

A number of steps have been suggested by honourable Members. I agree with Shri Bhandari that the solutions we propose should be free from gimmickry and should result in genuine and permanent growth. In accordance with the Janata Party's Manifesto they will have to be oriented towards agriculture and the countryside where the bulk of the people live. Our goal would be to have decentralised and agro-based development which alone can solve the problem of unemployment and poverty in the country. I would not be honest with you, however, if I were to minimise the complexity of these problems as well as the difficulties in achieving their solutions. I would, however, assure the House of my and my party's determination to do all that we can, honestly and efficiently, to solve these problems. I am also aware that these cannot be solved without the co-operation and understanding of the House as well as the people of this country. The overwhelming trust which has been reposed in us by the people of the country makes me feel confident that they will lend us the same kind of support in any programme of action we draw up for tackling these grave problems.

The question of curbing smuggling and punishing economic offenders has also been raised. We share the concern that smuggling and other economic offences should be firmly curbed. I can assure the House that economic offenders will not be given any quarter. But we do not believe that it is necessary to have an emergency to bring them to book. It is our sincere belief that it is possible to realise the fruits of growth without sacrificing fundamental rights, human liberty and the rule of law. We intend to control this anti-social menace through an effective use of the laws of the land and by strengthening the ordinary processes of law. As everyone knows, smuggling had assumed such great proportions largely due to laxity of the administration of

the former Government. It was really a lack of will and not a lack of instruments which inhibited them from taking firm action.

I will also assure the House that questions relating to CDS, bonus, etc., which were raised by honourable Members will also be examined thoroughly before the presentation of Budget Estimates for 1977-78 in May, 1977.

THE BUDGET (TAMIL NADU) 1977-78—General Discussion

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री (बिहार) :
उपसभापति जी, जाहिर है कि आज एक नये संदर्भ में और नई राजनीति से उत्पन्न स्थिति में मैं बोलने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। वह स्थिति क्या है? वह स्थिति यह है कि पिछले आम चुनावों में देश की जनता ने और खास कर मतदाताओं ने कांग्रेस पार्टी को यह राय दी कि अब तुम लोग विरोधी पार्टी का पार्ट अदा करो और दूसरे दलों को राय दी है कि वह इस देश की सरकार चलायें। पिछले चुनावों को इसी अर्थ में मैं लेता हूँ। चुनावों के समय जो बातें कहीं गई हैं और पिछले एक महीने में जो बातें कही गई हैं उन के संबंध में कुछ बोलने की मानसिक स्थिति में मैं इस वक्त नहीं हूँ और न ही आप लोग हैं आप लोग आज गवर्नमेंट चलाने के लिये आये हैं और हम लोगों को विरोधी दल की भूमिका अदा करनी है और मैं आप को विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि मैं सच्चाई के साथ उस को पूरा करूँगा। इस में जरा भी शक और श्रुद्धा नहीं है। जनता ने अपनी राय देकर गैर कांग्रेसी पार्टी को यहां पर भेजा है। इस में कोई संकोच और लाज

[श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री]

की बात नहीं है क्योंकि हमारे देश में जो सब से बड़ी सोचन पावर है उस के सामने हमारा सिर झुक जाता है। आप से तो हमें अभी लड़ाई करनी है और वह हमारी लड़ाई चलती रहेगी। ब्रिटिश पार्लियामेंटरी सिस्टम में भी इस बात को माना गया है कि एक मजबूत आपोजीशन पार्टी होनी चाहिये . . . (Interruptions) हम तो इस बात को पहले से ही मानते हैं। आप भी इस को मानियें, यही हम चाहते हैं।

कांग्रेस पार्टी की हार के बाद भी हमारी महान नेता, हमारे देश की भूतपूर्व प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने जनता के सामने अपनी हार को कबूल किया। जनता ने हमको अपना समर्थन नहीं दिया, आप लोगों को दिया। उन्होंने कहा कि आप लोग सत्ता चलायेंगे और कांग्रेस पार्टी के लोग विरोधी दल का काम करेंगे। लेकिन यहां पर मैं दो एक बातों का जिक्र करना चाहूंगा। आप लो कहते थे, हमारे कानों में बात आई थी कि कांग्रेस की सरकार, इंदिरा जी की सरकार अब चुनाव कराने वाली नहीं है। यह किसने कहा यह मैं नहीं कह सकता। यह चर्चा सेंट्रल हाल में होती थी, यह बात हवा में थी कि जो कुछ भी हो कांग्रेस चुनाव कराने वाली नहीं है। उसने दूसरा रास्ता पकड़ लिया है, वह डिक्टेटर हो गई है और अब हमेशा इसी ढंग से हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार चलेगी। क्या आपको भरोसा था कि नहीं था कि इंदिरा गांधी इस देश में चुनाव करायेगी ? चुनाव कराये गये . . .

डा० राम कृपाल सिंह (बिहार) : अब पछता रहे हैं।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : कोई पछताने की बात नहीं है।

हमने जनता की लगातार तीस वर्षों तक सेवा की है। अभी आपमें बहुत उत्साह है, इलेक्शन की खुमारी नहीं गई है। अभी तो इलेक्शन की भाषा बोल रहे हैं। अभी सरकार के चलाने वाली भाषा में नहीं बोल रहे हैं। इसमें यदि कोई मंजा हुआ है तो वह इस दल के लोग मंजे हुए हैं, इस दल के लोग इसके खिलाड़ी हैं।

रेल मन्त्री (श्री मधुवण्डवते) : शास्त्री जी, गला जरा साफ करिये।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : अभी कैदीन से दोसा खाकर आया हूं . . . जो बात मुझे कहनी है वह वह है कि इस देश के अन्दर जो कुछ इंदिरा जी ने करके दिखाया है वह किसी ने नहीं किया है। मैं कहता हूं कि यह ठीक है कि आप हम सब लोकतंत्र के पुजारी हैं, उसकी राजनीति में विश्वास करते हैं। हालांकि आप कहते रहे कि इंदिरा जी डिक्टेटर हो गई हैं। लेकिन आज मैं कहता हूं इंदिरा जी ने इस देश में लोकतंत्रीय शासन प्रणाली का मार्ग प्रशस्त किया है। उन्होंने टार्च वियरर का काम किया है। उन्होंने सबको रोशनी दिखा दी है नाकामयाब होकर भी। आपके मानने या न मानने से कुछ नहीं होता। मेरा काम आपको कहना है, आप मानिये या न मानिये लेकिन इस देश ने ही नहीं, दुनिया ने देख लिया है कि इंदिरा जी ने इसमें क्या पार्ट प्ले किया। उन्होंने चुनाव कराये और हारने पर अपनी हार कबूल की और इस देश में लोकतंत्र का मार्ग प्रशस्त किया। इस सम्बन्ध में अब मैं थोड़ी सी मूमिका दे रहा हूं।

स्टेट्समैन में इंदिरा गांधी के बारे में निकला है :

"Samachar adds: Amid wide-spread agitations in Pakistan for repelling, the defeat of the Congress Party in India would appear to have come as a morale booster

to the Opposition, according to the BBC.

Pointing to the Indian election results, the Rawalpindi Urdu daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* asks Pakistanis to 'learn' democracy from India. In a four-line stanza titled 'She (Mrs. Gandhi) has won even in her defeat', it says that it is the way people who understand the good of their country fight elections. 'Have you, Pakistanis, learnt any lesson from it?'

यह है प्रशंसापत्र जो मिसेज गांधी के बारे में विदेश के लोग देते हैं, हर कंट्री के देते हैं। इसलिए यह तो साबित हो गया जो आज तक कह कर आप निन्दा करते थे कि डिक्टेटर हो गई हैं। ऐसी बात तो नहीं है, ऐसी बात होनी भी नहीं चाहिए। आखिर जो बात हो गई उस सिलसिले में मैंने आपको यह बात कह दी है।

इसी सिलसिले में मैं आपको दूसरी बात कहना चाहता हूँ। यह भी चार्ज था, लोग कहा करते थे कि विरोधी दल अगर कहीं इलेक्शन में जीत भी गया तो इंदिरा गांधी और कांग्रेस की सरकार उन को आसानी से सत्ता नहीं सौंपेगी—यह आपको डर था। आप लोग भी फुसफुसाते थे, बीच में बोलते थे, सब कोई बोलते थे। और मैं कहूँ, 1972 में जब इस सभा का सदस्य हो कर मैं आया था तो मेरा खयाल है और पक्का खयाल है, पैट्रियार्क में यह न्यूज निकली थी कि जिस समय ज्योती बसु ईस्टर्न यूरोप का दौरा करने गए थे, बसु गृह ने किसी प्रैस कॉन्फ्रेंस में हो या किसी फोरम में कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसी हालत हो गई है कि वहाँ आम चुनाव हो भी जाएं लेकिन इंदिरा गांधी आसानी से वह पावर या सत्ता समर्पित करने वाली नहीं है, बल्कि उन्होंने यहां तक कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान में तो इसके बदले आर्मी का रूल हो जाएगा, सैनिक शासन कायम हो जाएगा। ये सब बातें थी। आज सारी बातें, गलत निकली। हम

आप को विश्वास दिलाते हैं कि हम और हमारी पार्टी के लोग पूरी मुस्तैदी के साथ, सच्चाई के साथ, विरोधी दल का पार्ट ग्रद करेंगे, जिस पार्टी ने हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद कराया और जिस पार्टी ने 30 वर्ष तक इस शासन को चलाया, आप अच्छा कहें या बुरा कहें, यह तो राय की बात है, हमने लगातार शासन चलाया और वही कांग्रेस पार्टी विरोधी दल का काम करेगी दूसरी पार्टी नहीं कर सकती। पहले आप लोगों ने सोचा था कि आप इलेक्शन नहीं लड़ेंगे, किसी तरह से स्ट्रांग अपोजिशन के लायक आपकी संख्या हो सकती तो बड़ा अच्छा होता। लेकिन जनता ने तो आपको बिन मागे वरदान दे दिया, जितना आपने नहीं चाहा था। और जिसकी आपने कल्पना भी नहीं की थी। उससे ज्यादा जनता ने आपको दिया, और ठीक दिया है, मैं इसलिए नहीं कहता हूँ कि हमको कोई रश्क है हमको नहीं दिया; आपको दिया है, हम कबूल करते हैं जितना आपने नहीं सोचा था—आप जानते हैं—उतना दिया है और आपने सरकार बनाई है।

श्री रणबीर सिंह (हरियाणा) : इसीलिए तो संभले नहीं। अभी बजट के ऊपर एक छोटी सी स्पीच दी है।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : तो आप सोचते थे कि आप एक स्ट्रांग अपोजिशन देंगे, कांग्रेस के विपक्ष में एक मजबूत पार्टी बनाएंगे और मुकाबला करेंगे। लेकिन जनता ने आपको विश्वास दिया है और जब विश्वास दिया है तो उसकी जवाबदेही भी आप पर आई है जो विश्वास आपने प्राप्त किया है उसकी।

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu) : The tradition of this House is that once you go to the opposition, you will continue to be there for thirty years.

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : यह तो हमारा सबक है। आपके सामने हमारा सर

[श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री]

नहीं झुकेगा, जनता के सामने झुका रहेगा क्योंकि वह हमारी सुप्रीम बाड़ी है, सुप्रीम कोर्ट है। यह नहीं समझिए कि हम डिमोरेलाइज हो गए हैं और पब्लिक लाइफ में हम प्रपने आप को सब्मिट कर देंगे, या हमारे पास कोई स्कीम नहीं है हम डिमोरेलाइज हो गए या हम टूट रहे हैं और बिकरिंग कर रहे हैं ...

श्री रणबीर सिंह : बिकरिंग तो उधर हो रही है।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : हम तो और ज्यादा मजबूत होने जा रहे हैं, इसके लिए नहीं कि हम किसी को मतायेगे। बल्कि हम अपोजिशन को जो करना चाहिए वह काम कर रहे हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : अब आप तमिलनाडु के बारे में कुछ बोलिए।

श्री रणबीर सिंह : पहले अपोजिशन में ये लोग बोला करते थे, अब इनको भी पता लगेगा ...

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : तो आपन कहा था कि हमें पावर नहीं मिलेगी, आपको अपने ऊपर विश्वास ही नहीं था और अब आप ट्रेजरी बेन्चेज को सुशोभित कर रहे हैं, वहां विराजमान है, शोभायमान है। किसी ने आपको रोका नहीं वहां बैठने के लिए। कौन रोक सकता है। कौन रोकेंगा। जब जनता ने चुना है तो कौन रोकेंगा। हमने वह पढ़ाई नहीं पढ़ी है कि किसी को जनता ने चुना है तो उसको रोकें। जितना आपने जनता को आश्वासन दिया है उतनी आप मदद कीजिए, काम कीजिए। अब तमिलनाडु पर आता हूं।

श्री मधु दण्डवते : अब विषय पर आ गये।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : विषय के लिए भूमिका चाहिए। यह भूमिका थी। अब मैं तमिलनाडु पर आता हूं। उपाध्यक्ष जी, तमिलनाडु पर बोलने के लिए मैंने क्यों अच्छा समझा इस की वजह है। मैं जनरल बजट पर बोल सकता था। तमिलनाडु पर क्यों बोलने के लिए खड़ा हूं, इस के दो पहलू हैं। एक तो वहां का बजट पास करना है। तमिलनाडु का बजट पास करना तमिलनाडु विधानसभा का काम था, लेकिन चूकि वहां राष्ट्रपति शासन है इसलिए आप को करना पड़ रहा है।

इस में एक बहुत बड़ा भवाल हिन्दुस्तान के लिए छिपा हुआ है जिस को हम सब को मिल कर हल करना है और वह है सेंटर और स्टेट्स का रिलेशन। कई वर्षों से मेरा निजी डायल है कि केन्द्र और राज्यों के सम्बन्ध बिगड़ रहे हैं। इंडिया, देट इज भारत, इज ए यूनियन आफ स्टेट्स। आज आप का केन्द्र में शासन है, हमारा भी रहा है। स्टेट्स को मजबूत बनाये बिना केन्द्र भी मजबूत नहीं हो सकता, यह मेरा निजी विचार है। हम ऐसा पाते हैं कि राज्य की सरकारें कमजोर हो रही हैं। आप कहेंगे कि आप इतने दिन ने ये, आप लोगों के समय में कमजोर हुई, आप खुद सुधार कर सकते थे। लेकिन स्थिति यह है कि कमजोर हो रही है। यह कमजोरी तब से आई है जब पहले उड़ीसा की सरकार और केरल की सरकार सुपरसीड हुई थीं, वहां प्रेसिडेंट रूल हुआ था। '67 के चुनाव के बाद जो अस्थिरता राज्यों में आयी वह आज भी ज्यों की त्यों बनी हुई है। 8-9 स्टेट्स में तो फ्रन्ट की सरकारें बन गयी थीं, कोलीशन गवर्नमेंट बन गयी थीं। इस का अर्थ यह कभी नहीं है कि वन-पार्टी का ही डोमिनेशन हो। लेकिन कमजोरी जरूरी आयी है। इस के कई कारण हो सकते हैं। केन्द्र और राज्यों के बीच सबसे बड़ी भूमिका अदा करने वाला राज्यपाल का पद है। सेंटर और राज्य के बीच राज्यपाल की एक बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका है। मैं यह राय दूंगा कि प्रत्येक

राज्यपाल को अपना स्वतंत्र विचार देना चाहिए सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को। देशभक्त राज्य पाल को बहाल करना चाहिए। राज्यपाल कोई भी हो सकते हैं। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में जो गवर्नर रहते थे वे काफी पोलिटिक्स का काम करते थे, उन के एजेन्ट थे। आज जब अपना देश स्वतंत्र हो गया है — आज आपकी पार्टी के हाथ में सेंट्रल की सरकार है कल वहां हमारी पार्टी थी—कोई पार्टी सेंट्रल में रहे, देखने को बात यह है कि देश में जो कांस्टिट्यूशन है उस के मुताबिक जब तक सेंट्रल और स्टेट्स का रिलेशन मधुर नहीं होता देश तरक्की नहीं कर सकता और कमजोर रहेगा। चाहिए यह कि अगर आप लोकतंत्र में विश्वास करते हैं तो भले ही आप की सरकार केन्द्र में हो और किसी दूसरी पार्टी की सरकार स्टेट में हो तो भी उसे कमजोर नहीं करना चाहिए। आप उसे उत्साहित करिये, उसे आगे बढ़ाइये उतना ही जितना कि किसी दूसरे प्रदेश में आप अपनी पार्टी की सरकार को करते हैं। हमारी पार्टी की सरकार यहां हो और आप की पार्टी की सरकार वहां हो तो भी देश और प्रान्तों के विकास के लिये दोनों के आपस के संबंध मधुर होने चाहिए और यही चीज नहीं हुई है यह मैं मानता हूं। उनके बीच में सब कुछ ठीक है, लेकिन जब कोई पोलिटिकल पार्ट प्ले करने की बात आती है तो मामला गड़बड़ हो जाता है। हम लोगों की हुकुमत में बहुत से प्रदेशों में राष्ट्रपति शासन रहा और 1967 के बाद से तो एक के बाद एक में होता ही रहा है। लेकिन पिछले तीस वर्ष में बहुत से प्रदेशों में राष्ट्रपति शासन रहा और में शिकायत की बात नहीं करता, लेकिन आप की सरकार को बने 48 घंटे भी नहीं हुए कि आप ने काश्मीर में राष्ट्रपति शासन कर दिया। ठीक है, कल होम मिनिस्टर जी जवाब दे रहे थे और उसको पहले लोक सभा में भी इस विषय पर वह बोले थे और मैं वहां की गैलरी में काफी देर तक बैठा रहा था इस लिये कि इस विषय में मेरी दिलचस्पी है, लेकिन कानूनी बात का ही जवाब दिया गया। यह नहीं सोचा गया कि

डमोक्रेसी कैसे फक्शन करेगी। मेरा विचार तो यही है। चौधरी चरण सिंह जी ने कहा कि आप क्यों उकताते हैं। तीन महीनों में हम वहां एलेक्शन करवा देंगे। उकताने की कोई बात नहीं है। आप वहां तीन महीनों में एलेक्शन करा देंगे लेकिन क्या यह नहीं हो सकता था कि 3 महीने बाद वहां एलेक्शन कराने के बजाय वहां जब कांग्रेस की मजारिटी थी तो उस को ही सरकार बनाने का मौका दिया जाना ऐसी कोई नज़ीर दे सकते हैं आप कि जब केन्द्र में कांग्रेस की सरकार थी तो किसी प्रदेश में किसी पार्टी मजारिटी होने पर भी वहां उसे सरकार न बनाने दी गयी हो। मेरी समझ में ऐसी एक भी नज़ीर नहीं है कि कहीं सरकार बनने दी गयी हो।

श्री भानु प्रताप सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश): हां, ऐसी मिसालें हैं कि यहां भी कांग्रेस की सरकार थी और वहां भी और फिर भी सरकार प्रदेश में नहीं बनने दी गयी।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : यही तो तारीफ है कांग्रेस की।

श्री रणबीर सिंह : एक शक्सी शासन नहीं था कांग्रेस का।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : यहीं तो तारीफ थी कांग्रेस की कि केन्द्र में कांग्रेस की सरकार होते हुए भी वहां कांग्रेस की सरकार को हटा दिया गया। अभी आप के लिये ऐसे दिन आने बाकी हैं। हम तो उस परीक्षा में उत्तर चुके हैं।

श्री रबी राय (उड़ीसा) : एक बार फिर पढ़ लीजिए इन्दिरा गांधी और शेख अब्दुल्ला का जो करार हुआ है उस को।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : हम तो चेहरा पढ़ते हैं किताब नहीं पढ़ना चाहते हम तो आदमी को पढ़ते हैं। किताब तो बाद में पढ़ी जाती है। कभी गड़बड़ नहीं होती।

[श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री]

आप तो पोथी पढ़ पढ़ कर पंडित हुए हैं। यहां तो आदमी को पढ़ा जाता है। हमारे पास चश्मा नहीं है हरफ पढ़ने का, हम तो जीवन में जो घटनायें होती हैं उन को देखते हैं, उन को पढ़ते हैं। इसलिये मैं आप से कहता हूं कि यहां तमिलनाडु का बजट आप लाये हैं। डिटेल में उस में क्या है, ईमानदारी की बात है कि मैंने उस को पढ़ा भी नहीं है, क्योंकि यह जनरल डिस्कशन है। डिटेल में जब बात होगी तो डिटेल में बात करेंगे, लेकिन पटेल साहब जो बिल ले कर आये हैं और उस में जो परिश्रम उन को करना पड़ रहा है वह आगे न करना पड़े और राज्य सरकार को ही यह काम दिया जाये ऐसा उपाय किया जाना चाहिए। आप कहेंगे कि आपने क्या किया है। लेकिन आप हमारे रास्ते पर मत चलिये। ऐसा हुआ तो आप की क्या खसूसियत होगी। माहाजनों येनः गतः पंथः आप क्यों पीछे चल रहे हैं। आप कोई नयी बात कीजिए। मैं तो इस विचार का आदमी हूं मेरा माइण्ड इतना डेमोक्रेटिक है कि गवर्नर को कहीं रूल करने का अधिकार दिया ही नहीं जाना चाहिए। वह जनता की चीज है, जनता का अधिकार है, जनता को देना चाहिए। एक दिन के लिए भी प्रेसिडेंट रूल नहीं होना चाहिए। हम लोगों को 30 वर्ष का अनुभव है। आप नई उमंग, प्रगतिशीलता, डाइनेमिज्म दिखाइये, हम देखेंगे कि आप क्या करते हैं। हम इस ख्याल से नहीं कहते हैं कि हम आपकी आलोचना करते हैं। हमारा काम है आपको सलाह देना। आप कीजिए। आपकी पालिसी होगी, उसका असर पड़ेगा। हम लोग उसकी जरूर नुकताचीनी करेंगे, सब कुछ करेंगे, लेकिन दिल नहीं तोड़ेंगे, मन को तोड़ेंगे नहीं बल्कि हम को आपको मिलकर ही इस देश की जनता को काम करना है। आप जल्दी जल्दी चुनाव करा रहे हैं, इसका मैं स्वागत करता हूं। जितनी जल्दी हो करा दीजिए, वह अच्छी चीज है। जनता ने जिसको वोट दिया है उसके सुपुर्द कर दीजिए। हमने गवर्नरी शासन को

भी देखा है, उसमें क्या होता है। अच्छा भी होता है। वहां तो जो बड़े साहब हैं उसी की चलती है, नीचे के अफसर की नहीं चलती है। कई गवर्नरों के शासन को हमने देखा है, उसकी अचीवमेंट को देखिये तो पापुलर गवर्नमेंट कमजोर पे कमजोर भी है तो उसने अच्छा काम किया है। हम आपको यही कहेंगे देश-भर त आदमियों को राज्य पाल हाल कीजिए। हमको बहुत सारे अनुभव हैं। वह आप कर सकिये तो देश का और प्रदेश का कुछ काम होगा। हमने जो कर लिया है उस से हमको नया अनुभव हुआ है। यह भी मान लीजिए कि हम लो-खाली अपोजिशन में बैठने वाले नहीं हैं, जल्दी आने वाले हैं। हमें कुछ दिनों के लिए जनता ने यहां भेज दिया है। (समय घंटी) Time Be'l rings.

दो तीन मिनट और दे दीजिए। आप से हम इस ख्याल से यह पूछते हैं कि जो सरकार बनी है वह जनता पार्टी की सरकार है या कोअलिशन गवर्नमेंट है, या यूनाइटेड फ्रंट की गवर्नमेंट है।

श्री रणबीर सिंह : जनमंड की है, सोशलिस्ट की है, किस की है ?

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : वह नहीं। हमतो इन लोगों से सुनना चाहते हैं कि वाकई में यह सरकार जनता पार्टी की सरकार है या कोअलिशन गवर्नमेंट है। इसका खुलासा कर दीजिए। लोगों के मन में कंफ्यूजन है कि किस पार्टी की सरकार है। कोअलिशन गवर्नमेंट है जो बैठी हुई है हिन्दुस्तान में या जनता पार्टी की सरकार है।

डा० राम कृपाल सिंह : आपको क्या लगता है ?

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : ग्रामीणों को पता नहीं लता ग्रामीणों की बात करने का

(Interruptions)

श्री रबी राय : पहली मई के बाद एक पार्टी बन जाएगी, डिफक्टो और डिज्यूरे ।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : पटेल साहब को कहना चाहिए कि यह सरकार जनता पार्टी का सरकार है। ज. ह. म. ल. थे तो कांग्रेस पार्टी की सरकार थी। आप कहिये कि देश में जनता पार्टी की सरकार होगी। जो अभी रिजल्ट्स निकले हैं उनमें आपकी एक वोट की मेजारिटी है। हिन्दुस्तान के चुनाव में जनता पार्टी की सभी पार्टियों से एक वोट से मेजारिटी है। इसे टैक्नीकल सपोर्ट कह सकते हैं। अब जनता पार्टी की सरकार आई है इसका अन्तर भी देश के शासन पर, जनता पर पड़ेगा। रबी राय जी आप जो कहते हैं मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि मैं एक दिन टैक्सी से महरोली जा रहा था...

एक माननीय सदस्य . तमिलनाडु के बारे में कहिये ।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : मैं कभी ऐसी बात नहीं कहता जिससे आप तिलमिलाए, मैं वही सब कुछ कह रहा हूँ। मैं महरोली टैक्सी से जा रहा था। उसमें एक आदमी और बैठा था। हम चुप बैठे थे। जब हम थोड़ा आगे बढ़े तो ड्राइवर ने कहा, हुजुर, देश की 60 करोड़ जनता ने तीन दिन के अन्दर 542 आदमियों को चुन कर भेज दिया है पार्लियामेंट के अन्दर पर इन को 25-30 आदमी भी चुनने में परेशानी हो रही है। समझ नहीं आता इनको, इन 25-30 आदमी चुनने में क्यों देरी हो रही है। उसने बहुत बड़ी बात कह दी। यह कोई मामूली बात नहीं है। देश की 60 करोड़ जनता ने 542 आदमियों को चुन कर भेज दिया लेकिन 25-30 आदमियों को केबिनेट के लिये नहीं चुना जा रहा है, इसमें देरी हो रही है, यह क्यों? आप यह मत समझिये कि जनता कुछ नहीं कर रही है।

यह जो मैं ने आपको बात बताई है यह बिल्कुल सच है और यह आपके खिलाफ एजिटेशन है, डिमोन्स्ट्रेशन है। कांग्रेस पार्टी जब पावर में थी तो उनमें उत्सुकता रहती थी कि जल्दी से जल्दी पद भार सभाले ओथ लें और अपना काम शुरू करें। आपके लिये जनता को एजिटेशन करना पड़ रहा है क्योंकि आपकी केबिनेट नहीं बन पाई है। क्या बात है, क्या राज है, क्या भेद है, इसका खुलासा आप करिये। इसे हम को पूछने का हक है। जनता ने जिनता ज्यादा साथ आपको दिया है उतना हमको नहीं दिया। हम तो शुरू से शासन व्यवस्था करते आ रहे हैं। इलैक्शन लड़ते लड़ते समय बीत गया। इलैक्शन में अफसरों ने ठीक काम किया, इलैक्शन भी ठीक हुए और उसका रिजल्ट भी ठीक ही आया था। हाँ, इतनी बात जरूर है कि दो-चार मंडर होते थे। ऐसा तो होता ही है इलैक्शनों में। मैं कोई शिकायत की दृष्टि से नहीं कह रहा हूँ। मैं यह इसलिय कह रहा हूँ कि आपको केबिनेट बनाने में देर हो रही है। आप केबिनेट जल्दी क्यों नहीं बनाते। हम तो चाहते हैं कि आपकी केबिनेट जल्दी से जल्दी बने और देश मजबूत बने। अगर आप केबिनेट नहीं बनाते तो देश की जनता का ख्याल आपके खिलाफ बिगड़ा ही रहेगा। इसका रिएक्शन होगा आपकी मिनिस्ट्री पर। जनता के मन से यह ख्याल निकालने में आपको बहुत समय लगेगा। आपकी यह सात दिन की सरकार है। सात दिन के अन्दर ही आपने गवर्नर रूल कायम कर दिया। अगर सात दिन में आपने एक राज्य में गवर्नर रूल कायम कर दिया तो सात वर्षों में कितने राज्यों में गवर्नर रूल कायम करेंगे यह आप ही जान सकते हैं। यह बड़ा गड़बड़ मामला है। हालांकि हम विरोधी दल के आदमी हैं फिर भी हम चाहते हैं कि आपकी मजबूत सरकार हो। आपको मौका दिया गया

[श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री]

है काम करने का। आपको देश को आगे बढ़ाना है। ऐसा मत समझिये कि कांग्रेस वाले आपको को-ऑपरेट नहीं करेंगे। मैं भोला आपको को-ऑपरेट करूंगा। हम लोग, आपको पूरा सहयोग देगे। इसमें किसी तरह के संदेह की बात नहीं है। हमारा सहयोग आपके साथ रहेगा और मैं मानता हूं कि हम लोगों का आपके साथ सहयोग रहेगा। जहां तक नीति का सवाल है, मैं यह मानता हूं कि नीतियों के प्रश्न पर आपस में मतभेद हो सकते हैं। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि कम से कम मैं आपको डिसकरेज नहीं करूंगा, आपको उत्साहित करूंगा। आप अच्छा काम करेंगे तो आपको सहयोग दूंगा। इन्हीं दो चार शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूं और आशा करता हूं कि आप देश को आगे बढ़ाएं।

श्रीमती सुमित्रा जी० कुलकर्णी (गुजरात) : श्रीमन्, अभी मेरे बहुत ही आदरणीय वरिष्ठ नेता ने अपने विचार सदन में व्यक्त किये हैं। मैं उनको अपना मित्र नहीं कह सकती क्योंकि मैं उनसे उम्र में बहुत छोटी हूं। उनके भाषण को मैंने बड़े ध्यान से सुना।

AN HON. MEMBER: Why don't you speak in English?

SHRIMATI SUMITRA G. KULKARNI: I will speak in English a little later. First I want to reply to my esteemed friend who has just now spoken and it should be in his own language.

श्रीमन्, मेरा यही कहना है कि उन्होंने यह कहा कि वर्तमान सरकार को कायम किये हुए अभी सात दिन हुए हैं। मैं समझती हूं कि अगर स्थिरता की बात को हमें देखना हो तो हमें हिन्दी भाषा की उस बात की

तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए जिसमें यह कहा गया है कि अगर स्थिरता और अस्थिरता को देखना हो तो चार दिन की चांदनी इसका स्पष्ट जवाब है। उन्होंने हमारी सरकार को सात दिन दिये हैं उसके लिए मैं उनकी बहुत बहुत आभारी हूं। सात दिन सरकार चल गई तो सात साल तक भी चली जाएगी उन्होंने यह एक बहुत बड़ी चीज हमें दी है।

दूसरी चीज उन्होंने डेमोक्रेसी के बारे में कही है। डेमोक्रेसी के बारे में उनकी जो विचारधारा है उसका मैं बहुत आदर करती हूं। शास्त्री जी इस बात को बहुत अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि डेमोक्रेटिक प्रोसेस से पिछले दिनों इस देश में चुनाव हुए हैं और जनता ने अपना एक निर्णय दिया है। उसके साथ उनका सहकार है, इसके लिए मैं उनको बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद देती हूं और उनका अभिनन्दन करती हूं। वे सेन्टर में मंत्री रह चुके हैं और अपने प्रदेश बिहार में भी मंत्री रह चुके हैं। इसलिए स्थिरता के बारे में उनको बहुत अच्छी जानकारी है। शास्त्री जी स्वयं जानते हैं कि किस प्रकार की परिस्थितियों में किस प्रकार की स्थिरता रहती है। उनका आशीर्वाद हमारे साथ है, यह हमारे लिए एक बहुत बड़ी चीज है। हमारे देश की जनता ने एक निर्णय दिया है और हम उस निर्णय के मुताबिक अपने रास्ते पर चल सकें, यही हमारे लिए सबसे बड़ी चीज है। उन्होंने अपना आशीर्वाद हमें दिया, इसके लिए हम उनके आभारी हैं। जहां तक स्थिरता और अस्थिरता का सवाल है, मैं समझती हूं कि इसके इतिहास को मुझ से अधिक शास्त्री जी जानते हैं। अब कुछ शब्द मैं अंग्रेजी में कहना चाहती हूं।

First of all, I would like to submit, Sir, that he is a very senior leader and I am a far too junior Member of this House and I cannot afford like

him to speak on a point which is not directly concerned with the Tamil Nadu Budget. I have to speak to the point. Otherwise, the hon. Finance Minister as well as you will come down upon me saying that I am irrelevant. However, I want to say a few things about Tamil Nadu.

Sir, I am not speaking exactly on the Budget as it has been placed on the Table of this House by the hon. Finance Minister because even in his own words he has accepted that this is an exercise in accounts and figures.

Sir, this is a Budget which has been prepared on the assumptions made by the earlier Government and naturally I do not want to stick to those figures because this is after all a temporary measure and that is why I am not going into the figures or items listed in these Budget proposals. I want to speak only about the prosperity and development of Tamil Nadu in general.

Sir, you are not aware—since you have taken the Chair in this House only yesterday—that every year and whenever it has been possible I have taken the opportunity of paying my tributes to and demonstrating my affection for the people of Tamil Nadu. Sir, I have always considered Tamil Nadu to be a land of very gracious and highly devout religious and cultural people and it is my privilege that you permit me to speak on their behalf in this House.

Sir, last year also I had spoken on this issue and as some of my friends in this House would recall they will remember that I had pointed out that there are parts of Tamil Nadu which suffer from acute drought conditions. About 12 months are over since I last spoke on the Tamil Nadu Budget in February last when I pointed out that there are areas like 3 P.M. Ramnad District where there is acute drought condition prevailing and even today it is there. Sir, these are the perpetual drought

areas and this is what we have to take care of as we are having the President's rule there.

Similarly, Sir, I am sure, the hon. Members of this House would remember he last summer experienced in Madras. There was not drop of drinking water available in the city of Madras. It was available for Rs. 15/— a barrel and that too, it was to last for 3 days or even 4 days. This acute shortage of drinking water is experienced in these parts and it is my earnest request through you, Sir, to the hon. Finance Minister that this Government should take up, on top priority basis, the problem of water supply in Tamil Nadu. For this, I have a suggestion to make. Sub-soil water survey should be undertaken. I understand that this has not been taken up in a serious way. It does not matter what happened yesterday. At least now, we should see to it that we take steps to undertake sub-soil water survey and sink deep tubewells so as to get water for the parched lands in Tamil Nadu, particularly the southern parts of Tamil Nadu. Sir, we also know that the Krishna river water was promised to these parts. Sir, the Krishna agreement was there whereby 5 TCM water was to be given to Maharashtra; 5 TCM to Karnataka and 5 TCM to Tamil Nadu. But so far, this agreement has not been implemented. I do not know whether this agreement was written with ink or with the water of the Krishna river. It is my request that it is time that we implement this agreement so that water starts flowing in these areas. People of this area are highly industrious and sincere in their efforts and if they can be given sufficient water, they will turn this area into another rice bowl. This is my request, therefore, that without any further delay, we should take up this water problem and tackle it properly.

The second point that occurs to me, Sir, is the acute shortage in power supply in Madras and in whole of

[Shrimati Sumitra G. Kulkarni]

Tamil Nadu. Even today, for the information of this House, I may submit that there is power cut in that area. If there is power cut, all of us know that there cannot be any industrial development, and without industrial development certainly no prosperity can be brought about. So, power supply has to be there.

Another thing that we have to take care of, Sir, is, in Kalpakkam; atomic power station has been sanctioned and work has been going on since 1968. Sir, ten years are over and we keep on languishing over these kinds of public welfare projects which are there for the economic development of the area. With every passing year, the cost of construction is going up and the expenditure already incurred becomes infructuous. The interest on the amounts spent is also a waste. We can ill-afford this kind of luxury of waste by delaying our development projects where the very hard earned money of this country is invested. Therefore, I request the Government that such projects which are already sanctioned—not only sanctioned but are under progress—should be expedited without further loss of time. Sir, this project is not going to be quite sufficient for the requirements of Tamil Nadu. It is essential that we should also have a thermal power project. Tamil Nadu is very fortunate in having Neyveli lignite. In the whole world, this area is considered to be one of the richest in lignite deposits. We have been exploiting these deposits but not so fully. Time has come, Sir, that the Neyveli lignite project should be taken up and should be efficiently administered so that these deposits could be brought for the benefit of the people of Tamil Nadu. If this is done, the whole state would be dotted with super thermal projects which will meet the power requirements of the whole State. This would bring about economic resurgence and prosperity not only in Tamil Nadu, but from Tamil Nadu it would flow upwards to the North

also. This is another important aspect which I would like to emphasise.

Sir, there is another important project which has been languishing. All of us are aware that in the year 1971, it was decided to set up a steel plant in Salem. Today, after six years, work has started. Money has been sanctioned. The feasibility report has been approved. Every conceivable formality by the Government has been attended to. Yet, the work is so slow that it appears as if the work is being postponed under one or the other excuse. I would request the hon. Finance Minister to take up the matter with the Minister of Steel and Mines. He should also use his good offices with the Government to see that the work on the Salem steel plant is no longer postponed under any excuse. The Salem steel plant is necessary not only for Tamil Nadu, but it is also essential for the country as a whole. This country requires a lot of steel. Now, we are producing only eight million tonnes of steel per year as against the requirements of 100 million tonnes. We are one of the countries which has got the lowest consumption per capita of steel. In other countries, it is as much as 114 kg. of steel per person. In India, it is not even 4 or 5 kg. If we want to bring about industrialisation in this country, steel is an essential item and if steel is the life-line for the country's development, the Salem steel plant is one of the important steps in the ladder of progress.

It is time that we stop these kind of infructuous activities. We start with much fanfare all kinds of projects in various parts of the country. We go and lay the foundation-stones. We have opening ceremonies and we have functions to celebrate such occasions. Yet when it comes to implementing it, when it comes to taking advantage of it, when it comes to developing it, we are not as active as we were in the beginning. We have the same set of people. Therefore, I would like to emphasise that whatever we promise,

whatever we start, we should have the courage and the patience to see through it also. When work on the Salem Steel Plant has been started—it is not as if it has not been started—it should also be completed expeditiously and without any further delay. These are all projects of economic importance. Why do I say this? For me, the people of Tamil Nadu are not only objects of affection and regard, but they are much more. I consider them as the repository of the culture of this country. It has been suggested that the pattern of voting in the Southern States during the General Elections is a pointer to the fact that the Opposition has the support of the people of this area. I would like to submit that we should not give such interpretations at this hour. The verdict of the people is final. In all humility, with all modesty and with deep reverence and affection to the people of India, we accept their verdict. If the Southern States have not voted in our favour to the extent we anticipated, it will be our duty to see that we earn their respect and their goodwill by working more efficiently and with renewed intensity. Just as the Opposition has accepted the verdict of the people, we have also accepted the verdict of the people. We have the fullest faith in the democratic traditions of this country. It is my very humble submission to this House that we should not adopt this attitude of confrontation. There should not be even a remote suggestion that there is any confrontation between the North and the South. The South is an integral part of this country without whom we cannot progress. The people of the South have contributed to our cultural heritage, our philosophy, our literature, our art, drama, science and so on. Therefore, it is my suggestion that we should eschew this attitude. If we do this we would not only give courage to the people, but we would also bring about a sense of dedication among the people of this country for whom we are here to serve. This is not the time for alienating anybody. These are very difficult

times. This is the time when we have to rise to the dignity that is demanded from us. This is the finest opportunity to woo the people of the South and to ameliorate the distressing situation in which they have been living in the past so many months and years. This is not the time for confrontation. This is the time for rebuilding and I am sure we will apply our minds to this task.

One last word about the President's rule. Last year, in January 1976, President's rule was imposed on Tamil Nadu. Since then, the way MISA has been applied, I understand, it has been applied with such rigour that even the Members of Parliament or Members of the Legislative Assembly of Tamil Nadu have not been spared. A number of incidents have come to our notice where drastic atrocities have been committed. I would only like to submit about one gentleman, although I had never had the pleasure of meeting him. His name is Chitti Babu. He was twice Member of Lok Sabha. As I understand it, it is suspected that he was maltreated and the physical rigours on him were such that it brought untimely death to him while he was in prison. Sir, I do not want to bring back any of those things because bitterness has no meaning. With bitterness we can neither build nor progress. So, it is not the bitterness that I want to emphasize because it cannot bring back Chitti Babu. I only want to emphasize that we, the Members of this House are just as his family members and we should only enquire into the cause of his death so that never again such a situation arises. He was one of those who have devoted their lives to the service of the people, who have served the people with devotion. We should expose the situation in which he was put to physical rigours and ultimately he died. This is my last word. With great entreaty and with great modesty I must submit that I am not accustomed to changing views or exerting anything in a very extreme expression. It has been my attitude in life that we have to live

[Shrimati Sumitra G. Kulkarni]

with all in co-operation and that is why I submit to the Government through you, as well as to the hon. Finance Minister, that this is the time when the people of Tamil Nadu should be reassured they should be given an opportunity to feel that every demand of theirs, every requirement of theirs, every aspiration of theirs would be fulfilled by this Government. They should feel that their future and their progress are in good trust and in healthy hands and in the very affectionate, considerate hands of this Government who will make every endeavour that is available, for their betterment.

This is all that I have to submit.

SHRI LAKSHMANA MAHAPATRO (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the President's rule was proclaimed in the State of Tamil Nadu on 31st January, 1976. More than a year has passed. A brochure has been circulated but unfortunately it has very little to say about the performance during the period the State was under the President's rule. It may be good enough to have published such a brochure but it does not augur well for us to continue the President's rule and to deprive the State of a popular Government. Already 14 months have passed. So, at the outset, I demand that immediate elections be ordered by the new Government installed in this country. The new Government has made a similar announcement in relation to Jammu and Kashmir, that they will have elections within a period of three months. Here is another case for them. They should come forward and in the shortest period they should give to the people of that State a popular Government.

Very recently we had the Lok Sabha polls, during those polls one thing was found. Many of the electoral rolls, which were used for the elections, did not contain the names of persons who had been residents of a particular place for decades and some of the polling stations had electoral rolls in

which the names had been scored through with red ink. The usual practice is to have the names scored through by, what is called, corrigenda or addenda. But that was not the thing that was there. When we sought for the reasons, we were given to understand—I don't know if my other friends here will agree—that the enumeration had been done by pro-DMK teachers and other persons and they had done this mischief. So in order to have a free and fair poll, you should have a revision of the electoral rolls very early and thereafter you go to the polls. And the polls should be held as early as possible. That is the first thing.

The President's rule brought about the fall of DMK Government which had already earned a bad name for its mal-administration. No doubt, thereafter high hopes had been raised in the minds of people and they expected many things to come in. But, unfortunately, a year has passed and the condition of the people in general has not improved. They were faced with very serious calamities thereafter. Floods and cyclones lashed the State. The month of November was very bad for the State. Madras and its surrounding areas were flooded with water. Thousands of houses were washed away and many people were rendered homeless. Added to that came the chronic drought in about two-thirds of the State. Soaring prices of essential commodities also played their part in worsening their lot. Like many other States in our country, the State of Tamil Nadu, as the NSS report shows, has about 24 million of people out of 40 million people below the poverty line. But nothing appears to have been done to better their condition.

After the DMK Government fell, the Sarkaria Commission was appointed. They have given their findings. But I don't see any thing being done to follow up what has been said in the findings of the Sarkaria Commission. I don't know what this Government will do because of the recent new

alignment of parties. I have my apprehensions, but my demand would be to have criminal action taken on the basis of the findings of that Commission without delay; otherwise the people in that part of the land will take the appointment of such a commission and its report as a farce.

A redeeming feature of the recent poll to the Lok Sabha is that the progressive alliance was able to bag 35 out of the 39 seats. During the pre-poll and post-poll days, there have been many acts of violence committed, including assaults, burning of houses of political persons and Harijans and agricultural labourers at Tanjavur and many other places. I think such acts of atrocities should not go unpunished.

As I was saying floods and cyclones lashed the State. This warranted efforts for relief on war footing. But very little has been done. The very paltry sum which came as gratuitous relief and for house-building has been of no use to the people who lost their houses. Districts like Ramanad, Salem, Dharampuri, Tiruchi and Coimbatore are among the severely drought-affected districts. They have suffered a number of times. Demands have been made to have drought relief measures in such a way that works are created which have a lasting effect. But nothing is being done. The Cauveri water dispute has been hanging on for years. That could have been solved. This year especially the drought came in these districts because of a fall in the supply of water in the Cauveri. That was very much responsible for the agriculture which was badly affected.

Agriculture and textiles along with handlooms are the very basis of the economy of Tamil Nadu, as you know. The farmer as also the consumer have been placed at the mercy of the private wholesale traders who have been given the job of procurement and distribution. The prices of essential commodities including foodgrains, therefore, shoot up.

Sir, you must have heard in this House, when you were a Minister, about the sugarcane growers, so many times. We have been saying that this was the very State where all orders of the Government have been flouted with impunity, the very State where the cane grower has been getting the lowest price in the whole country. All the same, the cane grower has to go in for cane-growing because he has no other option and he is the worst hit because he is not being given his price. Not only are the cane growers not being given a fair price but all their money amounting to crores of rupees over the years is held back. Could not this Government do anything to give them back their money? These poor agriculturists have suffered so much at the hands of the sugar mill owners who dare to do them the greatest harm not only at the time of purchasing but also by not paying them their dues immediately after they purchase sugarcane from them.

The cotton growers, similarly, are at the mercy of the textile mill owners. They have almost declared a war against the economy of the State. Managements and owners of factories are, by their actions, continuously eroding the economy of the State. The living conditions of the working people have been badly mauled by the CDS and the bonus law which, according to our Finance Minister, Railway Minister and others, are going to be reviewed. But the Government is standing impassively there in the State of Tamil Nadu. The State sector undertakings are no exception in victimising workers by resorting to varied tactics like retrenchment, lay-off, look-out, voluntary retirement and all those nefarious tactics that the private managements take recourse to.

Now the workers are valiantly fighting the mill owners and I would demand of the Government that they should come to the aid of the workers and immediately open and take over some of the textile mills which were recently closed and which I am going to name. Some have been opened

[Shri Bakshmana Mahapatro]

already. Some have already been given money to open the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills including. I give the names of these mills which should be immediately opened because they have been closed and thousands of workers have been rendered jobless. They are: Lotus, Ravindra, Gobald, Padma and Madhu. Not only should they be opened but also they should take stern measures against these mills because they are not content with 35 per cent increase in the price rise that was given by the previous Government on controlled cloth and the enormous reduction in excise duties. They are still coming out with greater demands for further concessions like moratorium on the accumulated arrears of electricity dues, abolition of sales tax, supply of cotton at subsidised prices and relaxation of bank loan facilities. These are the other concessions that they demand. I should say that this Government, instead of yielding to their pressure, would be wise to bid goodbye to the policy of taking over of sick mills as though this Government is a hospital for them. Because of their own mismanagement they were calling themselves sick and this hospital was accommodating them as good patients. They should bid goodbye to them and they should be taken over because take-over will not only ensure full capacity production but also fuller employment to the workers and remunerative prices to the cotton growers. It will also provide yarn for the weavers at fair prices and make controlled cloth available to the consumer at a cheaper rate.

And, therefore, I will make a demand in the following way for immediate redressal of the grievances of the people there who are in very great distress. As I told you earlier, the State should have immediate elections to the Assembly. Now the poor agriculturists are faced with very great harassment because of the increased electricity deposits that they were required to make during the last few days. That has to be reduced.

Then the public distribution system has to be extended to all the places for supply of essential commodities like foodgrains, edible oils, sugar, cloth and medicines at reasonable prices. The wholesale trade in foodgrains, edible oils and other essential commodities should not be given to the private wholesale dealers who have always been on the track of speculative business; it should be taken over by the State.

Then take effective steps through the concerned Corporations to ensure remunerative prices to peasants, with the districts of Salem and Thanjavur, as far as my knowledge goes, the food grain producers have not been given the opportunity of selling their paddy because the wholesale traders who went there said that they were not prepared to purchase—and they were the persons who were given the authority of procurement. So rice procurement has become an impossibility there. And you find the prices are rising and for the consumers foodgrains have become a luxury. Now take effective steps, therefore, through the consumer co-operatives to ensure remunerative prices to the peasants for their produce. Ensure adequate bonus to the workers and take effective steps to prevent lay-offs, look-outs and retrenchment. Nationalise the textile, sugar and other mills. (*Time bell rings.*) I am coming to a close.

Drought has to be fought on a war footing. Non-availability of drinking water has already been felt. In fact, the position was so bad during the last year, as pointed out by Mrs. Kulkarni just a little while ago, that it cannot miss our attention. Minor irrigation projects are to be taken up immediately. Renovation of silted-up irrigation projects has to be done. Money has to be found for this. There cannot be the plea that there is no money.

Popular committees should be set up to look after the proper utilisation of drought relief measures

because as it is the money goes to the contractors who make profit out of it while the poor man in the area does not get the semblance of relief. Cauvery water dispute should no longer be kept hanging.

Land reforms should be faithfully implemented and the landless and the homeless should be provided with land and houses.

There should be no further delay in grant of pattas by the settlement authorities. Records of rights should be prepared and pattas should be given to the concerned people because they have to produce those pattas when they want to hypothecate their land and get some loans. So the grant of pattas should be expedited.

Then the Electricity Department should be set on right rails. I may tell you that in the State big landlords and industrialists are the biggest thieves of electricity with the connivance of the Electricity Department resulting in leakage of revenues due to the State. Therefore, this Department should be set on right rails. Otherwise the Government will lose much revenue.

Though rural indebtedness has been given relief to some extent, no alternative apparatus has been created to give loans to the people. There is so much talk of opening of branches of banks in the interior. I have gone through the Canara Bank's report and some other banks' reports and seen that, as far as the State of Tamil Nadu is concerned, very few people have been given a little money. The whole thing appears to be a hoax. There is one thing which has distressed me today when I read in the newspapers that the banks have been given two orders. One order is to link up. I mean the Calcutta banks; it must be with other banks also. The newspapers gave the news about Calcutta and I think it applies to other places also. There were two orders. The first one is to link the

rupee no longer with the sterling but with the dollar. And the second is that they should not give any loans further to non-propertied persons. If that be true, I do not know where these non-propertied people will go. They have no course other than to face stark starvation death. That is my question to the Government if you are interested in forming co-operatives and then giving them loans through the co-operatives, it is a different matter. Otherwise they do not have any other option but to die in the streets, if you make this order after taking over charge of the Government.

The last thing that I want to say is, there is irrational implementation of the urban ceiling law. I call it irrational because in the State of Tamil Nadu even areas 18 miles away from Coimbatore or Madurai have been included in the agglomeration scheme, as they call it, as being urban lands. So an agriculturist owning two acres of land is also asked to retain only 37 cents of land and part with the rest. This is too bad and it is, therefore, irrational. This has to be looked into and the Government has to cry a halt in this particular matter as it is doing very great harm not only to the agriculturists but also to the people of the State in general. Therefore, my submission is, one year has passed. Let us not proclaim any bravado in continuing the President's rule. Let us fight shy of it and have elections as early as possible. Let these correct electoral rolls be prepared before the elections are conducted and let the condition of the people be bettered by taking these measures which I have suggested.

SHRI V. V. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this is a budget for five months, that is, till August. In the other House, the Finance Minister assured the Members that the Government would hold the elections in the month of June in Tamil Nadu. So this is an interim budget. Even

[Shri V. V. Swaminathan]

though it is an interim budget, I want to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister the lack of purchasing power of the poor people and the middle class people in Tamil Nadu. As the previous speaker pointed out, in order to abolish rural indebtedness, they have completely killed the money-lending business and pawn-broker shops. Even before independence and after independence, in Tamil Nadu there were three or more Acts controlling or disciplining money-lending and also the pawn-broker shops. So with a view to abolishing rural indebtedness, it is not correct to completely kill these institutions, unless and until the Government can provide alternative money-lending institutions. Even till recently only two rural banks have been opened in the whole of Tamil Nadu. They are not sufficient, even according to the Reserve Bank Report, even according to other nationalised banks' assessment, they cannot open as many rural banks as there were other money-lending institutions or pawn-broker shops. There are evils in them; I do not deny. But there are certain good features which are easily appreciated by the poor people. Poor people cannot go and knock at the door of the bank at 9 p.m. The bank will not accept stainless steel vessels, clothes or things like that. Even a small ring they will not accept. So there are practical difficulties. The Government must realise it. Without realising the practical difficulties, the Government implements this scheme, and great hardship is caused to the poor people. I would request the hon. Finance Minister to immediately see that these money-lending and pawn-broker shops are more disciplined and they are allowed. If they commit any wrongs, if they collect more interest they may be punished and punished even harshly. They may even be sent to prison. That does not mean that all the pawn-brokers' shops and money-lenders' shops should be closed in the recovery of

loans there are two standards adopted. This is not only in Tamil Nadu but also in certain other States. The co-operative and other nationalised banking institutions give loans to the poor people. But in the matter of recoveries they attach properties. They even take jewels and *mangalyams* and harass the poor people. That should not be the case. You are not providing them with any other alternative. Therefore, I suggest that applicable to pawn-brokers and Government-controlled banking institutions should not be allowed to harass the poor people. Whatever is applicable to pawn-brokers and money-lenders should be equally made applicable to these institutions also. I would request the Finance Minister to see that orders are issued to the Government of Tamil Nadu not to harass the poor people or alternatively, to postpone recoveries of loans from the poor people.

Regarding the necessity of improving the power and water coming to Madras city, the previous speaker, Mrs. Kulkarni, highlighted those points.

Regarding appointment of advisers to the many boards and even to the High Court and other branches of judiciary, I want to bring to the notice of the House that these appointments are restricted to persons belonging to a particular favourite caste or a particular family. It is high time for this Government to do away with this kind of appointments. Persons with better qualifications and experience must be preferred for appointment to the High Court, etc.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Which is that favourite caste?

SHRI V. V. SWAMINATHAN: In Tamil Nadu there is a lot of handloom cloth accumulated. There is nobody to purchase it. And there is no export avenue either. The

Finance Minister will be pleased to see that this huge stock of handloom cloth is purchased by the Government and exported. If handloom cloth is not sold away quickly, the weavers will not be paid their wages.

There is also difficulty in the spinning mills. Many of them are about to be closed. This Government must see that all spinning mills function properly and do not become sick.

Regarding private colleges, I have received a report from the teachers of these colleges that they are not paid their salaries directly. Here again, the appointment of teachers is restricted to a particular caste. This should be done away with. All the mismanaged colleges should be taken over by the Government. All the rules applicable to the Government colleges should be made applicable to the private colleges and security of jobs must be assured to the employees in these institutions.

Regarding power, Shrimati Kulkarni said that there should be efficient management in Neyveli. I would like to state that it is not due to lack of efficiency. We have the most efficient management in Neyveli. This project had been running at a loss for years and for the first time in its history it has earned a profit of Rs. 3 crores this year. It is working most efficiently. The reason is lack of coal. Unless there is a second coal mine, the position will continue to be difficult because for bringing out coal from the bowels of earth to its surface it will take ten years. Alternatively pending the proposal to have a second mine, there should be some scheme under which coal can be bought from Andhra Pradesh, especially, Ramagudam. This coal can be sent to Neyveli through Cuddalore which is a minor port. There are some lakhs of workers who are well organised and controlled by the labour department. But they are without any work now. They are remaining idle. I am afraid, Sir, that within a few months they will face many difficulties and the boats that

are lying idle would be turned into fire-wood. So, if coal is brought through Cuddalore to Neyveli to set up a super-power thermal station, Tamil Nadu will not be suffering from want of power. I request that the super-power thermal station proposed to be set up in Southern region under the Fifth Plan should be set up in Neyveli only. I am told, Sir, that even the experts who were asked to examine and identify the places most suited for such a super-power thermal station of 2000 MW capacity have found that Neyveli is the best place. So, this Government have to accept the opinion of the experts and must see that the super-power thermal station with a capacity of 2000 MW is set up at Neyveli.

Sir, one of the previous speakers mentioned something about the voting pattern in Tamil Nadu and he also raised certain doubts. But I would like to assure him and others in this august House on behalf of the All-India Anna DMK that we are always with the people, by the people and for the people and there will be no occasion for any confrontation or conflict with the Centre from our side because it is the people's verdict and we have to accept it. As Mrs. Kulkarni rightly put it, we have to bow to the verdict of the people and if we accept the verdict of the people in the North, you Janata have to accept the verdict of the people in the South. There is no reason or there will be no occasion for bringing about any confrontation or friction with the Centre or with the North. I am told that the Janata Party, though it is for a strong Centre, is not for weakening the States. The States, in fact, are the infrastructure and unless the infrastructure is strong, the superstructure, that is, the Centre, cannot be strong. So to plead for a strong Centre does not mean weakening the States. So I think they are not for weakening the States and I presume so. We accept the verdict of the people in the North and we all support them and I hope

[Shri V. V. Swaminathan]

this will be the last Budget presented in Parliament so far as Tamil Nadu is concerned and in the ensuing elections to be conducted in the month of June or July, I hope, a popular government, preferably our party government, would present the Budget under the leadership of our revered leader, Shri M. G. Ramachandran. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I begin my speech with the hope that this would be the last Budget of Tamil Nadu that is presented in our great Parliament. This civilized savagery in our democracy must be completely finished.

Sir, article 356 is there in the Constitution. What is it for? To undo all those things that were done by the elected Government that was there. What is it that is taking place in Tamil Nadu? Sir, an elected Government with a majority of 184 MLAs was there in Tamil Nadu and they found it necessary, politically, of course, to change that Government. Therefore, Sir, they dismissed the Government there and then the President's Rule was imposed. It should have been finished within six months. The President's Rule was imposed, was promulgated, in Tamil Nadu to undo what all progressive measures were implemented by the Government of Tamil Nadu which was there at that time, a Government elected by the people of Tamil Nadu, and this is the conflict that is going on now in our democracy.

Sir, when there is misrule or, as somebody has said, when there is corruption, the President's Rule is promulgated or for some other reason also they may invoke article 356. How long is it to continue? And, Sir, under the President's Rule, what all atrocities have been committed by the Central Government through the Governor...

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: By the then Central Government,

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN:.. for the past one year or more....

SHRI KALP NATH RAI (Uttar Pradesh): What about the Sarkaria Commission?

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: We are not afraid of any Commission. Actually, we welcomed that Commission and we are not afraid of any commission at all. You be careful because there may be a commission. There may be a Commission, maybe in connection with the Nagarwala case, and you may have to face it. Don't bring in any other Commission now, otherwise you will also be before the Commission, and...

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD (Kerala): That Goernment has fallen down. Why do you kick a dead horse?

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: I am the last person to offend my opponents. We are friends . . . (Interruptions) We wanted that you should sit in the Opposition. The people of India have helped us. We are happy. I had predicted this in my last speech in the Rajya Sabha. I said to Mr. Brahmananda Reddi: Let us exchange sides. Mr. Om Mehta was also here. I told Mr. Brahmananda Reddi: You have been telling us that we did not behave as a responsible Opposition or constructive Opposition. I told him: You come to this side and teach the people of India or the people of the world as to how the Opposition should conduct themselves, because you have never been in the Opposition for the last 30 years. I told him: You are misruling this country. I said that we would come to this side and tell the people of India and the whole world how to rule the country. This has taken place. I am satisfied. Let us be frank and...

SHRI RANBIR SINGH: The D.M. K. has gone to that side after defeat.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: Don't bring in parties. I am speaking about

democracy. A party is only subordinate to the nation. Therefore, do not bring in party politics. It is not a party consideration. It is not a personality consideration. The people themselves have worked and they have elected their own representatives against tyranny, maladministration and misrule in this country and killing democracy in this country.

Sir, President's rule is invoked under article 356 of the Constitution. That is the constitutional provision. But can the Central Government after or revolt against all those progressive measures that were taken by an elected Government? That this House must tell me. They have put an end to many measures, progressive measures, that were taken by the Government of Tamil Nadu, an elected Government.

I would quote only one instance, Sir, on Anna's Birthday the 15th September, we used to give one gold medal. This year they have stopped it. Sir, there was 'Seerani Padai' that is, 'Janata labour'. Many people gave voluntarily their services to the people of the State. They would be used for construction of small buildings, schools and all that. A building 'Seerani Arangu' in Marina has been constructed only by these people. And this was inaugurated by the late Anna. Twenty-five thousand people in the whole of the Madras State were there. The expenditure involved was very meagre. When they come for work they would be given some tiffin. Some people would be paid Rs. 25 or Rs. 30 for labour given for 60 to 70 hours in the name of 'Seerani'. The Central Government as soon as they took charge of the Government, abolished it. Sir, to solve the unemployment problem the problem of unemployed graduates, we had in Tamil Nadu 'Seerani Padai'. In English you can say 'youth corps'. As soon as a person graduated he was paid Rs. 150 and sent to the villages to work. He was paid Rs. 150 only. After two or three years, he was allowed to sit in the public Service Commission examination and he

used to be given preferential treatment because he had worked in the Youth Corps for two or three years. There were 2500 people in the Youth Corps. On a fine morning, this Youth Corps was abolished. I can cite hundreds of instances. They have done away with all the things that were done by a progressive elected Government. Therefore, I say that democracy in this country will have to discuss these things very thoroughly and impartially. When President's rule is promulgated, can that President's rule take away all those progressive things that were done by a previous elected Government? I will give you one instance. The Government of Tamil Nadu has issued an Abstract under the heading,

"ESTABLISHMENT—Home (I & PR) Department—Re-organisation—Abolition of the posts of District Public Relations Officers, Information Assistants and Publicity Assistants—Orders—Issued".

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Ranbir Singh) in the Chair]

This is G.O.Ms. No. 1856 dated the 29th July, 1976. I need not go into the details of this order. As it is now, they have abolished the Publicity Department which was started seven years ago. About 57 people were appointed, mostly belonging to the backward classes, the backward communities and Scheduled Castes. The orders were that they need not be appointed through the Service Commission. As soon as the Central Government took charge or the President's rule was imposed all these people who had been in service for two to eight years, were removed from service. Some of them were gazetted officers and some were Information Assistants. These people cannot get employment because they have crossed the age limit. All of them are graduates. Some of them are even law graduates. They have been in service for two to eight years and they were removed from service one fine morning. The reason given is:

[Shri V. V. Swaminathan]

"... the Department as it is now functioning will not be able to cope up with the demands for publicity essential to implement the twenty point programme successfully"

Twenty Point Programme was given to the people to create more employment and to free the bonded labour. Here an order is issued saying that this Department would not cope with the implementation and publicity of the twenty point programme. I am very happy that our hon. Home Minister has said that any retrenchment or dismissal on political grounds shall be looked into and justice will be done to them. I will submit that this was a political decision taken by the Central Government through the Governor. About 57 families are in the streets with three or four children each. The President's rule must be an impartial one. What is taking place in Tamil Nadu is not President's rule. It is the Congress rule that has taken place there. You might have heard what my esteemed friend and who is now in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Krishan Kant, said about Mr. Sukhadia. He said that he is not Mr. Sukhadia, the Governor of Tamil Nadu, but he is Mr. Sukhadia, the District Congress President of Guindy. That is what Mr. Krishan Kant said about Mr. Sukhadia, and it has been recorded in the parliamentary proceedings. Sir, I would tell you what all atrocities he has committed. As a Congress leader he had been there as Governor. We have already published this in the newspapers. I would even demand that an enquiry should be made into this. He has collected party funds while remaining as Governor in the Raj Bhavan. He has contacted the revenue divisional officers, he has contacted all the Collectors, he has contacted all the village munsifs, bus-owners and cinema theatre-owners. I think his own conscience should have pricked him because he is in Tamil Nadu where Madurai Meenakshi is there and, therefore, he has resigned.

AN HON. MEMBER: His resignation should be accepted forthwith.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: His resignation is going to be accepted. Not only his resignation should be accepted immediately but the future Governors also should not behave like that. That is why, in the beginning, we were opposing the Governorship of the State. The Congress Party had been routed in Tamil Nadu. Yet, the Congress Party sends its own representative to supervise a non-Congress Government in Tamil Nadu. Mr. Sukhadia's Party was routed completely and was crushed in Tamil Nadu. They cannot win except with the help of my friend, Mr. Swaminathan's Party, the Anna DMK. If they had not joined them, if the support of Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, the greatest actor of Tamil Nadu, was not there, all these Congress people who have been elected, would have lost their deposit.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RANBIR SINGH): They have won.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: I said that they would not have been elected.

AN HON. MEMBER: Sir, you are in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RANBIR SINGH): I am telling you the fact because he is misguiding the House.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: You see we are very close friends. Whenever I speak, he takes the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RANBIR SINGH): Please try to wind up.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: Sir, a grave injustice has been done to all these Information Assistants and Officers. All these people have been

removed from service for political reasons and they cannot get employment anywhere else. I would request the Government to enquire into the matter. A great injustice has been done to them and they should be immediately reinstated.

Sir, Mr. Sukhadia, the Governor of Tamil Nadu, has created history of course, national history in the political life of this country. No other Governor in the past 30 years in our independent India behaved like that in any other part of the country. Therefore, Sir, I would also demand that a commission should be appointed to go into the activities of the Governor of Tamil Nadu. My friend said about the Sarkaria Commission. We have welcomed that and we are facing that Commission. So, a commission should be appointed to go into the activities of the Governor of Tamil Nadu. Not only that. A decision might be taken by the Government that no political man to whichever Party he may belong should be appointed as a Governor. Sir, I am also of the opinion that retired High Court judges or retired Chief Justices and such other people should only be appointed as Governors. Sir, when a Governor is relieved, immediately who takes the charge? The Chief Justice of the State. There should be no political consideration in the appointment of Governors. If my Party comes to power, I may commit the same mistake. Therefore, I would suggest to the new Government, the popular Janata Government, that retired High Court judges or Supreme Court judges or Chief Justices and such people only should be appointed as Governors. And that would solve the problem. (*Time bell rings*).

4 P. M.

Whenever I am called to speak, Mr. Singh, you take the Chair. I do not know what is the understanding you and Mr. Mirdha. I am not saying anything against the Deputy Chairman but whenever I get up to speak he signals to you and you take the Chair

and immediately after 10 minutes or 15 minutes you start ringing the bell.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RANBIR SINGH): Please do not cast any aspersion on the Chair.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: Sir, I was observing yesterday when another colleague from the other side of the House was speaking and you allowed him to speak for 30 minutes. You allow me also 30 minutes.

Then, Sir, I would say that keeping in view the atrocities that have been committed by the Central Government to kill democracy in Tamil Nadu, a commission should be appointed to find out the truth and punish the guilty. It should be seen as to how they have behaved politically to kill my political party and made use of other people to see that my party is not there. (*Time bell rings*).

Sir, I want to mention another thing. The Income-tax Department of the Central Government has taxed my party funds Rs. 30 lakhs. I would ask the opposition party whether their party funds or the party funds of any other political party in India have been taxed? Well, Mr. Kalp Nath Rai can say only if he knows how much amount is there. (*Time bell rings*).

Sir, I want to say one more thing. A lot of money has been spent on elections through Mr. Sukhadia. I do not know from which source they got that money. As far as our party is concerned, it is the only party. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RANBIR SINGH): No repetitions, please.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: . . . which has deposited the entire amount of Rs. 56 lakhs in the Indian Bank. You know they have been taxed.

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। सरकारिया कमीशन, केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा डी. एम. के. की सरकार के भ्रष्टाचार और दुराचार की जांच करने के लिये अर्पाएंट किया गया है, वह जांच कर रहा है। उसकी रिपोर्ट जल्दी ही सामने आ जाएगी इसलिए इनको इसकी चिंता नहीं करनी चाहिए।

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: What is he saying?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RANBIR SINGH): Carry on. Do not worry. We are racing against time. We have to pass all the Appropriation Bills.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: Sir, I want to make one more point and that is my main point. I do not mind about the other points. Sir, when the last Budget was presented by the great Subramaniam of Palni fame—I say Palni fame because he went to Palni before the elections and after the elections also and he would be glad to know of it—he imposed a tax of about Rs. 7½ crores; he taxed the cash crops, i.e., groundnut, betel leaves, dal and gingelly. Then, Sir, we had abolished taxes on dry land. We had abolished land revenue also. He introduced taxes on dry land also to the extent of Rs. 7½ crores. You must have known the act of cowardice of the Central Government which is that they were not bold enough to introduce these taxes in Tamil Nadu when elections were held. You were telling them: You are taxing the people, it is too much. Now they have kept it in abeyance till the elections or till August. I would request the Government to abolish these taxes. (Time bell rings).

Sir, the last thing that I want to mention is to show to you how the Central Government through the President's Rule has affected the position of the Judiciary. There are

thousands of instances in India but I will give only one instance. Sir, one Chief Justice of Madras was to join duty as Justice of the Supreme Court and he joined duty as Justice, Supreme Court and, therefore, there was a vacant seat of Chief Justice in Madras. Immediately, another Chief Justice from Kerala was brought, overlooking the chances or the claims of the judges of the Madras High Court. I am not finding fault with...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RANBIR SINGH): Please wind up now.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: In the Madras High Court the Chief Justice was brought from Kerala. In no other State, Sir, a Chief Justice already acting as Chief Justice has been brought from another State. The judges in the Madras High Court had a claim over that post and the Chief Justice should have been chosen from amongst the judges of the Madras High Court. That was not done and, therefore, it is a great injustice to judiciary. I am bringing it to the notice of the House for information. Of course, now the popular Janata Government are going to hit back all that was done by the previous Government. Still, it is my duty to bring it to the notice of the House. Such were the atrocities committed by the Central Government against my party and against the people of Tamil Nadu in the name of President's Rule to remove a democratically elected Government. I therefore demand that a Commission should be appointed to enquire into all these atrocities and the report of this Commission should be placed before the House.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE AND REVENUE AND BANKING (SHRI H. M. PATEL): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have listened to the hon. Members with great interest. I can only assure them that I will give the fullest attention to the various

points and suggestions that have been made during the course of their speeches. In great many of these speeches, some points were made which did not really concern the Budget that is in front of you.

A reference was made to drought conditions. I may assure the House that we will do whatever we can to see that the drought problem is tackled in a permanent manner. So far it has been tackled in an *ad hoc* manner which is not altogether satisfactory.

In the main, I would say that there was no point that specifically needs a reply or calls for any comments from me immediately. Whatever points need to be attended to, will be attended to. That is all that I would like to say at this stage.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: I would like to ask the hon. Finance Minister one thing. Yesterday he said in the Lok Sabha that the Indian economy is not sound in the context of the present situation. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RANBIR SINGH): The remarks were not in connection with the Tamil Nadu Budget.

THE BUDGET (NAGALAND) 1977-78—GENERAL DISCUSSION

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RANBIR SINGH): Now, we take up Nagaland Budget.

डा० राम कृपाल सिंह (बिहार) : आदरणीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यहां पर अभी तक हम तमिलनाडु के बजट पर चर्चा कर रहे थे। उसी तरह से यह नागालैंड प्रदेश भी है। वहां भी राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू है। राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू होने का क्या दुष्परिणाम होता है, यह हमने तमिलनाडु के बजट पर चर्चा के दौरान सुना।

मैं समझता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति का शासन सही मायनों में भरत राजा पर्यायवाची होना चाहिए। भरत ने जिस प्रकार से राम की गद्दी पर खड़ा रखकर, ट्रस्टी की तरह राज्य का संचालन किया था, उसी प्रकार से राष्ट्रपति के माध्यम से, राष्ट्रपति के द्वारा नियुक्त राज्यपाल जनता के चुने हुए प्रतिनिधियों के आगमन की प्रतीक्षा में शासन को ट्रस्टी के नाते चलाना चाहिए। लेकिन दुःख की बात यह है कि कहीं का भी अनुभव राज्यपाल के द्वारा शासित प्रदेशों में अभी तक अच्छा नहीं रहा है।

नागालैंड में भी दो साल गुजर गये और दो साल से वहां राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू है। मेरी पहली मांग सरकार से यह है कि नागालैंड में तत्काल चुनाव कराये जायें और जनता का जो निर्णय हो, उसके अनुसार चुने हुए प्रतिनिधियों को राज्य संचालन का कार्य सौंपा जाय। क्योंकि हम सारे देश में, सभी प्रदेशों में प्रजातांत्रिक व्यवस्था चाहते हैं और नागालैंड, जिसकी पिछले तीन दशकों में विशेष समस्याएँ रही हैं, उनसे भी चाहेंगे कि राष्ट्र की जो प्रमुख धारा है, राजनैतिक धारा है, उसके साथ कदम से कदम मिलाकर चलें। राष्ट्र की जो प्रमुख सांस्कृतिक धारा है, उसके साथ कदम से कदम मिलाकर चलें। अभी भी कुछ घुसपैठिये, कुछ आतंकवादी तथा पृथक्तावाद तत्त्व नागालैंड में सक्रिय हैं और यह आवश्यक है कि इस समस्या का तत्काल समाधान किया जाय। यह भी सही है कि नागालैंड एक अत्यन्त गरीब प्रदेश है इसलिये राष्ट्रपति शासन से वहां के लोगों की वास्तविक समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं हो सकता। हम जनतांत्रिक वसूलों के हामी होने के नाते यह चाहते हैं कि वहां की समस्याओं के समाधान के लिये वहां के लोगों को ही जिम्मेदारी सौंपी जाय।