

ment of Education) Reservations for and Employment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the University Grants Commission and admission and other facilities provided to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes by the Universities.

- (ii) Forty-third Report on the Ministry of Home Affairs Pre-Examination Training Centre, Allahabad.

RAILWAY CONVENTION COMMITTEE

NINTH REPORT

SHRI B. S. MURTHY (Amalapuram) I beg to present the Ninth Report of the Railway Convention Committee on Social Burdens on Indian Railways

12.05 hrs.

ELECTION TO COMMITTEES

- (ii) NATIONAL SHIPPING BOARD

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI H M TRIVEDI): Sir, with your permission, on behalf of Dr G S Dhilon, I beg to move.

"That in pursuance of sub-section (2) (a) of Section 4 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1958, the Members of this House do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Speaker may direct, four members from among themselves, to be members of the National Shipping Board with effect from the date it is reconstituted."

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That in pursuance of sub-section (2) (a) of Section 4 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1958, the Members of this House do proceed to elect in such manner as the Speaker may direct, four Members from among themselves, to be members of the National Shipping Board with effect from the date it is reconstituted."

The motion was adopted.

EMPLOYEES' STATE INSURANCE CORPORATION

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR (SHRI RAGHUNATHA REDDY): Sir, I beg to move:

"That in pursuance of section 4(i) of the Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948, read with rule 2A of the Employees' State Insurance (Central) Rules, 1950, the Members of this House do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Speaker may direct, two Members from among themselves to serve as members of the Employees' State Insurance Corporation."

MR. SPEAKER The question is:

"That in pursuance of section 4(i) of the Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948, read with rule 2A of the Employees' State Insurance (Central) Rules, 1950, the Members of this House do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Speaker may direct, two Members from among themselves to serve as members of the Employees' State Insurance Corporation."

The motion was adopted.

12.06 hrs.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.

MR. SPEAKER. The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Dinesh Chandra Goswami and seconded by Shri Shankar Dayal Singh on the 8th January, 1976, namely:

"That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:—

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 5th January, 1976."

Shri K. Lakkappa will continue his speech. He has taken 9 minutes 25

[Mr. Speaker]

seconds; the balance left is 4 minutes 35 seconds. I will request him to finish his speech within this time.

SHRI L. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur): Mr. Speaker, yesterday I was referring to the process of the declaration of Emergency and saying that the leadership of this country has taken the country from political freedom to economic freedom.

MR. SPEAKER: I am sorry. I think he took two minutes only yesterday. So he can continue.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: The other side was commenting on the declaration of the emergency. Sometimes they agreed with it; sometimes they said that it was unconstitutional. This is not an experiment made by the Prime Minister of this country against the Constitution, but she has exercised the powers available within the ambit of the Constitution under art. 352. So I think my friends are wrong in saying that the emergency has been declared against the Constitution and against the interest of the nation. This is precisely what is indicated in art. 352. Under this article, the President is empowered, whenever there is a danger to the sovereignty of the country, or a threat of sabotage or a threat to external or internal security of the country, whenever a situation is developing which constitutes a threat to our democracy and sovereignty, to proclaim an emergency. What is the Opposition's grievance? From the beginning of our freedom till today, they have been opposing certain policies and programmes of the Government which are of a socialist character. Some people eroded and also obstructed the path of social revolution in this country, a revolution in the history of Indian politics for which the Prime Minister is responsible. This is the only grievance against the Prime Minister of India on the part of these people who have been enjoying the privileges that freedom

gave them to accumulate wealth, indulge in hoarding and black-marketing and also enter into smuggling activities. These are the privileges the princes and the Maharajas were enjoying after getting freedom.

Freedom is for the people of this country. That is why the Prime Minister of India is justified in not only having an emergency proclaimed but also in exercising her mind to see that structural changes are introduced in the Constitution along with reform of election process and machinery so as to bring about prosperity and economic integrity in the country. This is the first time in the history of India that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has taken this country to economic prosperity. The system that has been applied, the mechanism that has been applied, has been welcomed by the entire country.

Actually it is not an emergency that has been declared but a process of economic freedom has been started with the launching of the 20 point programme. This is one of the important aspects to fulfil the aspirations of the people of India. The Constitution has hitherto been static, but now she has converted it into a living instrument. It has become a living instrument to reflect the aspirations of the dumb millions of the country. There are subversive activities coupled with international conspiracy. Foreign agencies work in this country to sabotage freedom and the rights of the dumb millions of the people. They had mutilated freedom in the name of freedom. Freedom according to them means exploitation of the dumb millions and using the Constitution to sabotage democracy, secularism and socialism. Using the name of freedom they enter Parliament and the legislatures through the mechanism of elections. We have to see whether the election process is reflecting the real views of the people, the dumb millions. This is the question

that was answered by the emergency declared by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. She is bringing in real socialism and real democracy in this country. Rightists, vested interests and their agents, extreme leftists all indulge in violence and terrorism. Those were the events which the President had described in his address. After the declaration of the emergency, there is discipline in every walk of life. But even after the declaration of the emergency, reactionaries and vested interests have infiltrated into various organisations including the government machinery and that is why the Prime Minister says that the country cannot be complacent. Unless the economic programme announced is implemented with a measure of discipline and the involvement of the people is there in its implementation, other people will take advantage. I have seen fascist forces and their organisations also welcoming the economic programme and the declaration of the emergency. That is why our leadership is warning people not to be complacent over the situation; they must watch the situation carefully and guard against infiltration of the administrative machinery by subversive forces. In my own State fascist organisations and their agents are very active and are trying to create an atmosphere of unrest. In colleges and in cities they want to do so; they infiltrated into bureaucracy. That is why the economic programme has to be implemented and disciplinary action has to be taken against those who try to put impediments and the bureaucracy has to be disciplined. Unless bureaucracy is controlled and guided by popularly elected statutory committees with power to supervise the implementation of the 20 point economic programme, they try to sabotage the economic programme. In one breath they accept the economic programme; in another they indulge in a whispering campaign in Karnataka and they publish literature. Every day I am receiving literature containing lies; they want to create an atmosphere of terror and violence.

And even in spite of these things, action has not been seriously taken so far. Therefore, the leadership should see to it that disciplinary action is taken against this system, that is the bureaucratic system that is operating, which is not conducive to the country. That is why I and the Members on this side have suggested in various ways for bringing in structural changes in certain Articles of the Constitution including Article 311.

Sir, in the name of regional organisation, they are taking advantage of the situation. In the name of regional organisation, Shiv Sena is taking advantage of the situation. Terrorism has been let loose in the name of Shiv Sena in Maharashtra. In the name of regional organisation, Kannada Cheluvagars are taking advantage of the situation in Karnataka. If you examine and investigate into their antecedents, you will know how much terror they have created, how much violence they have created, in Maharashtra and Karnataka. Such are the fascist organisations which are still raising their heads and they are taking advantage of the emergency. They are working against the democratic system and they are sabotaging what is called the social structure of the system and also standing in the way of implementation of the economic programme. Therefore, the leadership should, see that these regional fascist organisations are dealt with severely. Those fascist organisations are more responsible for sabotaging our economic programmes. In the end, I would again like to suggest that structural changes in the Constitution are very necessary including the change of Article 311. These organisations which are sabotaging our 20-point economic programme should be put down immediately and by taking very stringent action.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi):
Mr. Speaker, Sir, the President in his speech has highlighted two things, that is, the declaration of emergency

[Shri P. K. Deo]

on the 25th June, 1975 and is on the 20-point economic programme announced on 14th July, 1975 which according to him have a dramatic effect on the health of the nation. Sir, I will deal with the emergency afterwards. But coming to the economic programme I was one of the first persons who welcomed it and translated it in the vernacular, printed the same in thousands of copies and distributed them in my own constituency because my constituency happens to be a rural constituency and I definitely know that the people in my constituency will be greatly benefited if this economic programme is implemented in the true sense. In my constituency there has been a glaring economic disparity between the rural rich and the rural poor and it is my sincere hope that the rural poor will be greatly benefited if this programme is properly implemented. We all know how these poor people have been deprived of their land by the rich landlords by dubious methods. Under one pretext or the other the lands of the poor people have been taken away by the landlords. These poor people have been subjected to great hardship by the usurious money-lenders and the Mahajans. They do not hesitate even to charge 50 per cent interest for the small loan given by them, whether it is in the shape of paddy or in the shape of money. Last year because of the drought, they did not hesitate to charge 75 per cent interest against mortgage of gold. I sincerely feel that this 20-point economic programme will go a long way to ameliorate the condition of the poor in my constituency.

Coming to land reforms, there has been constant tension. It may be a legacy of the past but it still continues. Even though there is no Naxalite or leftist movement in my constituency, at least one or two heads of rich landlords roll every year. I, who have got all along tremendous support,

love and affection from the poorer sections of the people from 1952 onwards, cannot but support this economic programme, if the intention of the government is to implement it in the correct way.

I welcome the action taken against hoarders, tax evaders and smugglers. I congratulate the government on their having unearthed Rs. 1500 crores of black money, but I feel they have hardly touched the fringe of the problem. It is only the tip of the iceberg. If you go through the Wanchoo Committee report, you will see the underworld economy, where there has been a parallel black money economy to a great magnitude. I urge on the government to take strong action to completely eradicate this evil. I am glad it will bring an annual revenue of Rs. 250 crores to the public exchequer. I submit that this entire revenue should be earmarked for irrigation and big power projects. There should be no complacency so far as irrigation and power generation programmes are concerned. Even though there has been a bumper crop this year, still there are various pockets in the country which have been chronically affected by drought and famine. My constituency happens to be one like that. Within the period of the last 10 years, Kalahandi has witnessed two worst famines of the century. The Prime Minister has also visited this area and seen for herself the conditions prevailing there. The only answer to this acute famine and chronic drought is the Upper Indravati project. I am glad the Government of India, by using their good offices, have brought about an agreement among the contesting States about the allocation of Godavari waters. Out of the 200 TMC allocated to Orissa, if 91 TMC is earmarked for the Upper Indravati project, we will be able to irrigate about 5 lakh acres of this chronically drought-affected land in my constituency and generate hydro-power to the extent of 600 MW. Very near to this area, the Geological Survey of India has recently established

the occurrence of 10,500 million tonnes of high grade bauxite ore, which is the second largest in the world and the largest deposit in this country. The aluminium complex for this electro-metallurgical industry would require about 400 million kilowatts of power which could be easily available from this project.

Coming to the price, as there is a bumper crop, I will be failing in my duty if I do not inform the House that the poor cultivators have to part with their produce because the procurement policy is faulty. Even though the President has expressed a pious wish that the peasants will be given remunerative price according to the procurement price, I know for certain that many of the poor peasants had to sell paddy to meet their various requirements at a price much below the procurement price.

Coming to the emergency, I will be failing in my duty if I do not point out and it is a fact that emergency has geared this nation to discipline and a new awareness of duty has been felt by every individual. But, Sir, at the same time, I would request that this power should not be used as an instrument of oppression and repression for the various political parties and for those who sincerely differ from the policies of the Government. It pricks the conscience of free living citizens when they find that some of the Opposition leaders are behind bars without any trial. Neither their case is justiciable nor they are told what their crime is. I would request the Government to free them and if they have committed any crime, they should be tried. If they are found guilty and are hanged for that, I would not be sorry.

I am sorry to inform you that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan was released from the jail in a very precarious condition and he has to survive on artificial kidney. It is God's desire how long he will survive. There is another identical case, the former Chief Minis-

ter Shri Naba Krishna Choudhary had to be released because he had part paralysis inside the prison. The former Minister Shri Prahlad Mallik is also suffering from some incurable disease. On behalf of all those I urge upon the Government to immediately free them.

Sir, I do not agree with my friend Shri Indrajit Gupta who has blindly supported all the actions of the Government. He may permit a totalitarian regime but we cannot allow our country to be a Gulf Archipelago or to be a satellite of any big power. He has referred to Angola and the President has mentioned regarding South African arms intervention in Angola. But this is a matter of concern to all of us that all the big powers have been sucked in rushing to fill up the vacuum there whether they are the volunteers from Cuba or the military hardware from USSR or the mercenaries from western countries. It has become a place for international intrigue and a theatre to experiment all the latest gadgets for annihilation of mankind. On behalf of my party, I fully condemn this outside interference. It should be left to the people of Angola to decide their own future and to have a government according to their own aspirations.

Sir, I now come to the recent Paris talks on international economic co-operation. Some constructive dialogue might have taken place there. But there is a very correct statement made by Egypt's Ismail Sabre Abdullah who said that no nation, no matter how rich, can help any other country. It means that if we want to improve ourselves, we have to raise our GNP. We should lay stress on agricultural development. We should not only feed ourselves, but should also provide sufficient savings to face bad days. Cheap credit, technical help, remunerative prices for farm produce against higher costs of fertilizers and other inputs, assured tenure as also economic holdings are the factors which go

[Shri P. K. Deo]

a long way towards agricultural development. I do not oppose the land ceiling; but it should be fixed once for all. The tenant should know where he stands so that he can put in all his efforts to have the maximum from his land. We must also limit our population growth. There has been an anxious race going on between demography and development. Unless we restrict the production of children, it would not be possible to give even two square meals a day to the present generation. I must also urge that we reform our education, so as to produce more of technicians and mechanics, instead of more of lawyers and arts graduates. Some radical steps have to be taken for this purpose.

Lastly, I request that all impetus and incentives should be given to the local entrepreneurs. As Rajaji has been telling us all these years when we were in the Swatantra Party, the creative genius of our local entrepreneurs has to be fully developed for ensuring more production. Unless we produce more, we cannot survive. Since our technicians get a better deal outside, there has been a brain drain from India to foreign countries. So, I say that unless our gross national product increases there is no meaning in this 20-Point Programme.

Before I conclude, I want an assurance from the Government because in the Address, I find that no mention has been about the widespread speculation on making drastic changes in the basic structure of the Constitution. I also want an assurance that the Supreme Court and the High Courts would not be deprived of their power to interpret the Constitution and the other laws and to give relief to the citizens under Article 32 or Article 226 of the Constitution against the excesses of the Executive. Sir, I want a categorical answer to this query. I say this because some

time back, we learnt that a full bench was constituted in the Supreme Court to review the Keshavananda Bharati case, we do not know under what circumstances that Bench had to be dissolved. We want a definite assurance that the judiciary, which has been independent so far, will continue to safeguard the various rights of the individuals guaranteed under the Constitution. At the same time, there should be a provision in the Constitution also defining our duties towards the country. We clamour for rights, but we do not care for the duties which we have to perform to safeguard the integrity and independence of this country.

श्री राम सहाय पांडेय : (राजवंदगांव) अध्यक्ष जी, राष्ट्रति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिस्थितियों का महत्वोक्त किया है। आन्तरिक परिस्थितियाँ जिनका अन्तर्गत उन को गिजने का रूप था, उन के प्रति उन्होंने चिन्ता प्रकट की, हिंसा के वानाकरण में लक्ष्य उन का मत और हृदय उन के अभिभाषण में प्रकट हुआ। वे हमारे राष्ट्र के सर्वोत्तम नागरिक हैं, सब से बड़े मुखिया हैं, राष्ट्र के प्रति उन की मर्दा और मर्दावता हमें आर्गोवाद के रूप में स्मरणनी चाहिए।

श्रीमन् पश्चिमी सरहद पर इकट्ठी फौजों की तरफ हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी इशाग किया था और हमारी आन्तरिक सुरक्षा और लोकतन्त्र के प्रति जो खतरा और पत्थर हुआ था, उस की रक्षा के लिये जो काम श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने उठाये, उन के प्रति मर्दावता की भावना और माधुवाद की भावना प्रकट करता हूँ।

श्रीमन्, लोकतन्त्र के मन्दर्भ ने इस वान का निर्णय बड़ा स्वाभाविक है कि इस की रक्षा बन्दूक से होगी या सन्दूक से होगी, बुलेट से होगी या वैलेट से होगी।

इन मासवा को परम्परागत नेहरू जी ने और उनके बाद श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी ने अपने प्रधान मन्त्रित्व काल में बार-बार दोहराया— कि लोकतन्त्र की रक्षा हमारे लिये कितनी महत्वपूर्ण है—हम ने अज्ञाती की लड़ाई लड़कर उन को खूब से सीच कर अज्ञाती का बड़ी मुश्किल में प्राप्ति किया है हम की रक्षा बनेट से होनी चाहिये, वोट में नहीं, हिंसा और नफरत में नहीं, बगावत में नहीं, प्यार से सहृदयता में, उच्चज्ञान में श्रद्धा चाहिये और उसी परम्परा को रक्षा श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने की। क्या मैं यह कहने का माहम करता हूँ कि एमरजेंसी के पहले जब बसे जराई जा रही थी, क्रान्ति का नारा दिया गया था, अनशन का दबाव, मन्याग्रहण के दबाव, हिट-बिलो दि-वैलेट का दबाव और खुले आम आर्मी, फौज और पुलिस की बगावत की ललकार—क्या य सब बाने इन बात का सुवन नहीं था कि इस देश का व लोग किम किम और ले जाना चाहत है। कौन थे-व जाग-ग प्रान शी यि—ये व लोग थे—मैं मिर्क तोन पादमिया वा ही जिक् करना हूँ उन्ही क स्टेटमेंट्स पढता हूँ—कल मणि-बेन बोल रही थी कि हम तो उस प्रदेश में आते हैं—गुजरात में—अहा हिंसा होती ही नहीं मन्त्रि-वर्गियों की—लेकिन उस ताथ म्यना गुजरात म म्ना हुमा—मन्याग्रहण का दबाव, मानवता का नाम पर कोई व्यक्ति दुःखग्रहण करे, मर न जाय, इस बात को दृष्टि में रखते हुए इन्दिरा जी ने चुनाव के आवाहन का स्वीकार कर लिया। और क्या कहा था प्रधान मंत्री जी ने? कहा था कि कि गरीबी है भुखमरी है, अनाज पहुंचा रहे है, पानी नहीं है इतनीय चुनाव की लज्जरी नहीं उठा सकते है। जमोस साहब ने कहा कि पहले तो प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा था कि चुनाव नहीं करायेगे, लेकिन उस के बाद क्या कराये? मैं उन को बताना चाहता चाहता हूँ कि चुनाव न कराने की बात प्रधान मंत्री ने इस सदब म कही थी कि भुखमरी है, गरीबी है, अनाज और पानी पहुंचा रहे है,

बनासकाठा और सावरकाठा में पानी नहीं था, इतनीय पहले राहत कार्यों को प्राथमिकता देना जरूरी था। फिर भी मानवता के नाम पर यह देख कर कि एक नेता कही अपनी जिद में मर न जाय इसलिये नम्रता और गालीनता से प्रेरित हो कर उन्होने कहा कि चुनाव हो जाये। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि एमे कठिन समय में सत्याग्रह करना कहा का औचित्य था? क्या प्रधान मंत्री की यही प्रतिष्ठा है कि उन की हर मीटिंग में पत्थर चलाये गये। वह पत्थर चलाने वाले फासिस्ट जो जयप्रकाश नारायण के एक छाते में आ गये थे नव-निर्माण समिति का गठन कर के और हिंसा और घृणा के म्बर गूजने लगे वह देश को किधर ले गये? वह म्बर बंदूक की तरफ ले गये। फौज और पुलिस को जब आदेश न मानने की बात उन्होने कही थी तब क्या उन का इशारा सद्रूष की तरफ था या बन्दूक की तरफ था, हिंसा की तरफ था या अहिंसा की तरफ जयप्रकाश नारायण जो जब अमरीका से पढ कर आये थे तो पंडित जी ने उन को छाती में लगाया उन का कैरियर गरू होता है बिडला के प्राइवेट सेक्रेटरी की हैसियत से, और मोरार जी भाई का डिप्टी क्लर्क की हैसियत में।

अब मैं आप के सामने तीन लोगों के स्टेटमेंट पढता हूँ। क्या हो गया इन लोगों को जीवन भर टमारे साथ रहे, जिन को जीवन भर छाती में लगाया और मोरार जी भाई का प्रधान मंत्री जी ने डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिसटर तक बनाया, जय-प्रकाश जी को अपने कक्ष में प्रधान मंत्री ने बुलाया और कहा कि बताइये भ्रष्टाचार कैसे दूर किया जाय, बताइये चुनाव में कैसे सुधार किया जाय हम आप के साथ है। क्रान्ति की बात का क्या अर्थ है? उन्होने कहा कि हम आप के साथ सहयोग करने को तैयार हैं लेकिन एक ही तरीका है कि विहार की

[श्री राम सहाय पांडेय]

विधान सभा को भंग कर दिया जाय। प्रधान मंत्री ने पूछा कि इस का औचित्य क्या है? लेकिन उन्होंने कहा कि यह मेरा कहना है। जब प्रधान मंत्री हर तरह से महयोग करने को तैयार थी, तब इस प्रकार का दुराग्रह करना कहा तक उचित था। प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा कि हम आप के साथ हैं और इस बात को मानते हैं कि लोकतन्त्र में भ्रष्टाचार नहीं पनपना चाहिये, आप सुझाव दे हमें स्वीकार होगा, चुनाव मुझसे के सम्बन्ध में भी उनके के मुझसे प्रधान मंत्री ने मागे। लेकिन जय प्रकाश जी ने कोई महयोग की बात नहीं कही, उन के मन में घृणा और बगावत थी। उन्होंने जो क्रान्ति का नारा दिया था उस के महारे वह किस मार्ग पर देश को ले जाना चाहते थे मुझे पता नहीं।

इसी प्रकार इसी सदन में मत्याग्रह करने की बात कही गई जिस की कि इस सदन के नियमों में कोई प्रक्रिया नहीं थी। साधारण कागजों को सदन की टेबल पर रखने के लिये मत्याग्रह की धमकी दी गई। फिर भी प्रधान मंत्री ने लोकतन्त्र की रक्षा की और स्पष्ट साहब ने उनकी बात मान ली। इस दुराग्रह के प्रति प्रधान मंत्री ने शालीनता का परिचय दिया जिस के सम्बन्ध में अनगल प्रलाप शमी साहब ने किया चुनाव के सम्बन्ध में कहा कि आप ने यह नहीं कहा था हम वहां जाते हैं। चुनाव के अभियान में हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी पहले से कह रही हैं कि हमें पता नहीं है कि जीते हैं कि नहीं। यह तो एक अभियान की प्रक्रिया है, हम जब चुनाव क्षेत्रों में जाते हैं तो इस विश्वास के साथ जाते हैं कि जीते हैं, और हम जीते भी बावजूद इस के कि वहां पत्थर चल रहे थे, बावजूद इसके कि प्रधान मंत्री पर पत्थर फेंके जा रहे थे।

श्रीमन अब मैं तीन आदमियों के स्टेट-मेंट पढ़ता हूँ। पहला जयप्रकाश जी का है

"If some party could show him successfully the path of violence to

overthrow the present Government he will follow it."

यह स्वर क्या थे? इसका मनोविज्ञान क्या है? विहार में आन्दोलन कर रहे हैं, कभी मोन, कभी अमोन, कभी पट्टी मुंह पर बाध, कभी मन तुलसीदान बन जाते हैं, कभी प्रहिमा बन जाते हैं और कभी कहते हैं कि कोई पार्टी हिंसा रास्ता बताये तो हम उस का फौजी करेगे।

रामलीला प्राउन्ड में एक बड़ा भारी नाटक हुआ था जिस में अटल विहारी जी ने कहा था

"The battle would be decided in the streets of India"

यह कौन से स्वर थे? यह क्रान्ति के शब्द है?

इसी प्रकार मोगर जी भाई ने एक इटालियन कंगरपोइंट को बताया :

He would not give his strength to any one trying to use violence, but if anyone wanted to kill Smt Indira Gandhi, 'what could I do?"

यह कौन से स्वर थे? यह क्या कहते हैं? मैं अधिकांशपूर्वक इस को कोट कर रहा हूँ जो उन्होंने एक इटालियन प्रेस कन्फ्रेंस में कहा था कि अगर श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को कोई हत्या कर दे तो मैं क्या करूंगा। मेरी मज में नहीं आया, माघारण नता की समझ में नहीं आया जो लोकतन्त्र के निकट है उन को समझ में नहीं आया कि यह कौन से स्वर है। यह डिप्टी कलक्टर, यह प्राइवेट सेक्रेटरी इन्हीं ने कहा मैं वहां देश को ला दिया, और सम्पूर्ण क्रान्ति की बात वही देश को . . . ।

SHRIMATI T. LAKSHMIKAN-THAMMA (Khammam): On a point of order. The hon. Member should

not bring in the names of those who are not here to defend themselves

MR. SPEAKER: Under what rule?

SHRIMATI T. LAKSHMIKANTHAMMA: He should not bring in those names. They are not here to defend themselves.

MR. SPEAKER: No. The hon. Member may continue.

श्री राम सहाय पांडे बल वृद्ध से लोगों ने कहा, जरा प्रधान मंत्री का व्यवहार देखिये हर राष्ट्रीय समग्रियों के मनाधान के लिए उन्होंने विरोधी दलों के नेताओं का हमेशा वताया आज माननीय एस० एन० मित्र मोरारी भाई, अटल बिहारी जी और माननीय जातिर्यमव बन् नहीं है। किन का दोष है? वह स्वयं अपने आवरण की वजह से यहाँ नहीं है। हर बार डम वान की कोशिश को गैरि फि आपस में बैठ कर विरोधी नेताओं से बात की जाय हर मेशन से पहले प्रधान मंत्री जी निमन्त्रण देती थी और नेताओं का मार्गदर्शन चात्री थी। उन्होंने हमेशा मार्गदर्शक का अदर लिया। श्री डम जेदी का लाछन प्रधान मंत्री पर लगा दिया। आप देखिये कि क्या हो रहा था गुजरात और बिहार में जिस प्रकार स्वर्गीय ललित बाबू का बलिदान हुआ, और जिस तरह से गुजरात में चुनाव से पत्थर चले, मैं ममझता हूँ परीक्षा काल था। इस के पहले जब बसे जलायी जा रही थी, विश्वार्थी केम्प को छोड़ कर बहार निकल पड़े थे, हिंसा का वातवरण पैदा हो चुका था तब जाता प्रधान मंत्री से पूछती थी और जब हम लोग अपने चुनाव क्षेत्रों में जाते थे तो हमसे पूछती थी कि प्रधान मंत्री क्या कर रही हैं जनता को प्रधान मंत्री से शिकायत थी उन की इस उदारता और शालीनता के लिए जब कि देश में आग लगते रहते हैं, 13 विश्व-विद्यालयों में ताले लटक चुके थे और 8 कुलनियों को इसी क्रान्ति में डोना गया 5,400 बिद्यालयों से अपनी पढ़ाई छोड़ कर जयप्रकाश जी के आह्वान पर, आजबह

अपने करमों पर हथियार रख कर रो रहे हैं, देश में 134 बसे जलायी गई, 1623 हडतालें हुई, रेलवे की हडताल में 529 करोड़ का घाटा हुआ और ललित बाबू का बलिदान हुआ। जब गुजरात में खाद्यान्न पहुंचाया जा रहा था उस समय जाज फरनाडीज ने रेल हडताल कराई। भारत के मुख्य न्यायाधीश पर कालिलाना हमला हुआ शांति स्थापना के लिए हमें कहीं कहीं फौजे बुलानी पड़ी। हडतालों में 350 करोड़, 80 के उत्पादन का नुकसान हुआ। यह सब नाटक रचा गया यहाँ सत्याग्रह से और वाहर अनशन में। और अनशन शुरू हुआ गुजरात के लिये और रामधन के साथ समाप्त हुआ।

यह सब आप जानते हैं। बिहार में ललित बाबू को बलिदान देना पड़ा और आनन्दमार्ग के बारे में मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी में एक प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ और राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जब वे अपना उत्तर दे तो यह बताना कि क्या गृह मन्त्रालय के माध्यम से उन के पास कोई ऐसी खबर आई है कि आनन्दमार्गीयों की समस्या ने अवधूतो को को सकलुर के द्वारा यह खबर जी थी कि देश भर के चोटों के नेताओं का सहार किया जाए यानी उन को हत्या की जाए। अगर यह बात ठीक है तो कितना बड़ा पडयत्र हो रहा था। प्रधान मंत्री जी के सम्बन्ध में और चीफ जस्टिस के सम्बन्ध में आप ने पडयत्र को देख ही लिया। देश भर के चोटों के नेताओं के खिलाफ भी पडयत्र हो रहा था।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी शान्ति चाहती है व्यवस्था चाहती है और लोकतंत्र की रक्षा करना चाहता है और यह धरंहर उनको उन के पिता से मिली है और बाप से मिली है। वे अक्षरण रखना चाहती है मार्गभूमि सत्ता को, लोक सभा की मर्यादा को और 20 सुत्री कार्य क्रम के द्वारा उन्होंने राष्ट्र का मार्ग दर्शन किया है और राष्ट्र का अवाहन

[श्री राम सहाय पांडेय]

किया है बेकारी दूर करने के लिए । खेतों में पानी चला जाए, खेत लहलहा उठे और हरित क्रान्ति हो, बेकारों के हाथों में औजार पहुँचे और पानी के विवाद दूर हों, और 20 सूत्री कार्या क्रम के माध्यम से हम देश का नव निर्माण कर सकें, एक नई दिशा की तरफ हमारे चरण बढ़ रहे हैं और ज्ञानि एकता, स्नेह और समता का वातावरण देश में कायम हो । बाहरी खतरों और अन्दर के खतरों को देखते हुए धीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने जा कुछ किया है, उम के लिए उन को साधुवाद दिया जाना चाहिए । इमरजेन्सी के पहले तो जनता को उन में शिकायत थी लेकिन इमरजेन्सी के बाद अब जनता उन को साधुवाद देती है और वह कहती है कि यह तो एक साल पहले ही आ जानी चाहिए थी और अगर ऐसा हुआ होता तो हम उत्पादन की और बहुत आगे बढ़ गये होते ।

अगर ईमरजेन्सी न होती तो ये 1500 करोड़ रुपये न मिलते । प्राण और पैसा बड़ी मुश्किल से मिलना है । 1500 करोड़ रुपये बहार निकल आए । प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जिस प्रकार दूर दर्शना में, जिस प्रकार सकल्प से और जिस प्रकार दृढता से बगला देश का निर्णय किया था, उसी तरह से आन्तरिक सुरक्षा के लिए, लोकतंत्र की रक्षा के लिए जो कुछ उन्होंने किया है, उस के लिए उन को साधुवाद देना चाहिए और जनता उन को कुतज है, अनुग्रहीत है उस सब के लिए । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण का स्वागत करता हू ।

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI (Barrhampore): Somehow or other, we seem to forget that we have been living under Emergency for so many years. On 25th June the continuing emergency was only reinforced and made many times more stringent.

Since then, all our discussions and even discussion today have been going round and round the questions about the justification or otherwise of the Emergency. Now, it is more or less a settled fact. The ruling party has decided that the Emergency will continue. It was continuing and it will continue indefinitely in the form in which it has been reinforced and re-imposed on the country. We, on this side of the House, have vehemently opposed the continuance of the Emergency, not only now and not only after 25th June, but we had been agitating for the lifting of the emergency earlier also.

Now, emergencies have a way to go on indefinitely particularly, when they give the ruling party absolute power. They have a way of prolonging their lives. We should not forget that we have been under Emergency right from 1962 which continued upto 1969 and only for 1 1/2 years thereafter there was no emergency. But then Emergency was reimposed again in 1971 and it was continuing although the cause for that Emergency long ceased to exist. None of the powers that the Government have taken or employed to curb the Opposition, whether inside the House or outside, was lacking. Still a new Emergency was imposed and now we have been told from the forum of the ruling party in Chandigarh that it will continue, and that parliamentary elections scheduled this year will be postponed. You know under Art 83 elections to Lok Sabha can be postponed and its term extended by one year at a time. One year at a time means it can be prolonged indefinitely. We do not know what will happen after one year what will happen this time to prolong the term of the present Lok Sabha. There is a concerted move towards consolidating absolute power in this country and it will be no exaggeration to say that the entire opposition (its composition is varied, there are large differences

of opinion in their ideology) would be opposed to this kind of absolutism.

Having said that, let me come to the more urgent immediate problems. The speeches made from the Congress benches have been nothing but panegyric not only to Emergency but also to the Twenty-Point Programme. When this House met in July last to approve the proclamation of Emergency, without exception all the leaders of the opposition who were present here declared that they had no quarrel with the Twenty-Point Programme as such. Not only that, some of us have been clamouring that those points to which Government were already committed, for example, the enforcement of land ceilings, redistribution of surplus lands, minimum wage for agricultural workers and the like should have been implemented much earlier. The Government were not committed for the first time on 25th of June, they were committed to these points long long ago. They were not implemented at all. I thank the Prime Minister, she was frank enough when she announced the twenty-point programme, she declared that these programmes are not new; she only claimed that there was a new determination about them.

The country has seen what has happened during these six months and how the twenty-point programme particularly concerning the demands of the poorest section of the poor, the landless agricultural labourers and others is being implemented. There have been complaints not only from this side of the House, but also from the other side of the House that these things are deliberately not being implemented. Opposition is being put up by bureaucrats, not only by the bureaucrats but also by the in-built powers of the vested interests.

MR. SPEAKER: Hon. Member may continue after lunch.

I have to remind the House that the debate will continue for the whole of

to-day and I will call the hon. Prime Minister first in the morning tomorrow after the Question Hour.

13 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

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

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENTS ADDRESS—*contd.*

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI: I was saying that those items of the twenty-point programme which related to agricultural sections of the rural poor and agricultural workers were opposed by the entrenched position of the vested interests inside the administration and the implementation machinery. Unless the implementation part of it is attended to, howsoever you may go on repeating the slogans of the 20-point programme, nothing will happen.

Personally speaking, I am not satisfied with the 20-point programme as it is, we should go much further. Only the other day Government had given figures about census of land holdings and the facts which have come but are extremely disquieting. In 1961-62, 39 per cent of the holdings were less than one hectare and in 1970-71, in the last census, the percentage has gone up to over 50 per cent. Only 4 per cent of our landowners own holdings of more than 10 hectares. Ten years back, these large landholders had 24.4 per cent of total landholdings. Now they have 31 per cent of the holdings out of the total cultivable land area. So, merely giving plots to the landless alone won't do. You cannot also give plots to everybody. The result of constant increase of small uneconomic holdings will be that

[Shri Tridib Chaudhuri]

there will be endless migration to the cities of the pauperised population and howsoever much you may try to remove them by demolishing their unauthorised structures in your rich urban areas, as you are doing today, poverty from all sides will squeeze you. Ultimately, the whole social fabric will be in jeopardy. So, some more radical land system based on socialist cooperative and collective liner should be immediately thought of.

Similarly, I was speaking about the implementation of Twenty-point Programme. According to the present set-up of the Government, demonstrations, strikes and other things have disappeared. The Ministers of the Government are complimenting themselves that now the industrial relations are much better. Yes, Sir, industrial relations are much better. But what is the actual fact? In Calcutta, the other day, when the Central Trade Union organisation wanted to take out a deputation to the Governor about the Bonus Ordinance, immediately the police banned it. This is the way that you achieve industrial peace. But I ask the Government, as to what have they done about their promised legislation against the lock-outs, lay-offs and retrenchments. At least half a dozen Ministers—I am not speaking of other Private Members of the Congress Party—and even Shri Jagjivan Ram, the Minister of Agriculture, the other day, at Chandigarh said that the Government was not going to tolerate these lock-outs, lay-offs and retrenchments in this period of emergency. Since the House sat last July you have passed 29 ordinances—this is really an Ordinance Raj—but could you not pass a single law, a single order against retrenchment, lay-offs and lock-outs?

I know that my time is running out. But I would request you to bear with me for two or three minutes. I have one or two urgent points to make. Many Members have referred to the

likelihood of constitutional amendments. I will not beat about the bush. The Bar Council of India has circulated some kind of a draft about the authenticity of which they themselves are not very sure. But, that draft and the suggestions contained in it which are supposed to have been drafted by a senior official of the Government are very disquieting. This draft said to be under the consideration of the Government. That draft has proposed some kind of a Presidential system of Government with powers of Parliament completely taken away and government being made responsible to the President alone. This is the sort of thing is circulating or is being talked about everywhere. So, I want the Government to give a categorical assurance on these points.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF PLANNING, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS AND MINISTER OF SPACE (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): Sir, let me straightway tell the hon. Member that we have not circulated any draft on behalf of the Government or the Congress Party.

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI: There is also a second set of proposals. Of course, that cannot become law unless the House agrees to it. It has been reported in the press that a Sub-Committee of the Congress Party has suggested a committee procedure about dealing with legislation and budget etc. and that the plenary session of the House will be confined to general discussion only and the number of plenary sittings of the Parliament would be cut down drastically. So whatever happens, I would request the Government to consider very seriously whether it would be at all proper to curb the powers of Parliament. It is one thing to call for restraint and we should all be restrained—from the Government as well as from the Opposition side—and be responsible. I remind the Prime Minister that only the other day—after the election of

the Speaker—in the course of her felicitations to the new Speaker she said:

“After the first general elections under the Constitution the Lok Sabha became the repository of the expressed democratic will of the people—Parliament's supermacy is the reflection of complete sovereignty. This sovereignty is not an abstract concept. As a living institution Parliament should mirror the evolving aspirations of the people and provide solutions to various old and newly emerging problems.”

She also said:

“It has been our constant endeavour to preserve Parliament's authority and to enlarge its capacity to deal with the problems.”

I hope this is a commitment to the House and to the country on her part and on the part of Government and that nothing will be done to curb the supermacy or restrict the supermacy of the Parliament.

In the end I would like to remind the Government now that they have all the powers in their hands—they had all the powers even before 25th June—they have now deliberately taken much more powers and for that they have their own justification perhaps, we do not agree to that, but it is a fact that they have concentrated all powers in their own hands. If the urgent problems that confront the country today are not solved the people will blame them and none else.

Sir, I have in my hands a copy of the letter purported to have been written by Shri Jayaprakash Narain while he was in detention to the Prime Minister. That letter, I understand, still remains unanswered. But I would like to read a few lines from that letter. I quote:

“Let me assure you that “J.P. wrote—if you do the right things, for instance, your 20 points, tacking

corruption at Ministerial levels, electoral reforms, etc. take the opposition into confidence, heed its advice, you will receive the willing cooperation of every one of us. For that you need not destroy democracy.”

That letter might not have been answered at that particular time when it was addressed to her but this is a basis on which perhaps some kind of re-conciliation and understanding between the Government and Opposition may yet be possible. Sir, I hope the Government would give their serious consideration to it.

SHRI P. R. SHENOY (Udipi): Sir, at the tag end of this debate on President's Address I rise to support the Motion with the object of giving expression to the feelings of common people with regard to some of their day to day affairs.

Sir, the common man is very happy that the Government has at last been able to check inflation. Essential commodities are not scarce any more. Their prices are not going up any more. In fact, the prices are coming down in some cases. The prices would have come down substantially for all essential commodities if there were no false fears of recession or loss to the producer, expressed and nurtured in some quarters. Sir, the prices of foodgrains have been kept very high by putting artificial restrictions, by imposing restrictions on their movement. In my State, that is in the State of Karnataka, there is ban on the movement of rice even from one district to another district. Permission is necessary to move rice from one district to another. As a result, the prices are very high even today. The price of rice is very high even today, in some districts and in some other districts, the price is very low.

Tyres are available freely in the country. The price of tyres is coming down. But, still, an artificial scarcity

[Shri P. R. Shenoy]

is being created by not removing the inter-State restrictions on the movement of tyres.

Sir, it is said that cement stocks are not being lifted. This problem can be easily solved. It is not a problem of recession or demand. When the prices are coming down, producers cannot expect high profits. They can reduce the price. The price of one bag of cement was Rs. 12-13 a year ago. Now, it is Rs. 21 per bag. If they reduce the price of cement by 25 per cent there will be immediate demand for cement. After all, the producers cannot expect very high rates of profits even today.

Similarly, in the case of textile and sugar industries, an attempt is being made in some quarters to give protection to these industries, giving expression to the false fears that there may be recession in these industries or want of demand. There is no cause for this fear. Let us face the problem of recession when it actually comes. If it is a question of less profits to the producers, Government need not worry about it. All these years, the producers were making good profits. Now, for one or two years, if they get less profits or even if they incur losses, there will not be any difficulty. Therefore, Sir, I would request the Government not to give any protection to the producers on the plea that there will be recession otherwise, or that there will not be any demand and so on.

SHRI P. M. MEHTA (Bhavnagar): They have already given concessions to the textile mills.

SHRI P. R. SHENOY: If they have given concessions, there will be some reason for that.

Sir, there is a reference in the President's Address to the rapid progress that has been made in the allotment of house sites to the landless poor. It is a statement of fact. But, there is no use simply allotting

house sites to the landless poor. They must have houses to live in, and therefore, each State Government must have a housing scheme. In Kerala, they had a scheme to build one lakh houses, which I think, has been implemented successfully. In Karnataka also, there is a Janata Housing Scheme. But, there is no rapid progress in the implementation of this scheme for want of money. I do not know what the other States have done in regard to building houses on these lakhs of sites which are being distributed to the landless poor in the villages. Therefore, Government must direct the Life Insurance Corporation of India which is having crores of rupees, to give loans to the State Governments to finance these housing schemes.

Every State Government must have a housing scheme to put up houses on these house sites given to the landless poor. For this purpose all State Governments must be financed by the LIC. Only then this scheme of distribution of house sites to the landless poor will succeed. Moreover these house sites are being distributed only to those landless poor who are still living in villages. Some poor people have come to neighbouring small towns, not cities like Bombay or Calcutta. They have shifted from their villages to these neighbouring small towns in search of jobs. But such people do not get the advantage of this scheme. Their number is not small. They do not get any house sites. They are prepared to go back to their villages and put up houses if they get house sites, and they can come to the nearby towns for jobs. But they do not get any house sites. Therefore, this scheme of distribution of house sites to the landless poor should be extended to these poor people who have migrated from villages to nearby towns.

There are thousands and thousands of young entrepreneurs, mostly engineers, technicians and graduates, who have entered into self-employment with the hope that they will become prosperous and also bring prosperity to

the country. But unfortunately, due to the credit squeeze, the high rate of interest and initial hurdles, they have landed into financial difficulties. The Government must set up a machinery to look into the difficulties of these young entrepreneurs and give them some sort of relief from penal interest and even part of the debts they have borrowed from banks.

There is a reference to the 20-point programme in the President's Address. It is said that the people should involve themselves in the implementation of this programme. But for that the formation of powerful people's committee; at village, taluka and district levels is absolutely necessary. But in many States, specially in my State of Karnataka, there is no district level committee at all for the implementation of the 20-point programme. There is no taluk level committee either with any authority worth the name. Unless there are some powerful people's committees, it is very difficult to get co-operation from bureaucrats. In the case of MPs, it is very difficult for them to approach the State machinery unless they have some authority, unless they are members of some committees. Unless they have some authority, it is very difficult for them to involve themselves in the implementation of the 20-point programme actively. I therefore request Government to look into this matter seriously.

There has been reference to the Kudremukh Project. A fear was expressed that it might not be safe to export iron ore to Iran on the ground that Iran might turn against us in future. What we have to see is the present relationship with Iran. Iran is very friendly with us now. It may have a different relationship at a different time. After all, what we are doing is business with Iran. India is a big country and we must have a very large foreign market. We cannot depend upon one country or one group of countries for our business. So we have done a very good thing in entering into an agreement with Iran for exporting our iron ore. I hope that

this project will be implemented as early as possible.

There is talk about constitutional reforms. I am glad there is no reference to it in the President's Address. It has been proved that our Constitution is a flexible one. It does not require any 'radical' changes. If we want to make a change in it, we can do it very easily by way of amendment. It has never been found difficult to amend our Constitution at any time. We could amend it at any time we wanted. Therefore, it is not necessary to change the Constitution radically without knowing the actual problems. We can amend it as usual whenever it is absolutely necessary. Only in the case of a rigid constitution, we may have to throw it out because it could not be easily changed, then only we may have to think of another constitution or some radical changes. In our case of is not necessary to have radical changes in our constitution, in the present situation.

SHRI H. M. PATEL (Dhandhuka):
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I am somewhat surprised at the attempt on the part of the Government spokesmen continually to refer to the situation in regard to law and order in Gujarat. Yesterday, the Minister of Home Affairs said that "the performance of the Congress in the panchayat elections and the civic poll in Ahmedabad in the face of positive hindrance and resort to violence should serve as an eye-opener to the critics of the Prime Minister and her policies the Congress would have got 80 per cent of the seats in the panchayat poll, had the elections been fair." This particular statement calls for observations on two aspects, firstly, in regard to the question whether violence had taken place, whether there was such widespread violence as was suggested; and secondly, about the possibility of the Congress winning eighty per cent of the seats, had the elections been fair. The Chief Minister of Gujarat had written to the Prime Minister saying in categorical terms that there is absolutely no truth in the reports that here had been violence in Gujarat before the elections, that Con-

[Shri H. M. Patel]

gress workers were being arrested, their houses and belongings burnt and that Congress workers were being murdered. He says: "As head of the Gujarat Government, I am prepared to furnish replies to each and every incident if the Prime Minister were to give particulars about the incidents mentioned by her in her statement". Then he goes on to say "We will welcome a visit of an all party investigation committee if the Indian Parliament appoints one and sends it to Gujarat to enquire into the manner in which elections were held and the extent to which violence took place in the State. I also extend an open invitation to national pressmen to visit Gujarat and make an independent enquiry to assess the truth about the allegation." When there is a clear-cut denial of the incidents and an open offer to hold an enquiry at the same time, if you have any doubts why do you not accept the offer for an open enquiry. Let Parliament send out a committee of its own to enquire into it. What is the point of making statements here that if there is any State in the whole country where there is absence of law and order, it is Gujarat? That is an utter and absolute falsehood. Such absurd statements should not be made.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY: What about three Congressmen killed?

SHRI H. M. PATEL: It is only when present Government came into power that it decided to have free, fair and open elections for panchayats and Municipal corporations. That they were free, fair and open, there is no doubt at all. The Gujarat Chief Minister has extended this invitation for an enquiry and if there is any doubt let them accept it. But what surprises me is this. The Government says that it could have won in open, free and fair elections eighty per cent of the panchayat seats. When it is so confident of emerging triumphant in elections I do not understand why in the same breath they proclaim again quite loudly, "no, we are going to postpone the elections

which are due to be held in March". I learn that is Government's intention, I do not know whether a decision has been taken. If they are so confident of winning 80 per cent of the seats—according to them in free and fair elections, they could have done so in Gujarat and they were capable of winning quite a substantial percentage of seats in the elections even in the conditions which they were held, then what is it that they apprehend? Why is it that they are not prepared to hold elections when they are due? It cannot be merely that they are anxious to avoid disappointments to the candidates of the opposition parties as and when they were defeated as they were certain to be. The Congress is surely not as generous-hearted as all that. One cannot help having this suspicion that it is the understandable worldly-wise feeling that a bird in the hand is worth two or half a dozen in the bush that is influencing them. They have 2/3 majority in the House today. Why take a chance? After all elections are a chancy business. Anything can happen. It may be that that is indeed likely to be the case. They may also be afraid that if elections are held and if they wish to make the claim that these elections are free, fair and open, then they would have to lift the emergency. The restrictions that obtain today under the emergency would have to go. Those who are detained today in prisons would have to be released. The press would have to be allowed to give news freely and also be permitted to comment freely. This would make the elections even more chancy. Why take this risk? With the lifting of the emergency there would perhaps be apprehension that the risk may be greater.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You are getting only the balance of your party's time.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: Sir, as I have got a very limited amount of time at my disposal I would now refer to one matter of some considerable importance. It is this. About the 20-point economic programme, as has been emphasised by several speakers, I would

say that while there is not much to quarrel with in respect of any item in the programme what causes concern is the question of implementation and how effective is the implementation going to be. Now, you look at this item of development of rural areas. There is a reference in the President's address to this question of rural development, that poverty is very extensive and that it cannot be eliminated overnight, and that special programmes are going to be evolved for the rural areas. But, Sir, consider what has happened? For the first time, in these 28 years, census of agriculture was taken and it has brought out this remarkable fact that there are about 70 million agricultural holdings in the country and out of these, over 50 per cent are holdings of less than a hectare. 25 years earlier, the number of such holdings was considerably smaller. What this means is that the number of marginal holdings is increasing. The size of holdings is becoming less and less economically viable. If we want to maximise our agricultural production, then the holdings should not be allowed to go below a certain limit. This is as important as that there should be a ceiling on agricultural holdings.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER I cannot help.

SHRI H M PATEL: Well, Sir, it is very difficult to race against time in this manner. I would rather not say anything more.

श्री मुल्की राज सैनी (देहरादून) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं महामहिम राष्ट्रपति के अधिभाषण को स्पोर्ट करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। अधिभाषण में बतलाया गया है कि प्राचीन काल में शुरू से ही मुल्क में क्या हालात थे और आज क्या हालात है। मुल्क के हालात नाजस थे। जगह जगह जलमे, हुल्लडवाजी, बर्मा को फूटना, रेलों में स्ट्राइक, ऐसे हालात थे जिन को शांतिमय तरीके से हल करने की कोशिश की गई लेकिन विपक्ष कुछ उतारू था, सड़कों पर लड़ाई

लड़ना चाहता था, मुकाबिला करना चाहता था और इसी वास्ते 25 जून को एमजेंसी लाई गई। आई नहीं। कौन लाया, यह हमारे विपक्ष के भाई खुद अपने दिलों को टटोले तो शायद उन का फेमला दही होगा कि वे खद इस के लिए जिम्मेदार हैं।

महामहिम राष्ट्रपति ने कहा है—

“उनका यह यक़मद था कि किम तरह अधिक अपरध रोकने, पैदावार बढ़ाने और बढ़ती हुई इन्फ्लेशन पर काबू पाने, माल को नहीं ढग और तेजी में एक जगह में दूसरी, जगह पहुँचाने, अर्थ व्यवस्था को पायदार बनाने और लोगों को राहत पहुँचाने के लिए सरकार की जोरदार कोशिशों को नाकाम बना जाय।

तो इन हालात में एमजेंसी आई और सारे देश ने देखा, डप हाउस में उस की चर्चा हो चुकी है कि एमजेंसी से किम तरीके से सुधार हुए है। आज यह बहा जा सकता है कि रेलें ठीक तरह से चल रही है, ढाई ठीक से हों रही है, इन्फ्लेशन ठीक से हो रहे है, चैन पुलिंग नहीं है, महिलाओं की टीजिंग नहीं है, गुन्नागदी कम हो गई है। सभी क्षेत्रों में सरकार ने किम तरह एंक्शन लिया है वह प्रशंसा के योग्य है और श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जो हमारी सरकार की नेता है यह उन के नेतृत्व का फल है। किम तरीके से उन्होंने 20 सूची प्रोग्राम जो जुलाई के महीने में दिया उस में पहला आइटम था कि किम तरीके से बीजों की कोमते गिराई जायं। वह कीमते गिरी। साथ ही साथ उत्पादन का भी एलान किया गया और यह भी कहा गया कि बतकं रखा जाय वि ये कीमते फिर से ऊपर न आ जाय। इसलिए आप ने देखा कि एमजेंसी आने के बाद पिछले छ महीने में एक रिसेशन जिसे कहते हैं वह आई, कीमतों में गिरावट आई। लेकिन साथ साथ एक चिन्ता का विषय भी सामने खड़ा हो गया। कीमतों में गिरावट आई।

[श्री मुल्की राज सैनी]

लेकिन कित चीजों में ज्यादा गिरावट आई, कितने में कम आई यह सोचना जरूरी है। यह सम्मानित सदन जानता है कि इस देश के अंदर 80 फीसदी आवादी गांवों में रहती है और गांवों की 80 फीसदी आवादी कृषि के काम में लगी हुई है। कृषि का कार्य इस देश की राजनीति में समाज नीति में एक रीढ़ की हड्डी का स्थान रखता है। किसान का जो पैदा किया हुआ मान था उस का मुकाबला करने में तैयार माल के साथ, कारखाने के माल के साथ ता कोई माननीय सदस्यो ने इस क बारे में चिन्ता व्यक्त की है और अपने भाषण में उन्होंने इस चीज को रखा है। सरकार को इस चीज को सोचना चाहिए कि इतनी बड़ी आवादी किसान को सिर्फ यह कह कर कि वह कुक है, गद्दर है टाला नहीं जा सकता। किसान के लिए यह कहने का मालूम है हमने किसान को समझा नहीं अभी तक। जैसा कि अभी त्रिदिव चौधरी साहब कह रहे थे चार प्रतिशत किसानों के पास बड़ी जमीन हो सकती है। छ एकड़ तक का किसान इस देश में अंदर 70 प्रतिशत है। 10 एकड़ तक के लीजिए ता 90 प्रतिशत बैठ जाता है और सीता ता था जाये तो शायद एक दो प्रतिशत किसान होगा जिस का बड़ा काम जा सकता है।

लेकिन किसान जब पैदा करता है तो उस की पैदावार का उचित मूल्य उसको नहीं मिलता। राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि इस साल बहुत अच्छी खरीफ की फसल हुई है। ठीक इसी प्रकार रबी की फसल भी अच्छी हुई था। गन्ने की फसल भी अच्छी हुई है। आलू की, जूट की फसल भी अच्छी हुई है। लेकिन हुआ क्या? जब हम किसान ज्यादा पैदा करते हैं तो हम उसका उचित मूल्य नहीं मिलता। हमने देखा आलू की दुर्गति हुई, कपास की दुर्गति हुई। हमने देखा कि गन्ने की इस साल अजीब बात चल

रही है। हर साल, नवम्बर के महीने में गन्ने का भाव राज्यवार तय हो जाता करता था। लेकिन अब मिल चल रही हैं। जनवरी का महीना आ गया है। पढ़ने को मिला है कि पंजाब में सरकार ने गन्ने का भाव 14 रुपए 35 पैसे प्रति क्वीटल तय किया है लेकिन हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के मेरठ कमिश्नरी में सवा 11 रुपए क्वीटल का भाव लिखा गया है और साथ में यह भी लिख दिया है कि जो भाव भारत सरकार तय करेगी वह मिलेगा। इसके अलावा गन्ना उत्पादकों का गत वर्षों का 20 करोड़ रुपया बकाया पड़ा हुआ है और उसको देने के लिए सरकार की तरफ से कोई योजना नहीं है। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ खाम तौर में किसानों की स्थिति को ध्यान में रखते हुए योजना बननी चाहिए। हमारा यहां महानगर में एक लाई कृष्णा शहर मिल है जिस पर 70-71, 71-72 और 72-73 का 37 लाख रुपया बकाया पड़ा हुआ है। 25 हजार किसान अपने पांच साल पुराना पैसा नहीं पा रहे हैं। इस तरह से 1973-74 और 1974-75 में सरकार ने उनको देना आवश्यक किया। 1973-74 का पैसा तो चला दिया गया लेकिन 1974-75 में पांच साल का 61 लाख का घाटा दिखा दिया गया। ऐसे अफसर वहां पर लगे हैं कि आज किसान अपने पैसों से मोहताज हो रहे हैं। अगर निवेदन है कि किसानों का उचित मूल्य मिलना चाहिए, मार्केटिंग का पूरा उत्सर्जाम होना चाहिए और मही वक्त पर खरीद होनी चाहिए। आज किसान इन्फ्लेशन जाति इस देश की ग्रामों की आवाजों का 80 प्रतिशत है उसको उपेक्षा करके किसी तहर से भी हम अपनी एकानामी गांव की एकानामी को मजबूत नहीं बना सकते हैं—उस बात को ध्यान में रखना चाहिए।

इमर्जेंसी की जहा बहुत मो उपलब्धिया हैं उसके साथ साथ कुछ कमियां भी रह गई

हैं। हम कहते हैं कि इंग्लेशन पर काबू पा लिया गया है, हम कहते हैं ला ऐंड आर्डर की सिचूएशन अच्छी है लेकिन मैं बड़ी नम्रता के साथ सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि इमर्जेन्सी की जो उपलब्धियाँ हैं वह केवल शहरो के अन्दर हैं। गावों के अन्दर आज भी डकैतियाँ हो रही हैं, चोरियाँ हो रही हैं। कहने का मतलब यह है कि नीचे के स्तर के नीचे अभी इमर्जेन्सी नहीं आई है। आज भी जिले के थानों में, तहसील में और दूसरे दफतरो में बिरश्तते ज्यों की त्यों चल रही हैं। मैंने सरकारी आदेश की जानकारी मिली कि नाजायज कमाई के सम्बन्ध में, मैंने अपने यहाँ कलक्टर से बात की तो उन्होंने कहा आर्डर आया हुआ है कि जिन्होंने नाजायज कमाई से कोठी और जायदाद बना ली है तो वह जब्त कर ली जायेगी लेकिन अभी उस पर ऐक्शन नहीं हुआ है। तो नीचे के स्तर पर जो अफ्टर वर्मचारी हैं उनको भी निबालना चाहिए था। ऊपर के दो हजार बड़े अफसर निबाले गए हैं—यह भारत भर का रिपोर्ट है। सम्मगलम पकड़ लिए गए, गचे पकड़ लिए गए (व्यवधान) मैं अपने यहाँ कलक्टर से बात करने के बाद यहाँ पर कह रहा हूँ। तो इमर्जेन्सी का नीचे के स्तर पर भी एक प्रभाव पड़ना चाहिए और ला ऐंड आर्डर सिचूएशन ठाक होनी चाहिए।

जहाँ तक हमारे देश की एक्सटर्नल पालिसीज का सम्बन्ध है उमने लिए हम कह सकते हैं कि पहले हिन्दुस्तान के चारों तरफ दुश्मन मुमालिक थे लेकिन आज सिर्फ तीन मुल्को को छोड़ कर जिनमें कुछ इस तरह की बातें चल रही हैं बाकी मुल्क हमारे दोस्त हैं। तो बाहर की पालिसीज में इस देश की बहुत उपलब्धियाँ हुई हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस अभिभाषण को सपोर्ट करता हूँ।

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN
(Coimbatore): Mr. Deputy-Speaker,

Sir, this was the first Presidential Address that we have had after the declaration of emergency. I must say that I was most disappointed because instead of reflecting the sense of urgency that is required in the emergency for implementation of the 20-Point Programme, this Address has much more sentiments of complacency and I think, that is very dangerous for the simple reason that when we look towards the country very little has really been done during the last six months. No doubt certain very good features are also there. There are some of the ordinances that are now coming up before the House, to be turned into statutes, such as the ordinance on equal pay for equal work and the ordinance on the abolition of bonded labour. All these things should have been brought a long time ago. They have been welcomed by all of us and they have to be really implemented with a sense of real emergency. At the same time, I would also say that during these months, the working classes have really had quite a raw deal. The working classes were called upon to work with a sense of emergency, increase production and help in re-building the national economy. They have not failed in their duty. The working class did and has come forward to cooperate in every possible manner. What is the reward that they have got? The first shock that was given, was the bonus ordinance, taking away even what they had. Bonus has a history in this country; but I do not have time to go into it. This is a jolt for the working class. All sections of the working class and all sections of the trade union movement speak with a single voice in this matter. Why was it done? I want the workers also to contribute in whatever way they can, could you not call the leaders of the trade unions and the working classes and find out where and how can economies be effected? To be told again and again that they were a privileged section and therefore they should not ask for more but should think of the under-privileged,—how do these

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things help? How are they privileged? Certainly, they are employed, but they are also giving their labour and sweat for improving the economy and increasing production. Today, there is not a single household among bank employees and the Central Government employees which is not maintaining the unemployed of this country. Are they not helping that way? When you say, "give all that you can" and when they do it, they expect appreciation of it. You may say that these economies are necessary, and the argument used is that this is necessary to fight inflation. But at the same time, why is it that you do not have the same sense of urgency in taking action against those employers who to-day are sabotaging production, and who are guilty of measures which affect the national economy? Only this morning we had a Question on lay-offs and retrenchment. What was the reply given? It was said that during the period following the Emergency, increasing lay-offs and retrenchment in several industries in the private sector which had been brought to the notice of the Ministry of Labour were causing Government some concern. Just some concern! Thousands of workers are out of work, production is affected and the Government in this period of Emergency has only some concern. Again and again we have been demanding from this side of the trade union movement: "Please come forward with a legislation, so that you can take action against those employers who are declaring these lay-offs, who are guilty of closures and who are also, now, resorting to retrenchment." In the national apex body which was set up, there was a discussion on this and still the matter is pending. I am amazed that the *President's speech which refers to so much of legislation which is to come before us in this session makes no mention at all about this very serious feature in our national economy. He does pay a tribute to the workers,*

What he says in one part of the speech is this:

"With the co-operation of workers, industrial peace has been maintained, save in a few isolated cases. Several distortions and imbalances that had developed in the economy have been corrected."

"As a result of this, the privileges enjoyed by some groups have been reduced."

This is a euphemistic allusion probably to bonus. I do not know.

"But it should be remembered that no single group can further its interests in isolation."

Are not the employers who are resorting to lock-outs, closures, retrenchment and lay-off, guilty today of betraying the national interests? Then, why is action not being taken against them?

The national apex body, at its meeting on the 29th November, took note of the continuation of the prolonged closure of the Laxmi Ratan Cotton Mill and the Atherton West Mills of Kanpur in spite of the efforts of the State Government, the State apex body and the National Industrial Committee for Textiles. Is this not a very sad commentary on what the Government is doing about taking steps for increasing production?

Again, large-scale lay-off and retrenchment of workers of sugar factories in Tamil Nadu are continuing unabated. I can give a few examples. In the Sakti Sugar Mills of Erode, 800 workers have been laid off from 1st October 1975 for three months, 350 workers retrenched and so on. This is the picture of the sugar industry, and we are talking in terms of exporting sugar in order to increase our foreign exchange.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Member has two minutes more.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: This is the beginning of the International Women's Decade.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You are not the only woman, there are other women too.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: I share their desire for more time.

The Reserve Bank Bulletin has also shown that in the private corporate sector, 1,650 companies have been spending only 15.8 per cent on labour costs, and yet we are being told that the workers are asking too much, that they are being given too much.

Apart from the problem of the workers, there is the problem of the peasants also, and we find, particularly in a State like Tamil Nadu, whose present Government claims that the twenty point programme has been implemented, only a few days ago, on 2nd January, there was a large-scale peaceful movement demanding the implementation of the twenty point programme, demanding the stoppage of the large-scale eviction that is taking place and demanding that debt relief should be extended. And what happened? That wonderful Ministry puts 10,000 people into jail—just a mere ten thousand! For what? For demanding that this twenty point programme be implemented. But the President's Address says:

"The new spirit that has been generated over the last few months should therefore be maintained unimpaired. The 20-Point "Economic Programme will continue to be implemented with zeal. Government invites the full co-operation of the people as it is a peoples' programme...."

But, when the people come forward demanding the implementation of the programme, this wonderful Ministry

in Tamil Nadu puts them in jail. Something should be done about a Ministry that carries on in that way. A conference is being held of the party at the State level, and the whole State apparatus goes into collecting money. The sales tax officers go and threaten people, small shop-keepers are threatened. Is this the way a Government should function during the emergency?

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI (Dharamapuram): I object to that. I was one of the Secretaries of the Conference. The Member should not make false charges.

SHRI THA KIRUTTINAN (Sivaganja): This is highly objectionable.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN: This has also appeared in all the papers. So, I think I am at liberty to talk of what appears in the press in my State.

Lastly, I would refer to what my colleague Shri Indrajit Gupta said, about the bureaucrats having been given such enormous powers that they are running riot. We find that in every industry large-scale retrenchment is taking place in the name of emergency. On the railways particularly, casual workers who have been there for 15 and 20 years have been thrown out on the streets.

Similarly, at the same time, about those who were victimised during the 1974 strike, we have an answer here that nearly a thousand of them continue to be on the starvation line. Is this the manner in which Emergency is going to be implemented? Is this the manner in which the working class is going to be moved against, to be neglected, to be victimised all the time? Therefore, I say, the bureaucrats' role is something which is very serious and which also leads to a great deal of consternation on the part of the people.

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One last point which is extremely important. Today, we were told by the Health Minister about the great pyramid he is building up for health services in this country. Today, in this country, you go to any hospital, you go to any clinic, you go to any nursing home, the main problem that they are facing is the shortage of drugs. With the shortage of drugs, the people's health is being neglected. At the same time, the multi-national corporations are raising the prices of drugs and no action is taken against them. On the other hand, they are sending drugs underground for the purpose of black-marketing. I would request the Government to see that immediate action is taken to see that drugs position is set right.

SHRI RAJA KULKARNI (Bombay—North-East): Mr Deputy-Speaker Sir, unlike the earlier speaker, I am not disappointed at the working of the Emergency or the 20-point Economic Programme. I am not one of those who hold that during the last six months, the measures that have been taken by the Government on the economic and political fronts can be construed, on the whole, as anti-working class. There are a number of steps which the Government have taken to help the working class and also to help the national interest as well.

During last six months, the inflationary forces have been contained and the increased trend in prices has gone down on the negative side. This has been a very big gift to the working class in the country. Its significance should not be under-estimated by those working in the trade union movement. In the whole world, it has been acclaimed, that India is the one country which has succeeded, within a span of 9 to 10 months, in controlling inflationary forces. Many newspapers in the world are quoting India as an example which has shown

significant results in containing inflationary forces. This measure has definitely helped the working class.

In the 20-point Economic Programme, there are some items which are specifically included for the benefit of the working class as a whole. Abolition of bonded labour brings into the fold of the working class, those under-privileged who were not construed as the working class. A large section of people, under-privileged people, who were not given even the civic or political or any social right in this country are now brought into the orbit of the working class. The working class concept has undergone a change qualitatively and quantitatively.

Similarly, there is an item like the minimum wage for agricultural labour by statute. Where the statute already existed, minimum wages have been increased during the last six months to a large extent and where the statute did not exist, the minimum wages have been given. This has also brought into the orbit of trade union movement, a large number of people, probably more than the presently organised labour. The trade union movement which was confined for the last 60 to 70 years to the organised worker—the industrial worker—has now got bigger dimensions and frontiers to bring in more and more under-privileged class of workers. These millions of people enlarged the scope of the trade union movement. I think, these are the qualitative and quantitative gains which the Indian trade union movement has secured during last six months. I am aware that every step, that is being taken might not be in the interest of sections of the working class. But every action that is taken has to be measured in terms of national interest. Whenever an Ordinance on bonus comes, no doubt the trade unions will give out their views, appreciation or suggestions for

modification, whatever they may be. But bonus should not be treated as co-terminus with the interest of the working class but with the national interest as a whole.

15 hrs.

We also know that the organized working class has been given a specific place in the 20-point programme, and that is, labour participation in management. This has been specifically mentioned. A scheme has been drawn up. No doubt there might be defects or lacunae. But it is under discussion, and the apex body is going to discuss it in the next meeting on the 10th and 11th of this month. Whatever scheme might emerge, taking into account the lessons of labour participation in the past, whatever changes might be made in it, the fact remains that labour participation is a definite gain which has been given to the workers in the organized industries of this country. Therefore, these gains should not be under-estimated by any Member of this House, and we would request that no such impression should be created that the working of the 20-point programme and the steps taken after the Emergency have acted against the interest of the working class as such. I would, in fact, go further and say that this is a necessary. Of course, everybody is free to make constructive suggestions with a view to implement, successfully implement, the 20-point programme.

I would like to make one or two suggestions for the successful and quick implementation, so that all the benefits of this 20-point programme go to all those under-privileged and weaker sections of the society for whom they are meant.

Regarding the 20-point programme, it has been stated that this is not the whole and sole of it, it is only a step in the direction of socio-economic transformation. I definitely feel that this is a step in the right direction, at

the same time, this is a step taken by a democratic method also. The President has rightly drawn attention and emphasized these measures in para 12, page 4, of his Presidential Address. He has said:

"Measures to improve administrative efficiency will continue and will be expanded. Our administrative procedures and attitudes have remained largely unchanged, especially in the field of financial administration. . ."

According to me, this is a very big step, a significant step. This step, by itself, might not be a very big one, but it is a very significant step, it is changing the whole character of the onward march of democracy in our society, it starts becoming an active catalytic factor in changing the socio-economic structure of our society in changing the attitudes as well as procedures, especially the financial procedure. Because, it was here that the Government was being accused, it has been said that the Government has a good policy, their Resolutions are good, the policies are good, their intentions are good, but implementation is not taking place because the bureaucracy are not well-intentioned, they have no sense of social outlook and urgency. In the last 25 years, the attack of the Opposition parties has been on non-implementation of good policies. Now here is a step taken in that direction. Therefore, it should be acclaimed. One step taken in the right direction has much more effect than all the psychological and other things that have been spoken during the last 25 years. I do feel that by this step democracy is now transcending from the realms of psychological orbit of ideas, farther from the institutional forms, and farther away from the decision-making power structure into the field of human relations. Ultimately, these procedures and attitudes which need to be changed—what exactly are they? They are codifications of experience of handling

[Shri Raja Kulkarni]

human affairs. They are human relations woven into a form of experience codified. These are purely procedural things. My suggestion further would be that this experiment which is good and which is a right step should further be extended not only to financial administration but also to all governmental work, and not only to the governmental work but even to public sector undertakings. In public sector labour participation in management has been given, but implementation is yet to begin and in the proper spirit. The bureaucratic attitude of the public sector management must also change. Therefore, there is a need of large-scale change in the attitudes and procedures in the public sector management also without which labour participation in the management would not succeed.

There is also a need to enter this experiment into all other social welfare measures which are being implemented whether departmentally or with the co-operation of voluntary organizations. Whether it is in family planning or in rural development or in any other field, the implementation is halted because the representatives of the voluntary organizations are treated as rivals and competitors, by the government officials and this kind of attitude needs to be changed. A role-playing attitude needs to be taken. If that is done, a lot of purpose will be achieved and the 20-point programme can be implemented successfully.

SHRIMATI M. GODFREY: (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): We, particularly, Anglo-Indians and the Christian community who are interested in educational and social work, welcome emergency wholeheartedly. Since we are specially interested in education, we find that the frustration and lack of discipline which existed in schools and colleges is now a thing of the past and with the implementation of the 20-point formula has come a new vigour

and a ray of hope that much can be achieved now. With the discipline and security that prevails now in the academic field, we have no fear about the security and future of our children as we could see that they can prosecute their studies in a calm atmosphere. I often felt greatly concerned what our next generation would be. But thanks to God and to our Prime Minister, things have been controlled in time and normalcy has returned in the field of education.

Now, Sir, although the prices of essential commodities have not come down very much, by and large, prices of certain articles of food have come down perceptibly and the poor at least will now have food to eat. Rome was not built in a day and since the emergency is only six months old, perhaps, after a few months more the people will get accustomed to this way of life and things will go on smoothly even after the emergency is lifted. We will then have more suitable people working at the helm of affairs.

Another great and radical change is the punctuality seen in the offices and the prompt care that is now taken in every case. So many inefficient officers have been dismissed from service. With this efficiency has increased and we hope that this kind of efficiency will continue even after the emergency is lifted.

About those who have been put into jail, I would like to say it is not because of the twenty-point programme or emergency but because of the bureaucrats working in the States. Too much power has been given to the magistrates and to the police so much so that the police inspectors can put anybody into jail. I think this power should be restricted to the higher officers only so that things may work better and there may not be so much misuse of power that the emergency has conferred upon them.

I would like to touch upon the point to which Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan made a reference. It is about the medical care in the rural areas. I

would suggest that enough medicines should be distributed among the poor people. Many of the people come and tell us that in the hospitals injections even for typhoid are not available. Patients are asked to pay for them. I think such essential drugs should be available in smaller hospitals.

Certain drugs which are very essential for human life are not available in big hospitals too. I would request that to take care of our people medicines in sufficient quantity should be made available.

Once again I would like to say till the emergency continues, the power granted to the officers and bureaucrats should be so streamlined that there is no misuse of it and that they should not feel that they are all powerful.

With the elimination of the bonded labour, persons working under the big landlords now feel that they have the same freedom and liberty and that they can work like other people and can claim and get that much of wages too.

With these words I thank you for giving me this opportunity.

SHRI DHARNIDHAR DAS (Mangaldai): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the President's Address has raised certain basic points for discussion in so far as the process of implementation of policies is concerned.

In the last sentence of the President's Address, it has been said:

"There is not a minute to waste. I am sure you will provide the clear, bold and firm lead which the people expect."

It means that whatever we have not been able to do in the last 28 years we must now finish that unfinished work in the shortest span of time.

He said: 'Clear, bold and firm lead is necessary'. Clarity means the clarity of conception also. We are at the crossroads of history. In which direc-

tion the country should proceed is the main question now. There are two roads, one is the capitalist road and the other is the socialist road. Since so many years, for 28 years, it was not very clear to us, which way to move. Jawaharlal Nehru said: 'We cannot move along two parallel roads. socialism cannot be a halfway house.' When there is clash of interest which has taken place now very clearly between the haves and the have-nots, the exploited and the exploiters, the interests of the haves and exploiters must be sacrificed. It must be fought out ruthlessly. For this ideological clarity is very necessary. That means, the clarity of socialism in a scientific way; but what we find is that it has been vulgarised and distorted. Even in the name of socialism, Hitler came to power. He used the word National Socialism for his party. Viewed historically large-scale capitalism pays the petty bourgeoisie class and it has called the tune to save capitalism from the socialist revolution. It was done in Hitler's Germany. Socialism is the only popular word that can attract the masses and the masses can be deceived by the word socialism only. So Hitler did it. Here in our country also the word socialism is being misused. It is used to save capitalism. They call themselves socialists just like the national socialists and play up all communal forces, chauvinist and racial forces, as Hitler did. These communal forces killed Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of our nation. Under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, India attained national independence through a mass revolution in which he gave a call of 'Quit India' to the British Imperialists and at the same time, a call to the people, 'to do or die'. Prior to it various political reforms prolonged imperialism and tightened its noose around the neck of Indian people. Ultimately the imperialists had to go.

Similarly at this juncture a socio-economic revolution is a must for Socialism. What we find is that the reactionaries have launched offensive against democracy, socialism and the

[Shri Dharnidhar Das]

progressive forces in this country. They are on the offensive. They wanted to drown the country into chaos and anarchy had there been no emergency measures. In other words they have launched a counter revolution to save capitalism. This can be countered and defeated only by economic and social revolution and that is what socialism means in this country. That is why this twenty-point programme is the lever in the hands of the masses to defeat this counter revolution.

In the name of mixed economy, capitalism developed into monopoly capitalism. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in 1952 said 'Monopolies are on the increase. To the extent they have grown in recent years, to that extent, we have drifted from the goal of socialism'. This is what he said to stop monopoly growth. He warned us against the danger of capitalism. He said 'Unless the process of socialism is speeded up people will discard the peaceful methods of economic transformation'.

Now, this is the time for us here to act vigorously for the implementation of the 20-point programme, for a socialist transformation. I would like to join issue with the critics of emergency. To them I would say 'Yes, emergency is bad for the capitalists, for the exploiters, the blackmarketeers, the hoarders, smugglers and the right reactionary and fascist forces, those who obstruct the march towards socialism, those who want to stall radical reforms in the country for the benefit of the masses'.

It is bad for them. It is good for the masses. What does 20 point programme mean? It means economic revolution in the country for the emancipation of the Indian proletariat composed of landless agricultural labour, bonded labour, etc. They constitute 80 to 90 per cent of the working masses of India. This programme is for the down-trodden working masses of India. As capitalism is for

the capitalists and upper class, socialism is just for these classes of people—the working peasantry, landless peasantry, agricultural workers, the poor working people, etc. The State has now taken side of the exploited, down-trodden masses instead of its previous class neutral position.

15.21 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Now how to implement this programme is the main question. Is it possible by bureaucracy? Even Lenin failed when he wanted to implement his famous 'land decree'. The bureaucrats went to the landlords and told them that they need not be afraid. This Government will collapse very soon and again they will have their Government. He called the bureaucracy 'as lousy bureaucracy'. Here also in our country this danger is inherent in the implementation of our programme through the bureaucratic machinery. So, the President in his Address has clearly pointed out that through bureaucratic agency it is not possible to implement this 20 point programme which means launching a socialist revolution in the country. Changing of the entire capitalist system, a complete changeover from the capitalist system to socialism is not possible through bureaucratic agency alone.

Sir, here I want to furnish the House with facts as to what we have done in the State of Assam. In Assam, to supplement or supplant in some cases this bureaucratic machinery in the matter of public distribution system there is one very important thing which should be known to the Members of this House, that is, we have done away with the wholesalers and all private traders. From the wholesale stage down to the fair price shop level everything has been done by mass cooperatives. The entire distribution system has been channelled through a network of mass cooperatives. They are not usual co-

operatives. They are mass cooperatives where the vested interests cannot have a foothold because the weaker and the poorer sections have been given the double representation in the executives. The entire distribution of wheat, rice, etc. has been managed through the cooperative system. The other day Mr. Indrajit Gupta made a suggestion in this House that for implementation of this 20-point programme there should be popular committees. Now, that is what exactly has been done in Assam. There production, procurement and distribution councils at district levels have been formed with representatives of popular mass and party organisations. These are headed by representatives from non-official organisations. A Minister has been appointed Deputy Chairman in each council. But the Chairman is a non-official. These are fully representative of all mass organisations having an effective role in decision making and for implementation.

MR. SPEAKER: Please conclude.

SHRI DHARNIDHAR DAS: Sir, I crave your indulgence to give me five minutes more.

MR. SPEAKER: There are many hon. Members who are still to speak.

SHRI DHARNIDHAR DAS: I am raising a very important point.

MR. SPEAKER: I will give you two minutes more.

SHRI DHARNIDHAR DAS: Sir, the question is whether the 20-point economic programme will be implemented only through the bureaucratic machinery or whether the people will also be involved in the actual implementation. It is not merely a question of getting their cooperation. This has been done in Assam and it has succeeded there. If we want to fight capitalism, we must fight to undo the capitalist law of demand and supply. According to this law, if there is less supply and more demand, prices will

go up, without any relation to the cost of production. Therefore, we will have to undo this capitalist law of demand and supply. Assam has given a bold lead in this direction. There price has remained the same, whether there is scarcity or abundance. We will have to understand the laws of capitalism and capitalist development as well as the laws of socialism and socialistic development. For, socialism mass involvement and participation are indispensable. In our State, we have not only involved the people in mass meetings, but we have given opportunities to the people to participate in the running of the public distribution system, in the distribution of land to the landless people and so on. People are involved in this work, not only in the offices, but in the fields. Similarly, the Governmental machinery has to work in the fields, not only in the offices.

Therefore, this change, this undoing of the capitalistic and bureaucratic process is very important for the implementation of the 20-point economic programme and this is how we have to fight the right reactionary forces at the economic base by undoing the capitalistic system, which is the breeding ground of the right reactionary, and fascist forces.

DR. K. L. RAO (Vijayawada): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we should express our deep thanks to the President for announcing that a National Water Resources Council will be set up. This is a very important step and it is long over-due. Many nations have accepted this and they have set up councils and have reaped great benefits. The declaration of water as a national asset will create a large amount of confidence in the people and it will be the best step for bringing about integration among the people.

Water, Sir, is most important especially for India for the agricultural purposes because India is pre-dominantly agricultural. It is by doubling the irrigated area since Independence that

[Dr. K. L. Rao]

we have doubled our food production. This is a point which has got to be noted so that it will help us in the critical times ahead. We are assuming that for the rest of the century, in the next 25 years, we should double our irrigated area. It means, bringing another 43 million hectares under irrigation. This is a very huge and stupendous task and it requires a very careful consideration. The National Water Resources Council must be in a position to accelerate the pace.

There is another point. India is cultivating for foodgrains as much land as the USSR or China. But, we are producing only half the amount of foodgrains and this is due to want of sufficient irrigation facilities.

SHRI R. S. PANDEY: Is the area of cultivation the same?

DR. K. L. RAO: The area of cultivation is the same in India, USSR and China. Still, we are producing only 100 million tonnes as against the 200 million tonnes produced by them. The reason is, apart from the erratic conditions due to want of sufficient irrigation facilities on a scale that is necessary, one-third of our land is subject to drought conditions. Therefore, the effective land that is really producing food is very much less.

Therefore, what I am submitting is, the National Water Resources Council will be of greatest help in tackling the irrigation problems more effectively apart from general planning. What we should first do is to look for areas where irrigation is necessary and provide the facilities there. For example, in Madhya Pradesh, the area of cultivation is about 20 million hectares, 19.7 million hectares to be more accurate. Of this, the irrigated area is only two million hectares. Here, it is very interesting to make a comparison with Pakistan. Pakistan has also got under cultivation 19.7 million hectares, exactly the same as Madhya Pradesh.

But it is producing far more food than Madhya Pradesh from its irrigated area of 12 million hectares as against 2 million hectares in Madhya Pradesh—almost an absurd proposition. This, of course, is because of the irrigation system of Pakistan which was formerly a part of India. Madhya Pradesh has got a high potential. So what we should do is to take up a special programme of an irrigation scheme in Madhya Pradesh. Then only it will be possible to increase foodgrains production in that part of the country.

There is another point. That is with regard to Kerala. It is very interesting to note that Kerala has plenty of water and it should produce more food, but it is not able to do so. That is because of the dense population and the very limited availability of land. When the land is limited, you have got to adopt other techniques to make up for it. What do we do? We have to do as in Bombay, for instance, where because of the limited land they do vertical construction and not horizontal construction. In the same way, in Kerala the land must be made to yield a second and third crop whereas at the moment we are doing only one crop. That means we must have an irrigation system with storages. But it is very unfortunate that in Kerala there are two schemes, the Pamba and the Kallada, which had been sanctioned ten years ago, but not completed. They are small projects, but they are still hanging on. The result is that prices are going up and the object is not achieved. Therefore, what I would submit is that if we spend an additional Rs. 25 crores, we shall be able to produce enough food from the Pamba and Kallada projects and also other projects—food which will be sufficient to meet Kerala's needs at the present time. The Water Resources Council should look into these special problems.

As I have said already, there are vast drought areas in the country. One-third of our country is drought-prone. Therefore, we should take steps

to see that the drought areas are provided with irrigation. This is most important. But we have not done it so far. There has been no comprehensive scheme to tackle this problem. First, we should tackle the drought areas of Bihar, in Palamau, Gaya and Shahabad districts. Plenty of water can be supplied to these areas. But we have not done that. Similarly, Madhya Pradesh has got the Rewa plateau, UP has got the Mirzapur and Bundelkhand areas. All these are highly drought-stricken areas. With the result that year after year, we have to import a large quantity of food and also spend a lot of money on drought relief. We must avoid these and make special funds available for these two or three areas. Similarly drought areas in the rest of the country must receive attention.

Then again, this country, as you know, is subject to serious floods. The Council must take notice of this serious-floods problem; it does not matter so far as other floods are concerned because they can be dealt with by the States and the Ministry of Irrigation. But there are serious floods which occur and which can be tackled only by allotting special funds for them and by taking a deeper interest in them. For example, in Orissa there are the Brahmini and Baitharani rivers. They cause a lot of trouble. When something happens, we just meet, discuss about it, but nothing happens. These two rivers must be controlled. Also in UP, the Rapti, the Sarda and the Ghagra are rivers which have been causing a lot of trouble rendering the eastern parts of UP completely poor, though they have the richest amount of fertile land, because all that is taken away every year. Likewise in North Bihar, we have the Burhi Gandak and the Adhwara system of rivers which cause a lot of trouble year after year. Then in the Assam Valley, the problem posed by the Brahmaputra and its tributaries is a most difficult problem. These areas have got to be given special assistance and special consideration.

We have got all these problems. The question is, what do we do with these projects? Everything requires money. We have only one basket from out of which we cannot take out money for everything. What do we do? For this, I submit we must adopt a new approach. Here I would submit a few points for the consideration of Government. Prices, have gone up steeply. At the time of independence, the cost of irrigating one hectare was Rs. 500; now it costs Rs. 5,000. So you have to have a new approach for solving these problems. This is a very serious problem. It will become much more serious in twenty years time because by then we would have so many more people on the land. If you are not prepared for it you will be condemning the whole community to a condition of utmost poverty. You must take people's participation and associate them as they have done in other countries like China or USSR. You must introduce a certain amount of compulsory service for the people of those areas; they must be associated in the construction of the projects like distribution channels. It is quite simple but one has to organise them. Similarly we have to spend a huge amount for overhead and establishment charges for managing our irrigation system; we have to spend crores of rupees. We should think of appointing irrigation committees as was done successfully in the United States, consisting of non-officials. They have got to manage the irrigation system. We can reduce considerably the cost element involved in this. Similarly in the irrigation charges also some changes can be made. For the second crop storage of water is necessary. For such lands they charge less in the country. For the second crop they should charge irrigation charges as for the first crop. You have to tackle this problem by adopting such measures. There is a serious problem ahead of us; in the next 10-20 years India is going to face a critical situation, heavy population and inadequate amount of food production. Therefore it is necessary that we should take up the various points that I have mentioned.

[Dr. K. L. Rao]

I find that there is no mention about power in the President's Address. I am afraid that we should pay more attention to the problem of power. Power supply is utterly inadequate in this country; it is 20 million kw for a country of this size and population it is nothing. We should increase the quantum of power in our country. We have adopted five year plans for power: it should not be so; it should be ten year or 20 year plans for power. Then only we can tackle the power problem. In 2000 AD what should be our plan? The target should be 150—200 million kw. We are now having 20 million kw; it should go up by ten times. Otherwise there will be complete darkness in all sectors of life. Power is most important and essential. In our country more than fifty per cent or even 70 per cent of energy is got from burning wood, vegetable waste, cow dung which are called non-commercial fuels. Those can be used as manure and fertilisers. In many other countries, in the United States for example only five per cent of the energy comes from non-commercial fuel; all the rest is produced from commercial sources. We should take a comprehensive view of our power problem and see that the quantum is increased. There is no meaning in saying that reducing the loss in transmission or better management of distribution will give the needed power; never. We want power in a big way. There should be an emergency power plan in the country, apart from the other emergency created in the country. For instance, Maharashtra is well developed and industries have come up and are also coming up daily. I was surprised to learn that last month when hydel stations were full of water and hydel production was quite good, there was power cut imposed in Maharashtra because the demand is much more than what we are able to produce. When I was there I heard a proposal was there; the Tatas had a power station at Trombay and the Government of Maharashtra and the Tatas have decided to jointly increase the power

production there. I should say: do not depend upon ideologies; go straight ahead with that project and create 500 mws of power, because as facilities are already available it will mean an advance of two years in the commissioning of project; in the next three years it will be possible to create 500 mws for the State of Maharashtra which has a great demand for power. Similarly in Tamilnadu there is heavy power shortage and they are thinking in terms of Neyveli and Tuticorin. They are long term plans. They should develop power in the Singareni coal fields and transmit power to Tamilnadu and that is the only way and it should be done on a priority basis. Apart from whatever general plans that you may have for power, there should be emergency plan for power also. Just as there is an emergency for discipline, etc. you must have an emergency power programme. People do not realise this priority need in our country.

People should recognise the vast shortage of power in some areas. Take for example Bihar, particularly North Bihar. We are talking of these areas where the power per capita is 10 kw hrs. as against an average of 100 kw hrs. in India. Whatever reforms you can start it is important that Bihar should improve in power generation. It is the less power fed area. I would therefore submit that we should take note of these areas and see that power is supplied on an emergency basis. So, you must have a plan of programme for 10, 20 years—a target plan. There is a general plan for generation of power. There should be a special emergency plan for giving electricity for the highly deficit areas. Otherwise it will create a considerable amount of hardship.

Finally I would like to caution that very often here and elsewhere the solar radiation is referred to for generating power. But we are not sure of it. Research is going on. It will take many years to come before it is available for use. But the main im-

portant requirement is that we must try to produce power from proved commercial sources We do not want it in terms of kilowatts but we want it in terms of thousands of kilowatts.

Therefore, I would submit that in respect of power and water, necessary step should be taken to see that national water and power Commissions are set up as early as possible. Some thing on an emergency basis must be done in power sector for generating power in those areas which are badly in need of it I would only say that this is the best period for us to adopt new approaches and see that minimum needs of the country in respect of power and water are provided.

श्री स्वामी ब्रह्मानन्द जी (हमीरपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव पेश किया गया है उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने एक बहुत बड़ी बात अपने भाषण में कही है और वह है शहरी सम्पत्ति पर सीलिंग लगाने की बात। बिना शहरी सम्पत्ति पर सीलिंग लगाए बिजली, पानी आदि किमी भी चीज की ठीक तरह से व्यवस्था नहीं हो सकती है। शहरों के अन्दर अरबों की सम्पत्ति पड़ी हुई है। देहातों में आपने सीलिंग लगाई। 18 एकड़ की सीलिंग आपने लगाई। एक लाख की भूमि भी वहाँ लोग के पास नहीं है। आपने सीलिंग वहाँ ही नहीं लगाई, आपने जमींदारिया भी खत्म की, राजाओं को भी खत्म किया। अब शहरों के अन्दर जहाँ पर अरबों और खरबों की सम्पत्ति है उस पर सीलिंग लगनी ही चाहिये जिस की ओर राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में इशारा भी किया है और कहा है इसके बारे में प्रस्ताव यहाँ पर आएगा। मैं समझता हूँ हमें भेदभाव से काम नहीं लेना चाहिये। जैसे हमने भूमि पर सीलिंग लगाई है उसी तरह से हमें शहरी सम्पत्ति पर भी सीलिंग लगानी चाहिये।

अगर हमारे पास सम्पत्ति आती है तो हमारे सब काम हो जायेंगे।

विपक्ष को मैं कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता हूँ। वैसे तो विपक्ष है ही नहीं और जो है भी वह भी एक दूसरे की बात को काटना रहता है। विपक्ष और पक्ष अगर हो तो एक तो पृथिवियों का समर्थन करने वाला हो और दूसरा गरीबों और किसानों का। यही दो पाटियाँ होनी चाहिये। एक देवों की और दूसरी असुरों की और उसको आप देव और असुर मशाम चाहे तो कह सकते हैं।

विपक्ष ने श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के लिए जो बातें कही हैं उनको मैं क्या उसका उत्तर दूँ। विपक्ष को तो मैं यही कह सकता हूँ कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने कांग्रेस के लिए नहीं बल्कि देश के लिये बलिदान दिया है। श्री गिरि का जब चुनाव हुआ तब उन्होंने अपना सर्वस्व दाव पर लगा दिया था। उन्होंने कांग्रेस को नहीं बल्कि देश में नई जान फूकी है। जब देश देशीयों ने, हमारे विपक्ष वालों ने पुलिस और फौज को बगलया तो श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने कांग्रेस को नहीं बल्कि भारत-वर्ष को जिन्दा रखा और उनकी चालों को मफल नहीं होने दिया। अगर श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी यह कदम नहीं उठाती तो भारत-वर्ष में भी बगला देश की तरह खून-खराबी होती, चूँकि आज कोई विरोधी पक्ष तो है नहीं। इसलिये कांग्रेस के लोगों को चाहिये कि वह प्रतिपक्ष का पाठ अदा करे। जब तक हम अपने संविधान को नहीं बदलते, तब तक हमारा देश आगे नहीं बढ़ सकता है। अगर उठ की सवारी कोई अच्छे से अच्छा आदमी भी करेगा तो वह हिलेगा, जब कि घोड़े की सवारी करने पर कोई नहीं हिलेगा। प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा है कि जनमत के आधार पर संविधान को बदला जायेगा। जब हमने यह वादा किया है कि हम गरीबी को हटायेगे और गरीबी को हटाने के मार्ग में संविधान बाधक है तो क्या जनता कहेगी कि संविधान

[श्री स्वामी ब्रह्मानन्द जी]

न बदलिये ? जहा तक संविधान में परिवर्तन करने का प्रश्न है, पूजीपति तो हर स्थिति में उसका विरोध करेंगे। इसलिये आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि संविधान को इसी समय बदल देना चाहिये।

मौलिक अधिकारों की बहुत चर्चा की जाती है। भगवान ने पृथ्वी, जल और सूर्य को बनाया है, यही मौलिक अधिकार है। चाहे कोई राजा हो, प्रजातन्त्र हो या कोई धार्मिक नेता हो, अगर उसके द्वारा जनता का हित नहीं होता है तो उसको सजा मिलनी चाहिये। अगर एक आदमी चार बंदूक लेकर डाका डालता है तो उसको डाकू कहा जाता है। लेकिन अगर लाखों बंदूकों के बल पर एक हुकूमत चलाई जाती है तो क्या उसको डाकू नहीं कहना चाहिये ? अगर वह हुकूमत गरीबों को कपडा, भोजन, दवा और न्याय नहीं दे सकती है, तो वह बड़ी डाकू है।

आज गरीबों को न्याय नहीं मिलता है। क्या हमारे सुप्रीमकोर्ट और हाईकोर्ट न्याय करते हैं। ये काला कोट पहनने वाले वकील एक-एक दिन में 5, 5 हजार रुपये लेते हैं, जब कि दिन भर मट्टी खोदकर मजदूर केवल चार रुपये पाता है। इसलिये मेरा मत है कि हाई कोर्ट और सुप्रीम कोर्ट तथा वकीलों को खत्म कर के देश में पंचायती राज्य कायम किया जाये। लोक सभा, विधान सभाओं, जिला परिषदों और पंचायतों को न्याय के अधिकार दिये जाये। आज किसानों की हालत यह है कि लकड़ी 16 रुपये मन बिकती है और उनके द्वारा पैदा किया हुआ गन्ना 5 रुपये मन बिकता है।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हू कि मिनिस्टर्स पर भी सीलिंग होनी चाहिये। मिनिस्टर्स की इतनी बड़ी फीज की क्या आवश्यकता है। उन लोगों का जनता से कोई सम्पर्क नहीं है। बार-बार टेलिफोन करने पर भी हम लोग उनसे बात नहीं कर सकते हैं।

कुछ काबिल लोगों को शासन चलाने का कार्य-भार दे देना चाहिये।

मैंने उत्तर प्रदेश में श्री बहुगुणा से कहा था कि जिना परिवर्तनों को कोई अधिकार प्राप्त नहीं है, उनको शिखा और सड़कों आदि के बारे में अधिकार देने चाहिये। उन्होंने कहा कि ऐसा करूंगा लेकिन वह नहीं कर पाये।

आज हमारे देश में चुने गए लोगों को कोई अधिकार प्राप्त नहीं है। एक दारोगा किसी को भी पकड़ लेता है। लेकिन जनता का चुनाव हुआ प्रतिनिधि उसमें कोई दखल नहीं दे सकता। केन्द्रीय स्तर पर 10, 5 चुने हुए आदमियों की एक कैबिनेट रहे। इसी प्रकार सूबों में भी 10, 5 काबिल आदमी शासन का कार्य चलाये। जिलों और पंचायतों को भी इसी प्रकार अधिकार दिये जायें। मैंने एक दारोगा से पूछा था कि अमुक व्यक्ति को क्यों पकड़ लिया है। उसने कहा कि उस पर भ्रष्टाचार का आरोप है। तब मैंने एस० पी० से कहा कि क्या दारोगा भ्रष्टाचार से मुक्त है, क्या किसी दारोगा को भी जेल में भेजा गया है। इस प्रकार भ्रष्टाचार कैसे मिटेगा ?

मैं तो सारे प्राणियों को ब्राह्मण समझता हू। मैं जात-पात और संप्रदाय को नहीं मानता हू।

जिन लोगों ने यह संविधान बनाया, वे जमीनदारों की वोट से चुने गये थे ? यह संविधान पब्लिक के वोटों से चुने हुए लोगों द्वारा नहीं बना है। हम लोग यहा पर पब्लिक के वोटों से चुने हुए हैं, इस लिये हम इस संविधान को बदलने में समर्थ हैं।

प्रतिपक्ष का एक सिद्धान्त, एक नेता और एक झंडा होना चाहिये, इसके बिना कोई भी दल प्रतिपक्ष का कर्तव्य नहीं निभा सकता है।

रूस की जनता ने लेनिन और कार्ल-मार्क्स के सिद्धान्त को हिंसा के द्वारा अपनाया और उसके परिणामस्वरूप वहाँ गरीबी मिटी। यहाँ पर महात्मा गांधी ने कहा हम अहिंसा के द्वारा समाजवाद लायेंगे। प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने भी अहिंसा के द्वारा ही देश को बचाया है। इन तमाम देशद्रोहियों को जेलों में बन्द किया गया है, मगर उनको कोई ताड़ना नहीं दी गई। उनको खाने के लिये भूखान दिया गया और सब प्रकार की सहुलियतें प्रदान की गई। प्रधान मंत्री ने गांधी वादी तरीके से देश के शासन को चलाया है।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में सीलिंग की बात कही है। उन्होंने पारसाल कहा था कि देश के गरीब इलाकों का विकास किया जायेगा और पिछड़ी हुई जातियों के उत्थान के लिये कदम उठाये जायेंगे। इसलिये सरकार को पिछड़े हुए इलाकों को पानी देने और वहाँ पर बांध आदि बनाने की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये। इसी प्रकार पिछड़ी हुई जातियों को ऊँचा उठाने के लिये कदम उठाने चाहिये। हमारे देश में आज जात-पात के लिये कोई स्थान नहीं होना चाहिये। आज हमे जात-परस्ती और कुनवा-परस्ती से बर्खास्त है। अगर किसी अधिकारी का लडका बेईमानी या भ्रष्टाचार करने के आरोप में पकड़ा जाता है तो कुनवा-परस्ती के कारण उसको सजा नहीं मिल पाती है।

अंत में मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस को विपक्षी लोगों का काम करना पड़ेगा। जिस तरह अन्य दल सिद्धान्तों पर न चलने और कुछ व्यक्तियों के पीछे चलने के कारण खत्म हो गये, उसी तरह अगर कांग्रेस ने भी वही व्यवहार किया तो वह भी खत्म हो जायेगी।

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am on my legs for a very brief intervention

on the discussion on the Motion of Thanks to the President. I must first of all, thank many of the Members who in the course of their contribution referred to some of the important aspects of the foreign policy matters. They have certainly made a useful contribution and some constructive suggestions. Some times they were somewhat critical also. But looking to the contents of the speeches on the major issues, I get a very pleasant impression I think, all of you will share it with me that as far as the aims and objectives of the foreign policy of this country are concerned, there appears to be a general consensus and that I think is one of the assets of our national strength.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the course of my brief intervention, I would like to deal with two aspects of the debate; one naturally deals with the foreign policy matters but ultimately foreign policy in way, is a reflection of internal political and economic policy as well. If I mention those subjects, certainly I will be dealing with both the subject together.

As far as the important matter referred to in the speech of the President is concerned. I think, we have practically taken a review of the entire world situation. We have tried to refer some of the positive aspect and positive positions that are developing in the world today. And we have also made a reference to certain elements or forces which can be said to be of a negative character. I regard to the positive points, we have welcomed the successful culmination of the Helsinki Conference where the European countries had met to consider problems of their security. We have welcomed it as one of the very positive elements among recent developments in the world, where two groups of Powers have accepted the principle of peaceful co-existence. They have committed themselves to make an effort to relax the tension both in political and economic matters as also to seek areas where they can cooperate with each other. Looking to the his-

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tory of the last two decades, this is certainly a very positive development which we have welcomed. The other important development in the world situation is the successful end of the people's struggle in South-East Asia, particularly the people's struggle in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos which have struggled for decades without the help of any big power. I was, really speaking a demonstration of the very bad inherent strength of the people against the forces of imperialism and colonialism, when they depend on themselves and not on any other outside force. It has been demonstrated that if people fight with determination and patriotism, they can ultimately succeed. This certainly is some thing not only good for the people themselves in those countries, but it certainly gives a sense of confidence to the people at large. I would say that it gives a sense of confidence to the suffering humanity, that they certainly could have a bright future, provided they depend on their own strength, on their own strategy and on their own efforts. This is one more important development that we see there. Another major political event to which we have made a reference—I am trying to categorize them, but they have been individually mentioned there—is the African continent. There, the process of de-colonization started after, I would say, the defect of fascism in Portugal itself. So, as a matter of fact, the process of de-colonization started at home in Portugal; and then, this wave of de-colonization started in the African continent; and we see that a number of countries. So which mention has been made in the speech of the President, have declared their independence and have come into their own—which is a positive factor. But, Sir, if it were only these three factors, I would certainly have said that things were very rosy and that we should sit back relaxed and say: "Very well done and now very little remains to be done as far as our nation is concerned." But, unfortunately, that is not so. When these things are making

progress, when nationalism has succeeded in certain areas, those forces which were defeated, have not accepted their defeat with any grace. They cannot, because it is not the forces but, really speaking, it is the interests which are defeated; and the vested interests never accept defeat so easily. That is the basic thing; and, therefore, they have now changed their fronts. They have changed their tactics and methods, they have changed their ways of doing things and changed the areas of functioning; and they have changed the instruments also. That is what we have to see, because they are not going to accept that as the final word, because they are not only nations or only groups of people, they are dominating world interests which can depend only on their capacity to exploit, and if at all have to understand these world forces ultimately, we must understand them in their correct perspective. Therefore, they are trying to find out some other ways, some other methods.

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When they saw that their army itself could not succeed, and would never succeed,—that is one thing that is very clear now—they have found out some other ways. The other way is trying to divide the developing countries, the non-aligned countries, trying to get those elements in those countries which are favourable to them. Here I would like to differ slightly from Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, if I have understood him correctly. There is nothing like internal Fascism alone, I do not believe in that sort of thing. Fascism is external as also internal. External Fascism has an opportunity to work mainly on internal base which is narrow. There is always some base of vested interest in socio-economic field in a country on which they try to build themselves. They make use of these forces also. That exactly what is happening in Angola for example.

We have welcomed the independence of Angola. We have welcomed

the independence of Mozambique. But what is happening in Mozambique and Angola today is an eye-opener. We find there the real representative of all world reactionaries, all reactionary philosophies, the imperialistic or neo-colonial economic policies, the racist policy. South Africa is the epitome of neo-colonialism. Today, South African forces are making an armed intervention in Angola. They are sending their armed forces to Angola. This is what is happening in Mozambique for example. In every colonial country, there are always certain elements. There is an army trained by the colonial powers. If that can be made use of, they certainly try to use it. There are some economic, vested interests which can try to assert themselves. Because they have no further opportunity, they would like to give last battle. That is what is happening.

These are the negative elements to which I was making a reference, and these negative forces are not merely seen in the distant African continent. They are in the Indian Ocean, they are in South Asia, on our sub-continent. What is happening beyond the borders of our country and perhaps within our own country?

I heard arguments for and against the emergency, why it was necessary, why it was not necessary. Let us now take it for granted that it is a reality. Now we will have to find out why it came about. When you accept that it has come because of certain basic reasons, political, economic and social reasons, we have to accept that reality and try to make a creative use of the emergency. I would like to deal with that aspect along with other matters.

What was happening in the country? I heard with rapt attention the speech of my hon. friend, Shri Prasanna Mehta. He said that the whole thing was linked up with what happened in Gujarat. I would say, not only Gujarat; I would go even a little

before that. What happened in the last few years in the country? I think, it is your and my responsibility, as representatives of the people and as advocates of democracy, to look back as to what was happening. Let me think aloud with you.

When we say that we accepted a new Constitution after Independence, when we say that there was a trust with destiny, when we fondly quote our great leader Nehru, what were its implications? Its implications were not merely the transfer of British power to us. But it was a commitment to our own people for a socio-economic transformation. This is the trust with destiny. For that matter, the Parliament was created. The sovereign Parliament is the expression of the will of the people. About some other democratic institutions in which all our members have faith, we have no less faith than what others claim to have in those democratic institutions. The political parties as such is another institution of democratic culture. The courts are in institution which is necessary for the functioning of democracy. It is all right. But are you to go by only the forms of democracy? Are you going to take shadow for substance? What is the substance of democracy? What is the basic objective for which we have accepted democracy as an instrument in India. It is the socio-economic transformation.

What have we been observing in the last few years? Kindly excuse me if my phrase is not so elegant. I think, it is a common man's phrase if I may say so. At least I have felt, functioning on the Treasury Benches, functioning as a citizen of India functioning as an old freedom fighter that there was a game of obstacles going on all around. This was all that was happening. There are many plus points in our internal situation. In the last 25 years, we certainly have created many important assets in our country. We have built up great talent in all fields, in the

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technical field, in the scientific field, in the agricultural field and so on. We have created new infra-structure. We have built a very big diversified industrial base in our country. We have developed some important institutions to which I made a reference. But having done all this ultimately, one was feeling that we were not exploiting or making use of all the potential strength and assets that we have built in our country.

What was building up was sense of frustration in the country. If we allow a sense of frustration to build up; I would say; that itself means an end of democracy in the country. This is a basic thing. If people feel that with all their strength and assets with all the democratic institutions they have got, with all the political sovereignty that they have got, they are not likely to make any progress towards socio-economic transformation, that is the end of democracy itself. Democracy means faith of people in themselves. The moment they feel that they cannot make any further progress through the institutions that they have created and to which they are committed, once they get that sort of feeling, that is the end of democracy.

Some people tried to see democracy in a particular sense, whether they are allowed to speak what they want whether they are allowed to function as they want. I think, the phrase in Hindi is *Manmani*. This is a very expressive and a very eloquent phrase that I have found in Hindi. If *manmani* means democracy, well, I must say, the time had come to say, stop it. Somebody had to say it. Somebody required the courage to say it. Fortunately, in the person of Prime Minister, we found a great leader in India who could say that. So, it is not merely a question of what happened in Gujarat. But what happened in Gujarat is certainly, an illustration of it....

An Hon. Member: Stone-throwing

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Apart from stone-throwing, the violence as such is bad enough, and I am sure that Mr. Prasannabhai Mehta will not justify violence. Now, may I ask him another question? Even for right or wrong, can an elected representative of the people be forced to resign? Can you gherao a Member somewhere outside the House and ask him to resign? Will it be justifiable? If that happens, that is the end of democracy. What was happening was an organized attempt by very eminent people, because they were accepted as eminent people by some people, they had their own place in the political life of our country....

SHRI P. M. MEHTA: The point which I made was this: the movement was financed and encouraged by the Centre.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: You have made your point. Now, let me make my point. I am taking this only as an illustration. An organized effort was being made in this country to create a political vacuum. What was happening in Gujarat? It was not happening merely in Gujarat. It was intended to be spread throughout India; it was supposed to be done in Bihar; it was expected that the same thing could travel from Ahmedabad to Bombay—a shorter distance. But Bombay proved to be little stronger for them. I must congratulate those people. The idea was not merely to confine themselves to State Legislatures, but if they could—and they wanted to they had plans to ultimately reach the major, important sovereign body, this august House. If a vacuum had been created in India, can anybody with his hand on his conscience say that there would have been democracy in this country? And this, only because some people wanted it to happen that way!

What I was trying to draw attention of the House to was this. The major responsibility, the major commitment, was to achieve the socio-economic transformation. The other things are instruments of that transformation, once we accept this basic position. We must realise this. It is not merely that we are in the times of Emergency. Certainly there are some good advantages which have come out of this there is more discipline, there is more production, there is more orderliness. These are *important things as they are, but I would say that these are elementary things.* They have to be there, because without these things no democracy can ever succeed. We were thinking of democratic planning, and we have made an attempt at it we have partly succeeded, and partly we may not have succeeded. What are the resources when we are planning? There are some tangible resources and there are some intangible resources. Money, men, electricity and water are tangible resources and they are to be made use of. But the intangible resources are equally important, and they are the unity of the people to make use of these resources in a planned manner and the determination to go in a particular way with a particular speed with the determination to achieve those targets. I think, because of this game of obstacles these intangible resources which are more vital than the tangible resources, were becoming scarce in our country. Discipline, and as a result of which I was very pleased to listen for the first time the Steel Minister getting up and saying that the targets that we have fixed for this year have been completely fulfilled. It was a moment of joy, a moment of pride and I hope we get opportunities to say that for every achievement in every field, in the economic as well as the political field.

This was the situation that was developing in the country and if we had allowed this to proceed further

what sort of an image you could have in the international field? If at all you want to be effective in the international world, you must be in a position to say that this is what we are able to achieve in our own country and this is what we are trying to achieve. During the last few weeks, a few months I would say, I had occasions to visit a few of the western democratic countries or, if I may be permitted to say, the so-called western democratic countries and I had occasion many times to discuss this question of emergency with them and I saw a sort of frenzied criticism a completely malicious and misinformed criticism and sometimes they used to ask 'We are saying so and you do not think what we think about you is important' I had to tell them very respectfully—naturally our Foreign Minister has to be very respectful when he talks with others, even with you Gentlemen, he must be respectful.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola)
That is natural

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN: Perhaps yes I told them 'Certainly, yes. What you think about us is important and we should care for it but in our priority what we think about ourselves is more important for us. You may think whether we are democratic or not or whether we have got the freedom of speech or whether we have got the so-called free Press or not. This is what you think, but let us go and see what the large masses of India think about it. Ultimately, that is the final proof. May be an individual here or there or some group of people here or there may criticise us. But, like a magic it was seen by the people, who said, 'Well, this is exactly what was needed to be done'. Sometimes, the politicians learn from the people. I think all the time the politicians learn from the people. In a democracy, people are the great teacher and when this emergency was declared, we saw people saying, 'This

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was exactly what was needed to be done.' It is a good thing that this is done. That was the final verdict and a more important verdict against which you are complaining. All the speeches that I have heard on the other side are not speeches against what the Government has done, but, really speaking, they are complaining that the verdict of the people has gone against them and they just cannot be justified. That is the basic thing.

Therefore, I would say, what we are passing through according to me, is a very important phase of history or period of the post-independence India, a very important phase of history. It can be a great phase of history, this time we took a rather very hard look at ourselves, a hard look at our methods, a hard look at our institutions and a hard look at our means and methods and as to how they should change. This is the time. As I told you, I am only thinking aloud with you. The emergency is continuing. Now, we have to see if we are prepared to get the results of this thing. It is not just an emergency. Emergency is just an occasion to have another look at things. Many members have said that and many others would have said it that if we had not done that, what happened in Bangladesh would have been repeated in this country. What has happened in Angola or Mozambique or any other country would have happened here. I tell you from my experience in the last one year. Let us take for example the non-alignment movement. What has happened to the non-alignment movement which is the most potent weapon of the progressive forces in the world today? Thanks to our great leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Tito and his colleagues who thought of this movement, thought of this principle. They could do it because I think they had made a very correct judgment about the type of world that was going to emerge after the

Second World War, there were progressive forces which were expanding and asserting themselves. They had created new hopes in mankind and there were forces which were after distributing the world, interested in *status quo*. At that time it was necessary, for liberated countries and independent countries, if they had to succeed in their achievements and in their strategies to remain independent, to follow their own methods. In order to do that they had to accept the principle of independent foreign policy based on acceptance of progressive socio-economic objectives. They had to transform the societies, create new societies based on social justice and equality, remove the exploitation that existed in the colonial world; and if they had to do that, they had to follow independent national policies. They had to assert their liberty to act independently of others on merit and that is how this non-alignment movement grew.

There were countries which were laughing at non-aligned countries in the beginning. There were speakers even in our country and in Parliament and you can find their speeches ridiculing non-alignment. But, gradually, we found that non-alignment policy had been accepted as one of the very important plans of more than 100 countries in this world. It is something very interesting that when the big powers—big imperial powers, saw that this is making an impact, they have resorted to some different tactics now. There is an attempt of infiltration in the non-alignment movement. There is an attempt to dilute the principles of non-alignment. One has to be very careful about this. We find that the non-alignment movement made an impact as a result of deliberations in different forums. What they did in the six special sessions in U.N., for example. They gave a call for a new economic order and the one phrase that really speaking frightens the imperial powers in the world is

'a new economic order'. We are yet to put content in it, we are yet to organise it. But after the very acceptance by the most important representative body of the world, of the declaration for having a new economic order, they think there is a basic challenge now, and new and different tactics have been started. We have to be very careful about it. I must say that this new dialogue or new movement that has been supported by the developing countries in the world today of having a new economic order is something where we are taking an attitude of co-operation. We are trying as a matter of fact, to test the will of the developed countries—whether they are willing to accept certain programme of new economic order. This is going to be the final test for them. It has to be proved whether—besides showing wish or mere talk of co-operation, they want to make sacrifices to bring about equality; because in our own country we are fighting for removal of the distance between the rich and the the poor and we are emphasising equality in the country. The same problem is before the world to-day. As I have often said, to the world agenda to-day the first item is economic equality, removal of inequality between the rich and the poor nations. It is really speaking the basic problem of world. Is the basic problem of any individual country. This is, really speaking, the major problem that we face today. I would not use the word 'leaders' because that is a sensitive word, but as pioneers, it is our responsibility to see that the non-aligned movement remains committed to its basic principles so as to fight the process of exploitation the process of de-stabilisation and the process of intervention. This is going to be our major policy. The negative forces which are operating are resorting to rather very interesting tactics. I do not want to go into the details now.

India is trying to build up good relations with our neighbours and this is the basic plank of our

policy. We want to develop friendly relations with Nepal, Bhutan, Bangla Desh, with Sri Lanka Pakistan, West Asia, Afghanistan, Iran,—with everybody. What some of the big countries aim at is to plant the seeds of suspicion in the minds of small neighbouring countries. This is their strategy. India is big and we cannot shrink because somebody wants us to shrink. We are what we are. What are our objectives? We do not want to impose our will on anybody. We do not want to invade any country. If at all our army was used, it was used for the liberation of a country. If at all we had made use of our army, it has been used for peaceful missions in some countries. We sent our army to places like the Gaza and some other countries where there were wars. They functioned there as peace-keeping forces. This is our objective. We are certainly a nationalist country believing in our own independent foreign policy. We certainly have our own social and economic objectives. We are determined to achieve them, whatever may be the difficulties in our way and I am sure we will succeed in this matter. So far as Bangla Desh is concerned, we were shocked by the brutal murder of their leadership there. But even so, we said, it is their internal matter. But, a malicious campaign was started saying that India was interested in military intervention in Bangladesh. I would just give this as an illustration. This malicious propaganda was done to create suspicion in the minds of neighbours, among the non-aligned countries, because most of our neighbouring countries are non-aligned countries. The Delegation of Bangla Desh had come here and we have had discussions with them. We want all good to Bangla Desh. We want their independence. We want their sovereignty. We want them to have progressive, economic and foreign policies. We want them to be non-aligned. We want them to be their own masters. That is all that we want We want them to remain

[Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan]

peacefully, no communalism, no sectarian attitude. Their delegation is in India today and in the course of this week, we are discussing the problems of economic cooperation and trade cooperation. This is our basic policy. But how the other countries are looking at it is the most important thing now. This is a very complicated world and you can face this complicated world by your clear thinking, your clear judgment of the world situation and the internal situation, with determination, with faith in the programmes and the policies which we have accepted. This is the only way to get what we want to get. When I said, I was going to mention basic foreign policy issues, these are the foreign policy issues which I meant. But they are so organically linked with internal policies that sometimes I wonder how one can differentiate between foreign policy and internal policy. They are practically the same thing. It is an indivisible entity. It is said conventionally that they are the two sides of the same coin. I would say that is rather incorrect. It is the same coin and the same side. It is so together that you cannot take one position in international relations and another position in internal matters.

SHRI VASANT SATHE You can call it 'Advaita'.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN. I do not know this complication of 'Advaita' and 'Dvaita', I better keep it aside. I quite agree as far as the different aspect of policy of the nation are concerned there is complete 'Advaita'. You cannot make distinction between economic policy, political policy and international policy. These are not three different compartments. They are three faces of the same body—Trimurti. Possibly you can call it that way. This is what we have to think about at the present moment. The President's Address has taken the general review of the world situation and emphasised that we want to pur-

sue our basic policies of supporting détente supporting non-aligned movement, supporting our neighbouring countries, supporting the progressive causes of Arabs, the cause of justice of Arabs, build up friendship with our Arab friends, with Iran, with neighbouring countries and even with Pakistan. We have said that Simla spirit is a basic plank of our foreign policy. We have made attempts and we will continue to make attempts, I would say, positive efforts to improve the relations. Well, I hope, as I said before that we will get a positive response from our Pakistani friends but it seems they are very slow in their response whether by result of sheer habit or by their deliberate policy, I do not know, because from what one can see from the speeches that the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Shri Bhutto made in Sri Lanka 't looked as if still he has some reservations about India. But we have got patience because we believe in Simla spirit. That is the only way we can solve our problems. Pakistan and we are so near to each other that we have no other way but to cooperate with each other. The problems of the people of Pakistan and the problems of the people of India are the same problems. Therefore, we have no other alternative but to be friends and to be cooperative with each other and this is what exactly we understand by the Simla spirit, by détente and by co-existence. Ultimately they are different names but it is the same policy of cooperation. We want to follow this policy in the international field. But let me warn the House again that this foreign policy will succeed provided we are strong in economic and political policy in the country. A country which is strong at home can have better image outside India. Some people come and say what about your image! This image theory is a very interesting theory. Your image can be what you are. As some great man told the artist to paint him as he is. Well, we will certainly be what we are but

what we are is not what we are outside the country. We are, what we are inside the country.

Therefore, Sir, with the other measures of policy that have been laid down, and I think by making use of this new important phase in our national history, trying to do some creative thinking, and trying to take some creative steps so that this game of obstacles which was going on for some time and endangering the democracy will disappear, democracy in its real spirit will succeed ultimately.

SHRI N SREEKANTAN NAIR
 (Quilon) Mr. Speaker, Sir, my amendment reads as follows

"but regret that the measures to check the outrages by the bureaucracy and the police are not outlined in the Address"

Sir, let me at the outset admit that I am one of those who accepts this Emergency as a reality. I am one of those who wants this Emergency to be utilised to implement the twenty-point economic programme in such a manner as to benefit the common people of this country. Therefore, I am pointing out some of the excesses that are being committed in the States in enforcing the Emergency.

16 36 hrs

[SHRI VASANT SATHE in the Chair]

Sir, as the hon Minister has said, I am also one of those who fought for the freedom of this country. Sir, I have spent nearly six years in the cream of my youth, in the hellish prisons under the British rule. After the attainment of freedom, I was thoroughly disappointed over the discipline, the inefficiency and the callousness which has permeated all aspects of social life. With the declaration of Emergency, there has been a vast change in the country, a change for the better. The implementation of the 20 point economic programme will be a landmark in the history of

our onward march. We succeed in tackling the problems effectively. But, for this, as has been pointed out by the President in Para 6, Page 2, of his Address, the full cooperation of the people is a must. We cannot afford to shove on the responsibility on the shoulders of the bureaucracy and the police.

Sir, power corrupts and we have now got unlimited power. Therefore, we have to keep a close watch over the mechanism which has been set up to forward the schemes of implementation. The implementation committees at all levels, the apex bodies and the watch dog committees at the Centre and at the headquarters of the States are intended to look after all aspects of administration. Apart from the two States which are not bound to implement the programme in all fields, are all the other States doing it with honesty, integrity and impartiality? I will say 'No'. I am afraid, criticism and self-criticism which should form the backbone of this scheme is badly lacking. The rights of the common man are forgotten. Because of the Emergency, people cannot complain. The implementation committees do not generally go into the misdeeds of the Ministers. When I raised these issues in the implementation committee in my State I was told by the hon Chief Minister of the State that a high powered committee without the officers will be formed to go into such matters. But no such committee has yet been formed.

As regards police atrocities, it is an admitted fact that in Trivandrum, a Police Inspector entered the house of a poor woman and battered her in the open. He was suspended by the Inspector General of Police. But, Sir, the very next day, he was re-instated in the same police station and he has been allowed to go scot-free. I am also reliably informed that a DSP in the Mallapuram district shot dead a mad man on the spot without sufficient provocation. One of his subordinates, Sir, went to a brothel and he picked up a quarrel with another

[Shri N. Sreekantan Nair]

customer. He fired three shots with his revolver, wounding the other person very seriously. Can this happen in any democratic country, I ask? I could not raise these matters in the implementation committee because that committee has not met for the past two months.

I would earnestly plead with the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Home Minister that the intelligence agency at the Centre should be toned up to check the outrages of the Police and the bureaucracy. The law and order situation during Emergency is not entirely a State subject. If the Police and the bureaucracy are allowed to strangle the rights of the people, there will be serious consequences in future.

I may also point out that in spite of the functioning of the apex bodies, labour is getting a raw deal.

The Ordinance regarding bonus is being misinterpreted by the officers to the detriment of the workers. I had to appeal to the hon. Prime Minister to get a wrong partially redressed in the matter of the workers of the Hindustan Insecticides Ltd. I suspect some of the officers have a diabolical motive to create disaffection among the workers and to bring down the tempo of production.

In the Titanium Products at Trivandrum, owned and run by the State Government, a set of workers and contractor registered and have been working for the past 15 years, have been supplanted, substituted, by a new set of workers and a new contractor. When the workers protested, they were arrested on the allegation that they were threatening the integrity and solidarity of the Indian Union. What a heinous attempt to cover up illegal action by the officers?

I earnestly request the hon. Prime Minister to direct the States to set up high-power committees to take note of the criticisms made and carry out the suggestions made. The implementation committees in the apex bodies

should meet regularly and thrash out all problems arising out of the implementation of the twenty-point programme including miscarriage of justice in the administrative and police departments. Central Intelligence should also be alerted to nip in the bud atrocities by the administrators.

SHRI ANANTRAO PATIL (Khed): Mr. Chairman, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. A few minutes back our External Affairs Minister very ably and thoroughly explained not only the foreign policy of the country but also our economic, political and internal policies. The results of the Proclamation of Emergency which we have been experiencing are very encouraging. Undoubtedly discipline has been maintained and production in the fields of agriculture and industry is going up and up slowly.

The most important part of the Emergency from the point of view of the people is the twenty-point economic programme put forward by the Prime Minister. If we want to make it successful and very beneficial to the people, we should not depend only on the Government machinery of bureaucracy, but party members as well as members of all other parties who claim that they are doing work for the welfare of the common man, all of us, should work for the implementation of this programme. If we do justice to this, if we put our efforts for the implementation of this programme, from what I have seen actually experiencing during the last three or four months of the change in the rural area, the change in the aspirations and expectations of the common people in the rural area, including people who are agricultural labourers, people without land and also workers in factories, the results will be really beneficial to the people. They think that this Emergency and the economic programme have come as a gift to this country in time.

Now many of our friends from the opposition have criticised the Proclamation and continuance of the Emergency. That was purely from the political angle. I leave aside the political angle of the criticism. I should like to lay stress on national discipline, national character and national prosperity. If we look from this point of view Emergency and the 20 point economic programme have proved very successful. All those who are people's representatives, whether in Parliament or State assembly or zila parishad, should take the lead in the implementation of the economic programme and we should not depend entirely on the Government machinery such as the collector or the commissioner or other officers of the Government. If we join our efforts with them and if we co-operate with them, there will be a great change and a useful change in the rural area as well as in industrial centres.

Bonded labour system has been in this country for centuries. Do you know how those people felt when they came to know that they had been freed from that system? In my part of the country, to which you Mr Chairman also belong, we are taking up the house building programme for the poor who have no houses. We not only give money and house site; we actually build houses for them and give them accommodation. The Government is serious and sincere in giving something to the have-nots. Some opposition parties were charging that we are interested in some vested interests. They should know that we are attentive to the needs of the have-nots. The twenty-point economic programme is meant for that purpose. I do not want to quote the 20 points; everybody knows them. If the Emergency is continued, we must take full advantage of it and try to contribute in implementing the twenty-point programme. I do not want to take any more the time of the House. I support the

motion and I thank you for giving me this opportunity.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): Mr. Chairman, I am glad in a way that I am able to speak after the intervention of the Minister of External Affairs, Shri Y. B. Chavan, because I could say that it was the first speech during the last three days from the Congress benches that I heard which gave me some idea that reasoned speeches can still be made from the Government benches. Skilful parliamentarian that he is, he tried to defend naturally the entire gamut of national and international policies during the Emergency for the last six months. He used what he himself called a very expressive Hindi word, *man mani* [meaning, doing what pleases one's mind] and said that *man mani* was being done by some, not all, of the opposition parties. I am prepared to agree that some people from the opposition side, even before the Emergency, in fact during the last 28 years of our freedom, not only from the opposition but even from the ruling party, from the political parties, in general, had been doing a lot of *man mani*. I should respectfully ask him; if *man mani* is not to be done by the opposition, is *man mani* to be done by the Government? Unfortunately he is not here now to reply to my point.

MR CHAIRMAN. What he said was that what the Government was doing was *jan mani*.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR: It may be *jan mani*. I am coming to that. I am only saying that if *man mani* is wrong it is wrong for everybody. It cannot be wrong for one set of people and right for another set of people. And, secondly you, Sir, interrupted me and interpreted from the Chair that it was *jan mani* and so, I ask if it is there, if what Government are doing is *jan mani*, why close down the free channelling of opinion as expressed in various newspapers and in the platforms? If

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really people at large in this country of ours have such a massive support for Emergency and if you are really saying that all is good, why didn't you do it before? Then, again, why are you seeking that even a small little opposition point of view which may appear in the newspapers, not of the Radio because it is a Government organisation and not a public corporation, must need be expressed? Why don't you allow people to say that the Emergency is not right? Why don't you allow this if a large number of people are with you? It is all very well to talk about people's massive and enthusiastic support. I am congratulating Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan for the skilful reply he presented on behalf of the Government. But is it an honest truthful reply?

Now coming to my own points, I would like to begin by saying that the Presidential Address over a period of many years had already become an annual ritual. But this year it has been both more and less than an annual ritual. Its significance lies in not so much for what it says but rather, for much that it skilfully leaves out!

Sir, we all have a great respect for the office of the President of the Republic of India. I would like to say, however, that the Presidential Address—specially because it is written by the Government and approved of by the Cabinet and then thereby read out by the President—I am bound to say so—is factually incomplete, and it reveals little and hides much. As far as Sikkim representative is concerned, I also join in wishing him well and also wish Sikkim well as part of the Indian Union. I may also say that the President has rightly expressed grief over the tragedy that took place in Chas Nala Mines. I would like to pay my humble condolence to the bereaved families. I hope that we all as Members of Parliament would contribute as much as we can to the relief fund.

Sir, an important point I would like to mention in the beginning is that in the last Emergency session our rights were curtailed, not only of the Members of the Opposition parties but also of the Ruling party, and the rights of the Independents and indeed of all the Members of the House were curtailed. Now, during this session, the hon. Speaker, after his election in a TV interview in Delhi has said "This is an absolutely normal session and I look forward to a more orderly and business like session," that is meaning that this particular session we are in. Sir, if the idea of a normal session is that some of the Members of Parliament on both sides of the House are to be kept in jail, if rules are to be observed strictly in letter, and rigidly and no dissenting voice is allowed to be expressed legitimately if this is meant by an orderly session—and I see particularly that Parliament's session has become an orderly session this week!—then I want to know singly this do we want an order which is an imposed one or an order which is created and practised by us all with understanding, tolerance and self-discipline? You yourself told the country about Acharya Vinobaji's 'Anushashan' which really should bind not only the people of the opposition parties, Independents and the citizens but also the Government and the Members of the Ruling Congress party. Therefore, Sir, it is no use saying that this is a normal session, because what was abnormal in the last session has now been sought to be legalised and is this being institutionalised. Part of the emergency regulations have already been institutionalised. The press has been muzzled. The proceedings of Parliament have not been permitted to be sent out to the people at large. My esteemed friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta, has very rightly asked "how can you permit the censor to sit here in Parliament?" Sir, we can decide here what must go to the people and not go to the people. But how can a censor, a

nominee of the executive, sit in the independent Parliament and say, 'print this and don't print that; have this point and do not have that point', and so on? Therefore, this is not a normal session but a continuation of the Emergency session with the freedoms of members of Parliament curtailed. I need not repeat what I said in the last session. Moreover, I have moved 21 amendments to the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, and I do not want to repeat what is contained in them.

The President's Address makes no reference to elections which are now constitutionally due in February or March this year at the latest. Can a party outside Parliament, although it may be the party in power, give a call to Parliament inside to extend the life of this Parliament by one year? If you say this is done constitutionally, my reply is, constitution can be used in a *mala fide* way or in a *bona fide* way. The declaration and subsequent use of the emergency during the last six months and more has been done in a *mala fide* way. We oppose the emergency and so we chose to remain absent at the time of the President's Address. It was one way of showing our opposition effectively. There is an atmosphere of unreality, a climate of artificiality everywhere. Where is the free debate, where is the reasoned argument? And, where is the voice of dissent being expressed through the radio, the newspapers and other mass media? I only smell and see a sense of conformism and complacency everywhere and it is growing everyday! The press is muzzled. Freedom of the press is stifled. Free and fair reporting has been banished. Sir, a Free Press is not only the "Fourth Estate" in a democracy, it is indeed an extension of a free Parliament. If the press is not free to report, to portray, to reflect on what is being said here, and what is being done in this House, what is the use then of having this august House?

Why should we come and sit here and speak? After all, the entire country is our constituency. The people outside must know what we say here, how we behave here, what we demand here, how we represent the peoples' anger and aspirations here. But all that is stopped. During the last session, there was no reporting in the press. Now, in this session, there is reporting, but it is partial, biased and partisan which is more mischievous and dangerous. I have already referred to the presence of the censor in Parliament building. I hope the new Speaker will be more strict and independent. I said when he was elected, the Speaker must remain independent. Once a Speaker, always a Speaker—that is a well-known maxim. But if the Speaker were to become a minister, as in the case of Dr. Dhillon, what happens to the independence of the Speaker? He will look forward to the executive government for the spoils of political office. The Speaker becoming a Central Minister has never happened in our country in the last 25 years.

As I said, our colleagues on both sides of the House are behind the bars. If they are really culprits and if you have evidence to prove it, why not try them in a court of law? Until then you should at least ensure that the conditions in the prisons which are appalling are improved. The torture and the inhuman treatment to political prisoners must stop. The Draconian law of MISA is being used in an absolutely arbitrary manner; it is a veritable example of complete *manmani* conduct by the Government.

As regards constitutional Reforms, I am all for changes in the Constitution if they are for the good. But, can we honestly say that the Constitution has come in the way of the implementation of the progressive policies during these last 25 years except perhaps in regard to property? But that article regarding property rights has been amended three or

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four times. Indeed it is the lack of political will which is responsible for slackness in proper implementation rather than the Constitution.

My point is that the Constitution must not be impossible, but difficult to change, and even when it is changed it must be for the better, to improve upon it, to make the Constitution more democratic. The rule of law, judicial processes and their independence and the right of dissent are the pillars of democracy and they must always remain in that. In this connection, I would like to quote what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said about the judiciary:

"We must respect the judiciary, the Supreme Court and the other High Courts in the land. As wise people, their duty is to see that in a moment of passion, in a moment of excitement even the representatives of the people do not go wrong; they might. In the detached atmosphere of the courts, they should see to it that nothing is done that may be against the Constitution... It is important that judges should be people of the highest integrity, if necessary people who can stand up against the executive Government and whoever may come in their way."

This is what Panditji said. Therefore, I am saying, don't erode and corrode the process of rule of law. In fact, I ask my Congress friends, what do you want? By changing the Constitution, do you want to envisage and ensure an irremovable executive and an irresponsible executive? Is this the aim? And, further, can the Constitution bind only the governed and not the Government? A Constitutional Government is after all a limited Government and if it is a limited Government, then the Constitution must limit the powers of the Government. Well, Sir, I shall leave the question of Constitutional changes at that point.

17.00 hrs.

Most of the speeches made by my friends from the Congress benches have referred to Gujarat. If I had enough time I would have gone in detail. My esteemed friends Kumari Maniben V. Patel and Shri H M. Patel have already stated the facts well. But I tell you that in Gujarat the direct elections for the Panchayats were held for the first time, while there are many States in this great Republic of ours where Panchayat elections—direct or indirect—have not been held at all for the last five, seven, nine or ten years. Gujarat at least must get the credit for holding these elections, and for the first time, the direct elections. In this direct election 670 seats for District Panchayats and 3942 seats for Taluka Panchayats were being contested. And when that was done, what was the result? Moreover, the Congress friends are talking about incidents of violence. But the Gujarat Government rightly said that in June, 1975 when elections to the Gujarat Vidhan Sabha were being held, at that time there were 67 cases of violence. At that time, there was presidential rule in the State and no Government was there. As against this, there were 27 cases only this time. My friend, Shri Ram Sahai Pandey—I do not see him here—referred to the two murders which took place. He asked what about the two Congressmen who were murdered? I shall reply to my friend, Shri Ram Sahai Pandey and others. The Gujarat Government have already ordered a judicial inquiry under the Commission of Inquiry Act. Therefore, if the Judicial Inquiry says that so and so is wrong, then it will come to light. But until then how can you say that there was all wrong and violence? I see that Government and Congress MPs are trying to build up a case against the Gujarat Government in order to see that this Government is out and Presidential rule is clamped down. It is not good and honourable for the Government of India to do like this. Their allegations are politically motivated, and they want to see that the

Gujarat Government which is legally established by the consent of the people, *janmani* in Gujarat, is out. If in future the *janmani* says let them go and let the Congress come, we will accept it. But the point is: let the people say it. You also cannot do it through defections; you cannot do it through false and fabricated propaganda. That is my point.

After all, Sir, why do we have a concern for democracy? You, Mr. Chairman, are coming from an area from which I do not come. But it so happens that you and I know and speak the same language, Marathi.

The great saint, Tukaram said

‘नित्काले घर दसावे रोज रो ।’

“The house of the critic should be in the neighbourhood.” The eminent British political scientist, the late Professor Harold Laski said:

“A Government always learns more from the criticism of its opponents than from the eulogy of its supporters.”

I am not in the habit of making personal attack or, individual criticisms I have never in the past referred to “Maruthi” in my speeches. But let me tell you that I feel both amused and distressed when I see Congressmen in high posts and at lower ranks remark wildly competing in flattery of the Prime Minister and her 20-Point Economic Programme. No less a person than the Chief Minister of Maharashtra says that this 20-Point Economic Programme is the *Bhagvad Gita* of modern times! Sir there is a limit to flattery. An academician and a former colleague of mine in Ahmedabad says that the 20-Point Programme is the ‘Magna Carta’ of India! Sir, have these gentlemen read the “*Bhagvad Gita*” or the “*Magna Carta*”?

Democracy essentially means a dialogue, which is taking place right now. Why don't you allow this dialogue to take place outside? Mr. Chairman, Sir, democracy essentially means . . .

dialogue between the rulers and the ruled. It is a dialogue between the majority and the minority. It is a dialogue between those who agree and those who don't agree. Majority rule is just a means. Democracy is not a synonym for majority rule. A tacit or explicit consent of a minority is necessary. Therefore, I would like to say that by silencing different opinions and opposite views and by silencing dissent, you don't necessarily destroy them. You don't really eliminate them. They go underground. When opposition is muzzled, you get a distorted picture. The best course would be to let opinions fight with opinions. If opinions clash, the *janmani* will decide, which is right and which is wrong. I entirely agree that the Opposition must behave. Not only the Opposition, but I must also behave; all of us must behave. But if all must behave, should government misbehave? Should a government misbehave—not only this government, but any government—the governments today in Gujarat or Tamil Nadu as well? If Opposition parties misbehave, should government also misbehave? Should not Government also learn some lessons? Should they not pay heed to the warnings of the time? I am concluding, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You were concluding two minutes back.

SHRI P G MAVALANKAR: Government also have duties, and they should observe *anusashan*. *Anusashan* is the need of the hour. Why do I say this? After all, I do not belong to any party. I have never belonged to any party; during the last 28 years of our Freedom, I have belonged to no party, no group and no bloc. I have remained as a non-party-man, in this vast republic of ours, like the average Indians. They vote for a party, but they don't belong to any party. I ask: Why have this suppression of dissent? Why should you suppress opposite, differing points of view, and suppress them under such dictatorial powers? Why not have a

[Shri P. G. Mavalankar]

dialogue which goes on continuously and freely? Let the minority be there; try to persuade the minority, attract it towards the majority, so that the minority also may have the right to persuade the majority and reduce it to a minority through the *Janmani*, through the people of India.

The need of the hour is not confrontation. The need of the hour is a careful, considered re-conciliation, reconciliation in the national interest, and national re-conciliation and national endeavour for attacking the colossal problems of poverty and under-development. Sir, my voice may sound feeble. I am a lone individual. I do not want to speak in arrogance. I am speaking in all humility. Tagore had said "Ekla Chalo re". If you and I have to go as 'Ekla Chalo re', even within the Congress party, you may go 'Ekla', in spite of the majority, why not?—We should be ready to go along the right path alone, for it is possible that the majority may not have the whole truth; and the minority may have some valuable portion truth. Therefore, I appeal to the Prime Minister and to the Government—if my appeal has some substance and value—that in the interests of the nation, we should look at national problems nationally and tackle them democratically; and let her, therefore, end the emergency, external and internal and restore normalcy in the right sense because, how long will we tolerate this kind of untruth and fabrication? We must hear the people's voice and the people's voice as reflected here, and we all must constantly hear the Voice of the Almighty which is guiding us all in our lives and on this Earth!

MR. CHAIRMAN Mr Damodar Pandey.

श्री दामोदर पांडे (हजारीबाग)
सभ्यता की, राष्ट्रपति की ने, सभ्यता खान
में जो मजदूर काम करते हैं, उनके प्रति जो
सबेदना व्यवस्था की है.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before Mr. Damodar Pandey continues, I have to say that I have a list of nearly 30 more Members from the Congress party, and about 5 from the Opposition parties. If you want me to accommodate the maximum number of the remaining hon. Members, would you agree if I give five minutes? Would you restrict to that, because after all, there are going to be repetitions.

SHRI D P JADEJA (Jamnagar): Very few Members from the Congress Party have been given an opportunity.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your name is not there in the list at all.

श्री दामोदर पांडे मनापति महोदय,
राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अधिभाषण में सभ्यता
खान में फस 372 मजदूरों के प्रति सबेदना
के शब्द प्रयुक्त किये हैं। उन मजदूरों के
परिवारों की ओर में और सभी कोयला
खदान मजदूरों की ओर से, उन के प्रतिनिधि
की तैसियत में, मैं राष्ट्रपति जी का हृदय
से धन्यवाद करता हूँ।

यह बड़ा दुःखद प्रसंग है कि देश में उन
तय्य की भावनाये उम अन्नपर पर जगती है,
जब बहुत अधिक जानी जाती है। यह कहने
में कोई अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी कि इस समय
जो 372 मजदूर काम हैं, उन के अलावा करीब
300 मजदूरों की जलने पिछले साल, 1975
में, कोयला खदानों में गई है। कोई हम तरह
की बड़ी बड़ी दुर्घटनाये नहीं हुई, लेकिन
बहुत सी दुर्घटनाये हुई, जिन में 300 मजदूर
मारे गये। इस से प्रकट होता है कि कोयला
खदानों के मजदूर कसी खतरनाक परिस्थितियों
में काम करने हैं, किन्तु तरह से वे देश की
सेवा करते हैं, किन्तु तरह से जो कुछ वे पाने
हैं, उस का बदला खूब से चुगते हैं।

बर्दकस्मती यह है कि उन की जो
कुर्बानी देती है, उस का बदला हमें नहीं
बिचिस इस से मिले है। इससे, इसकी
सब से बड़ी दुर्घटना 1965 में दोहरी कोयला

(M)

(M)

खदान न हुई थी, जिस में 268 घादमी मारे गये थे। आप को यह सुन कर ताज्जुब होगा कि उन 268 मजदूरों के परिवारों को आज तक एक पैसा भी कम्पेन्सेशन नहीं मिला है। हमें पूर्ण विश्वास है कि आज के जमाने में यह सम्भव नहीं है कि जब कोलियरी सरकार के अधीन चल रही है, तो कम्पेन्सेशन नहीं। आज कम्पेन्सेशन देना इस लिए सम्भव हो सका है कि कोयला खदानों का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर दिया गया है, और जिन का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं किया गया है, वे भी सरकारी तत्वाधान में चल रही हैं। लेकिन प्राइवेट सेक्टर के जमाने में जो एक्सीडेंट हुआ, अगर दस साल तक उस का कम्पेन्सेशन नहीं मिलता है, तो उन मजदूर परिवारों की क्या दुर्दशा होती है, उस की कल्पना की जा सकती है।

अगर आज कोई हवाई जहाज की दुर्घटना में मरता है, तो उस के लिए एक लाख रुपये कम्पेन्सेशन के रूप में मिलता है। अगर कोई मैक क्लास का टिकट ले कर ट्रेन में यात्रा करे, और दुर्भाग्यवश दुर्घटनाग्रस्त हो जाये, तो कम से कम पचास हजार रुपये का कम्पेन्सेशन मिलता है। लेकिन कोयला खदानों के मजदूरों की क्या हालत है? वे लोग देश को रोगानी देने के लिए धरती के अधरे में कोयला काटते हैं, अगर कोई दुर्घटना होने पर उन को केवल दस हजार रुपये कम्पेन्सेशन मिलेगा। अगर कानून पर सख्ती के साथ अमल किया जाये, तो जो लोग आज चसनाला में फंसे हैं, उन को एक पैसा भी कम्पेन्सेशन नहीं मिलेगा, क्योंकि जब कम्पेन्सेशन एक्ट 1936 में बना था, उस समय यह कल्पना भी नहीं की जा सकती थी कि पांच सौ रुपये से अधिक तन्ब ह पाने वाला मजदूर भी हो सकता है, और पात्र सौ रुपये से अधिक तन्बवाह पाने वाले मजदूरों के लिए किसी कम्पेन्सेशन की व्यवस्था नहीं की गई थी। इस स्थिति में आज उन लोगों को कोई कम्पेन्सेशन नहीं मिलेगा, केवल सरकार और जनता की सहानुभूति मिलेगी। हम इस सहानुभूति के लिए कृतज्ञ हैं, लेकिन देश को इस बात का

भी ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि जब मजदूर रोगानी देने हैं, क्लैमोरिंगों और ग्रेवगार्डिंग चराने के लिए कोयला खेत हैं, तो उन के रजिस्टर देश का कोई कर्तव्य है। इस लिए मेरा सुझाव है कि चूकि 1936 का कम्पेन्सेशन एक्ट बिल्कुल आउट-डेटिड हो चुका है, इस लिए उस को तुरन्त बदल देना चाहिए। इस में कोई भी डील की बात नहीं होनी चाहिये। जब ट्रेन में सफर करने में पचास हजार मिल सकता है तो देश की सेवा में जो मजदूर लगे हैं उनको दस हजार कम्पेन्सेशन मिले यह कल्पना की बात नहीं हो सकती। इस में किस तरह से परिवर्तन हो उसके बारे में आप स्वयं सोच सकते हैं और देखेंगे जो चुने हुए प्रतिनिधि हैं वे इसके बारे में विचार करें।

दूसरा पहलू है बहुत सोच समझ के बाद 1952 का जो माइज एक्ट था, 1972 में उस में संशोधन करके एक नया बिल लाया गया, उनके काम करने के तरीको में सुधार के लिए ताकि, उनकी सुरक्षा के नियमों में कुछ सुधार हो इसके लिए एक जवायट कमेटी बनी थी। इसका प्रतिवेदन भी 1973 में आ गया। आज दो साल से वह मामला कोल्ड स्टोरेज में पड़ा हुआ है। मालवीय जी बैठे हैं। वह खदान मंत्री रह चुके हैं। जानते हैं कड़ा पड़ा हुआ है। आप भी जानते हैं, कहा और कैसे पड़ा गया है? सब कुछ होने के बावजूद भी सुरक्षा के नियमों में परिवर्तन करने के लिए जो कानून बनाया जाता है वह भी अगर हम पास नहीं करेंगे तो सिर्फ इस तरह की सबेदना में हमारा कल्याण होने वाला नहीं है। हम चाहते हैं कि यह जो कोल्ड स्टोरेज में प्रतिवेदन पड़ा हुआ है उसको जल्दी लाया जाए और पास करवाया जाए। माइज एमेडमेंट बिल उमका नाम है।

आज जब हम कोयला उत्पादन की बात करते हैं तो यह बात हम को अपने मन में सोच लेनी चाहिये कि हम और अधिक खतरा मोल लेते हैं। इसलिए कि जितना भी सरकार पर कोयला था और आसानी से निकलने

[श्री दामोदर पाडेय]

बासला कोयला था, बड़े बड़े पूजाति ग्रौर ग्रंथेज उसे निकाल कर चले गए। हम को और अधिक धरती के नीचे जाना पडेगा। उस मे रिस्क इनवाल्ड है। उस हालत मे जो कुछ भी आप करे उसके अन्दर खतरा निहित है। ऊपर से पानी भरा हुआ है, सिर्फ इतना ही नहीं बहुत सी सरफेस मे ग्राग लार्ज हुई है, ग्राग के नीचे भी हम को कोयल काटना पडेगा धरती के बहुत नीचे जाना पडेगा अननोन खतरे जिस को कहते हैं धरती के नीचे उठाने पडेगे धरती के नीचे पना नहीं है किस तरह के खतरे वहा मौजू है, उसकी कल्पना आप नहीं कर सकते हैं। लेकिन देश को कोयला चाहिये तो काम तो करना ही पडेगा। इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि जहा तक हो मने ओल्ड बकिंग कर सब होना चाहिये। जितनी भी इस प्रकार क खदाने हैं जो पानी से भरी हुई हैं या ज' स्टोइज किए गए हैं उन का सब का सर्वे किया जाना चाहिए। बहुत से पुराने मालिको ने क्या किया है कि ऊपर से बालू भर दिया है नीचे उस के कितना खाली है इसका का पता नहीं लगेगा। मजदूर नीचे काम करने जायेगा, ऊपर से छत धस जायेगी। इस तरह की जो हालत है कोयला खदानो मे उसका पूरा सर्वे होना चाहिए। सर्वे के बाद हम चाहे जितने डीप जाये उस की परवाह नहीं। लेकिन इस की गारंटी होनी चाहिए कि सरफेस हैजर्डम जो है उन से उस की सुरक्षा हो सके। इस की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। इस के लिए यह मेरा सुझाव है कि जितनी भी ओल्ड बकिंगस हैं उन का सर्वे किया जाय और सर्वे के बाद एक मेरा सुझाव है कि जब जब भी बडों दुर्घटनाएँ हुई, मेजर डिजास्टर्म हुए तो कोर्ट आफ इन्क्वायरी बैडी और हर कोर्ट आफ एन्क्वायरी ने कुछ सुझाव दिए सुरक्षा के नियमो का पालन करने के लिए सुझाव दिए लेकिन उन को आज तक ब है जिस किसी भी कारण से हो, पैसा खर्च करने की वजह से हो या जो भी कारण हो, उन सुझावों को

आज तक लागू नहीं किया गया, बेरा सुझाव है कि उन सुझावों को जल्दी से जल्दी लागू किया जाये।

देश मे तीन सेफटी कान्फेरेन्स हुई कोयला खदानो के लिए। उन में बहुत से जो सुझाव हुए उन को बात मैं नहीं करता लेकिन जो यूनानिमस सुझाव थे जिन में मरकरी अधिकारी और मालिक सब का एक मत था कि इन को मान लेना चाहिए वे सुझाव भी आज तक जहा क तहा पडे हुए हैं। उन पर अमल नहीं हुआ। इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि जो सर्वमम्पति से सुरक्षा नियमों और सुरक्ष के उपायो क सम्बन्ध मे सुझाव दिए गए है उन का पालन करने की तुरत व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए और उनका पालन होना चाहिए।

इसके साथ ही साथ मैं चाहता हूँ कि हम जिस खतरनाक स्थिति मे काम करत है उसके बारे मे जितनी भी आपकी दया-दृष्टि हो वह बना रहे लेकिन या जो माइन्ड ग्रमेन्ड मन्ट बिल पडा हुआ है उसको आप जल्दी से जल्दी लाकर पास करे—यह मेरा सुझाव है।

SHRI G VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash) Mr Chairman, I would like to quote two or three sentences from the President's Address

"Groups and elements of widely differing persuasions joined together to paralyse the country's economic and political life. They clutched at every opportunity to create confusion in the minds of the people and to foment chaos and disorder. Their activities seriously threatened internal security."

The President has pointed out the danger before the country, and it is our duty to locate and identify such forces which are working against national sovereignty and integrity. I do not have much time. So, let me take up immediately the two speeches made at a recent Conference in Coimbatore which was held by the ruling Party in the State of Tamil Nadu. This speech, which was delivered by

Mr. Asaithambi, one of the leading lights of the DMK and Chairman of the Tamil Nadu Tourism Corporation, was delivered in the presence of the Chief Minister and other Ministers:

"We must announce our war plans here and now. I have some suggestions to make. We must convene the session of the Tamil Nadu Assembly early next month and pass a resolution declaring Tamil Nadu an independent State. Mr. Karunanidhi should announce the programme of elections immediately. He should hold the elections and not the Centre or the Election Commission. For convenience, let him hold elections to Delhi Parliament also, but this should be without prejudice to Tamil Nadu declaring its independence."

Again, he says:

"We should remember that Bangladesh became independent only because its demand of autonomy was not conceded and was sought to be suppressed. We should tell Delhi that what was good for Bangladesh could not be bad for the people of Tamil Nadu."

This was the speech of Mr. Asaithambi. There was another speech, and the speaker happened to be a Member of this House and he threatened civil war in this country.

These are the speeches that are allowed in a State by the State Government. When we ask, when we demand, that this Government should not continue after the expiry of its term, there is a pertinent question put to us, especially from this side: "When we have extended the term of the Kerala Assembly for six months, will it not be discriminatory to refuse it to the Tamil Nadu Ministry?" But, if there is any State Government which allows such nefarious activities, anti-national activities, that State Government deserves to be dismissed, whether it is Tamil Nadu or Kashmir or Madhya Pradesh or any other State. This is my answer....

SHRI R. R. ULAGANAMBI (Vellore): On a point of order. We protest against this. He is mis-quoting.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: This is a tape-recorded speech and I am quoting from that. (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is taking the responsibility and is quoting it.

SHRI THA KIRUTTINAN (Sivaganja): We strongly protest against this. He is mis-quoting.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can say this when your turn comes.

SHRI R. P. ULAGANAMBI: How can he claim that this is Government's statement?

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: I did not say that it was a Government statement.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has not said that it is a government statement. He is quoting and taking responsibility for that. You can contradict him when your turn comes and say that what he has said is not true, if you have some other documentary evidence. There is no point of order.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Madras has now become a centre of anti-national activities. I would like to draw your attention to some of the recent activities of foreign agents in Madras. I have got two names? If the Chair allows, I can give the names also. Two agents of a foreign spy network are camping at Madras and they are meeting some of the leading lights of the DMK. They are being entertained in a luxurious hotel....

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI (Dharmapuram): Let him give the names. (Interruptions)

SHRI R. P. ULAGANAMBI: Why are you afraid of disclosing the names? (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is for him to disclose it or not. Please do not disturb him.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Not only that, the Home Minister must be aware of it, otherwise I will give the names to him. One Mr. Murasoli Adi-

yar who is a close associate of the Chief Minister and a keen supporter of the demand for an independent Tamil Nadu was financially helped to hold a conference on independent Tamil Nadu.

SHRI R. P. ULAGANAMBI: It is absolutely wrong.

SHRI THA KIRUTTINAN: What is this? He is making all sorts of nonsense. How are you allowing him?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please do not get up every time. Please resume your seat when I am on my legs. Let one person stand and he will ask my permission and I will allow him. I will hear him if he has any point of order but please do not carry on a dialogue and please do not interrupt and start a running commentary.

Mr. Dhandapani, are you on a point of order? If so, under what rule?

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: Mr. Murasoli Adiyar convened a meeting in Madras and as soon as that news came to the notice of the Chief Minister, Mr. Murasoli Adiyar and others have been arrested and put in jail.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order. Please do not get up and reply. You may reply when your turn comes. Please have patience, make a note of the points he is making and then you reply.

SHRI R. P. ULAGANAMBI: He is making all sorts of irrelevant things.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: The slogan of Mr. Adiyar is that Mr. Karunanidhi, the Chief Minister should become the Prime Minister of Tamil Nadu. Why we demand that the present government should not be allowed to continue after the expiry of its term is...

SHRI R. P. ULAGANAMBI: Mr. Adiyar was arrested and the case is *sub judice*.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. I cannot tolerate your getting up every time and disturbing him.

SHRI R. P. ULAGANAMBI: He was suspended from the Party and the case is pending in the court.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is not referring to that. He is referring to what he said.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar): They are liable to be charged entertainment tax.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: The Karunanidhi Government in Tamil Nadu has lost the confidence of the people. It has been amply proved by the recent bye-elections. Not only that, in 1971 that government came to power with the support of the Congress Party and the CPI. Both the Parties have now withdrawn their support. Not only that, the rank and file have joined Anna DMK, if they say that they really have the confidence of the people, let them hold elections to the municipalities and panchayats which are being postponed year after year.

Sir, when we talk of corruption, people from other States outside Tamil Nadu say, 'What is corruption? It is here and there.' But they do not know to what extent corruption is rampant in Tamil Nadu. In Tamil Nadu, not only corruption is justified but new theories are propounded to justify corruption and corruption is being legalised and legitimised. I would quote only one classic example. This is a petition which we presented to the President of India. This is a company—Sakti Pipes Ltd.—which is there for the last more than one decade. Their paid-up capital is only Rs. 2 crores. Its total liabilities now exceed Rs. 10.75 crores. The annual loss is Rs. 40 lakhs. The present working capacity is 19 per cent. Tangible net worth of the company is negative and is on the minus side to the tune of nearly Rs. 1.88 crores. The most objectionable feature of the Bill which has been passed by the Tamil Nadu legislature is the provision made in its Chapter III for payment of an

amount of nearly Rs. 2 crores to the owner of this company, obviously as compensation for the take-over. In our view, this company is not worth any payment, leave alone such a high amount as compensation. In our view, payment of amount sought to be made is a colourable exercise of the powers under the Constitution taking advantage of the word "amount" to pay a heavy price for an almost dead and worthless company from the taxpayers' money, whereas the constitutional stipulation regarding payment of amount aims at minimal payment for the undertaking which is sought to be nationalised.

The net working capital of the company is minus Rs. 3.46, crores. This negative position is extraordinary and needs a thorough probe by the C.B.I. regarding how far the borrowings of this company from credit institutions and the Government have been utilised. We suspect that there has been a systematic siphoning off of the funds illegally and with a view to cheating the institutional creditors including the Government of Tamilnadu.

We respectfully submit that the company's financial position is so bad that it is beyond redemption. Its liquidity is extremely adverse and its creditworthiness is zero. Over and above that, the arrears of dividends on preference shares and depreciation overdue would further depress the value of the assets. The real value of the fixed assets and current assets can be realised only on a distress sale basis. For this company the payment of Rs. two crores as compensation and, more shockingly, a firm commitment in the Bill under Miscellaneous Chapter for a payment of more and further sums to the owner if advised so by the Commissioner of Compensation is most obnoxious, wholly untenable, opposed to equity and fairplay to the tax-payers, is reflective of squandermania and worse still a political design at the time of elections to siphon off funds from the public

exchequer in the name of paying compensation to the owner to finance and further the political aims of the ruling party with the help of Thiru N. Mohalingam, who is an ardent supporter of the ruling party.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul):
What do they manufacture?

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Pipes.

Sir, a copy of this petition was also presented to the Home Minister Shri Om Mehta when he was present in Madras. In the same evening a news item was published in a daily paper 'Makkal Kural'. All copies of the paper were seized and yet Mr. Karunanidhi is a democrat. He opposes Emergency in the name of democracy but at the same time utilises the emergency powers to suppress the opposition, false cases on hundreds and thousands of people are foisted, arrests are made, seizures of newspapers are made. Not only that, Mr. Samar Mukherjee referred to the censor in Tamilnadu. I would like to say that censorship is there only for the opposition. The Chief Minister never believes in censor as he can print papers and pamphlets and circulate them because, after all, it is the State Government which has to take action! Here is a pamphlet published by the State Government without going to censor and there is not even the name of the press mentioned on it.

MR CHAIRMAN: The more you oppose, the more you expose, Mr. Kiruttinan. Therefore, please keep quiet.

SHRI THA KIRUTTINAN: We are not afraid.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Not only the Government, but particularly the Chief Minister also is creating all sorts of hatred religious, linguistic etc.—among the people. He defines people who can live in the State and who cannot live in the State, people who can rule the State and who can-

[Shri G. Viswanathan]

not rule the State. He wants to substitute himself in the place of the Indian Constitution. Yet Mr. Karunanidhi is a democrat.

Civil servants are completely frustrated because honest officials are being punished and corrupt officials are getting promotions. Not only that, ministerial interference is not only there in the Administration which is pardonable in a democracy, but it has reached judiciary. From Magistrate and Munsif court upto High Court, judges are pressurised and threatened to write judgments according to the wishes of Ministers. In spite of it there are honest and straightforward judges and magistrates to whom we should pay our compliments. Under tremendous pressures they are working. In the name of the people of Tamilnadu whose rights are suppressed and whose wealth is robbed, whose fair name is tarnished, and whose future has been made bleak, I demand a firm and decisive action in the national interest by this Government and the Government in Tamilnadu should not be allowed to continue even for a single day after the expiry of its term of office,

SHRI K. GOPAL (Karur): I am thankful for the opportunity now given to me to participate in this discussion and support the Motion of Thanks moved by my hon. friend. There are no two opinions about what the hon President has said about discipline. Discipline is something which we have got to enforce. For a long time I used to wonder, even before I came to Parliament, why discipline is not being enforced at all. It is to our credit that we have not only contained inflation and inflationary trends in the economy but that we have brought the prices down. We have launched this 20-point programme and the emergency has helped us a lot in regard to implementation of this 20-point programme. Our public sector units have done ex-

tremely well. I would like to take this opportunity for congratulating the workers also and they have certainly done their duties. To say that they are being forced to do work is something which I do not believe. That is not correct. We are happy to say that a thorough overhauling is being done in respect of public distribution system. Yesterday the hon. Minister, in reply to a question, said about the manufacturers of certain essential commodities being asked to allot 20 per cent of their production to our public distribution system. There is no point in having a system which cannot work. Our distribution pipeline should be kept full. The manufacturers of all essential commodities should be asked to supply the full requirements of the public distribution system. Then only they can go to the private sector.

Sir, we are glad that the exports of many of our commodities have gone up. With regard to handloom, handicrafts, marine products etc we are doing very well and we are boosting up our exports. I am happy to say that industrial controls which have been hampering production are being removed. In this way we can achieve a lot.

Coming to the political situation in Tamilnadu, my friend Mr. Viswanathan made certain points. I am very sorry to say that there appears to be no effect of emergency at all there, simply because the State Government does not like to see that the credit of emergency goes to Shrimati Indira Gandhi. So, deliberately even MISA is being made a mockery.

SHRI R. P. ULAGANAMBI: They have not arrested anybody under MISA.

SHRI K. GOPAL: Let me have my say please; I do not have much time. They have not arrested many of the blackmarketeers, anti-national elements etc. under the MISA. But they arrested hon. Mr. Viswanathan, though

he was not detained under MISA; but he was arrested and he was let on bail. This thing happened. There is one Trade Union leader in Madras City. The only fault committed by him was that he was against the ruling party in Tamilnadu. And, as a political vendetta they arrested him. He not only supported the 20-point programme but he has given a call to the workers that they should prove this by their action in increasing production. He took the lead about this increasing production in the units where he was the President.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil): What is his name?

SHRI K. GOPAL: His name is Mr. Kuchelar.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Is he still in detention?

SHRI K. GOPAL: He has been released. As perhaps they did not have valid grounds to tell the Centre so they released him. Recently many conferences have been held by my DMK friends in many districts. In Tirunelveli district conference in the presidential speech the gentleman who presided over the meeting said that in the matter of population Tamil Nadu will be sixteenth among the countries of the United Nations. Then recently they passed a resolution opposing emergency. Then now in the State conference they say that elections should be held along with parliamentary elections because they had the feeling that the life of Parliament might be extended. So, they want the life of Assembly to be extended. They oppose the emergency on the one hand and on the other they want to enjoy the fruits and benefits of emergency. Morality demands that they should quit. In any case it is all in the game. Even recently there was a conference of Congress party (O) which favoured merger with my party in Tiruchi. Efforts were made to see that this Conference was not held and a Minister had camped there and tried

his best to see that the Conference was a flop. I can understand their using the political platform. It is all in the game. But how can they use the Government machinery. Even at public meetings after 10 O'clock we are asked to shut our mouth and go home. They go to the extent of calling and threatening people who are in favour of merger of Congress (O) with our party. They have threatened them. They have managed to see that our meetings do not take place peacefully. This is the way they are behaving. It is not proper on their part. In any case they know after March they may not be there. I do not know their apprehensions and fears. But this is not the way. Why I am saying this is because a political party has got every right to exist at least in the proper manner it deserves but when their activities are suppressed it is highly objectionable.

SHRIMATI ROZA DESHPANDE (Bombay Central): Sir, I rise to place few important points and I would not take much time. I fully agree with the views and opinions expressed by my colleagues Shri Indrajit Gupta and Smt. Parvathi Krishnan. So, I do not wish to cover them again.

Sir, this emergency was brought about to check sabotage on the part of the fascist forces and fascist and reactionary forces against our democracy any many conferences were held throughout India against the fascist tendencies in this country and a demand was made to ban organisations like Jan Sangh and Anand Marg. I fail to understand that there is an organisation in the State of Maharashtra which is called Shiv Sena. This is a very well known fascist organisation and the leaders of this organisation have frankly and publicly professed the ideology of fascism. In fact, we know by experience that theirs has been a murder-gang and theirs has been a gang which has always been supporting the monopolists and the saboteurs in this country. In spite of

[Shrimati Roza Deshpande]

all this, in spite of the demands made by the Congress leaders also publicly that this organisation should be banned it has not been banned. Why? Not only that. This organisation owns a building in Bombay in a very important square near the main road through which big dignitaries pass and big processions pass. How is it that they own a building near the Shivaji Park? I do not know why the Government is ignorant of this. Why are they shutting their eyes and why does not the Government at the Centre ask the Government of Maharashtra to take note of this and ban this organisation? I would like the Government benches to take note of this.

Secondly, there is one point which I would like to mention, with your permission. The President has mentioned the fact that during the Emergency, the working class of this country has come up and is helping in the production effort and that it is supporting the Emergency and the fight against the reactionary forces. Sir, we expect that the public sector would also contribute to this and we know that the workers in the public sector are helping in this effort. Since the hon. Minister of Petroleum is here, I would like to draw his attention to the problem in the Hindustan Antibiotics, which has been lingering on for a long time. It was agreed in the last Session that the Manager of this company would be removed as the production there is going down rapidly. During the last Session, a few workers of this company presented a memorandum to the Prime Minister here, on the situation in Hindustan Antibiotics. But, these workers were charge-sheeted by this very same General Manager and an enquiry is going on. Why? Because they came and exposed the activities of this General Manager, the involvement of the vested interests, why the production is going down and why the company is incurring losses. In spite of the assurance given by the then Minister, Mr. Ganesh, nothing has been

done. If the Government wants to protect an individual and sacrifice the public sector unit, I would not say 'God save you', but I would say 'People will rise and the workers of this company will also rise and fight such actions on the part of the Government.' I would ask the Minister to take note of this.

SHRI CHAPALENDU BHATTACHARYYA (Giridih). Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to take part in the discussion on the motion of thanks to the President for his Address. By a happy coincidence, Sir, this month, on the 19th of January, we will be celebrating the Indira Decade. On that day, our Prime Minister completes ten years in office.

Sir, we are now passing a great divide by means of the Emergency and the twenty-point programme. This programme is really trying to inject some socialistic content in the political frame-work of our democracy. Noted political commentators and writers had doubts on this point, I would mention Harold Laski here. He had doubts whether peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is at all possible, voiced in his books, *crisis and the constitution*, *Democracy in crisis*, *the State in Theory and Practice*, *Where do we go from here?*. The major landmarks of his thinking being that whenever we go ahead for political transformation, for socialist transformation of a political democracy—because it is implicit in the logic of political democracy itself,—the vested interests will join forces. They will say 'Let us hang together or we will be hanged separately.' The Right and the extreme Left, the Communist Party of the 'Marxist variety', the Jan Sangh plus foreign agencies or their supporters, the Anand Margis, Jamaat-e-Islami and the Shiv Sena with their fascist tendencies will come together to a queer pitch, to prevent this transition which is so vital in the present unfolding of Indian de-

mocracy and polity that is taking place before our very eyes.

Why Emergency was necessary can be summed up in three incidents. Why did the Whitlam Government in Australia fall? Why was it dismissed? Well, they are trying to have a world cartel for raw materials including iron ore, of which our respected Mr. Malaviya himself is personally aware, in which developed countries have very great stake and interest. All the media went on haranguing. The press, the TV and the radio, all privately owned, There, saw to it, and Whitlam did not come back, although he had a fine record. What happened in Bangladesh? I do not want to labour the point. In the context of North Sea oil, what is now taking place in Great Britain itself, with a demand for secession, a demand for a separate Scottish National Assembly. When our Minister of Petroleum is bringing out one rabbit after another like a magician out of his hat, Bombay High, then Kutch, then Saurashtra, when with Diego Garcia and with their satellites they have mapped the oil resources, its flows past Madras, Vizag, then up in the Bay of Bengal, then it is trouble, international trouble. After all, six international giants own more money, more resources and more powers than any other Government excepting the U.S.A., USSR and Japan. Trouble was implicit in the situation.

So we underline the emergency. At long last, our friends opposite should understand where do we go from here. Do we split up, do we destabilise, do we fragment, India and Indian polity which we have earned? We have a five thousand year old civilisation. With our heritage, we have supported civilisations in so many countries, and God willing, we will do so again and again and again. The voice of Mahatma Gandhi, the policy of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, is a guarantee that India cannot exist for herself, for her, standard of life alone, but she will spread her deepest thinkings and

spiritual values all over the world, provided we can set our house in order. This is precisely what our Prime Minister has been doing with consummate skill, determination and fortitude against raucous voices, against character assassination, and smear campaign by opposition.

Yet, we are called upon to uphold the prestige of Parliament by them. Did we uphold the prestige of parliament when an old parliamentarian wanted to do satyagraha on the floor of Parliament itself? Was it serving any 'revolutionary movement' when on 18th March, the day of Paris commune, the students of Patna went out --they are our boys and I have to hang down my head in shame at what they did--and helped themselves liberally with all the bottles of whisky that were lying there in Ambar Hotel; it was finished in a matter of minutes. They were on a 'revolutionary' course. This is the unfortunate part. We gave our best years of life in student movement. Some of us were considered to be good students. Who were the leaders of those students? One of the student leaders came to me and told me: we have everything, arms and ammunition, to beat the Government. I told him: do not use the sword; those who kill by the sword will be killed by the sword; do not go that way. And I asked him: what are you? I am an honours graduate in physics, he replied. Did you do your home work properly and if so, kindly draw me what is called an exponential graph, $e = 0$. He could not do it. This is what is happening to developed countries who are going on spiralling up their economy on ascending courses whereas ours is a sinecure going up and down.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now; we are not going to extend the time.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: What about my time then?

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Speaker will decide tomorrow.

SHRI C T DHANDAPANI It is very unfair.

MR CHAIRMAN I cannot extend the time, and at 6 O'clock some paper has to be laid on the Table (Interruptions)

SHRI CHAPALENDU BHATTACHARYYA If tomorrow there is a chance I should be given time

MR CHAIRMAN That will have to be decided by the Speaker? I cannot decide You may please conclude now

SHRI CHAPALENDU BHATTACHARYYA I support the motion of thanks which has been moved

MR CHAIRMAN The hon Deputy Minister

18 hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE—
contd.

NOTIFICATION UNDER PROCLAMATIONS OF
EMERGENCY

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI F M MOHSIN) I beg to lay on the Table, under clause (3) of article 359 of the Constitution, a copy of Notification No GSR 16(E), published in Gazette of India dated the 8th January, 1976 containing the Order of the President suspending certain rights conferred by article 19 of the Constitution for the period during which the Proclamations of Emergency made under clause (1) of article 352 of the Constitution on the 3rd December, 1972 and on the 25th June 1975 are both in force [Placed in Library See No LT-10033/76]

18 01 hrs

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday 11th January 9 1976/Pausa 19, 1897 (Saku)