

agency Agricultural Production Programme' relating to the Department of Agriculture commented upon in the Supplementary Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India for 1972-73, Union Government (Civil).

#### **REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS (1975-76)**

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA <Uttar Pradesh> : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers:—

(i) Seventy-fifth Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings (1975-76) on National Coal Development Corporation Limited.

(ii) Minutes of the Sitting of the Committee relating to the above Report.

#### **LEAVE OF ABSENCE TO SHRI VIRENDRA KUMAR SAKHALECHA AND SHRI BHAIRON SINGH SHEKHAWAT.**

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform Members that a letter dated the 12th August 1975 had been received from Shri Virendra Kumar Sakhalecha, who is under detention. The relevant extract of the letter is as follows

"I was unable to be present in the sittings of Rajya Sabha during its Session from 21st July, 1975 to 9th August, 1975. Kindly grant me leave of absence from all the sittings referred to above and also from ensuing sittings, if any, till I am kept in detention."

Is it the pleasure of the House that permission be granted to Shri Virendra Kumar Sakhalecha for remaining absent from the meetings of the House during the 94th

Session of the Rajya Sabha?

*(No lion. Member dissented.)*

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana): We would request that he be released rather than be granted leave of absence.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Permission to remain absent granted.

I have also to inform Members that the following letter dated the 19th August, 1975 had been received from Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat who is under detention :

"As I have been detained under MISA since 26-6-75, I was unable to attend the last session and shall be unable to attend the session in future of the Rajya Sabha till I am not released.

"I therefore request you to kindly grant me leave for my absence from the meetings of the Rajya Sabha with effect from 26-6-75 till my release from jail."

Is it the pleasure of the House that permission be granted to Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat for remaining absent from the meetings of the House during the 94th Session of the Rajya Sabha ?

*(No lion. Member dissented.)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Permission to remain absent granted.

#### **MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENTS ADDRESS— Contd.**

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I read the address of our President with great interest and there are certain points on which we extend our co-operation and agreement. For example, we are very glad to know that the overall price level has come down by 10 per cent. As regards food articles, the fall in the price level is about 20 per cent. There is increase in production in all sectors, more

[SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY] so in the public sector by about 15 per cent, thanks to Mr. Pai. The industrial licensing policies are also, I am told, under review and controls which are no longer relevant will be removed to increase production. Yesterday, my friend, Mr. Z. A. Ahmad, when he was commenting on this, said that this relaxation would be exploited by the monopolists. I do not know on what basis he has come to that conclusion. And if he is so sure about it, I thought he would oppose the whole emergency and the industrial policy of the Government of India. But he was lending half-hearted support and, at the same time, was critical about this Government's policy towards labour, the bonus issue, etc. Usually on such occasions, my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta would take the lead and he would "be the first man to come out with his valued opinion. But unfortunately yesterday, he did not speak. If I look at his paper New Age and compare it with his silence, his silence is more vociferous than if he had spoken in the House. Anyway, so far as this particular industrial policy is concerned, there is a silver lining and the old shackles are being removed. I should congratulate the Prime Minister in having procured the services of a realist in Mr. T. A. Pai who has brought in a new light, and I am quite sure that under his able leadership, the industrial policy will get more and more momentum. I find another factor to which I lend my support and that is that a National Water Resources Council with adequate powers to prepare master plans for river basins will be constituted. This is a promise held out by our President. I hope this will be carried out as soon as possible because we had been hearing the same ideas several years ago also. When Dr. K. L. Rao was in charge, he said that he was keen on getting a scheme whereby all the rivers in India would be linked and they would be utilised in a proper way. But I do not know what happened to that programme. I wish that this idea also is not put in cold storage.

Sir, this is one side of the story. I am now reminded here of a real story. One

Manager called his stenographer and he told the stenographer that she had a beautiful voice, that she would make a good impression on the general public and that her department was of the highest order. She was very happy when the Manager paid such a compliment. Then he started by saying "Now, let us come to your spelling, punctuation and typing part of it". Like that, these are all matters about which there cannot be a different opinion. We support the Government in these matters. So far as the rest of the matters are concerned, I would like to say that some of the rumours that we hear in the country have not been properly dealt with by our President. For example, Sir, we are told that our Constitution is going to be amended. It is the talk in almost all the papers. We also see a number of pamphlets saying that these are the ideas of the Government and they are going to change the Constitution. I do not know whether it is a fact or not. But if it is a fact and if the Constitution is going to be changed, it should be changed for the better and not for the worse. For example, you know that (the entire powers are concentrated in the Centre. So we must have decentralisation of power; that should be the motto of our amendment of the Constitution. But if the Constitution is to be amended with a view to taking away powers from the States and concentrating the whole lot in the Centre, then I would rather say that it would be a death-knell to our democracy and I do not think Mrs. Gandhi, daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, would do that.

I hope and pray that when amendment of the Constitution is thought of, this fact must also be borne in mind by the powers that be.

Regarding the other matters, I am not going to dwell much on them because Shri Goray has spoken a volume yesterday. One thing I would like to impress upon the Government and especially our Prime Minister is that we should have a round-table conference and try to bury our differences and see that a settlement is arrived at. I do not want to compare some of those

people who are in jail as the enemies of the country. That would not be correct. If the Government thinks like that, it would be a very sad thing. I do not think that people who are in jail today are enemies of the nation and would differ from Government on many things. The very fact that our Prime Minister has taken so much care in sending Shri Umashankar Dikshit all the way to Bombay to enquire about the health of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan is a good sign. That should be kept up. I do not know whether the Prime Minister has been properly informed by her people that when the news appeared in the Press that Shri Umashankar Dikshit has gone all the way to Bombay at the Prime Minister's instance to enquire about the health of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, there was actually a sigh of relief and the people were very happy. It should be stretched further and we should have a round-table conference. If it takes place, there will be hundred per cent accord and there would not be any need for the emergency to be clamped upon the country.

There is nothing said about the general election in the Presidential Address. There is a rumour that Parliament is going to get an year's extension and to that effect they have passed a resolution at Kamagatamaru Nagar—some place in Chandigarh. If it is true then I would like to emphasize that elections to the State Assemblies should also take place simultaneously and at the earliest possible convenience. The reason is this. I am putting my State's case. We have about 234 constituencies. Each constituency has got about 100 booths. I hope you know that. And each booth is manned by 10 officials and their T.A. and D.A. cost Rs. 60 per day. The total cost thus comes to Rs. 234 X 100 X 600. That works out to Rs. 1,40,40,000. If we have Parliamentary elections, the same expenditure is incurred. If we have Parliamentary elections, say, in August and the State Assembly elections, say, in December or January, then this huge amount is a colossal waste. I have not included expenditure on petrol, voters' lists, slips, party expenses and expenses by individual candidates. Each Assembly candidate must have at least

three agents in every booth. He must have volunteers to go round and collect people. If you think of the expenditure, you would rather agree with me that elections to Parliament and State Assemblies should take place simultaneously. If there is election for Parliament alone, it would be very, very difficult for parties which are not backed by rich capitalists to put up candidates. Nor will they be able to give full participation. I would, therefore, make a special appeal to the Prime Minister to see that elections should take place simultaneously both for Parliament and State Assemblies.

I would now say something about pre-censorship. The Prime Minister, in an interview with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, said on the 25th October, 1975 that censorship is no longer the same and there is no pre-censorship. This has come in *The Hindu* in its issue of 26th October, 1975. But I do not know whether the Prime Minister's writ does run in Madras.

I do not know whether that has been respected by the Censor Officers in Madras. They are very partial so far as the DMK papers are concerned and they come with an iron hand and they gag the Press and they do not want to allow any news that is not to their taste to appear in the newspapers. It is absolutely contrary to the guidelines given to the Press. For example, in Tamil Nadu, pre-censorship has been clamped only on the DMK and the pro-DMK papers and no pre-censorship is there for the Congress paper, for the CPI paper, for the ADMK paper and for the big newspapers like "*The Hindu*" and "*The Indian Express*", etc. All references to the DMK as well as State autonomy are completely eliminated and they are not allowed to publish even the words "State autonomy". I do not know whether that word has become an anathema. Has it been declared illegal? So long as it has not been declared illegal, what is wrong in putting forth the words "State autonomy"? It is totally wrong to do this thing. In the case of pre-censorship, if the words "State autonomy" are there, the officer-in-charge simply strikes out these two words and he

[Shri S. S. Mariswamy.] does not see whether the sentence is complete or not. He does not bother about it. Now, we have to reconstruct the whole sentence. So, I would say that it is the height of stupidity and it is high time that we put an end to this thing. So is the case with the word "democracy". If any DMK magazine or the DMK paper writes in its editorial the word "democracy", immediately that word also is removed from that particular paragraph. I do not know why the Censor Officer in Madras has taken a special dislike towards the DMK mouthpiece or the DMK organ, "Murasoli", which is being edited by a Lok Sabha M.P., Shri Murasoli Maran. Sir, he is a very talented editor. He has to his credit a number of books and books written even during the British period. I know, Sir, he is an M.A. and he is in the Lok Sabha for the second time. On whatever he writes, they come with a very heavy hand . . .

SHRI OM MEHTA : No, no . . .

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: I will make a special appeal to Shri Om Mehta that he must apply his independent mind on this and see whether he is right or his Censor Officer is right. If the Officer is wrong and if he is right, he must pull him up. It is really outrageous and atrocious if the words "democracy" and "State autonomy" are removed and it is absolutely meaningless.

Then, Sir, in Tamil Nadu, we have a Slum Clearance Board and that Board is functioning very nicely and many of the Central Ministers have paid encomiums to the Board. My friend, Shri Om Mehta, himself had visited some of the multi-storeyed biddings that we have put up in the slum areas and he has paid glowing tributes. Now, if one of the papers in Madras, say, "Murasoli", writes an article on the functioning of this Board and says that this type of Board is only in Tamil Nadu and this must come in other States also, then the words "only in Tamil Nadu" are removed and they do not want it to appear. Why this step-motherly treatment ?

SHRI OM MEHTA : No, no . . . SHRI

MANUBHAI SHAH : No no . . .

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: You can check it up and if I am wrong, I am prepared to do what you say. But, if what I say is right, you must immediately remove the officer concerned. I should say that.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: These Boards are in existence in the other States also.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: What about the Maharashtra State? It is there in the other States also . . .

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Sir, I have got a lot of things to say and if they go on shouting what can I say ? After all, we are in a minority. I hope you will bear with me.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: There is no question of majority or minority. You have got a wrong opinion.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Sir, very recently, one M.P., by name Shri Radhakrishnan, resigned. He belongs to the ruling Congress and he resigned from the ruling Congress because he had some difference of opinion with Shri C. Subramaniam and also with the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee Secretary. He issued a Press statement and he resigned. That news was carried by some of the papers in Tamil Nadu. But, when that news appeared in the DMK paper, that was removed. When the officer was asked as to why he had removed it when he had allowed it to appear in the other papers, he said: "That is our policy and you cannot question my authority". He said that in a very peremptory tone and in a tone which no self-respecting journalist would tolerate. Secondly, Sir, Mr. Subramaniam made some comments about the regional banks.

He said that Tamil Nadu had not done anything towards setting up regional banks. He made that statement in Madras. He reached Delhi, and then he found out to his great shock and surprise that in Madras they have taken action and they have done a number of things. Then he issued a contradiction: I am sorry to say that I have made that statement; on enquiry I have found that my statement was not true. Whether you believe it or not, Sir, his earlier statement was allowed to be published, but not his later statement. Do you call it fair-mindedness and believe that this is taking place in a country like India ?

Sir, there is another Important thing, and my hon. friend, Mr. Om Merta, must make a thorough inquiry into it. There was an article in 'Murasoli' paper in which it was stated that Mrs. Indira Gandhi is a democrat in soul and heart. And this was removed. You may kindly make an inquiry. I do not know, Sir, whether you have agreed with it or not, but this has been done.

There are so many things which I wanted to say. But so far as censorship is concerned—I am very unfortunate that Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, is sitting here—she should make a thorough inquiry into the way in which censorship is being worked. If we are to go by her statement in the Australian Television where she had categorically said that censorship is no longer the same and there is no sort of pre-censorship, she must pay a visit to Madras in order to find out how this pre-censorship is working there. Actually they are gagging the Press. This type of thing we have not witnessed either during the British period or in the later period.

Thirdly, Sir, I must again bring to the notice of the Prime Minister, through you, Sir, that we have been enjoying popular Ministries in Madras for the last 27 years; we have not had even a single President's rule or Governor's rule. And this fine record must be kept up. When there is a General Election for the Parliament.

we must see that there is election for Assemblies also, simultaneously.

Sir, I do not want to take much time of the House. Finally, I would once again appeal to the Prime Minister, through you, Sir, that the censorship should not be as stringent as it is found in Madras. If it is so, then the papers in Madras would not be in a position to come out. Further, journalists of long standing should not be hustled by some bureaucrats. Bureaucrats, as we know very well, do not have journalistic experience and they do not have the sense or idea of what they are doing. I hope and trust that some inquiry will be made and some remedy is provided. Thank you.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.]

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa): Sir, during the last session, while we were discussing about the declaration of emergency, I remember to have made a remark that the declaration of emergency is a ray of prodidential light in an atmosphere of enveloping darkness. Forces of darkness and reaction had infiltrated into every sphere of our national activity. They were found in our factories. They were found in our University campuses. They were in godowns. And wherever any productive activity and national activity was conducted, they had shown their ugly heads. Democracy was being throttled inside legislatures. Democracy was lynched in streets. Once emergency was declared, now you see how India has been fairing for the last six months. I must congratulate our Prime Minister, the worthy daughter of a worthy father, for having taken action immediately and boldly, indeed. The reactionary forces who were trying to destabilize our democracy are merely paper heroes. My hon. friend, Mr. Mariswamy, complained of censorship. I would advise him not to shed tears in that way, because censorship is there, not to shave off his moustache but to trim it.

The President has referred to many things, both at the national level and also at the international level.

[Shri Brahmanada Panda] Declaration of emergency gave a sense of discipline to everybody. I remember, Sir, that earlier there was no decorum in the House. There was no dignity of any Member of the House. In the Central Hall, an accredited correspondent of a newspaper told me proudly that it was not Rajya Sabha, it was Rajnarain Sabha. When Mr. Goray, my esteemed and sober friend, was talking yesterday about all these things, did he not feel the difference? Does he not feel happy that we are in an atmosphere in which we speak what we like and also we speak with discipline, honour and dignity?

Sir, what has happened during the last six months? We have so much to our credit. Production has increased. The prices have fallen. There is discipline in every sphere. Streets are clean. Slums have been cleared. There are no processions, shouting, unruly slogans and asking people to agitate against legitimate governments. Sir, you must have seen that immediately after the declaration of emergency cock and bull stories were circulated by the foreign press for consumption overseas. Why was that immediate reaction? It is not that these things happened during the last six or seven months after the Gujarat Government was demolished and attempts were made to break the Government in Bihar. This has started long ago. I remember that at the Bhubaneswar Session of the A.I.C.C., when Biju Patnaik was the Chief Minister and we were fighting him. Some friends told me that it was foolish to fight Biju Patnaik because his money was necessary. Nehru would not be living long and we would have to use his money for some other purpose. They had no ghost of an idea that Shrimati Indira Gandhi would be the Prime Minister of India. In my heart of hearts, I knew that if India is to survive, you cannot keep away the Nehru family from the mainstream of national life. Things became serious after the Congress split and the only slogan was "Eliminate Indira Gandhi". Why should a single individual be attacked like this?

I must thank the Prime Minister for her tolerance. She pocketed every type of abuse and slander that was levelled against her. When it came against the country and the nation, she had to act. That action has amply proved that the position of India has improved not only in the sphere of production but also in the sphere of our legislative life and our cultural life also.

I must point out one thing here. Our friends from the opposition, whether knowingly or unknowingly, fell a prey to the designs of some powers who do not want that stability of the sub-continent should be maintained. Sir, you might remember a President wailing over the temporary demise of democracy. I do not know what type of permanent democracy he had in mind. If I may refer to history, was it the Ayub type of democracy or it was of some other form? India is a great country and our people are honest and have some sense of national pride. We will move forward with that pride. Why was the wailing over the temporary demise of democracy? Do they want their ping pong friends to pie-side over the destiny of Asia?

They do not want that a strong India, a democratic India, a prosperous India, and a powerful India should be there as a threat not to them but to their friends, who with their ping pong friendship are now trying to meddle with the affairs of smaller nations and smaller states. A few nations we call them deluxe or super-deluxe—are trying to dominate over the destinies of smaller nations. Because India voices against racialism, India voices against imperialism, India voices against colonialism and the type of new colonialism they are trying to build up in the sphere of economy and other areas they do not want that a strong India should be here, a stabilized India should be here and so that the balance in Asia and also to some extent in Latin America and African nations is maintained.

Sir, the President has rightly pointed out that the prosperity of the sub-continent depends on the mutual understanding

and co-operation of different countries. We are sorry, Sir, and I do not know whether Mr. Bhutto talks often more for his domestic consumption or he really means it, with all our sincere efforts to improve the relations and to implement the Simla Agreement, the response from Pakistan is not, what I say, really encouraging. And we have known what happened in Bangladesh. Sir, I salute the late, lamented Mujibur Rahman, who stood for nationalism, socialism and secularism, and who along with his associates and his entire family had been brutally murdered. But we will not fail the new Bangladesh Government in any way to build up a better relationship, a stronger relationship from our side. Sir, we do not want to quarrel with any country. We have no aggressive designs against any Country whether near or far. What we want is that our progress and our plans for prosperity should not be disturbed. But there are nations who do not want that India should prosper, that India should be strong. That is why the slogan was to eliminate Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Why Shrimati Indira Gandhi ? Because she knew the pulse of the people: she was the strongest and she was the tallest Indian. That is why they thought that if she was removed from the scene, they could have whatever they wanted. They could have their people from either Mr. Tyagi's side or from Mr. Mishra's side and build up a country that will play to their tunes and dance to their whims. Sir, this is a country of not only rivers and mountains, but, I believe, this country is a spiritual being also. Our rivers, our mountains, our dales, and our forests, all are pulsating, and a divine pulse is being felt. And that pulse was felt by our Prime Minister also. Therefore, before the declaration of Emergency, when dark forces were trying to destabilise, when these forces were trying to undo what the Government has done, practically many of us were a little panicky about it. That was because we were not in touch with the reality, we did not know how the people of India felt. Now, the response after the declaration of Emergency is so

full and so accepted that the paper heroes who were boosted up by the newspapers now know their position and they are cut to their size. Sir, I would appeal to the Opposition and they should remember also that we are not going back to that India which was here one year back. We do not want to go back to those days when chaos was the order of the day. We want a new order. And as Mr. Mariswamy has pointed out, and he has also agreed that if the Constitution is to be changed, it should be changed constructively. I can assure the Opposition that if the Constitution is to be changed, we will not do it in a way that will serve the purpose of the Congress alone, but it will serve the purpose of the nation as a whole. Of course, that is left to the Government and also when it is to be done. The national dialogue will be there, and everybody, everyone of us will be there to participate in it. There is nothing to be feared. There is nothing *hush* about it. If you feel that this could be an instrument of change, if the Constitution should be a code of discipline for our national life, it has to undergo change because nothing is unchangeable in this world.

Things have to change according to the aspirations of the people and according to the aspirations of the nation.

Sir, before concluding, I must again say that let us all co-operate, forget our differences, forget those prejudices and those calumnies which you were preaching, forget for a moment that you belong to the opposition, forget all that and remember that you are also partners in the building up of a great and proud country, the Indian nation, which is inhabited by great and wise people. Therefore, Sir, I request the opposition to give their responsive co-operation to the 20-point programme and to other programmes that the Government is launching and the other types of activities that you want to initiate, such as the removal of unnecessary controls and a little revision of our industrial policy because whatever we do or whatever the Government does is done for the

[Shri Brahmananda Panda]

good and prosperity of the country and in that process and in that activity I wish the opposition should participate fully and whole heartedly.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI RAMLAL D. PARIKH (Gujarat): Mr. Deputy Chairman. Sir, I rise to make my maiden speech today in this great assembly which is supposed to be the council of elders. But, I was rather dismayed when I experienced some of the types of interruptions and shouting which were resorted to interrupt the speech of the Janta Front leader, Mr. Goray, yesterday, and I felt rather disappointed. I had believed that the appeal for discipline and self-restraint was not only to opposition but also to the ruling party. But, Sir, I felt that some members of the ruling party perhaps were feeling that this did not apply to them and that a spirit of arrogance is prevailing them and this is a matter of great anxiety and concern to all of us.

The issues that we are debating here are not of a trivial nature, they are not of individuals, they are not small matters; they are of fundamental concern to the nation and mankind as a whole. Therefore, Sir, I feel that in this House which is supposed to be, as I said earlier, a council of elders also, if reason does not prevail, if instead of rational reasoning and arguments and persuasion, shouting is to be resorted to simply because the opposition is in a minority, simply because on this side there are few members, then I am sorry that what is being advocated and what my hon. predecessor, the speaker from the ruling party has just now said, that we should create a climate of co-operation and mutual understanding. will not be achieved.

Now, Sir, coming to the Address of the President, the hon. President has given a

usual rhetoric Address and while one can understand that it should be an account of the Government's achievements but at the same time, Sir, I was rather surprised that the Address does not refer to anything that has happened in the last six months in the country. It only states a one-sided picture. It does not refer to what has happened to our leaders. It does not refer to where these leaders are even after six months of emergency. I do not understand, Sir, what prevents the Government to bring out documentary information about these leaders as to where they are, what the state of their health is and how many of them are arrested.

The country is full with rumours and we all share the concern of the Prime Minister that we should stop rumours. How can the rumours be stopped in the absence of any correct information? I agree that we should not allow feeding of rumours. But, Sir, it was rather disappointing that in the President's Address there was no mention of what happened in the last six months on the side of the people.

Sir, when I am coming here to this august assembly for the first time—it is my first experience of a Parliamentary career—I am also coming here when a new situation has arisen on the political scene.

The Janata Front was formed in Gujarat. It has clicked in the minds of the people. This should not upset the members of the ruling party because, after all, it is in the interest of democracy, it is in the interest of India and the ruling party itself that such a national alternative on constructive and positive lines emerges. And this idea of a national alternative through the Janata Front is gradually forging ahead, is gradually forging ahead in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha also and is going to forge ahead all over the country and there is nothing wrong in this because the emergence of such an alternative will sustain



our democracy, will strengthen our democracy, will strengthen our march towards progress, will help us come nearer and understand each other. Therefore, I appeal to this House that the spirit of the Janata Front be understood rightly and let me. Sir, tell you that the Janata Front is second to none in its allegiance to democracy, socialism and secularism. We are not going to compromise on any of these questions. These are some of the fundamentals which we share as something of our cherished goal in our own life and none of these will be sacrificed and will not be allowed to be undermined. The Government of Gujarat formed by the Janata Front has been pursuing this whole policy of democracy, socialism and secularism on Gandhian lines.

Now, our hon. friend. Dr. Dutt made a powerful plea yesterday in support of the ruling party's programmes. One of the references he made was to the imperatives of development. I welcome a discussion on this question. I was very happy that our Prime Minister too referred to the question of rural development recently. Now let us examine ourselves. How did we miss this ? How is it that after twenty-five years we remember that it is on the basis of rural development, on the basis of initiative of the rural people that we can progress faster ? But imperatives of development do not require demolition of democracy. By implication Dr. Dutt gave me an impression that democracy was perhaps an impediment. that democracy, perhaps, was a barrier to development. I am sorry. Sir, if this is so. It is not correct because democracy... (*Interruption*... Well. I am just giving my observations and impressions.

AN HON. MEMBER: Wrong observations ! Wrong impression !

SHRI RAMLAL D. PARIKH: Well nobody is infallible. (*Interruptions*). This is what I object to.

DR. V. P. DUTT (Nominated): I said democracy was essential for India. One of the imperatives.

SHRI RAMLAL D. PARIKH: This is the impression I got. We have been proud in our country that we have been working for progress. From the days of 1956 when the Avadi Resolution on Socialist Society was passed we have all been very proud that we are marching for a socialist programme without sacrificing democracy. I would, Sir, like to read a small passage from a recent book which has been published on the "25 Years of Working of Our Constitution" for which the President of the National Assembly of France has sent a message in which the expectations of the world over are reflected, in which the expectations of everyone of us are reflected. I quote:

"India had shown that a country whose dimensions are on a continental scale could move forward on the road to economic progress and social advancement while remaining faithful to the ideal of democracy. This is a great example given to all the people in the world."

This is the thing for which we have stood all these years, all of us, and therefore I appeal through you, Sir, to all the sections of the House that all of us desire rapid progress for the removal of poverty, for the banishing of poverty, but let us not forget our faithfulness to the democratic ideals enshrined in our Constitution.

Sir, here whenever the question of democracy comes, every dissent that is expressed, every dissent that is recorded somewhere is looked upon with contempt, is looked upon with intolerance, is looked upon with some kind of hatred. This is something which should cause concern to every one of us. After all, without disagreement, without dissent, without a powerful and ruthless scrutiny by the opposition, how is the democracy going to function ? If you are putting so many constraints on opposition, including the procedure in this very House, then probably the democracy will remain in name and we will not even know how it has disappeared. Sir, here again let me quote

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a few words which the great political scientist, the great thinker Harold Laski had to say when he felt similar trends in European countries. I quote :

"The condition of freedom in any State is always a wide-spread and consistent scepticism of the canons upon which power rests. To doubt is to examine, and with distinguished minds to examine is to discover."

Sir, we have gathered here for this kind of a process. Therefore, we have to understand each other, we have to listen to each other carefully. But I was very much surprised and astonished yesterday that a man like Shri Goray, who has given his life for the freedom of the country, who has suffered for the cause of liquidation of imperialism, who is a veteran socialist, should have been interrupted in such a manner and not allowed to give a free expression. I am very much thankful to the Members of the House for giving me a kind of peaceful listening.

Now I am coming to the other points. (*Interruptions*). I will deal with that. I am going to deal with that question. Sir, on the question of poverty, we are all anxious to see that poverty is banished but let us have some introspection. What has happened, where did the thing go wrong ? After all, Gandhiji had warned us all along that all programmes should start from the lowest and the lowest man. Have we really tried to do that ? Where did we miss that ? In spite of our effort, the poverty line which was 42 per cent has risen to 66 per cent according to Dr. Minhas. How has this happened ? Is it not a subject for scrutiny ? Is it not a matter for introspection, for a thorough investigation to find out all about this ? Merely blaming opposition will not solve the problem. The opposition are trying to express their own views, their conviction and their genuine feelings. Now I feel, Sir, the time has come when we must decide, the Government must make up its mind, the Government of India must make up its mind, the planners must make up

their mind on the priorities which they have imposed. Nobody questions that we should not have industrialisation. Nobody questions that we should not have heavy industries wherever they are necessary but the question is of priority of resources and the priority of attention.

The question is how long and in what manner our people would rise to the initiative for development. Why can't the Government think of being partners of the people in their initiative for development? This is the basic problem which I feel the imperatives of development raises before us. The imperatives of development are, therefore, is a question where we have to see that the people are enthused to develop their own initiative. This initiative today is not coming forth because we are developing a political system which is authoritarian and in this authoritarian system, in a system where State power is even widening at a frightening speed and with frightening dimensions, initiative of the people is likely to be killed and it is this which is at the root of our slow progress in the removal of poverty.

I would now like to say something about the question of our foreign relations referred to in the President's Address, and then I will come to Gujarat. I am a strong advocate and believer in non-alignment and this, I think, is one of the corner-stones of our policy, not only foreign policy but national policy. I think in any of our disputes and disagreements, whatever it may be, this is our universal agreement that we should be non-aligned and we should pursue the policy of non-alignment in letter and; spirit, strictly, and no amount of pressure on that account should dilute or undermine or colour our pursuit of the policy of non-alignment.

Now, Sir, coming to the question of Gujarat, yesterday I was rather surprised that in spite of the fact that newspapers have published that the Gujarat Chief Minister. Babubhai Patel, has written to the Prime Minister inviting an open parliamentary investigation in which he has said that barring the few incident\* which took

place during the recent elections for about were 4400 seats, the elections were most peaceful and free ever held in any part of the country . . . *(Interruptions)* . . . and he has said and I quote from his letter which he has written to the Prime Minister:

"Immediately after I read the report regarding your interview, I announced publicly that the Centre may, if it so desires, appoint a Parliamentary Committee to enquire into the allegations of widespread violence in the State during the Municipal Corporation and Panchayat elections. I also gave an open invitation to the journalists from all over the country to visit Gujarat and to hold an independent inquiry and bring out the truth about the allegations."

"We have so far not detained any one under MISA for political purposes. If any Congressmen have been arrested, they may have been arrested for some substantive offence, just as members of other political parties have been arrested for substantive offences."

Gujarat during the President's Rule though the seats contested were comparatively few, as many as 18 election meetings were disturbed. 65 other incidents between the rival parties had occurred and there were 32 cases of breach of peace during the polling and in all nearly 270 persons were injured..."

This time 27 cases of breach of peace have occurred. So there is no denial that here and there a few cases have happened but to say that this was the generality of the situation is utterly baseless, utterly wrong. The elections have been very peaceful and the results have been very good. 29,73,000 people have voted for the Janta Front in the rural taluqa panchayat electinos against 26,55,000 or so for the ruling Congress. . .

*(Interruptions)*

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER : How many districts and taluqas have been captured by the Morcha ?

SHRI RAMLAL D. PARIKH : Mr. Deputy Chairman. Sir, I am just stating my facts and I am open to correction and subject to correction. I do not believe in the doctrine of infallibility as my friends on the other side believe. I am subject to correction. Let me say, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that in 108 taluqa panchayats, Janta Front has a majority of votes. The number of votes is larger. In 108 taluqa panchayats, people have voted in larger numbers. *(Time bell rings)*

The election of two-thirds seats are over and for remaining one-third the results have come yesterday. Out of 1300 and odd, 671 representatives of panchayats have been elected on the Janta Front. *(Time bell rings)* I will take two or three minutes more. I do not want<sup>1</sup> to take more of your time. But please allow me five minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You take another two minutes and finish.

SHRI RAMLAL D. PARIKH : This is an important development which should not be neglected, which should not be considered an unimportant thing and if the people are organising themselves into this type of alternative, if they are organising themselves into a good political system, instead of having splinter groups if they are coming together, it should be welcomed; they should be helped and encouraged. This is also one of our national requirements. The Janta Front therefore has become a symbol of the people. We have to have a national alternative to the ruling Congress with which people are not satisfied and nobody can deny this.

And about the programme, Sir, so many things were said. The Gujarat Government of Janta Front which has been elected recently, in last six months has done some of the most important things. The first thing the Janta Front Government did was that it recognised the opposition and it offered the Cabinet rank to the Leader of the Opposition which. I am surprised why they have not accepted..

[Shri Ramlal D. Parikh] The second thing it has implemented is its pledge to have the local bodies elections restored, irrespective of the party from which a person came, the Janta Front has been pleased—even if the ruling Congress came, we did not mind. It is the Janta Front which has restored the democracy and which has taken democracy to the grass-roots, to every village and every town.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now you wind up.

SHRI RAMLAL D. PARIKH: Another most progressive measure taken was the attention to the weaker sections like landless labour whose minimum wages were raised from Rs. 3.50 to Rs. 5.50. This has been implemented from 5th January, 1976.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Next speaker.

SHRI RAMLAL D. PARIKH: Only one minute and I will conclude. About the foodgrains, as against 8 kilos per head, it has been increased to 12 kilos per head. All the students in hostels are being given food grains etc. at controlled prices.

*(Interruption)*

Many items of the 20-point programmes have been implemented out of our 62 points programme. Let us not quarrel about the 20-point or the 60-point programme. Those items are covered. One of the most important things is that a Minority Commission has been set up in Gujarat to look after their interests.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I call the next speaker.

SHRI RAMLAL D. PARIKH : Just one minute. I will conclude.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You complete the sentence, if you like.

SHRI RAMLAL D. PARIKH: I am just finishing. And the last thing is that

yesterday Dr. Dutt referred to an interview to an Italian newspaper by Shri Morarji Desai. I wish this had been raised in his presence. I wish if this was taken seriously Morarji Desai should have been called here to answer this. On the face of it, it is a distortion.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Manubhai Shah.

SHRI RAMLAL D. PARIKH: It is in September or October, the alleged interview was published and question is being raised. Now I am sure it is a distortion Morarjibhai would never subscribe to any creed of violence. He is wedded to non-violence.

Thank you very much.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH (Gujarat) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am happy to support the motion of thanks on the President's Address and think that it has given us a very constructive and comprehensive programme for the next year. Therefore, Sir, I was very sorry that a learned friend of mine Mr. Goray should have described this Address, comprehensive and detailed as it is, as a drab Address, and perhaps he wished that such an Address should not have been delivered at all. If he had gone through the contents of this Address, he would have found that the economic policies which have produced good results in the last six months and before have been further highlighted by larger provisions in the Plan for economic growth, and particularly for the rural sector of the economy, the down-trodden, the clearance of the slums and various other aspects to which he fervently referred yesterday.

Now, Sir, apart from the economic content of the Address, I would like to place before you how democracy in this country has been supported by this party of ours, and the democratic values have been cherished all along. I need not go into the past history, but even at the present time whenever an opportunity has come to insist

vn democratic values, it is this side of the House, Sir, if I may say so without any fear of contradiction, which has acted both within the Parliament premises and outside. My friend Mr. Ramlal Parikh should have been here earlier. Then he would have seen, as a Member of this House, the behaviour of some of our Opposition Members. In fact, I who have been here for over two decades thought. What type of opposition in this country we have built up ? What type of resistance to ideas has been developing in this and the other House ? Most the Parliament be a cockpit for shouting and counter-shouting and if one has strong lung-power, he is the leader of the opposition.

Both in this House and the other House had come to a position where one could not sit and feel that they were Members of this august body. But I am not going into that; I am coming to this basic question : Before the emergency what was the condition. I may draw the attention of the hon. Members of the House to what happened in December, 1973 in Gujarat. A duly elected Assembly was there. We had 140 seats out of 168, a strength which no party in the democratic world—not only in India but anywhere else—could have commanded in any House. We had 140 seats. The Government of my party had put in programmes. Shri Ghanshyamdas Oza's Ministry was one of the most advanced Ministries in the country. And everybody has to acknowledge that we had got most of the progressive measures. That Ministry had to be altered, a new Chief Minister came, and the same programme was continuing. Now, what happens ? The Opposition thinks that they should now see that the Government is ousted on minor flimsy grounds, and a new movement is started. We do not mind if in the Assembly, when the Bills are being brought forward or when various measures are suggested, voting is taken and we are ousted if we are in a minority. But no. They came to my house for three days. Thirty boys who were sitting there were asking me to resign I asked them, "For what should I resign ? Have I done anything wrong ?" They said, "No, you have not done anything wrong.

Your party in the Assembly is wrong and you must resign." I want to ask Shri Goray: Before he preaches to us, he should have told these people at that time that was not the way in which democracy could function. If you yourselves, if the Opposition Members, erode the values of democracy, can they expect us to sit like silent boy\* and say 'yes' to everything being done ? I did not submit my resignation. Even into the Gujarat Bhavan I was not allowed. The boys were there. Our friends were sitting there also. This is only a minor incident.

In one of the constituencies, in Bhavnagar, Shri Pratap Shah was asked to resign. Because he was not resigning, hi\* son was abducted and it was threatened that he would be taken away. And you expected that Shri Pratap Shah would succumb to the threat and resign. But he was a brave man and he did not resign. Shri Madho Singh Solanki's house was raided and Rs. 38,000 worth of furniture was destroyed. If Shri Parikh goes there, ha can see the burnt furniture, it is even today visible to the naked eye.

It is not a question of the Janata Morcha ; it is what is the shape of the Janata Morcha. It is one of the most violent parties in the country, with the Jana Sangh therein, backed by the RSS. Their para-military force operate even today. The Janata Morcha is nothing but the Cong.(O) which has been clutched by the iron hands and claws of the Jana Sangh and the RSS. And they are the people who are operating behind. I want to warn and caution Shri Goray : Before he upholds the values of democracy, he has to clinch the issue and bring back democracy, and see that these violent people are taken away. Otherwise, India will be dead; India will succumb to these forces, and what we have been cherishing from the time of Tilak, Gandhi and Nehru—even Shri Goray—will be lost irrespective of the party, whether I belong here or somebody belongs there. Democracy is not a single-sided value. Unless

[Shri Manubhai Shah]

and until all the forces in this country play the game together, it may not survive. We might do some excesses; our own party might have done some mistakes. We are not super-human that we do not make mistakes. Then we should be corrected ; if Shri Goray or Shri Mariswamy or Shri Parikh or any other friend tells us, we do not mind correcting ourselves. But this is not the way.

And what happened ? Sir, the Ministry had to be dissolved because a great man of this country fasted so that the Assembly should be dissolved. I was very sorry when he did that because we had expected better values from him, he being an upholder of democracy and having been with us as our leader for years and decades together. We at least believed that he would not force us. This was coercion—T do not use the word 'fascism'. Because the life of a dear man was involved, we had to succumb to it and we dissolved that House. This is destroying the values of democracy. This should be understood by the Opposition: Different types of forces are coming up. And that is why the emergency has come.

Emergency is not a permanent feature. We are the greatest upholders of democracy and I would assure the Opposition Members that this Prime Minister and this party, which has inherited the great heritage from Mahatma Gandhi, will not allow democracy to be whittled down by one bit. I can narrate any number of events that took place in Gujarat in which all our members, 86 members, were coerced. One gentleman's head was shaved and he was taken on a donkey all over the place. Do you believe that democratic values can be upheld by such things ? Why couldn't you fight us in the Assembly ? There was an Assembly and you could have called it six times or ten times in a year. You could have brought measures; you could have taken a vote : you could have brought a motion of no-confidence ; you could have asked us to

modify our ways if we were wrong. Then I had the privilege of being present when the Chief Minister had a meeting with young people. He was saying "you have brought charges of corruption. What proof is there ?" They said "We have a tape record". He said "Will you kindly produce it ?" I want to try that man. I shall see that proper investigation takes place." But no tape record came, no evidence came, in spite of the fact that several times people were reminded. And Babubhai Patel had headed a commission which tried to probe into alleged corruption. Did a single piece of evidence come? If merely on the basis of hearsay and gossip, you go on levelling charges, create a monstrous type of approach and then say "These are corrupt people who should be removed". What crime have we committed? We were servants of democracy. We were serving the public here and all over India. Is it that you expect we will keep quiet and you can go on insinuating? What did *Motherland* do during the period of Dr. Zakir Hussain ? I am merely mentioning it to bring to your notice that it takes two hands to make a clap, not one hand. I have had the privilege of working with Dr. Zakir Hussain, one of the purest men. *Organiser* and *Motherland* wrote such stories only because he was a Muslim or he was a person they did not like. Therefore, when you want to preach democratic values, I would plead with the leaders of the Opposition and members of the Opposition that you should also uphold democracy and democratic values. Then you would find us more responsive than any Opposition party you know of in upholding democratic values. Now, after that the railway strike took place. That was planned. It may not be in the minds of those who were associating themselves with it, but it was certain internal people who were controlling the entire party and the trend towards the railway strike. In a country so poor, in which every nerve of the economy should be accentuated so that poverty is removed, so that the rural areas are benefited, so that the humblest can enjoy something, you

bring in a *niil\;iy* strike. And on what matter ? If you examine it dispassionately, it could have been settled easily. But there was a railway strike which greatly added to the momentum of violence that was generated in this country. How many Vice-Chancellors in the last two years *b\*?e* shaken their heads ? I have been a student for many years. We thought Vice-Chancellors were Kulapatis who should be respected. But they were browbeaten and "gheraoed" and those "gheraos" were silently watched. Has any Opposition member said that these should be stopped? It was in their hands. I make bold to say that many of them had influence on these people. But let them understand now that these were the forces which were behind them and the well-minded Opposition people should know that until and unless they bring back values, this RSS is not to be controlled and the Anand Margis will never learn their lessons. The Chinese and various foreign forces, including some of the Western powers, are trying to see that India never grows. that India does not remain a democracy, that in the Asian continent, the power balance is tilted again so that India is not allowed to develop and become a strong democracy. Therefore, we have to be more careful. For the first time in the history of India, after 500 years we have achieved independence where the smallest, the humblest man can rise to the highest position. In that country you want Babu Jagjivan Ram's meeting to be disturbed. I make bold to say that in the Assembly elections, even when the State was under President's rule, the parties of the Opposition Front, the Janata Morcha, guided by the RSS forces, were disturbing most of our meetings. I have addressed more than 180 public meetings in the last six months because there were elections and elections all the time. How many meetings were disturbed by the Opposition? Will you kindly give a single instance where Congressmen created trouble at our meetings ? We have also enough people with us. But we would not do that. That is not the way in which we will be 3> RSS, 75-

have. But they were always disturbing our meetings. I do not mean to say that every one among them was doing it. But there is a regular class of people for whom R.S.S. collect goondas and they do nothing else but to disturb Congress meetings. Hon. Shri Sisodia was with me. Pratibha Behnji was with me. In that chowk there was one hour meeting. No Congressman was disturbing the meeting. We got a majority in the rural side. We were not powerless there. You are talking about Parliamentary Committee. What can the Parliamentary Committee do? The horses have left the stable. Elections are over. These things happened at that time. Did the Chief Minister issue one statement about the murder of Ibrahim Qureshi? Victory was not so important. Fairness to me is more important, I asked Mugla Begum to go to Sayala constituency. She is a Muslim lady. She went there and Ibrahim Qureshi said that voting was peaceful. Ismail Pankhy was the Janta Morcha candidate. Shri Vinod Sehgal, Minister of the Janata front, addressed a meeting in that very place the previous day of the polling. Ibrahim Qureshi was promised all support, but when he was murdered, nobody was there to support him. He was just thrown away. There was no sympathy for him. What was the Police doing when it happened ? I was a near witness. I would not tell a lie or exaggerate the facts in this august House. Condemning a Party does not make democracy. I won't do that. They do not like us. They are afraid that our message will reach everywhere. To that analysis I will come a little later on. All that I would say is that opposition should mend its ways. What is happening in the university campus. You go and see how the Vidyapeeth functions. You give the students all sorts of incitement to violence.

It is not only murder that has taken place. That is not the only thing. If We win the election, then it is rigged election. If the opposition wins, it is fair election. In Surokwa 24 ballots marked with Janta front symbol were caught red-handed, I am merely mentioning this fact to bring

[Shri Manubhai Shah] put the attitude and behaviour and the type of thinking and ideology which are behind these acts. Certain bad elements take advantage of the goodness of some well-meaning persons like Shri Rarllal Parikh and Gorayji. Many good people are in bad company. And they take advantage of their goodness.

About the elections I want to say that, if Janata Morcha wins then it is Congress's victory. That is how it is interpreted. What has happened in Rajkot? Out of 51 seats how many seats were won by Congress? I say that Congress was liquidated in the birth place of Mahatma Gandhi where he created history with his Satyagraha movement. It was from Rajkot where the whole movement against Princes got its inspiration. In that Rajkot eleven Congress (O) members succumbed to the Deepak symbol. What does it show? Don't you care for the charkha and the lady spinning the wheel? It is a cherished thing and it is a cherished symbol. Why should your people, Mrs. Taka and other ten people, take to the *deepak* symbol? Have you come to that level? Have we come to this level that we should go to the *deepak* symbol in order that we might fight the elections? Sir, it is not the Janata Morcha. I again symbol. Why should your people, Mrs. RSS, the Anand Margis, the Fernandes\*0up and this type of people, who have no respect for democracy and who have absolutely no democratic values and who do not like democracy and who want to go to the fascist path of violence, who are the guiding spirit behind the opposition of the Janata Morcha. In the Rajkot front, Sir, we lost it and we acknowledge it. But, what does the Chief Minister say? He says that what we have done in Rajkot will be repeated in Baroda and Surat. Sir, they got a majority and we accept it. But they issued a statement that in the panchayat elections the Congress has not got the majority and has no support and the Congress will be wiped out. Now, when we win, when we win in 13 panchads out of 18, Mr. Ramlal Parikh quotes these figures. When we win, they need not have

, to acknowledge it. The Secretary of the Janata Morcha party, Shri Hindubhai, was sitting in the circuit house in Surat and he made an announcement that out of the 18 panchads, they will win 17. I said, "You are very merciful. Why did you leave one for us?" I was telling him this on the spot and I said, "Hindubhai, I would have been very happy if you could win all the 18, you would win 18 out of 18". He said, "No. In Surat it is very strong and we have to give one". Now, Sir, we have seen it. I do not want to take the time of the House and give all these details. But I would like to tell that when the indirect elections come, all these 13 districts will be ours and we will win. The majority is with us and the rural people are with us. Even if some people have not voted for us and voted for them, even then, what is the score of the Janata Morcha? 38 out of 180 taluka panchayats. But we have got 120 and they have got only 38. When there is no Congress in the field, all are Janata Morcha candidates and that is the fact. But here some independents also have captured some seats and they have got 17. What did they say in respect of the Ahmedabad elections? "We will get a vote of no-confidence if we do not win". They have not actually won and yet no-confidence vote has been passed. The statement was that out of 105 we would get only 20. But even that was too much for us because we cannot digest even 20. But we got 51. Perhaps we did not forecast properly. But, out of this 105, 54 seats have gone to the Janata Morcha, consisting of all the Congress (O), the hotchpotch of all persons, the B.I.D., the Jana Sangh, the RSS and others, and we are 51 solid. In our place, where the labour is predominant, out of 38 seats, the NLP, which was founded by Gandhiji, could not win because it went the wrong way and it went to the Jana Sangh and the RSS wedded to violence and non-democratic attitude and it lost. That is why labour has voted you out completely and we have all the labour with us, 80 per cent of them, who are in these areas. It is the poor, the downtrodden and the labourers who have voted for us. The rich and big people are not



with us. This is the proof. Certainly, the rich people are against us. Mr. Marisvvamy is not here now. He was telling that those who are in power have not the backing of the big people. I am sorry for him. He is the one person who belonged to one party which had the backing of the great Capitalists in the country. And, who have supported us ? Not the millowners of 'Jurat and not the rich people of Rajkot. It is the poor people living in the villages who have voted for us and it is the poorest of the poor and not the kulaks who have supported us and it is not the *til null wallas* or the oil mill owners who have supported us and we do not need then support also because if we take their support, they will come in the way of our socialist and rural development programmes and the programmes of development that we want to implement in our country. Sir, I do not want to say anything more because my time is already up. But I would say that the Harijans and the Wajris who are the poorest in Gujarat were prevented during the elections of Maniben and Makh-wana from voting. Twelve thousand people were surrounded by the kulaks. That was why they lost. The inquiry is still going on.

Many things have to be said, but time is short. I do hope that the Janata Morcha will learn a lesson. I have myself heard the slogan of the Opposition Forces : Come to Gujarat, Come to Delhi. But Delhi is not so near. *Delhi doorast..... (Interruptions)*. At one time we heard the 'Jhootistan' radio : We will go to Chandni Chowk and from Chandni Chowk we will come to Anarkali. But they were buried in Ferozabad and Ferozepur. The brave men of India destroyed their Patton tanks. I am not saying, Sir, that the emergency is for ever. The emergency is only a temporary phase. It is a drastic remedy for a drastic disease. When a man is suffering from an acute disease, when a life-and-death struggle is going on, to save that man you have to give some drastic remedy. The Prime Minister has herself said that it is a temporary phase; it is a shock treatment. When a man loses

his balance—I won't call him insane—that type of shock treatment has to be given. If there are excesses done in censorship, Mr. Om Mehta, my hon. friend, and the Government will certainly look into it.

The Slum Clearance Board in Madras is not the only Board of this kind. Gujarat has got a Housing and Slum Clearance Board since 1972. But, anyhow, if there are any excesses done, they would certainly be looked into.

Before I conclude, I say that as far as the present rule is concerned, it is purely in the direction that any constitutional changes will be for the uplift of the poor, for the uplift of their social and economic life of the poor, for taking away the right to property from the Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution or for something whereby the shackles of poverty can be broken. The Prime Minister has clearly stated that we will not interfere with the autonomy of the States. There is no idea to take away their powers. But certainly if some fundamental changes after 20 or 25 years are needed, with the consent and the widest dialogue that has been promised, those will be considered, and it is for the two august Houses to consider and decide what is best for the country.

Therefore, Sir, in the end I can say that all those doubts which my friend, Mr. Goray and others have about democracy should be removed from their minds, and they should come to a more understanding frame of mind, so that from this great country of ours, which has for the first time during the last several centuries, seen the dawn of freedom on progressive and socialist lines, poverty can be removed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2-15 p.m. We sit till 6 p.m.

The House adjourned for lunch at twenty-three minutes of the clock.

Che House reassembled alter lunch at seventeen minutes past two of the clock, the Vice-Chairman (Shri M. B. Mukhopadhyay) in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PIRABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Dr. Mathew Kuriari.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala) : Madam Vice-Chairman, I rise to make my speech opposing the main thrust of the President's Address. Madam Vice-Chairman, during the last session of the Rajya Sabha, Members of our party had stated in very categorical terms that our party the CPI(M), was totally opposed to the emergency. Our party had pointed out at that time that contrary to that all claims of the Prime Minister and the ruling party, that the emergency was proclaimed not to fight rightist and fascist forces, but to pass on the burden of the economic crisis which was in fact a product of the wrong economic policies of the Government, on to the workers, peasants and other common people. The developments in India, since the proclamation of emergency, have confirmed the correctness of the above assessment.

Yesterday, Dr. V. P. Dutt, moving the Motion of Thanks to the President, made a plea for a responsible and democratic opposition. But he remained silent on the basic question : How can the opposition function in a responsible manner and democratically while the basic rights of the opposition are curtailed and obliterated under the emergency and the draconian laws initiated and passed by the Government ? Dr. V.P. Dutt also claimed that the people had enthusiastically welcomed the emergency. Madam, the enthusiasm seems to be so much that the Government has to postpone the elections for another year. The Members of the ruling party claim that the opposition was impatient so far as the verdict of the Supreme Court was concerned. In fact, I would like to raise a counter-question : Why is it that the ruling party was so impatient and did not wait

for the Supreme Court judgment on the basis of the then existing law ? The Prime Minister could be cleared only by changing the law and the Supreme Court had to take into account the new law.

Madam, the working people have been subjected to ruthless exploitation ever since the emergency in a continued and more vigorous form. It has been there for the last 28 years since Independence and the period of emergency has witnessed further ruthless exploitation of the people. People have been deprived of the basic freedoms to ventilate their grievances. On the other hand this is an important point I would like to make those who are sitting in the pinnacles of economic and social power, the monopolists, both Indian and foreign, the landlords and other vested interests have been allowed to further fatten themselves and unleash a reign of terror against the people. Despite the sugar-coating by the Government with reference to the 20-Point Economic Programme, the reality of the Indian situation is very clear. The working class and other working people have been the worst victims. The employers are today able to resort to all kinds of victimisation—lay-offs, closure retrenchment, increase in workload, resort to wage cut, and so on. And they cannot even strike because under the draconian laws of the MISA and the DIR, their freedoms will be curtailed. Similar is the case of employees in banks, LIC, commercial and other establishments, public undertakings, Central and State Governments. Their rate of dearness allowance has been systematically reduced, and their right to organise freely has been curtailed. If the employees dare to protest, they are threatened under the MISA and the DIR. The freedom of expression guaranteed under the Constitution has been totally obliterated under the Emergency. The Press, under Censorship, a brutal censorship cannot publish any criticism of the Government or the ruling party. People are today mortified by the extent to which the press censorship and curtailment of freedom of speech have taken place. And now the

Government has come out with a new set of ordinances which have made the publication of any matter which the Government considers might create disaffection against the Government a punishable offence. Madam, you will agree with me that this is going too far. What is left of democracy? I would only like to quote the 'Blitz' which has been a consistent supporter of the ruling party and the Prime Minister. To quote. Madam, it says :

"This set of laws makes the position of those of us who have been consistent supporters of the Prime Minister's policies since 1969 right through the Emergency very embarrassing. When we face the next critic, we are bound to feel shame-faced and are forced to stay silent *guilty silence*."

Madam, I would like to prove by whatever data is available with me, data which has trickled from the censored press, that the Emergency has been used consistently, as a matter of policy, to fatten the monopolists and landlords and against the interests of the working people. Emergency and the curtailment of freedom of speech have been coupled with a clearcut enunciation of policy by the Prime Minister that there will be no further nationalisation. No wonder that Shri K. K. Birla, one of the high priests of Indian big business, has shown great enthusiasm in supporting the 20-Point Programme and Emergency provisions. The enthusiastic support of the monopolists was ensured on a continuing basis by a series of concessions to private industry. Blatantly enough, there is no mention of Indian monopolists and foreign multinational companies in the 20-Point Programme. Their power will continue unabated. Not a single mention in the 20-Point Programme and even the President's speech makes a studied silence on this key question of power, forces which control the Indian economy in terms of the money power. There is no mention of it in the 20-Point Programme. It is not accidental.

Madam, that this has happened. In November, 1975, after the Emergency was declared, Shri T. A. Pai announced a concession to the big business—a blanket exemption from licensing to 21 industries in the medium sector and permitting unlimited expansion of 30 other industries in which multinational corporations and Indian monopolies operate. Again, on November 25, 1975, sugar magnates got a bonanza when the Government announced higher percentage of levy—free sugar to new sugar factories and expansion projects of existing unit apart from generous concession—, in the excise duty. A minimum of Rs. 250 crores has been given to big business by the Bonus Ordinance which has also come as a bonanza after the Emergency to big business. Madam, again, in November 1975, the textile tycoons got an enhancement in the price of standard cloth and a suspension of further production. The alibi, of course, was that the standard cloth had piled up for want of demand. I will come back to this question of recession very soon.

Faced with these and other realities, *Blitz*, the consistent champion of the Prime Minister's cause, said on December 6, 1975 and I quote "The Government's economic policy, paradoxically enough, has been strengthening the roots of fascist forces instead of digging them up. The thrust of the economic policy during the past five months has been to fatten the private sector and pamper the profiteers". This certificate to the Prime Minister has come from her own follower.

Madam, despite emergency and the ruthless curtailment of the freedoms of the people, the economic crisis has not been averted. It will be wrong to think that the economy is poised for recovery and healthy development. On the contrary, I would say that what has happened is that there has been a movement from the peak of inflationary crisis to the perilous depths of one of the worst recessions in

[Dr. K. Mathew Kurian] Indian history—mounting unemployment and poverty of the people. In their attempts to solve the inflationary crisis and ward off the possible political crisis, the Government has resorted to emergency but they have landed themselves on the precipice of a deeper and more acute crisis. In proof of what I say I would only like to quote a few figures although I have got a long list with me. I have here, for example, information published after emergency in *Blitz* which says that since the proclamation of emergency over thirty thousand workers in West Bengal have been made victims of lay off's, closures and lock outs. During the last one month, *i.e.*, in October, according to *Blitz*, 11,000 textile workers were thrown out of jobs in West Bengal. Again, you find from June 26 till November 13, 1975, during the period of emergency, there were 41 lock outs in West Bengal affecting 21,150 workers. I have got more figures for West Bengal but I would like to show that this is a pattern not only for West Bengal but for most of the other States also. In Maharashtra, since July 1975, 234 units laid off their employees numbering 11,984. After emergency another 116 units retrenched their workers numbering 1,273. In Delhi, 1500 workers in 17 big oil mills of Delhi were laid off between July and October. In Kerala, in the tile factories there is large scale retrenchment and lay off. In the Ernakulam in Alwaye belt people are being threatened with lay off and retrenchment.

All this brings me to the fundamental question as to what has happened to the Fifth Five Year Plan. In one of the earlier discussions in this House I had shown that the Fifth Five Year Plan has been a non-starter and the new emergency provisions will not help to supercoat the reality that the Fifth Plan was dead before it was born. Even an increase of 23 per cent in the outlay during 1975-76 would not improve matters because the real investments in the public sector have been going down on account of inflation. Basic industries

in steel, aluminium, steel pipes, commercial vehicles and other engineering industries, fertilizer, tractors and so on are facing a serious recession. Small industries are in doldrums. Traditional industries like coir, cashew and handlooms are facing virtual ruination.

This brings me to the question of self-reliance. What has happened in the emergency is that without being in the limelight Government has continuously been wooing foreign monopolists. Even yesterday you must have seen the statement which appeared in the press, *i.e.*, Indo-U.K. accord on joint production. Foreign monopolists are being allowed without the Parliament having a say. Self-reliance is being eroded by supporting multi-national corporations and so on.

This brings me to the very vital question and the very purpose of emergency. The ruling party claims that the emergency was clamped down to fight rightist and Fascist forces. I would like to ask the counter-question: Who are these forces who generate Fascism and authoritarian rule? Studies on Fascism show that big business, multi-national corporations, CIA which operates through these agencies including multi-nationals are to be counted as the main forces which support counterrevolution and Fascism. What is the reality, The reality is, as I have suggested, Government has allowed monopolists—both Indian and foreign—and multi-nationals to thrive during emergency without Parliament having the opportunity, without the Opposition having its searching eye on these developments. They have been having a hey-day. Profits, have been soaring in the private sector. No wonder that Comrade C. Rajeswara Rao, General Secretary of CPI voiced his apprehension about the rise of authoritarianism. As reported in *Blitz* dated December 27, 1975: "He is of the opinion that the 20-point programme announced by the Prime Minister can go a long way in helping the down-

trodden, but he is disappointed with the performance. The implementation of the rural part of the programme, he said, was tardy, and in the industrial sphere it was being done in reverse." It is precisely this point that I have emphasised. The development in the industrial sector, in the sector of monopoly capital has been a policy on the reverse. Instead of implementing what they proclaim, they are going, Madam, in support of the monopolists.

Regarding the rural sector of the Plan and the proposed programmes, what are the realities? Of course, to sweeten the bitterness of the emergency, the Prime Minister and her ruling party have included in the 20-point programme certain things about land reforms. But what is the reality? On the enforcement side it has been a big flop. In a study presented on the eve of the Chandigarh conference of the AICC we find that all over India, according to the figures declared surplus of land was 6,54,620; land taken possession of, only 3,23,661; land actually distributed to beneficiaries, a much smaller figure, only 1,36,637. Madam, this is in the background of the performance of the United Front Government of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in West Bengal where in a few months the UF Government was able to distribute four lakh acres of surplus land. This is the same story which was repeated by the Communist Government in Kerala during 1957-59 and the United Front Government during 1967-69.

Again I quote *New Age*, the organ of the CPI dated November 2, 1975. A report from Chandigarh said: "Several cases of how big landlords in collusion with local police are making a mockery of the land reform measures have recently come to light and, what is even worse, the State's Revenue Minister, himself a big landlord, is shutting his eyes to these incidents and preventing the State Land Reforms Advisory Committee from intervening." Madam, it is a very serious matter. Here is a case right in Chandigarh, the venue of the AICC, where the State

Revenue Minister, according to the allegation made by the CPI in their paper, is preventing even the Advisory Committee for Land Reforms from intervening.

Madam, to conclude my last point, who is responsible, therefore, for strengthening Fascist, authoritarian forces in the country? I would say that the responsibility should be squarely placed on the ruling party and the Government for supporting monopolists and multi-nationals and indirectly permitting the CIA to have an arena for operation. Who started the authoritarian, Fascist tendencies in the country? Back in 1959, the present Prime Minister who was then the Congress President was instrumental for dismissing the Communist Government of Kerala when the Government still had a solid majority in the Assembly through the so-called *Vimochana Samaram*. Who took politics to the street? It was in 1959 that the Congress Party under the Presidentship of Shrimati Indira Gandhi took politics to the street and artificially created a situation in which the Central Government intervened and dismissed the Government.

Similarly, the rigging of elections in West Bengal in 1971 is now a common knowledge. Madam, therefore, my contention is that the root cause of fascism and authoritarian tendencies lies in the economic and social policies of the Government protected by the political leadership who have no will to implement anti-monopoly, anti-landlord policy.

On behalf of my party I demand retracing of this dangerous path, the wrong economic, social and political policies. We demand the lifting of emergency, release of all political prisoners and annulment of all the draconian laws, like DIR and MISA and I demand that the Government instead of continuing their rule without the mandate of the people, should face free and fair elections and really get the verdict of the people. In fact the Government is afraid to go to the people on the basis of the 29 years of their performance and this six months' period of emergency during which there has been intensification of re-

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cession, increase of unemployment and misery. And it is precisely for these reasons that the Government is afraid to face the people. We demand immediate retracing of the steps so that this country can go forward.

**श्री कल्पनाथ (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** आदरणीय उप-सभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने जो अभि-  
भाषण दिया है, उसके समर्थन में बोलने के लिए मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। आदरणीय उप-सभापति महोदय, आज सवाल यह नहीं है कि प्रजातंत्र खतरे में है जैसा कि हमारी विरोधी पार्टियाँ बहुत जोरों से हल्ला मचा रही हैं। आज सवाल यह नहीं है कि समाजवाद खतरे में है। आज सवाल देश को सामने सब से बड़ा देश की एकता का है, आज सब से बड़ा सवाल देश की सार्वभौमिकता का है और आजादी का है। आज देश की आजादी और एकता खतरे में पड़ी हुई है और ऐसी स्थिति में देश की आजादी की रक्षा करना हम सब लोगों का परम धर्म हो जाता है। जब देश की सार्वभौमिकता और आजादी खतरे में पड़ी हुई है, तो उसकी एकता को बचाना परम आवश्यक हो जाता है या समाजवाद को बचाना आवश्यक हो जाता है? यह सवाल है जिस के ऊपर भारत की संसद् को और हम लोगों को विचार करना है।

आदरणीय उप-सभापति महोदय, सब लोग यह बात अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि बंगला देश के उदय होने के बाद से और हिन्दुस्तान का एटमिक पावर बनने के बाद से दुनिया की साम्राज्यवादी ताकतें विशेषकर मल्टी नेशनल कारपोरेशन्स हिन्दुस्तान से चारों तरफ से ताकाबन्दी करने का कार्य कर रही हैं। आज भूमध्य सागर में साम्राज्यवादियों का छठा एटमिक बेड़ा खड़ा है। कोलम्बो के 1500 किलो मीटर दूरी पर डियोगोनिया में अमेरिका द्वारा एक जबरदस्त एटमिक हवाई अड्डा बनाया जा रहा है और इस तरह से साम्राज्यवादी ताकतें हिन्द महासागर में अपनी ताकाबन्दी कर रही हैं। आज ये ही साम्राज्यवादी ताकतें पाकिस्तान को अस्व-शस्त्र से नैस कर रही हैं और करोड़ों अस्त्र रूपयों के हथियार देकर

हिन्दुस्तान की योजनाओं को समाप्त करने के लिए साम्राज्यवादी इस तरह का कुचक कर रहे हैं।

क्या आप लोग नहीं जानते हैं माऊ से तुंग के नेतृत्व में चीन आज तिब्बत में इन्टर कॉन्टि-  
नेंटल बेलिस्टिक मिसाइल के बेड़े का निर्माण कर रहा है जिसके कारण हिन्दुस्तान को लगातार खतरा पैदा हो सके। आज साम्राज्यवादी और माऊवादी ताकतें, दोनों मिलकर एशिया के सब राष्ट्रों के लिए खतरा उत्पन्न कर रहे हैं। जब इन ताकतों ने देखा कि हिन्दुस्तान और अफ्रीका के नये आजाद हुए देश अपनी तरकी और ताकत बढ़ा रहे हैं, तो इन ताकतों ने आपस में साजिश करने की सोच ली है। एशिया और अफ्रीका के देश जिनमें वियटनाम, लाओस, कम्बोडिया है और अफ्रीका में अंगोला तथा दूसरे राष्ट्र हैं, इन राष्ट्रों ने अपनी आजादी पाई ही थी कि दुनिया के साम्राज्यवादी ताकतों ने अपने मंसूबों को पूरा करने के लिए इन देशों की आजादी का गला घोटने के लिए तरह तरह के प्रपंच शुरू कर दिये हैं। इस वक्त हिन्दुस्तान के चारों तरफ से साम्राज्यवादी और माऊवादी ताकतों की मिलीजुली साजिशें हो रही हैं जिसकी ओर हम सब लोगों को सजग रहना है। अभी आपके सामने अमेरिका के जेराल्ड फोर्ड ने कहा : Sino-American relation is a permanent feature. चीन और अमेरिका के संबंध दुनिया की राजनीति के परमानेंट फीचर हैं।

ऐसी स्थिति में हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार को अपने देश की आजादी और अपने मूलक की एकता की रक्षा के लिये कदम नहीं उठाने चाहिए थे। जब देश की विरोधी पार्टियों ने देखा कि दुनिया के साम्राज्यवादी इस देश की सरकार को उसने का कुचक कर रहे हैं तो जनसंघ, माक्सवादी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी, द्रविड़, मुनेत्र कन्नगम पार्टी नानाजी गोरे जैसे समाजवादी के नेतृत्व में जनता मोर्चे का गठन करके देश में तोड़-फोड़, मारफाट, खून, कत्ल, अराजकता, घृणा चरित्रहूनन की हवा पैदा करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं।

आज हमारे डाक्टर कूरियन प्रजातंत्र की बात करते हैं। क्या बंगाल के अंदर हजारों कांग्रेसी कार्यकर्ताओं की, श्री ज्योति बसु के नेतृत्व में हत्या क्यों कर दी गई? क्या यह प्रजातंत्र था? राष्ट्र की नेता प्रधानमंत्री इंदिरा गांधी की सभा में ईट पत्थर फेंकना क्या प्रजातंत्र है? क्या रात दिन प्रधानमंत्री के खिलाफ चरित्र हत्या और घृणा का प्रचार करना प्रजातंत्र है? क्या कांग्रेस पार्टी से संबंध रखने वाले लोगों के घरों को जला देना, उनको सभाओं में न बोलने देना प्रजातंत्र है? आदरणीय नाना माहब मोरे क्या यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि क्या चुनी हुई विधान सभाओं को भंग करने की मांग करना प्रजातंत्र है? क्या देश की एकता को खत्म करना प्रजातंत्र है?

आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इमरजेंसी के बाद हमारे देश की हालत में जबर्दस्त परिवर्तन आया है। देश में ला एंड आर्डर की स्थिति में जबर्दस्त सुधार हुआ है। देश में शांति की एक लहर आई है। आर्थिक मौकों पर औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में जहां हिन्दुस्तान का उत्पादन जीरो प्रतिशत था वहां औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में ग्रोथ रेट 8 प्रतिशत बढ़ी है। 15 सौ करोड़ रुपये जो टेक्स इनवेडर्स, तस्करों और बड़े बड़े चोरबाजारियों और जखीरेबाजों से बालियंटरी डिसक्लोजर मिला है, क्या वह बकिंग क्लास के खिलाफ है? 5 सौ करोड़ रुपये जो सीजर हुए हैं, क्या वह बकिंग क्लास के खिलाफ है? देश के जमाखोरों, तस्करों और देश के बड़े बड़े पूंजीपतियों को जेलों में डाल देने का काम, महान देश की महान नेता प्रधानमंत्री के नेतृत्व में करना क्या बकिंग क्लास के खिलाफ कार्य हुआ है। देश की जनरल प्राइमस 10 प्रतिशत घटी है, क्या यह बकिंग क्लास के खिलाफ है। देश में अनाज के भाव 20 प्रतिशत मार्केट में गिरे हैं, क्या यह बकिंग क्लास के खिलाफ है। आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज प्रजातंत्र के नाम पर हमारे देश में रात दिन कारखानों में उत्पादन नष्ट करने के लिये आए दिन रेलवे में हड़ताल कराने की बात हमारे विरोधी दलों के लोगों ने की थी। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज हिन्दुस्तान में 5 करोड़ लोग देहातों में और करोड़ों लोग जो शहरों में

बेकार पड़े हुए हैं उनकी बेकारी की समस्या को हल किया जाये। क्या 12 सौ करोड़ रुपये और 8 सौ करोड़ रुपये रेलवे कर्मचारियों की तनख्वाहों में इजाफा करके रेलवे कर्मचारियों की तनख्वाह में दिया जाय। यह देश सबका है। यह देश उन 27 करोड़ लोगों का भी है जो 4-5 आने रोज पर गुजारा करते हैं। इस मुल्क को समाजवाद की तरफ ले जाने का और उसके साथ साथ प्रजातंत्र कायम रखने का स्वप्न हमारे देश के महान नेता ने देखा था

आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप जानती हैं कि जब तक हिन्दुस्तान का आर्थिक बेस, एफानिमिक फाउंडेशन मजबूत नहीं होगा तब तक हिन्दुस्तान में प्रजातंत्र बिल्कुल बेकार है। इसलिये देश की आर्थिक नींव को मजबूत करने के लिये प्रधानमंत्री ने इमरजेंसी को लागू किया है। आदरणीय डा० कूरियन ने कहा है कि कांग्रेस डर के मारे इलेक्शन को टाल रही है। यह तो मजाक की बात है। चुनाव होगा तो परिणाम भी मालूम हो जायेगा। देश की आर्थिक जिन्दगी में जो डिमिप्लिन आई है, जो देश के मजदूर खेतों में काम करने वाले लोग डिमिप्लिन के तरीके से राष्ट्र के निर्माण में लगे हुए हैं उस डिमिप्लिन को नेशनल हैबिट में बदल दिया जाये इसके लिये इमरजेंसी के टर्म को बढ़ाया गया है।

प्रेस की आजादी की बात कही जाती है। प्रेस की आजादी के नाम पर मद्रास अखबार में जो लिखा गया क्या वह प्रेस की आजादी है? किस तरह से प्रधान मंत्री जी के व्यक्तिगत जीवन पर कीचड़ उछाला गया। क्या वह प्रेस की आजादी है। क्या देश के अंदर तरह तरह की शूटी और गलत खबरों का प्रचार कर के राष्ट्र में और राष्ट्र के बाहर की ताकतों को ईबाइड करना प्रजातंत्र है। आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में देश की राजनीतिक नीतियों का और राजनीतिक परिस्थितियों का उल्लेख किया है। मैं उस का समर्थन करता हूँ और उस के साथ ही कुछ और बातें निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ।

## [श्री कल्पनाव]

मेरा पहला निवेदन यह है कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में देश में इंडीपेंडेंट रूरल डेवलपमेंट के लिये कोई ठोस और समयबद्ध सुझाव नहीं दिया है। हिन्दुस्तान के 7 लाख गांवों में रहने वाले लोगों के विकास के लिये कोई ठोस और समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम घोषित नहीं किया गया है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में जिस ग्रामीण स्वराज्य का स्वप्न महात्मा गांधी ने देखा था उस की प्राप्ति के लिये हमें गांवों में विकास के लिये एक रूरल प्लानिंग कमिशन का गठन करना चाहिए। आज गांवों में, पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में चार, पांच करोड़ लोग बेकार हैं और बिखरे पड़े हैं। 25 वर्ष की आजादी के बाद भी आज गांवों का हाल वही है। बर्किंग क्लाम के लोग लगातार वहाँ उजड़ रहे हैं। मशीनीकरण और औद्योगीकरण के कारण गांव वाले उजड़ कर बंबई, फरीदाबाद, गाजियाबाद और दिल्ली की ओर भाग रहे हैं। एक तरफ तो शहरों के वैज्ञानिक विकास के लिये हमारे पास उपाय नहीं हैं और वहाँ यह ग्रामीण लोग आ कर नयी समस्याएँ पैदा कर रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ गांव उजड़ जा रहे हैं और वहाँ से खेती करने वाले भाग रहे हैं। इसलिये हिन्दुस्तान के सात लाख गांवों के वैज्ञानिक विकास के लिये एक ठोस और समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम की घोषणा की जानी चाहिए। आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे गांवों में खेती करने वाले आज बड़ी परेशानी में हैं। जो चीज खेतों में पैदा होती है वह आज माटी के दाम पर बिक रही है लेकिन कारखानों में बनने वाली चीजें चाहे वह प्राइवेट सेक्टर में बनती हों या पब्लिक सेक्टर में बनती हों। आज बहुत महंगे दामों पर बिक रही हैं। आप जानते हैं कि पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश में 6, 7 या 8 एकड़ से ज्यादा जमीन जोतने वाले किसान नहीं हैं। क्या आज की परिस्थिति में 40,000 रुपये का ट्रैक्टर जब बिक रहा है—इसमें कम का कोई ट्रैक्टर नहीं है और 140 रुपये बारा जब खाद बिक रही है और 15 रुपये प्रति हास पावर जब बिजली मिल रही है तो क्या कोई 6 या 7 एकड़ वाला किसान इन चीजों का उपयोग कर सकता है ?

क्या इन चीजों का उपयोग कर के वह आप की हरित क्रान्ति के सपने को साकार कर सकता है ? क्या इन चीजों का इतना दाम रख कर हम हरित और श्वेत क्रान्ति को गांवों में पहुंचा सकते हैं ? कारखाने में बनने वाली चीजें आज सोने के दामों में बिक रही हैं और किसान का गल्ला 120 रुपये क्विंटल बिक रहा है। चाहे वह मटर हो या धान, वह गेहूं हो या गन्ना या उस के खेतों में पैदा होने वाली सब्जियां ही हों, वह सारी चीजें माटी के दाम में बिक रही हैं और कारखाने में बनने वाली चीजें सोने के दाम पर बिक रही हैं। इसलिये मैं भारत की सरकार से अपील करता चाहूंगा कि वह देश के हित में एक दाम बांधों नीति को चलाये ताकि जो चीजें कारखानों में बनती हैं वह अपनी लागत के इयांई दामों में लोगों को मिल सकें और जो चीजें खेतों में पैदा होती हैं उन का लागत खर्च जितना हो उस के सवा गुने में वह लोगों को प्राप्त होनी चाहिए। आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप जानते हैं कि आज चीनी के माध्यम से देश को इस साल सब से ज्यादा फारेन एक्सचेंज मिला है, लेकिन हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश में चीनी मिल मालिकों ने गन्ने का दाम आज तक तय नहीं किया है। हम ने बंबई में एक प्रस्ताव पास किया था—पहला प्रस्ताव कांग्रेस के विभाजन के बाद पास हुआ था कि जैसे ही भारत की सरकार के लिये संभव होगा वह चीनी की मिलों का अधिग्रहण करेगी। पिछले साल उत्तर प्रदेश में साढ़े चौदह रुपये क्विंटल गन्ने का दाम था। इस साल किसानों को पूंजीपतियों के कारखानों में अपने गन्ने ले जाने पड़े रहे हैं। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि लकड़ी बिकेगी 18 रुपये क्विंटल और गन्ना बिकेगा 10 रुपये क्विंटल। इस तरह से गन्ना पैदा करने वालों के मंगूबे टूट रहे हैं। आज भी भारत सरकार को विदेशों से खाद्यान्न मंगाना पड़ रहा है और इस साल भी सरकार को एक हजार करोड़ टन खाद्यान्न विदेशों से मंगाना पड़ेगा। यदि राष्ट्र को आर्थिक मोर्चे पर एक शक्तिशाली राष्ट्र बनाना है और मुल्क में प्रजातन्त्र और समाजवाद दोनों के सपनों को साकार बनाना है, तो पूंजीवाद और साम्यवाद से डट कर नई तीसरी



दुनिया का निर्माण करना चाहते हैं तो हम को खेत में पैदा करने वाली चीजों के दाम तब करने होंगे। हमारे देश के महान नेता ने सतलुज और मानसरोवर से भाबड़ा और नांगल को पानी पहुंचाने के लिये कहा है जिससे एक हजार करोड़ किन्नावाट बिजली मिल सकेंगे।

हिन्दुस्तान के पांच करोड़ और दुनिया के एक करोड़ ग्रामीण लोगों के जीवन का वास्तविक विकास करने के लिये हमें ग्रामीण छायांग का गठन करना चाहिये। इन जन्तों के साथ में अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA (West Bengal) : I rise to speak in support of my amendment. In fact, we are at the cross-roads. When we hear the Government side, it appears that they are convinced that there was the necessity to declare the emergency. We are told all about the noise that was prevailing in the country. I would ask the Government what was the noise about? Do you hear only the noise? Don't you see the reason behind the noise? If there was poverty in the country, if there was unemployment in the country, if there was corruption in the country, was it not the function of the Opposition to make noise so that it might reach your ears? Will you see the noise only and not the reasons for it? If the Opposition was critical enough and took up the cause of the people which it ventilated here, will you see only the noise of the Opposition and nothing else? Will you not see that the press also was with the people or with the people's cause? Was that a fault of the press that you will gag its voice? What was the fault of the Opposition that you will ban all their meetings and you will put the leaders of the Opposition behind the prison bar? I want an answer to this, I do not for a moment suggest that there was no noise; there was noise. It might be that the noise was too loud also. It might also be that Mr. Rajnarain at times exceeded in this house. Did not Mr. Bhupesh Gupta exceed his limits all these years since 1952? Will you put a man behind the bar because he makes a noise here in the House? If one makes a noise

outside the House illegally, or against the people's interest, is not the arm of law strong enough to catch him, put him under arrest, try and punish him? That is the logical step. Then why this emergency?

We hear that there is a lot of indiscipline, and that is why you have declared the emergency. The Opposition is in a minority. If the minority is a little undisciplined that is tolerable. What about the majority? The majority must be tolerant. But they make more noise here, they lack the sense of urgency and discipline. They surpass the Opposition. Who would control them here? Is it not the duty of the Government?

Since 1947 it is one-party rule that we see. If there is any national malady, chronic enough, cancerous enough, who has developed it? Has it been developed by the Opposition or by the Government itself or by the party in power? You create the situation and we become the victims. Now, you have declared emergency. You say emergency was needed, let me, for the sake of argument, concede that also. But if you gag the opposition, press and the people by banning all meetings, by banning all publications, who is there to correct you? Do you claim yourself to be infallible? In a Fascist country, it is possible. In a communist country, it is possible. But can a democratic say "I am infallible"? Can any democratic Government on this earth say "We are infallible"? If you do not say that, then you must allow the press to function, the opposition and the public to function, to point out where your errors are. There is nothing unusual in making an error. It is through the process of trial and error that we perfect ourselves. We are human beings. I take you to be honest people. I am not taking you to be dishonest or corrupt people. Can't honest people err. You have erred in the past. You are erring even now. But that does not mean that you will err also in the future and shall not listen to what others say. If you act bona fide, if you are good people, you can be profited thereby and correct yourselves tomorrow.

IShri Dwejjendralal Sen Gupta]

You have the right to rule, but you have no right to misrule merely because you have been voted to power. If you have been voted to power, to thereby you have assumed responsibility to give us a good government, not an arbitrary government, not a government as you may please. If you do that, then the people also have the right to rise in revolt. Revolt is also a democratic means to effect a change. So, Madam Vice-Chairman, I say all this in anguish and not anger. My anguish, my anxiety, is, where we are heading towards. If Congress or Government declares today that like a communist country or a East-eist country, we will have one-party rule, that we shall not honour our Constitution, I can understand it. But if you say that it is a democracy, you must adhere to democratic norms. And democratic norms have a compelling necessity of allowing the public and opposition to function in a democratic fashion, namely, allowing the right to hold meetings, the right to ventilate public grievances, of course, honesty and also allowing the press to objectively criticise the Government. It is a function of the press. The press is not under any obligation to say all in praise of the Government. For that, All India Radio is there. But the press is a free instrument in a democracy. It is not a slave press that our Government wants to make it to be. That will be the end of democracy.

THE MINISTER OF PETROLEUM (SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA) : Madam Vice-Chairman, incidentally just to tell my hon. friend, I am reading a paper which is mercilessly criticising the Government. It was published only on December 20th.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : What is the name of the paper ?

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA : "Economic and Political Weekly". Objectively criticising the Government.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA : Very good. Objective criticism of your standard—is that objectively ? Objective criticism of your subjective pattern ? You

want somebody to argue in a particular way, the way you like. Is that objective criticism ? That is objective criticism because it supports you.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA : It does not support me.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA :

You declare then that objective criticism in public interest against the Government will not be objected to. Declare it. I will be glad. 3 P.M.

But the Minister may take note that all I want to say is not in respect of a particular paper or any particular issue of that paper. I am speaking about the general pattern for the whole country. If anybody is erring, you get hold of him and punish him. But why this blanket ban ? You have put Jayaprakash Narayan and Morarji Bhai under arrest. If you like, arrest them under specific charges. I do not mind. If they are guilty of specific offences, you punish them; or even hang them. But you have put them in jail without any specific charges against them and you are going about the country saying that "LP. is a fascist and Morarji Bhai is a fascist". Do you know what constitutes fascism on who is a fascist ? Will you give any instance where a fascist has preached nonviolence ? You give any instance. If Morarji Desai stands for anything, he stands for non-violence. If Jayaprakash Narayan can be credited with anything, either in the Gujarat movement or in the Bihar movement, he must be credited for his non-violent approach. He said : "You must tie your lips; tie your hands; you must not shout any slogan which might provoke others; you must not even throw a stone;" That is LP. And you say he is a fascist. You are trying to blackmail opposition parties and leaders of that character which we all adore. I have also contributed something to the national cause. Not only myself. Since 1921 my whole family has suffered. Therefore, I can also claim to speak something on this subject. Will anybody who has seen or known Jayaprakash Narayan or Morarji Desai believe you when you say that they

are Fascists ? They will say that it is a false propaganda. You are assassinating the character of these great leaders. You say that because the Prime Minister's character was being assassinated by the opposition the emergency, was necessary. What are you doing now? I am not a Janta Morcha man. You say that Janta Morcha has nothing in common. What has the Congress party got in common with the Communist Party ? Both of you are together blackmailing J.P. and holding conferences jointly. That is the only thing in common. People say that your conferences are anti-fascist virodhi sammelan and not anti-fascist Sammelan. Everywhere you go you will hear the Government is characterised as fascist. Why? Reasons are obvious. Because you put people in jail without trial. Because you have taken away power from the court to try all such cases. Because you have banned the Press, you have banned meetings and you have clamped emergency. There are manifestations of fascist rule. If you apply these tests. Then this Government is fascist and those who are in jail on support them are anti-fascist. So the conferences. You are holding of late are all anti-fascist virodhi sammelans. This is the language which I gathered, from a Congress I.P. who was travelling upto Patna in First Class in the same train with me and asked are you going to the antifascist virodhi sammelan ? He was sarcastically asking me.

I heard Mr. Bhupesh Gupta while he was supporting the emergency in the last session saying that when Shri Jayaprakash Narayan was arrested he thought that he would be the Gandhi of 1975. The speech was a very shameful speech. It reminded me of the speech of the Secretary of State for India in the British House of Commons when Mahatma Gandhi was arrested in 1931. He said: "After Gandhi's arrest dogs did not bark in the streets of India." But Gandhi died as the father of the nation. That is Jayaprakash Narayan's position here in India today. Otherwise the Prime Minister would not have sent Shri Umashankar Dikshit to see the condition

of that ailing leader at Bombay. Jayaprakash Narayan and his followers did not start any movement after arrest. If they did not start any movement, you say "Well, they did not have any following or support." "Well, they are all nobody and they are only paper heroes". Shri Brahmananda Reddy has said that they are paper heroes. If they started movement you would have talked differently. After Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was killed, there is a military regime there in Bangladesh and no visible movement on the surface. But that does not mean that the people are not with Mujib. They are with Mujib. Those who see the situation in India today and say that everything is normal and there is nothing to worry about and this should continue like this are equally mistaken. I warn them. India's interest does not lie in this confrontation. It is a confrontation with the people. In a democracy, the government is the government of the people and if the government declares a war against opposition it declares a war on the people, on all the people and that state of war should and should end as soon as possible. I was afraid when my friends said. "Well, the emergency will not continue for long. The emergency will be there for a short while and it will be over after we settle down". But if it takes root, it will never go. Many promises we have heard and many promises have been forgotten. So the sooner you withdraw this emergency and have a rapprochement with the Opposition, the better for the country. I do not say that the Opposition has been very fair. But I consider the Opposition to be fair in the context of the lapses and the failures of the government. What happens in the House? When the Minister is replying to the questions, does he reply in a fair manner? Does the Minister heed to the suggestions, constructive suggestions, from the Opposition? Is it a democracy at all? Is it a democracy if the government does not take note of the views of the democratic opposition? If the government does not take the role of the democratic opposition, what can they expect? Certainly the Opposition

LSiui Dwijendralal Sen Gupta tion will not waste its time here? Will they not organise the people? Of course, that organisation should be in a non-violent and peaceful manner. So, when I say this, I say that the Government have a great responsibility. You mismanage the things and so, the Opposition acts. Then again you put them under arrest. So, I say that you should release them. You must not only release them, but also you must treat them honourably when they are in jail. Madam, I will give you an instance. Mr. Ashok Das Gupta is the leader of the PSP in West Bengal. He has been detained under the MISA in West Bengal along with six or seven persons and they are all political detenus. Shri Ashok Das Gupta was granted parole to see his ailing mother on the 2nd November. He was brought hand cuffed to his house. I have never heard that a political detenu would be handcuffed. His mother fainted at once on seeing this. His mother had to be removed to the National Medical College Hospital Calcutta. In four days, his mother expired.

The son was brought, handcuffed, to see his ailing mother. His mother fainted at once on seeing that sight. She was removed to the hospital and she died. This is how you are treating political prisoners.

The Government is talking of the support of the Gujarat Labour and all that in Ahmedabad Municipal election. But has the Government any credibility to claim the support of the labour after the Bonus Ordinance—the Ordinance which takes away or rather snatches away money from the workers and passes it on to employers? Money was to be distributed to workers it was declared as bonus but ordinance stopped the payment. In whose interest have you done it?

Madam, Vice-Chairman, I will not take longer time. But I only wish to say that the Government should rise to the occasion and understand the implications of playing with fire. It is not that the emergency has brought them any good. They have not been able to educate the people.

They have only terrified the people. Any brute government or any authoritarian government can create a sense of terror. But you cannot go on creating this terror psychosis for all time. That will be a dangerous moment.

SHRI SARDAR AMIAD ALI (West Bengal) : Madam, Vice-Chairman, I rise to extend my gratitude to the hon. President for his kind address made before the joint Houses of Parliament. Till this day and since the President's Address is being read in this House, I had the opportunity of listening to some of my colleagues making their observation about the Address. Before I start my observations, I must say that the President has made a clear analysis of the situation that prevails in the country along with a reference as to what is to be done for the future benefit of the people for which this Government as well as, to a certain extent, some of my Opposition friends work. The President in his speech has also made observations about the relations which we have to keep in the international forum in the context of present developments both in the field of technology and in the fields of political and economic development.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Lokann'h Misra) in the Chair]

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. I had the opportunity to listen to my learned colleague, Mr. Sen Gupta, who was here just now . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : He is still there.

SHRI SARDAR AMIAD ALI : He started with a painstaking revelation of a son brought, hand-cuffed, to see his ailing mother. Yes, it is painful. But at the same time. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, through you I want to communicate to my friend that you have to look to those hapless persons who have been killed during the last Panchayat elections in Gujarat. It would perhaps be solemn duty on our part to look to what has happened to the poor, hapless and unfortunate sons and daughters of the late martyrs of Samastipur.

L.N. Mishra. Well, that is also a reality. If these do not touch them, well, these are things, of not little importance, which will touch the sentiments of mankind, because he tries to make a society where he may live in peace and harmony and strive for the betterment of the society in which he lives and also for the betterment of his own family and his own person too. I think this is another revelation which my opposition colleagues have to be reminded about at the present moment.

Sir, it is not a routine business that the President will make an Address before a joint session of the two Houses. When a new year starts, the President depicts, through the President's Address, the real political and economic situation that prevails in the country. He also indicates the way and the direction in which the Government which is headed by the President wants to move. It is really an unfortunate episode that during the last two days when we have been discussing the Address of the President, only the point about emergency has been elaborated by the other side. Mr. Vice-Chairman, emergency has been pronounced and it is a reality. Hon. Sen Gupta was making a gospel prophecy that if emergency gets roots into the soil of this country, it can never be removed. Similar prophecies have been made by the opposition benches earlier also and they have been proved to be false. For instance, when we met during the emergency period last time, some of our colleagues from the opposition benches in this House as well as in the other House, said that there would never be any Question Hour. It is a 'cnlily that we have this facility now. Some of our opposition colleagues said that once the press is gagged, it would never be free. It was a revelation which fbeV made. They said that nothing would come out in the press or would be broadcast on the radio or television. That nrophecy has also become untrue. With (he improvement of the situation, things will definitely change and they are changing. Sir, I may give an instance from one of the western countries to which some of my opposition colleagues are very

mucb attached. This illustration is from Canada. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you are aware that when the Quebec crisis cropped up in Canada, the Canadian Government had to declare a state of emergency and war. At that time, so many Canadian and Quebec leaders were taken into custody. Some of the rights of the people were also curtailed. Press freedom had to be checked. What was the purpose behind it? The Canadian Government was to restore peace and maintain the integrity and oneness of the whole Canadian federal fabric. When I give this sort of an illustration here, some of my friends might ask as to what is the relevance of this thing. I want to say that some of the so-called great leaders were trying to disintegrate the oneness of this country. At the time of our freedom, about 400 million people had to fight against the reign of corruption, exploitation and colonialism. We had to sacrifice, at the altar of Independence, many useful souls, many of our leaders and many of our sons and daughters.

The whole objective was that India should remain one. If, therefore, any forces come out with their utmost desire to disintegrate the whole country into pieces, I do not think it would have been wise on the part of any civilized Government in this world, whether it belonged to the Congress Party or any other Party, to tolerate that sort of an action. And when the definite proof came, and only at that point of time, the Government of India had come out with the declaration of Emergency. A question might be asked as to whether any other measure other than Emergency would have been able to cope up with the situation. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would humbly say that a lot of relaxations were given. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would humbly ask you: Have you ever heard in any country, in any free country that a leader claiming to be wielding the support of mass wotdd go and make an address that 12 days of Railway strike would cause the whole nation to starve. Ts it a responsible statement? Even at that point of time, those so-called big

[Shri Sardar Amjad Ali] leaders were not put behind the bars. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would humbly ask: Is it the responsibility shown by a responsible leader as some of them claim to be when he said that if you can paralyse the Government for fifteen days, the whole economy will go down the drain? If this sort of responsibility is shown by some of the leaders, I believe, it is the demand of the whole people and the nation that those people should not be given any relaxation. If the miseries and sufferings of some people caused their tears to fall, the miseries and sufferings of those people and those souls who have lost their mothers and daughters, their sisters and sons, are equally important, and their claim for the restoration of peace in their own life and in their social surroundings is also a very important thing that has to be looked into by any civilised Government. I believe that Indian culture, the Indian base of democracy stands for that civilisation where hoodlums will not be allowed to be let loose. Indian civilisation does not demand that all the gangsters to be let loose in order to cause ruination of the total fabric of this country, ruination of the morality, and the democratic fabric that this country has so long cherished.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I believe some of my friends were making an analysis that during this Emergency, you have only threatened people. I do not know what they mean by people. If by people they mean some two or three or twenty people and that their rights have been curtailed, well, I stand by the side of the Government thousand and one times to curtail the rights of some such people in order to protect the rights, liberties and freedom of other people and make them go ahead towards the achievement of the socialist objectives that the Government is striving for. The rights and liberties of such a handful of people, if needed, to be curbed in the interest of the country, they will have to be curbed. By democracy we do not mean that just a handful of people will be at liberty to do anything and everything, and asking the school-going

children to boycott their educational institutions. By democracy we do not mean that the whole locomotive set-up of the country will be disarrayed. By democracy we do not mean that people of responsibility—the so-called responsibility—will be egging our Armed Forces to come out openly with a rebellion. By democracy we do not mean egging out the personnel working in the Defence Department to leak out files and reach them to demons who wanted them or who had an eye to put the liberty and the political independence democracy, I believe, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, people do not want to cherish this sort of democracy. We do not want to have such type of democracy in our country. But, on the other hand, by democracy we mean that it is the people's struggle to come out of the exploitation, age-old exploitation that they are still facing. Well, there are institutions from where the people's rights flow and the benefits which could accrue to the people from those institutions and these institutions are still under the control, administration and sway of those who do not want to part with their rights and the benefits to the people from those institutions.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is that struggle that these 560 million people of this country are making. I agree with the observation of some of my colleagues that more could have been done but it does not mean that because that more could not be done therefore only devastation is the last reply. I am really surprised when I find that some of my colleagues from the opposition extend their support to the new 20-point economic programme as pronounced by the Prime Minister. Well, I may say very humbly that it is again that Prime Minister who had to give the lead in launching of the new 20-point economic programme. If you really felt for the people, if you really felt for the betterment of the society which you had felt in your heart of hearts, could you not take the lead? Was there any ban or was there any gagging on your thinking or on your thought? You could not be-

cause the opposition did never think on those lines.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, after the declaration of emergency I would like to point out to the Government that there are some corners where advantage are being taken because of the emergency. For instance in some of the industries advantage is being taken of this emergency and people are being retrenched without showing any cause or without assigning any reasons. This leads to frustration in the minds of the people who are thrown out.

*(Time bell rings)*

MT. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there are other fields where such complications are being created by some people and I think that this type of element both in the public administration and private administration will have to be taken care of; they will have to be looked after. Unless we do it, the objective for which the emergency has been proclaimed will be questioned by some sections of the people. I would, therefore, request my Government to look into these affairs. Along with this, I would again appeal to my colleagues on the opposition that instead of the criticisms made, assassinations caused and observations made, they may have some introspection and see the reasons for which emergency has been proclaimed. If those damns do not spread out to the root, then definitely the root of emergency also can be weeded out.

With these words I extend thanks to the hon. President.

Thank you.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is more than six months back that we entered the era of darkness. In spite of the clouds having been cleared on the 7th of November, the darkness has deepened. The number of our colleagues who have lost their freedom and are unable to come to this House or the other has increased since the last

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session of Parliament. In the mean time many thousands more have been deprived of their human rights, dignities and are facing tortures. One of the devout Gandhians, Shri Vasant Nargolkar, is entering the 13th day of his fast in Yerwada jail. JP, one of the tallest and purest Gandhians still left, with us, lies in Bombay after release from solitary confinement incapacitated for life—his vital kidneys seem to have lost functioning forever.

Many of our esteemed friends are still in solitary cells of the prisons of Free India. Gandhiji became a martyr to the cause of human dignity and equality. One wonders, was it to bring about this human indignity? Was it ever imagined either during the freedom movement or even thereafter that Government spokesmen in the High Court or Supreme Court as the Advocate General or the Attorney-General of India would plea that the purpose and effect of laws and Ordinances promulgated is that any citizen arrested under them loses all rights and no court in India can question the Government even if the prisoner is shot dead or starved to death? It has happened in the totalitarian states either of the right or the left hues, but one shudders to think whether Gandhiji would have ever dreamt that any of the Indian Governments would snatch away the freedom of political opponents for unlimited period—for he said, freedom is always the freedom of those who think difficulty and assume such draconian and unquestioned powers to shoot or starve to death any citizen and that too without trial. I am reminded of a couplet of Faiz, the Pakistani poet :

“सितम की रस्में बहुत थीं लेकिन,  
न थीं तेरी अंजुमन से पहले।  
सजा खताए नजर से पहले  
अताब जुमें सुखन से पहले।”

May I here quote Gandhiji? "The majority rule in parliamentary government must not degenerate into tyranny over any group or individual in the minority. In Swaraj the wolf and the lamb shall feed together."

[Shri Krishan Kant]

Sir, the President in his Address has referred to his last year's appeal for resorting to the path of dialogue and discussion to solve national issues. Sir, you remember, Chandra Shekhar, Dharia and myself had been pressing for the same approach and wanted PM and JP to initiate dialogue on socio-economic issues on the desirability of which there was much common ground. Dharia became the first victim of this approach and had to leave the Council of Ministers. Chandra Shekhar, Mohan Dharia, Ram Dhan. and myself were removed from the Congress precisely for following this approach as is clear from the chargesheet supplied to me by the AICC. Three of my colleagues are in jail for pursuing this approach and consistently warning about the dangers of confrontation leading to closing down of the political system if this approach is thrown overboard. I am not sure whether the President really meant what he said in his appeal because what has happened and what his Government has followed is exactly the opposite.

Sir, the President has referred to the various achievements of emergency. I would not like to go into the details of discipline, efficiency or the health of the economy for which he has claimed dramatic gains. There can be difference of opinion and various other facts can be given as to how the prices of cloth, cement, steel, aluminium, coal, etc., have been increased by the Government themselves, and the present fall in the price index is due to the favourable weather gods who cannot be claimed to have also been brought within the discipline of emergency. Assuming that all the achievements claimed are true and valid, the basic question which we have to ask ourselves is whether all the draconian and repressive measures are required to achieve the supposed results. We adopted a democratic Constitution and decided to have a free and open society to reach national goals through democratic processes. Have we to take a leaf from the philosophy of Mussolini to run trains in time? Have we to follow the Hitlerian

methods to bring discipline in offices and economy? Are we to learn lessons from Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan to reduce prices of commodities? Have we to give similar arguments which Idi Amin gives for Uganda or Marcos gives for Philippines or Army Generals gave in Greece to take away the civil liberties of the people? While people like Churchill were taken in by the temporary achievements of Mussolini and came to appreciate for some time the dictators, perceptive observers like Jawaharlal Nehru were not taken in by such claims. They looked behind such cosmetic measures and saw the real nature of the State. That is why, Sir, we chose a different path under the inspiration of Gandhiji.

The basic question that I was referring to is whether we have faith in democracy and democratic methods to achieve the goal of socialism. Does not the loud propagation of the achievements of emergency proclaim louder the acceptance of the failure of the democratic methods and our lack of faith in them?

Are we proclaiming that Gandhi like Buddha has no relevance for this country? Buddhism prospered in China and Japan and other Asian countries but not in India which was the birth place of Buddha, where he preached his preachings. When the whole world is trying to learn from Gandhi who is coming to be regarded as the most relevant figure of the modern age, we in this country are giving up his methods of approach and strategy which he suggested and practised on this soil.

Sir, it may be relevant to remind ourselves of what the Prime Minister said in 1969, "Dictatorship is not necessary to fight poverty. Nor does dictatorship give people strength."

Sir, the real crisis which had developed in the Indian polity was political corruption which had led to the erosion of values in public life resulting in the economic and social crisis. It is true that all political parties—whether in the Government or in the opposition—have to



share the responsibility for bringing about the situation. But the rulers naturally have to share more responsibility for it. The real problem was erosion of the credibility of the political parties and the political leadership which needed a collective decision to clean public and political life. Rather than attacking the problem and its vital links, diversionary tactics like the 'emergency' have been resorted to. The emphasis should have been on controlling the various levels of leadership and on the accountability of programmes accepted by the nation and changing those persons from the political parties who have not implemented those programmes rather than adopting the way of imposing emergency on the opposition and putting them behind the bars. Here again emergency and discipline must start from oneself. In this connection, may I quote Gandhiji? He said :

"The rule of others without the rule of oneself is deceptive as painting a toy mango, fascinating to look at but empty and hollow from within."

Sir, it is in this light that the developing economic situation in this country has to be viewed. The country is being definitely shifted to the right. Dr. K. N. Raj, an eminent leftwing economist in his address to the Kerala Students' Union on October 12 on National Emergency pointed this out. I would not like to quote him in detail. He said, referring to the 20-point programme, that while the Prime Minister referred to the stay orders given by West Bengal and Orissa High Courts on procurement of paddy and the impediments created by them, the Government itself reduced the procurement target from 5.3 million to 4.6 tonnes and Dr. Raj says, apparently the interests of the landlords still take precedence even over those of the 20-point programme. Sir, Dr. Raj further says that the more significant result of the changes in the economic policy was the growth of the private sector, including the big monopoly houses. Sir, he says the lasting effect of the 20-point programme will be that the highest weightage will be given to the relaxation in the licensing

policy and to the private sector big business entrepreneurs. Referring to the other effects, he says, if removals of controls can virtually finish off the big business then how big business is flourishing in the United States of America where there are hardly any controls.

I agree that there had been an acute danger of destabilisation in this country. But I feel that the emergency is part of destabilisation process induced by the external forces. The Prime Minister may not herself realise this. After all, the sophisticated destabilisation will be brought about by making her take these measures which others want, all the time herself considering mistakenly that they are her own ideas. The first step in any destabilisation in a country like ours was to destroy the consensus within the society, polarise the politics of the country, erode on the support the Government commanded by manoeuvring it into taking repressive measures. The entire life of Jawaharlal Nehru was devoted to insulating India from such polarisation. With more than a lakh of people in jail, to talk of unity of the country is self-delusion. Gandhi's followers and even Gandhi's own grandchildren cannot hold a prayer meeting on Gandhi's birthday at Gandhi Samadhi without restriction. Therefore, the unanimity and the support of the country claimed is not based on facts. The destabilisation is being carried out by external agencies through a sophisticated operation which will have three-four links in the chain before it latches to the immediate vicinity of the Prime Minister. Neither the Prime Minister nor her close associates may realise that much of the advice that has resulted the emergency action can only have emanated from an agency like the CIA.

Sir, out of the original pillars of non-alignment, Indonesia and Egypt today are leaning towards the West. They are only waiting for Tito to die to subvert Yugoslavia. India is, therefore, the target of those who want to subvert non-alignment. It is the only major non-aligned country between Cairo and Jakarta. The American

[Shri Krishan Kant] establishment expects that the Soviets would continue to depend on them for food and technology for the next 4 to 5 years. Within this period, therefore, the imperialist forces are out to register their biggest victory by taking India out of the camp of effective non-alignment, out of friend-ship with the Soviet Union and convert it into a kind of Brazil. It is quite likely that to some extent such forces induced the confrontation postures among the opposition elements but the responsibility for taking action and plunging the country into the polarisation rests squarely on the Government.

In our country, Sir, naturally much attention has legitimately been paid to the destabilisation process going on in various parts of the world. But, unfortunately, the correct lessons are not being learnt. In a neighbouring country, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman thought that he was the father of the people and, therefore, he could impose the one-party rule, taking away press freedom and ban all newspapers except Government ones. When he extinguished debate, he did not realise that he was thereby clogging up the channels of communication and he was creating an atmosphere and an environment in which destabilisation was easy. The lesson of Bangladesh should be clear to us. It was not Tajuddin or Kamal Hussain, who openly disagreed with the Sheikh, who assassinated him. It is those who pretended to be loyal to him all the time, who encouraged in plunging Bangladesh into darkness and an environment congenial to destabilisation, who conspired successfully against him. In Chile too, it was the Chief of Staff whom Allende trusted who finally stabbed Allende in the back. A person who wants to stab you in the back has to stand behind you and not oppose you openly. Therefore, if there are destabilisers in the country, and I agree there are many, we should look for them not among those who oppose openly but who vociferously shout their support and conspire in silence. In fact today, the entire State agency is being diverted into measures to watch the

open opponents, with the result that secret conspirators are not watched adequately. The mobilisation of the security machinery to repress the open opponents of the regime is one of the sophisticated ways of preparing the ground for destabilisation. When the destabilisers have fully used the present leadership in preparing the ground, then they will strike. Till now, it was the Openness of the society which made it difficult for conspirators to conspire. It was the legitimacy of our Government which was its strongest bulwark. It is completing its period of legitimacy in about two months. Polarising the country, diverting the State security apparatus into repressive measures and closing the channels of communication constitute the successful cieasres which the destabilisers have so far been able to achieve.

We must remember that every system has its own logic. Once that logic is destroyed, the system collapses. We in this country, after deep consideration and in traditions of the freedom movement, decided to build free and open society with the democratic parliamentary system. Can you visualise the British Government or Parliament with one party ruling the prominent opposition leaders in jail and opposition made ineffective? Can you visualise such a situation in any other democratic country in the world? When you try to minimise the legitimacy of the opposition by Government action, you are reducing the legitimacy of the Government itself. By virtue of detention ordinances, and preventing the courts from looking into the basic rights to life and liberty of the citizen and curbing the freedom of the press to suit the Government directives, you are subverting the system. The system undergoes a qualitative change. Do not forget that the present Government is the product of the open democratic system.

When you are closing the system for any type of dissent within the party or in the parliamentary institutions, kindly remember you are closing down the system for yourself also. If JP, Morarji, Chandra Shekhar, Dharia, Krishan Kant, Vajpayee

and Goray become incompatible with the system and are not tolerated within the party or the system, you also become a foreign element in the system and will be thrown out because of the transformation which you have deliberately and consciously brought about without realising the consequences. Your relevance to the system is also fast disappearing. By imposing this emergency and suspending the system, you have created a vacuum which is being filled up by dark forces and adventures, who are busy undermining the democratic framework built up with such care and efforts by Jawaharlal Nehru. The dark forces operating around the seats of power are at present faceless. They will, in due course, overcome and overpower you. Be warned of the dangers into which you have stepped in. It will result in the set-up of a large, inefficient, corrupt and lethargic bureaucracy, more misery for the people and disintegration of the country—the very opposite of the justifications advanced for the imposition of emergency.

That is why Gandhi laid so much emphasis on the harmony between means and ends. If your means are defective, the ends you seek to achieve get vitiated. There is a famous saying : "You reap what you sow". So kindly ponder over the very basic question of the logic of our system. Kindly do not destroy it. It will destroy you as well and not merely those who differ from you.

In a democracy, we oppose each other, but we are not enemies of each other. This has been the lesson one has learnt from the Father of the Nation. He did not consider even the Britishers as his enemies. In spite of my disagreement and opposition to what has been done, I still consider myself a genuine friend of Mrs. Gandhi. By the process you have started to close the system, you will not be able to destroy the system and still save yourself but in the process you will destroy yourself. As a humble Congressman and follower of Gandhi, I am struggling to save the democratic system and even those who 39 RSS/75—8

have wrought this grave deed of imposition of emergency.

Sir, lastly, I have said all this because I still believe that the leadership was misled by the advice from the quarters which in turn had links with the destabilisers. I do believe that except for a handful of people who are interested in converting the country into Brazil, who did not believe in socialism, who would like to establish free enterprise of the American model who did not take part in the freedom struggle, who did not imbibe the values of national movement and who are responsible for these steps towards destabilisation, all of us in this country have still mutually shared ideals inherited from the freedom struggle. As Jawaharlal Nehru showed, this country still has the basic consensus in politics. That is the most precious heritage we have from him. If that consensus is destroyed, we are destroying everything that Nehru stood for and we are destroying India herself.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI NRIPATI RAJAN CHOUDHURY  
(Assam; : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I stand to support the motion for vote of thanks to the President of India for his kind Address to Parliament.

Sir, before I make my observations on the Address, I would like to say a few words about the criticism made by our friends from the opposition bench against proclamation of emergency and the new discipline Government is trying to impart in the socio-economic and political field. Sir, Mr. Krishan Kant, who was speaking a few minutes back, was very sore at the proclamation of emergency, and he was very much critical of this emergency. But he never said how the situation that was prevalent in this country on the eve of emergency could better be dealt with. He did not say that. He just quoted some references from Gandhi and others. Sir, this has become a practice in this country to quote conveniently the sayings of great men as it suited the purpose of the speaker, but

[Shri Nripati Ranjan Choudhury] these pick and choose quotations never serve any useful purpose.

Sir, I would like to recall the situation, uncertain situation, in which the political parties and also some backed by some anti-national forces were trying to create in this country. Not only in the recent past, but since 1972, there had been a consistent effort to destabilise all governments, not only here in Delhi but also in all the States.

Hon. Members might remember that since 1972 we have been discussing so many issues. In 1972 we discussed Assam where the MLAs were being coerced for resignation. Then came Andhra; then came Gujarat, then Bihar and then there was an attempt to destabilise all the legally constituted Governments throughout the country, a consistent effort. And you know that it was not all the time that our friends were talking of democracy, but all these agitations took a violent shape, beating and killing of men, arson and destroying of public property. Now they say that this is not the way how you should deal with the situation. Now, Sir, what is the way? I have been carefully listening to our friends, who have been speaking from the Opposition. But no one ever said what is the way in which the Government should deal with such a type of situation. Even in this House, we have you also, Sir, as a Member there—faced many situations. We have witnessed Members lying down on the floor of this House; even the Marshal failed; and the security people had to lift them out physically. And even some of our friends were trying to make the functioning of this House impossible. We have witnessed such situations here. In the Lok Sabha there was the threat of Satyagraha inside the House. Now, when they criticise that this is not the way in which the Government should function, then our friends should also tell us whether this is the way in which they should function. Even in Bihar, the MLAs were forced, the political leaders both outside and inside

were saying that the MPs and the Members of the Legislative Assembly should be slapped. Even many friends in this House have advocated that this type of slapping is justified. This is the political aspect of the matter. Some political forces, some specific parties, were trying to make the democratic functioning of the Government impossible everywhere and were trying to destroy the democratic institutions of the country. While speaking of democracy, of preserving democracy in the country, many of the Opposition Members believe that it is the sole responsibility of the Government to behave properly; that it is the sole responsibility of the Government to cure all the ills, as if it is none of their responsibility and they have no business there.

Sir, another point. You might have observed that Shri Krishan Kant, while speaking, was all along speaking against the emergency. He confined his entire speech to this emergency saying that it is bad, and he hinted that some people are behind the Prime Minister who are not now opposing her and who will stab her in the back afterwards. I do not know what he means, and he has something in his mind. He said that people are there who will stab the Prime Minister from behind, now they are not very much vocal and they will do it. He referred to Bangla Desh incident also. But in his speech he never made any constructive suggestion as to what the Government should do to get rid of this.

Sir, if you go through the proceedings of the House since the very beginning, you will find that very few of our friends from the Opposition benches make any constructive suggestions to the Government. They are there only to criticise the Government. They are all Mehr Alis. You may not understand it. It is a very famous character in a short story of Tagore called "Hungry Stones". You must have seen the picture of it. It is very famous, it is of so international fame. There is a character in it called Mehr Ali. He was residing in an old palace which was in a dilapidated condition and the man was disillusioned

with wordly affairs. Whatever came in front of him, he used to say "Tafat Jao sab jhoot hai". This country has become the land of Mehr Alis. Our friends want to make the country a land of Mehr Alis. Such Mehr Alis should know "Kya sach hai". If you really want to contribute to the functioning of this democracy, we must know "kya sach hai". So, Sir, not only a democracy, no system can function with these Mehr Alis. We must find out some way to get rid of these Mehr Alis. This proclamation of emergency has come as a crue to the society. Sir, it may not be very sweet. But quinine we have to take if we are suffering from Malaria and quinine is not always very sweet. We have to take it because unless we take quinine, we cannot get rid of Malaria. So we were suffering from the malaria of indiscipline. We were suffering from the malaria of destabilisation, and some sort of a cure had to be there. This emergency came as a measure to correct these ills. It may not be very sweet, it may not be very palatable, but as a malaria patient swallows quinine, we have to swallow it and our friends have to swallow it because we cannot do without it.

Sir, Ramlal Parikhji when he was speaking now he is not present in the House—waj very critical of discipline in democracy and he said democracy and discipline cannot go together. But I do not know democracy without discipline. It was there a few days back and we had witnessed what it is. Democracy without discipline is mobocracy; it is not democracy. That was prevalent in this country. Bihar has witnessed the result of it very nicely. Gujarat has witnessed it and the country has experience of democracy without discipline. I do not know what system they have in their mind which can function without any discipline. Now, Sir, the Jana-Sangh is an off shoot of the RSS. Now if you ask the RSS people "Why are you people doing 'left right' early every morning ? Why do you do all those things ? What is your objective ?", they will say "Well, it is to impart discipline". What for ? They may have something in their

minds but they do not openly say what for the discipline is meant. But the discipline is meant for something.

4. P.M.

If discipline has no objective in view, then it is no discipline. These people are very much in favour of discipline in their own organisation. In RSS there is no democracy. The top man or Sar Sangh Chalak is there and his will is law in that organisation. They believe it is good for discipline. But when this Government wants to inculcate discipline in the national life, they say that they are introducing regimentation, discipline is not good and that they want democracy and not discipline. I want to ask them this plain question. Do they want Gujarat or Bihar to be repeated every time in this country ? Should this country go the Gujarat way or the Bihar way ? Is that the best form of Government ? Then it is no government. It is jungle rule. We have come some 10,000 years away from jungle rule and the nation cannot afford to go back to that stage now. So, discipline must be there.

Recently I have been to Europe. There discipline is much more stringent than in India, without any emergency. It has become part of their national life. They do not need any emergency because they have practised it in their life for long years as a tradition. But in this country from the very beginning we have got an idea that now that the country is free we can do as we like. And it is this go-as-you-like mentality of our politicians that has spoilt our young generation. Everywhere there was a sense of indiscipline and it is for this reason that proclamation of emergency has been welcomed by the people at large. This emergency has yielded some good results. I do not want to elaborate them because the President in his Address has elaborated all these points. I would like to mention only one or two points from his Address.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA) : Your time is up. You have taken more than 15 minutes I have to call the next speaker.

SHRI NRIPATI RANJAN CHOUDHURY : I shall have to conclude. The President has said in his Address that several steps are being taken up by the Government for the betterment of the economy. He said about the national plan for women to remove some of their disabilities. He has spoken also about family planning programme and of the incentives which Government are going to introduce for making it a success. What I would like to submit is that whatever plan we may undertake, it cannot be implemented unless a popular organisation or an organised movement is there behind such a plan, without these no such plan can ever be implemented. In this country, from the beginning of the planning era, there has been very little effort to associate the masses with planning. So, my humble suggestion to the Government will be that whatever plans they are going to have for the betterment of the people, they should see that the mass organisations are there to back these plans and mass movements are organised for the implementation of these plans. Thank you.

شری سید احمد ہاشمی (اثر پردیش) :

وائس چیرمین صاحب۔ میں پریذیڈنٹ کے خطبہ صدارت کی قرارداد کے اوپر تائید کرنے کے لئے کھڑا ہوا ہوں۔ پریذیڈنٹ نے جو خطبہ دیا ہے میں سمجھتا ہوں وہ بہت ہی کنسرکٹیو اور تعمیری خطبہ ہے اور اس لحاظ سے مجھے اس بات کی امید اور یقین ہے کہ اس خطبہ کی قرارداد پر سب شکریہ ادا کریں گے۔ اس میں ہمارے اپوزیشن کے دوست ایک تعمیری رول ادا کریں گے اور اس کے مطابق ایسے پہلو پیش کریں گے جس سے عوام ملک اور

قوم کو فائدہ پہنچے لیکن میں یہ دیکھ رہا ہوں کہ پریذیڈنٹ کے خطبہ صدارت کے شکریہ کی تحریک کے اوپر ہمارے اپوزیشن کے دوستوں نے کی وہ تقریریں ایسی ہیں جن کو ہم تنقید کا نام دے سکتے اور اسے گالی کہہ سکتے ہیں۔۔۔۔

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the chair]

لیکن ہمارے اپوزیشن کے دوستوں نے کوئی تعمیری تجویز پیش نہیں کی۔ غالباً وہ یہ سمجھ رہے ہیں کہ ڈیموکریسی اور جمہوریت اس چیز کا نام ہے۔ صرف اس چیز کو کہتے ہیں ڈیموکریسی اور جمہوریت جو کہ ان کے اپنے من میں ہے۔ جو کہ ان کی اپنی خواہش ہے۔ ظاہر ہے کہ ڈیموکریسی اور جمہوریت کی یہ تعریف مان لی جاتی ہے تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ چیز بھی ہمیں مان لینی پڑیگی اور اس چیز کو تسلیم کرنا پڑے گا کہ آج اس ڈیموکریسی کے نام پر اس جمہوریت کے نام پر جو ہمارے مرحوم دوست شری ایل۔ این۔ مشرا کے ساتھ ہوا جو آج گجرات میں ہو رہا ہے جو پچھلے دنوں ہوا ہے۔ تو ہمیں یہ مان لینا پڑے گا کہ جمہوریت کی تعریف میں یہ سب چیزیں شامل ہیں۔ وائٹنس اور تشدد قتل و غارتگری یہ تمام چیزیں ڈیموکریسی کی تعریف میں شامل کرنی پڑیں گی آج دنیا یہ بات اچھی طرح سے جانتی ہے اور یہ بات بتا رہا ہے کہ پچھلے دنوں گجرات میں پنچایت کے الیکشنوں پر صرف اتنا ہی نہیں کہ وائٹنس اور غنڈا گردی ہوئی بلکہ یہ بھی معلوم ہوا کہ ضلعوں میں جو جرائم پیشہ اور کرائم میں لوگ تھے جو جیلوں میں بند تھے ان کو نکال

کر تشدد اور غنڈا گردی پھیلانی گئی جس کی وجہ سے بہت سی جانیں گئیں اور لوگ زخمی ہوئے۔ اگر ڈیموکریسی اور جمہوریت اس چیز کا نام ہے تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ سب امن پسند شہری اس ڈیموکریسی اور جمہوریت کی تعریف کو ماننے والے نہیں ہیں۔ ظاہر ہے کہ ڈیموکریسی کی تعریف کے اوپر جو ہمارے اپوزیشن کے لوگ کرتے ہیں وشواش نہیں تھا یہی وجہ ہے کہ جتنا کی آواز پبلک کی تائید میسر اندرا گاندھی کی لیڈرشپ کے ساتھ ہوئی۔ پبلک نے کہا کہ ہم اس ڈیموکریسی کو اس ملک میں لانا چاہتے ہیں جس کی تعریف اندرا جی کرتی ہیں جو اندرا جی کی لیڈرشپ اس ملک میں لائے۔ تو مسٹر چیرمین یہ ظاہر ہے کہ ڈیموکریسی کی وہ تعریف جو ہمارے اپوزیشن کے لوگ وائٹس اور تشدد کے ساتھ کر رہے ہیں۔ اس تعریف کے لئے آج ہندوستان کی جنتا اور ہندوستان کے امن پسند لوگ تیار نہیں ہو سکتے۔ ڈیموکریسی کے نام پر کیا کیا اس ملک کے اندر اندھیر مچایا گیا۔ آج ایمرجنسی کے بعد آپ اس پر غور کیجئے۔ ایمرجنسی کی کچھ لوگ نبدا کرتے ہیں لیکن آج ہندوستان کی جنتا اور ہندوستان کے عوام اس ایمرجنسی کو ویلکم کر رہا ہے اس کے ایکشن کو ویلکم کر رہا ہے اس کا خیر مقدم کر رہا ہے۔ یہ محسوس کر رہا ہے کہ ایمرجنسی کے آنے کے بعد اس ملک میں وہ اندھیر گردی جو آج سے پہلے مچ رہی تھی وہ ختم ہوئی۔ میں مائٹرنی کا فرد ہوں اقلیت کا فرد ہوں میں جانتا ہوں کہ آزادی کے بعد اور ایمرجنسی کے پہلے کتنے کمیونل

فسادات ہوئے کتنے گھر تار جلائے گئے کتنے لوگ قتل و غارت کئے گئے کتنے بے گھر ہوئے لیکن ایمرجنسی کے آنے کے بعد ان طاقتوں کو موقعہ نہیں مل رہا ہے۔ آج اقلیت اطمینان محسوس کر رہی ہے کہ اب کمیونل رائٹ نام کی کوئی چیز اس ملک کے اندر نہیں ہے۔

آج صورت حال یہ ہے کہ جو غریب جنتا ہے جو غریب عوام ہیں وہ یہ محسوس کر رہا ہے کہ ایمرجنسی کے نفاذ سے پہلے اس ملک میں ایسی اندھیر گردی تھی کہ بازار میں جاؤ اور چیزیں نہ ملیں۔ اتنی گرانی تھی کہ چیزیں خریدنا جنتا کی قوت سے باہر تھا۔ ظاہر ہے کہ آج ایمرجنسی کے لاگو ہونے کے بعد چیزوں کے نرخ کم ہوئے ہیں چیزوں کے بھاؤ گرے ہیں۔ چیزیں آسانی سے ملنے لگی ہیں۔ قیمتیں اس طرح سے کم ہوئی ہیں کہ کھانے پینے کی چیزوں کے نرخ ۲۰ پر سنٹ گر گئے ہیں۔ عام جنتا کو زندگی کی سہولتیں آسانی سے ملیں تو ظاہر ہے کہ وہ اس ایمرجنسی کو برکت کہے گی اس ایمرجنسی کو ویلکم کہے گی۔ اس ایمرجنسی کے اندر اسے چیزیں سستی اور آسانی سے مل رہی ہیں۔ آج اس ایمرجنسی کی برکت ہے کہ وہ کالا دھن جو ایک پیرل اکانامی کے طور پر اس ملک کے اندر جم گیا تھا اور جس کی وجہ سے ملک کے اندر گرانی اور انارکی پیدا ہو رہی تھی۔ آج پندرہ ارب کی تعداد میں برآمد ہوا ہے یہ کس کے کام آئے گا یہ جنتا کے فائدہ کے کام آئے گا یہ جنتا کے مفاد کے کام آئے گا۔ ایمرجنسی کے لاگو ہونے سے پہلے ڈیموکریسی کے نام پر ہمارے یہ دوست

یہ سب کام کرنے نہیں دیتے تھے۔ آج یہ پندرہ ارب روپیہ عوام کی بھلائی کے لئے لگے گا تو یہ کوئی بری بات نہیں کہی جائیگی جتنا اس کا خیر مقدم کریں گی۔ اس قسم کے اسٹیس سے آج تین ارب روپیہ محصولات اور سیکورٹی کی مد میں حاصل ہوگا اور اس سے بچت کا گھانا کم ہوگا۔

عوام کا معیار زندگی بلند ہوگا لیکن ہوتا یہ تھا کہ ڈیموکریسی کے نام پر اسمگلنگ چالو تھی کالا دھندا جاری تھا۔ تھوڑے سے طبقے عوام کا ایکسپلائیشن کر رہے تھے اور ملک میں ایک پیلرل اکانامی بنی ہوئی تھی جس سے ملک کو دھکا پہنچ رہا تھا۔ دوسری طرف غریب جتنا کی حالت دن پہ دن خراب ہوتی جا رہی تھی آپ بتلائیں کہ اتنی ظاہر حقیقتوں کے بعد اگر کوئی شخص سورج کی روشنی کو جھٹلائے اور کہے کہ اس ایمرجنسی کے بعد کوئی فائدہ نہیں ہوا یا ایمرجنسی غلط تھی تو میں نہیں سمجھ سکتا کہ یہ بات کہاں تک صحیح ہے۔ سوائے اس کے کہ ایک جو عادت پڑی ہوئی ہے گالی دینے کی وہ اپنی جگہ ہے۔ یہ ہمارا جگر ہے کہ ہم گالیاں سنتے ہیں اور مسکراتے ہیں۔

کتنے شیریں ہیں تیرے لب کے رقیب  
گالیاں کھا کے بے مزہ نہ ہوا

تو گالیاں دیتے رہتے۔ ہم سنتے رہیں گے لیکن یہ نہیں ہو سکتا کہ آپ کی گالیوں کے ڈر کے مارے یا پتھروں کے یا چھریوں کے ڈر کے مارے یا پستول کی نال کے ڈر کے مارے عوام کے مستقبل اور مفاد کو ہم نہ دیکھیں۔ ہمارے پریذیڈنٹ

نے غالباً اس طرف اشارہ کیا ہے کہ ملک کے اندر ایک اندرونی انتشار تھا۔ جس طریقہ سے بیرونی طاقتیں باہری ملکوں کی طاقتیں جو معاذ آرائی کر رہی تھیں ہمارے ملک میں اس کی وجہ سے غیر یقینی حالات پیدا ہو رہے تھے اور اس طرح سے ہماری آزادی اور سلامتی کو ایک خطرہ لگا ہوا تھا۔ ٹھیک اس طریقہ سے ملک میں کچھ انتشار پسند طاقتیں تھیں جو نہیں چاہتی تھیں کہ اس ملک کی سلامتی برقرار رہے۔ ظاہر ہے کہ آج عوام بے دار ہو گئی ہے وہ تیار ہو گئی ہے اور وہ جان رہے ہیں کہ اگر اس طرح کے انتشار پسند طاقتوں کو اس ملک میں موقعہ دیا گیا تو اس ملک کی ایکتا اور سلامتی باقی نہیں رہیگی۔ ظاہر ہے کہ ہم ہر قیمت پر اس ایکتا اور سلامتی کو اس ملک میں باقی رکھنا چاہتے ہیں۔ میں ایک بات کی طرف اور توجہ دلانا چاہتا ہوں پریذیڈنٹ نے اپنے خطبہ صدارت میں اس بات کا خیر مقدم کیا کہ ایمرجنسی آنے کے بعد ہماری جتنا میں اور ملک میں ڈسپلن آئی ایک تہذیب آئی قرائض کے سلسلے میں ذمہ داریوں کے سلسلہ میں سوچنے کا ایک انداز پیدا ہوا اس واسطے آپ اس بات کو سوچیں اور غور کریں کہ اگر کسی قوم کے اندر ڈسپلن نہ ہو تو اس کی ٹھیک ایسی ہی کیفیت ہوگی کہ جیسے کوئی ان ڈسپلنڈ فوج ہو۔ اگر وہ معاذ پر جائے تو وہ ہار جائے گی جیت نہیں سکتی۔ اس طریقہ سے اگر کوئی نیشن کوئی قوم میں ڈسپلن نہ ہو اس پر ترتیب نہ ہو تہذیب نہ ہو تو وہ



قوم ترقی کی دوڑ کے اندر پیچھے رہ جائے گی وہ قوم ترقی نہیں کر سکتی۔ قوم ترقی کریگی ڈسپلن آنے سے۔ آج یہ ایمرجنسی کا نتیجہ ہے کہ ہمارے ملک کے اندر عوام میں ایک ڈسپلن کی بھاونہ پیدا ہوئی۔

مسٹر وائس چیرمین۔ میں اس بات کا خیر مقدم کرونگا جو ہمارے پریذیڈنٹ صاحب نے اپنے خطبہ صدارت میں اشارہ کیا ہے۔ اس سیشن میں اربن سیلنگ ایکٹ آ رہا ہے۔ ظاہر ہے کہ آج شہروں میں مکانوں کی قلت ہے اور رہائشی مکانات ملنے میں دشواریاں پیدا ہو رہی ہیں میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اربن سیلنگ ایکٹ آنے کے بعد اس کے اندر سہولت پیدا ہو جائے گی۔ کچھ مشکلات بھی آئیں گی جو لوگ بے گھر ہیں جو پریشانیاں ہیں رہائش سے ہم ان کی مشکلات کو کم کر سکیں گے۔ میں ایک بات اس بارے میں سمجھتا کرونگا کہ جس طرح سے لینڈ ریگولیشن کے اندر زمین داری کے خاتمے کے موقعہ پر یا اس لینڈ سیلنگ کے موقعہ پر جو زمین تقسیم کی جا رہی ہے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس طریقہ سے اربن سیلنگ ایکٹ آنے کے بعد اس میں اگر دس گنا رہائش حصہ لیکر جن کے اندر وہ رہتے ان کو ہی مکانات دے دئے جائیں تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ایک بڑا مسئلہ حل ہو سکتا ہے۔ ایک بات اور بھی عرض کرنی ہے کہ رینٹ کنٹرول ایکٹ کے سلسلہ میں کرایہ داروں کے لئے ایک آرڈیننس جاری کیا گیا ہے۔ ہوتا یہ تھا کہ اگر کوئی شخص مر گیا تو اس کے بعد کرایہ دار کے وارث کو حق نہیں ملتا تھا۔ آرڈیننس سے

یہ بات ختم ہوتی ہے لیکن وہ بہت محدود ہے۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس کے دائرہ کو ہمیں بڑھانا ہے۔ ماہانہ لینجے ایک دکان دار ہے اس کا انتقال ہوتا ہے تو اس کا وارث اس کی دکان کا وارث بنے گا۔ (Time bell rings) کاروباری سینٹرس کے سلسلہ میں میرا سنجیشن یہ ہے کہ اس کا دائرہ وسیع کیا جائے۔ اور اس کے اندر دکانوں کو بھی شامل کیا جائے۔ میں ایک بات اور عرض کروں گا جو میں نے ابھی عرض کیا کہ زمینوں کی تقسیم ہو رہی ہے۔ اس بارے میں شکایت موصول ہوئی ہے۔ یہ کم سے کم مجبہ تک پہنچی ہے کہ کچھ طبقوں کو اگتور کیا جا رہا ہے۔ مسلمانوں کے اندر یہ شکایت ہے کہ جو کم زور طبقہ ہے ان کو زمینوں کا حصہ نہیں مل رہا ہے۔ اگر واقعی ایسی شکایت ہے تو اس کو دور کیا جانا چاہئے۔ ایک بات کی طرف اور دھیان دلاؤں گا کہ آج ہم ۲۰ پوائنٹ پروگرام امپلیمنٹ کرنے جا رہے ہیں اور یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ پورے ملک کے اندر اس کا امپلیمنٹ ہو۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہندوستان کی عام جتنا اس کے اندر شریک ہے اور ظاہر ہے کہ جو ہمارے ملک کے دستور اور آئین کے بہت سے معاملات کے اندر کچھ چیزیں رکاوٹ بنتی ہیں۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہندوستان کے دستور کے اندر اس کے مطابق سدھر جائے گا اس کے اندر کچھ ترمیم کی جائے اور اس کو ریوائز کیا جائے۔ میں اس سلسلہ میں کچھ عرض کروں گا۔ ہمارا یہ دستور مائٹری کے حقوق کو پروٹیکشن کے ساتھ تیار کیا

[شری سید احمد ہاشمی]

جانا چاہئے۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں جب کبھی ایسا موقعہ آئے تو ہمارے دستور کو روائز کیا جائے اس پر نظر ثانی کی جائے اور آئین میں ترمیم کی جائے۔

†[श्री सैयद अहमद हाशमी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : वाइस चैयरमैन साहब, मे प्रेजिडेंट के खतबा-ए सदारत की करारदार के ऊपर तारीफ करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। प्रेजिडेंट ने जो खतबा दिया है मैं समझता हूँ वह बहुत ही कंस्ट्रक्टिव और तामीरी खतबा है और इस लिहाज से मुझे इस बात की उम्मीद और यकीन है कि इस खतबा की करारदार पर बहुत शुक्रिया अदा करेंगे। इसमें हमारे अपोजीशन के दोस्त एक तामीरी रोल अदा करेंगे और इसके मुताबिक ऐसे पहलू पेश करेंगे जिससे आबाम, मुल्क और कोम की फायदा पहुँचे लेकिन मैं यह देख रहा हूँ कि प्रेजिडेंट के खतबा सदारत के श्रुतिया की तहरीक के ऊपर हमारे अपोजीशन के दोस्तों ने की वह तहरीर ऐसी है जिनको हम तनकीद का नाम दे सकते और इसे गाली कह सकते हैं।

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

लेकिन हमारे अपोजीशन के दोस्तों ने कोई तामीरी तजवीज पेश नहीं की। गालिबन वे यह समझ रहे हैं कि डेमोक्रेसी और जम्हूरियत इस चीज का नाम है, सिर्फ इस चीज को कहते हैं डेमोक्रेसी और जम्हूरियत जोकि उनके अपने मन में है। जोकि उनकी अपनी क्वालिफिकेशन है। जाहिर है कि डेमोक्रेसी और जम्हूरियत की यह तारीफ मान ली जाती है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह चीज भी हमें मान लेनी पड़ेगी और इस चीज को तस्लीम करना पड़ेगा कि आज इस डेमोक्रेसी के नाम पर, इस जम्हूरियत के नाम पर जो हमारे मरहूम दोस्त श्री एल०एन० मिश्रा के साथ हुआ जो आज गुजरात में हो रहा है, जो पिछले दिनों हुआ है तो हमें यह मान लेना पड़ेगा कि जम्हूरियत की तारीफ में यह सब चीजें शामिल हैं। वायलेंस और तशदद, कत्ल व गारुतगरी ये तमाम चीजें डेमोक्रेसी की तारीफ में शामिल करनी पड़ेंगी।

आज दुनिया यह बात अच्छी तरह से जानती है और यह बात बजा है कि पिछले दिनों पंचायत के इलेक्शनों पर सिर्फ इतना ही नहीं कि वायलेंस और गुण्डागर्दी हुई बल्कि यह भी मालूम हुआ कि जिलों में जो जरायम पेसा और कराइम में लोग थे जो जेलों में बन्द थे उनको निकाल कर तशदद और गुण्डागर्दी फैलाई गई, जिसको बजह से बहुत सी जानें गई और लोग जख्मी हुये। अगर डेमोक्रेसी और जम्हूरियत इसी चीज का नाम है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि सब अमन पसन्द शहरी इस डेमोक्रेसी और जम्हूरियत की तारीफ को मानने वाले नहीं हैं। जाहिर है कि डेमोक्रेसी की तारीफ के ऊपर जो हमारे अपोजीशन के लोग करने हैं विश्वास नहीं था। यही बजह है कि जनता को आवाज पब्लिक की तारीफ मिमेत्रा इन्दिरा गान्धी की लीडरशिप के साथ हुई। पब्लिक ने कहा कि हम इस डेमोक्रेसी को इस मुल्क में लाना चाहते हैं जिसकी तारीफ इंदिरा जी करती हैं, जो इंदिरा जी की लीडरशिप इस मुल्क के अन्दर लाये। तो मिस्टर चैयरमैन यह जाहिर है कि डेमोक्रेसी की वह तारीफ जो हमारे अपोजीशन के लोग वायलेंस और तशदद के साथ कर रहे हैं, इस तारीफ के लिए आज हिन्दुस्तान की जनता और हिन्दुस्तान के अमन पसन्द लोग तैयार नहीं हो सकते। डेमोक्रेसी के नाम पर क्या-क्या इस मुल्क के अन्दर अन्धेर मचाया गया। आज एमेरजेंसी के बाद आप इस पर गौर कीजिये। एमेरजेंसी की कुछ लोग निन्दा करते हैं लेकिन आज हिन्दुस्तान की जनता और हिन्दुस्तान का आबाम इस एमेरजेंसी को बेलकम कर रहा है। इसके एक्सपेंशन को बेलकम कर रहा है, इसका खैर मुकदमा कर रहा है। यह महसूस कर रहा है कि एमेरजेंसी के आने के बाद इस मुल्क में वह अन्धेरगर्दी जो आज से पहले मच रही थी वह खत्म हुई। मैं माइनोरिटी का फर्द हूँ, अकलीयत का फर्द हूँ, मैं जानता हूँ कि आजादी के बाद और एमेरजेंसी के पहले कितने कम्युनल फसादात हुये, कितने घरबार जलाये गये, कितने लोक कत्ल व गारत किये गये, कितने बेघर हुये लेकिन एमेरजेंसी के आने के बाद इन ताकतों को मौका नहीं मिला रहा है। आज अकलीयत इतमीनान महसूस कर रही है कि अब कम्युनल

† ] Hindi translation.

रायट नाम की कोई चीज इस मुल्क के अन्दर नहीं है।

आज सूरत हाल यह है कि जो गरीब जनता है, जो गरीब अश्वाम है वह यह महसूस कर रहा है कि ऐमरजेंसी के नफाज से पहले इस मुल्क में ऐसी अन्धेरगदी थी कि बाजार में जाओ और चीजें न मिलें—इतनी गिरानी थी कि चीजें खरीदना जनता की कुव्वत से बाहर था। जाहिर है कि आज ऐमरजेंसी के लागू होने के बाद चीजों के निख कम हुए हैं, चीजों के भाव गिरे हैं, चीजें आसानी से मिलने लगी हैं। कीमतें इस तरह से कम हुई हैं कि खाने पीने की चीजों के निख 20 परसेंट गिर गये हैं। आम जनता को जिन्दगी की सहायित्व आसानी से मिले तो जाहिर है कि वे इस ऐमरजेंसी को बरकत कहेंगे। इस ऐमरजेंसी को बेलकम करेंगे। इस ऐमरजेंसी के अन्दर उसे चीजें सस्ती और आसानी से मिल रही हैं। आज इस ऐमरजेंसी की बरकत है कि वे काला धन जो एक पेरल एकादमी के तौर पर इस मुल्क के अन्दर जम गया था और जिसकी वजह से मुल्क के अन्दर गिरानी और अनारकी पैदा हो रही थी। आज पन्द्रह अरब की तादाद में बरामद हुआ है यह किसके काम आयेगा। यह जनता के फायदा के काम आयेगा, यह जनता के मफाद के काम आयेगा। ऐमरजेंसी के लागू होने से पहले डेमोक्रेसी के नाम पर हमारे ये दोस्त ये सब काम करने नहीं देते थे। आज ये पन्द्रह अरब रुपया अश्वाम की लाई के लिये लगेगा तो यह कोई बुरी बात नहीं कही जायेगी। जनता इसका खैर मुकदम करेगी। इस किसम के स्टेप्स से आज तीन अरब रुपया महसूलात और सेक्युरिटी की मद में हासिल होगा और इससे बजट का घाटा कम होगा। अश्वाम का मैयार जिन्दगी सुलभ होगा लेकिन होता यह था कि डेमोक्रेसी के नाम पर स्मगलिंग चालू थी, काला धन्धा जारी था। थोड़े से तबके अश्वाम का एक्सप्लाइशन कर रहे थे, इस्तहसाल कर रहे थे और मुल्क में एक पेरल एकादमी बनी हुई थी जिससे मुल्क को धक्का पहुंच रहा था। दूसरी तरफ गरीब जनता की हालत दिन-ब-दिन खराब

होती जा रही थी। आप बतलाइये कि इतनी जाहिर हकीकतों के बाद अगर कोई सख्त सूरज की रोशनी को झुठलाये और कहे कि इस ऐमरजेंसी के बाद कोई फायदा नहीं हुआ या ऐमरजेंसी गलत थी तो मैं नहीं समझ सकता कि यह बात कहाँ तक सही है, सिवाय इसके कि एक जो आदत पड़ी हुई है गाली देने की वह अपनी जगह है। यह हमारा ज़िगर है कि हम गालियाँ सुनते हैं और मुस्कराते हैं।

कितने शीरी हैं तेरे लव के रकीब  
गालियाँ खा के बे-मजा न हुआ।

तो गालियाँ देने रहिये—हम सुनते रहेंगे लेकिन यह नहीं हो सकता कि आपकी गालियों के डर के मारे या पत्थरों के या छुरियों के डर के मारे या पिस्तौल की नात के डर के मारे अश्वाम के मुस्तकबल और मफाद को हन न देखें। हमारे प्रेसीडेंट ने गालिबन इस तरह इशारा किया है कि मुल्क के अन्दर एक अन्दरूनी इंतजार था। जिस तरीके से बेल्गी ताकतें वाहते मुल्कों की ताकतें जो महाज आर्राई कर रही थीं हमारे मुल्क में इसकी वजह से गैर-यकीनी हालात पैदा हो रहे थे और इस तरह से हमारी आजादी और सनामती को एक खतरा लगा हुआ था। ठीक इसी तरीके से मुल्क में कुछ इंतजार पतन्द ताकतें थीं जो नहीं चाहती थी कि इस मुल्क की सनामती बर-करार रहे। जाहिर है कि आज अश्वाम खेदार हो गई है—वे तैयार हो गई है और वे जान रहे हैं कि अगर इस तरह के इन्तजार पतन्द ताकतों को इस मुल्क में मौका दिया गया तो इस मुल्क की एकता और सनामती बाकी नहीं रहेगी। जाहिर है कि हम हर कीमत पर इस एकता और सनामती को इस मुल्क में बाकी रखना चाहते हैं। मैं एक बात की तरफ और तबज्जुह दिवाना चाहता हूँ। प्रेसीडेंट ने अपने खतबा-ए-मदारत में इन बात का खैर-मुकद्दम किया कि ऐमरजेंसी आने के बाद हमारी जनता में और मुल्क में डिसिप्लिन आई, एक तहजीब आई फराईज के सिलसिले में जिम्मेदारियों के सिलसिले में सोचने का एक अन्दाज पैदा हुआ। इस वास्ते आप इन बात की साँवें और गौर करें

[श्री सैयद अहमद हाशमी]

कि अगर किसी कौम के अन्दर डिसीप्लिन न हो तो इसकी ठीक ऐसी ही कैफियत होगी कि जैसे कोई इंडस्प्लिड फौज हो। अगर वह महाज पर जाये तो वे हार जायेगी जीत नहीं सकेगी। इस तरीके से अगर कोई नेशन कोई कौम में डिसीप्लिन न हो, उसमें तरतीब न हो तहजीब न हो तो वह कौम तरक्की की दौड़ के अन्दर पीछे रह जायेगी, वह कौम तरक्की नहीं कर सकती, कौम तरक्की करेगी डिसीप्लिन आने से। आज यह एमरजेंसी का नतीजा है कि हमारे मुल्क के अन्दर अवाम में एक डिसीप्लिन की भावना पैदा हुई।

मिस्टर वाईस चेयरमैन, मैं इस बात का खैर मुकद्दम करूंगा जो हमारे प्रेजिडेंट साहब ने अपने खतबा-ए-सदास्त में इशारा किया है। इस सेशन में अर्बन सीलिंग एक्ट आ रहा है। जाहिर है कि आज जो शहरों में मकानों की किल्लत है और रिहायशी मकानात मिलने में दुशवारियां पैदा हो रही हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि अर्बन सीलिंग एक्ट आने के बाद इसके अन्दर सहूलियत पैदा होजायेगी। कुछ मुशकलात भी आयेंगी जो लोग बेघर हैं, जो परेशान हैं रिहायश से हम उनकी मुशकलात को कम कर सकेंगे। मैं एक बात इस बारे में सजेस्ट करूंगा कि जिस तरह से लैंड रेगुलेशन के अन्दर जमीनदारी के खातमे के मौके पर या इस खैण्ड सीलिंग के मौके पर जो जमीन तकसीम की जा रही है। मैं समझता हूं कि इसी तरीके से अर्बन सीलिंग एक्ट आने के बाद इसमें अगर दस गुना रिहायशी हिस्सा लेकर जिनके अन्दर बे रहते उनको मकानात दे दिये जायें तो मैं समझता हूं कि एक बड़ा मसला हल हो सकता है। एक बात और भी अर्ज करनी है कि रेंट कंट्रोल एक्ट के सिलसिले में किरायेदारों के लिये एक आर्डिनेंस जारी किया गया है। होता यह था कि अगर कोई शक्स मर गया तो उसके बाद किरायेदार के वारिस को हक नहीं मिलता था। आर्डिनेंस से यह बात खत्म होती है लेकिन वह बहुत महदूद है। मैं समझता हूं कि इसके दायरे को हमें बढ़ाना है। मान लीजिये एक दुकानदार है उसका इन्तकाल

होता है तो उसका वारिस उसकी दुकान का वारिस बनेगा (Time bell rings) कारोबारी सेंटर्स के सिलसिले में मेरा सजेसन यह है कि इसका दायरा बसी किया जाये और उसके अन्दर दुकानों को भी शामिल किया जाये। मैं एक बात और अर्ज करूंगा जो मैंने अभी अर्ज किया कि जमीनों की तकसीम हो रही है। इस बारे में शिकायत मौसूज हुई है यह कम से कम मुझ तक पहुंची है कि कुछ तबकों को इगनौर किया जा रहा है। मुसलमानों के अन्दर ये शिकायत है कि जो कमजोर तबका है उनको जमीनों का हिस्सा नहीं मिल रहा है। अगर बाकई ऐसी शिकायत है तो इसको दूर किया जाना चाहिए। एक बात की तरफ और ध्यान दिलाऊंगा कि आज हम 20 प्वाइंट प्रोग्राम इम्प्लीमेंट करने जा रहे हैं और यह चाहते हैं कि पूरे मुल्क के अन्दर इसका इम्प्लीमेंट हो। मैं समझता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान की ग्राम जनता इसके अन्दर शरीक है और जाहिर है कि जो हमारे मुल्क के दस्तूर और अर्देन के बहुत से मामलात के अन्दर कुछ चीजें रूकावट बनी हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान के दस्तूर के अन्दर इतके मुताबक सुधार जायेगा इसके अन्दर कुछ तरमीम की जाये और इसको रिवाइज किया जाये। मैं इस सिलसिले में कुछ अर्ज करूंगा। हमारे यह दस्तूर माइनोरिटी के हकूक को प्रोटेक्शन के साथ तैयार किया जाना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूं जब कभी ऐसा मौका आये तो हमारे दस्तूर को रिवाइज किया जाये इस पर नजरसानी की जाये और आईन में तरमीम की जाये।]

SHRI K. S. MALLE GOWDA (Karnataka) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, firstly, I would say that I welcome the 20-point economic programme of the Prime Minister.

When I spoke on the emergency in this House in the last session, I appealed to our Prime Minister to lift the emergency early. I was hoping that the President would declare that the emergency would be lifted along with the severe curbs on press freedom and the freedom of speech. I was also hoping that our colleagues, the

Members of Parliament, under detention would be participating in the discussion in both the Houses of Parliament soon. It is most saddening that the unhappy situation in the country, the tension and uncertainties, the fear and suspense in the country is allowed to continue by the very same freedom fighters who fought alongside Mahatma Gandhi for liberty, democracy and the human freedoms.

Sir, this ancient nation, this wonderful nation of great sages, saints, acharyas: (his nation which gave the world Buddha, Vivekananda, Sankaracharya, Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru, this great nation which sings into our ears that truth and dharma are the sources of Anandamrita, (he nation which preaches us from birth to death that only papa and pu.nya i.e., our good and evil actions will accompany our souls when we die, has not only given us a world of the earth, water, waves and air to live on but also given us a lofty spiritual world of Anand and bliss to live in; a world of love begetting love.

Sir, in an enlightened decade we are living in, it is free democracy which enshrines human dignity, human love, human development and the freedom of the individual that the modern thinkers would love respect and passionately desire.

Sir, I appeal to the Prime Minister to end for the last time in this sacred land the detention of political opponents without trial. Political vendetta should not be allowed to take roots in this glorious, spiritual land of Bharatta.

Sir, we do not want freedom to degenerate into licence. But we want discipline and democracy and not guided, i.e., nose-led democracy.

As men come and go, power comes and goes. We are responsible Members of Parliament today and tomorrow we will be ordinary citizens possibly bemoaning with bitterness many of our actions as! Members of Parliament which we did only with selfish ends but not at the dictates of our conscience.

Sir, I am too small a man to sing the immortal songs of liberty of which great men and great poets have sung. What for did Mrs. Indira Gandhi, our Prime Minister, fight as a youth in her younger days against the British along with Mahatmaji and a host of illustrious patriots? It was to give liberty, the freedom of speech and the freedom of press to the people of India.

Thomas Jefferson said: "God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time". I quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: "I value individual liberty more than progress attained in rigid conditions". He has also said "We want to produce material goods of the world and to have a high standard of living but not at the expense of the spirit of man, not at the expense of his adventurous spirit, not at the expense of all those fine things of life which have ennobled men throughout the ages."

I make a fervent appeal to our Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi to heed the advice of nationalists and true democrats like Mr. Goray and Mr. Joshi here and take the country forward with the collective wisdom of the people for the welfare and happiness of all sections of society.

Sir, it is proposed to amend the Constitution further. I would appeal to the Prime Minister not to abridge any more any of the fundamental rights which have been given to the people of India by a Constituent Assembly of great thinkers, philosophers and statesmen. May she try to join the galaxy of great men and women of the world and come within the description of this poem of longfellow:

"Lives of great men all remind us  
We can make our lives sublime,  
And, departing, leave behind us  
Footprints on the sands of time."

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS, DE-  
PARTMENT OF PERSONNEL AND  
ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS AND  
DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY  
AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA): Mr.

[Sri Om Mehta]

Deputy Chairman, Sir, I must at the outset compliment my friend Prof. V. P. Dutt, who was the mover of this Motion of Thanks, for his excellent analysis of the situation we face in the country today and his dispassionate presentation of facts concerning several developments during what may be considered a momentous period in the nation's recent history. Prof. Dutt having thus set—if I may respectfully say so—that right atmosphere and the right tone of the debate, I was hopefully looking forward to the speech of my esteemed friend, Shri Goray who unfortunately is not here who in this session of Parliament has assumed the onerous responsibility of leading a four-party combination : the Jana Sangh, the Congress (O), the B.L.D., and his own Socialist Party.

Prof. Dutt described Shri Goray as "a good man in the wrong camp". I am afraid the compliment hurt Shri Goray; he devoted practically his whole speech to answering it. This was a great disappointment, because I was hoping that Shri Goray, with his wide experience of national affairs and his well-known sober approach to problems, will have constructive suggestions to make for a purposeful debate. But, the new leadership that he has taken upon himself is, perhaps, already proving an overweight.

The record of the Jana Sangh, the Congress (O), the B.L.D., and if I may add, also of the Socialist Party today stands fully exposed. It was they—as also the CPM and some others—who, by actively associating with such known fascist and extremist elements as the R.S.S., the Anand Margis, etc., were responsible for the tragic events in Gujarat and Bihar and which threatened to spread to other parts of the country that preceded the proclamation of Emergency. I need not say more about those things, because many of the honourable speakers who spoke from this side, have already said what preceded the proclamation of Emergency and what happened in Bihar and Gujarat and how the members of the Assemblies and others were prohibited from attending the

Assemblies or the sessions of the Assemblies, how they were made to resign and what

happened there. This is a part of history now and I think I need not dilate on all those things. Everybody knows about them. They had combined to launch violent agitations, to paralyse the country's economic life, to divert the nation's attention from its social and economic tasks and to create anarchy and chaos in order

to overthrow duly elected governments. Even the sacred precincts of Parliament were not spared.

Sir, everybody knows and the hon. Members know that on the last day of last year's budget session the Home Minister wanted to introduce a Bill in the Lok Sabha regarding insurgency in the North-Eastern parts of this country. It was a very small Bill, a very limited Bill and concerned only Mizoram where there was insurgency and we wanted to curb those unlawful activities. What happened in Lok Sabha was, the Home Minister was prevented from moving that Bill; not only was he prevented but when the Chair wanted to put it to the House, the Chair was physically prevented from doing so and we could not pass that Bill because the loudspeaker which was before the Speaker, was snatched from there and the Speaker was prohibited from putting it to the House, and it could not be introduced. I ask my friends sitting there: Is this the democracy of which they were preaching up to this time ? They must be aware that there are certain rules of the game and they must know how to play.

They used every opportunity to denigrate Parliament and thwart its proper functioning. A gherao of Parliament and a *morcha* had also been organised. Subversion of democracy could not have taken a more blatant form. Sir, I must say that in the name of democracy, most undemocratic things were being done. And in the name of Constitution most unconstitutional things were being done. We are too near these events to overlook them. As for the profession by these parties of faith in progressive measures, the less said the better. To cite just one example,

everybody will remember the attitude of the Jana Sangh and the Congress(O) towards the abolition of the Princes' Privy Purses and the Bank Nationalisation and generally other measures for the removal of social and economic inequalities. Their sympathies have been unmistakably with vested interests. The R.S.S., the Anand Margis and other like groups have no place in a civilised society. I wish Mr. Goray well in his new leadership.

The Janata Front, as the new alliance has now come to be called, is riling Gujarat today. It is not proper for me to discuss the working of a State Government. But since some reference has been made in the course of this debate to what is going on in Gujarat, I may refer to one or two matters which have a vital *be*, on democratic functioning. To take the latest instance, I may refer to the civic and Panchayat elections in that State. Since October last there have been 45 incidents of violence in Gujarat, of which 37 are connected with these elections and with the Janata morcha. There have been during this period 3 murders of Congress workers and Congress supporters. There were a number of cases of intimidation, disturbances at Congress election meetings, assaults and other forms of violence, in all of which the victims were invariably Congress workers, and the aggressors the Janata Front men. There have been inflammatory speeches against the Prime Minister, the Congress Party and the Emergency by Front supporters and Ministers. Today in the morning my esteemed friend, Mr. Manubhai Shah, has said much about Gujarat elections, what happened there and how people were prevented from going and voting in the elections. I must say that though we got a majority in the Panchayat elections, if those elections would have been fair, if people would have been allowed to vote, I think 80 per cent seats would have come to Congress. I am sure of that. Sir, it was said today that nobody belonging to any political party was arrested. I have received a letter from Gujarat in which our president, Shri Hitendra Desai has said :

'The Convener of Rajkot District Panchayat Election Committee, Shri Jethabhai Joshi and a leading worker of Jamkandorna Shri Khimjibhai Pan-suria, have jointly stated in their letter that the Government of Gujarat has wrongfully detained a very prominent Congressman of village Dadar of Jamkandorna Taluka of Rajkot District, Shri Lakha Arjan Odedra, on the eve of Panchayat elections.

Shri Odedra is so popular that he was elected to the Land Development Bank as its Vice-President. He was arrested merely because he proved too powerful for the Front candidates. The case happens to be one of political victimisation."

Sir, this is the way the elections were held in the name of democracy and the Front members who are coming from Gujarat are giving us lessons in Gujarat. They must first go and tell the Government of Gujarat as to how elections are to be conducted.

We have also been receiving reports from Tamil Nadu regarding police indifference and discriminatory treatment in the matter of legitimate political activities by parties opposed to the ruling party in the State. Sir, only two days back I have received a letter from pro-mergerists and the Madurai District Congress Committee (Urban), Madurai. I am reading the letter. Sir, it says :

"I would like to bring to your kind notice about the atrocities and the biased actions of the police and people at Madurai on 28-12-1975 at the time of reception to pro-mergerist leaders, and the public meeting at Tilakar Thidal.

Madurai is the most important city in Tamil Nadu with political awakenings. As in the past Madurai takes leading role in political life of our State and pro-mergerists are very strong. . . "

"...I was also present when reception was given to the leaders..."

[Shri Om Mehta]

I attended those functions, and after that what happened—

"...workers in thousands gathered with tri-colour flags. The anti-mergists with the help of police officials wanted to prevent the reception accorded to the leaders. Police Inspectors like Rajah Singh and Thangiah siding with anti-mergists and prevented Congress workers from gathering and giving full reception.

They threatened the Congress workers with the consequences. The reception was good. Failing in their attempts at reception spot, they tried to create a scene at the meeting place, i.e. Thilakar Thidal. The entire district police officials and the police force, under the guidance and instigation of anti-mergists, gave a lot of trouble.

Anti-social elements were mobilised to help anti-mergists. Soda bottles were hurled. The welcome; arches and posters of the leaders like our Prime Minister's were destroyed in many places. The pro-mergists were attacked with diabolical weapons. Police were silent spectators.

Police prevented many lorries in which our Congress workers were coming at the outskirts of Madurai..."

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: On a point of order, Sir, If it were so, has been written, is it not the duty of my friend Mr. Om Mehta to refer the matter and verify whether it is a fact or not? The fact is that pro-mergists are few in number. The anti-mergists are large in number and if at all...

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI OM MEHTA: It is absolutely wrong. He has forgotten...

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : I give the facts.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mariswamy, you cannot have it both ways.

You say he should refer it and verify it and on the other hand you want to give your own version of it.

SHRI OM MEHTA: Sir, he has forgotten when such news started coming to us, representations were received from promergists and others that they were not being allowed to hold meetings; their meetings were disturbed and whenever they held meetings, goondas were brought there. I myself went there...

AN HON. MEMBER : By whom, Sir?

SHRI OM MEHTA: You have my public statement. I went myself from this place. I was in Madras when Mr. Mariswamy met me there and I met his Chief Minister. I brought all this to his notice that when the pro-mergists wanted to hold a meeting—I told the Chief Minister—it is the right of every citizen to get police protection.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: What did the Chief Minister say?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mariswamy, you had in your speech made whatever points you wanted to make and it is now for him to say.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: I did not refer to the matter at all. I met Mr. Om Mehta. He did not make any complaint to me. He did not make any reference of it at all.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Mariswamy, he says that he complained to the Chief Minister.

SHRI OM MEHTA: If I had known that my friend Mr. Mariswamy will be effective with this Government in Tamil Nadu, I would have definitely told him but I knew who could be effective. I knew that Chief Minister could be effective. I brought this to the notice of the Chief Minister and requested him that the pro-mergists who were holding meeting at Trichi should be given some protection so



that they could hold their meeting. And at that time, I must say, that protection was given and they could hold the meeting. But what happened in that meeting? He says they were in a minority. He has forgotten that out of 500 and odd members, more than 400 attended that meeting. If they were supporting anti-mergts, they should have behaved in a most political way and not interfered in the affairs of other political parties. But taking it on their heads to support the anti-mergts, they are doing all this. I will ask them not to do all these things.

AN HON. MEMBSER : We are least interested in your internal affairs.

SHRI OM MEHTA : Government cannot ignore such complaints as biased or motivated. We hope the State Government will ensure that the police and the administrative machinery in the State function to safeguard the interests and the rights of all people alike, irrespective of party or political affiliations.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Give this advice to the Congress State Government also. In Kerala, even normal trade union meetings are not being held.

SHRI OM MEHTA: You had your say. I will come to your point also. Shri Omprakash Tyagi —शायद त्यागी जी ने अपने नाम का त्यागी छोड़ दिया हो I will call him only Omprakash—alleged that the people arrested under the MISA, DIR and some other Acts were being inhumanly treated by the police. I would like to refute these allegations as being completely unfounded. Whenever Government has received complaints in this regard, they have been promptly enquired into. Remedial action, where called for, has also been taken. The MISA detainees are provided with several facilities, including facilities for medical attention, reading material in the shape of daily newspapers, books, etc. No one is in solitary confinement. Interviews with family members and lawyers, where a detainee may so desire, are permitted according to rules. How false....

श्री ओउम प्रकाश त्यागी : मेरा एक प्वाइंट आफ़ आर्डर है । एक मिनट ज़ूना ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You cannot be stressing your point all along. You have already given your version.

श्री ओउम प्रकाश त्यागी : मैं यह इंफ़ॉर्मेशन दे रहा हूँ कि आपकी तिहाड़ जेल में आठ या नौ सौ आदमी गिरफ्तार हैं और वह तीसहजारी में आते हैं । मैं आप को एक इन्स्टांस दे रहा हूँ । पिछली तारीख में वे दो लारियों में भरे रहे और उन को न तो पेशाब के लिये निकलने दिया गया और न पानी पीने के लिये निकलने दिया गया । क्या यह ह्यूमन ट्रीटमेंट है ?

श्री ओउम मेहता : हम लारी की बात नहीं, जेल की बात कर रहे हैं ।

श्री ओउम प्रकाश त्यागी : मैं यही की बात कर रहा हूँ ।

श्री ओउम मेहता : जो बात उन्होंने कही है उसके बारे में मैं पता कर लूंगा ।

I will try to find out, but I can assure him that whatever I said is truth. How false propaganda gains circulation may be illustrated with reference to one particular case. It was alleged that Shri Bhairav Bharati, one of the detainees who unfortunately passed away after release from the Indoie Jail, was not permitted to meet his wife and other family members during his illness while in detentions. Shri Bharati had developed an attack of jaundice and a Civil Surgeon had regularly attended on him. The members of his family were allowed to visit him. On medical advice, he was shifted to Indore and given a private ward with the best possible medical treatment available. His wife was allowed to remain with him during his illness. Despite the best care, his condition deteriorated, and shortly after his release on 18-9-1975, he unfortunately expired. I ought to add that when the Collector visited Shri Bharati during his illness in jail, he had not complained of any negligence whatever.

[Shri Om Mehta]

There have, in fact, been instances where detenus have written to Government appreciating the attention they have been receiving from the jail staff and its doctors. The Chief Secretaries of all States have been specifically advised to observe great caution in using powers under the MISA and DISIR and for ensuring prompt and effective redressal of grievances. The instructions in this connection include.....

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : I would like to know whether those are observed in Kerala State. Even MLAs have been beaten.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do you want to make another speech ?

SHRI OM MEHTA . . .

(i) Provision of adequate mechanism for prompt redressal of public grievances ;

(ii) Review of MISA detention cases through a State Committee headed by the Chief Minister, taking into account the representations of the detenus;

(iii) Withdrawal of cases instituted under DISIR. its representations of alleged vexatious arrests were found to be true and action to be taken against officials responsible for such arrests;

(iv) Supervisory ranks in enforcement agencies like police, tax department, etc., to maintain effective control and take action against corruption, harassment etc.;

(v) Setting up of special cells in sensitive departments like police, sales tax, etc. and punishing erring officials.

The Prime Minister herself had demiofficially written to the Chief Ministers emphatically pointing out the need for great care in using the powers under MISA.

' I am grateful to Dr. Z. A. Ahmad for the support he and his party have given to the measures taken following the emergency. I entirely agree with him that the

emergency has to be looked at *la* its positive aspect and that it should be an instrument in the hands of the people for bringing about a basic transformation in their economic, social and political life. I want to assure the House that there will be no complacency on the part of the Government in pursuing the gainful affect of the emergency. The 20-point programme announced by the Prime Minister and the several steps set in motion for its implementation, the new sense of discipline and dedication seen at all levels of administration, discipline amongst students in schools and colleges, an awareness on the part of both the workers and the employers to get on with the job of greater production, an era of industrial peace, a vigorous drive to quickly track down and punish persons indulging in economic offences, all have brought a sense of renewed confidence among the people.

A concerted drive has been under way against smuggling and foreign exchange racketeers for over a year now. This drive has been further intensified after the Proclamation of Emergency. As on January 3 1976, orders of detention have been issued against smugglers and foreign exchange racketeers under the COFEPOSA Act in 1987 cases. Of these, 1677 persons have been detained. Instructions have been issued to cancel and/or refuse the servicing of passports of over 800 smugglers and foreign exchange racketeers who had either been detained under the COFEPOSA Act or in respect of whom there were reports of suspicion of their association with smugglers or foreign exchange racketeers. I say this would not have been done if the emergency was not there.

Between July and November, 1975, 777 searches were carried out by the Directorate of Enforcement under the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act. During the same period. 1523 cases were adjudicated by the officers of the Enforcement Directorate. In the imposition of a total penalty of over Rs. 60 lakhs and the confiscation of offending Indian and foreign currencies amounting to over Rs. 20 lakhs.

There is now a steep decline in smuggling. Reliable reports indicate that in one of the Gulf States alone there had been a large-scale cancellation of orders for foreign exchange goods which if received there, would have normally been smuggled into India. Reports also show that the smuggling syndicates and foreign exchange racketeering combines are in disarray. I may mention that there has been considerable improvement in the strength of the Indian rupee abroad.

While the present results are gratifying, the situation is being kept under close and constant watch.

I never wanted to say here—my friend, Mr. Parikh, was praising the Gujarat Government—but only about 10 days or two weeks back, I had to write a letter to the Chief Minister, Mr. Babubhai Patel, about these smuggling activities along the Gujarat coast. When the smuggling activities in Bombay, Cochin and other areas are going down there is a steep fall there—^—unfortunately, this is not happening along the Gujarat coast. And I had to write to him that please, take vigorous steps against the smugglers. And I will mention here, if you like, that the detaining authorities in Gujarat have been somewhat reluctant to invoke the provisions of Section 12A of the COFEPOSA Act. And out of a total number of 248 detention orders issued, the above mentioned provision was invoked only in six cases, whereas in a neighbouring State, out of a total of 378 cases, this provision has been resorted to in as many as 150 cases. And in as many as 11 cases, the detaining authorities in Gujarat refused to make the orders of detention, even though the sponsoring department's proposals had been cleared by the Screening Committee. Now, Sir, you can very well judge. You can Judge and the House can judge as to who is taking strong action against the smugglers and who are the people who do not want to take action, who, in the name of Janata Morcha, are doing everything which is anti-Janata.

I still remember, when a resolution was moved in this House by one of the members from the Opposition for the abolition of privy purses—and at that time, the Congress had not decided whether we should abolish the privy purses or not. Mr. Sunder Singh Bhandari of the Jana-Sangh who is not a member of the House now, made a speech in favour of the abolition of privy purses. And when it came to voting, he voted for the resolution. This was only to show that they were with the people, while actually they were not with the people. And when it actually came to the abolition of privy purses, we brought a Bill in this very House and we wanted their support. What did they do? A man who was ailing in the hospital and about whom the doctor had said that he should not be removed from the hospital as otherwise he would lose his life, was brought on a stretcher from the hospital. I still remember the stretcher was kept near the place where my friend, Mr. Veerendra Patil is sitting, and he was made to vote. He died after a few days. The vote was not for the people. The vote was anti-people because they never wanted the abolition of privy purses. They only wanted to show to the people that they were with them. Actually they were not with them. Again this Janata Morcha is a facade. They want to tell the people, they want to deceive the people, that they are with them, that they are for their rights and privileges. But who are the people in the Janata Morcha? Pillo Mody. Is he with the people? Or others who are with the Swatantra Party? Where is the Swatantra Party now? The Swatantra Party is a party in the Janata Morcha. They call themselves socialists and they are the Swatantrites are in one party, and they are doing all anti-people things in the name of the people.

Sir, a co-ordinated plan of action for intensification of the anti-corruption drive has been evolved and this includes the constitution of Screening Cells to review cases of all officers of doubtful integrity with a view to their premature retirement.

[Shri Om Mehta] if they had reached or were about to reach the age of 50 or 55. The CBI has intensified its anti-corruption drive and a number of cases have been registered for open enquiry and investigations and prosecutions launched and departmental action taken. Between July and November, 1975, 555 cases involving 354 gazetted officers were registered for investigation. Greater emphasis is being placed on preventive vigilance to identify the focal points which are germane to growth of malpractices and provide scope for corruption with a view to taking remedial measures.

Surveys have been carried out to detect cases of officers having disproportionate assets and/or living beyond their known means of income. Between July and November, 1975, 235 surprise checks were made in Departments which have public dealings.

With a view to improving efficiency in Administration, instructions regarding premature retirement of Government servants who have outlived their utility or whose integrity is doubtful, have been specially brought to the notice of administrative Ministries/Departments for necessary action. State Governments have also been asked to take similar steps. According to information up to 31-12-1975, of over 50,000 Central Government employees whose cases were reviewed, 2,044 employees have been retired prematurely.

Steps have also been taken to make the public administration result-oriented and to ensure that the senior posts in the Administration are occupied by persons of proved ability. Appointments to senior-level posts under the Government are made only on the basis of merit and suitability. Steps have also been taken to eliminate red-tapism and delays and to improve administrative procedures.

5.00 P.M.

The recent Panchayat elections in Gujarat and the Municipal elections in Ahmedabad should serve as an eye opener to the people who have criticised the Congress leader-

ship. It is significant that in spite of positive hindrances, including resort to violence, the Congress has done well in these elections in a State which is ruled by a Government formed by parties opposed to the Congress. This is unmistakable evidence, if such evidence were needed, of the popular support that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's leadership enjoys in the country and the policy and programmes adopted under her direction.

Emergency, I make bold to say, has brought in the much needed fresh air into the public life of our country. I would like to appeal to all the political parties who have opposed us to have an introspection and to take a closer look at the way they have functioned all these years. Let us make this as the beginning of a new era of national discipline to promote an action oriented and purposeful public life in the country.

SHRI KRISHNARAO NARAYAN DHULAP (Maharashtra) : Mr. Deputy Chairman. Sir, I was very fortunate to hear the speech of Shri Om Mehta who is the Minister of State for Home Affairs. I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to express my views on the speech made by our hon. President.

At the outset, with your permission, I would ask one question to Shri Om Mehta. He has referred to the situation, incidents and events which have led the Government and the President to declare emergency in this country. Many hon. Members of the Congress were also harping on the same string. But may I ask Shri Om Mehta that after the declaration of emergency, during the last seven months, has the situation improved in this country or not? The President in his speech, in paragraph 3, has said : I quote—

Our people have given overwhelming support to the steps taken by the Government and have welcomed the change in the atmosphere in the country, unquote.

During the last seven months, there have been no morchas and there are no

gheraos and according to the spokesman of the Government, there is discipline and there is all quiet on the political front. If that is the situation, then I would like to ask when the Government is going to lift this emergency. They say that emergency is not going to be a permanent feature, and it is a necessary evil. K the situation has changed and if there is all quiet on the political front and if there is no agitation and gherao, then why leaders of opposition are held at ransom. I would like to ask the Home Minister particularly why leaders of progressive parties have been put behind the bar. For example, some leaders of my Party—Peasants' & Workers' Party—in Maharashtra are put in the jail under MISA.

Suppose a person like me wants to support the 20-point programme. Now, if some of the leaders of my party are behind the bars, I have no face to show and I cannot tell my people to support it. What have they done? If somebody started some satyagraha and if he is put behind the bars, I have nothing to say. But I would like to refer specifically to one particular incident and I would like the Government to give me an answer. Two of the leaders, two brothers, Mr. P. N. Patil and Mr. D. N. Patil, from Kolaba district, were arrested by the Maharashtra Government. They did not hold any meetings and they did not utter a single word against the emergency. Yet, in spite of that, both the brothers were arrested by the Maharashtra Government. I personally went and saw the Chief Minister and told him that they had done nothing against the emergency and they had said nothing against the 20-point programme and yet they were arrested and I asked him why they were arrested. It is only because, Mr. Om Mehta, these two brothers from this district were consistently and for a long time criticising the Minister who was in charge of this district. They had some grievances against this Minister and they were openly charging him with having dealings with the smugglers and they also openly said that if the Minister wanted to have any legal proceedings against them, they were pre-

pared to face those legal proceedings. But nothing of that sort was done and advantage was taken of this declaration of emergency and both of them were put behind the bars and then the negotiations were started. After about two months the brothers were released. Shri D. N. Patil, who is a leading advocate in that district, has given in writing to the Minister concerned that whatever criticisms were levelled against the Minister were based on wrong information and that he has nothing to say about his dealings with the smugglers hereafter. That was given in writing. The other brother, Shri P. N. Patil, was asked to join the Congress and, accordingly, he has joined the Congress. Sir, does this Government want that there should be no Opposition at all? Does the Government want that those who are against the Minister of a particular district should surrender and should not say anything about the activities of that Minister? This is something very serious and this is something which is against the spirit of democracy. Therefore, my request to the Minister here, Shri Om Mehta, is to look into this case. Do not ask the Chief Minister to inquire into it. Send your own people and then you will come to know what the state of affairs is, and, with the declaration of emergency, what powers you have given to the Ministers and the police department.

Sir, in the last session, I referred to the question of the police dealing with the people. Some of the friends opposite said that these were cock-and-bull stories. But, Sir, now they have come to be true. All these powers are given to the police department during the emergency. Because of the situation created by the proclamation of this emergency, nobody can question the grounds of detention under the MISA. Sir, the police people are given wide powers and they can approach any individual if they want and they can pressurize them and they can extract money from them and they can extract money from those who, they think, are opposed to them. This is something which should be taken note of by this House.

[Shri Krishnarao Narayan Dhulap] Sir, I referred to one particular incident. But there are many other incidents. Therefore, if during the emergency the situation is going to be eased, then I would request the Government to release the leaders of the progressive parties who believe in socialism. They all should be released.

Then, Sir, I will refer to a very vexed question in which I am vitally interested. This has been hanging fire for twenty years. The hon. President referred to settlement of disputes regarding river waters of Narmada and Godavari. I am sorry that he has not referred to a very burning question facing Maharashtra and Karnataka—the border dispute between Maharashtra and Karnataka. During the emergency there should be discipline all over the country. There should be discipline among the Chief Ministers of the Congress Party ruling different States. The emergency, of course, has come to curb the activities of the Opposition parties, but it has also a very good effect on the indiscipline that was within the Congress Party itself. Therefore, Sir, I will request the Home Minister that he should, as early as possible, settle the issues which are known as border disputes—border dispute between Punjab and Haryana, border dispute between Haryana and U.P., border dispute between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, border dispute between Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu and border dispute between Karnataka and Maharashtra. And, during this emergency, particularly an assurance was given by the Home Minister, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy that disputes are going to be settled in the near future. I will request him that he should lose no time in settling this issue. These issues should be solved during this emergency in particular.

Sir, I will now refer to a very important issue which should be tackled during this emergency, and that is regarding remunerative prices to be given to agriculturists in this country. Now, Sir, the prices are crashing down. Price of wheat

has gone down; price of rice has gone down; price of onions is crashing. The peasantry involved is facing a very critical situation in this country. This is time when the Government should give a very serious consideration to this problem. The other day, onion growers of Maharashtra came to Delhi to see the Minister. The prices at present prevalent in the growers' markets are less by Rs. 40/- per quintal, and in the consumers' market we see those who purchase onion for daily use are forced to pay through their noses, up to Rs. 2 per kilo. So the middleman is getting the lion's share, getting profit or whatever it is. It is the peasantry, the farmers, who grow more wheat, more rice, more cotton, more onions, but they are crushed to the ground and the middleman getting the whole profit out of it, the major portion of it.

Sir, the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers in different States have declared that if prices are going down and that the Government will enter into the market and purchase at prices which have been fixed by the Agricultural Price Commission. But that is not the case in Maharashtra. Our Minister in Maharashtra has said that he was now going to purchase in the open market, and therefore the peasantry, particularly the marginal farmers, the poor farmers, are forced to go to the markets with their stock and they are selling their stocks there. They are selling at prices below those fixed by the Agricultural Price Commission. This is something which should be taken note of. And if a remedy is not available as early as possible, then during this emergency, 70 to 80 per cent of the population of this country, which is dependent upon agriculture, will be thrown on the streets, without any remedy, without any redress.

Sir, if this is going to be the situation of the agriculturists in this country during the emergency, then only God may help this Govt.

Lastly, I will refer to the speech made by Dr. Z. A. Ahmad. He supported the Government. But he referred to the cut

[Shri Krishnarao Narayan Dhulap]

n (he quantum of bonus. He referred to the concession to the industrialists and the capitalists in this country. He said that these were the mistakes that should be rectified as early as possible. Although he belongs to a like-minded party to the Congress, if he himself goes to the workers and say something about this cut in the bonus quantum, then I do feel that he is likely to be arrested by the Government. Therefore, if the Government wants to differentiate between the haves and the have-nots, then naturally the have-nots should be given their due particularly during the emergency when there is nobody outside to fight their cause and to put forth their plea. This must be the duty of the Government. With these words, I finish.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN (Delhi): Mr. Deputy Chairman. Sir, we are grateful to the President for the thought-provoking Address. In fact, it is a heartening review of the situation and an account of the spectacular progress in achieving socio-economic objectives comparatively in a very short period. Therefore, how can such a document be a drab speech or a drab Address? Sir, it gives renewed hope and opens up new avenues leading us to our destiny and destination. But it also sounds a note of caution. The President has been gracious enough to remind that groups and elements having widely different ideology and thinking joined together just to create chaos and paralyse the country's economy and political life. In such a situation, obviously the nation's interest demanded firm and decisive action. Timely action saved the country and the nation from a big disaster. The declaration of emergency on the 26th of June and launching of the 20-point economic programme on the 1st of July will go down in our history as an unique landmarks. It is a new milestone in our national life of which we can ever be proud of.

This era opens up new avenues of efficiency and discipline. It leads us from darkness to light, from uncertainty to stability and from lack of confidence to self-

reliance and we step into the new year with confidence, hope and determination. This situation has brought about the transformation in our national life. Politics of disruption, character assassination, disunity and despondency has come to an end giving place to all-time high achievements of progress all round. This is a new hope for the weaker sections and the down-trodden. The nation is on the move and prepared to face any challenges and stand any trials. The results are obvious and speak for themselves on all fronts, whether it is food, industry, production of coal, cement, sugar or the performance of our railways. There is an unprecedented increase in industrial production and improvement in discipline and efficiency all round.

But we have to keep in mind that we have won only one battle, we have yet to win the war. Sir, an hon. Member was trying some time ago to make us understand and make us wise about his concept of democracy. But I would like to say that our concept of democracy was spelt out very aptly by the Prime Minister when she said that we must safeguard the freedom of

the many from being dictated to by the few. Well, those who pose as champions of the Janata Front and how they think and behave is obvious from their performance in Gujarat and other places. Really speaking, Janata Front is a misnomer. In fact, I would call it a Front against the Janata. For instance, one of the components of the Janata Front is the R.S.S. and the Jana Sangh. For the R.S.S. even the National Flag of India fails to inspire the people and the nation. In the 'Bunch of Thoughts', their Gurujii has said: "This tri-colour flag only creates an utter vacuum in our

mind while the Bhagwa Dhwaj is the highest, the noblest and the truest symbol of our nationhood." While again talking about the minorities, Shri Golwalker says, "They forgot that there was already a full-fledged ancient nation of the Hindus, and the various communities which were living in the country were here either as guests or invaders." It is a pity that such communities which have spent here seven to eight centuries are still considered as invaders or are still considered as outsiders.

[Shri Khurshed Alam Khan] Sir, I am really surprised how a person like Mr. Goray could subscribe to these views. I would tell Mr. Goray, please judge for yourself the two viewpoints briefly presented and say if it has not become absolutely essential and imperative for every patriotic Indian to sit up and do something about such dangerous trends in our national life. Take it from me, slogans like indianization of Muslims will do no good. Such slogans, I assure you, Sir, are the product of a diseased and indignant mind. Sir, Prof. Dutt very admirably pleaded the case of Urdu in his brilliant speech yesterday. Urdu is not the language of any particular religion or section. It is the language of saints and sufis, and I am confident, Sir, that this language will ever survive and live. It has the blessings of Baba Nanak, Kabir and Baba Farid and Khusroe, and let us give Urdu its right place. Firaq Gorakhpuri has mentioned that the Urdu dictionary has 55,000 words, and out of those 55,000 words, 40,000 words are drawn from Hindi and Sanskrit while 14,000 words are taken from the Arabic and the Persian, and 1,000 words are taken from other languages. And this is the language of the Hindus, the Muslims, the English and the French. They have made a very comprehensive and useful contribution to this language.

Sir, now I come nearer home, Delhi, which means really Shahjahanabad to us. The original city was constructed for 60,000 inhabitants of this ancient city. Unfortunately, today in that place which was capable of accommodating only 60,003 people, here are half a million people living in that place. They are deprived of fresh air, they are deprived of fresh water, they are deprived even of sunshine. These are the luxuries which they cannot afford and they are living in a vast slum condition, a vast slum condition really. They are the descendants of the people who were used to gracious living. But today they are living in slums. Sir, therefore, there is an immediate need for recasting the plan and particularly the zonal plan No. 2 which is reserved for the overflow of this ancient walled city, where

these people should be accommodated in group housing and group colonies.

Sir, the master plan for Delhi is outdated and outstripped by our requirements and needs in view of the population explosion in Delhi which takes place at the rate of 2 lakh persons every year, that is to say that 2 lakh persons are added to the population of Delhi every year. Now, old Delhi, which really look old, did get little face-lift during the period of emergency. I admit that commendable work has been done around Jama Masjid and other places but there is need for final and proper rehabilitation of the shopkeepers, petty shopkeepers, who have been dislocated from that area and who are looking forward to get a permanent place where they could live and continue their trade. Some more sense of urgency is needed in this regard because if they have to wait longer, I am sure the petty shopkeepers will be completely ruined and they will run out of business.

Sir, not much can be achieved to reduced pressure on Delhi unless the National Capital Region Scheme is implemented and implemented early. Lack of co-ordinating agency, I suppose, is the main factor for delaying the implementation of this National Capital Region Scheme. I suppose this agency can be given to the D.D.A. which has done very useful and commendable work in Delhi. If necessary required legislation should be enacted and this must be expedited as in the Fifth Five Year Plan Rs. 20 crores have been allotted for this scheme and we must ensure that these Rs. 20 crores are spent gainfully before the end of the current plan period.

Sir, in pursuance of item 16 of the 20-point programme, it was decided that about 5,000 national truck permits will be issued to facilitate movement of trucks on inter-State routes without any restriction, without any difficulty and without any delay. It is a matter of great regret that we have lost very precious time in negotiating the arrangement for issuing these



permits and I am surprised that the agency which should have done his—I mean the Inter-State Transport Commission—has failed to do its duty. Why have they not been able to negotiate and finalise this matter so that these permits could have been issued at least four months earlier and the truck could be seen in operation by now? Even now the Inter-State Transport Commission should take up this work in hand and use its good offices for negotiation or mediation and failing both, arbitration.

Sir, the last point of the 20-point programme deals with the apprenticeship scheme. It is a very good scheme and it has raised high hopes in the hearts of educated unemployed persons. But, I am sorry to say that not much has been done in this regard particularly in respect of minorities who still suffer from unemployment opportunities. It is a known fact that minorities, particularly Muslims and Christians do face certain economic problems including unemployment, which obviously call for early remedial measures.

In this connection, for those people who still think that Muslims and Christians are living here as guests or that they are being tolerated as invaders, I want to quote from the speech of one of the professors of Iran who has said :

"Islami legacy of India is as Indian as anything else that exists in this ancient land. It is certainly absurd or, perhaps, mischievous to suggest that Khusroe and Ghalib were less Indian than Kalidas and Tagore, that Taj Mahal is less a national heritage than Ajanta or that Azad and Zakir Hussain" were less motivated by the love of their motherland than Gandhi and Nehru."

It is a known fact that the minorities have been suffering from these disabilities and we have to take very urgent remedial measures, I would repeat once again.

Sir, our public sector, over the years, has come to occupy a very prominent place in the economic development of the

country. It is an economic necessity for us, I quite agree. At the close of 1973-74, the total employment of the undertakings was 1.3 millions and the number of public sector undertakings was 122. I must say that in these public sector undertakings the employment opportunities for the minority communities are very very few and there are hardly any minority community people employed in these undertakings. I want to say that the minority community people also want to contribute their share in the total effort of this country. Effective measures to check the tendency of drift from the mainstream have to be taken and that can be done only if we provide them opportunities to give of their best and feel that they are also part of the total effort, that they are part of the whole community, that they are part of the whole big family.

Sir, another very important matter to which I would like to invite your attention is the question of the artisans of the minority community. Sir, the artisans of the minority community have, by tradition, been the exponents of certain historical arts and crafts transmitted through generations from father to son. But, unfortunately, both the artisans and the arts are withering away into oblivion. We have to revive and maintain his precious heritage as, if this precious heritage is lost once we will never be able to regain it later on.

Sir, I must say that it is a known fact that we have adopted secularism as our way of life. But there is need for consistency and fearlessness to uphold secularism. A close watch has to be kept on writings and speeches which create communal hatred, particularly papers like *Organiser*, *Motherland* and *Pratap*. All communal organisations known for drawing inspiration from the concept of race and culture—I repeat, from the concept of race and culture—should remain banned for ever. This should be the end of their span of life and they should meet their Waterloo now, for ever. Our parks and our schools should never be allowed for

[Shri Khurshed Alam Khan] training their people in stabbing, arson or for killing other innocent people living in this country. We have to continue this struggle and, as I stated earlier, we have not yet won the war; we have only won the first battle, the initial battle.

Sir, the name Delhi evokes many memories, many images and it means so much to us all. I would like to know how long we shall wait for a new and unified set-up for the ancient city of Delhi.

The present set-up does not meet our requirements or our hopes and aspirations. Most of Delhi's ills are attributable to the lack of a unified set-up for Delhi. This question has been raised time and again but unfortunately we are still waiting for that important day, for that eventful day when a unified and good set-up will be given to Delhi.

Before concluding, Sir, I would urge the hon. Members opposite to come forward and give us a helping hand, in this enchanting task of rebuilding and

reconstruction. Here is the chance where they can give of their best in reshaping our destiny in the interest of the nation and in the interest of the future generations and their prosperity. We earnestly hope, you will not shirk your responsibility and duty. We hope you will come forward and do something useful, once in your life and that useful contribution will be remembered gratefully by your future generations. It is, therefore, your duty to come forward and join us and give us a helping hand. And I must sound a note of caution that if you fail to do this then please remember, you will go down in history unwept and unsung.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirty-seven minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 8th January 1976.