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Monday, April 4, 1977  
Chaitra 14, 1899 (Saka)

# LOK SABHA DEBATES

First Session  
(Sixth Lok Sabha)



सत्यमेव जयते

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT  
New Delhi

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No. 8, Monday, April 4, 1977/*Chaitra 14, 1899 (Saka)*

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# LOK SABHA DEBATES

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## LOK SABHA

Monday, April 4, 1977/Chaitra 14, 1899  
(Saka)

*The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the  
Clock*

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

WELCOME TO THE PRESIDENT  
AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE  
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TUNISIA

MR. SPEAKER: Hon. Members,  
at the outset, I have to make an an-  
nouncement.

On my own behalf and on behalf  
of the Hon. Member of the House,  
I have great pleasure in welcoming  
His Excellency Dr. S. Mokaddem,  
President and Mr. Zouhir Fethi,  
Vice-President of the National As-  
sembly of Tunisia who are on a  
visit to India as our honoured guests.

They arrived early this morning  
and will be in India till the 7th April.  
They are now seated in the Special  
Box. We wish them a happy and  
fruitful stay in our country. Through  
them we convey our greetings and  
best wishes to the Parliament, Gov-  
ernment and the People of Tunisia.

### MEMBERS SWORN

Shri Vinodbhai B. Sheth (Jamnagar)

Shri Dharmasinhbhai Patel (Por-  
bandar)

Shri Motibhai R. Chaudhary  
(Banaskantha)

Shri V. P. Naik (Washim)

## ORAL ANSWER TO QUESTION

### Short Notice Question

#### Performance of Tea Corporation of India upto middle of March, 1977

SNQ 2. SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:  
Will the Minister of COMMERCE AND  
CIVIL SUPPLIES AND COOPERA-  
TION be pleased to state:

(a) whether the performance of  
Tea Corporation of India is deterio-  
rating very fast and whether a loss  
is expected this year;

(b) how many important posts  
have been created recently and how  
many of them have tea backgrounds;

(c) how many management trai-  
nees have been recruited and how  
those recruitments have been done;  
and

(d) how many trips have been  
made abroad by its officials and what  
is the total cost of the same?

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE  
AND CIVIL SUPPLIES AND CO-  
OPERATION (SHRI MOHAN DHA-  
RIA): (a) No, Sir. During 1975-76  
the company earned a net profit of  
Rs. 24.44 lakhs and for 1976-77 the  
net profit estimated is Rs. 30 lakhs.  
The total turnover is as follows:

1974-75	Rs. 136.00 lakhs
1975-76	Rs. 341.00 lakhs
1976-77	Rs. 680.00 lakhs (preliminary estimates)
1977-78	Rs. 1150.00 lakhs (planned)

(b) During the last 12 months, the  
following senior level posts were  
created.

[Shri Mohan Dharia]

1 post of FA & CAO (Financial Adviser and Chief Accounts Officer) in the grade of Rs. 2000-2500.

1 post of Visiting Agent (Tea Gardens) in the grade of Rs. 1500-2000.

Both these posts have not yet been filled up.

7 posts in the grade of Rs. 1100-1600. All these posts have been filled up.

Of these, persons occupying 4 posts viz., Managers of the 3 Tea Estates and the post of Tea Adviser are persons having over 15 years tea experience.

The 3 other posts created and filled up are administrative posts of Branch Managers. These are occupied by persons having administrative experience.

(c) Management Trainee requirements were advertised in the leading newspapers. Five trainees were recruited on the recommendations of the Selection Committees which interviewed the candidates and one trainee who was Trainee Accountant in Public Tea Warehouse was absorbed in the Management Trainee Scheme.

(d) During 1976-77 a total of 11 business visits abroad were made by the officials of TCL. The expenditure involved was Rs. 2.80 lakhs (approx.) and business was secured for about Rs. 300 lakhs.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Shri Mohan Dharia, the Commerce Minister must make a note that as regards 33 per cent of the tea export done by India, the marketing is entirely in the hands of a few multi-national corporations and for poor Indian consumers, the price has shot up by about 33 to 35 per cent which is going to hit them hard. The reason for the same is the massive collection of money by the erstwhile ruling party for election purposes. I know that the erstwhile Commerce Minister had taken Rs. 3 crores in a seminar from

Duncan Bros, R.P. Goenka. I know the details. After great efforts, this Corporation came into existence. But the multi-national corporations never allowed it to function. And the previous Government had obliged these economic offenders to subvert this corporation. Please give me the details of previous service background and tea marketing experience of the Chairman and Managing Director, Marketing Development Officer and at least six management trainees that you have recruited recently.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: I entirely share the anxiety of the hon. Member. It is true that while the export of tea is to the tune of Rs. 270 crores, the exports by the Tea Corporation are hardly of the order of Rs. 3 crores and under the circumstances, massive efforts shall have to be made. However, the House will please appreciate and particularly the hon. Member because he was very much for bringing this Corporation into existence and that Corporation was created particularly for the export of package tea and under the circumstances in the matter of export of package tea which is of the order of Rs. 25 crores, this Corporation within the last three years has done three crores. Even then, I entirely agree that we shall have to make a massive effort in increasing our exports so far the objective is concerned and I can assure the Member that whatever re-structuring is needed, it shall be done so that this Corporation becomes quite efficient and adequate to fulfil the objective.

Regarding the tea prices, as the House may perhaps be aware, the production of tea in Sri Lanka has gone down by nearly 17 million kg. during the last one year. Then the coffee production, particularly in countries like Brazil and Colombia, has suffered. Under the circumstances, there is an increase in the demand for tea. I am not aware whether the prices in the country have gone up because of the huge

funds collected by the Congress Party. However, I must say that during these two months the prices have gone up by about Rs. 6 to 7 per kilogram and there are trends of increasing prices. Therefore, I have convened a meeting today to have a dialogue with the planters and tea packagers. It shall be the endeavour of my Ministry to see that the prices do not increase, on the contrary all efforts will be made so that the prices for internal consumption will be brought down.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: While for 1975-76 the turnover was Rs. 341 lakhs and the net profit was Rs. 24.4 lakhs, according to the statement placed on the Table of the House by the Minister, for 1976-77 the turnover has doubled to Rs. 680 lakhs, but the net profit was only marginally increased to Rs. 30 lakhs. I would like to know from the hon. Minister the wage and entertainment bills for 1975-76 and 1976-77 and also the sale price of packaged tea abroad, as compared to the prices at the last auction in retail prices in those countries abroad.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: This is not a question which is that way concerned with the main one. So, I will require some time to supply the information. But I can say one thing, that this is a new Corporation which is trying to make a dent in the international market. There are four big multi-national companies or combines. Under the circumstances, some expenditure will be very much necessary till the time we create our own mechanism for marketing in foreign countries and to that extent, if some more expenditure is necessary, that should be appreciated.

श्री हृकमचन्द्र कछबाय : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह बात सत्य है कि बहुत से चाय बागान बहुत पुराने हैं

और उनमें ठीक उत्पादन नहीं होता है, वे घाटे में चल रहे हैं ? क्या उनके विकास के लिए कोई धनराशि अलग से रखी है ?

दूसरे, क्या विदेशों के अन्दर निगम द्वारा बहुत से ऐसे संस्थान बनाये गये हैं जिससे भारत की चाय अधिक लोकप्रिय हो ? क्या यह बात सही है कि भारत से जो चाय जाती है उसमें घटिया किस्म की और अन्य देशों की चाय मिला कर उसको बेचा जाता है जिससे भारत की चाय लोकप्रिय नहीं हो रही है ? यदि यह बात है तो इसे समाप्त करने के लिए क्या कार्यवाही की जा रही है ?

श्री मोहन धारिया : हमारे चाय बागान से ज्यादा ईल्ड कैसे मिल सके और हमारे चाय प्लान्टेशन के नीचे और जमीन कैसे आए, इसके लिए टी बोर्ड और कारपोरेशन की तरफ से कदम उठाए जा रहे हैं। प्रति एकड़ में प्रति साल टी का ईल्ड दो परसेंट बढ़ता है। मगर जितनी ज्यादा जमीन चाय की पैदावार के नीचे आनी चाहिए उतनी नहीं आती है क्योंकि छः सात साल तक चाय से कोई मुनाफा नहीं हो पाता है और लगभग 20 से 25 हजार रुपये प्रति हैक्टेयर पर उसमें इन्वेस्टमेंट करना पड़ता है। इसमें हम इन्सेन्टिव दे सकें इसके लिए हमारी कोशिश रहेगी।

दूसरे देशों में जो चाय जाती है, उसमें जो पोल्युशन होता है, मिलावट होती है, उन देशों में अगर पैकेट में ज्यादा से ज्यादा चाय जाए, खुली चाय कम जाए तो यह सब काम खत्म हो सकता है और यही हमारी कोशिश रहेगी। टी कारपोरेशन जो पैदा हुआ है वह इसी कारण से पैदा हुआ है।

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: The hon. Minister is an impartial and honest man. Is it a fact that recently during the Janata wave money

[Shri M. Ram Gopal Reddy]

from these different multi-national corporations has flowed into the funds of the Janata Party to the extent of Rs. 4 crores, and if so, is he going to make any enquiry into it?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: The whole country is aware that it is the Congress Party that was in power, while the leaders of the Janata Party were behind bars. Nobody knew that there would be a Janata wave and that the Janata Party would be occupying these Benches. Particularly there were measures like MISA and even if some persons wished to go against the desires of the Congress Party or its leaders, they had the fear that they might be put behind bars. In the circumstances, any logical and reasonable person will admit that the money, if at all, could only have gone to the Congress coffers and not to the Janata Party; I am not saying that it has, but I am here to repudiate that any such money has come to the Janata Party. (interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: When you throw a stone, you must be ready to receive one. You cannot have a one-sided privilege.

SHRIMATI BIBHA GHOSH GOSWAMI: I want to know whether extensive purchases have been made through private middlemen and whether this is against the decision taken by the Commerce Sub-Committee and if so, the extent of the private purchases.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: As per my information, it is true that some purchases were made and, therefore, I have convened a meeting this afternoon to see that these purchases go to the consumers at lower prices.

डा० मुरली मनोहर जोशी : भारतीय उपभोक्ता को जो चाय बाजार में मिल रही है उसकी किस्म बराबर गिरती जा रही है

और उसकी कीमत बराबर बढ़ती जा रही है क्या यह सही है ?

भाग ख के उत्तर में कहा गया है कि बहुत से पदों का सृजन किया गया है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इन पदों के सृजन की क्या आवश्यकता थी जब कि जो ट्रेड यह हैंडल कर रही है उसकी मात्रा बहुत कम है, तीन करोड़ है और निर्यात भी बहुत कम होता है ? ऐसी अवस्था में इतने अधिक पदों के और इतने अधिक वेतन वाले भी पदों के सृजन की क्या आवश्यकता थी ?

श्री मोहन धारिया : चाय की क्वालिटी के बारे में मुझे जरूर एग्जेमिन करना होगा क्योंकि पैकेज टी जो जाती है उसमें कोई इस तरह की गिरावट होने की कोई सम्भावना नहीं है लेकिन बन्द टी में सम्भावना होती है। माननीय सदस्य के पास कोई डिटेल्स हों तो वह मुझे दे दें और मैं जरूर जांच करूंगा।

जो जवाब मैंने दिया है उस में बताया है कि अगले साल के लिए हमने दो गुना व्यापार बढ़ाने का निर्णय किया है। उसके लिए अफसरों की बहुत जरूरत होगी। कारपोरेशन का व्यापार और बड़े इसके लिए अच्छा इनफ्रास्ट्रक्चर होना जरूरी है। इसलिए यह जरूरी था।

SHRI SOUGATA ROY: May I know if the Government is taking over any more sick tea gardens in Darjeeling and Dooars in West Bengal and whether the Government will merely act as a hospital for sick gardens or will also take over healthy gardens owned by monopoly houses like Duncan Brothers and James Finlay?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: At present there is no such proposal before me to take over any tea gardens, but

I can assure the House that if they try to take advantage of the position and exploit the country, whatever measures are necessary for the discontinuance of such exploitation will be taken. We shall not work as it happened in the past.

**श्री उग्र सेन :** 1975-76 में जो बिजनेस ट्यूनिशिया के साथ हुआ है उसके बारे में आडिट, कर्माशयल एकाउंट्स ने एक रिपोर्ट लिखी है। उसकी ओर मैं मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। उस में यह कहा गया है :

"To cope with the above order, Tea had to be purchased from private sources, the total quantity being 162,236 kg. valued at Rs. 13.63 lacs. A quantity of 31,769 kgs. valued at Rs. 2.68 lacs was lying in the stock on 30-4-76. Moreover tea was purchased in bags which had the inherent risk of deterioration in the quality of the goods. An additional charge of Rs. 0.75 paise per bag was to be paid for packing the same in chest. Taking all these into consideration it may be pointed out whether the private purchase in this way was economical and done in the best interest of the company."

क्या मंत्री जी इस रिपोर्ट के बारे में अपनी राय देंगे ?

**SHRI MOHAN DHARIA:** I shall require a special notice for it.

**श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण पांडेय :** मैं मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या यह सत्य है जैसा कि उन्होंने कहा कि बाजार में 5, 7 रु० तक चाय के दाम बढ़े हैं और सम्भावना व्यक्त की जा रही है कि और भी बढ़ें क्योंकि पुरानी सरकार से गत मार्च महीने के दूसरे सप्ताह में चाय उत्पादकों के साथ कुछ इस प्रकार का समझौता हुआ है जिस के अनुसार चाय का दाम और भी

बढ़ने वाला है। यदि, हां, तो क्या आप ऐसे समझौतों को लागू नहीं करने की दिशा में प्रयत्न करेंगे ? अथवा पुराने समझौते को रद्द करने की कृपा करेंगे ताकि चाय के दाम कम हों ?

**श्री मोहन धारिया :** मैंने तो अभी बताया है कि चाय के दाम ज्यादा न बढ़ें इस पर विचार करने के लिए आज ही मैंने दोपहर में एक मीटिंग बुलाई है और उस में हम जरूर कोशिश करेंगे कि चाय के दाम ज्यादा न बढ़ें। जहां तक दूसरी बात है

I am not speaking of foreign exchange and export, because we want to earn more foreign exchange. I am speaking of the internal consumption.

मैंने तो पहले ही जवाब दे दिया है।

**श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण पांडेय :** मैंने पूछा था कि पुरानी सरकार के बीच तथा चाय उत्पादकों के बीच कुछ इस प्रकार का समझौता हुआ है कि जिस के अनुसार चाय के दाम बढ़े हैं ? और बढ़ने वाले हैं।

**श्री मोहन धारिया :** मैंने कहा कि ऐसा समझौता रिटन नहीं होता है, कोई चीज रेकार्ड में नहीं है। मगर यह बात साफ है कि 2 महीने के अन्दर 6, 7 रु० तक दाम बढ़े हैं। उस के पीछे कई कारण जरूर होना चाहिए। चुनाव फण्ड की बात होगी ऐसा अनुमान निकल सकता है। इस से ज्यादा मेरे पास और कोई मालूमात नहीं है।

**SHRI VASANT SATHE:** Sir, may I know from the hon. Minister, with reference to part (b) of the question asked by Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu, whether he is aware—to have people with good background to ensure quality of tea—that the hon. Member Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu himself is an expert tea tester and whether he would like to decide to utilize his knowledge and services in this field? Can he kindly let us know, with

[Shri Vasant Sathe]

reference to the last question which he answered, whether some of the funds which he says are alleged to have gone in the form of funds have also gone to the side of the Government?

**SHRI MOHAN DHARIA:** Regarding the last supplementary question, I have already replied that there was nothing like that the Janata Party had received this fund and replies to other questions have been given. Regarding the first question, I entirely share the feelings of the hon. Member that Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu is one of the best testers of tea and we would like to have co-operation not only from him but also from others who would like to have the co-operation of the Government.

**PROF. R. K. AMIN:** May I have the assurance from the Minister concerned whether the alleged corruption charges levelled against the Corporation will be examined and a report thereon be submitted to the House before three months? Secondly, I would like to know from him—that India being a country which is traditionally exporting tea—whether it is necessary for us to receive management training and things like that when sufficient expertise is already available with us? Usually, Sir, it is the habit of the Government institutions to import all sorts of things and unnecessarily spend money thereon. Will the Hon. Minister review the working of the Tea Corporation with a view to cutting down such waste, whatever is the waste, which is already taking place in the Tea Corporation?

Thirdly, is he also taking steps to enter into an international commodity agreement in tea so that we can get higher prices for our exports? And if so, what steps has he taken or what steps has the Corporation taken in this direction?

**SHRI MOHAN DHARIA:** No charges of corruption have been levelled so far against the Corporation. So, naturally, there is no question of going into that question.

Regarding the expertise, the House may be aware that there are a few vested interests and big cartels working in the country and outside and they are having their own experts. If we want experts who are not that way related to the vested interests, naturally, we shall have to train our own people who will be loyal to the country and the society. Therefore, to train our own people becomes all the more necessary and, I think, the House will appreciate that this will be a good endeavour.

Regarding the higher export prices to be secured in the foreign markets, certainly, in the interest of the country it shall be our endeavour to do so.

**श्रीधरी बलबोर सिंह :** मंत्री महोदय ने अभी कहा है कि जो अब तक होता रहा है, वह आगे नहीं होने दिया जायेगा। मेरा प्रश्न यह है कि जो अब तक होता रहा है, उस गड़बड़ को हटाने के लिए क्या कोई हाई पावर कमीशन मुकर्रर किया जायेगा, ताकि इन्क्वायरी कराकर प्रापर एक्शन लिया जा सके ?

**श्री मोहन धारिया :** मैंने अभी कहा है कि हमारी कार्पोरेशन के खिलाफ ऐसे कोई चार्ज नहीं हैं।

**श्रीधरी बलबोर सिंह :** मंत्री महोदय ने अभी कहा कि जो अब तक होता रहा है, आगे नहीं होने दिया जायेगा, वह तो ठीक है, लेकिन जो अब तक हुआ है उसने के लिए इन्क्वायरी कराने के लिए क्या हाई पावर कमीशन बैठाया जायेगा ?

**श्री मोहन धारिया :** इस कार्पोरेशन का जन्म 1971 में हुआ, मगर तीन साल तक



कुछ काम नहीं हुआ, चाहिस्ते चाहिस्ते काम हो रहा है। अब ऐसा नहीं होगा कार्पोरेशन का काम जल्दी कैसे हो, इसके लिए कोशिश होगी। इसके लिए हाई पावर कमीशन बैठाने की जरूरत है, ऐसा मैं नहीं मानता हूँ।

SHRI DHIRENDRANATH BASU: May I know whether the hon. Minister is considering to take preventive steps so that the tea gardens may not be sinking in future?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: It shall be our endeavour.

11.28 hrs.

#### BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAVINDRA VERMA): Sir, there are a number of hon. Members who want to participate in the debate on the President's Address. I myself have submitted a long list to you. With your permission, I would like to propose that the House may sit today till 7 or 7.30 P.M. to enable more hon. Members to take part in the debate.

Secondly, the Government would like the entire business of the session to be completed by the 6th evening. If by any chance that is not possible, the House may sit on the 7th also. The Government would like the business to be completed by the 7th evening.

MR. SPEAKER: Apart from extending the time by one hour on the President's Address, if the hon. Members restrict their speeches to 10 or 5 minutes, a larger number of hon. Members can be accommodated. Otherwise, it is very difficult for the Chair, whoever is in it the Speaker or the Deputy-Speaker, to go on ringing the bell and try to accommodate more hon. Members. The new Members will also get a chance. So, we shall sit today till 7 O'Clock.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): May I submit for your consideration that if you limit it to 5 minutes per Member, it would lead to deterioration in the quality of contribution to the debate? Then, I would also like to submit to you that the House should not sit beyond 6 O'Clock. The session might be extended by two or three days. The hon. Prime Minister had once told us that he would like the session to be extended in order to accommodate more hon. Members to participate in the debates.

MR. SPEAKER: That is what Mr. Varma has also suggested—that it may be extended by one or two days.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: But to sit beyond 6 O'Clock would be difficult.

MR. SPEAKER: All of them have agreed. After all, everybody need not be there: only those who are anxious to speak will be there.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: But, in any case, you should not be pleased to agree with the view that the contribution of each Member should be limited only to five minutes: you should not be a party to that.

MR. SPEAKER: The imposition of a voluntary restriction is what I have suggested, so that other Members may also get a chance.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): I have a submission to make regarding your ruling on the Privilege Motion against Shri T. N. Kaul.

MR. SPEAKER: I will give it when I am ready. Do you want me to give it straightaway here and now? I thought I should take some time.



11.87 hrs

# PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

REVIEW AND ANNUAL REPORT OF MODERN BAKERIES (INDIA) LTD., NEW DELHI FOR 1975-76

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION (SHRI PRAKASH SINGH BADAL): I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers (Hindi and English versions) under sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956:

- (1) Review by the Government on the working of the Modern Bakeries (India) Limited, New Delhi, for the year 1975-76.
- (2) Annual Report of the Modern Bakeries (India) Ltd., New Delhi for the year 1975-76 along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-31/77].

REVIEW AND ANNUAL REPORTS OF HINDUSTAN HOUSING FACTORY LTD., NEW DELHI FOR 1975-76 AND NATIONAL BUILDINGS CONSTRUCTION CORPORATION LTD., NEW DELHI FOR 1975-76 WITH CERTAIN OTHER PAPERS IN RESPECT THEREOF UNDER COMPANIES ACT, 1956. NOTIFICATIONS UNDER TAMIL NADU TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING ACT, 1971 WITH A STATEMENTS, NOTIFICATIONS UNDER DELHI URBAN ART COMMISSION ACT, 1973, AUDIT REPORT ON ACCOUNTS OF CENTRAL BOARD FOR PREVENTION & CONTROL OF WATER POLLUTION FOR 1975-76, AND ANNUAL REPORT OF D.D.A. FOR 1975-76.

THE MINISTER OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND SUPPLY AND REHABILITATION (SHRI SIKANDAR BAKHT): I beg to lay on the Table:

- (1) A copy each of the following papers (Hindi and English versions)

under sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956:

(i) Annual Report of the Hindustan Housing Factory Limited, New Delhi, for the year 1975-76 along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

(ii) Review by the Government on the working of the Hindustan Housing Factory Limited, New Delhi, for year 1975-76.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-32/77]

(iii) Annual Report of the National Building Construction Corporation Limited, New Delhi, for the year 1975-76 along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

(iv) Review by the Government on the above report.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-33/77]

(2) A copy each of the following papers (Hindi and English versions):

(i) Statement on the amendment of Capital Clause 'V' of the Memorandum of Association of the National Buildings Construction Corporation Limited, New Delhi.

(ii) Statement on the amendment of Article 5 of the Articles of Association of the National Buildings Construction Corporation Limited, New Delhi.

(iii) Explanatory Statement under section 173 of the Companies Act, 1956 giving details of amendments in items (i) and (ii) above.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-34/77]

(3) A copy each of the following Notifications under sub-section (2) of section 123 of the Tamil Nadu Town and Country Planning Act, 1971:

(i) The Preparation, Publication and Sanction of Detailed Development Plan (Madras Metropolitan Planning Area) Rules published in Notification No. G.O. Ms. 1853 in Tamil Nadu Government Gazette dated the 5th November, 1975.

(ii) G.O. Ms. 1877 published in Tamil Nadu Government Gazette dated the 26th November, 1975.

(iii) The Tamil Nadu Town and Country Planning Board (Conduct of Meetings) Rules, 1971 published in Notification No. G.O. Ms. 423 in Tamil Nadu Government Gazette dated the 21st April, 1976.

(iv) The Tamil Nadu Town and Country Planning and Development Fund Rules 1976 published in Notification No. G.O. Ms. 2486 in Tamil Nadu Government Gazette dated the 26th January 1977.

(vi) The Tamil Nadu Town and Country Planning Board (Term of Office and Removal of Member and Filling Casual Vacancies) Rules, 1976 published in Notification No. G.O. Ms. 2572 in Tamil Nadu Government Gazette dated the 9th February, 1977.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-35/77]

(4) A statement (Hindi and English versions) explaining reasons for not laying the Hindi versions of the Notification mentioned at item (3) above.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-35/77]

(5) A copy each of the following Notifications (Hindi and English

versions), under sub-section (3) of section 26 of the Delhi Urban Art Commission Act, 1973:

(i) The Delhi Urban Art Commission (Accounts) Rules, 1976, published in Notification No. G.S. R. 31 in Gazette of India dated the 1st January, 1977.

(ii) The Delhi Urban Art Commission (submission of Annual Report) Amendment Rules, 1977, published in Notification No. G.S. R. 182 in Gazette of India dated the 5th February 1977.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-36/77]

(6) A copy of the Audit Report (Hindi and English versions) on the accounts of the Central Board for Prevention and Control of Water Pollution, for the year 1975-76, under sub-section (6) of section 40 of the Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1974.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-37/77]

(7) A copy of the Annual Administration Report (Hindi and English versions) of the Delhi Development Authority, for the year 1975-76 under section 26 of the Delhi Development Act, 1957. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-38/77].

AUDIT REPORT ON ACCOUNTS OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH & TRAINING FOR 1973-74 WITH STATEMENT FOR DELAY, NOTIFICATIONS UNDER TAMIL NADU PROHIBITION ACT, 1937, ANNUAL REPORT AND REVIEW OF INDIAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, NEW DELHI FOR 1975-76. NOTIFICATIONS UNDER INDIAN MUSEUM ACT, 1910, AND ANNUAL REPORT OF U.G.C. FOR 1975-76.

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE (DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER): I beg to lay on the Table:—

(1) A copy of the Audit Report (Hindi and English versions) on the

[Dr. Pratap Chandra Chunder]  
accounts of the National Council of  
Education Research and Training  
for the year 1973-74.

(2) A statement (Hindi and English versions) showing reasons for delay in laying the above report.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-39/77]

(3) A copy each of the following Notifications under sub-section (3) of section 54 of the Tamil Nadu Prohibition Act, 1937 read with clause (c), (iv) of the proclamation dated the 31st January, 1976 issued by the President in relation to the State of Tamil Nadu:—

(i) G.O. Ms. 299 published in Tamil Nadu Government Gazette dated the 20th October, 1976 making certain amendments to the Madras Denatured Spirit, Methyl Alcohol and Varnish (French Polish) Rules, 1959.

(ii) G.O. Ms. 302 published in Tamil Nadu Government Gazette dated the 27th October, 1976 making certain amendment to the Madras Denatured Spirit, Methyl Alcohol and Varnish (French Polish) Rules, 1960.

(iii) G.O. Ms. 303 published in Tamil Nadu Government Gazette dated the 27th October, 1976, making certain amendments to the Madras Distillery Rules, 1960.

(iv) G.O.Ms. 304 published in Tamil Nadu Government Gazette dated the 3rd November, 1976 making certain amendments to the Madras Liquor (Licence and Permit) Rules, 1960.

(v) G.O. Ms. 314 published in Tamil Nadu Government Gazette dated the 3rd November, 1976 making certain amendments to the Madras Liquor (Licence and Permit) Rules, 1960.

(vi) G.O.Ms. 319 published in Tamil Nadu Government Gazette dated the 10th November, 1976 making certain amendment to the Madras Denatured Spirit, Methyl Alcohol and Varnish (French Polish) Rules, 1959.

(vii) G.O. Ms. 322 published in Tamil Nadu Government Gazette dated the 10th November, 1976, making certain amendment to the Madras Liquor (Licence and Permit) Rules, 1960.

(viii) G.O. Ms. 22 published in Tamil Nadu Government Gazette dated the 9th February, 1977 making certain amendments to the Madras Liquor (Licence and Permit) Rules, 1960.

(ix) G.O. Ms. 45 published in Tamil Nadu Government Gazette dated the 9th March, 1977 making certain amendment to the Madras Denatured Spirit, Methyl Alcohol and Varnish (French Polish) Rules, 1959.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-40/77]

(4) A statement (Hindi and English versions) explaining reasons for not laying Hindi versions of the Notifications mentioned at item (3) above.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-40/77]

(5) (i) A copy of the Annual report (Hindi version)\* of the Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi, for the year 1975-76.

(ii) Review (Hindi and English versions) by Government on the above report.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-41/77]

\*The Report (English version) was laid on the Table on the 3rd November, 1976.

laid on the Table on the 3rd November,

(6) A copy each of the following Notifications (Hindi and English Versions) under sub-section (3) of section 15-A of the Indian Museum Act, 1910:—

(i) The Indian Museum Recruitment Rules, 1977 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 194 in Gazette of India dated the 12th February, 1977.

(ii) The Indian Museum (Amendment) Rules, 1977 published in Notification No. G.S.R. 957 in Gazette of India dated the 19th March, 1977.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-42/77]

(7) A copy of the Annual Report (Hindi and English versions) of the University Grants Commission for the year 1975-76, under section 18 of the University Grants Commission Act, 1956.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-43/77]

ANNUAL REPORT OF LIFE INSURANCE CORPORATION OF INDIA FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31-3-76 WITH AUDITED ACCOUNTS AND NOTIFICATIONS UNDER CUSTOMS ACT, 1962 AND CENTRAL EXCISE RULES, 1944

उद्योग मंत्री (श्री बृज लाल वर्मा) :

श्री एच० एम० पटेल की ओर से मैं निम्नलिखित पत्र सभा पटल पर रखता हूँ —

(1) जीवन बीमा निगम अधिनियम, 1956 की धारा 29 के अन्तर्गत भारतीय जीवन बीमा निगम के 31 मार्च, 1976 को समाप्त हुए वर्ष के वार्षिक प्रतिवेदन (हिन्दी

तथा अंग्रेजी संस्करण) की एक प्रति तथा लेखापरीक्षित लेख

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-44/77]

(2) सीमा-शुल्क अधिनियम, 1962 की धारा 159 के अन्तर्गत अधिसूचना संख्या 41-कस्टम्स (हिन्दी तथा अंग्रेजी संस्करण) की एक प्रति जो दिनांक 1 अप्रैल, 1977 के भारत के राजपत्र में प्रकाशित हुई थी तथा एक व्याख्यात्मक ज्ञापन ।

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-45/77]

(3) केन्द्रीय उत्पाद-शुल्क निवम, 1944 के अन्तर्गत जारी की गई अधिसूचना संख्या 48 सेंट्रल एक्साइज (हिन्दी तथा अंग्रेजी संस्करण) की एक प्रति जो दिनांक 1 अप्रैल, 1977 के भारत के राजपत्र में प्रकाशित हुई थी तथा एक व्याख्यात्मक ज्ञापन ।

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-46/77]

NOTIFICATION UNDER INDUSTRIES (DEVELOPMENT AND REGULATION) ACT, 1953

श्री बृज लाल वर्मा : मैं उद्योग (विकास और विनियमन) अधिनियम 1951 की धारा 9 की उपधारा (1) के अन्तर्गत जारी की गई अधिसूचना संख्या सां० मा० 162 (ई) (हिन्दी तथा अंग्रेजी संस्करण) की एक प्रति सभा पटल पर रखता हूँ, जो दिनांक 14 फरवरी, 1977 के भारत के राजपत्र में प्रकाशित हुई थी ।

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-47/77]

11.33 hrs.

**CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER  
OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE**

NEWS ITEM IN THE TIMES OF INDIA  
DATED THE 31ST MARCH, 1977 RE. ALLEGED  
REMARKS BY PRIME MINISTER IN RESPECT  
OF WOMEN AS PRIME MINISTERS

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN  
(Coimbatore): I would first like to  
point out that I have not received a  
copy of the statement to be made by  
the Prime Minister, as is the usual  
practice.

MR. SPEAKER: There is no ques-  
tion of an advance notice.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISH-  
NAN: But to the person who gives  
the Calling Attention notice it should  
be given in advance so that he or she  
will have an opportunity to go through  
it.

MR. SPEAKER: He has not given  
anything in advance. He is replying  
here to the Calling Attention: you can  
hear him and then put your questions.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM  
(Tiruchirapalli): I have been a Mem-  
ber of the House for six years, and  
the practice so far was that when a  
Calling Attention is admitted, before  
it is taken up for answer here, a copy  
of the statement is made available to  
all the Members and not only to the  
Member who gives the Calling Atten-  
tion notice. (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER: When the state-  
ment is long, that is what is done but  
in the case of some Calling Attention  
notices like this, when they want to  
answer it extempore, it is not obliga-  
tory or compulsory that it should  
be given in advance. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHN-  
AN: I call the attention of the Prime  
Minister to the following matter of  
urgent public importance and request

that he may make a statement there-  
on:—

"The news item appearing in the  
Times of India dated the 31st March,  
1977 attributing statements alleged  
to have been made by him regard-  
ing women as Prime Ministers and  
levelling derogatory and unseemly  
remarks about them."

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI  
MORARJI DESAI): May I say that  
the controversy which has arisen is in  
respect of something which I said more  
than two years ago? But I don't wish  
that that controversy should go on nor  
do I wish that I should add to it fur-  
ther. It is very unfortunate that this  
should have happened and I regret  
very much that I should have been  
the cause of it. I can only say that  
in future I shall be careful to see that  
I don't give scope for such a thing.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHN-  
AN: I am very grateful to the Prime  
Minister for the statement that he has  
made. It is the image of our country  
that is involved also, it is International  
Women's Decade. That is why we  
were disturbed. Particularly, he has  
claimed in that statement that he is  
a follower of Gandhiji. Gandhiji was  
the person who taught our country  
that women have to take their place  
equally with men in order to ensure  
salvation for our country.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: May I say  
that I respect women far more than  
the hon. Member does.

11.36 hrs.

**RE MATTER UNDER RULE 377**

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Biju Patnaik.

SHRI JYOTIRMAY BOSU (Dia-  
mond Harbour): Sir, I had given a  
notice under rule 377 to draw the at-  
tention of the House to public burning  
and trampling of newspapers in a pub-  
lic meeting.....

**MR. SPEAKER:** The hon. Member, may please sit down. He has given notice, I think, on every subject—call-attention, under rule 377 and all that—and if I accept everything, there will be no other Member doing any work, and time of the whole House will be taken away by Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu. The next moment after he has given notice, he should not get up like this and start speaking. It is not proper. The State Assembly is there. If somebody has stolen or done something with some newspapers, they can raise it in the State Assembly, not here. I would request him not to raise it like this.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** Sir, you have been unkind to me. I had given notice of an Adjournment Motion. You told me that that was not being allowed. Now I have given a notice under rule 377. Newspapers have been trampled upon and burnt publicly—Mr. Chavan was there as an eye witness—by a Minister of the West Bengal Government in Calcutta.

**MR. SPEAKER:** That is alright. You have had your say now. (*Interruptions*).

There are about 25 notices before me. I cannot answer all the Members. 25 hon. Members have given notices, and if all the 25 Members begin shouting like this, the House cannot proceed in a proper way.

Mr. Biju Patnaik.

11.38 hrs.

# PETROLEUM PIPELINES (ACQUISITION OF RIGHT OF USER IN LAND) AMENDMENT BILL\*

**THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI BIJU PATNAIK):** Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Petroleum Pipelines (Acquisition of Right of User in Land) Act, 1962.

**SHRI ANNASAHAB GOTKHINDE (Sangli):** Sir, under rule 72 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I oppose the motion for leave to introduce the Petroleum Pipelines (Acquisition of Right of User in Land) Amendment Bill, 1977, on the following grounds:—

The Statement of Objects and Reasons accompanying the said Bill is incomplete, defective and misleading. It makes no reference to the promulgation by the President of the Petroleum Pipelines (Acquisition of Right of User in Land) Amendment Ordinance, 1977.

Secondly, the said Statement does not specify whether the Bill to be introduced seeks to replace the said Ordinance.

The revision of the Statement of Objects and Reasons has, therefore, become absolutely necessary.

We have read today what Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has said. He has said that those in office were on test daily and if they did not come up to the mark, they should be made to step down; 'I have pointed out the serious lapse on the part of a Minister and I hope that an impression will not be created in the country that a Janata Minister merely signs on the dotted line'.

**SHRI BIJU PATNAIK :** In his rhetoric, the hon. Member has quoted what Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has said. We on this side shall obey Shri Jayaprakash Narayan implicitly. But I would request the hon. Member to do a little more home work before giving a notice of this sort to oppose.

If he takes the time to go through the Bill that I have presented to this House....

\*Published in Gazette of India Extra ordinary, Part II, Sec. 2, dated 4-4-77.

SHRI ANNASAHEB GOTKHINDE:  
The Bill has not yet been introduced.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK:.... if he looks at clause 11 of the Bill that is before the House, he will notice to his surprise that the Petroleum Pipelines (Acquisition of Right of User in Land) Amendment Ordinance is being repealed.

SHRI ANNASAHEB GATKHINDE:  
Sir, on a point of order. I was referring to the Statement of Objects and Reasons. He is referring to something else.

MR. SPEAKER: He has already made his point. Let him now hear the Minister.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: I have presented before this House a Bill which seeks to repeal the Petroleum Pipelines (Acquisition of Rights of User in Land) Amendment Ordinance, 1977. It is a part of this Bill which is before the House. The fact is that this simple matter is not included in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. The Statement of Objects and Reasons merely explains as to why this new Act has been brought before the House, in replacement of the old Bill, with further additions required for the new discoveries and scientific development that have taken place in this country, as exhibited in the Kudremukh project. That is why this has been brought up. Therefore, I would request the Speaker to reject the objection.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to amend the Petroleum Pipelines (Acquisition of Right of User in Land) Act, 1962."

*The motion was adopted.*

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: I introduce† the Bill.

11.42 hrs.

STATEMENT RE. PETROLEUM PIPELINES (ACQUISITION OF RIGHT OF USER IN LAND) AMENDMENT ORDINANCE

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI BIJU PATNAIK): I beg to lay on the Table an explanatory statement (Hindi and English versions) giving reasons for immediate legislation by the Petroleum Pipelines (Acquisition of Right of User in Land) Amendment Ordinance, 1977.

11.42½ hrs.

EAST PUNJAB URBAN RENT RESTRICTION (CHANDIGARH AMENDMENT) BILL\*

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA): Sir, on behalf of Chaudhuri Charan Singh, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the East Punjab Urban Rent Restriction Act, 1949, as in force in the Union Territory of Chandigarh.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the East Punjab Urban Rent Restriction Act, 1949, as in force in the Union territory of Chandigarh."

*The motion was adopted.*

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: I introduce the Bill.

†Introduced with the recommendation of the Vice President acting as President.

\*Published in Gazette of India Extra ordinary, Part II, Sec. 2, dated 4-4-77.



11.43 hrs.

**STATEMENT RE. EAST PUNJAB  
URBAN RENT RESTRICTION  
(CHANDIGARH AMENDMENT) OR-  
DINANCE**

**THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-  
TARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR  
(SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA):** On be-  
half of Chaudhuri Charan Singh I beg  
to lay on the Table an explanatory  
statement (Hindi and English ver-  
sions) giving reasons for immediate  
legislation by the East Punjab Urban  
Rent Retrixtion (Chandigarh Amend-  
ment) Ordinance, 1976.

11.43½ hrs.

**PREVENTION OF PUBLICATION  
OF OBJECTIONABLE MATTER (RE-  
PEAL) BILL\***

**THE MINISTER OF INFORMA-  
TION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI  
L. K. ADVANI):** I beg to move for  
leave to introduce a Bill to repeal the  
Prevention of Publication of Objec-  
tionable Matter Act, 1976.

**MR. SPEAKER:** The question is:

"That leave be granted to intro-  
duce a Bill to repeal the Prevention  
of Publication of Objectionable Mat-  
ter Act, 1976."

*The motion was adopted.*

**SHRI L. K. ADVANI:** I introduce  
the Bill.

11.44 hrs.

**PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS  
(PROTECTION OF PUBLICATION)  
BILL\***

**THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION  
AND BROADCASTING (SHRI L. K.  
ADVANI):** I beg to move for leave to  
introduce a Bill to protect the publica-  
tion of reports of proceedings of  
Parliament.

**MR. SPEAKER:** The question is:

"That leave be granted to intro-  
duce a Bill to protect the publication  
of reports of proceedings of Parlia-  
ment."

*The motion was adopted.*

**SHRI L. K. ADVANI:** I introduce  
the Bill.

11.45 hrs.

**MOTION OF THANKS ON THE  
ADDRESS BY THE VICE-PRESI-  
DENT ACTING AS PRESIDENT—  
Contd.**

**MR. SPEAKER:** We will now take  
up discussion on the Motion of  
Thanks. Shri H. V. Kamath.

**चौधरी बलबीर सिंह (होशियार) :**  
अध्यक्ष महोदय, जो कागजात मेज़ पर रखे  
जाते हैं वह हमें मिलते नहीं हैं। जो पहली  
तारीख को रखे गए वह आज भी नहीं  
मिले हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : लाइब्रेरी में रहते हैं।

**चौधरी बलबीर सिंह :** वहां पर तो  
यह प्रोसीजर था कि हमको दिये जाते  
थे।

11.46 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

**SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH**  
(Hoshangabad): Mr. Deputy-Speaker,  
Sir, some two decades ago, a seminar  
was held on Parliamentary Democracy  
in the Central Hall of Parliament  
House. There I took part in the dis-  
cussion and I ventured to suggest that  
the main task of the opposition was  
to expose, to oppose and to depose,  
and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, who was  
then British High Commissioner in  
India, agreed with me in toto. He  
added a corollary, saying that after  
deposing one ought to repose. Today  
we have no time to repose. There is  
no time for rest because the General  
Election which had demonstrated con-  
vincingly the truth of the old adage:  
परमात्मा के यज्ञ देर भले हो, अन्धे न होँगे।  
and the wheels of God grind slowly  
but they grind exceedingly sure, ex-  
ceedingly small, this Election has  
swept into the dust-bin of history the  
Mafia gang of Delhi, the monstrous  
Mafia gang of Delhi, what we may call  
in Hindi चाण्डाल चक्रे consisting of  
the then Defence Minister, Shri Bansi

\*Published in, Gazette of India Extraordinary Part II, section 2, dated 4-77.



[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

Lal, Shri Vidya Charan Shukla, the then Information and Broadcasting Minister, Shri Sanjay Gandhi, the Prime Minister's second son and Shri Om Mehta, the Minister of State for Home Affairs headed by the big boss, the Prime Minister herself.

The General Election has ushered into our country a non-violent revolution which has to be carried forward by us and by the people acting in unison. We have no time for rest because we have to dismantle the

monstrous, fascist apparatus of oppression and tyranny set up in India by

this चण्डाल चौकडी this Mafia gang of our country headed by the Prime Minister with her storm-troopers and in the States her gauleiters, the Chief Ministers, who set up an odious regime of repression, oppression, tyranny and injustice.

I do not wish to go into the details of these monstrous cases of oppression and injustice, but I will quote a few cases which are worth citing. I will not mention MISA because it is an odious law, a black law, a lawless law under which many were detained and jailed, thousands nay lakhs, were jailed in India, thousands were maimed inside and outside the jails, thousands were shot by the Police inside jails as also in the streets of India and lathi-charges too took place inside the jails. The MISA has been suitably described not as the Maintenance of Internal Security Act but as the Maintenance of Indira Sanjay Act because it was enacted to keep the Prime Minister and her second son in their cosy places which they did not deserve to be in.

During this regime of terror and tyranny and darkness, darkness of night, there were fabricated cases put up, fabricated on trumped up charges, and thousands of people were jailed of which I myself was a victim. We were picked up, I and six friends of mine, at the Gandhi Samadhi on Raj Ghat on Gandhi Jayanti day, the 2nd October, 1975, jailed for a few months and a prosecution was also launched. It was more of persecution than

prosecution. For 8 months the prosecution went on. False evidence was led. False I say because the Magistrate took courage in his hands and had the courage to write in his judgment that this was a fabricated case, and myself and my six friends who were the accused were acquitted honourably. But I am afraid that during the climate of emergency, the Magistrate might have been demoted and the Police Inspector who fabricated and trumped up a false case might have been promoted.

Be that as it may, I wish to refer to some other monstrous cases of injustice, where people in high positions were summarily squeezed out of office, hounded out of office merely because they did not conform to the Mafia gang's code of conduct. One of the monstrous cases was that of Air Chief Marshal P. C. Lal, the then Chairman of Indian Airlines. As far as I know him, he is a man of integrity, character and efficiency. But as ill-luck would have it, he wanted to take action against some persons in the Indian Airlines who were friendly to the Establishment and were stooges of the Mafia gang in power in Delhi, and, therefore, one fine afternoon he found that some stooges of the establishment had occupied his chair. They forced him to sign a letter of resignation which he had to do.

Then there was the case of the Jayanti Shipping magnate--Dr. Dharma Teja. He was prosecuted, and jailed for three years. After he came out of jail I remember he started paying court at 1, Safdarjang Road. There is a mystery about the pardon given to his wife who was a co-accused with him in the Jayanti Shipping case. This must be gone into, also there should be an inquiry into the dismissal of Shri P. C. Lal, the then Chairman, Indian Airlines.

Another notorious case which I would like to point out is the case which Lok Nayak Shri Jayaprakash Narayan referred to in his Press Conference in Delhi four or five days

after Shri Morarji Desai, now the Prime Minister, was released from detention. That was the case of Dalmia Jain Airways in which the Sessions Court had delivered the judgement. But this was suppressed by the Chief Censor in January. The way the Chief Censor functioned is laughable. I remember the famous Gita sloka—

भुद्रं हृदयं दावं यत् कृत्वाति न परंतप

Shri Krishna exhorted Arjuna not to be a coward, but to stand up and fight. That line was blocked by the censor when an article came up for scrutiny.

Worse still was the case of an Indian film actress in London. A London Report about the arrest of actress Verghese for shoplifting, later corrected to 'Nargis', was killed by the Censor. The Censor also killed the news relating to the Sadhu of Paunar, Acharya Vinoba Bhave, in regard to the raid on his ashram and seizure of his magazine 'Maitri'.

During that dark period there was an attempt to set up a dynasty in embryo. I use the word 'embryo' deliberately because it did not come to fruition. The embryo was killed. I remember an instance in the First Lok Sabha 20 years ago when we had a Poet Member on the Opposition Benches at that time. In the lobby one day some friends of the Poet Member asked his opinion about a Nehru Dynasty. The Poet Member immediately retorted that if Nehru tried to found a dynasty, he would die nasty. That is what has now happened to the dynasty in embryo. It has died a political death. It has died very nastily in the recent election. The people have swept them into the dustbin of history.

AN HON. MEMBER: No repentance.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: They would not repent. They would

neither learn nor forget. They will be made to learn the lesson very shortly if they have not learnt it already. I am very glad to see, Sir, that the Acting President has referred in his Address to the cult of personality and the people have scotched that cult before it could emerge forcibly or become stronger. In the Constituent Assembly 28 years ago in 1949 Dr. Ambedkar had sounded a similar warning. Dr. Ambedkar said:

'The second thing we must do is to observe the caution which John Stuart Mill has given to all who are interested in the maintenance of democracy, namely, not to lay their liberties at the feet of even a great man or to trust him with powers which enable him to subvert their institutions.'

Then he went on to say:

'This caution is far more necessary in the case of India than in the case of any other country. For in India, Bhakti or what may be called the path of devotion or hero-worship, plays a part in its politics unequalled in magnitude by the part it plays in the politics of any other country in the world.'

And then, this is very topical and throws a lot of light on what has happened in the country in the general election.

'Bhakti in religion may be a road to the salvation of the soul. But in politics, Bhakti or hero-worship is a sure road to degradation and to eventual dictatorship.'

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of India, also sounded a warning. It is very appropriate today in the present condition when the Congress party has brought the country to this sorry pass. He said:

'If the people who are elected are capable and men of character and integrity, they would be able to make the best even of a defective constitution. If they are lacking in

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

these, the Constitution cannot help the country. After all, a Constitution like a machine is a lifeless thing. It acquires life because of the men who control it and operate it, and India needs today nothing more than a set of honest men who will have the interest of the country before them. It requires men of strong character, men of vision, men who will not sacrifice the interests of the country at large for the sake of smaller groups and areas and who will rise over the prejudices which are born of these differences.'

That was a warning which was necessary then and even more necessary today. The task before the country, before our Janata Government, and also of the people of India, is a mighty task, to further this revolution which has been ushered in by the general election, which is a non-violent revolution. I call it Act One, Scene One. Our task is to accomplish a socio-economic revolution by peaceful methods, founded on firm moral and spiritual values.

During the Congress regime nothing was more than the devaluation of moral values, standards and norms of democracy. And this devaluation of values was more calamitous than the devaluation of the currency. The emergency was itself an illustration of the way the Government functioned in their so-called democracy.

My hon. friend Shri Mishra raised a question the other day, and I am afraid the Government has not fully understood the implications of what Shri Mishra raised that day. If what he said was correct,—and I am sure it was correct—then I have no doubt in my mind that all that was done.  
12 hrs.

All that was done in the wake of the emergency was illegal, void and unconstitutional. The Proclamation itself was illegal and void. All the ministers and others who functioned in the emergency did all those things

have to be brought to book, to stern justice before the law—justice, stern justice, and no misplaced generosity, should be meted out to the Prime Minister, Chief Ministers or anybody else.

I have noticed recently that in the corridors of power in Delhi, there are men waiting to pay court to the ministers, men who had developed cold feet during emergency and who shunned the then Opposition and shunned all those who were against the Establishment, out of fear, out of panic, out of cold feet, in timidity or pusillanimity, they are now waiting in the corridors of power to pay court and reap benefit out of the present Government. I hope, the Government will preserve its image, true image, the people's image and will not succumb to the viles of the people who want to pay court to them by waiting in the corridors of power.

One last word and I have done. I would like to submit in all humility and with all earnestness that there is a great task, historic task, revolutionary task, before us. Great tasks and little minds go ill together; we will have to have great minds with a great vision before us. Where there is no vision, it has been rightly said, the people perish.

Sir, the other day, the Leader of the Opposition or some other spokesman on the other side referred to the discussion on this subject, and they had the temerity to suggest that all these exposures—this expose may lead to the tarnishing of the country's image. I am reminded of what Dr. Kissinger used to say in the United States when the Watergate scandal was exposed. And he, being a beneficiary of President Nixon, said that all these exposures might lead to the tarnishing of America's image in the world. What has happened? What really happened after the exposure of the Watergate and the exit of President Nixon was that the image of America

had become brighter and more shining. So also, in our country, after the exposure of the anti-people crimes, and the unlamented exit of the accused mafia gang of Delhi into the dustbin of history, if that is done truly, properly and fully, within the next few months, I am sure, the image of India will be burnished bright.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola): To put the record straight, let him not misquote us

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: Is he on a point of order? I won't yield.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Sir, I am on a point of order. Sir, my friend, while speaking, was misquoting us and then he was trying to confuse us. It is unparliamentary. I want to bring to your notice that nobody on our side has said that there should be no enquiry or anything of that sort. What he was quoting was wrong. What we said was this—don't make any partial enquiry and partial exposure of the entire thing. That is what we have been saying. So, don't misquote.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There is no point of order. You may carry on.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: I should only like to add before I close that the people's government should carefully preserve its image; the people's government was committed to socio-economic revolution.

We on our part are prepared to cooperate with the government if that is the real goal and objective. Let us have this vision before us. There is no greater depiction of this vision than what came from Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore many years ago and it is worth placing before this House and the government.

12.07 hrs.

[SHRI DHIRENDRANATH BASU in the Chair]

It is for them to act up to that vision. With that I shall end my observations. Gurudev said in his most inspiring poem:

"Where the mind is without fear  
and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free,

Where the world has not been  
broken up into fragments by  
narrow domestic walls;

Where words come from the depth  
of truth,

Where tireless striving stretches  
its arms towards perfection,

Where the clear stream of reason  
has not lost its way into the  
dreary desert sand of dead habit,

Where the mind is led higher by  
THEE into ever-widening thought  
and action,

Into that heaven of freedom,  
Father, let my country awake."

श्री नाथू राम मिर्बा (नागौर) :  
माननीय सभापति जी, आजादी के 30 साल बाद आज जनता पार्टी सरकार में बैठी है। बहुत से सदस्य जो पहले विरोध पक्ष में रहे हैं उन सब ने मिल कर जनता पार्टी बनाई और शासन की बागडोर सम्भाली है। मैं इस मौके पर इस सदन में माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी तथा अन्य साथियों को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने इस देश का बहुत बड़ा बोझ सम्भाला है अपने कंधों पर जब से जनता पार्टी का बहुमत इस देश में हुआ तब से उन की सारी गतिविधियों को अच्छी तरह से देख रहा हूँ। सब से पहले जनता पार्टी के तमाम लोगों ने गांधी जी को समाधि पर जा कर श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण जी द्वारा दिलाई हुई शपथ को ग्रहण किया और जो नज़ारा वहाँ पर मैंने देखा, मुझे ऐसा लगा कि यह इस देश के लिए एक नया

[श्री नाथू राम मिर्षा]

पोलिटिकल नजारा है। कुछ लोग जो समाधि की तरफ़ देखना भी नहीं चाहते थे वह भी वहाँ पर आराम से खड़े हुए शपथ ले रहे थे। बहुत अच्छे लक्षण हैं अगर उस शपथ को ध्यान में रख कर जनता पार्टी आगे चलने की कोशिश करती है तो। उस के बाद मैं इस सदन में माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी का भाषण सुना, रेल मंत्री जी का भाषण सुना और उस के बाद आज जिस प्रस्ताव पर हम बहस कर रहे हैं उस राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण को भी पढ़ा और सुना। यह तीनों काफ़ी महत्वपूर्ण मौके होते हैं।

जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने यह कहा है कि अभी हम को चार्ज लिये बहुत थोड़ा समय हुआ है इसलिए बहुत से बुनियादी मुद्दों पर हमारी क्या नीति और दृष्टिकोण होगा हम आने वाले सेशन में इन बातों पर अपनी नीतियों पर गहराई से प्रकाश डालेंगे। अभी जो कुछ प्रकाश डाला है उस में जो मुझे लगा है वह मैं आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। मैं माननीय रेल मंत्री के भाषण से जो कुछ समझा उन्होंने दो साल के रेलवे के परफ़ॉर्मंस के बारे में वस्तु स्थिति का अपने भाषण में जिक्र किया। उस समय जनता पार्टी के पीछे बैठे हुए माननीय सदस्यों के चेहरों को मैं देख रहा था, उनकी हुई कार्यवाहियों को भी देख रहा था और उसी मुझे कुछ दुःख भी हो रहा था क्योंकि रेल मंत्री जी ने कुछ पोलिटिकल आनेस्टी बरती।

उन्होंने पिछले साल के रेलवे के परफ़ॉर्मंस के बारे में जिक्र किया और उसके बारे में जनता पार्टी के यहां बैठने वाले सदस्यों के हावभाव देख कर वह खुद घबरा गये और उन्होंने यह कहा कि यह परफ़ॉर्मंस रेलवे कर्मचारियों और जनता की वजह से है। यह एक नई टर्मिनालाजी सुनने को मिली। इसका मतलब यह है कि अगर कोई परफ़ॉर्मंस

आगे भी किसी महकमें में होगी तो वह इन मंत्रियों और सरकार की नहीं होगी, वह भी जनता और जनता के कर्मचारियों की ही होगी। जनता पार्टी ने एक नई टर्मिनालाजी यह रखी है, क्या ये इसे परमानेंट टर्मिनालाजी बना कर चलना चाहते हैं, यह मेरा एक प्रश्न है?

उसके बाद वित्त मंत्री ने खड़े हो कर देश की स्थिति के बारे में कुछ जिक्र किया। मुझे उनके भाषण और उनके दृष्टिकोण को देख कर बहुत ही दुःख हुआ। उनके भाषण को सुनने के बाद मुझे ऐसा लगा कि इस देश में पिछले 30 साल में जैसे कुछ भी नहीं हुआ और हम फिर जीरो से सारा काम शुरू कर रहे हैं। इस कंट्री में काफ़ी कारोबार हुआ है। (व्यवधान) आप भी अपनी बात बाद में कह लीजिए। आपको बहुत मौका मिलेगा। मैं ऐसा आदमी नहीं हूँ जो किसी के बीच में बोलूँ। मेरा प्रण है कि मैं किसी के बीच में नहीं बोलूँगा। मैं आपसे यह भी निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ कि उत्तर भारत में ही अपनी पार्टी का एक नुमाइन्दा हूँ, इस बात का भी आप लोग ध्यान रखें।

मैं आपसे यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि वित्त मंत्री ने कहा कि इस देश में कृषि उत्पादन कुछ बढ़ा है, तो वह मौसम की अनुकूलता की वजह से बढ़ा है। जनता पार्टी के बहुत से लोगों को ख्याल होगा कि जब यह देश आजाद हुआ तो इसका खाद्यान्न का उत्पादन 50 मिलियन टन था। आज वह उत्पादन 118 मिलियन टन पहुँच गया है। कह सकते हैं कि इसमें अच्छे मौसम का भी असर है लेकिन पिछले 30 साल में 50 मिलियन टन से इसका प्रोडक्शन 110-112 मिलियन टन पहुँच चुका है, उसी नीचे नहीं जाता है तो मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मौसम के अलावा और भी कई फैक्टर्स इसमें आते हैं, ऐसा हम सब लोग समझकर चलें। आगे भी चलने के लिए

आज का लैबल कुछ मानकर ही चल सकेंगे। वह भी हमें तय करना होगा। यह एग्री-कल्चर का उत्पादन हो या उद्योग का, आगे वह कितना बढ़ा, यह कोई न कोई आधार आज का मा. कर ही चलना होगा वरना आगे आपको भी कन्फ्यूजन होगा कि आप न कहां से शुरू किया और आप कहां पहुंचे।

हमने जो पीछे खराब किया, हमको जो भी सजा आप दें, हम उसे भोगने को तैयार हैं। आप कमीशन बैठाइये, इन्क्वायरी कीजिए, लेकिन मेरी प्रार्थना है कि आप उसमें ज्यादा समय मत लगाइये, जो करना है, कर डालिये। अगर यहां भाषण में ज्यादा समय लगायेंगे तो जो आप को आगे काम करना है, उससे पीछे रह जायेंगे। इस सदन का टाइम बड़ा कीमती है, एक मिनट के हजारों रुपये लगते हैं। हमारे माननीय सदस्य श्री ज्योतिर्मय त्रिमु हैं, दो, तीन घण्टे का समय तो यही खा जाते हैं। आप इन्हें समझाइये, कंट्रोल कीजिए क्योंकि ये आपकी पार्टी के साथ हैं। जनता पार्टी बड़ी हैट्रोजीनियस है, इसमें कई प्रकार के दल हैं और आपने इनको अपने साथ मिलान तय किया है। आप ऐसा कीजिए जिससे कुछ अनुशासन हो और इस सदन में एक एक मिनट का सही उपयोग हो, इस सब की कोशिश होनी चाहिए।

उद्योग की प्रोअर्थ जोरो से बढ़ कर 10 परसेंट तक पहुंच गई, लेकिन जनता पार्टी की तरफ से कहा जाता है कि कुछ भी नहीं हुआ है। हमने अपनी हार बढ़ी ग्रेसफुली स्वीकार की है। जनता ने हम को हमारे इकानोमिक प्रोग्राम के कारण नहीं हराया, बल्कि हमारी कुछ गलतियों के कारण हराया। हम उन गलतियों को

स्वीकार करते हैं। भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री जी भी उनका स्वीकार करती है। हम बोल्डली कहते हैं कि हम ने गलतियों की हैं इसलिए जनता ने हमें जो सजा दी है, वह हमें मंजूर है। आगे कमीशन द्वारा एनक्वायरी करवा कर भी हमें जो सजा दी जायेगी, वह भी हमें मंजूर है। लेकिन सरकार को इन बातों पर ज्यादा समय बर्बाद नहीं करना चाहिए।

वित्त मंत्री का भाषण पोलिटिकल आनेस्टी से परे था। मुझे आशा है कि आगे वह ज्यादा आनेस्ट हो कर आयेंगे। आज जनता पार्टी में कई पार्टियां शामिल हैं। समझ में नहीं आता है कि वह किन नीतियों के आधार पर देश को आगे बढ़ायेगी। अगर वह अपनी नीतियों को साफ करेगी, तो इस से देश को बल मिलेगा। जनता को अच्छी तरह से मालूम है कि पिछले तीस सालों में एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन और इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन के क्षेत्र में कितना काम हुआ है। हम आश्वासन देते हैं कि हम सरकार को पूरा सहयोग देंगे।

जहां तक एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन का सम्बन्ध है, नेशनल कमीशन आन एग्रीकल्चर ने 34 वाल्यूम्ज की एक रिपोर्ट सरकार को दी है। वह एक इंडिपेंडेंट कमीशन था। इस देश में जंगलात, जानवरों और खेती से कैसे धन बढ़ाया जाये, और इस सैन्चरी के एण्ड में हमारे फ़ैमिली प्रोग्राम के बावजूब देश की जनसंख्या, जो 95 करोड़ तक पहुंच जायेगी, उसको कैसे फ़ीड किया जाये, इस बारे में अगले छः साल के लिए जिम्मेदारी जनता सरकार की है।

राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि आने वाले दस सालों में हम जनता को



[श्री नाथू राम मिश्रा]

अच्छा जीवन दे सकेंगे और बेरोजगारी को मिटा सकेंगे ।

12.18 घण्टे

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

हम दोनों का उद्देश्य यही है, लेकिन अगले दस साल में यह काम कैसे किया जायेगा, इस बारे में सरकार को एक प्रोग्राम बनाना चाहिए । अगर वह बारह महीने हों गालियां देने में निकाल देगी, तो काम करने के लिए उस के पास सिर्फ 9 साल बचेंगे । काम करने के लिए अगले छः साल तो उस के निश्चित हैं । अगर इस बीच में वह गिर जाये, तो और बात है । उस के गिरने का खतरा है । हम उस में फूट नहीं डालना चाहते हैं । वह स्वयं अपने बेट से गिरेगी । अगर यह सरकार इन छः सालों में जनता की भलाई के लिए काम करती है, तो उस के बाद अगर फिर जनता पार्टी की सरकार बनती है, तो हों कोई एतराज नहीं होगा ।

राष्ट्रीय कृषि आयोग की रिपोर्ट हिन्दुस्तान के 80 परसेंट लोगों के वेलफेयर का डाकुमेंट है । सरकार को उस का अध्ययन कर के उस पर कार्यवाही शुरू कर देनी चाहिए और छठे प्लान के अन्तर्गत उस के मुताबिक योजनायें बनानी चाहिए । सरकार को प्रोक्वोरमेंट और दामों के बारे में फ़ैसला करना है । महंगाई को देखते हुए किसान का कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन बहुत बढ़ गया है । सरकार किसान को 102, 103 या 105 रुपये देती है । वह कुछ और ज्यादा दे सके, तो अच्छा है । यह ठीक है कि वह बहुत ज्यादा सन्सिडी नहीं दे सकती है । आज 136 के रेट पर आप बेच रहे हैं । अगर बेचने के रेट को थोड़ा और ऊंचा कर दें तो जो कुछ आप ने वेजेज लोगों की बढ़ाई है उस में बहुत ज्यादा सन्सिडी आप को नहीं देनी पड़ेगी और काश्तकार को भी उस की पैदावार की

कुछ ज्यादा कीमत मिल जायेगी । आज यह एक बहुत बड़ा सवाल है कि काश्तकार को उस की पैदावार की वाजिब कीमत मिलनी चाहिए और यह सवाल कि किस तरह से प्रोक्वोरमेंट किया जाय, क्या उस की कीमतें मुकदर की जाय पहले से चला आ रहा है । पहले भी यह सवाल था कि काश्तकार को उस की पैदा की हुई चीजों के उचित दाम नहीं मिलते । अब आप की नई सरकार बनी है । हमें यह देखना है कि हिन्दुस्तान के काश्तकारों को आप इस बारे में क्या इंसाफ दे सकते हैं । थोड़े दिनों में ही इस का पता चल जायगा जब तक सदन चल रहा है उस के अन्दर ही बता दें तो हम को भी पता चल जायगा, वरना अखबारों में जनता भी पढ़ेगी और हम भी अखबारों में ही पढ़ लेंगे । अभी तक बहुत सी बातें इस बारे में सोचने और करने की हैं । उन को आप सोचें और करें । प्रधान मंत्री जी बहुत तजुर्वेकार हैं और बहुत बुजुर्ग हैं । आप की पार्टी के लोगों की कम से कम तकलीफें उन के पास जायें ऐसा इंतजाम आप करें । आपस के प्रेशर और दूसरे प्रेशर्स से उन के काम करने की शक्ति पर असर पड़ेगा । इस देश से गरीबी मिटाने का काम दस साल के अन्दर उन को करना है । उस के लिए बहुत कुछ करना पड़ेगा और बहुत ज्यादा सीरियस हो कर उन्हें इन सारी बातों के ऊपर सोचना पड़ेगा । हम भी उस में आप का साथ देना चाहते हैं । हम इस बात को भी मानते हैं कि देश में दू पाटी सिस्टम हो और उस के लिए फर्दर पोलराइजेशन करने की जरूरत हो तो वह भी कर लिया जाय । देश के अन्दर दो पार्टियां बना कर अगर हम लोक तंत्र के मार्ग पर सकलतापूर्वक चल सकें और देश को आगे ले जा सकें तो मैं समझता हूं यह एक बहुत ही अच्छी बात होगी ।

जहां तक एमजेंसी का ताल्लुक है मेरी राय में इस देश के लिए एमजेंसी

जरूरी थी क्योंकि जिस तरह का वातावरण स्कूलों कालेजों और रेलों इत्यादि में बना हुआ था उस में एमजेंसी लागू करना बहुत ही आवश्यक हो गया था। मेरी राय में एमजेंसी नहीं होती तो यह देश मर जाता.. (व्यवधान).. मैं इस तरह के हल्लों से दबने वाला नहीं हूँ। एमजेंसी में हमारी गलतियाँ हुई हैं, उन को मैं मानता हूँ। मैं आप से यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस रास्ते पर आप चल रहे हैं उस के बारे में माननीय मंत्री जी और प्रधान मंत्री जी कुछ और सोच लें। आपने रेलवे के लोगों को बहाल किया। आपने 600 आदमियों को नौकरी पर ले लिया, हमें कोई एतराज नहीं है। लेकिन एक प्रोसीजर, एक तरीका होता है करने का। अच्छा होता आप इस की थोड़ी और स्कीनिंग करते क्योंकि ऐसा न हो कि वही उच्छृंखलता फिर इस देश में वापस आ जाय। यह ख्याल आप को रख कर चलना है। आप बोनस और दूसरे सवालों को देखें। ठीक है मंत्री जी ने याद दिलाया उस दिन कि ये ये मांगें आप ने की थीं। पर हम तो समझौता करने के लिए तैयार थे। मतलब यह कि आज आप भी महसूस करते हैं कि सारी मांगें मानने लायक नहीं हैं, मानी नहीं जा सकती हैं।

मैं आप से यह निवेदन करता हूँ कि आर्गेनाइज्ड लैबर इस देश में तगड़ा है। उनके प्रतिनिधि आप की पार्टी में भी तगड़े हैं। अगर आर्गेनाइज्ड लैबर का एक हिस्से से ज्यादा आप ने दे दिया तो देश के करोड़ों गरीब जो अन-आर्गेनाइज्ड हैं उन का क्या करेंगे? आप के सामने रिसोर्सेज का भी सवाल है। (व्यवधान).. मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा हूँ कि इस देश में लैबर को एक्सेसिवली टैम्पर कर के फिर वही उच्छृंखलता का वातावरण वापस खड़ा कर दिया गया तो यह सरकार खुद अपनी

मौत मोल लेगी। यह मैं बहुत गंभीरता से निवेदन कर रहा हूँ। इस देश में करोड़ों गरीब लोग पड़े हुए हैं जिन के लिए कोई बोलने वाला नहीं है, जिनका कोई आर्गेनाइजेशन नहीं है और उनके बहुत कम नेता इस सदन में आते हैं। (व्यवधान) वह कमजोरी हम में थीं। पर हमारी कमजोरियों पर हंसने से आप का काम नहीं चलेगा। आपका काम जरा मजबूत हो कर चलने से चलेगा। अगर वही वातावरण फिर वापस आ गया तो अच्छा नहीं होगा। आज भी आप जायें, तो पायेंगे कि सात दिनों के अन्दर वातावरण में कितना फर्क आ गया है? रेलों में बिलकुल ही इंडिपेंडेंट आदमियों का यह ख्याल है कि एफिशियेंसी में दस परसेंट का फर्क आ गया है। मैं रेल मंत्री से निवेदन करूंगा कि वे इस बात पर विचार करें, बहुत ही ईमानदार आदमियों का यह कहना है कि दस परसेंट का लैकुना उस की वर्किंग में आ गया है। अगर यही हालत रही तो गिरते गिरते कहीं ऐसा न हो कि इस एमजेंसी में जो गेन्स हुए उन को भी आप खो बैठें और देश का नुकसान हों। यह मेरी आपको वार्निंग है। इस पर आपको कितना गौर करना है इसका फैसला तो आपको ही करना है। चूंकि समय की कमी है और मैं आपकी आज्ञा को मानने वाला हूँ इसलिए आगे जब बजट आयेगा या दूसरी नई चीजें आयेंगी तब और विचार प्रकट करूंगा, खुलकर अपने विचारों को इस सदन के सामने रखूंगा। अभी आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया उसके लिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : श्री बलबीर सिंह।

श्री राम नरेश कुत्वाहा (सलेमपुर) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने सरकार को स्वयं



[श्रीराम नरेश कुशवाहा]

कहा था कि मेरा नम्बर आया है, मुझे समय मिलेगा ।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** मुझे तो जो लिस्ट मिलती है उसी के हिसाब से पुकारता हूँ । आप अपनी पार्टी के ह्विप से बात कर लें । आपको पता है उस दिन श्री राज नारायण डेढ़ घण्टा बोले ।

**श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा** उनके बोलने के बाद आपने कहा था ।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** उनके बोलने के बाद तो नान-आफिशियल बिजनेस शुरू हो गया था ।

**शौधरी बलबीर सिंह (होशियारपुर) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जनता पार्टी का सूरज निकल आया और उल्लू को अगर नजर नहीं आता तो जनता पार्टी के सूरज का क्या कुसूर है ? मैं तो अपने स्वास्थ्य मंत्री से कहूँगा कि हमारे जो विरोधी पक्ष के नेता हैं उनकी आँखों में फितूर है, उनकी आँखों का इलाज करवायें क्योंकि उनको जनता पार्टी एक जानवर नजर आती है । अगर यह पता चल जाये कि उनकी नजर में फितूर नहीं है तो फिर उन्हें मेंटल हास्पिटल में भेजें क्योंकि दिमागी खराबी से ही किसी को आदमी जानवर नजर आता है ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बीस महीने की कहानी, तीस साल की कहानी और दस साल की कहानी-यह तीन अलग अलग कहानियाँ हैं । बीस महीने की कहानी में क्या-क्या हुआ है ? श्री लखन पाल जो चण्डीगढ़ में बार कौंसिल के चेयरमैन थे, उनका क्या कुसूर था ? श्री जय प्रकाश नारायण के भाई उनके पास पहुँचे, वे श्री जय प्रकाश जी से मिलना चाहते थे । वे उनको अपनी कार में लेकर गये थे, उनको वापिस ले कर आये और वे खुद मिले नहीं । पुलिस उन्हें ले गई और अखिर जब वे मरने के करीब

हुए तो उनको पी जी आई में भेज दिया गया । उनकी बीबी को फोन गया कि आप लखन पाल को घर ले जाइये । पी जी आई में जब लखन पाल की बीबी पहुँची तो उनकी लाश लेकर घर गई । यह किस्सा सिर्फ एक आदमी का नहीं है । यहां पर श्री प्राणनाथ एडवोकेट थे, उनका क्या कुसूर था ? उनका कुसूर यह था कि जो पहले प्रधान मंत्री थी, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी उनका जो केस चल रहा था उसमें वे श्री शांति भूषण के साथ, जो अब मिनिस्टर हैं, एडवोकेट थे । उनके घर पर छापा मारा गया, उनके बीबी बच्चों को तंग किया गया और उनका सारा सामान उठाकर पुलिस ले गई जोकि आज भी किसी जगह रखा हुआ है और सड़ रहा है । श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने 18 जनवरी को जब एलान किया उसके बहुत बाद 7-8 फरवरी तक उनको छोड़ा गया । अखिर, क्या कुसूर था उनका ?

मेरा अपना भी थोड़ा सा किस्सा है । मैं डी ए वी कालेज की मैनेजिंग कमेटी का प्रधान था । मुझे 26 जून, 1975 को पकड़ा गया । मेरे बाद मेरे सीनियर वाइस प्रेसीडेंट, चौ० जयराम दास को पुलिस में बुलाया गया । उनका हैरसमेन्ट हुआ, उनको मेंटल टार्चर किया गया । चार घंटे के बाद उन्हें कहा गया कि आपको मीसा में गिरफ्तार किया जायेगा, नहीं तो आप दस्तखत कर दें कि आप कमेटी को दिल्ली वालों के सुपुर्द करते हैं । जब दोबारा टेलीफोन आया एस पी का तो कहा गया कि आप 24 घंटे इंजाम करें और उसके बाद जवाब दे कि इन कागजात पर आप दस्तखत करेंगे या नहीं । वे घर वापिस आये तो रात उनका हार्ट फेल हो गया । यह किस्से हैं इस देश में बीस महीने की इमर्जेंसी के । अभी उधर के एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि ये 'एमर्जेंसी' के गैन्ज हैं । गैन्ज यही है कि जनता पार्टी यहां आ कर बैठ गई है और आप को उठा कर वहां पटक दिया है ।

जिन्होंने कहा है कि इस देश की बहुत तरक्की हो गई है। हमारे फारन-एक्सचेंज का बैलेन्स बढ़ गया है मैं उनको यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि ये वही लोग हैं जिन को पिछले 30 साल से आप गालियाँ निकालते हैं, ब्रेन-ड्रेन हो रहा है, लोग इस देश से बाहर जा रहे हैं, यह पैसा उन्हीं लोगों ने भेजा है। हमारे यहां डा० खुराना थे, जो इन की यूनीवर्सिटियों में गये, रिसर्च इंस्टीचूशन में गये, लेकिन किसी ने उस की परवाह नहीं की कि खुराना कौन है। मायूस हो कर वह अमरीका चले गये, उनकी काबलियत इस देश में किसी को नजर नहीं आई लेकिन अमरीका ने उनकी काबलियत का पता लगा लिया, उस को मालूम हो गया कि इन के सिर में भी दिमाग है, उन्होंने वहां रह कर खोज की और उस का यह नतीजा निकला कि उन को नोबल प्राइज मिला। उस के बाद इन को भी उन की काबलियत का पता लग गया और ये कहने लगे कि डा० खुराना हिन्दुस्तान के हैं, एटम-बम के बाद इन्होंने दुनिया की सब से बड़ी खोज की है। डा० खुराना ने कहा कि अब मैं हिन्दुस्तान का कहां रहा, मुझे तो घबके देकर बाहर निकाल दिया गया था। आज इस देश में एक नहीं अनेकों खुराना हैं जिन्हें माका नहीं मिलता है। मैं जनता पार्टी के नये मिनिस्टर साहब से कहूंगा जैसा जनता पार्टी ने अपने मनिफेस्टों में कहा है कि इस देश में हर आदमी को काम का हक मिलेगा और अगर सरकार उस को काम नहीं दे पायेगी तो उसे वैकरी एलाउन्स मिलेगा उस वायदे को जल्द से जल्द एक प्रोग्राम बना कर पूरा किया जाय।

आज हम रोज अखबारों में पढ़ते हैं कि कोई लड़का ग्रेजुएशन करने के बाद, पोस्ट-ग्रेजुएट बनने के बाद रेल के नीचे सिर देकर मर गया, क्योंकि इस देश में उसे काम नहीं मिल सका इस से दिल को बहुत चोट लगती है। आज हमारे देश के लड़के बाहर के मुल्कों में जा कर, इंग्लैंड, अमरीका और

कैनाडा की बात छोड़ दीजिये रेगिस्तानी मुल्कों में जा कर शान्दार काम कर रहे हैं, फैक्ट्रियां बना रहे हैं बिजली घर बना रहे हैं अस्पताल बना रहे हैं, डिबोय और क्वैत में जा कर मकान बना रहे हैं वे लड़के हमारे देश में भी उस काम को कर सकते हैं। हमारे मुल्क की धरती में हर चीज है। आज दुनिया में कोई मुल्क ऐसा नहीं है जहां हर चीज पैदा होती है लेकिन हमारे मुल्क में हर एक फल पैदा होता है, सब्जी पैदा होती है, आज पैदा होता है, हर तरह के मिनरल्ज हमारे देश की धरती में भरे पड़े हैं, हम उन से फायदा उठा सकते हैं, लेकिन इस देश की पिछली हूमत ने दिमाग मेहनत और दौलत तीनों को इकट्ठा करने का प्रयास नहीं किया इन्होंने सिर्फ अपना पेट भरने की लगातार कोशिश की, जिस का नतीजा यह हुआ कि देश गरीब होता गया। ये लोग यहां पर सवाल करते हैं, अभी 10 दिन सरकार को बने हुए हैं ये लोग पूछते हैं कि आप ने ऐसा क्यों नहीं किया, लेकिन अपने 30 सालों की बात को भूल जाते हैं। इन की 20 महीने की इमर्जेंसी के गेन्ज या 20 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम क्या था। 8 हजार की इन्कम टैक्स की हद कर दी यह इन का प्रोग्रेसिव कदम था, लेकिन अब अगर यह 10 हजार हो जाये तो शायद वह ज्यादा प्रोग्रेसिव हो जायगा। इन्होंने ट्रकों के नेशनल प मिट दिये, इस लिये कि उस से माल के लाने ले जाने में ज्यादा तेजी आती है, लेकिन उस को भी सीमिन रखा और उस में भी करप्शन की ए नई मद पैदा कर की कि किस को परमिट मिले और किस को न मिले। मैं तो अपनी सरकार को यह सुझाव देना चाहूंगा कि जो भी ट्रक ठीक काम करे, उस को नेशनल परमिट दिया जाय ताकि करप्शन का नया रास्ता खुला न पाये।

इन्होंने कहा है कि पिछले साल में इन्होंने बहुत ज्यादा एक्सपोर्ट किया है। डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, अगर ये लिनिश आर्टिकल बने हुए माल को एक्सपोर्ट करते तो हम जरूर

[प्राचीन इलबीय मिह]

इन को मुबारकबाद देते कि आप ने वाकई बहुत अच्छा काम किया है, लेकिन इन्होंने तो मुल्क का इलाक़ को बहार भेजना शुरू कर दिया, आयरन-श्रीर, कोयला, कच्चा माल बाहर के देशों को भेजते हैं तो यह एक्सपोर्ट नहीं है। यह तो ऐसी ही बात हुई जैसे एक ऐयास लडका अपने बाप की जायदाद को बेच दे और फिर यह कहे कि देख मेरे बाप के पास कोई बैंक बेलेंस नहीं था और आज मेरे पास बैंक बेलेंस है। 20 लाख रुपये की वह अपने बाप की जायदाद बेच देता है और उस में 15 लाख रुपया वह ऐयाशी में उड़ा देता है और 5 लाख रुपया उस के पास बैंक बेलेंस रह जाता है और इस पर वह बड़े गर्व के साथ कहता है कि यह मेरा बैंक बेलेंस है।

आज ये लोग जिन को जनता ने दूसरी तरफ फेंक दिया है, ये कहते हैं कि हमारा एक्सपोर्ट बहुत बढ़ा है। जो हमारी दीलत है उस को ये बहुत कम दामों में बेच रहे थे। अगर आप लोहे की बात ही ले, तो आप यह देखेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो स्टील बनता है, उस पर हमारी लागत करीब 2300 रुपये टन आती है लेकिन जापान जहां पर न लोहे का भंडार है और न कोयले का भंडार है और वह कोयला हिन्दुस्तान से खरीदता है और दुनिया के और दूसरे मुल्कों से खरीदता है, वहां पर जो स्टील बनता है उस पर उस का खर्च 1200 रुपये टन के करीब आता है। हमारे यहां जो स्टील बनता है, उस पर हमारा खर्च 2300 रुपये आता है। अब अगर जापान इंटरनेशनल मार्केट में स्टील को 1700 रुपये टन के हिसाब से बेचता है तो उस को 500 रुपये का फायदा होता है और अगर हम अपने स्टील 1700 रुपये में बेचते हैं तो हम को 600 रुपये टन के घाटे पर उस को बेचना पड़ता है और यह जो घाटा है इस का बोझ टैक्सपेयर पर पड़ता है। इस तरह से आप देखें कि जो प्लानिंग हुआ है, उस में भी बहुत सी खामियां हैं। बोकारो के स्टील प्लान्ट की जो सरकार की अपनी रिपोर्ट है, उस

के अनुसार अगर नार्मल कैपेसिटी से बोकारो काम करे, तो हमें 20 करोड़ का घाटा हर साल होता है? दुर्गापुर स्टील प्लान्ट के बारे में सरकार की जो रिपोर्ट छपी थी, उस को तीन महीने पहले की ही बात है, जब जेल में हम ने पढ़ा था। सरकार की वह अपनी रिपोर्ट है और उस के अनुसार अगर वह प्लान्ट नार्मल कैपेसिटी से काम करे, तो उस में 20 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा है और इस पर पिछली सरकार कहती है कि हमने बड़ा प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा दिया।

ये लोग प्राइस इन्डेक्स की बात करते हैं और कहते हैं कि प्राइस इन्डेक्स नीचे आ गया। जो थोड़ा सा प्राइस इन्डेक्स कम हुआ है, वह किस चीज में कम हुआ है। किसान जो पैदा करता है, उस में ही कम हुआ है। कृषि की कीमत जो किसान को पहले मिलती थी वह अब भी मिलती है। पिछले कई साल से उस को 105 रुपये क्वींटल कनक का दाम मिला है और पिछले साल भी 105 रुपये क्वींटल ही मिला था जबकि जो फिनिश गुड्स हैं, उन की कीमत लगातार बढ़ती जा रही है। उन की कीमत कम नहीं हुई है। दो महीने पहले सरकार ने 30 परसेंट कपड़े की कीमत बढ़ा दी लेकिन किसान के उत्पादन की कीमत बढ़ाने का इन को ख्याल नहीं आया है। जो किसान पैदा करता है उस की कीमत तो कम हो जाती है लेकिन जो चीजे वह खरीदता है, उन की कीमत बढ़ गई है। मैं सरकार के नोटिस में लाना चाहता हूं कि शीरे की कीमत पिछले साल सरकार ने बढ़ा दी थी जबकि कारखानेदारों ने मजदूरों को वहां पैसा दिया। गन्ने की कीमत और खांड की कीमत ज्यादा नहीं बढ़ाई लेकिन शीरे की कीमत पांच गुणा बढ़ा दी। कारखानेदार के पास खांड के अलावा शीरा भी पैदा होता है और अगर एक टन खांड पैदा हुई तो दो टन शीरा पैदा होता है। 1975-76 में अगर 45 लाख टन खांड पैदा हुई तो 90 लाख टन शीरा पैदा हुआ और उस की कीमत पांच

गुणा बढ़ गई। इस का मतलब यह हुआ कि 440 करोड़ रूपया सरकार ने अपने एक हुक्म से कारखानेदारों की जेब में भर दिया और उस 440 करोड़ रुपये में से इन की जेब में इतना आया उसका पता तो इक्वायरी अगर सरकार की तरफ से होगी, तब चलेगा। इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि जिस ढंग से काम हुआ है, पिछली सरकार ने जिस ढंग से काम किया है, वह ठीक नहीं था। सरकार ने जो यह आश्वासन दिया है कि नागरवाला कांड जो हुआ है, उस की जांच होगी, यह स्वागतयोग्य बात है। मैं चाहूंगा कि धर्म तेजा स्कैन्डल जो हुआ था या जो दूसरों ऐसे कैसेज हुए हैं, उन की इक्वायरी भी जल्द से जल्द करें और स्टेट्स में जो धांधलिया मची हुई है और पिछले इलैक्शन में जो लोगों ने बरडिक्ट दिया है, इन के खिलाफ फतवा दे दिया है, उस को मानते हुए भारत सरकार का यह काम है कि हर स्टेट में इलैक्शन्स हों और फिर से नई सरकारें बनें ताकि ठीक ढंग से काम हो सके।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं सामान्त करता हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, there are still 76 speakers on the list from the Janta Party. There are another 13 speakers from the Congress party. Besides, there are some more speakers belonging to other parties and also Independents. If Members keep on speaking for 15—20 minutes, we cannot just accommodate everybody. Therefore, you will not feel hurt if I am very strict about time hereafter. I propose that you take 7 minutes each and wind up in another 1 minute or so. I will call two speakers from the Janta Party and one speaker from the other side. That is the best way we can get over the situation.

Shri Yagya Dutt Sharma

श्री यज्ञदत्त शर्मा (गुरदासपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से कार्यवाहक राष्ट्रपति महोदय को उनके अभिभाषण के लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ। उनका भाषण छोटा तो जरूर है लेकिन है बहुत सारगर्भित। उसमें थोड़े से मैं ही बहुत कुछ कह दिया है। गया तीस वर्ष में शायद पहली बार इस देश की जनता के सामने ऐसा अभिभाषण आया है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I would request the hon. Members not to come to the Chair. The Speaker has already said that. In spite of that, several Members seem to be coming to the Chair. I request them not to come to the Chair. If they have got anything to say, they can send slips and, will reply to them.

श्री यज्ञदत्त शर्मा : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा डेढ़ मिनट आप ध्यान में रखियेगा। मैं निवेदन करता था कि बहुत थोड़े में बहुत कुछ कह दिया गया है। अब सवाल उसको कार्यन्वित करने का है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक बात सभी माननीय सदस्यों ने इस सदन के ध्यान में लाई है और वह है पिछले शासन के कुकृत्यों की। माननीय चहूवाण जी, मुझे क्षमा करे, मुझे कुकृत्यों से अच्छा कोई दूसरा शब्द नहीं सूझा। इन कुकृत्यों के सम्बन्ध में, मेरा निवेदन है कि इनकी जांच अवश्य होनी चाहिये।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कार्यवाहक राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि उसके सम्बन्ध में कोई योजना होगी। मुझे पता नहीं कि वह योजना कैसी है। मेरा विनम्र सुझाव है कि देश के अन्दर पूर्व पश्चिम, उत्तर, दक्षिण और मध्य मार्गों में पांच आयोग नियुक्त कर दिये जायें जिनके पास लोग अपनी शिकायतें पहुंचा सकें और उन शिकायतों के ऊपर आगे चल कर विचार हो। पीछे जो व्यापक पैमाने पर भ्रष्टाचार के कार्य हुए हैं, व्यक्तियों के जीवन से सम्बन्धित भी

[श्री यशदत्त शर्मा]

लोगों के पास शिकायतें हैं, वे सब इन आयोगों के पास आये। जैसा कि मेरे मित्र कवरलाल जी ने कुछ व्यक्तियों के विरुद्ध सदन का ध्यान दिलाया है, निश्चित रूप से कुछ व्यक्तियों के विरुद्ध भी लोगों के पास शिकायतें होगी। ऐसे व्यक्तियों के विरुद्ध शिकायतों को सुनने के लिए भी जांच आयोग स्थापित किया जाये। मैं यह सब किसी व्यक्ति के विरोध में या बदला लेने की भावना से नहीं कह रहा हूँ। मैं यह सब इसलिये कह रहा हूँ कि पीछे देश के अन्दर भ्रष्टाचार बहुत बढ़ा है और उसने हमारे जीवन को चाट डाला है, हमारी क्षमता को चोट पहुँचायी है। इसलिये यह आवश्यक है कि जो पाप हुआ है वह लोगों के ध्यान में आए और उस पाप के निराकरण का हमारा प्रक्रम भी लोगों के सामने आये। इसी दृष्टि से मैं यह आग्रह कर रहा हूँ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज देश के अन्दर गरीबी की समस्या है। एक तरफ भुखमरी है और दूसरी तरफ बेरोजगारी है। मैं अपने देश के माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी और कृषि मंत्री जी को यह कहना चाहूँगा कि देश के अन्दर जो नियोजन हो वह ग्रामों पर आधारित नियोजन हो। ग्राम हमारे देश के प्राण हैं, देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था ग्रामों की अर्थ व्यवस्था पर निर्भर करती है, वे ही केन्द्र बिन्दु हैं और अगर देश की 62 करोड़ जनता के लिये अन्न चाहिये तो वह गांवों से खेतों से आता है, सीमा की रक्षाओं के लिए जवान चाहिये तो वे गांवों से आते हैं, मशीनों का पहिया चलाने के लिए मजदूर चाहिये तो वे गांव से आते हैं। पूरा भारत गांवों में बसता है। इन धर्मशालाओं में तो चूँकि गांवों में रोटी नहीं मिलती है इसलिए हम आकर रैन बसेरा लेते हैं लेकिन वास्तव में भारत शहरों में नहीं गांवों में बसता है। यह बात मैं अपनी बुद्धि से नहीं कह रहा हूँ। पचास वर्ष पूर्व राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी ने भी कहा था कि नियोजन गांव प्रधान होना

चाहिये, ग्राम प्रधान नियोजन में अति उत्तम प्राथमिकता, अति उच्च प्राथमिकता खेती को दी जानी चाहिये। किसान को अपनी खेती के उपयोग में आने वाले जितने संयंत्र हैं, उपकरण हैं वे सब रियायती दरों से मिलने चाहिये, खाने वालों को जितना अन्न आज मिलता है उतना मिलता रहना चाहिये और जिस दम पर आज मिलता है उससे भी सस्ते दामों पर अगर दिया जाए तो बहुत आनन्द की बात होगी और अगर ऐसा नहीं हो सकता है तो आज की कीमतों में एक नए पैसे की भी वृद्धि नहीं होनी चाहिए, एक नए पैसे भी अधिकतर पर नहीं मिलना चाहिये। यह आपको करना पड़ेगा। हमारे मित्रों ने जो पाप किये हैं उनको हमें धोना पड़ेगा, प्रेतों के पापों को हमें धोना पड़ेगा और इस काम में मुझे लगता है कि उनका सहयोग भी हमें प्राप्त होगा। जिन हाथों ने पाप किये हैं उन हाथों की उंगलियां तो नहीं काटी जाती हैं। लेकिन इन पापों को हमें धोना पड़ेगा।

जहां तक बेकारी की समस्या का सम्बन्ध है मेरा निवेदन है कि हम विवेकपूर्ण अर्थ व्यवस्था का सहारा लें, मास प्रोडक्शन करें लेकिन प्रोडक्शन बाई मसिस के सिद्धान्त को भी ध्यान में रखें। जहां पैदावार बढ़े वहां पैदा करने वाले हाथ भी बढ़ें। मैं समझता हूँ कि ग्रामों में खेती प्रधान या खेती से जोड़े हुए छोटे छोटे औद्योगिक केन्द्र स्थापित हों तो अत्युत्तम होगा। यह बहुत जरूरी है।

कुछ कर्मचारियों की घड़ाघड़ छंटनी हो रही है। बेकारी इस हद तक बढ़ चुकी है कि पिछले पांच छः साल से सरकार ने उसके आंकड़े ही देने बन्द कर दिए थे। इस वास्ते सही आंकड़ों का कुछ पता नहीं है। मोटे तौर पर 40 से 60 प्रतिशत के बीच आंकड़ा दिया जाता है और बताया जाता है कि इतने लोग गरीबी के स्तर से नीचे हैं। मैं इतना ही निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग काम पर लगे हुए हैं वे काम से हट न जाएं और चौराहे पर आकर खड़े न हो जाएं इसकी

व्यवस्था आपको करनी चाहिये । देश की राजनीतिक शान्ति की दृष्टि से भी यह बहुत आवश्यक है । कर्तव्यपालन की दृष्टि से भी बहुत आवश्यक है कि आप इस ओर ध्यान दें । तलवाड़ा में सतलुज न्यास लैंक प्राजैक्ट चल रहा था । वहां से दस हजार कामगार छंटनी हो चुके हैं । एक बड़ा भारी तांता चल रहा है । थिन डैम अभी तक विचाराधीन था । आज तक जो सरकार थी वह सभी काम राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण से करती रही है । वहां पर लोहा फेंका हुआ है, सीमेंट के लिए शौड बना हुआ है । उस में सीमेंट है या किसी की भैंसें बंधी हुई हैं यह देखने का विषय है । लोगों की आंखों में धूल झोंकने और बाजीगर की तरह से चालाकी दिखाने से काम नहीं चल सकता है । पिछली सरकार की यह एक राजनीतिक प्रवृत्ति बन गई थी, स्वभाव बन गया था और उसके मुताबिक वह सब काम करती थी । मैं समझता हूं कि थिन डैम के काम को तत्काल हाथ में लिया जाना चाहिये । थिन डैम के जो कर्मचारी सेवा निवृत्त हो गये हैं उनको खपाने के लिए ही नहीं जरूरी है बल्कि इसलिए जरूरी है कि देश की भुखमरी की समस्या का निवारण किया जा सके । उसके लिए यह बहुत आवश्यक है । उसको प्राथमिकता दी जानी चाहिये । इस सिद्धान्त को सरकार मान चुकी है । अब केवल उसको कार्यान्वित करने का ही मवान है ।

पिछले बीस वाईस महीनों में बहुत कुछ राजनीतिक कारणों से हुआ है । बोनस के सवाल को आप लें । पले हड़तालें भड़काई गईं । डेढ़ सौ वर्ष पूर्व विष्व के धरातल पर मजदूरों के अधिकारों की रक्षा के लिये उनके संगठन बनाने के सिद्धान्त को स्वीकार किया गया था । संगठन व्यवस्था को एक बुनियादी अधिकार स्वीकार किया गया था । सरकार ने उसको समाप्त कर दिया था । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जो बोनस कानून था जो केन्द्र का था उसी को बहाल किया जाए और यह काम तत्काल होना चाहिये ।

धारीवाल की मिल के ऊपर चार हजार मजदूर पिछले पच्चीस दिनों से हड़ताल के ऊपर बैठे हुए हैं । और उनकी समस्या केवल बोनस की है । मालिक का मुनाफ़ा बढ़ रहा है, लेकिन मजदूर को अपनी आय के अन्दर जीना कठिन पड़ रहा है । इसलिए मेरी मांग है कि पुराने बोनस कानून को तुरन्त बहाल होना चाहिये । आशा है कि आप मेरे द्वारा उठाई गईं तमाम चीजों का अध्ययन करेंगे और शीघ्र समुचित कार्यवाही करेंगे । आपने चूक घंटी बजा दी है इसलिये मैं अपने समय पर कायम रहूंगा, और यदि मुझ से अतिक्रमण समय का हो गया हो तो मैं उसके लिए क्षमा चाहता हूं । धन्यवाद ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Dr. Henry Austin. ....

SHRI S. KUNDU (Balasore): Before the Member starts, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I beg to submit most respectfully that it would be very helpful if you could announce some of the names in the list, so that those who are to be called will be ready. Nobody knows when his name will be called. You may please read out at least half a dozen names.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The normal procedure in the House would have been for the Whip to submit the list and also inform the Members as to when their turn would come according to the priority in which he has given. But considering the fact that this House consists mostly of new Members, there has been some dislocation, I suppose, in the functioning of the whips, etc. We shall have to put up with this for a little while till the whips are elected and all that. I am receiving a number of chits from even Members whose names have not been submitted by the Whip ....

SHRI S. KUNDU: My point was different. What I meant was...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I understand your point. It is the duty of the Whip to inform the Members as to when their turn would come. I can-

(Mr. Deputy-Speaker)

not read out the names. There is no such procedure.

SHRI A. V. P. ASAITHAMBI (Madras North): I am the lone representative of the DMK. I have no whip.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I know who is who. You do not have to press that point.

श्री उग्र सेन (दिल्ली) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है । कल जब हमारे माननीय रामनरेश कुशवाहा खड़े हुए थे तो आपने कहा था कि कल बोलियेगा । और आज उनका नाम नहीं है ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: If Mr. Raj Narain had not spoken for one and a half hours, we could have accommodated some more Members on that day. He spoke for one and a half hours. So, there was no time.

जो लिस्ट मिली है आपके व्हिप से उसी के अनुसार बुला रहा हूँ ।

श्री उग्र सेन : हमारा हक कैसे कट जायगा ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : यहां कोई हक की बात नहीं है । आप अपने व्हिप से बात कर लीजिये और नाम भिजवाइये ।

SHRI S. KUNDU: Some of the Members have been waiting for the last two or three days thinking that at any moment their names may be called. To avoid this tension and also to help the Members, I thought...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I will send round somebody.

SHRI S. KUNDU: That will be fair.

SHRI RAM JETHAMALANI: (Bombay North West): We want to know whether the Chair is so above our request that it cannot read out that

simple list to us. Is it a matter of dignity or something else?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I do not want to read out the list. An Hon. Member was just now insisting on his right because I had said that he would be called on that day. If I read out the list now, you will start insisting on your right, after one hour, that you must be called. That is not the procedure in the House. Probably, the hon. Member does not know. Therefore, I cannot read out the list. Maybe, somebody may go round and inform the Members to be present in the House. I have already said that.

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा कहना यह है कि एक बार एक सदस्य का नाम पुकार लिया गया और उसके बिना बोले ही.....

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आपका नाम बोलने के लिये पुकारा नहीं गया था ।

DR. HENRY AUSTIN (Ernakulam): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, may I extend my felicitations and warm greetings to all my colleagues in the Sixth Lok Sabha, particularly those of my colleagues who have come for the first time to this august House. This election has brought a certain change in the country which is reflected in this House. I see that some of my colleagues in the Fifth Lok Sabha who were in the opposition have now occupied the Treasury Benches and assumed responsibility for running this Government. Of course, the ministerial team is being led by one of our veteran leaders, with whom I have worked in our Party for a long period. I wish him and his team all success in giving proper direction to our country.

Sir, I should respectfully submit that I cannot fully agree with the statement made in the Address by the Vice-



President acting as President that:

"The election marks an important milestone in the evolution of our democratic polity into a healthy two-party system."

It is common knowledge that the Congress Party had been able to provide the country in the last three decades a stable Government, a Government based on the belief widely held by our compatriots that it symbolised the national aspirations bringing cohesion in the country. But today to say that the last elections have helped to create a healthy—I underline the word 'healthy'—two-party system is less than fair and objective. As I see it, it is perhaps only the beginning of the realisation of the hopes of the people that a two-party system will emerge in our country. What I want to say is that the ruling side is not another party, it is a coalition of several parties with us solid political infrastructure. One of the greatest achievements of the Indian National Congress, when one compares that Party with any other party in any part of the world is that it has tentacles and units in almost every village of our country. It may have been defeated once or twice in the polls, but the fact remains that its organization and infrastructure are solid throughout the country. On the other hand, the various parties opposite which call themselves as Janata Party may have their representatives in the Parliament. But they have not yet emerged as a party. I wish success to all my colleagues on the other side in their efforts to bring cohesion by merging the various parties that go to constitute the Janata Party. I shall be very happy if you could achieve that. Pending that, I should say that we are facing a coalition on the other side. By this process, you are inducting into our body-politic a system of coalition government in the Centre for the first time. Therefore, the statement that a healthy two-party system has emerged is far from true. And coming as I do from a State where we have experimented with all sorts of political

arrangements, I do not know whether that system will be helpful or not in the long run. Sir, I am not least worried that I have to sit in the opposition. Even from the first few months after the formation of the Kerala State, my Party had to go in opposition, but we never became panicky. In hardly two years time, we reversed the process and that Party which came to power in 1957 was routed by the people. Hardly thirty of their MLAs in a House of 133 Members came back to the Legislature. This is now a recurring of political process in Kerala. As everyone knows, representatives of every major party became Chief Ministers in Kerala. We acknowledge it as a part of the democratic process in Kerala. So, I am least surprised by the recent turn of events at the centre. I would, therefore, like to say that that statement is not objective and I wish that statement were not made.

When the euphoric mood of my friends on the other side withers away and when the ruling party comes to grip with the realities of the political situation, I have no doubt in my mind that they will have fresh thinking on the system they have now brought into our body politic whether the coalition pattern is suited to our country or whether it will ensure to the credit of our great country, which has complex and diverse problems considering its multi-lingual, multi-racial, multi-religious composition. I think a lot is said about the undoing of what the previous regime has done. It is perhaps quite natural for a victorious party with a thumping majority to try to undo certain decisions of the previous regime. But even as you think that you should undo certain so-called alleged wrongs of the previous regime, I think it is incumbent on the ruling party to examine whether the previous government has not done any good to the country and whether it is not their responsibility to continue the good works that the previous government



[Dr. Henry Austin]

had done during the last 11 years or more.....

13 hrs.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL (Jaipur): Whatever is not undone, you consider that it is good.

DR. HENRY AUSTIN: If you think that anything is not good, you remove it. But you should justify it to the country and the public opinion as well.

Nobody can deny the fact that the country had acquired a certain modicum of self-reliance, self-discipline and self-confidence during the last 10 years or more or even during the emergency. I do not hold a brief for the emergency or the excesses during the emergency. But nobody can deny the fact that the country faced a certain situation on the eve of the imposition of emergency that even some detractors of the previous regime felt rather grave.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): Don't say that. It was only to save the skin of one person that you imposed the emergency, nothing else.

DR. HENRY AUSTIN: My good hon. friend has the liberty to hold a different view. But I say that certain serious conditions obtained in our country which even my friends from the other side would not wholly deny.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: When you try to defend emergency, at least remember that millions of people suffered and you got the result of it and you still have the check to defend emergency. It is very strange. You call the Janata Party a strange animal, and you are the strangest animal. Otherwise, you could not have the check to defend emergency.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Let him have his say. You can have yours.

DR. HENRY AUSTIN: I sympathise with the sufferings of esteemed friend has gone through and I admire his courage and the restraint he has shown. I raise my hat in admiration.....

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH: You have no hat.

DR. HENRY AUSTIN: There might have been excesses and there might have been cruelties, but the fact that certain grave conditions existed in the country at that time should not be lost sight of. That is all I wanted to say.

AN HON. MEMBER: It was in the imagination of your former Prime Minister.

DR. HENRY AUSTIN: What I say is that in the heat of our excitement we should not forget that our country perhaps needed a strong leadership at that time. There may be excesses. We may look into it later.

Whatever one might say, whatever the detractors of the Congress regime might say, I would like to point out that we have done some good and that good should be continued. Can the Janata Party or the detractors of our government say that millions of our poor farm hands and landless people were given land just as a political stunt?

May I continue after lunch?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Your time is already over. You have to wind up now.

DR. HENRY AUSTIN: Therefore, I would only like to say that even as we try to expose or criticise some persons and actors, we may also consider the positive aspects of the Congress government and try to continue whatever good there is according to them.

Our country needs a certain bipartisanship in constructive work, in the development work and I am sure there are leaders in the ruling party who can rise upto that, and clasp the hand of cooperation offered by the opposition for the good of the country.

I will take one more minute and finish. There has been an emphasis in the Address on rural reconstruction. I think that it is vital for the development of our country. I would say that

there are ample opportunities for developing our country, particularly on the rural side. I am glad that there will be added emphasis on developmental work in the rural sector. I would like to say that the vast unutilised labour in our country should be tapped and used for a massive Rural Reconstruction Programme giving at least a ray of hope to all the rural poor.

13.06 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.*

*The Lok Sabha reassembled after lunch at three minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE ADDRESS BY THE VICE-PRESIDENT ACTING AS PRESIDENT—

*Contd.*

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI (Bombay North-West): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have got amendments Nos. 124 to 133 tabled in my name. I would submit with great humility that I am almost an unknown back-bencher. In all humility and very respectfully but firmly I wish to record my protest against the manner in which time is allocated for the speeches on this Motion of Thanks. The Mover took one hour. The Seconder took 75 minutes. Thereafter, almost everybody who spoke has taken as much time as he wanted. And suddenly we have been told of the decision that no speaker will be allowed more than 5 or 10 minutes. And, today we have been told that it has been curtailed to 7 minutes. May I say, Sir, that Motion of Thanks and its amendments are matters of great importance in the life of a Parliament. They are matters of greatest importance to back-benchers particularly. The scope of the Motion of Thanks is supposed to be the entire administration. If a Member has to

exercise his parliamentary right, how is it possible for any member to restrict his comments to 5 minutes or 7 minutes? I have tabled 10 amendments. If I were just to take 30 seconds on each it will take about 5 minutes. Do you expect any serious submission to be made during this little time that has been allotted?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have already taken a few minutes.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I would rather not speak but I do wish to suggest this that in England thirtyfive hours minimum is devoted to the motion of Thanks. England is a much smaller country than ours. Besides in England there is greater respect for the rules of relevance than in this House. If you are allocating this much time, I suggest that you have a talk with the Leaders of the ruling party and the Opposition and then extend this session so that everybody has an opportunity to speak on the Motion of Thanks which is undeviatingly of great importance.

The second point on which I wish to make my preliminary comments is the manner in which the proceedings of this House are being conducted. Sir, this Janata Party is a majority party in this House and I wish to say something first to my party and then to the members of the Opposition. It is true that thumping of tables and interruptions of the speeches are a part of Parliamentary life. But, it is my regret that instead of their being a part, they are beginning to become the whole of our Parliamentary life. And we who are new to this House must confess that it is impossible even sometimes to follow the proceedings of this House and, therefore, I would request particularly, my party colleagues, on this side to see that the proceedings are conducted with a tremendous amount of dignity because the whole world is watching this Parliament and the whole world

[Shri Ram Jethmalani]

is watching the performance of the majority party to-day. May I say this that I am convinced of the fact that our parliamentary manners are any day superior to those of many others. But, we have to demonstrate to the world that they, in fact, are so and, therefore, may I request both sides of the House that the speeches must not be interrupted as far as possible? I can understand when a Member is delivering a punch-line of his speech, if somebody who is emotionally upset, indulges in that kind of behaviour. But, if there has to be a reasoned argument to persuade of the other side, the speeches must be listened to with great respect and attention.

Then, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I shall proceed to deal with the various amendments. It is unusual for a member of the ruling party to move amendments to the Motion of Thanks. But it is also a recognised convention that the back benchers have always the right to move amendments and, in exercise of that right, as a back bencher, I am moving these amendments. But, let me make it clear at the same time that I am doing so more with a view to make some constructive suggestions to my own Government. Let not the Opposition—those distinguished gentlemen, sitting opposite—not run away with the misconception that I am condoning the crimes which have been committed by the Opposition party—the ruling party during the last few years that they were in office. In fact, the purpose of my intervention in this debate is to tell my Government that the speed and haste with which this Government has been formed and the business of this House has to be attended to, it is not sufficiently alive to the dangers to our ten day old democracy.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Jethmalani, I am told now that the time for moving the amendments was announced by the Chair and it

was over on 31st. So, the time for moving your amendments is now over. You can however speak on your amendments.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: The amendments were not moved but they were taken as moved and accepted.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Did you move the amendments?

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: You were not there in the Chair.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The Secretariat tells me that you were not there then.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: It was not necessary to formally move the amendments. But, they were taken as moved.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No. Was that the understanding?

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, if I receive suitable assurances from my own Government that the matters which I am going to raise will be considered hereafter, I shall not persist with my amendments and I shall withdraw them.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Jethmalani, I am sorry to interrupt you. The Speaker made this announcement on 31st to the hon. Members: 'If hon. Members wish to move amendments to the Motion of Thanks that have been circulated, they may, if they so desire to move amendments, send slips to the table within fifteen minutes indicating the serial numbers of the amendments they would like to move. These amendments will be treated as moved.' It seems your slip never came. That is what they say.

Anyway, you may speak on the amendments.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sometimes we are unable to follow what is happening here. It may be possible.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the first amendment that I wish to move was:

"That the House regrets that the Address has not dealt with immediate steps to restore judicial independence and integrity in particular by neutralising Judges who have played an unjudicial role in supporting the Emergency and those who were trying to destroy Indian democracy."

It is well to recall, Sir, that in 1971 the Ruling Party started the theory of 'committed judiciary' in the country. We who knew the dangers of a 'committed judiciary' realised at that time that the ruling Party had decided to become the only Party in the country and to destroy democracy and the rule of law because an independent judge and an honest judge is ultimately of use to the underdog, to the weak and to the Opposition and never to the ruling Party and therefore, when they talked of a 'committed judiciary', we knew that by the inexorable electoral process they had no intention of ever becoming the Opposition in the country and that is why they wanted a 'committed judiciary'. We started our fight against this. We started a national debate. But in 1973 you will recall that a Chief Justice was inducted into office by superseding three senior Judges of the Supreme Court, Judges to whom ultimately monuments will have to be erected some day in this country to honour their memory, to preserve their memory and I think the people of this country will have to worship those Judges who were superseded. You will recall that the Chief Justice was created by a person who was a potential litigant in the Supreme Court. At that time the Prime Minister's matter was pending before the High Court and it was on the cards that some day the matter will end up in the Supreme Court. We protested that no future litigant in the Supreme Court has a right to tinker with the constitution of that court before which

the matter of that litigant was going to appear and it came to be true; it proved to be prophetic.

The Chief Justice presided over the hearing of the appeal filed by the very person who had inducted that Chief Justice into office.

Sir, Article 121 of the Constitution prevents me from going into the conduct of a judge in the discharge of his duty. I can only recall events. In April 1976, may we recall that the Supreme Court delivered a judgment. To my mind the judgment delivered was such that any judge must feel ashamed before he puts his signature upon it. Did it not say that the order of detention, however *mala fide*, however malicious and however corrupt cannot be challenged before a court of law so long as the Emergency was in force.

At this point, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I wish to digress a bit. Our High Commissioner in London, Mr. B. K. Nehru in a signed article on the 12th of January this year, only six days before the elections were announced, published in *The London Times* called the Keshavananda Bharati's judgment of the Supreme Court an "infamous" judgment. The Keshavananda Bharati judgment was a judgment which merely said that the Parliament by its majority cannot convert India's democracy into a monarchy, cannot destroy democracy and substitute a dictatorship. This simple judgment, this great judgment, this historic judgment of the Supreme Court was characterised by Mrs. Gandhi's High Commissioner in London in a signed article as an infamous judgment. I wish to ask: When has it become permissible for our diplomatic representatives in foreign countries to abuse our Supreme Court judges and criticize judgements intemperately delivered by the Supreme Court? This gentleman ought to be recalled forthwith. This gentleman have harassed every patriotic Indian residing in London and he is the author of that document, the authorship of

[Shri Ram Jethmalani]

which is now being disowned by the then ruling Party, a document which was circulated throughout the country in the form of Draft constitutional proposals. Those constitutional proposals when they were seriously debated by the country and condemned all over the country were dropped and today even their authorship is denied. But the world knows that Mr. Nehru was the author of those constitutional proposals. They were quite disgraceful. The Prime Minister of the country was to be the head of Indian judiciary under those proposals! This Mr. Nehru ought to be publicly condemned and the least that the government ought to do is that he must be made to face an enquiry.

While judges in this country were being transferred for extraneous reasons, the Gujarat High Court held that the President's order of transfer of a Gujarat Judge was a *malu fide* order—in a signed article again he told the British public that no judge had been transferred in India except two judges and both those judges had been transferred because they were to be promoted as Chief Justices in other High Courts. When I went to London, my friends brought this to my notice and told me this is that the British High Commissioner has stated. I had to write an article in the *Guardian* of London pointing out that 35 Judges had been transferred. I gave their names and the High Courts from which they were transferred. I told the High Commissioner that he was lying in writing to the British public. After that the High Commissioner had not had the moral courage to go before the British public and set the record right. This is another charge against this High Commissioner; he ought to be recalled for having lied to the British public.

There is not one leader of this country—I am not talking of those leaders in the opposition, I am talking of the great patriots of this country who had been in jail and who

suffered for the cause of the Indian independence movement for the last 19 months—who has not been maligned by this High Commissioner either on television or on radio or in the Press or through public interviews and I think he deserves some punishment for that.

I say that the most historic judgment which the Supreme Court has ever delivered is the Keshavanand judgment which says that you cannot convert democracy into a dictatorship. High Commissioner has no adverse comment against the judgment delivered by the present Chief Justice in which he holds that you can shoot down a detenu or a prisoner, starve him to death or put him on an ice pack and subject him to third degree methods. Presumably he considers this judgment good and famous.

Let me say that this last judgment was delivered after the elections were announced in this country. Elections were announced on 18th January. I heard the News in New York, I said it publicly that the test of Mrs. Gandhi's so called democracy is about to arrive in the next three or four days: Justice Khanna has now to become Chief Justice of this country; if Mrs. Gandhi has got the lamp of democracy rekindled in her heart, she is not going to interfere in this matter but will allow the judiciary to remain in tact. Within four days Mrs. Gandhi's government failed that test; she again interfered with judicial promotions; she again tinkered with the Supreme Court and appointed a person as Chief Justice by way of reward for a bad and cruel judgment.

I wish to say to this House that the independence of the judiciary and the purity of the fountain of justice can never be restored as long as this Chief Justice continues to occupy that position. This government will not stoop to removing a judge from office. But let me say that the government

must make it clear to the Chief Justice that he is an unwelcome occupant of the chair and the sooner he goes, the sooner he will please the government and the people of this country. If after this statement formally and publicly made he continues to remain in office, let him do so; we will have cleared our conscience and done our duty by the judiciary of India and we shall have carried out the pledge which we have made in the manifesto that restoration of judicial independence shall be one of its chief items.

During the period of emergency, the Congress Government has transferred judges for extraneous reasons and those judges must forthwith be recalled to their original homes from which they were shifted, to punish them for delivering judgements against the government. I can recall Justice Lalit of the Bombay High Court who had the moral courage to release an RSS prisoner charged under the Defence of India Rules, on bail. In doing so he did not lay down a new proposition of law; he followed the ruling of the Division Bench of that High Court which was binding upon him. When he released that RSS person on bail, the Government of the day saw to it that he was confirmed after two years and today that man is no more a Judge of the High Court. He is practising in the Supreme Court. And we cannot set right the judiciary and the judicial tone unless we recall such great and patriotic judges and offer them fresh judicial appointments.

**SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Idukki):** Sir, I have a point of order. I will only invite your attention to Article 121 of the Constitution. Article 121 of the Constitution states as follows:

"121. No discussion shall take place in Parliament with respect to the conduct of any Judge of the Supreme Court or of a High Court in the discharge of his duties except upon a motion for presenting an address to the President praying

for the removal of the Judge as hereinafter provided."

Now a reference is being made to the Judge of the Supreme Court, to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, specifically referring to their conduct in the discharge of their duties and even going to the extent of saying that unless those judges are removed, ends of justice will not be met. This is gross violation of the Article 121 of the Constitution and I will pray that these observations may not form part of the debate.

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI:** Article 121 talks of the judge in the discharge of his duty. When Mr. Justice Beg, appeared on the TV of this country and proclaimed that the Emergency was good and that it had produced beneficial results, he was not discharging his duties.

**SHRI C. M. STEPHEN:** He was making a reference to what was stated in the TV which referred to the conduct of the Supreme Court Judge, sitting as a judge there . . . .

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** He has already accepted it.

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI:** Then four days after the announcement of Elections, he became the Chief Justice. (Interruptions)

श्री भानु कुमार शास्त्री (उदयपुर) : जिस समय गोखले साहब सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जजों तक को धमकियां दे रहे थे उस समय तो बोले नहीं लेकिन आज जब सच्ची बात कही जा रही है तो उसको आप सुनने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं (व्यवधान)

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI:** Taking advantage of the Emergency, the ruling party destroyed the independence of the Bar. It is well known and it is a fact which is recognised the world over,—I am talking of the free world—that the Bar of this country has played the most glorious role in



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safeguarding India's freedom. And therefore Mrs. Gandhi's Government knowing that the only obstacle which stood in the way of establishing her dynastic rule in this country was an independent and fearless bar, She set out on a course calculated to destroy the independence and fearlessness of the bar. Taking advantage of the Emergency, taking advantage of the fact that they had tyrannised their colleagues in Parliament, taking advantage that there was no Opposition left, rushed through Parliament amendments to the Advocates Act. The Advocates' Act has been passed on the recommendation of the Law Commission of India which recognised the autonomy of the Bar with total independence even from the judiciary of the country. The amendments which were made during the Emergency inflicted and foisted a nominated Chairman upon the Bar Council of India. The Attorney General became the *Ex-Officio* Chairman of the Bar Council of India in place of an elected Chairman. Sir, I have had the honour of being for six years the elected Chairman of the Bar Council of India and while I was abroad they did not elect another Chairman because they did not have the courage to elect another Chairman. They knew that the Bar was so independent that they would not select another person in my place, then they went to Parliament and prostituted the parliamentary process by passing these amendments and imposing the Attorney-General upon the Bar of this country at the Central level and at the State level they imposed Advocate-General as the Chairman of the State Bar Councils. You will be amazed that in the Delhi Bar Council, where there is no Advocate-General, there was a very extraordinary provision made. The extraordinary provision was that a nominee of the Central Government shall become the Chairman. The nominee could only be a nominee of the Law Minister. It is well known that during the emergency if there

was one member of the bar who had disgraced the robes of the profession, it was Mr. Lalit Basin, who had been at one time Chairman of the Delhi Bar Council. Mr. Gokhale saw to it that he became the nominated Chairman of the Delhi Bar Council, after it had passed a no-confidence motion against him. So, my second amendment says that steps must be taken to repeal the amendments to the Advocates Act which had been made during the emergency and we must restore the elected office of the Chairman of the Bar Council of India as well as the Chairman of the State Bar Councils. That is the only way the autonomy and independence and fearlessness of the bar can again be restored to their pristine glory.

My third amendment refers to the role of the Attorney-General of India in destroying an independent bar. He has fortunately resigned and therefore, I do not wish to make any comments upon what he has done to destroy the independence of the bar. But I would like to say that in selecting our future Attorney-Generals, we must adopt some criteria. One criterion is that apart from his ability to stay in that office, other things being equal, we must appoint people who during the emergency had the moral courage to go to the people and say, "We must fight the emergency. We consider emergency to be an unmitigated evil and we are wedded to the Constitution of India." Only such persons should be appointed to high legal offices and not others who did not have the moral courage to open their mouth, whatever might have been their inner feelings which they might have disclosed in private to their close friends.

My fourth amendment deals with the anomaly of continuing to keep under detention without trial persons who are alleged to have committed some crime, but which has not been proved. This is contrary to the basic concept of the rule of law. Though we have released persons detained



under MISA, there is another hated law on our statute book. Freedom, Sir, is in grave danger when an evil law is applied for a beneficent purpose, because the human mind gets attuned to the evil and does not resist the insidious and slow encroachment on liberty. COFEPOSA is a law which has been made ostensibly for the purpose of detaining smugglers. Detention without trial of any person who is not proved to be guilty is an evil. The Supreme Court—before Mrs. Gandhi interfered with it—has laid down time and again that the rule of law ends where detention without trial begins. They said it not only in the case of political prisoners, but also in the case of other offenders. There is a fallacy involved in the argument that we are dealing with smugglers. You are dealing with only those who are alleged to be smugglers; it has not been proved that they are smugglers. I will give you two glaring misuses of the law. In Punjab, an opposition Akali leader was detained under COFEPOSA merely because he was the political opponent of the Chief Minister of the State. Let me tell you something more which will shock you. While Haji Mastan was in jail, the Director of Revenue Intelligence sought an interview with him in jail. This is on Sessions Court record and I have said it in public meetings. Nobody has denied it. The Director of Revenue Intelligence sought an interview with him not for interrogating him but for recording of his statement in which he was expected to implicate the present Prime Minister of this country in act of smuggling. When I cross-examined the Director of Revenue Intelligence in court, he admitted that he had gone to meet Haji Mastan to record his statement in which he was expected to implicate Morarjibhai in smuggling. But the only divergence between Haji Mastan and the Director was that while Haji Mastan said that he came on his own, the Director of Revenue Intelligence said that Haji Mastan had invited him. On a point on which there is difference of opinion between Haji

Mastan and the Director of Revenue Intelligence, I will accept what the Director of Revenue Intelligence says. But kindly apply your mind and I want the House to apply its mind. I want those gentlemen opposite to apply their mind as to how this COFEPOSA has been mis-applied and is capable of being mis-applied in future. You can haul up any political opponent.

A further paradox of continuing detention without trial of these persons is that most of the big fries have now been let off and only small ones against whom there was no allegation that the emergency was being misused or that it was necessary to detain them for the purpose of dealing with the emergency, are rotting in custody for the last so many years. I want to appeal to my Government that this is an evil institution and this evil institution must go. As a result of this evil institution, all civilised investigation has come to an end in the country. Nobody wants to investigate crime today. A secret intelligence report is enough to lock up anybody. It is not necessary to do anything further in the matter. No investigation is done and no witnesses are called. In the interest of improving our investigating machinery, I want that these detentions without trial should go and people should now be hauled up in regular courts according to the civilised methods of criminal law which are known to the civilised jurisprudence of this country.

The next amendment is of very great importance but I am going to drop it. I go to Amendment No. 129 which says: "but regret that the Address has not dealt with the urgent need to define by law the privileges of legislatures and to prevent legislative despotism." I hope you will recall that some time in 1964 or '65 there was a serious dispute between the UP Vidhan Sabha and the Judges of the Allahabad High Court. You will recall that a journalist was imprisoned for contempt of the House.

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The journalist engaged an advocate and went to the Allahabad High Court and two judges entertained his petition. When the UP Vidhan Sabha came to know about this, they issued warrants of arrests against those two judges of the Allahabad High Court. This is legislative despotism and I appeal to the Janata Government, majority party that restraint should be put on the majority itself. Our whole Constitution is based on the theory that sometimes even the majority can go mad as in 1975 the majority had gone mad. We can go mad again. Therefore, I want the majority to be restrained.

The article of the Constitution says that the privileges of the Parliament shall be such as shall be defined by law. We should now define those privileges by law and we should not leave them in undifferentiated, amorphous and vague form that they shall be such as are enjoyed by the British House of Commons on coming into force of the Indian Constitution.

I am sorry that the leader of the opposition is not here. He said the other day that he stands by the 42nd Amendment. I wonder whether he has read that amendment. One of the provisions in the 42nd amendment, apart from the fact that it is an outrageous piece of draftsmanship, is that the privileges of Parliament shall hereafter be such as the Parliament may evolve. In other words, on any occasion, the privilege of Parliament shall be such as the Parliament says they are. The mischievous provision is that the Parliament is now retaining to itself the power to arrest judges of this country, a power which was claimed by the Vidhan Sabha in 1964. At that time, there was an outcry throughout the country that the Parliament must sit down and define its own privileges. If the Janata Party does not do it, then nobody is going to do it. It will be the first duty of the Janata Party to fulfil its promise of restoring the balance between the people and the judges,

people and the Parliament and the Parliament and the judges. This is an urgent step which has got to be taken.

Now I will take up the last amendment which concerns our foreign policy. In our democracy, the Leader of the Opposition occupies a very important position. In fact, he is supposed to have a lot of weight and it is a matter for everyone to see that our Leader of the Opposition does carry a lot of weight. I do not, therefore, blame him for having valued the President's Address in terms of its weight, because he told the House in his address that it is a very light document. Let me remind him that the most expensive and the most priceless things in the world are those which are extremely light. Weight does not necessarily add to the value of a document. Though the President's Address is light, it incorporates the entire 28-page manifesto of the party, because it says that the Government is pledged to carry out the promises made in the manifesto.

One promise in the manifesto which, unfortunately, finds either no or inadequate mention in the President's Address is the very astounding, very courageous and very historic statement where it says that this country and its government shall not only preserve human rights but shall denounce the violation of human rights not only in this country but whenever and wherever they occur. Now, This is really an amplification of the pledge which we have made that hereafter our non-alignment is going to be genuine non-alignment, it is not going to be spurious non-alignment, which has been started in this country after 1955. Nobody can be non-aligned. If somebody says "I am going to have unalloyed non-alignment", it is unalloyed nonsense, and nothing less. We have got to be aligned to some extent. The experience of the last 19th months has shown that if democracy has been restored in this country, it is partly as a result of the pressures generated by democracies abroad, and that debt of gratitude we cannot forget to external

democracies; let us make it clear... (interruptions) If you wish to educate yourself, please listen, because you have started your acquaintance with democracy only ten days ago.

DR. HENRY AUSTIN: Sir, on a point of order. In the President's Address and also in the various statements by the Prime Minister, it was stated that we will have genuine non-alignment. How does this hon. Member state that it should be alloyed non-alignment?

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Genuine does not mean unalloyed. Sir, my charge against the previous government is, that during the regime of Shri Chavan our foreign policy has neither been based on international law, nor has it been based on international morality, nor has it been based on national interest, nor has it been based even upon national self-respect. All the four pillars of foreign policy have been ignominiously ignored by the ruling party and I want my Government to avoid these pitfalls.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He has taken half an hour. He should conclude now.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, I shall bow to your ruling. But, let me say this, at least for the future, that when you are allocating time for the discussion on the Motion of Thanks, please be a little more reasonable. I have not come here to listen to Ramayana and Mahabharata.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (गौडा) :  
आन ए पायंट आफ आर्डर । किसी भी सदस्य का यह कहना आबजक्शनेबल है कि यहां रामायण या महाभारत सुनने के लिए नहीं आया है । ऐसे शब्द नहीं कहने चाहिए ।

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: It is my intellectual freedom which I have exercised.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: His time is up. I am calling the next speaker.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, I am resuming my seat in obedience to your ruling, even though I have many more points to deal with.

SHRI P. K. KODIYAN (Adoor): Though there was little time for the new Government to formulate their policies, I should say that the President's Address should have given some indication of the direction in which the new Government wants to develop the economy of our country. But the Government's Address does not indicate any solutions for some of the pressing problems of our country.

The President's Address gives importance, rather high priority, to the rural economy in the whole scheme of the economic development of our country. Nobody can have any objection to that, but I want to point out here that some of the very basic issues that affect the agrarian economy and the whole lot of our peasants, agricultural workers and the toiling masses in the rural areas, like the structural reform of the agrarian economy, have been completely ignored in the Address. I am referring to the urgency of implementing the land reform laws for which the cultivators, tenants and other toiling people of the rural areas have been agitating for the last so many years.

In this connection, I have to refer to some of the pronouncements of the top leaders of the Janata Party, including the present Prime Minister, during the election campaign that if the Janata Party was returned to power it would take away the Ninth Schedule from the Constitution. The Ninth Schedule gives constitutional protection to land reform laws, aimed at bringing about fundamental socio-economic changes, passed by this Parliament or the State Legislatures. The implication of its withdrawal is that millions of peasants who have got occupation rights over their lands and also landless people who have been given land as a result of land reform measures will be drag-

[Shri P. K. Kodiyan]

ged to the law courts and subjected to litigation. The result will be that these poor people who do not have sufficient beneficial capacity or resources to fight in the law courts will lose their land. Therefore, these pronouncements of the Janata Party leaders during the election campaign, together with the total absence of any reference in the Address to the basic issue of structural reform in the agrarian economy, creates apprehension in the minds of the millions of peasants and agricultural workers of our country that the Janata Party is not at all interested in carrying forward this basic reform which requires the co-operation of all the political parties in this country and all those who are interested in the welfare of the agricultural workers and other sections of toiling people in the rural areas.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the mover of the Motion of Thanks to the President for his Address, Shri Karpoori Thakur, had made a reference to the inadequate progress that was made during the Congress regime, during the previous regime in implementing land reform measures. He gave some figures also. He did not express further what the new Government will do or his party would do in order to complete the process of land reforms.

The question of implementation of the land reforms and other items of the 20-point programme were announced during the emergency by the former Prime Minister. I know that the 20-point programme is being pooh-poohed by the hon. Members in the Treasury Benches. But you cannot pooh-pooh some of the measures included in the programme for the benefit of the rural poor. Instead of the 20-point programme, you may give it some other name, but some of the items which were included in the 20-point programme like the minimum wages for agricultural workers, debt relief for poor peasants, agricultural workers, adivasis, Harijans and also the abolition of bonded labour, and such other

measures which were meant to protect the weaker sections of our people, have to be pushed forward and implemented. If you are sincere in your profession of love and sympathy for the weaker sections and want to serve them, then it is your duty and the duty of every section of this House to carry forward the implementation of those measures which are included in the 20-point economic programme which were meant for the upliftment of the poor sections of the country.

I would like to point out that the President's Address does not give any indication in what manner the new Government would be going to hold the price line. This is a point on which the entire working people are very much agitated. The price line can be held only if there is a country-wide public distribution system through which essential commodities can be distributed to the people at cheaper rates. But I want to point out here that the public distribution system as it is existing today in our country is quite inadequate. The total number of fair price shops that are now existing in our country will serve only 45 million people out of 600 million people of our country. Only in Kerala, there is a State-wise public distribution system. In Maharashtra and West Bengal, certain areas have been brought under statutory rationing system. But, taking the country as a whole, the public distribution system at present is quite inadequate. Without building up a country-wide public distribution system, which would effectively serve the common people, you cannot hold the price line.

Another point which I want to mention in connection with the holding of price line is the question of producing enough consumer goods in the public sector, not to leave it to the private sector, because we have seen how the private sector was behaving in the matter of producing consumer goods. For example, take the question of production of controlled cloth for the com-

mon people. As far as the mill-owners are concerned, whatever allocation was made, they failed to produce the allotted quota of controlled cloth. Therefore, I want to stress this point that the Government should come forward and start consumer industries in the State sector so that Government will be in a position to have enough consumer goods for proper distribution among the people.

I also fail to understand what is the policy of the new Government in regard to industrial development. I know, the hon. Finance Minister, while introducing the Budget, said that the Budget did not represent the philosophy or the policy or the programmes of the new Government. I do not know what is their philosophy. So far as he is concerned, he was a member of the Swatantra Party and his philosophy, was that of free enterprise, the freedom to amass wealth for those who are engaged in the industrial and business sector, the freedom for the workers to be exploited, the freedom for the poor people like agricultural workers who are very much suffering from unemployment and under-employment and low wages to starve. If that is the philosophy that this new Government is going to follow, then I should say, not only our economy will suffer but the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few will continue. The result will be that the disparity of income amongst different sections of the people will go on increasing. Therefore, I would request the new Government to consider the question of development of the economy as a whole taking into account the respective roles of the public sector and the private sector in the development of the economy.

The public sector has to be further strengthened. But in their manifesto, they have said that there will be no further expansion of the public sector. The public sector has grown into a powerful economic factor in the development of our economy. Its enormous potential can be used for self-reliance

and proper development of the economy, for curbing the further growth of monopoly and for controlling market mechanism through entering into the production and distribution of essential commodities in a big way. I would urge upon the hon. Finance Minister and also the hon. Prime Minister to consider this question seriously.

The previous speaker referred to the foreign policy. He said that new Government will be following a genuine non-alignment policy. I do not know what he means by "genuine" non-alignment policy. Is it to remain simply or completely neutral when the imperialist powers are trying to sabotage and bring under subjugation economically backward and, otherwise, newly independent countries? Is it to remain neutral when in the Indian Ocean area military bases are being set up by the Americans and Britishers....

AN HON. MEMBER: Soviets also.

SHRI P. K. KODIYAN: The Soviets have denied that they have any military base in the Indian Ocean or they have any intention to set up any such base. For what purpose are the Americans building Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean? So much money is being spent. For what purpose are they dumping military hardware in the Persian Gulf area? According to a report, about half of the military aid that has come from the United States in the last three years has gone to the Persian Gulf area. The independence and security of countries around the Indian Ocean are being threatened by the continuous military build up and setting up of military bases by the American imperialists. Therefore, if you want to serve the interests of the country then our foreign policy will have to be a dynamic one which would firmly oppose such threats. Our country will have to follow a policy of non-alignment, with its solid support to the people fighting for national liberation and to the people fighting against racism in South Africa, Namibia

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and her citadels of colonialism and racism in the African Cantonment. Please, in the name of genuineness of non-alignment policy, don't bring down the image of India. India has today a respectable position in the World, and in the comity of nations and its opinions are heard with respect in world Councils. We have acquired this position because we have, in consistence with the principle behind our national freedom struggle, firmly stood by the side of the people who are fighting for freedom; we have stood consistently for world peace and we have consistently stood against military alliances and deliberate attempts to create tension in the international sphere. Therefore, I think it will be for the good of country and the people and for India's good name that the new Government follows a policy of non-alignment with support for those fighting against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism and for those fighting for peace and national liberation.

With these words, I conclude.

**—श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण नयक (खजुराहो) :**

माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय उप-राष्ट्रपति जी द्वारा किये गये भाषण पर जो माननीय सदस्य श्री कर्पूरी ठाकुर ने कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन पेश किया है, मैं उस का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ ।

मैं आप के माध्यम से इस सदन में अपने कुछ विचार प्रकट करना चाहता हूँ । अभी मैंने सुना कि माननीय विरोधी पक्ष के कांग्रेसी सदस्यों ने यह कहा कि हम से कुछ गलतियाँ हुई हैं लेकिन इस सदन में उन्होंने उन गलतियों का कोई व्योरा नहीं रखा और जब वे व्योरा नहीं रखते हैं तो इस से साफ जाहिर है कि केवल ऊपरी मन से ही वे प्राचीन गलतियाँ मानते हैं । जो महान् गलतियाँ उन्होंने की हैं उन की सजा उन को मिल चुकी है । माननीय

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप के द्वारा मैं कह चाहता हूँ कि जब पिछले दिनों कांग्रेस सरकार ने इमर्जेंसी लगाई थी और जो मानव अधिकार थे, नागरिक स्वतन्त्रताएँ थीं, वे छीन ली गई थीं और न बोलने की और न कुछ कहने की आजादी रही थी, तो यह कैसा राज्य था । स्वराज्य लेने के समय, मैं इन कांग्रेसियों की बात नहीं कहता, स्वराज्य लेने वालों से केवल एक ही गौरव की बात कही गई थी और वह महात्मा गांधी जी ने कही थी कि अगर हमें आजादी लेनी है, तो हमें निर्भीक बनना पड़ेगा, हमें किसी से डरना नहीं पड़ेगा और अगर हमारे ऊपर कोई जुल्म या ज्यादती होती है, तो उसे सहन नहीं करेंगे । इस इमर्जेंसी में ऐसा ताण्डव-राज चला कि एक आदमी अपने ऊपर हुए जुल्म की बात नहीं कह सकता था और अगर वह उस को कहता तो मीसा का भय उसे दिखाया जाता था । इतना भय पैदा कर दिया गया था और ये महात्मा गांधी को दुहाई देते हैं । इस इमर्जेंसी के टाइम में हम को जेलों में प्रधान मंत्री इन्दिरा गांधी जी और दूसरे नेताओं के भाषण सुनने को मिलते थे जिस में वे कहते थे कि देखो हम प्रजातन्त्र के लिए लड़ रहे हैं और विरोधी पक्ष प्रजातन्त्र को खत्म करना चाहता है । इसलिए हम को इमर्जेंसी लगानी पड़ी लेकिन प्रजातन्त्रीय पद्धतियाँ जो थीं, जो हमारे मानव अधिकार थे वे छीन लिये गये । इमर्जेंसी लगा कर वे अपने को समाजवादी कहते थे और समाजवाद की दुहाई देते थे । इमर्जेंसी लगाते ही श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने घोषणा की कि हम उद्योगों का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं करेंगे क्योंकि वे जानती थीं कि एमर्जेंसी से बुद्धिजीवी और पढ़े लिखे विचारशील लोग सख्त नाराज हैं । इसलिए उन्होंने पूँजीपतियों से मदद लेने के लिए उनका पक्ष प्रबल किया और कहा कि हम उद्योगों का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं कर रहे हैं ।



15.00 hrs.

बड़ी दुहाई दी गई कि हम गल्ले के मामले में आत्मनिर्भर हो गए हैं, अब हमें बाहर से गल्ला नहीं मंगाना पड़ेगा। लेकिन आज भी स्थिति यह है कि हम देश की जरूरत के मुताबिक पूरा गल्ला नहीं पैदा कर पा रहे हैं। तीस वर्षों में भी कांग्रेस की हुकुमत गल्ले का प्रबंध नहीं कर सकी जिससे सबको भरपेट भोजन मिल सके। अखबारों में प्रधान मंत्री जी और मुख्य मंत्रियों के फोटो छपते थे। बीच में मंत्रीगण होते थे और उनके चारों ओर गेहूं और धान की बालियां दिखाई जाती थीं। इनकी कागज पर खेती होती है। अगर धरती पर खेती होती तो हमें आज बाहर से गल्ला नहीं मंगाना पड़ता। खेती केवल कागजों पर की गई, उसे धरती पर नहीं उतारा गया। अगर जमीन पर खेती की व्यवस्था कर दी जाती तो यह हालत पैदा नहीं होती। भूमि सुधार कर दिया जाता तो काफी उपज हो जाती। हमारे यहां काफी जमीन पड़ी हुई है उसको काम में लाया जा सकता था। 1960 में पूरे हिन्दुस्तान की विधान सभाओं में सीलिंग का कानून पास किया गया लेकिन आज 17 वर्ष के बाद भी गल्ले की समस्या बनी हुई है। निकाल कर भूमिहीनों को जमीन नहीं दी गई है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, तीन चीजों की आदमी को सबसे पहले जरूरत पड़ती है। उसके लिए खाने का इंतजाम हो। उसके लिए पानी का इंतजाम हो। आज गांवों में यह दाय है कि लोग नालों का पानी पीते हैं। तीन-तीन मील से जाकर उन्हें पानी लाना पड़ता है। आदमी को पहनने के लिए कपड़ा और रहने के लिए मकान भी चाहिए। पूरे मध्य प्रदेश में प्रचार किया गया कि जिनके पास मकान नहीं है उनको मकान बनाने के लिए जमीन दी जाएगी। लेकिन इनके

भाषण होते रहे लोगों को जमीन नहीं मिली, न उन्हें किसी प्रकार की और मदद मिली।

कहा गया कि हमने बंधुआ मजदूरी को खत्म कर दिया। लेकिन जो मजदूर मुक्त हुए थे उनके काम की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की गयी। उनके लिए काम की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए थी। मैं मानता हूं कि कुछ साहूकारों से लोगों को बहुत परेशानी थी लेकिन जो सरकारी सोसायटियां हैं उनकी धांधलियों से भी तो आप लोगों को मुक्त कराते। इन सोसायटियों के लोग साजिश कर के जो पैसा वसूल कर रहे हैं वह भी माफ होना चाहिए। साहूकारों के पैसे से आपने लोगों को मुक्त कर दिया लेकिन जो सहकारी समितियों ने गलती की या सहकारी बैंकों ने साजिश करके पैसा वसूल किया उससे भी आपको मुक्ति दिलानी चाहिए थी।

आज देश में बेकारी की समस्या विशाल रूप में विद्यमान है। चाहे पढ़े लिखे लोग हों या बिना पढ़े लिखे लोग हों, सबमें बेकारी की समस्या है। कांग्रेस की हुकुमत इसे हल करने में असमर्थ रही है। कांग्रेस की हुकुमत देश में तीस साल तक रही, अगर यह चाहती तो इस समस्या को बहुत अच्छे तरीके से हल कर सकती थी।

हम लोग 19 महीने जेल में रहे। उसके बजाय हम तीन साल और पांच साल भी जेल में रह सकते थे। लेकिन कांग्रेस सरकार को चाहिये था कि वह जनता के साथ अच्छा व्यवहार करती, उसको चाहिये था कि वह उसको प्यार से रखती। लेकिन दोनों बातों में से कोई भी बात नहीं हुई। जनता ने लोक सभा चुनावों में अपना मत प्रकट करके बता दिया है कि कांग्रेसी राज अच्छा नहीं था।

लोक सभा चुनी गई है और केन्द्रीय सरकार जनता पार्टी की बन गई है। लेकिन



[श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण नाथक]

प्रान्तों में जो सरकारें हैं उन में भी परिवर्तन होना जरूरी है । वहां बहुत ज्यादातियां हुई हैं एमरजेंसी/के समय में । उन्होंने बहुत ज्यादा जुल्म किए हैं । भले ही आप कह दें कि मीसा बन्दियों पर जो जुल्म हुए हैं, जनता पर जो ज्यादातियां हुई हैं उनकी आप जांच कराएंगे लेकिन/जिन सरकारों ने, जिन प्रान्तीय सरकारों ने जुल्म किए हैं क्या उनके द्वारा सही जांच हो सकती है ? मैं समझता हूं कि नहीं हो सकती है । इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि विधान सभाओं/के भी चुनाव कराए जाएं । मध्य प्रदेश के कई विधायक यहां आए । वे यहां आकर प्रधान मंत्री एवं गृह मंत्री महोदय से मिले, वहां की सरकार पर गम्भीर आरोप लगाए और कहा कि वहां/की सरकार को समाप्त किया जाना चाहिये । मैं समझता हूं कि वहां पर चुनाव होना बहुत जरूरी है । उन चुनाव परिणामों के फलस्वरूप जो वहां सरकार बनेगी वही जनता को आराम दे सकती है वरना जनता को आराम नहीं मिल सकता है ।

बस्तर का इलाका, झाबुआ का इलाका, बुन्देलखंड का इलाका और रीवा का कुछ इलाका ऐसा है जहां न आवागमन के साधन हैं, न रेलवे लाइन है, न वहां उद्योग धंधे हैं, वह बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका है । मेरी मांग है कि मौजूदा सरकार उस इलाके को चहुमुखी विकास करे और उस ओर ध्यान दे । अभी तक कांग्रेसी/हकूमत राजनीतिक प्रभाव में आकर, दबाव में आकर काम करती रही है गंधों की उपेक्षा की गई । मैं चाहता हूं कि जनता सरकार इस तरह के जो इलाके हैं, जिन की उपेक्षा की गई हैं उनकी चहुमुखी उन्नति की ओर ध्यान दें । जहां साधन मौजूद हैं, वहां उद्योग धंधे वह खोले । अभी उलटा होता है । जिसका प्रभाव होता है उसके यहां पर धंधे खोल/दिये जाते हैं । ऐसा अब नहीं होना चाहिये । जहां पर

कच्चा माल है, जहां पर बिजली है, पानी है, वहां पर धंधे खोले जाने चाहिये । ताकि देश की गरीबी मिट सके, लोगो को/काम मिल सके । चहुमुखी तौर से देश की प्रगति की ओर आपको ध्यान ध्यान देना चाहिये, पक्षपात से काम नहीं लेना चाहिये, यही मेरा आप से निवेदन है ।

SHRI MOHANARANGAM (Chengalpattu): Sir, for the past ten days, we have been observing that most of the speakers are speaking in Hindi language. We are not in a position to understand ...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have the translation in English.

SHRI MOHANARANGAM: The translation of Hindi language in English does not contain everything. The Members are speaking for 5-10 minutes and the translation of that is for two to three minutes or so.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Probably the English version is more precise.

श्री कर्पूरी ठाकुर (सपस्वर्ण) : अंग्रेजी में बोलने के बजाय तमिल, तेलुगु, कन्नड़ में बोलें और उसका अनुवाद हिन्दी में आ जाएगा और उसको हम सुन सकते हैं ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : तमिल में भी आप थोड़ी देर बाद सुन लेंगे ।

श्री० एम० राम गोपाल रेड्डी : त्रिजामा-बाद) : मैं हिन्दी में बोलूंगा ।

श्री कर्पूरी ठाकुर : तमिल में बोलिये, हम सुनेंगे । हिन्दी में अनुवाद तो आ ही जाएगा ।

SHRI ARAVINDA BALA PAJANOR (Pondicherry): Sir, according to the usual procedure, the time is allotted as per the party strength. The Congress Party had its time, and

as far as my Party, Anna DMK is concerned, and we have nineteen Members, we must have sufficient time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That will be taken care of.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: I would like to know what exactly is the apportionment of the time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Actually, there is no apportionment of the time, because there was no meeting of the Business Advisory Committee. It has, therefore, to be done as per the discretion of the chair.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO (Mormugao): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I wish to express my appreciation, of some remarks made in his Address by the Vice-President, acting as President. I would particularly like to draw the attention of the House to the remarks that this Government relies on the power of the people, the vitality of the democratic process in India and the deep root that it has taken. Sir, as a Member coming from the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, I would like to put before the House the demand, the most cherished aspiration of the people in my part of the country and that is, the full-fledged statehood, separate statehood being granted to that territory.

15.10 hrs.

[SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO in the Chair.]

That is the demand which arose and which has been growing for the last 15 years and since the time that territory was liberated from the Portuguese.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: May I congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, on your appointment to the Panel of Chairman?

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SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO: May I remind the House that on 18th December 1961 that portion of land was liberated from the colonial yoke and that become a part of the great motherland and till this day it has remained as a Union Territory. I submit that under the constitutional enactments and under the constitutional scheme also which govern us, the Union Territory status is not a permanent status. It is a transitory, temporary status only and some day or the other these people and this portion of land has either to merge in the neighbouring State or they must get separate Statehood.

In 1964 as there were controversies among the people of this territory as to whether they should continue as a separate territory or they should merge into the neighbouring States of Maharashtra or Mysore, an opinion poll was taken and that opinion poll proved once for all that what the people wanted was not merger with either Maharashtra or Mysore but a separate State of their own. This was in 1964. We are now in 1977 and in spite of 13 years having passed, the power of the people, the will of the people and the most urgent and pressing demand of the people in my part of the country has not been given its due expression.

May I bring to the notice of this House that in the year 1971 a non-official resolution brought forward by the Opposition Party, the United Goan Party, for a separate statehood was passed unanimously and it was accepted even by those who upto last year opposed separate Statehood. In 1976 the Maharashtra vadi Gomantak Party the name of which itself shows that they are for merger of this territory into the neighbouring State of Maharashtra, brought a resolution in the Assembly for separate statehood and this resolution also was passed unanimously. I will not take the time of the House nor will you allow me sufficient time to explain to the House as to what are the advantages, political, economic and administrative, that will accrue to the people who constitute a separate

[Shri Eduardo Faleiro]

Statehood and which do not accrue to people who belong to the Union Territory. One of them is representation in the Rajya Sabha. A Union Territory does not have any representation in the Rajya Sabha. Goa does not have any representation in the Rajya Sabha precisely because we are a Union Territory. Then we do not have a separate Public Service Commission. All our administrative officers are selected by the UPSC which has a choice of the entire country while in the States, the State Public Service Commissions choose generally from among the people of that particular State. You will be surprised to know that out of the 30 or 40 IAS officers which are presently in Goa, Daman and Diu, there is not a single officer who belongs to that territory. You will be under a wrong impression if you believe that all of us are savages that we are primitives, that we do not have any IAS officers, we have plenty of officers, our officers have even become Governors but still not a single IAS officer is drawn from our territory.

There are several other benefits.

The hon. member from Pondicherry has interrupted, and thereby, he has reminded me of the local judicial authority in the case of a Union Territory. There, the Judicial Commissioner exercises only certain restricted powers of the High Court, whereas in the case of a State the local final judicial authority is the fullfledged High Court. It is better to have a High Court rather than a Judicial Commissioner. This is a disadvantage to us which is because of our being a Union Territory. Had we got a separate State of our own, in that case we would have a High Court of our own. The litigants of Goa do not have that benefit. It is not justified. It is high time that full statehood was is granted.

The reasons given for not granting Statehood are two:

1. *Smallness of the territory:* It is a small territory. People go only for

holidays. That seems to be embarrassing.

In this connection, I would like to submit some statistics based on 1971 census. If the North Eastern areas, Tripura, Manipur, have been given statehood—there is no justification whatsoever to deny statehood to Goa, Daman and Diu.

The population of Goa, Daman and Diu according to 1971 census is 8.58 lakhs whereas in Nagaland the population is 5.16 lakhs.

Density of population per sq. km. is as under:

Goa	..	225	people	per	sq.k.m.
Manipur	..	48	"	"	"
Nagaland		31	"	"	"
Meghalaya		45	"	"	"
Tripura	..	149	"	"	"

If this House could grant statehood to the North Eastern Area, it cannot on the basis of justice and equity deny statehood to the people of Goa which has larger population and more density of population.

The other argument which is adduced against granting statehood to our territory is that it is economically not viable. On this point I am happy to say that the rate of growth during the decade—1964—74—as also the increase in the revenue has been to the extent of 500 per cent in the case of our Territory.

We have at present a deficit of Rs. 12.34 crores. If statehood is granted, we will be entitled to Rs. 3 crores. The scheme for allocation of Central Taxes has been evolved by the Finance Commission for 1974—79. The remaining will have to be made good by grants-in-aid by the Central Government. The Grant-in-aid will be to the extent of Rs. 9 crores. I give figures to show in comparison the grants-in-aid being given to the North Eastern States.

We require grants-in-aid to the extent of Rs. 9 crores, whereas for others the figures are as follows:

Nagaland	Rs. 39 crores
Manipur	Rs. 27 „
Assam	.. Rs. 73 „
Orissa	.. Rs. 103 „
Jam nu & Kashmir	.. Rs. 66 „
Tripura	.. Rs. 25 „
Meghalay	.. Rs. 25 „
Himachal Pradesh	.. Rs. 45 „

The Central Government will not be doing any big favour if it gives grant-in-aid of Rs. 9 crores to Goa, because the export duty which is earned by this territory is Rs. 55 crores per year on iron ore alone and this does not include export duty on manganese ore, on cashewnuts and so many other things. This is a pressing demand of Goa, Daman and Diu. This Government claims to be committed to the welfare of the people, as its name indicates. But empty promises would take us nowhere. It is our demand that as early as possible full-fledged Statehood should be granted to our territory. The erstwhile Congress Government was inclined to grant Statehood in respect of small States. The House must be aware of this. A couple of years back the concept of working statehood was adopted on the basis of the Morarka Committee report. Before becoming Prime Minister Mr. Morarji Desai was reported to have made a statement that it would be better if India had 4 or 5 major States and that small States were against the interest of the country. I request him to clarify this point. Government should express its policy on this issue of small States. I want to know specifically as to what the policy of the Government is on the question of granting full-fledged statehood to the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu.

With these words I thank you for the time given to me to speak and I thank the hon. Members for the patience with which they have heard my speech. I hope that the points raised by me will be replied to by the Government while replying to the debate.

**संचार मंत्री (श्री जार्ज फर्नांडिस) :**

सभापति महोदय, देश की जिस जनता ने राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर उन्हें धन्यवाद देने का मौका हमें दिया है, उस जनता का मैं सब से पहले अभिनन्दन करना चाहता हूँ। आज की यह नई स्थिति और यह नई सरकार लाने में जो लोग जेलों में गये, जिन्होंने सरकार के दमन का मुकाबला किया, और जो आज हम लोगों के बीच में नहीं हैं, उन सब को भी मैं याद करना चाहता हूँ। मुजफ्फरपुर की जनता ने मुझे आज इस सदन में खड़ा होने का मौका दिया, और वह भी दो प्रकार के प्रचार को निष्फल बना कर—एक तो भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी, ने मेरे क्षेत्र में जा कर कहा कि जार्ज फर्नांडिस बाहर का आदमी है, मुजफ्फरपुर की जनता उसे क्यों वोट दे, और उस वक्त और आज के भी जो कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष हैं, उन्होंने मेरे क्षेत्र में जा कर वहाँ कि जार्ज फर्नांडिस ईसाई है उसे मुजफ्फरपुर की जनता क्यों वोट दे? मुजफ्फरपुर की जनता ने इस प्रकार के प्रचार के बावजूद मुझे वोट दिया। मेरे उस क्षेत्र में जाने पर हर प्रकार की रोक लगी रही, मैं जेल में बन्द रहा। इस देश की राजनीति में और देश के सार्वजनिक जीवन में मेरी सारी उम्र बीत गई, 19 साल की उम्र में मैं समाजवादी आन्दोलन में आया और तब से लेकर आज तक इस देश की जनता के बीच में मेरा काम रहा। सरकार से मतभेद रहे। संघर्ष चलता रहा। लेकिन हम ने नहीं सोचा था कि ऐसे भी दिन इस देश में आएंगे कि मुझ जैसे आदमी को दोनों हाथों में बेड़ियाँ डाल कर जंजीरों से पुलिस की पट्टी पर बांध कर शहर की सड़कों पर चलाया जायगा। ये सारी चीजें हुई।

[श्री जर्ज फर्नान्डिस]

मगर इन सारी चीजों के बावजूद मुजफ्फरपुर की जिस जनता ने मुझे इस सदन में भेजा दिया उस को भी मैं राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते समय धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ ।

मैंने कांग्रेस जनों के कई भाषण सुने, कुछ पढ़े । जनता की समस्याओं पर अब इन्होंने रोना शुरू किया है । दाम बढ़ रहे हैं, बहुत परेशानी है । बेकारी बढ़ रही है, बहुत परेशानी है । कब से दाम बढ़ने लगे ? बेकारी के आंकड़े पिछले दस बारह वर्षों से सरकार ने अपनी स्टैटिस्टिक्स की किताबों में देना ही बन्द कर दिया क्यों कि इतनी तेजी से इन लोगों ने बेकारी बढ़ाने की योजनाएं देश में बना कर रख दीं । क्षेत्रीय विषमता की कुछ बातें यहां पर हम ने सुनी । पिछले तीस सालों में जिन नीतियों को इस कांग्रेसी सरकार ने यहां पर चलाया, सिर्फ क्षेत्रीय विषमताओं को बढ़ाने और गांवों को लूट कर दिल्ली और बम्बई जैसे शहरों को शानदार बनाने के सिवाय और कौन सी नीतियां उन की रहीं ? आज लाखों लोग रो रहे हैं । आज उन लोगों की याद इन को आने लगी । बिहार के पिछड़े हुए इलाके के मरे हुए लोगों की, आसाम, उड़ीसा जैसे पिछड़े प्रदेशों की, पूर्वोत्तर हिन्दुस्तान के पहाड़ी इलाकों में मरने वालों की आज याद आने लगी । तीस सालों में कौन सी नीतियां चलायीं ?

इसलिए मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्यों से कि वे कुछ अन्तर्मुखी हो जायें । गलतियां की हों तो उन को समझ लें । अपने दल की स्थिति को सुधारें या न सुधारें यह उन का काम है । लेकिन पिछले 30 सालों की गलतियों के बाद जरूर कुछ अन्तर्मुखी हो कर जनता ने जो जिम्मेदारी आज जनत सरकार पर डाली है, और जिस जिम्मेदारी को निभान इस सरकार का

कर्तव्य है, उस जिम्मेदारी को निभाने में आप हमारी मदद करें । उस मदद की आप लोगों से हम अपेक्षा करते हैं । क्यों कि आज आप भी महसूस कर रहे हैं कि जो दाम बढ़ाने का सिलसिला आप ने चलाया, और बेकारी बढ़ाने का सिलसिला आप ने चलाया और तीस साल जो देश को बरबाद किया है उसे हम लोग नए ढंग से उठाएं और नये ढंग से देश का निर्माण करें यह जिम्मेदारी इस सरकार पर आई है । इसलिए आप जरूर टीका करें, जहां भूल हो, लेकिन उस के अलावा कुछ सहयोग दें ताकि इस बिगड़ी हुई परिस्थिति को सुधारने के लिए हम लोग कुछ ठोस कदम उठा सकें ।

ये समयाएं बड़ी और गहरी हैं जिन को हल करने का काम आज हम लोगों के जिम्मे आया है क्योंकि पिछले कुछ वर्षों में और विशेषकर पिछले 11 वर्षों में देश के लोगों को झूठी बातों पर जिन्दा रखने का काम कांग्रेस सरकार ने किया था । बातें कितनी झूठी रहीं . . .

श्री एम० राम गोपाल रेड्डी : “झूठ” नहीं “असत्य” बोलिए । पार्लियामेंट में आप “झूठ” नहीं बोल सकते ।

श्री जार्ज फर्नान्डिस : आप क्यों शब्दों पर लड़ाई लड़ते हैं, असलियत पर चले । लोगों के सामने गलत आंकड़े रखकर बताया गया कि देश विकसित हो रहा है । बताया गया कि पिछले 11 सालों में देश इतना विकसित हो गया है । मेरे मित्रों को याद होगा कि पिछले साल इसी समय फरवरी, मार्च के समय में सारे देश में आप लोग “डायनेमिक डिबेड” बना रहे थे । सरकारी आंकड़ों से हमें पता लगाने की कोशिश करेंगे कि कितने करोड़ रुपया केन्द्रीय सरकार ने और राज्य सरकारों ने बरबाद किया । इस “डायनेमिक डिबेड” पर । मैंने उस समय भूमिगत अवस्था में रहकर एक पचाई

निकाला जिसमें यह कहा कि यह “डाइनेमिक डिकेड” नहीं है, यह “डकाडेन्ट डिकेड” रही है । आज मैं इसका सबूत आपके सामने रखना चाहूंगा क्योंकि देश के लोगों को उससे अवगत कराना बहुत जरूरी है । मैं विशेषकर पिछले दस वर्षों की बात कहूंगा, पिछले 30 वर्षों की नहीं क्योंकि फिर समय की समस्या आ जायेगी । फिर आहिस्ता आहिस्ता उस पर भी हम रोशनी डालेंगे । पिछले दस सालों में श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का जो “डायनेमिक डिकेड” रहा वह कितना “डायनेमिक” था और कितना “डकाडेन्ट” था—इसको मैं बताना चाहता हूं ।

जब श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी प्रधान मंत्री बनीं तब रुपए की कीमत थी 54 पैसे । दस साल “डायनेमिक डिकेड” चलाने के बाद रुपए की कीमत रह गई 25 पैसे । यह आपके ही आंकड़े हैं, मेरे नहीं । इसी तरह से जब श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी प्रधान मंत्री बनीं तब इस देश “बिलो पावर्टी लाइन,” गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे जो जनता थी उसकी संख्या थी 24 करोड़ लेकिन दस साल तक “डायनेमिक डिकेड” चलाने के बाद उनकी संख्या हो गई 42 करोड़ । यानी “डायनेमिक डिकेड” में उनकी संख्या 18 करोड़ बढ़ गई ।

इसी तरह से जहां तक रोटी का सवाल है, जब श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी प्रधान मंत्री बनीं तब इस देश के लोगों को औसतन रोज 50 ग्राम दाल खाने को मिलती थी । वैसे तो बहुत से लोग भूखे हैं, 10-20 ग्राम दाल भी रोज खाने वाले बहुत हैं लेकिन औसत 50 ग्राम का था । श्रीमती गांधी की डायनेमिक डिकेड के बाद 50 ग्राम दाल का औसत 42 ग्राम ही रह गया । इसी तरह से जब श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी प्रधान मंत्री बनीं तब औसतन एक व्यक्ति को कपड़ा साढ़े 15 मीटर मिलता था जोकि 10 साल की “डायनेमिक डिकेड” के बाद 13 मीटर ही रह गया । इसी तरह से

औसतन साल में एक व्यक्ति को 840 ग्राम वनस्पति मिलता था जोकि दस साल “डायनेमिक डिकेड” के बाद 748 ग्राम ही रह गया । इसी तरह से चीनी हालांकि हर एक को नहीं मिलती थी लेकिन औसतन एक आदमी के पीछे सालाना 7 किलोग्राम पैदा होती थी जोकि दस साल की “डायनेमिक डिकेड” के बाद 6 किलो ही रह गई । यह चीजें बताना इसलिए जरूरी है क्योंकि आपने लोगों को गुमराह करके रखा और बताया कि इस देश से उत्पादन बढ़ा रहे हैं जबकि एक आदमी के पीछे जितना होता था वह भी घट गया और गरीबी बढ़ गई । आपने गलत आंकड़ों को पेश करके लोगों को बेवकूफ बनाया यही मेरे कहने का मतलब है ।

एक उदाहरण मैं और देना चाहता हूं । देश में विकास की बुनियाद इस बात पर निर्भर होती है कि इस्पात का कितना उत्पादन हो रहा है । जब श्रीमती गांधी की “डाइनेमिक डिकेड” शुरू हुई, उस समय साल में एक आदमी के पीछे इस्पात पैदा होता था—9.3 किलो, लेकिन 10 वर्ष के बाद वह घट कर 7.8 किलो रह गया ।

इन के जो एम्पलायमेन्ट एक्सचेन्जेज के रजिस्टर हैं—उनका हिसाब देखिये—“डाइनेमिक डिकेड” शुरू होते समय बेरोजगारों की रजिस्टर्ड संख्या थी—26 लाख, लेकिन 10 वर्ष के बाद वह संख्या हो गई—1 करोड़ । ग्रेजुएट्स की संख्या इन के लाइव रजिस्टर्स पर “डाइनेमिक डिकेड” शुरू होने के समय थी—1 लाख 19 हजार, लेकिन 10 वर्ष में यह बढ़कर 5 लाख हो गई । मैट्रिकुलेट्स तथा उस से ऊपर और ग्रेजुएट्स से नीचे के लोगों की संख्या “डाइनेमिक डिकेड” शुरू होते समय थी—8 लाख, लेकिन 10 वर्ष समाप्त होते-होते वह हो गई—30 लाख । हिन्दुस्तान से निरक्षर लोगों की संख्या “डाइनेमिक डिकेड” शुरू होते समय थी—36 करोड़ लेकिन “डिकेड” समाप्त होते-होते

[श्री जार्ज फर्नान्डिस]

वह संख्या हो गई—42 करोड़। आप देख लीजिये—कितनी तरक्की हुई है।

लेकिन, सभापति महोदय, एक क्षेत्र में बहुत तरक्की हुई। वह कौन सा क्षेत्र था, बतलाऊँ? 1966-67 में मैं इस लोक सभा का सदस्य था और उधर बैठा करता था। उस समय एक लड़का था जो हिन्दुस्तान में मैट्रिक पास हुआ था, बेकार था, एप्रेन्टिस शिप कर के आया था। हिन्दुस्तान का “डाइनैमिक डिकेड” समाप्त होते-होते वह कई करोड़ के मासुति स्त्रि० कारखाने का मालिक बन गया। इस जाह पर “डाइनैमिक डिकेड” ने वास्तव में काम किया। लेकिन बाकी क्षेत्रों में देश ने तरक्की नहीं की, देश बरबाद हुआ। मैं सारे आंकड़े इस समय नहीं रखूँगा अगर आप की दिलचस्पी हो, तो आप के पास पहुंचाने की कोशिश करूँगा क्योंकि यह सब छपा हुआ है। इस को आप जरूर पढ़िये और जो गलतियाँ हुई हैं उन को सुधारने का काम कीजिये।

अभी एक सदस्य ने कहा कि “झूठ” शब्द मत बोलिये, “असत्य बोलिये—मैं आप को इस का उदाहरण भी देता हूँ। इस सदन में इन्होंने एक दस्तावेज पेश किया था—“व्हाई एमरजेंसी?” इस दस्तावेज के बारे में पता नहीं, उधर बैठे हुए लोगों को अब शर्म लगेगी या नहीं, क्योंकि यदि इस दस्तावेज को लेकर बहस की जाय तो शायद महीनों यह बहस चल सकती है। मगर इस वक्त तो मैं सिर्फ एक आदमी के बारे में बतलाना चाहता हूँ—जिस के बारे में इस दस्तावेज में लिखा है—वह व्यक्ति है—श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण। जय प्रकाश नारायण जी के बारे में इन के किसी नौकरशाह या आई० बी० या पुलिस विभाग के किसी व्यक्ति ने जो लिखा है—उस को थोड़ा पढ़ लीजिये और उस को पढ़ कर अगर आप को शर्म आती है तो ज्यादा कुछ न कर सकें तो कम से कम उस महात्मा से क्षमा याचना ही कीजिये, इतना जरूर कीजिये।

श्री सुरत बहादुर शाह (खैरी) : वह तो सिर्फ हयादार कर सकते हैं, बेहया क्षमा नहीं मांग सकते हैं।

श्री जार्ज फर्नान्डिस : इस दस्तावेज में 20 महीनों में देश को किस तरह से कहां तक पहुंचाने का काम किया है—सब कुछ झूठ के आधार पर लिखने की कोशिश की गई है। इसी किताब में एक चैप्टर है—रेल मजदूरों की हड़ताल के बारे में लिखते हैं—

“The railway strike of May, 1974 was essentially part of the movement for national disruption.”

सभापति महोदय, हम नहीं चाहते थे कि रेल हड़ताल हो। मुझ पर यह आरोप लगाया गया कि मैंने रेल हड़ताल को चलाया। दुनिया भर के अखबारों में प्रचार किया गया, लन्दन-टाइम्स में हजारों पाउण्ड खर्च कर के लेख छपाया कि हमारी वजह से करोड़ों या अरबों रुपया देश का बरबाद हो गया। मैं हड़ताल नहीं चाहता था। हम ने कुछ मांगे भेजी थीं। उस दिन मैं सदन में था, जब रेल बजट पर बहस चल रही थी। भूतपूर्व रेल राज्य मंत्री श्री कुरेशी हमारी मांगों के पत्र को उठा कर सदन में दिखाने लगे कि हम ये मांगे मांगते हैं। उसमें हमारी 6 मांगें थीं।

हमारे हिसाब से 350 करोड़ रुपये की बात थी मगर शुरू से ही मैं ने कहा था

Every demand is negotiable.

हड़ताल शुरू होने तक के क्षण तक मैं जेल से चिट्ठियाँ भेजता रहा कि :

Every demand is negotiable.

भूतपूर्व राष्ट्रपति श्री बी० बी० गिरी ने अभी चन्द दिन पहले एक बयान दिया है जिस में उन्होंने लिखा है :

“When the last general strike was declared, I happened to be at



Mussoorie and on hearing about the strike I immediately returned to Delhi to take up the matter and see if a settlement could be arrived at. The then Railway Minister, L. N. Mishra called on me, I advised him to continue negotiations with the Railwaymen's Federation and their six point charter of demands. It is great pity that Shri George Fernandes was brought to Delhi for the purpose of negotiations but soon after, in a most indiscreet manner, sent to Tihar Jail."

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम से बातचीत [हो रही थी 30 अप्रैल की रात के 9 बजे तक। रेल भवन में हम ने बातचीत की थी। 1 मई को वे बातचीत करना चाहते थे लेकिन 1 मई, मजदूरों का दिवस है और मुझे लखनऊ में रेल मजदूरों के बीच में भाषण करना था और इस का मैं ने वायदा किया हुआ था। मैं ने कहा था कि मैं 2 तारीख को सुबह जहाज से दिल्ली पहुंच जाऊंगा और सीधे 9 बजे रेल भवन में बातचीत करने के लिए आऊंगा। साढ़े तीन बजे इन्डियन एयरलाइन्स का हवाई जहाज उड़ने वाला था लेकिन साढ़े 8 बजे तक उस को उड़ने नहीं दिया ताकि हम जा न पाएं। दरअसल यह विचार कर रहे थे कि इन को यहीं पकड़ लें या वहां पकड़ें? लखनऊ में मजदूर रात 12 बजे तक मेरा इन्तजार करते रहे और वहीं बैठे रहे और मैंने रात को 12 बजे लखनऊ स्टेशन के सामने अपना भाषण किया और रात को 2 बजे रेलवे रिटायरिंग रूम में सो गया। ढाई बजे दरवाजा खटखटाय़ा गया और वहां पर दिल्ली पुलिस मीसा के अन्दर मेरी गिरफ्तारी का वारेन्ट लिये थी। रेलवे प्लेटफार्म को और स्टेशन को सैकड़ों नहीं, हजारों पुलिस वालों ने घेर लिया था। मैंने उन से पूछा कि मुझे कहां लिये जा रहे हो, तो कोई जवाब नहीं दिया गया। लखनऊ हवाई अड्डे पर बोर्डर सेक्यूरिटी फोर्स का हवाई जहाज दिल्ली से मेरा डिटेन्शन आर्डर लेकर उड़ा और उस में बैठा कर मुझे पालम

हवाई अड्डे लाया गया और वहां से मुझे तिहाड़ जेल भिजवा दिया गया। 2 तारीख को मुझे 9 बजे बातचीत करने के लिए कहा था और 5 बजे मुझे जेल भेज दिया और इस पर ये लोग कहते थे कि :

This was an attempted national disruption.

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कहता हूं कि :

This was an attempted national disruption but not by the Railwaymen, but the Government of Mrs. Gandhi. This was an attempted national disruption.

और सबूत चाहिए, तो मैं देता हूं। हमारी बात को छोड़ दीजिए। इन की साथी श्रीमती पार्वती कृष्णन दिखाई नहीं दे रही है मगर उन के महान नेता कामरेड श्री पद अमृत डागें, जोकि हमारे भी मित्र है, द्वारा लिखी गई इस किताब को कांग्रेसी जरूर खरीदें। यह ए० आर्इ० टी० यू० सी० की पब्लिकेशन है। इस का नाम है "दि रेलवे स्ट्राइक"। डागें साहब ने इस में लिखा है :

"The Government of the country, ruling in the name of democracy, had unleashed its armed forces against unarmed peaceful workers to compel them to work. It looked like the naked dictatorship of Roman Emperors, letting loose their armed soldiery against their slaves who refused to be mere slaves only to work under the whip-lash. For 20 days in May 1974, India saw peaceful bourgeois democracy, installed in power by the ballot box, forcing the railwaymen to give up their demands and their right to strike to get those demands. This bourgeois democracy which swears by truth, non-violence, peace and the poor and the fundamentals of the Constitution attacked even the families of the Railwaymen, further illustrates the truth that when the worker has sold his labour power to the employer, he sold himself

[Shri George Fernandes]

into wage-slavery and not only himself but his family and his home also."

यह डागें साहब ने लिखा है। यह कब का लिखा हुआ है ? जून 16, 1974 का। यह आप लोगों के अत्याचारों के बारे में लिखा हुआ है। यान है कि यह बड़ी कांस्पिरेसी है, उसके 22 मई की हड़ताल के बारे में सरकार का जो बयान है कि यह बड़ी कांस्पिरेसी है, उसके बारे में यह डागें साहब के हाथ का लिखा हुआ बयान है —

"The railway strike is not some one's conspiracy or clever trick. It is the logic of the parasitic capitalistic landlord system of our day and its special viciousness as sown and grown in our country. While the railway workers' leadership were actually invited to negotiate and were coming step by step to a settlement, the treacherous henchmen of the capitalist order in the bureaucracy and the government arrested the leaders of the National Coordination Committee right in the midst of negotiations and locked George Fernandes and others in jail."

ये कामरेड डागें के बयान हैं। इस किताब में इससे भी सख्त बयान है। पांच रुपये की यह किताब खरीद कर जरूर पढ़िए।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस दस्तावेज में हमारे ऊपर और देश के रेल मजदूरों पर यह आरोप लगाया गया है—अगर यहीं तक सीमित होता तो भी मैं छोड़ देता, लेकिन इसमें क्या क्या मुझ पर आरोप नहीं लगाए गए। इसमें कहा गया कि मैंने चेयरमैन माओ के पास पहुंच की। जब मैं भूमिगत था तो मेरे खिलाफ रेडियो पर प्रचार किया गया और अखबारों में यह छपा गया कि जार्ज फर्नांडिस माओ का दलाल है। जब य आरोप मुझ पर लग रहे थे तो सदन में एक सवाल पूछा गया। उसको भी दबा

दिया गया और दूसरी तरह से भी चीजों को बाहर आने से रोका गया। अध्यक्ष महोदय, रेडियो पर प्रचार होता रह कि मैं देशद्रोही हूँ, मैं माओ का दलाल हूँ। मेरे खिलाफ क्या क्या प्रचार नहीं किया गया ? अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने चेयरमैन माओ को एक चिट्ठी लिखी उस चिट्ठी के बारे में इन एमरजेंसी के कागजों में इन्होंने लिखा है —

"In a letter addressed to Chairman Mao Tse-tung in December 1974, Shri George Fernandes complained of 'ruthless repression at the hands of the Government of India of the Indian railwaymen when they fought a glorious struggle to secure justice that has been denied to them for several years now.'"

यानी जार्ज फर्नांडिस और माओ का रिश्ता है, जार्ज फर्नांडिस माओ के साथ पत्र-व्यवहार करता है, जार्ज फर्नांडिस देश का शत्रु है। देश के अखबारों में यह छपवाया गया —

"This man is a traitor; he must be hanged."

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा क्या पत्र था, वह मैं पढ़ कर सुना देता हूँ —

Chairman Mao Tse-Tung,  
People's Republic of China,  
Peking.

Dear Comrade,

While the news of railwaymen's strike in China—"

अध्यक्ष महोदय, 11 दिसम्बर, को हिन्दुस्तान के अखबारों में एक खबर छपी थी कि चीन में रेल हड़ताल हुई है। मैं रेल मजदूरों को लेकर प्रदर्शन करने के लिए चाना दूतावास पर गया। दिल्ली की पुलिस ने हमको रोका। हम एक पत्र लेकर गए थे जो हम दूतावास को देना चाहें थे। लेकिन श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की पुलिस ने हमें कहा कि

हम आपको अन्दर नहीं जाने देंगे। मैंने वह पत्र गेट के अन्दर फेंक दिया। उस पत्र में क्या था—

"While the news of railwaymen's strike in China has took us by surprise, the repression let loose by your regime on the striking railwaymen has shocked us in no small measure. The Indian railwaymen were themselves recently victims of ruthless repression at the hands of the Government of India when they fought a glorious struggle to secure justice that has been denied to them for several years now. While expressing our solidarity with the fighting railwaymen of China, we hereby demand that your government concede the legitimate demands of the railway workers.

Yours sincerely,  
George Fernandes,  
President, All India Railwaymen's  
Federation."

इस तरह से तोड़ मरोड़ कर उन लोगों ने हम पर आरोप लगाए। मुझे चीनियों का दलाल बनाया। इतना पाप किया। क्या उन लोगों ने यह सोचा था कि कभी हम यहां ज़िंदा खड़े होकर नहीं आ सकेंगे और उन लोगों पर सदन में यह पाप नहीं फेंक सकेंगे। क्या उन लोगों ने यही सोचा था, इसी की इंतजार में वे थे? मुझ पर आरोप लगाया गया कि मैं विदेशी शक्तियों का न केवल माम्रो का बल्कि अमरीका का भी दलाल हूं। यह भी कहा गया कि विदेशी रुपया लेकर हमने हिन्दुस्तान में रेल हड़ताल चलाई। इसको भी उन्होंने छपा है। मेहरबानी करके इसको पढ़िये कि क्या आरोप लगाया गया है।

"Substantial amounts of money were received in May/June, 1974 by Shri George Fernandes from abroad through a foreign bank. If money transfers took place through banks, more money must have flown through other channels to him and to others."

सभापति महोदय, सदन का भी बहुत बड़ा अपमान हुआ है। इस दस्तावेज में मई जून करके लिखा गया है। यह दस्तावेज वह है जिस को सदन में पेश किया गया था जुलाई महीने में। बाद में मैंने भूमिगत अवस्था में श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नाम चिट्ठी लिखी और "मैडेम डिक्टेटर" करके मैंने यह चिट्ठी लिखी। उस में मैंने उनको बताया कि आपने जो तारीख लिखी है वह तारीख भी गलत है, इसको आप सुधार लें। उन्होंने सदन को न बोल करके तारीख सुधार कर किताब की पचास हजार कपियां छपा कर भेज दीं। पहले छपा था मई जून, 1974। मेरा चिट्ठी आने के बाद इसको मई जून, 1975 किया गया। कौन से पैसे? यह चीज मैंने श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को लिखी। किस ने पैसे दिये यह मैंने उन से पूछा। जापान के रेल मजदूरों ने दिए थे। क्यों दिये थे? उन्हीं के शब्दों को मैं आपके सामने पेश करना चाहता हूं :

"In October, 1974, when the International Railwaymen's Seminar was held in Frankfurt, West Germany, under the auspices of the German Railwaymen's Union (DdED), the delegation from our Union KOKURO proposed a motion on "the protest against the Indian Government and support for the Indian railwaymen," which got approvals from many representatives in the Seminar.

In November, 1974, the 110th Session of our Central Committee held in Tokyo discussed this matter and adopted unanimously a motion on collecting voluntary contributions among the members. In agreement to our aim, the Locomotive Union (DORO) started their own campaign. In response to the resolution on supporting Indian railwaymen, Japanese railwaymen were very active in the campaign for collecting contributions and signatures, and the total amount of their contributions reached 68,000 US dollars for

[Shri George Fernandes]

KOKURO, and 17,000 dollars for DORO.

In May, 1975, the Japanese delegation from the two Unions attended the fiftieth Annual Conference of the ATRF held in Jodhpur, India where Brs. Murakami and Temita, respectively President of KOKURO and DORO, handed directly drafts of the contributions presented by individual Japanese railwaymen to President Fernandes in the presence of all the representative of Unions affiliated with the AIRF. Our contributions were transferred by the bank drafts under the official recognition of the Japanese Government.

Paying his respects to our wills. President Fernandes made a promise to use the contributions as Indian railwaymen's education fund for a long period in the future. For this, the contributions have not been drawn from the bank at all."

एक एक पाई इसकी आज भी बैंकों में पड़ी हुई है। लेकिन यह कहा गया कि न सिर्फ यह आया और भी आया मई जून, 1974 में। मेरी आज फिर चुनौती है। मैंने भूमिगत अवस्था से लिखा था श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को कि सबूत पेश करो कि विदेशी मुद्रा आई है, बैंकों के जरिये आई है, सबूत पेश करो। लेकिन सबूत पेश करने की जगह पर इनकी नेता ने 12 अक्तूबर को क्या कहा? यह पर्चा है इस में से मैं पढ़ देता हूं :

Now about the interview of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to Mr. George Evans of the Sunday Telegraph, London: The question was:

"What were the external pressures that influenced you in proclaiming a State of Emergency? The Government claims, for example, that Mr. George Fernandes, leader of railwaymen's union and Socialist Party, wrote to Chairman Mao soliciting support and that substan-

tial sums of money were received through a foreign bank.

The Prime Minister replied thus:

"First, the real reason for the Emergency long before my case came up in the courts was the developing and deepening crisis..."

उस सब को मैं छोड़ देता हूं।

Against she said:

"Mr. Fernandes said the money was for trade union activities. The money was originally put in his personal account though later he transferred some of it. The cheque came through the Reserve Bank of India from Japan and we had information that part of it came from somewhere else to Tokyo and then here. Before that a cheque was received from Holland, I think, to a party in Orissa. They quickly said it was for agricultural work but the sort of campaign that was going on was obvious. Those who went on strike were being paid. Where did the money come from? Our trade unions are not rich."

आज वह यहां है नहीं। आज मैं आप लोगों से मांग भी नहीं कर सकता कि सबूत पेश करो। मगर इतना झूठ, जिस के लिये आप ने आक्षेप किया, इतना झूठ कहा जायेगा। हम कैसे कहें? आज मैं सरकार में हूं। मगर इतना झूठ बोल कर सरकार नहीं चलानी चाहिये थी। आप को भी सोचना चाहिये था, इस तरह से हमें जलील नहीं करना चाहिये था। आप हम को मारते, पीटते, लाठियां चलाते हमने 30 साल आप के हाथों मार खायी है। 6 अप्रैल, 1970 को इसी पटेल चौक में वाराणसी के माननीय राम सेवक यादव को लाठियों की मार से मारा गया, माननीय मधु लिमये, माननीय राजनारायण माननीय मनीराम बागड़ी और मुझ को लाठियों से मारा गया, और मैं तो 4 घंटे अस्पताल में रहा था, पता नहीं था कि बचूंगा कि नहीं। अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव आप के खिलाफ आया था लेकिन कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोगों ने आप की सरकार

को बचाया था वरना उसी दिन आप चले गये होते। तो हम मार खाने के लिये तैयार हैं। हमें दर्द नहीं होता आपकी लाठियां खाने से। लेकिन इस तरह से एक आदमी की जवान बन्द कर के उस को इस तरह से बदनाम करना उचित नहीं है। मान्यवर, मैं इस अभिभाषण पर बोलने वाला नहीं था, लेकिन इस देश के रेल मजदूरों की इज्जत का सवाल था, उस को सही ढंग से देश के सामने आज पेश करना था इसलिये मैं बोल रहा हूँ। इस देश में किस प्रकार से झूठ बोल कर इन लोगों ने राज्य चलाया उस के आंकड़ों में देश के सामने पेश करना चाहता था इसलिये बोल रहा हूँ।

और एक आखिरी बात पेश कर दूँ। हमारे ऊपर आरोप लगाया कि हम हिंसाचारी हैं। 26 जून, 1975 को मैं गोपालपुर में था उस वक्त मेरा निकला हुआ एक बयान है, जो इस समय मेरे पास नहीं है, लेकिन मेरी पत्नी के पास होगा जो परसों विदेश से लौट रही है। 22 महीने हो गये सभापति जी अपनी पत्नी और 3 वर्ष दो महीने के बच्चों को देखे हुए। मेरी पत्नी और मेरा बच्चा परसों लौट रहे हैं, उस बयान की प्रतिलिपि मैं आप के सामने पेश करूँगा। मैं ने कहा यह गांधी जी का देश है और गांधी जी के रास्तों से ही इस तानाशाही को हम मिटायेंगे। और तब से लेकर हमने यही कहा, भूमिगत अवस्था से निकला हुआ हमारा एक, एक परचा है, जो कि महीने में एक निकलता था और आप सब को भेजा जाता था, पता नहीं आप लोगों को मिलता था कि नहीं। इस बारे में रिसर्च और एनेलिसिस विंग वालों से पूछ लीजिये, हम भी जांच करायेंगे, और हर बार मैं यही कहता था कि यह गांधी जी का देश है। पहली पर्ची में मैंने कहा था :

"The fight will be between Mrs. Indira Nehru Gandhi and Mahatma Gandhi."

गांधी जी के रास्ते हम आगे ले जायेंगे। गांधी जी के रास्तों से ही इस देश में तानाशाही नष्ट हो जायेगी। हमने यह बात कही थी। और तानाशाही खत्म हो भी गई उन्हीं के रास्तों पर चल कर। जिस व्यक्ति ने आप लोगों को यहां ला कर पहुंचाया है कुछ उन के बारे में भी सोचिये। नाराज नहीं होइये, जब हम आरोप करते हैं तो आप अन्तर्मुख हो जाइये कि क्यों ऐसा हुआ। आप लोगों से भी पुरुषार्थ को कैसे उसने छीन लिया, इस पर भी आप सोच लीजिये। दिमागी और शारीरिक तौर पर आप लोग इतने मजबूत नजर आते हो, जिन्दगी भर लड़े हो, जेल भी गये हो, जब कि वह तो सिर्फ 6 महीने ही जेल गई थी। वह बहुत बोलती हैं कि मेरे खानदान ने बहुत त्याग किया है। खानदान के त्याग की बात करना इस से ज्यादा अश्लील बात और कोई नहीं हो सकती है। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी 6 महीने के लिये जेल गई थी। मेरे पास उसके दस्तावेज भी हैं, हिंसा के जेल में पड़े थे। वह जेल में 6 के 6 महीने बीमार रहीं और इतनी परेशान हो गई कि छहों महीने बीमार रही। श्रीमती विजय लक्ष्मी पंडित ने अपनी डायरी में लिखा है, उसमें उनका सारा जेल का 6 महीने का हिसाब किताब है। मगर आप जैसे मजबूत लोग उस समय बैठे थे, जो आजादी की लड़ाई में भी थे, कैसे आपने अपने पुरुषार्थ और हर चीज को छोड़ दिया? आप इसको जरा सोचिये और अगर कहीं भूल हुई हो तो सुधारिये।

16 hrs.

श्रीमती गांधी की एक बात आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। देश की जनता ने एक बहुत बड़ा काम जो तानाशाही को मिटाने का किया, उसके लिये जनता ने मैंने पहले ही अभिनन्दन किया है, मगर जब हमारे जैसे लोग कहा करते थे कि यह तानाशाही है,

[Shri George Fernandes]

फासिज्म है, तो लोगों को जंचता नहीं था। लोग कहते थे कि तुम ऐसे ही बोलते हो। मगर इसी सदन में उन्होंने एक भाषण 22 जुलाई, 1975 को दिया जो कि "डैमोक्रेसी एंड डिसिप्लिन—स्पीचेज़ आफ श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी" नामक किताब के पन्ना नं० 27 पर लिखा है —

"Yesterday another member of the Opposition wanted to know what fascism was. Fascism does not mean merely repression;"

—of course, not—

"it does not mean merely that the police use excessive force or that the people are imprisoned."

—of course, not—

"Fascism is the use of falsehood. Over and above everything, it is the propagation of the big lie."

इस देश की जनता ने इस बात को साफ कर दिया है कि यहां तानाशाही थी, यहां फासिज्म था जिसका आधार झूठ था। उसका निर्णय डायनामाइट केस को लेकर लोगों को गुमराह करने, विकास के नाम से देश का बरबाद करने और श्री जय प्रकाश नारायण से लेकर रेल मजदूरों को जलील करने और उनके प्रति इस देश के लोगों के बीच में गलत विचारों का निर्माण करके झूठ के आधार पर राज्य चलाने वालों को इस देश को जनता ने हटा कर रख दिया है।

राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में, जिसमें उन्होंने पिछले 20 महीनों की और यह कहा जाये तो 30 वर्षों की बिगड़ी हुई स्थिति पेश करने के लिए एक रूपरेखा पेश की है, उसके लिये मैं उन्हें धन्यवाद देने के साथ साथ इस देश की जनता को, इस चुनाव को जिसमें उन्होंने झूठ का पर्दाफाश करके इस तानाशाही को समाप्त किया है, उसके लिये धन्यवाद देता हूं और अपनी बात को समाप्त करता हूं।

**SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA** (Kaliabor): Mr. Chairman, actually I did not want to speak on the matters that have been raised in this House, but having heard my respectable Socialist friend, Shri Fernandez, I would only like to mention that so far as the allegations that he has made against my party are concerned, we have so far stated that mistakes have been committed. We have not tried to defend those mistakes so far. In fact, we have explained in this House by and large that in the party as a whole we are in a mood of introspection and we are trying to find out what went wrong in the battle that decided our fate.

At the same time, I cannot help saying that so far as the statistics are concerned, there are two major defects. Firstly, it has failed to take into account the rise in population in the country. It has not taken into account the fact that the population has gone up in the mean time. He has also avoided giving production figures. We in the Congress Party are proud of the development that has taken place during the past several years, particularly during recent history when the production of various items was increased, exports went up and so many other things happened.

I am in partial agreement with what has been stated in the President's Address in negative terms. What I mean by negative terms is the mandate that is stated to have been received by the party in power today, the mandate to remove the restrictions on the rights of the people etc. We are in partial agreement and our party leader has stated in this House that we will co-operate in all essential matters in carrying out whatever mandate the ruling party has received from the people.

I am also in partial agreement with what has been stated about the development of agriculture—partial because my party has contributed a lot to it. It is simply not true to say that investment in agriculture was less or



that it was neglected. There was a green revolution in our country, agricultural production has more than doubled since independence. Certain other measures have also been taken which have taken agriculture out of the medieval phase. It is, however, true that much that could have been done in agriculture could not be done because of various constraints. While I welcome the opportunities of the present Government to do away with those constraints, to face those problems, it will simply not do for them to function only as an opposition criticising us for having failed to do something which I have no doubt they will find equally difficult to implement when the time comes. In fact, the time has already come. I do not think they have plenty of time to tell the people that the Congress Party failed as they will have to show soon what improvements they are able to bring about in agriculture.

It is true that something should be done for rural water supply and all that, but it requires vast investment. The real problem is not rural water supply or rural industries. What is starting is the complete absence of the fact of struggle in the countryside. It is good to say that there are people below the poverty line, but they are in the countryside. Why was there no mention in the President's Address about the landless workers, about the people who are below the poverty level, who do not have holdings, who are tenants, what Government proposes to do about them, what type of legislation they would like to bring forward, what exactly the party, to which Mr. George Fernandes and other socialist leaders of my acquaintance, with some of whom I had close personal relations, wants to do to remove this type of poverty in the rural sector? Rural industries may be a solution to some extent, but unless investment is diverted from the industrial sector, it will not be possible to develop rural industries. It has a logic of its

own. Vast investments will have to be made and one will have to decide one's policy about other industries.

In the President's Address there should have been a general statement of policy. I agree that the parties which have come to power recently may not be able to state immediately their approach in detailed terms, but at the same time no political party ever comes to power without having an economic policy. So, why was it not found possible to state in concrete terms Government's approach with regard to the public sector and the private sector? It should have been possible to do it in two or three lines.

Harold Laski in his *Grammar of Politics*, while discussing hasty legislation, has categorically stated that hasty legislation is not possible because a great political party goes through a process of study and struggle before it arrives at the seat of power.

There must be at least a particular approach to the basic problems before the country. I mean the basic economic policies—I am not speaking on other matters—which cover agriculture and everything else. It is possible that the Ruling Party has all the options before it. It can go the Swatantra way; it can go the socialist way; it can go the centrist way. Now, the Ruling Party has to decide which line it has to pursue.

For example, take the case of public sector. I saw a statement from Mr. Verma about the industrial policy. It is just a repetition of what Shyama Prasad Mukherjee placed before Parliament some 25 years ago with certain minor amendments. Now, the public sector in this country today is not confined to the basic and key industries. It is producing bread and consumer items. As a Member of Parliament, I am



[Shri Bedabrata Barua]

concerned about the fate of the public sector. Unless some policy is made regarding the growth of the public sector, the growth of the public sector will be inhibited and if the growth of the public sector is inhibited, two possibilities arise. The private sector has to be allowed to grow. My party was not allowing monopolies to grow; my party at least attempted to help the public sector to grow as fast as possible; and only to cover the gap in the production, big houses were allowed expansion. Even then the share-holding pattern and every thing was changed. Public financial institutions were invited to purchase shares in it. How is it possible today? If the public sector is not allowed to grow, if there is no enthusiastic response to the needs of the public sector, the private sector is bound to grow as fast as possible. If it is not allowed to grow because of internal contradictions in the Ruling Party, then there is going to be .... (Interruptions).

I hope there will be no contradictions. I want your Government to function as smoothly as possible. As a Member of Parliament, I am trying to tell you that if some elements want to stop monopolies, then the public sector .... (Interruptions).

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE (Banka): Did Mr. Brijlal Verma say that he was going to de-nationalise the industry?

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA: Mr. Madhu Limaye, with all respect, I would like to tell you that even that most simple statement was withdrawn because it was considered to be the preliminary view of Mr. Verma. As a socialist, I am saying this. I am not saying as a critic of what is being said. The time for criticism has not come. I want to give all the co-operation that is due from my party. I do not want to stand in the way of

this matter because parties have merged. That is why, I would like to avoid speaking about contradiction. But how can I avoid all that what I quoted from Laski. The political parties have merged. I know the ideopogy of the Swatantra Party, I know the ideology of the Jan Sangh and I know the ideology of the BLD. But I do not know what is the amalgam: what is the economic policy that has emerged out of this amalgam. I am entitled to know from the Government what is the amalgam of the economic policy which will protect the public sector, which will assist the private sector and which will protect the national interest in both the sectors.

I want the Government to specifically state in the interest of the country's welfare, in the interest of the public sector, in the interest of the socialist aim of the Government their clear-cut economic policy. Unless the public sector is allowed to grow, unless the socialist orientation in Government policies is allowed to continue, unless the Government makes up its mind and says positively as to how much the public sector will be encouraged and how the private sector and the monopolies will be checked, we will be in a very great difficulty. I find a very sad tendency on the part of my friends opposite to still continue to speak in terms of the past. The things have changed and they are in the Government now. As the ruling party, they have to place before the country immediately as to what their approach is in regard to various policies of the Government. They cannot go on arguing that they are going to formulate their economic policy. Because their party has won elections, I will call it a big party, if not a great party. It should be ready in regard to the basic problems, like, tenancy reforms, land reforms, role of public sector vs. private sector, etc. Their total silence is rather strange. I would not ex-

pect the Government to keep silence for long.

In regard to the Constitution amendments, I would like to say a few words. It is true that the ruling party has a mandate today to restore fundamental rights to the people. But it is also true that there was the election in 1971. When our party went to the people in 1971 for a mandate, whatever the mistakes that might have been committed later on, as to whether social and economic changes should wait upon the discretion of the judiciary, we won as much as you won this time.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: It was a mandate for five years. It expired on the 18th March, 1976. The Constitution (Forty-Second Amendment) Bill was passed after the expiry of the mandate... (Interruptions) You did not do anything before 18th March, 1976. After that, you had no moral right to do anything.

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA: The 1971 mandate clarified that the people wanted progressive measures in the field of land reforms, tenancy reforms and economic and social changes. All this could not be done with a reactionary judicial system. While we do not say that the mandate extends to this day, the point is that our party continued to believe in that type of thing. Therefore, in spite of a mandate that has been given to you to restore fundamental rights to the people, they would like to have a progressive Parliament capable of implementing urgent social reforms without being hampered by the judicial, political and economic set-up. I am saying that with a specific object. When it comes to the question of amending the Constitution, my party will consider each amendment on its merits as to which is essential to the political and the economic life of the country and what is essential to the

progress of the country and what is not essential.

Regarding defections which have now been upgraded to the term "realignment of political forces", I think, this is a see-saw struggle between the ruling party and the Opposition in which it suited somebody to take advantage of defection and it suited somebody not to take advantage of defection. We are not afraid of defections. I am not saying that I object to defections as such. The people whom we select or you select defect whenever power goes from one party to another party. They are not even good human beings.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: How do you explain your own defection to the then ruling party?

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA: When did I defect to the then ruling party?

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: You belonged to the Socialist Opposition: you changed over to the then ruling party.

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA: I never was elected to any Legislature. I am not going to give any explanations personally, but I may say that when I joined the Congress I was not a Member of the Legislature. That is the position and I think people have a right to think over their fundamental approach to the country and change.

But, today, 'defection' has been upgraded to 'realignment'. I warn my friends on this side and those on the opposite side not to take it very easily. Once you call defection as 'realignment of forces' you may not stop anywhere. It is not for you to realign the forces: it is for the country to realign the forces. There is always a possibility that directions may change and there may be a realignment of forces in the country; but this sort of 'monkey jumping' from one side to the other must not be upgraded as 'realignment of forces'. Today I don't think the party system in

[Shri Bedabrata Barua]

India reflects the sort of right and left orientation in our politics that is projected from the Government side. It is not true that in the Party system there is a right or left orientation. That orientation has to come and there should be a realignment of forces at some time in the history of India, but this is not the time for that realignment. We, on our part have solid support for our Party and we want to stand by it rock-like. My Party is committed to policies which are leftist policies, socialist policies and, in spite of whatever our Leaders are said to have done and whatever 'aberrations' may have taken place, we will stand by our Party and will continue to lead the revolutionary masses of India towards progress.

प्रो० शिबनलाल सक्सेना (महाराजगंज) :

सभापति महोदय, जय प्रकाश जी बार-बार कह चुके हैं कि असेम्बलीज के चुनाव तुरन्त होने चाहियें। यदि कांस्टीट्यूशन में अमेंडमेंट न हुआ होता और इनकी लाइफ 6 साल न हुई होती, तो वैसे भी ये इलैक्शनज डियू थे। हमारी पार्टी इस बात को मानती है कि संविधान में जो तब्दीलियां हुई हैं उनको रद्द किया जाय, यदि यह रद्द हो जाय तो फिर कोई वजह नहीं है कि हम चुनाव अनिवार्य रूप से न करावें। क्योंकि यू०पी०, बिहार, पंजाब, मध्य प्रदेश, पाजस्थान, तमाम सूबों में आज कांग्रेस के साथ जनता नहीं है, ऐसी अवस्था में इन असेम्बलीज को कायम रहने का कोई हक नहीं है उनकी 5 साल की लाइफ पूरी हो चुकी है—इसलिये मैं चाहता हूं कि ये चुनाव शीघ्र से शीघ्र होने चाहिये। मैं आशा करता हूं कि हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर संविधान में अमेण्डमेण्ट पेश करके असेम्बलियों में जल्द से जल्द चुनाव कराने की व्यवस्था करेंगे ताकि जनता की इच्छा पूरी हो सके।

मैंने एड्रेस पर कुछ अमेण्डमेण्ट्स भेजे थे। शायद वे समय पर नहीं आ सके, इन लिये एजेन्डा में नहीं छपे। लेकिन मैं उनके सम्बन्ध में कुछ बातें कहना चाहता हूं। हमारी

एग्रीकल्चर प्राइस बहुत थोड़ी है—यह बात मान ली गई है और बादल साहब ने ऐलान भी किया है कि वह जल्दी ही गेहूं की कीमत बढ़ाने वाले हैं। मैं चाहूंगा कि एग्रीकल्चर की अब कोई पैदावार इम्पोर्ट न की जाय, क्योंकि हम अपने देश में जब इम्पोर्ट करते हैं, वह बहुत मंहगे भव पर करना पड़ता है, अगर हम प्राइस बढ़ा कर इम्पोर्ट प्राइस के बराबर अपने किसानों को दें और लाभ पहुंचायेंगे तो फिर कोई वजह नहीं है कि हमारी जरूरतें अपने देश में ही पूरी न हों। हमारा किसान बहुत ज्यादा पैदा करेगा और हमारे देश में कोई कमी नहीं होगी।

नेपाल गवर्नमेंट से जलकुण्डी योजना के बारे में हमारे मंत्री लोग बात करने गये थे। यह योजना बहुत पुरानी है और इसको अगर पूरा कर दिया जाये तो राप्ती नदी के भयंकर फ्लड्स रूक सकते हैं जिन से हर साल बहुत नुकसान होता है। मैं चाहता हूं कि इस योजना को फौरन कार्यान्वित किया जाए। जब यह योजना पूरी हो जाएगी तो राप्ती से जो बाढ़ आती है और गोरखपुर बाढ़ हो जाता है, वह बर्बादी से बच जाएगा। इसलिए जलकुण्डी योजना बहुत आवश्यक योजना है और मैं चाहता हूं कि नेपाल सरकार से बात करके इस को पूरा किया जाए।

हमें आशा थी कि भैंसालोटन से आने वाली गण्डक कैनल को रोहिंरीवर के नीचे से साइफन के जरिये से इस गण्डक कैनल को फेरेन्द्रा हसील तक ले जाई जाएगी ताकि वहां पर कैनल्स का एक जाल बिछा दिया जाए और वहां के हर एक गांव में आब-पाशी हो सके और खेती की पैदावार बढ़ सके। मैं चाहता हूं कि इस योजना को भी जल्दी से जल्दी पूरा किया जाए। जहां नहर न जा सके वहां नलकूप लगाए जायें।

इसके अलावा मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे देश में दूसरी सब से बड़ी काटेज

इंडस्ट्री खाण्डसारी की इंडस्ट्री है। गांधी जी ने इसको पेट्रोनाइज किया था लेकिन इसके साथ बड़ा अन्याय किया गया है। इस अन्याय को दूर करने के लिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि इसके लिए एक्साइज ड्यूटी कम की जाए। प्रेसीडेंट के एड्रेस में इसके बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा गया है। यह इंडस्ट्री खास तौर से उत्तर प्रदेश में है और इसके रास्ते में बहुत सी बाधाएँ हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस इंडस्ट्री को संरक्षण दिया जाए और बाधाओं को दूर किया जाए। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया गया, तो इसमें लगे लाखों लोग बर्बाद हो जाएंगे। जार्ज फर्नेंडीज साहब ने रेल हड़ताल में एक भाग रखी थी कि सारी इंडस्ट्रीज के अन्दर एक ही बराबर वेज रखा जाए। रेलवेमैन की यह मांग थी लेकिन वह मानी नहीं गई। मैं चाहता हूँ कि एक आल इंडिया वेज पालिसी बनाई जाए और शूगर इंडस्ट्री में लगे मजदूरों के साथ जो अन्याय हुआ है, उसको दूर किया जाए। उनका न्यूनतम वेज 430 रुपये होना चाहिए और दूसरी जो इंडस्ट्रीज हैं जैसे कि स्टील, कोन, जूट, टेक्सटाइल, डाक वर्कर्स आदि उनके बराबर उनके न्यूनतम वेजेज होने चाहिए। मैं चाहता हूँ कि एक आल इंडिया वेज पालिसी तय की जाए और सब इंडस्ट्रीज के लिए वेजेज एक से रखे जाएँ।

बोनस जो पहले वर्कर्स को सवा आठ परसेन्ट मिलता था, उसको भी कांग्रेस सरकार ने कम कर दिया है। यह मुनासिब नहीं है। 11 महीने काम करने पर 13 महीने का वेतन मिलता था लेकिन उसको बहुत कम कर दिया है। अगर मुनाफे के आधार पर इसको करना है, तो किसी इंडस्ट्री में अगर मुनाफा ज्यादा होता है तो 15 महीने की तनख्वाह मिले। वहाँ पर इन्होंने मुनाफे के 20 प्रतिशत से अधिक देने की लिमिट लगा दी है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि पुरानी जो पालिसी बोनस के बारे में थी, उसको पुनः लागू किया जाए।

डी० ए० के जो दो इंस्टालमेंट्स से ट्रल गवर्नमेंट इम्पलाइज के बाकी हैं वे फौरन दिये जायें। इसके अलावा एल० आई० सी० के साथ जो एग्रीमेंट किया गया था और वह पिछली गवर्नमेंट ने रद्द कर दिया था और उस के खिलाफ़ कानून बनाया था, उस एग्रीमेंट को फिर से बहाल किया जाए।

गुजरात हाईकोर्ट ने मजदूरों की तनख्वाह में बढ़ोतरी और बोनस के बारे में जो फ़ैसला किया था, उसको ओ० एन० जी० सी० अमल में नहीं ला रही है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि नये मिनिस्टर साहब उसको फौरन अमल में लाएं।

एजुकेशन पर, विशेष कर नर्सरी स्कूलों और दूसरे स्कूलों पर बहुत कम रकम खर्च होती है। एजुकेशन पर हों और अधिक रकम खर्च करनी चाहिए क्योंकि शिक्षा की उन्नति पर दूसरे क्षेत्रों की उन्नति भी निर्भर है। जब तक लोग पढ़ेंगे नहीं तब तक वे आगे कैसे बढ़ेंगे। इसलिए सरकार शिक्षा पर दस गुना पैसा खर्च करे।

रेलवे स्टेशन पर जो वेन्डर्स हैं या खोमचे वाले हैं उनके ऊपर कांटेक्टर्स होते हैं जो कि खोमचे वालों से पांच रुपया रोज ले लेते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हरेक स्टेशन पर वेन्डर्स की कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटीज बनायी जाएँ ताकि ये मिडिलमैन हट सकें।

देहरादून में जो फोरेस्ट रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट है वह आटोनोमस बोर्ड होनी चाहिए। उस रॉ गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से जो दखल दिया जाता है वह नहीं दिया जाए। उसे पूरी तरह आटोनोमस बनाया जाए ताकि वह बाड़ी सारा काम अपने आप कर सके और देश रॉ फारेस्ट्री की उन्नति हो।

करोड़ों रुपया मिल मालिकों के पास गन्ने का बाकी है जो कि अदा नहीं हो रहा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह अदा हो। कोई ऐसा इन्तजाम

[ श्री० शिबनलाल सवसेना ]

हो जिससे गन्ने का दाम किसानों को बढ़ा हो सके। मिल-मालिक मजदूरों की मजदूरी भी बढ़ा नहीं करते हैं। इसके लिए सरकार को इन्तजाम करना चाहिए जिससे कि मिल-मालिक शुगर इंडस्ट्री को ठीक से चलाएं और मजदूरों को उनकी मजदूरी भी समय पर मिलती रहे। शायद सरकार को मालूम नहीं है कि पन्द्रह-पन्द्रह महीने की तनख्वाह मिल-मालिकों के पास रखी हुई है जो कि अभी तक बढ़ा नहीं हुई है। यह बढ़ा होनी चाहिए।

हमारे देश में बेरोजगारी की बड़ी जबरदस्त समस्या है। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कहा है कि हम इस समस्या को हल करेंगे। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि इसको वार-ड्रिंग पर हल किया जाए ताकि यह जो देश पर कोढ़ है यह दूर हो सके। कोई वजह मालूम नहीं पड़ती कि यह समस्या दूर न हो सके। मैं चाहूँगा कि इसे जल्दी से जल्दी हल किया जाए।

हमारी एन० ई० रेलवे के सिगनल डिपार्टमेंट हमारे पास 830 मजदूर आये थे। उन्हें यह कह कर कि रेल के पास पैसा नहीं है निकाल दिया गया है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उन्हें फिर से बहाल किया जाए। उनसे रेलवे वाले कहते हैं कि हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है। उनका उस रेट पर बहाल किया जाए जिस रेट पर वे पहले काम करते थे।

इसी तरह से माइन्स के अन्दर काम करने वाले मजदूर भी मेरे पास आये थे। उन्हें भी निकाल दिया गया है। मैं चाहूँगा कि उन्हें भी काम पर लगाया जाए। जबकि हम सब को बहाल कर रहे हैं तो कोई वजह मालूम नहीं होती कि उन्हें क्यों न बहाल किया जाए।

ये कुछ बातें मैंने आपके सामने रखी हैं। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि ये बातें पूरी की जाएंगी।

SHRI S. D. SOMASUNDARAM (Thanjavur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have great pleasure in speaking on the President's Address. As referred

to in the President's Address, I request the Government to bring comprehensive amendments to restore the balance of power between the people and Parliament, the Judiciary and the Executive, and the States and the Centre. I am sure, the proposed amendments may keep up the spirit of the effective federal character of the Constitution.

Then, Sir, with regard to family planning, it is essential for the welfare of the country, but the implementation of the programme should not be compulsory. It should be voluntary. We have to educate the people convince the people and persuade them to accept it and in its implementation.

India is an agricultural country. For the last 30 years we adopted many developmental programmes in the field of agriculture. But now we are importing foodgrains from foreign countries. Why? We should not import foodgrains at the cost of exchequer. I request the Government to fix a steady, fair and remunerative price for the agricultural produce. This will help in raising the standard of living of the farmers. I will also request the government to arrange for timely supply of fertilisers and other agricultural inputs at reasonable price in order to minimise the cost of production of foodgrains.

I am sorry to note that in the Presidential Address, no mention has been made about the Inter-State disputes. In this connection, I request the government to take necessary steps to settle the Kaveri water dispute at an early date. The basic approach for settling the matter is that the supply of water to old *ayacuts* should not be affected. The Central Government may revive the dialogue with the concerned State Governments and settle the Kaveri water dispute in accordance with the spirit of the 1924 Agreement.

In this connection, I would very much like that river waters should be

treated as national asset. We should not discriminate whether the *ayacut* belongs to Karnataka or whether it belongs to Tamil Nadu. When the Government take a decision, it should not affect any *ayacut*. The other thing I would like to request is that you may consider to amend the constitution so as to nationalise inter-state rivers.

Lastly, it has been observed over the past few years that Tamil Nadu is lagging behind in the matter of industrial development. Take the Salem steel plant. In regard to Salem steel plant, a go-slow policy is being adopted by the government. I request the Government to speed up and implement the Salem steel project.

SHRI SAKTI KUMAR SARKAR (Jovnagar): It is a great privilege for me to speak on the Presidential Address.

First of all, I would like to congratulate our Acting President for his brief but bold speech. What he told may not be encouraging to many of us because you know the statement is so brief. But, at the same time, his speech cannot be ignored. What he told, he told it courageously. He admitted that the atrocities committed on the people were abundant. In the Congress regime the miseries were untold. These are the admissions of our Acting President. So, I want to thank him for that.

I want to highlight about corruption. So many cases of corruption have come for discussion. Janata Party has assured the House that the cases will be looked into and enquiry would be made, if necessary. This is really good. But I want to emphasise about the corruption in the political field.

The latest election has proved that democracy has taken its root in the masses. At the same time, we should not forget that corruption has also taken its root into the masses. This

is the contribution of the last 30 years regime in India. We could not achieve very concrete results so far as raising of character is concerned. I would like to emphasise that if democracy has taken its root in the masses, corruption has also taken its root in the masses. This corruption should be eradicated. Now, the question is how to do it? I would like to give a suggestion. We, representatives of 600 million people, have to submit the Return within 30 days. We shall be giving the same in the next few days when we go back to our constituency. I want to say that the Return would be infrastructuous because the limit prescribed by the Representation of Peoples Act is not pragmatic. In most of the cases the limit has been crossed. The Return which we are going to give is to some extent a mockery. Let us devise some sort of method so that corruption is checked. I would like to say that the Representation of Peoples Act should be completely amended so that the people cannot exercise their right by means of money or with the force of money. My humble suggestion is that the entire election cost should be borne by the Government.

We are very proud to say that we are a Socialist Government. We are proud that we are thinking of socialism. But the election system in our country is not at all congenial to socialism. It is almost capitalistic. First of all, I would request all the leaders present here to think over the matter. Our great leader Shri Jaya Prakash Norayan had appointed a Committee. I had acquaintance with Prof. Tarkunde. I met him. He had made suggestions in a booklet. But the suggestions were contradictory.

There is a simple formula by which we can eliminate all the expenditure. I am just explaining by giving an example. Suppose in a Constituency, three persons contest. There should be one poster in which the names, symbols and the parties names may



[Shri Sakti Kumar Saikar]

be given. These posters should be got printed by the Government. The posters may be given to the Gram Panchayat for displaying in conspicuous places. In this way the expenditure on the posters can be saved.

Likewise the identity cards or voter slips which we give to every voter can be got printed and can be distributed by the Gram Panchayats.

Rigging can easily be avoided, if the polling agent puts his signature on the ballot paper before giving it to the person concerned for voting. So, rigging can be avoided very easily and there are very many simple procedures which can easily be adopted. Corruption in election will disappear if we do not allow money to play its part. This is very important and we have to see that money does not play any part in election or in any election of public institutions. I think the Government and opposition leaders will sit together and think on the necessary changes to be made in the Representation of People Act. I think some clauses are going to be changed. The hon. President has made a reference to this in his Address. But that is not enough. The whole of the Representation of People Act should be remodelled. Provision has to be made whereby money will not play any role. At present the Government bears 70 per cent of the election expenditure. Why should we allow political parties to incur this sort of fabulous expenditure? If we are really to bring in socialism we should not indulge in such large scale expenditure as the capitalist countries are doing. This is my humble submission.

I want to plead for the creation of a new ministry for Backward areas. There is great disparity between one taluk and another, even from one police station area to another police station area. Such great disparities are there in a vast country like ours. Regarding Girijans and Tribals and

other backward communities, I feel that they are still in darkness and no concrete improvements have taken place in their living condition. So, I want to suggest that there should be a Ministry of Backward Areas and Communities. This should be under the direct charge of the Prime Minister, if we sincerely believe that socialism is the remedy. These people have been exploited for thousands of years and various provisions of the Constitution are aimed at helping these people but nothing concrete has emerged so far.

As a member of the Committee of Scheduled Castes and Tribes I have toured throughout the country. We have examined various departments and organisations but upto this day nothing concrete has been done. So, I request that this must be thought of by the Prime Minister and this Ministry should be created for this specific purpose.

Regarding the eradication of poverty, in the last election, Mrs. Indira Gandhi announced the slogan which was popularly called, *garibi hatao*. If you really want to bring in socialism it is very necessary to root out poverty from rural areas. I personally made some interesting studies on this issue in Sundarbans area which is a most inaccessible and backward area of our country.

Here we started helping the marginal and sub-marginal farmers. They are emotional people and have many complexes and so they should be taken proper care of. Operational research project has to be taken to all backward areas. In this area, the hands of Dr. Swaminathan who has been entrusted with these projects should be strengthened. I personally feel that he is the person—an able scientist—who is trying to touch the problems of the people by undertaking such an operational research project and so I request the Minister through you that his hands should be strengthened.



I would request the Agriculture Minister and the hon. Prime Minister to take all-out efforts for going ahead with the research and extension work for any development of backward areas. Every region has its own limitations and its own resources and also its own capabilities. These should be identified first. Unless we do that, nothing can be done to develop the area. So far as the Planning Commission is concerned, it requires to be reoriented and remodelled.

Lastly, I want to add a few lines so far as my own area is concerned. Sir, I belong to a district called Twenty-four Parganas. And you will be astonished to know that this has a population of more than 85 lakhs. One portion of my district is completely backward. But, in spite of that this has not been taken as a backward area.

When I was a Member in the Fifth Lok Sabha, at that time, Shri Mohan Dharia was the Planning Minister. He assured me then this district would be divided into two parts on the floor of the House. But, so far, that has not been done. I, therefore, request the present government to ask the State Government concerned to give its suggestions immediately so that this district could be divided into two parts. No special attention has been given to the portion called Sunderbans. Unless this is done, no technological development of the area is possible. Sir, this area is surrounded by water. The length of creeks and canals is 731 miles and the whole area is protected by embankments to the extent of 2200 miles. Though this area consists of jungles, yet, human beings are living there. And nobody has taken any care about them. The West Bengal Government has set up a Sunderbans Development Board. It is a political consolation. But, nothing has been done by them in the matter of development of this area. I would

request the present Government to take proper care of this area.

With these few words—I do not want to encroach on your valuable time—I convey my thanks to the Acting President for his speech delivered the other day to both Houses of Parliament.

डा० बलदेव प्रकाश (अमृतसर) : सभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद-प्रस्ताव सदन में उपस्थित किया गया है, मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में ठीक ही कहा है कि गत पौने दो सालों में इस देश में जो प्रतिबन्ध लगाये गये थे, जो तानाशाही लाद दी गई थी और शहरी आजादी को खत्म करने के लिए जो कदम उठाये गये थे, उनको समाप्त किया जायेगा, और उनको समाप्त किया भी जा रहा है। आज ही सदन में दो बिल पेश किये गये हैं, जिनके द्वारा अखबारों में तथा-कथित आपत्तिजनक सामग्री प्रकाशित करने और संसद् की गतिविधियों को प्रकाशित करने पर प्रतिबन्ध उठाये गये हैं। अन्य दिशाओं में भी ऐसी ही कार्यवाही की गई है।

प्रतिपक्ष में बैठे हुए जो मेरे मित्र हैं, आज उनके भाषण सुन कर आश्चर्य होता है कि क्या ये वही सज्जन हैं, जो, आज से कुछ महीने पहले इसी लोकसभा में जब लोकतन्त्र की हत्या हो रही थी, जब शहरी आजादी समाप्त हो रही थी, जब मौसा में लाखों आदमियों को जेलों में भरा जा रहा था, तब उन बातों का समर्थन कर रहे थे और आज वे माननीय सदस्य लोकतन्त्र की दुहाई दे रहे हैं और शहरी आजादी के बारे में कह रहे हैं। मैं श्री चव्हाण के शब्दों को क्वोट करना चाहता हूँ। प्रतिपक्ष के नेता चौहान साहब ने कहा कि वे व्यक्तिगत स्वतन्त्रता, इंडिविजुअल लिबर्टी के हक में हैं, वे लोकतन्त्र के हक में हैं। वह कौनसी इंडिविजुअल लिबर्टी है जिसमें लाखों आदमियों

[डा. बजरंग प्रसाद]

को मिसा जैसे कानून के अन्दर बन्द रखा जाय, अदालतों के दरवाजे बन्द कर दिए जायें और अखबारों में नाम न आ सके ? वह कौन सी व्यक्तिगत स्वतन्त्रता है ? प्रतिपक्ष के नेता की कौनसी बात ठीक है ? उनकी आज की बात ठीक है या आज से साल भर छः महीने पहले की बात ठीक है ?

आज उच्छृंखलता के बारे में कहा गया कि देश के अन्दर उच्छृंखलता नहीं होनी चाहिए। उच्छृंखलता का प्रारम्भ कहां से होना है ? जब देश के ऊपर राज करने वाले नेता आदर्शों को छोड़ दें, मान्यताओं को भूल जायें, परम्पराओं की हत्या कर दें, कानून का नाश कर दें तो देश के अन्दर उच्छृंखलता पैदा होती है, विरोध पैदा होता है, विद्रोह पैदा होता है। यही हुआ। इस देश के अन्दर जब भूतपूर्व प्रधान मन्त्री इन्दिरा गांधी के खिलाफ रिट पेटिशन स्वीकार कर ली गई, उनको डिस्क्वालिफाई कर दिया गया तो क्या हुआ ? क्या कानून के आगे सिर झुकाया गया ? क्या कानून को माना गया ? क्या कानून की इज्जत की गई ? प्रतिपक्ष में बैठे हुए मेरे इन्हीं मित्रों ने उस समय यह कहा कि ऐसे कानून बदल देंगे जो कानून इंदिरा गांधी को इस कुर्सी पर बैठने से रोकता हो और वह कानून बदला गया, वह विधान बदला गया जिस बात से एक शर्मदार आदमी की गर्दन शर्म से झुक जानी चाहिए। उस समय इसी देश के अन्दर बेशर्मी का वह नंगा नाच हुआ जिससे उच्छृंखलता ही पैदा हो सकती है, विद्रोह ही पैदा हो सकता है। क्या हुआ उस समय ? सारे प्रान्तों से बसों में और ट्रकों में भर भर कर लोगों को लाया गया। यहां पर किराये दिए गए। यहां पर भंगड़े डाले गए। जजों की अर्थियां बना कर जलायी गईं। यह कानून की इज्जत देश के उस समय के नेताओं ने की। कहा गया कि हम ऐसे जजों को नहीं रहने देंगे, हम ऐसे कानून को नहीं रहने देंगे, हम ऐसे विधान को नहीं देंगे। इस तरह की बेशर्मी का नंगा नाच देश

को जनता के सामने हुआ। आज वही प्रतिपक्ष के नेता प्रोसीद्धर के बारे में कहते हैं, इन्साफ और लोकतन्त्र की दोहाई देते हैं और यह बताते हैं कि क्या होना चाहिए, क्या नहीं होना चाहिए।

मैं आपके सामने यह रखना चाहता हूँ कि एक व्यक्ति की कुर्सी बचाने के लिए सब कुछ हुआ। यहां पर कहा गया प्रतिपक्ष के द्वारा कि व्यक्तियों से देश ऊंचा है और पार्टियों से भी देश ऊंचा है। यह सरासर गलत है। यह सब कुछ क्यों हुआ ? क्या देश के लिए हुआ ? विधान क्यों बदला गया ? क्या देश के लिए बदला गया ? विधान एक व्यक्ति के लिए बदला गया। हां, व्यक्तियों से देश ऊंचा है और पार्टियों से देश ऊंचा है यह अगर किसी ने सिद्ध किया तो इस तरफ बैठे हुए जनता पार्टी के सदस्यों ने सिद्ध किया जिन्होंने इस देश के हित के लिए अपनी पार्टियां समाप्त कर दीं, अपने झंडे उतार डाले और अपने विधान बदल डाले। अलग अलग विचारधाराओं के होते हुए भी जनता के हित के लिए, देश के हित के लिए अपनी अलग-अलग विचारधाराओं का बलिदान करके जो आज एक पार्टी में बैठे हुए हैं वे कह सकते हैं कि देश पार्टियों से ऊंचा है। प्रतिपक्ष में बैठे हुए नेता नहीं कह सकते हैं।

17 hrs.

इनकी बात पर विश्वास कौन करेगा ? कल तक जो कहते थे कि संजय गांधी से रोशनी मिलती है, कल तक जो संजय गांधी के बूट साफ करते थे, लाइन लगा कर उसकी कार के दरवाजे खोला करते थे वही लोग आज कह रहे हैं कि संजय गांधी को कांग्रेस से बाहर निकालना चाहिए। मुझे एक कांग्रेसी मित्र अमृतसर में मिले। मैंने कहा कि आखिर चापलूसी की भी कोई हद होती है, कोई सीमा होती है तो वे मुझ से कहने लगे कि मैं तो बहुत छोटा आदमी हूँ, मेरी क्या बात करते हैं, बम्बई की एक जनसभा के अन्दर संजय गांधी की चप्पल गुम हो गई। चप्पल गुम होने के बाद वहां 5 मुख्य मन्त्री चप्पल हाथ में लिए घूम

रहे थे और आवाज दे रहे थे कि संजय साहब, आप की चप्पल मेरे पास हैं। . . . (व्यवधान) . . . तो इनकी किस बात पर विश्वास किया जाये, किस बात पर विश्वास न किया जाये। पंजाब में मैं जेल में था। पंजाब में केन्द्र के मंत्रियों ने भाषण दिया कि यह वह नौजवान हैं जिनसे हमें रोशनी मिलनी चाहिए। आज वही नौजवान हैं, वही नेता हैं, वही लोग हैं जो कह रहे हैं कि इन चारों आदमियों को कांग्रेस से निकालना चाहिए। आज उनकी क्रेडिबिलिटी, विश्वसनीयता समाप्त हो गई है क्योंकि उन्होंने वह कारनामे किए हैं जिनका अगर मैं वर्णन करने लगूं तो पता लगेगा कि क्या कुछ हुआ है। जब इमर्जेंसी लगी तो देश के नेताओं को पकड़ कर जेल के अंदर रखा गया। किसी को अगर सुबह पकड़ा गया तो शाम तक पता नहीं कि क्या हो रहा है। हमने एस पी से पूछा कि क्या जुल्म किया है, किस दफा में पकड़ा गया है तो उन्होंने कहा कि अभी दफा का पता नहीं है, जुर्म का पता नहीं है, चण्डीगढ़ से दिल्ली की होम मिनिस्ट्री की बातचीत हो रही है, जब ऊपर से डायरेक्शन आयेगा तभी दफा लगाई जायेगी। (व्यवधान)। शाम तक एस पी ने बताया, इंस्पेक्टर ने बताया कि हमारी गर्दन शर्म से झुक रही है, आप लोगों पर जो केस बनाने जा रहे हैं उसकी कोई बुनियाद नहीं है, उसका कोई आधार नहीं है। किसी एक व्यक्ति से दरखास्त ले करके कि फलानी जगह पर फलाना आदमी कह रहा था कि गाड़ी उलट दो, हम डी आई आर में आप पर केस बना रहे हैं लेकिन हम मजबूर हैं क्योंकि हमारी नौकरी का सवाल है। क्या यही इस देश का राज चलाने का तरीका है? क्या इसी तरह से इस देश में लोकतन्त्र चलेगा? क्या इसी तरह से यह देश उन्नति करेगा? मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इस तरह की बातें दोहराई न जा सकें इसलिए इनकी इंक्वायरी होनी चाहिए। हम लोग जेलों में गए इसका हमें कोई दुख नहीं है। अगर देश के हित के लिए 19 महीने तो क्या 19 साल भी

जेल में रहना पड़े तब भी जनता पार्टी का कोई व्यक्ति परहेज नहीं करेगा। लेकिन जिन्होंने कानून की हत्या की है, जिन्होंने इस तरह के कारनामे किए हैं उनकी इंक्वायरी भा होनी चाहिए। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं अमृतसर जेल में एक आनन्द मार्ग के स्कूल टीचर पकड़ कर लाये गए, उन पर उन्होंने 302 का केस बनाया। जो पुलिस सब इंस्पेक्टर था वह रोकर कहता था कि बिल्कुल गलत केस है, झूठा है, बेबुनियाद है लेकिन मेरी मजबूरी है मैं 302 के अलावा और कोई दफा नहीं दे सकता। पता नहीं कौन मरा और कहां से लाश ल आये। अभी तक केस चल रहा है। लोग जेलों में पड़े हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं यह सरकार का काम है? इतना झूठ, इतना फरेब कि एक निर्दोष व्यक्ति पर हत्या का केस बनाया जाये, क्यों और किस लिए? आज जनता यह सब बातें जान चुकी है। जब मैं जेल में था, प्रधान मंत्री के बयान आते थे कि सभी लोग छोड़ दिए गए हैं। इतना फरेब और झूठ इस देश में चला। तो उन सभी अत्याचारों की जांच होनी चाहिए। जेलों में लोगों की मृत्यु हुई है। चण्डीगढ़ के हमारे बार एसोसिएशन के प्रधान श्री लखन पाल की मृत्यु जेल में हुई और तमाम दूसरे लोगों की हुई। अभी अभी एक फिल्म अभिनेत्री, स्नेहलता की ऐसी सिचुएशन में मृत्यु हुई जिसकी कहानी सुन कर हृदय करुणा से भर जाता है। आज जनता पार्टी की सरकार बनी है, मैं मांग करता हूं कि जिन अफसरों ने जिन मन्त्रियों के आदेश पर यह अत्याचार इस देश की जनता पर किये हैं उनकी विधिवत इंक्वायरी होनी चाहिए और उनको सजा भुगतनी चाहिए। उनको जेलों में भेजना चाहिए। मीसा में नहीं बल्कि बाकायदा कानूनी कार्यवाही करके उनको जेल भेजना चाहिए।

मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं। चन्हाण साहब ने कहा कि हमने हार मान ली और उससे सबक सीख रहे हैं लेकिन

[डा बलदेव प्रकाश]

42वां संविधान संशोधन वापस हो, यह बात हमें मंजूर नहीं है। जनता के सामने जनत बिलकुल साफ था और जनता का फैसला, जनता का निर्णय, जनता का फतवा बिलकुल साफ है—जनता ने एमरजेन्सी के विरोध में वोट दिया है, इस काले कानून के विरोध में वोट दिया है, जनता ने 42वां संशोधन के विरोध में वोट दिया है। इस देश की जनता का फैसला असंदिग्ध है, बगैर शक-व-शुबहे के है। ये सामने बैठे हुए लोग उस को वापस लेने को तैयार नहीं हैं, लेकिन देश की 62 करोड़ जनता की अदालत ने जो फैसला किया है, इस देश को उस फैसले को मानना पड़ेगा। आज नहीं तो कल 42वां संशोधन रद्द होगा और जनता पार्टी इस को रद्द कराकर चैन लेगी। अगर जनता ने यह फैसला न किया होता, तो भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री इस स्थान से उठ कर घर वापस न गई होती। अदालत के पिछले फैसलों को उन्होंने ठुकराया, उन्होंने कायम कानून रहने के लिये देश को ही बदल डाला, लेकिन वे कुछ नहीं कर सकी और उन को छोड़ कर जाना पड़ा, इतना ही नहीं कि यहां से उठ कर उधर जातीं उन को इस भवन से ही भाग जाना पड़ा, क्योंकि इस दफा जनता ने जो फैसला दिया था उस को बदला नहीं जा सकता था, उस फैसले के खिलाफ कोई अदालत स्टे नहीं दे सकती थी, उस के खिलाफ निर्णय नहीं दे सकती थी—इसलिये कि वह 62 करोड़ जनता का फैसला था।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** प्रधान मंत्री ने गोखले साहब का इलैक्शन इसी आधार पर लड़ा था।

**डा० बलदेव प्रकाश :** जी हां, गोखले साहब का इलैक्शन इसी आधार पर लड़ा गया था, लेकिन आज जनता का फैसला राइटिंग ग्रान दि वाल है, दीवार पर लिखा गया फैसला है। आज कोई सदस्य चाहे उधर बैठे या इधर बैठे—अगर हम मानते

हैं कि जनता सुप्रीम है तो जनता का फैसला भी सुप्रीम है—यह बात हम को माननी पड़ेगी।

सभापति महोदय, हम ने अपने घोषणापत्र में कुछ बातें कही हैं—आज हमें उन को पूरा करना है। हमें समानता लानी पड़ेगी, जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में लानी पड़ेगी। 30 साल को कांग्रेस सरकार की हुकूमत के दौरान समानता नहीं आई, विषमता बढ़ी है। गरीब ज्यादा गरीब हुआ है और अमीर ज्यादा अमीर हुआ है। जीवन के किंगी भी क्षेत्र को ले ल जिये—जिस के पास पैसा है, उस को सभी साधन और मुख उपलब्ध हैं। मामूली मी तकलीफ के लिये अमीर आदमी 500-600 रुपये रोज खर्च कर सकता है, बड़े-बड़े डाक्टरों की सेवायें प्राप्त कर सकता है, लेकिन एक गरीब आदमी, जिस के पास पैसा नहीं है, उस को अस्पतालों में भी धक्के मिलते हैं, जमीन पर पड़े रहने के लिये भी जगह नहीं मिलती है। पिछले तीस सालों में कांग्रेस सरकार ने इस दिशा में कुछ नहीं किया। मैं जनता पार्टी की सरकार से मांग करता हूं कि जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में असमानता को दूर किया जाय। शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में आज अमीर आदमी का बच्चा बड़े बड़े पब्लिक स्कूलों में जा कर पढ़ सकता है, लेकिन एक गरीब आदमी आज टाट पर भी बैठा कर अपने बच्चों को नहीं पढ़ा सकता—पिछले तीस सालों में यही असमानता पैदा हुई है। हम ने जनता से वायदा किया है इस लिये मैं अपनी सरकार से कहन चाहता हूं कि हमें यह वायदा पूरा करना पड़ेगा।

हम ने अपने प्रेसिडेन्ट के एड्रेस में कहा है कि पिछले 30 सालों में भूतपूर्व सरकार पीने का पानी भी मुहिया नहीं कर सकी है। मैं आप के सामने एक चिट्ठी रखना चाहता हूं जो होशियारपुर कांग्रेसी के एक गांव से आई है, पंचायत के सारे मेम्बरों ने उस पर दस्तखत किये हैं और उस के साथ ही उन्होंने

पानी को एक शीशी में भर कर भेजा है ताकि उसे देश की सर्वोच्च संस्था के सामने पेश किया जाय और आप को यह मालूम हो सके कि हमारे बच्चे किस तरह का पानी पीकर स्कूल जाते हैं, इस से उन के शरीर में कितना इन्फेक्शन होता होगा, कितनी बीमारियाँ पैदा होती होंगी। उन्होंने यह पत्र प्रधान मंत्री जी को लिखा है। इस की एक प्रति में हाउस के टेबिल पर रखना चाहता हूँ और यह मांग करता हूँ कि जनता पार्टी थोड़े-थोड़े समय में जनता को पीने का पानी उपलब्ध कराये और मुझे विश्वास है कि यह काम अवश्य होगा—इसी आशा से मैं इस बात को यहां पर कह रहा हूँ।

सभापति महोदय, यहां पर कुछ बातें हमारे कर्मचारियों के सम्बन्ध में कही गई हैं—विशेष कर कम्पलसरी डिपोजिट स्कीम के बारे में। अभी तक इस के बारे में सरकार की तरफ से किसी नीति की घोषणा नहीं की गई है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस के बारे में जल्द में जल्द अपनी नीति स्पष्ट करे और इस कम्पलसरी डिपोजिट को फौरन समाप्त किया जाय। बोनस के बारे में आप की नीति स्पष्ट होनी चाहिये, क्योंकि इस बारे में हम अपनी जनता के साथ, कर्मचारियों के साथ वचनबद्ध हैं।

सभापति महोदय, मैं अपनी सरकार को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ इस लिये कि जिन रेल कर्मचारियों को विकटिमाइज किया गया था जिन का नौकरी से निकाल दिया गया था—मुझे अमृतसर के बारे में मालूम है, उनके परिवारों की बहुत बुरी हालत हुई थी—उन सब को नौकरी में बहाल किया गया है। पोस्टल डिपार्टमेंट में सब को बहाल किया है लेकिन एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी प्रान्तीय सरकारों ने भी अपने महकमे के बहुत से लोगों को इसी तरह से निष्कासित किया है, इसी तरह से निकाला है। उनको कौन बहाल करेगा? प्रान्तों में अभी तक कांप्रेस की सरकारें हैं वे अभी तक बिस्के-

माइजेशन पर तुली हुई हैं। मैं सरकार को बताना चाहता हूँ कि अमृतसर इम्प्रूवमेंट ट्रस्ट के सारे कर्मचारियों को, जिन को अभी रिटायर होने में समय बाकी था, इमर्जेंसी लगते ही जबरन रिटायर कर दिया, डिस्मिस कर दिया गया आज जब वे लोग न्यायालयों में गये हुए हैं, हमरी सरकार ने तरफ से जितनी पार्टी की तरफ से सभी प्रान्तीय सरकारों को डाइरेक्टिव जाना चाहिये, हिदायतें जानी चाहिये कि जिन लोगों को इमर्जेंसी के दौरान जबरन रिटायर कर दिया गया था, उन के कैसेज को दोबारा एग्जामिन कर के उन को बहाल किया जाय।

सभापति महोदय, योजनाओं के बारे में यहां पर कहा गया है और प्रतिनिध के मित्र हम से बार-बार यह मांग करने हैं कि हम बताएं कि हम ने इन पांच, सात दिनों में कौन सी नीति, कौन सी योजना बना कर रखी है हालांकि वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने विलकुल स्पष्ट कह दिया था कि सरकार को वने हुए केवल 3 दिन ही हुए हैं और अभी कोई नई योजना, कोई नई प्रोजेक्ट हम हाउस के सामने नहीं रख सकते हैं। बाद में योजनाएं बनेंगी और ऐसी योजनाएं बनेंगी जोकि जनता के हित में होंगी। लेकिन एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब तक जिन योजनाओं पर इन को बहुत नाज है वे क्या हैं। वे हैं इन का 20 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम और 5 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम, जिस को अनेक मुनते हमारे कान तक गये हैं। वह इन का आर्थिक प्रोग्राम है जोकि ढोंग और फरेब के अलावा और कुछ नहीं है। हर आदमी से उस के लिए स्वीकृति ले ली जाती थी और बड़ा ढंढोरा पीटा जाता था कि फलों एमोसियेशन ने इस का समर्थन किया है, रिक्शावालों ने इस का समर्थन किया है और पता नहीं किस किस के समर्थन का इन्होंने ढंढोरा पीटा है। सुबह से शाम तक यही बात सुनाई देती थी। पहले 4 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम था और 20 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम था। ये दोनों मिल कर बन गये 420 प्रोग्राम। बाद में चार से पांच प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम हो गया और इस का इन्होंने एक मखौल सा बना दिया

[ड० बलदेव प्रकाश]

था। जेलों के अन्दर एक यह भी बात हो गई थी कि पुलिस जिस को पकड़ कर जेल के अन्दर ले जाती थी, उस से कहलवा लेती थी कि मैं इन्दिरा जी का समर्थक हूँ और मैं 20 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम में विश्वास रखता हूँ, श्रद्धा रखता हूँ और उस के बाद उस की रिहाई हो जाती थी। इस तरह से बहुत से आदमियों को पकड़ा गया और छोड़ दिया गया। एक आदमी मेजिस्ट्रेट साहब के सामने आया और उस ने कहा कि हुजूर मैं 30 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम को मानता हूँ। उस ने कहा कि 30 में से 20 प्वाइन्ट तो प्रधान मंत्री के हैं, पांच उन के लड़के के हैं और पांच पोते के। आप मेरी रिहाई करो। इन्हीं आर्थिक प्रोग्राम को लेकर ये जनता के सामने आए थे और दो सालों में इन्होंने यही किया था। क्या दो साल के अन्दर इन से जनता का हित हुआ है, यह आप बताएं। इन प्रोग्रामों से क्या लाभ हुआ था। अगर इन प्रोग्रामों से लाभ होता जैसा कि आप कहते हैं कि इतने रिक्शे लोगों को दे दिये, इतना किसानों को लौन दे दिया, इतनी जमीन दे दी और इतने मकान दे दिये, तो जनता इस हकूमत को इस तरह से उखाड़ न फेंकती और भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री को पूरी तरह से ठुकराया न होता। 20 प्वाइन्ट और 5 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम को जनता ने इन चुनावों में गढ़ के अन्दर फँक दिया है। जनता ने इस ढोंग को समझ लिया और उन लोगों को पूरी तरह ठुकरा दिया है।

अन्त में मैं यह कहता हूँ कि जनता पार्टी को भी लोगों का विश्वास प्राप्त करना होगा और जो कार्य क्रम, जो प्रोग्राम जनता पार्टी ने अपने घोषणा पत्र में दिये हैं, उन सभी प्रोग्रामों को आने वाले पांच वर्षों में हम पूरा करने वाले हैं क्योंकि 6 साल की जगह पर 5 साल की लोक सभा की अवधि हम करने वाले हैं। आने वाले पांच सालों में इन प्रोग्रामों को हमें पूरा करना होगा।

सभापति महोदय मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ। अगर ये प्रोग्राम पूरे नहीं हुए और जनता को विश्वास नहीं हुआ कि हम जो

कहते हैं वह नहीं कर रहे हैं। हमारी कयनी और करनी में फर्क है। हम इमानदार नहीं रहे हैं। हम अपने स्वार्थ के लिए, निजी स्वार्थ के लिए जनता को लूट लूट कर खा रहे हैं। अगर जनता को यह विश्वास हो गया तो सभापति महोदय मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि हम जनता पार्टी के लोग इन कुसियों पर बेशर्मी और ढिटाई के साथ चिपके नहीं रहेंगे। हम जनता से साफ कह देंगे कि अब हमें छुट्टी दीजिए।

सभापति महोदय, मैं यह कागज और यह शीशी आपकी अनुमति से सभा पटल पर रखता हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: You cannot lay it on the Table without my permission.

आप इसे मंत्री महोदय के पास भिजवा दें।

ड० बलदेव प्रकाश : आप ही इसे स्वास्थ्य मंत्री के पास भिजवाने की कृपा करें।

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Idukki): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Address of the Vice-President acting as President honestly left me disappointed. This Address does not contain anything worthwhile. In accordance with the convention, the President has spoken on behalf of the Government. But it is an accepted convention that when the President makes an Address, he does not make any defamatory or derogatory remarks about the previous Government. The President of India, the Rashtrapati, is a continuing institution. He represents the unity of the Nation, the continuing entity of the Nation and as and when the Governments come, he speaks on behalf of that Government. Therefore, it is a principle or convention generally followed that the Ministry does not make the President to speak in terms critical of the Government which he represented only a week back. But while going through this Address I find that this convention has been violated. The President has been



made to speak in derogatory terms with reference to the Government which he represented before the elections. I wish this bad convention was not set up by the Government in power. On the other hand, the President is expected to give a picture of the state of the Nation as at present and is also expected to give certain indications of the lines of the policy which the Government will be following in the subsequent years. Now, this Address is absolutely silent about both. We do not get any statement of what the state of affairs of the Nation today is on the economic front, on the international front and on the general condition prevailing in the country. Therefore, what should have been a report of the state of the Nation, that part, as far as this Address is concerned, is silent. Rather the President lays special emphasis on abrogation of certain acts and nothing more. Well, the Janata Party, the leadership of Janata Party is not a sudden creation. They have their own ideas as to how the Government will be functioning and what the social and economic policies will be projected. Therefore, the plea that they came to power only a few days back is not a valid plea of excuse, or the omissions mention what the general policies will be.

17.20 hrs.

[SHRI DHIRENDRANATH BASU in the Chair]

It means that they are completely blank in their minds as to what they are going to do tomorrow. When an Address of that type is presented, it becomes difficult, in consonance with conscience, to express a Vote of Thanks to him. We can express a Vote of Thanks to the President only if the policies are spelt out; and if the policies have found acceptance. No policies have been spelt out. There are four items which are emphasized, viz. that the Maintenance of Internal Security Act will be abo-

lished, that the presentation of the People's Act will be amended, that the Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matters Act will be repealed and that legislation will be introduced to ensure that political and social organizations are not banned. Are these very momentous things are these momentous enough to find a place in the President's Address? Are these the only things which, according to the Janata Party, call for rectification? If these are the only things which, according to the Janata Party, call for rectification from out of the doings of the Congress in the course of the last six years, then one must concede that the doings of the Congress have not been so bad as they are trying to make out.

In a Presidential Address which covers 4 pages, this is all that is stated. Therefore I find it difficult to say that I thank the President for his state-of-the-nation message. As a message to the nation, as a statement of the condition of the nation, this Address has completely failed.

As I said, the Address should not have been critical about what the government did; or to be more specific, government should not have done the indecorous act of making the President criticize the government on which he himself presided. This is a thing which generally any President's Address would have avoided. But this convention is violated. I am here only to appeal that this dangerous precedent should not have been set up, and should not be pursued. Here it is stated:

"The General Election just concluded has effectively and decisively demonstrated the power of the people, the vitality of the democratic process in India and the deep root that it has taken."

Well, Sir, it is a statement of fact. But this statement of fact has been made after every election. After all, Indian democracy did not fall from



[Shri C. M. Stephen]

the blue. Indian democracy has a dynamism of evolutionary growth. We started in this journey of democratic experiment from the day we knocked out as a republic. Election after election proved that Indian democracy has come to stay. Election after election the percentage of polling has been going up, except for one year or so—and gradually mounting up. People have been becoming conscious. Verdict was being given; and the Congress was being voted out of power; it is not for the first time. May be from the Centre it is. But in the different States during 1967—and before 1957—the Congress was being voted out of power. The Communist Party was being voted into power. Parties which were being voted into power were being voted out of power. This shows that the Indian democracy has an in-built dynamism of its own.

Having stated that, should not the Janata Party concede that the Congress, has been guiding the destinies of this country—when I say Congress, I find many of my comrades on the other side; they have been Congressmen and the only difference between them and us is this: we are people believing in the destiny of this party, people believing in the destiny of the nation, believing that this party can take the nation to its great destiny and some of us are holding back in the party, whereas may be out of frustration and may be out of impatience some of our comrades have left the party and gone into some other party. But when you say that the democratic process has come to stay in this country, you must concede that the Congress, in the course of the last 30 years has been making its own contribution, to make democracy flourish in this country; and that inspite of the Emergency being there where—under the Congress could have delayed the elections under the law that was already passed, the elections were ordered. (Interruptions).

It could have been delayed still further, but the election was ordered.

That itself shows the deep faith of this nation, of which Congress is also a part, like others are also parts, and the contribution made by it for this democratic process.

It is stated that "the people have given a clear verdict in favour of individual freedom, democracy and the rule of law". May I make a submission without being misunderstood? For one thing, what exactly is the verdict, I have my own doubts. Look here, we on this side present a peculiar picture which you better try to understand and analyse. The entire Kerala is on this side; so also the entire Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. Then, where is the clear verdict? I am not raising the north-south controversy; far from it. The verdict has come, and I for one agree, the verdict is for individual freedom, for democracy.

But who violated the individual freedom? If you would bear with me, I have only to quote the speech delivered by Babu Jagjivan Ram, when he moved the resolution before the House, for the acceptance of the Proclamation of Emergency. I have got the entire speech with me here. In that speech he has put forward the charge that individual liberty was violated by the opposition, that democracy was under-mined by the opposition and that the fundamental rights were corroded by the opposition. Therefore, according to him, in order to safeguard democracy, to protect individual liberty, resort to the provisions of the Constitution which permit the promulgation of emergency had become necessary. So, these were the events which led up to that.

I for one fought the elections on the question of emergency. I wanted a verdict of the people on the basis of the emergency. All of us in Kerala campaigned on the basis of the emergency. We said that democracy is in danger by the movement which was

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

taking place in Bihar, where people were being harassed individual liberty was in jeopardy by the movement that was taking place in Gujarat. We said that by the threatened gherraoing of Parliament and the State Legislative Assembly, democracy was in jeopardy. So, I asked the people whether gherraoing Parliament or the State Assembly is a democratic right, or parading a Legislator in the streets and forcing him to resign his seat is a democratic right. Is not the individual liberty entitled to be protected against that sort of thing? If in order to protect that democracy and that individual liberty, resort to the provisions of the Constitution relating to the declaration of emergency had to be made, would you or would you not accept that? That was the question which I put to the electorate.

When Shri Morarji Desai was asked a question after the election, how did it happen that the south gave a verdict different from that of the north, his reply was: may be, rigours of emergency were not as severe or as great in the south as in the north. Therefore, what follows is that the emergency as such without those rigours was not opposed by the people . . . (interruptions) I do not know whether family planning or enforced sterilisation was part of the emergency . . . (interruptions) I entirely agree with the analysis of Shri Morarji Desai. Therefore, emergency for the purpose for which it was enforced was approved by the people. So, it was not a disapproval of the order of emergency. What the people revolted against were certain actions which were taken under the cover of emergency in certain areas.

What I am saying is that I do approve of this statement, but for entirely different reasons. Government have published a statement to show that the people have condemned what followed emergency. According to me, the people in my area accept-

ed the upholding of individual freedom the upholding of democracy, and were against the use of concerted force against democracy and the coercing of parliamentarians. According to the Government the people have given their verdict upholding and individual freedom, but they emphasize that it is following the emergency, but I am making the same charge against the opposition which operated before the emergency. I am not making a new statement, I am just reminding you of the statement that Babuji made on the floor of the House.

According to me, democracy cannot function if you gherao Parliament, if you offer hunger strike on the floor of the House, if you force legislators and parliamentarians to resign their posts; democracy cannot function if you call upon the people not to pay taxes to the Government elected by the people democracy cannot function if you use concerted force against the Government which has been elected by the people democracy can only function if there is discipline and acceptance of the verdict of the people.

People have given their verdict, they have elected you. We are behaving as a responsible opposition. Our contribution hereafter will be to demonstrate to the world how a responsible opposition must function. There will not be such incitements as were seen here in the last Parliament, those scenes which some of my friends will remember. From here there will not be those scenes. Hereafter there will be no necessity for MISA because the Congress is in the opposition. We do not believe in the sort of operation for the suppression of which MISA is necessary. If you do not resort to violence, if you do not resort to subversion, to the use of terrorism, this sort of measure will not be necessary.

Therefore, the condemnation of the people was of both sides. As far as I am concerned, as far as my area is

[Shri C. M. Stephen]  
concerned, condemnation was of the sort of agitation that was brought about which necessitated the promulgation of the emergency. May be in some other areas it was condemnation of the misuse of the powers which the emergency gave. So, I subscribe to the statement, not in the sense that the Government does, but in a different sense. Certainly upholding of individual liberty and democracy is sacred to the minds of the people. Whoever may violate it, be it the opposition or the Government, the people, by their verdict, have said that they shall not do it.

This was the issue which we honestly put forward in my constituency in our pamphlets and speeches: "Do you approve of the emergency as you know it or not? And they have upheld the proposition.

The Address says:

"The traumatic experience of the last two years during which many atrocities were committed on the people and they had to undergo untold sufferings . . ."

Two years goes beyond the period of the emergency which was there for only 19 months. So, I shall go further than that. Certainly atrocities were committed on the people and they had to undergo untold sufferings, but at whose hands? You will say at the hands of the Government; I will say at the hands of the opposition, going behind the period of the emergency. In Bihar, in Gujarat, in different areas, untold sufferings were inflicted on the people by the concerted action of the opposition. By calling for a railway strike, many things happened. This is our case. I am reiterating it. You created a situation in which resort to an extraordinary measure contemplated by the Constitution became necessary. Promulgation of an emergency if not an undemocratic act. If you say that promulgation of the emergency is an undemocratic act, you are condemn-

ing the Constitution of India as undemocratic.

The Constitution provides for the proclamation of emergency in a particular situation. If the Constitution permits the proclamation of emergency in a particular situation, if you are going to condemn it, you will be entirely condemning the Constitution of India itself as undemocratic. The only question is whether it was justified under the circumstances prevailing then. The circumstances you have stated are that you will carry out the mandate given by the people. You have also stated that you are to fulfil, in every way, the mandate given to you by the people. The mandate, you have stated, is the rule of law. That is the mandate which you have stated. What do you mean by the rule of law? Let us say the rule of law is to withdraw a case against a person from the court. A dynamite case was before the court of law. The matter was before the court of law. It was under investigation. The case was started in Gujarat when the Congress Government was not in power. In Gujarat, it was investigated, dynamite was discovered and the evidence was collected. That case was put before the court. You believe in the rule of law, but you had no difficulty to withdraw such a serious case from the court rather than abide by the verdict of the judiciary. You do not have the moral courage to face the judiciary. You ran away from the judiciary. Is it the rule of law or is it administrative arbitrariness? The other day you said that you will not indulge in which hunt. Let every body remember that he is sitting in a glass house. We are not used to the practice of throwing mud on other people.

I have only one thing to say. I remember to have read that a woman was caught for adultery and brought before Christ. When some people said that she must be stoned, the master said, "He, that is, without sin among you let him first cast a stone at her." I am not saying this in order

to avoid any attack on this side, but let every body examine himself. Let Mr. Gupta, who moved the resolution, the other day look to himself; let everybody look to himself. He who has not sinned will not receive stone. We have absolutely no apology about it, but what is the task before the country? This euphoria will end.

You will have to face the hard realities of the situation. We wish you all progress. India must progress. The people of this country have given you the power to rule this country. On you depends the future of this country. We are all part of the country. The country must progress. Therefore, we wish you all progress and we shall do everything to make your working feasible, possible and good. If you fail, India fails. Therefore, you must not fail; you must succeed, because you are accepting that sort of policy that is now enthroned. If that is the policy, I have got my own doubts.

I heard a learned friend who had appeared for the smugglers and other people speaking. He was saying that Parliament's despotism must be ended. What a wonderful thing to hear on the Floor of the House? Legislative despotism must be ended. And what should be enthroned? 'The judicial despotism must be enthroned and the Anti-Smuggling Act must be abolished'. And then comes the heaven when there will be no smuggling, judiciary and Parliament will be given a place of honour in the society and the rule of law will prevail. Under that, whatever does not suit you, you will withdraw from the court and whatever suits you, you will proceed with it. Your smugglers will have their own place in this country. I wish you all success. May this sort of policy succeed. But the hard realities of the situation are before us. Therefore, I say that this Address has failed to outline what they mean to do, that this Address has stated certain things which are not in conson-

ance with the conventions laid down and which the President should have stated and that this Address has tried to interpret the result of the elections in a manner which will go to the advantage of both, to you and to us, because this sustaining of liberty and democracy was done by the people, according to us, as a condemnation against your actions before the Emergency and, according to you, as a condemnation against our actions after the Emergency. Both have been punished and both have been sustained. To that extent, it is true. Otherwise, it is absolutely wrong.

Now, the Janata Party has come in. The two-party system is developing. If it develops, it is all the same. We have seen enough of it. Such an experiment is not a new thing to us. In Kerala, we have seen it. My hon. friend, Mr. Madhu Limaye, was saying that the Swatantra party man has become the Janta party man that the Janta party philosophy is accepted by him. I have never thought that a political philosophy which one has cultivated all one's life, as a part of one's life, could be changed overnight—a Swatantrite becoming a Socialist, a Socialist becoming a Swatantrite, a Gandhi-ite becoming a Jana Sanghi, a Jana Sanghi becoming a Gandhi-ite. Is it a Midas touch which converts everything into gold? I have only heard of Midas touch. But here is another touch. What touch it is I do not know.

Then, I come to extra-constitutional powers that are being developed. I do not want to offend anybody. The people talk about Mr. Sanjay Gandhi. I have all respect for J. P. I do not want to go into all the details. The time will reveal everything. Is it not an extra-constitutional power developing by issuing statements and giving directives? About the dissolution of Kashmir Assembly, a report can go to the Rashtrapati. But a copy goes to the Jaslok Hospital. J. P. holds a press conference and tells you how things should be done. Is that not a philosophy of extra-constitutional powers that you are developing? The

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leader of the party was being elected not by consensus, not by election, but by extra-constitutional power. I am saying this not by way of condemnation. I am only saying that there is a third party watching the whole thing. If you condemn extra-constitutional power, we are with you. The extra-constitutional powers must be condemned. Please don't develop the philosophy of extra-constitutional powers.

SHRI NARENDRA P. NATHWANI: (Junagadh): The extra-constitutional power exercised by Mr. Sanjay Gandhi lay in instructions amounting to issuing orders to go, receive and honour Mr. Sanjay Gandhi. It is different from paying homage or respect to J. P., who wields only authority. Paying homage or respect voluntarily is one thing and doing so compulsorily is another thing. Why don't you distinguish between the two?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: I am not condemning; I am not criticising. I am only pointing out to show that what you are doing is developing into something which goes against your pretensions. I am not in a mood of condemnation; I am not in a mood of criticism. I am only in a mood of cooperation and trying to point out to you that things are being written on the wall which will go against the pretensions that you are making now.

With respect to other things, abrogation of MISA and other Acts, we will give our views at that time. The Indian National Congress, with its diminished strength is here. But remember, when you lie at us, when you mock at us, I say, we are not here as a divided people. In Kerala, in Tamil Nadu, in Karnataka, in Andhra Pradesh, we hold the fortress and we have come victorious. We held a position and that position was upheld by the people there. The other part of India took a different position.

This, we must try to examine. That is all I wanted to say. If you are not afflicted with political blindness and if you are keeping an open mind, I hope you will look at the true picture that is developing. Let us try through cooperation, with the peasants of India on the one side and other friends on the other side, to build up India from the past to the future—not by abrogating the past and starting from today, but from the past to the present and from the present to the morrow so that the India which we have been developing over the last 30 years (when I say 'we' I include my friend Shri Mishra and many other people who together developed India) is continued to be developed as per its history and its traditions.

With these words, I am sorry to say that I cannot support the motion by reason of the omissions and commissions in the Address of the President.

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT (Dum Dum): Mr. Chairman, I rise to support the Motion that has been so ably moved by my friend Shri Karpoori Thakur. The Indian democracy has often been described as the biggest democracy in the world. In the last Election it has been proved that it is not only the biggest democracy but it is one of the most mature democracies in the world. For several years people were harbouring doubts about the Indian electorate; particularly, in the last 20 months of Emergency, the country had come to such a pass that people thought that democracy had disappeared from the country altogether. This Election has proved that the Indian electorate is not less mature than the electorate of any other country in the world. For twenty months we had lost our freedom of speech; we had lost our civil rights. But now a peaceful transformation has come about, which is a unique revolution. I feel that nowhere else in the history of the world has dictatorship been removed through the ballotbox. It is a unique achievement



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of the Indian electorate that they silently but forcefully, through the ballot papers and without a single bullet, removed the dictatorship which they tried to establish. (It was not only dictatorship, but they also tried to establish dynastic rule in India). A tremendous enthusiasm was generated in the country as also a tremendous spirit which was similar to the one we had seen among our young men and bodys during the Indian Independence Movement and in 1947. We found a repetition of that during the Elections of 1977. The Address of the Vice-President acting as President has reflected that spirit and that tremendous enthusiasm in the country and I sincerely thank the Acting President for his Address.

One thing pained me very much. The Leader of the Opposition and I were once upon a time members of the same Party and he was my esteemed leader. We had great regard for him and we thought that he was one of the top most Leaders of the country. What a transformation has come over him in the last 20 months. He is calling us strange animals. He should look at himself in the mirror: is he not behaving strangely? I remember that in 1962, during the Chinese aggression, when he was brought to Delhi from Maharashtra, he was termed as a 'Giant of Maharashtra'. In the last twenty months, that giant of Maharashtra has been transformed into the 'jelly of New Delhi'.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY:  
It is very uncharitable on your part to make these remarks.

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT:  
It would have been uncharitable if I had said it in another context. But a man as powerful as he is remained absolutely quiet for the last 21 months: when our freedom was taken away, not a word of protest came from him; when our press was gagged, not a word of pro-

test came from him; when thousands of people all over the country were put in jail and kept there without any trial under the MISA, not a word of protest came from him....

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Many on your benches now were with us at that time, doing the same thing.

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT:  
We do not believe in vengeance....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please address the Chair.

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT:  
I am not addressing anybody else. I was only trying to reply to a remark that he had made.

Through you, Sir, I want to remind my friend who was interjecting that the Leader of the Opposition should be grateful to this 'strange animal' because he had lost his voice and this 'strange animal' has given back his voice, so that he can speak now.

I want to draw the attention of the Government through you, Sir, to another matter. When our Lok Nayak, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, whom we all respect, whom the whole country respects and whom my friends Opposite also respect—I think, they are afraid of admitting it openly, but in their heart of hearts they also respect him—was in jail during the struggle, the treatment was given in such a manner that, possibly, his kidneys have been damaged for ever. I think, it is the duty of the present Government to see that the best medical treatment comes, may be from any corner of the world, so that we can try our best to restore Lok Nayak Shri Jayaprakash Narayan to proper health.

Many of my friends have mentioned about the manner in which truth has been distorted by the former Government. My hon. friend, Shri George Fernandes, has today, very ably, made out the case, how un-

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truth was continuously poured and how untruth was given before the whole world. I want to make a point that not only did the former Government try to present untruth to the present generation, but, I suspect, they wanted to present untruth to posterity also: a time capsule was prepared very surreptitiously, very stealthily; a small coterie made a time capsule and embedded it into the earth. I strongly suspect that it is an attempt to hoodwink posterity and to create an atmosphere so that hundreds and thousands of years later these people, who have now been exposed, can again be deified. Through you, Sir, I would request the Government to dig out that time capsule and see what it contains.

Some of my friends Opposite had said many things about the Sarkaria Commission and other Commissions. In this context, I would like to bring certain facts before this House, just to depict how the former Government, the former ruling Party, behaved with these Commissions. We have heard much about the Sarkaria Commission, but many of us have forgotten about the Wanchoo Commission. In West Bengal, some years back, there were charges of tremendous corruption among Ministers, and the Chief Minister of West Bengal made a lot of fan-fare and appointed a Commission of Inquiry....

SHRI SOUGATA ROY (Barrackpore): On a point of order. That was about matters relating to the West Bengal Government. It cannot be raised here.

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT: I can appreciate why my friend is objecting to it. There are certain points, which he would not like if truth was made bare. Therefore, he is trying to obstruct. There is no point of order. I am not saying anything about the actions of the West Bengal Government in that way. The

Commission of Enquiry had been appointed under the Commission of Enquiry Act and it can be discussed in the Lok Sabha.

Sir, I do not want to go into the details of the Wanchoo Commission, but after its report, two Ministers had to resign from office, because the Chief Minister said that the findings of the Wanchoo Commission were against them. One was a Cabinet Minister. What happened to him? Within months, he was appointed as the Chairman of the Jute Corporation drawing salary double than what he was drawing as Minister. The other Minister was a Deputy Minister. What happened to him? During the last elections, he was the Chief Election agent of Shrimati Maya Ray, wife of the Chief Minister, West Bengal. This is how they deal with corruption. The persons against whom charges of corruption were proved, resigned and they were again restored to other offices with higher salary.

Now, I would like to bring to the notice of the House another matter, and perhaps my hon. friend from Barrackpore will get more annoyed. This is a matter of rigging in the last elections. There has been a tremendous amount of rigging in West Bengal, particularly in Barrackpore and Dum Dum constituencies from which I have been returned. My margin would have been two lakhs more, if there was no rigging. The facts about rigging are startling. Many hon. Members in this House often confuse rigging with false voting. The rigging of the type that we had in West Bengal was quite different. I would demand that the Government appoint a Committee of Enquiry to go into what happened in Barrackpore and Dum Dum. In Dum Dum Constituency, more than 250 booths were controlled by gangsters and the rigging was directed by the State Government and the Chief Minister of West Bengal. I make this allegation, this statement with the full authority



at my command. How did the rigging start? Forty-eight hours before the election started, 40 to 50 of my principal polling agents were arrested through the State machinery, many of them under MISA. On the evening at 10.30 p.m., before the election day my central election office was raided. The officer-in-charge of the police station and all the officers of the police station very conveniently disappeared from the police station at that time. For half an hour, my central election office was raided and all my principal leaders incharge of the election office were beaten mercilessly. Ten of my workers were beaten. Four motor cars were completely smashed. While the police could not be contacted. I had to go several miles to contact the sub-divisional officer. When he came about two hours later, the enquiry was going on. At that time, the news came that polling had already started at 1.00 O'clock at night. That was the night before the election day. I complained to the sub-divisional officer, who was my assistant returning officer. On my written complaint, he started enquiry at about 3.00 O'clock in the morning, four hours before the polling was to start. He raided booth after booth and in seven booths he found that the ballot papers had already been filled up and the stamp of the Communist Party candidate was already there in all the ballot papers. They were so reckless that they were throwing the ballot papers in the streets. Here are many ballot papers serially and consecutively numbered. I can place them on the Table of the House, if you want, Sir.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: It has already been explained by the Minister .

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT: When the polling started in the morning, gangsters in jeeps with fire-arms, pipe guns, revolvers and bombs started charging the genuine voters.

Then the voters were driven away and they captured these booths and started stamping the ballot paper and putting them into the ballot box. One of the Presiding Officers complained to the police but nothing happened. Here is a letter written by one of the Presiding Officer. He has written to the officer-in-charge of the Kaliata Police Station, 'Please arrange for police force in polling station No. 54 as at such and such primary school as we are having trouble in conducting the vote.'...

18 hrs.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: How it did come to your hand?

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT: It came to our hand because the officer in charge of the police station threw it away. He did not take any action. He was directed by the Chief Minister to do this. So simply he was obeying his superior's orders. You can compare the signature of the Presiding Officer. Therefore, I am demanding an inquiry into this matter. If you set up an inquiry, not one but hundreds of Presiding Officers will come forward and give evidence that their booths were captured. If an inquiry is made, I am sure you will find that in Barrackpore Constituency more than 2 lakhs votes were rigged and more than 500 booths were captured. Now that the Janata Party has come to power, they are not afraid of MISA. They were being intimidated by the State Government. Hundreds of presiding officers will come and give evidence in my constituency alone. I am making a categorical statement. I am not asking for the report of any petty officer. Will the Government call for the report of the Additional

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District Magistrate, Mr. Subramaniam? He has given a report to the Chief Electoral Officer of West Bengal. Let that report be called for and it will be found that in hundreds of booths in my constituency there was rigging and there was more rigging in the Barrackpore constituency.

श्री क्यूरी ठाकुर : आप लोगों की व्याय बुद्धि तो मर गई है, मर गई है, मर गई है ।

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT: All that I am demanding is: let there be a proper inquiry because I am afraid in the Barrackpore constituency there may be an election petition by the former member, Shri Mohd. Ismail. But this is not a matter for election petition alone. The Chief Minister of West Bengal himself is involved. He toured the constituency before the elections, and had a high-level conference with the top officers. This matter cannot be left to the Election Commission alone. It should be inquired into thoroughly.

Before I conclude, I have several other things.

श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्र (बेगुमराय) : आप दमदम और बैरकपुर तक ही मत रहिए, हमारी भी बहुत सारी शिकायतें हैं ।

श्री रामजी लाल सुमन (फिरोजाबाद) : सभापति महोदय, जिम तरह से लिस्ट में नाम लिखा है, उम्मी क्रम में बुलवाइए । कल से हमारा नाम नहीं बुलवाया गया है ।

SHRI ASOKE KRISHNA DUTT: Before I conclude on this point of rigging, I have told you my personal experience. What I have seen in Dum Dum and Barrackpore might have taken place in many other constituencies also in the country. So, we call for a thorough inquiry by a commission into this matter of rigging.

In the President's Address there is a mention that certain provisions of

the People's Representation Act which were introduced have got to be repealed. I feel that is not enough. It may be necessary to introduce new provisions into the Act because this type of rigging was never envisaged in the past. When counting was going on in my constituency, I could see that bundles of ballot papers, hundreds of them, in consecutive numbers were found inside the ballot box. How could it happen? How could anybody put bundles of ballot papers into the box unless the lid is removed and put inside? The Returning Officer also agreed with me that that was common-sense but he said, 'It is nowhere in the rules book. So I cannot disallow these ballot papers.' So, some common-sense has got to be introduced into the People's Representation Act so that in future elections cannot be rigged.

Before I conclude, I would like to draw the attention of the Government through you that in my constituency as well as in other parts of India several industries, particularly jute and engineering industries, have been closed down. In my constituency alone during the last twenty months of emergency more than 50,000 people lost their job. A thorough enquiry must be made.

A lot has been said about the gains of emergency. But it has been admitted by them that more than 5 lakhs of people have lost job during emergency. Of that 50,000 alone is in my constituency. I would request the Government to see that these closed units are started again and those people who lost their job are brought back.

In conclusion, I would say that the Address of the President truly reflects the spirit of the people of the country and the manner in which we propose to improve the economy of the country. The crying need of the country to-day is to eradicate poverty

and to create millions of jobs so that the problem of unemployment can be solved. That can be done by the Gandhian method of decentralisation of development of rural economy—decentralisation of rural and cottage industries. That indication is there.

This Address has been criticised by some of my friends Opposite. They said that that was a small document.

This Address is brief and precise and in envisages the aspirations of the people.

I sincerely feel that it is a fine piece of document and I thank the Acting President. I sincerely support the Motion of Thanks moved by my friend, Shri Karpoori Thakur.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Ramji Lal Suman. He is not present. Shri Ramgopal Relhi.

**श्री एम० राम गोपाल रेड्डी (निजामाबाद):**  
सभापति जी, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में कुछ खामियां—

**श्री राम धारी शास्त्री (पदरौता) :**  
सभापति जी, तब यह हुआ था कि दो आदमी इस साइड के बोलेंगे और एक उस साइड का ।

**श्री एन० राम गोपाल रेड्डी :** मेरा भाषण शुरू हो गया है । आप रिकार्ड देख लें । राष्ट्रपति जी का जो अभिभाषण हुआ है . . .

**श्री बीरेन्द्र प्रसाद (नालंदा) :** अगर एक आदमी नहीं था तो दूसरे को आपको चांस देना चाहिये था ।

**श्री एम० राम गोपाल रेड्डी :** मेरा भाषण शुरू हो गया है, अभी तक समाप्त भी हो जाता । राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में कुछ खामियां, कुछ कमियां रह गई हैं । उनको एक चीज को साफ करना चाहिये था ।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय को यह बताना चाहिये था

कि इन्दिरा सरकार, कांग्रेसी सरकार के जमाने में 2,600 करोड़ रु० की जो वृद्धि हुई है ऐसा पहले कभी नहीं हुआ था । और यह इमरजेंसी के जमाने में ही हुआ है । हमारे पात्र गोदामों में 2,500 करोड़ टन अनाज पड़ा हुआ है । अब यह लोग इस खजाने को लूटने के वास्ते कार्यवाहियां कर रहे हैं । जनता पार्टी के सदस्यों को इन्दिरा गांधी और संजय गांधी का नाम लेने के सिवाय और कोई चीज नज़र नहीं आती है । अभी इन लोगों को मालूम नहीं है कि ट्रेंजरी रैलेज़ में बैठने के बाद कैसे व्यवहार करना चाहिये । यह लोग अभी भी अपने को विरोध पक्ष का सदस्य समझते हैं । इन को अभी यह समझ में नहीं आया है कि ट्रेंजरी बैंचेज़ में रहने के बाद कैसे व्यवहार किया जाय ।

सभापति जी, चुनाव के जरिये से देश के दो टुकड़े किये गये हैं—ऊत्तर भारत और दक्षिण भारत । दक्षिण भारत में मैं ही एक ऐसा आदमी रह गया हूं जो हिन्दी में बात करता हूं । 154 आदमियों में और कोई हिन्दी नहीं बोल सकता है । यह बड़ी गम्भीर समस्या है इस पर आप सोचिये । हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी को यह कहना चाहिये था कि इस चुनाव में देश के दो टुकड़े होने के इमकानात पैदा हो गये हैं । इसलिये सदस्यों को चाहिए कि दक्षिण के लोगों का भरोसा प्राप्त करने के वास्ते हमारी बात को सहानुभूति से सुनें । आप लोगों को सत्ताधारी पार्टी में होने की वजह से यह सोचना चाहिये कि कैसे देश को आग बढ़ाया जाये । अभी तक जो हमारी तरक्की हुई है उस को मानना चाहिये जो फ़िर्गस में, गोदामों में और खजाने में है ।

नसबन्दी के बारे में बड़ा बड़ा प्रोपोगन्डा कर के यह लोग यहां चुन कर आये हैं । इन्दिरा जी की सरकार के समय हर साल एक करोड़ आदमियों का इज़ाफ़ा हुआ है । और अगर आप की यह पोलिसी रही कि नसबन्दी नहीं की जाय तो इस देश में हर साल 2 करोड़ आबादी

[श्री एम० राम गोपाल रेड्डी]

की बढ़ती होगी जिस को आप खिला नहीं सकेंगे ।

**श्री वीरेन्द्र प्रसाद :** दो करोड़ आदमियों के चार करोड़ हाथ भी तो होंगे ।

**श्री एम० राम गोपाल रेड्डी :** अगर इसी तरह से आबादी बढ़ती गई तो लोगों को रहने की जगह नहीं मिलेगी । आप जो बोलते हैं अगर वह सही है तो जितने लोगों का स्ट्रिलाइजेशन किया गया है आप मेहरबानी करके उन का रीनेनेलाइजेशन कीजिये और सब को बच्चे पैदा करने की इजाजत दीजिये ।

दूसरी बात यह है कि हम ने स्लम के लोगों को वहां से निकाल कर बाहर किया है । आप ने तुर्कमान गेट में जा कर लोगों को भड़काया है कि तुम को यहां से कांग्रेस सरकार ने उजाड़ दिया है । अगर आप लोग ईमानदार है तो सब को फिर पुरानी जगह वापस लाकर दिल्ली में स्लम पैदा कीजिये तभी मैं मानूंगा कि आप लोग वाकई में सही काम कर रहे हैं । आपने उनको बहकाया कि तुम्हें कांग्रेसी सरकार ने अपनी जगह से निकाल दिया है । हमारा कहना यह है कि जनता सरकार खाली बातें बोलती है, अगर उन लोगों को सही करने का ख्याल है तो आप उनको बुलाकर फिर से वहां पर स्लम पैदा कर दीजिये और फिर देखिये । आप दोनों तरह से फायदा नहीं उठा सकते हैं ।

मेरा कहना यह है कि यह जो गवर्नमेंट बनी है, यह एक म्युजियम बना हुआ है, एक जूबना हुआ है । यह कोई काम नहीं कर रही है, कोई सैन्टरी सीट पर नहीं बैठता है, वह यह देखकर हंसते है कि हमारे मिनिस्टर कैसे है । आपको शर्म करनी चाहिये । सिवाय चार पांच मंत्रालय के और कहीं कोई काम नहीं हो रहा है । प्रोडक्शन नीचे गिरने वाला है, और प्राइसेस बढ़ने वाली हैं । श्री मोरारजी देसाई सच्चे आदमी हैं, वह बहुत दिनों से देश की सेवा में हैं, हम चाहते है कि उनकी सरकार कम से कम पांच साल तक जरूर चले लेकिन

अगर आपका यही रवैया रहा तो 100 दिन से ज्यादा यह गवर्नमेंट नहीं चल पायेगी । आप मेहरबानी कर के जरा सीरियस हो जाइये । आपके हैलथ मिनिस्टर मंत्रालय में काम नहीं कर रहे हैं, आप वहां की हाल देखिये । यहां 200 आदमी चैम्बर में बैठते है, और यहां मजाक हो रहा है । मेरा कहना यह है कि गवर्नमेंट को चलाना सीरियस काम है और आपको इसे सीरियसली चलाना चाहिये । अगर आपका यही तरीका रहा तो एमजेंसी हम लोगों को लगाने की जरूरत नहीं है, खुद श्री मोरारजी देसाई एमजेंसी लगाकर आप सब को ठीक कर देंगे ।

इन्दिरा जी की गवर्नमेंट ने सन् 1971 में जो युद्ध जीता, एक हजार साल में कभी हमने वैसा नहीं जीता है । बम्बई हाई बनाया है, एटम के टुकड़े कर के हिन्दुस्तान का सिर ऊंचा किया है । यह सही है कि यह साइंटिस्टों ने काम किया है, लेकिन वह हमारे गवर्नमेंट थी । अगर आप लोगों को भी कुछ करना है, तो हाईड्रोजन बम बनाकर फोड़कर दिखाइये । हम सब आपको और जनता सरकार को बधाई देंगे ।

मुझे यह डर है कि जो काम अच्छे अब तक हुए है, वह अधूरे रह जायेंगे और वापिस हो जायेंगे । देश के टुकड़े-टुकड़े होने का इमकान है । इसलिय मेहरबानी कर के जरा सीरियसली काम करने की तरफ ध्यान दीजिये । आप इधर उधर बोलें कोई परवाह नहीं लेकिन, कुछ काम होना चाहिये ।

मेरा कहना है कि इस सारे सदन को एक साथ लेकर आगे बढ़िये यह नहीं कि उत्तर दक्षिण का झगड़ा खड़ा करें । ऐस । मत कीजिये इन्दिरा जी ने आपको कहा है, चव्हाण साहब ने कहा है कि हम लोग कंस्ट्रक्टिव सजैश्चन देंगे और गवर्नमेंट की मदद करेंगे और अगर कोई इकनामिक डेवलपमेंट के लिये कानून बनायेंगे

या फाइनेन्शियल बिल लायेंगे जिसमें गरीबों की मदद हो तो हम इसमें आपकी मदद करेंगे ।

दक्षिण के पूरे लोगों ने कांग्रेस को वोट दिये हैं । यह आपको मानना पड़गा कि दक्षिण का जनता ज्यादा पढ़ी लिखी है, वहां के लोगों को आर्थिक परिस्थिति उत्तर भारत से अच्छी है उन लोगों ने सोच-समझकर वोट दिया है । आप उसका ख्याल रखिये और हमेशा जज्जवात से खेलने की कोशिश मत कीजिये । आप फैक्ट्स का ख्याल रखिये और सदन के डिस्कशन को ऊंचा उठाने की कोशिश कीजिये ।

**श्री रामरजी लाल सुमन (फिरोजाबाद):** सभापति महोदय, संसद् के दोनों सदनों के समक्ष राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने जो अभिभाषण दिया है, मैं उस पर रख गये धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं । जनता पार्टी के चुनाव घोषणापत्र में हिन्दुस्तान के चहुंमुखी विकास के लिए जो वायदे किये गये हैं, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में उन्हीं का उल्लेख किया गया है ।

विरोधी पक्ष के नेता, श्री चव्वाण, ने कहा है कि इमर्जेंसी की बहुत उपलब्धियां हैं और उस के दौरान देश ने बहुत तरक्की की है । उन्होंने यह भी कहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता की स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा के लिए आपातकालीन स्थिति लगाई गई थी । वास्तव में इन उन्नीस महीनों में हिन्दुस्तान में जो कुछ हुआ है, उस को लोकतंत्र की हत्या कहा जा सकता है, लेकिन हमारे सम्प्रति नेता श्री चव्वाण उस की प्रशंसा करते हैं । मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि इन उन्नीस महीनों में हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों की आजादी के लिए लाखों लोग जेल गये हैं । जनता पार्टी का टिकट देने के सम्बन्ध में पहली शर्त यह थी कि जो व्यक्ति जेल नहीं गया है, उस को टिकट नहीं दिया जायेगा । इमर्जेंसी के दौरान श्री जय प्रकाश नारायण, श्री मोरारजी देसाई और चौधरी चरणसिंह जैसे

कई सम्मानित नेता जेल में डाल दिये गये । मगर श्री चव्वाण कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी और भलाई के लिए इमर्जेंसी लगाई गई और उस के कारण हिन्दुस्तान का बहुत विकास हुआ है । मेरा कहना यह है कि इमर्जेंसी के लाभ केवल हम लोगों तक ही सीमित क्यों रहें, इस लिए दो महीने के लिए श्री चव्वाण भी जेल में चले जायें, ताकि उनको पता चले कि इमर्जेंसी में क्या क्या हुआ है ।

कांग्रेस के मित्र कहते हैं कि आने वाले सालों में कांग्रेस पार्टी एक बड़ी शक्ति बनेगी । मेरा निवेदन है कि जनता पार्टी ने जो वायदे किये हैं, अगर वह उन को पूरा नहीं करेगी, तो आने वाले समय में हिन्दुस्तान के लोग जनता पार्टी को नकार देंगे । लेकिन अगर जनता पार्टी ने उन वायदों को पूरा किया और देश की समस्याओं को हल करने का प्रयत्न किया, तो आज तो विरोधी पक्ष में कुछ लोग दिखाई दे रहे हैं, लेकिन पांच साल के बाद उन लोगों की जमानत बचने की भी सम्भावना कम होगी जो जनता के साथ भला करेगा, जनता उस का साथ देगी । इन्दिरा जी ने गलतिय का होंगी, इसीलिए हिन्दुस्तान की जनता ने उन को नकार दिया ।

जनता पार्टी के अधिकांश सदस्य युवकों की खून पसीने की कमाई के कारण यहां बैठे हुए हैं । मगर इस अभिभाषण में युवकों के सम्बन्ध में कोई बात नहीं कही गई है । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि कांग्रेस सरकार द्वारा जिन छात्रों को परेशान किया गया या विद्यालयों से निकाला गया, जनता पार्टी की सरकार उन छात्रों को प्रवेश दिलाने और अन्य प्रकार से उनकी सहायता करने की दिशा में कदम उठाना चाहिए ।

पिछली सरकार ने बार-बार मांग किये जाने पर भी हिन्दुस्तान के नौजवानों को 18 वर्ष तक वोट देने का हक नहीं दिया । मैं आग्रह करना चाहता हूं कि वर्तमान सरकार को विधान सभाओं के चुनावों में 18 वर्ष

[श्री रामजी लाल पुसना]

तक के नौजवानों को वोट देने का अधिकार देना चाहिये ।

पिछली सरकार की तरफ से यह दावा किया जाता रहा है कि हरिजनों और आदिवासियों को बहुत सुविधायें दी गई हैं । अनुसूचित जातियों और अनुसूचित जनजातियों के आयुक्त की रिपोर्ट के सफ़हा 77 पर लिखा है कि 1950 से, जब कि इस देश का संविधान बना, आज तक आई०ए०एस० में हरिजनों का परसेंटेज 2.99 और शिड्यूलड ट्राइब्स का परसेंटेज .5 है । पिछली सरकार द्वारा हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के साथ किए गए अच्छे सुलूक का यह एक उदाहरण है । हम ने देखा कि विगत दिनों में हरिजनों और सबर्बों के बीच में खाई का बढाने का जितना प्रयास कांग्रेस सरकार ने किया है, और किसी ने उतना प्रयास नहीं किया है ।

कांग्रेस सरकार ने यह घोषणा की थी कि छोटे लोगों पर साहूकारों का जितना रुपया है, वह माफ कर दिया जायेगा । हुआ क्या ? सरकार के पास कोई बैकल्पिक व्यवस्था नहीं थी । उन लोगों को रुपया मिलना बन्द हो गया । दो दो रुपए के लिए बेचारे सड़कों पर घूमने लगे । यह सब से बड़ा घोखा उन लोगों के साथ हुआ है जो उन के लिए कोई बैकल्पिक व्यवस्था नहीं की ।

शिक्षा के नाम पर मैं यह साफ कहना चाहूंगा कि विद्यालयों में जो विज्ञान के छात्र हैं उन में कहीं भी 18 प्रतिशत स्थान उन्हें नहीं मिलता । आगरा कालेज का मैं उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं, वहां दो सौ-ढाई सौ लोम हैं, उन में केवल एक हरिजन अध्यापक हैं और क 1 जाता है कि इस 18 प्रतिशत तक संरक्षण दे रहे हैं । ये सब बातें पिछली सरकार ने कही हैं । जनता

पार्टी की सरकार को चाहिये कि वह तुरन्त इन सब बातों पर ध्यान दे ।

एक बात बहुत तकलीफ की हुई है और वह यह कि लाखों नौजवान पिछले दिनों जेलों में गये हैं । हिन्दुस्तान की जनता के अधिकांश लोग जेल गए हैं । तो उन परिवारों के साथ जिन के लोग जेलों में मर गए हैं, अच्छा सुलूक होना चाहिये । जो न राजनीति में जेल गए उनके साथ अच्छा व्यवहार होना चाहिये, उन का सार्वजनिक सम्मान होना चाहिये क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान के जन जन की आजादी के लिये ये लोग जेल गए हैं, हिन्दुस्तान के लोकतंत्र को पुनर्जीवित करने के लिये लोग जेल गए हैं । लोगों को काफी तकलीफें हुई हैं ।

मैं अपनेमंत्रियों और सरकार के लोग से दरखास्त करूंगा कि जो जनता पार्टी के लोगों का सम्मान हो तो एक बात जरूर करेंगे । मुझ जैसा नौजवान यह मानता है कि हिन्दुस्तान का इतिहास अधिकांशतः गलत लिखा गया है । पहले दरबारी लोग रहते थे । बड़े बड़े चारण और भाट दरबारों में रहा करते थे और उन का काम होता था किसी न किसी प्रकार राजा को प्रसन्न करना । तो झूठे इतिहास लिखे गए हैं । मेरी यह दरखास्त है कि जब जनता पार्टी के लोगों का स्वागत हो तो हमारे नेता पद्म आदरणीय बरुआ साहब का भी एक अच्छे दरबारी के रूप में स्वागत अवश्य होना चाहिये । यह सब बातें हमारे मित्रों ने कहीं है । मैं और कोई विशेष बात नहीं कहना चाहूंगा ।

एक बात यह मैं कहूंगा कि कांग्रेसी सरकार ने न केवल हिन्दुस्तान बल्कि विश्व में जो लोकतांत्रिक शक्तियां थी उन को दबाने का पूरा प्रयास किया है । आप जानते हैं कि कोइराला साहब हिन्दुस्तान

में रहे थे । वहां नेपाल में राजशाही शासन चलता है । हमें परसों बहुत तकलीफ हुई जब राजा विरेन्द्र यहां तशरीफ लाए । कोइराला नेपाल के लोकतंत्र और समाजवाद के प्रतीक हैं और हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार को यह चाहिये कि जो भी समाजवाद शक्तियां हैं हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार उन समाजवादी शक्तियों को मजबूत करे । कोइराला साहब जब यहां थे तो उन की एक तरह से हाउस अरेस्ट थी । उन्हें अपनी बात कहने का हक नहीं था । इंदिरा गांधी ने कहा कि राजा साहब, आप के यहां हम कोई वारदात नहीं होने देंगे । लेकिन जब कोई राजनीतिक कार्यकर्ता यहां से वहां जाये तो उस को आप शरण मत दीजिएगा । राजशाही से यह सांठगांठ करने का काम पिछली सरकार ने किया था । आज हिन्दुस्तान में जनता की सरकार बनी है । उस के चुने हुए प्रतिनिधि इस बात के सबूत हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में लोकतन्त्र की जड़े गहरी हैं । तो हम समस्त लोकतांत्रिक शक्तियों के लिये अपनी लड़ाई लड़ें और हम यह मांग करते हैं कि कोइराला की रिहाई होनी चाहिए । नेपाल में राजशाही का नंगा नाच हुआ है । नेपाल कांग्रेस के साथ अच्छे सुलूक नहीं हुए हैं । त्रिभुवन विश्व विद्यालय के हजारों छात्र अब भी जेलों में बन्द हैं । अगर नेपाल में लोकतन्त्र स्थापित होगा तो हिन्दुस्तान जैसे मुल्क को भी यह कहने का हक होगा कि हिन्दुस्तान जम्हूरियत पसन्द मुल्क है और मैं मानता हूं कि इस में हम किसी की शांति को भंग नहीं कर रहे हैं । हिन्दुस्तान में जब लोकतंत्र का खात्मा हुआ तो विश्व के बहुत से समाजवादी देशों ने कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान में लोकतन्त्र समाप्त किया जा रहा है । अखबारों ने सपोर्ट किया । लोगों ने अपनी बात कही । तो हिन्दुस्तान अगर यह कहता है कि नेपाल में जनता की सरकार बने, कोइराला के नेतृत्व में मंत्रिमंडल बने जो लोकतन्त्र और समाजवाद का प्रतीक हो तो मैं समझता हूं इस में कोई गुनाह नहीं है ।

आप जानते हैं कि उत्तर प्रदेश में पी ए सी का रिबोल्ट हुआ जो कांग्रेस का षडयंत्र था । 6 हजार लोग उस पी ए सी रिबोल्ट में जेल गए । मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूं कि पी ए सी रिबोल्ट में जो लोग जेल गए वह सरकार का षडयंत्र था । हमारी सरकार को चाहिए कि तुरन्त उन 6 हजार लोगों के मुकदमे वापस ले और उन लोगों को काम पर लगाए । वे बेगुनाह लोग थे । उन लोगों से काम लिया जाता था । छोटे लोगों को बड़े अपसर तंग करते थे । उनकी जो यूनियन थी उसे कमलापति जी ने भंग किया । हम सरकार से मांग करते हैं कि जो लोग जेल भेजे गए हैं उन लोगों के केसेज अविलम्ब वापस किए जायं ।

नक्सलवादियों के बारे में मैं साफ साफ कहना चाहता हूं । हम मानते हैं कि हम गांधी जी के बताए हुए रास्ते पर चलने वाले लोग हैं । लेकिन एक स्थिति ऐसी आती है जब आदमी का विश्वास टूट जाता है । लोगों ने जन-आन्दोलनों के माध्यम से सरकार के खिलाफ संघर्ष किया है । लाखों नौजवान जेल गए हैं । मैं सरकार से स्पष्ट कहूंगा कि सरकार ने लोगों को हिंसा करने के लिए बाध्य किया है । इसलिए जो जेलों में नक्सलवादी बन्द हैं हमारी पूरी हमदर्दी उन के साथ है । नई सरकार को तुरन्त उन की रिहाई करनी चाहिए और इस में कोई देर नहीं होनी चाहिए ।

एक बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि लोकतंत्र की बात वे लोग कहते हैं । पिछले 18-19 महीनों में लोकतंत्र को समाप्त करने का पूरा प्रयास इंदिरा जी ने किया है । लेकिन प्रकृति का नियम है कि जो किसी को समाप्त करना चाहता है वह खुद समाप्त हो जाता है । इंदिरा गांधी ने प्रयास किया लोकतंत्र समाप्त करने का लेकिन इंदिरा गांधी खुद समाप्त हो



[श्री रामजी लाल सुमन]

गई। मैं एक बहुत पुराना शेर आप के सामने पढ़ देता हूँ—

शमा को देख मेरे दिल को जल ने वाले।

खुद ही जल जाते हैं ओरों को जलाने वाले।।  
इंदिरा गांधी ने प्रयास किया लोकतंत्र को समाप्त करने का। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की जनता के साथ उन्होंने जो सुलूक किया उस से इंदिरा जी खुद ही समाप्त हो गईं। जनता को नई सरकार से बहुत बड़ी आशाएँ हैं और जनता की सरकार को चाहिये कि उन समस्त आशाओं की प्रतीक जनता की सरकार बने।

सभापति महोदय, कांग्रेस पार्टी की सरकार में बाबू जगजीवन राम जी को छोड़ कर जितने भी कृषि मंत्री बने, उन्हें पता नहीं था कि चने और गेहूँ का पैड़कैसा होता है। विगत दिनों में कांग्रेस की सरकार गेहूँ का दाम 105 रुपये क्विंटल तय करती रही है। आप मोटा-मोटा हिसाब भी लगायें तो आप देखेंगे कि किसान को 155 रुपये क्विंटल गेहूँ की लागत आती है, लेकिन किसान को सिर्फ 105 रुपये मिलते रहे। मैंने पढ़ा था, इसी संसद में जब लोगों ने कहा कि शायद किसान 105 रुपये क्विंटल पर अपना गेहूँ न दें, तब चौहान साहब ने कहा था कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान के किसान गेहूँ नहीं देंगे तो हम विदेशों से गेहूँ मंगायेंगे। किसानों ने गेहूँ नहीं दिया और विदेशों से गेहूँ मंगाया गया, जिस की कीमत में नहीं जानता, लेकिन वह 105 रुपये से ज्यादा ही था....

**एक मानीय सदस्य :** 144 रुपये क्विंटल पर मंगाया गया।

**श्री रामजी लाल सुमन :** कांग्रेस सरकार ने विदेशों को 144 रुपये क्विंटल का दाम दे दिया, लेकिन इस देश के किसानों को 125

रुपये का दाम नहीं दिया, जिस की कि अघि-कांश लोगों ने मांग की थी। हिन्दुस्तान के किसानों को कांग्रेस सरकार से असंतोष था, जिस का फायदा जनता पार्टी को मिला। मैं चाहता हूँ किसानों को 150 रुपये क्विंटल के हिसाब से दिया जाय।

सभापति महोदय, युवक सम्राट युवराज संजय गांधी जी ने जो जुल्म ढाये हैं, मैं वह भी आप को बताना चाहता हूँ। युवराज आगरा तशरीफ लाये थे, तो बोले कि आगरा बहुत गन्दा है, इस का सौन्दर्यीकरण होना चाहिये और उस के नाम पर हजारों लोगों को उजाड़ दिया गया। नई सरकार को चाहिये कि उन विस्थापितों को बसाने के लिये मुआवजा दे और युवराज ने सौन्दर्यीकरण के नाम पर जुल्म ढाये हैं उस की जांच की जाय।

इस देश के सम्मानित सदन में विशेष तौर से जो भ्रष्टाचार की बात की जाती है उस सम्बन्ध में मैं भी एक बात कहना चाहूंगा—इस दिल्ली की चकाचौध में कांग्रेस के मंत्री लिप्त रहे हैं, इस लिये जनता पार्टी की सरकार को सादगी का व्यवहार बरतना चाहिये तथा लोकपाल एवं लोकायुक्त की नियुक्ति होनी चाहिये। साथ ही सन्तानम कमेटी ने जो सिफारिशें दी थीं, उन को तुरन्त लागू करना चाहिये।

इस के साथ ही दल के अन्तर्गत भी लोकतन्त्र होना चाहिये—यहां पर चाहे जनता पार्टी के लोग बोलें या कांग्रेस पार्टी के लोग बोलें, मंत्रियों को उनकी पूरी बात सुननी चाहिये, केवल रसम-अदायगी नहीं होनी चाहिये। कांग्रेस पार्टी के लोगों ने जो कुछ किया है, वे उस का फल भुगत रहे हैं, लेकिन मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार निश्चित रूप से जनता की आशाओं को पूरा करेगी।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ ।

PROF. DILIP CHAKRAVARTY (Calcutta South) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the motion of thanks, moved by my hon'ble friend, Shri Karpoori Thakur. The acting President in his address has mentioned that the people have given a clear verdict in favour of individual freedom, democracy and the rule of law and against executive arbitrariness, the emergence of a personality cult and extra-constitutional centres of power. It further says that the traumatic experience of the last two years during which many atrocities were committed on the people and they had to undergo untold sufferings and some have even died, has brought home the relevance of this.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, only day before yesterday I visited the Presidency jail in Calcutta. In spite of the statement issued by the West Bengal Chief Minister, from time to time, that all the political prisoners had been released, even today there are 152 political prisoners languishing in the Presidency jail alone. There will be a little more in Alipore Central Jail. These are the two jails in my constituency in Calcutta South. There will be many more if we include the figures of all the jails in West Bengal. I do not know the position in the rest of India. I believe the total figure will be staggering. I would urge on the government to see to it that not a day is lost before the large number of prisoners who are detained without trial and languishing in jails are released.

I was listening with rapt attention to the speech of Mr. Stephen, whose English language was very nice. He was shedding crocodile tears about the rule of law. He referred to the withdrawal of the Baroda dynamite case against Shri George Fernandes and some other cases. The prisoners

whom I met in the Presidency Jail told me that cases had been instituted against some of them and they were first produced before a court of law in 1970. But the judges have been transferred thrice and the cases are going on even today in 1977. They are languishing in the jails. When Mr. Stephen refers to enforcement of the rule of law, at least we on the treasury benches have a different view about rule of law. Mr. Stephen conveniently forgets the powerful speech delivered in this House by my friend, Shri George Fernandes. The whole thing was fraudulent. The other day Mr. Charan Singh, the hon. Home Minister, pointed out that the emergency was imposed only on the advice of the Prime Minister and the cabinet was informed of it only subsequently. My friend, Shri Ashok Dutt was right when he was lamenting over Mr. Chavan, the giant of Maharashtra, who had his backbone transformed into jelly and did nothing! Instead of touching on this and other complaints against them, they are trying to divert the issue. I suggest to the government that it is time that we declared a general amnesty for all political prisoners of all categories. This is the need of the hour. The people of India have really transformed the whole country by taking the first step towards a silent revolution. To quote Shri Ashok Dutt again, this is the first time in the world that a dictatorial regime could be removed peacefully through the ballot box. It is only meet and proper that the others who are in jail were also released. They are with us in spirit and they are counting their days. This is very urgent. I bring this to the attention of the House in the hope that it will receive support from all sections of the House.

On page 3, the acting President has said:

"One of the very serious developments in the recent past was the

[Prof. Dilip Chakravarty]

erosion of the freedom and impartiality of the media of publicity and information."

In this connection, I recall the arrest of Shrimati Durga Bhagwat, the noted Marathi literature, whose only fault was that she quoted Ghor Krishan Ghose (after translating it into Marathi) in the Presidential Address in the Maharashtra Sahitya Sammelan in September 1975, where the Chairman of the Reception Committee was Mr. Chavan, the present Leader of the Opposition. For that, Shrimati Durga Bhagwat was made to languish in jail. What about the arrest of Ghor Krishan Ghose, Barun Sen Gupta, Malkani, Kuldio Nayar and so many other eminent journalists all over India?

In subsequent paragraphs, the acting President has assured the House that the government is pledged to the removal of destitution within a definite time-frame of 10 years, etc.

In spite of very tall claims made by my friends opposite, the Congress could not successfully hoodwink the people about the so-called economic programme. In the economic sphere, the Government has promised to remove poverty within ten years and pursue an employment oriented programme with emphasis on agriculture, agro-industries and small and cottage industries. If the Government can achieve it, nothing better can be conceived of. In this context, the following facts should be borne in mind. There was no remarkable improvement of the economic condition of the toiling masses during three decades of Congress rule. The common men suffered heavily under the pressure of inflation, circulation of black money and ever rising cost of living. In a

recent unofficial survey, it has been found that there has been a 41 per cent rise of assets of 20 big industrial houses. The rate of profit of some important houses rose up to 58 per cent in the last three years. Many companies recorded 20 per cent rise in gross profit whereas growth of medium size industries showed a marked decline in assets and sales. One wonders how such phenomenal rise of monopoly capital was possible in spite of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act and various legislations which were enacted by the Congress Government for restriction of profit and windfall gains. A thorough shake up of the Economic policies is required to bring about a balanced economy.

Many years ago, in this House Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia challenged the Government—Pandit Nehru was on this side—that about 70 per cent of the people were living below the poverty line. Pandit Nehru challenged Dr. Lohia's statement. But within 24 hours, he had to agree with what Dr. Lohia had said. So, I advise my friend opposite to read what Dr. Lohia had said just as my friend Shri Fernandes, has advised them to read the speeches of Comrade Dange, Indira Gandhi and all that.

About external relations, the Rashtrapati has assured us that the Government is going to follow the path of genuine non-alignment. Here I am reminded of Dr. Lohia. Both inside and outside the House, he used to mention that in the Parliament there was Moscow lobby and there might be even a Washington lobby but there was no Indian lobby. This Government, I am sure, will develop the Indian lobby, will pursue a policy of real non-alignment without leaning to this or that side. With charity to all and malice to none, should be our foreign policy. So, let us re-frame our foreign policy. I am sure the Government is going to do it.

The Education Minister is here. Here I would like to quote what his predecessor has done. I am quoting in Hindi from an article giving the life sketch of the great rising intellectual of India, i.e. Sanjay Gandhi. The name of the book is 'Nibandh Rasmi, Nina Publications, Nai Sarak, Delhi-6' for primary students. My friend who was reading this, had suggested that this thing was done only to hoodwink the people at large.

“गोल गोरा चेहरा, चीड़ा माथा, तीखी नाक, गहरी नीली झीलों के समान आँखें, घनुषाकार भुएं, सिपी के समान कान, गुलाबी गाल और हीठों पर सदैव थिरकती हुई मुस्कुराहट, छरेहरे शरीर पर खादी का भफेद कुर्ता पाजाम पहने जिस महान् मानव के दर्शन होते हैं, उसे लोग भारत के उगते हुए सूर्य युवक सम्राट संजय गांधी के नाम से पुकारते हैं”।

“उनकी आरंभिक शिक्षा भारत में ही हुई किन्तु उच्च शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के लिए उन्हें इंग्लैंड भेजा गया। इंग्लैंड में रहते हुए भी महाभारत के संजय की तरह इन का दृष्टि भारत की ओर लगी रहती थी”।

“उन्होंने अपने अनुभव, तकन की ज्ञान, परिश्रम और आत्मविश्वास का परिचय देने हुए, 'मारुति' कार का आविष्कार किया”।

I am not afraid of interruptions, though it is my maiden speech. You spend a little money. The address is: Nibandh Rasmi, Nina Publications, Nair Sarak, Delhi-6. I can present you a copy tomorrow.

I was talking to my friend Prof. Nurul Hasan, a member of the other House. I told him that I was going to take up the type of educational policy that he was pursuing in this country. With a smile, he informed me that he would join the Delhi University. It is

up to the new Education Minister to decide whether he should allow such books to spoil our students and our future generation.

Mr Chairman, Sir, this publication and similar publications in many other regional languages of India, should be withdrawn instantly.

I would now make one small point on education. A policy of discrimination is there in the treatment i.e. between teachers and non-teachers in colleges and universities; and between Central universities and the so-called State universities. If India is one, there should be one uniform policy in relation to teachers and non-teachers in all our universities.

I would now like to mention about a memorandum submitted by the Bihar Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti only the other day, to the Acting President. I would like to remind, this House, through you Mr Chairman, that in the Bihar legislature there is a vacancy of 65 seats. These vacancies occurred due to the resignation submitted by those members who responded to the call of Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narain. As had been rightly pointed out by my friend Madhu Limaye, the mandate expired on 18th March 1976; and they started acting on the so-called mandate, after 18th March 1976. It is time that the Home Ministry and the new Government saw to it that people in different parts of India can give a fresh mandate for the formation of new State Government. Recently, we have seen that a call has been given to the people by Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narain. It is time that we should have fresh elections for the State assemblies.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, Mr. Stephen has to-day made a submission. I think it should not pass unnoticed. While expressing his sense of respect for Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narain, he was comparing our efforts and our expression of respect to Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narain to the Congress party's salutations to Sanjay Gandhi.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY:  
No, no.

PROF. DILIP CHAKRAVARTY: I think so. I would compare Loknayak Jaiprakash Narain only with the position which was occupied by Mahatma Gandhi before the 30th January 1948. There is nothing wrong to respect a person who never asked for anything, who never asked for any reward. Your Indira, who spent only six months in jail, claimed to have a dynastic rule and claimed that she had contributed so many things to the country, without remembering those who laid down their lives for the country's freedom, those who suffered and languished in jail, lakhs and lakhs of people in the country. I know some of their woes and their suffering. Without caring for them, the lady dared to claim about her contribution to the country.

Shri Stephen has mentioned, as you will see from the print of his speech, that peninsular India took up a different position from that of Northern India. What does he mean to say? Does he mean to say that peninsular India is different from the rest of India? We do not think so. I will remember it and when the election is coming we shall see how peninsular India reacts. India is one. There is no peninsular India and Northern India as such; there is only one India.

To my utter surprise and to my utmost pain, I was reading the statements issued from day to day by the former Prime Minister in accusation, sometimes against Loknayak Jaiprakash Narayan, sometimes against Shri Morarji or some other respected leader of the freedom movement, and they were all done in the name of Mahatma Gandhi. Here is a book with me from where I am quoting. Writing on the Congress position, Gandhiji stated on 27th January 1948:

"Let the Congress now proclaim to itself and the world that it is

only God's servant—nothing more, nothing less. If it engages in the ungainly skirmish for power, it will find one fine morning that it is no more. Thank God, the Congress is now no longer in sole possession of the field."

During the 30 years, my friends of the Congress totally forgot about Gandhiji's writings. They thought they could hoodwink the ignorant and suffering people of India for all time to come. Fortunately, they could not do it. I am quoting another excerpt of Gandhiji himself. On 29th January, 1948, only 24 hours before his death, he said:

"Though split into two, India, having attained political independence through means devised by the Indian National Congress, the Congress in its present shape and form, as a propaganda vehicle and a parliamentary machine, has outlived its use. India has still to attain social, moral and economic independence in terms of its seven hundred thousand villages, as distinguished from its cities and towns. The struggle for the ascendancy of civil over military power is bound to take place in India's progress towards its democratic goal... It must be kept out of unhealthy competition with political parties and communal bodies. For these and other similar reasons, the AICC resolves to disband the existing Congress organisation and flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh under the following rules with the power to alter them as occasion may demand."

These were the last suggestions of Gandhiji to Congressmen. But Congressmen did not listen to that.

And what did they do? As an individual, I spent my first ten years of political life within the Congress, from 1938 to 1948. Then I came out with the Socialists. But in 1977 what was my last experience with the Congress? On 6th March, while I was

addressing an election meeting, I was hit on the head with the shout of "Vande Mataram". That is the present-day Congress. So, try to understand and start re-thinking after going through Gandhiji's writings, which I am afraid many of you have not done.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We have to finish the discussion today. We shall continue till 7.30. Tomorrow the hon. Prime Minister will reply.

SHRI V. ARUNACHALAM (Tirunelveli): So far only one Member from the AIADMK has been called and he has taken only two or three minutes. So, may I request you to accommodate at least two more Members from our Party?

SHRI B. N. SINGH (Hazaribagh): May I know how many Members can speak today?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Six Members may now speak, Five minutes each.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Manjeri): So far, our Party has not been called.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA): It was decided that we would sit up to 7.30 today. If the hon. Members feel that they can sit longer so that more Members can speak, there should be no objection. Otherwise, according to the schedule of Government business which has been accepted, the Prime Minister will reply tomorrow morning. I am in the hands of the House and your good self.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We can sit up to 8.30.

श्री रामचारी शास्त्री : सभापति जी, संसद कार्य मंत्री ने सबेरे घोषणा की थी कि सदन एक दिन के लिये और बढ़ाया जा सकता है। उसके बाद फिर समय बढ़ने की क्या बात है कल माननीय सदस्यों को और बोलने का मौका दिया जाये।

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola): Even if we sit till 8.30 there may not be proper satisfaction to the Members who want to contribute because every one will be going away as soon as he finishes speaking, and there will be no audience. So, if you are extending by one day, the Prime Minister can reply tomorrow evening. We can continue this debate tomorrow after the Question Hour and Calling Attention.

19 hrs.

Whosoever did not speak so far remaining on the list can contribute tomorrow by 2.30 or 4 p.m. Then the Prime Minister can reply. When you are already extending it by one day, why don't you agree to this? If you are going to sit upto 8.30 p.m. it will strain us too much.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: In view of the Government Business for the current session, I regret, it will not be possible for us to accept the suggestion that the whole of tomorrow should be kept apart for the continuation of the debate. At the moment, we have requested the Prime Minister to reply to the debate early tomorrow morning. But if it is the pleasure of the House, we may extend this debate by another hour or so today. But according to the Government business for this week, if the whole day tomorrow is devoted to this debate, then the whole schedule will be in jeopardy. Therefore, through you, Sir, I would request the hon. Members not to insist that the debate should be extended for more than one hour tomorrow.

SHRI S. KUNDU (Balasore): In that case, it is better we should adjourn today by 7.30. Look at the staff who come at about 9 A.M. Some of us have also come at 9 A.M.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please, let us continue till 7.30 P.M.

SHRI S. KUNDU: I know that our Prime Minister is a very pleasant and



[Shri S. Kundu]

very accommodative person. I am sure the hon. Minister will show the maximum capacity of accommodation. I find that some hon. Members do not speak for more than five minutes. Therefore, it is possible, through our Minister, to convey our feelings to the Prime Minister about our desire to participate in the debate and tomorrow, say, within maximum of two hours, everybody can speak. Within two hours, about 20 speakers can finish their speeches.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We shall continue till 7.30 P.M. today as suggested by the hon. Members. Tomorrow, we shall devote one hour.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: During the current session, if the Government business spills over to the afternoon tomorrow, then we will not be able to complete all that we have for the current session. Therefore, I would request the hon. Members to agree to the proposal that we continue the debate for one hour tomorrow and then request the Prime Minister to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN: So, to-day, upto 7.30 P.M. we shall continue the debate.

AN. HON. MEMBER: Tomorrow again if new Members come and fill up the list?

MR. CHAIRMAN: No more views. Mr. Kumari Ananthan.

SHRI KUMARI ANANTHAN (Nagercoil): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by Shri Karpoori Thakur. I come from a constituency which is the southern most tip of India—Nagercoil.

It was represented twice by our late lamented revered leader Sri K. Kamaraj who was pushed to the far end of his life by emergency and the atrocities that came in its wake.

When he heard that emergency was declared and leaders of eminence were arrested, he was shocked. He fell ill. He thought of waging a last battle against the erstwhile government. A resolution was passed as per his advice and guidance, requesting the people to be ready to do any sacrifice to get back the civil liberties.

On October 2—on the birth-day of the Father of the Nation—Kamaraj breathed his last. He died a sad man. He died with a broken heart.

After his death, "Bharat Ratna" was awarded to him. When he was alive, his garden was destroyed. All the flowering trees which were planted, nursed and reared by him were uprooted. When he was a dead man, a few flowers were thrown on his lifeless body. I can compare the award only to those flowers thrown on his body.

Sri Kamaraj was insulted even after his death. The *Charka* which adorned his memorial at Guindy was demolished and thrown in the dustbin. The ancient, sacred *Charka* which was revived by Mahatma Gandhi was destroyed by Mata Gandhi.

When our revered leader and Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai came to Madras, he saw the memorial and took note of the missing *Charka*. He was pained to hear all about the removal of the *Charka*. On that very day, he made a public announcement that the *Charka* will be placed again in the memorial. Now, I am sure, the *Charka* will find its place again in the memorial as it was promised by a leader who will keep up his words.

Under the previous Government, the people were terror-stricken. Even friends could not meet and converse. The fear phobia was hanging around everywhere. Nobody could express his feelings. At no time in the annals of Indian history so many people were sent to jails. As it was said in the morning by Mr. Kamath, the MISA is not Maintenance of Internal

Security Act but it was Maintenance of Indira Sanjay Act.

Our forefathers placed at the altar of Bharat Mata everything they had, everything dear and near to them. What for? They never thought of their stomach or mouth. They thought of their soul and heart. They got freedom. Freedom means freedom of expression, freedom to assemble, freedom to criticise and freedom to dissent.

But alas, everything was suppressed by the previous Government in a brutal manner. Good people were thrown in prison. Good officers and employees were thrown out of their jobs.

Our original Constitution is one of the best constitutions in the world. Much thought was given to each and every word. The Constituent Assembly sat for two years, eleven months and eight days. The consideration of the draft Constitution took 114 days. The people of India were given eight months to discuss the Draft Constitution and to make their suggestions. As many as 7,635 amendments were proposed and 2,473 amendments were actually discussed by the Constituent Assembly. But the Constitution (Forty-Second Amendment) Bill was rushed through in a very hasty manner. The people were not given the chance to discuss and express their opinion. Numerous MPs were languishing in jail when they should have been in Parliament appealing to the conscience of the members of the then ruling party. The previous Government could allow only ten days for this purpose. Only 50 hours were spared for amending 59 clauses. Not even an hour was spent for each clause.

This is what Motilal Nehru had said:

"It is obvious that our first care should be to have our Fundamental Rights guaranteed in a manner which will not permit their withdrawal under any circumstances."

By trampling upon the Fundamental Rights, the former Prime Minister went against the wishes of her own grand-father.

Then, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:

"A Fundamental Right should be looked upon not from the point of view of any particular difficulty of the moment but as something that you want to make permanent in the Constitution."

The former Prime Minister went against the wishes of her own father even.

Again the late Mr. Feroze Gandhi had pleaded and fought for the rights of the press. By his untiring effort, the Parliamentary Proceedings (Protection of Publications) Act was passed in 1956. Even this Act was repealed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1976. Thereby, she went against the wishes of her husband.

No news regarding the feelings of the Opposition could be sent to the outside world. Now, the Janta Government has removed all the obstacles in the way of the free press. The press will find its expression. The expression of the people will also find a place in the press. So, New Delhi has really become News Delhi. It has good news to the world that democracy will prevail and remain for ever in this country and that nobody can suppress it.

The former Prime Minister went against the wishes of her grand-father she went against the wishes of her father; she went against the wishes of her husband and she went against the wishes of the people. So, everybody went against her Government and voted her out of power. In Thirukkural, there is a couplet which is as follows:

ALLARPATTU ATTATHU AZHUDHA  
KANNEER ANTRE SELVATHAI  
THEIYKUM PADAI.

[Shri Kumari Ananthan]

The translation goes like this:

Is not the tears of grief shed by the lives who can't brook more a weapon strong which will file off a monarch's wealthy store? Yes, it is the tears of the people which pierced the armour of the previous Government.

Sir, as there is no emergency, internal or external we are free from bondage. The chains that have tied our body and soul have been broken to pieces not by bullets but by ballot. Now we breathe the air of freedom.

The people of India have asserted their rights. Hats off to the people of India.

Sir high hopes have been aroused. We have to fulfil the aspirations of the people.

The previous Government squandered money on useless propaganda media to further their own ends. Even important works like the Railway line connecting Kanyakumari has been slowed down. I will request the Railway Minister to expedite this line.

In my constituency there is no industry of any worth. If a chemical industry is started using salt as the raw material which is abundant in our place, many people will find employment. Also, Sir, for want of nuts, many cashew factories have been closed, throwing thousands of men and women out of work. In Kanyakumari District there are many rubber estates. We have the finest Latex in the world; we can start rubber factories also.

Our people are assured of a good, clean Government. But we have to undo the wrong done by the previous Government. We have to institute Commissions to investigate the Nagarwala episode. This Commission may be able to tell us why Nagarwala and the investigating officers were promoted from this world to the other world.

Were they in the way of anybody's world of pleasure? They disappeared from this world in a very suspicious manner.

A thorough investigation should also be made into the Maruthi affair. Though no car came out of this so-called Maruthi Factory, truckloads of materials will be found out which will point out the wrong-doers and their activities.

The present Government surely owes a duty to expose the untruth of the past Government.

There was consistent propaganda that Jansanghis burst Kamaraj's house on November 7, 1966 and that Kamaraj's supporters who vote for Janatha are therefore traitors. Posters to that effect were displayed all over Tamil Nadu. I want to ask some questions. Who was the Prime Minister at that time? Was it not Mrs. Indira Gandhi? Why did Nanda resign from his Home Ministership? Why did not the then Government think it fit to publish the report regarding the incident? What is the truth? Yes, the truth will come out one day and those people who printed posters will hang their heads in shame.

Sir, some Hon. Members from the opposite side voiced concern about the Sarkaria Commission Report. Though I am not competent, I can say as a member of the ruling party that justice will be done. Our measuring yard will not shrink or bend for anybody. Likewise, nobody will be left out of enquiries by Commissions. Yes, our Janata Government will see that all wrong-dowers are spotted out and brought to book. We will uphold justice.

I want to make another point, Sir, While the hatchet men of the hellish black laws need to be replaced, good men are not lacking in administration. Such men should be entrusted with

responsibilities. Their hands should be strengthened. Then only they will discharge their duties without fear or favour. The fear complex must go from the minds of the people. Those hearts which are engulfed with fear and terror will not blossom forth with good ideas of fragrance. Gandhiji wanted to get rid of fear from the hearts of the people. The dreams of Gandhiji have come true. The country is under the stewardship of a true Gandhian, Shri Morarji Desai, who will not alter his path or falter in his deeds.

We have rediscovered India. Let me quote Rabindranath Tagore:

"Where the mind is without fear  
and the head is held high,

where knowledge is free,

where words come out from the  
depth of truth,

where tireless strivings stretches  
its arms towards perfection,

into that heaven of freedom, my  
Father, let my country awake".

The prophetic dream has come true.

The only way to thank the courageous and bold people of India who lived and acted upto the expectations of poets like Tagore and Barathi, is to do our duty and serve them well.

Let me thank our Acting President for his address. Let me thank the Speaker for permitting me to speak and let me thank one and all for lending to their ears for some minutes for the maiden speech of a young man who hails from Kanyakumari where Vivekananda meditated three days before attaining sublimation. Let us remember the clarion call of that great sage and patriot: "Awake, arise and stop not till the goal is achieved".

SHRI B. K. NAIR (Mavelikara): I shall make a very short speech. I come from Kerala. The pattern of voting in Kerala has been quite different from what it has been in North India; the same applies to the other States in South India. But no mention has been made in the President's Address about the difference in the pattern of voting. What has been said is that the entire people of India have voted in a particular line. The entire people of India have not voted in a particular line. In regard to the southern States, the voting pattern has been different, and this fact has not been mentioned in the President's Address.

In the President's Address, it has been said that the Government is pledged to removal of destitution within a definite time-frame of ten years. This is a tall claim for any Government to make. Crores of people are involved, and 70 per cent of the people of India are below the poverty line. There is no magic wand by which the poverty of the entire nation can be removed in ten years. There should have been concrete and detailed programmes mentioned by the Government. When they say that rural development would be taken up, there should have been definite point by point clarification as to what projects will be taken up.

My own suggestion is that the entire rural economy can be revived only by giving a proper and reasonable price to the farmers. The actual cost of production should be the basis for the assessment of the price of the produce. To have the same price structure for the whole of India will not be correct.

In order to remove the poverty of the rural masses, one step should be to provide for a uniform wage rate for all agricultural workers throughout the country. There should be no disparity in wage rates. For example, in Kerala, we are paying Rs. 7

[Shri B. K. Nair]

each to women agricultural workers and Rs. 10 each to men agricultural workers, whereas in Andhra Pradesh where agriculture is more remunerative, the wages paid are less; so also in the Thanjavur delta, the wages paid are less. I do not think that there is any justification, whatsoever, to have this sort of disparity in the wages of agricultural workers, particularly in view of the fact that in almost all other organized industries like cotton and sugar, more or less uniform wage rates have been brought into force. Why not have this uniform wage rate in the field of agriculture also which is now being established on a State wide basis? The prices are fixed on a uniform basis. The wages also must be fixed on a uniform basis.

My own suggestion about rural development is to go in for a nationwide programme of house-building for the poor people. It has a two-fold advantage; one is providing shelter to the poor man; and the other is providing large scale employment. If the locally available material is utilised, it provides still a larger scope for employment. In Kerala we had this programme of providing one lakh houses for the poor; and within a period of two years or so we have been able to provide not less than 65,000 houses, and the remaining houses are also being built. This has provided large scale employment to the poor people thereto the brick-makers, to the lime-makers, masens, carpenters and other categories of labour etc. Therefore, as a measure of providing large scale employment in the rural areas, house-building for the poor people—low cost housing—may be one of the programmes adopted by the Government. The Government should go in for an intensive geological survey of the country. Some steps have been taken in this respect, but if we want to have mineral development, an intensive geological survey is necessary and it will brighten the entire countryside. That will also provide em-

ployment and that is the only way by which we can build up a new economy.

We talk and complain of migration from the rural areas to the urban centres. One way of tackling this problem is to insist that industries should hereafter be opened in rural centres only. There should be no encouragement to industries coming up in urban areas. The scope of industries should be increased in the countryside and once the industries are taken there, there would be more scope for employment and the entire village life would be brightened. People would not come to the urban areas for finding employment. Communication would be improved and the general health would be improved in the villages. This is one way of improving our rural side. We should insist that industries should hereafter, as far as possible, be set up in the countryside.

There is another important matter to which I would like to draw the attention of the House. There are lakhs of fishermen in our country residing on our external coastline. They are the neglected and forgotten people. If we develop this sector and provide the required facilities, a lot of relief can be provided to them. The fishermen as a class are taken for granted, nobody has even spoken a word about them. They continue to be in poverty; they continue to be in misery; there is no proper housing for them and no attention is paid for education of their children. As I said, they are just taken for granted. If we take into account the value of what they are producing on the one hand and the way they are living on the other, it would be clear that they are not getting a fair deal. Their occupation accrues a lot of benefit to the nation, but they continue to live in misery. Government should take action to provide amenities to them, provide facilities for the education of their children and open up new fishing harbours. With a small investment of

money, Government will be able to provide large scale employment to these people, which would result in the improvement of economy of this country.

Now, I would like to say a word on behalf of the members of this side to the hon. Members on the other side. We offer our whole-hearted cooperation to the Government in power. We may have our differences, but we expect that hereafter the speeches from the other side will be based on reason and not mere emotion or passion and will be giving more light than heat; there will be no acrimony and hatred. As I said, we are here to co-operate with them constructively. They should consider our suggestions with an open mind. We do hope, this phase of acrimony and vituperation and heat will certainly cease shortly.

Lastly, I would like to say that if you think of India, divided into South and North, and if you identify the Janata Party only with the people in the North, we will not be strengthening the forces of integration of the country and building of a united India. Even if for the time being, because of anger, you want to identify yourself with the Hindi-speaking area as against the South, I do hope, at least when you come to matters of administration or to laying down policies, at a later stage, you will give proper attention to the conditions in South, our grievances and demands. I do hope the Government under Shri Morarji Desai will not be so short-sighted and prejudiced as to ignore our grievances and demands. We should all join together to preserve the integrity and stability of the country. Sir, up to now on different occasions, we have been witnessing instability in certain States, some governments going and some other party forming the government or coalitions coming up. That sort of instability in the State level is something which we can afford but not instability at the Cen-

tre. This government should continue for the full period whatever shortcomings may be there. It is in the interests of all of us and it is in the interests of the entire nation that there should be no instability injected into the present structure. This government should continue to get support from all sections of the Parliament. But one thing. The government also should try to remove any element of distrust or any element of a feeling of distance that some sections might feel about it and they should try to bring about an atmosphere of confidence and mutual co-operation. That also will make for stability in the administration because in the nascent stage we should not have any feeling or even a threat of instability in the centre and it is in the interests of all of us that we co-operate fully and wholeheartedly for a stable and healthy government.

I think Mr. Morarji Desai, our revered leader and our other friends over there who till the other day were in the Congress and many of them had been in the State administration cannot in a spirit of political vendetta put the entire blame for whatever shortcomings that are there on the Congress Party. Some of them were holding positions in the Central government and some also in the State administration. For whatever problems the country is facing you cannot put the entire blame on the Congress. Shortcomings are there. So, let us in a spirit of, not forget and forgive, but in a spirit of understanding and healthy co-operation forget all that has happened in the election and try to get on with the job of providing employment for the masses and banishing poverty from the land which is a colossal job. I hope the same spirit of co-operation and understanding will be forthcoming from the all sides.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Ramanand Tiwari—not here. Shri Samarendra Kundu—he is also not here. Shri Hukam Dutt Narain Yadav—also absent.

Yes, Shri C. N. Viswanathan.



SHRI C. N. VISWANATHAN (Tirupattur): First I wish to congratulate the present government on introducing so many drastic and welcome measures like reinstatement of the dismissed railway employees. Though it is a big problem, the government has announced its decision so soon after its formation.

In the early stage itself there was an adjournment motion regarding Jammu and Kashmir and the Home Minister and the Prime Minister announced that there will be elections within three months. At the same time, we were expecting the Home Minister and the Prime Minister to announce the date for elections in Tamil Nadu as also in Pondicherry. The Janata Party has also said that they are ready to face the people any time. In Tamil Nadu we are at present having President's rule after the dissolution of the Assembly in 1976. The DMK Government was removed by the former Prime Minister due to corruption and misrule. The Report given by the Sarkaria Commission has been laid on the table of the House. When we asked the Prime Minister and the Home Minister about its further sitting, we were told that it would take its own time and that the law would take its own course. Nearly three months have elapsed but the date has not been announced when the Sarkaria Commission will sit in New Delhi or in Tamil Nadu.

Sufficient evidence has been given to show that the DMK Government has misused their power and there has been corruption in so many Departments of the Government. They utilized the Government machinery for their own purpose. They have built houses. Six cases have been proved. No chargesheet has been given so far. No action has been taken against the ex-Ministers in Tamil Nadu. ex-Ministers in Tamil Nadu are misusing their power again.

I can prove that. ex-Ministers with the aid of police and others have misused the power at the time of polling. In my Constituency too it happened like that. I do not know with whose encouragement they are still doing that. I think Government will frame charges against the corrupt Ministers. Action can be taken against them under Criminal Procedure Code.

Justice must be done in proper time, otherwise it is of no use. Justice delayed is justice denied.

There are so many cases against the DMK Government and ex-Ministers. Why is Government hesitating to take action and waiting? We do not know. I hope the hon. Prime Minister will announce dates for Pondicherry and Tamil Nadu election and he will announce the date for the sitting of the Sarkaria Commission.

I want to draw the attention of the hon. Prime Minister against the Land Reforms Act. In Tamil Nadu they had fixed ceiling of 15 standard acres for a farm. We want to know whether 15 acres will continue or it will be reduced further and the poor farmer will be allowed to have land. There are so many benami transactions. Whether the former Government whom I do not blame did something or not, whether proper wages have been given to the farmer or not, I want to say that Janata Government should take immediate steps to give proper wages to the poor labourers who are getting only Rs. 2 per day. They are labouring for Rs. 2 per day. What is the value of Rs. 2 these days? It is not more than 50 to 60 paise. In Tamil Nadu the agricultural labourers are very poor. Wages have to be given according to the Act. Although the Act is there nobody is giving proper wages to the agricultural labourers. Land Development Banks which had given loans to the farmers are collecting these loans forcibly from the farmers. If the farmers are not

paying the loans sometimes their motors, their pump sets etc. are seized; sometimes their vessels are being taken away from their houses by these Land Development Bank officers. I had attended so many cases; I asked them to give some time to the farmers. There is no Assembly there. That is why the officers take the law into their own hands and they are collecting vessels also from these poor farmers. I request the Prime Minister to ask these Land Development Bank officers to wait for some more time to recover the loan from the farmers.

I wish to draw your attention to one other point. The DMK Slum Clearance Board Chairman was asked to pay fine for the violation of the Customs Law. I don't want to name the ex-MLA, the Slum Clearance Board Chairman. He and his wife had been arrested and they paid the fine in the Customs Office itself.

AN HON. MEMBER: He has been acquitted.

SHRI C. N. VISWANATHAN: Mr. Kumari Anandan talked about Mr. Kamaraj.

AN HON. MEMBER: The time is already five minutes past 7-30.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If you have no objection I can extend it till 8. I think you have no objection.

SHRI K. MALLANNA (Chitradurga): The Parliamentary Affairs Minister is there. The Prime Minister is there. Let them re-fix some time tomorrow as it is very difficult now to sit further.

SHRI C. N. VISWANATHAN: It is not New Delhi, it is News Delhi, —it will carry out news to other parts of India. There are number of things

needed in my constituency. I don't want to go into this in detail. But I want to tell one thing to the Government. In my constituency nearly Rs. 17 crores worth of sandalwood has been put under auction. If the same sandalwood can be utilised by starting a factory, the constituency people will get benefit and it will help to solve the unemployment problem. If a factory had been started there, this unemployment problem will go and at least thousand people in my constituency will be benefited. Now, what has happened is this. Rs. 17 crores worth of sandalwood had been taken away to some other constituency, to some other State, though it is in India. This new factory may be started by the new Government and I expect this news to come from New Delhi. I expect this announcement by the new Government that this factory will be started there.

Mr. Kumari Anandan said something about Mr. Kamaraj, our beloved leader. The late Shri Kamaraj never said in his last words that the Congress-O should have the alliance with the DMK corrupt people. Kamaraj in his lifetime said, "the DMK are corrupt, they have misused their power, they should be punished". This is what Kamaraj said all his life. Mr. Kumari Anandan cannot deny what I say. The people in Tamilnadu know this. Everybody spoke of the DMK as the corrupt people. I am expecting an announcement from the Prime Minister regarding the sitting of the Inquiry Commission. I hope he will make announcements regarding the elections in Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry. We are ready to face the people.

On behalf of the Anna DMK I request the Prime Minister to announce a date about conduct of elections in Tamil Nadu when he replies to the debate tomorrow. Thank you.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, April 5, 1977/Chaitra 15, 1889 (Saka).*