

16.52 hrs.

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE (EXTENSION OF DURATION) AMENDMENT BILL

THE MINISTER OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI H. R. GOKHALE): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to provide for the further extension of the duration of the present House of the People, be taken into consideration."

Last week when I made a statement in the House I had taken the House into confidence and said that it was Government's intention to bring a Bill for the extension of the duration of the House in this Session. When I had spoken on a similar Bill last year I had given the reasons as to why at that time an extension of the duration for one year was necessary. Most of the reasons which I had mentioned then do hold valid even today but before I go into those reasons I would like to mention generally with regard to the situation that we find in the country today after the promulgation of the Emergency about sixteen months ago.

Sir, we have definitely seen that in many fields—particularly in the economic field there has been a greater achievement and in the administrative set-up too in the desire to implement these objectives there has been more discipline. I have said that there have been impressive foreign exchange earnings, unprecedented growth in our gross national product, control of the inflationary trends and our economy has attained a certain measure of stability and capacity for sustained growth. These things I am mentioning now because this is just the time when we cannot afford to be complacent. When we have seen that there are in some fields definite gains of emergency it becomes the more important that we should not become complacent

and see that the possibility of achieving greater stability in these matters is obtained and it is necessary, therefore, that the atmosphere which is created by the Emergency which has led to these results is further helpful in the immediate future. But that is not to say that the conditions which necessitated the extension of the House last year do not exist. In fact, all these elements which had suddenly activated against all democratic institutions and the functioning of democracy and have been using violence and other anti-democratic, disruptive methods, are still there and it is not right to think that they are not active. Most of them are still active. It is quite conceivable that these elements who have been behaving in this way if not kept under curb, as they have been kept, to a certain extent, under control till now, will again flare up and create a situation which will put the whole clock back both in respect of our economic measures and also in respect of our other things which were sought to be achieved in the course of the emergency.

We know that here, for example, suddenly there is a spurt of activity, particularly by people operating from abroad, Indians operating from abroad. New organisations have come up and they have shown a sudden interest in favour of what they call democracy in India. Some of them are really fugitives from the law. They have run away from the country. Reference was made to this by one hon. member on the other side in the course of the discussion on the Constitution Amendment Bill. It is necessary to see how all these elements which operate from other countries have suddenly become active and have suddenly begun propaganda against what is being done here and to propagate for democracy—as if the urge for democracy has now suddenly shifted from this country to, say, America or other countries.

Now, this is somewhat significant, because the way in which some of these elements are functioning in India with the support of some of these elements who are operating from abroad is an indication of how the whole thing is resulting in a situation where we cannot certainly afford to be complacent.

We know that some political parties who have been talking very loudly about democracy and the need for elections have, at any rate, not done anything to condemn these anti-national activities which have tended to lead to violence and disruption. They have not done so. They have only indulged in tall talk about democracy and the need for elections and so on and so forth. It cannot fit into their mouth to say when they want democracy that they will tolerate these activities which have been going on, which are clearly anti-democratic and subversive while it enables them to keep silent on this in a way lending tacit support to all these activities of these subversive elements.

If we take these things into account, it is not proper to consider whether elections should be held or not merely on the ground whether we will win or lose the elections. As I said the other day, if at all that was the consideration, probably the Congress Party would have thought this the best time to go to the polls. But when we consider these matters, it is not really the interest of a political party which is predominant, particularly in an emergency when a situation of this type exists; what is important is the larger interests of the country. If the larger interests of the country demand that going to the polls in such a situation will be harmful, is not desirable not only for the country but in the long-term interests of democracy itself, then it is desirable that we should sacrifice our immediate gains which we might get by way of elections by

getting a majority in the House and so on and so forth.

Therefore, it is wrong to say, as some people have been saying, when they were talking the other day that the Congress Party is now not willing to go to the polls or is hesitating to go to the polls because they will not win. On the other hand, as I have stated that if that were the consideration, and if the situation had not been emergent, probably this was the time when the Congress Party could very willingly, speedily have gone to the polls and come back with a thumping majority as large, if not larger than what it is today (Interruptions). Therefore, it is completely irrelevant to say that 'you will lose election; therefore, you are not going' or 'you will win and therefore you are going'. That is not the consideration which should be important in deciding a major thing whether or not in the interest of the country, of the nation and of its people it is right to hold elections now.

Moreover, it is well known that elections in a big country like India where the organisation is very big, where large numbers of people have to go to the polls and where a large amount of expenditure is also involved, all these, of course, are part of democracy and the people of the country have to do it when the elections are held, but such forces can be released in an election—that is the legitimate fear—which are subversive, which will again surface. It may be that that is not the right thing to do at this moment.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar): Therefore, you will never have elections. (Interruptions)

17 hrs.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: I do not know whether it is logic at all, because if you don't go to the elections now, by what test of logic does it follow that we will not go to election

[Shri H. R. Gokhale]

next year? Therefore, it is a matter where when time comes, we objectively see the conditions. But the point is that Shri Shamim cannot rush to that conclusion, apart from merely intervening when I am speaking. It helps nobody and it is not in consonance with logic at all. Shri Shamim makes so many statements and sometimes creates so many scenes also in the House as we saw the other day. So, all these things had already been mentioned by me last year, that is, with reference to the Emergency, particularly, with reference to the operation of these elements which had created an atmosphere of disorder in this country and which was curbed merely by an effective step taken at the appropriate time. If these steps are not continued and we do not stop the elements of disorder from recurring, then we will go back again to square one. All these things will be putting the clock back again and will mean losing of the gains of the Emergency. There is a lot still to be done. It is not as if everything has been achieved. I only mentioned a few things. There are many more things to be done. There was a good atmosphere and a sense of discipline prevailed. But it has now slackened. But it does not mean that we should not look further into this and see that the good atmosphere is restored. But the point is that in a condition where elections will not only not support the furtherance of the democracy but it will create an atmosphere which will lead to subversion and will lead to the growing, of these subversive and anti-democratic forces, is it right or is it not right to hold elections at this time? And to me, it appears that it is not right to do so because if the election is held, immediately all these disruptive and anti-democratic forces will come up again to the surface and we may be again where we were. These are the main things which I wanted to mention at this stage. I will deal with this more, if necessary, after I hear

the debate and I again categorically repeat that it is not that the Government is shirking from going by the democratic path, at least not that Government has abandoned the policy of following the democratic method of obtaining the verdict of the people. It will be going for elections when the appropriate time comes and at that time it will certainly hold elections. But this is not the time now.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

"That the Bill to provide for the further extension of the duration of the present House of the People, be taken into consideration."

Shri Jharkhande Rai, may I know whether you are moving your amendment?

SHRI JHARKHANDE RAI (Ghosi): Yes, Sir. I am moving it.

I beg to move:

"That the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 3rd February, 1977." (1)

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the speech made by the Law Minister clearly proves that the reasons behind the Emergency is to suppress all democratic rights, by resort to draconian measures. And all these things are related to the economic necessity. Sir, yesterday, I said that for the big monopolists and the multi-national corporations, this is the most favourable condition. They are now telling them openly and you are going to hear their voice here on the floor of the House. Why? Because they are getting protection at the cost of the workers. Workers are thrown out of the factories. One worker is being forced to produce double or treble the quantity.

The management has declared that two-thirds of the workers are surplus because the total production is being done by one-third. You raised the slogan that by increasing production, you will solve the unemployment problem. But here by increasing production you are increasing unemployment. This is the fact and reality. Factories after factories are being closed. I am talking about the economy, which is related to the emergency. You have to understand the very character of the economy you are defending. Jute mills after jute mills are being closed. Already 80,000 workers in the jute mills have been declared surplus. They are *badliwalas*.

17.06 hrs.

[SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD *in the Chair*]

What is the result? In the industrial field, there is chaos. Even a few days ago, in the conference of State Labour Ministers, the Union Labour Minister openly stated that there are more lockouts, more layoffs and more attacks on the working class. It has appeared in the newspapers. This is the atmosphere which the capitalists and monopolists want. You are acting as their instrument. What is the result? Only day before yesterday, Mr. Ramavatar Shastri said that prices are rising. Immediately Mr. Bibhuti Mishra said, "My experience is that the peasantry are not getting adequate price." I said at that time, both are correct. The peasantry have given more production, but they are getting no price. In this very House members have said that producers who have produced more are getting price of their products less than 50 per cent of their cost of production. That is why producers are not gaining by the emergency. Mr. Ramavatar Shastri said, "My wife goes to the market every day to purchase things and she knows how the prices are increasing." He is correct. Consumers are paying more. To whom have the fruits of the emergency gone? Who is getting the benefits?

The middlemen, hoarders, landlords and capitalists get it because of the protection given by the government and because of the policy of the government. This is the class policy pursued by the government to defend the vested interests. That is why you want to stabilise this emergency. What is the economic consequence? If the peasantry lose their purchasing power, the internal market is bound to shrink. The peasantry are losing their purchasing power, because they do not get the proper price for their produce. If production in the cloth mills increases and if purchasers lose their purchasing power, the stocks of cloth accumulate unsold. There develops a contradiction between the internal market and the sources of production. This is operating before our very eyes. That is why there is accumulation of stocks. The only way out which the government is thinking of is export. But when you export there is competition in the external market and you have to sell at a cheaper price relatively. So, you lose. That is why the employers are wanting tax remissions and subsidies and the government is giving them. Nearly Rs. 100 crores of tax remission has been granted to jute mill-owners. Even then they were not satisfied. They wanted that there should be cash subsidy; and for every tonne of jute goods, a cash subsidy is being provided, out of the money of the common man. This is happening in all other industries. The tendency is to reduce the cost of production, to be competitive in the outside market; and the main necessity for reducing the cost of production lies in bringing down the wage scale of the workers first, and then the price of the raw materials. That is why the jute growers are getting low prices on raw jute; the jute mill owners are gaining and the jute workers are thrown out of jobs and their income is reduced and their wage scale brought down. The totality of the picture is that the internal purchasing power and the internal market capacity are shrinking. The only

[Shri Samar Mukherjee]

thing that is emerging out of this situation is the slogan for more exports. For effecting more exports, bigger and bigger concessions to the monopoly houses, and liberalization of the old restrictions are all allowed. Concessions after concessions are being given to the big monopolists; not only national but also foreign monopolists and multi-national corporations. Emergency has provided the most favourable conditions necessary for them, because of the workers are thrown out of jobs, they will naturally resist; you don't allow them to resist. If there is parliamentary democracy, at least the Fundamental Rights must be in operation. In that case the workers will at least have the right to express his opinion. He will have the right to protest; he will have the right to form an organization. He will even have the right to strike. So you have deprived him of this fundamental right. That is why Emergency is necessary, in your opinion. When the villagers are exploited, you don't allow them to register any opposition, even by organizing a demonstration. These things had never happened in Indian life; but now they are happening before our very eyes. We work among the working classes. We are a party of the proletariat. We are in the thick of it. The whole picture is very clear. This is the class basis which the Congress government is now defending. But the most funny thing is that when they are giving concessions after concessions, and open concessions to the big monopolists, they are incorporating the objective of socialism in the Preamble to the Constitution, as if Indian socialism will be built up by giving concessions to the monopolists, by suppressing the working class movement and by suppressing the democratic movement. Fortunately for them, people are still alive to reality; but reality will be dawned. You cannot expect that people will remain dumfounded. That is why elections are

provided. But you don't want to have elections. You say that the atmosphere is not favourable. When you prepare for elections, all these forces will get at least some scope to express their views, to raise their demands and at least to have the opportunity of protesting against this type of brutal oppression and repression. You would not allow that protest. That is why all the monopoly circles are not in favour of elections at this stage. This is now an open talk. There is nothing to be hidden. You come to know much earlier that because Big Business was not interested in elections, there will be no elections this time. But you want to manoeuvre and give the people the impression that there will be an election. Only on the 23rd, August last, the Minister of State for Law said that there will be elections in the normal course. (Interruptions). We knew. The Law Minister also knew. You are bound by the forces which you are defending. You have lost the confidence of the masses. We are very much interested in defending parliamentary democracy, because it would at least give the right to set up some organizations.

At least some trade union activity is allowed. We do not believe that in your parliamentary democracy socialism will be established. No. Socialist democracy is a far higher and different type of democracy, but we want parliamentary democracy because it will give scope to the workers who are thrown out of jobs at least to register some protest. Had it been normal times, there would have been a series of strikes...

SHRI SHANKERRAO SAVANT
(Kolaba): That is what you want.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: ... because you want to tie them hand and foot and throw them at the feet of the capitalist employers, big business, and that is the biggest achievement which Mr. Gokhale claims.

The economy is heading towards a bigger crash, take it for granted, because you cannot withstand competition in the export market from other countries, because in other capitalist countries also the same crisis is being faced and they are also boosting the exports of their own industries. There is intense competition in the export market. Particularly in jute, we know all the details. Bangla Desh is competing with West Bengal jute products. Other countries are also taking to jute. If China succeeds in the production of jute, your jute industry will completely collapse. In this way, you will have to face bigger and bigger competition in the export market, and the internal market is shrinking because the purchasing power of the masses is going down.

You are saying that you are giving priority to the directive principles. What are the directive principles? One of the directive principles is that the disparity between the rich and the poor should be reduced, but in practice you are giving more concessions to the big monopolists and throwing the workers out of jobs. Is this the way of reducing the disparity?

This is the phenomenon in all the capitalist countries, and this is one of the basic laws of capitalism which is based on the motive of profit. If production is meant for profit, this is the logical result. And parliamentary democracy is based on capitalism. It is so in England, America, France, everywhere. Nowhere in the world has there been socialism under a parliamentary democracy.

In the past people were allowed to cast their votes freely because the ruling classes were in a position to normally influence the masses, but now they have lost that basis. They are faced with a deepening crisis and the entire burden of the crisis they want to throw on the shoulders of the workers, the employees, the peasants, the poor masses. That is why discontent with capitalist exploita-

tion is bound to grow, and the more the discontent grows, the more the ruling party loses its democratic character, and they become more and more anti-democratic. This is the process, and this process is going on. And now you have come to stabilise the emergency and suppress parliamentary democracy.

Yesterday the Law Minister said that a party like the Marxist Communist Party which believes in Marxism should not talk of democracy because they do not believe in democracy. Democracy is the monopoly of the ruling party here. Yes, we are a Marxist party. We believe in Marxism and Leninism. You know that socialism was first established 59 years ago in 1917 in Russia under the leadership of Lenin through the Proletarian Revolution which is called the November Revolution. We are now in the midst of that month. From that Revolution there emerged a system which is called the Soviet system. (Interruptions) I want that this debate must go on here so that the issues are made clear to the people. Once you have taken up socialism as your objective, you must know what is socialist democracy, what is socialist system, how socialism has been built up and how they have abolished unemployment, poverty and ended the exploitation of man by man.

SHRI SHANKERRAO SAVANT: What has that to do with the extension of the term of the Lok Sabha?

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: Yesterday, I have been told by the Law Minister that Communists do not believe in democracy.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: I did not say that. What I said yesterday he confesses today.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: I would request you to consult the proceedings of yesterday.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let us speak for today on this Bill, not talk about yesterday.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: I am reading from Lenin. In the course of his reply to Kautsky where this type of questions were raised regarding democracy in general or parliamentary democracy or there is no democracy under the system of socialism, all these questions were dealt with by Lenin. Lenin is more authoritative than me. I am quoting Lenin:

"Under bourgeois democracy, the capitalists by thousands of tricks—which are more artful and effective, the more "pure" democracy is developed...drive the people away from administrative work, from freedom of the Press, freedom of assembly, etc."

श्री विभूति मिश्र (मोतीहार) :
सभापति जी, मैं इन से एक बात पूछना चाहता हूँ, इन की पार्टी के आदमी हर महीने में दो बार वीरगंज किस लिये जाते हैं, कौन से काम के लिये जाते हैं, कौन सी डेमोक्रेसी का थैला लाते हैं :

श्री समर मुखर्जी : हम मार्क्ससिस्ट पार्टी के आदमी हैं—हम को इसे एक्सप्लेन करने दीजिये ।

श्री विभूति मिश्र : वह तो हम जानते हैं, लेकिन आप हर महीने वीरगंज किस काम के लिए जाते हैं—यह बतलाइये ।

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE:
Further, I quote:

"The Soviet government is the first in the world (or strictly speaking, the second, because the Paris Commune began to do the same thing) to enlist the people, specifically the exploited people, in the work of administration. The working people are barred from participation in bourgeois parliaments (they never decide important questions under bourgeois democracy, which are decided by the stock ex-

change and the banks) by thousands of obstacles, and the workers know and feel, see and realise perfectly well that the bourgeois parliaments are institutions alien to them, instruments for the oppression of the workers by the bourgeoisie, institutions of a hostile class, of the exploiting minority....

The old bourgeois apparatus—the bureaucracy, the privileges of wealth, of bourgeois education, of social connections, etc. (these real privileges are the more varied the more highly bourgeois democracy is developed)—all this disappears under the Soviet form of organisation. Freedom of the press ceases to be hypocrisy, because the printing-plants and stocks of paper are taken away from the bourgeoisie."

"The same thing applies to the best buildings, the palaces, the mansions and manor-houses. Soviet power took thousands upon thousands of these best buildings from the exploiters at one stroke, and in this way made the right of assembly—without which democracy is a fraud—a million times more democratic for the people...."

I am not reading the whole thing. This is Lenin's quotation:

"Proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy; Soviet power is a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic."

This is the outlook of a Marxist in regard to democracy. In other socialist countries where socialism has been established like China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—I have brought all literature—they are all completely different types of democracy. This is the direct democracy which is built up in a socialist country. This is Cuba's new Constitution; I am quoting from that:

"Another important fact in his opinion is that the draft constitution and the way in which it was submitted to the consideration of the population, reflect the reign in Cuba of true democracy, different from the so-called representative democracy."

"Almost six million citizens debated it and made suggestions for changes before approving it. The draft was then carried to the Party Congress (December 17 to 22, 1975) which studied and approved it."

"That is democracy. That is Constitution which comes out of the people, is of the people and for the people, and genuinely responds to the interests of the people. It is not only in its contents but also the way in which it has been made that true democracy in our country is reflected."

There is socialist democracy in a socialist country. That is called proletarian democracy, and that democracy is directly the rule of the people. That is why they say, in a socialist society, the people are the real masters of the society. There are no capitalists to exploit the common people; there are no landlords to exploit the peasantry; there is no profiteering. You have taken your objective as socialism, and when you have taken 'socialism' as your objective, you should have the mind to learn from the socialist countries. When you say that the Marxists should not talk of democracy, this shows that you are still having the old bourgeois prejudice against the socialist society, and this anti-communism is still lingering in your mind. Or, out of sheer ignorance, you might have said this. My point is that Parliamentary democracy is still in existence in India, though in a gasping condition. We have to defend the democratic rights of the people. Immediately, the Emergency must be withdrawn; immediately all the leaders who have been arrested must be set free. What the arguments given by the Law Minister mean is: You are counterpoising eco-

nomic advancement of the country and democracy. That means, if there is democracy, there is no advancement; democracy is opposed to advancement. This is the counterpoising made by the Law Minister here. If that is the position, then it shows that you have turned totally anti-democratic. It is a very great danger to our country.

I want that this Bill must be withdrawn and full preparations must be made for free and fair elections. Before that, the Emergency must be withdrawn because people must be given a chance to express their will. This is the meaning of democracy. People must be given a chance to express their desire on which type of Government they want, which system of administration they like, which type of society they want to build. In socialist countries, there is the right to recall. The right to recall means that people are sovereign, people will decide whether a Member will remain in the House or not. So, this position must be seriously thought over. The policy which the Government is pursuing now must be immediately stopped and all arrested leaders must be released and censor must be withdrawn. Time should be given for free and fair elections so that people can express their views freely. If you are not afraid of elections, why are you opposing these now? This only shows that psychologically you are very much afraid of the people's verdict.

With these words, I oppose this Bill.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am deeply thankful to Shri Samar Mukherjee for the speech that he has made. This speech has relieved us of the necessity of explaining the justification for this Bill. The speech has eloquently told us why the Emergency must be retained, why the Bill must be passed and why the elections, that he was speaking of, should not be ordered immediately. He has told us the political purpose of the Communist Marxist Party. In his view, the democracy that we have today is a bourgeois democracy and that, according to him, is

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

an instrument of oppression, and, therefore, it must be replaced by what he called a proletarian democracy. This line, the Marxist Communist Party has been taking all along and that was one of the major factors, as far as I know, for the split in the Communist Party.

We find a strange situation in India today. The people, I mean the political parties, are divided in two camps. We find certain parties are opposing the Emergency and they are the Jana Sangh, the R. S. S., the Anand Margis and the whole breed of them. You also find the Marxist Communist Party hobnobbing with them, negotiating with them and coming to some arrangement with them, because the purpose is common. The purpose is to demolish what, according to the Marxist Communist Party, is a bourgeois democracy, to demolish what, according to the Jana Sangh and RSS band, is a secular socialist democracy. They agree on one thing that this must be abolished. They bid with one another and day-dream that once the demolition takes place, the Marxist Communist Party would come to power. The reactionary forces also day-dream that the power can be taken over by them. This conspiracy started not today, not yesterday. This conspiracy had its full manifestations and blooming in what is known as 'grand alliance' on the eve of elections in 1970.

The Marxist Communist Party raised the absurd slogan of a third block, but they joined hands with the reactionary forces of princes and everybody. They demonstrated this attitude in Kerala when they were in power. When they took this policy rather too far, the United Front split and the Marxist Communist Party had to leave the power in Kerala. But they have not learnt the lesson, they are still carrying on their red book. Which Marxist in the country, which democrat in the country, which political student in the country has not read the Lenin's speeches. He has given an extract of it from out of the context. He has

said that Lenin for all times to come has condemned, what he terms, as the bourgeois democracy. The point is that they have not learnt the lesson. The result is that the Marxist Communist Party today stands completely isolated from the international communist world. There is no communist country in the world to own Marxist Communist Party. Not China, not Soviet Russia, nobody, not even Albania is prepared to own you. Nobody is prepared to own you. Isolated completely from the international communism, isolated completely from the socialist movement of India, isolated completely from the democratic movements of India and having been taken as a child in the arms of the RSS, the Jana Sangh and the Anand Marg and with no political salvation to look to, you are coming to this Parliament of India and read out and tell us what the Parliament should do and what it should not do. Sir, I, in my parliamentary career, have not seen anything more ridiculous than this. Should he not realise that we are political students? Should he not realise that we too have read something, we have also read the political literature of democracy the Marxist literature and Mao's literature? We also have read something of that. As if he is the whole repository of the quintessence of all the 60 volumes that Lenin wrote, he is coming and reading it to us! Anyway that is a very irrelevant matter.

The only relevant matter is: What is their strategy? He has declared their strategy and that is to demolish the bourgeois democracy. He comes here and asks you and all of us to go to the people. He speaks of elections. Last time when the first extension Bill came, his colleague, Mr. Chatterjee was speaking and I have got his speech with me. He said, 'Go back to the people and get their mandate'. They also sometimes think of the mandate of the people. Is it that they want us to go for elections? Is it to get the mandate of the people? Or is it a ruse to see that the saboteurs in the country can be set at large so that his

policy of destroying the bourgeois democracy can be achieved?

That is exactly their purpose. The purpose is absolutely clear.

They speak of mandate. Therefore, they too at times consider that by election there can be a mandate of the people. But do they accept the mandate of the people? In 1971 we went to the people and got their mandate. But did you accept that the people gave us our mandate, that the Government of Bihar got its mandate, that the Government of Gujarat got its mandate, that the Government of Kerala got its mandate, that the people gave them their mandate? You are not prepared to concede that election result will be reflected in the mandate of the people. Then all your cry for election is only an exhibition of rank, rotten political hypocrisy and it is not for the mandate of the people.

You never want the mandate of the people. If you concede that there is a mandate of the people, then what is your allegiance to the mandate of the people? You repudiate the mandate of the people in this Parliament, you repudiated the mandate of the people in Gujarat.

You repudiated the mandate of the people in Bihar, you repudiated the mandate of the people in Kerala who rejected you and accepted the United Front as the repository of their confidence and you carry forward a campaign. You create unholy scenes here. You created a scene in Kerala which Mr. Chandrappan in his speech last time characterised as 'the chappal democracy' which you demonstrated there.

You have wonderful friends to join hands with. You speak of monopolists. Who are your comrades? Have you got the Communists of this country as your comrades? Have you got the socialists of this country as your comrades?

You have got your comrades in the Jana Sangh, RSS and the Ananda Marg. Am I to take a new philosophy that you are advocating that the RSS, Ananda Marg and the Jana Sangh are the true Marxist-Leninist democrats? Is that the socialism that you want us to accept? You are joining hands with several of them and telling us that there is monopoly capitalism here. Well, if monopoly-capitalism is there, you must fight, you must have the manliness to fight us and them, even alone if need be. But speaking and basking under the sunshine of these illiterate-haunted parties you are coming and telling us what democracy is, what progress is and what socialism is! You are only vilifying the name of Lenin and his corpse will turn in the grave if you are quoting Lenin in the Parliament of India. That is their past and that is their history. Rejected by the people you are coming and telling us these things!

What is it that brought the Emergency in this country? Let us look at it.

There were two aspects. One is the positive aspect; the other is the constructively negative aspect. The constructively negative aspect is declaration of war against the anti-democrats of this country, against the anti-socials of this country. The marxist communist party has always been shielding the reactionaries in this country. That is what they have always been doing. Who does not know what the position in the country was? It is writ large in the history. It is absolutely clear. Everything was cracking and you were succeeding in your attempt to smash what you call the bourgeois democracy but which according to us is the haven of the freedom of the people and democracy which we want to defend. Therefore Emergency was declared. For what purpose? The purpose was to put under manacles the persons who wanted to sabo-

[Chri C. M. Stephen]

tage democracy in this country. That was the negative purpose. Let us be very clear about it. And what happened? If we look into the jails, who are there? Certainly some politicians are there. They have got to be there. Have you ever seen such large number of exploiters, blackmarketeers etc. being caught up under MISA and kept in jail? Have you ever seen it in this history of our country? You are speaking about the price rise and all that.

The picture is very clear. What was the position before the Emergency? What is the position after the Emergency? Has not the position improved? Would you deny that the position has not improved? If you deny, that means, you are keeping your head duck in the soil and therefore you cannot see what is happening around you. May I ask you a question?

Am I to take you as a revolutionary party or not? In which history has a revolutionary party sunk in the way you are sinking today? You are acting cowardly certainly. Then why are you not leading the people against the Emergency? It is not because you do not want it but you know that the people have learnt enough of you and your call to the people will not be responded by them. You know it very well. Otherwise in the past 19 months or 20 months you would have let the people against what you call the position of betrayal against the people of this country. You have failed there. People are not with you. You are aware of that. That is the real position.

Then, what is the positive aspect? The positive aspect is this. The economy must be strengthened. Discipline must be restored. National wheel must move forward. The nation must come by itself, self-discipline must be instilled, and our people like oneman, must stand up to the rest of the world and India must come forward to its own, and must march forward. That

was the positive aspect of it. Nobody except one who has closed the windows of his heart to the realities would deny this. You say it has improved because the instrument with which you tried to smash the democratic apparatus, the butcher's axe against the democratic structure of the country, has been taken away from you, and you have been disarmed for the time being. You want the butcher's axe back to destroy the democratic structure of this country. This is what has happened according to us.

Now, therefore, the question comes to this.

Now, that one year has gone by. Another year is to begin. Are we to restore the old position and put all these forces back so that they may renew their attack against the democratic structure? It is not as if so long as Emergency is there, there shall be no election. Certainly not. Even in Emergency, there can be election. But the point is: whether ordering of an election will necessitate taking up certain steps which will give a new lease of life to the forces which now have been put under bridle, in their efforts to undermine the democracy. That is the question. Have those forces, according to us, they have not been completely inactivated, not rethought their position and reformed themselves? If we feel that these forces will get a new lease to start every where, then, we will be betraying the people of this country and the democracy in this country. If we allow the enemy of democracy to have a new attack against these democratic forces, they are considerably to be put under restraint. This is one thing that has to be considered. According to us, the forces have not disappeared. They are still active and no rethinking has taken place.

Look at the price front. The prices shot up very recently. And it was brought down again. How does the price shoot up? Not because of any economic forces at all if it were so—but because Government came with a de-

claration that some stern measures would be taken, if the prices did not come down, it came down. The prices shot up on an all-India plane from Kashmir to Cape Comorin. Government came out with a declaration and took steps and so the prices slumped again. This shows that the prices are being manipulated; this also shows that the anti-national conspirators are still active. This shows that their backbone has not been broken. This shows that the nation will have to be careful against these manipulators—these anti-democratic and anti-people forces. That is one aspect of it.

Emergency was being slightly loosened; persons were being released. We know that quite a number of them are being released. What are they doing? What are they up to? We have information that they are back to the old type of confabulation and conspiracy in order to renew their fight against the democratic forces in this country. Among them are the Jansangh and R.S.S. fellows. We know what is happening. Therefore have they rethought their position? Have they reconsidered their position? They are still in the era of half a century back speaking about bourgeois democracy. Do you want to take the blood of bourgeois democracy? Do you want us to allow that? Do you want to smash this democratic system so that it may germinate germs which will corrode the basic structure of democracy? Do you want us to do that? So long, our assessment is that these forces have not reformed themselves and have not come to the line of a democratic structure in the country. Till such time, the nation has got to be vigilant. Let us remember that after the second world war, many countries were liberated—a large number of them lost their democratic structure. India alone keeps its democratic structure and democratic form. Do you want to smash that democratic structure? So long as you try to protect such democratic structure, it is perfectly all right. That continues to be there. Do you want to smash it? We

intend to protect our democratic structure by putting fences and trenches against that attack. Whoever tries to attack that, will be manacled and kept under restraint.

Therefore, is it an affront to defend the democratic structure which you want to smash? And this is what has happened. That has got to be looked into. That is another aspect of it. So, the question is not whether the emergency must continue or not. That is not the question. It is not the question whether in an emergency, elections can take place or not. But the question is whether the forces which necessitated the emergency have been put under complete restraint or not. Well, Sir, according to me—I am not speaking for my party here—and according to my personal information, there is no other alternative except this. Those persons who connived at the destruction of the democratic structure of the country must learn a lesson. They should reform themselves and come to the right path. So, if our democracy is to survive here, then the backbone of these evil forces must be broken. That has got to be done. There is no other alternative. Now, why do they want elections! As the Law Minister said, "Who can doubt that the people of this country will accept with an overwhelming majority the leadership of Smt. Indira Gandhi?" Look at the meetings she is addressing! Look at the meetings Shri Sanjay Gandhi is addressing! Look at the meetings which are being addressed by the Congress leaders and the Ministers! And also look at the meetings you people are trying to address. It is not as if meetings are not being allowed to be held. Let Mr. Samar Mukherjee come to Kerala and I can show him how Mr. Gopalan was going from place to place and addressing the meetings condemning the 42nd amendment to the Constitution. If the people do not gather at your meetings then we are not to be blamed. I am saying this if the result of the election is the question then this is the time for the Congress to go to the elections.

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

Why do you want to have elections? Do you expect to come to power and unseat us? It is not so. The purpose of your saying to hold the elections is not to unseat us but it is a camouflage behind which you want the status quo and anarchy to be restored in this country. Kindly remember we are also politicians. We know the interests of the people and, therefore, we stand by that.

There is another slogan which our friends from the CPI will be raising. They ask us: Emergency is all right. Forces are still at large. We have got to be careful about them but conditions are not now bad and, as such, why not go to the people and get the mandate. This is a very tempting slogan they will be raising before us. I was reading Mr. Chandrapan's speech on the Kerala Bill wherein he said:

"Conditions are good for the elections. The country is ready for elections. I am sure Congress party will definitely win."

This is what he said. Well, Sir, therefore why not go to the people and get the mandate. This is a very tempting question. Sir, at this stage I am reminded of a parable which happened in the life of Jesus Christ. After his long fast he was taken to the pinnacle of the temple of Jerusalem and asked, "Look at the multitude of the people down here. Why don't you make a jump? God will send the angels to save you and also the people will be convinced about you." Jesus Christ said, "Don't tempt your God?" This is the reply which he gave. Definitely if Christ had jumped angels would have come and held him up. No hurt would have come to him. Likewise, if we hold the elections certainly we will win. People will take us in their arms but the question is whether election prospects is the only issue involved in this because only then we should go to the polls. But that is not the issue involved. The issue involved is the repercussions in the country. What hap-

pens to the emergency? Will the anti-democratic forces not get a new lease? That is the question. We have got to look at it that way.

If the CPI feels that all the dark forces have gone, by all means we must think of it. But if they agree that the dark forces are still strong, then the emergency which we had will have to continue for some time more. That is what I would say.

One more point. We have also to take note of the positive aspects. These positive aspects of the emergency will have to be consolidated. In the gains of the emergency, I will give number one priority to disarming of the anti-democratic forces, a thing which I have already emphasized. The next gain of the emergency is discipline. Increase in production is another positive aspect. A sense of dedication that is there is on the positive side. A sense of self-confidence in the nation is on the positive side. Raising of the stature of the nation in the international world is another positive aspect. The capacity of the leader of the nation to speak out the feeling of the whole nation to the whole world and the whole world listening to her as if 60 crores of people who have performed a miracle are speaking out to the world—that is on the positive side. These positive aspects have got to be consolidated. We had 27 years before the emergency: we have a period after the emergency of 18 or 19 months. Just make a comparison. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. In these 19 months, the nation has made a progress as never before. That does not mean that the democratic process is to be smashed. If the democratic structure goes, the nation will have no moorings at all. The democratic structure has got to remain. That is an article of faith with us.

There is another thing. Take Britain's case. We know they do not

have a written constitution. The term of Parliament is five years. They have no power to extend it. But yet in the war period, they extended it. So by extending the period, the mandate of the people is not lost. They are also elected for a five year period. But for certain reasons, they had to extend the period.

We have to take care of the interest of the people. Here the correct note was struck by Shri H. N. Mukerjee when he was speaking on a similar Bill last year.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): You are quoting Satan?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: I am quoting Shri H. N. Mukerjee. I consider him a great democrat. Therefore, I am quoting him. He said:

"But the position has to be reconciled in the interest of the people because the danger is still there; the dangers which call for the emergency have still to be fought efficiently and for that reason if you want extension of the life of the House of the People, after all it is a flea-bite. It is a drop in the ocean, to speak, so far as time is concerned. Our people have inherited the idea of acquiescence in maintaining the *status quo*. The heavens would not fall. But we have to justify ourselves to the people, tell them specifically and earnestly that we are going to do these things objectively. If you do not, then we shall become the butt of ridicule and that would be bad, that would detract from the efficiency of the struggle against neo-fascism, the struggle for the achievement of people's objective. Therefore, I would say that it is a great pity that Government does not come forward before the people with explanation of its intentions which would make sense..."

They must explain the position. I am explaining the position.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: When was it made?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: When the Bill was moved here last time.

Therefore, the question is whether the forces are still active, whether those forces must not be fought, whether the neo-fascist forces are still at large or not, whether they must be fought. If they are to be fought, extension is called for, an extension which, according to Shri H. N. Mukerjee, is only a flea-bite in the long time spectrum in which we are functioning. Within this one year, the things done do not show that we could put them under full control. It is in this context we should view the specious suggestions made by the Marxist Communist Party. They are still dreaming of the long struggle, dreaming of strikes, dreaming of sabotage, dreaming of smashing the bourgeois democracy. Bourgeois democracy may be according to them, but this is a democracy by which we swear, for which we will give our blood.

18 hrs.

Whoever comes against it will have an axing at our hands and is not going to be spared. That is the position. Therefore, this is an effort to defend democracy against enemies of democracy. Let it be known and let it be understood and there shall be no apology about it. Our assessment is that the time has not come when the anti-democratic forces could be allowed to have a new lease of attack against the democratic structure. That has got to be restored gradually. Gradually democracy has got to be strengthened, gradually the gains of democracy have got to be consolidated, gradually the persons who are now descend-

[Shri C. M. Stephon]

ing on democracy and bedraggling of democracy must be brought to a sense of realism and back to the path of understanding of the democratic structure. In that spirit in a spirit of Service to the nation, in a spirit of a sense of realism, in a spirit of battlecry against timely democratic forces, in a spirit of the manly defence of democracy which our forefathers in their struggle handed down to us, the spirit of the structure of the democracy must be protected against the anti-democratic

evil force, the detractors of the democracy, of the left and the right. We renew our pledge that democracy be strengthened and for that purpose, the elections be postponed so that the gains of Emergency may continue. I support the Bill.

18.02 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, November, 5, 1976/Kartika 14, 1898 (Saka).