

ment through you, Sir, and through the honourable Minister my good friend. You know, Sir, the situation in the educational institutions now and I should like to caution the Government that there would be great unrest in the campuses and even in the colleges and schools if they do not given an assurance that no teacher would be retrenched on the ground of being surplus as a result of the introduction of the 10+2+3 system. Already, there was a demonstration only the day before yesterday in the Delhi University by the teachers of the Delhi University. Earlier also I had said that the so-called temporary teachers—I say “the so-called temporary teachers” because they have been selected through regular selection Committees—are under the threat of being thrown out of their jobs and of being thrown on the streets. Therefore, I would like to bring it to the notice of my friend, Dr. Sinha, and I would like him to bring it to the notice of his colleagues. I would also like to tell him that suitable steps should be taken right now; otherwise, I serve notice here and now that I will myself lead the agitation if there is any effort to throw out teachers on a large scale, teachers who have been appointed through the regular Selection Committees.

**श्री उपसभापति :** मदन की कार्यवाही सवा दो बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है ।

The House then adjourned for lunch at nineteen minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at eighteen minutes past two of the clock, Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

#### MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** उपसभापति महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ, कि :

“राष्ट्रपति जी ने 20 फरवरी, 1978 को संसद् की दोनों सभाओं की सम्मिलित बैठक में कृपया जो अभिभाषण दिया है उस के लिये राज्य सभा के सदस्य, जो सभा के वर्तमान सत्र में उपस्थित हैं, राष्ट्रपति के प्रति अपनी हादिक कृतज्ञता ज्ञापित करते हैं ।”

श्रीमन्, राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने भाषण के प्रारम्भ में ही माननीय सदस्यों को एक बहुत ही मानवीय कर्तव्य के प्रति सचेत किया है । आंध्र प्रदेश में समुद्री तूफान से पीड़ित बंधुओं के प्रति और आंध्र ही नहीं, तमिलनाडु, केरल, पांडीचेरी, लक्ष द्वीप सभी क्षेत्रों में ऐसे पीड़ित बंधु हैं और उन के पुनर्वास का काम चल रहा है । देशवासियों ने भी जिस उदारता से इस काम में सहयोग दिया है, मैं उन सब का आभार प्रकट करत हूँ और सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि पुनर्वास के काम में वह अपनी रुचि बनाये रखे, उस पर अपनी पूरी निगरानी रखे; क्योंकि जितनी जल्दी हम उन्हें अपने उन्नत सामान्य जीवन में बसा सकेंगे, उतनी ही जल्दी वे अपने पैरों पर खड़े होने में और अपना भविष्य बनाने में अधिक सक्षम होंगे ।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने पिछले वर्ष भर में इस सरकार के द्वारा जो कदम उठाये गये हैं, उस का भी एक व्यौरा दिया है और उस में से बहुत सी उपलब्धियाँ इस देश को प्राप्त हुई हैं । संविधान में भी संशोधन हुआ और सर्वसम्मति जिन बातों में हो सकी, उतना काम हम पूरा कर चुके । मुझे भरोसा है कि बचे हुए कामों में भी माननीय सदस्यगण उसी प्रकार का सहयोग देंगे और लोकतंत्र के पुनःस्थापन, न्यायालयों के काम में किसी प्रकार से भी उत्पन्न होने वाली अड़चन और भविष्य में भी लोकतंत्र को किसी प्रकार की हानि न पहुँच सके, इसकी भी व्यवस्था करने में सारा सदन एक मत होकर उस व्यवस्था को लाने में सहयोग देगा ।

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

सर्वोच्च न्यायालय के मुख्य न्यायाधीश के पद पर श्री चन्द्रचूड़ की नियुक्ति के कारण सामान्य रूप से वरीयता का सिद्धान्त प्रस्थापित हुआ है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की चीजों में जितना कम विवाद उपस्थित हो सके, उसके लिए अवसर देना चाहिए।

जब सविधान के संशोधन पर विचार हो रहा है, तो मैं यह आग्रह करना चाहूँगा कि मतदान की आयु 18 वर्ष कर देने का प्रश्न इस बार अवश्य ले लिया जाना चाहिए। सम्पत्ति के अधिकार को मौलिक अधिकारों की सूची से अलग किया जाए ताकि यह एक साधारण अधिकार रह जाए और न्यायालयों के माध्यम से लागू किया जा सके। इसी कारण सविधान में 9वाँ अनुच्छेद है, वह वहाँ से हटा लेने की भी कार्यवाही हमें करनी चाहिए।

जब चुनाव के संशोधन का हम विचार कर रहे हैं तो एक प्रश्न जो बहुत वर्षों से विचार का विषय बना है वह अपनी चुनाव पद्धति में एक ऐन्क्रानिज्म है। 40 प्रतिशत जनता का समर्थन प्राप्त करने के बाद भी 80 या 90 प्रतिशत सत्ता हाथ में आ सकती है। वह एक स्थायी विषाद का विषय बनता रहा है। इसमें भी अगर हम सुधार कर सकें और ऐसी व्यवस्था कर सकें चुनाव प्रणाली में कि जिसमें जनमत का समर्थन और सत्ता के बीच में कुछ अनुपात रह जाए, असामान्यता न रहे, अधिक खार्ई न रहे तो अधिक अनुकूल होगा।

आपातकाल में हुई ज्यादातियों का भी राष्ट्रपति जी ने उल्लेख किया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि मुझे इस सम्बन्ध में अपनी ओर से कुछ जोड़ने की आवश्यकता नहीं। कमीशनों के सामने ज्यादातियों में भागीदार लोग ही एक दूसरे के सम्बन्ध में जो तथ्य प्रकाशित कर रहे हैं, अब उसके बाद देश को और अधिक जानकारी किसी तरफ़ से दी जाए, इसकी मैं आवश्यकता अनुभव नहीं करता। परन्तु जो लोग ज्यादातियों के शिकार बने

और विशेषकर जो गैर-सरकारी क्षेत्र में नौकरी करते थे, अपना काम चलाते थे, अभी भी उनके कुछ प्रश्न अधूरे हैं। मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि वह अपने गुड आफिसेज का इस्तेमाल करे। वे भी राष्ट्रीय स्वाधीनता के संघर्ष में लगने के कारण जो क्षति उठा चुके हैं, उसकी भी हम पूति कर सकें, जिस प्रकार से हमने सरकारी कर्म-चारियों के सम्बन्ध में व्यवस्था करने का निर्णय लिया। अगस्त, 1977 में सरकार की एक घोषणा भी प्रकाशित हुई थी कि प्री-इमरजेंसी के भी अगर कुछ केसेज होंगे तो उनके सम्बन्ध में भी व्यवस्था की जाएगी। मुझे मालूम नहीं, उसके लिए कौन सा फोरम अभी तक निर्धारित हुआ है। सरकार अगर उस प्री-इमरजेंसी एक्ससेज की भी जांच कराना चाहती है, उन लोगों को जो उससे पीड़ित हुए उनको राहत देना चाहती है तो उसके लिए भी उन्हें शीघ्रातिशीघ्र एक उपयुक्त फोरम का गठन करना चाहिए, जहाँ पर लोगों को राहत मिल सके। यहाँ पर इस बात का भी उल्लेख है विशेषकर हमारे सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय के कामों के संबंध में कि बहुत कुछ उपलब्धियाँ हुई हैं। मैं बधाई देना चाहता हूँ संबद्ध मंत्री जी को कि जो कुछ इस क्षेत्र में, इस विषय में करना चाहिये था वह कर पाये हैं, उसे करने में सफलता प्राप्त की है। समाचार एजेंसियों पर से भी नियंत्रण हटा है। जो सरकार का वायदा था वह पूरा हुआ है। परन्तु उनके पुनर्गठन का प्रश्न अभी भी अधूरा है। मेरा उनसे निवेदन है कि जब सरकार एक प्रेस आयोग का गठन कर रही है और यह प्रेस आयोग देश में मजबूत और स्वतंत्र समाचार पत्रों तथा समाचार सेवाओं का विकास करने और सुविधाएं देने की सिफारिशें करने वाला है तो आज कोई पुनर्गठन हो और प्रेस आयोग इस संबंध में कुछ और कहे इसके पहले हम, प्रेस आयोग को जल्दी से जल्दी स्थापित कर, उसके संबंध में उनका क्या कहना है इसकी प्रतीक्षा क्यों न करें। जितने

भारतीय समाचारपत्र हैं उनकी व्यवस्था इस देश में अच्छी नहीं है और स्वाभाविक रूप से उनको काफी कठिनाइयां उठानी पड़ेंगी। मैं तो इस मत का समर्थक हूँ कि भारतीय समाचार समिति सहकारी क्षेत्र में हो और एक ही एजेंसी हो। मिल बैठ कर इस संबंध में विचार-विमर्श किया जाए। इसी लिए मेरा यह भी आग्रह होगा कि इस संबंध में प्रेस आयोग की सहमति, उसकी सिफारिशों की हम प्रतीक्षा करें।

मैं यह भी आशा करता हूँ कि आकाशवाणी और दूरदर्शन को अधिक स्वायत्तता देने का काम भी शीघ्र पूरा हो जाएगा। लेकिन इसके साथ-साथ मुझे यह कहना है कि अभी भी फील्ड पब्लिसिटी आर्गनाइजेशन जितना सक्षम होना चाहिए, जितना देश के अंदर चलने वाली गतिविधियों को प्रसारण के द्वारा आम जनता तक पहुंचाने का काम करना चाहिए, वह अभी तक नहीं हो पाया है। म्येक जिले में एक प्रोजेक्ट और एक जीप इले से मौजूद है इसको संगठित करने का मैं विचार करना चाहिए। मुझे खेद है इस बात का उल्लेख करने का कि विदेशों में भी देश की गतिविधियों का जितना प्रचार और उसको जितना स्थान मिलना चाहिये, उसका सामवेश नहीं हो सका है। इस दृष्टि से भी अगर सरकार बहुत जल्दी अपनी प्रफारमेशन पालिसी बना ले तो उससे बहुत बड़ा लाभ होगा।

यहां उस दिन राष्ट्रपति महोदय जब अपना भाषण देने के लिये खड़े हुए तो अपने सद्वन के माननीय सदस्य श्री भूपेश गुप्त उपराष्ट्रपति के पिछले भाषण का उल्लेख करते हुए एक चीज के न होने की बात कही। मैं यह तो मानता हूँ कि वह काम जो मैं अधिवेशन के पहले पूरा होना चाहिये था वह पूरा नहीं हो सका है। लेकिन मैं यहां पर दृढ़त करना चाहूंगा, उस अंश को भी, जो उपराष्ट्रपति जी ने वर्ष भर पहले संयुक्त सभा की सभा में कहा था। पृष्ठ दो पर उनके

भाषण में पहला मुद्दा यह उठाया गया था कि पिछले दो सालों में आन्तरिक सुरक्षा कानून का जो घोर दुरुपयोग हुआ उसकी पूरी समीक्षा की जाएगी, जिससे इसे रद्द किया जा सके और इस बात की जांच की जा सके कि न्यायालयों में जाने के अधिकार को बरकरार रखते हुए देश की सुरक्षा तथा आर्थिक अपराधों को निपटाने के लिए वर्तमान कानून को और सशक्त बनाने की आवश्यकता है या नहीं।

श्री जगजीत सिंह आनन्द (पंजाब) : लेकिन आप तो फौजदारी कानून में तरमीम लाने की बात सोच रहे हैं।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : मैंने अभी एक बात आपके सामने पढ़ कर सुनाई है। अब मैं इस अभिभाषण में जो कुछ कहा गया है उसको पढ़ना चाहता हूँ। इसमें लिखा है कि "सरकार ने यह सुनिश्चित किया है कि भारत की रक्षा और सुरक्षा, सार्वजनिक व्यवस्था और समाज के जीवन यापन के लिए अनिवार्य पूर्तियों और सेवाओं को बनाए रखने के हित में न्यूनतम आवश्यक कानूनी प्रावधान तो रखे ही जायें, लेकिन साथ ही ऐसी शक्तियों का प्रयोग करने में किसी भी प्रकार की मनमानी को रोकने के लिए आवश्यक व्यवस्था की जाय और यदि जरूरत पड़े तो उच्च न्यायालयों के मुख्य न्यायाधीशों द्वारा मनोनीत न्यायाधीशों के बोर्डों से रिव्यू भी कराया जाय।" मैं यह मानता हूँ और इस बात का हामी हूँ कि जहां तक हो सके निवारक नजरबंदी का हमें सहारा नहीं लेना चाहिए। लेकिन साथ-साथ मैं इस बात का उल्लेख किये बिना नहीं रह सकता कि इस वक्त भी हमारे देश में हिंसा और तोड़फोड़ की कार्यवाहियां चल रही हैं, धमकी भरे पत्र दिए जा रहे हैं, बम-विस्फोट हो रहे हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त रेलगाड़ियों को ध्वस्त करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। ऐसी असामान्य स्थिति में मैं कुछ आवश्यक कदम उठाना आवश्यक समझता हूँ। लेकिन फिर भी मैं यह

[सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

चाहूंगा कि हमारे देश का सामान्य प्रशासन-तंत्र ही इन स्थितियों से निपटने के लिए सक्षम हो और इसलिए अगर कानून में कोई संशोधन करने की आवश्यकता हो तो वह भी किया जाना चाहिए।

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND: The Preventive Detention Act is a standing shame and the Janata Party Government is making it a regular part of the Criminal Procedure Code.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : इस आवश्यकता का उल्लेख पहले भी हुआ है और यह सरकार भी इसी आवश्यकता को ध्यान में रखकर कानून में सुधार करने का प्रबन्ध कर रही है।

मैं यहां पर इस बात का भी उल्लेख करना चाहूंगा कि आज हमारे देश के अन्दर अनेक कारणों को लेकर हमारे राज्यों के बीच में जो कांस्टिट्यूशनल संबंध हैं उनमें सुधार की बात कही जा रही है, विशेषकर राज्यों के अधिकार क्षेत्रों के संबंध में यह बात कही जा रही है। मैं इस बात को स्वीकार करता हूं कि राज्यों की बढ़ती हुई समाज कल्याण की जिम्मेदारियां उनसे ज्यादा व्यय की मांग कर रही है। परन्तु समय समय पर इस बात पर भी बहस और विचार होना चाहिए कि हमारे देश की जो आर्थिक दशा है और जो इस देश की आर्थिक सम्पदा है, उसका राज्य और केन्द्र किस प्रकार से उपयोग करें, जिससे कि सब के लिए समुचित व्यवस्था हो सके। मैं यहां पर आज के टाइम्स आफ इंडिया में बंगाल विधान सभा के विरोधी दल के नेता महोदय के भाषण का उल्लेख करना चाहूंगा जो उन्होंने विधान सभा में कल दिया है। श्री के० के० मोइत्रा ने अपने भाषण में जो कुछ कहा है वह इस समाचार-पत्र में छपा है। इसमें यह लिखा है कि—

"Mr. Moitra said that while he fully supported the State Government's

case for revision of the devolution of the Central resources formula, he could not do so in the case of the State's claim for greater constitutional powers which, in Mr. Moitra's view, would weaken the Centre to the detriment of the country as a whole. I can advocate no special status or powers for any particular State or area. Therefore, the State Government's memorandum on Centre-State relationship was absolutely unwarranted and uncalled for and had made actually the Left-Front Government suspect. Was it necessary to have more powers to implement the Left-Front's 36-point programme. Mr. Moitra himself gave a negative answer because he added nothing prevented the State Government from giving effect to these points within the existing frame work. Mr. Sen thought the Government's policy was opportunist".

इसी समाचार-पत्र में श्री भोलानाथ सेन का भाषण भी छपा है जिसमें कहा गया है कि—

"A former Congress Minister, Mr. Bholu Nath Sen, on the other hand, argued that the C.P.I.(M)'s professed commitment to democracy was a cover for strengthening its own organisation and spoke of the lawlessness everywhere in the State, quoting from a statement issued by a district leader of the Forward Block, which is a Front constituent."

मैं ऐसा समझता हूं और जैसा मैंने कहा है जिस बात का जिक्र किया गया है उस पर विचार हो सकता है, लेकिन अगर हम गलत भूमिका में गये तो इसके लिए हमें खेद भी हो सकता है।

इस देश में मैं स्वीकार करता हूं कि मल्टी लिग्विस्ट्स हैं। हम मल्टी-रिलीजन भी रखना चाहते हैं, इस देश में, लेकिन मैं मल्टी नेशनल होने की भावना का सख्त विरोध करता हूं; क्योंकि मल्टी नेशनल की भावना

इस देश की एकता की जड़ पर कुटाराघात करती है। और अगर इसी भावना से प्रेरित होकर केन्द्र और राज्यों के सम्बन्धों पर विचार होगा तो इसमें ग्राम आदमी की सुविधा का प्रश्न कम है, इसमें राजनीतिक विवाद और एकता के प्रश्न पर चोट करने की गुंजाइश ही ज्यादा है। इसलिये मैं इसका विरोध करता हूँ। देश के ग्राम आदमी को राहत कैसे पहुंचायी जा सकती है और प्रादेशिक राज्य भी अपने-अपने लोगों की आर्थिक और सामाजिक उन्नति के कामों को किस प्रकार अच्छी तरह से कर सकते हैं, उसके लिये उन्हें किस तरह की सहायता दी जाय, किस तरह से आपस में आर्थिक सम्बन्धों का निपटारा किया जा सकता है, यह प्रश्न कांसटेंट डिबेट का विषय है। एक बार बैठ कर उसको तय कर सकते हैं, उस पर विचार कर सकते हैं। मैं इसकी तारीफ करता हूँ। लेकिन इसकी आड़ में अगर अधिकारों की बात कही जायेगी तो मैं इसका विरोध करता हूँ। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि अधिकारों का विकेन्द्रीकरण जहां आवश्यक है, किया जाना चाहिए। यह विकेन्द्रीकरण स्वायत्त संस्थाओं में कितना अधिक हम कर पायेंगे, पंचायतों को हम वैधानिक अधिकारों से जितना पुष्ट कर सकेंगे और उनको केवल राज्य सरकारों की दया पर अपने आर्थिक साधनों के लिये निर्भर नहीं रखेंगे, उतनी ही लोकतंत्र की जड़ें गहरी हो जायेंगी और ग्राम आदमी लोकतंत्र के विकास में अधिक रुचि ले सकेगा, अधिक ईमानदारी में काम कर सकेगा।

मैं इस भाषण में पुलिस आयोग के गठन के निश्चय का स्वागत करता हूँ। 1902 में पुलिस आयोग का गठन किया गया था। राज परिस्थितियां बदल गई हैं। उस समय तो गुलामी के समय में शासक और शासित, उस आधार पर पुलिस के गठन की सब बातें ई थीं। आज तो सारा दृष्टिकोण बदल गया है और इसी परिप्रेक्ष्य में इस पर विचार

करना आवश्यक है। जो अन्य कमीशन नियुक्त किये गये हैं, मैं उनका स्वागत करता हूँ। अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जन जाति आयोग पहले से ही काम कर रहा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि वह अधिक सक्रिय हो और सदन भी उसकी रिपोर्ट्स पर नियमित रूप से चर्चा करे और सुझाव दे। यदि सरकार उन सुझावों पर, उस बहस पर जल्द कदम उठायेगी तो उसका काम और अधिक प्रभावी बनेगा।

पिछड़ी जाति के लोगों के लिये भी एक कमीशन नियुक्त करने की घोषणा हुई है। मैं इसका समर्थन करता हूँ और मुझे विश्वास है कि लोगों का जो आर्थिक पिछड़ापन है, जो कि उनकी समस्याओं का मुख्य कारण है, यह कमीशन मुख्य रूप से इसी दृष्टि से इस प्रश्न को देखेगा और उनका आर्थिक पिछड़ापन कैसे दूर किया जा सकता है, उस पर ही अपनी शक्ति लगाने का प्रयत्न करेगा।

अल्पसंख्यक आयोग को भी घोषणा हुई है। उसकी आवश्यकता भी अनुभव की जा रही थी। यद्यपि यह ग्राम धारणा है कि एक ही वर्ग विशेष के लिये यह किया जा रहा है। मैं आग्रह करना चाहूंगा कि जिस किसी भी कसौटी पर किसी जमात, जाति या सम्प्रदाय को अल्पसंख्यक होने का भय, किसी भी क्षेत्र में भी हो, उन सब लोगों के प्रति इस कमीशन को ध्यान देना चाहिए। तभी वे जो कि अल्पसंख्यक होने की बीमारी से ग्रसित हैं, जो भयाभीत हैं, जो दुःखी हैं, उनकी निस्तार हो सकेगी।

आर्थिक प्रश्नों की तरफ भी राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने हमारा ध्यान आकर्षित किया है और उन्होंने इस बात पर सन्तोष व्यक्त किया है कि आर्थिक प्रगति की ओर हमारे स्टेप बढ़े हैं। दो फीसदी से भी कम जो हमारी प्रगति थी वह पांच प्रतिशत जा पहुंची है। अन्न का उत्पादन भी सभी प्रकार की अव्यवस्थाओं, बाधाओं के बाद 1180 लाख टन हुआ है। लेकिन मैं यह

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

स्वीकार करता हूँ कि अभी भी अच्छा अन्न उपलब्ध कराने की व्यवस्था में मुधार की गुंजाइश है। आज भी फूड कारपोरेशन के कामों पर चर्चा हो रही थी। मुझे मालूम है कि जो मिलों से आटा मिलता है उसमें अधिकांश सड़ा हुआ अनाज मिलों को दे कर वह मिलों का आटा गरीब आदमियों को उपलब्ध होता है। हम लोग जब जेल में थे तो हम को उसी आटे से वास्ता पड़ता था। इसलिए हम को मालूम है कि कितनी पूअर क्वालिटी का आटा उपलब्ध होता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था करे कि सड़ा हुआ अनाज किसी भी प्रकार से मिलों की मार्फत आटा पीस कर जनता तक न पहुँचे। कीट नाशकों का भी उपयोग आज खाद्यानों पर अनुपात में अधिक हो रहा है, उसका दुष्परिणाम आम आदमी के स्वास्थ्य पर हो रहा है। रख-रखाव के बारे में भी हमें पुनर्विचार करना पड़ेगा; क्योंकि चार-चार, पाँच-पाँच साल का अनाज सड़ जाता है, उस परिस्थिति को रोकने की आवश्यकता है। हम एक साल का स्टॉक रखें यह बात तो समझ में आती है, लेकिन अनाज पड़ा रहे और सड़ जाए और फिर निकालने पर मजबूर हों, इस परिस्थिति से हम को मुक्ति प्राप्त करनी चाहिए।

सरकार ने जो पिछले साल सपोर्ट प्राइस की नीति घोषित की खाद्यानों के संबंध में उमका एक बहुत अच्छा अनुकूल परिणाम हुआ है। आज सामान्य किसानों को आशा हुई है कि उसको कम से कम इतनी कीमत तो मिलेगी। इस संबंध में सारे देश में जोन तोड़ने की घोषणा हुई थी, लेकिन मैंने जो उदाहरण दिया है श्री के० के० मोइत्ता ने भी अपनी बंगाल असेम्बली में इस बात का आरोप लगाया कि वहाँ पर सैक्शन 144 क्रिमिनल प्रोसीजर लगा कर जिन जिलों में सरप्लस चावल पैदा होता है वहाँ से चावल को दूसरे जिलों में जाने से रोका जा रहा है। अब मैं समझता हूँ कि यह नीति ऐसी है कि इन नीतियों में सार्वदेशिक दृष्टिकोण ही मदद देगा।

इसमें व्यवधान उपस्थिति करना शायद प्रदेश विशेष के लिए या जिला विशेष के लिए भी सहायक नहीं हो सकता। आवश्यकता इस बात की है जैसा कि शिकायत हुई सपोर्ट प्राइस के लिए भी कि किसानों के लिए हर वक्त परिस्थिति अनुकूल नहीं रहती और सरकार की दुकानें उसकी मदद के लिए खड़ी नहीं होती। हम इस चीज को किस प्रकार स्ट्रेंगथन कर सकते हैं। तब ही सपोर्ट प्राइस की थ्योरी हमारे इस सारे काम में मदद देगी।

आवश्यक वस्तुओं के अभाव की बात का सवाल पिछले दिनों में रहा है। परिस्थिति बिल्कुल हल हो गई हो इसका दावा करना तो कठिन होगा, लेकिन जो कुछ कदम उठाए गए हैं उससे कुछ नमी जरूर आई है। शक्कर के क्षेत्र में लेवी हो या नान-लेवी हो, जब अधिक रिलीज किया गया तो उससे नमी आई है। चाय पर जब एक्सपोर्ट ड्यूटी बढ़ाई गई तो चाय की कीमतों पर भी अनुकूल प्रभाव पड़ा है, जनसाधारण की दृष्टि से। जब प्याज और आलू जैसी चीजों पर कीमतें बढ़ने लगीं तो उनके एक्सपोर्ट रोकने का परिणाम अनुकूल दृष्टि से हुआ।

**श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूडावत**  
(राजस्थान) : चीजें तो सस्ती नहीं हुई ...

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** हुई हैं ...

(Interruptions) कीमिया सुझा सकत हो आप अगर और कोई इसके लिए तो मैं चाहूँगा कि सरकार उसका स्वागत करे। जो कदम उठाया जा सकता था उसकी एक्सेलिबिलिटी को बढ़ाने का, उसकी कीमतों के बढ़ते हुए चढ़ाव को रोकने का वह कदम उठाया गया है और उसके बाद अनुकूल परिणाम भी हुए है.. (Interruption) आज भी अभी जिस विषय पर हम लोगों ने जो चर्चा की—शुगरकेन प्राइसेस पर अभी विचार हुआ है। सरकार ने यह अच्छा निर्णय लिया कि गुड़ का एक्सपोर्ट खोल दिया है और उस पर कोई सीमा नहीं रखी। मैं यहाँ पर एक बोल्ट सजेशन देना चाहूँगा। सन् 1969 में इसी प्रकार गुड़ में एक ग्लट

आया था और उस समय फारवर्ड ट्रेडिंग की पद्धति ने इसमें मदद दी थी। मैं सुझाव देना चाहूंगा कि अगर हम वास्तव में किसानों की मदद करना चाहते हैं और गिरती हुई कीमतों को रोक कर उसके बढ़ने की तरफ जो आज सबकी चिन्ता है उस तरफ जाना चाहते हैं तो सरकार जांच करती जाय, सरकार की रिपोर्ट में स्टॉक रखना या नहीं रखना उसके लिए अनुकूल पड़े या नहीं पड़े। परन्तु यह एक पद्धति भी इसमें मदद दे सकती है और साधारण, नार्मल मार्केट कंडीशन में ये चीजें लागू होती रही है। मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार इस पर विचार करे और फारवर्ड ट्रेडिंग अगर गुड़ में करने से किसानों की मदद की जा सकती है, कीमतें गिरने से रोकी जा सकती हैं तो इस चीज का भी प्रयोग करने से हमें संकोच नहीं करना चाहिए।

सरकार ने नयी औद्योगिक नीति की घोषणा की है और तीन सौ से अधिक आइटम्स कुल 500 स्माल स्केल में लिये हैं। नये 300 से अधिक आइटम्स इसमें जोड़े हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में रोजगार की गुंजाइश बढ़ेगी। यह भी तय हुआ है कि 30 परसेंट से बढ़ाकर 40 परसेंट पैसा कृषि पर खर्च किया जाये। बैंकों के द्वारा दिये जाने वाले धन पर निश्चित रकम ग्रामीण औद्योगीकरण की तरफ लगायी जाय। इन सब कार्यों से ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में रोजगार बनाने में और गांव के लोगों की क्रय शक्ति निर्माण करने में मदद मिलेगी। असल में आज जो मुख्य समस्या बन गयी है वह कृषि क्षेत्र को बढ़ाने की है और इसके लिए देश की अधिक से अधिक परसेंटेज की अधिक से अधिक परचेजिंग कैपैसिटी कैसे बढ़ सकती है इस पर जोर देना होगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि इन कामों का निश्चित रूप में इस पर प्रभाव पड़ेगा।

औद्योगिक अशांति को रोकने के लिए भी मैं समझता हूँ कि धीरे धीरे वातावरण अनुकूल बन रहा है और इसी कारण से जो रातों-रात कन्सिलियेशन, ट्रीपारटाइट आदि

आपस में बैठकर विचार करने के हैं इनको हम जितना बलवान, सक्रिय बनायेंगे कन्फ्रेंशन भी उसी मात्रा में गिरेगा। आज इसके अनुकूल लक्षण भिन्न भिन्न क्षेत्रों में दिखाई दे रहे हैं। यही कारण है कि गत वर्ष जहां 20 मिलियन मेन आवर्स लास हुए तो इस वर्ष 17 मिलियन मेन आवर्स भी लास हुए हैं। मैं इससे संतुष्ट नहीं हूँ लेकिन इससे ट्रेड का जरूर पता लगता है। मैं चाहूंगा कि कम्प्रीहेंसिव इंडस्ट्रियल रिलेशन बिल के लिए जो सुझाव आये उसके आधार पर जल्दी से जल्दी यह बिल पार्लियामेंट के सामने पेश किया जाय औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में हम लोग मिलकर श्रमिक और इम्प्लायी इन दोनों के संबंधों को बनाने की एक अच्छी शुरुआत कर सकें।

अन्ग्रार्गोनाइज्ड लेबर भी एक बहुत बड़ा फैक्टर है अपने देश में और मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि सरकार का ध्यान उस ओर गया है। इस संबंध में एक कांफरेंस भी हो चुकी है और उस कांफरेंस ने कुछ निर्णय भी लिए हैं। मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार उन निर्णयों को लागू करने के लिए भी शीघ्रता से कदम उठाए।

डियरनेस अलाउंस का प्रश्न कल भी अपने इस सदन में विवाद का विषय बना था और मैं समझता हूँ, जब तक हम एक अखिल भारतीय नीति वेजेज के बारे में तय नहीं कर लेते तब तक वह जो हमारी जिम्मेदारी है और जो हम मान चुके हैं कि प्राइस इंडेक्स की फिगर एक निश्चित सीमा तक पहुंचने पर हमें एडिशनल इंस्टालमेंट देना चाहिए। यह एक ऐसा प्रश्न है कि जिसको हम पोस्टपोन करके अनावश्यक तनाव की परिस्थिति में पैदा करते हैं। मैं यह आग्रह करूंगा सरकार से कि जब हम यह स्वीकार करते हैं कि प्राइस इंडेक्स 320 को पार कर चुका है, तो एडिशनल इंस्टालमेंट देने के प्रश्न पर हमें विचार करना चाहिए। हम जब नेशनल वेज पालिसी तय करेंगे, उस कांटेक्ट में इन सब चीजों के बारे में

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

पुनर्विचार करना हमारे लिए आसानी से संभव हो जाएगा ।

इस देश की विदेश नीति के संबंध में भी अंतिम बात कह कर समाप्त करूंगा । मैं समझता हूं, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में जिस तरीके से भारत की वर्तमान सरकार ने अपने संबंधों को प्रस्थापित करने में सफलता प्राप्त की है और आशाकांक्षों का निर्मूलन किया है उसमें मतभेद होते हुए भी, सौहार्द का वातावरण निर्माण करने में हमें सफलता मिली है । अपने उप-महाद्वीपीय पड़ोसी देशों के साथ हमारे संबंध घनिष्ठ बने हैं और बाई-पार्टाइट विचार विनिमय से हम अपने प्रश्नों को हल करने की भूमिका निर्माण करने में सफल हुए हैं ।

अंतर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्रों में भी जिन प्रश्नों पर तनाव चल रहा है, और मैं समझता हूं अभी सिडनी में जो कामनवेल्थ कंट्रीज के देशों की बैठक हुई उसमें हम हिंद महासागर में तनाव न पैदा हो, कोई भी बड़ी शक्ति इसको अपनी शक्ति का अखाड़ा न बनाएं, इसके बारे में एक कांशेंस बनाने में सफल हुए हैं । मुझे भरोसा है कि अब काबुल में फिर से नान एलाइंड नेशंस के ब्यूरो की एक कमेटी हो रही है वहां पर हम डिसआरमिंट के सवाल पर भी निश्चित रूप से एक लाइन बना सकेंगे । यूनाइटेड नेशंस में जो सम्मेलन हो रहा है इस प्रश्न पर नान एलाइंड नेशंस भी एक मजबूत आवाज उसमें पैदा कर सकेंगे । मुझे प्रसन्नता है इस बात की कि भारत इन प्रश्नों में पहल कर रहा है और जो जिम्मेदारी अंतर्राष्ट्रीय संबंधों में सौहार्द निर्माण करने की, अपने लिए एक अनुकूल भूमिका निर्माण करने की और एक सच्ची गुट-निरपेक्ष नीति को व्यवहार में लाने की हमने घोषणा की है उसके अनुसार ठोस कदम उठाने में हम कामयाब हो रहे हैं ।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने इन प्रश्नों का उल्लेख करके सदन को अवसर दिया है सरकार के

उन सारे कार्यक्रमों पर अपने मत प्रकट करने का, अपना समर्थन व्यक्त करने का । मुझे विश्वास है इन नीतियों के आधार पर इस छोटे से काल में जो दिशाएं हमने निर्धारित की हैं, जो कुछ लक्षण हमें दीखने लगे हैं, जिन क्षेत्रों में एक पाजिटिव दृष्टि से अपने देश के ग्राम आदमी की भलाई के लिए और ग्राम आदमी के वर्षों के पिछड़ेपन और गरीबी को दूर करने की दिशा में हमने जो शुरुआत की है उसका यह सदन स्वागत करेगा और राष्ट्रपति महोदय को उनके मार्गदर्शन के लिए यह हमारा धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव जो रखा गया है उसको यह सदन सर्वानुमोदन से स्वीकार करेगा । धन्यवाद ।

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH (Gujarat): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks moved by the hon. Shri Sunder Singh Bhandari on the Address given by the President to this august House.

AN HON. MEMBER: With reservations.

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: No reservations.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: It is your preserve.

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: Sir, this is the third occasion for me to speak on this subject of the President's Address. I started speaking on this subject two years before when I was on the other side of this House and had stated that it was time the country needed a change in its political system that the country needed a new national alternative to be established so that the failings of the party that was ruling at that time could be met with by another alternative. And, Sir, at that time also I stated that it was in the interest of the country that howsoever great a party may be, howsoever great history it might have, the change was necessary. The change was necessary because of the failings of the Congress Party which was ruling at that time. Apart from that,



also for the growth of the democratic system in this country, a change was necessary and the change was brought about by the people in spite of the fact that every effort was made to ensure that no change might emerge.

Now, Sir, last year when I spoke, I said that the new national alternative was emerging during the Emergency itself. In fact, it was this challenge of this new national alternative in the name of the Janata Party which rather made the Congress Party nervous and forced it to bring the Emergency and it had to pay a heavy price for it. Now, Sir, the national alternative has emerged—the Janata Party—with a political philosophy wedded to Gandhian ideals, with an economic philosophy wedded to decentralisation, and it has come to stay. (*Interruptions*) Howsoever one may agree or disagree or whether one may like it or not, the fact is that the Janata Party has come to stay in this country and it is going to stay also. Now the question is, when the Janata Party went before the people, it started with a very comprehensive manifesto and it stated that it is dedicated to the values and ideals of Gandhiji and it has been striving to implement these ideals in the most sincere way. Pursuant to this, Sir, the Janata Party Working Committee has brought out a Statement on Economic Policy which I should say, be considered as a background to the President's Address which is trying to reflect this new economic policy

After all, the country's stupendous problems require a new approach. All along there has been some mistake in the dynamics of change and therefore the Janata Party Working Committee has clinched the issue in the following way. In its paragraph on Dynamics of Change, the Statement on Economic Policy states:—

“The dynamics for change-over to such a society and economy would be provided in the first instance by the utmost decentralisation of the process of planning and, in the

second, by the elevation of agriculture to the predominant position and, finally, by a mass-oriented industrialisation.”

Sir, this should be considered as a kind of basic premise in judging the working of the Janata Party. (*Interruption*) Sir, some of my friends who still live with old, outmoded ideas have never overcome their outdated and completely worn out ideas of some four or five centuries before. 3 P.M. And what we are now seeking to do is not something which is outdated or out-worn. The language I am speaking is the language of the new age that is emerging, of the society that is coming up for the next century. So the society which the Janata Party is shaping is the new society that is coming up. And the Party has stated in its economic policy statement that it believes in treading the path of Gandhian socialism based on political and economic decentralisation; it believes in creating a society largely based on self-employment. Sir, these are new programmes and I can understand that my friends are hurt by these new things which appear foreign to them because they have never tried to understand these things. The point is that the kind of re-fashioning the whole economic and political order, this whole idea of creating a society with a new technique, is itself a major challenge which the Janata Party has taken up. We know that it is not going to be easy. We know that it is not going to be without difficulties. We know that it is not going to be without hurdles. But the point is that the Janata Party has the courage to take up this challenge of working for an alternative system of economy, an alternative system of polity, an alternative system of socio-educational order. This in itself is a big thing which the Janata Party has taken up. And I think this by itself makes the work of the Janata Party of great significance, of great magnitude and great

[Prof. Ramlal Parikh]

importance and relevance not only to India but to the whole modern world.

I am deliberately discussing the President's Address in the light of the basic policy because unless we are clear in our minds about some of the basic postulates of the policy we want to pursue, we will not be able to understand each other. And, after all, in this House, we do want to understand each other. And I am trying to make my position, and the position of my party, clear to enable my friends to understand the basic policies which the party is pursuing. Nobody can question these policies and say that these are wrong. Nobody can dispute and say that these policies are in any wrong direction. When some people say that there is no direction, I simply fail to understand it and think whether they know the meaning of a direction. Simply because somebody has a different direction, they say that there is no direction. It may be because they have always been, for several decades now, accustomed to one kind of language, i.e. when somebody differs from something, if a little different line is drawn up—different from what has already been heard of for the last 30 years—then it is loss of a direction. It is not loss of a direction. It is progress towards a new direction, a more dynamic direction and a direction which is for the benefit of the vast poor, downtrodden masses of our country. Now this is where the Janata Party policy is now moving ahead.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): What about the policy to take over the sick mills?

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: Now, Sir, in the last one year, in order to move towards this policy of having a kind of an alternative socio-political and economic order, which is no doubt distinct from what was going on up till now—which was nothing but slogan mongering, which was nothing

but fooling the people—the Janata Party has come to the basic facts, the basic realities, and it is time to meet the situation in the basic realities of our country—the country with millions of illiterates, the country with millions of villages and millions of landless workers. Whenever we are thinking, talking and planning, we are keeping these millions of masses, the 70 per cent rural population, which constitutes the Indian society, in view. Keeping them in view, we are planning.

Now, Sir, from that angle, our first task was to remove the impediments and hurdles created by the emergency rule—and that we had to do as quickly as possible, as rapidly as feasible—and we tried to do it in the best possible manner. Only yesterday the editorials of some of the newspapers have written that the restoration of freedom which the Janata Government has been able to achieve has been done with remarkable speed. This is what "The Times of India" reports. Nobody can question that restoration of freedom in terms of the restoration of Constitutional guarantees, of fundamental rights of the independence of the judiciary, of the freedom of the Press and of the rule of law, has been fully achieved in spite of the difficulties which have been created by the amendments of the Constitution during the emergency rule, which many people are now coming out saying that they rallied around despite their unwilling conscience. Now, whatever it may be, there is an effort, to secure national consensus.

Now, Sir, under the able leadership of the Prime Minister, let there be a national consensus on some of the basic issues of our political system. If we are all committed to democracy, let us then share this commitment among all of us and let us say that these are some of the minimum things which none of us shall touch in future, shall damage in future,

shall try to undermine or subvert in future. This is a new thing. In this country, people have been led to believe that there should be monolithism in politics and that there should be unilateralism in politics. Now this is a new thing where there is going to be a dialogue, an interchange of views, a consensus, a conciliation. When the Janata Party is making this effort, some people feel very nervous and become unhappy, and they have now started bringing in element of confrontation. I am really sorry because this is the best opportunity for this country to arrive at certain basic decisions about the political and economic system of our country. The leadership of Janata Party today is providing this excellent opportunity with an open mind and with an open heart, but this opportunity is not being fully availed of by some friends and in fact a deliberate effort is being made to disturb this process of national conciliation and national consensus. We shall continue to do so, we shall strive to do so in spite of the difficulties, in spite of the accusations and allegations. In spite of whatever anybody says, good or bad, of us, we shall continue to do so because we know that there are certain issues on which we have to work for a national consensus. So, the President's address, Sir, is, to be viewed, in this background. It should be viewed, it should be judged in the background that there is now an effort at least to establish basic agreement on the basic questions of our polity about certain minimum do's and don'ts of our democratic system which have been very blatantly violated and shamelessly violated, and we want to see that they are not violated again. This is the thing in which the Janata Party seeks co-operation of every member of this House and everybody inside and outside this House, who shares any commitment, even a semblance of commitment, to the philosophy and practice of democracy.

Now, Sir, this has also been established beyond doubt. Yesterday, when our Hon. Railway Minister presented the Railway Budget, he showed how, without any kind of emergency regulations, we can make phenomenal progress. The Railways have come out with a surplus and have secured the maximum co-operation of workers, and, therefore, this whole myth that you require emergency in order to have discipline has been fully exploded. The Railway Minister yesterday ably exploded the myth that you require emergency to discipline, to increase production and to do this and that.

I was in England last week. There was a strike going on. I asked some Members of Parliament there while visiting the gallery of the House of Commons why it was that they had strikes every day and told them that it appeared that if there were so many strikes, perhaps, according to one set of arguments in our country, we should have had perpetual emergency. And they said, "Yes, we have lots of strikes, but we never think of an Emergency; we never think of curbing anybody's trade union activity. We only say that so long as they do it within the legitimate rules of law, so long as they do it peacefully . . .

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): What is happening in Faridabad?

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: "everybody has a right to agitate and everybody has a right to make demands." Sir, the point is, nobody thinks of curbing anybody's freedom just because there is a strike. Now, this myth has been exploded and I hope we will forget this myth now, the myth that we will ever require this kind of an Emergency for bringing about discipline or anything.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA: What happened in Swadeshi Mill in Kanpur?

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: Now, we are set on our path; we have started reconstructing the Indian society, the Indian polity, the Indian economy. It was said that the Janata Party had no programme. It was said that the Janata Party had no philosophy. The Janata Party has a philosophy. When the philosophy was set forth, they said, they have no programme. And the Economic Policy Statement has shown clear programmes. This is one of the most comprehensive statements. Now the statement and philosophy are eloquent. No statement is supposed to bring about agreement on every point. But it is indisputable that this Economic Policy Statement provides a new programme, a new hope, a new direction for reconstructing the Indian economy. Now, take three or four important examples. Here is the Economic Policy Statement which clearly commits itself, unambiguously, unequivocally commits itself, to allocating 40 per cent of the resources for the rural sector. Now, how could you say, with this kind of a clear statement, that it has no direction? It is a very clear direction which some people do not like because it would not suit their power game. That is another thing. But here it is a very clear indication that 40 per cent of the resources will be allocated to the rural sector. And 'rural sector' has been defined—excluding roads, but including power. With so much clarity the statement has been brought out. I think this is a great landmark in the economic thought of India; it is a great landmark in the whole process of planning in India. And because this is more heavily tilted towards the ignorant, illiterate and destitute masses of India, some of the people who have always been trained in the urban elitist education, which has no relevance in our country, will never find anything new in it. But the fact is, this is a new direction which not only India is thinking of but even the world is thinking of, and that is the Gandhian way. The

other example is the heavy emphasis on cottage and village industries. And because there is a heavy emphasis on cottage and village industries, the accusation starts, "What happens to the heavy industries?" We have never said that the heavy industries will be abolished. We have never said that the heavy industries will be given up or de-nationalised. They will continue to be managed as before . . .

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA (Gujarat): Mr. Parikh, do you know that your Industry Minister has recently signed an agreement with Czechoslovakia for giant steel plants?

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: Well, I am saying that our policy of emphasis on cottage and village industries does not in any way affect the proper and legitimate role, to the degree it is necessary, which is required to be given to the heavy industries. The point is, so far we had been lacking in one thing: we had not been able to do things which directly benefit the poorest masses of India. Gandhiji was craving for years in his life for this kind of a policy and programme. And men like me are happy today that the Janata Party speaks the language of Gandhiji and not only speaks the language of Gandhiji in terms of slogans but is making a systematic and a very scientific effort to implement it. Now, in terms of economy, the President's Address has very clearly established that the economy is developing the growth rate is rising, the food production also is rising, and the recent decision to demonetize currency notes of Rs. 1000 and above has definitely, been able to affect the growth of inflation. Although the amount of Rs. 150 crores or just around that may not be very big, but it does have its effect on the market. Even the circulation of Rs 150 crores in effect in the market is nearly 10 to 12 times. Therefore, the curb on money supply is not just of Rs. 150 crores but in actual reality in actual practice in economic terms

it is nearly curbing money supply of the value of Rs. 1000 crores, and this has definitely affected the inflationary trend, it has affected the prices. Very soon we will see some of the very good results of this small, apparently small—but it is not very small—measure. This is indeed a far-reaching, significant, measure. Therefore, nobody can say that the Janata Government is not serious about what it says. The Janata Government is, in fact, very serious and it has been trying to demonstrate its determination, its firmness, in implementing the new economic policy which it has tried and is trying to evolve.

Now about the educational policy and the foreign policy. These are the two other major issues which the President's Address has touched and I would touch them briefly. In the sphere of education, this has been again a very, very difficult area which has been eluding solution all these years. The Janata Government has now come for the first time and it has sought the cooperation of everyone on these issues, that we must remould the educational system and change our priorities in education, make firstly universalisation of primary education as the topmost priority programme—this programme accompanied by removal of illiteracy programme and organisation of adult literacy campaign. These are the two major programmes which are going to affect our political and economic system. Literacy is not a question of knowledge. Here is a country in which illiteracy has been an instrument of exploitation. Here is a country where literate people, in spite of their knowledge and understanding, have been exploited. And it is for the removal of their exploitation that adult literacy campaign on a massive scale is being planned, that the Planning Commission is now ready to give a very high priority to primary education and adult education. Over 30 to 40 per cent of the resources in education are going to be allotted to pri-

mary and adult education. This, I think, is a distinct departure from what was going on up till now. Up till now what was going on was a kind of *status quo*, stagnation, in the educational policy. Now there is a new dynamism coming up. In terms of educational policy the second major decision that is coming up is linking education with productivity. Well, some people argued, you will be linking education with productivity activities and you will not have your leisure time as before. Yes, a certain amount of leisure will certainly be curtailed. But we want the country and the country's young men to take pride in doing productive work. We want them to participate in the campaign for production, in the campaign for increasing production, in the campaign for increasing the wealth of the nation. And if you keep education outside, you can never do it. And this is the kind of approach in which the large number of masses participate through education in productivity activities, farming, small industry, cottage industry or even manufacturing industries or consumer goods industry, everything wherever and whatever is possible, whatever is conducive to productive activities. This again is a major role and no Government up till now had so categorically committed itself to the removal of illiteracy. Sometimes many people have been asking the question that some Governments had their vested interest in maintaining illiteracy. Here is a Government which does not bother about it. The people are the masters and their capacity has now increased. It is already high and we want it to grow still higher. Therefore, this removal of illiteracy, linking education with productivity, making higher education available to everybody in his regional language, these are some of the major programmes which are being pushed through through a dynamic, radical, educational policy. With which Janata Party and the Janata Government are moving ahead. Then again, in all these policies, see the approach of the Janata Party. It is not the approach

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of the earlier Government which treated everybody, who did not agree with them, as their enemy. Our approach is different. You may differ from us; you may disagree with us. Still, please co-operate with us. Even if you do not come to an agreement on a dozen issues, does not matter. We will continue to struggle to arrive at a conclusion mutually acceptable to us; we will try to arrive at a national consensus. Thus we will go ahead. And for that we seek your co-operation. We do not condemn anybody or discard anybody as enemy of this country simply because you differ from us. Such a thing should not happen in future. This is our basic principle. No Party will be treated as our enemy simply because it has a different view. For that reason you cannot be our enemy. The Janata Party will follow a true, democratic principle in spirit and in action.

Lastly, coming to the foreign policy, the Janata Party Government has tried to rectify some of the imbalances which had crept in, in our foreign policy. Obviously there was no disagreement on the basic character of the foreign policy, namely, we should be non-aligned, that we should be outside the power blocs, that we should be independent and should not interfere in the affairs of other countries and should believe in peaceful co-existence. But the point is that in the past certain errors had crept in and certain distortions had erupted in this foreign policy. The Janata Party Government, under the able leadership of our Prime Minister, has removed these distortions in a short period....

SHRI HARSH DEO MALVIYA: Will you please explain what those distortions are?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up your speech.

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: To explain all the distortions, I would need half an hour. But I am sure they are

not unknown to anyone. The main thing is that distortions have erupted in our foreign policy which was meant to be a policy of genuine non-alignment. We were tilting our balance towards one power bloc. Now we are equally friendly with all the countries and what is more, on our terms, with our dignity and honour held high. The greatest defect was that we were neglecting our neighbours. Now we are having cordial relations with all our neighbours. To our neighbouring countries we have said that the type of Government the people want is a matter to be determined by each nation itself. We do not want to interfere. The main thing is that some of the distortions have been removed and a policy of genuine and transparent non-alignment is now being followed.

Coming to the last point, I would again say that the Janata Party Government is on the correct path and in the right direction with a firm determination to go ahead with an open heart and an open mind seeking co-operation wherever it is available and trying to get it from everywhere. Now, this country has entered a new era. Do not forget that our country has now entered a new era and the people have entered a new age. They want to go ahead and, therefore, they are supporting the Janata Party. The Janata Party is receiving all-round support from the people because they have now come, for the first time, to realise and experience themselves that here is a Party with a hope, here is a Party which will bring in something new—not something outdated or worn out—something realistic, pragmatic and practical for the people.

Lastly, I would only say that the President's Address has also dealt with so many problems including the appointment of a Commission for Minority Communities, the Scheduled Castes or Backward Classes Commission. These are very clear measures which indicate the determination and will power of the Janata Party leadership to implement all its promises.

The one thing in which perhaps we will have to put in still more efforts is the one relating to the allocation of more resources to the States. Here I would like to say that there are many States like Gujarat where fifty per cent of its population is backward and where nearly five million people are tribal people. So, in such cases, we need more resources and more resources are required to be given by the Centre and I would very much hope that the Central Government would provide all resources for the development of these States.

In the end, Sir, I would say that this is a very transparent, categorical and clear Address which, I think, all sections of the House should welcome and support and I would repeat that the effort of the Janata Government to create a national consensus should receive welcome from all. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, there are 262 amendments to the Motion which we can take up now. Mr. Sanat Kumar Raha.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA: (West Bengal): Sir, I move:

1. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the non-implementation of the assurances made in the Address to Parliament by the Vice-President acting as President on March 28, 1977, in the following words "(i) Having regard to the gross abuse to which the Maintenance of Internal Security Act has been put during the last two years, a thorough review of the Act will be undertaken with a view to repealing it and examining whether the existing laws need further strengthening to deal with economic offences and security of the country without denying the right of approach to courts".'

2. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the failure on the part of the Government to repeal MISA and do away with the lawless law of Preventive Detention as

promised in the Address of the Acting President last year to Parliament, is an unheard of way of treating Parliament and the nation by the Government which damages even the credibility and sanctity of the exalted office of the President in the context of its relation to Parliament.' "

3. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Government has failed to intervene in a proper manner to prevent the enactment of mini-MISA by the Madhya Pradesh Government and also the so-called "anti-goonda ordinance" promulgated by the State Government of Bihar both of which provide for giving arbitrary power to the executive and the police to detain people without trial.' "

4. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take any note of the fact that the Government is refusing to take initiative within its power and competence to secure the release of Naxalites and other political prisoners including the under-trials who are still in prison in many parts of the country.' "

5. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not see the necessity that pending the satisfactory redefinition of Centre-State relation especially in financial matter, the policy and practice of devolution of funds, taxes, duties should be modified for making more funds available to the States by augmenting the total amount of divisible pool.' "

6. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Prime Minister has summarily rejected the demand of more than one Chief Minister for a review of the Centre-State relation and a national

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dialogue for this purpose which is also a demand of large sections of the democratic public opinion in the country'."

7. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not assure that the Bills and other matters from the States pending before the Central Government will be expeditiously disposed of and the necessary assents and approvals given in the interest of the people of the States and for the efficient and democratic functioning of the administration'."

8. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note that the substantial portion of the Centre's loans to the States should be written off in view of the serious financial strains and difficulties the States are facing'."

9. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not make any promise to constitute the inter-State Councils by making necessary changes in the constitutional provisions to make the Council a truly democratic representative body commanding the confidence of the people'."

10. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not explain why the Government had served a kind of home internment orders against Iranian students living in our country in order to prevent them from coming out to peacefully register their protest and demand for democracy in Iran on the occasion of Shah of Iran's visit here and for the release of the Iranian progressive languishing in the Shah's prisons'."

11. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the brutal lathi charge on Indian and Iranian students during the Shah of Iran's visit to the Capital and the arbitrary arrest of more than 82 such students including several girl students'."

12. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the numerous concessions that are being made to Indian and foreign monopolists in line with the policy oriented towards "free enterprise" and "free market economy" thereby not only continuing the process which had begun under the previous Government but also positively threatening the objective of self-reliance, and more so, of growth with social justice amounting to plain subversion of national economy in the interest of the exploiting classes'."

13. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not show concern at the fact that the Minister of Industry, Shri George Fernandes, asked the US business delegation to make their concrete proposal to the Government instead of bothering about the FERA as if FERA has no relevance in the context'."

14. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the fact that after his visit to Bonn and Brussels the Minister of Industry, Shri George Fernandes, not only praised the so-called "favourable climate" in the West for getting credits and investment from there in India but even went to the length to tell the nation that the West German private business circles had promised India credit worth one billion dol-



lars, which is a mischievous probing bid by the West German bankers industrialists to seek a massive entry in our national economy.' "

15. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the disturbing fact that during the so-called business talks in India the US business delegation made a bid to sell the World Bank line to our country, some Indian business men and officials willingly responding to the baits of collaboration offered to them by the American tycoons.' "

16. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not see the dangerous move of the big delegation of 89 tycoons representing 55 multinationals led by the former US Secretary of Agriculture now President of the US Business International Corporation and co-chairman of Indo-US Business Council, which has visited India to pressurise India to yield more concessions to the multinationals and for further neo-colonial penetration into our economy including some of the vital sectors.' "

17. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that despite all the concessions which are given to the monopolists and big business, the exploiting classes, even according to the admission of the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister have betrayed the trust reposed in them and favours shown to them by the Government.' "

18. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Government is encouraging the Indian big business to invest overseas while the Government itself is complaining that the investment in

the country by the Indian big business is sluggish.' "

19. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not explain why the Ministry of Defence should have organised the so-called conference with the industrialists in New Delhi to enable them to put up pressure on the Government with the demand that some vital sectors of the defence production must now be left to the big business and that the latter should be allowed to export defence equipment in order to hunt high profits by joining the arms build-up and arms race to end which our country stands committed.' "

20. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not show concern at the fact that the multinationals, backed by their Indian collaborators, are now trying to enter into critical areas of our vital defence industry thereby not only to dislocate our defence but also to make it somewhat dependent on the western powers in addition to making our defence secrets vulnerable to these inimical quarters.' "

21. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that here is now concerned pressures by the World Bank and other western financial institutions upon India to make our country a client State at least in the economic sphere, thereby undermining our struggle for self-reliance and economic independence.' "

22. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not express concern at the moves of the Government to develop close relation with ASEAN countries while the latter is being built-up by the US imperialists as a kind of economic bloc in the region through the

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socalled economic "aid" and even military aids, and is a projection of US neocolonial global strategy after the ignominious and total defeat of US neo-colonial global strategy after Indo-China'."

23. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not seem to be alerted by the fact that the industrial policy which is the shaping by the present Government is being hailed by the World Bank and other neo-colonial interests because they see in it a new invitation to them for intensifying their exploitation.' "

24. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not call a stop to the attempts by the Government to discourage if not sabotage, the expansion of the public sector, which is essential for the development of a modern self-reliant industrial economy, in the name of encouraging cottage and small scale industries, which in effect, would not mean any significant advance on their part but would only encourage the big business in the private sector to enter the new fields or otherwise strengthen their control and grip in our economy.' "

25. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not propose to take any effective counter-measures against the USA which while maintaining its protectionist policy against imports from India is at the same time pressurising our country in forcing us buy more American goods at their dictated prices.' "

26. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does, not view correctly at all that in

the name of socalled 'rolling plans' what is sought to be done is to alter the planning direction and plan priorities in the interest of the monopoly capital and world Bank, and to sabotage and scuttle planning in our country.' "

27. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not see that the development of the small and cottage industries is bound up with the strengthening and expansion of the public sector on the one hand and the general radical structural changes in the economy as a whole including radical land reforms on the other.' "

28. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not call for a halt to the Government's wooing of the EEC while the latter is showing no sign whatsoever to relax neo-colonialist attitude of exploitation and plunder of the developing countries including our own through its protectionist policies and price manipulations.' "

29. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not learn from the experience and assure that the prohibition proposed to be implemented by the Government will not be pushed through although it has been pointed out that such a policy would cause the loss of Rs. 500 crore to the exchequer annually.' "

30. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the bitter and costly past experience of the Prohibition resulting in corruption, bootlegging and total failure of the policy itself causing, in addition, a heavy loss of several hundred crores of rupees to the exchequer.' "

31. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the serious situation which has arisen as a result of non-payment of the dues by the public undertakings to the Coal Board amounting to more than Rs. 90 crores. "

32. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address ignores the very legitimate demand of the people for the nationalisation of the jute, textile, sugar as well as foreign drug industries in our country which is long overdue. ' "

33. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern at the deliberate under-utilisation of the capacity by some industrialists with a view to creating artificial scarcity and pressurising the Government.' "

34. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not show any serious concern about the high price of consumer goods as well as the high rate of money supply, the inflation still continuing at the official rate of 4 per cent a year.' "

35. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Government has not worked out any integrated and satisfactory plan for utilization of India's present foreign exchange reserves amounting to Rs. 3,500 crores truly in the national interest and for the development of our national economy, thereby opening the possibility of such resources being frittered away as happened immediately after independence with our substantial sterling reserves.' "

36. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address neither takes note of the 10-point character of demand of the Central Government employees which includes the merger of DA with the basic pay, an end to all victimisation of employees since 1968, decasualisation of workers employed by the Central Government, abolition of contract labour, restoration of the cut in neutralisation of DA introduced during the Emergency etc., nor does it propose any remedy of these demands of the Central Government employees.' "

37. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note that during the strike of the Maharashtra State Government employees the Prime Minister went out of his way to speak against the striking employees and to support the State Government in its obstinate attitude in refusing even to talk to the leaders of the striking employees.' "

38. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Prime Minister and the Home Minister are threatening the workers in order to prevent them from coming forward in their legitimate fight for their trade union rights and other demands, which threats violate the Government assurances about the restoration of the democratic rights and liberties and make these appear as the class privilege of the exploiting classes.' "

39. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Union Government itself is now unleashing the policy of police attacks including police firings as well as other repressive measures such as ban on strikes, imposition of the

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prohibitory orders against working class and the democratic mass agitation by the working people.' "

40. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not see that the laws relating to closure, retrenchment, lay-off etc. are not being observed by the employers, the authorities in many places conniving at such plain illegality.' "

41. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to see that some of the policy of the Government especially in relation to the big business is encouraging the latter to launch offensive including physical attacks against the workers by using the goondas, the so-called 'security force' of the employers with the police often conniving at such crimes.' "

42. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that at the so-called two-day conference organised by the All-India Organisation of Employers, the Employers Federation of India and the Standing Conference of Public Enterprises and certain big business spokesmen like Naval H. Tata had the insolence to raise the demand for scrapping DA, wage-freeze and even cancellation of the very little and weak laws against retrenchment, lay-off and closures, such moves having obviously being encouraged by the policies of the present Government to placate the big money.' "

43. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address is neither concerned about the pronounced and growing anti-working class posture in the labour policy of the Government, nor does it give

any assurance that such policy as is contrary to democracy would be never permitted.' "

44. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not propose any effective steps to deal with the situation which has been created by the employers by their boycott of the wage board for working journalists in order to blackmail the Government and force the employees to a confrontation.' "

45. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not see that the mere filling of the pages of the newspapers with the reports of the proceedings of the various commissions now in progress are not going to cloud the urgent issues and demands concerning the life and living of the toiling masses.' "

46. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not feel aghast that even the minimum agricultural wages are not being implemented in a number of States, the issue being one of prime national importance not only from the point of view of national economy but social justice as well.' "

47. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not promise delinking of the newspapers from the industrial and business houses while the Government is profusely talking about the freedom of the Press'

48. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not propose any effective measure in respect of the heavy income tax evasions by the Sterling companies involving several crores of rupees.' "

49. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not give an assurance that the ideas that motivated the appointment of the so-called Study Group on wages, incomes and prices otherwise known as the Boithalingam Committee by the Finance Ministry with a view to freezing wages etc., would be abandoned.'

50. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not pay any hint to recommendation of the World Employment Conference held last year under the ILO that the wage policy of a State should be such that can assure minimum standard of living, that the real wages of worker and the real income of all the self-employed persons are protected and progressively increased, etc. etc.'

51. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not see that there are clear attempts by the Ruling Party to build its rural mass base further with the help of the landlords and kulaks which cannot but stop radical reorganisation of our agriculture and even hinder and restrict production, widening the social and economic disparities in the countryside.'

52. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not see that the problem faced by the Harijans and other members of the Scheduled Castes as well as Adivasis are such which cannot be solved without radical agrarian reforms and other effective measures of controlling the privileged sections of the rural rich such as the landlords and other exploiting classes.'

53. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not promise immediate effective

measures Government is going to take for the implementation of the recommendations of the numerous commissions which have gone into the atrocities and social oppression perpetrated against the Harijans, Adivasis, etc. and whose reports are already pending before the Government for necessary action.'

54. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not show sufficient concern about the attacks on the Harijans, agricultural workers and other weaker sections of the village community which are continuing in many parts of the country but are being deliberately underplayed by the Government to explain away its dereliction of duty and its failure to discharge its responsibility on their score.'

55. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that upto now no effective measure at the higher levels in the State and at the Centre has yet been taken to set up appropriate machineries to deal with the case of atrocities and social oppression against the Harijans, Adivasis and other backward sections of the society.'

56. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that some of the utterances of the Union Ministers like the Home Minister as well as some State Ministers are only encouraging the landlords and the village rich to go ahead with their rampage against Harijans, these exploiters having practically taken the advent of the Janata power as their own power to intensify their depredations.'

57. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not see that the emphasis on the

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'primacy of agriculture' by the Government is nothing but attempt to prepare the ground for boosting the kulaks and landlords in the rural areas in the name of 'consolidation of holdings on the one hand and to avoid the implementation of radical land reforms so as to keep dation of holdings' on the one hand other sections of the rural poor on the other.'

58. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the reported discontent and grievances of the policemen against the manner in which the Home Ministry is handling the police administration.'

59. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern that there is a growing feeling among the people about the instability and uncertainty steadily overtaking in the country.'

60. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address miserably fails to reflect the robust patriotic and democratic temper in which the masses voted in the Lok Sabha elections last year and brought into existence the present 6th Lok Sabha.'

61. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not propose any effective measures to abolish untouchability within five years as the Prime Minister has promised to the country, notwithstanding the fact that the curse still continues despite the constitutional declaration and the Untouchability Act passed by Parliament.'

62. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not go into problem of the Union

Ministers often making contradictory statements confirming the fact that the present Ministry is a mindless conglomeration of political incompatibles lacking in a collective mind and collective direction.'

63. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address is another piece of exercise in self-satisfaction and complacency which can only demoralise and disappoint the masses.'

64. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not even note of the serious allegation of the growing sense of authoritarianism of the Janata regime, voiced even by the members of the Ruling Party including MPs and MLAs.'

65. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not face up to the fact that an upper class bourgeois politics have entered a period of irretrievable crisis the way out of which lies only in the emergence of a left and democratic alternative.'

66. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the National Development Council has been reduced to a ritual and formality lacking in any sound purpose, proper direction and without having any statutory authority whatsoever.'

67. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not show concern that some super-annuated officers are being brought in from the retirement to be given high posts in the Government thereby demoralising the administration including the responsible, deserving officials.'

68. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not promise any reliable and convincing measures to overcome the snowballing unemployment in the country while the Prime Minister has been saying that the unemployment will be abolished in ten years leaving all the major contributory factors to the phenomenon untouched.'"

69. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not propose any effective measures to remove the grievances of the members of the minority community, Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe in the matter of appointments to important official positions, and of promotions and postings etc.'"

70. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that despite all the flamboyant talks about democracy by the leaders of the Government, the Address does not give any assurance that the practice of arbitrary recourse to the President's Rule will be put an end to in the future, such methods having been applied more than about fifty times since the Constitution came into force.'"

71. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that despite the Home Minister's assurance that the internal emergency would be done away with, the Address does not make any promise that the assurance will be fully carried out instead of being modified in order to keep alive the provision for internal emergency under the pretext of 'armed rebellion.'"

72. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern at the prone-

ness of the present Government to misuse the powers under the article 356 to dismiss the State Governments and dissolve the State Assemblies for the political ends of the Ruling Party and in disregard of the purpose for which such steps are envisaged in the Constitution.'"

73. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not give any explanation as to why the Government's promise for expanding the public distribution network within six months of its assumption of office has not yet been implemented while it is the free trade which is having a free rush.'"

74. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that despite the Parliament having turned down the Ordinance to abolish the Banking Services Commission, earlier appointed by an Act of Parliament, the Government has not revived the Banking Service Commission, thereby showing disrespect, if not contempt, for Parliament and democratic norms.'"

75. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not propose any effective new steps for the protection of the rights of the minority community, notwithstanding the massive evidence before the Government that the protection to which they are entitled in the decisions of the Srinagar meeting in terms of the Constitution and of the National Integration Council (1968), are not being given them in due measure.'"

76. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not promise any immediate action against top bureaucrats who are guilty of the emergency excesses

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acting on the illegal orders of Sanjay Gandhi and others, the officers who are now trying to get out of the punishment they deserve by making their confessional statements before the Shah Commission and other Commissions.' "

77. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not see the need for purging here and now the entire top bureaucracy of the careerist and opportunist officers who sought to serve their personal interest during the Emergency by flouting all laws and regulations and even their own Service Conduct Rules.' "

78. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not call upon the Government to present a comprehensive White Paper to Parliament giving a full official account of the excesses and violations of laws including the Constitution and other rules committed under the Emergency instead of leaving the whole matter to be published before the nation only through the so-called case history before the Shah Commission and other Commissions.' "

79. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not see that the disclosure about the functioning of the Government at the highest level have raised some very grave constitutional and political question which cannot be settled by a quasi-judicial or an administrative but would call for the most penetrating and comprehensive discussions among the representatives of the political parties in order to devise measure to prevent their recrudescence in the future.' "

80. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that in-

stead of immediately calling the officers guilty of excesses during the Emergency to book, some of them are being, in fact, encouraged and promoted by the Government thereby demoralising the officers who displayed courage and integrity during the trying and difficult days of the black emergency regime.' "

81. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the fact that even before the Emergency several high officials were harassed and victimised for not favouring the friends of Sanjay Gandhi like the late V. R. Mohan of Mohan Meakins Concerns, one of such victimised officers being a former director under the Ministry of Industry.' "

82. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to note that many disclosures about the illegal and undemocratic activities of the officials and others during the Emergency are still going on unheeded by the Government, much less being acted upon effectively.' "

83. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the serious problem that a very large number of Government employees are facing the problem of accommodation and other essential amenities.' "

84. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that certain people favoured by the present Government are being invited to make frequent broadcast over the Radio and appears in telecast to blatantly canvass for the Government and the Ruling Party.' "

85. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not note that the official mass media



particularly Radio and TV are being planfully captured by certain reactionary elements who obviously have inspiration and backing from higher quarters and that this spells not only a threat to democracy but the degradation of culture and public in general.' "

86. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address has chosen to overlook the fact that there are new attempts by the present Government to influence some sections of the press and also to pressurise them to fall in line with the views of the Ruling Party and the Government.' "

87. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention the need for raising the amount of the freedom fighters pension which was fixed several years ago when the prices were at much lower levels.' "

88. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Central Government still refuses to recognise the Moppila Rebellion of 1921, the Punnappa-Vayalar struggle and the Telengana upsurge as freedom struggle while many who were arrested during the recent Emergency are being provided with pensions.' "

89. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the 'grave concern' expressed by the Jawaharlal Nehru University Teachers Union at the manner in which the Prime Minister, as Chancellor of the University, has been conducting investigation into its affairs by infringing the principle of university autonomy, seeking to fish out the political opinion of the teachers through some 'confidential' queries,

who are however of being kept in dark, and by freezing of posts and stopping of appointment, nor does it promise that the Chancellor's order which have caused great misgivings and resentment among the teachers would be rescinded.' "

90. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address completely ignores the reliable report that in the name of investigations into the affairs of JNU letters have been sent by the Chancellor of the University to the teachers which looks like a witch-hunt of the progressives amongst them, thereby encouraging the reactionary elements in our academic institutions.' "

91. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern as to the manner in which CSIR is being disbanded at the cost of integrated, well-planned and well-directed scientific research.' "

92. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Government has most unjustly refused to issue commemorative stamps in honour of the great revolutionary Shri Troilokyanath Chakravarthi 'Maharaj' of our freedom struggle, and of Mahapandit Rahul Sanskritayan and internationally reputed scholar and a great patriot of our country evidently because he happened to be a Member of Communist Party of India.' "

93. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not promise adequate financial assistance to Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu for their cyclone and flood relief activities, despite the demand for such assistance by the State Government and the public.' "

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94. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the growing national concern at the partisan and narrow-minded appointments by the Government to the various institutions and autonomous bodies under the control of the Centre in total disregard of the merits and requirements from the point of view of talent and competence.'

95. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take serious note of tampering under the instruction of the Government with four history books 'Medieval India' by Romila Thapar; 'Modern India' by Bipan Chandra; 'Freedom Struggle' by Amles Tripathi, Barun De and Bipan Chandra; and 'Communalism and the Writing of Indian History' by Romila Thapar, Harbans Mukhia and Bipan Chandra to suit the interests of anti-secular, communal and other reactionary forces.'

96. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take into account the concerted attempts by the reactionary and communal forces to intrude into the preparation of text books and other publication which concerns for cultural life.'

97. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern as to the manner in which Shri Damodaran Nair was first assaulted and then dismissed from his services in Gandhi Smriti for referring to the Prime Minister Morarji Desai's statement in his autobiography in which he writes that Nathuram

Godse, the murderer of Mahatma, was an RSS worker, nor does it promise that Shri Nair will be taken back to service.'

98. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address completely ignores the growing public allegations about the reappearance of favouritism, nepotism by the Ministers and other high placed persons in favour of their relatives and friends.'

99. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not promise a full-fledged Legislative Assembly and a fully responsible Council of Ministers for Delhi.'

100. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not promise a full-fledged Legislature the appointment of a Commissioner of Police will not be pursued in view of the strong public opinion against it on the ground that such an arrangement is not likely to strengthen the police high-handedness and domination in the Delhi Administration.'

101. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of depressing under representation of women in our legislative bodies, nor does it promise any improvement in situation by providing for definite quota of representation for women.'

102. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not even promise lowering of voting age from 21 to 18 which is a demand of practically all section of democratic public opinion in the country.'

103. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not make any promise of a radical review of our electoral system with a view to providing for the proportional representation as well as recall, both of which have become essential for strengthening the content of our democracy, properly reflecting the opinion of the masses and ensuring democratic functioning of our Parliamentary system instead perpetuating the artificiality and unreality of the representation which suits the vested interests and promotes corruption and malpractices.'

104. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the fact that there is a serious attempt by the present Government to enact the anti-defection measures worked out by the previous Government and bureaucracy in disregard of the unanimous recommendations of the 1968 Committee on Defection.'

105. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not promise the implementation of anti-defection measures recommended by the Committee on Defection which appointed in pursuance of a resolution by the Lok Sabha in December 1967 consisting of representatives of all major political parties and public men.'

106. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the serious problem about the child-care which has recently been highlighted by an international seminar on child welfare in New Delhi itself.'

107. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not indicate that the Government has paid any heed to the complaints made in Parliament or otherwise against victimisation of Shri D. K. Guha, a former High official of the Income Tax Department for his bold actions against the Birla families, which resulted in the disclosure of huge income tax evasion as well as a big swindle of the evasion of foreign exchange on the eve of devaluation in June, 1966.'

108. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address shows no concern for the voluminous public complaints against the manner in which the official news media—A.I.R., T.V., etc.—are being misused for the partisan ends of the ruling party as well as for blacking out as far as possible the views of protest and dissent particularly those coming from the CPI and its allied mass organisations.'

109. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the controversy that recently arose over appointment of the Chief Justice of India, nor does it give any assurance that question of the future appointments to the posts in the highest judiciary—the Chief Justice and other Judges of the Supreme Court of India and the High Courts—will be reviewed with a view to evolving proper democratic norms, giving Parliament and the concerned State legislatures the right to have their respective say in the matter of such appointments.'

110. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the poor refugees from the erstwhile

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East Pakistan are not getting their so-called *ad hoc* payments under the compensation scheme in regard to their properties which had been declared "enemy property" in Pakistan following the Indo-Pak war and Tashkent agreement, the pool for such compensation having already been largely grabbed by the big landlords and well to do people who have migrated from the erstwhile East Pakistan.' "

111. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that even after more than 30 years of partition the refugee colonies in some parts of West Bengal have not yet been regularised in full measure, leaving the displaced persons to continue in their present uncertainty.' "

112. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the US President Carter is reported to have publicly stated that during his talks with Prime Minister Morarji Desai the latter had shared President's concern about the Soviet presence in the Horn of Africa.' "

113. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Prime Minister and other members of the cabinet did not take the opportunity of the US President Jimmy Carter's visit to this country to call upon him to stop the U.S. deliveries to foreign countries like Iran, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf countries and Israel worth 8000 million dollars annually to building up the arms race in the region.' "

114. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not declare any support to an early

reconvening of the Geneva Conference to solve the middle east crisis which alone could bring about a durable and just solution.' "

115. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that during the visit of the British Prime Minister Mr. James Callaghan to Delhi the Government of India did not call upon him to stop heavy British investment in South Africa which already amounts to 10,000 million dollars, and is encouraging and bolstering the racist Vorster's regime there.' "

116. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that India has little common ground for regional co-operation with Australia which belong to the Western camp and is the active partner of the military ANZUS.' "

117. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not give any explanation as to why US shipment of rich Uranium for the Tarapur plant and the Prime Minister's statement that India will stop all peaceful explosions so significantly coincided, giving rise to strong suspicion that the Government of India have yielded to at least these tactics of the U.S.A. administration.' "

118. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not call upon the USA, Britain and other Western powers to agree to economic sanctions against the racist South African regime notwithstanding the fact that the overwhelming majority of the UN members are most positively in favour of such sanctions.' "

119 "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the supply of combat aircraft now to Egypt by the USA in addition to the heavy supplies to Saudi Arabia, Israel, could only aggravate tensions in the region, further complicate the situation and durable peace in West Asia.' "

120. 'That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not give categorical assurance that India's assistance, moral, political, economic and other material will continue to the freedom fighters in Zambabwe, Namibia and South Africa against the hateful and inhuman racist regime.' "

121. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not clarify what useful purpose Prime Minister Morarji Desai had in attending the so-called regional Conference of 12 countries hosted by Australia and inaugurated by a British Dominion Governor General except perhaps for raising the status of the shoddy Commonwealth outfit and that of the present conservative Australian Government.' "

122. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not refer to the friendly suggestions for the restoration of democratic rights and the release of patriots in Bangladesh which include such veteran freedom fighters and friends of India like Chairman and General Secretary of the Communist Party, respectively, Com. Monisingh and Com. Farhad and well-known co-workers of the martyred Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and leaders of the Awami League like Shri Phani Majumdar which would be in full consonance with the international morality, all the more so when the two countries are expected to live in

good neighbourliness, friendship and co-operation.' "

123. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern for the suppression of democratic rights in Bangladesh today while the present leaders of the Government of India, when they were in detention, had sent their representatives in foreign land to call upon the Government to raise their voice for their release and for the restoration of democratic rights and liberties.' "

124. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not spell out the Government's attitude of sympathy and help for the Bangladesh patriots who are now in the country, nor does it give any guarantee that they will not be handed over to the Bangladesh authorities or otherwise pushout of our country.' "

125. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take proper view of harmful consequences that may follow by the use of rupee equivalent funds accumulated in India from the sale proceeds of additional crude by Iran to be used in projects especially for the article for rural development approved by the Shah of Iran.' "

126. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the international experience that the Shah of Iran is massively backed by the USA and other imperialist Powers with a view to influencing certain non-aligned countries where the imperialists stand exposed and discredited.' "

127. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note even of the fact that

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the Shah of Iran is the biggest recipient of the American arms, and is himself playing a dangerous role in the arms build up in the region by supplying arms and other resources to reactionary regimes in the Arab World, its arms deals with Pakistan in order to disrupt our relations with that country having already caused great concern in India and elsewhere.' "

128. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that in showering lavish compliments on the Shah of Iran during his visit to our country the Government forgot that in the international affairs the Shah of Iran stands on the side of the imperialists on many cardinal issues of peace, national liberation, disarmament, international security, etc.' "

129. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that it is with the Shah of Iran as its main stay CENTO is being activated by the imperialists, the development which is clearly aimed at the independence and security of the countries of the region.' "

130. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not categorically disapprove of the proposals for the creation of the Asian Market in cooperation with Iran and some other countries like Japan with a view to facilitating the exploitation by Iran's petro-dollars, Japan's technology and India's man and material resources etc.' "

131. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Shah of Iran, has ambitions to become regional power, with the help

of his petro-dollars and American weapons.' "

132. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take any correct view about the proposed agreement with the Indian Government and Shah of Iran which will enable the latter to invest the petro-dollars in our country into projects approved by him for earning profits and also facilitating the entry of the multinationals with whom the Shah of Iran is in full cooperation.' "

(Amendment Nos. 1 to 132 also stood in the names of Shri Bhupesh Gupta, Dr. Z. A. Ahmed, Shri Jagjit Singh Anand, Shri Indradeep Sinha, Shri Bhola Prasad and Shri Bir Chandra Deb Burman)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Prakash Mehrotra. Not here. Shrimati Hamida Habibullah.

SHRIMATI HAMIDA HABIBULLAH (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I move:

145. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not indicate any concern over the Government's failure to check the atrocities committed on Harijan and other weaker sections of the Society.' "

146. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not give any hint to call for the national debate on Centre-State relations.' "

147. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention the concrete steps for the promotion and advancement of Udu language.' "

148. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not make any mention of physical torture of teachers, students and labourers.' "

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shrimati Chundawat. Not here. Dr. Lokesh Chandra. Not here. Mr. Sanat Kumar Raha.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA: Sir, I move:

152. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to assess the pressure of the World Bank and its neo-colonial offensive for the imperialist countries.' "

153. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the imperialist multinational deal in the country which is harmful.' "

154. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not promise to take concrete and effective steps to implement completely land reform in the interest of the poor peasants and the landless agricultural workers.' "

155. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take seriously the arms build up in our region and strengthening of the military base in Diego Garcia by U.S.A. which goes against making Indian Ocean a peace Zone.' "

156. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to assure further strengthening and expansion of public sector so as to achieve self reliance and commanding height in our economy.' "

157. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not reaffirm the stand of India to work in cooperation with the Socialist and third world countries for establishment of new international economic order against the vested interest of the rich developed countries.' "

158. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to offer any encouragement for protection of Harijans and Adivasis from atrocities of the vested interest throughout the country.' "

159. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address abjectly fails to point out that it is the political crisis that is today the sharpest and most significant expression of the crisis of the capitalist path of development as a whole and that there can be no worthwhile progress without bringing out some solution towards breaking. The deadlock on the economic front and creating changes in our socio-economic structure or further democratic advance.' "

160. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to note that in the economic sphere it is manifested in the utterly inadequate rate of growth or the national economy in the industrial field, in rising prices of various essential commodities, in growing unemployment both in urban and rural areas, in intensification of poverty, in creating imbalances and inequalities and strengthening of monopoly, rural oligarchy and parasitic anti-social elements all along the line resulting in all pervasive corruption.' "

161. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to give any assurance of removing

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illiteracy from the country with a time-bound programme.' "

162. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not offer any encouragement to the scientist community, the progressive writers of Text books and the student community on progressive educational reforms.' "

163. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the evil spirit in the "freeing" of the market forces particularly in the sensitive area of foodgrains resulting in hoarding and black marketing.' "

164. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that despite M.R.T.P. Act, monopoly houses are fattening at the cost of the national economy.' "

165. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not indicate any review of the Industrial Licensing Policy which helps monopoly houses to thrive.' "

166. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to give assurance to all categories of employees and workers that Bonus will be treated as a deferred wage.' "

167. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to give any assurance that there will be bonded labour in the country.' "

168. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not propose to implement a mini-

mum wage for agricultural workers through adequate machinery.' "

169. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not propose any revision in the Service Conduct Rules for the Government employees against any subjective bias.' "

170. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not indicate that the system of confidential report in respect of Government servants will be scrapped.' "

171. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not ensure that the problem of closure, retrenchment, lay-off will be effectively tackled to protect the interest of the workers and employees.' "

172. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not assure the guarantee of public distribution of essential commodities throughout the country at a fair price.' "

173. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to indicate the magnitude and danger of the black money operating in the country and does not propose any measure to liquidate the same.' "

174. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not assure equal pay for similar work for women in all spheres.' "

175. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not propose to supply cheap yarn, colour and other inputs to the weavers and handlooms and does not



assure of marketing facilities for them?"

176 "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not propose any measure to relieve the poor peasants from their indebtedness nor does it ensure remunerative price of their produce.' "

177. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not propose how to protect the poor fishermen who have become unemployed due to mass scale mechanised fishing started by some big businessmen and multinationals in Goa and Kerala coastal areas.' "

178. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not propose to further develop the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in agriculture, industry, forest and marine.' "

179. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the fact that the top monopoly houses are responsible for huge tax arrears and are evading to pay even the assessed taxes.' "

180. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not propose to increase the minimum pension for freedom fighters, does not propose to grant pension for the minor son of deceased freedom fighter.' "

181. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not consider to recognise the punnapra-Vayalar and Telengana heroes who fought against the princely

States in pre-independence period and suffered in jail, as freedom fighters entitled to the award of freedom fighters pension.' "

182. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not indicate any step for solution of the problem regarding Centre-State relations.' "

183. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not assure that the Calcutta Port and Haldia Project will not be affected in any way due to the agreement with Bangladesh on Farakka Water.' "

184. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention that MISA will be repealed and no such Preventive Detention measure is necessary in place of MISA.' "

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Ramanand Yadav.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV (Bihar): Sir, I move!

185. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the implementation of the recommendations of the Backward Classes Commission headed by Shri Kaka Saheb Kalelkar.' "

186. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention the non payment of minimum wages to the Agricultural Labourers in the number of States under enactments passed by themselves.' "

187. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Cen-

[Shri Ramanand Yadav]

tral and State Governments to check various types of social and economic atrocities on the Harijans, Adivasis and the Minorities in the country.' "

188. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not promise to control communal and caste riots in the country.' "

189. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention the implementation of the Trivedi Commission recommendation on the Bihar and U.P. boundary alteration.' "

190. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not indicate measures to maintain peace in the University Campuses in the country, which has resulted in the closure of the Universities and disruption of the academic career of the students.' "

191. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not promise to take effective measures for payment of the cane price to the cane growers adequately by the Sugar Factories in the country resulting in the deterioration of the economic condition of the cane growers.' "

192. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not promise to implement the recommendations of the Backward Class Commission headed by Kaka Katelkar for the reservation of number of seats in the Central and State Services.' "

193. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not indicate steps to make reserva-

tion of 30 per cent in the Central Services for the backward communities other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.' "

194. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention the measures which will be adopted to check the rising trend of prices of essential commodities.' "

195. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not promise to deal with the growing demands of non Janata Governments in the States for more power and constitutional changes in the Centre-State relations which could destroy the unity of the country and check the progress of National Integration.' "

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. D. P. Singh. Not here. Mr. Triloki Singh.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): Sir I move:

200. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not make any reference to the following matters:—

(a) The restoration of the minority character of the Aligarh Muslim University;

(b) Deteriorating law and order situation and increasing sense of insecurity particularly in the Muslim minority as a result of the frequent occurrence of communal riots;

(c) The establishment of Gram Swaraj, decentralisation of power at the village level, without which the solution of the problem of unemployment or underemployment will remain an impossibility;

(d) The steps to be taken to tide over the crisis in the textile industry;

(e) Non-utilisation of potential in the Steel Industry;

(f) Failure to reduce the prices of essential commodities and bring them down so as to make them available to the poorest;

(g) The crisis in Khandasari and Gur Industry in Uttar Pradesh and threat of closure of crushes by the employers resulting in the non-utilization of millions of tonnes of sugar-cane; and

(h) Student unrest.' "

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ranbir Singh. Not here, Mr. Sanat Kumar Raha.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA: Sir, I move:

204. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address proposes the perpetration of the lawless law of Preventive Detention in the guise of an amendment to the Criminal Procedure Code instead of doing away with this measure.' "

205. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address makes no reference to the military base of USA in Diego Garcia in Indian Ocean which should be declared as a zone of peace.' "

206. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention that Ogaden the territory of Ethiopia has been aggressed by Somalia backed by imperialist arms.' "

(Amendment Nos. 204 to 206 also stood in the names of Sarvashri Bhupesh Gupta, Bir Chandra Deb Burman and Jagjit Singh Anand)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ananda Pathak.

SHRI ANANDA PATHAK (West Bengal): Sir, I move:

207. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address has not mentioned about the need for a fresh look into the Centre-State powers.' "

208. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about giving more powers to States.' "

209. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the initiative taken by the Left Front Government of West Bengal and some other States for a detailed discussion on Centre-State powers.' "

210. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention the import of real federal character of our country.' "

211. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the severe unemployment problem in the country.' "

212. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the increasing attacks on Harijans and tribals in the countryside and the failure of the Administration to prosecute the culprits.' "

213. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the non-taking back of large number of railway workers who were victimised during the emergency.' "

214. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the severe attack

[Shri Ananda Pathak]

on the workers in the Faridabad Industrial belt by the managements through their hired goondas causing severe resentment among thousands of workers.' "

215. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the failure of the Government to prosecute the former Prime Minister for subverting democracy during the Emergency.' "

216. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about taking over and supply of essential commodities such as food-grains, edible oils, pulses etc. through public distribution system at a subsidised rate.' "

217. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about deteriorating labour situation in Faridabad and other industrial Belts in Delhi, U.P. and Rajasthan.' "

218. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the police firings on the workers of Bokaro Steel Plant and Swadeshi Cotton Mills, Kanpur killing and injuring a large number of people.' "

219. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the refusal to grant bonus on the principle of deferred wage as assured in the ruling party's election manifesto.' "

220. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about non repealing of MIS & DIR and other draconian

laws including the Constitution (42nd Amendment) Act.' "

221. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the growing unrest among railway workers and Central Government employees due to non-implementation of the recommendations of the 3rd Pay Commission.' "

222. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about not restoring the pre-emergency position in regard to the system of grant of D.A. to the Central Government employees.' "

223. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails mention about the fixing of the minimum wages for agricultural labourers.' "

224. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the failure of the Government to bring a radical land reform and free of cost distribution of land to the landless.' "

225. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the utter failure of the Government to check the growth of monopolists.' "

226. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the danger to the Indian economy due to increasing concession to foreign monopolists.' "

227. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the failure of the

Government to direct the wage policy towards granting a living wage to the workers.'"

228. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the failure of the Government to go ahead with the long range planning for the betterment of the people.'

229. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the failure of the Government for nationalising foreign banks, monopoly houses and branches of multinationals.'

230. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the growing resentment in non-Hindi speaking States due to the imposition of Hindi in an arbitrary manner by the Central Government.'

231. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the failure of the Central Government to render immediate assistance to the State Governments in the eastern region for setting up Gas Turbine power Plants to meet the power crisis.'

232. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the failure of the Government to nationalise the jute industry.'

233. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the failure of the Government to establish State Trading.'

234. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the failure of the Government to take effective steps to improve the standard of sports.'

235. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the failure of the Government to accord constitutional recognition to Nepali language and its inclusion in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution.'

(Amendment Nos. 207 to 235 also stood in the names of Sarvashri P. K. Kunjehan, Viswanatha Menon and Pattiam Rajan)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bishambhar Nath Pande.

SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE (Nominated): Sir, I move:

236. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the non-implementation of the genuine demands of the employees of Central Government, Railways, Nationalised Banks and Life Insurance.'

237. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the non-implementation of the assurances of the Prime Minister and the Education Minister to make fundamental changes in the system of education prevailing at present in India.'

238. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the non-implementation of the country wide genuine demand of the Higher Secondary teachers, of the University students and instead, they are being arrest-

[Shri Bishambhar Nath Pande]

ed, jailed and lathi charged inside and outside prisons.'"

239. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the soaring prices of such essential items as edible oils, pulses etc. as a result of which the consumers are thrown at the mercy of traders who are busy squeezing every paisa from their pocket.'"

240. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of growing corruption and deteriorating law and order situation which has made life insecure in different parts of the country.'"

241. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take any note of the fact that the Government is refusing to take initiative with its power and competence to introduce Urdu as a second State language in the States of U.P., Bihar, Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan and the Union Territory of Delhi.'"

242. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Government is refusing to take initiative within its power and competence to augment the growth of economy which continues to be sluggish and to encourage onward march of industry regarding which the Government Policy has been vague and blurred.'"

243. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take any note of the fact that

during the eleven months of Janata rule, the Harijans have suffered considerably and not a day, passed without some reports in the press on the atrocities committed on them by the high caste people.'"

244. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Government its refusing to take initiative within its power and competence to enact a law stopping the defections.'"

245. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take any note of the fact that the Government has failed to take initiative within its power and competence to stop communal riots.'"

246. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that some of the utterances of the Union Minister and State Ministers are encouraging landlords and the rich cultivators to go ahead with their rampage against the landless labourers.'"

247. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Government is refusing to take initiative within its power and competence to introduce total prohibition and to stop the social evils of prostitution, dowry system and the growing casteism.'"

(Amendment Nos. 236 to 147 also stood in the names of Shri Jagjit Singh Anand, Shri Khurshed Alam Khan, Shrimati Aziza Imam and Shri Mohammad Yunus Saleem).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Prof. D. P. Chattopadhyaya.

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA. (West Bengal): Sir, I move:

248. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address betrays total lack of policy direction in the matter of—

(a) curbing inflationary trend in the economy and in bringing down prices;

(b) tackling the problem of unemployment in any concrete manner; and

(c) bringing about a suitable climate of industrial relationship with a view to promoting production and growth.'"

249. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the alarming deterioration in the law and order situation in the country and the steps that are being taken to meet the situation.'"

250. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to make any mention of the communal riots in different parts of the country which have resulted in serious loss of life, limb and property to the minorities.'"

251. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address contrary to Govt's earlier assurances, seeks to endorse the perpetuation of MISA through back door by making preventive detention a part and parcel of Cr.PC.'"

252. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not make any mention of the suppression of and use of force against peaceful agitations of teachers for their democratic rights in different parts of the country.'"

253. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

'but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the wide misuse of the power by the Government to suppress and persecute the rightful activities of political opponents.' "

254. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to take note of serious and extensive industrial unrest resulting in loss of production and violent attacks on the working class and suppression of their democratic rights.' "

255. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention of the anarchic conditions prevailing in a number of Universities and ruthless suppression of the students and use of force against them causing serious disruption of academic life in various institutions in different parts of the country.' "

256. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not make any mention whatsoever of the loss resulting from the closure, retrenchment and lay-off resorted to by the employers in collusion with the authorities.' "

257. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret to note that the Address does not show any concern for the disturbing dilution in the Government's approach to—

(a) planned economic growth;

(b) on the principle of self reliance and indigenisation of industrial policy; and

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(c) incursion of multinational companies in the national economy.' "

258. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that Hindi is being unilaterally unimaginatively and compulsorily imposed on non-Hindi speaking States and populations in total disregard of their cultural traditions and sentiments throwing to the winds earlier assurance of the government that all Indian languages will be given equal treatment and English will continue as official language as long as non-Hindi speaking people want to continue it.' "

259. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added namely:—

but regret that the Address does not spell out in concrete terms the much promised and publicised educational reforms.' "

260 "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the serious dilution that has been taking place in the field of Science and Technology undermining accent of self reliance, especially in nuclear technology.' "

261. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not make any mention of the Ganga and Cauvery link canal which will bring about a revolution in the agricultural economy of the country.' "

262. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to take note of the fact that Central

Govt's assistance to the States of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Tamil Nadu affected by the unprecedented cyclones and tidal waves and floods has neither been adequate nor is accompanied by an assurance that it will not be allowed to come in the way of future development plans of the States concerned.' "

(Amendment Nos. 248 to 262 also stood in the names of Sarvashri Sardar Amjad Ali, Davendra Nath Dwivedi, Rishi Kumar Mishra, Harsh Deo Malaviya, Triloke Singh, Mohammad Yunus Saleem and Shrimati Leela Damodara Menon.)

The questions were proposed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the motion and the amendments are open for discussion.

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA: Sir, on behalf of our party, the Indian National Congress, we would like to express our gratitude to the President for having been pleased to deliver his Address to the Joint Session of both Houses of Parliament.

(The Vice-Chairman, (Shri H. M. Trivedi) in the Chair.

Sir, we have been listening, for the last one hour and fifteen minutes approximately, to the very elaborate, and what Prof. Ramlal Parikh said, comprehensive exposition of both the specifics of the Address and also the underlying postulates. So, I do not contest his claim that it was very comprehensive. Almost everything has been touched upon and that is why I have been left a little bewildered as to where to start and how to start and what to respond to. It was very comprehensive. But I am afraid that it is somewhat like the structure of the Janata itself. It is a Poly-Hydra. It is like a many-headed creature. With so many heads and so many mouths and so many voices and so many views. I have not said, Sir, that it is a Poly-hydra monster or deity.



Sir, I find so many things, both in the postulates and in the policies. Some people say that they are committed to the primacy of agriculture and, in the same breath, some others, some heads of the same creature, say: "No. We are equally committed to the policy of heavy industry." Some people say, Sir, as you might remember, that more power should be retained at the Centre. Some other spokesmen of the Government, have said, "More power should be delegated to the States". Then, again, I find some friends—Bhandariji, for example—expressing a critical view about the CPM and going to the length of quoting Shri Maitra and also Shri Sen of West Bengal Legislature. Now, I can well recall—and certainly Bhandariji can also recall—that some of the spokesmen of the Janata party have also expressed friendship, solidarity, and sometimes even electoral understanding, with the CPM. Again, fourthly, I find from the different mouths of that poly-headed creature that nothing has been done during the last thirty years. Others, more moderate and sober by experience, say, "Yes, something has been done". That naturally puts any honest and even friendly critic into difficulty, how to respond to the very many points raised by the very eloquent speakers, our friends Bhandariji and Prof. Parikh.

Sir, they have referred, and very pertinently, to excesses and distortions of emergency. Our own party, on more than one occasion at the highest level, has expressed sorrow for that. We have expressed our agony. We have expressed our shame in many cases... (Interruptions) This is on record. Our highest policy-making body has expressed it. They want co-operation to hear Prof. Parikh who has said, and Bhandariji has also said, that they want some national consensus on basic issues. Now, Sir, you should not bite the hand raised in your support. You will be abusing the parties in the opposition and in the same breath you will be saying,

"I want your support". If you want support, you should use the language of support. If you want national consensus, you should use proper phrases and terms. And certainly, very eloquent speakers like Bhandariji and Prof. Parikh do not lack in proper language of friendship and national consensus. Sir, I would only request them, through you, to bear in mind that emergency distortions should not be taken as the sole criteria to assess and evaluate—what they call their achievements—their own achievements—in the last one year. If one tries to scrutinise the performance—I am sorry I can not say achievements—of what they have done in the last one year, it does not bear the scrutiny. Sir, he has claimed: We have come to stay. Yes, we have all said that you have won the election, people have supported you, we wish you success and good luck and to stay unless you fight amongst yourselves. But I need not remind you that democracy needs not only national consensus but democracy also needs remembrance of actual implementation and political continuity of the country. Do not say always that a new society, a new era, has started as if the past has been erased and nothing has been done. That is why I have referred to what some of their spokesmen said that nothing has been done. But many of the distinguished speakers and Members sitting opposite, I know, served the country in different capacities in the last thirty years, and I am very grateful to them and I am proud of them. But democracy means not only inter-party dialogue but it also means remembrance of the past and not a very futile attempt to erase it out. Now, let us come to brass tacks of what has been said. It has been said, "We held before the election the promises of freedom and removal of restrictions". Let us look a little closely into it and see to what extent the institutions, the groups and group interests have been freed from restrictions and freedom has been restored. Shri Bhandariji, very understandably,

[Prof. D. P. Chattopadhyaya]

dwelt at length on the performance of Information and Broadcasting Ministry. I find that in para 2 of the President's Address it is said, "Press is free". If it is an assertion, I have nothing to quarrel with it. If it is a reference to facts, I have a lot of quarrel with it. Press is free relative to what happened during the emergency. But I have already said that the distortion of emergency and the abnormality of emergency should not be the sole yardstick of assessing your own performance. If it is with reference to a particular opponent party, we are the National Congress. There is another party for example, Indira Congress. If anything happens to Mrs. Indira Gandhi and if her picture is shown even for a split second, the officer is sacked. Can this happen in any mature democracy where my friend, Mr. Parikh had been to last week? Can we think of it? The ex-Prime Minister is shown for a split second and that fault caused the suspension and dismissal of the officer I refer to it specifically not because it is a big fact in itself. But it is symbolic of an attitude. It is a politically neurotic attitude. It is an immature democratic attitude. A mature democratic party winning elections in a very convincing manner is never afraid of seeing the face of the former Prime Minister over the television screen for a split second. That shows your attitude. That shows your propensity. That shows your nervousness. That shows your lack of assurance in the strength you claim of yourself. Press is free!

Look at the DAVP advertisements. See, who are the people getting more advertisements and who are the people not getting advertisements or getting much less advertisements? Again, you will say, "Look at the emergency". But, for God's sake, do not refer to emergency again and again and ad nauseum. That is not the yardstick and certainly not be rationale yardstick. That is a matter to be omitted and not to be repeated for the sake of reference.

Then, Sir, it has been said "Restor-

ation of freedom and protection of people". Restoration of freedom to whom? Restoration of freedom not to the workers. Think of the things that happened in Sonapat, in Rourkela, in Faridabad, in Sambiang and in Kanpur? Do they bear testimony to your claim so eloquently put across by you, Prof. Parikh and Shri Bhandari? Restoration of freedom to whom? Democratic rights are being trampled down shamelessly under the feet of the police officers. Is it restoration of freedom? Freedom for whom? Protection to Harijans. The less said about it, the better. Belchi is not only just one instance. It is a window to a landscape of ugly, pathetic and tragic incidents and a series of other things that are happening. Persecution of Harijans is not an isolated phenomenon. It is related to some other things. I will come to that later on. It is just not a caste rivalry or something. It has deep economic reasons I am afraid if the wisdom of the mature sections of Janata leadership does not, in time, take a right view of the things, these things will go on multiplying in the future.

Then you say academic freedom. What sort of freedom is it? Academicians are not being allowed to move out of the country simply because they have a particular view on a particular matter. Some are not being allowed to go to Russia and some are not being allowed to go to America. I know that Mr. Ram Chandra Gandhi, a very distinguished philosopher of the Delhi University was not allowed to go to the States to participate in a symposium on a very scholarly and an innocuous subject from political point of view, namely the unity of sciences. He was not allowed to go there. And Prof. Sharma, a History Professor was not allowed to go to Russia to participate in a symposium on pre-historic India. So, Sir, that is how the academic freedom is being restored. Is it how the promises you held out are being fulfilled? Is this the way of fulfilling a promise? Do you call it the fulfilment of promise? Bhandariji and Prof. Parikh very well know the meaning of fulfilment of a promise

and the violation of a promise. These are being fulfilled only in violation.

They have said that civil liberties will be restored and the MISA will be abolished. These words ring not only in your ears but also in our ears because we know very well and we are sorry to say that MISA had been misused, and naturally all sections of the people, cutting across party frontiers, expected that you did mean what you said. But, unfortunately, you have not abolished MISA which you have been assuring. But now we are told that the temporary MISA is being replaced by Preventive Detention provisions, making it a permanent feature of the Criminal Procedure Code.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Shame, shame.

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA: This is how the promises of restoration of freedom, restoration of liberties and protection of minorities are being fulfilled very systemetically, consistently and in a very understandable manner.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA: There is mini-MISA in Madhya Pradesh.

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA: My friends and colleagues will spell out some other points. My memory is not good and, therefore, I cannot bear all the points in my mind. Sir, I am told, and I am told not very casually or in a gossip chamber but right before a very well known Commission where a very senior Minister of this Cabinet deposed, that their phones are still bugged and their movements are under surveillance. It is not the opposition party people or the other spokesmen and representatives of the public opinion that are being wire-tapped, watched, followed and shadowed, the things which were associated with emergency, but a Cabinet Minister of the present Government, not very casually but, per-

haps, being convinced of the seriousness of the matter, chose a forum to say that that practice is still continuing. To what extent, perhaps, he does not know and we also do not know. I say this not because I want to criticise or embarrass the Janata Government. I say that because once the institutions protecting the freedom are allowed to go mad, they can run against the makers and the masters of the system. So, if the police agency and the investigating agencies are given a long rope, longer than what the justice demands and the State security warrants, then they may turn against you and may prove a sort of hanging rope against you one day. Therefore, it is in consonance with your promise of restoring the freedom and the protection of the people, including the Ministers, that this practice should be put an end to. We thought that March, 1977 was the watershed and the things were put to an end. But I am sorry to learn that it is not.

Yes, Sir, we have said and we do maintain that this Government statement has no policy direction. I repeat that this Address has no policy direction in it. It is tasteless, colourless, odourless and lacking in the focus on action. You can have everything in it. Therefore, there is nothing in its concrete form. That is why if I ask: Is your accent on agriculture? You say, yes my accent is on agriculture. Then, what about the heavy industries? You say, all right we are for heavy industries. The other day we entered into an agreement with Czechoslovakia for a steel mill. But let us face the basic question. The resources of the country are limited. If from 18 per cent of the allocable resources for agricultural sector you increase them to 40 per cent and you still maintain the accent on heavy industries and say that accent on the rural economy will be what it had been recently, you are wrong somewhere or do not have the perspective

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enough of what you are told. These are very important things.

Now, it has been said that compared to the last year the growth rate has gone up. But this is an half-truth, more dangerous than falsehood. It has gone up. Yes. Why? It has gone up simply because agricultural production has gone up and agricultural production is not or has not been planned by the Janata leaders. So, it is because of higher agricultural production that the growth rate shows an impressive arithmetic. But to be self-critical, to be helpful to yourself and through you to the nation, you should look at the industrial map where production has gone down by half. You are claiming that less days of manpower have been lost but look at the industrial production has gone down by half. Why? That you should look into. But, simply because the agricultural production has a higher weightage in the combined growth rate, you get a misleading picture and you quote it and you forget that on the industrial front you have a very bad picture.

You know that the rate of savings is very low. I do not know what the details of the Budget will be, that is coming. If you want even a 7 per cent growth rate, taking both the industrial and the agricultural sector together, the resources that you need for that purpose you simply do not have them (*Time bell rings*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI): Please wind up.

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA: I agree with Bhandariji. He made a very valid point. I entirely agree with him that the basic problem of our economy is the dangerous erosion of the purchasing power of the people. You are thinking of higher agricultural production. You are thinking of higher industrial production. But, who will purchase all these. You are talking all the time of the rural

masses. Their purchasing power has been going down steadily. Yes, since we were in power, we are partly responsible for it. It is not a question of apportionment of blame or responsibility. It is a question of appraisal, re-appraisal and then taking the remedial measures.

You say the small-scale industries will come up. Welcome. This is a very sound proposal. Nobody has denied that. Some time back I was saying that reference to the past is also useful. Do not always be taken away by your own rhetorics. Many of the things you are saying, given time, I can quote endlessly from the Fourth Five-Year Plan and the Fifth Five-Year Plan documents. Just now I am quoting from the Fifth-Five-Year Plan Documents 1974-1979, Paragraph 2.39 says: From the point of view of devising an appropriate strategy and employment policy there are three inter-related aspects which need to be borne in mind. The first emphasises the need for implementing a programme using the strategic fact employed in the plan such as irrigation and agricultural extension involving the use of high yielding varieties. The second relates to the fact that aspects of rural-employment generation should be inter-woven with the local development strategy and the third, the most important aspect, relates to the creation of a secure rural tenantry and a productive small farmer base by means of tenancy reform. It is a very curious claim and a very understandable. The Janata Government is harping on the first two points, namely, irrigation and agriculture. We entirely agree with you hundred per cent; given to me, two hundred per cent. You are doing the right things. The second is rural employment generation. It is a right thing; but the question is, why are you so silent about the creation of secure rural tenantry? Why are you not talking of radical land reforms. Unless the purchasing power of the rural masses increases who will pur-

chase what you produce in the agricultural sector, in the village industries or in the town industries?

Think of today. Even the standard cloth, subsidised by the Government to the extent of 35 per cent, is not being lifted and it is a commodity of inelastic demand. One cannot just change very much the consumption of these basic commodities. Even that is not being sold. That shows that the people do not have the purchasing power. And you say that you will uplift the poor. You speak of agriculture, of irrigation and of village industries. Micro planning, for example, we have been talking of for decades. I sincerely wish you success and all the support necessary we will give you.

But what about the land reforms? What about the secure land tenantry. Nothing is being said that I am sorry to say this. Your party is committed to the rural peasantry. By what name you call this rural peasantry? The words 'Jai Kisan' we are hearing after Shastriji's death. But what is the definition of 'Kisan' today? One very senior spokesman said: Kisan means rich peasant and also the landless peasant. Now this sort of curious attitude can go on. 'Land reform' is being re-formulated now. Instead of radical reforms, your accent is on re-distribution of land, namely, ceiling is being raised. If the ceiling is raised, then some will be deprived simply because land supply is constant. Now, who will be deprived? The Harijans will be deprived and, therefore, there will be more of torture, more oppression and more eviction of Harijans.

The case of Harijans is not an isolated case. It has deep roots in the village economy. If this factor of the land reforms is not taken in the right perspective, then the village economy cannot look up because 80 per cent or 70 per cent of the people live in the villages and they could not increase

their purchasing power. They cannot purchase what you produce.

Let us also bear in mind that in many sectors, like the small-scale industries, you will not have the scale of the economy. Per unit cost of production will go up. While we will think of a scale, we agree with you that we will give more emphasis on the small-scale industries but we should also bear in mind the fact that per unit cost should not go up.

What about the question of marketing? I welcome a suggestion of the Janata Government about the wide-spread distribution system. It is a very positive suggestion, we but whether you would not have spelt it out a little more elaborately. While we congratulate the Janata Government for their victory, we also expect their good work. But for God's sake, spare us your rhetorics, dramatics and histrionics. If you want co-operation, we are there; for a national consensus, yes, we are there; but don't bite the hand raised in your support. Thank you.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN (Delhi): Sir, I rise to speak on behalf of the Indian National Congress(I).

AN HON. MEMBER: 'I' means what?

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: 'I' means everything. Sir, the President's Address to both the Houses makes really a dull reading and a disappointing reading. In fact, it is a sad reflection on the lack of imagination which has been the characteristic of the Janata rule. In short, it is a sad commentary on their performance and the hon. Member there has exposed their contradictions and has very well brought out that the policy of the Janata Government is a mixture of opposites. The Address fails to impress us or even gave us hope for the future, as areas and spheres in which continuity of thought and

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planning was necessary have completely been neglected. There is nothing to suggest in the Address that the Janata Government has any clear views or a sense of direction on the economic front. The Government's claims on arresting the price spiral or curbing the excess money supply are hardly tenable. The Government has miserably failed to hold the price line. Soaring prices and spiralling costs are the main problems confronting the population of this country. Anti-inflationary measures have failed to make any impact. Even the Governors, in their last Conference, have admitted the problem of price rise. The prices of all essential commodities have been rising day in and day out. Soaring prices of essential commodities like edible oils and many other commodities is a well-known fact. Besides this the deterioration in the law and order situation is unprecedented. Even the capital city and the State capitals are not free from the crime wave, what to talk of the towns and the rural areas. People have no sense of security either of person or of property. Violence is the order of the day, whether it is in regard to elections or otherwise. It is admitted that in the Address a warning has been given to the people who are addicted to protests and agitations. But what is omitted there is the increasing number of attacks on the Harijans and other weaker sections of the society. Belchi and such other incidents make us hang our heads in shame. Rome is burning and Nero is fiddling. As an Indian, I do hang my head in shame. There is unprecedented growing chaos in the industrial field and the situation is alarming. There is hardly any sectors of industry which is free from widespread unrest, characterised by strikes, lock-outs and even sabotage. The working class is frustrated and perplexed. The public sector which has reached commanding heights is being given a

go-by. How many people, how many workers, have been killed in police firings during the last eleven months is a known fact to everybody. The private sector is being given a free hand even in the field of defence production. This is a tragedy indeed. It is a known fact that the public enterprises in India account for about one-sixth of the gross national income every year and they have achieved a breakthrough for a very bright future. But conditions are being created which will really dislodge them from the commanding heights and this will be a great tragedy for the Indian economy. In the industrial field, the country had made impressive progress during the regime of the Congress. But during the last eleven months, there have been enormous setbacks resulting in a fall in industrial production and widespread industrial unrest. Two major industries, i.e. cotton textile and jute, are already on the sick list. Now, the sugar industry which is India's largest agro-industry is heading for a similar crisis and yet nothing is being done.

Another important matter which needs special mention is the fact that, of late the Centre-State controversy has assumed greater importance. This is obviously a dangerous trend and needs careful and sympathetic handling. Certain quarters are vigorously pleading for greater power and resources for the States while, on the other hand, the Prime Minister has categorically rejected any such demand on the plea that such a move will endanger the unity of the country. Sir, rigidity in such matters is very dangerous and, as I have said, this needs careful and sympathetic handling. Similarly, the demand for smaller States is another dangerous trend and this has to be looked into carefully.

Recently—it is obvious Commissions for enforcement of constitutional safeguards of the minorities,

the Scheduled Castes and the Backward Classes, have been announced but this has been done with an eye on the elections in the Southern States. Sir, it took the Government eleven months to take a decision to set up a Minorities Commission. We had hoped for a real, useful Commission and we had expected that this Commission will do some good for us. But it is a great disappointment to find that the person who is going to head this Commission will not be able to win over the confidence of the minorities.

I say this with some confidence because this is the gentleman—I refrain from taking his name—who opposed the first person from the minority community when he was sponsored for the Presidentship of this country and he had joined hands at that time with the RSS and the Jana Sangh in opposing the name of that minority community candidate. Can we have any confidence in such a person and we expect that he will do some good for the minority community if he is going to head this Commission? Similarly, Sir, we cannot congratulate the Home Minister for the appointment of the National Police Commission. The person who is going to head this Commission also has not added to his reputation of late and people have got a lot of misgivings about his political leanings. The utmost protection which is needed from the police is needed by the minorities, the Harijans and the backward classes and unless they are taken into confidence, unless they are represented on this Commission, I am sure the Commission is not going to achieve the real purpose for which this has been established.

I am saying this particularly because even the terms of reference of this Commission are very vague. Sir, I had pointed out earlier also that the recruitment policy for the police, particularly the CRP and the PAC, needs complete overhauling as we have seen that their performance in the past has been most disappointing, most dismal and most dangerous to the minority communities and the backward classes.

Sir, I should be failing in my duty if I do not make a specific and pointed reference to the role of the CRP and PAC. It is a well-known fact that at the time of stress and strain, they have always failed us, whether it was the Turkman Gate, or Lucknow, or Kanpur or Banaras incidents. Are these forces for our protection, or are they for our destruction?

The reference to planning in the Address indicates a new unconventional strategy of development. They have yet to spell out the plans to remove poverty and unemployment. But talking in terms of 10 years will not give us any hope and I do not know whether those people who say that they will be able to remove unemployment in 10 years will be here or not. So this is the state of our planning which is not at all helpful to the people. The concept of planning has been disturbed with fanciful notions and ideas like the 'rolling plan' so as to confuse the basic concept of perspective planning and sidetrack the pragmatic and rational approach to balanced economic growth.

Sir, it is really a surprise to me as what is being done by the Government about the recurring crimes of sabotage affecting the railways, power installations and even our airlines. It is strange that after months of so many cases of sabotage in different parts of the country, there have been no arrests, no convincing explanations from the Government. We expect the Government to stop this climate of violence and terror before things go completely out of hand. It is high time that suitable action is taken to restore national discipline and confidence of the people as even today we find that violence is the order of the day, whether it is the election time or otherwise. How long are the people going to face this kind of situation and how long are they going to tolerate this situation?

The Janata Government has halted the implementation of the land ceiling Acts in the States. The legis-

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lations fixing minimum wages for the farm labour are being flouted. Besides, dominant castes have been taking back the land which was allotted to the landless, particularly the Harijans. Harijan oppression is a common thing. Senior leaders in the Janata Party itself have expressed their views about this, but it is a matter of great surprise that nothing is being done to stop the oppression of the Harijans and other weaker sections of the people.

■ Sir, the Janata Party itself is a divided house of five ideologies and so we hear many views and voices on the same issue. Very often one gets an impression of intra-Cabinet row. Apart from the Ministers, there are some members of the party who speak as if they are the Government in themselves.

Another important fact which I would like to mention is that the RSS today poses the most serious threat to the nation's unity and progress. Shri Raghu Thakur of Madhya Pradesh has gone on record to say, besides other things, that large-scale infiltration by the RSS into key positions is a very serious matter. And this is not solitary example. There are numerous calculated acts dominating the national scene and the national politics.

Sir, nearer home, I would like to mention that there has been a pending demand for full State-hood for Delhi to meet the people's hopes and aspirations. This demand has been long pending with the Government and it is hoped that this will materialise soon and we will be able to have a State Legislature and a full-fledged State in Delhi as early as possible.

Sir, we have learnt with great disappointment about the Works and Housing Ministry's decision to scrap the National Capital Region Plan. If this is done it will be a great tragedy. Two out of the three phases of this Plan have already been executed by the State Governments and large sums

have been invested already. Unless the Government continues with the old policy all the money that has gone into the first and the second phases of this plan will go waste.

Similarly, Sir, there is urgent need for comprehensive amendment to the Wakf Act as the Muslim Wakfs Acts are in a bad state and need immediate attention. In Delhi itself I would suggest that a comprehensive survey should be made in order to find out the number of Wakf properties. That can be found out very easily from the revenue records. Compare the revenue records of 1947 with the revenue records of 1977, and if there are any missing links, then what happened to these properties? Where have they gone? After all, they could not go to Pakistan or they cannot be declared as evacuee property. This should be done early.

Sir, another very important factor which I find missing from the President's Address is about the Urdu language. It is still called the language of Turks and Mongols. It is still called the language of dividing the country. There is not personnel to look after the Urdu wing of the publicity media. I believe that ten posts of Urdu Translators are vacant. Similarly, there are many other posts which are still lying vacant. Urdu is a language of this country and, therefore, we expect that it will not only get better treatment but a generous treatment. We would also like to know what has happened to the Gujaral Committee report. Where is this report? When is the Government going to accept it or when is the Government going to implement it?

Another important factor which I would like to mention and which is agitating our minds is the Aligarh Muslim University Act. Sir, we are anxiously waiting for the new amendment Bill to be presented in this House or in the Lok Sabha and this should be passed in this very session as we have already waited for it for a very long time. No further delay is desirable.



THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI): Please wind up.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: Sir, another thing which is the cause of great concern to all of us is the prevailing situation in the educational institutions. What is happening in our institutions? We have about 112 Universities. How many are closed down? What are their students doing? Are we going to close down all these institutions or are we going to run them properly? (*Time bell rings.*)

Thirteen banks have been nationalised. But so far there is no indication whether there will be uniformity of services or uniformity of rules. There must be uniformity in service recruitment and interchangeability of staff unless we propose to leave it as it is which is not a satisfactory situation.

Another factor which I would like to mention here is the talk about the banning of the National Congress flag. We want to make it very clear that this will not be allowed whatever sacrifices we may have to make, whatever we may have to do. The Government must take note of this. They will not be allowed to do this.

Sir, the present state of our society is not beyond redemption. Gandhiji's legacy is an embodiment of hope and inspiration for the minorities and the down-trodden. This situation is our basic reason for faith and hope in future. We have full faith in our people that they will rise to the occasion and the minorities and the down-trodden will have the privilege to contribute their full share to the enchanting enterprise of reconstruction. But unfortunately, deliberate attempts are being made to dismantle and destroy the image of our acknowledged leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru. But take it from me, the nation is not so ungrateful as to forget Nehru and his unique contribution to the country and the nation. And, Sir, whatever people may do, Nehru's name will shine with the lustre of its own for ever. He will be our guiding star for the future generations and, therefore,

I would like to wind up my speech with a quotation of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru:—

"We have to build up this great country into a mighty nation, mighty not in the ordinary sense of the word, that is, having great armies and all that but mighty in action, mighty in its peaceful service to humanity."

Sir, before concluding I would quote Iqbal's couplet about Jawaharlal Nehru:

"हजारों साल नरगिस अपनी बेरीनू  
पे रोती है,  
बड़ी मुश्किल से होता है चमन मे  
दीदावर पैदा।"

SHRI A. P. JANARDHANAM (Tamil Nadu): Sir, The President's address omitted very important things among which the State-Centre relations are assuming, day by day, very great importance. A great French writer said that apoplexy at the centre and anaemia at the extremities will spell danger to the State. Strong States will make the Centre very strong. The States are the crucial arena where vital questions have to be decided, where all the plans have to be executed, where the people get everything and the people subscribe their all by way of taxes, their blood and sweat. The States have to get their due in fiscal matters and other things.

We have a long history of fighting for States' rights. I come from the sweet South. As far back as 1938, our Grand Old Man, Periyar Ramaswamy, in his Madras speech gave out the stirring slogan, "Tamil Nadu for Tamilians". In 1941 we took up the "Separation of Dravidenadu" issue. In 1964, due to our maturing and due to the belief that national integration will come about due to the confidence that other leaders will accommodate us, due to the confidence that we will all take to mutual understanding, we gave up that demand. Afterwards, the State-Centre relations have been discussed threadbare in many meetings. Many Chief

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Ministers have expressed their opinion Dr. Annadurai who has moulded us, who has been our mature statesman, who adorned this Rajya Sabha, who, Cicero-like, Demosthenes-like, made his thunderous orations on the floor of this august House, made youngsters like us take to politics. The Congressmen challenged him, saying, 'You speak on the Marina sands; you challenge us; you speak to lakhs of people; come on; come to the Assembly; take up the challenge; come to the parliamentary field.' And so on, Congressmen challenged Dr. Anna. Later on, to meet that challenge we went to the Assembly. In 1956, in our Trichy Conference we decided to fight the elections. In 1957 we got a bare 15 seats in the Madras Assembly on behalf of the DMK ticket. In 1961 we got more than 50 seats. That made the late lamented Mr. Kamaraj bring out his "Kamaraj Plan". The growth of the DMK, the swelling fervour on behalf of the DMK, the attraction of the younger generation to the harangues, the oratory, the histrionics and the fine spellbinding speeches of Anna and his lieutenants made the youngsters flock to him.

We converted the whole younger generation not by force, not by recourse to other means, but by simple persuasion. Then pen and the tongue were our weapons. If the South is very calm, if in Tamil Nadu you still see a serene calm atmosphere, if patience is our sheet-anchor it is really due to the efforts of Dr. Anna. Afterwards, in 1967, the DMK captured power and the late lamented Kamaraj himself was defeated in Virudhunagar. When he was defeated at Virudhunagar, we all got the shock of our life. Anna himself was shocked. We thought that the presence of Mr. Kamaraj, Mr. Bhaktavatsalam and other Congress stalwarts on the opposition bench would help us. Democracy is a two-way debate and the essence of democracy is dissent and the licence

given to the Opposition to have its say. But we were grieved to think that Kamaraj got defeated. Dr. Anna died just after two years. To the grief of millions, he left us orphans. Afterwards, Dr. Karunanidhi was our Chief Minister. In two years, he developed megalomania—he was afflicted by megalomania. In 1971, we trounced the Congress and the Congress got a barely 15 seats and we got 184 seats. Mr. Karunanidhi could have remained the apostle of Anna's ideas as the true inheritor of Anna's mantle. But somehow he took to vanity and vindictiveness and that made MGR the Spartacus of the movement. The one great role which MGR undertook was to challenge Karunanidhi, asking him, when so many workers were wedded to penury, could not even own bicycles, how he and his colleagues were parading in motor-cars in Madras, how they took to easy life. He said that this easy, posh living will irritate the workers, irritate the public and corrode the strength and popularity of DMK. MGR has the guts. MGR has got the charisma. MGR has got that honesty. MGR alone had the courage to challenge Karunanidhi and ask him for accounts. But MGR had developed charisma even before, when he utilised the film medium to reach the people. Because the film medium in a developing country, where there are a large number of illiterate people is very important. To the masses, to the peasants, to the villagers, the film was a very powerful medium. Anna himself was a powerful dialogue writer. The cinemas showing his films were thronged and later "Parasakti" was the rage of the day. We contributed to the stage, and by our writings for the cinema. We captured the younger generation. We galvanised the country. MGR, through his pictures, was playing a good role—the role of the good Samaritan, the role of the saviour of the victims of villainy, the victims of sham, dummy crooks

on the screen—and his image stuck in the hearts of the masses. He became the darling of the masses. MGR knew hunger; MGR knew penury. MGR was brought up under very hard circumstances by his mother in Kumbakonam. Later he was converted to the DMK. Anna was very much struck by the splendid success he had achieved. Even Kamaraj used to say: Beware of MGR "The hunter of Votes". This is what the great Kamaraj used to say. At last MGR challenged Karunanidhi—Karunanidhi surrounded by sycophants. Then, on October 10, 1972, MGR had no other go but to move out with the workers, 80 per cent of the workers of the DMK, to form the Anna DMK. He took up the challenge and from that day onwards it has been a stunning political success. There has been success after success. You would have seen the victory in the Lok Sabha elections. Last time out of 20 seats we contested, there was victory in 19 seats. In the Assembly we got 126 seats. He is now the C.M. of Tamil Nadu. He swore by the peasants of the country. Like Chaudhari Charan Singh, he says that the village masses have to be uplifted. We have given our first budget. We are a young, virile and dynamic set.

As far as we are concerned, we will join the main stream. We have given up the separation demand long ago. But one thing is certain, that fanaticism in one quarter will certainly produce counter fanaticism. We are for integration, but integration must come from the heart. Personally, I have great regard for JP's moral stamina. Personally, I have great regard for Acharya Narendra Deva's stirring socialism. Personally I have great regard for the great sacrifices of the Nehru family. Personally, I have great regard for Mahatma Gandhi for whom creed, deed and word were one. We have great regard for the northerners. But, after dillying after soft-peddalling, after we put up a vociferous cry and

after all the representations even from the Congressmen, at last you took up the issue of the portrait of Rajaji in the Central Hall grudgingly and haltingly.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI): Mr. Janardhanam, please conclude.

SHRI A. P. JANARDHANAM: Integration has to come from the heart. We are prepared to integrate. I believe in the justness of Morarji. I believe in the now accommodating style of Vajpayee. I believe in the mature handling of the Information and Broadcasting portfolio of Shri Advani. I believe that the Janata Government will deliver the goods. We will constructively co-operate with whatever Government comes because we are at the receiving end. We stand for the State's rights. We stand for our language rights. And other occasions will come when I will expound the glories of the Dravidian saga of the past 60 years.

श्री त्रिलोकी सिंह : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय इसके पहले कि मैं कुछ अर्ज करूं जिन माननीय सदस्य ने धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव पेश किया और जिन्होंने उनका समर्थन किया उनकी प्रशंसा किए बिना नहीं रह सकता। एक बड़े कमजोर मामले को उन्होंने इस ढंग से पेश करने की कोशिश की कि जहां कुछ भी नहीं था वहां मालूम हो कि सब कुछ है। माननीय समर्थक महोदय ने इस ढंग से बात पेश की कि जैसे सब कुछ इसमें है जबकि इसमें तथ्य कुछ भी नहीं है। अगर एक सज्जा भी सामने होती तो कम से कम कानों को तो भला लगता। मैं उनको याद दिलाना चाहता हूं मान्यवर के जरिए से कि गुजिश्ता साल जो राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण था वह बहुत छोटा था। बहाना यह था कि उनको आए हुए अभी तीन दिन हुए हैं। मौका नहीं मिला कि वह इस पर गौर कर सकें। हकूमत के जिस काम को उन्होंने संभाला है गांधी जी

[श्री विलोकी सिंह]

की समाधि पर कमम खाकर, वायदा कर के उसे ठीक प्रकार से करना चाहिए। पुराना तुजुर्बा है और सदियों का कि शैतान को मानने वाले खुदा का नाम बहुत लेते हैं। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि गांधी जी को मानने वाले भी गालिबन उसी असूल के पैरों हैं जो शैतानियत के मानने वाले होते हैं। आए दिन महात्मा का नाम लेकर उसकी बात को न मान कर उसकी बात को न समझकर अपना काम करते हैं और उनके नाम की तिजारत करके आज वह अपने काले-धुंधले चेहरे को चमकदार दिखाना चाहते हैं। मुझे इस बात का अफसोस है कि यह कड़वी बात मुझे उनके सामने कहनी पड़ रही है। मगर इन नए गांधीवादियों की अगर इस तरह की हालत हो तो हमें ये बातें कहनी पड़ती हैं। पिछले साल का जो एड्रेस था वह केवल चार सफों में था और उसमें कुछ वायदे किए गए थे। उसमें पहला वायदा यह था कि जो मैनडेट उन्हें दिया गया है उसको वह हर तरह से पूरा करेंगे। नम्बर दो में मीसा को रद्द करने की बात कही गई थी और नम्बर तीन में इलेक्शन कानून में तरमीम करने की बात कही गई है। नम्बर चार में यह कहा गया था कि जो हमारे मुल्क का कांस्टिट्यूशन है, आईन है, उसमें मुकम्मल तरमीम लाने की बात कही गई थी और पांचवें नम्बर में रिमूवल आफ डेस्टिट्यूट्स अर्थात् दरिद्रता को 10 वर्षों के अन्दर खत्म करने की बात कही गई थी। नम्बर छः में देहातों की जो रोजमर्रा की जरूरतें हैं उनको मुहय्या करने की बात कही गई थी। लेकिन आज इनकी हालत यह है कि आप इन सब बातों को भूल गए हैं। इस एड्रेस में इन बातों का कहीं भी जिक्र नहीं है। केवल दो वायदों का दो लफ्जों में जिक्र किया गया है, लेकिन उनको पूरा नहीं किया गया है। जनाबअल्ला, इस बात को सब लोग जानते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता सजग और जागरूक हो चुकी है। इसको अब धोखा नहीं दिया जा सकता है। इन्हीं बातों की वजह से वह वहां पहुंचे हैं

जहां हम बैठे हुए थे और अगर यही हालत रही तो फिर उन्हें यहां बैठना पड़ेगा जहां पर हम बैठे हुए हैं। चाहे कितने ही शब्दों का जाल बनाइये, जनता को धोखा नहीं दिया जा सकता है।

हजूर, ये लोग एड्रेस में मीसा के मुत्तलिक क्या फरमाते हैं, इस पर गौर करने की जरूरत है। अगर इसके इतिहास को इस हाउस के सामने रखा जाए तो मालूम पड़ेगा कि सन् 1818 में रेगुलेशन नं० 3 बंगाल के अन्दर बना था जिसके अन्तर्गत गवर्नर जनरल इन काउंसिल को यह अख्यतार था कि वह किसी को भी नजरबंद कर दे। बाद में यही रेगुलेशन बम्बई में और मद्रास अहाते में लागू किया गया। यू० पी० और बिहार में इस तरह का कोई कानून नहीं था, सिवाय इसके कि रेगुलेशन-3 लागू किया जाए। इसी रेगुलेशन-3 के बाद जब लड़ाई के वक्त किसी को नजरबंद करने की बात सामने आई तो डिफेन्स आफ इंडिया रूल्स की बात हुई। अभी माननीय सदस्य प्रो० रामलाल पारीख ने विलायत का हवाला दिया। उन्होंने कहा कि वे चन्द हफ्ते हुए, विलायत गए थे और वहां के हाऊस आफ कामन्स में भी गए थे। उनसे मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि शायद उनकी जानकारी में यह बात नहीं आई होगी कि विलायत के अन्दर कोई ऐसा कानून नहीं है कि किसी को भी इस तरह के कानून के अन्तर्गत एक सेकेन्ड के लिए भी नजरबन्द किया जा सके। जब लड़ाई होती है तो डिफेन्स आफ स्टेट ऐक्ट के अन्तर्गत थोड़े समय के लिए इस तरह का कानून लागू होता है। जाफता फौजदारी कानून के अन्तर्गत उनके वहां इस तरह की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। क्या आप गवर्नर जनरल इन काउंसिल के अख्यतार को डिस्ट्रिक्ट मजिस्ट्रेट को देना चाहते हैं ताकि वह जिसको चाहे उसको नजरबन्द कर दे? क्या आपको मालूम नहीं है कि गांधी जी ने 1818 के रेगुलेशन-3 के बारे में क्या कहा था? उन्होंने कहा था कि यह एक काला कानून है।

श्री राशबिहारी बोस, जो अपने समय के बहुत बड़े वकील थे, उन्होंने इस कानून के बारे में कहा था कि यह एक "ला-लैस ला" है। इस ला-लैस ला को अब कानूनी शक्ल यह देना चाहते हैं और उसके साथ ही यह दावा करते हैं कि उन्होंने इस मुल्क को तानाशाही से बचाया है। जैसा मैंने शुरू में ही कहा था कि शैतान अपनी शैतानियत को छिपाने के लिए बारबार खुदा का नाम लेता है, उसी तरह से यह लोग भी बार-बार गांधी जी का नाम लेते हैं और काम उनके विपरीत करते हैं।

मान्यवर, मैं कुछ बातें अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ लेकिन आपकी घंटी की वजह से मेरे मन में उलझन पैदा हो जाती है। उन का दावा है कि हिन्दुस्तान में डेमोक्रेसी ये लाए। मुझे मालूम नहीं कि यह उनका कौन-सा तजर्बा है, लेकिन मैं इस बात को अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ कि जनता पार्टी में ऐसे अफराद है जिन्होंने दिसम्बर, 1976 में श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के 20 पाइन्ट प्रोग्राम की हिमायत की थी। मुझे यह भी मालूम है कि वे लोग इस वक्त कौंसिल आफ मिनि टर्स में मिनिस्टर हैं और उसके मेम्बर हैं। दिसम्बर, 1976 में इन लोगों ने 20 पाइन्ट प्रोग्राम की हिमायत की थी। मैं उनका नाम ले सकता हूँ। वह कोई राज की बात नहीं है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले साल इलेक्शन किसने कराए? कोई उन्होंने मारुना पेश किया था। इलेक्शन कराए। इलेक्शन का जब ऐलान किया इंदिरा जी ने तो वह गलती की। उनको मौका था, उनकी फिदरत थी कि जीत जायेंगे। परन्तु जीत जाने के बजाय चारों खाने चित्त हुई। किसकी वजह से? वह गिरी आवाम की वजह से, जिसकी आंखों में आप धूल झोंकना चाहते हैं और यह कहना चाहते हैं कि हम उनके सच्चे खिदमतगार हैं। ऐसा नहीं है। इंदिरा गांधी ने इलेक्शन कराए और कराए इसलिए कि वह जीत लेगी। परन्तु बजाए जीतने के पलट गई। दावेदार यह हो गए इलेक्शन कराने के। दावेदार

यह हो गए डेमोक्रेसी को रिस्टोर करने के। इसकी मिसाल दुनिया की तवारीख में मिलना आसान नहीं होगा।

मान्यवर, मैं यह भी अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इन्होंने अपनी इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी का जिक्र किया। किस को नहीं मालूम है कि 107 से ज्यादा कपड़े के कारखाने जो सरकार के कब्जे में हैं और किस को यह नहीं मालूम है कि कपड़े के कारखानों की हालत यह है कि कारखाने बन्द हो रहे हैं। क्यों सरकार ने उनको अपने हाथ में लिया? सरकार ने लिया ताकि लोग बेरोजगार न हों। नेशनल टैक्सटाइल कारपोरेशन ने हजूर, पिछले साल 70 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा दिया। आज बाजार में हर दुकान में कपड़ा है पर खरीददार नहीं हैं। हमारे एक मोज्जिब मेम्बर ने कहा कि गांव वालों के पास खरीदने के लिये पैसा नहीं है। जो गांव की हालत है, वही शहर की हालत भी है। लोगों के पास परचेजिंग पावर नहीं है। मुझे यह जानकर बड़ी हैरत हुई, बड़ी तकलीफ हुई। मान्यवर, मैं पैरो से कमजोर हूँ। लेकिन जब एग्रिकल्चर के स्टेट मिनिस्टर को सुबह मैं सुन रहा था, गन्ने के बारे में, तो मुझे उस समय ऐसा लगा कि क्यों नहीं धरती फट जाती है और मेरा जैसा आदमी उसमें क्यों नहीं समा जाता है। इस मुल्क में इस तरह की बातें सुनने की मैं कल्पना भी नहीं कर सकता। पार्लियामेंट में सरकार का वजीर यह कहता है गन्ना लोगों ने बोया, हमारी राय से नहीं बोया। कांग्रेस चली गई, उसकी राय से बोया है। अगर उनके गन्ने की बरबादी होती है तो हम जिम्मेदार नहीं। यह गन्ना कितना है? हजूर, यह सैकड़ों करोड़ों रुपये का है। तो उसकी वह जिम्मेदार नहीं है। यह कौन शक्स कहता है? जिसकी हकूमत में धान बोया गया, जिसके दोरे हकूमत में गेहूं बोया गया, जिसके दोरे हकूमत में चना बोया गया, सरसो बोया गया, क्या उन्होंने ही इसकी सलाह दी है कि इतना गेहूं बोयें, इतना धान

[श्री त्रिलोकी सिंह]

बोये। तो इसका मतलब यह है कि अगर ज्यादा पैदा हो गया तो कहेंगे कि तुमने इतना ज्यादा पैदा किया इसलिये इसकी जिम्मेदारी सरकार पर नहीं है। इस किस्म की बात करते हुए शायद ही किसी ने कभी किसी को सुना हो। इंदिरा गांधी को भी शायद कभी ऐसा कहने की नीबत न आई हो। किया जो भी हो लेकिन कहा कम से कम गोलमोल। यह तो कहते भी हैं और करते भी हैं। जो भी कहेंगे वह निश्चित समझो। करोड़ों रुपये का गन्ना पड़ा है, क्रेशर बन्द हो रहे हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश जहां से मैं आता हूं वहां पर 30 फीसदी गन्ना मिले पेरती है और 70 फीसदी गूड़ बनता है, खंडसारी बनती है। 70 फीसदी गन्ना 5 रुपये विबंटल के भाव से बिक रहा है जबकि लकड़ी के दाम 10 रुपये हैं। गन्ने के दाम से लकड़ी के दाम अधिक हैं। क्रेशर के मिलमालिकों ने नोटिस दे दिया है कि बन्द कर देंगे। वजीर साहब फरमाते हैं कि क्यों बोया था। पुरानी सरकार ने यह गलत काम किया है हमारे पास क्यों आते हो, यह सरकार कहती है। सरकार का यह फर्ज है। यह करोड़ों रुपये का मामला है, इसलिये वह उनकी दिक्कतों को दूर करें, उनकी सहूलियतों को तद करें, इसका वहाना न लें। कोई भी जिम्मेदार सरकार आवाम की तकलीफ, उसकी दिक्कत, चाहे वह उसकी बनाई हुई हो और चाहे कुदरती हो, उससे अपने को अलग नहीं रख सकती। साइक्लोन की आफत से यह अड्रेस शुरू हुआ वह प्राकृतिक आफत थी। उस-न राहत पहुंचाने के लिये दोड़े जाते हैं लेकिन जो आफत अगर मेरी गलती से पैदा हो गई है, उसके लिये कहते हैं कि भाड़ में जाओ। हजूर, ऐसे लोग इस जनता पार्टी के हैं।

एक साहब ने कहा कि हम एक हैं, जिन्होंने कि इसका अनुमोदन किया था, अड्रेस के थेक्स का। यह पता कैसे चले कि

यह एक हो गये हैं। यह मिले बाद में और पैदा पहले हुए। यह एक तवारीख की बात है कि इनका जन्म पहले हुआ और पैदा उसके 6 हफ्ते बाद हुए। वह भी दो फर्द के मेल से नहीं बल्कि कम से कम पांच और कुछ इधर उधर से भी लग गये और आज वह इस बात का दावा करते हैं कि वे अपने वसूलों को भूले नहीं और वे गांधी जी के वसूलों पर चल रहे हैं।

गांधी जी ने क्या कहा था? सन् 1917 में जब इन्डेपेन्डेंस का कोई नाम नहीं लेता था, तब उस शब्द ने एक किताब लिखी थी 'ग्राम स्वराज्य'। क्या ग्राम स्वराज्य की जो कल्पना महात्मा गांधी ने की थी, उसका कोई इस दस्तावेज में कहीं भी जिक्र है? कहते हैं बेरोजगारी दूर करेंगे, कहते हैं गांव में रोजगार लाएंगे। बिना गांव वालों को अधिकार दिए हुए जो मामलें हैं उनका पूरा इंतजाम वह कर सकें। क्यों मालगुजारी वसूल करने के लिए तहसीलदार की जिम्मेदारी है, यह जिम्मेदारी पंचायत को क्यों नहीं दी जाती? क्यों खाता पटवारी रखता है वह गांव की पंचायत को जिम्मेदारी क्यों नहीं दी जाती? क्यों दाखिल-खारिज तहसीलदार करता है, गांव की पंचायत क्यों नहीं करती? क्यों वाच-एंड-वार्ड की जिम्मेदारी थाने की है, गांव की पंचायत निगरानी का काम क्यों नहीं करती? क्यों वहां जितना भी अनाज बांटा जाता है, सीड आदि के लिए पंचायत द्वारा नहीं बांटा जाता? कर्ज आदि देने की जिम्मेदारी पंचायत को क्यों नहीं दी जाती? खुदा के बन्दो। मैं गलत कह रहा हूं मालूम नहीं किस के बन्दे हैं यह लोग। नाम गांधीजी का लेते हैं, ग्राम स्वराज्य का कहीं जिक्र नहीं है। मुझे तो शुबाह है कि उनके पूरे मंत्रिमंडल में शायद ही एक-आध हो जिन्होंने वह किताब पढ़ी हो। वह भी पढ़ कर भूल गया है ... (interruption) आदमी हजूर अच्छा होता है कम से कम पेट के लिए गर्ज पूरी करता है। इंसान इंसान

के लिए लड़ता है मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि कितनी दुखभरी कहानी है। इस मसविदे को बहुत देखा, इधर देखा उधर देखा कि कुछ पल्ले पड़ जाए मगर कुछ भी पल्ले नहीं पड़ा। मालूम हुआ कि सिवाय तरतीबे अल्फाज के और उसमें भी भोंडापन के सिवाय कुछ नहीं है। खुदा मालूम किस विद्वान ने लिखा है। माइन्टीज कमीशन इसलिए बनाया गया है कि वह लाज को प्रोटेक्ट करेगा। कोई कमीशन कैसे लाज को प्रोटेक्ट करेगा ? यहां पर भी बड़े-बड़े वकील बैठे हैं, डी० पी० सिंह साहब हैं। मेरी समझ में तो कुछ नहीं आया। जब लिखने बैठे सोचा धोखा ही देना है उसमें न जवान का ख्याल रहा न दीन का ख्याल रहा न ईमान का ख्याल रहा। अभी तीन मिलियन टन स्टील गुजरात स्टील कम्पनी से वेस्ट जर्मनी बेचा था। उनको मालूम नहीं था कि दुनिया में बाजार भाव क्या है। उसने उसी कारखाने को हुक्म दे दिया कि बजाय वेस्ट जर्मनी के भेजने के इसे चीन भेज दो और चार मिलियन डालर में बेचा क्या हिमाब है ? पिछले महीने इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी का बड़ा शोर सुना, बड़े बाजे शहनाई बज रही है। कहते हैं कि जो कारखाने खराब हैं उनको अच्छे कारखानों से मिलाने के लिए कोशिश की जाएगी। 10 महीने लग गए उसको उसूल ब्यान करने में एक भी आजा तक नहीं मिल पाया। यह तो इनकी इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी है। गांव में जो चीज बनाएंगे, गांव में जो चीज पैदा करेंगे उसकी बिक्री कहां पर होगी, कैसे होगी। मुझे एक बुजुर्ग ने बताया जो काबिल आदमी हैं कि 700 मार्केटिंग इंस्पेक्टर, डिस्ट्रिक्ट इंस्ट्रिज आफिसर्स जिनको मार्केटिंग का तजरबा हो उनको सिखाया जाएगा। एक महीने में वो उस्ताद हो जाएंगे। जो यह 10 वर्ष में नहीं कर सके वे एक महीने में कैसे करेंगे ? वहां से जवाब आया उनको क्या पढ़ाया जाएगा उन्होंने कहा सरकार गौर भर करेगी। स्कीम बन गई कि पढ़ाया जाएगा, एक महीने में, मगर क्या सरकार उस पर गौर कर रही है ? उधर

से ताकीद आई तो सेक्रेटरी साहब ने फर्माया कि वजीर साहब की खिदमत में मिसिल भेज दी गई है। वे ही बताएं कि क्या पढ़ाया जाएगा। हम को तो कुछ पता नहीं है। वे इलेक्शन के दौर में गए हैं। मान्यवर, इलेक्शन और बोट के जरिये से इन्सान उठा है। यह डेमोक्रेसी की तवारीख है। बदकिस्मती से हमारे यहां इलेक्शन के ऊपर हर चीज कुर्बान है। जनता पार्टी के मानने वाले उस आदमी के हामी, उसके पैरो, उसके नाम लेने वाले और उसके नाम पर मरने वाले और जीने वाले जिसका नाम महात्मा गांधी था यह इलेक्शन को तरजीह देते हैं बनिस्वत कौम के या कौम के मामलात के। मैं तो सिर्फ इतना ही अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। आप मुझे माफ फर्मायेंगे। बहुत सी बातें कहनी हैं। जैसा मैंने कहा कि इतनी दुखभरी कहानी है कि कितना रोयें किसके आगे रोयें। मुहरिक महाशय जिन्होंने धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव पेश किया और जिन्होंने अनुमोदन किया वे भी रफू हो गये हैं। इस हाऊस में नजर नहीं आ रहे हैं और इतनी दिलचस्पी इस मंत्रि-मंडल की राज्य सभा के बहस मुवाहिसे और विचारों में है कि बमुश्किल तमाम—हमारे वजीर साहब माफ करेंगे—टुटू एक साहब मौजूद है और उनकी भी हैसियत पूरे वजीर की नहीं है। इस तरह की उदासीनता के बाद यह कहते हैं कि वे जनमत के पुजारी हैं। उसका लिहाज रखते हैं। अगर लिहाज रखते तो यहां पर कम से कम आधे दर्जन हजरात जो काउंसिल आफ मिनिस्टर के मेम्बर हैं मौजूद होते और हमें सुनते। हम बकवासी नहीं हैं, हम भूकते नहीं हैं। हम बात कहते हैं मामले की, हम वह बात कहते हैं जो अगर किसी के दिल और दिमाग है तो उसके दिल और दिमाग में उतर जायगी ताकि हमने जो अर्ज किया वह उस पर अमल करें। लेकिन जब सारा कुनवा का कुनवा गायब है तो किसके आगे कहें। इसलिए और कुछ कहने के बजाय मैं आपका शुक्रिया अदा करते हुए अपनी बात को समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI D. P. SINGH (Bihar): Sir, it is my unpleasant duty to bring to the notice of the House something in a language which I do not want to use. Normally, saying that what the Mover of the Motion claims for the Government is hypocritical is not good and I won't use that expression because that is unparliamentary. But the dichotomy between their profession and practice is patent in everything that the Government of the day is seeking to claim. That is very clear in every matter. The dichotomy between what they have professed here and what they have tried to do, between what they have professed in this House or in their election manifesto and what they have done is very clear. What a significant departure they have made. They are only trying to fool the people.

Now, Sir, I would start with the Shah Commission as the first thing for which they are taking credit saying:

"Here is a Commission appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the excesses of the emergency and the allegations against certain individuals who had misused their position....".

The least that could be said about the Commission is that article 74(2) of the Constitution clearly and positively bars any inquiry into the advice given to the President and yes, Sir, the first thing that has been published in the press yesterday is that the advice given to the President was a fraud on the President. Now, this is directly flouting the mandate of the Constitution. Such is the outrageous flouting of the Constitution resorted to by the ruling party in an unabashed and unashamed manner. The Commission is claiming to go by the directive or the mandate taken from the honourable Law Minister. Sir, whenever there is a difficulty, whenever there is some objection raised by someone,

they say: "Well, we have sought the advice of the Law Ministry and we are guided by the advice given by the Law Ministry." Not only this, The procedure adopted is such that the reputation of any person appearing before the Commission is not safe and it is so when the person is scandalized or when he goes down in the estimation of the people and when he is not given the right to cross-examine which is the ordinary right of every person appearing before a court. That right has now been blatantly denied and it is not available. On the contrary, the poor lawyers who have been appearing there now are threatened with prosecution. In other words, the reputation of everybody who may appear before the Commission is not safe and he has been made defenceless. Now this is only one aspect of the matter.

Much has been said about the claim of the Government, the claim of the Janata Party, in their election manifesto that they will abolish the MISA at the earliest opportunity. And yet, even before the year is out, MISA comes in Madhya Pradesh where the Chief Minister is valiantly championing the cause of the MISA. And now the Law Ministry says that MISA is inevitable in this country, MISA is necessary in this country, and that the only thing they are trying to do is to abolish that Act and put it in the Criminal Procedure Code. What a satisfaction to our country-men that from one enactment it is being made part of another enactment. Now, this is about MISA. Now, about the security of life and property, of the citizens, everybody knows and everybody has seen. Even in the capital city, in Delhi, nobody finds it safe to come out after it is dark. Sir, you have only to come on the road and take a taxi. A taxiwalla today needs the protection of another person and, therefore, he carries one with himself. This is the unfortunate situation today. Here, there are grab cases, hit



and run cases, etc. to the extent of 19 or 20 per day. And the Home Minister, who valiently says, 'I will crush this, I will crush that', is not able to restore normalcy, the minimum and elementary security that a citizen of this country is entitled to and that what he has been enjoying and receiving in this country.

About the elections, Sir, only the other day—perhaps yesterday—Mrs Margaret Alva brought to the notice of this House how the Governor under the present rule is trying to abuse his position, misuse his authority and every day trying to say something at the Press Conference whereby one party which is fighting the election—and the election is only a couple of days ahead—and the reputation of the leader of that party in Karnataka, is undermined and he is being scandalised. And yet nothing happens. This pernicious practice is being repeated day after day.

We have had only two or three months earlier the instance of the Chief Ministers in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh fighting their elections to the State Assemblies. Sir, the most pernicious, the most wretched methods were adopted. The entire machinery of the Government was used. The Press is replete with instances where the voters were 1300 the votes polled were 1500. It is to this extent that the Government has been prepared to go. Whenever it concerns them, whenever it concerns their candidates, all the rules are thrown to the wind. They say that democracy has been restored in this country. Democracy has left this country and will no longer continue to be in this country as long as the present Government is in power. The people of this country are realising this and the impatience with which they are watching things grow continues. Unless they mend their ways, unless they reform themselves, one would not be surprised if the era of peace is over and we will again see the type of revolution, the

type of street-fighting, which our leaders of the freedom had been able to achieve in this country. I will say only so much about this. Then a very tall claim is being made about an effort to remove unemployment and much is being made of the new industrial policy. All that we have seen these months of that industrial policy is that the entire fabric of our economy and the entire fabric of our industrial policy which was to secure for this country the greatest measure of self-sufficiency, is being destroyed. That is being sought to be eliminated. The main plank of this Government's policy is 'import and import'. Even things like watches are being imported. Everyone of us is so proud to take an Indian watch abroad. And now we have started importing these watches. If the Government had felt the need for more watches, it could have increased production by making liberal use of the foreign exchange which they are destroying and which they are throwing away in any case. At least, capital goods could have been imported so that the production could have increased. The things that we can produce in Bharat Heavy Electricals in our own country are sought to be imported from Germany, the land of love of our Minister of Industry because if three turbines or two plants can do it, they do not want two plants. One plant must be imported from Germany and 1200 crores of rupees are sought to be wasted in this process. This is the story of Bharat Heavy Electricals, Hardwar. This is the kind of economy about which they are trying to boast in this House. We will not be allowed to produce the things that we can produce in this country. I raised this question and the answer given to me was that there was so much of smuggling and that was why they were importing. How much of foreign exchange will be needed to stop smuggling? Billions and billions of your precious foreign exchange will be wasted and our people would never have a chance. These are the various outlines. But the worst is in the field of foreign

7. [Shri D. P. Singh]

policy. It was bad enough. But we are getting something from the hon. Minister of Doordarshan that we did not expect. One had expected that there would be fairness and justice in the A.I.R. and Doordarshan. They are talking about the restoration of freedom of the Press and removal of restrictions over the newspapers and all the news media. But they are blacking out all the news that concerns the opposition parties and monopolising the entire news that is in their favour, that belongs to the Government and that belongs to the Janata Party. It is really deplorable to say the least. Whatever is in favour of the opposition parties, it is being systematically backed out and no one is allowed to know anything about them. If there is anything that goes against the opposition parties, the whole thing is blurted out. That is the achievement. All this is bad enough. I have heard vociferous

5 P.M. claims about the Press being free and all controls having been lifted. Well, all controls on paper may have been lifted. But the newspapers are still subservient and the old monopolistic control still continues. And the Government is now apparently removing all the restrictions but indirectly putting all the pressure. Just see how the newspapers are today made to behave. I hope some day they will be liberated and some day they will feel free. Today, Samachar is sought to be removed. Their unity and integrity have been done away with. And we are told that any day—month after month, it is being postponed—they will separate and go back. But nothing has happened. The Government have taken the responsibility of paying to the various news agencies the entire loss. Sir, on the other hand, we are also told that a Press Commission is going to be appointed. Then why not wait till the appointment of the Press Commission? Why not refer the whole question to it? Let them do what they want. Let an expert

body advise as to what is necessary. What is this? Today, in a huff, without knowing anything, without understanding that problem, you have decided to split it and you are not able to effectuate it because you never envisaged the difficulties that have arisen. This is all about the domestic affairs. But the worst thing, the most appalling thing and unfortunate in the country's interest is in the field of foreign affairs.

Sir, the visit of the Foreign Minister to Pakistan is really unfortunate and ill-advised and a very immature approach. The things that we were able to bury, the things that we were able to achieve have all been destroyed by one unimaginative step. It was a step which could have been avoided at this moment. I am not going to repeat today the story of sharing of the Ganga waters with Bangladesh. By one stroke of pen, they have bartered away the fortunes of 60 million people of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and their posterity. This is the achievement of this Government, a deplorable achievement in all fields. And I hope that the people of this country will make them realise sooner or later, as had been emphasised by hon. Shri Triloki Singh, that merely talking loud about the things would not do and you cannot fool the people for ever.

Sir, in the field of judiciary what they have done is an atrocious thing. In the appointment of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, one of the most outstanding of Judges, one of the ablest Judges, one of the most respected in this country, they have debated that matter, they have tried to put up opinion and they have tried to disgrace him, humiliate him and bring him down. It is the Bar of this country—and I pay great homage to the independent Bar of the country and the public opinion in this country—which has been able to assert itself and see that they behave properly. Sir, this is the unfortunate story. This is the achievement of the Government, a lamentable achievement of the Government in a period of less

than 12 months and I hope that they will try to reform themselves, mend their ways, and at least the Government, when they come before this august House, they should speak the truth. Thank you, Sir.

SHRIMATI LEELA DAMODARA MENON (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I find that the President's Address, as has already been stated in this House by many Members, is only a mere elaborate version of the Address that was presented to this House last year by the Vice-President, who was acting as President at that time. Sir, I can understand the President's helplessness because to quote the passage here: This Government is still incorporating fully the new thinking of theirs regarding strategy of development. Sir, they are only still thinking. Therefore the President's Address lacks lustre, definiteness and progressive outlook.

Sir, we are most concerned today about the outbursts of violence, continuous agitations and disturbances that are taking place throughout this country. Sir, the Address says that it is only an expression of release from suppressed feelings. Probably, they are referring to the Emergency. But I feel, Sir, that we are only sliding back to a state of lawlessness which really necessitated the imposition of emergency in this country. And, this Government has failed to control the situation.

Then, Sir, the President says that the price-line has been checked. This matter has already been referred to by many hon. Members. I wish the Government could refer this matter to millions and millions of housewives in this country and seek their opinion on the question of price-line and see whether they do not have a very sorry tale to recount.

Sir, before I proceed further, I would like to draw the attention of the House to one important matter which happened just before the Presi-

dent started delivering his Address. When the President of India started addressing the Joint Session of Members of Parliament, which is a sublime moment, which is a moment which has to be vested with all dignity, he spoke first a few words in not very good Hindi. I would like to ask this House whether the President of India cannot speak in any language other than Hindi. Sir, I want to point out that 58 per cent of the people of this country do not speak Hindi. It is only 42 per cent of the people who speak Hindi. If it had been the desire of the people that there should be only one language, the majority of the people who took a decision at the time of the Constituent Assembly could have decided that they shall have one of the 15 languages of this country as their national language which would put all the people including the Hindi-knowing people on an equal footing regarding the learning of a new language. But, under the affectionate and loving guidance of our leaders; Mahatma Gandhi and others, we decided, the nation decided, the majority of the Indian people decided, that they will choose as their official language the language of the largest group of people in this country. But, Sir, for that reason shall we put our President to this indignity? Here I would like to point out that there are two official languages according to the Constitution of India and the President should have the discretion to choose one that he knows. Sir, I have been trying to learn Hindi. I have even taken a degree in Hindi language. But it is very difficult to attain the same standard in a language in comparison to those whose mother tongue it is. The Constitution provides that the President of India shall be a citizen of India, shall be 35 years of age or above and shall be one who is eligible to stand for the Lok Sabha as a candidate. But, it does not stipulate that he should be one who knows Hindi. Then, article 15 says: "No discrimination shall there be because of place of birth." Article 343 says that Hindi or English can be

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 used as the official language, and Article 351 says that it is the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it—Sir, I wish to stress the point 'to develop it'—so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment. Sir, can the composite culture of India be enriched by forcing non-Hindi speaking President of India to speak in Hindi, or sending Hindi money-order forms and telegram forms to the villages of Kerala and Karnataka? Sir, the villagers do not know what they are entering in those forms. Even the circulars from the Union Ministries to the States are sent in Hindi without English version. And what has been done to teach Hindi to the non-Hindi speaking people? Many of the States cannot even afford to pay salaries to their Hindi teachers. This is not the way to promote a language. Sir, I want to sound a note of warning. This will have very serious repercussions. There is a lot of resentment in the States, and language controversy is also taking other forms. There is a convention that no Governor shall be the Governor of his own State. Now in every legislature, before the Governor gives his annual address to the State Legislatures, there is a confusion, because the Governor is not able to speak the language of the State. This is all a part of this language fanaticism. It has to be put down here and now and the Parliament of India should give a lead; otherwise, it is going to start the disintegration of this great country. Janata Government will be another DMK which started this process and has struck the first note of disintegration and feelings of disruption.

Sir, the Address is very vague about the proposed measures of economic development, but that would be discussed during the Budget debate and this House will have many

opportunities of discussing that point in detail and, therefore, I am not going into that. But I wish to point out that in spite of very platitudinous expression of finding employment for millions of people, 230 million young people today are waiting for the fulfilment of those promises, having the joy of finding some work to do with remuneration. Sir, Kerala is one State which has this problem in its biggest magnitude. What is happening in Kerala today? About 4.5 lakhs of Kerala people have recently gone out of that State to find employment elsewhere and 2.3 lakhs have gone out of India because the passport restrictions have been slightly relaxed. I can tell you that Members of Parliament from Kerala, when they go back to their home State, have nothing else to do but to sign passport forms and call on their time is so great, because hundreds and thousands of young people want to leave the country. What is happening is, when they leave this country, they are exploited. Most of them go to the Middle East and the sponsors for the Gulf countries make large promises but nothing is done and the people are exploited by these agencies and it is practically a slave trade. People go there because they are starving in their home State. But why should they be treated like the slaves? Many of the technically qualified people go out of Kerala with fair promises and when they go to the other countries, they are made to work like slaves and to do manual work. There is nobody to help them. Even our embassies are not able to assist them to get their rights protected. This Government will have to do something to see that the agreements are honoured and the rights of the people who go out of the country are protected. They go out not because they want to leave their motherland, but because of the exigencies of the situation, because of poverty and so on.

They have to be taken care of. I am happy to note that the President,

in his Address, has referred to family planning. Last year, the Address stated that the family planning programme would be pursued vigorously. What happened to that vigorous pursuit? This has ended with practically the family planning programme being shelved. Therefore I am happy to note that there is a note of anxiety today in regard to the programme and I hope that the family planning programme would be pursued with vigorous motivation because this is something which is of vital need to this country. The hon. Health Minister is not here. But I was shocked to hear what he said. He said that Sri Rama should be emulated in regard to having a small family. I wish to ask him, in what way Sri Rama should be emulated? Is it by having two children or by sending his wife to wilderness? I also wish to point out that there are other stories in our epics where people have had hundred sons; for example, the Kauravas. If we start emulating all these heroes, we will only end up with people having hundred children perhaps. I am glad that the Health Minister has now come to some sort of a sensible view these days and he is now having a new approach to family planning. But I wish to state that the Health Ministry is utterly disorganised and paralysed. The first activity of the Ministry should be to revive faith in the people and they should have the courage to start their programmes. Many cases have been reported where people have come up voluntarily. They say that there should be a voluntary acceptance by the people. But when people come voluntarily to the hospitals for sterilisation, they are sent away because the doctors are afraid that the higher ups in the Government will view them with suspicion and, therefore, they are not inclined to start these programmes. In regard to family planning, they say that this should be on voluntary basis. I would like to know as to how they are going to do it. I hope the Government would mobilise the services of the non-official agencies and panchayats and see

that this programme is taken to the level of villages. Camps should be held in the villages. The propaganda and the programme should be such that it is acceptable to the most illiterate people. Yesterday, the Lok Sabha had passed a Bill raising the age of marriage. I do not know how will it help family planning. Unless we provide educational facilities and job opportunities to our women, it will be difficult for the parents to keep the girls up to the age of eighteen. If proper facilities are not provided, we will only have more number of unmarried mothers and may not be able to reduce the number of children.

I have a lot of things to say in regard to the President's Address. But one thing I should not forget and this is in regard to the industrial policy. We have always had a combination of public and private enterprises and a mixture of large scale, medium and small scale industries as well as Khadi and village industries. I would like to ask the hon. Industry Minister, why is it that the rural industries and the Khadi and village industries did not survive? It is not because they have not been started. Many of them have died and this is because there has not been enough training, there have not been enough entrepreneurial endeavours and also because of the financial problems. It is not enough if the hon. Minister says that they will give financial assistance to the small-scale industries. The question is will these industries be able to survive and will they be able to bear the rate of interest charged by the banks? They have been in a bad condition from the very beginning. This will be so if the present rate of interest continues. And no small industry in this country can survive unless the whole infrastructure of assistance and training is changed. The Indian private sector is now developing new technology. Some Members raised the point with regard to the defence programmes being given to the private sector. Sir, I do not mind the private sector, with proper technology, being utilis-

[Shrimati Leela Damodara Menon] ed to take up ancillary production for defence purposes but something that worries me is when the representative of the Indian Chamber of Commerce stated that that was because the private sector was in a better position to get foreign collaboration. I would like to ask: would you like our defence production to be tied up with foreign collaboration? Where is the guarantee that these people will stand by us in our hour of need? We have found in the past that many have not stood by us in the hour of need even though many have come forward with gestures of help. I warn this Government that if we link this defence production with private enterprise and tie it further with multinationals and foreign collaboration, we are going to have a very bad time and that will let us down in the hour of need.

Somebody said that new lists of items have been added to the small industries sector. I think it is a list of 300 items. It would be very interesting to note that the original list had the item of brushes and the second list has all types of brushes. I have not gone through the entire list, but about 180 items listed in the second list might for all purposes be a sort of repetition. That should be taken note of.

Sir, it is to our national interest and in keeping with great ideals that we have always followed, the Opposition has always stood by the Government in the foreign policy. We have tried to build bridges of friendly gestures with our neighbourly countries. But, Sir, these bridges should not be a one-way traffic. Whether we make trade agreements or we extend our hand of friendship and co-operation, we must see what we gain by it. The people of this country are not interested in merely making friendly gestures. We should also like to have the reciprocity of that friendly gesture also. We are very happy that our Government is having a fresh look at our relationship with our neighbour, the big country of China, but I would like to

know whether it is linked up with other relationships also, whether China will consider us as merely India and China and will not link up other programmes, other activities so that the whole thing, if not to day, later on, gets confused. When we made trade agreements and friendly gestures to Pakistan, some Members pointed out that we had gone into dangerous waters. Unnecessary questions like Kashmir have come up. I hope the Government will be able to solve those problems. But with regard to the trade agreement I would like to ask: when we ask of Iran, why should Pakistan really charge us to such an extent that it becomes an exorbitant sum for our trade purposes? Is it a friendly gesture? Should it not be a more mutual programme? We are willing to make concessions, but those concessions should not be at the cost of our self-respect. We are a big nation. We are one of the largest countries in the world. We can afford to be generous and helpful but I hope that in its programmes the Government will consider the interest of our side also. Sir, we have a proverb in Kerala that when the plantain falls on the fence or the fence falls on the plantain, the plantain tree gets hurt... (*Interruptions*)... No, it is plantain tree. It has a very soft bark. I hope whatever may be the friendly gestures, let us not be hurt all the time and at least some times let us have the pleasures of having the best of it. Thank you.

## MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

### The Interest Bill, 1978

SECRETARY GENERAL: Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha:—

'In accordance with the provision of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Interest Bill, 1978, as