

[Shri Jagjit Singh Anand]

While I am on this I must say that one of the books was "India Today" by Rajni Palme Dutt. I know this because I was asked to translate that book into Punjabi, my language. Who does not know Rajni Palme Dutt, that scion of the great Indian patriots, who presided over the Indian National Congress in 1903, Rajni Palme Dutt, a great international revolutionary, who in the early twenties brought out the first edition of that book which produced generations of revolutionaries in this country who, sitting in Britain, fought imperialism, who always raised the voice for India and for India's freedom struggle? That book was also included in this project. But people who had never anything to do with the freedom struggle, people who stood with the British when we were fighting the British, how could they realise the crime they were committing by stopping all objective history from reaching the people in their own languages?

Sir, the project has also involved basic research material which is only available in Delhi. It is now being reprinted. Also six volumes of that material pertaining to ancient Indian history, medieval history, modern history are being collected and are being made available in their own languages to historians working at far-off places. Every professor and teacher of history cannot undertake journey to Delhi nor go to the source material. All this has been killed. It is most condemnable.

While I am on this I must point out that the Government is running the Book Trust. They print books. I am also associated with some books of this concern and I know that the books printed by them are eating dust. But the books that were printed by the Indian Council of Historical Research under this scheme were sold like hot cakes. Reprints had to be ordered. Such a valuable project has been

killed. It is a very great warning of what is going to come to our country. And through you, Sir, I want to bring to the attention of the entire body politic of this country that a very, very dark fascist invasion is taking place in the field of culture, in the field of history, in the field of linguistics which will stifle our democratic and secular foundations, all because a group which has come to be a part of the Janata Government, is strangulating the other groups in the Janata Government and bringing the country to such a pass. Thank you.

---

**Motion of thanks on the President's Address—Contd.**

**SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY** (Karnataka): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the President in his Address has referred to electoral reforms. I quote:

"Government has under consideration basic reforms in electoral laws and procedures in order to make the electoral process more equitable, and less susceptible to pernicious influences."

[**The Vice-Chairman, (Shri Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni)** in the Chair]

This is a very important item in the Address. It concerns the democratic processes of the country. They are all aware that the present electoral system is not in tune with the needs. It needs to be amended and amended drastically. Money power should be completely eliminated from these pernicious influences. They are trying to influence the electoral verdict. Parties which have come to power are being accused that money is being used, and so on. So, this should be used, governmental machinery is

stopped by eliminating the power of money in the elections, and that can be done provided the reasonable expenses incurred during the elections by the candidates—part of it—is borne by the Government as is being done in some other countries. Secondly, Sir, the present system should be changed. I would have advocated proportional representations but unfortunately in our country the majority of the people being illiterate, it may be difficult to introduce this proportional system.

AN HON. MEMBER: Why?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: If it is introduced, I would welcome it. That is why a compromise must be struck, that is, 50 per cent of the seats to be elected directly and 50 per cent to be elected under the List system as is being done in West Germany where, to some extent, the representative character of the political parties is maintained when the election results are announced. So, this is a very important matter the President has referred to.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): In proportional representation there will be a symbol also just as in the other case. This system is also with a symbol.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: I am not opposed to that. I am one with you but if it is not possible, this List system will enable political parties to get adequate representation depending on the size of the popular vote they get in the country.

Sir, we all know that charges are made that many a time elections are rigged.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Andhra Pradesh): Is there any Minister, Sir, on the Treasury Benches?

श्री कल्प नाथ राय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, मंत्री महोदय यहां मौजूद नहीं हैं।

1934 RS-8.

श्री भीम नारायण सिंह (बिहार) : श्रीमन्, इतने महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर बहस हो रही है और कोई कैबिनेट मंत्री यहां मौजूद रहना चाहिए। आप तो उप-सभापति जी, एक वरिष्ठ पार्लियामेंटेरियन हैं। इतने महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर वाद-विवाद हो रहा है।

(Interruptions).

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप डाइरेक्शन दीजिए गवर्नमेंट को कि कोई न कोई कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर यहां मौजूद रहना चाहिए।

PROF. N. G. RANGA: There should be at least one Cabinet Minister.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, we have been pointing it out, having noticed that during important debates such as the President's Address or even the Budget discussion, senior Ministers, not to speak of the Minister concerned, are not present. Now I find that they are treating this House in this light manner. Sir, I know that the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, the junior one, is here. But this is a pretence, not presence, of the Government. Now I would suggest to you that you should launch a protest on our behalf. You cannot protest, of course, that way, but you may adjourn the House for some time, even for fifteen minutes, and make the Ministers come. Sir, these Ministers are taking this House for granted. In fact, they are taking the Government for granted, everything for granted. You have seen how they disrespected the House during the last year for several months and you do not know what they are going to do now. Today the President's Address is there but not one senior Minister is here.

SHRI DINESH SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I agree with what he is saying; you should adjourn the House. It is not a question of this party or that party; it is a question of dig-

[Shri Dinesh Singh]

nity of the House which must be maintained.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (DR. RAM KRIPAL SINHA): Sir, the Government has all respect for the dignity of the House, and that is why yesterday the Prime Minister himself was sitting here. Today also he was here. So it is of no use....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, now we find Mr. Advani coming. We do not know where he was. Mr. Advani came running. I should like to know whether he is coming to catch a running train. It is just like the situation, when the train is leaving the station, a passenger comes running somehow or other to catch it. This is not the way to treat Parliament. They know it is on the Business List and will be discussed. The discussion started, but nobody was there. What has happened to this Government? And we have a couple of Deputy Prime Ministers—not one but two. We have one Prime Minister and two Deputy Prime Ministers. Well, what are these three doing? Or do we have the Deputy Prime Ministers just to patch up the quarrels of the Janata Party? When it comes to the question of presence in the House, they are not present. What are they doing? Are they in some dance celebrations or in a marriage party? Sir, I am glad that Mr. Dinesh Singh, an old parliamentarian, who sat on the Treasury Benches and having been dislodged from there understands our suffering. It is a question of the dignity of the House. It is not a matter of the Opposition and the Government. I am speaking for my friend, the Mover of the Motion of Thanks. Shri Surendra Mohan is sitting here. He should have protested. This is how they treat him, leave alone us. This is how they treat a Member of the Janata Party, an experienced Member. Now he is going out in protest.

I do not know whether he is going to be a Minister or something. Therefore, Sir, you should make an observation. Mr. Advani, I personally do not blame you. You are a badly afflicted man, I find, these days, a completely lost man. You have lost your sense of humour, jubilation and energy. Sir, he comes here and sits like an Egyptian mummy most of the time. But at least sometimes he does come. What about the other gentlemen? Why don't they come? Go there and find the position in the Lok Sabha.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Would you allow me to speak?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, I am sure it will be better to make you speak rather than speaking myself.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I fully appreciate the convention of the House that when the discussion on the President's Address takes place, it is actually the Prime Minister or a senior Minister who has to be present. That is the convention of the House. But, today, I am sorry to say, when the discussion started, nobody was there; but now Advaniji has come. I would advise the Government to uphold the dignity and the conventions of this House. This is not a party affair. Now there are two Deputy Prime Ministers. I would advise Mr. Advani to see that anybody who is connected with this Address is present here. Many problems come up during the course of the discussion, the Members feel enthused, and, apart from getting enthused, the Members express themselves by way of offering constructive suggestion, and you as the Government have to respond to them. I would advise you to abide by the wishes of the House and would request you to follow up the matter accordingly.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: One request here. Since Mr. Advani is here, he can fulfil and function; listen to the

debate and ask the All-India Radio not to cut out the criticisms against the Government. That is being done.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Madhya Pradesh): And not to repeat Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's name unnecessarily.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Now everything has been settled. Mr. Reddy please. Dr. Mahavir, you please sit down.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Our charge is that the Radio ignores some Members and gives importance to some others.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): We started the debate with the co-operation of all the parties. Let us keep that up. Do not add fuel to the fire.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I did not want my name to be given importance.

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA (Madhya Pradesh): My yesterday's speech was completely blacked out because I made scathing criticism of the Information Ministry and of the Government. It is very unfair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): That is all right. That does not form part of the debate now. I am sorry. Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy has to continue.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: One of the three musketeers, either the Prime Minister or any of the Deputy Prime Ministers, should be present.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Have I not on your behalf and on behalf of the House suggested to the Government about it? It is quite enough. Now let us go ahead.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I thank you very much for the advice that you have given to the Government to uphold the prestige, the dignity and the honour of this House. The Government has been repeatedly doing like this. Many a time it has done like this. When important debates are taking place, I do not know why all the Ministers should sit in the Lok Sabha. Or, whether they are sitting in their offices, I do not know.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know whether they are sitting.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I was speaking on electoral reforms. Large sums of money are being spent on elections, and money power should be curbed, but, unfortunately, from election to election the expenses are going up. Whichever party is in power, that party collects crores of rupees. Earlier the Congress Ministers were charged that they had collected hundreds of crores of rupees for elections, and the same charge has been levelled against the Janata Party Ministers, the Government Members. So, whenever money is collected from the industrialists, they are not paying the regular accounted money; they pay unaccounted money. The Ministers who are in power, are themselves encouraging the black money, the black market and evasion of taxes, and this should be prevented and put an end to. You might remember, Sir, that when the Chagla Commission made in observation and a shareholder of a Tata company protested that nearly 10 lakhs of rupees were given by the Tata company to the party in power, at that time Mr. Tata had said in a statement that they paid money to the party in power with a view that they would get....

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Affidavit.

**SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:** ... an affidavit, that they would get their things done. Whenever money is collected from any businessman, he pays the money with a view to get things done. He pays a lakh of rupees and gets a crore worth of permits or a crore worth of imported goods. So, this should be prevented. And this can be prevented by educating the electorate and by asking the political parties to get themselves registered and by making the political parties to submit their accounts to the Election Commission.

Now, the funds that are collected by any political party, are not subjected to any scrutiny at all. Nobody knows how much money has been collected in the name of any party. Money is collected, some of it is given to the party and the remaining is pocketed by the person concerned.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Now we have the 'Shashthabdarpu' of Dr. Chenna Reddy.

**SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:** So these are all very important reforms that should be undertaken if you want that our democratic system should continue to inspire and bring about social changes in this country. The Tarkunde Committee had made some recommendations. Apart from the recommendations of the Tarkunde Committee, I am glad that the Government is going to consult the leaders of all political parties while coming to a conclusion regarding the electoral reforms that are going to be enacted. And it should be done at the earliest.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, Mr. Surendra Mohan was eloquent yesterday that now there is not much gap

between the poor and the rich. The gap is much wider now, and it is continuing. From the days of the Congress regime up till now, the gap has been increasing. The poor are becoming poorer and the rich are becoming richer. And this disparity in incomes is never seen in any part of the world. Even in affluent America there are no disparities of income as are prevalent in India. There the disparity may be 1 to 20. But in India it appears to be 1 to 100 or more. These disparities in income should be done away with, and we will give our support to whatever steps the Government are going to take to reduce these disparities. But unfortunately the steps that are being taken by the present Government are not adequate to reduce these disparities in income.

More than 60 per cent of our people are below the poverty-line. The poverty is increasing in spite of the fact that the Government is trying to do something for the rural sector. As far as the pronouncements are concerned, we welcome the pronouncements made by the Janata Government that they will give more and more assistance to the improvement of the rural sector, and I am glad that they are doing it to a certain extent.

Unemployment is going up. Apart from the increase in population, unemployment in the rural area and in the urban sector is mounting up. The jobs that are being provided are not adequate to meet the increasing number of unemployed persons. And this is a matter which is going to cause concern to the entire country. If the unemployed are not given adequate employment, they will become Naxalites. Most of the Naxalites are highly educated people. In Andhra Pradesh, those who are in the Naxalite movement are those who are highly educated. So if you don't

provide them adequate employment, if you don't provide full employment to those who are educated and those who are living in the rural area, the situation will become explosive. The population growth is also becoming explosive, and the situation will be further aggravated if proper arrangements are not made.

Then, rural debt has gone up to Rs. 7,000 crores. During the Congress regime a very important step was taken to liquidate rural debt. The loans of persons with a low income of, say, Rs. 2,000 or so, were written off, and to some extent the rural poor were benefited. But unfortunately rural indebtedness is going up, and we have discussed today for two hours how agriculture is suffering in India. The farmers are suffering because the Government has not taken imaginative steps to give remunerative prices to the farm produce. And Members, one after the other, have said how the farmer is duped, how the farmer is cheated. The Minister was replying to us that they could not provide adequate storage facilities and that the Government did not have finances to make purchases of all the surplus foodgrains. Before the Janata took over, agricultural production, particularly foodgrains, was 120 million tonnes and storage facilities available were for 20 million tonnes. Now the production has gone up to 125 million tonnes. It is a good thing that production has gone up. Now emphasis is more and more laid on improvement of agriculture. But if the agricultural produce is not given an adequate price, if the farmers do not get a remunerative price, then they may switch over to money crops, commercial crops, and India will then be forced to go to America or some other country with a begging bowl. That situation has been stopped for

the last three or four years. We are not importing any foodgrains, wheat or rice. But if the present situation continues, then the agriculturists will not have any incentive to produce foodgrains. This time what happened in the South is there are many onion-growers, they could not even pluck their onions that have come up in their fields because the price they get in return is so low that they could not even afford the cost of plucking the onion bulbs from the land. And they are thus having to suffer. The present Government does not seem to have any set policy at all. Whenever they want they give import licences; whenever they want they give export licences. Onion used to be exported and that was giving an adequate price to the onion-growers. But this time most of the onion-growers have suffered heavy losses. Likewise cotton prices have crashed. Textile prices have gone up. There is something wrong. There has to be a balance between the prices of industrial goods and agricultural prices. Many friends were referring to the agricultural prices Commission. It is true the Agricultural Prices Commission is composed of mostly bookish people, bookish professors who have no knowledge of agriculture at all. If people who are well versed in agriculture, who are farmers, had a dominant voice in the Agricultural Prices Commission, they would have given adequate, remunerative price to the agricultural produce. This is a matter where the Government should take some interest. It is unfortunate and it is a tragedy that even though in Parliament and in State Legislatures majority of the representatives of the people are drawn from the agricultural community, their interests, the interests of the agricultural community, are not protected. The Government should therefore take immediate steps to give adequate protection to the farmer.

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy]

The Indian economy is in doldrums. Most of the monopoly houses are manipulating the prices and they are having concentration of economic power in their hands. These monopoly houses, these big business houses, should be controlled by the Central Government. If possible, they should be taken over. Then only these price fluctuations will not be there and we will get adequate price for the farmer and the consumer will also get his requirements at a reasonable price. Now what is happening is the producer does not get his price and the consumer has to pay more while the trader is looting the difference. This should be put an end to. Take jute mills. There is a crisis in the jute industry; there is a crisis in the textile industry. So many textile mills have closed down. Now, there is a crisis in the sugar industry. Hundreds of crores of rupees have not been paid to the sugarcane growers. The sugar industry is in the hands of private producers. If it is controlled by the cooperative sector I will be happy. If the present ownership which is in private hands and which is controlling the industry is not properly managing the industry, then it should be taken over by the Government.

It should be taken over by 4 P.M. the Government. In Uttar Pradesh a unanimous resolution was passed by the Assembly. Still the sugar industry has not been nationalised. I do not know why they did not nationalise sugar industry.

I must also say that the sugar factories in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are not remunerative. Their yield is not adequate and recovery is not adequate. Instead of using their fertile land for producing sugarcane, wheat or rice should be grown there. Sugar industry should be developed in the

South and more factories should be located there where the recovery is more.

The President has also referred to our relations with our neighbours. The previous Government was also following a policy of non-alignment and friendship with our neighbours. Our relations with our neighbours such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan are very cordial and friendly. We should strengthen our friendship with Soviet Union further because that country stood by us whenever we were in difficulty. Our friendship with that country should not be compromised with our friendship with any other country.

In West Asia the situation is still unsettled. Israel and Arab countries have not been able to come to terms. I must appreciate the courage and boldness of President Sadat...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I have given you more than 25 minutes....

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: No. The question of dignity was raised and that took more than 10 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): That took about 5 minutes. I have given you 30 minutes.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: You have given me only 15 minutes. The rest was taken away by the other discussion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I have with me the record of time. Anyhow you can take two more minutes.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: I was saying that President Sadat went to Israel in order to strike a bargain and to settle the issue of

Palestine and as a result the Camp David talks are still going on. When President Sadat could go to Israel, the aggressor, to work out terms for a settlement there is nothing wrong with our Foreign Minister going to China. For 17 years the question of occupation of Indian territory by China was in cold storage. It is true that the Congress Government, about three years back, appointed our Ambassador to China and this was reciprocated by China by appointing their Ambassador to India. There is nothing wrong to explore the possibility of bringing back our land to us from the Chinese occupation. There is going to be a debate on that issue and therefore I will not speak much about it now except saying that there was nothing wrong and not only that, it was a good thing that Shri Vajpayee accepted the Chinese invitation and went there to explore the possibility of settlement on our border problems and to discuss other matters that are pending with China. Sir, about South Africa, India has always been aiding and helping and supporting the freedom movement in Zimbabwe and in Namibia and has always been opposing the *apartheid* in South Africa. It is time that these racist regimes are ended at the earliest. The whole humanity is up against them and they cannot continue with their racist regimes in these countries.

Sir, we have been pleading for total disarmament. It is good that our Prime Minister, when he addressed the UN General Assembly, pleaded for total disarmament including nuclear disarmament. It is a question which we should all support and our Government should take further steps in consultation with the other non-aligned countries in the direction of total disarmament. Sir, I will finish my speech by quoting only one sentence from the President's Address. The President has said:

"Let us all progress towards building up a just social and economic order."

Sir, let us all lend our support to this noble sentiment that has been expressed by our learned President and we should all strive forgetting our petty differences for building up a new social and economic order, not only in India, but also in the whole world. Thank you, Sir.

श्री हरकृष्ण सिंह मुजान्त (पंजाब) :

श्रीमान्, पहले ही राष्ट्रपति जी का भाषण बहुत निराशाजनक था। लेकिन बहुत ध्यान के साथ जब मैंने अपने दोस्त श्री सुरेन्द्र मोहन को सुना तो पाया कि उनका भाषण उससे भी ज्यादा निराशाजनक था। उसके बाद मैंने इससे पिछले भाषण देखने की कोशिश की तो यह देखा कि हर समय, हर वर्ष भाषण में रस्मी तौर पर एक ही तरह की बातें दोहराई जाती हैं। मैं उनका हवाला नहीं देना चाहता। सुनते यह है कि पहले अदृश बहुत खराब रही और अब जब से हम आये हैं तब से इस में बहुत तेजी के साथ सुधार शुरू हो गया है।

श्रीमान्, मुझे एक बात याद आ गई कि एक साधु एक राजा के पास चला गया और राजा ने उससे पूछा कि प्रजा का क्या हाल है, तो उसने बताया बहुत बुरा है, प्रजा बहुत दुखी है। तो राजा ने उस साधु को एक लोटा और कुछ रुपया दे दिया। वह साधु चला गया। जब वह फिर लोटा कर आया तो राजा ने वही सवाल पूछा। साधु ने कहा कि प्रजा बहुत मजे में है।

तो, जब जनता पार्टी के सदस्य आपोजीशन में थे तब जिन बातों की बहुत कड़ी अलोचना करते थे, अब उसी ढंग से बताने की कोशिश करते हैं कि हमारी आर्थिक अवस्था में काफी सुधार हो गया है और अब चिन्ता की कोई जरूरत



[श्री: हरकृष्ण सिंह मुरजीत]

नहीं है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हकीकत से इसका क्या मेल है। और इसके साथ आंकड़ों को बहुत हेर-फेर से बताया गया। ऐसे आंकड़े दिये गये, शायद यह समझ कर, अपने आपको सन्तुष्ट करने के लिये। पर यह ध्यान नहीं रखा गया कि जो लोग आंकड़े देते हैं उनको इस बात का भी पता होना चाहिए कि उन आंकड़ों का मुकाबला किन वर्षों से किया जाता है जब आर्थिक उन्नति को ध्यान में रखते हैं।

मिसाल के तौर पर इन्होंने कहा कि एग्रीकल्चर पैदावार में 136 परसेंट का इजाफा हो गया। पर किस साल के मुकाबले में? जब मौसम बहुत खराब रहा, अवस्था बहुत खराब थी और इन्होंने उस श से मुकाबला करने की कोशिश नहीं की जबकि पहले पैदावार अच्छी हुई, खाह वह सन् 1960-61 में थी या 1970-71 में थी या 1976-77 में थी, उसके मुकाबले में रेट आफ ग्रोथ क्या है? जब भी कभी आर्थिक उन्नति को देखा जाता है तो उस में इस बात का ध्यान रखा जाता है, यही नहीं कि यह 13.6 परसेन्ट इसमें ज़्यादा हो गया और उसमें (फूडग्रेन्स में) 13 परसेन्ट इजाफा हो गया, बढ़ोतरी हो गई यह देखने की बात नहीं। अगर मुकाबला किया जाए पिछले उन वर्षों से 1970-71 से या 1975-76 से तो मालूम होगा कि यह वृद्धि केवल 2.6 परसेन्ट है और अगर 1975-76 से भी मुकाबला किया जाए तो यह इजाफा केवल 3 प्रतिशत है। इसी तरह से अगर जनरल ग्रोथ रेट को देखें, 1960-61 के मुकाबले में भी और 1970-71 के मुकाबले में, 2.5 प्रतिशत से मु. धृष्टि नहीं होगा। और इसी तरह से अनाज की पैदावार का जो सवाल है उस में भी ऐसी

बात नहीं है। पैदावार बहुत हुई है, पैदावार में इजाफा भी हुआ है, लेकिन ऐसी बात नहीं है जिस पर यह कहा जाए कि अब हमने इतनी बड़ी सफलता हासिल कर ली है कि किसी किस्म की चिंता की जरूरत नहीं है क्योंकि पर कपिटा प्रोडक्शन जो है फूडग्रेन्स की अनाज की वह अब भी 1977-78 के मुकाबले में और 1970-71 के मुकाबले में कम है।

इसी तरह से सनत की 9% ग्रोथ रेट की भी बात है। इन्होंने खुद ही कहा, शायद एक प्लानिंग कमीशन का परचा था उसके आधार पर जो आंकड़े थे वही मैंने सुनाए, लेकिन यह नहीं देखा कि प्लानिंग कमीशन ने उस के बाद उन आंकड़ों को रिव्यू भी किया है, बल्कि कह दिया है कि इस वर्ष ग्रोथ रेट 7% रहेगा पहले 6 माह के आधार पर, जो हमारी सनभ्राती उन्नति में 9 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि है और उस के आधार पर कह दिया कि अब इंडस्ट्रियल ग्रोथ अच्छी रही है, स्टेग्नेशन नहीं रहा, पहले का समय खत्म हो गया। ऐसी अवस्था बाहर से तो जाहिर होती नहीं है क्योंकि पर कपिटा कजमेशन से देखा जाय तो ऐसी अवस्था है नहीं। कमीशन ने रिव्यू करके बताया है कि उसके खास कारण थे। कारण था कि काफी इन्वेस्टमेंट के लिए गंजायश थी, काफी इन्वेस्टमेंट हो गया। यह भी एक कारण था, और उसके साथ ही साथ दूसरा एक कारण था कि पिछले साल खेती की पैदावार में जो इजाफा हुआ उस से भी कुछ सनभ्रात को आगे बढ़ने में मौका मिला और कुछ यह भी हुआ कि मॉनिटरिंग वर्गों में भी दुरुस्ती हुई, उस में इजाफा हुआ। उसकी वजह से वृद्धि हुई है। इस साल उतना न तो इन्वेस्टमेंट होने वाला है और न ही यह बात उस ढंग से चलने वाली है अदाजा यह लगाया जाता है कि इस साल में शायद वह इजाफा साढ़े 7 तक रह जाए। यह भी ऐसी

बात नहीं है जिसे हम कह सकते हैं कि हम लगातार इस बात को आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं।

इसी तरह से अगर हम देखें डेफिशिट फाइनेंसिंग को, देखें तो 2,000 करोड़ ₹० एक साल में डेफिशिट फाइनेंसिंग और 15 परसेंट मनी सप्लाई में आप इजाफा करेंगे, तो उसका कोई प्रभाव पड़ेगा कि नहीं हम पूछना यह चाहेंगे। इरिगेशन और पावर के आंकड़े दिए हैं, ये अभी के आंकड़े नहीं हैं; ठीक है, इरिगेशन में इजाफा हुआ है और इसके पहले भी 1975-76 के प्लान में देख लीजिए उसमें यह अंदाजा था कि हम 5 मिलियन हेक्टेयर जमीन को इरिगेट करेंगे और जैसा आज ही कहा खेती के वजीर ने कि यह बात तो लगातार प्लान्स में चलती रही है और यह बढ़ोत्तरी होती रही है—हम पूछना चाहेंगे कि पर कैपिटल कंजमन में कितना इजाफा होगा, अगर 2 वर्षों में पर कैपिटल कंजमन में इजाफा हुआ है, लोगों को ज्यादा खाने को मिलता है, लोगों को ज्यादा पहिनने का मिलता है तो हम समझेंगे वाकई हम ग्रोथ की तरफ बढ़ रहे हैं और इंडस्ट्री में, खेती में स्टेगनेशन दूर हो चुका है। एक सवाल पूछा गया था तो बेकारी के बारे में आंकड़े दिए गए कि इतने अन्डम्पलाइड को इम्प्लाइ कर दिया, ये सब कुछ कर दिया—लेकिन आज अन्डम्पलायमेंट की क्या अवस्था है, उस के बारे में जवाब देने से इन्कार किया। तो उस से हम जांचने की कोशिश करेंगे। वह कहते हैं इस मसले को हम दस बरस में हल कर लेंगे। लेकिन यह समझ में नहीं आ रहा है। यह भी बताएं क्या डिस्पेरीटी कुछ कम हो रही है? वह नेशनल इनकम जा कहां रही है? 7 परसेंट तो पहले ही बहुत ज्यादा इजाफा होता रहा। लेकिन पहले के भी आंकड़े जाहिर करते हैं कि नेशनल इनकम कहां पहुंचती रही? वह तो मोनोपोली हाऊसेज के इजाफे में पहुंचती रही। गरीब के और खेत मजदूर के पास नहीं पहुंची उसी ढंग से जैसे पहले नहीं पहुंचती

रही। अब कैसे पहुंचेगी, इस के बारे में इस में कुछ बताया नहीं गया। आप देखें कि इसका प्रभाव अलग-अलग है: जो नीति यहां पेश की गई है इसका अलग-अलग प्रभाव है। मैं हैरान था, मुरेन्द्र मोहन जी इस बात का जिक्र करते कि इंडस्ट्रियल रिलेशंस बिल हम इस अधिवेशन में पेश करेंगे जिसको देश भर के वर्किंग क्लास ने एक होकर रद्द कर दिया है। अब वह कहते हैं कि एक कांफ्रिंहेंसिव किस्म का कानून हमने बनाया। ऐसा मजदूर वर्ग का दुश्मनाना कानून ट्रेड यूनियन के इतिहास में कभी नहीं हुआ है। हमने आलोचना सुनी, कम से कम सरकार यह बात देती कि कितने मजदूरों ने इसका विरोध किया है, हम इस पर विचार करेंगे कि जो उनके रुझान हैं उनको देखेंगे, ऐसी कोई बात उनकी ओर से नहीं है। एक जिद है इस बात की कि हम उसको पास करेंगे।

इसी तरीके से खेती की बात है। आज बहुत बहस हुई ख़ास कर खेती की कीमतों के सवाल पर। मैं उसमें ज्यादा जाना नहीं चाहता पिछले वर्ष इन्होंने कहा था 1977 में भी कहा था कि हम खेती की पैदावार की कीमतों के सवाल को हल करेंगे, किसानों को उनकी पैदावार का मनासिब भांव मिलेगा। आज इस बात का कोई जिक्र नहीं है। हम लोगों को सबसे बड़ा फिक्र इस बात से है। बहुत लोग, लाखों की तादाद में आये थे, किसान रैली में वे यह कहने के लिए नहीं आये थे कि आपकी उम्र बड़ी हो, इसलिए आये थे कि उनकी समस्याओं पर असंतोष का इजहार कर सकें। जो पोटैटो ग्राउन्स हैं उनकी अवस्था यह है कि 3 हजार एकड़ कार्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन है और उनको 30 रुपये क्विंटल का भाव नहीं मिल रहा है। ये कहते हैं कि पैदावार बहुत ज्यादा हो गई। गन्ना चार रुपये क्विंटल नहीं लिया जा रहा है क्योंकि मिलों का कंजमन 30 परसेंट से ज्यादा नहीं है। बाकी गन्ना खाइसारी, गुड़ के लिए इस्तेमाल होता है। कोई गुड़ भी बनाता

[श्री ह. कृष्ण सिंह सुरजीत]

है तो वह कैसे बनाये। फ्युअल 20 रुपये क्विंटल बिक रहा है, गन्ना चार रुपये क्विंटल बिक रहा है। ऐसी अवस्था कभी नहीं हुई।

इसी ढंग से कपास का सवाल है। कपड़े के दाम बांध दिये जाते हैं। पिछले साल चार सौ रुपये क्विंटल कपास थी, इस साल ढाई सौ रुपये क्विंटल भी उसको उठाने वाला कोई नहीं। महाराष्ट्र में ऐसी अवस्था है, उत्पादक कपास के परेशान हैं। काटन प्रोग्रेस कांग्रेस में मैं गया था। मैंने देखा कि 66 परसेंट से ज्यादा वही लोग हैं जिनके पास 5 एकड़ तक की जमीन है। उनकी अवस्था क्या है, वह कोई पूछने वाला नहीं है। काटन कारपोरेशन इन्होंने बनाई हुई है, इसलिए कि उनकी खरीद करे। उसके पास रकम नहीं है। मॉनोपलिटिस्टों ने अपनी खरीद के लिए, अपना प्रबन्ध कर रखा है। पिछले वर्ष के मुकाबले में काटन के भाव 30 परसेंट, 40 परसेंट गिर गये। कपड़े की कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन के लिए रा-मैटीरियल की कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन में 45 परसेंट, 50 परसेंट आती है अगर कपास की कीमत 30 परसेंट गिरती है तो इससे 15 परसेंट कपड़े का भाव क्यों नहीं गिरता? इसलिए ये सारी समस्याएँ हैं।

यही अवस्था दूसरी फसलों की है। जूट है, टोबैको है, कोकोनट है। उन की भी यही अवस्था है। गन्ने के बारे में मिसाल देते हैं कि पैदावार बहुत हो गई। इसमें कंजम्पशन शूगर का देखना चाहिए था। हमारे यहां कंजम्पशन लैटिन अमरीका या यूरोप के मुकाबले में आधा भी नहीं है। पर हैड 6.2 किलो साल का कंजम्पशन है और गुड़ और खांडसारी को शामिल कर लिया जाए तो 14 किलो वह हो जाता है तो मिल मिलाकर पर हैड 7.5 ईयर कंजम्पशन 20 हो जाता है जब कि लैटिन अमरीका में 42, यूरोप में 37, आस्ट्रेलिया में 47 किलो है अभी पता चला कि कंजम्पशन 37 लाख से 45 लाख हो गई। पर बात

खरीद की शक्ति की है। हिन्दुस्तान में अभी बहुत गुजाइश है। 65 लाख प्रोडक्शन हिन्दुस्तान के लिए कुछ नहीं है। ये कहते हैं कि हम बाहर भेजेंगे। वह सवाल नहीं है। खेती की पैदावार की कीमतें तय करने 100 पी० सी० का जो हिसाब है वह अजीब किस्म का हिसाब है। एक तरफ वह कहते हैं कि कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन 74-75 के मुकाबले में बहुत बढ़ गई। 80 परसेंट फर्टिलाइजर में, 40 परसेंट पस्टिसाइड्स हैं, 90 परसेंट डीजल में बढ़ गई और जब कीमत मुक़रर करने पर आते हैं तो कहते हैं कि इनका भाव बढ़ना नहीं चाहिए। उसमें माविट का सवाल देखते हैं, अवेलबिलिटी का सवाल देखते हैं बल्कि कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन का सवाल नहीं देखते जिससे किसानों को कुछ बच जाए। इस तरह के सवालों पर कोई ध्यान नहीं होता। इन तमाम सवालों को ध्यान में रखते हुए अगर हम बाकी के सवाल ले लें, जैसे लैंड रिफार्म का सवाल है इसमें यह अजीब बात है कि एक-दूसरे की किताब को देखते नहीं हैं कि वह क्या लिख रहे हैं। सिक्स्थ, फ इव डियर प्लान के इंटरडक्शन में लिखा है कि यह लैंड रिफार्म में फेल हुआ है Because in the absence of political will अभी क लैंड रिफार्म नाकामयाब रहा है 1969 में यह अन्दाजा था कि भूमि सुधार के बाद हमारे पास 6 लाख एकड़ फ लू लैंड हो जाएगी, कभी कहा 4 लाख एकड़ लड़ हो जाएगी लेकिन मिल-मिलाकर जो निकला और भाषण में भी बताया गया है कि बांटने के लिये अधिक भूमि नहीं है। यह नहीं कहते कि और जमीन लेंगे। हालांकि अगर एग्रीकल्चर सेन्सस को लिया जाए तो उससे जाहिर है और हमारी खेती के वजीर ने भी बताया है कि जमीन बहुत थोड़ी है। अभी भी एग्रीकल्चर सेन्सस वाले कहते हैं कि 20 साल के रिफार्म के बाद भी कोई तबदीली नहीं आई : 2.7 मिलियन ओपरेशनल

होलिडिंग्स है 51 मिलियन हैक्टेयर लड है और 35.7 मिलियन होलिडिंग्स के पास केवल 9 परसेंट लड है। आज भी जमीन की मानोपली उसी ढंग से है। यानी चार परसेंट लोगों के पास 31 परसेंट जमीन है। इसकी तरफ एड्स में कोई जिक्र नहीं है। आप कहते हैं कि हम रिकार्ड ठीक कर लेंगे लेकिन 10 साल लगग। एक्जक्यूटली यही हो रहा है कि रूरल सेक्टर में जमीनों से काश्तकारों को निकाला जा रहा है। सरकार बेदखली को रोकने के लिये तयार नहीं है।

एक अच्छी बात कही है उसके लिये हम उनको मबारकबाद दे दें। इन्होंने कहा है कि हम नाइन्थ शड्यूल में लड रिफार्म लेजिस्लेशन को दखल कर देंगे। लेकिन साथ ही जनता सरकार अगर उड़ीसा और गुजरात की सरकार जसा कह रही है, सुझाव दे रही है कि जो जमीन कानून में फालतू है उसको वापिस दे दिया जाए तो नाइन्थ शड्यूल भी बेचारा क्या करेगा। अगर कानून में जमीन की बात ही नहीं रहे तो नाइन्थ शड्यूल कुछ नहीं कर सकता। यह पालिटिकल बिल के बगैर नहीं हो सकता।

(Time bell rings)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Go ahead. You have got two or three minutes more.

SHRI HARIKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: Only two or three minutes. There are seven minutes more by my watch. Anyway.

एग्रीकल्चर लेबर की बात भी वही है। उनके लिये कोई ठोस योजना नहीं है। यह प्रोपेगंडा तो 20 प्वाइंट प्रोग्राम में भी रहा है लेकिन उससे निकला क्या है उनसे पूछा जाए आज तक, रिव्यू कर के यह बताएं कि कितने लोगों को जमीन मिली है। मैं जानता हूं किसी को नहीं मिली है। मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार मेरी एक बात मान लें कि थर्ड एग्रीकल्चर लेबर इन्क्वायरी सेट-अप करके पता लगाया

जाए कि आज व्यवस्था कहां खड़ी है। इसमें यह बात आ जाए तो ठीक है। इसी तरह से एक्सपोर्ट इम्पोर्ट पालिसी के मुतालिक है। जैसा वर्ल्ड बैंक कहता है कि फारेन एक्सचेंज इस तरह से इस्तेमाल करें कि जिससे केपिटल गुड्स को इम्पोर्ट के लिए कुछ रियायत मिल जाय। इसी आधार पर इम्पोर्ट के लिये बहुत रियायत दी जा रही हैं। टैक्सटाइल पालिसी क्या है? इसमें यह है कि कंस कपड़ा जिसमें मुनाफा कम होता है वह नेशनल टैक्सटाइल को दें और बाकी अपना मजा करें। जब राष्ट्रीयकरण करते हैं तो सरकार प्रोविडेंड फंड और उजरतों की बकाया की जिम्मेदारी नहीं लेती। मानोपली हाऊसेज की बात तो आपको पता ही है कम्पनी अफेयर्स की रिपोर्ट में 72 से लेकर 76 तक देखा है। यह बीस प्वाइंट प्रोग्राम के प्रचार को आगे बढ़ाने का। मोनोपलीज के एसेट्स में 3,352 करोड़ का इज्जा हुआ है। यह गरीबी हटाओ का प्रोग्राम था। इसलिए इस तरफ ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। इसी तरह से मल्टी नेशनल वाले दावा कर रहे हैं। मेरा कहना है कि जब तक यह अप्रोच नहीं होगा कि रिसोर्सज कहां से आ सकते हैं और कहां इस्तेमाल किये जायें और एम्प्लायमेंट को कैसे जिनरेट किया जाए, लैंड रिफार्म कैसे किया जाए तब तक यह सवाल उसी ढंग से रहेगा। इसी तरह से योजना के लिये जब तक नेशनल डेवलपमेंट कौंसिल को असली अथोरिटी के रूप में कायम नहीं करते तब तक कुछ नहीं होने वाला है। अभी 24, 25, 26 को नेशनल डेवलपमेंट कौंसिल की मीटिंग होने जा रही है लेकिन रिसोर्सज के डिबीजन पर कुछ तय नहीं हुआ है, पालिसी का सवाल तो अलग रहा डेमोक्रेटिक राइट्स की बात भी नहीं रही। बर्किंग क्लास में सख्त बेचनी है। यहां हड़ताल होती है तो वहां पुलिस भेज दी जाती है और उसके लिये मीसा भी लगाना पड़े तो लगाते हैं। 42 वें असेम्बलमेंट से जो कदम उठाये थे और उसके बाद जो

[श्री हरकृष्ण सिंह सुरजीत]

45 वां अमेंडमेंट हुआ उसमें भी यही कहा गया कि इमरजेंसी रहेगी। उसमें भी बहुत सी बातें ज्यों की त्यों रख दी गई हैं। इसमें यह ठीक है कि कांग्रेस (आई) और जनता पार्टी वालों ने मिलकर कहा कि इमरजेंसी यहां कायम रहनी चाहिए। (Interruptions) आप पी० डी० एक्ट को कायम रखना चाहते हैं। ऐसा लगता है कि आप उन सब बातों को कायम रखना चाहते हैं जो पहले से चली आ रही है अपनी नई पालिसी के बारे में आपने अभी तक कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की है और इस भाषण के अन्दर भी उन बातों का जिक्र नहीं किया है।

जहां तक आपकी लैंग्वेज पालिसी का सवाल है, आपने साउथ वालों के लिये एल० आई० सी० का पचा हिन्दी में छाप दिया। आपने यह नहीं देखा कि दूसरे लोग इस भाषा को समझ सकते हैं या नहीं। आप डेमोक्रेसी की बात करते हैं, लेकिन इक्वेलिटी आप लैंग्वेज की बात नहीं करते हैं। हिन्दी को थोपने की बात वही लोग करते हैं जो हिन्दी शोविनिस्ट्स हैं और जो हिन्दी को इस मुल्क पर जबरदस्ती लादना चाहते हैं। हमें इस बात का अच्छी तरह से सोचना चाहिए कि हमारे मुल्क में हिन्दी का विरोध क्यों हो रहा है। हमें दूसरों की जवान का भी आदर करना चाहिए।

श्रीमन, आखिर में मैं दो शब्द विदेश नीति के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। हाउस में बार-बार कहा जाता है कि हमारे संबंध सब देशों के साथ अच्छे हैं। मुझे यह देख कर भी बड़ी हैरानी हुई कि अमेरिका के बारे में यह कहा जाता है कि "वी शेयर फण्डामेंटल वैल्यूज विद अमेरिका" रूस के बारे में यह बात कही जाती है। हमारी सरकार कहती है कि अमेरिका के साथ हमारे फण्डामेंटल वैल्यूज हैं जिन्हें हम शेयर करें। हम जानना चाहते हैं कि अमेरिका के साथ हमारे कौन-से फण्डा-

मेन्टल वैल्यूज हैं? मैं समझता हूँ कि अमेरिका के सबसे बड़ी फण्डामेंटल वैल्यूज ये हैं कि दुनिया में जहां भी मुक्ति आन्दोलन चलते हैं उनको दबा दिया जाय। वेस्ट एशिया के अन्दर अमेरिका इसी नीति को चला रहा है। पी० एल० ओ० के बारे में अमेरिका के क्या विचार हैं, यह किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है। ऐसी हालत में भारत सरकार अमेरिका के साथ कौन-से फण्डामेंटल वैल्यूज को शेयर करती है, यह हमारी समझ में नहीं आता है। ग्रेट ब्रिटेन में जिस तरह से रशियल डिस्क्रिमिनेशन ही रहा है उसकी मिमाल हमारे सामने अभी पिछले दिनों आई है। अगर हम ब्रिटेन के साथ इस बारे में सख्त रख अखित्तियार करते तो कोई कारण नहीं था कि ब्रिटेन में हिन्दुस्तानियों के साथ इस तरह का व्यवहार होता।

राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में ईरान की घटनाओं का कोई जिक्र नहीं है। पिछले साल आपने कहा कि हमारे संबंध उस देश के साथ बहुत अच्छे हैं। जब बख्तियार की गवर्नमेंट बनी तो आपने उसको भी मुबारकवाद दे दी और जब दूसरी सरकार बनी तो उसको भी आपने मुबारकवाद दे दी। ईरान के अन्दर शाहनशाहियत का खात्मा हो गया है, लेकिन फिर भी अमेरिका आज साउथ-ईस्ट एशिया के अन्दर दखल-अन्दाजी करना चाहता है। ईरान की नई सरकार ने नान-एलायमेंट की पालिसी का एलान किया है, लेकिन फिर भी उसका जिक्र इस भाषण में नहीं किया गया है। आखिर में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि वीएतनाम के संघर्ष में हमले को रोकने के लिए हम को कुछ ठोस काम करना चाहिए। साउथ-ईस्ट एशिया में जो कुछ हो रहा है उससे हम आंख नहीं मूंद सकते हैं।

मैं अन्त में फिर यह कहना चाहूंगा कि श्री सुरेन्द्र मोहन जी एक सोशलिस्ट हैं। उनके विचारों को हम जानते हैं। वे कोई ऐसी बात न कहें जो वाक्यात से मेल नहीं

खाती हों। उन्हें सदन में डीन जानें कहनी चाहिए। जो बात डीन न हो और जिनमें मेल न बैठता हो उन बातों को सदन में नहीं कहना चाहिए। हमें सदन में ऐसी बातें कहनी चाहिए जिनमें बाहर और अन्दर, दोनों में मेल बैठता हो।

\*SHRI E. R. KRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to express my views on behalf of my party on the President's Address.

I welcome the importance given to the development of handlooms during the current year. I also welcome the announcement regarding the development of Panchayati Raj institutions throughout India on the basis of the recommendations of the Ashoka Mehta Committee.

I also welcome the provision for six new railway lines in the north eastern point of the country.

All the languages included in the Constitution have been allowed to be used as a medium for taking the examinations of the U.P.S.C. according to the recommendations of the Kothari Committee. I welcome this also. The question papers should also be provided in all the languages—and it is not proper to have them in Hindi and English alone.

During the current year an additional amount of Rs. 539 crores has been provided for rural credit. A total amount of Rs. 2,215 crores have been provided for agricultural credit. This is very good. The prices of essential commodities like pulses and edible oil consumed by the poor people have been increasing day by day. The President has himself referred to it. But he has made no suggestions to bring down the prices. I am sorry for this.

Our relations with other countries have been good. Recently our Prime Minister and Foreign Minister visited America and China. This has also

\*Translation of original speech in Tamil.

been referred to in the Address. But I would like to know why no mention has been made of the movement that was carried on against autocracy in Iran, and the establishment of democracy there.

In Pakistan the former Prime Minister is going to be hanged. The Government of India has not referred to this fact even on humanitarian considerations.

Proper steps should be taken to eradicate unemployment in our country. Food, clothing and shelter should be made available to all. The population in our country has been growing. If we do not pay attention to this now, there might be a big revolution in our country.

Poverty has been increasing in our country. Side by side the hold of capitalists on our economy is becoming stronger. Recently, as an example I would like to give figures of per capita income in different countries:

	Rs.
America	47,000
France	31,000
West Germany	29,300
East Germany	24,000
U.K.	22,700
Russia	17,900

Whereas in India it is only Rs. 1,100.

From these figures it is clear to us that the economic condition of India is very poor as compared to other countries.

We would be surprised when we look at the assets of the 45 capitalists of India who control the economy of this country. Ten days back I read in a newspaper that the assets of Birla are of the order of Rs. 385 crores. The assets of other important capitalists were also mentioned

by that paper which are as follows:

	in 1972	in 1976
	Rs.	Rs.
Mafatlal	182 crores	257 crores
Singhania	122 crores	241 crores
Dabar	136 crores	202 crores
Sindhia	107 crores	177 crores
Sriram	120 crores	174 crores
Balchandra	99 crores	129 crores

Even now 90 per cent of the people in our country are abjectly poor. In such a situation if even a handful of persons possess so much wealth, it is bound to be a great burden on our economy.

If the situation continues how will the poor survive? I would like to know this we are all children of Mother India and there are people amongst us who do not get a square meal a day. We deceive ourselves by saying that the food problem has been solved in India and that India is surplus in food production. Everyone does not really get the food one needs. That is why time and again I have said that the Ganga-Kaveri project should be immediately implemented. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to repeat this request of mine by having this project alone we would be able to give food to the 70 crores people of this country. This would also provide employment to lakhs of people and we would be able to export foodgrains. Ganga-Kaveri project would confer great benefits to north India also, because in north India every year there is a loss of crores of rupees due to floods. Last year there was a loss of Rs. 438 crores of rupees due to floods—out of this, the damage to crops alone was of the order of Rs. 340 crores. So long as the purchasing power of the people does not go up, they would continue to be poor. From the index figures given

out by the government, it appears as if our country is surplus in food. I would like to give agricultural statistics to show that in our country per capita availability of egg per day is 30 grams whereas in America it is 51 grams. We should face the real situation and should implement the Ganga-Kaveri project without delay. Then only our problems will be solved and we will also be able to export foodgrains.

I would also like to say that the farmers in India have been suffering a lot due to the droughts, excessive rainfall and due to indebtedness. For this, crop insurance scheme is the only remedy. This would provide great relief to the farmers and would help in the increased production of foodgrains. It is said that every individual needs 250 Kg. of foodgrains per year. But our production is only of 180 Kg. per person. This means that we have to make efforts to produce 30 Kg. of more of foodgrains per person.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, smuggling is on the increase these days. This is eroding our foreign exchange reserves. The economic condition is also worsening. Our government should pay immediate attention to this. It has appeared in some news papers that people connected with the Janata Government are engaged in smuggling. I do not believe this. But I would like to submit

that the Janata Government should take immediate steps to check smuggling. During the last one year inflation has been on the increase due to smuggling and black marketing. We should immediately demonstic hundred rupee currency notes to check inflation. This would automatically bring down the prices also.

I am sorry to say that no solid work has been done in the Government of India Offices during the last seven months. Ever since Shri Charan Singh tendered his resignation, both the Prime Minister and Shri Charan Singh have been giving statements and exchanging letters and no other work has been done. I am happy that Shri Charan Singh has now joined the Government as Minister and I am sure that now the Government of India will be able to pay attention to the problems of unemployment, agriculture and industry.

I would like to submit that we are having elections on the basis of adult suffrage. The exercise of franchise should be made compulsory. So long as we do not make it compulsory, we can not have stable democracy in our country. After voting is made compulsory only then the Central and State Governments will have respect for the people and do the work of Government truthfully and with honesty. The practice is being followed successfully in Egypt. There voters have also been provided with identity cards with photographs. In our country also this arrangement should be made.

Soon after elections are announced the Ministers at the centre and in the States should resign and there should be President's rule at the Centre and Governor's rule in the States. All expenses incurred by candidates should be borne by the

Government. The Minister of the Central Government and the Members of Parliament should place statements of their assets and liabilities on the Table of the House. The same provision should be there in the States.

The Janata Government has been saying that in administration they follow the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi. Our Prime Minister is also considered to be a good follower of Gandhiji. I would like to say that it is very necessary for us to follow the ideals of Gandhiji. Prohibition was the most important ideal of Gandhiji. Keeping this in view our leader respect Annadurai and the radical leader M. G. Ramachandran imposed prohibition all over Tamil Nadu which has been there for the last 3 years. This has caused a loss of revenue of Rs. 130 crores annually to our State. The Central Government has not paid us any compensation for this. They say if we reimpose prohibition after scrapping then only we can get compensation. It is a good policy. Is it just and proper? We want to follow the ideals of Gandhiji. Therefore I would like to repeat my request that we should be compensated for the loss of revenue due to prohibition.

As I stated earlier, population in our country has been on the increase. Just now it is 70 crores. It is said that every day there are 3,300 births in India, which means that every year we are giving birth to an Australia. If the increase in population continues at this rate then after 21 years i.e., by 2000 A.D. our population would be 100 crores. When we can not provide food to the 70 crores people of our country, what shall we be able to provide 100 crores people. The growing population is doing the greatest harm to the economy of the country.



[Shri E. R. Krishnan]

Mr. Vice-Chairman in the end I would like to know that in democracy whether the verdict of the people is supreme or whether the decision of Members of Parliament. Any democrat would say that it is the people's verdict which is supreme. But what do we find? The ex-Prime Minister who was elected by the people was expelled from Parliament. Is it democracy or dictatorship? How far it is just to expel an elected representative of the people with the help of the majority of some members? The whole country repudiates this. The newspapers in Britain, in America which were against Indira Gandhi before this decision, have commented against this action.

I would also like to suggest that the Prime Minister of India should be elected by rotation from each state after every five years. No one will then complain of the Prime Minister being from U.P. or Gujarat. In our country there are several languages, several races and several religions. This is the best way to ensure unity amongst them. This is not my personal view. This is the view of our radical leader M. G. Ramachandran.

The Capital of India also should not be in Delhi. It should be at a Central Place in India. The Central Government Offices should also be located at a Central place in the country. The Government located in one corner of the country can not be called as the Central Government in its real sense.

In the same way the Supreme Court should also be located at a Central place. People have to come from as far as 2500 KM to the Supreme Court. These are also the views of Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, M. G. Ramachandran and not my views. Law and order has been deteriorating in our country, Particularly in Bihar, T.P. and Delhi the law and order situation is very bad. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to know whether there is any Government or administration in Bihar, whether there

is any law or authority there? Can any body walk on the streets without fear there. I say this because during the last four months there have been political murders in Bihar and 2 teachers have also been killed there. The leader of the Bihar legislative assembly (Congress-I), Dr. Jagannath Misra, the Bihar Congress (I) leader Kedar Pande, the C.P.I. leader of Bihar assembly Shri Chaturanan Misra, the leader of the Indian Socialist Party, Shri Bhola Prasad Singh, the leader of the Jharkhand Party, E.N.E. Hero—these five leaders have together submitted a memorandum to Shri Jagannath Kaushal the Governor of Bihar. In that memorandum they have given the names of 21 victims of political murders that took place in Bihar between the period from 19th August, 1977 to 31st December, 1977. Their names are as follows:—

#### Congress (i)—

1. Sarvashri B. B. Sinha, Gupteshwar Pande, Shyam Narain, Parmanand Jha, Murishwar Choudhary and Upendra Thakur.

#### C.P.I.—

Sarvashri Sitaram Misra MLA, Baliram Prasad, Saryaram Paswan, Ramprit Ram, and Kumaruddin.

#### C.P.I.(M)—

Sarvashri Saktim Mahato, Surender Mahato, Abhay Tiwan, Nikju Majihu, Sitaram Singh, and Shrimati Jaitara.

I would like to know whether this is democracy.

In the same way in Uttar Pradesh in Aligarh also there have been political murders. Curfew was in force then for three months continuously. Even then muslims continued to be killed. It is said that R.S.S. had a hand in this. Labour leaders have also been killed. Communal killings and firings have become a common happening there. Even according to

overnment figures 437 persons were killed as a result of firing. What kind of administration is this? The number of persons killed in the communal riots and as a result of labour agitation is more than 600. According to Janata M.P., in Kanpur alone 150 workers have been killed. In Kanpur the Nirankaris were beheaded in the presence of the police and their heads were tossed like balls. The blood of kalis who were killed in Delhi has not yet dried. If Janata Party carries on the administration like this then a day would come when not only in States but also at the Centre they will have to lose power.

Our President, Shri Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy condemned such violent agitations on 5th February, 1979 and expressed his regret about them. The guide of Janata Party Lok Nayak Jay Prakash Narain has also expressed deep anxiety about the situation in Bihar. It has been said that the Governor of Bihar tendered his resignation for this very reason. So I would submit to Shri Morarji Desai who is a follower of Gandhi that he should see to it that all citizens of our country should get their rightful due and should be able to walk on the streets without fear.

In the end, I would like to express my view on behalf of my Party on Hindi language. We have been unanimously agitating against the Hindi-dictatorship for the last twenty years. Even then I do not know why Shri Morarji Desai, when he came to Madras fifteen days back, said that only those persons who learn Hindi are true patriots. Does this not mean that those who do not learn Hindi are not patriots. When in the Constitution 15 languages have been recognised as the languages of the country then why prominence is given to Hindi alone. I would like to say that our Tamil Language was not born yesterday. It has been as a rich language for the last 5000 years. Just as Hindi and English are the Official languages of the country in the same way Tamil

should also be made the official language of the country. When the countries like Singapore, Malaysia, and Srilanka, which are thousands of miles away have adopted Tamil as an official language why Tamil is not given the status of an official language in this country. Our attitude towards Hindi is quite clear. We are not opposed to Hindi nor do we have any animosity against it. We only want that Hindi should not be forced upon us. In 1963, when Dr. Auna was a member of the Rajya Sabha, he clearly enunciated his views about Hindi. Our radical poet Bharatidasan warned us in the following lines:

"From some corner Hindi will enter.

Somehow it will follow us".

I would like to say that we are greatly exercised over this issue. On 23rd, January, 1968 our State assembly decided that in our country there are several languages, several modes of living and thinking and that if we adopt the language of one State as the Official language then the unity of India will disappear and Hindi will enslave all other languages. Therefore, so long as Tamil and other languages do not acquire the status of official languages at the centre, only English should remain the Official language. The Constitution should be amended suitably. If you think that it is easy to force Hindi on the Tamil people, because you have the army on which you spend 2,000 crores of rupees, then you would not be able to impose Hindi with the help of that army.

Finally in the end, Mr. Vice-Chairman I would like to say that in the Central Government Examination for I.A.S. and I.P.S. etc. question papers in other languages of India, apart from Hindi and English, should also be provided.

Whether you accept my views or not, I am fully confident that they would be accepted in the future.

[Shri E. R. Krishnan]

The President's Address does not contain anything noteworthy. This is what I would like to say with great regret. Thank you.

DR. SARUP SINGH (Haryana): Sir, I have listened to Mr. Krishnan with all the seriousness that I am capable of. I will make only one request to him. It is not the intention of the Janata Party to impose Hindi on him or anyone else. In fact, the Janata Party's language policy is no different from the language policy of the previous Government. Unfortunately, sometimes statements are made here and there which are perhaps uncalled for and, therefore, people get the impression that there is an attempt to impose Hindi. I speak as a Member of the Janata Party and I assure you that the country's interests are most important. If the Prime Minister has anywhere said that Hindi will be imposed on Tamil Nadu, then I say I oppose it. If he has anywhere said that only those persons who speak Hindi are patriotic, again I oppose it. Please let us not try to add to misunderstandings where none need exist.

DR. (SHRIMATI) SATHIAVANI MUTHU (Tamil Nadu): May I know from the hon. Member the number of people who have been punished for saying anything against the verdict of the Prime Minister? I want the Member to narrate the position about it.

DR. SARUP SINGH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, after all, I am not speaking on behalf of the Prime Minister. But I do know one thing.

SHRI E. R. KRISHNAN: What about the Prime Minister's statement on patriotism?

DR. SARUP SINGH: It does not mean that those who do not speak Tamil are not patriotic. India is much more important than Hindi or Tamil. Please remember that. The country is much more important than any other thing. And since India is more

important than any language, India will not be allowed to be broken up on the question of language. Please remember this. We love the country as much as you do. And we also love Tamil as much as you do, though some of us do not speak it. Please appreciate this. I will lay down my life for Tamil if the question is that Tamil is being destroyed and removed from the country. That will not happen. That is not the question. However, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, unfortunately, in politics, I think, it is the ordinary way of functioning that all of us must make exaggerated statements. I do not want to 5 P.M. make an exaggerated statement. In fact, my personal feeling is that one should say less than what one means rather than say more than what one means. But probably the language of politics is this, that every statement is inflated, and sometimes, therefore, others can misunderstand it. In any case, Mr. Chairman, I will . . .

SHRI U. R. KRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): One information.

DR. SARUP SINGH: If I can give any information, I will certainly give it. I am not able to give any.

SHRI U. R. KRISHNAN: The hon. Member can give an information, only one information.

DR. SARUP SINGH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I will say one thing about this. The UPSC language question also came up. I am glad, my friend, Mr. Krishnan liked the decision of the UPSC. All the Indian languages are equal in the eyes of the country and in the eyes of the UPSC. Every candidate will have to give evidence of being competent in bilingualism. This would be a very successful thing. Our hope, however, is that some day this bilingualism would become trilingualism. However, a beginning has been made by the UPSC. Till

now—and I will speak now for those in Tamil Nadu—those who studied in Tamil did not get jobs. What was happening was that those who studied in English medium schools and colleges, were getting all the jobs. The students who studied through the Indian languages were not getting jobs especially at the IAS level because only one language was necessary, that is English; no other language was needed to be offered. However, for the first time, an Indian language also will be offered. English will be offered and an Indian language will be offered. That is a good decision. But I say, sooner than later, the bilingualism should become trilingualism.

Unfortunately, the education policy of the Government of India, which is likely to be presented very soon, is not now before us. When it comes before you, you will discover it, perhaps, to be not a dogmatic kind of statement at all. And it is not at all your fault that you say that you would learn only two languages. The fault has been with the Hindi speaking States. They destroyed the three-language formula; they did not study three languages. Therefore, you in Tamil Nadu say that you would not study the third language. But, I assure you, under the new dispensation, the Hindi-speaking States will have to learn the third language, and when that happens, I hope, you will also realise that it would be advantageous in a country of this size, of this complexity, to learn three languages. After all, there are smaller countries where the children learn three languages. In any case, I am not going into that.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, in fact, my intention was to speak about other things. But now that we are on this subject, I will say this. The President's Address, however optimistic it may, be, has undertones which need to be appreciated. These undertones indicate, I think, an invisible kind of

anxiety not only in the mind of the President but, I presume, in the mind of the Government also because after all he was speaking on behalf of the Government. On page 2, Mr. Vice-Chairman, there is a statement which has vital implications for all of us because we have entered into a phase in our country's life where there are too many tensions—political tensions, social tensions, economic tensions, religious tensions, caste tensions and so on. Now these tensions can hurt the country. At the same time, wisdom lies in getting over these tensions as intelligent people, as sensible people, as moderate people and as reasonable people. This is what the President has said. This is at page 2. He said:

“Over the last few years, the centre of gravity of political processes has been shifting from urban to rural areas. The rising tide of expectations has made the rural community extremely sensitive to economic factors. This shift is also accompanied by an increase in social tensions. The success of our democracy will depend upon our ability to manage this shift, both in political and economic terms in an orderly manner.”

Now, these tensions, I humbly submit, have not been created by the Janata Party. They were already there. However, with the coming to power of the Janata Party, the expectations of a lot of people in the country, of people who felt neglected and ignored, were aroused. The lower sections of the society, the weaker sections of the society are demanding for more. Therefore, these tensions have become more visible today than they were earlier. But please remember, social tensions are born of social change. Change is taking place today in India.

**SHRI SULTAN SINGH (Haryana):**  
You promised more.

DR. SARUP SINGH: Social change is taking place in India today. And wherever there is social change, wherever there is development, wherever the neglected are getting something, wherever those who were dominating the society are losing something, some tensions are bound to arise. But wise societies are those, wise politicians are those who do not start quarrelling about this, who do not start exploiting it for political ends which are too narrow and too self-defeating to be mentioned, but work together so that the country goes forward, goes forward in economic terms, in social terms, and we are able to create a just and decent kind of society for our children.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, unfortunately I am not much of a politician, but I feel terribly depressed when I notice that everything becomes a matter of political debate. And often what are we doing except scoring debating points at the cost of each other? After all, scoring debating points does not take us anywhere. The question is, does this country have enough unity, enough consensus to achieve results? This is a kind of country which cannot function politically through any other kind of system except the system of consensus. This is the lesson that we learn from our history. You cannot impose anything on any section of society, on any part of the country by force. Through force nothing can be achieved here. Through discussion, through understanding, through compromise, through adjustment, things can be achieved. Mr. Vice-Chairman, my appeal to all my friends on this side and on that side is, whatever interests we may represent, when we come here, our attempt should not be to put one section of the society against another. The attempt should be to discover areas of agreement, areas of compromise and adjustment. I feel hurt when even some of our tallest men start discovering areas of dis-

agreement, whether in the name of religion or in the name of caste or in the name of profession or even in the name of the rich and the poor. I mention this specifically because what is "rich" and what is "poor"? I can understand the capitalists, I can understand those monopoly houses. But in a country like ours, if you go into the conditions of people who seem to be rich, who seem to be well-dressed, you will discover that the whole family's economy depends on one man. And if something happens to him, the children go back to where they were 30 years ago when their father, the bread-winner, got a job. It is that kind of a condition. Rural conflicts are mentioned here. But if we take the people who live in the urban areas, the majority of them have come from the villages. And they continue coming. You know these things continue changing. One thing that does not change is the nation, its history, its culture, its unity, its greatness. That I hope will continue. We will come and go, but this will continue. But let us not ourselves add to the fuel where none is needed. One word more and I will have done. And that is about education. Unfortunately our President has not mentioned anything about it. Probably he had no time to mention it. What has been happening to our higher education? You see the Janata Government is confronted with a very difficult problem. Again it is not its fault. It has inherited a legacy which is a very delicate legacy. There is so much of expansion of higher education in the country that we have reached a stage where no jobs are available and where there is a kind of frustration, a kind of demoralisation, amongst the educated, specially in the backward areas in the country. That any Government will have to take notice of. My friend, Mr. Krishnan, has mentioned about Bihar. This reservation question may have caused some tension there. But to me all these are ultimately temporary kind of solutions—whether it is reser-

vation or something else—that any Government tries to find in a desperate situation. You may disagree with the solution; you may agree with the solution. But I say these are desperate kind of solutions. But the basic fact is that unemployment problem is a colossal problem. No Government has been able to solve it. I am not saying that this Government will be able to solve it. But then at least this Government's sincerity, its earnestness, should be accepted. But our difficulty is that simply because somebody says I will do this in 10 years, you start accusing him. I agree with you, one should not mention years. But then the Government has a right to plan that this may happen within 10 years. It may not happen within 10 years. But the Government has a right to plan, and if the Government fixes a target it is good for the Government and it is good for the people. So it should not be a matter for laughing. However, these are difficult problems which cannot be resolved overnight. Now, take this question of higher education. The Government has said, all right, we will not have more universities, we will not have more colleges; in other words we will stop expansion of higher education. Unfortunately some implications flow out of such changes which implications are not very pleasant, the implications being that if higher education does not expand, then science and technology may suffer, or some may say, our centres of excellence may suffer, there may be acute unemployment amongst some of our finest young men and women whom the universities produce every year. So, there are implications. But what does one do? At one level there is primary education which has suffered grievously. At the other level there is higher education. Now, any sensible Government will have to again come to some kind of an adjustment. I hope, however, that the Janata Government will not be dogmatic, I hope that the Government will not be dogmatic; I hope they will

be pragmatic; they will see what in a certain situation is the best for the country and thereby through discussion and so on they will take decisions.

Sir, one word more, about law and order, and I will have done. I am sorry, I am taking more time. There is the question of law and order raised. Now, my friend, Shri Shrikant Verma, whom I regard as a reasonable man, has said something earlier. The difficulty is that even reasonable men, when they make political speeches, they are compelled to make unreasonable statements. It is the logic, it is the logic of our profession. It seems to me it is the logic of our profession...

SHRI SITARAM KESRI (Bihar):  
This was a fact.

DR. SARUP SINGH: You say Harijans are being butchered, Muslims are being killed, everyday, this and that. All right, if they are being butchered, if they are being killed, I assure you, all of us are with you. But let us sit together and find an answer. But don't do one thing: Don't create demoralisation in the country where none needs be created; don't give a feeling to the minorities that they are being crushed by this Government or that Government. I was a member of the Urdu Promotion Committee, the Gujral Committee. Mr. Gujral was the Chairman of the Committee. The previous Government had appointed the Committee. We went round the country to find out what was happening to Urdu and then we prepared a good, reasonable draft. That was in 1973. In 1974 we all signed the report and in 1975—in the beginning of 1975—the report was submitted to the Government. Nothing has happened to that report. It should be said to the credit of the Janata Government that they are going to place it before the Parliament very soon.

[Dr. Sarup Singh.]

We appointed the Minority Commission. It will not be able to achieve miracles. All that I am saying is, for God's sake, appreciate the sincerity of this Government. Do not please start abusing where abuses need not be there. However, you have a right to disagree. But disagree please in a fairminded manner. I am pleading, therefore, both for fairmindedness and for statements, on this side or that side, that make sense. Some statements unfortunately are made, whether made by us or by you, which make no sense. But never challenge the unity of the country, whether in

the name of language or in the name of religion or anything else.

With these words, and apologies to all my friends; I support the motion. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):  
The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at seventeen minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 23rd February, 1979.