SHRI HIMMAT SINH: Who are the agents of M/s. Krupps in India? Why don't you answer that?

MR. DEPUUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Pitamber Das.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS (Uttar Pradesh): The hon. Minister said he would look into the matter. Can the hon. Minister assure this House that he would look into the matter in the light of the allegations made and the discussions held in the House, and inform the House about his findings?

SHRI SHAH NAWAZ KHAN: Sir, I have noted with great respect the observations m;-de by all the hon. Members. I will certainly look into the whole matter and then place the thing before the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Almost all the Members are unanimous on this. So I think the Minister should take the matter seriously and enquire into the whole thing and give a report to the House.

We shall now continue the discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Mr. Sen Gupta, can you finish in 10 minutes? Then we can adjourn for lunch.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESI-DENT'S ADDRESS—contd.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have moved five amendments, the last being on the question of corruption. Now, corruption is bad and is universally condemned. This corruption has different shapes. When you find adulteration in food, it is dangerous. When you find adulteration of medicine, it is certainly dangerous. But when you find adulteration or corruption in the process of democracy, in the process of elections, that becomes fatal. I am placing before this House a very important letter written by no less a personality than Profulla Chandra Sen, a former Chief Mini-ister of West Bengal and Congress (O) leader. It is as follows:

"Dear Sri Giri,

We had three by-elections for the West Bengal Legislative Assembly yester-

day (Sunday) from 80-Gaighata, 150-Belgachia and 175-Chinsurah constituen cies.

Considering the size of our country, three by-elections for one State Assembly may not appear to be so very important as to attract the attention of the President of India, but after considerable thought, I seriously attach so much significance to the manner in which the three so-called democratic elections were held that I am guided by my conscience to write this letter to you very much in alarm and apprehension. I am alarmed because I can foresee the doom of all the high ideals that you and I have cherished in our more than half a century of public life, if the present fascist recklessness of the ruling party continues unbridled. I am apprehensive because as an aged man still active in public life. I do not desire to see you go down in history as the person who presided over the liquidation of democracy in India.

I refer to the violence, rigging and corrupt practices perpetrated by the ruling party in these three by-elections. The present Government and the ruling party, steeped in corruption, has completely forfeited any respect or support of the people which it might have had. By rigging the by-elections they are apparently attempting to give a false picture of their support and popularity. What I am particularly worried about, however, is that the manner in which corrupt practices and rigging has been nakedly resorted to will compel the people ultimately to lose faith in parliamentary democracy and democratic institutions. This may drive the people to desperation resulting in large-scale violence, symptoms of which are already in evidence in different parts of our great country.

"The rigging that I am referring to was done mainly in the following manners. In some polling stations the ballot papers were issued in large numbers on the night before the poll to agents of the ruling party who stamped them and put them in the ballot boxes before the commencement of the poll

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sen Gupta, you cannot go on reading the whole newspaper.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: What is there? I wiH consume my time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You want to consume it by reading the newspaper?

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: Yes, what is there? Let the country know the facts; let the House know the facts.

"In other cases goondas of the ruling party intimidated and threatened genuine voters and forced them not to go to the booths and themselves compelled polling and presiding officers to issue bunches of ballot papers to them which they in turn stamped and put inside the boxes in a mass scale. Another method adopted was raiding and jamming polling booths by large numbers of impersonators and casting false votes by them after assaulting and driving away the polling agents of other parties. Exhibition of fire-arms by these goondas was a common sight and the manner in which these rowdies received open encouragement and support from some important office-bearers of the ruling party including Ministers and MLAs was simply nauseating. The utter helplessness and indifference of administrative and police officers, particularly those charged with polling duties is nothing but deplorable."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sen Gupta, in the first place no speech is allowed to be read. And you are now reading a whole newspaper.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: But I am reading a letter.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I can understand quotations, but not reading a whole newspaper.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: This is a letter from no less a person than Shri Prafulla Chandra Sen. Every sentence of this letter is important. Every sentence is worth quoting . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can quote but not read the whole thing.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: If this matter is not a serious matter, I do not know what else can constitute a serious matter

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA): He cannot go on reading the whole newspaper and thus consume the time of the House.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: Sir, I know his difficulty, I know his anxiety. I know he has no face to show . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Sir, when he is quoting a letter what is wrong there? What is wrong in quoting a letter? Allow him to quote. I do not think there is any objection in allowing him to quote a letter. He is quoting a letter from the newspaper.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is a letter to the editor. It is not a letter which he has received.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: I am telling you every sentence is worth

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have another three minutes.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: "These corrupt practices and rigging have been done in such a mass scale that normal legal procedure will be inadequate in giving redress. On the other hand, if an inquiry is ordered then the statements that I have made can be easily proved and substantiated. For instance, if the voters' signatures are tallied with the signatures or thumb impressions of the persons who actually cast the votes as will appear from the counterfoils of the ballot papers, or if the records are checked then it can be easily shown that in a large number of booths cent per cent or nearly cent per cent polling was completed within an amazingly short time of the commencement of the poll. These will substantiate what I have stated above."

Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman, we talk of socialism. Can there be socialism without democracy? What type of socialism is it?

[Shri Dwijendralal Sen Gupta] What I see in every part of the country is naked fascism. There is naked fascism everywhere. You take money from the capitalists and allow things to go on under the very nose of the police by hiring goondas. Election has become a costly affair. You can say it is unavoidable. But what is this? Where is the country being led? This Government cannot give the people the minimum human requirements. Food is there enough. The only thing is you have to pay more for it. And that is being done under the very nose of the Government. There is no sc rcity; but there is no proper administration. This Government has forfeited the moral right to continue as the administration of the country.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, you all know about the strike by the Indian Airlines Corporation pilots. I should say that it was not a strike. They were willing to work under the old system. Then the Corporation declared a lock out. There was a hue and cry and people said that the pilots were getting so much of money. But then why the pilots alone were locked out? Why the clerks were not locked out? Why the police were not locked out? What was our Labour Ministry doing all these days? Why were they so immobilised during the whole period? Was it to allow Shri Lal, a very high retired military official, to hold the country to ransom in such a callous manner? (Time Bell

Now Mr. Deputy Chairman, on the question of the common man. You know everybody talks about black money. What are the steps the Government have taken to curb the black money? One hundred and forty economists made a statement at a seminar that unless Rs. 1,500 crores of black money is withdrawn, the situation cannot improve. What is the Government's answer to that? There is no seriousness on their part. You only talk about people's misery. But is it reflected in your conduct? The conduct of the Government is. I should say, one of complete lethargy and complete callousness. They do not realise that there are people in this country who can rise in revolt. We have taken Gujarat situation as an isolated event. But they should read the writing on the wall. If what has happened in Gujarat occurs tomorrow in

Maharashtra, Rajasthan, U. P., Bihar and Bengal, you will say that it was an act of this Party or that Party. But you dp not see that the people are in revolt. They are in revolt everywhere. If you understand that in all seriousness, I am sure the Government cannot be so anothetic to the condition of the common man. They will have to take a more realistic stand.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

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

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

DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD (Kerala): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it is not my desire to put forth apologies or alibi for the alleged commissions and omissions of Government nor do I propose to praise the achievements alone of the Government in power now. But I do want to say certain things.

Sir, I was listening with considerable attention to the debate which was going on for the past two days. I was reminded of a proverb in vogue in Kerala which says that even though there is plenty of milk in the udders of the cow, the mosquito can extract only blood from there.

The President's Address has catalogued the various achievements of the party in power, of the Government. But, unfortunately the Members of the Opposition, in a very distorted way, see only the defects or the omissions of the Government. I do not wish to go into the various things which have been mentioned in the President's Address. But if the hon. Members were careful to be objective, they could have seen at: least three important things, namely, the exports achievement, foreign policy achievement and the very appreciable and impressive achievements of the public sector. I will confine myself only to these three.

The exports figures as put in the President's Address as well as in the various newspapers and journals show that there

was an increase of 20.8 per cent, last year, to be very precise. Not only that, the balance of payments has increased. Last year, the balance of payments in our favour, to our credit, was 164.6 crores. Imports have gone down considerably. Now, to offset an increase in oil prices varying from 500 to 1,000 crores of rupees, we ihave launched an intensive scheme of enhancing exports to the Middle East countries, that is West Asian countries and Gulf countries. Moreover, we are proposing to set up an import-export bank to bring about a better achievement in the field of exports. I understand, Sir, from the figures that by reason of our improvement in the international monetary field, our external assistance has been considerably cut down. If vou wish to have the figures, Sir, they are stated in the Economic survey statement, which was placed before the House the day before yesterday. I will not take the time of the House by referring to them. They can be referred to in that statement.

What is the position of other countries? It is easy to find faults with our own achievements or forget our achievements and find only our defects. The E.E.C. countries, which unit is supposed to be one of the most powerful single economic unit of the world, have started suffering. There are considerable balance of payments difficulties. Japan which has been occupying a very predominant position in the international economic field has quite recently devalued—not directly, but in effect—up to 7 per cent of the yen. Similarly, it is well known how the economic conditions both inside and the external relations, international economic relations of the United Kingdom have gone down in the recent time. So if we compare with the achievements of the international giants in the monetary field, we have nothing to be unhappy about; we have only to be proud obout it. I will not take more time of the House on that point. I wil! go immediately to our achievements in the field of public enterprises.

It has been published in the various papers that we have, after a long period of losses and heart-rending conditions in the public enterprises, started at least showing profits last vear.

Moreover, one thing which is to be noted is that we have put certain targets of achievements in the field of production regarding the public undertakings. Even though the targets have not been achieved cent per cent, many of them have come up to the standard of about 85 per cent of their targets. We may recall that when the First Five Year Plan was started, we had invested only 29 crores of rupees in the public undertakings. Last year, the figure was about 5000 crores of rupees in the top 101 public undertakings. People supporting the desirability of laissez faire, private undertakings and free economy, have been praising the achievements of the private business houses as against the public sector undertakings. But what do the figures show? As I have already stated, whereas the public undertakings have shown a definite tendency towards more and more profits and the rate of growth, there was a decline in the case of the private understandings from 8 per cent to 7 per cent. But when they condemn the Government and its public undertakings, they forget the fact that it is really the public undertakings which are showing signs of progress and it is the private undertakings which are showing the signs of stagnation and decline.

on the Preisdent's Address

May I now turn to the foreign policy achievements of the Government? One important factor in the international field during the last year is the trend towards detente whether it is in Europe, or Asia, or the South American countries. Throughout the world the trend has been that of detente. What has been our achievement in this field? We have settled many important matters of controversy which we had for years with our neighbours. I will cite the example of our settlement with Sri Lanka the long-standing dispute about the nationality. We have come to a final settlement in the recent agreement between the two Prime Ministers. The recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan has vindicated our position and our stand towards Bangladesh and the war we had to undergo to achieve the independence of Bangladesh. We are coming nearer to the Middle-East countries than we have been at any time after independence. Iran had not been very

[Dr. V. A. Seyid Muhammed] friendly towards India. But the recent trend is toward much more closer relations between the two countries. The visit of the Egyptian President recently has brought the two countries much closer. I need not repeat our relations with Russia which have already been debated. Speeches have been made and articles have been written on that. Considering the overall picture in the field of international relations, we have tremendous aichievements, comparable to the achievements of any country in the world. There has been no sensational achievement in the sense that there has been a war or something like that. It is not usual to have more flamboyant or very sensational results

Normal friendly activities in the international field are carried on. Close relationship is built up from day to day.

Sir, having said that, may I say a few words in reply to some of the points raised by the Opposition? Mr. Niren Ghosh had been an extremely severe critic of the Government. His Party, on the opening day, conducted a sort of pre-emptive action so as to prevent the normal procedure of the combined functioning of the two Houses. Fortunately for democracy in this country, the whole thing blew off like a wet squib and within five minutes, they have walked out. It was advisable for them and advisable for all of us. And I must congratulate them that at least wisdom dawned late than never . . .

- DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You don't condemn the hooliganism of the Congress M.P's who used force on that day?
- DR. V. A. SEYID MOHAMMAD: I did not find any congress hooliganism. It was a unilateral hooliganism.
 - DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: who used force? SHRI V. B. RAJU: It was a part of prevention.
- DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD: If at all it was used, it was used in self-defence. It was a justifiable use of force...
 - SHRT V. B. RAJU: It was to civilize them.

- DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD: To prevent the professional hooliganism from marriage the decorum.
- DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Sir, I protest against this statement. It was the Congress hooligans who did it and he must withdraw his statement. This is a wrong thing.
- DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMATJ: My hon. friend has the privilege and the licence to call the Congressmen hooligans. When he is paid in the same coin, he gets upset. I am sorry ...
- DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You are a defender of democracy and a party which rigged elections in Bengal and now everywhere.
- DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD: If you pay in rupees, you will be paid in rupees.
- DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You are rigging elections even today. Great democrats you are.
- DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD: I remember a story in this connection. There was a very important man in our place. He was in the habit of using slanderous words. When somebody else uses it, he used to protest and say, "It is my monopoly and you cannot use it." You can call the Congressmen hooligans. When I pay back, you -get upset. I do not know from where you got this monopoly ...
- DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You can carry on with hooliganism.
- DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD: Of course, there will be complete reciprocity for whatever he does
- SHRI V. B. RAJU: Use of abusive language is their exclusive monopoly ...
- DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: We cannot compete with you in that. 1 can assure you.
- MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, you will have to wind up, Dr. Seyid.
- DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD: How can I, Sir, when this sort of interruption is going on?

Sir, I was referring to Mr. Niren Ghosh. He was fretting and fuming and he was very furious. 1 have very personal regard for hirn. I know his sacrifices. 1 am convinced of his sincerity to the cause. I am convinced of his loyalty to the cause which he is holding very dear to his heart. That is a different matter. But 1 should like him to consider one thing. Whom was he supporting? He was supporting the anti-Congress or the anti-governmental movements in various States, particularly in Gujarat. Yesterday, Mr. Borooah, the hon. Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals demonstrated that in theory as well as in practice what was going on was anti-Marxist. Whom are you supporting? It was not the people's movement. It was the movement of the bourgeois, petty bourgeois, the lumpen protetanat. They are supporting just for the sake of supporting it, and opposing the Congress, ihey are supporting those people who stood against the wholesale takeover of foodgrains and who stood against all the progressive policies of the Government.

- DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Why don't you say something about poverty, unemployment and other thingi? Why are you avoiding such issues?
- DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD: Within the short time available to me, I cannot cover the whole gamut.
- DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You want to white wash the Congress.
- DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD: I cannot exhaust the encyclopaedia.
- DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You talk of the prices which affect the people.
- MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Kurian, let him speak. He has the floor. You cannot go on giving a running commentary.
- SHRI V. B. RAIU: Ihey both come from Kerala
- MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That does not mean he should give a running commentary.
- DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD: Whom are they supporting? Ihey are supporting the reactionary forces. You are the

custodians of Marxian theory but may I say that your actions and your party are not only anti-Marxian,—it is not even extreme leftism, but...

on the President's Adress

- DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: We do not want to listen to stories from capitalists and landlords.
- MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Kurian, you should not go on interrupting him like this.
- DR. K. MATHEW KURLAN: If he continues to refer to our party I will have to interrupt him.
- MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Vou referred to every other party and he has got the right to refer to your party. You must have some patience to listen to what he says.
- DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD: This is the difficulty. They have taken to this sort of thing for granted by reason of our patience, by reason of our good sense they have started to think that abuse is their monopoly which we are not going to tolerate. If you use abuse you are going to get abuse in return.
- MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must wind up now.
- DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD: I was telling that this is not Marxism; this is not even extreme leftism. It is infantile paralysis. This is Nihilism, destroying everything. Whether that destroys the existin? Government, whether that destroys the progress towards socialism, whether that destroys the fight against reaction, whether that destroys the fight against blackmarketing, it does not matter to them as long as they are not in power. Ihey have not even any hope of getting into power and they have become frustrated, they have become Nihilists. So it is not Marxism, it is Nihilism which Marx has throughout condemned.
- DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Your Nihilism is in Pondicherry and Manipur now.
- MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Seyid Muhammad, now you have to finish.

DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD: We have seen it in Kerala. You started it there but the people threw you out there and Mr. Niren Ghosh threatened that his party will not participate in the next election. They knew what will be the result if they participated in the election. (Time bell rings). One sentence more and I finish.

Sir, I am most thankful to you for having given me this time. I will not take any more of your time. 1 support the motion.

Thank you very much.

श्री एन० एच० कुम्भारे (महाराष्ट्र): डिप्टी चेयरमैन महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के श्रिभभाषण के सम्बन्ध में मैं कुछ सुझाव के रूप में कहना चाहता हूं। यह बहुत श्रच्छी बात है कि हमारे मंत्री महोदय, श्री धारिया जी, यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं और जो कुछ भी मैं सुझाव देना चहता हूं मैं उम्मीद करता हूं कि वे श्रत्यन्त गम्भीरता के साथ उन पर विचार करेंगे।

श्राज हमारे देश में जीवनावश्यक वस्तु श्रों के स्रभाव के कारण ग्रौर श्रिधिक महंगाई के कारण एक नई परिस्थित का निर्माण हो गया है श्रौर इसके कारण देश के गरीब श्रादमी श्रधिक मुश्किल में श्रा गये हैं। इसमें किसी को संदेह नहीं होना चाहिये कि इस स्थिति के कारण देश की गरीब जनता मुश्किल में श्रा गई है इसका जिक राष्ट्रपति जी ने श्रयने श्रीभभाषण में भी किया है। किन्तु दुर्भाग्य की बात यह है कि राष्ट्रपति जी के श्रीभभाषण में गरीब जनता की मुश्किलों को दूर करने की दृष्टि से कोई उपाय या योजना नहीं बतलाई गई है श्रौर न कोई रास्ता ही श्रपनाया जा रहा है। राष्ट्रपति जी के श्रीभभाषण में इस बारे में कोई भी चर्चा नहीं है।

1960 के आंकड़ों के आधार पर मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि देश में 33 फीसदी आदमी बिलो पावर्टी लाइन थे। उसके पश्चात् दस साल कें बाद फिर सर्वे किया गया तो यह संख्या बढ़ गई और 1970 में पावर्टी लाइन से नीचे वाले व्यक्ति की संख्या 40 फीसदी हो गई। अभी जिस रफ्तार से महगाई बढ़ रही है, उसे देखते हए मुझे लगता

है कि यह संख्या 50 फीसदी पर आ गई होगी। सवाल यह है कि गरीव ग्रादमी जो ग्राज की स्थित में पीसा जा रहा है उसको राहत देने के लिए कोई विचार किया जा रहा है या नहीं किया जा रहा है। थोडी खोज करने के बाद पता चल जायगा कि गरीब कौन है। एक तो वह गरीब है जो काम करता है, मगर काम करने के बाद भी उस को न्यायपर्ण वेतन प्राप्त नहीं होता है। एक ग्रादमी जो गांव में काम करता है. खेत में काम करता है, ग्राठ घंटे, दस घंटे, काम करता है उसको क्या मजदरी दी जाती है ? ग्राप पंजाब को छोड दीजिए, हरियाणा को छोड दीजिए, देश के कई हिस्सों में मजदूर को ग्राठ-दस घंटे काम करने के बाद भी दो रुपया, ग्रहाई रुपया नसीव नहीं होता है। हमारे सामने एक सवाल है कि क्या आज हम में इतनी भी ताकत नहीं है कि एक ग्रादमी को उसकी मेहनत का न्यायपर्ण बेतन देने का प्रबन्ध करें।

हमारे यहां कई दिन से चर्चा चल रही है। वेज पौलिसी तय की जा रही है। ग्रागेंनाइज्ड सेक्टर प्रपनी ताकत के बलबते पर ग्रौर दबाव डालकर अपने लिए ग्रधिकाधिक वेतन प्राप्त करने की कोशिश कर रहा है। शायद इसी विचार से यह तय किया जा रहा है कि किसी कर्मचारी को निश्चित सीमा से ग्रधिक न दिया जाय । लेकिन यह मेरी समझ में नहीं ग्राता कि सरकार के सामने ऐसी कौन सी ग्रडचन थी जिसके कारण जो ग्रनग्रा-र्गेनाइज्ड सेक्टर है, जो असंगठित हैं, जो अशिक्षित हैं, जो बैकवर्ड हैं उनको न्यायपर्ण वेतन दिलाने की व्यवस्था नहीं हो पाती । मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि अगर गरीबी हटानी है, और अगर हमारी प्लानिंग ग्रास-रूट प्लानिंग है तो उस ग्रास-रूट प्लानिंग की दृष्टि से ग्रापने कौन से कदम उठाए हैं ? मैं समझता हं कि श्राजादी के 25 साल के बाद भी हम नीचे काम करने वाले बादमी को न्यायपूर्ण वेतन नहीं दे पाए है तो ग्रास-रूट प्लानिंग का क्या मतलब है ? गरीबों की गरीबी समाप्त करने की दृष्टि से कौन से ठोस कदम उठाए जा रहे हैं, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता ।

यहां कहा गया कि पे कमीणन ने नीड बेस्ड मिनिमम वेज को क्वान्टीफाई कर दिया है। जबैं हम सामाजिक न्याय की वात करते हैं तो हर काम करने वाले आदमी को उसका न्यायपूर्ण वेतन मिलना चाहिये। ग्राज चतर्थ श्रेणी के कर्मचारी को काम पर रखा जाय तो उसे 250 रुपया महीना देना होगा । तो अगर सरकारी कर्मचारी को आप 250 रुपया देते हैं तो हर मजदर को 250 रुपया दिया जाय । मेरा तो कहना यह है कि जाने दीजिए 250 रुपया, आज की मंहगाई का मुकाबला करने के लिए एक मजदर को कम से कम 6 रुपया तो दीजिए। इसलिए ऐसा मेरा सुझाव है और मैं उम्मीद करता हं कि समय हा गया है जब एक राष्ट्रीय किमान का वेतन निर्धारित किया जाय। श्रगर श्राप राष्ट्रीय किमान वेतन निर्धारित करते हैं तो इस भूमि पर, इस देश में कार्य करने वाला हर एक श्रमिक चाहे वह खेत में काम करे, चाहे द्कान में काम करे या फैक्टरी में काम करे, उसको एक स्टेच्यटरी मिनिमम वेज की गारन्टी दी जाए तो मेरे ख्याल में सामाजिक न्याय की दिष्ट से, उसको राहत देने की दृष्टि से वह एक बहुत बड़ा कदम होगा।

वेज पालिसी के लिए शायद ग्रापन कमेटी भी नियक्त की होगी, उसकी एक हजार पेज की रिपोर्ट भी आयेगी, उसके लिए श्राप छः महीने, एक साल स्टडी करने में खर्च करेंगे, वह जाने दीजिए । मैं गरीबों के नाम पर, मजदूरों के नाम पर कहना चाहता हं कि जो ग्रसंगठित मजदूर हैं उनको इतना तो सामाजिक न्याय दीजिए कि उनके लिए ग्राप राष्ट्रीय वेतन श्रेणी निर्धारित करें। इससे उनका प्रोटेक्शन हो जाएगा । उसकी उनको ग्राज जरूरत है । धारिया साहब बैठे है, महाराष्ट्र में पागे कमेटी ने भी रिपोर्ट दी तथा खेत में करने वाले मजदूरों के किमान वेतन निर्धारित हुन्ना। महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने एक कदम उठाया है। मेरा कहना यह है कि कहीं पर भी मजदर काम करे, उसका वेतन निर्धारित करना स्नावश्यक है ग्रीर गरीवी हटाने के लिए एक महान कदम उठाना ग्रावश्यक है।

on the President's Address

मैं इस सुझाव को रखने के बाद दूसरी बात पर आता हं और वह यह कि दुर्भाग्य से इस अभिभाषण में शैड्युल्ड कास्ट ग्रीर शैड्युल्ड ट्राइब्ज के विषय में कुछ भी नहीं कहा गया है। उपाध्यक्ष महीदय, ग्राप इस बात को जानते हैं कि कुछ दिनों से इस ग्रख्त माने जाने वाले लोगों पर कितने ग्रत्याचार हुए हैं। हमारे सदन में आंकड़े प्रस्तुत हुए हैं। इन आंकडों से पता लगता है कि सैंकडों नहीं हजारों की तादाद में गांवों में अछ्त माने जाने वाले लोगों के मर्डर किये गये ह, खुन किये गये हैं। उनके प्रोटेक्शन के लिए क्या इंतजाम हो रहा है ? मेरे ख्याल से यह आवश्यक है कि जब एक ग्रह्त ग्रादमी ग्रन्याय का शिकार हो जाता है, उसका घर जलाया जाता है तो बेचारा बरबाद हो जाता है क्योंकि वह पहले ही गरीब रहता है अगर घर का कमाई करने वाला ग्रादमी मारा जाता है तो उसके बॉल-वच्चे बेसहारा हो जाते हैं। इस दिशा में मेरा एक सुझाव है कि कम से कम जैसे ग्राप लोग रेलवे में मरने वालों को 50 हजार रुपया कंप-सेशन दे रहे हैं, हवाई जहाज में मरने वाले के लिए ग्रापने एक लाख का इंतजाम किया है, मेरे ख्याल से जो अछत जातीय भेदभावना का भिकार हुआ है उसके लिए तो कुछ इंतजाम कीजिए। क्या यह सामाजिक न्याय का तकाजा नहीं है कि गांबों में अछत के नाम पर जिन पर अनेक सालों से अत्याचार हो रहा है, जिनका खन हो रहा है, उनकी भरपाई के लिए इतना भी इंतजाम सरकार नहीं कर सकती? तो मेरा सुझाव यह है कि इस तरह जातीयता से नुकसान पाने वाले लोगों के लिए कुछ इतजाम करना ग्रावश्यक है।

तीसरी बात मैं। यह कहना चाहंगा भीर यह मेरा अनुभव भी है कि - मिधा साहव यहां वैठे हुए हैं, वह भी सुनेंगे-यह ग्रन्छी बात है

श्री एन० एच० कुम्मारे

कि. गैडयल्ड कास्ट और गैड्यूल्ड ट्राइव्ज के लिए नौकरी में ग्रारक्षण रखा है । शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लिए 15 परसेंट और गैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लिए साड़े सात फीसदी । किन्तु मैं ग्रापको ग्रांकड़े बतलाऊंगा कि जब रिजर्वेशन नहीं था, उस वक्त शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट का रिप्रैजन्टेशन सर्विसेज में क्या था। कल ही मेरे पास कुछ कागजात ग्राये हैं ग्रौर मेरे ख्याल से ये ग्रांकड़े ग्रापके सामने प्रस्तुत करना ग्रावण्यक हो गया भौर यह बतलाना आवश्यक हो गया है कि हमारे देश में जातीय भावना कितनी गहराई तक दवीं हुई है कि ग्रैड्यूल्ड कास्ट के नाम पर उसे नौकरी मिलना भी ग्रसंभव है।

इंडियन बैंक में 1972 में क्लास 1 ग्राफिसर्स 946 थे, जिनमें गैड्यूल्ड कास्ट के 1 भी नहीं, भैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज का एक भी नहीं। इंडियन ग्रोवरसीज बैंक में क्लास 1 ग्राफिसजं 899 थें, उनमें शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट का एक भी नहीं शेड्युल्ड ट्राइब्ज का एक भी नहीं । यूनाइटेड बैंक में 1315 ग्राफिसर्ज में से गड्यूल्ड कास्ट कें 3 ग्रीर गैड्युल्ड ट्राइब्ज का सिर्फ 1 है तथा देना बैंक में 1755 श्राफिसर्ज है जिनमें शेड्युल्ड कास्ट का एक भी नहीं। मुझे याद है जब तेलेंगाना की बात सदन में चल रही थी तो ग्रारोप ग्रौर प्रत्यारोप हो रहे थे कि हमारी राजधानी में हमको दूसरे दर्जे की नागरिकता का दर्जा दिया जा रहा है।

क्या शैडयुल्ड कास्ट के लोग यह समझें कि हम को इस देश के अन्दर दृश्मन नागरिक माना जा रहा है, देश की प्रास्पेरिटी में हम को कछ भी हिस्सा नहीं दिया जा रहा है। एसी बात है जिस पर गंभीरता से विचार होना भ्रावश्यक है। धारिया साहब जानते हैं कि महाराष्ट्र में दलित पैथर नाम की आर्गेनाइजेशन का निर्माण हुम्रा है जिसकी चर्चा सव तरफ है। वह मिलिटेंट आगेंनाइजेशन है। उनके आ**न्दोलन** में गोलियां चल रही हैं, खुनखच्चर हो रहा है। यह सब क्यों है ? महाराष्ट्र में संख्या के आधार पर लोकल रिजर्वेशन 13 फीसदी है। डा० बाबा

साहब अम्बेदकर के नेतृत्व में अधिकतर लोगों के बौध बनने के कारण महाराष्ट्र में रिजर्वेशन बहत कम हो गया है ग्रीर 6 परसेंट रिजर्वेशन रह गया है। बहुत से ग्रैज्युएट ग्रीर डबल ग्रैज्ययेट जो हर प्रकार की योग्यता रखते हैं, वे जातीय भावना के कारण नौकरियों में प्रवेश नहीं पाते हैं। अगर छान बीन की जाय तो मालुम होगा कि दलित पेंथर आर्गेनाइजेशन में सारे एज्यकेटेड, प्रशिक्षित और समझदार लोग हैं। उन्होंने देखा कि देश के अन्दर सरकार ने हम को स्कालरशिप दे कर के पढाया, लेकिन ग्राखिर में हमको नौकरी मिलना मुश्किल है। यह जो ग्रन्याय हो रहा है, उस पर गंभीरता से विचार करने की ग्रावश्यकता है।

मिर्घा साहब से मैं एक ग्रीर प्रार्थना करना चाहुंगा? 27 ६० प्रति माह जो स्कालरशिप मिलता है उसको बढ़ाने का फैसला किया गया है।

श्री मान सिंह वर्मा: अभी तो फैसला किया गया है।

श्री एन० एच० कुम्मारे: 27 रु० प्रति माह स्कालरशिप 1945 में दिया जाता था ग्रौर 1974 में 13 रु० बढ़ाया जा रहा है 🛭 क्या 40 ६० में गुजारा हो जायेगा ? इस लिए मैं यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि स्कालरिशप बढाने की जो बात है उसको कम से कम डबल कर देना चाहिए। ग्राप गरीबों के लिए सब कुछ करना चाहते हैं, तो मेरे इस सुझाव पर ग्राप को गंभीरता से विचार करना चाहिये इतना कह कर मैं समाप्त करता हूं।

SHRI SARDAR AM J AD ALI (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion moved by my senior colleague, Mr. Raju, and I take this opportunity to express my thankfulness to the hon'ble President for giving this very valuable Address to the Joint Session of Parliament.

Sir, I have tried to go through this entire speech of the President very carefully and I also tried to learn as to what is the

contention from amongst the observations made by my Opposition friends in this august House and my conclusion is this. I would have been rather happy to see that the Opposition are contented with what the President of this country through his Address before the Joint Session of the Houses has said. But probably the Opposition can never be contented. There is a holy saying in one of our holy books in this country that only the devil or the Satan can satisfy all the peoples of the world. Since our President is neither a devil nor a Satan, naturally we cannot expect that all the peoples and all the parties in this country will be satisfied.

So we feel content that the Opposition will never be satisfied with the speeches made by the honourable President. With rapt attention I was listening to the speeches of Opposition Members to find out what their objective is with regard to the crisis that this country is facing. There is no gainsaying the fact that this country is facing a serious crisis. The human rule should be that when there is a crisis, when there is a problem, all heads sit together, give their thoughts to the problem, in order to come out with a solution to the problem to the satisfaction of all. But this is a peculiar country where we find that at the time of a crisis, without being closet-ted together, without giving our thoughts as to how to overcome the problem, various parties feel that their objective is to denounce the ruling party in whatever language they can, denounce democracy in whatever way possible. That is why probably they exhibited certain activities on the opening day of this Session which were not definitely democratic. Their activities were far from being democratic. Democracy has certain rules, a certain modus operandi. My friend, Dr. Kurian, was showing his anger against my colleague. Dr. Sved Ahmed. Of course, we know violence was there. But when you take a step in the name of Constitution, when you participate in this august House in the name of Constitution, surely this is not the place where you can use or show violence. We know that you were very well organised to show violence. But my submission to such friends will be that violence has not paid dividends to them

violence has not shown any good results to them. Sir, I have gone through the entire Address from two angles. 1 tried to see whether the President's Address is lacking anywhere, and, if so, in what respects, and what is it that is causing pain to the people of this country. I find that all the major problems which are annoying the people today have been listed in the Address. There is reference to high prices; there is reference to power shortage, to coal shortage, to transport bottlenecks. There is agitation in the minds of the labour. The President has dealt with each and every point. Opposition friends might naturally say that it is not enough for the President to take a defence position while delivering an Address to Parliament. In all humility I submit that the President in his Address has suggested certain right measures. Those measures will have to be accepted, those processes wiH have to be implemented, by the Government in the light of experience they have gathered during the past years. The first submission that I want to make is that although there are many things which have been referred to by the President in his Address, there are yet certain other things which do not appear in the Address.

I find that unemployment is at present a problem all over the country agitating the minds of all the people. 1 would have been happy if there was some reference to it in the Presidential Address. Unfortunately there is no reference to it. Of course, I must submit that Government has taken certain measures in the form of speciaJ employment programmes and in the form of setting up small and medium industries all over the country. But the pace which is required to solve this problem throughout the country is not satisfactory. There fore, I would submit that while shaping up their future policies and programmes. Government should consider how rapidly this problem of unemployment can be. overcome.

With regard to certain other policies within the home front, I should submit that the attitude of the Government of India to monopoly and big business houses is not very welcome. I know that in certain fields of industries, public sector enterprises alone are not enough and others

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can in fact do better. And naturally the private sector will have to come in. But it has to be realised that after 27 years of our freedom we still find the balance of justice tilting in favour of this sector. The Government definitely will have to tilt the position of the balance in Ihe other direction. How is it that after 27 years, although we have set up our Monopoly Commission and although we have said that concentration of wealth and economic power in certain hands should not be allowed. Government had to add 27 more to the list of 73 big business houses'? The reasons for this will have to be gone into. While considering the Presidential Address, 1 would like to submit that Government will have to shape their future policies and programmes in such a way as to make the country more prosperous without allowing the country to remain in its present mood under which certain people accumulate wealth as they like whereas on the other hand the poor people get poorer and poorer day by day.

With regard to industrialisation of the country, while there is development, it is not upto people's expectation. In the small sector and in the medium sector we find there is difficulty for getting finances and raw materials. There are also imbalances in the matter of supply of raw materials. I should like to submit that while evolving their future programmes. Government will have to consider as to how small and medium sector industries can be better developed. The role of nationalised banks and public finance institutions also will have to be in a different mood. We find that today poor and small people do not get sufficient financial assistance and help from these institutions.

Then, why do the big people get it? That is because. Sir. the attitude of the officials and the attitude of the management and the attitude of the people who are occupying important positions in these financial institutions are not favourable towards the small and poor people, towards the small and poor entrepreneurs in this country. Therefore, I submit, Sir, that if we have to remove the inequalities in the country, we have to change and revamp the entire administration in a different way.

Sir, I must at this juncture confess that I cannot but lend my support to the Opposition charges of corruption all over the country. Sir, it is a rampant thing whiMi we face Sometimes, even we, being everywhere. Members of Parliament, go to the Parliament Railway Reservation Counter and we get our reservations there and we also get it confirmed over the telephone a day before we start on our journey. But, surprisingly. Sir, when we go to the station, we find that the reservation made for us and confirmed has been given to some other person. Some such thing is happening everywhere and the people are getting frustrated and they feel that they have to face corruption wherever they go. So far as the Government is concerned, corruption is not something which is an insurmountable thing. But it is an insurmountable thing so far as the people of the country are concerned. But action must be taken to root out corruption and it has to start somewhere. Of course, we have started in some areas. But, Sir, I cannot give my support to my senior colleague, Shri Bhupesh Gupta's remark that the Congress party and the Congress Ministries are totally vitiated by corruption and all the corrupt elements and corrupt people have assembled in this particular party. I should humbly say in reply to hirn that it is the Congress party which can remove a Minister if it senses that there is corruption and there is an instance ...

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : मालवीय जी से बढ़िया उदाहरण इसका क्या है ?

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: That we will see. Whatever you may say, you cannot prove certain charges and you cannot produce documentary proof or evidence before the House to substantiate the charges that you make. Sir, this is how the Opposition functions. I can say that if there are charges against our Ministers, if there are charges against our legislators, and if they are proved, we would welcome them from the Opposition. We have done it and we have established it. We have removed some Ministers from our own Ministries and we have done it by hauling up even legislators charged with corruption although they may be members of the Congress party. Sir, what I would like

to say now is about the role of the Opposition. Is this the role of the Opposition that the people desire in this country? Sir, in any crisis, the Opposition parties think pf joining together.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : गफर साहब का उदाहरए। नहीं देते ?

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: I have seen, Sir, that the Jana Sangh cannot sit side by side with Shri Niren Ghosh. But surprisingly. Sir. 1 have seen something else. I had been to

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: Sir, I had been to Orissa ...

and and the test were Orissa ...

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- SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: 1 have seen श्री उप सभापति : यादव जी बीच म मत बोलिए।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : बोलते वक्त याद दिलाना कभी कभी जरूरी हो जाता है।

श्री उपसभापति : आपको याद कराने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। उनको सब कुछ मालम है।

in Orissa. Sir, that the CPI(M) people are campaigning that Mr. Biren Mitra should be voted and so for Shri Biju Patnaik, the institution of corruption in the country.

BRAHMANANDA PANDA: Campaigning for the Swatantra party also.

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: The Marxist party is asking the people of this country to give their support to the Swatantra party, the institution of right reaction in this country and this is how the parties act.

Sir, we have heard in this august House that lending support to the Bangladesh movement is a wrong thing and we have heard in this House that giving our assent to the Simla Agreement is a wrong thing and we have also heard in this House that our close relationship with the Arab world is a wrong thing and, therefore, Sir, we are accustomed to listening to these futile

and baseless arguments here and are accustomed to hearing such unreasonable arguments in this House.

The Opposition works in this fashion. Now, I submit that the policies which have been pursued inside our own country and also in relation to our international affairs have proved definitely sound ones. We must, however, admit that there are many more things to be done. Somebody said that the Congress Party is a parly of tht kulaks. Some of my friends must know it that at least the present speaker is not the son of a kulak; still his father it a tailor weaving the clothes of other peopl*. My friend sitting here is a poor schoel teacher. I do not think that the Congres* Party is a party of the kulaks. Yes, thert are persons, there are elements inside the party. . (Interruptions). The Opposition parties cannot claim that

SHRI P1TAMBER DAS: Your own people inside the party charge you like that. Nobody else has done it. There are dogs in the caravan

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: Reply has been given in the rural areas. One-fifth of the total population of the countrj' has very recently gone to the polls. I had the opportunity to go there. Whenever we speak for the poor, naturally you should shout more. The rural people hav* given the reply: Yes. it is the Congress Party which fought for the liberation of the country, it is the Congress Party which is fighting against the rajas and maharajas, for whom the Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh and Congress(O) are pleading. It is the Congress Party which fought for the landless labourers. Of course, we admit that there are many more things to be done. Of course, we admit that the speed with which the progress of the country ought to have been there has not been as desired. But for that pitfall, definitely the ruling party or the Government alone is not responsible. The way in which you are moving in Gujarat, in Maharashtra and in some other places as you did in West Bengal by letting loose a region of terror and violence, definitely the problems cannot be overcome. We need peace inside. We need peace outside this courtry also. And that is the way in which this country is now moving. Sir, there are

{Shri Sardar Amjad Ali]

things with which the Opposition is dissatisfied. But the way the country is being led to by the Congress Party will definitely bring results which wiH be much more desirable for the entire people, and not the results desired by very few politicians *>f this country.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ruthnaswamy.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY aamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, 1 was not intending to take part in this debate which has proved to be so unreal as illustrated by the absence of Members even at the time of such an important debate. But I was provoked to take part in the debate not only by the fact that I will be the only member of my party to be present during the course of the debate but by the theory advanced by the Minister of Petroleum yesterday evening, as today afternoon, that the disturbance and revolt of the people in Gujarat against the Government was not a real revolt, was not a real revolution, because it was led by members of the bourgeoisie, the middle class, and by students. May I remind the Minister that all revolutions should have been led by members of the bourgeoisie, by middle class men? The French revolution was led by lawyers like Dante and Spear Robertspearre. And even the Bolshevik revolution was organized by middle class people.

Lenin was a bourgeois of the bourgeoisie. He was an intellectual, the son of an official of the Czarist Government. He was an intellectual and a journalist. He did not belong to the working class. So also was Trotsky. Even in our own country, the communist leaders are not the sons of the soil. You have only to shake hands with a communist Member to know that his hands are as soft as that of a woman. They do not belong to the working class. How can anyone say that the revolution in Gujarat is not a real revolution because it was led by members of the middle class?

I have little to say so far as the President's Address is concerned. Much has been said on both sides. But the unreality of the debate was proved to me by the reaction of the Government benches to

formidable indictment against Government not only by emotional, utterances, but by speeches like that of Mr. Goray, sober, enlightened but nonetheless devastating. To this indictment, all that the Members of the Government benches could say was to repeat the stereotyped arguments; for instance, rise in prices is not peculiar to India; it is a global phenomenon; that inflation is nothing unusual in India, it has spread all over the world. But they seem to forget that the Governments of those countries have tried to deal with these phenomena family. There was the conservative government of Mr. Heath which fought a battle with the trade unions for their contribution to the inflation of prices and they have gone to the country on this issue, i.e. the peopio versus the trade unions. The question was whether the trade unions were going to hold the people of England to ranson in a very difficult period of their history. One of the members of the ruling party yesterday afternoon who was exercising his lungs at the expense of our ears, asked a number of rhetorical questions. Was not the democratic experiment in India much more successful than in ether countries? Has not India under the present Government kept the peace of the world while the other governments are driving the world towards war? Has not our Government solved the problem of unemployment whereas other countries have been baffled by it? These were rhetorical questions which require no answer from anybody. Therefore, Sir. I have very little to say about the President's Address itself. But I must say one thing. I must sympathise with the President for all the criticism that has been delivered against him and which has been showered on his head as if he was the maker of this Address. It is a convention which we have taken from the English practice. The Queen's Address should be imitated by the President's Address here. They had a historical reason for it. The Parliament arose from the Privy Council of the King of England and just as the King of England used to address the Privy Council throughout the English history, the sovereign's address began the session of Parliament. We had no such excuse here. We have simply copied this practice from

the English. Under the convention that has been practised ever since the Constitution was drafted and put into effect, the President is the constitutional head of the Government.

So, the President's Address is the Government's Address. It is a document putting forth the future policy, the future programme of ithe Government for the year. So, it is the Government that should be criticised, it is the Government that should be indicated and not the poor President who was not responsible for one comma or one full stop in that Address. So, Sir, the debate has gone on with usual arguments on both sides but we are where near to solution of our problems, whether of reducing the inflation or reducing the prices of fighting the inflation. It is for the Government to reduce expenditure on administration and on those prestigious policies and programmes which will take years to bring cut their economic effect. The Government have done nothing to increase the employment potential and millions of people still go unemployed and under-employed. making of village roads, sinking of wells, construction of village houses and modernization of village industries would increase the employment potential in country. But the Government has done nothing in these directions. Instead of that, they are spending crores of rupees on these prestigious projects. And the new Economic Treaty with Russia lays still more emphasis on this misdirection policies and programmes of the Government. Russia is an industrially very advanced country and, therefore, they believe in these high prestigious projects, heavy industries, heavy electricals and so on. And the Economic Treaty with Russia will not strengthen the Government in this unfortunate direction which their industrial policy has taken. So, the Government have done nothing and will do nothing as long as they stick to the present policies and plans. And so, this debate has proved to us unfruitful though one wonders why one is so persistent in continuing it. I hope the country will take notice of all the criticisms and indictments that have been built up by the Opposition and will treat the Government as it ought to be treated

श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मसाफिर (पंजाब)! डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब, राष्ट्रपति जी श्रिभाषण को मैंने गौर से सूना और गौर से पढा। उन लोगों के साथ मेरा इत्तिफाक नहीं है जो यह कहते हैं कि इस भाषण में कुछ नहीं है। जिन्होंने सिर्फ इतना कह दिया है कि इस भाषण में कुछ नहीं है, मेरा ख्याल है कि उन्होंने या तो गौर से भाषण को सूना नहीं या गौर से पढ़ानहीं। इस मौके पर यह कहना कि इस भाषण में कुछ नहीं है, ऐसा ही है जैसा कि हाकी के मैच में खेलते खेलते बजाय स्टिक को बाल पर लगाने के किसी अच्छे प्लेयर की टांग पर मार देने श्रीर फाउल प्ले के समान है। श्रसल में सवाल पर न श्राना श्रौर दूसरी तरफ चले जाना जैसे कि मैंने हाकी के मैच की मिसाल दी है ठीक नहीं है। ग्रसल में खिलाड़ी का काम यह है कि वह अपनी गेंद के साथ खेले. कोशिश करे दूसरी पार्टी पर गोल करने की, न कि वह असली सवाल को ही छोड़ दे और लोगों की तवज्जह दूसरी तरफ खींच ले जाए ।

इस एड्रेस के जो 40 पैराम्राफ हैं उनमें दोनों तरफ खास तौर से ध्यान दिया गया है। पहले बीस पैराम्राफ जो हैं उनमें जो इंटरनल सिच्युएशन है उस पर पूरा-पूरा गौर किया गया है। बाकी 21 से लेकर 38 तक जो पराम्राफ हैं उन में इंटरनेशनल सिच्युएशन पर, नीति पर, बड़े अच्छे तरीके से बहस की गई, रहनुमाई दी गई है।

इस वक्त जो महंगाई का सवाल है वह देश में हर एक की जबान पर है और उस पर सारे हीं मुत्तफिक हैं। राष्ट्रपति ने अपने ऐड्रेस में सबसे पहले पैराग्राफ में इस बात का जिक किया है। इस से जाहिर होता है कि डाक्टर ने मर्ज को ठीक पहचान लिया है। नब्ज पर हाथ रख कर के अगर डाक्टर ने क मर्ज को ठीक पहचान लिया है और दबाई की तलाश है, तो जाहिर है कि दवाई की तलाश भी अच्छी होगी। इस ऐड्रेस के जो बाकी पैरा-ाफ हैं उनमें इसके कारण बताये गये हैं और [श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर]

उनकी वजाहत अच्छी तरह से की गई है। इस वक्त तक इस हाउस में जितनी भी तकरीरें हुई हैं उनमें किसी ने जो चीजें बताई है जो वाकयात बताये गये हैं, जो रीजन बतायें गये हैं, उनको चैलेंज नहीं किया है। जो तरक्की की बातें हुई हैं, जिन की फीगसं राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने ऐड़ेस में धी है

उनको भी किसी ने चैलेंज नहीं किया है कि, यह गलत है। मैं समझता हूं कि ''ग्रल खामोशी नीम रजा'' मान लिया गया है कि जो राष्ट्रपति जी का कहना है वह बिल्कुल ठीक है।

जैसा कि मैंने कहा कि तीन बातें जरूरी हैं किसी सरकार के लिए। ग्रपने देश के कल्याण के बास्ते पहली बात है देश के लोगों का ख्याल। दूसरी वात है देश की रक्षा या राष्ट्रीय मजवृती । तीसरी वात है देश की साख या रेप्यटेशन । इन तीनों बातों का ख्याल कर के हमें देखना है कि मौजूदा सरकार जिन के हाथ में इस वक्त बागडोर है, उन्होंने क्या कछ किया है। यह महंगाई का सवाल इस वक्त जरूर हमारे सामने है। राष्ट्रपति महोदय हमेशा मजदरों में काम करते रहे हैं। इसलिए उन्होंने ग्रपील की है, उन्होंने इस बात को माना है कि इस वक्त अगर मंहगोई दूर हो सकती है तो उसका सिर्फ एक ही जरिया है किहर पहलुमें प्रोडक्शन को बढ़ाया जायें। प्रोडक्शन को बढ़ाये वगैर हमारी महंगाई दूर नहीं हो सकती। राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि अनाज का प्रोडक्शन बढ़ना चाहिये, इंडस्ट्रीज का प्रोडक्शन बढ़ना चाहिये, बल्कि उन्होंने एक्सपोर्ट के मामले में यह तसल्ली भी जाहिर की है कि उसमें हमारा मुनाफा इन्क्रीज हुआ है। इसमें सरकार की तवज्जह इस तरफ दिलाऊंगा कि जो प्राविसेज अनाज पदा कर सकते हैं उनकी तरफ ज्यादा ख्याल रखा जाये ताकि वे प्रोडक्शन की तरफ ज्यादा अच्छी तरह से और सहलियत के साथ ध्यान दे सकें।

जब मैं यह जिक करता हूं तो मेरे सामने जिस सुबे से मैं आता हूं, पंजाब का

ख्याल बा जाता है। पंजाब का सूबा किसी वक्त एक बहुत बड़ा विशाल पंजाब ॰था दरें खैबर से, पेशावर से ले कर गुड़गांव तक का पंजाब था। पोलिटिकल मसलहतें आयीं ग्रीर इसको बांटा गया पार्टिशन में इसके दो मल्क हो गये, एक पाकिस्तान बना और एक वैस्ट पंजाब हो गया ग्रीर एक ईस्ट पंजाब हो गया फिर ईस्ट पंजाब के भी कई हिस्से वन गये। वावजद इस के कि ग्रव पंजाब एक छोटा सा पंजाब रह गया है, मगर फिर भी. इस छोटे से पंजाब में भी अनाज पैदा करने में इतनी कोशिश की गयी है कि इस वक्त सरकार भी इस बात को मानती है और प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी इस बात को तस्लीम किया है कि पंजाब ने अनाज के मामले में सारे देश की मदद की है ग्रीर उन्होंने सारे देश को ग्रनाज पहुंचाया है। तो इस लिए मैं दरख्वास्त करूंगा सरकार से कि इस महंगाई का ग्रगर एक इलाज ज्यादा प्रोडक्शन है तो उसके लिए जो लोग ज्यादा अनाज पदा कर सकते हैं उन को सहलियतें दी जायें। पंजाब को खाद के मामले में सहलियत दी जाये, पंजाब के लिए दैक्टर्स वगैरह देने में सहलियत दी जाए, पंजाब के किसान को कर्ज के लिये सह-लियत दी जाय और इस तरह से पंजाब के लोगों की मदददी जाय और जब मैं पंजाब की वात करता हं तो यह कोई प्राविशियलिज्म की वजह से नहीं करता। मैं तो देश के लिए पंजाब की बात करता हुं और अगर वह देश के लिए अनाज पैदा करने में समर्थ हो सकता है तो उसमें उसकी ज्यादा मदद की जाय क्योंकि इस वक्त पंजाब में भी एक स्टेबिल गवर्नमैंट है। वह वहां ज्यादा काम कर सकती है। जब ग्रेन ट्रेड को ग्रपने हाथ में लेने का सवाल था तो पंजाब ने वहत कोशिश की मगर वह भी जो थोड़ी बहुत कमी रह गयी है वह इसी वजह से रह गयी कि म्रापोजीशन पार्टीज ने एक ऐसा तरीका अख्तियार किया कि जिस से उस में कमी हुई और जो वहां इस काम में कमी रही उस की वजह यही है। तो मैं बड़े

ग्रदक से यह दरख्वास्त करता हं सरकार की सेवा में भी और घापोजीशन पार्टीज की सेवा में भी कि जहां देश के मुश्तरका मफाद का सवाल है वहां हमें मिल कर ही काम करना चाहिए और हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी इस सिलसिले में रहनमाई की है। मैं देखता हं कि जब भी देश में बड़े बड़े सवाल ग्राये हैं, हमारी प्रवान **मंत्री** इन्दिरा गांधी जी ने ग्रापो जीशन वालों को बला कैर उन के साथ बात कर के उन से मशविरा किया है जो जो मसले आये हैं जरूरी उन में हर एक के बारे में उन से बात की है, उन की दलीलों को सुना है, उन की बॉलों को सुना है स्रौर उस के बाद उन्होंने अपना फैसला दिया है। मेरा ख्याल है कि मेरे साथ आपोजीशन वाले भाई भी इस बात में इत्तफाक करेंगे कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने इस मामले में जरूर खास एहतियात रखा है कि वह देश के कामों में ग्रापोजीशन को साथ में ले कर चलीं है, उन्होंने उस को साथ मे लैकर ही कोई कदम बढ़ाया है ग्रौर मैं यह भी मानता हं कि कई बड़े कामों में आपोजीशन ने उन का साथ दिया है। मगर जहां जहां ग्रापोजीशन ने मुखालिफत की है वहां उस से थोड़ा बहुत नकसान भी हुआ है। इसलिए मैं दरम्यान की बात करता है। जब तक हम मिल कर देश के कल्याण के लिए कोई काम नहीं करेंगे उस वक्त तक हमारा मंजिले मकसुद तक पहुंचना बढ़ा मश्किल है। यह तो है देश की अन्दरूनी बात। दूसरी बात मैंने ग्रजें की थी देश की रक्षा की। स्राप देख सकते हैं कि देश की रक्षा का सवाल जो है वह सिफं ग्राज का नहीं है बल्कि जब हमारा देश आजाद हुआ, देश को दो हिस्सों में जब बांट दिया गया, पाकिस्तान वन गया, उस वक्त पडित जवाहरलाल जी हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर बने तो उनके सामने भी इसी किस्म की प्राब्लम थी । जिस तरह की आज बैचेनी नजर श्राती है, महंगाई के सिलसिले में, और कई वातों के सिलसिले में उस वक्त भी जब कि देश तकसीम हमा और बहुत से लोग बंगाल और पंजाब से उजड़ कर हिन्द्स्तान में ग्राए, इस प्रकार की प्राब्लम उनके सामने थी। पाकिस्तान में ऐसी वातें होती थीः जिनकी वजह से हमारे लोग दृ:खी होते थे। उस बक्त पंडित जवाहरलाल जी ने सोचा कि इनको वहाल करना भी जरूरी है। जो लोग उजड़ कर ग्राये उन्होंने सोचा देश की रक्षा का सवाल है ग्रीर रक्षा के लिए उन्होंने सबसे पहले यह बात सोची कि दूसरे मुल्कों के साथ मेल-मिलाप करना बड़ा जरूरी है। जिल्ला का खयाल सिर्फ एक छोटा सा पाकिस्तान लेने का नहीं था बल्कि पैन-इस्लामिक का एक खया या । पैन-इस्लामिक का नाम होने से एतराज नहीं, मगर उसकी तह में यह बात थी कि इस्लामिक कंटरीज इकटठे होकर एक शरई हुकुमत कायम की जाए। पंडित जवाहर लाल जी के रवैये ने जिन्ना के स्वाब की ताबीर नहीं होने दी। उन्होंने इस्लामिक कटरीज को सफलता पूर्वक अपने साथ मिलाने की कोणिण की । इमारे जो पराते साठ मैम्बर है, मेरा खयाल है उनमें से महाबीर जी यहां बैठे हैं और भी शायद इनमें से पराने मैम्बर रहे होंगे, अफगानिस्तान के प्राइम मिनिस्ट एक दफा दिल्ली में आए तो यहां सैन्ट्रल हाल में उन्होंने एक तकरीर की। मुझे ग्रव तक याद है, उन्होंने अपनी तकरीर में कहा था कि जवाहरलाल जी के साथ हाथ मिला कर मुझे सहानी खुशी होती है. यह बात भी मुझे या है। जब वह तकरीर करके हटें। तो बहुत से पालियामेंट के मैम्बर उनके गिर्द जमा हो गए। हमारे बहुत पुराने मैम्बर बाब राम नारायण सिंह, बिहार के थे, उन्होंने कहा कि मैं ग्रापसे सवाल पृष्ठना चाहता हूं कि जवाहरलाल जी के साथ हाथ मिलाकर ग्रापको क्यों स्हाती खशी होती है.तो उन्होंने एक फिकरे में जवाब दिया कि जवाहरलाल जी एक ऐसे मुक्क के प्राइम मिनिस्टर हैं, जो मुल्क न किसी से डरता है और न किसी को डराता है, इसलिए मझे जवाहर लाल जी के साथ हाथ मिला कर स्हानी खुशी होती है एडेस में जब मैंने पैरा 26 से 36 पढ़ा, जिसमें ग्रफगानिस्तान और दुसरी कंटरीज के साथ ग्रच्छे सल्क होने की बात है तो मुझे वह पुरानी बात याद ग्रागई।

[श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर]

जवाहरलाल जी ने जो मेल-मिलाप और दूसरे मुल्कों के साथ अच्छे ताल्लुकात की रवायत पैदा की, वह कायम रहेगी। हमें, अपने देश की जो साख बनी हुई है उसको कायम रखना है। आज अगर देश की रक्षा के लिए हमारी इज्जत हुई, आज अगर बंगला देश के मामले में हमें फतहयाबी हुई, 65 का जंग अगर हमने जीता तो वह हमारी प्रेस्टेज सारी दुनिया में बनी।

द्निया की नजर हमारी तरफ हो गई। रोज जब हम बाहर निकल कर देखते हैं, तो द्सरे मुल्कों के झंडे हम अपनी सड़कों पर देखते हैं, यानी कोई न कोई वड़ा ग्राइमी दूसरे मुल्क का-वजीर ग्राजम हो या वजीर हो या और कोई प्रेसीईंट हो-हमारे देश में आया हुआ होता है और वह सिर्फ इसलिए, हमारे अच्छे सल्क की वजह से और हमारी साख की वजह से वह हिन्द्स्तान में ब्राता है। तो यह साख ग्रौर रेपुटेशन जो है वह किसो देश की इञ्जल का बायस होती है। तो हम इस तरफ खयाल न करके, सिर्फ एक बात पर अपना रोष प्रगट कर रहे हैं, रंज प्रकट कर रहे हैं और हमेशा हम बदनामी की जो साइड है उसी को लेते हैं और हम यह देखते नहीं कि इस अरसे में कितना कुछ काम हुआ है और इस सिलसिले में हमने क्या कुछ काम किया है। क्या ग्राज इस बात को कोई चैंलेंज कर सकता है कि जो बंगला देश के प्राइम मिनिस्टर शेख मुजीवुर रहमान को इस्लामिक मुल्कों के प्रतिनिधि खुद बंगला देश में जांकर उन्हें बात करने के लिए लाहौर तक लेकर आते हैं और बंगला देश को तमलीम करते हैं, इसमें हिन्दुस्तान का कोई हिम्सा नहीं है ? क्या इसमें इन्दिरा गांधो का काबालयत, उनकी दढ़ता ग्रौर उनकी फँसला-कुन शक्ति का कोई दखल नहीं हैं ? क्या आप इस बात का तसनीम नहीं करेंगे कि उन्होंने दृढ़ता से, कावलियत और फैसला-कृत शक्ति से देश की रहनुमाई की, जिससे देश का सिर ऊंचा हुआ और दुनिया में हमारी इज्जत बनी । ग्राज यह ठीक है, मैं इस बात को मानता हं, हमें देश की जो ग्रंदरूनी हालत है उसे ठीक

करना चाहिए, देश में जो किमयां हैं-जैसा राष्ट्रपति जी ने माना है—उनको दूर करना चाहिए, उनका इलाज सोचना चाहिए। उनके इलाज को सोचने में सबको मिल कर मदद करनी चाहिए, मगर इस बात को नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि ग्राज हिन्दुस्तान की साख और हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा का जो सवाल है वह ग्रगर तसस्ली के साथ हल हो चुका है तो यह हमारी इस सरकार ने इंदिरा जी की रहनुमाई में जो कुछ किया है उसकी बरकत है जिसकी वजह से हम सुर्खंक है ग्राँर हम सरकराज है।

एक बात में अपने अपोजीशन वाले भाइयों से वड़ी अदब के साथ दरख्वास्त करूंगा कि अगर हम अपने देश की एक खूबसूरत बाग से उपमा दें, तो पता है आपको कि बाग में सिफं फूल ही नहीं होते, बाग में कांटे भी होते हैं।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : बाग तो सूखा पड़ा है।

श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर : मुझे एक शेर याद श्राता है :

> ''गुलशन परस्त हूं मुझे गुल ही नहीं अजीज काटों से भी निबाह किए जा रहा हूं मैं"

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : इस उम्र में भी।

श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर : इंदिरा गांधी अगर एक फूल की तरह अपनी काबलियत की खुशबू देश को दे रही है तो वह कांटे की नोक पर भी बैठी हुई है — कांटे की नोक पर बैठ कर वह हंस रही है, और वह खुशबू दे रही है अपनी लियाकत का और अपनी काबलियत का—देश को । इसलिए मेरे भाई कांटा बेशक बनें मगुर बुभने वाला कांटा न बनें, हिफाजत करने वाला कांटा वनें। कांटा हिफाजत भी करता है, चुभता भी है: इसलिए आप हिफाजन वाला जो रिश्ता है वह अदा करें, तो बेलकम है

श्रीपीताम्बर दासः एक शेरमैं भी श्रर्जं करदूं: "ऐसे हादसे भी हुए हैं बहार में छुपना पड़ा गुलों को जब दामने ख़ारमै।"

श्री गुरुम्ख सिंह म्साफिर : ठीक है। ग्रापके जवाब में मुझे ग़ालिब का एक शेर याद ग्राया : "ग़ालिब बरा न मानिये जो जाहिद बरा कहे ऐसा भी कोई है सब ग्रन्छा कहें जिसे ?" कांटे भी हम समेटेंगे गलशन के बागबां हम वो नहीं कि फल चने और चल दिये। इसलिए मेरी आप सब लोगों से ग्राखिरी यह दरख्वास्त है कि इस समय हमें देश में एकता बनाए रखने की जरूरत है। इस चीज के बारे में मैंने याप लोगों के सामने इजहार भी किया है ग्रीर में बिलाखौफ तरदीद यह भी करता हं कि इंदिरा गांधी, प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने, जितनी अपोजीशन की राय की कद्र की है, उतनी किसी ने नहीं की है। उन्होंने अपोजीशन को अपने साथ मिलाकर चलने की कोशिश की है। इस बात से कोई इन्कार नहीं कर सकता है कि उन्होंने हर मामले में उन से सलाह ली है जिसकी वजह से कई बार उनके साथी तक नाराज हो गये। इसलिए में यही कहना चाहता हूं कि बजाय इसके कि वह कांटों की मिसाल मैने अभी आपके सामने दी, हमें उन कांटों की भी हिफाजत का रोल श्रदा करना चाहिये।

एक बात में ग्रीर ग्रर्ज करना चाहता हं ग्रीर जिस को मैं समझता हूं राष्ट्रपति जी के एडेस में कहने से रह गई है ग्रौर जो ग्राज देश के लिए बहुत जरूरी है। हमारा जो देश है, वह एक बड़ा विशाल देश है, जिसमें कदम कदम पर जवान बदलती है, लिबास बदलता है, रहन सहनका ढंग बदलता है, इलाके बदलते हैं, घाबोहवा बदल जाती है, भ्रकीदा बदल जाता है, मजहब बदल जाता है, लेकिन फिर भी यह देश बहुत विशाल है और हम सब लोगों को इसी देश में एक साथ रहना है। ज्रलाहिदा अकीदा रखते हए भी. ग्रलाहिदा जवान रखते हुए भी, अलाहिदा मजहब रखते हए भी हम सब जोगों को बतौर एक हिन्दस्तानी के यहां पर रहना है। फिर भी कभी कभी लैंग्वेज की बिना पर, कभी मजहब की बिना पर, कभी इलाके की बिना पर झगड़े होते रहते हैं। इस चीज को

दर करने के लिए एक मस्तकिल इलाज हमारी सरकार को जरूर सोचना चाहिये और करना चाहिये। ऐसे लोग जो मजहब के बिना पर झगडा पैदा करवाते हैं, दरग्रसल वे मजहब के बारे में नहीं जानते हैं और जो जवान के बारे में झगड़ा पैदा कराते हैं, उनमें जवान की कोई बात नही है। भझे पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की बात याद है कि वह हमेशा विका कमेटी में कहा करते थे ग्रगर देश को लिम्बिस्टिक बैसिस पर तकसीम किया गया तो फिर मुल्क में कई इज्म पैदा हो जायेंगे थीर फिर इन इज्मों से हमारे लिए मश्किल हो जायेगी । इसलिए मैं यह दरश्वास्त करता हं कि इस इज्म को रोकने के लिए सरकार कोशिश कर रही है और एक कमेटी भी बनाई है, लेकिन मैं फिर पूरे तौर से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि होम-डिपार्टमेंट को इस बात की ग्रोर देखना चाहिये क्यों-कि यह हमारे देश की यक जहती का सवाल है और इसको बहुत ग्रच्छी तरह से हल करना चाहिये।

इन अलफाज के साथ, जो मोशन पेश किया गया है, इसकी मैं ताइद करता हूं और डिप्टी चेयर मैन साहब से माफी मांगता हूं कि जो मैंने एक दो मिनट ज्यादा ले लिये हैं।

THE BUDGET (RAILWAYS) 1974-75

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN IHE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI MOHD. SHAFI QURESHI). Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement (in English and Hindi) of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the year 1974-75 in respect of Railways.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESI-DENT'S ADDRESS-contd.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, we continue with the discussion. Mr. Yadav, you will take only five minutes please.