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 made 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. 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 Miniister 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 constituencies.

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. 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 will 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. In Public 16 (12): 3736

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.

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 quoting.

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?

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[Shri Dwijendralal Son 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 roity; 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 rings).

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

Maharashtra, Rajasthan, U. P., Bihar and Bengal, you will say that it was an act of this Party or that Party. But you do 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 apathetic 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 the 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 favour, to our credit, was 164.6 croies. Imports have gone down considerably. Now, to offset an increase in oil prices varying from 500 to 1,000 crores of rupees, we have launched an intensive scheme of enhancing exports to the Middle East counitries, 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 you 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 will 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 year.

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 shown a definite tendency towards 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 cent. But when they condemn Government and its public undertakings, they forget the fact that it is really public undertakings which are showing signs of progress and it is the private undertakings which are showing the signs of stagnation and decline.

May I now turn to the foreign policy achievements of the Government? 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 u

#### [Dr. V. A. Seyid Muhammed]

friendly towards India. But the 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 tremendous alchievements, comparable to the achievements of any country in the world. There has been nο sensational achievement in the sense that there has been a war or something like that. It is not usual to have more flamboyant 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 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

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. . .

SHRI 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 MUHAMMAD: 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. I 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. I have very personal regard for him. I know his sacrifices. I am convinced of his sincerity to the cause. I am convinced of his lovalty to the which he is holding very dear to heart. That is a different matter. But 1 should like him to consider one Whom was he supporting? He was supporting the anti-Congress or the antigovernmental movements in various States. particularly in Gujarat. Yesterday, 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 hourgeois, petty bourgeois, the lumpen protetariat. are supporting just for the sake of supporting it, and opposing the Congress. They 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 things? 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. RAJU: They 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? They 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...

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 KURIAN: If he continues to refer to our party I will have to interrupt him.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You 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: 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 existing 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. They have not even any hope of getting into power and they have become frustrated, So it is have become Nihilists. 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. I support the motion.

Thank you very much.

श्री एन० एच० कुम्भारे (महाराष्ट्र): डिप्टी चैयरमैन 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 श्रीर 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 वस्तुश्रों के श्रभाव के कारण श्रीर श्रधिक महंगाई के कारण एक नई परिस्थिति का निर्माण हो गया है श्रीर इसके कारण देश के गरीव श्रादमी श्रधिक मृश्किल में श्रा गये हैं। इसमें किसी को सदेह नहीं होना चाहिये कि इस स्थिति के कारण देश की गरीव जनता मृश्किल में श्रा गई है इसका जिक राष्ट्रपित जी ने श्रपने श्रभभाषण में भी किया है। किन्तु दुर्भाग्य की बात यह है कि राष्ट्रपित जी के श्रभभाषण में गरीव जनता की मृश्किलों को दूर करने की दृष्टि से कोई उपाय या योजना नहीं वतलाई गई है श्रीर न कोई रास्ता ही श्रपनाया जा रहा है। राष्ट्रपित जी के श्रभभाषण में इस बारे में कोई भी चर्चा नहीं है।

1960 के स्रांकड़ों के स्राधार पर मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि देण में 33 फीसदी श्रादमी विलो पावर्टी लाइन थे। उसके पश्चात् दस साल कें बाद फिर सर्वे किया गया तो यह संख्या बढ़ गई श्रौर 1970 में पावर्टी लाइन से नीचे वाले व्यक्ति की संख्या 40 फीसदी हो गई। श्रभी जिस रफ्तार से महगाई बढ़ रही है, उसे देखते हुए मुझे लगता है कि यह संख्या 50 फीसदी पर ग्रा गई होगी। सवाल यह है कि गरीब ग्रादमी जो ग्राज की स्थित में पीसा जा रहा है उसको राहर्त देने के लिए कोई विचार किया जा रहा है या नहीं किया जा रहा है। थोडी खोज करने के वाद पता चल जायगा कि गरीब कौन है। एक तो वह गरीब है जो काम करता है, मगर काम करने के बाद भी उस को न्यायपुर्ण 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 मजदूरी 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 नसीब नहीं होता है। हमारे सामने एक सवाल है कि क्या ग्राज हम में इतनी भी ताकत नहीं है कि एक ग्रादमी को उसकी मेहनत का न्यायपूर्ण वेतन देने का प्रबन्ध करें। 🧸

हमारे यहां कई दिन से चर्चा चल रही है। वेज पौलिसी तय की जा रही है। स्रार्गेनाइज्ड संकटर अपनी ताकत के बलब्ते पर और दबाव डालकर ग्रपने 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 अधिक न दिया जाय । लेकिन यह मेरी समझ में नहीं स्नाता कि सरकार के सामने ऐसी कौन सी ग्रडचन थी जिसके कारण जो ग्रनग्रा-र्गेनाइज्ड सेक्टर है, जो स्रसंगठित है, जो स्रशिक्षित है, जो बैकवर्ड है उनको न्यायपूर्ण वेतन दिलाने की व्यवस्था नही हो पाती । मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि अगर गरीबी हटानी है, और अगर हमारी प्लानिग ग्रास-रूट प्लानिग है तो उस ग्रास-रूट प्लानिंग की दृष्टि से ग्रापने कौन से कदम उठाए हैं ? मैं समझता हूं कि आजादी के 25 साल के बाद भी हम नीचे काम करने वाले आदमी को न्यायपूर्ण वेतन नहीं दे पाए हैं 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 नही ग्राता।

ें यहां कहा गया कि पे कमीशन ने नीड बेस्ड मिनिमम वेज को क्वान्टीफाई कर दिया है। जबै हम सामाजिक न्याय की बात करते हैं तो हर काम करने वाले ग्रादमी को उसका न्यायपर्ण 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 स्राप 250 रुपया देते हैं तो हर मजदर को 250 रुपया दिया जाय । मेरा तो कहना यह है कि जाने दीजिए 250 रुपया, ब्राज की मंहगाई का मुकाबला करने के लिए एक मजदर को कम सेकम 6 रुपया तो दीजिए। इसलिए ऐसा मेरा सझाव है श्रौर मैं उम्मीद करता हं कि समय ग्रा 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 मे काम करे, चाहे दकान में काम करे या फैक्टरी में काम करे, उसको एक स्टेच्युटरी 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।

पृत्वे वेज पालिसी के लिए शायद श्रापन कमेटी भी नियुक्त की होगी, उसकी एक हजार पेज की रिपोर्ट भी ग्रायेगी, उसके श्राप छः महीने, एक साल स्टडी करने मे खर्च करेंगे, वह जाने दीजिए । मैं गरीबो के नाम पर, मजदुरों के नाम पर कहना चाहता हूं कि जो ग्रसंगठित मजदूर हैं उनको इतना तो सामाजिक न्याय दीजिए कि उनके लिए ग्राप राष्ट्रीय वेतन श्रेणी निर्धारित करें। इससे प्रोटेक्शन हो जाएगा । उसकी उनको ज़रूरत है। धारिया साहब बैठे है, महाराष्ट् में पागे कमेटी ने भी रिपोर्ट दी तथा खेत में करने वाले मजदूरों के एक किमान वेतन निर्धारित हुग्रा । महाराष्ट् सरकार ने एक कदम उठाया है । मेरा कहना यह है कि कही पर भी मजदूर काम करे,

उसका वेतन निर्धारित करना श्रावश्यक है ग्रौर गरीवी हटाने के लिए एक महान कदम उठाना ग्रावश्यक है।

मैं इस सुझाव को रखने के बाद दुसंरी बात पर म्राता हं ग्रौर वह यह कि दुर्भाग्य से इस श्रभिभाषण में शेंड्युल्ड कास्ट ग्रौर गेंडयल्ड ट्राइब्ज के विषय में कुछ भी नहीं कहा गया है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, ग्राप इस बात को जानते हैं कि कुछ दिनों से इस अछत माने जाने वाले लोगों पर कितने श्रत्याचार हुए है। सदन में श्रांकड़े प्रस्तृत हुए हैं। इन श्रांकड़ों सें पता लगता है कि सैकडों नहीं हजारों की तादाद में गांवों में ग्रछूत माने जाने लोगो के मर्डर किये गये ह, खुन किये है। उनके प्रोटेक्शन के लिए क्या इंतजाम रहा है ? मेरे ख्याल से यह स्रावश्यक है कि एक अछ्त आदमी अन्याय का शिकार जाता है, उसका घर जलाया जाता है बेचारा बरबाद हो जाता है क्योंकि वह पहले ही गरीब रहता है ग्रगर घर का कमाई करने वाला ग्रादमी मारा जाता है तो उसके बांल-वच्चे बेसहारा हो जाते हैं। इस दिशा में मेरा एक सुझाव है कि कम से कम जैसे आप लोग रेलवे में मरने वालों को 50 हजार ६५५%। कंप-सेशन दे रहे हैं, हवाई जहाज में मरने वाले के लिए ग्रापने एक लाख का इंतजाम किया है, मेरे ख्याल से जो ऋछ्त जातीय भेदभावना का शिकार हम्रा है उसके लिए तो कुछ इंतजाम कीजिए। क्या यह सामाजिक न्याय का तकाजा नही है कि गांवों में श्रष्ठत के नाम पर जिन पर ग्रनेक सालो से ग्रत्याचार हो रहा है, जिनका खून हो रहा है, उनकी भरपाई के लिए इतना भी इंतजाम सरकार नहीं कर सकती? मेरा सुझाव यह है कि इस तरह जातीयता से नुकसान पाने वाले लोगों के लिए कुछ इंतजाम करना ग्रावश्यक है।

तीसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा ग्रौर यह मेरा ग्रनुभव भी है कि—मिर्धा साहव यहां बैठे हुए हैं, वह भी सुनेंगे–यह ग्रच्छी बात है

[श्री एन० एच० कुम्मारे] नहीं कि, ग्रैंड्यूल्ड कास्ट श्रीर ग्रैंड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लिए नौकरी में श्रारक्षण रखा है । ग्रैंड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लिए 15 परसेंट श्रीर ग्रैंड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लिए साड़े सात फीसदी । किन्तु में श्रापको श्रांकड़े बतलाऊंगा कि जब रिजवंशन नहीं था, उस वक्त ग्रैंड्यूल्ड कास्ट का रिग्नैंजन्टेशन सर्विसेज में क्या था । कल ही मेरे पास कुछ कागजात श्राये हैं श्रीर मेरे ख्याल से ये श्रांकड़े श्रापक सामने प्रस्तुत करना श्रावश्यक हो गया श्रीर यह बतलाना श्रावश्यक हो गया है कि हमारे देश में जातीय भावना कितनी गहराई तक दबी हुई है कि ग्रैंड्यूल्ड कास्ट के नाम पर उसे नौकरी मिलना भी श्रसंभव है।

इंडियन बैंक में 1972 में क्लास 1 माफिसर्स 946 थे, जिनमें ग्रैंड्यूल्ड कास्ट के 1 भी नहीं, ग्रैंड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज का एक भी नहीं। इंडियन स्रोवरसीज बैंक में क्लास 1 स्राफिसर्ज 899 थें, उनमें ग्रैंड्यूल्ड कास्ट का एक भी नहीं शेंड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज का एक भी नहीं । यूनाइटेड बैंक में 1315 स्राफिसर्ज में से ग्रड्यूल्ड कास्ट कें 3 स्रौर ग्रैंड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज का सिर्फ 1 है तथा देना बैंक में 1755 स्राफिसर्ज है जिनमें ग्रेंड्यूल्ड कास्ट का एक भी नहीं। मुझे याद है जब तेलेंगाना की बात सदन में चल रही थी तो स्रारोप स्रौर प्रत्यारोप हो रहे थे कि हमारी राजधानी में हमको दूसरे दर्ज की नागरिकता का दर्जा दिया जा रहा है।

क्या ग्रैड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोग यह समझें कि हम को इस देश के ग्रन्दर दुश्मन नागरिक माना जा रहा है, देश की प्रास्पेरिटी में हम को कुछ भी हिस्सा नहीं दिया जा रहा है। यह एसी बात है जिस पर गंभीरता से विचार होना ग्रावश्यक है। धारिया साहब जानते हैं कि महाराष्ट्र में दिलत पैथर नाम की ग्रागेनाइजेशन का निर्माण हुग्रा है जिसकी चर्चा सब तरफ है। वह मिलिटेंट ग्रागेनाइजेशन है। उनके ग्रान्दोलन में गोलियां चल रही हैं, खूनखच्चर हो रहा है। यह सब क्यों है ? महाराष्ट्र में संख्या के ग्राघार पर लोकल रिजवेंशन 13 फीसदी है। डा॰ बाबा

साहब श्रम्बेदकर के नेतृत्व में ग्रधिकतर लोगों के बौध बनने के कारण महाराष्ट्र में रिज़र्वेशन बहुत कम हो गया है श्रौर 6 परसेंट रिज़र्वेशन रह गया है। बहुत से ग्रैंज्युएट श्रौर डबल ग्रैंज्युयेट जो हर प्रकार की योग्यता रखते हैं, वे जातीय भावना के कारण नौकरियों में प्रवेश नही पाते हैं। ग्रगर छान बीन की जाय तो मालूम होगा कि दलित पेंथर ग्रागेंनाइजेशन में सारे एज्युकेटेड, प्रशिक्षित ग्रौर समझदार लोग है। उन्होंने देखा कि देश के ग्रन्दर सरकार ने हम को स्कालरिशप दे कर के पढ़ाया, लेकिन ग्राखिर में हमको नौकरी मिलना मुश्किल है। यह जो ग्रन्याय हो रहा है, उस पर गंभीरता से विचार करने की ग्रावश्यकता है।

मिर्धा साहब से मैं एक स्प्रौर प्रार्थना करना चाहूंगा? 27 रु० प्रति माह जो स्कालरिशप मिलता है उसको बढ़ाने का फैसला किया गया है।

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

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

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD 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 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 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 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, 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 closetted 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 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 league, Dr. Syed 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 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. I 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 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 measures. Those measures will have to be accepted, those processes will 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. I 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 special 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 overcome.

With regard to certain other policies within the home front, I should that the attitude of the Government 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 the other direction. How is it that after 27 vears. though we have set up our Monopoly Commission and although we have said that concentration of wealth and economic power in certain hands should 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, I 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 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 which we face everywhere. Sometimes, even we. being Members of Parliament, go to the Parliament House 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 him 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 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 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 of joining together.

😝 श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव: गफूर साहब का उदाहररा 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, I have seen something else. I had been to Orissa...

जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : अपनी तरफ देखिए, भ्राप क्या करते हैं। SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: Sin I had been to Orissa... <sup>pc:</sup> श्री उप सभापति : यादव जी वीच मं

मृत बोलिए।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : बोलते वक्त याद दिलाला कभी कभी चूरूरी हो ..जाता langs at the expense of our guf . होते ः अ**शे उपसभापतिः** ग्रापको यादकराने की कोई ज़रूरत नहीं है। उनको सब कुछ मालूम है। 19 50650 :

- SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: I have seen in Orissa, Sir, that the CPI(M) people are campaigning that Mr. Biren should be voted and so for Shri Biju Patnaik, the institution of corruption in the country.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: Campaigning for the Swatantra party also.

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: 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 party of the Aulaks. Some of my friends must know it that at least the present speaker is not the son of a kulak; still his father is a tailor weaving the clothes of other people. My friend sitting here is a poor school teacher. I do not think that the Congress Party is a party of the kulaks. Yes, there are persons, there are elements inside the party. . (Interruptions). The Opposition parties cannot claim that ...

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: Your people inside the party charge you like that, Nobody else has done it. There are 

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: Reply has been given in the rural areas. Onefifth of the total population of the country 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 have 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 wnich 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 country also. And that is the way in which this country is now moving. Sir, there are

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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 will be much more desirable for the entire people, and not the results desired by very few politicians of this country.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ruthnaswamy.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I 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 remind the Minister that all revolutions should have been led by members of the bourgeoisie, by middle class men? French revolution was led by lawyers like Spear Robertspearre. Dante 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 Trotsky. Even in our own was country, the communist leaders are 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 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

the 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 glebal 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 people versus the trade unions. The auestion 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 India much more successful than in other 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 showered and which has been his head as if he was the maker oſ thia Address. It is a convention which we have taken from the English practice. 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, sovereign's address began the session Parliament. We had no such excuse here. We have simply copied this practice from

So, the President's Address the Government's Address. It is a document putting forth the future policy, the future programme of the 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 nowhere 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 those prestigious policies and programmes which will take years to bring out their economic effect. The Government 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 Opposition and will treat the Government as it ought to be treated.

श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर (पंजाब) 🛭 डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब, राष्ट्रपति जी ग्रभिभाषण को मैंने गौर से सुना ग्रौर गौर से पढ़ा । उन लोगो के साथ मेरा इत्तिफाक न**हीं** 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 मुना नहीं या गौर से पढ़ा नहीं । 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 ग्रच्छे प्लेयर की टांग पर मार देने भीर फाउल प्ले के समान है। ग्रसल में सवाल पर न ग्राना ग्रौर दूसरी तरफ चलें जाना जैसे कि मैने 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 पैराग्राफ हैं उनमें दोनों तरफ खास तौर से ध्यान दिया गया है। पहले बीस पैराग्राफ जो हैं उनमें जो इंटरनल सिच्युएशन है उस पर पूरा-पूरा गौर किया गया है। बाकी 21 में लेकर 38 तक जो पराग्राफ . हैं उन में इंटरनेशनल सिच्युएशन पर, नीति पर, बड़े भ्रच्छे 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 श्रीर उस पर सारे ही मुत्तफिक हैं। राष्ट्रपति ने ग्रपने 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 ग्रगर डाक्टर ने • मर्ज को ठीक पहचान लिया है ग्रीर दवाई की तलाश है, तो जाहिर है कि दवाई की तलाश भी ग्रच्छी होगी। इस ऐड्रेस के जो बाकी पैरा-ाफ हैं उनमें इसके कारण बताये गये हैं ग्रीर [श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर]

उनकी वजाहत श्रच्छी तरह से की गई है। ्इंस् वक्त तक इस हाउस में जितनी भी तक**री** रें हुई हैं उनमें किसी ने जो चीजें बताई ज़ो वाकयात बताये गये है, जो रीजन बतायें चैलेंज नही किया है। गये हैं, उनको

जो तरक्की की बातें हुई हैं, जिन की फीगर्स राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने भ्रपने ऐड्रेस में दी 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

ज़ी का कहना है वह बिल्कुल ठीक है। जैसा कि मैने कहा कि तीन बातें

के कल्याण के वास्ते पहली वात है देश के लोगों का ख्याल। दूसरी बात है देश की रक्षा या राष्ट्रीय मजवूती । तीसरी वात है देश की साख या रेप्युटेशन । इन तीनों बातों का ख्याल कर के हमें देखना है कि मौजूदा सरकार जिन के हाथ में इस वक्त बागडोर है, उन्होंने क्या कुछ

जारूरी हैं किसी सरकार के लिए। अपने देश

किया है। यह महंगाई का सवाल इस वक्त **ज़रू**र हमारे सामने है । राष्ट्रपति महोदय हमेशा मजदूरों में काम करते रहे हैं। इसलिए उन्होंने अपील की है, उन्होंने इस बात को माना है कि इस वक्त ग्रगर महर्गाई दूर हो

सकती है तो उसका सिर्फ एक ही जरिया है कि हर पहलू में प्रोडक्शन को वढ़ाया जायें प्रोडक्शन को बढ़ाये बगैर हमारी दूर नहीं हो सकती। राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि ग्रनाज 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 हुग्रा है । इसमें सरकार की तवज्जह इस तरफ दिलाऊंगा कि जो प्राविसेज श्रनाज पैदा कर

सकते हैं उनकी तरफ ज्यादा ख्याल रखा जाये ताकि वे प्रोडक्शन की तरफ ज्यादा भ्रच्छी

तरह से और सहूलियत के साथ ध्यान दे सकें। जब मैं यह जिक करता हूं तो मेरे सामने जिस सूबे से मैं ग्राता हूं, पंजाब का

ख्याल ब्रां जाता है। पंजांब का सूबा किसी

वक्त एक बहुत बड़ा विशाल पंजाब •था दर्रे खैबर से, पेशाबर से ले कर गुड़गांव तक

का पंजाब था। पोलिटिकल मसलहतें श्रायीं ग्रौर इसको बोटा गया पार्टिशन में इसके

दो मुल्क हो गये, एक पाकिस्तान बना ग्रौर एक वैस्ट पंजाब हो गया ग्रौर एक ईस्ट पंजाब

हो गया फिर ईस्ट पंजाब केभी कई हिस्से

बन गये। वावजूद इस के कि ग्रब पंजाब एक छोटा सा पंजाब रह गया है, मगर फिर

भी, इस छोटे से पंजाव में भी अनाज पैदा करने कोशिश की गयी है कि इस वक्त

सरकार भी इस बात को मानती है स्रौर प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी इस बात को तस्लीम किया है

कि पंजाब ने स्रनाज के मामले में सारे देश की मदद की है ग्रीर उन्होंने सारे देश को ग्रनाज

पहुंचाया है। तो इस लिए मैं दरख्वास्त करूगा सरकार से कि इस महंगाई का भ्रगर

एक इलाज ज्यादा प्रोडक्शन है तो उसके लिए जो लोग ज्यादा ग्रनाज पैदाकर सकते

हैं उन को सहूलियतें दी जायें। पंजाब को

खाद के मामले में सहूलियत दी जाये, पंजाब के लिए ट्रैक्टर्स वगैरह देने में सहूलियत दी

जाए, पंजाब के किसान को कर्ज के लिये सह-लियत दी जाय और इस तरह से पंजाब के

लोगो की मदद दी जाय ग्रौर जब मैं पंजाब की बात करता हूं तो यह कोई प्राविशियलिज्म

की वजह से नहीं करता। मैं तो देश के लिए पंजाब की बात करता हूं और अगर वह देश

के लिए ग्रनाज पैदा करने में समर्थ हो सकता है तो उसमें उसकी ज्यादा मदद **की जाय** 

क्योंकि इस वक्त पंजाब में भी एक स्टेबिल गवर्नमैट है। वह वहां ज्यादा काम कर सकती

है। जब ग्रेन ट्रेंड को ग्रपने हाथ में लेने का सवाल था तो पंजाब ने बहुत कोशिश की मगर

वह भी जो थोड़ी बहुत कमी रह गयी है वंह इसी वजह से रह गयी कि ग्रापोजीशन पार्टीज

ने एक ऐसातरीका ग्रब्तियार कियाकि जिस से उस में कमी हुई ग्रौर जो वहां इस काम में कमी रही उस की वजह यही है। तो मैं बड़े

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ग्रदब से यह दरख्वास्त करता हूं सरकार की सेवा में भी और आपोजीशन 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 सिल**सिले में रहनुमाई की है । **मैं देख**ता हुं कि जब भी देण में बड़े बड़े सवाल ब्राये हैं, हमारी प्रधान मेंत्री इन्दिरा गांधी जी ने श्रापोजीशन वालों को वुला कैर उन के साथ बात कर के उन से मशविरा किया है जो जो मसले श्राये हैं जरूरी उन में हर एक के बारे में उन से बात की है, उन की दलीलों को सुना है, उन की बांतों को मुना है ग्रौर उस के बाद उन्होंने ग्रपना फैसला दिसा है। मेरा स्थाल है कि मेरे साथ ग्रापोजीशन वाले भाई भी इस बात में इत्तफाक करेगे कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने इस मामले में जरूर खास एहतियात रखा है कि वह देश के कामों में श्रापोजीशन को साथ में ले कर चलीं है, उन्होंने उस को साथ मे लेकर ही कोई कदम बढाया है ग्रौर मैं यह भी मानता हूं कि कई बड़े कामों में ग्रापोजीशन ने उन का साथ दिया है। मगर जहां जहां श्रापोजीशन ने मुखालिफत की है वहां उस से थोड़ा बहुत नुकसान भी हुग्रा है। इसलिए मैं दरम्यान की बात करता हुं-। जब तक हम मिल कर देश के कल्याण-के लिए कोई काम नहीं करेंगे उस वक्त तक हमारा मंजिले मकसूद तक पहुंचना बड़ा मुश्किल है। यह तो है देश की ग्रन्दरूनी बात। दूसरी वान मैने ग्रर्ज की थी देश की रक्षा की। आप देख मकते हैं कि देश की रक्षा का सवाल जो है वह सिर्फ ग्राज का नहीं है बल्कि जव हमारा देश आजाद हुआ, देश को दो हिस्सों में जब बांट दिया गया, पाकिस्तान बन गया, उस वक्त प्रडित जवाहरलाल जी हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर बने तो उनके सामने भी इसी किस्म की प्राब्लम थी । जिस तरह की आज बैचेनी नजर **ग्राती है, महंगाई के सिलसिले में, ग्रौर कई बातों** के सिलसिले में उस वक्त भी जव कि देश तकसीम हुआ और बहुत से लोग बंगाल और पंजाब से

on the President's Address उजड़ कर हिन्दुस्तान में ग्राए, इस प्रकार की प्राब्लम उनके सामने थी। पाकिस्तान में ऐसी बातें होती थी जिनकी वजह से हमारे लोग दु:खी होते थे। उस वक्त पंडित जवाहरलाल जी ने सोचा कि इनको वहाल करना भी जरूरी है। जो लोग उजड़ कर स्राये उन्होंने सोचा देश की रक्षा का सवाल है ग्रीर रक्षा के लिए उन्होंने सबसे पहले यह वात सोची कि दूसरे मुल्कों के साथ मेल-मिलाप करना बड़ा जरूरी है। जिल्ला का खयान सिर्फ एक छोटा मा पाकिस्तान लेने का नहीं था बल्कि पैन-इस्लामिक का एक ख़या । पैन-इस्लामिक का नाम होने से एतराज नही, मगर उसकी तह में यह बात थी कि इस्लामिक कंटरीज इकटठे होकर एक शरई हुकूमत कायम की जाए। पंडित जवाहर लाल जी के रवैये ने जिन्ना के ख्वाब की ताबीर नहीं होने दी। उन्होंने इस्लामिक कटरीज को सफलता पूर्वक ग्राने. साथ मिलाने की कोणिण की । इमारे जो पराते. साठ मैम्बर हैं, मेरा खयाल है उनमे से महाबीर जी; यहां बैठे हैं और भी जायद इनमें से पुराने मैम्बर रहे होगे, अफगानिस्तान के प्राइम मिनिस्ट एक दफा दिल्ली में आए तो यहां सैन्ट्रल हाल में उन्होंने एक तकरीर की। मुझे ग्रज तक याद है, उन्होंने अपनी तकरीर में कहा था कि जवाहरलाल जी के साथ हाथ मिला कर मुझे रूहानी खुणी होती है यह बात भी मुझे या इहै जब बह तकरीर करके हटे तो बहुत से पालियामेंट के मैम्बर उनके गिर्द जमा हो गए। हमारे बहुत पुराने मैम्बर बाबू रामः नारायण सिह, बिहार के थे, उन्होंने कहा कि मै ग्रापमे मवाल पूछना चाहना हूं कि जवाहरलाल जी के साथ हाथ मिलाकर ग्रापको क्यो रुहानी खुणी होती है तो उन्होंने एक फिकरे में जवाब दिया कि जवाहरलाल जी एक ऐसे मुल्क के प्राइ**म**् मिनिस्टर हैं, जो मुल्क न किसी से डरता है श्रौर न किसी को डराता है, इसलिए मुझे जबाहर लाल जी के साथ हाथ मिला कर रहानी खुशी होती है एड्रेस में जब मैंने पैरा 26 से 36 पढ़ा, जिसमें ग्रफगानिस्तान और दूसरी 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 ग्रौर दूसरे मुक्कों के साथ ग्रच्छे ताल्लुकात की रवायत पैदा की, वह कायम रहेगी। हमें, ग्रपने देश की जो साख बनी हुई है उसको कायम रखना है। ग्राज ग्रगर देश की रक्षा के लिए हमारी इज्जत हुई, ग्राज ग्रगर बंगला देश के मामले में हमें फतहयाबी हुई, 65 का जंग ग्रगर हमने जीता तो वह हमारी प्रेस्टेज सारी दुनिया में बनी । पर्ना

द्निया की नजर हमारी तरफ हो गई। रोज जब हम बाहर निकल कर देखते हैं, तो द्सरे मुल्कों को झंडे हम ग्रपनी सड़कों पर देखते हैं, यानी कोई न कोई बड़ा ब्रादमी दसरे मुल्क का-वजीर श्राजम हो या वजीर हो या ग्रीर कोई प्रेसीडेंट हो-हमारे देश में आया हुआ होता है और वह सिर्फ इसलिए, हमारे अच्छे सल्क की बजह से और हमारी साख की वजह से वह हिन्दुस्तान में ग्राता है। तो यह साख ग्रीर रेपुटेशन जो है वह किसी देश की इज्जत का वायस होती है। तो हम इन तरफ ख़याल न करके, सिर्फ एक बात पर अपना रोष प्रगट कर रहे है, रंज प्रकट कर रहे है ग्रौर हमेशा हम बदनामी की जो साइड है उसी को लेते हैं श्रीर हम यह देखते नहीं कि इस ग्ररसे में कितना कुछ काम हुआ है और इस सिलसिले में हमने क्या कुछ काम किया है। क्या आज इस बात को कोई चैलेंज कर सकता है कि जो बंगला देश के प्राइम मिनिस्टर शेख मुजीबुर रहमान को इस्लामिक मुल्को के प्रतिनिधि खुद बंगला देश में जाकर उन्हें बात करने के लिए लाहौर तक लेकर आते हैं और बंगला देश को तमनीम करने हैं, इसमें हिन्दुस्तान का कोई हिस्सा नही है ? क्या इसमें इन्दिरा गाधी को काबलियत, उनकी दढ़ता भ्रौर उनकी फैमला-कुन शक्ति का कोई दखल नहीं है ? क्या ग्राप इस बात का तसलोम नही करेंगे कि उन्होंने दृढ़ता से, काविश्वत और फैसला-कृत शक्ति से देश की रहनुमाई की, जिससे देश का सिर ऊंचा हुआ और दुनिया में हमारी इज्जत बनी । आज यह ठीक है, मैं इस वात को मानता हूं, हमें देश की जो ग्रंदरूनी हालत है उसे टीक

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 नही भूलना चाहिए कि ग्राज हिन्दुस्तान की साख और हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा का जो सवाल है वह ग्रगर तसत्त्री 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 सुर्खक है ग्रांर 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 वाग से उपमा दें, तो पता है आपको कि बाग में सिर्फ फूल ही नहीं होते, बाग में कांटे भी होते हैं।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : बाग तो सूखा पड़ा है । किंदिक की की किंदि

श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर : मुझे एक शेर याद त्राता है : कि स्टूटिंग कि स्टूटिंग के

''गुलशन परस्त हूं मुझे गुल ही नहीं अजीज । ------ज़िकाटों से भी निबाह किए जा रहा हूं मैं"

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : इस उम्र में भी।

श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर : इंदिरा गांधी स्नगर एक फूल की तरह स्रपनी काबलियत की खुशबू देश को दे रही है तो वह कांटे की नोक पर भी वैठी हुई है — कांटे की नोक पर बैठ कर वह हंस रही है, स्नौर वह खुशबू दे रही है स्नपनी लियाकत का स्नौर स्नपनी काबलियत का—देश को। इसलिए मेरे भाई कांटा बेशक बनें मगर चुभने वाला कांटा न बनें, हिफाजत करने वाला कांटा वंगें। काटा हिफाजत भी करता है, चुभता भी है: इसलिए स्नाप हिफाजत भी करता है, चुभता भी है: इसलिए स्नाप हिफाजत वाला जो रिश्ता है वह स्नदा करें, तो वेलकम है

श्री पीताम्बर दासः एक शेर मैं भी स्नर्ज कर दूं: "ऐसे हादसे भी हुए हैं बहार में छुपना पड़ा गुलों को जब दामने ख़ार मैं।" भी गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर: ठीक है। श्रापके जवाब में मुझे ग़ालिब का एक शेर याद श्राया: ''गालिब बुरा न मानिये जो जाहिद बुरा कहें ऐसा भी कोई है सब ग्रच्छा कहें जिसे?'' कांटे भी हम समेटेंगे गुलशन के बागबां हम वो नहीं कि फूल चुने ग्रौर चल दिये।

इसलिए मेरी ग्राप सब लोगों से ग्राखिरी यह दरख्वास्त है कि इस समय हमें देश में एकना बनाए रखने की जरूरत है। इस चीज के बारे में मैंने ग्राप लोगों के सामने इजहार भी किया है ग्रीर मैं बिलाखौफ तरदीद यह भी करता है कि इंदिरा गांधी, प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने, जितनी श्रपोजीशन की राय की कद्र की है, उतनी किसी ने नही 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 मैं यही कहना चाहता हूं कि वजाय इसके कि वह कांटों की मिसाल मैने ग्रभी ग्रापके सामने दी, हमें उन कांटों की भी हिफाजत का रोल स्रदा करना चाहिये ।

ारि एक बात मैं ग्रीर ग्रर्जे करना चाहता हूं श्रौर जिस को मैं समझता हूं राष्ट्रपति जी के एड़ेस 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 जबान बदलती है, लिबास बदलता है, रहन सहनका ढंग बदलता है, इलाके बदलते हैं, ग्राबोहवा बदल जाती है, ग्रकीदा बदल जाता है, मजहब बदल जाता है, लेकिन फिर भी यह देश बहुत विशाल है ग्रीर हम सब लोगों को इसी देश में एक साथ रहना है । त्रलाहिदा स्रकीदा रखते हुए भी, ग्रलाहिदा जबान रखते हुए भी, अलाहिदा मजहब रखते हए भी हम सब जोगों को बतौर एक हिन्द्स्तानी के यहा 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 ग्रीर करना चाहिये। ऐसे लोग जो मजहब के बिना पर झगडा पैदा करवाते हैं, दरग्रसल वे मजहब के बारे में नही जानते है और जो जबान के बारे मे झगडा पैदा कराते है, उनमें जबान की कोई बात नहीं है। मुझे पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की बात याद है कि वह हमेशा वर्किंग कमेटी में कहा करते थे ग्रगर देश को लिग्विस्टिक बेसिस पर तकसीम किया गया तो फिर मुल्क में कई इज्म पैदा हो जायेंगे और 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 स्रोर एक कमेटी भी बनाई है, लेकिन में फिर पूरे तौर से यह कहना चाहता हं कि होम-डिपार्टमेंट को इस बात की ग्रोर देखना चाहिये क्यों-कि यह हमारे देश की यकजहती का सवाल है और इसको बहुत ग्रन्छी तरह से हल करना चाहिये ।

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

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#### THE BUDGET (RAILWAYS) 1974-75

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE 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. ie