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 behalf of Chaudhuri Charan Singh I beg to lay on the Table an explanatory statement (Hindi and English versions) giving reasons for immediate legislation by the East Punjab Urban Rent Retriction (Chandigarh Amendment) Ordinance, 1976.

11.43¹/₂ 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 Objectionable Matter Act, 1976.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to repeal the Prevention of Pulbication of Objectionable Matter 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 publication of reports of proceedings of Parliament.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to protect the publication of reports of proceedings of Parliament."

The motion was adopted.

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

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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 (रोशियारा): श्रध्यक्ष महोदय, जो कागजात मेज पर रखे जाते हैं वह हमें मिलते नहीं हैं। जो पहली तारीख को रखे गए वह आज भी नहीं मिले हैं।

इ। ध्यक्ष महोदय : लाइब्रेरी में रहते हैं।

चौधरी बलबीर सिंहः वहां पर तो यह प्रोसीजर था कि हमको दिये जाते थे ।

11.46 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair] HARI VISHNU KAMATH SHRI (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 discussion 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 corolary, 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 convincingly the truth of the old adage: परमात्मा के य*अ* देर भले *डे*. अन्धेर नड़ी हैं । and the wheels of God grind slowly but they grind exceedingly sure, exceedingly 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 च कडे consisting of the then Defence Minister, Shri Bansi

*Published in Gazette of India Extraordinary Part II, section 2, dated 4-77. 166 LS-2. [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 onstrous, fascist apparatus of opprestion and tyranny set up in India by this च गिडील चीकडी this Mafia gang of our headed by the Frime 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 i ride the jails. The MISA has been · ritably described not as the Mainmance of Internal Security Act but is 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 magnate--Dr. Shipping Jayanti 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 There is a mystery about the Road. 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—

क्षद्रं हदय दावं यत करवे ति ट 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 strenger. 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 heroworship, 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 when 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 carnestness 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

37 Vice-President's

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 नाथ राम मिर्बा (नागौर) : माननीय सभापति जी, श्राजादी के 30 साल बाद ग्राज जनता पार्टी सरकार में बैठी है। बहुत से सदस्य जो पहले विरोध पक्ष में रहे हैं उन सब ने मिल कर जनता पार्टी बनाई भ्रौर शासन की बागडोर सम्भाली है। मैं इस मौके पर इस सदन में माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी तथा ग्रन्थ साथियों को बधाई देना चाहता हं। उन्होंने इस देश का बहत बडा बोझ सम्भाला है अपने कंघों पर जब से जनता पार्टी का बहमत इस देश में हम्रा तब से उन की सारी गतिविधियों को ग्रज्छी तरह से देख रहा हूं। सब से पहले जनता पार्टी के तमाम लोगों ने गांधी जी को समाधि पर जा कर श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण जी द्वारा दिलाई हई शपथ को ग्रहण किया भ्रीर जो नजारा वहां पर मैंने देखा, मुझे ऐसा लगा कि यह इस देश के लिए एक नया

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[श्रीतनाथू ाम मिर्घा]

पोलिटिकल नजारा है । कुछ लोग जो समाधि की तरफ़ देखना भी नहीं चाहते ये वह भी वहां पर आराम से खड़े हुए शपथ की रहे थे । बहत ग्रच्छे लक्षण हैं ग्रगर उस शपथ को ध्यान में रख कर जनता पार्टी ग्रागे चलने की कोशिश करती है तो । उस के बाद मैं ने इस सदन में माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी का भाषण सुना, रेल मंत्री जी का भाषण सुना ग्रीर उस के बाद ग्राज जिस प्रस्ताव पर हम बहस कर रहे हैं उस राष्ट्रपति के मभिभाषण को भी पढ़ा ग्रीर सुना । यह तीनों काफ़ी महत्वपूर्ण मौके होते हैं ।

जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने यह कहा है कि मभी हम को चार्ज लिये बहुत थोड़ा समय हुआ है इसलिए बहुत से बुनियादी मुद्दों पर हमारी क्या नीति स्रौर दृष्टिकोण होगा हम आने वाले सेशन में इन वातों पर म्रपनी नीतियों पर गहराई से प्रकाश डालेंगे। मभी जो कुछ प्रकाश डाला है उस में जो मझे लगा है वह मैं ग्राप के सामने रखना चाहता हुं। मैं माननीय रेल मंत्री के भाषण से जो कुछ समझा उन्होंने दो साल के रेलवे के परफ़ारमेंस के बारे में वस्तु स्थिति का म्रपने भाषण में जिक किया। उस समय जनता पार्टी के पीछे बैठे हुए माननीय सदस्यों के चेहरों को मैं देख रहा था, उनकी हुई कायंवाहियों को भी देख रहा था ग्रीर उस ते मुझे कुछ दुःख भी हो रहा था क्योंकि रेल मंत्री जी ने कुछ पोलिटिकल ग्रानेस्टी बरती ।

उन्होंने पिछले साल के रेलवे के परफ़ामेंस के बारे में जिक किया श्रौर उसके बारे में जनता पार्टी के यहां बैठने वाले सदस्यों के हावभाव देख कर वह खुद घबरा गये श्रौर उन्होंने यह कहा कि यह परफामेंस रेलवे कर्मचारियों श्रौर जनता की वजह से हैं। यह एक नई टर्मिनालाजी सुनने को मिली। इसका म्तलव यह है कि श्रगर कोई परफा रेंस मागे भी किसी महकमें में होगी तो वह इन मंत्रियों मौर सरकार की नहीं होगी, वह भी जनता मौर जनता के कर्मचारियों की ही होगी। जनता पार्टी ने एक नई र्टीम-नौलौजी यह रखी है, क्या ये इसे परमानैन्ट र्टीमनौलौजी 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 जिक किया । मुझे उनके भाषण ग्रौर उनके दुष्टिकोण को र देख कर बहुत ही दुःख हुग्रा । उनके भाषण को सूनने के बाद मुझे ऐसा लगा कि इस देश में पिछले 30 साल में जैसे कुछ भी नहीं हुन्रा भौर हम फिर जीरो से सारा काम शुरु कर रहे हैं। इस कंट्री में काफ़ी कारोबार हग्रा है। (व्यवधान) ग्राप भी -ग्रपनी बात बाद में कह लीजिए । ग्रापको बहत मौका मिलेगा । मैं ऐसा म्रादमी नहीं हूं जो किसी के बीच में बोलूं। मेरा प्रण है कि मैं किसी के बीच में नहीं बोलूंगा। मैं ग्रापसे यह भी निवेदन कर देना चाहता हं कि उत्तर भारत त मैं ही अपनी पार्टी का एक नुमाइन्दा ह, इस बात का भी स्राप लोग ध्यान रखें ।

मैं ग्रापसे यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि वित्त मंत्री ने कहा कि इस देश में कृषि उत्पादन कुछ बड़ा है, तो वह मौसम की धनुकूलता की वजह से बढ़ा है। जनता पार्टी के बहुत से लोगों को ख्याल होगा कि जब यह देश म्राजाद हुम्रा तो इसका खाद्यान्न का उत्पादन 50 मिलियन टन था। ग्राज वह उत्पादन 118 मिलियन टन पहुंच गया हैं। कह सकते हैं कि इसमें ग्रच्छे मौसम का भी अप्रसर है लेकिन पिछले 30 सल में 50 मिलियन टन से इसकः प्रोडक्शन 110 112 मिलियन टन पहुंच चुका है, उसने नीचे नहीं जाता है तो मैं निवेदन करना च हता हूं कि मौसम के प्रलावा और भी कई फैक्टर्स इसमें आत है, ऐसा हम सब लोग समझकर चलें। मागेभी चलने के लिए

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Address (M)

आज का लैबल कुर्छ म।नकर ही चल सकेंगे। वह भी हमें तय करना होगा। भ हे एग्री-कल्चर का उत्पादन हो या उद्योग का, ग्र.गे बह कितना बढ़ा, यह कोई न कोई ग्राधार ग्राज का मां कर ही चलना होग। वरना ग्रागे ग्र.पको भी कन्पयूजन होगा कि ग्रान ने कहां से गुरू किया ग्रीर ग्र.प कहां पहुंचे।

हमने जो पीछे खराब किया, हमको जो भी सजा ग्राप दें, हम उसे भोगने को तैयार हैं । भ्राप कमीशन बैठाइये, इन्क्वायरी कोजिए, लेकिन मेरी प्रार्थना है कि आप उसमें ज्यादा समय मत लगाइये, जो करना है, कर डालिये । क्रगर यहां भाषण में ज्याद. समय लगाधेंगे तो जो झाप को आगे काम करन। है, उससे पीछे रह जायेंगे । इस सदन का टाइम बड़ा कीमती है, एक मिनट के हजारों रुपये लंगते हैं । हमारे माननीय सदस्य श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसू हें, दो, तीन ६ण्टे का समय तो यही खा जाते हैं। समझाइये, कंट्रोल कीजिए श्राप इन्हें वयोंकि ये ग्रापकी पार्टी के साथ है । जनता पार्टी बड़ी हैट्रोजीनियस है, इसमें कई प्रका: के दल हैं और ग्रापने इनको ग्रपने ः थ मिलं न 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 ग्रोग्रथ जीरो से बढ़ कर 10 परसेंट तक पहुंच गई, लेकिन जनता पार्टी की तरफ़ से कहा जाता है कि कुछ भी नहीं हुम्रा है। हमने ग्रपनी हार बड़ी ग्रेसफुली स्वीकार की है। जनता ने हम को हमारे इकानोमिक प्रोग्राम के कारण नहीं हराय, बल्कि हमारी कुछ ग़लतियों के कारण हराया। हम उन ग़लतियों को स्वीकार करते हैं । भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री जी भी उन को स्वीकार करती है । हम , बोल्ड्ली कहते हैं कि हम ने ग्रलतियां की हैं इसलिए जनता ने हमें जो सजा दी है, वह हमें मंजूर है । ग्रागे कमीशन ढारा एन-क्वायरी करवा कर भी हमें जो सजा दी जायेगी, वह भी हमें मन्जूर है । लेकिन सरकार को इन बातों पर ज्यादा समय वर्बाद, नहीं करना चाहिए ।

वित्त मंत्री का भाषण पोलीटिकल ग्रानेस्टी से परेथा। मुझे ग्राशा है कि ग्रागे वह ज्यादा ग्रानेस्ट हो कर ग्रायेंगे। ग्राज जनता पार्टी में कई पार्टियां शामिल हैं। समझ में नहीं ग्राता है कि वह किन नीतियों के ग्राधार पर देश को ग्रागे बढ़ायेगी। ग्रगर वह ग्रपनी नीतियों को साफ करेगी, तो इस से देश को बल मिलेगा। जनता को ग्रच्छी तरह से मालूम है कि पिछले तीस सालों में एग्रीकल्चरल प्रेंडक्शन ग्रीर इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोंडक्शन के क्षेत्र में कितना काम हुग्रा है। हम ग्राश्वासन देते हैं कि हम सरकार को पूरा सहयोग देंगे।

जहां तक एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन का सम्बन्ध है, नेशनल कमीशन ग्रान एग्नीकल्चर ने 34 वाल्यूम्ज की एक रिपोर्ट सरकार को दी हैं। वह एक इंडिपेंडेंट कमीशन था। इस देश में जंगलात, जानवरों ग्रौर खेती से कैंसे धन बढ़ाया जाये, ग्रौर इस सैन्चरी के एण्ड में हमारे फ़्रैमिली प्रोग्राम के बावजूव देश की जनसंख्या, जो 95 करोड़ तक पहुंच जायेगी, उस को कैंसे फ़ीड किया जाये, इस बारे में ग्रग रे छः साल के लिए जिम्मेदारी जनता सरकार की है।

राष्ट्रपति ने ग्रपने ग्रभिभाषण नें कहा है कि ग्राने वाले दस सालों में हम जनता को [श्रोतायू राम मिर्घा]

मच्छा जीवन दे सकेंगे ग्रौर बेरोजगारी को मिटा सकेंगे ।

12.18 घण्टे

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair] हम दोनों का उद्देश्य यही है, लेकिन ग्रगले दस साल ों यह काम कैसे किया जायेगा, इस बारे में सरकार को एक प्रोयाम 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 ग्रगले छः साल तो उस के निश्चित हैं। ग्रगर इस बीच में वह गिर जाये, तो ग्रौर बात है। उस के गिरने का ख़तरा है। हम उस में फुट नहीं डालना चाहते हैं। वह स्वयं अपने वेट से गिरेगी। ग्रगर यह सरकार इन छः सालों में जनता की भलाई के लिए काम करती है, तो उस के बाद ग्रगर फिर जनता पार्टी की सरकार बनती है, तो हों कोई एतराज नहीं होगा 1

राष्ट्रीय कृषि ग्रायोग की रिपोर्ट हिन्दूस्तान के 80 परसेंट लोगों के वैलफ़ेयर का डाकुमेट है। सरकार को उस का ग्रध्ययन कर के उस पर कार्यवाही शुरू कर देनी चाहिए और छठे प्लान के अन्तर्गत उस के मुताबिक योजन यें बनानी चाहिएं। सरकार को प्रोक्य रमेंट और दामों के बारे में फ़्रै ला करना है। महंगाई को देखते हुए विक्सान का कास्ट ग्राफ़ प्रोडक्शन बहुत बड़ गया है। सरकार किसान को 102, 103 या 105 रुपये देती है। वह कुछ ग्रीर ज्यादा दे सके, तो ग्रच्छा है। यह ठीक है कि वह बहुत ज्यादा सब्सिडी नहीं देसकती है। ग्राज 136 के रेट पर ग्राप बेच रहे हैं। ग्रगर बेचने के रेट को थोड़ा ग्रीर ऊंचा कर दें तो जो कुछ माप ने वेजेज लोगों की बढ़ाई है उस ों बहुत ज्यादा सन्सिडी ग्राप को नहीं देनी पड़ेगी ग्रीर काश्ततकार को भी उस की पैदावार की

कुछ ज्यादा कीमत मिल जायगी। आज यह एक बहुत बड़ा सवाल है कि काश्तकार को उस को पैदावार की वाजिब कीमत मिलनी चाहिए श्रीर यह सवाल कि किस तरह से प्रोक्योर टेंट किया जाय, क्या उस की कीमतें मुकर्रर की जांय पहले से चला ग्रा रहा है। पहले भी यह सवाल था कि काश्तकार को उस की पैदा की हुई चीजों के उचित दाम नहीं मिलते । श्रब श्राप की नई सरकार बनी है। हमें यह देखना है कि हिन्दूस्तान के काश्तकारों को श्राप 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 श्रन्दर ही बता हें तो हम को भी पता चल जायगा, वरना अखबारों ों जनता भी पढेगी और हम भी ग्रख गरों मे ही पढ लेंगे। ग्रभी तक बहुत सी बातें इस बारे में सोचने ग्रौर करने की हैं। उन को ग्राप सोचें ग्रौर तरें। प्रधान मंत्री जी बहुत तजुर्वेकार हैं श्रौर बहुत बुजुर्ग हैं। ग्राप की पार्टी के लोगों की कम से कम तकली फें उन के पास जायें ऐसा इंतजाम ग्राप करें। ग्रापस के प्रेशर ग्रौर दूसरे प्रेशर्स से उन के काम करने की शक्ति पर ग्रसर पडेगा। इस देश से गरीबी मिटाने का काम दस साल के ग्रन्दर उन को करना है। उस के लिए बहुत कुछ करना पड़ेगा ग्रौर बहुत ज्यादा सीरियस हो कर उन्हें इन सारी बातों के ऊपर सोचना पड़ेगा । हम भी उस में ग्राप का साथ देना चा हते हैं। हम इस बात को भी मानते हैं कि देश ों टू पार्टी सिस्टम हो ग्रीर उस के लिए फर्दर पोलराइजेशन करने की जरूरत हो तो वह भी कर लिया जाय। देश के म्रन्दर दो पार्टियां बना कर ग्रगर हम लोक तंत्र के मार्ग पर सकलतापूर्वक चल सकें स्रौर देश को ग्रागेले जा सकें तो मैं समझता ह यह एक बहुत ही अच्छी बात होगी ।

जहां तक एमजैंसी का ताल्लुक है मेरी राय में इस देश के लिए एमजैं।

जरूरी थी क्योंकि जिस तरह का वातावरण स्कूलों कालेजों ग्रौर रेलों इत्यादि i बना हमा था उस में एमजेंसी लागू करना बहत ही' ग्रावण्यक हो गया था। मेरी राय मे एमजेंसी नहीं होती तो यह देश मर जाता.. (व्यवधान). मैं इस तरह के हल्लों से दबने वाला नहीं हूं। एमर्जेंसी में हमारी गलतियां हुई हैं, उन को मैं मानता हूं। मैं आप से यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि जिस रास्तें पर ग्राप चल रहे हैं उस के बारे में माननीय मंत्री जी ग्रौर प्रधान मंत्री जी कुछ ग्रौर सोच लें। ग्रापने रेलवे के लोगों को बहाल किया । ग्रापने 600 ग्रादमियों को नौकरी पर ले लिया, हमें कोई एतराज नहीं है। लेकिन एक प्रोसीजर, एक तरीका होता है करने का । मच्छा होता ग्राप इस की थोड़ी म्रौर स्कीनिंग कर नेते क्योंकि ऐसा न हो कि वही उच्छ खलता फिर इस देश मे वापस म्रा जाय। यह ख्याल ग्राप को रख कर चलना है । ग्राप बोनस ग्रौर दूसरे सवालों को देखें। ठीक है मंत्री जी ने याद दिलाया उस दिन कि ये ये मांगें ग्राप ने की थीं। पर हम तो समझौता करने के लिए तैयार थे। मतलब यह कि आज आप भी महतुस करते हैं कि सारी मांगें मानने लायक नहीं हैं, मानी नहीं जा सक हिं हैं।

मैं ग्राप से यह निवेदन करता हूं कि प्रागेंनाइज्ड ले गर इस देश में तगड़ा है । उनके प्रतिनिधि ग्राप की पार्टी में भी तगड़े हैं। ग्रगर ग्रागेंनाइज्ड लेगर के एक हिस्से से ज्यादा ग्राप ने दे दिया तो देश के करोड़ों गरीब जो ग्रन-ग्रागेंनाइज्ड हैं उन का क्या करेंगे ? ग्राप के सामने रिसोसेंज का भी सवाल है । (व्यवधान)....मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा हूं कि इस देश मे लेगर को एक्सेसिवली टैम्पर कर के फिर वही उच्छुं खलता का वातावरण वापस खड़ा कर दिया गया तो यह सरकार खुद मपनी

मौत मोल लेगी । यह मैं बहुत गंभीरता से निवेदन कर रहा हूं। इस देश में करोड़ों गरीब लोग पड़े हुए हैं जिन के लिए कोई बोलने वाला नहीं है, जिनका कोई भार्गे-नाइजेशन नहीं है श्रौर उनके बहुत कम नेता इस सदन मे आते हैं। (व्यववान) वह कमजोरी हम में थीं। पर हमारी कमजोरियों पर हंसने से ग्राप का काम नहीं चलेगा। स्रापका काम जरा मजबूत हो कर चलने से चलेगा। श्रगर वही वातावरण फिर वापस ग्रा गया तो ग्रच्छा नहीं होगा। श्राज भी ग्राप जायं, तो पायेंगे कि सात दिनों के ग्रन्दर वातावरण में कितना फर्क ग्रा गया है ? रेलों मे बिलकुल ही इंडिपेंडेंट श्रादमियों का यह ख्याल है कि एफिश्येंसी मे दस परसेंट का फर्क ग्रागया है। मैं रेल मंबी से निवेदन करूंगा कि वे इस बात पर विचार करें, बहुत ही ईमानदार भ्रादमिय^{े;} का यह कहना है कि दस परसेंट का लैकुना उस की वर्किंग नें ग्रागया है। श्रगर यही हालत रही तो गिरते गिरते कहीं ऐसा न हो कि इस एमजेंसी में जो गेन्स हए उन को भी ग्राप खो बैठें ग्रीर देश का नुकसान हों । यह मेरी ग्रापको वार्निंग है। इस पर स्रापको कितना गौर करना है इसका फैसला तो ग्रापको ही करना है । चूंकि समय की कमी है श्रौर मैं आपकी म्राज्ञा को मानने वाला हूं इसलिए म्रागे जब बजट ग्रायेगा या दूसरी नई चीजें ग्र येंगी तब ग्रौर विचार प्रकट करूंगा, खुलकर ग्रपने विचारों को इस सदन के सामने रखुंगा । श्रभी ग्रापने मुझे बोलने का ग्रवसर दिया उसके लिए मैं ग्रापको धन्यवाद देता हुं ।

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उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : श्री बलबीर सिंह ।

श्री राम नरेश कुःतवाहा (सलेमपुर) : उपाघ्यक्ष महोदय, ग्रापने जकवार को स्वयं [श्रोर म लरेश कुणवःहा] कहा था कि मेरा नम्बर म्राया है, मुझे समय मिलेगा ।

उपाध्यक्ष महीदयः मुझेतो जो लिस्ट मिलती है उसी के हिसाब से पुकारता हूं। म्राप म्रपनी पार्टी के ह्विप से बात करलें। म्रापको पता है उस दिन श्री राज नारायण डेढ़ घण्टा ूबोले।

श्वी राम नरेश **कुशवाहा** उनके बोलने के बाद ग्रापने कहा था ।

उपाध्यक्ष महीदय : उनके बोलने के बाद तो नान-ग्राफिशियल विजनेस शुरू हो गया था।

षोधरो बलवीर सिंह (होशियारपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जनता पार्टी का सूरज निकल ग्राया ग्रौर उल्लू को ग्रगर नजर नहीं ग्रात तो जनता पार्टी के सूरज का क्या कसूर है ? मैं तो ग्रपने स्वास्थ्य मंत्री से कहूंगा कि हमारे जो विरोधी पक्ष के नेता हैं उनकी ग्राखों में फितूर है, उनकी ग्राखों का इलाज करवायें क्योंकि उनको जनता पार्टी एक जानवर नजर ग्राती है । ग्रगर यह पक्षा चल जाये कि उनकी नजर में फितूर नहीं है तो फिर उन्हें मेंटल हास्पिटल में भेजें क्योंकि दिमागी खराबी से ही किसी को श्रादमी जानवर नजर ग्राता है ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बीस महीने की कहानी, तीस साल की कहानी ग्रांर दस साल की कहानी-यह तीन ग्रलग ग्रलग कहानियां हैं । वीस महीने की कहानी में करा-क्या हुग्रा है ? श्री लखन पाल जो चण्डीगढ़ में बार कौसिल के चेयरमैन थे, उनका क्या कुसूर था ? श्री जय प्रकाश नारायण के भाई उनके पास पहुंचे, वे श्री जय प्रकाश जी से मिलना चाहते थे । वे उनको ग्रपनी कार में लकर गये थे, उनको वापिस ले कर ग्राये ग्रौर वे खुद मिले नहीं । पुलिस उन्हें ले गई ग्रोर ग्राखिर जब वे मरने के करीब हए तो उनको पी जी झाई में भेज दिया गया। उनकी बीबी को फोन गया कि आप लखन पाल को घर ले जाइये। पी जी म्राई में जब लखन पाल की बीबी पहंची तो उनकी लाश लेकर घर गई। यह किस्सा सिर्फ एक ग्रादमी का नहीं है। यहां पर श्री प्राणनाथ एडवोकेट थे, उनक क्या कसूर 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 ग्रब मिनिस्टर हैं, एडवोकेट थे। उनके घर पर छापा मारा गया, उनके बीबी बच्चों को तंग किया गया स्रौर उनका सारा सामान उठाकर पूलिस ले गई जोकि म्राज भी किसी जगह रखा हम्रा है म्रौर सड़ रहा है। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने 18 जनवरी को जब एलान किया उसके बहुत बाद 7-8 फरवरी तक उनको छोड़ा गया। ग्राखिर, क्या कुसूर था उनका ?

मेरा ग्रपना भी थोड़ा सा किस्सा है । मैं डी ए वी कालेज की मैनेजिंग कमेटी का प्रधान था। मुझे 26 जुन, 1975 को पकड़ा गया। मेरे बाद मेरे सीनियर वाइस प्रेसीडेन्ट, चौ० जयराम दास को पुलिस में बुलाया गया। उनका हैरसमेन्ट हुआ, उनको ोंटल टार्चर किया गया । चार घंटे के बाद उन्हें कहा गया कि म्रापको मीसा में गिरफ्तार किया जायेगा नहीं तो ग्राप दर खत कररें कि ग्राप कमेटी को दिल्ली वालों के सुपुर्द करते हैं । जब दोबारा टेलीफोन आया एस पी का तो कहा गया कि म्राप 24 घटे इं जिर करें म्रीर उसके बाद जबाव दे कि इन कागजात पर ग्राप दस्तखत करेंगे या नहीं । वे घर वापिस म्राये तो राज उनका हार्ट फेल हो गया । यह किस्से हैं इस देश में बीस महीने की इमर्जेन्सी के । म्रभी उधर के एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि ये एमर्जेन्सी के गैन्ज है। गैन्ज यही है कि जन⊴ा पार्टी यहां ग्रा कर बैठ गई है **ग्रौर** भ्राप को उठा कर वहां पटक दिया है।

जिन्होने कहा है कि इस देश की बहत तरक्की हो गई है। हमारे फारन-एक्सचेन्ज का बैलेन्स बढ़ गया है मैं उनको यही कहना चाहता हं कि ये वही लोग है जिन को पिछले 30 साल से म्राप गालियां निकालते है, ब्रेन-ड़ेन 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 युनीव-सिटियों में गये, रिसर्च इंस्टीच्यान्ज में गये, लेकिन किसी ने उस की परवाह नहीं की कि खुराना कौन है। मायूस हो कर वह **ग्रमरीका चले गये, उनकी काबलिय**ं इस देश ें किसंको नजर नहीं क्राई लोकिन **ग्रमरोका ने उन**ी कॉबलियन का पता लगा लिया, उस को मालुम हो गया कि इन के सिर में भी दिमाग है, उन्होंने वहां रह कर खोंज की ग्रौर उस का यह नतीजा निकला कि उन को नौरल प्राइज मिला। उस के बाद इन को भी उन की कावलियत का पता लग गया और ये कहने लगे कि डा० खुराना ्हिन्दुस्तान के हैं, एटम-बम के बाद इन्होने दुनिया की सब से बड़ी खोज की है। डा० खुराना ने कहा कि ग्रब मै हिन्दुस्तान का कहां रहा, मुझे तो घक्के देकर बाहर निकाल दिया गया था। म्राज इस देश में एक नहीं अने हों खुराता हैं जिन्हें माका नहीं मिलना है। मैं जनता पार्टी के नये मिनिस्टर साहब से कहगा जैसा जनता पार्टी ने ग्रपने मैनिफैस्टों में कहा है कि इस देश में हर ग्रादमी को काम कंहक मिलेगा ग्रौर ग्रगर सरकार उस को काम नहीं दे पायेगी तो उसे वैकारी एलाउन्स मिलेगा उस वायदे को जल्द से जल्द एक प्रोग्राम बना कर पूरा किया जाय।

झाज हम रोज अखवारो 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 उो काम नहीं मिल सका इस से दिल को बहुत चोट लगती है। आज हमारे देश के लड़के बाहर के मुल्को में जा कर, इंग्लैंड, अमरीका श्रीर

कैनाडा की बात छोड़ दीजिये रेगिस्तानी मुल्कों में जा कर शान्दार काम कर रहे हैं, कैक्ट्ररियां बना रहे हैं बिजल घर बना रहे हैं म्रस्पताल बना रहे हैं, डिबोय म्रौर 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। ब्राज दुनियां में कोई मुल्क ऐसा नहीं है जहां हर चीज पैदा होती है लेकिन हमारे मल्क में हर एक फल पैदा होता है, सब्जी पैदा होती है, अांज पैदा होता हे, हर तरह के मिनरल्ज हमारे देश की धरती में भरे पडे है, हम उन से फायदा उठा सकते है, लेकिन इस देश की पिछली हुरूमत ने दिमांग मेहनत ग्रौर दौलत तीनों को इक्ट आ करने ता प्रयास नहीं किया इन्होंने सिर्फ ग्रयना पेट भरने को लगातार कोशिश की, जिस का नतीजा यह हग्रा कि देश गरीब होता गया। ये लोग यहां पर सवाल करते हैं, ग्रभी 10 दिन सरकार को बने हए हुँ ये लोग पूछते हैं कि ग्राप ने ऐसा क्यों नहीं किया, लेकिन ग्रापने 30 सालों की बात को भल जाते है। इन की 20 महीने की इमर्जेन्सी के गेन्ज या 20 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम क्या था । 8 हजार की इन्कम टैक्स की हद कर दी यह इन का प्रोग्रेसिव कदम था, लेकिन ग्रब ग्रगर यह 10 हजार हो जाये तो शायद वह ज्यादा प्रोग्रेसिव हो जायगा। इन्होने टुको के नेशनल प मिट दिये, इस लिये कि उस से माल के लाने ले जाने में ज्यादा तेजी ग्राती है, लेकिन उस को भी सीमिन रखा ग्रौर उस में भी करप्शन की ए नई मद पैदा कर केो कि किस को परमिट मिले ग्रौर किस को न मिले । मैं तो अपनी सरकार को यह सुझाव देना चाहगा कि जो भी ट्रक ठॉक काम करे, उस को नेशनल परमिट िया जाय ताकि कर झन का नना रास्ता खला न पाये।

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इन्होंने कहा है कि पिछले साल में इन्होंने बहुत ज्यादा एक्सपोर्ट किया है। डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, ग्रगर ये लिनिश्ड ग्रार्टीकल बने हुए माल को एक्सपोर्ट करते तो हम खरूर [घोचरी बलबीर सिंह]

इन को मुबारकबाद देते कि ग्राप ने वाकई बहुत ग्रच्छा काम किया है, लेकिन इन्हों ने तो मुल्क क रेलत को ब हार भेजना श्रुरु कर दिया, ग्रायरन-ग्रौर, कोयला, कच्चा माल बाहर के देशों को भेजते है तो यह एक्स-पोटं नही है । यह तो ऐसी ही बात हुई जैसे एक ऐयास लडका ग्रपने बाप की जायदाद को बेच दे ग्रौर फिर यह कहे कि देखः मेरे बाप के पाम कोई बैंक बेलैन नहीं था ग्रौर ग्राज मेरे पास वैंक बेलेंस है । 20 लाख रुपये की वह ग्रपने वाप की जायदाद बेच देता है ग्रौर उस में 15 लाख रुपया वह ऐयाशी में उड़ा देता है ग्रौर 5 लाख रुपया उस के पास बैंक बेलेन्स रह जाता है ग्रौर इस पर वह बड़े गर्व के साथ कहता है कि यह मेरा वैंक बेलेस है ।

ग्राज ये लोग जिन को जनता ने दूसरी तरफ फैंक दिया है, ये कहते है कि हमारा एक्सपोर्ट बहत बढ़ा है। जो हमारी दौलत है उस को ये बहत कम दामों में बेच रहे थे। ग्रगर ग्राप लोहे की बात ही ले, तो ग्राप यह देखेगे कि हिन्दूस्तान में जो स्टील बनता है, उस पर हमारी लागत करीब 2300 रुपये टन ग्राती है लेकिन जापान जहा पर न लोहे का भंडार है ग्रौर न कोयले का भंडार है ग्रौर वह कोयला हिन्द्रस्तान से खरीदता है भ्रौर दुनिया के भ्रौर दूसरे मुल्कों से खरीदता है, वहा पर जो स्टील वनता है उस पर उस का खर्च 1200 रुपये टन के करीब ग्राता है। हमारे यहां जो स्टील बनता है, उस पर हमारा खर्च 2300 रुपये आता है । अब अगर जापान इन्टरनेशनल मार्केट में स्टील को 1700 रुपये टन के हिसाब से बेचता है तो उस को 500 रूपये का फायदा होता है और अगर हत ग्रप रेस्टील 1700 रुपये में बेचते है तो हम को 600 रुपये टन के धाटे पर उस को बेचना पडता है ग्रीर यह जो धाटा है इस का बोझ टैक्सपेयर पर पड़ता है। इस तरह से श्राप देखे कि जो प्लांनिग हुन्ना है, उस में भी बहुत सी खामियां है। बोकारो के स्टील प्लान्ट की जो सरकार की ग्रपनी रिपोर्ट है, उस

के मनुसार मगर मांल कैपेसिटी से बोकारो काम करे, तो हमें 20 करोड़ का धाटा 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 म्रपनी रिपोर्ट है म्रौर उस के म्रनुसार म्रगर वह प्लान्ट नार्नल कैपेसिटी से काम करे, तो उस में 20 करोड़ रुपये का धाटा है म्रौर इस पर पिछली सरकार कहती है कि हम के बड़ा प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा दिया।

ये लोग प्राइस इनडेक्स की बात करते है श्रौर कहते है कि प्राइस इन्डेक्स नीचे ग्रा गया। जो थोडा सा प्राइस इन्डेक्स कम हुग्रा है, वह किस चीज में कम हन्रा है। किसान जो पैदा करता है, उस में ही कम हग्रा है। क_{ां}क की कीमत जो किसान को पहले मिलती थी वह ग्रब भी मिलती है। पिछले कई साल से उस को 105 रुपये क्वींटल कनक का दाम मिला है ग्रौर पिछले साल भी 105 रुपये क्वीटल ही मिला था जबकि जो फिनिश्ड गुड्स है, उन की कीमन लगातार बढती जा रही है। उन की कोमत कम नही हुई है। दो महीने पहले सरकार ने 30 परसेन्ट कपड़े की कीमत बढा दी लेकिन किसान के उत्पादन की कीमत बढाने का इन को ख्याल नहीं ग्राया है। जो किसान पैदा करता है उस की कीमत तो कम हो जातो 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 साज सरकार ने बढा दी थी जबकि कारखानेदारों ने मजदूरों को वहां पैसा दिया। गन्ने की कीमत और खाड की कीमत ज्यादा नहीं बढ़ाई लेकिन शीरे की कीमत पांच गुणा बढ़ा दी । कारखानेदार के पास खांड के ग्रलावा शीरा भी पैदा होता है भौर भ्रमर 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 हुन्ना धौर उस की कीमत पांच

गुणा बढ़ गई। इस का मतलब यह हुआ कि 440 करोड रूपया सरकार ने ग्रपने एक हक्म से कारखानेदारों की जेब में भर दिया म्रौर उस 440 करोड रुपये में से इन की जेब में ितना म्राया उसका पता तो इक्वायरी मगर सरकार की तरफ से होगी, तब चलेगा। इसलिये मैं कहता हूं कि जिस ढंग से काम हम्रा है, पिछली सरकार ने जिस ढंग से काम किया है, वह ठीक नहीं था । सरकार ने जो यह म्राख्वासन दिया है कि नागरवाला कांड जो हम्रा है, उस की जांच होगी, यह रवागतयोग्य बात है। मैं चाहुंगा कि धर्म तेजा स्कैन्डल जो हुग्रा था या जो दूसरें ऐसे कैसेज हुए हैं, उन की इक्वायरी भी जल्द से जन्द करें ग्रौर स्टेट्स में जो धांधलिया मची हुई है ग्रौर पिछले इलैक्शन में जो लोगों ने बरडिक्ट दिया है, इन के खिलाफ फतवा दे दिया है, उस को मानते हए भारत सरकार का यह काम है कि हर स्टेट में इलैक्शन्स हां ग्रौर फिर से नई सरकारें बनें ताकि ठीक ढंग से काम हो सके ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं सामाप्त करता हूं।

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 यज्ञवत्त झर्मा (गुरदासाु∵) : उपा-ध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं ग्रापके माध्यम से कार्यवाहक राष्ट्रपति महोदय को उनके ग्रभिभाषण के लिए धन्यवाद देता हूं । उनका भाषण छोटा तो जरूर है लेकिन है बहुत सारर्गामत । उसमें थोड़े से में ही बहुत कुछ कह दिया है । गया तीस वर्ष में शायद पहली बार इस देश की जनता थे सामने ऐसा ग्रभिभाषण ग्राया है ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I would request the hon. Members not to come to the Chair. Fhe 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 झर्मा : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा डेढ़ मिनट ग्राप ध्यान में रखियेगा । मैं निवेदन कर हा था कि बहुत थोड़े में बहुत कुछ कह दिया गया है । ग्रब सवाल उसको कार्यी-क्वित करने का है । उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक बात सभी माननीय सदस्यों ने इस सदन के ध्यान में लाई है ग्रीर वह है पिछले शासन के कुकृत्यों की । माननीय चह्वाण जी, मुझे क्षमा करे, मुझे कुकृत्यों से ग्रच्छा कोई दूसरा शव्द नहीं सूझा । इन कुकृत्यों के सम्बन्ध में, मेरा निवेदन है कि इनकी जांच ग्रवश्य होनी चाहिये ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कार्यवाह राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने ग्रपने ग्रभिभाषण में कहा है कि उसके सम्बन्ध में कोई योजना होगी । मुझे पता नई कि वह योजना कैसी है । मेरा विन प्र मुझाव है कि देश के ग्रन्दर पूर्व पश्चिम, उत्तर, दक्षिण ग्रौर मध्य मार्गो में पाच ग्रायोग नियुक्त कर दिये जाये जिनके पास लोग ग्रपनी शिकायते पहुंचा सकें ग्रौर उन शिकायतो के ऊपर ग्रागे चल कर विचार हो । पीछे जो व्यापक पैमाने पर भ्रष्टाचार के कार्य दूए है, व्यक्तियों के जीवन से सम्बन्धित भी

[श्री यज्ञदत्त शर्मा]

लोगों के पास शिकायतें है, वे सब इन आयोगों के पास झाये। जैसा कि मेरे मित्र कवंरलाल जी ने कुछ व्यक्तियों के विरूद सदन का व्यान दिलाया है, निश्चित रूप से कुछ व्यक्तियों के विरुद्ध भी लोगों के पास शिकायते होगी । ऐसे व्यक्तियों के विरूद्ध शिकायता को सूनने के लिए भी जांच स्रायोग स्थापित किया जाये । में यह सब किसी व्यक्ति के विरोध में या बदला लेने की भावना से नहीं कह रहा हूं। मैं यह सब इसलिये कह रहा हूं कि पीछे देश के ग्रन्दर भ्रष्टाचार बहुत बढ़ा है ग्रौर उसने हमारे जीवन को चाट डाला है, हमारी क्षमता को चोट पहुंचायी है । इसलिये यह ग्रावश्यक है कि जो पाप हुग्रा है वह लोगों के ध्यान में ग्राए ग्रौर उस पाप के निराकरण का हमारा प्रऋम भी लोगों के सामने ग्राये। इसी दृष्टि से मैं यह ग्राग्रह कर रहा हूं।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज देश के अन्दर गरोबो को समस्या है । एक तरफ भुखमरी है और दुपरी तरफ बेरोजगारी है। मैं अपने देश क माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी ग्रौर कृषि मंत्री जी को यह कहना चाहंगा कि रेश के श्रन्दर जो नियोजन हो वह ग्रामों पर ग्राधारित नियोजन हो । ग्राम हमारे देश के प्राण हैं, देश की ग्रर्थ व्यवस्था ग्रामों की ग्रर्थ व्यवस्था पर निर्भर करती है, वे ही केन्द्र बिन्दू हैं और ग्रगर देश की 62 करोड़ जनता के लिये अन्न चाहिये तो वह गांवों से खेतों से श्राता है, सीमा की रक्षाग्रों के लिए जवान चाहियें तो वे गांवों से म्राते हैं, मशी तों का पहिया चलाने के लिए मजदूर चाहियें तो वे गांव सॅ भ्रात हैं। पूरा भारत गांवों में बसता है । इन धर्मशालाओं में बड़े बडे शहरों की धर्मशालाग्रों में तो चकि गांवों में रोटी नहीं मिलती है इसलिए हम म्राकर रैन बसेरा लेते हैं लेकिन वास्तव में भारत शहरों में नहीं गांवों में बसता है। यह बात मैं ग्रपनी बुद्धि से नहीं कह रहा हूं। पचास वर्ष पूर्व राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी ने भी कहा था कि नियोजन गांव प्रधान होना

चाहिये, ग्राम प्रधान नियोजन में ग्रति उत्तम प्राथमिकता, ग्रति उच्च प्राथमिकता खेती को दी जानी चाहिये । किसान को ग्रपनी खेती के उपयोग में झाने वाले जितने संयंत्र हैं, उपकरण हैं वे सब रियायती दरों से मिलने चाहियें, खाने वालों को जितना ग्रन्न ग्राज मिलता है उतना मिलता रहना चाहिये भौर जिस द म पर म्राज मिलता है उससे भी सस्ते दामों पर ग्रगर दिया जाए तो बहुत ग्रानन्द की बात होगी ग्रौर ग्रगर ऐसा नहीं हो सकता है तो ग्राज की कीमतों में एक नए पैसे की भी वृद्धि नहीं होनी चाहिए, एक नए पैस भी ग्रधिकदर पर नहीं मिलना चाहिये । यह ग्रापको करना पड़ेगा । हमारे मित्रों ने जो पाप किये हैं उनको हमें धोना पड़ेगा, प्रेतों के पापों को हमें धोना पडेगा श्रीर इस काम में मुझे लगता है कि उनका सहयोग भी हमे प्राप्त होगा । जिन हाथों ने पाप किये हैं उन हाथों की उंगलियां तो नहीं काटी जाती हैं । लेकिन इन पापों को हमें धोना पडेगा ।

जहां तक बेकारी की समस्या का सम्बन्ध है मेरा निवेदन है कि हम विकेन्द्रत धर्थ व्यवस्था का सहारा लें, मास प्रोडक्शन करें लेकिन प्रोडक्शन बाई मसिस के सिढान्त को भी ध्यान में रखें । जहां पैदावार बढ़े बहां पैदा करने वाले हाथ भी बद्दें। मैं समझता हूं कि ग्रामों में खेती प्रधान या खेती से जोड़े हुए छोटे छोटे ग्रीद्योगिक केन्द्र स्थापित हों तो ग्रत्युत्तम होगा । यह बहुत जरूरी है ।

कुछ कर्मचारियों की घड़ाधड़ छंटनी हो रही है । बेकारी इस हद तक वढ़ चुकी है कि पिछत्रे पांच छः साल से सरकार ने उसके ग्रांकड़ें ही देने बन्द कर दिए थे । इस वास्ते सही ग्रांकड़ों का कुछ पता नहीं है । मोटे तौर पर 40 से 60 प्रतिशत के बीच ग्रांकड़ा दिया जाता है ग्रीर वताया जाता है कि इतने लोग गरीबी के स्तर से नीचे हैं । मैं इतना ही निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूं कि जो लोग काम पर लगे हुए हैं व काम से हट न जाएं ग्रीर चौराहे पर ग्रांकर खड़े न हो जाएं इसकी

व्यवस्था ग्रापको करनी चाहिये। देश की राजनीतिक शान्ति की दृष्टि से भी यह बहुत मावश्यक है। कर्त्तव्यपालन की दुष्टि से भी बहुत झावण्यक है कि झाप इस झोर ध्यान दें। तलवाड़ा में सतलुज ब्यास लिंक प्राजैक्ट पल रहा था । वहां से दस हजार कामगार छंटनी हो चुके हैं। एक बड़ा भारी ताता चल रहा है । थीन डैम श्रभी तक विचाराधीन था। श्राज तक जो सरकार थी वह सभी काम राजनीतिक दुष्टिकोण से करती रही है। वहां पर लोहा फेंका हुआ है, सीमेंट के लिए शौड बना हुआ है। उस मे सीमेंट है या किसी की भैसें बंधी हई हैं यह देखने का विषय है। लोगों की म्रांखों में धुल झोंकने म्रीर 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 ग्रीर उसके मुताबिक वह सब काम करती थी। मैं समझता हूं कि थीन डैम के काम को तत्काल हाथ में लिया जाना चाहिये। थीन 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 ग्रावण्यक है । उसको प्रायमिकता दी जानी चाहिये । इस सिद्धान्त को सरकार मान चुकी है। ग्रब केवल उसको कार्यान्वित करने का ही सवाल है 1

पिछले बीस वाईस महीनों में बहुत कुछ राजनीतिक कारणों से हुग्रा है । बोनस के सवाल को ग्राप लें । प ले हड़तालें भड़काई गईं । डेढ़ सौ वर्ष पूर्व विग्व के धरातल पर मजदूरों के ग्रधिकारों की रक्षा के लिये उनके संगठन बनाने के सिद्धान्त को स्वीकार किया गया था । संगठन व्यवस्था को एक बुनियादी ग्रधिकार 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 भीर यह काम तत्काल होना चाहिये । धारीवाल की मिल के ऊपर चार हजार मजदूर पिछले पच्चीस दिनों से हड़ताल के ऊपर बैठे हुए हैं । भौर उनकी समस्या केवल बोनस की है । मालिक का मुनाफ़ा बढ़ रहा है, लेकिन मजदूर को भ्रपनी भाय के भन्दर जीना कठिन पड़ रहा है । इसलिए मेरी मांग है कि पुराने बोनस कान्न को तुरन्त बहाल होना चाहिये । भ्राशा है कि भाप मेरे ढारा उठाई गई तमाम चीजों का भ्रध्ययन करेंगे भौर शोझ समुचित कार्यवाही करेंगे । भ्रापने चूकि घंटी बजा दी है इसलिये मैं भ्रपने समय पर कायम रहूंगा, भौर यदि मुझ से म्रतिक्रमण समय का हो गया हो तो मैं उसके लिए क्षमा चाहता हु । 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.

DEPUTY-SPEAKER: MR. 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 disloca. tion, 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-

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(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.

श्वी उग्न सेन (हिल्पिल) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है । कल जब हमारे माननीय रामनरेश कुशवाहा खड़े हुए थे तो ग्रापने कहा था कि कल बोलि-येगा । ग्रीर ग्राज 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 ग्रापके व्हिप से उसी के ग्रनुसार बुला रहा हं ।

श्री उग्र सेन : हमारा हक कैसे कट जायगा ।

उपाघ्यक्ष महोदय : यहां कोई हक की बात नहीं है । ग्राप ग्रप ने व्हिप से बात कर लीजिये ग्रीर 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 thrught...

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 कुशवाहाः उपाघ्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा कहना यह है कि एक दार एक सदस्य का नाम पुकार लिया गया ग्रीर उसके बिना बोले ही.....

उपाघ्यक्ष महोदय : ग्रापका 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 connot fully agree with the statement made in the Address by the Vice-

President acting as President that:

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"The election marks an important milestone in the evolution of our democratic polity into a healthy twoparty 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 hv our compartriots that it symbolished 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 intrastructure. 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 al-It most every village of our country. 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 But they have not yet Parliament. 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 Therefore, the statement that time. 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 Sir, I am not least , the long run. 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 0r 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 undo certain so-called you should 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 APRIL 4, 1977

[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 deteractors 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 actorous, 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 up to 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]

ON THE MOTION OF THANKS VICE-PRESI-BY THE ADDRESS DENT 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 prothe manner in which test against time is allocated for the speeches on this Motion of Thanks. The Mover took one hour. The Seconder took Thereafter, almost 75 minutes. 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 amend- ' ments. 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 undeviably 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 are a part of Parliamenspeeches tary 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, ĩ 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.

DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. MR. Jethmalani, I am sorry to interrupt The Speaker made this anyou. nouncement 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 amendments they numbers of the 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 honest independent judge and an 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 а We 'committed judiciary' started our fight against this. We started a national debate. But in 1973 vou 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 crected 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 bearing 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 *muthorship* of

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which is now being disowned by the then ruling Party, a document which was circulated throughout the country in the form of Draft constitutionproposals. Those constitutional al 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 mala 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 Batish 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 coun-

try 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 ad. verse 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. 1 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 appointed a person Court and 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, cn 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 कुम र शास्त्री (उदयपुर) : जिस समय गोखले साहब सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जजों तक को धमकियां दे रहे थे उस लमय तो बोले नहीं लेकिन ग्राज जब सच्ची बात कही जा रही है तो उसको ग्राप 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 i_S recognised the world over,—I am talking of the free world—that the Bar of this country has played the most glorious role in [Shri Ram Jethmalani]

safegarding 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 tyranised 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 autonomy of the Bar with the 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 The India. Attorney Council of 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 the Advocate-General as imposed Chairman of the State Bar Councils. You will be amazed that in the Delhi Council, where there is no Bar Advocate-General, there was a very The extraordinary provision made. 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 rebes 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 har 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.

 M_y 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 This an interview with him in jail. 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 On a point on which there is him. 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 ıegular 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. is legislative despotism This 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 accur. Now, This is really an amplification of the pledge which we have made that hereafter our nonalignment is going to be genuine nonalignment, it is not going to be spurious non-alignment, which has been started in this country after 1955. Nobody can be no aligned. If somebody says "I am going to have unalloyed nonalignment", it is unalloyed nonsense. and nothig 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 Jebt of gratitude we cannot forget to external

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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 nonalignment. 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 htve 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) : ग्रान ए पायंट ग्राफ ग्रार्डर । किसी भी सदस्य का यह कहना ग्राबजक्शनेबल है कि यहां रामायण या महाभारत सुनने के लिए नहीं ग्राया है । एसे 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 JETJIMALANI: Sir, 1 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 Preşident's Address should have given some indication of the direction in which the new Government wants to develop the economy of our economy. 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-

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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.

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The question of implementation oſ the land reforms and other items of the 10-point programme were announced during the emergency by the former Prime Minister. I know that the 20point programe 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 included in the 20-point prowere gramme 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 а 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 common 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, that of free enterprise, the was freedom to amass wealth for those induswho are engaged in the trial and business sector, the freedom for the workers to be exploited, the freedom for the poor people like agricultural workers who are very much from unemployment and suffering 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 indecountries? Is it to remain pendent 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. if Therefore, you want to serve the interests of the will country then our foreign policy have to be a dynamic one which would firmly oppose such threats. Our country will have to follow a policy of nonalignment, with its solid support to the people fighting for national liberation people fighting against and to the Africa, Namibia South racism in

colonialism her citadels of and 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 nonalignment 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.

भाननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय उप-गाव्हपति जी ढारा किये गये भाषण पर जो माननीय सदस्य श्री कर्पुरी ठाकुर ने कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन पेश किया है, मैं उस का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुग्रा हूं।/

मैं ग्राप के माध्यम से इस सदन में ग्रपने कुछ विचार प्रकट करना चाहता हूं। ग्रभी मैंने मुना कि माननीय िंरोधी पक्ष के कांग्रेसी सदस्यों ने यह कहा कि हम से कुछ गल्तियां/ हुई हैं लेकिन इस सदन में उन्होंने उन गल्तियों का कोई ब्यौरा नहीं रखा ग्रौर जब वे ब्यौरा नहीं रखते हैं तो इस से साफ जाहिर है कि केवल ऊपरी मन से ही वे प्रातो गल्तियां मानते हैं। जो महान् गल्तियां उन्होंने की हैं उन की सजा उन को मिल चुकी है। माननीय उराध्यक्ष महोदय, आप के द्वारा मैं कह चाहता हं कि जब पिछले दिनों किंग्रिस सरकार ने इमर्जेन्सी लगाई थी और जो मानव ग्रधिकार थे, नागरिक स्वतन्त्रताएं थीं, वे छीन ली गई थीं ग्रौरन बोलने की ग्रौरन कुछ कहने की ग्राजा ही रही थी, तो यह / कैसा राज्य था। स्व राज्य 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 ग्रगर हमें ग्राजादी लेनी है, तो हमें निर्भीक वनना पडेगा, हमें किसी से डरना नहीं पड़ेगा ग्रौर ग्रगर हमारे ऊपर कोई जुल्म या 'ज्यादती होती है, तो उसे सहन नहीं/ करेंगे 🕅 🦉 इस इमर्जेन्सी में ऐसा ताण्डव≁ राज चला कि एक ग्रादमीं ग्रपने ऊपर हुए जुल्म की बात नहीं कह सकता था ग्रौर ग्रगर वह उस को कहता तो मीसा का भय उसे दिखाया जाता था। इतना भय पैदा कर दिया गया था और ये महात्मा गांधी को दहाई देते हैं। इस इमर्जेन्सी के टाइम में हम को जेलों में प्रधान मंत्री इन्दिरा गांधी जी स्रौर दूसरे नताग्रों के भाषण सुनने को मिलते थे जिस में व कहते थे कि देखो हम प्रजातन्त्र के लिए लड रहे हैं और विरोधी पक्ष प्रजातन्त्र को खत्म करना चाहता है । इसलिए हम को इमर्जन्सी लगानी पड़ी लेकिन प्रजा-तन्त्रीय पद्धतियां जो थीं, जो हमारे मानव ग्रधिकार थे वे छीन लिये गये । इमर्जे सी लगा कर वे ग्रपने को समाजवादी कहते थे श्रीर समाजवाद की दहाई देते थे । इमरजेंसी लगाते ही श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने घोषणा की कि हम उद्योगों का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं करेंगे क्योंकि वे जानती थीं कि एमर्जेसी से बुद्धिजीवी स्रौर पढ़े लिखे विचारशील लोग सख्त नाराज हैं। इसलिए उन्होंने पंजीपतियों से मदद लैने के लिए उनका पक्ष प्रबल किया भ्रौर कहा कि हम उद्योगों का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं कर रहे हैं।

15.00 hrs.

बड़ी दुहाई दी गई कि हम गल्ले के मामले में ग्रात्मनिर्भर/हो गए हैं, ग्रब 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 । ग्रखबारों में प्रधान मंत्री जी श्रौर मुख्य मंत्रियों के फोटो छपते थे। बीच में मंत्रीगण होते थे ग्रौर उनके चारों और 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 उत्तारा 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 हई 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 े बाद भी गल्ले की समस्या बनी हई है । निकाल कर भमिहीनों को जमीन नहीं दी गई है ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, तीन चीजों की ग्रादमी को सबसे पहले जरूरत पड़ती है । उसके लिए खाने का इंतजाम हो । उसके लिए पानी का इंतजाम हो । ग्राज गांवों में यह दल है कि लोग नालों का पानी पीते हैं । तीन-तीन मील से जाकर उन्हें पानी लाना पड़ता है । ग्रादमी को पहनने के लिए कपड़ा ग्रौर 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 ग्रौर मदद मिली ।

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कहा गया कि हमने बंधुआ मजदूरी को खत्म कर दिया । लेकिन∫जो मजदूर मुक्त हए थे उनके काम की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की गयी। उनके लिए काम की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए थी। मैं मानता हं कि कुछ साहकारों से लोगों को बहुत परेशानी थी 🖌 लेकिन जो सरकारी सोसायटियां हैं उनकी धांधलियों से भी तो श्राप लोगों को मुक्त कराते । इन सोसायटियों के लोग साजिश कर के जो पैसा वसूल कर रहे हैं वह भी माफ होना चाहिए 🧾 साहुकारों वे पैसे से ग्रापने लोगों को मुक्त कर दिया लेकिन जो सहकारी समितियों ने गलती की या सहकारी बैंकों ने साजिश करके पैसा वसूल किया उससे भी ग्रापको मुक्ति दिलानी चाहिए थी

आज देश में वेकारी 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 ग्रसमर्थ रही है । कांग्रेस की हकुमत देश में तीस साल तक रही, ग्रगर यह चाहती तो इस समस्या को बहुत ग्रच्छे तरीके से हल कर सकती थी ।

हम लोग 19 महीने जेल में रहे / उसके बजाय हम तीन साल श्रीर पांच साल भी जेल में रह सकते थे । लेकिन कांग्रेस मरकार को चाहिये था कि वह जनता के साथ श्रच्छा व्यवहार करती, उसको चाहिये था कि वह उसको प्रियार से रखती । लेकिन दोनों बातों में से कोई भी बात नहीं हुई । जनता ने लोक सभा चुनावों में अपना मत प्रकट कर थे बता दिया हैं कि कांग्रेसी राज श्रच्छा नहीं था ।

लोक सभा चुनी गई है ग्रौर 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 ज्यादतियां हई हैं एमरजेंसी / के समय में । उन्होंने बहुत ज्यादा जुल्म किए हैं। भले ही स्राप कह दें कि मीसा बन्दियों पर जो जुल्म हुए हैं, जनता पर जो ज्यादतियां हुई हैं उनकी ग्राप जांच कराएंगे लेकिन/जिन सरकारों ते, जिन प्रान्तीय सरकारों ने जूल्म किए हैं क्या उनके द्वारा सही जांच हो सकती है ? मैं समझता हं कि नहीं हो सकती है । इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि विधान सभाम्रों $\mathcal I$ के भी चनाव कराए जाएं। मध्य प्रदेश के कई विधायक यहां ग्राए । वे यहां ग्राकर प्रधान मंत्री एवं गृह मन्त्री महोदय से मिले, वहां की सरकार पर गम्भीर आरोप लगाए **ग्रौर** कहा कि वहां की सरकार को समाप्त किया जाना चाहिये । मैं समझता हं कि वहां पर चुनाव होना बहुत जरूरी है । उन चुनाव परिणामों के फलस्वरूप जो वहां सरकार बनेगी वही जनता को म्रारभ दे सकती है वर्ना जनता को ग्राराम नहीं मिल सकता है ।

बस्तर का इलाका, झाबुग्रा का इलाका, बुन्देलखंड का इलाका ग्रौर रीवा का कुछ इलाका ऐसा है जहां न ग्रावागमन के साधन हैं, न रेलवे लाइन है, न वहां उद्योग धंधे हैं, वह बहुत पिछड़ा हुग्रा इलाका है । मेरी मांग है कि मौजूदा सरकार उस इलाके को चहुमुखी विकास करे ग्रौर उस ग्रोर ध्यान दे। श्रभी तक कांग्रेसी∫हकूमत राजनीतिक प्रभाव में **मा** कर, द**बाव** में **ग्रा कर** काम करती रही हैग वों की उपेक्षा की गई। मैं चाहता हूं कि जनता सरकार इस तरह के जो इलाके हैं, जिन की उपेक्षा की गई हैं उनकी चहमुखी उन्नति की म्रोर ध्यान दें। जहां साधन मौजूद हैं, वहां उद्योग धंधे वह खोले । स्रभी उलटा होता है । जिसका प्रभाव होता है उसके यहां पर धंधे खोल/दिये जाते हैं । ऐसा ग्रब नहीं होना चाहिये। जहां पर कच्चा माल है, जहां पर बिजली है, पानी है, वहां पर धंधे खोले जाने चाहियें । ताकि देश की गरीबी मिट सकें, लोगो को/काम मिल सके । चहुमुखी तौर से देश की प्रगति की ग्रोर ग्रापको घ्यान घ्यान देना चाहिये, पक्षपात से काम नहीं लेना चाहिये, यही मेरा ग्राप 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.

भी कर्पूरी ठाकुर (सपस्तः मः) : ग्नंग्रेजी में बोल ने के बजाय तमिल, तेलेगु, कन्नड़ में बोलें ग्रीर उसका ग्रनुवाद हिन्दी में ग्रा जाएगा ग्रीर उसको हम सुन सकते हैं।

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

भी० एम० राम गोपाल रेड्डी : ितामा-बाद) : मैं हिन्दी में बोलूंगा ।

श्री कर्पूरी ठाकुर : तमिल में वोलिये, हम सुनेंगे । हिन्दी में ब्रनुवाद तो ग्रा **ही** जाएगा ।

SHRI ARAVINDA BALA PAJA-NOR (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 pe 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 draw the attention of the to House to the remarks that this Government relies on the power of the beople. 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 statehod being granted to that territory.

15.10 hrs.

[SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO in the Chair.]

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

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: May J congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, on your appointment to the Panel of Chairman? 166 LS-4.

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 eiher 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 nonofficial resolution brought forward by the Opposition Party, the United Goan Party, for a separate state-hood 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 for merger of this territory are 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 Public Service Commissions State 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 fulfledged 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 embrassing.

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	,,	22	,,	32
Me g halaya		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 God 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	3 3		
Orissa	• •	Rs. 103	, ,		
Jam nu &Kashmir		Rs. 66	**		
Tripura	••	Rs. 25	,,		
Meghalay	· ••	Rs 25	"		
Hima hal Pradesh		Rs. 45	,,		

The Central Government will not be doing any big favour if it gives grantin-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 manganess 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 word_S 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 फनौडिस) : सभापति महोदय, देश की जिस जनता ने राष्ट्रपति के ग्रभिभाषण पर उन्हें धन्यवाद देने का मौका हमें दिया है, उस जनता का मैं सब से पहले ग्रभिन्दन करना चाहता हुं। त्राज की यह नई स्थिति और यह नई सरकार लाने में जो लोग जेलों में गये, जिन्होंने सरकार े दमन का मुकाबला किया, श्रीर जो ग्राज हम लोगों के बीच में नहीं हैं, उन सब को भी मैं याद करना चाहता हं । मुजफ्फर-पुर की जनता ने मुझे ग्राज इस सदन में खड़ा होने का मौका दिया, ग्रौर वह भी दो प्रकार अंप्रचार को निष्फल बना कर——एक तो भतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी. ने मेरे क्षेत्र नें जा कर कहा कि जार्ज फर्नांडिस बाहर का म्रादमी है, मुजफ्फरपूर की जनता उसे क्यों वोट दे, और उस वक्त और म्राज के भी जो कांग्रेस के ग्रध्यक्ष हैं, उन्होंने मेरे क्षेत्र में जा कर वहां कि जार्ज फनांडिस ईसाई है उसे मुजफ्फरपूर 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 मैं बन्द रहा । इस देश की राजनीति में और देश के सार्वजनिक जीवन में मेरी सारी उम्र बीत गई. 19 साल की उम्र में में समाजवादी ग्रान्दोलन में ग्राया ग्रौर तब से ले कर ग्राज तक इस देश की जनता के बीच में भेरा काम रहा । सरकार से मतभेद रहे। संघर्षं चलता रहा। लेकिन हम ने नहीं सोचा था कि ऐसे भी दिन इस देश में आएंगे कि मझ जैसे आदमी को दोनों हाथों में बैड़ियां डाल कर जंजीरों से पूलिस की पट्टी पर बांध कर शहर की सड़कों पर चलाया जायगा । ये सारी चीजें हुई ।

[श्रो ज जं फर्नान्डिस]

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

मैंने कांग्रेस जनों के कई भाषण सूने, कुछ पढ़े। जनता की समस्याग्रों पर भव इन्होंने रोना शुरू किया है । दाम बढ़ रहें हैं, बहुत परेशानी है । बेकारी बढ़ रही है, बहुत परेशानी है । कब से दाम बढ़ने लगे ? बेकारी के ग्रांकडे पिछले दस बारह वर्षों से सरकार ने ग्रपनी स्टेटिस्टिक्स 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 सूनी । पिछले तीस सालों में जिन नीतियों को इस कांग्रेसी सरकार ने यहां पर चलाया, सिर्फ क्षेत्रीय विषमताम्रों को बढाने श्रीर गांवों को लुट कर दिल्ली ग्रीर बम्बई जैसे शहरों को शानदार बनाने के सिवाय और कौन सी नीतियां उन की रहीं ? आज लाखों लोग रो रहे हैं। म्राज उन लोगों की याद इन को आपने लगी। बिहार के पिछड़े हुए इलाके के मरे हए लोगों की, श्रासाम, उड़ीसा जैसे पिछडे प्रदेशों की, पूर्वोत्तर हिन्दूस्तान के पहाड़ी इलाकों में मरने वालों की म्राज याद म्राने लगी । तीस सालों में कौन सी नीतियां चलायीं ?

इसलिए मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्यों से कि वे कुछ ग्रन्तर्मुखी हो जायं। गलतियां की हों तो उन को समझ लें। ग्रपने दल की स्थिति को सुधारें या न सुधारें यह उन का काम है। लेकिन पिछले 30 सालों की गलतियों के बाद जरूर कुछ मन्त-मुंखी हो कर जनता ने जो जिम्मेदारी ग्राज जनत सर ंर पर डाली है, श्रौर जिस जिम्बेद री को निभान इस सरकार का कर्त्तव्य है, उस जिम्मेदारी को निभाने में प्राप हमारी मदद करें। उस मदद की ग्राप लोगों से हम अपेक्षा करते हैं। क्यों कि प्राज ग्राप भी महसूस कर रहे हैं कि जो दाम बढ़ाने का सिलसिला ग्राप ने चलाया, भौर बेकारी बढ़ाने का सिलसिला ग्राप ने चलाया भौर तीस साल जो देश को बरबाद किया है उसे हम लोग नए ढंग से उठाए ग्रार नय ढंग से देश का निर्माण करें यह जम्मेदारी इस सरकार पर ग्राई है। इसलिए ग्राप जरूर टीका करें, जहां भूल हो, लेकिन उस के ग्रलावा कुछ सहयोग दें ताकि इस बिगड़ी हुई परिस्थिति को सुधारने के लिए हम लोग कुछ ठोस कदम उठा सकें।

ये समयाएं बड़ो और गहरी हैं जिन को हल करने का काम ग्राज हम लोगों के जिम्मे ग्राया है क्योंकि पिछले कुछ वर्षों में ग्रीर 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 एम॰ राम गोपाल रेड्डी : "झूठ" नहीं "ग्रसत्य" बोलिए । पलियामेन्ट में माप "झूठ" नहीं बोल सकते ।

श्री जार्ज फन[डीज : ग्राप क्यों शब्दों पर लड़ाई लड़ते हैं, ग्रसलियत पर चले । लोगों के सामने गलत ग्रांकड़े रखकर बताया गया कि देश विकसित हो रहा है । वताया गया कि पिछले 11 सालों में देश इतना विकसित हो गया हैं । मेरे मिन्नों को याद होगा कि पिछले साल इसी समय फरवरी, मार्च के समय में सारे देश में ग्राप लोग "ढायनेमिक डिकेड" बना रहे थे । सरकारी ग्रांकड़ों से हमें पता लगाने की कोशिश करेंगे कि कितने करोड़ रुपया केन्द्रीय सरकार ने ग्रीर राज्य सरकारों ने बरबाद किया । इस "डायनेमिक डिकेड" पर । मैंने उस समय भूमिगत ग्रवस्था में रहकर एक पर्चा निकाला जिसमें यह कहा कि यह "डाइ निमक डिकेड" नहीं है, यह ''डकाडेंट डिकेड" रही है । ग्राज मैं इसका सबूत ग्रापके सामने रखना चाहंगा क्योंकि देश के लोगों को उससे श्रवगत कराना बहुत जरूरी है । मैं विशेषकर पिछले दस वर्षों की बात कहुंगा, पिछले 30 वर्षों की नहीं क्योंकि फिर समय की समस्या ग्रा जायेगी । फिर ग्राहिस्ता ग्राहिस्ता उस पर भी हम रोशनी डालेंगे । पिछले दस सालों में श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का जो ''डायनेमिक डि हेड'' रहा वह कितना ''डायनेमिक'' था ग्रौर कितना ''डेकाडेन्ट'' था––इसको मैं बताना चाहता हूं ।

जब श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी प्रधान मंत्री बनीं तब रुपए की कीमत थी 54 पैसे । दस साल ''डायनैमिक डिकेंड'' चलाने के बाद रुपए की कीमत रह गई 25 पैसे । यह ग्रापके ही ग्रांकड़े 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 डकेड'' 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 श्रौसतन 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 श्रौसत 50 ग्राम का था । श्रीमती गांधी की डायनेमिक डिकेड के बाद 50 ग्राम दाल का श्रौसत 42 ग्राम ही रह गया । इसी तरह से जब श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी प्रधान मंत्री बनीं तब श्रौसतन 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 प्रौसतन 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 ग्रौसतन एक ग्रादमी 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 ग्रापने लोगों को गुमराह करके रखा ग्रौर बताया कि इस देश से उत्पादन बढ़ा रहे है जबकि एक ग्राद गी के पीछे जितना होता था वह भी घट गया ग्रौर गरीबी बढ़ गई । ग्रापने गलत ग्रांकड़ों को पेश करके लागों को नेवकूक बना ग यही मेरे कहने का मतलब है ।

एक उदाहरण मैं ग्रोर 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 "डाइनैमिक डिकेड" शुरू हुई, उस समय साल मे एक ग्रादमी के पीछे इस्पात पैदा होता था-9.3 किंलो, लेकिन 10 वर्ष के बाद वह घट कर 7.8 किलो रह गया।

इन के जो एम्पलायमेन्ट एक्सचेन्जेज के रजिस्टर है---उनका हिसाब देखिये-"डाइनैमिक 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 रजिस्टर्ज '' पर "डाइनैमिक डिकेड" शुरू होने के समय थी---1 लाख 19 हजार, लेकिन 10 वर्ष में यह बढ़कर 🤴 लाख हो गई । मैट्टीकूलेट्स तथा उस से ऊपर और ग्रैज्एट्स से नीचे के लोगों की संख्या ''डाइनैमिक डिकेट'' शुरू होते समय थी-8 लाख, लेकिन 10 वर्ष समाप्त हो रे-होते वह हो गई--- 30 लाख । हिन्दुस्तान से निरक्षर लोगों की संख्या "डाझ्नैमिक डिकेड शुरू होते समय थी—-36 करोड़ लेकिन "डिकेड" समाप्त हो रे-होते

[श्रीजार्जफर्नाडिस]

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

लेकिन, सभापति महोदय, एक क्षेत्र में बहुत तरक्की हुई । वह कौन सा क्षेत्र था, बतलाऊं ? 1966-67 में मैं इस लोक सभा का सदस्य था ग्रौर उधर बैठा करता था। उस समय एक लड़का था जो हिन्द्रस्तान में मैट्कि पास हन्रा था, बेकार था, एप्रेन्टिस शिप कर के स्राया था । हिन्द्रस्तान का "डाइनैमिक डिकेड" समाप्त होते-होते वह कई करोड़ के मारुति लि० कारखाने का मालिक बन गया । इस जाह पर "डाइनैमिक डिकेड" ने वास्तव मे काम किया । लेकिन बाकी क्षेत्रों मे देश ने तरक्की नहीं की, देश बरबाद हग्रा। मैं सारे आंकडे इस समय नहीं रखुंगा ग्रगर ग्राप की दिलचस्पी हो, तो ग्राप के पास पहुंचाने की कोशिश करूंगा क्योंकि यह सब छपा हुन्ना है । इस को ग्राप जरूर पढ़िये और जो गलतियां हई है उन को सुधारने का काम कीजिये ।

श्रभी एक सदस्य ने कहा कि "झुठ" शब्द मत बोलिये, "ग्रसत्य बोलिये-मैं ग्राप को इस का उदाहरण भी देता हूं । इस सदन मे इन्होंने एक दस्तावेज पेश किया था-"व्हाई एमरजेंन्सी ?' इस दस्तावेज के बा रे मे पता नहीं, उधर बैठे हुए लोगों को ःव 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 हूं -जिस के बारे मे इस दस्तावेज़ मे लिखा है–वह व्यक्ति है--श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण । जय प्रकाश नारायण जी के बारे मे इन के किसी नौकरशाह या ग्राई० बी० या पूलिस विभाग के किसी व्यक्ति ने जो लिखा है--उस को थोडा पढ लीजिये श्रीर उस को पढ कर ग्रगर श्राप को शर्म ग्राती है तो ज्यादा कुछ न कर सकें तो कम से कम उस महात्मा से क्षमा याचना ही कीजिये, इतना जरूर कीजिये।

श्वी सुरत बहादुर झाह (खैरी) ः वह तो सिर्फ हयादार कर सकते हैं, बेहया क्षमा नहीं मांग सकते हैं।

श्वी जार्ज फर्नाझ्डिस : इस दस्तावेज में 20 महीनों में देश को किस तरह से कहां तक पहुंचाने का काम किया है—सब कुछ झूट के ग्राधार 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 भ**र** के ग्रखबारों मे प्रचार किया गया, लन्दन-टाइम्ज में हजारों पाउण्ड खर्च कर के लेख छपाया कि हमारी वजह से करोड़ों या ग्ररबों रुपया देश का बरबाद हो गया । मैं हड़ताल नहीं चाहता था । हम ने कुछ मांगे भेजी थीं । उस दिन में सदन में था, जब रेल बजट पर बहस चल रही थी । भूतपूर्व रेल राज्य मंती श्री कुरेशी हमारी मांगों के पत्न 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 चिट्ठयां भेजता रहा कि :

Every demand is negotiable.

भूतपूर्व राप्ट्रपति श्री वी० वी० गिरी ने ग्रभी 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 Railway Minister, at. The then 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 ग्रप्रैल की रात के 9 बचे तक । रेल भवन में हम ने बातचीत की थी। 1 मई को वे बातचीत करना चाहते थे लेकिन 1 मई, मजदूरों का दिवस है ग्रौर मुझे लखनऊ में रेल मजदूरों के बीच में भाषण करना था और इस का मैं ने वायदा किया हुन्रा था। मैं ने कहा था कि मैं 2 तारीख को सूबह जहाज मे दिल्ली पहुंच जाऊंगा ग्रौर सीधे 9 बजे रेल भवन 🎾 में बातचीत करने के लिए ग्राऊंगा । साढ़े तीन बजे इन्डियन एयरलाइन्स का हवाई जहाज उडने वाला था लेकिन साढ़े 8 बजे तक उस को उडने नहीं दिया ताकि हम जा न पाएं । दरग्रसल यह विचार कर रहे थे कि इन को यहीं पकड़ लें या वहां पकड़ें ? लखनऊ में मज़दूर रात 12 बजे तक मेरा इन्तजार करते रहे म्रीर वहीं बैठे रहे म्रीर मैंने रात को 12 बजे लखनऊ स्टेशन के सामने ग्रपना भाषण किया ग्रीर रात को 2 बजे रेलवे रिटायरिंग रूम में सो गया । हाई बजे दरवाजा खटखटाया गया ग्रौर वहां पर दिल्ली पूलिस मीसा के ग्रन्दर मेरी गिरफ्तारी का वारेन्ट लिये थी। रेलवे प्लेटफार्म को ग्रौर स्टेशन को सैंकडों नहीं, । हजारों पूलिस वालों ने घेर लिया था। मैंने उन से पूछा कि मुझे कहां लिये जा रहे हो, तो कोई जवाब नहीं दिया गया । लखनऊ हवाई ग्रडडे पर बोर्डर सेक्यूरिटी फोर्स का हवाई जहाज दिल्ली से मेरा डिटेंशन आईर लेकर उडा ग्रौर उस में बैठा कर मुझे पालम

हवाई ग्रहु लाया गया ग्रौर वहां से मुझे तिहाड़ जेल भिजवा दिया गया । 2 तारीख को मुझे 9 बज बातचीत करने के लिए कहा था ग्रौर 5 बजे मुझे जेल भेज दिया ग्रौर 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.

श्रौर 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 प द ग्रमृत डागें, जोकि हमारे भी मित्र है, द्वारा लिखी गई इस किताब को कांग्रेसी जरूर खरीदें। यह ए० ग्राई० टी० यू० सी० की प∽िलकेशन है। इस का नाम है ''दि रेलवे स्ट्राइक''। डागें साहब ने इस में जिखा 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 solidery 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 Rai waymen, 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 हुन्ना है ? जून 16, 1974 का। यह झाप लोगों के ग्रत्याचारों के बा रे में लिखा हुन्ना है। यान है कि यह बड़ी कांस्पिरेसी है, उसके 22 मई की हड़ताल के बा रे में सिरकार का जो बयान है कि यह बड़ी कांस्पिरेसी है, उसके बारे में यह डांगे साहब के हाथ का लिखा दुन्ना 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 कामंरेड डांगे के बयान हैं । इस किताब में इससे भी सख्त बयान है । पांच रुपये की यह किताब खरीद कर जरूर पढ़िए ।

ग्रध्यक्ष महोदय, इस दस्तावेज में हमारे ऊपर श्रोर देश के रेल मजदूरों पर यह श्रारोप लगाया गया है-श्रगर यहीं तक सीमित होता तो भी मैं छोड़ देता, लेकिन इसमें क्या क्या मुझ पर श्रारोप नहीं लगाए गए । इसमें कहा गया कि मैंने चेयरमैन माग्रो के पास पहुंच की । जब मैं भूमिगत था तो मेरे खिलाफ रेडियो पर प्रचार किया गया श्रीर ग्रखबारों में यह छापा गया कि जार्ज क्रांडिस माग्रो का दलाल है । जब य श्र रोप मझ पर लग रहे थे तो सदन म एक सवाल पछा गया । उसको भी दबा दिया गया झौंर दूसरी तरह से भी चीजों को बाहर ग्राने से रोका गया । झ्रघ्यझ महोदय, रेडियो पर प्रचार होता रह कि मैं देशद्रोही हूं, मैं माझो का दलाल हूं। मेरे खिलाफ क्या क्या प्रचार नहीं किया गया ? झ्रघ्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने चेयरमैन माझो को एक चिट्ठी लिखी उस चिट्ठी के बारे मैं 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 ग्रौर माग्रो का रिश्ता है, जार्ज फर्नांडिस माग्रो के साथ पत्न-ज्यवहार करता है, जार्ज फर्नांडिस देश का शत्नु है । देश के ग्रखबारों में यह छपवाया गया ---

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

श्रध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा क्या पत्न था, वह मैं पढ़ कर सुना देता हूं —

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

Dear Comrade,

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

ग्राघ्यक्ष महोदय, 11 दिसम्बर, को हिन्दुस्तान के ग्रखबारों में एक खबर छपी थी कि चीन में रेल हड़ताल हुई है। मैं रे**ल /** मजदूरों को लेकर प्रदर्शन करने के लिए चानो दूतावास पर गया। दिल्ली की पुलिस ने हमको रोका। हम एक पत्न लेकर गए थे जो हम दूतावास को देना चाह थे। लेकिन श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की पूलिस ने हमें कड़ा कि

हम भापको ग्रन्दर नहीं जाने देंगे । मैंने वह पत गेट के ग्रन्दर फेंक दिया । उस पत 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 While for several years now. 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 श्रारोप लगाए । मुझे चीनियों का दलाल बनाया । इतना पाप किया । क्या उन लोगों ने यह सोचा था कि कभी हम यहां जिंदा खड़े होकर नहीं श्रा सकेंगे श्रौर 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 ग्रारोप लगाया गया कि मैं विदेशी शक्तियों का न केवल माग्रो का बल्कि श्रमरीका का भी दलाल हूं । यह भी कढा गया कि विदेशी रूपया लेकर हमने हिन्दुस्तान में रेल हड़ताल चलाई । इसको भी उन्होंने छापा है । मेहरबानी करके इसको पढ़िये कि क्या श्रारोप 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 ग्रपमान हुग्रा 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 इदिरा गांधी के नाम चिटठी लिखी श्रौर ''मैंडेम डिक्टेटर'' करके मैंने यह चिट्ठी लिखी । उस में मैंने उनको बताया कि म्रापने जो तारीख लिखो है वह तारीख भी गलत है, इसको ग्राप सुधार लें । उन्होंने सदन को न बोल करके तारीख सुधार कर किताब की पचास हजार कापियां छपवा कर भेज दीं। पहले छपा था मई जून, 1974 । मेर: चिट्ठी म्राने के बाद इसको मई जून, 1975 किया गया। कौन से पैसे ? यह चीज मैंने श्रीमती इंदिरा गाधी 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 स्नापके 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 delcgation 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 with the AIRF. Our affiliated 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 ग्राज भी बैंकों में पड़ी हुई है। लेकिन यह कहा गया कि न सिर्फ यह ग्राया ग्रौर भी ग्राया मई जून, 1974 में। मेरी ग्राज फिर चुनौती है। मैंने भूमिगत प्रवस्था से लिखा था श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को कि सबूत पेश करो कि विदेशी मुद्रा ग्राई है, बैंकों के जरिये ग्राई है, सबूत पेश करो। लेकिन सबूत पेश करने की जगह पर इनकी नेता ने 12 ग्रक्तूबर 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 substantial 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 हो है छोड़ है त 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 Where did strike were being paid. 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 उं कि सबुत पेश करो । मगर इतना झुठ, जिस के लिये ग्राप ने आझेप किया, इतना झुठ कहां जा रेगा। हम सिसे कहें? ग्राज मैं सरकार में हं। मगर इतना झठं बोल कर सरकार नहीं चलानी चाहिये थी। ग्राप को भी सोचना चाहिये था, इस तरह से हमें जलील नहीं करना चाहिये था । ग्राप हम को मारते, पीटते, लाठियां चलाते हमने 30 साल ग्राप के हाथों मार खायी है । 6 ग्रप्रैल, 1970 को इसी पटेल चौक में बारांबंकी के माननीय राम सेवक यादव को लाठियां की मार से मारा गया, माननीय मधु लिमये, माननीय राजनारायण माननीय मनीराम बागड़ी ग्रौर मुझ को ल**ियों से** मारा गया, ग्रौर में तो 4 घंटे ग्रस्पताल में रहा था, पता नहीं था कि बचुंगा कि नहीं । श्रविश्वास का प्रस्ताव ग्राप के खिलाफ़ ग्राया था लेकिन कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोगों ने म्राप की सरकार

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

ग्रौर एक ग्राखिरी बात पेश कर दुं । हमारे उपर ग्रारोप लगाया कि हम हिंसाचारी हैं। 26 जून, 1975 को मैं गोपालपूर में था उस वक्त मेरा निकला हम्रा 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 ग्रौर 3 वर्ष दो महीने के बच्चों को देखें हुए । मेरी पत्नी ग्रौर मेरा बच्चा परसों लौट रहे हैं, उस बयान की प्रतिलिपि मैं ग्राप के सामने पेश करूंगा । मैं ने कहा यह गांधी जी का देश है ग्रौर गांधी जी के रास्तों से ही इस तानाशाही को हम मिटायेंगे । और तब से लेकर हमने यही कहा, भूमिगत अवस्था से निकला हुम्रा हमारा एक, एक परचा है, जो कि महीने में एक निकलता था और आप सब को भेजा जाता था, पता नहीं म्राप लोगों को मिलता था कि नहीं। इस बारे में रिसर्च ग्रौर ऐनेलिसिस विंग वालों से पूछ लीजिये, हम भी जांच करायेंगे, ग्रौर 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 ग्रागे ले जायेंगे । गांधी जी के रास्तों से ही इस रेंग में तानाशाही नष्ट हो जायेगी । हमने यह बात कही थी । ग्रौर तानाशाही खत्म हो भी गई उन्हीं के रास्तों पर चल कर। जिस व्यक्ति ने ग्राप लोगों को यहां ला कर पहंचाया है कुछ उन के बारे में भी सोचिये । नाराज नहीं होइये, जब हम ग्रारोप करते है तो ग्राप ग्रन्तर्मख हो जाइये कि क्यों ऐसा हम्रा । म्राप लोगों से भी पुरुषार्थ को कैसे उसने छीन लिया, इस पर भी ग्राप सोच लीजिये । दिमागी श्रौर शारीरिक तौर पर ग्राप लोग इतने मजबत नजर ग्राते हो, जिन्दगी भर लड़े हो, जेल भी गये हो, जब कि वह तो सिर्फ 6 महीने ही जेल गई थी। वह बहत बोलती हैं कि मेरे खानदान ने बहत त्याग किया है। खानदान के त्याग की बात करना इस से ज्यादा ग्रश्शील बात ग्रौर कोई नहीं हो सकती है। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी 6 महीने के लिये जेल गई थी। दस्तावेज मेरे पास उसके भी हैं. हिसार के जेल में पढे थे। वह जेल में 6 के 6 महीने बीमार रहीं ग्रौर इतनी परेशान हो गई कि छहों महीने बीमार रही । श्रीमती विजय लक्ष्मी पंडित ने ग्रंपनी डायरी में लिखा है, उसमें उनका सारा जेल का 6 महीने का हिसाब किताब है । मगर आप जैसे मजबत लोग उस समय बैठे थे, जो म्राज़ादी की लड़ाई में भी थे, कैसे ग्रापने ग्रपने पूरुपार्थ ग्रौर हर चीज को छोड़ दिया ? ग्राप इसको जरा सोचिये ग्रौर ग्रगर कहीं भूल हई हो तो सधारिय ।

16 hrs.

श्रीमती गांधी की एक बात ग्रापके सामने रखना चाहता हूं । देश की जनता ने एक बहुत बड़ा काम जो तानाशाही क मिटाने का किया, उसके लिये जनता के मैंने पहले ही ग्रभिनन्दन किया है, मगर जब हमारे जॅसे 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 ''डैमोकेसी एंड डिसिप्लिन—स्पीचेज म्नाफ 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 ग्राधार झूठ था । उसका निर्णय डायनामाइट केस को लेकर लोगों को गुमराह करने, विफास के नाम से देश क: बरबाद करने ग्रीर श्री जय प्रकाश नारायण से लेकर रेल मजदूरों को जलील करने ग्रीर उनके प्रति इस देश के लोगों के वीच में गलत विचारों का निर्माण करके झूठ के ग्राधार पर राज्य चलाने वालों को इस देश को जनता ने हटा कर रख दिया है ।

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

BEDABRATA SHRT 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 fuct, 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 decidtd 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. ₩e 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 art in partial agreement and our party leader has stated in this House that we will cooperate 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 APRIL 4, 1977

that it was neglected. There was a green revolution in our country, agricultural production has more than doubed since independence. Certain other measures have also been taken which have taken agriculture out of the medievaj phase. It 15, 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 to do about Government proposes them, what type of legislation they would like to bring forward, what exactly the party, to which Mr. George Fernandes and other socialist leades 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 industrits. It has a logic of its

own. Vast investments will have to be made and one will have to decideone'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 aDproach 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 Præsad 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 pubsome policy is lic sector. Unless 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 fininvited to ancial institutions were 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 cooperation that is due from my party. I do not want to stand in the way of

matter because parties have this 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 Govern_ ment 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 continuel 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 Govern-They cannot go on ment. 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-