनल का लिहाज भूल गये गलत तरीके से स्मगलिंग कर के काला धन जमा कर के ऐंटी सोशल लोगों ने गलत तरह की विरोधी पार्टियों ने, ऐंटी डेमोक्रेटिक लोगों ने देश को एक आतंकवाद में घेर लिया था, घृणा का वातावरण चारों तरफ फैला दिया था। आन्दोलन को जगह-जगह फैलाया जा रहा था? इस तरह देश की शान्ति प्रिय जनता का रहना मुश्किल हो गया था। अंधकार के ऐसे बादल छाये हुए थे कि लगता था कि साधारण जन जीवन दूसर हो गया हो। शरीफ घरों की बहू बेटियों का बाहर निकलना मुश्किल हो गया था। नौजवानों को सिखाया जात था कि स्कूल और कालेजों की पढ़ाई का बायकाट करो, बाहर निकल आओ, बार-बार सत्याग्रह करो, उपद्रव करो जिससे देश में अशांति फैले। नौजवान, जिनको अनुशासित होना चाहिये एक ट्रेन में 20-50 दफे चैन खींचते थे, शरीफ घरों की बहू बेटियों से गलत मजाक करते थे, आते जाते का पर्स छीन लेते थे। न सिर्फ यह होता था बल्कि इस तरह के एक इरादे को उकसाया जाता था।

जयप्रकाश नारायण ने कई नारे लगाए—पेरिल गवर्नमेंट बनाई जाये, जनता की सरकार बनाई जाए, विरोधियों ने कहा कि वह लोकनायक है और लोकनायक ने ऐलान किया कि गवर्नमेंट का कहना न मानो, पुलिस सरकार का कहना

[श्रीमतः सविता बहिन]

न माने, मिलिटरी माने तो सोच समझ कर माने, नौजवान पढ़ाई छोड़ कर और दूसरे लोग अपना काम छोड़ कर अलग सरकार बनायें, पंचायत सरकारें अलग बनें, लोक सरकारें अलग बनें, अदालतें अलग बनें। इतना ही नहीं जो वैधानिक तरीके से चुने हुए एम० एल० ए० थे, जो वैधानिक तरीके से बनाए हुए असेम्बलियां थीं उनको बहुत लाचार कर दिया गया। मुझे मालूम है, मैं गुजरात में थी, मुझे आबजर्वर बना कर भेजा गया था। मैं वहां थी जब असेम्बली को डिस्साल्व किया गया। एम० एल० ए० से हाथ पकड़ कर रेजिनेशन पर दस्तखत करवाये जाते थे। एक जगह का मुझे मालूम है अस्पताल में एक एम० एल० ए० बंमार पड़ा था उसको बंड पर से उठा कर बाहर निकाल कर दस्तखा करवाये गये उन नौजवानों द्वारा जिनको जयप्रकाश जी और मोरारजी भाई जैसे लोगों ने भड़काया था जिनकी स्वादिष्ट थी कि किसी प्रकार उनको पावर में आने का मौका मिले और इसीलिये उन्होंने इस तरह के हथकंडे अपनाये। मैं हैरान रह गयी यह देख कर कि एक बहुत बड़े नेता भूख हड़ताल पर बैठे थे कि एक जगह पर असेम्बली भंग कराओ, नहीं तो मैं मरता हूं क्योंकि यह करण्ट असेम्बली है और इसमें करण्ट एम० एल० ए० हैं। जब असेम्बली भंग करने का ऐलान किया गया उस वक्त मोरारजी भाई ने अपना व्रत तोड़ा। उस वक्त उन नौजवानों ने उनको घेर लिया और कहा कि यह आन्दोलन हमने किया था, आप क्रेडिट लेने के लिये कहां से आ गये। तब छिप कर उनको एक कमरे में बंठना पड़ा और हमारे एडमिनिस्ट्रेटर मिस्टर सरीन ने पुलिस के पहरे में उनको निक ला। आज वही नेता मरण-व्रत करते हैं कि असेम्बली को बनाओ, बिना वहां की परिस्थितियों को देखते हुए, बिना वहां की दिक्कतों को देखते हुए, बिना यह देखे कि वहां के क्या हालात हैं, वहां सूखा पड़ा है, लोगों को आसानी से खाने का सामान नहीं मिलता,

पीने का पानी नहीं मिलता। लेकिन वह उस बात पर दृढ़-प्रतिज्ञ है और धरना देकर बैठे हैं, आमरण अनशन करके बैठे हैं कि असेम्बली का चुनाव अर्ब होना चाहिए चाहे गर्मी कितनी हो, चाहे सूखा कितना हो, हम चाहते हैं कि ताकत हमारे हाथ में आनी चाहिए। इसलिये असेम्बली का चुनाव इसी समय करवाया जाना चाहिए। उसी समय प्रधान मंत्री ने मान लिया। आज हम नहीं समझ सकते कि वे क्या हैं। हम लोगों ने देखा है कि देश का बच्चा-बच्चा उनके पीछे है, लेकिन जो लोग पोलिटिकल लान्स में हैं, आज जो उनके साथ बैठे हैं, आज जो उनके काम को देखते हैं और उनके 10 साल से लगातार देश के अन्दर किये हुए विकास के और प्रगति के कार्यों को देख रहे हैं, अभी भी हम नहीं समझ पा रहे हैं कि वह क्या हैं किसी देश का बहुत बड़ा सौभाग्य होता है जिसको ऐसा नेता मिलता है, जिसका अपना कोई लालच नहीं, अपना कोई स्वार्थ नहीं; जिसने लगातार सामाजिक उत्थान के लिये सोशल जस्टिस के लिये लड़ाई की है। हमेशा यहां तक कि कल कोई सदस्य हमारे यहां कह रहे थे कि आज यह इकानामिक प्रोग्राम लाया गया है, इसको क्या पहले प्रधान मंत्री इंप्लीमेंट नहीं कर सकती थी? मुझे उस समय हँसी आई थी कि ये भाई क्या रहते हैं? प्रधान मंत्री ने तो शुरू से ही इकानामिक प्रोग्राम को लिया है। आप सब जो हिंदुस्तान के रहने वाले हैं और जो बाहर के रहने वाले हैं, आपको मालूम होगा कि प्रधान मंत्री ने अपना ओहदा सम्भालने के बख्त से ही यह कोशिश की है कि यह बिकेड डिस्पैरिटी कम हो। यह विद्यमान असमानता कम की जाए और आपको मालूम है कि 1969 में किस तरह से उन्होंने वर्षों से चली आ रही जमायत के, कांग्रेस के दो टुकड़े हो जाने दिये, लेकिन अपनी इस बात पर अड़ी रही इस इकानामिक प्रोग्राम के लिए कि इस पर चल कर हम अगे बड़ सकते हैं। उस इकानामिक प्रोग्राम को लेकर ही मतभेद हुए थे और

प्रधान मंत्री उन विचारधाराओं को लेकर अपनी जगह पर अड़ा रहें, डटी रहें, खड़ी रहें कि इन प्रोग्राम से देश आगे बढ़ सकता है और उसी प्रोग्राम को लेकर राष्ट्रपति गिरि का चुनाव हुआ था। उसी प्रोग्राम को लेकर बैंकों का नेशनलाइजेशन हुआ। उसी प्रोग्राम को लेकर प्रिव प्रस को खत्म करने की बात हुई। उसी प्रोग्राम को लेकर इतने बड़े कदम उठा लिये गये, उन्होंने लोक सभा भंग करवा दी और कहा कि यदि मेरा प्रोग्राम नहीं माना जाता तो मैं फिर से लोगों के सामने जाऊंगी। हमारे देश की यूनिटी, हमारे देश की सोशल जस्टिस सब मिल सकती है जब हम इकोनॉमिक प्रोग्राम, आर्थिक प्रोग्राम लेकर चले और उन्होंने फिर चुनाव करवाये और फिर से भरपूर बहुमत से यहाँ पर आईं और फिर उन्होंने इकोनॉमिक प्रोग्राम को अपने हाथ में लिया। आज भी उन्होंने ज प्रोग्राम यहाँ पर दिया है वह ऐसे समय में दिया है जब देश का संकट आंतरिक परिस्थितियों से भर गया है। मैं नहीं कहती कि बाहर के खतरों से मुकाबला करने के लिये यह किया है, बाहर के खतरों से मुकाबला करने के लिये हमारा देश बहुत मजबूत हुआ है। इन 10 सालों में हमारी प्रधान मंत्री इंदिरा गांधी ने विश्व में मान्यता के भावना से वह कदम उठाये हैं जो किसी देश को भी बड़ा मजबूत कर सकते हैं। सीमाओं पर पूरी रक्षा करने के साथ ही साथ वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि से इतनी तरक्की की है इतनी सफलता से परमाणु विस्फोट चुा हो जाए कि किसी को पता तक न चले। विदेश नीति हमारी इस तरह की है कि जहाँ हम अपने स्वाभिमान को कायम रखते हुए सभी देशों से, जो छोटे हैं, कमजोर हैं, पिस रहे हैं, जो भी अपने आपको विकास की ओर ले जाना चाहते हैं, संकट में पड़ोसी देश हैं तो हम उसकी मदद करते हैं। जी जान से मदद करते हैं, अपने ऊपर मुसौबत लेकर भी मदद करते हैं। प्रधान मंत्री को विदेश नीति ने अपने देश को इतना ऊँचा उठा दिया है कि दूसरे देशों में हमारा सर बहुत ऊँचा उठा है।

ये लोग, जो यहाँ की विरोधी पार्टियाँ हैं, जहाँ हारे हुए हैं, जो कस्ट्रेटेड हैं, टूटे हुए लोग हैं, जो गलत तरफ से ताकत में आना चाहते हैं जो लोकतंत्र को नहीं मानते, लोकतंत्र के रुद्ध चलना चाहते हैं, किसी भी इकोनॉमिक प्रोग्राम को आगे नहीं बढ़ने देना चाहते थे। आपने देखा कि गवर्नमेंट ने जहाँ भी उत्पादन बढ़ाने की बात की तो रोज रोज, जगह जगह हड़ताल करवाई गई और पातायात के साधन को बन्द किया गया। फिर उसके बाद फुड प्रोक्योरमेंट की बात आई तो किसानों को जाकर भड़काया कि गवर्नमेंट पैसा कम देती है, गवर्नमेंट को अनाज मत दो। जमाखोरों के पास अनाज दिलवाया गया, पूँजीपतियों को अनाज दिलवाया गया जिससे कि देश में अनाज सस्ता न हो सके, देश का हित न हो हो सके, गवर्नमेंट को पालिसीज की मुखाफलत हो सके और लोकतंत्र को नुकसान पहुँच सके, उस तरह के कदम उन्होंने उठाये। यही नहीं लोकतांत्रिक उन नीति ऐसी रही है कि कोई भी काम अच्छा अगर उठाया जाएगा तो उसका विरोध किया जाएगा। अब तो इस तरह की हालत हो गई थी जिससे ब्रे फ्रांसिस्ट जमातें बेरिएक्शनरों जमातें आर० एस० एस० और आनन्द मार्गी किसी तरह से कुर्सी हासिल करने की कोशिश कर रही थीं मुझे एक गांव का किस्सा याद है। किसी गांव में पंचायत हो रही थी। कुछ लोग आपस में बातें कर रहे थे कि यह काए की इतनी लड़ाई शहर में होती है। अब कि इन्दिरा जी काम कर रही हैं तो काए लोग उनके पीछे पड़ रहे हैं। दूसरे ने कहा तुम क्या जाते हो नाई भाई यह कुर्सी की लड़ाई है। कुर्सी एक है और मांगते रहे सब। तीसरे ने कहा कि हम तो चाहते हैं कि इन्दिरा जी बैठो रहें।

मेरा कहना है कि इस तरह की लड़ाई उनमें इन ओपोज़िशन लोगों में हो रही थी। हम इसको क्यों इस तरह से लेते हैं कि यह तात्

[श्रीमती सविता बहिन]

की लड़ाई है, पावर की लड़ाई है। हमें यह तरीके नहीं अपनाने चाहिए। हमें लोगों के बीच जा कर यह कहना चाहिए कि इन्दिरा जी ने निःस्वार्थ पालिसीज का साथ दिया, उन्होंने आर्थिक पालिसीज का साथ दिया। उन्होंने गरीबी हटाओ का नारा लगाया था। वे बराबर यह नारा लगाती रहीं। आप उनका अनोखा इतिहास 10 साल का उठा कर देख लीजिये कहीं भी आप को नहीं मिलेगा कि उन्होंने इकोनोमिक प्रगति के कदम न उठाए हों। जो उन्होंने कहा उस पर अमल किया है। उनकी कथनी और करनी में अन्तर नहीं है। वे साफ दिल से आगे आती हैं। वे जितनी महान् हैं उतनी ही वे नीचे उतर कर छोटे-छोटे काम भी करती हैं और साथ ही बड़े-बड़े काम भी करती हैं।

मैं यह बात कहना चाहती हूँ कि इन्टरनल डेंजर इतना बढ़ गया था, इस तरह की तैयारियाँ उन्होंने कर ली थी जिससे कि सारे देश की व्यवस्था छिन्न भिन्न हो जाती, शान्ति प्रिय लोगों का घेराव कर लिया जाता, उनको घरों से बाहर नहीं निकलने दिया जाता मिनिस्टर्स को भी बाहर नहीं निकलने दिया जाता। यह एक तरह का प्लान उन्होंने बनाया था। दिल्ली में आर० एस० एस० के लोगों ने इस तरह का भी प्लान बनाया था और अपने कार्यकर्त्ताओं से कहा था कि 29 तारीख को सुबह हरेक मोहल्लों से 50-50, 20-20 आदमी इकट्ठे हो कर शोर मचाते हुए निकले यह कहें कि मार दिया, मार दिया। इससे चारों तरफ एक तरह का हूँगामा मचेगा। उस वक्त आप मार-घाड़ शुरू कर देना। श्री जय प्रकाश नारायण ने भी एक तरह का नारा लगाया जिससे देश में जो हमारी सुरक्षा की फोर्सज हैं वे डिमोरेलाइज हो जाएँ। आपने देखा पिछले कई सैशनों में यही होता रहा कि बहर जाकर खुद तो ओपोजिशन दौंगे कराती और अगर पुलिस वहाँ फैसला कराने जाती तो पुलिस पर पत्थर बरमाये जाते, लाठी चलाई जाती,

उनको गालियाँ दी जाती, उनके साथ मार-पीट की जाती और यहाँ आ कर शोर मचाते कि इनके खिलाफ जूडिशियल इन्क्वायरी बैठाई जाए। उधर उनको काम नहीं करने दिया जाता और इधर आ कर यह कहते कि वे काम नहीं करते। अगर कोई अफसर काम करता है तो उसका खराब कहा जा : है और अगर कोई नहीं करता है तो गवर्नमेंट से कहा जाता है कि फौरन एक्शन लिया जाए। हर तरह से गवर्नमेंट को लाचार किया जाता है काम न करने के लिए। हर समय यह कहा जाता है कि इन्दिरा जी यह काम गलत कर रहीं हैं वह काम काम गलत कर रहीं हैं। हमारे देश की जो एक संस्कृति है, बड़ी भारी सभ्यता है उसको ये लोग समाप्त कर रहे थे। ये लोग उनके बच्चों, बेटों और बहुओं को किसी तरह से क्रिटीसाइज करने में गुरेज नहीं करते ये तरह तरह की गलत व्याप्ति करते। क्या यही हमारे देश की सभ्यता है, देश की संस्कृति है? ये वे लोग हैं जिनके पास पैसा और पालिसी बहार से आती हैं और ताकत यहाँ हासिल करना चाहते हैं। उन्होंने देश के अन्दर इस तरह का पड़वैल रचा था। जिससे सारे देश में 29 तारीख को विद्रोह फैल जाता। इससे सारे देश का लोकतैल क्या लोगों का सारा जीवन तहस नहस हो कर रह जाता। उस समय बहुत जखरी या अन्दरूनी सैक्योरिटी के लिये, देश की सैक्योरिटी के लिये, नेशनल डिस्प्लिन के लिये कि कोई कदम उठाया जाता। मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि इन्टरनल सैक्योरिटी, नेशनल डिस्प्लिन और सोशल जस्टिस इन तीनों चीजों पर गवर्नमेंट सख्ती से गौर करे ताकि लोग सुख और शान्ति से रह सकें और एकदम जिन समझ के साथ हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने कदम उठाया है और जिस समझ के साथ उन्होंने राष्ट्रपति महोदय के साथ बात-चीत करके नेशनल इमरजेंसी, आपतकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा की है वह बहुत ही प्रशंसा के लायक है। नेशनल इमरजेंसी के बाद एक दम

से चार पांच दिनों के बाद सोशियल जस्टिस के लिए उन्होंने एक इकोनॉमिक प्रोग्राम हमारे सामने रख । उसके बाद उन्होंने नेशनल डिसिप्लिन की बात सारे देश के सामने रखी । देश के अन्दर जितने भी एन्टी नेशनल एलीमेंट्स थे, जैसे आर० एस० एस० और आनन्द मार्ग जो धर्म के चोले में, संस्कृति के चोले में हत्या, हिंसा और इस तरह के मारकाट के कामों में लगे हुए थे, इस प्रकार की संस्थाओं पर बन लगाया । इन सब बातों को देखकर हमारा सिर हमारी प्रधान मंत्री के सामने झुक जाता है । हमारे लिये यह अत्यन्त सौभाग्य की बात है कि हमारे देश को इतनी सुयोग्य प्रधान मंत्री मिली हैं । इस प्रकार की सँकटकालीन परिस्थिति में हमें ऐसी प्रधान मंत्री मिली हैं जो हमारे देश को सही रास्ते की तरफ ले जा सकती हैं । माननीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपके जरिए से अपने मिनिस्टर साहब से यह दर्खास्त करना चाहूँगी कि वे जो मोसा का एमेन्डमेन्ट बिल लाये हैं मैं समझती हूँ कि इसको और भी ज्यादा सख्त करने की जरूरत है और इसमें 15 दिन में रिव्यू की बात रखी गई है, उसको और भी सख्त करने की जरूरत थी । हमारे देश में जो लोग इतने सालों तक ठीक बात को समझ नहीं सके और इस बात को भी नहीं समझ सके कि देश की रक्षा क्या चीज होती है और जो लोग इन सालों तक स्मन्लिंग में लगे रहे, मारकाट में लगे रहे, घृणा फैलाने में लगे रहे और गलत तरीकों के काम करते रहे, वे लोग 15 दिन जेल में रह कर समझ जाएंगे, यह सोचना बिल्कुल गलत बात है । बिल्कुल रिव्यू की कोई बात नहीं रखी जानी चाहिए । मैं समझती हूँ कि डेमोक्रेसी बड़ी चीज नहीं है, देश बड़ा है । हमारे देश ने डेमोक्रेसी का रास्ता अपनाया और उस वक़्त पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी ने वक़्त को देखते हुए डेमोक्रेसी का रास्ता अपनाया । लेकिन आज हमारे देश के अन्दर डेमोक्रेसी के नाम से नाजायज फायदा उठाया जा रहा है । उससे लोगों की

आजादी की रक्षा कर पाना मुश्किल हो गया है । ऐसी हालत में मैं समझती हूँ कि नीसा को और भी ज्यादा स्ट्रोंग करने की जरूरत है, मजबूत करने की जरूरत है और जो अमेन्डमेन्ट माननीय मंत्री जी ने पेश किया है उसको सख्त करने की जरूरत है और हमारे देश के अन्दर जो देशद्रोही तत्व हैं, जो एन्टी-नेशनल एक्टिविटीज में लगे रहते हैं, आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि उनको सख्त कदम उठाकर सबक सिखाया जाय ।

हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री लोकतंत्र को मानती हैं और उसमें उनका अटूट विश्वास है । जब 26 तारीख को मैं उनसे मिली तो मुझे लगा कि वे बहुत खुश नहीं थीं । उन्होंने कहा कि हमारे देश में हालत ऐसी हो गई थी कि जिसके कारण इस प्रकार का कदम उठाना पड़ा । इस संबंध में एक और बात कह कर मैं बँट जाऊँगी । हमारे देश में लोगों तक पहुँचने के मास मिडिया के तीन साधन हैं— रेडियो, टेलीविजन और अखबार । रेडियो और टेलीविजन तो गवर्नमेन्ट के पास हैं, लेकिन अखबार बड़े-बड़े सरमायेदारों के हाथ में हैं । मैं यह नहीं कहती कि उनको खत्म कर दिया जाय, लेकिन मैं समझती हूँ कि वक़्त आ गया है जबकि उनका नेशनलाइज कर देना चाहिए । जिस तरीके से हमने इंसुरेन्स कम्पनियों को नेशनलाइज किया या बैंकों को नेशनलाइज किया उसी तरीके से इनको भी नेशनलाइज कर देना चाहिए । आज इस बात की सख्त जरूरत है कि हमारी जो पालिसी है या जो हमारे प्रोग्राम हैं उनको ठीक तरीके से जनता तक पहुँचाया जाय । इसके साथ-साथ मैं यह भी दर्खास्त करूँगी कि इन अखबारों के अन्दर जो इम्प्लाइज हैं, जो मुलाजिम हैं उनको हम पूरी तरह से काम पर लगायें । इसमें उनका कोई दोष नहीं होता है । वे अपनी तरफ से कुछ नहीं करते हैं और जिस सरमायेदार के मानहूत वे काम करते हैं उसकी पालिसी के अनुसार काम उन्हें करना पड़ता है । मैं एक उदाहरण देना चाहती हूँ ।

[श्रीमन्त नबिता वदन्]

मुझे याद है, मेरे एक पोलिटिकल साइंस के बहुत पुराने पंजाब के प्रोफेसर हैं और अब काफी बूढ़े हो चुके हैं। एक दिन वे मुझे मिले तो उन्होंने बताया कि वे आजकल जर्नलिज्म का काम कर रहे हैं। उन्होंने मुझे बताया कि वे तीन बार मदरलैंड अखबार में काम कर चुके हैं और तीन बार इस काम को छोड़ चुके हैं। मुझे इस पर थोड़ा ताज्जुब हुआ कि ऐसे नेशनल ख्यालात के आदमी किस तरह से मदरलैंड में पहुँच गये। उन्होंने कहा कि मेरी लाचारी थी घर में किराये के पैसे भी नहीं निकल पा रहे थे, इसलिए सर्बिस करना पड़ी। लेकिन उस अखबार वालों ने उनसे कहा कि इस तरह से लेख लिखा करो तो उन्होंने वहाँ से नौकरी छोड़ दी और यह सिलसिला तीन बार चला। जब वे वहाँ से नौकरी छोड़ देते थे तो कुछ दिनों के बाद मदरलैंड वाले उन्हें फिर बुला लेते थे। इस प्रकार के बहुत से लोग हैं जो नेशनल ख्यालात रखते हैं। हो सकता है कि कुछ एन्टो नेशनल ख्यालात रखने वाले लोग भी हों।

लेकिन पत्रकारों को, उनके इम्प्लॉईज को अपने साथ रखिये और इस समय जितनी तरह से वे लागू समायादार और पत्रों के मालिकों के ख्यालात के दबाव में हैं उनसे उन्हें निजाब दिलाइये और फिर गवर्नमेन्ट अपनी नीति के मुताबिक इन अखबारों को चलाये।

आपने मुझे बोलने के लिए जो यहाँ पर समय दिया है, उसके लिए मैं आपका धन्यवाद करता हूँ और एक बार फिर मिनिस्टर महोदय से कहना चाहती हूँ कि मीमा को ज्यादा से ज्यादा स्ट्रॉंग बनाया जाना चाहिये ताकि देश ने जो कदम उठाया है वह मजबूत हो सके और सही दिशा में चल सके। लोगों को इस समय जो राहत मालूम हो रही है वह खत्म न हो। इसके पहिले लोगों में धबराहट पाई जाती थी मगर जब

से सरकार ने देश में इमरजेंसी की घोषणा की है तब से तब अन्ह शान्ति है और सब लोग तेजी और शान्ति के साथ काम कर रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं फिर आप से दरखवास्त करना चाहती हूँ कि मीमा को मजबूती के साथ लागू किया जाय ताकि देश तरक्की कर सके और आगे बढ़ सके।

SHRI MOHAN SINGH ROI

(Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Ch;irmaa, Sir, it was only a few days back that I had an eye operation for cataract and I made an application for leave of absence which the House kindly granted for the whole of the Session. But, considering that this was a very important and historic session, I considered it my duty to come here at least for a day or so to attend this House and throw light and give my views on the Bill or whatever the subject may be before the House. I have heard my friends and my colleagues on both sides I speaking on the Bill or amendment of the Act before the House. I give my full support to all the measures which have been enacted in this Bill. I would, in brief request the Government and the hon. the Home Minister that he should give instructions to the officers of the Government who are dealing with these subjects that they should implement these measures firmly and justly and see that all the measures which have been adopted are fully and carefully carried out.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I crave your indulgence to give me the permission for a few minutes to speak on the subject of emergency. I do not have good eyesight yet but I have prepared a short note which, I thought would give my full views about the subject, to what do I think of the measures which have been taken and how and why the Government was prompted to take these steps—Having that in view, I would say that I have been in this house and in the other House for the last ten years and whenever I have participated in any debates or discussions, I have endeavoured to approach all problems from a constructive and result-oriented point of

view. Whenever I have participated in the discussions in this House. I have endeavoured to approach all problems from a constructive and result-oriented point of view. The events that have led to the present situation are clearly due to lack of both, a national feeling and of a constructive approach to the national problems of the country. We are all aware that the last two Sessions of Parliament have not been permitted to complete any constructive business and surely the tax payers and the representatives of the people who have elected you will ask you a question : What has been achieved by the representatives of the people in the last six months ?

I have no doubt the Prime Minister has shown no desire or intention of subverting democracy and she has been forced due to the action of some of the parties and people who have endeavoured to achieve their ends through undemocratic means. Democracy, as the Prime Minister rightly said, does not mean a 'licence'. It means subscribing to the inner political discipline for the national good. No Government can tolerate organised lawlessness, violence, sabotage and even open incitement of the army and police. A constant and regular attempt has been made to wreck the democratic life of the country.

The Presidential proclamation has preserved the internal security and stability of India, and the whole of India today, is electrified with a new sense of discipline, dedication and national unity. No Government or Administration can function and achieve the goals for which the people have lawfully elected themselves unless they are permitted to function. And the events of the last six months have clearly shown that the Government has not been permitted to function properly either in this House or in the other House. There have been occasions when we had begun to wonder as to where this country was going and we were looking for some action to show us some light, I am glad that the hon. Prime Minister has taken the required steps in dealing with the situation firmly and setting

the course for the country in the right direction. There are no two opinions about it.

Yet, if democracy is to function satisfactorily in this country, there is need for a healthy and constructive Opposition and I hope that this will be realised by my colleagues so that the democratic system can continue to function and perform its task for which the Constitution was established. The country as a whole has welcomed the emergency and responded to it with great enthusiasm and goodwill and appreciated the action taken by the hon. Prime Minister who has saved the country from frustration and ruination. The action taken was rather late, but better late than never. We are fully aware of the extent of corruption, smuggling and other economic offences and we are also aware that as a result of the introduction of MISA there has been a marked improvement in the situation in the country. The 21—point economic programme initiated by the Prime Minister, I am sure, will go a long way to setting right the economic health of the country. I am glad that the objectives that have now been set are clearly defined. When objectives are defined, achievement is possible.

Sir, I endorse the Presidential Proclamation of the emergency and fully support all the measures the Government has taken to combat the subversion and anti-social elements in the country and to protect the internal security of the country. Thank you

श्री श्री ० ड० जगदीप शर्मा (महाराष्ट्र) : जनाब नायब सदर साहब, आंतरिक सुरक्षा कानून की तरमीम के लिये जो बिल यहाँ पर पेश किया गया है उस के लिये मैं जनाब मंत्री महोदय को अपनी तरफ से शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ। देश में अनाकी फैलाने वाले और गुंडागर्दी करने वाले लोग यह समझ रहे थे कि कानून उन के घर की चीज है और कानून को हाथ में ले कर वह जैसे चाहे चल सकते हैं। उभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बारे में बहुत से लोगों

[श्री आर० डी० जगताप अवग्यांकर]
 ने अपने ख्यालात का इजहार किया है। यह जो बिल मुल्क के अंदर अमन-अमान कायम करने के लिये यहां पेश किया गया है, यह एक बहुत ही नेक कदम है जो सरकार ने उठाया है और मैं इस नेक कदम का खैरमकदम करता हूं। जो एक तशद्दूद का वातावरण इस मुल्क में पैदा किया गया था, अमन को बिगाड़ने के लिये और बदअमनी पैदा करने के लिये जो कोशिश की गयी थी उस का पूरा इतिहास और उस की पूरी बातें हमारे कई साथियों ने आप के सामने रखी हैं। डेमोक्रेसी के अंदर किसी भी एक पार्टी को जब बहुमत प्राप्त होता है वह अपने प्रोग्राम को लेकर चलती है और पूरा अधिकार उसे प्राप्त होता है लेकिन उस पार्टी को जिसे बहुमत नहीं होता है उस को अपनी ताकत के जोर से मेजरिटी पार्टी खत्म कर के और हुकूमत अपने हाथ में लेने के लिये गलत सलत रास्ते अख्तियार करने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है।

उसके लिए यह जो मीमांसा का कानून यहां पर पेश किया गया है इसमें मुझे विश्वास है कि जो रास्ता इस कानून में इनके लिए छूट गये थे, वह अब बन्द हो गये हैं। जो कुछ इस कानून में छुटकारा पाते थे समगलर या काले धन वाले लोग या गुंडागर्दी करने वाले लोग, उनके लिए इसके अंदर काफी सजा देने का इंतजाम किया गया है और उनकी जमानत भी नहीं हो सकती।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो निवासी पार्टीज हैं, उनके बारे में तो हमारे ख्यालात साफ साफ जाहिर हैं। लेकिन चन्द ऐसी पार्टीज हैं, चन्द ऐसे ग्रुप हैं जो फिरका-वाराता जहूनियत रखते हैं और मुल्क के अंदर अमन में खलल डालने के लिए उनका एक प्रोग्राम बराबर चलता रहता है। आर० एस० एस० ऐसी एक जमात है जिसके बारे में मुझे बड़े दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इसकी जड़े, जो नाथूराम गोडसे हैं, जो महाराष्ट्र में पैदा हुए, वहां तक फैली हैं।

जिस महाराष्ट्र में छत्रपति शिवाजी पैदा हुए, लोकमान्य तिलक पैदा हुए, उसके बाद बाबा साहेब अंबेदकर पैदा हुए, वहां पर एक नाथूराम गोडसे भी पैदा हुआ जिसने महात्मा गांधी का कत्ल करवाया। इसकी जड़े महाराष्ट्र में अभी तक बहुत नीचे हैं। इनके बारे में हमको ज्यादा ख्याल करना चाहिए। वह अलग अलग रूप से काम कर रही हैं। कोई शिक्षण संस्था के जरिये काम करती है, यहां तक कि गवर्नमेंट मशीनरी में काफी आर० एस० एस० के लोग भरे हुए हैं। सिरकत के वक्त हालांकि वहां बहुत कुछ कानून बनाकर अहंनियत की गई है बैंकबंद बलासेज पर सेन्टेज मुकरर किया है लेकिन ये लोग कई बहाने बनाकर अपना स्थान कायम रखना चाहते हैं और ऐसा अभी तक चल रहा है। यहां तक कि महाराष्ट्र में गवर्नमेंट सर्वेट की जो स्ट्राइक हुई उस में स्ट्राइक करने वाले लोग कौन थे? यही जनसंघ माइंडेड आर० एस० एस० के लोग थे और इन्होंने यह सोचा कि वहां की हुकूमत को किसी न किसी तरह से ठेस पहुँचाई जाए, नुकसान पहुँचाया जाए। पोलिटिकल पार्टी के बारे में मैं कुछ ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता लेकिन कुछ जो मराठवाड़ा और महाराष्ट्र में घटनाये घटी हैं, जो कुछ परिस्थितियां वहां पर पैदा हुई हैं वह इनकी वजह से हुई हैं जिनके बारे में मुझे आज एक कहावत याद आती है—'सी सौ चूहे खायकर बिल्ली हज को चली'। वंसा शिवसेना के प्रमुख आकर आज बोल रहे हैं कि हमारा प्रोग्राम बदल गया, हम पाक हैं। लेकिन हमारे बहुत से साथी जानते हैं कि शिवसेना ने क्या क्या किया बम्बई में। उनकी काली कारतूतें, काले कारनामों कैसे हैं इसका सबको पता है। इनका हम कैसे विश्वास कर सकते हैं? जिस तरीके से हमने आर० एस० एस० के ऊपर बैन लगाया है, उसी तरह से शिव सेना के ऊपर भी बैन करना चाहिए। आज जो शिव सेना के प्रमुख हैं बाल ठाकरे साहब जो जेल

से घबराते हैं, इससे पहले भी जब जेल में गये तो माफ़ी मांगी कि हमको जेल से बहार कर दो, हम ऐसा नहीं करेंगे, आज इसीलिए 20 पीइंट प्रोग्राम के लिए डिक्लेयर कर दिया कि हमारा सपोर्ट है। आपके सपोर्ट के ऊपर क्या यह प्रोग्राम और सरकार चलने वाली है? लेकिन उन्होंने अपना सिर बचाने के लिए यह कहा है। यह कोई पार्टी नहीं है, यह कुछ गुण्डों का एक ग्रुप है जो शिव सेना के नाम पर चल रहा है।

शिव सेना शिवा जी के
5 P.M. नाम को बदनाम कर रही
है। जो शिवा जी ने

मुल्क के अन्दर स्वराज्य निर्माण करके अपने कुछ कसानों में मुंहरे हफ़ों में लिखे हैं उनको वह बदनाम कर रही है। इतना ही नहीं वहाँ के छोटे छोटे लोगों में इतनी घबराहट है कि छोटे छोटे दुकानदारों ने दुकान पर शिव सेना के नाम से बोर्ड लगाए हुए हैं। होम मिनिस्टर साहब को कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे इसका मुआयना फ़र्माएँ और इस बारे में सख्त तरीके से विचार करें। जब तक ज़हरीले पीधे जो खड़े हो गए हैं उनको उखाड़ कर फ़ैंक नहीं दिया जाता तब तक हमारे देश में अमन शान्ति कायम नहीं रह सकती। यह कहना यहां बहुत ज़रूरी है कि जिस तरह से आर० एस० एस० को आपने बैन किया है, जिन तरह से दूसरी आर्गैनाइजेशन को बैन किया है उसी तरह से इस शिव सेना को भी बैन करना चाहिए। दूसरी चीज़ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आर० एस० एस० के नाम पर कई एजुकेशनल इंस्टीट्यूशंस चल रहे हैं उनका भी आपको मुआयना करना पड़ेगा। आर० एस० एस० क जो ट्रेनिंग होती है वह छोटे छोटे बच्चों के जरिये होती है। ये छोटे छोटे बच्चे वे हैं जो कुछ नहीं समझते। इनको खेल कुद के बहाने इकट्ठा किया जाता है और आर० एस० एस० की तियां उनके दिमाग में कूट-कूट कर भर

दी जाती हैं। आप को इन चीज़ों पर भी बैन लगाना चाहिए। बड़े अफ़सोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इसमें जो टीचर्स होते हैं वे सरकारी दफ़तरों में गज़ेटेड पदों पर काम करते हैं। इसमें आई० ए० एस० अफ़सर भी हैं, इंजीनियर भी हैं। वे आर० एस० एस० के कैम्प में नेकर और काली टोपी पहन कर ट्रेनिंग लेते हैं। यह हमने अपनी आँखों से देखा है। इन पर हमने कभी ख़याल नहीं किया है। जब तक हम इन पर पाबन्दी नहीं लगायेंगे तब तक हमारा जो मकसद देश के अन्दर जो अमन और चैन कायम करना है वह कुछ भी कामयाब नहीं हो सकता।

जार्ज फ़र्नान्डोस और बहुत से लोगों ने क्या किया है? उन्होंने स्ट्राइक, धेराव और जो कुछ भी ग़लत कदम हो सकते थे अभी तक उठाये हैं। परसों एलान हुआ कि वे लोग पुलिस को मिलते नहीं हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर उनमें नैतिकता और हिम्मत है तो वे क्यों छिपे फ़िरते हैं। मैदान में क्यों नहीं आते। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि वे छिप कर बुनेटिन जारी कर रहे हैं। हमारे नेताओं के खिलाफ़ ग़लत चीज़ें बयान कर रहे हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपने क्षेत्र मराठ-वाड़ा की बटना सुनाना चाहता हूँ जिसे सुनने के बाद आपको अंदाज़ा लगेगा कि ओपोज़िशन के लोगों ने किस तरह से डेमोक्रेसी के नाम पर, लोकशाही के नाम पर जुल्म ढाए हैं। हमारे परवानो जिवे में एक एम० एल० ए० इकबाल हुसैन ई वह मीटिंग के लिये जा रहा था तो उसका इन्हीं पोलिटिकल पार्टी के लोगों ने घेर कर गधे पर बैठा कर पूरी सिटी के अन्दर प्रोसेशन निकाला। एक चुने हुए मੈम्बर का जो कि असेम्बली का मੈम्बर हो, इस तरह से जलूस निकाला जाए तो हम कहेंगे नाइन्ताही

[श्री श्री १० जे. ए. जे. साहू] :
है जिस चीज को नहीं करना चाहिए था उस चीज को भी उन्होंने किया। यह बटना अभी हाल की नहीं है बल्कि एक साल दो साल पुरानो घटना है।

इसी तरीके से 17 जून, 1975 को हमारे एक साथी श्री अम्बेकर जो एसेम्बली के मेम्बर हैं, वे एक ताल्लुके में मिटिंग करने गये हुए थे, उनको भी इसी तरह से गधे पर बैठाकर शहर में फिराया गया, उनके कपड़े फाड़ दिये, वहाँ पर एक सब-इंस्पेक्टर भी था। मैं श्रीनरेबल मिनिस्टर साहब से दख्तास्त करूँगा कि वे इस सब-इंस्पेक्टर के बारे में जांच करायें और जांच के बाद उसके खिलाफ सख्त में सख्त कार्यवाई होनी चाहिए। जब पुलिस स्टेशन के पास यह वाकया होता है और वह भी चार घंटे तक होता है तो इस बारे में सख्त कदम उठाने की जरूरत है। इस तरह की हालत हमारे अपोजिशन के दोस्तों ने पैदा कर दी थी। ये लोग समझते थे कि अज्ञादी उनके लिए है और वे लोग जो कुछ करना चाहें कर सकते हैं। इस तरह से वे लोग अज्ञादी का गलत इस्तेमाल कर रहे थे। जनाब नायब सदर साहब, मैं हाउस का ज्यादा बस्त नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ, सिर्फ श्रीनरेबल मिनिस्टर साहब से यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपने मौसा कानून में जो तरमोम पेश की है, उसका मैं खैरमकदम करता हूँ। हफ्ता प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिना ने एक नए कदम उठाया है उनके इन नए कदमों का मैं खैरमकदम करता हूँ और उनके प्रति श्रद्धा व्यक्त करता हूँ और अपने तहे दिल से उनका शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ। इन अल्फाज के साथ मैं अपनी तकरीर को समाप्त करता हूँ।

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

The Delhi Sales Tax Bill, 1975

SECRETARY-GENERAL : Sir, I
have to report to the House the following

message received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha: —

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Delhi Sales Tax Bill, 1975, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 29th July 1975-

2. The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of article no of the Constitution of India."

Sir, I lay a copy of the Bill on the Table.

THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNAL SECURITY (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1975—contd.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDI) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am really thankful to all hon'ble Members who have participated in this debate, and I may also say that this Bill received such a unanimous rather, if I may add, such enthusiastic support that I have hardly anything to reply to. Of course, our senior colleague and friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, has spoken for full one hour or more. May be, he made a very good speech which was very interesting to hear. During the course of his speech he not only cautioned the Government on certain things—naturally, he has a right to caution—he also mentioned certain do's and don'ts which also I have noted with consideration.

Sir, I am not trying to go into matters which do not directly relate to me or pertain to me. Of course, he has given several suggestions regarding how the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting should function, how the papers, either foreign or local, should be enabled to galvanise the people into action and how, if censorship is to be imposed, should be imposed only on the activities of