

MR. CHAIRMAN: We are now taking up Private Members' Business. (Interruptions)

SHRI NATHU RAM MIRDHA (Nagpur): Can the small farmers, those who are also viable farmers—small, medium or landless people—also join the farmers' service societies and get loans from the rural banks? What is the position?

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is already 3.30 p.m. The hon. Member can leave the matter here and put his question on Monday. (Interruptions).

We are now taking up the Private Members' Business. (Interruptions). We will now take it up. Mr. Krishna Chandra Pandey.

15.32 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

SIXTY-FOURTH REPORT

श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र पांडे (खलीलाबाद) : सभापति महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ "कि यह सभा गैर-सरकारी सदस्यों के विधेयकों तथा संकल्पों संबंधी सदिति के 64वें प्रतिवेदन से, जो 12 मई, 1976 को सभा में प्रस्तुत किया गया था, सहमत है।"

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That this House do agree with the Sixty-fourth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 12th May, 1976."

The motion was adopted

15.33 hrs.

RESOLUTION re: RESTORATION OF FREEDOM PROVIDED UNDER THE CONSTITUTION—Contd.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We now have the Resolution by Mr. A.K. Gopalan. It has been moved; and the speech also concluded. But we still have 1 hr. 59 minutes. Now, are you moving your amendment, Mr. B. V. Naik?

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara): Yes, Sir.

That in the Resolution,—

add at the end—

"within a period of six months of holding an opinion poll in the country on the issue of emergency." (1)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Daga, are you moving your amendment?

SHRI M. C. DAGA (Pali): Yes, Sir. I am also moving it.

That in the resolution,—

add at the end—

"but these steps should be taken gradually and with caution in such a manner that the good sense of discipline, restraint, responsibility and self-confidence generated after the Emergency in the country may continue and may not subside." (2)

I also suggest that those who have moved the amendments, should be allowed to speak first.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You will get a chance to speak. Now Mr. Dinen Bhattacharyya.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA (Serampore): It is most unfortunate that our party leader, Comrade A. K. Gopalan could not speak on the Resolution which he had moved on 30th April. He was very much eager to express his opinion on the present situation and for that purpose, he wanted to take this opportunity. But

because of his ill-health, he had to leave Delhi and could not be present to-day. On his behalf, I convey the feelings which he had expressed to me the other day. He was very much pained to see the situation which is deteriorating daily as far as the political and economic matters are concerned. He wanted to deal with the various aspects, although in a very limited manner, i.e., within the jurisdiction or purview of the Resolution that has been moved by him. The Resolution which has been moved by Mr. Gopalan is very simple. Both inside and outside this House, the members of the ruling party as also others, have stated that for the development and economic progress of our country, people's participation and involvement are necessary. For that a situation has to be created, an atmosphere has to be created so that the people in a free country, in a free society may express their opinions and views in respect of the policies that might be adopted by the Government from time to time, as well as the grievances of the people. But what do we see? We see that the personal liberty of the citizens of our country at perpetual stake in the name of emergency, which was imposed ten months back, in the month of June 1975. Since then Government could not bring a single case to show that the emergency was necessary. Before that, in 1971, for external reasons emergency was imposed. Again it was said in June 1975 that for internal reasons, because there was a conspiracy to topple the legally elected Government, emergency was necessary. But from the situation that developed afterwards, it is now established that the Government has no case to prove the allegations that were brought against the opposition leaders, or some elements who under various pretexts, it was said, wanted to create a situation which would help them to replace the Government even by violent means. That has not been proved at all. These are all mere motivated allegations. Had the Government any facts to establish or substantiate these allegations, they could have very well brought them in the House, or in a

court of law, against those persons against whom they had allegations. But that has not been done, and that will never be done. On the other hand, the attitude of the Government now seem to be that they will continue the emergency in perpetuity. Nobody knows when it will be lifted.

In the mean time, taking advantage of the emergency, the Government or the ruling party have snatched away all the rights that are enshrined in articles 14, 19, 21 and 22 of the Constitution. Even though ours is not a socialist Constitution still whatever little right or liberty has been given by it has been taken away by the Government under the pretext of the emergency. Further, they are using these powers in a most pernicious manner. Even for the steps to be taken in respect of family planning, people are arrested under MISA. Incidents after incidents took place in Delhi and these were blatant instances of autocratic nature of the ruling party. Forcible sterilisation had been adopted. There is no remedy in these matters. A recent judgment of the Supreme Court, has given blank powers to the executive to detain anybody for any reason or without any reason for any time they want under any pretext. So, the doors of the court are now closed to any individual who wants to seek justice and protection at the hands of the judiciary. Taking advantage of this, Government is taking any measure they like in respect of anything as may be suitable to them.

The persons who are mining money from big industries and trade are now standing in a queue to praise the Prime Minister as well as her party. The Government is also asserting that the situation has completely changed, that discipline has come back and so on. If that is so, why continue the emergency? The Prime Minister herself has been saying on many occasions that we are now out of chaos, that we are now out of danger, that only the discipline that has been restored must be maintained. Not only the Prime Minister, even the businessmen and industrial magnates are saying it.

[Shri Dinen Bhattacharyya]

Here in Delhi, only a few days back, Mr. B. M. Birla, who is the Chairman of the Committee for the Jubilee Celebrations of the FICCI which will take place next year, has, on behalf of the business community and the industrialists, sent invitations to the foreign business magnates to come over to India and see with their own eyes how the situation is favourable for investment in our country.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Perhaps the foreign invitees are those with whom we have got collaboration.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: I do not think so.

Only a few days back it appeared in the newspapers that they have sent invitations, and the Government has consented that this sort of invitation should be sent, and that the foreigners also have agreed to come.

If it is so, if everything is now in order, if there is no chaos in the country, why are you continuing these emergency powers and snatching away the fundamental rights and the civil liberty under the pretext of the emergency? Why there is no freedom of Press?

In this Resolution, it has been mentioned that if you really mean that our country should prosper, we should achieve economic development, then the participation of the people in the economic programme is necessary as well as their involvement. How can there be any involvement of the people who are ruled by the draconian laws like MISA and other pernicious laws for which they have no protection even in a Court of Law? This question must be answered. The situation now is such that the emergency powers that are being exercised are not necessary and so the emergency must be withdrawn. All those persons who have been detained for a long time, without trial should be released, and the rights which have been curtailed in the case of the workers, political parties and other democratic organisations should be

restored. It is most regrettable that workers peasants and other democratic masses have no right to hold any meeting, even the meetings in the halls are not permitted. Only the Ruling Party and their allies can hold meetings. All those who do not see eye to eye with the Ruling Party have no right to hold any meeting,—this right should be restored to them. People's voice is gagged and they cannot criticise the policies of the Government in any respect. If they do so, they will not be allowed to hold any meeting.

The Government is talking so much about the 20-point economic programme. We have no quarrel with the Government about it although we do not have any illusion that the basic problems of the country cannot be solved even if the 20-point economic programme is fulfilled 100 per cent. Still we can say that as far as land reforms and the removal of poverty of the rural population is concerned, as far as the rural indebtedness is concerned, as far as distribution of land to the poor and landless peasants are concerned, we are 100 per cent in support of them, but what about hundreds of our party and mass organisation workers who are working for the cause of the rural people? Now they are under arrest. You are not allowing ordinary people to take part or play their role in the economic matters. So, I say that your 20-point economic programme and its achievements are nothing but a hoax. Up till now, what is your performance? What is the result of land reforms for which several Chief Ministers were called here, and who gave different views of statements? Ultimately, the Prime Minister had to say that the land-reform programme had not been taken up seriously by the State Governments in almost all the States.

Not only this is the case with land reforms, but it is also the case with production in various industries. The whole country is in the grip of an economic crisis. There is recession. There is no demand of cloth in our

internal market. So, there is stock-piling in the cotton mills. The Government is giving concession after concession to big industrialists just as in the case of jute magnates. Total export duty has been withdrawn on jute exports and total excise duty has been withdrawn on jute products and cash subsidy for export has been given. Still, the jute companies are making the plea that more concessions should be given to them. They are now resorting to reducing the production to the maximum extent. This clan of people is in support of the 20-point programme and the emergency. Otherwise, if you go round the country *in cognito*, you will find to what extent the people are dissatisfied.

You will remember, in this House, we debated on the question of demands of the loco running staff. They were called here some days back. Only six of them were coming, some from Assam, some from West Bengal and some from the south. After they reached here, they were arrested under MISA. The reasons have not been given. Mr Qureshi was asked, what were the reasons, but he said, he did not know. It was on his notice that they came here. How will the workers have any confidence in their collective bargaining and negotiations, bipartite or tripartite?

In the H.M.T., eight leaders of the recognised union have been arrested under the MISA. The reasons have not been given. The Government is not bound to give reasons. The courts have given a green signal. Our party leaders, two MPs and other MPs of the other opposition parties are rotting in jail. A new tactic has been adopted. You will be horrified to know. I know, the Congress Members also will be ashamed to know that this heinous method is being adopted everywhere. The persons are arrested by the police and they are taken to the *thana* and they are beaten to death even. This has taken place only a few days back in Raniganj in West Bengal. We have got the information that one worker

has been beaten to death in the police lock up in the same area.

In this way, you cannot expect any success of your 20-point programme. So, I say, you must withdraw the Emergency; you must release the detenus and you must see that the civil liberty is restored to the fullest extent, that the democratic rights are restored and freedom of Press guaranteed so that the people may participate in the economic and democratic programmes in a democratic manner.

This is my submission

श्री बी० आर० शुक्ल (बहराइच) :
 माननीय सभापति जी, श्री ए० के० गोपाल द्वारा जो प्रस्ताव सदन के समक्ष विचार के लिये रखा गया है उसका मैं घोर विरोध करता हूँ। जो वानें इस प्रस्ताव में रखी गई है वह कोई नई नहीं है इन के ऊपर चर्चा जिस समय से आपातकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा देश में की गई है तब से बराबर किसी न किसी रूप में होती रही है। उन्होंने उसी बात को फिर सदन के सामने चर्चा के लिये रखा है। प्रस्ताव के अनुसार जिन व्यक्तियों को, जिन संगठनों को, जिन राजनितिक दलों को भ्रष्ट ठहराया गया है और उन प्रस्ताव के अनुसार जिन की अनुचित राजनितिक क्रियायें रोक दी गई हैं। तथा जो लोग इमर्जेंसी के संबंध में राजनितिक कंड़ी की हैसियत से बन्द कर दिये गये थे, उनकी उन की स्वतन्त्रता पुनः वापस की जाये।

दूसरी बात जो प्रस्ताव में रखी गई है, वह यह है कि प्रेस के ऊपर जो प्रतिबन्ध लगाये गये हैं आपातकालीन स्थिति के बाद वे प्रतिबन्ध हटा लिये जायें और यह सब इस उद्देश्य से किया जाये जिससे कि विकास कार्यों में इन का भाग लेने अवसर प्राप्त हो।

[श्री श्री० आर० मुखर्जी]

देखना यह है कि आपातकालीन स्थिति के पहले देश की हालत क्या थी क्यों यह लागू की गई थी और इस स्थिति के लागू करने के पश्चात् देश में कोई नुमायां सुधार हुए या देश की प्राथिक, सामाजिक और राजनितिक दशा जो खराब हो गई थी, उस में कोई सुधार आया है जिस के कारण इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार किया जाये। यह सर्वविदित सत्य है कि जिन समय इमर्जेन्सी लागू की गई थी, उस से पहले देश में एक ऐसा वातावरण, एक ऐसा माहौल पैदा कर दिया गया था जिस में सामान्य जीवन चलना मुश्किल हो गया था। मजदूर कल कारखानों में काम नहीं कर पाते थे, हमारे मित्र और उन की पार्टियों के लोग जो कहने के लिये तो मार्क्सिस्ट और लेनिनिस्ट हैं लेकिन मजदूरों के हित में काम न कर के किसी दूसरे राजनीतिक उद्देश्य की पूर्ति में अपना समय हमेशा लगाया करते हैं। मई 1974 में सारे देश में जब रेलवे की हड़ताल हुई, जब सन्पनिष्ठ और कर्तव्यनिष्ठ कर्मचारी अपने काम पर जाने से रोक दिये जाते थे, तब उन के घरों में हड़ताली कर्मचारी जा कर उपद्रव का वातावरण पैदा करने थे जब कालेजों और यूनिवर्सिटी में छात्र हम्तिहान नहीं दे पाते थे, जब प्रोफेसरों के ऊपर चाकू चलाये जाते थे, पुलिस को विद्रोह की आग में भड़कया जाता था और आखिर में जब रामलीला मैदान में 25 जून 1975 को सीटिंग की गई, तो उस में खुली चुनौती इस बात की दी गई और सेना के आदमियों से, सशस्त्र पुलिस के आदमियों से इस बात का आवाहन किया गया कि आप लोग ब्याबत कर दीजिये और देश में एक अराजकता का वातावरण फैला दीजिये, उस समय गवर्नमेंट के सामने क्या चारा रह गया था सिवाय इस के कि जो लोग इस किस्म का हिंसा, उपद्रव और अराजकता का प्रचार करते हैं

और जिन के द्वारा अराजकता का वातावरण देश में फैलता हो, उन्हें जेल जाने की बड़ी दीवारों के अन्दर बंद दिया जाये। चुनावे नहीं हुआ।

जब देश में पार्लियामेंटरी इंस्टीट्यूशनन्स के ऊपर इस किस्म का खतरा होता है, तो क्या आप समझते हैं कि मामूली कानून से उस का मुकाबला किया जा सकता है? क्या ये बड़े बड़े लीडर जो अपने आप को देश का गणमान्य नेता मानते हैं वे कोई साधारण भ्रादमी नहीं हैं और उन के पीछे दस, बीस, पचास, सौ और हजार भ्रादमी चलने वाले होते हैं उन के खिलाफ ताजीरात ए हिन्द के मातहत जो दफायें हैं उन में कार्यवाही हो सकती है और क्या उस से देश में शान्ति की व्यवस्था हो सकती थी। तो बड़े भ्रादमी के लिये, बड़े लीडर के लिये बड़े कानून की आवश्यकता है। शेर को मारने के लिये दूसरे हथियार होते हैं और मच्छर को मारने के लिये दूसरे औजार होने हैं। इसलिये इस आपातकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा की गई, जोकि बिस्कुल संबैधानिक है। इस मन्विधान में लिखा हुआ है कि जब देश में आन्तरिक खतरा पैदा हो जाये और देश की व्यवस्था छिन्न भिन्न होने का खतरा हो, तो उस समय राष्ट्रपति का पूरा संबैधानिक अधिकार है कि वह आपातकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा करे। चुनावे इस कांस्टीट्यूशन के मुताबिक इस अपने सविधान के मुताबिक इस आपातकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा की गई और जब घोषणा की गई, अब जब घोषणा की गई, और बहुत से लोग आंतरिक सुरक्षा कानून के अन्तर्गत बंद कर दिये गये। आप कहते हैं कि मुकद्दमा क्यों नहीं चलते? जनाबेयन, आपके कारणों गवर्नमेंट की फाइल में मौजूद हैं। (अवबधान) फाइल में नहीं देखी है। किसी दिन फाइल को दिखाने का मौका होगा तो आपको पता चलेगा। आप जानते हैं कि सार्वजनिक हित में यह आवश्यक नहीं कि

उनको अभी दिखाया जाय। आप लोग चुपके से, छिपकर जाइये और देखिये कि लोगों की जनभावनाएं क्या है। जो लीबर गिरफ्तार हैं, जो जेलखानों में बंद हैं, उनसे मिल कर अभी भी उनके लोग गलत भ्रमवाहों फैला रहे हैं, उपद्रवों की भावनाएं उत्तेजित कर रहे हैं। वे पर्शे छपवा कर बंटवाते हैं। अगर शीशा टूट नहीं गया है तो उस शीशे के सामने खड़े हो कर देखिये कि आप यहां क्या कहते हैं बाहर क्या करते हैं? अब भी विद्रोह भड़काने की कोशिश की जा रही है। आप बड़ीदा का केस देखिये, इतने दिन एमरजेंसी को लगे हो गये, केरल में देखिये, वहां पर विस्फोटक पदार्थ एक जगह से दूसरी जगह रेलवे के जरिये से भेजने का प्रयत्न किया गया। यह प्रयास तब किया गया जब कि प्रधान मंत्री बनारस जाने वाली थी।

16 hrs.

आप देख रहे हैं कि बांगलादेश में क्या हुआ? वहां के राष्ट्रपिता जिसने देश को आजाद कराया, के माथ क्या व्यवहार किया गया? अगर वहां पर अपानकालीन स्थिति लागू हो गयी होती, अगर वहां की गवर्नमेंट स्वतंत्र होती तो इस तरह की स्थिति वहां पैदा नहीं होती। (ब्यबचान) वहां एमरजेंसी थी भी तो वह दूसरे किस्म की थी। जिस तरह से यहां जिम्मेदारी के साथ लगायी गयी, उस तरह से वहां नहीं लगायी गयी थी। वहां पर पार्लियामेंटरी इस्टीमेशन नहीं थी। यहां पर भट्टाचार्य जी कहते हैं कि यहां पर शहरी आजादी नहीं है, लोगों को जेलखानों में बंद कर दिया जाता है। मैं पूछता हूँ कि जब से एमरजेंसी लागू हुई है आपके मुंह पर कोई ताला नहीं लगाया गया। आप कितनी ही सख्त और कड़वी बात यहां कर सकते हैं। (ब्यबचान) आपकी तकरीरें अखबारों में छपती हैं। जितनी तकरीरें आपकी छपती हैं उससे कम हमारी छपती हैं। आकाशवाणी पर जितना आप लोगों का नाम आता है, उससे कम हम लोगों का आता है। आप कैसे कहते हैं कि प्रैस की

आजादी नहीं है।

आप कलकारखानों को देखिये। जितना माल उनमें बनता था, उसमें बढीतरी हो गयी है। मानिसस्टस होने के नाते आप कहते हैं कि रिसेशन अर्थात् मंदी की हालत पैदा हो गयी है। यह सुन कर ताज्जुब होता है। देश में इतना उत्पादन बढ़ गया है, इतना कपड़ा पैदा कर दिया गया है, इतना अन्न पैदा कर दिया गया है कि अब कहीं अभाव का वातावरण ही नहीं है, स्केअरसिटि का एटमास्फियर नहीं है। कतार की कतारों में लोग खड़े रहते थे कि लोगों को चीजे नहीं मिलती थीं। लोगों को अब यह विश्वास हो गया है कि चीजें उपलब्ध है लिहाजा वे इस बान की परवाह नहीं करते कि चीजें जल्दी से खरीद लेनी चाहिए।

जब इंफ्लेशन का वातावरण था, जब मुद्रास्फीति का वातावरण था तब भी आप सरकार के खिलाफ थे, आज चीजें मिल रही हैं तब भी आप उसके खिलाफ हैं। जब हड़ताल होती थी, तब भी खिलाफ थे, जब हड़ताल नहीं होती हैं तब भी खिलाफ हैं। इस देश में आपको समझाने का प्रयास करना मिथ्या प्रयास है। आप उन आदिमयों के स्वर्ग में विचरण कर रहे हैं जहां पर एक भला और बुद्धिजीवी आदमी विचरना पनासिब नहीं समझेगा। आपका स्थान कहीं दूसरी जगह पर है।

अब रह गयी बात कि आपातकालीन स्थिति को वापस ले लिया जाय। मैं पूछता हूँ कि क्यों वापस ले लिया जाय? इसलिए वापस ले लिया जाय कि आप लोगों को भड़काएं, कलकारखानों में मजदूरों को कहे कि हड़ताल करो, लड़कों को कहे कि छुरा और चाकू चलायें इन्ही कारणों से आप चाहते हैं कि इस स्थिति को वापस किया जाये। (ब्यबचान) जब देश में अनुशासन अच्छे तरीके से आ जायेगा तो उस समय इस पर विचार किया जा सकता है। हमारे शास्त्री जी कोई सलाह की बात करें हम लोग उसको मानने के लिए तैयार हैं क्योंकि ये फासिस्टों के खिलाफ हैं, वे वास्तव में

[श्री वी० शार० भूषण]

एटी फासिस्ट हैं, वे चाहते हैं कि देश में प्रजा-
तांत्रिक समाजवाद फूले फने ।

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री की सलाह पर तो
गीर किया जा सकता है । लेकिन मैं मंत्री
महोदय से यह अनुरोध करूंगा कि इतने भारी
व्यापक आन्दोलन में अगर कहीं कोई भूल
हो गई है तो उस की तरफ वह तवज्जह दें और
उसको दुरुस्त करें । माननीय सःस्य भी
उसकी तरफ मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान दिला सकते
हैं और मुझे पूरी आशा है कि मंत्री महोदय उसको
दुरुस्त कर देंगे । लेकिन यह कहना कि सारे
देश में सभी आदमी गलन गिरफ्तार हुए हैं
ठीक नहीं है । आपने यहां का हाल देखा ही
था । जीरो आवार शुरू हो कर चार बजे तक
चलता था । आप लो हल्ला बहुत किया
करते थे । स्पीकर की बात को नहीं मुनते थे,
मिनिस्टर की अपील पर ध्यान नहीं देते थे ।
अब कितना उमदा और बढ़िया सब काम चल
रहा है । अब आप भी अच्छी बातें कहने हैं,
हम भी अच्छी बातें कहने हैं । स्पीकर साहब
आपको ठिकाने से मुनने हैं । बहुत ज्यादा झुठ
और स्वस्थ वातावरण है । इसकी और
कुछ दिनों तक कायम रहने दारिजये ।
अनुशासन पूरी तरह से जम जाने दीजिये ।

आप ने कहा कि विकास के कामो मे
आपको शरीक करना है तो यह अजादी फिर
वापिस कर दी जाए । मैं कहना चाहता हू
विकास का काम बहुत तेजी से चल रहा है ।
स्मगलर सब जेनो मे हैं । बीस मूत्री कार्य क्रम
के अन्तर्गत लैंड रिफार्म का जहा तक सवाल
है भूमि वितरण का काम बहुत तेजी से चल रहा
है । बहुधा मजदूरो का कर्ज माफ कर दिया
गया है । तमाम अच्छे अच्छे काम हो रहे हैं
आप इन मे शिरकत करें तो बहुत अच्छा होगा ।
आप शिरकत नहीं करेंगे तो हम आपके
मुहताज नहीं है । आपकी शिरकत के लिए
देश आपके प्रतीक्ष नहीं कर सकता है । देश
बड़ी तेजी के साथ इनकलाबी दौर में से गुजर

रहा है । अच्छे अच्छे काम होंगे इसका आप
इत्मीनान रखिये । अगर आपकी डिस्पोजाईमेंट
होता है तो आप खुद बैठ कर अकडोल बना लें
देश आपके साथ नहीं है ।

श्री भूषण चन्द डाचा (पाली) : जो
संकल्प पैस हुआ है उस में मैंने एक एमैंड-
मेंट पेश किया है जो इस तरह है :

"but these steps should be taken
gradually and with caution in such
a manner that the good sense of
discipline, restraint, responsibility
and self-confidence generated after
the Emergency in the country may
continue and may not subside."

26 जून को श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी और
राष्ट्रपति जी ने घोषणा करने हुए कोई खुशी
जाहिर नहीं की । उन्होंने माफ साफ कहा
था कि हैवी हार्ट के साथ हम यह घोषणा कर
रहे हैं । किमो भी प्रजातंत्र में विश्वास करने
वाली सरकार या पार्टी को आर्टिकल 352
काम मे लाने से खुशी नहीं हो सकती है
और न हमे है । देश को बचाना था और
उसको रास्ते पर लाना था । इस काम में
आपका सहयोग भी अनेकित है । आप भी
देश को बचा सकते हैं । श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी
ने कई इंटरव्यू दिए हैं अखबार वालो को ।
जो प्रश्न उन से पूछा गया और जो उन्होंने
उसका उत्तर दिया वह मैं आपके सामने रखना
चाहता हू । आप देखिए प्रश्न और उत्तर
को ।

"Question: Do you think that the
opposition was out to destroy the
country?"

Answer: During the railway strike,
the leader of the strike openly said:
'Well, if the steel mills close for so
long, if Railways stop for ten days, or
something else stops so long, the Gov-
ernment will be paralysed and we
shall be able to create a new situation."

मैं नाम नहीं लेना चाहता, लेकिन देश
में एक ऐसी आवाज पैदा की गई और कहा

गया कि इस गवर्नमेंट को और इस व्यवस्था को ठप्प करना चाहते हैं। इससे क्या नुकसान होता है —

"There was stone-throwing, there was arson, beating up people and an atmosphere of indiscipline. I think the most dangerous thing for any country is to spread what the British call alarm and despondency... I think that is the greatest danger to any country, specially to a country of India's size and diversity and the enormous problems we face."

प्राज देश में 114 मिलियन टन अनाज पैदा हो गया, एनर्जी का उत्पादन बढ़ गया, काँचले का उत्पादन बढ़ गया, कपड़ा ज्यादा पैदा हो गया, विश्वार्थी कालेजेज में जाने लगे और आप में भी अनुशासन आ गया। आप भी अनुशासन के साथ बान करने लगे। लेकिन अभी तक अपोजिशन वाले गाली देते थे और समझते थे कि हमारा काम हल हो गया। तुलसीदास राम वाली बात पर 26 लाख वरपा खर्च हो गया, यहाँ एक महीने बहस होगी रहे, पार्लियामेंट चल नहीं पाती था। हमारे स्पीकर साहब को ववाई की गोली लेनी पड़ती थी, उनके सिरदर्द हो जाता था। आपने कहा कि 20-सूची कार्यक्रम में कुछ नहीं हुआ, तो इसमें क्या बान है जो प्रस्ताव रखा है—

"The House is of the opinion that in order to make it possible for the people to be involved in the democratic process.."

प्राज भी हिन्दुस्तान में सारी असेम्बली चल रही हैं, डिस्ट्रिक्ट लैबल पर पापुलर कमेटी बनी हुई हैं, पंचायतें चल रही हैं। कहीं मुझे समझ नहीं आया कि काम नहीं हो रहा है।

कुछ लोगों ने बिहार में हमला किया, काम को अरुने हाथ में किया गया, चुनौदा लोगों को हुआ था। लेकिन गवर्नमेंट तो प्राज भी चल रही है, डेमोक्रेसी है काम ठीक चल रहा है, बराबर यहाँ भी समय से काम होता

है, क्वेश्चन अवर होता है, आप अपनी बातें भी कहते हैं, सारी बानों पर डिस्कशन होता है।

डैवलपमेंट एक्टिविटीज में हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार ने बार-बार कहा है कि 20-सूची कार्यक्रम कांग्रेस का नहीं है, 58 करोड़ जनता के लोगों का है। उसकी कमेटीज में सबको लिया गया है, आपको मालूम होगा। मेरा खयाल है, 20-सूची कार्यक्रम की कमेटी के मेम्बर डा० रानेन मैन भी होंगे, शास्त्री जी भी होंगे।

श्री राजावतार शास्त्री : (पटना) मुझे नहीं रखा गया है।

श्री मूल चरख डायग : शास्त्री जी नहीं होंगे तो उनके कोई बड़े भाई पंडितजी होंगे। 20-सूची कार्यक्रम में सारे डिस्ट्रिक्ट लैबल पर हर पार्टी के वार्ड नुमाइन्दों को लिया जा रहा है, तालचुक लैबल पर कमेटी बनी है।

जो मंकल्प रखा गया है, उसमें तीन बातें रखी गई हैं। तो अभी पार्लियामेंटरी डेमोक्रेसी कायम है, राज्यों में विधान सभायें चल रही हैं, पंचायतें चल रही हैं, ग्युनिसिपल बोर्ड का इल्लुशन होता है, सब काम चल रहा है। 20-सूची कार्यक्रम में प्राज सभी लोग सक्रिय हैं और सब काम में लगे हुए हैं।

मैंने संशोधन यह रखा है कि देश में जो अनुशासन आ गया है, जो संयम आ गया है, अगर यह कायम रह सके तो इस बात को ध्यान में रखकर सरकार को वह कदम उठाने चाहिए ताकि देश और मति से बढ़ सके। लेकिन अगर कुछ दलों और व्यक्तियों को हुरकतों और काम करने के तरीकों में सुधार न हुआ, तो इन्वर्सी को

[श्री मूलचन्द डागा]

हटाना सम्भव न होगा। मैं ने यह नहीं कहा कि इमर्जेंसी को अभी हटा दिया जाये। हर एक काम इंग से होना चाहिए। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए कि हम ने जो प्राप्त किया है, हम उस को खो दें।

इमरजेंसी के बाद देश के सभी क्षेत्रों में अनुशासन कायम हुआ है। पालियामेंट का काम अच्छी तरह चल रहा है। और विरोधी दल उस में भाग ले रहे हैं। क्या माननीय सदस्य यह चाहते हैं कि देश में फिर वह वातावरण पैदा कर दिया जाये, जिस में लोगों को गालियां दी जायें और चरित्र-हनन किया जाये।

जहां तक प्रेम का सम्बन्ध है, सब अखबारों में खबरें और प्रतिकूल छप रहे हैं, रचनात्मक सुझाव छप रहे हैं। कुछ लोगों को सिर्फ यह तकलीफ है कि उन की गालियां नहीं छप रही हैं। कुछ लोग सिर्फ इम लिए डेमोक्रेसी और स्वतंत्रता की मांग करते हैं कि वे दूसरों को गालियां दे सकें। मैं अपने मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि नेताओं को दो चार गालियां दे कर सूरमा बनने की आदत न डालें। वह आदत गलत है। हम यह भावना पैदा करनी चाहिए कि वह देश सब का है और इस के विकास के लिए सब को सहयोग देना चाहिए।

मैंने अपना एमेडमेंट बहुत सोच-समझ कर पेश किया है। इस को स्वीकार करना चाहिए। हम ने इस अवधि में जो अनुशासन पैदा किया है, जो प्रगति की है, उस से रुकावट नहीं पड़नी चाहिए। अगर कोई कहे कि भ्रानन्द मार्ग या आर० एस० एस० पर से बैन को हटा दिया जाये तो यह नहीं हो सकता है। आज भी जन संघ, कांग्रेस (प्रो) और सी० पी० आई० आदि राजनैतिक दलों पर कोई बैन नहीं है। सब पाटियां

काम करने के लिए स्वतन्त्र हैं, और वे काम कर रही हैं। हां, जिन पाटियों की कार्य-वाहियां देश के लिए हानिकारक सिद्ध हो चुकी हैं, उन पर बैन लगाया गया है।

हमारा देश प्रागे बड़ा है और वह भीर प्रागे बढ़ेगा। विभिन्न मंत्रालयों की डिमांडज पर इसकशन के समय यह प्रकट हो चुका है कि खेती, कामर्स और इन्डस्ट्री आदि सब क्षेत्रों में विकास हुआ है। देश में जो अनुशासन आ चुका है, उस को कायम रखना चाहिए।

SHRI SATYENDRA NARAYAN SINHA (Aurangabad): Mr. Gopalan's Resolution has provided the much needed opportunity to review the situation. I am sorry he is not here to place his viewpoints. As far as I have been able to understand, the whole situation continues to be surcharged with fear, apprehension and suspense completely immobilising the people. This Resolution urges upon the Government to defreeze the situation and create such conditions that people may take part enthusiastically in the developmental processes and developmental activities.

The declaration of emergency in June last, followed by the arrest of some of the important Members of Parliament, imposition of curbs on the press, on account of its suddenness and ruthless finesse, administered a shock to the people and the normal activities have gone into a low key. Despite the whipped up people's interest and co-operation in the implementation of the 20-point programme, people are still on the ring side, whatever may be contention of the ruling party. The majority of the people and also the intelligencia, a large part of them, are politically indifferent and passive as they want to save their skin and they are keeping quiet.

I heard the speeches made by my friend Shri B. R. Shukla and Shri M. C.

Daga justifying the imposition of the emergency. I do not want to enter a caveat. Whatever justification there might have been, there can be none now to keep the political leaders in jail. Can you seriously contend that Shri Morarji Desai or some of our important public leaders were really obstructing the onward march of our country to progress? If at all they could be blamed for anything, that would be for showing unhappiness, dissatisfaction and restiveness at the slow pace of progress.

The other day Shri Om Mehta, in an interview in Mexico to a newspaper known as "Excelsior" admitted that a large number of persons had been taken as political prisoners after the declaration of emergency in June last. But he said, that most of them had now been released; only those believing in terrorist methods were still under detention. I want to submit to this House, can you seriously say that Shri Morarji Desai believes in violence for that matter Shri Shyamnandan Mishra or Shri Pilloo Mody or many of our colleagues in Parliament and many of our friends who are in jail. I am not pleading for those people or parties who believe in violence. But I am pleading for those persons who believe in non-violence. They do not believe in violence. Can it be contended that if they are released, they will immediately organise such groups or violent activities as would thwart the working of the Government or subvert it? Can you put forward that plea? Yes, they have been blamed for organising demonstrations. Their presence might have been an encouragement to the people who were dissatisfied with the policies and progress, to organise demonstrations and to hold public meetings. Those conditions do not exist now even on Government showing. They themselves say that things have improved and the country is progressing fast. Lot of gains have been made and I do not think that if they are released from jail they will immediately start putting road blocks in the way.

My hon. friend Mr. Daga said that the Government believed in democracy and still believes in democracy. But in a democracy they should realise that there is room for debate and dialogue.

I concede that in a democracy the decision of the majority has to be accepted and it has to be implemented. Their decision should be binding on the minority. But, there can always be room for difference of opinion, in regard to the methods and manner of implementation.

My friend Mr. Dinen Bhattacharyya asked, if the officers make mistakes then who will point out those mistakes to them. I agree with him. Mr. Dinen Bhattacharyya brought to the notice of the House how your family planning programme is being implemented. Even the Government leaders have to express their resentment at the way the family planning programme is being implemented.

Therefore, I say, even those people who are charged with implementation of the programme could make mistakes. They can also be guilty of the errors of commission and omission. And who will bring these to the notice of the Government?

So, the opposition has always got a role to play. If the opposition is pointing out such things, they are not obstructing the working of the Government, nor the implementation of your programmes.

In fact, as my friend, Shri Bhattacharyya told you, we are not opposed to the 20-point Economic Programme. But certainly, we will be able to tell you where the mistakes are in the matter of implementation itself. But, unfortunately, the Government has created an atmosphere of "conformism" with all the implications and concomitants. In such a situation, there is a great scope for bureaucratic bungling with possible consequence of sufferings to the people. Who will bring this thing to your notice?

[Shri Satyendra Narayan Sinha]

The style of administration is changing; and it is becoming more and more personalised. The ruling party and its allies alone are permitted to hold meetings and propagate their views. The press is under curb and Press people are so frightened that it is not even possible for them to offer their reasonable and constructive comments on a national issue like the proposal to amend the Constitution. Worse cannot organise any meetings to educate people on issues of great moment to the country. The Supreme Court has given its decision whereby *malafide* arrests cannot be challenged. And this is a licence to police officers to indulge in highhandedness. They can do anything and the people can be arrested under MISA. Nothing can be done by us. We cannot even bring that to the notice. The people are working under a great handicap because their civil and political rights have been curbed. If we cannot place the other side of the picture, the result would be that the whole democratic value will suffer. Why are you having this press curb? If there is press curb, you cannot allow free expression of opinion or speech. It is generally said that once there is press curb, free expression of opinion is not allowed as such because of the fear of the truth being told.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Kindly conclude now.

SHRI SATYENDRA NARAYAN SINHA: Sir, I am speaking on behalf of four parties. I must also have my views. So, I must have five more minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right. You carry on.

SHRI SATYENDRA NARAYAN SINHA: I was saying that the opposition parties were not being allowed any chance to hold meetings; you are not allowing free expression of opinion. You are afraid of having a free press because it is held

that by allowing freedom of expression to the papers, the truth will be told.

16.29 hrs

[SHRI BHAGWAT JELI AZAD in the Chair]

A free press means that it should be in a position to place the facts before the people.

In Tamil Nadu, the State Government is permitting meetings to be held by the opposition only on conditions that they do not criticise the emergency; they do not speak against the national leadership. Even on these conditions, the other State Governments are not going to allow the meetings to be held by the Opposition Party. We are not opposed to any kind of curb on press or any reasonable restriction nor do we want licence to them. I should not be understood to be opposed to any kind of restriction. We want reasonable restrictions, but not a total gag as it is today. Let me tell you that if censorship is allowed to acquire some kind of character of permanence, it will tend to degenerate and instead of becoming a means of defending the society, it will become a weapon in the hands of authority for authoritarian rule, for arbitrary rule. My submission is that the conditions of the country are such that they do not justify the continuance of the press curb or prohibition against holding public meetings by the Opposition parties.

Sir, we are told that the Government have removed the press censorship. Certain instances have come to our knowledge—for example in Kerala—where our Working Committee passed a Resolution dissolving the Kerala unit and this news was given to the newspapers and the 'Matrabhumi' had actually composed this news and was going to the press when the Censor sent the instructions that it had to be cut out. It was done because Mr. Shankar Narain held a meeting on the next day that our Unit had merged with ruling Congress. In order to provide legitimacy

to that move in the public eye, you utilise this censorship. Therefore, my submission is that it will not be in your interest either to continue this kind of press curb by taking all our civil rights and liberties or if you continue to keep this, ultimately what will happen is that your own party-men will be afraid of acquainting the leadership with the truth that may be unfavourable or unpalatable. Then the leadership becomes insulated from the real opinion prevailing in the country and a sort of vacuum surrounds the leadership, which it is difficult to penetrate. Then it will be difficult to differentiate that kind of leadership from totalitarian leadership and ultimately you will suffer. Press censorship will sap the faith of the people in your credibility. If press curb is continued, people will cease to have faith in what you say. This harms the ruler more than the ruled. People will not believe any statement made by you as it happened in Germany when France and England declared war and it was announced on German radio, people did not believe it. They thought it was another Goebbelsian stunt because it came from German radio. Similarly, if people are not going to have correct information they could believe that what is being told is distilled information. They will cease to have faith in what you say and some of your good deeds will go unnoticed and it will ultimately harm the democratic policy for which you stand.

Therefore, my submission is that those conditions which might have justified the declaration of Emergency then do not exist now and you must at least release those people who do not believe in violence, who are not expected to organise violent groups to thwart your working and subverting your Government and who are, on the other hand, expected to lend you support.

Sir, even as early as 23rd July, 1975 Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan had written to the Prime Minister saying

that we do not have any quarrel with you in regard to 20-point programme and if you add only two more items to it, namely, the reform of electoral laws and steps to deal with ministerial corruption, all our colleagues, comrades and friends will not only accept it but will also work for it. They will extend their wholehearted co-operation and it will become a national movement and a national programme. That was the kind of assurance given to the Prime Minister then. I take this opportunity to tell you even today that the Opposition Parties are not against the twenty-point programme; they are not interested in creating any obstacles in the implementation of the programme. On the contrary, you will receive help from us. We will point out where the mistakes are in the process of implementation. The emergency cannot remain a permanent feature of any country. If you sincerely believe that you want to maintain the democratic structure and at the same time you want to take the country towards the socialist goal, you should create the necessary conditions immediately by releasing the leaders and restoring civil and political rights so that the pent-up energy of the people may be released and they may enthusiastically participate in it.

सभापति महोदय : मंत्री जी आप कितना समय लेंगे ?

गृह मंत्रालय में उप-मंत्री (बी एच० एच० बोहरिन) : आधा घंटा।

सभापति महोदय : गोपालन जी जवाब देने के लिये नहीं हैं। मन्त्रीय राम सिंह जी, आप 10 मिनट लेंगे।

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: I will put questions only on behalf of Shri Gopalan.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is not permissible—that I will see at that time.

भी राज सिंह झा (इन्दौर) : सभापति जी, मैं इस संकल्प का सख्त विरोध करता हूँ। प्रस्ताव की संज्ञा क्या है यह देखने की बात है। प्रस्ताव में कहा गया है कि "लोक-तन्त्रात्मक प्रक्रिया तथा विकास कार्य में भाग लेने के लिये"। और दूसरे यह कहते हैं कि "अपनी वैध राजनीतिक कार्यवाहियां जारी रखने के लिये।" मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि क्या 25 जून, 1975 के पहले वे विकास कार्य में लगे हुए थे और क्या उन की कार्यवाहियां जो कर रहे थे सब वैध थीं ? जैसा इस प्रस्ताव में कहा गया है कि विकास कार्य और वैध कार्यवाहियां करने के लिये तो जो उन्होंने पहले कार्यवाहियां की होंगी और जो कर रहे होंगे वही करने वाले हैं, अथवा उन का हृदय परिवर्तन हुआ है या उन्हें ऐसा लगा है कि जो हम कर रहे थे वह गलत है ? अगर ऐसा है तो उन्हें आम तौर से माफ़ी मांगनी चाहिये कि जो हम ने किया उसके लिये हमें क्षमा किया जाय तो उस पर विचार किया जा सकता है। लेकिन स्वयं जो विकास कार्य में विश्वास नहीं रखते, वैधानिक कार्य में विश्वास नहीं रखते, और वह इस प्रकार का प्रस्ताव रखें, उस का तो सभी को विरोधी करना चाहिये। आपातकालीन स्थिति के बाद आज जो परिस्थिति बनी है उस का देश की करोड़ों जनता स्वागत कर रही है और इस स्थिति को एक तरह का वरदान माना है। मैं गरीबों में रहने वाला आदमी हूँ, उन में घूमता फिरता हूँ और देखता हूँ उन के मन में एक शंका अवश्य बनी हुई है कि कहीं सरकार अज्ञानक इस इमरजेंसी को न हटा ले। उन को यही डर है। आम तौर से जो गरीब लोग हैं, रोजाना कमाने और खाने वाले हैं उन्हें बहुत चिन्ता होती है। मैं देखता था आपातकालीन स्थिति के पहले कि यह राजनीतिक पार्टियों के अनुयायी सड़के की दुकानें चलाते थे, कहीं होटल में और कहीं माल की दुकान में चलाते और जब एक गरीब कहीं से भी अपना डेढ़ रुपया काम कर लाता था तो वह उसे अपनी बीबी के पास तक नहीं

ले जा सकता था, वहीं उस से ये खोब उला लिया करते थे। लेकिन आज जो यह गरीब कमा कर लाता है, रुपया, दो इन्चा, सट्टा बंद होने से वह पैसा उस की बीबी के हाथ में जाता है। और कम से कम माया भूखा-सूखा वह अपने दिन तो व्यतीत कर लेता है लेकिन उस वक्त केवल उसका काम यह होता था कि ऐसे लोगों के पद-बिन्दु पर चल कर उन के हो-हल्ले में शरीक हो जाना और थोड़ा सा चना मुरमुरा उस को खाने के लिये मिल जाता था।

ये भूलते क्यों हैं अपने कारखानों को। इन के कारखानों के कारण ही बंगाल की क्या हालत कर दी गई। बंगाल में आज भी कितने ही कारखाने बन्द पड़े हुए हैं। क्यों बन्द हैं वे कारखाने और चलते क्यों नहीं ? इस का कारण यह है कि पेट दुखता है तो हड़ताल होती है, मिर दुखता है तो हड़ताल होती है। इन के कारखाने ऐसे ही रहे हैं लेकिन मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज ये लोग जा कर वहां हड़ताल तो कराए ? आज मजदूर इन को मुनने के लिए नैपार नहीं हैं। मजदूरों को इन्होंने हड़तालें करा करा कर तबाह कर डाला। मजदूरों को तबाह किया, कारखानों को तबाह किया और सारे देश को तबाह किया। मैं आप से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट की थोड़ी सी कमजोरी है। इस आपातकालीन स्थिति में इन्हें जितना कस सकते हों, उनका कसना चाहिए... (अव्यवधान)... और अच्छी परिस्थिति बनानी चाहिए। आप मेरे यहां आइए। यहां थप थप करते हैं। संसद के बाहर आप बोल नहीं सकते हैं। तो मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि देश में जितनी गुंजागिरी थी वह थोड़ी सी तो खत्म हुई है लेकिन अभी भी कुछ है और उस का कारण यह है कि कुछ ऐसे राजनीतिक लोग दरवाजा बन्द कर के छिड़कियों में से मौका देख रहे हैं। इसलिए हमें सावधान रह कर अच्छी परिस्थितियां पैदा करनी होंगी। प्रजातन्त्र का

मतलब क्या है। प्रजातन्त्र का मतलब यह है कि ईमानदारी से मेहनत करो, कमाओ और खाओ। आप को भाषण करने से कौन रोकता है? लेकिन आप यह चाहते हैं कि यहां पर समापति जी बैठें हों तो उन के आसन तक पहुंच जाना और उन के माइक को छीन लेना। आप यह चाहते हैं कि जब राष्ट्रपति जी भाषण दे रहे हों तो उन के आसन की तरफ लपकना और सत्ताधारी पार्टी को यह बताना कि हम यह गुंडागर्दी राष्ट्रपति जी के सामने भी कर सकते हैं। ऐंसा के निबे जेल ही उपयुक्त स्थान है। जेल के बाहर ऐसे लोगों को रखना प्रजातन्त्र को खतरे में डालना है।

श्रीमन्, अगर आप आंकड़े उठा कर देखें तो गुंडागर्दी की कार्यवाहिया कितने प्रतिशत कम हुई हैं और बंगाल में ही कितनी कम हुई हैं। अभी थोड़े दिन पहले बंगाल के जूट मिलों के मजदूरों के द्वारे में ये चिल्ला रहे थे लेकिन उस बात को ये भूल गये कि 48 दिन की हड़ताल आप ने क्यों जूट मिलों में कराई थी और फिर सिर झुका कर उन को वापस क्यों ले लिया।

तो, श्रीमन्, मैं ज्यादा इस पर बोलना नहीं चाहता हूं, लेकिन मेरा आप से यह निवेदन है और संसद सदस्यों से यह निवेदन है कि यह जो प्रस्ताव लाया गया है, यह अच्छे इरादों से नहीं लाया गया है। यह देश के अन्दर जो अच्छी फिजा बनी है, उस फिजा को खराब करने के इरादों से लाया गया है और यह देश में एक खराब वातावरण बनाना चाहते हैं। इसलिए इस प्रस्ताव को सदन को ठुकरा देना चाहिए।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं समाप्त करता हूं।

DR. RANEN SEN (Barasat): I shall take very little time. I am constrained to say that I am not in a position to support the resolution moved by Shri Gopalan for two simple reasons. One is that in that

resolution there is a blanket demand for the withdrawal of all the repressive measures against all political parties and individuals. It is a well known fact that some parties which have been banned should have been banned long ago. Anand Marg is not a political party; but proutist party is a political party and it is a wing of anand marg and many Members of Parliament even do not know it.

Therefore, the demand that those parties also have to be legalised and given the freedom to work as they like is not, I think, democratic.

Secondly, in the resolution, it is implied that the promulgation of emergency was unwarranted. There also I do not agree. He speak of the American conspiracy; here in this House, we speak of the subversive activities of the agents of the United States and American imperialism who never took a kind attitude towards India and the Indian pattern of society. Sir, we also say that everywhere the role of the American Imperialists is to subvert the Governments and the States that are not prepared to toe the line of the American Imperialism. So, how can we say that there was no conspiracy of the American Imperialists to subvert the Indian democracy, whatever the democracy we have. Where is the proof that these things are happening? The same question was put to the President of Chile, Dr. Salvador Allende. In the U.N.O. the American Press correspondent said: "when you say that there is a conspiracy against the Government in Chile, where is the proof?" But the poor fellow could not prove it. But he proved it with his own life. Our neighbour, Bangabhandu Sheikh Mujibur Rehman was told by his own people, his own party that there was a conspiracy, he did not believe it because there was no proof. But by sacrificing his own life and sacrificing the lives of his whole family, it was proved that there was conspiracy against that Government by the American Imperialists.

[Dr. Ranen Sen]

The latest conspiracy is the threatened march of Maulana Bhashani to Farakka. So it is difficult for a Government to prove before the country that there are conspiracies both from outside and inside

Therefore, this Resolution has two major defects. Otherwise nobody likes people to be kept in detention. I am one of those persons, who, in the British days, were detained without trial several times and in those days by the Congress regime also, I was arrested five times and kept in detention without warrant. I have no love for detention without trial. But under the situation, under the world situation, when the Imperialists conspiracy is going on, one must be very cautious and one must not take the situation with complacency. But having said this, I have some points of agreement with Mr. Bhattacharyya and Mr. Sinha in the sense that the people have to be involved in whatever good measures the Government want to introduce in the country. Mr. Bhattacharyya and Mr. Sinha have said that they have no opposition to the 20-point economic programme. It is good. They have also said that people have to be associated. I am quite in agreement with them. This is our feeling. I am speaking on behalf of our Party that people are not fully involved in the programmes by the Government, by the bureaucratic machinery that exists today in India. There is no denying this fact. If the people could be involved not only in the 20-point economic programme but in some other programmes also, we could be successful there also. We are now seeing the working class under attack. We see that the big business people who refuse to produce more for the country, who want to produce only for profit, are not being hauled up. But the members of the working class are being hauled up. There is no denying the fact that in certain States or rather in most of the States, the

working class do not have any right to hold meetings. Even the Communist Party of India which is wedded to this principle and which has supported the Government in so far as certain matters are concerned, is not permitted to hold meetings in most parts of India. In Delhi, our Party was refused permission to hold the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Communist Party in India. The working class meetings are not allowed. In Delhi, the May-day was observed not at the gates or the street corners, but they had to be observed inside the offices. Who is responsible for this? If the working class ask today why we are not allowed to hold the meetings, what is the reply to that? The 1st of May was observed as a public holiday in West Bengal. I must say that in spite of the defects in the West Bengal Government, I congratulate them because there is no prohibition over the meetings or the demonstrations. Even the demonstration held by the CPM are never obstructed. In spite of the other criticisms that may be levelled against the West Bengal Government, there is a certain amount of liberty there. Why should not the Delhi Administration or the Governments of Maharashtra and other States do it? Even Members of Parliament like Shri Ramavatar Shastri have been arrested more than once in Bihar. Members of our party in Bihar and in many other places have been arrested. Some of our party members are still in jail. Many workers who are associated with the AITUC have been arrested and kept in jail for quite a long time. Is this the way to involve the workers in nation-building work?

About press censorship, it has been pointed out by our Group Leader, Shri Indrajit Gupta, how stupidly and bureaucratically press censorship is imposed. We have a daily newspaper in Calcutta on which press censorship is imposed. Our editor violated it and ultimately it has come

to a stage where we have been asked to explain why it was done and our people have to say, "We have done it in the interests of the country and the people. We are prepared to face the court of law." In Delhi, our weekly newspaper *New Age* has been threatened more than once that it is violating press censorship. What is the violation? If we say something in favour of the 20-point economic programme, if we say something in support of the interest of the working class or the common people, if we say that the claims made by the government about distribution of land or household sites or land reforms are exaggerated press censorship will come over us! This is not the way that democracy should function. I would simply say that while I do not support this resolution because of the reasons I have already explained, yet there are many points in it which the government should consider. If this sort of press censorship and suppression of the workers and taking away of the democratic rights of the workers and the common people continue, the country cannot proceed forward and the principles for which the government stand or profess to stand cannot succeed. With these words, I am sorry I cannot support the resolution moved by Shri Gopalan.

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kannara): Sir, Shri Gopalan's resolution, in the operative parts, requests two things—that the political parties should be permitted to carry out their legitimate political activities and the press censorship especially imposed after the proclamation of the emergency and the recently adopted Press Acts should be repealed and the political prisoners should be released. In regard to the first question the law under MISA states "illegitimate political activity." It is a bit of a confusing word. I have my own reservations as to what is legitimate and what is illegitimate. Is illegitimate activity equal to violence, loot, arson, murder plus the latest contribution to political activism by India, name-

ly, bandh and gherao, which is a sort of collective denial of an individual's right and freedom by a group which arrogates to itself the right to arrest a person?

This group which is completely an illegitimate association takes upon itself the right to do the things which the Constitution has cast upon the State machinery to do. Like a Police Office, they detain a person. I think these are not legitimate activities and the people who believe in these illegitimate activities cannot be said to be indulging in legitimate political activities and the parties which believe in these methods cannot be said to be legitimate political parties. It stands clear as crystal that these political parties, these political leaders who had once brought about the bandh of Bombay, bandh of Nagpur, bandh of the whole State of Maharashtra and bandh of the whole country—the day which we distinctly remember when we could not get even in the MP, Hostel in Western Court nothing to eat from morning till night because the bearers refused to serve us—cannot suppose to be indulging in legitimate political activities. I do not think that the time has come for such a level of radical democracy in our country whereunder some of these banned organisations, some of them with perverted leaders, less said about it the better, indulge in murder. We can understand that in a permissive society like that in the West some individual mental aberrations are used for propagating the political system, the political ideology and the fascist pattern of Government. A classical example not only for our country but for the whole world to take note of is the gruesome murders committed by Ananda Marga resulting in clear curdling stories of some persons who burnt himself after the example of buddhist monks in Vietnam. At least, there is a strong reason to suspect that most of them had done it

[Shri B. V. Naik]

under the influence of dope, opium or whatever it is.

Next is the question of the freedom of the press or restoration of the *status quo ante*. As one who treated his entry in this august House as a great privilege and good fortune in life, the first shock that I got was that I was illegitimately elected in this House. That was on the basis of the Russian ink which was brought up by Mr. Bal Thakerey. This democratically elected Government had to fight a legal battle for one year before the stigma of illegitimacy could be removed.

DR. RANEN SEN: The allegation was first made by Mr. Balraj Madhok

SHRI B V NAIK: But it was picked up by Mr Bal Thackery and was given lot of publicity in Bombay press. We were told that we had cheated the electorate of this vast country. What our good friends in the Press gallery were doing about it? Why were they shutting their eyes when some people perpetuated a malicious and shifting propaganda? Were they sleeping? As they say in vernacular, a person who is sleeping can be awakened but they were pretending to be asleep. The mischief of the Press can be quoted hundred times. On the Press Council Bill, I had to lose my temper about the case of that famous lady, Sumitra Desai, because of whom a Minister was dismissed from our Cabinet. It was only after six months that we came to know that the whole thing was a figment of imagination of an irresponsible Press. Leaving this sensational case, I will come to the less sensational one. I am very much satisfied with the publicity or less publicity that I get for all the hard work which I or Members like Mr. Daga do.

17 hrs.

We may get a mention in 1 line or 2 lines. But there is an even-handedness in this publicity. And we do not envy the Ministers like Mr. Mohsin getting a bigger coverage. It does not matter. After all, we are doing these things for the sake of our bread and butter and for our constituency. But formerly, what happened? Any histrionics, any floor show—I am sorry to use that word—any tantrum or any dramatic act used to hit the headlines. Where did the hard work and burning of midnight oil by friends like Mr. Daga and Dr. Ranen Sen end up to? It got no publicity. It was blotted out. Now everybody gets it evenly. This is socialism in practice. We are quite satisfied. We do not want to hit the headlines and become star performers. Whatever ideas we sincerely put across to the extent that are acceptable, are reported—that so-and-so said such-and-such things.

I am not worried, Sir, about our friends, good friends, personal friends—might be political adversaries. I have also to admit with a great amount of honour that my dear friend Mr. Piloo Mody has written to me; and it has come to me in a neat form. He has said that he is very happy there. I am very happy that he is so well treated. He has said that if I come to know how well he is treated, I would like to go in there myself. In other words, that is the treatment given to our political prisoners. I say this on the basis of those who have come out; they have put on weight. I hope Mr. Mody does not.

I would also say this. Maybe it is a personal point of view. As long as you control this mischief of the Press which magnifies, with a sort of a magnifying mirror, we are not worried if the political detainees, particularly our comrades in this House, are released. After all, the mischief was not even so much by the Members.

They were misled and given undue publicity by the Press. This is part and parcel of democracy; but that is a luxury of democracy which we, a poor country, cannot afford. We have to get on with the task of building up our nation.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have a couple of minutes.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: In defence of what I have to say about the amendment to the Resolution, I would say that I do not know anything about the sensational parts—viz. about family planning compulsions and other things. I have gone through the wording of the Resolution. By and large, people have come to accept Emergency. I am not giving a certificate to the administration there. But that fatigue with the lawlessness that had prevailed in our country, has been overcome. The few people who were detained and the few people whose liberties were deprived, have been well chosen. That does not mean that all is well with the world and that God is in His heaven. I find that during the period of the Emergency, due to better labour-relations, the production of fertilizers, textiles and such other things in the Central sector has increased. But can the Minister of Home Affairs say with the same amount of confidence that the level of administration in every State Government has come up to the same expectations? Have we got facts and figures to show that in consonance with the picking up in the public sector and such other areas of the Centre, the State Governments also have gone ahead with the same amount of zeal? I would say that I have got my own reservations. Emergency has brought in certain good things; but I would like to quote my friend Mr. Romesh Thapar from the issue of "Seminar". It is an invaluable contribution that he has been making to the nation.

He says:

"This issue was organised before the present Emergency". The pro-

blems it underlines will remain with us whatever the form or character of government we choose to live under. The Indian capacity for making a jungle of administrative procedures to establish a secure feeling of non-responsibility is now well-known within this unhappy land and has given us, a reputation of notorious non-performers throughout the world. If we manage to job along, it is because of the extraordinary horse-sense available where essential jobs have to be done despite 'the system'. Only those who have worked within 'the system' can begin to find the correctives, unless we seek to overthrow the whole machine for something more modern and more simple which places responsibility where it belongs. We will probably keep tinkering with the problems of governmental and public sector management, because no one really has the courage to accept responsibility together with the reward and punishment it involves. Our 'babu culture' is based on the permanency of jobs, steady promotion irrespective of merit, and subservience on all matters except on work-shirking and wage-pushing. continental polity like India, complex and growing, can carry the weight of a dead system only for some time. If there is an emergency, it is here. And yet it remains the most neglected area. The politician has shown little inclination and even less capability to tackle the problem. Surface issues like punctuality, discipline, codes of behaviour are a kind of boy-scoutism which leave intact the pernicious elements. We as a nation have to learn to think fundamentally, structurally about the problem so that faith in humanity, justice, truth and dignity inform every area of governance"

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let him stop there. This discussion will have to

[Mr. Chairman]

close at 5.30 p.m. and the Minister wants half an hour. Even as it is, he will get only 25 minutes. There are still four more Members in my list. I am sorry, I cannot accommodate them. Now the hon. Minister.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI F. H. MOHSIN): Sir, I have heard Shri Dinen Bhattacharyya and other hon. Members who have spoken on this Resolution. Shri A. K. Gopalan, who moved the Resolution on that day, could not be present here today, but his ideas have been conveyed to this House.

The Mover of this Resolution seems to have some misunderstanding in his mind that Emergency means total curtailment of the democratic process and the fundamental rights. The House is well aware of the circumstances under which the Emergency had to be proclaimed. I will not go into the details, as the Home Ministry has already published a booklet on this subject, embodying the speeches made by several leaders, including those of the opposition parties. The name of the booklet is "Why Emergency?". There we have given in detail the causes for bringing in Emergency and the speeches made by some important leaders. One thing which has been brought out clearly is the attempt by some heterogeneous groups or political parties to create an atmosphere of violence.

HON. MEMBERS, I am sure, would not have forgotten the situation which prevailed before the promulgation of Emergency. Many of the opposition parties, even though they have nothing in common, united themselves against the ruling party and Government and incited violence. For example, what could be the meeting ground between communal organisations like RSS and Jan Sangh on the one hand and political parties like CPM or the Congress (O), which is supposed to be supporting socialist principles? There was nothing in common, the only thing in common was to see that the party in

power was prevented from running the Government.

The House would not have forgotten the incidents that happened in Gujarat and Bihar. There was pressure to dissolve the democratically elected bodies like the State legislatures and when the Members did not agree to it, all sorts of violence was resorted to. I remember those occasions when so many Members of Gujarat had to seek shelter in Delhi for fear of being assaulted in Gujarat, but their families were not spared. Could it be called in any way democratic? Were they adopting democratic and constitutional methods?

We also learnt of incidents where even Members of Parliament were not spared. They were harassed. When Members of the Legislatures and Members of Parliament who were elected by the people were not spared, what to speak of the other people? Even such responsible Members were made to ride on donkeys and they were clean shaved and taken in a procession. Could this be called democratic? Can we call it a constitutional method?

All these things went on, and the ruling party was not allowed to hold any meetings. Tension was prevailing. Not only was there stone-throwing, even loot and arson was resorted to. People could not carry on their normal business and many times the shops had to be closed, and that brought many difficulties for the common man. Essential supplies could not reach their destinations. So many strikes and lay-offs caused so much trouble in the production of goods. All these added to the difficulties of the nation and the security of the country was threatened. Only then action was taken. I was late, of course. We feel we could have taken this action earlier, but though late, it came and it had its effect.

So, all these heterogeneous groups and disruptive and unsocial elements

combined together to create an atmosphere of violence and a situation which was the cause of bringing in emergency. The emergency was proclaimed not for under-mining democratic principles or taking away somebody's rights, but it was brought in the interests of maintaining the democratic process and values, not for curbing the legitimate rights of citizens. Many measures have been brought forward such as the following: Amendments to the Defence of India Act, 1971 and the Defence of India Rules, 1971, and making them applicable to the situation relating to internal security, the issue of censorship orders under rule 48(1) of the Defence and Internal Security of India Rules to subject the publication of names, comments, rumours or other reports relating to the proclamation of emergency, the issue of Presidential Orders under article 359 of the Constitution suspending the rights of persons to move the courts for the enforcement of fundamental rights, and the issue of orders under rule 33 of the Defence of Internal Security of India Rules banning Anand Marg and its allied organisations, the R.S.S., Jamaitul-Ulema and extremist organisations like the CPI (M.L.)

All these steps which have been taken after the proclamation of the emergency were directed against those subversive and anti-national elements which were bent upon creating instability and insecurity of the nation

We are not banning such organisations which believe in the Constitution. Only those organisations which are not believing in the Constitution or constitutional methods and are engaged in subversive activities are banned.

As far as the fundamental rights are concerned, it is not as if they are taken away. Nobody has taken away the fundamental rights. It is only the right to approach the court for the enforcement of the fundamental rights that has been taken away. We are not taking away any of the funda-

mental rights that were given to the people.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: May Day celebrations have been banned all over India.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: That is not a fact. (Interruptions).

Even for that purpose, the right of enforcement of the fundamental rights was taken away. I want to explain it further because there were certain people who were indulging in such subversive activities and were also creating an atmosphere of violence here and there. They approached the court and the court gave them a stay order. So, these are dilatory tactics which would come in the way of the security of the country. We cannot risk the security of the country and allow them to approach the court and get a stay order. We cannot take that risk, as far as the security of the country is concerned. When the security of the country is involved, of course, there is a responsibility cast upon the Government to take measures under the articles of the Constitution.

As far as the suspension of any right is concerned, it has been done by the President of India under the provision of the Constitution itself. So the Constitution makers perhaps knew of such a situation that whenever the country was confronted with such a situation, as we are now confronted with, there was a provision for suspension of some of the rights under the Chapter of Fundamental Rights. Only that has been done. It is not the taking away of the right that has been done.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: Being justiciable is the hallmark of the fundamental rights.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: The right to approach the court has been taken away in the interest of the country. We cannot allow anti-social elements or such other elements to have their

[Shri F. H. Mohsin]

own way even under such a situation. That was inevitable. We had to take that stand. A point was made by Dinen Bhattacharyya and other Members from the Opposition that only the Congress Party was allowed to hold a meeting and not other parties.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: I said, "Its allies."

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: That is totally a lie. (Interruptions).

I had replied in the same breath. (Interruptions)

I would say before the House that no instructions have been issued to any meetings belonging to the Opposition Parties provided it is a legitimate political activity.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: What is that? (Interruptions).

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: In Kerala, CPI(M) and its front organisations had 33 public meetings after the emergency and no other political party has held so many meetings. They also held one conference and one seminar. CPI held only 3 public meetings, one conference and one seminar. Again, CPI(M) led parties held 8 conferences in Kerala.

My friends on the other side were mentioning that CPI was not allowed hold meetings in Maharashtra. I have got all the figures. In Maharashtra, CPI and its front organisations held 109 public meetings, one conference and one seminar, RPI held 11 public meetings, Socialist party held 10 public meetings, Shiv Sena held 3 public meetings, Congress (O) held 1 public meeting and so on. Even in West Bengal, CPI and its front organisations held 62 public meetings after the proclamation of Emergency CPI(M) and its front organisations held 25 public meetings after the Emergency

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA: Where? I want that to be clarified.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: I do not have those details now.... (Interruptions).

In West Bengal, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh held 14 public meetings, Congress (O) held 3 public meetings and so on. It is not as though they were not allowed to hold public meetings and conferences. I have got the figures and I can show you where they have held public meetings, conferences and seminars. They have been holding public meetings, conferences and seminars all over the country.

It may be true that at certain places, some public meetings might not have been allowed to be held. But it is only when there is a threat to public peace and public order or there is an apprehension that certain violence may erupt that the local officer is authorised to see the situation and ban the public meetings. Generally, we have not asked any of the State Governments to ban public meetings or conferences or seminars which are held for a legitimate cause. I can say that there is no legal bar to holding public meetings nor we have issued any instructions in this regard.

A point was made for the release of political prisoners. Mr. Dinen Bhattacharyya, Mr. Satyendra Narayan Sinha and some other Members have pressed for the release of political prisoners. I do not know what is meant by political prisoners. We have got only under-trial prisoners or convicted prisoners or those who are detained under preventive detention laws or under the defence and security of India laws. There is no category as such of political prisoners. It may be that some of them who are detained may belong to certain political parties. My friends opposite probably have in view the detenus who belong to certain political parties. If that is so I say, yes, some persons who are detained do belong to certain political parties. But they have not been detained for their being associated with

certain political parties. There are persons who have been detained for their threatened action. If there is any threat to the security of the country, they are detained not because they belong to certain parties

(Interruptions). Mr. Ram Avtar Shastri said he was also detained.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI:
Why?

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: He might have committed a certain offence

(Interruptions) Your friend mentioned your name. That is why I referred to it. It is just possible that he might have committed an offence under any of the laws, under any of the provisions either of the Defence of India Rules or of the I.P.C. I do not know anything about that. Nobody is arrested for his political views only. Some of the Congressmen have also been arrested and are under detention; why should they be arrested if only Opposition Members are being arrested? So, people are detained for the offences they have committed and not for their political ideologies.

Now, there is a plea that they should be released. This is a continuing process. Many have already been released. It is not as though all the people detained are kept in custody for any length of time. Some of them have already been released and prominent among them is Shri Charan Singh. Was he not one of the leaders belonging to the Opposition? He has been released now. Then, Mr. Maya Prasad Sinha, who was Chief Minister of Bihar, has also been released. So, there are some persons who have been released; it is not as though once in detention they are always in detention. It is a continuing process and there is a provision for review in the Act itself. We have advised the State Governments also to review the detentions periodically. It is not as though all have been arrested; the very fact that Mr. Dinen

Bhattacharyya and his friends are here proves that fact! There are a large number of political leaders and other political workers who have not been arrested. Why should we arrest them? There is no reason to arrest them unless they involve themselves in creating an atmosphere which would endanger the security of the country or commit any offence under the Indian Penal Code.

Now, since my time is limited, I will compress my views. Many persons have spoken about Press censorship. There is no general Press censorship; it is only in specific matters of a delicate nature like the proclamation of Emergency or the use of the Defence of India Act and such matters that pre-censorship is there.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA:
Every item of news has to be censored; perhaps you don't know it.

THE MINISTER OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH): If what the Minister says is true and if what you say is untrue and you say it outside you will be guilty of disseminating falsehood and you are liable to be arrested!

MR. CHAIRMAN: No threats in the House please!

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: The purpose of censorship is to guide and advise the press to guard against the publication of unauthorised, irresponsible or inaccurate news items, reports, conjectures or rumours which may have the effect of causing panic or spreading alarm or incite disaffection towards the Government. This is exactly where the Press mis-behaved before the Emergency and before pre-censorship was introduced. I don't say all, but a large number of them published certain news items to create alarm in the mind of the public. That was the reason why same kind of a restriction had to be placed on them. In the matter of proclamation of Emergency and the use of the Defence

[Shri F. H. Mohsin]

of India Act and Rules etc. a certain kind of restraint was particularly needed and it is only with that objective that pre-censorship was introduced.

About the circumstances which led to the imposition of pre-censorship, I need not elaborate further; it would suffice if I quote what the Prime Minister has stated recently in a message that was conveyed to AINEC which held its session at Patna on March 26, 1976. The Prime Minister said:

"In recent years some journals and journalists seem to have made it their sole purpose to oppose our economic and foreign policies and to denigrate the nation's endeavour. Our policies are not the policies only of the Congress and of the executive. They have the imprimatur of Parliament and the people. But to some journals, sectional interests were more important than the nation's well-being. Taking refuge in the democratic freedom guaranteed by our system, they were undermining our secular and social programmes. They ignored the obligation to report events truthfully and impartially. For years we tolerated criticism even when it was unfair and motivated. But when some newspapers began openly condoning unconstitutional activities, inciting violence and virtually leading the campaign to paralyse the normal working of the country, it was time to cry halt. Restrictions against the press became necessary to prevent a breakdown of the system."

"The press has its rights. So has every individual. But responsibility and restraint are essential pre-conditions for the exercise of any right. Rights are not theoretical or abstract. Instances are not wanting in history when the misuse of freedom has threatened freedom itself."

"Restrictions have already been greatly relaxed. Pre-censorship is applied in only very few instances. Editors have themselves come for-

ward to suggest ways in which the normal functioning of the press can be ensured. Barring a few unreconciled individuals, most journalists have been able to work with the understandings reached without feeling stifled."

"It is good that most of our newspapers have been helping to consolidate the new climate of self-restraint and responsible behaviour which is evident in the country today. The Government needs their cooperation in putting our system back on the rails."

This censorship has done a very good thing. It has developed healthy journalism and eliminated rumours, irresponsible writing and prejudicial reports which were creating a problem for the security of the country. As I have already stated, there is an understanding between the press and the Chief Censor, and that is working well. If such a healthy climate continues, there need not be any censorship at all; if they exercise this self-restraint, there may not be any more restraint on the newspapers. On the whole, this has worked well.

I do not want to take more time because the Chairman is looking at the clock. I would only say that I do not agree with the matters mentioned by Shri Dinen Bhattacharyya and in the Resolution moved by Shri A K Gopalan. I appeal to the House to reject the Resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There are two amendments move by Mr. Naik and Mr. Daga

SHRI B. V. NAIK, I would like to withdraw my amendment.

Amendment No. 1 was, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Daga is not present. I shall put the amendment moved by him to the vote of the House.

Amendment No. 2 was put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, I shall put the main Resolution to the vote. The question is:

"This House is of the opinion that in order to make it possible for the people to be involved in the democratic process and developmental activities, the freedom provided under the Constitution to the individuals, organisations and political parties to carry on their legitimate political activities should be restored, all political prisoners be released, and the press censorship established after the proclamation of the Emergency and the recently adopted press acts should be repealed."

The motion was negatived.

17.34 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: NATIONAL FOREST POLICY

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, we take up the next Resolution. Mr. P. K. Deo.

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara): What is the time allotted to this?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Two hours.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: We will not get this time today. May we have the time extended today, so that this important Resolution on forests is discussed today?

MR. CHAIRMAN: We have allotted two hours for this. The question of extending the time can be considered when we come to the end of two hours. Now, let him start.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: If we close today at 6.00 p.m., then we are not going to have one more day for this Resolution during this Session. That means, it will come up only in the next Session.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. P. K. Deo

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to move:

"This House notes with concern the large scale denudation of forest in the country and urges upon the Government to have a more pragmatic national forest policy so that 33.3 per cent area of the country is covered by forest."

In this regard, I would like to point out that there is nothing new in my Resolution. I have simply reiterated the National Forest Policy which was formulated in 1952 when the need for afforestation was recognised so as to cover 33.3 per cent of the entire area of the country. I now urge upon the Government to have a more realistic and a pragmatic national policy in view of the disappearance, at a frightening pace with huge economic and ecological cost, of the forest in this country.

We had enough lip-sympathy regarding preservation of forests and we have enough of *Vanamahotsav*, but as far we have been unable to fulfil our target; not more than 22.7 per cent of our country has been covered with forests. That too, to me is a very big claim because I know that there are many reserve forests just for name sake, and not a single tree is to be seen there. Those areas have been encroached by unauthorised cultivation. Stealing of timber has been going on on a large scale by the contractors and by the neighbouring villagers.

80.1 per cent of India's 550 million people live in the villages and one-fifth of the world's cattle population lives in rural India. This vast human and animal population has been growing at a fast rate. So far as population growth is concerned it has been rising at a rate of 2.5 per cent every year with accompanying enormous demand for fuel wood, small timber for agricultural implements for rural housing, thorns and bamboos for fencing, thatch for roof and timber for doors and furniture. The requirement of firewood alone is estimated to grow upto 250 million cubic metres by