MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You cannot say that without hearing me.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala): Please hear him first.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: The point of order is—because it devolves on the Chair—is it wise, as I am seeing in this House for the last few years, that the rights and privileges of the Members of the House are being regularly eroded?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no. Mr. Ghosh, please listen.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Always we have to take the Chairman's permission for raising anything. Why? Under what rules? Previously it was not necessary. Now I would submit that sometime^ anything inconvenient to the Government is sought to be barred.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Yes.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND IN THE MINISTRY OF WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI OM MEHTA): No.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Niren Ghosh, on the other hand, Members have been getting as much laxity as possible.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: We do not want to take liberties. Now the Home Minister is here. If the police are running amuck. ..

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If the Swatantra Party makes a speech here and I do not like it, can I say it should not be recorded?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. Gadgil.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL (Maharashtra): Sir, 1 beg to move:

That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms: —

"That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 19th February, 1973."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): On a point of order. I would like to know whether the hon. Member is speaking from his heart or from his head.

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL: Both.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Such an uninspiring and colourless Presidential Address I have not come across. And he is thankful for it. So, as a colleague, I am entitled to know whether he is speaking from his heart or from his head.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Neither from his heart nor from his head, but only from his brief, like a robot.

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL: I have already said that I am speaking from my heart and head.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, it is a reflection on the hon. Member. He i_s doing it under duress. His hsart is much stouter and his head is much deeper.

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta need not worry about my heart and head. I can take care of them.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): If you become a machine, we have to worry about you.

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL: When I move this motion, my mind goes back to the President's Address last year.

That wae a time when we were rightly celebrating our victory overPakistan and the liberation of

Bangladesh.

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra): Why not we adjourn now and ask him to speak after Lunch?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no, let him continue.

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL: Even at that time the Prime Minister had warned us about the possible aftereffects of the war. During the debate on the President's Address this is what she said: "We do realise the difficulties we are going to face and i "the hard work that has to be put in." Every war leads to an inflation. The financial burden of the refugees and the war has inevitably increased the prices. Add to this the drought situation in some parts of the country. In 1970-71 production of foodgrains in this country increased by about '8 per cent regarding the highest yield ever, 108 million tons. Unfortunately this year rains have failed in some parts of the country. Cyclone and floods have affected crops in other areas, reducing production of food. Yet the situation is under control because we have built up large buffer stocks. Therefore, the policy of the Government viz. procurement levies, monopoly purchase and buffer stock stands vindicated today. The building. rising prices and the food situation will naturally cause up a great concern. But the situation is being handled with courage and determination by the Government. In Maharashtra alone there are 21 lakh persons on the scarcity verge. On an average they are paid Rs. 2 or 2J per day i.e. half a crore per day. During the course of the last month and a half I extensively toured some of these areas. A programme of building one lakh wells is already undertaken. target for village roads 1981 has already reached. Several percolation tanks are under construction. Minor irrigation projects are undertaken. During my tour I very much impressed was hv the courage of the

people. Their morale is remarkably high. I must also pay my tributes to scores of civil servants, revenue officials and engineers, who are working day and night to tackle the difficult situation. A greater tribute is due to people who have responded our magnificently to a difficult situation. When we are sorry to find sometimes that some of the Government servants in the cities are shirking work, it was very refreshing and very heartening to find that none of the scarcity workers wanted free food or a dole. During my tour I saw college students doing metal breaking work. In one district I met a blind young man. In another district I met a poor old woman. And what did they say? They said, we do not want any free food, we do not want doles, we want work. These are the real sons of the soil and they appreciate the tremendous effort that the Government is making in a difficult situation. I am proud to say that several members of my party are assisting the Government machinery in a difficult situation. I wish I could say the same thing about some of the Opposition parties. Some of them do go ...

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi): They are traitors. Do not expect anything from them.

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL: Who said? I did not say that . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Your leaders say they are traitors.

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL: Some of them did go. But for most of you, what is your daily time-table? What is your daily engagement diary? They start with a morcha in the morning, a demonstration by day time, a protest fast after a sumptuous lunch, a procession by 5 O'clock, a press conference in the evening and perhaps a gherao at night. That is your solution. Therefore, let un consider this as a national task and help our people in a difficult situation. [Shri Vithal Gadgil]

1 P.M,

Sir, they like to criticise , . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The hon. Member need say these things unnecessarily. Otherwise somebody will say that some of the Congress members begin their morning with the relief chit and noon with baskets of fruits and other things and by the time they go to bed they earn lot of money.

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL: You will get lot of time as usual. I was saying that all kinds of failures—even failure of rain—are attributed to the Government. That is their criticism. They conveninetly forget that there are failures of this type in other countries like Australia, Indonesia and Russia and China. Even a highly developed country like Russia and a regimented, regime like China have both to import food from outside . . .

SHRI PITAMBER DAS (Uttar Pradesh): My friend will excuse me. In those countries under such conditions, the Ministers do not hast parties to 1,000 or 1,200 people at one time.

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL: The hon. Member will have his turn.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: And some Congressmen go there to protest. They hold morchas there.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND IN THE MINISTRY OF WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI OM MEHTA); That relates to functioning of our Party.

डा० भाई महावीर : दीक्षित जी के सम्मान में कितनी बड़ी पार्टी हुई ग्रौर साथ ही ग्रास्टेरिटी की बात भी

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE C6HRI UMASHMNKAR DIKSHIT): It is materially false. I ask him to prove it. Mostly incorrect versions have been given. डा०भाई महावीर :इनकरेक्ट क्या हुग्रा ? ग्राप उसमें नहों गये ?

श्वी उमा शंकर दीक्षितः जो आप जिक कर रहे हैं वह गलत है।

डा० भाई महावीर : जो हुया वह वताइये । पार्टी में कितने लोग थे, ग्राप गये थे या नहीं गये थे ?

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT): That should not be part of this debate. Frivolous references are being made to something which has not happened.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: What are the type of references that are being showered from that side?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him continue his speech.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let us adjourn now and tell us after lunch what Shri Naik is doing as Chief Minister.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him finish his speech. Then we will adjourn.

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL: I was saying that the completion of the various projects that are undertaken like the percolation tanks, minor irrigation projects and all the rest of that, will, I am sure, change the picture of the rural economy in a year or two. They will add to our productive assets and for a long time to come we may not have to face such a situation again. Therefore, it is a matter, of congratulation for the Government that projects of such large-scale nature are undertaken in various parts of the country. In this connection, I would make a suggestion to the Government. There is, what is called, the Ganga-Cauvery link up project. As I understand it, the project is to lift the waters of Ganga near Patna and bring them to the South through Mahanadi (and from there to Godavari and finally to Cauvery. It is said that the project,

if undertaken. may cost about Rs. 2,000 crores and will take about 30 years. But it will provide employment to thousands of our young engineers. will employ It serveral other people also. It will provide a network of navigation. It will augment our food production. But above all, it will a picturesque and exquisite provide almost symbol of emotional integration in this country. If this project is undertaken, it may take serveral years. True. But what is Imagine what the picture it will present? would happen 30 years later. The young men of our country, perhaps our children and grand-children, when they come to have a dip in the Cauvery river, the > whole panorama of the Indian history will come before their eyes. They (will find that the waters they hold in their hands reflect the essential unity of this country . . .

(Interruptions)

Sir, my friends may well consider this point. When this project is completed, it will be the glory of our engineers and envy of our poets. People may think that I am trying to be peotic. Even a non-poet almost becomes lyrical about it. My Jan Sangh friends may perhaps recall what the dream of our ancients was. The dream was this:

"Gangecha Yamunechiva Goda-vari Saraswati Narmad_a Sindhu Cauveri Jalesmin Sannidhim Kuru".

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, now is the time to adjourn. Of course he has made a good point.

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL: Therefore, Sir, it may be a dream. But many such dreams have come true and, therefore, I will urge upon the Government to undertake immediately this huge and gigantic project.

Sir, it is said that I am indulging in poetry. Perhaps politicians should not indulge in that. So, Sir, I will come back to realities. The reality is the famine situation and the shortage of food. I have already said that this will affect several people and it has already affected many. But the measures taken by the Government on a very vast scale will certainly get us out of the difficulties. The failure of the rains has also affected our industry indirectly.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, we have other appointments. Therefore, 1 would request you to adjourn now.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will adjoun at 1-15.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why 1-15? You have a fancy for 1-15.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let us adjourn after ten minutes.

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL: Sir. failure of rain_s has affected the generation of power nad it has also affected industrial production. Now, Sir, in this connection, I will invite the attention of the Members to that part of the President's Address wherein he has dealt with the question of industrial production. It is common knowledge that without a higher rate of industrial growth this country will not prosper. We have by now taken several measures. For example, the clarification about the Industrial Licensing Policy has come very timely. The acceptance of the concept of joint sector, the expansion of the list of public sector industries and the doing away with the heavy-investment sectors will go a long way in increasing our industrial production. The Government's policy in coming to the aid of the sick mills and the sick units has assured employment and production in this country. The Maharashtra Government alone spends about Rs. 10 crores every year in order to sustain production and employment. We now brought almost all the have bv commanding heights of the economy under public management and public control. The President, who himself is a veteran tradehas rightly said in his Address unionist. that it is for the workers now to pay their role of being in the vanguard of historic the socialist transformation. Those who are organised must remember the plight of

[Shri Vithal Gadeil] those thousands of landless labour and the unorganised unemployed people. The workers and the employers must voluntarily give up strikes and lock-outs respectively. In 1971, there were 2,598 strikes involving 15 lakhs of people and the man-days lost were about 1,47,00,000. In the same year, the lock-outs were 291, involving 21 lakhs of people and the man-days lost were 58 lakhs. One day's bus strike in Bombay cost the nation Rs. 14 lakhs and one 'bandh' in Bombay cost the nation Rs. 3 crores per day. The need of the hour, therefore, is production, more production and more production. As the Prime Minister had said last year, history will not forgive us if we permit any interruption of production on account of strikes and lock-outs in the present circumstances when our national interest demands that we should free ourselves from dependence on others.

The President's Address makes a reference to the approach paper. It reflects the basic policy of the Government, namely, achievement of twin objective: Growth and Social justice. It has perhaps for the first time adopted a new model, a consumption pattern consistent with social growth. It emphasizes the need for increasing mass consumer goods. It reiterates the need for price satbility and control on propertied income. It seeks to have new resources and alternatives which should be mobilized. And, by and large, I can say that this is the correct approach to the Plan.

I particularly welcome the preparation of the Science & Technology plan. It is obvious that unless modern technology and science are made applicable to agriculture and industry, we will not prosper. That is almost a national imperative. I do not know how Jan Sangh will react to it, because although they demand the production of atom bomb they have always opposed the use of chemical fertilizers; they wanted natural manure. Atom Bomb with cow dung—that is Jan Sangh Science Plan! Sir, the mention of the preparation of science and technology plan is a welcome step that the Government has taken.

I am also very happy that the Government has decided to establish Newspaper Finance Corporation. Our Constitution guarantees to its citizens the fundamental right of freedom of speech and expression, But this right becomes meaningless if big newspapers and the media of communication are controlled by big business. I vividly remember what happened in 1969 in Bombay when the split took place in my party. A senior leader of Bombay, who is now a member of the Congress (O), used to address about a dozen people in Greens Hotel or Rotary Club. Next morning's newspapers carried three columns of his speech complete with box items and photographs. The same day, some of us addressed huge rallies supporting the Prime Minister and her radical policies. In the next morning's newspapers there was hardly any mention. If there was any mention at all, it was no bigger than а matrimonial advertisement:

Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen the small and medium newspapers and, therefore, the establishment of this Corporation is a step in the right direction.

The Address also mentions the events in Andhra. What lhas taken place in Andhra is a matter of grave concern to all of us. When we became independent and free, the first problem was how to organize our freedom. We decided that political freedom in this country should, by and large, be organized on the basis of language. The tragedy of the situation and the irony of history is that Andhra, which was the first linguistic State, is yet not fully integrated. A solution has to be found. But that solution cannot be found in the streets. Let us remember that in parliamentary democracy the solution must be found in Parliament, because in a parliamentary democracy. Parliamerit must remain the centre of political gravity. Let, therefore, peace be restored first. Let peace precede dialogue and discussion and then only a solution can be found. Therefore, it is appropriate to appeal to all sections of people in Andhra that the supreme necessity of the hour is restoration of peace and normalcy.

SHRI VITHAL GADGIL: The Address, Sir, also mentions certain other events that have taken place and the measures that are contemplated. By and large, nobody can have any serious objection, unless it is politically motivated, to that Address or what it contains. But we find today a new trend in politics. New forces are emerging. One indication was what happened the day. before yesterday, i.e., the boycott by five parties. I have heard it said that politics makes strange bedfellows. But a stranger combination the world has not seen. It is a five-party organisation or a front now. It is a five-piece political symphony orchestra conducted by Mr. Frustration. He is such a bad conductor that the people of this country have found that the music he has produced has neither melody nor harmony. Fortunalely, the people of this country are very mature politically. They are not led away by these kinds of alliances or fronts. What an odd combination-the Marxists and the Jan Sang ^PT^ and class struggle T^'Tfrr and Mao mixed together. I have never seen an odder combination. But let us ignore this because we know that the people of this country are very mature and they will not be led by such things. Let us march forward in our task of reconstruction of this country. Let us involve ourselves in the task that is before us because unless we go to t)he people and take their cooperation, no progress is possible.

Lastly, I will appeal to all sections of the House and all sections of the people in this country. With confidence in ourselves and faith in future, let us march ahead under the • dynamic leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Sir, it is said that many things are impossible. But nothing is impossible if there is a will and if we enthuse our people. The will of the people and their enthusiasm will carry us to our goal.

I will like to end my speech with a quotation from our ancients.

उत्साहो बलावानार्यं नास्त्युत्साहत्पर-बलम् । सोत्साहस्त्र लोकेषु न किचितापि दर्लभम ।।

(No power can exceed the power of enthusiasm. For a man informed by enthusiasm, nothing is impossible). MR. DEPUTY CAIRMAN: The

House stands adjourned till 2.15 P.M. The House then adjourned for lunch at eighteen minutes past one of the clock. The House reassembled after lunch at fifteen minutes past two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in ihe Chair.

श्री हर्षदेव मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश): श्रीमन्, मैं सदन के सम्मुख हमारे मित्र श्री गाडगिल द्वारा प्रस्तुत प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने खडा हन्ना हं।

हम तहेदिल से राष्ट्रपति को उनके अभिभाषण के लिए धन्यवाद देते हैं। हमारे कुछ विरोधी पक्ष हैं और विरोधी पक्ष के महान्-भावों ने राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर जो प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत है उसको ले करके कुछ संशोधन रखे हैं । संशोधन को देख कर के प्रतीत होता है कि वे यह अपनाधर्म समझतें हैं कि जो कुछ भी सरकार की तरफ से ग्राये वह उसका विरोध करें। वरना यह समझ में नहीं आता कि जो भी राष्ट्र के सामने म्राज मान्य नीतियां हैं ग्रौर जिनके ऊपर राष्ट्र में एक कंसेन्सस पैदा हो गया है. वह उसका भी विरोध करते हैं। हमको प्रसन्नता है कि राष्ट्रपति ने बहुत स्पष्टरूप से जो नीति आज हमारी सरकार की है उसको इंडता के साथ दोहराया है।

1972 में हमने पब्लिक डिस्ट्रीब्युशन सिस्टम के ढारा देश के अन्दर एक करोड

215 Motion of Thanks [RAJYA SABHA]

टन से ऊपर अनाज का वितरण किया। यह वड़ी बात है और इससे हमको आशा वधती है। आगामी वर्षों में, आगामी महीनों में जब हम खाद्यान्न व्यापार को जन क्षेत्र में ले रहे हैं और जब हम इसके लिए एक व्यापक पब्लिक डिस्ट्रिब्युशन मशीनरी देश में खडा करना चाहते हैं हमको आशा बंधती है कि हम उसनें सफल होंगे। सही है कि हमारे दश में, जैसा कि हमारे मित्र माननीय श्री गाडगिल ने बताया ग्रौर जैसा हमारे राष्ट्रपति ने कहा, सुखे के कारण, साइक्लोन्स के कारण, प्राक्त-तिक विपत्तियों के कारण मुल्यों में वृद्धि हई है ग्रौर राष्ट्रपति ने इस घोषित नीति को पुनः दोहरायां है कि हम थोक व्यापार को अपने हाथ में लेंगे। ग्रीर आगामी फसल के बाद हम गेंहें को अपने हाथ में लेने जा रहे हैं, बाद में चावल को लेंगे। इस सिलसिले में हम इतना जरूर कहेंगे कि अपने जो यन्त्र हम बनाए, अपना जो सरकारी प्रबन्ध हो, झौर जो वितरण का प्रबन्ध हो, उसको बहत सुघड बनाने की म्रावश्यक्ता है। एक खतरा जिसकी मोर इस सदन में सभी पक्षों ने ध्यान दिलाया. करप्शन का, भ्रब्टाचार का, तो उसकी तरफ हमको सजग रहना चाहिए।

हमको इससे भी खुशी है कि 1972 में हमारा ग्रौद्योगिक उत्पादन 7 प्रतिशत के हिसाव से बढ़ा। वास्तव में यदि हम दीर्घ-कालीन दृष्टि डालें, हम विपक्ष की भावना को छोड़कर के सोचे कि 25 साल पहले हमारे देश की ग्रौद्योगिक उत्पादन की स्थिति क्या थी ग्रौर ग्राज क्या है, तो गर्ब से हमारा सिर ऊंचा हो जाता है ग्रापकी ग्राज्ञा से, इस सम्बन्ध में मैं ग्रापके सम्मुख एक चीनी विदवान का, चीनी लेखक का, एक छोटा सा उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। उसका नाम है Chen-I. Kuan ग्रौर उसने एक पुस्तक लिखी है जिसमें भारत ग्रौर चीन के विकास की समानान्तर तुलना की है। उसमें उसने भारत के आँद्यो

गिक उत्पादन के बारे में कहा है :---

"Another indicator of progress was the winning in global competition of large contracts for items ^{su}ch as railroad wagons, textile power generators. machinery, and India now exports technical know-how and capital on an increasing scale. It has joint industrial projects operating in a number of countries in Africa and Southeast Asia. Indians are setting up manufacturing plants in Thailand Afghanistan, Ghana, Yugoslavia, and Luxemburg, just to name _%a few These firms produce a wide range of productsiron and steel, electrical goods, textiles bicycles, paper pulp^ trucks, tractors, asbestos cements, pharmaceuticals, pesticides, air conditioners, refrigerators, precision tools, plastics, chemicals, clocks and others."

तो यह इस वात का सबूत है कि हमारे देश ने तरक्की की , जिसे देश में स्वतन्वता के पहले , हम बचपन में सुना करते थे कि हम सुई पैदा नहीं करते, उस देश की ग्राज यह स्थिति है कि बड़े बड़े विकसित देशों में, ग्रौद्यो-गिक दृष्टि से विकसित देशों में, हमारा ग्रीद्योगिक माल जाता है ।

हम इस बात के लिए भी राष्ट्रपति का धन्यवाद करते हैं कि उन्होंने अपने अभि-भाषण में स्पष्ट रूप से कह दिया कि सरकार की नीति है कि देश के अन्दर जो मोनोपोली हैं, देश के अन्दर जो एकाधिकारी तत्व हैं, जो बड़े बड़े थैली शाह हैं, उनको खत्म करने में, उनको कर्ब करने में सरकार ख्रामादा है । हम राष्ट्रपति को इसके लिए धन्यवाद देते हैं क्योंकि इस बात को विशेष रूप से युं भी याद करने की आवश्यकता है। हमारे कुछ दल वाले कहते हैं कि ''स्लाइड बैंक' हो रहा है, सरकार हमारी नीतियों से पीछे जा रही है। राष्ट्रपति ने यह साफ कर दिया, हमारा कोई ऐसा इरादा नहीं है । हमने कुछ सिल्क मिल्स को, बीमार मिलों को, अपने हाथ में लिया। साफ बात है कि हमारे उद्योगपतियों, हमारे धन-पतियों ने जो मुनाफे कमाए हैं, उसका इस्तेमाल देश के उत्पादन के लिए वे नहीं करते । मैं आपको आंकडे बताता हं, सरकारी आंकड़ा है, जो सरकार ने दिया है। उसमें सरकार को तरफ से कहा है कि 1969 ग्रीर 1970 के वोच में हिन्द्स्तान के उद्योग-पतियों का मुनाका सबसे अधिक रहा, इससे पहले कभी नहीं हुआ, 44.5 प्रतिशत जो 209 के ऊनर घराने हैं, जिनको सबसे अधिक मुनाफा हम्रा। जहां वह 1968-69 में वह 45 करोड़ था वहीं 1970-71 में वह 97 करोड डो गया। जहां म्नाफा इतना आता है त्रहीं तो पैभा पह लगाते हैं उद्योग में वह कम होता जा रहा है। जहां उन्होंने 1968-69 में 96.4 करोड रुपया ग्रपने उद्योगों में लगाया, इन्वेस्ट किया, वहां 1970-71 में घट कर 6.7 करोड़ रुपया रह गया और 1971-72 में वह राणि केवल 77 करोड़ रुपया ही रह गईं। इस तरह से बहुत मुनाफा कमाना, म्नाफे को बांटा न जाना, मुनाफे का इस्तेमाल न कराना, यह देश के स्रौद्योगिक विकास के लिए ग्रौर देश के ग्राथिक विकास के लिए एक बीमारी है. जो भारतीय उद्योगपति ग्रीर भारतीय मोनोपोलिस्ट ग्राज पैदा कर रहे हैं। ग्रब यह हमारा कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि इस मनाफाखोरी को खत्म किया जाए ग्रौर इस तरह से जो धन पड़ा हुआ है, जो संचित धन पड़ा हया है, उस संचित धन को निकाला जाए और देश की ग्राथिक स्थिति को सुधारने कार्य में लगाया जाए। ऐँसे लोग जो देश के उत्पादन को, देश की उन्नति को गौण समझते हैं ग्रीर ग्रपने म्नाफे को ग्रविक स्थान देते हैं, उन्हें हमें रोकना चाहिए।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में यह भी दोहराया है कि उत्तरोत्तर हम अपने पब्लिक सेक्टर को, जन क्षेत्र को बढ़ाते जाएंगे और यह जो हमारी नीति है वह एक बिल्कुल सुनिश्चित नीति है। हमें इस बात की खुशी है कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने बहुत स्पष्ट शब्दों में

यह कहा कि हम को औद्योगिक कार्यक्रम में. सहायक के रूप में , पार्टनर के रूप में मजदरों को आकृष्ट करना होगा। मजदूर जो इंड-स्ट्रियल बर्कर हैं, उन्हें हम उद्योगों के प्रबन्ध में, उद्योगों के इन्तजाम में हिस्सेदार बना रहे हैं। राष्ट्रपति जी ने स्पष्ट रूप से यह कहा है कि भारतीय मजदूर को, मजदूर वग को ग्राज एक बहत बडा दायित्व निभाना है ग्रौर इसलिए उनके दिल में हमें पार्टनरशिप की जागृति पैदा करनी होगी ताकि वह ग्रपने दायित्व को समझें ग्रीर देश के उत्पादन कार्यकम में भागीदार बनें। इस सम्बन्ध भें महोदय, मैं कहना चाहुंगा कि हमारे कांग्रेस के चुनाव घोषणा पत्न में कहा गया है, यह स्पष्ट कहा गया है कि हमको ग्राज ग्रपने ग्रौद्योगिक क्षेत्र में विशोष रूप से, पब्लिक सेक्टर इन्डस्ट्रीज में विशेष रूप सं जो जनरल एडमिनिस्टेंटर हैं. जो व्यरोकेट हैं, जो सिविलियन्स हैं, जो म्राई० सी० एस०, म्राई० ए० एस० हैं, जो लोग देश की टैक्निकल स्थिति को नहीं जानते हैं, उनके ऊपर स्पेशलिस्ट लाने पड़ेंगे । इस बारे में इस इस सदन का ध्यान इलैक्शन मैनीफैस्टो की ग्रोर दिलाना चाहता हं । कांग्रेस ने ग्रपने चुनाव घोषणा पत्न में यह कहा है :

The Congress invites the nation's scientists and Technologists to give their best to accomplish these exciting tasks of momentous importance and assures them that it would be its constant endeavour not only accord them positions of standing and responsibility but involve them intimately in the processes by which governmental decisions are taken and implemented as early as possible.

हमें इस वात की खुशी है कि राष्ट्रपति जी यह बात हमारे सामने लायें ।

SHRI N. G. GORAY: Are you reading from the Green Book?

SHRI HARSH DEO MALA VI A: Which Green Book? Yahya Khan's?

SHRI N. G GORAY: No; the one circulated.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIA: There is a Green Book of Yahya Khan. I thought you were referring to that.

हमें इस बारे में भी खुशी है कि पांचवीं पंचवर्थीय योजना का जो एप्रोच पेपर है वह हमारे सामने लाया गया है, राष्ट्रपति जी ने उसकी तरफ भी हमारा ध्यान दिलाया है। महो-दय, हमारी जो पांचवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना है वह हमारे देश की तरक्की के लिये, आगे बढाने के लिये एक ग्रीर कदम है ग्रीर सबसे वडी बात इस योजना में यह कही गयी है कि देश में समानता लाने के लिये. देश में विषमता को दूर करने के लिये, जो इस समय जपर के 30 प्रतिशत लोग हैं, उनकी ग्राय में कमी की जायेगी ग्रीर उसे घटा कर 130 से 113 कर दिया जायेगा । इसी तरह से जो नीचे के **30** प्रतिज्ञत लोग हैं, उनकी स्नाय 67 से बढा कर 87 कर दी जायेगी । इस कार्यंकम को पुरा करने के लिये हम सब लोगों को वडा प्रयास करना पड़ेगा। जो हमारा एप्रोच पेपर है वह ग्रभी स्पष्ट नहीं है और मैं ग्राणा करता हं कि जब पूर्ण रूप से पांचवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना ग्रा जायेगी. उसमें इस वात की म्रोर विशेष रूप से ध्यान दिया जायेगा ।

इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि व्यक्तिगत उपभोग की वस्तुओं के ऊपर नियंत्रण रखना भी ग्रावश्यक है ग्रौर इस कार्य में जो कठिनाइयां हैं, उन्हें खत्म किया जाना चाहिये। मैं ग्रापके सामने उदाहरणार्थ यह कहना चाहूंगा कि इस समय हमारे देश में 70 हजार किस्म के वस्त्र तैयार होते हैं। इतने ज्यादा किस्म के वस्त्र तैया होते हैं। इतने ज्यादा किस्म के वस्त्रों को बनाने की क्या जरूरत है ग्रौर क्यों न हम देश में 70 हजार की जगह 7 हजार या 700 किस्म के कपडे तैयार करें ताकि देश के सब लोगों को ग्रच्छी तरह से ग्रौर सस्ता कपड़ा मिल सके । ज्यादा किस्म के वस्त्र बनाने से ग्रनर्जी वेस्ट होती है ग्रौर हमें इस चीज को खत्म करना चाहिये ।

जरूरत इस बात की है कि जो ग्राज देश के ग्रन्दर काला धन चल रहा है उसको हम रोकें। वांच रिपोर्ट के मुताबिक आज इसकी मिकदार 7 हजार करोड़ रुपये पहुंच गई है। आज के टाइम्स आफ इण्डिया में खवर है कि आन्ध्र प्रदेश में यह काला धन इस्तेमाल में आ रहा है। यह भी खबर है कि विदेशी धन भी वहां लगा हम्रा है। बात यह है कि आज जो हम अपने देश में नीतियां चला रहे हैं , हमने कोयले का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर दिया, हम भूमि पर उच्चतम आराजी लगा रहे हैं, हम शहरी सम्पत्ति पर उच्चतम सीमा लगा रहे हैं, हमारे जो ग्रौर कदम इस तरफ बढ़ रहे हैं, उससे जो देश का घनिक वर्ग है, जो देश का प्रतिक्रियाबादी वर्ग है वह घवडा उठा है। जो देश का मोनोपोलिस्ट है, जो देश का बेस्टेड इन्टरेस्ट है, उसने समझ लिया है कि झब जनतांत्रिक तरीके से, जनता के समर्थन से वह सरकारी सत्ता को पा नहीं सकता ।

हमारे देश में जब कभी ग्रार्थिक संकट ग्राया, जब कभी हमारे देश में मजबरियों का पहाड ग्राया. तब-तब हमारे देश का इतिहास वतलाता है कि ये प्रतिक्रियावादी वर्ग उठे हैं ग्रीर उन्होंने हमारी कांग्रेस सत्ता, कांग्रेस शासन के खिलाफ काम करना शरू किया है। सन् 62 में चीन का ग्राटेक हुग्रा, जो हालत तब थी, वही ग्रव भी है। ग्राज क्या हालत है ? ग्राज ग्रजीब गठबंधन दिखाई पडता है। ग्रभी मैं प्रयाग में था. प्रदर्शन हुम्रा जनसंघ का भगवा झंडा, जमायते-इस्लामी का हरा झंडा, सोशलिस्ट पार्टी और मार्क्सिस्ट का लाल झंडा. कांगो का तिरंगा झंडा, इधर की ईट, उधर का रोड़ा, भानमती ने कुनबा जोडा, ग्रजीब समां है। जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम

इस चीज को समझें। हमने यह भी सुना है---मैं किसी को उदद्यत नहीं कर सकता---कि जो एन० जी० स्रोज की हडताल स्रांध में चल रही है और जो एन०जी०स्रोज की हड़ताल केरल में चल रही है, किसी ने उनसे कह दिया कि हडताल करो. पैसा मिलेगा ग्रौर पैसा मिल रहा है। कहां से पैसा आता है। हमने दो विशिष्ट व्यक्तियों का नाम भी सुना है. जिनके जरिये धन आता है, जिनके जरिये धन वितरित होता है। कहां से यह धन ग्राता है, कहां से वितरित हो रहा है, कौन इसके पीछे है ? ये बडी खतरनाक बातें हैं और हमको इनकी तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिये। हमारे प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में लिखा हम्रा है, मैं खास तौर से अपने जनसंघ के मित्रों का ध्यान दिलाना चाहंगा। ऋग्वेद में लिखा हम्रा है :

> न को रेवन्तं सख्याय विन्दसे पीयन्ति ते सुराण्वः ।

> यदा क्रुगोपि सदनुं समूह सयादित बितेव इयसे ।।

अर्थात्, किसी भी राज्य में जब धन के नशे में आकर धनपति जनता पर अत्या-चार करता है, भले आदमियों पर अत्याचार करता है, तब जब शासक उनको कुचलता है और कुचलने के बाद जब बादलों की तरह से गरजता है तो जनता उसकी इज्जत करती है और जनता उसको शक्ति देती है। भर्तहरि शतक में लिखा हुआ है:

ढ़ावम्भसि निवेष्ठव्यौ गलें बढवा दृढांशिलाम ।

ब्राह्मगां चाप्रवक्तारं धन्वन्तंचादा-यिनम ।।

अर्थात्, जरूरत है कि दो आदमियों को पत्थर बांध कर डुबो दिया जाय—एक वह ब्राहमण जा विद्या दान नहीं करता है और दूसरा वह धनपति जो धन पर सर्प की तरह बैठ जाता है और धन दान नहीं करता। तो मेरा खुयाल है कि अब वक्त आ गया है—- जब हमको बड़ी सख्ती से वेस्टेड इन्टरेस्ट को कथ करना है, दवाना है। विना उसको दबाए हमारे देश का भला नहीं हो सकता। याज इनकी पंचमेल पार्टियां जो वल रही हैं, जो प्रतिक्रियावादी गठवंधन हो रहा है, उनका एक ही नारा है 'इंदिरा हॅंट. छ।'। ग्राज भारत और घोर प्रतिक्रियावाद के बीच एक व्यक्ति खड़ा हुआ है, एक व्यक्ति है, एक शर्. ह और उसको मूर्तिमान इंदिरा गांधी करती है। इनका जितना प्रेस है, इनका जितना प्रचार है, इनका जितना प्रोपेगंडा है वह सिर्फ यह है कि किसी प्रकार से येन केन प्रकारेण इंदिरा गांधी के रूप को खत्म करो, इंदिरा गांधी को खत्म करो । यह बड़ी एक खतर-नाक वात है।

सबसे मारके की बात यह है कि जितने अखवार हमारे देज में है, वे मोनोपली प्रेस वाले हैं। जो अच्छी वार्ते देज में होती हैं, उनको छापने की फिक उनको नहीं रहती है। इन्दिरा जी ने अभी हाल में एक भाषण में इस सम्बन्ध में कहा था। वन एशिया कार्फस में उन्होंने जो साफ कहा उसको मैं पढ़ देता हु:

"For historical reasons, freedom, in many systems has come to mean more freedom for the big, the strong and the propertied rather than for the smallerman. This tendency has received support from conservative 'judicial pronouncements. In our own country, freedom of the press is being used to further property interests and protection of the courts is sought, for our part, we do recognise the right of a newspaper to champion any issue. But we feel that it would be useful, even in these days of advertisement dominance, to maintain a distinction between the editorial room and business office. The proposal to diffuse economic concentration in industry which we are discussing will not by any means limit an editor's freedom to criticise Government."

विचार प्रकट करने की स्वतंत्रता के अपहरण का प्रश्न नहीं है। प्रश्न यह है कि विजनेस [श्री हर्षदेव मालवीय]

वालों के हाथ से प्रेस को निकालना है प्रेस स्वामित्व का डिफ्युजन होना चाहिए । हमारी सरकार ने कभी घोषित भी किया था कि हम चाहेंगे कि यह जो देश के अन्दर प्रतिकियावाद का एक तूफान खड़ा हो रहा है और जिसमें मोनोपली प्रेस वहुत वड़ा भाग ग्रदा करता है, उसको रोका जाय । किसी देश में अखबारों को उद्योगपति नहीं चलाते हैं, जो कि हमारे देश में होता है ।

अगे भूवेज्ञ गुप्तः डिफ्युजन पर गुजराल साहव ने कफ्यजन लगा दिया।

आँ हर्वदेव मालशोय : यंत में श्रीमन, हमारी विदेश नीति के सम्बन्ध में जो कुछ हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है. उसके खिए मैं उनको धन्यवाद देना चाहता हं । हमारे देश में प्रारम्भ से यही पार्टियां, यही जनसंघ, यही स्वतंत्र पार्टी और यही सारी पार्टियां हमारी स्वतंत्र विदेश नीति के खिलाफ रहीं, लेकिन यही विदेश नीति हमारे ब्राढे वक्त में हमारे काम ग्रायी। इन लोगों ने कहा कि संसार में हमारा कोई दोस्त नहीं है. मगर हमारे दोस्त निकले । हमारे देश पर जब आकमण हम्रा, हमारा देश जव कभी खड़ा हुआ तो यह विदेश नीति ही हमारे काम आयी और चुंकि यह विदेश नीति एक स्वतंत्र नीति है, चंकि यह विदेश नीति सम्राज्य विरोधी नीति है, चंकि इस विदेश नीति के द्वारा हमने स्वतंत्रता के लिए लडने वाले देशों को सहायता दी है. इसलिए यह बातें कुछ लोगों को फुटी आंख नहीं सुहाती और इस के खिलाफ, हमारी इस स्वंत्रण नीति के खिलाफ कुछ विदेशी शक्तियां भी काम कर रही हैं और यह विदेशी शक्तियां बडे खतरनाक तरीके से काम करती हैं। ग्राज ग्रखबारों में फिर खबर है और बराबर खबरें आयीं कि कुछ अमरीकन टाइप के लोग, कुछ हिप्पी लोग भी ग्रांध्र एजीटेशन में काम कर रहे हैं। टाइ न मंगजीन में 3 कालम खबर छपी है, बड़ा तस्वीरे लगा कर तेलग भाषा के पोस्टर छपे हैं, वेस्ट जर्मनी काटेलीविजन ग्रांध में टेलीविजन ले रहा है। उसको ग्राप एलाऊ क्यों करते हैं ?

एक माननीय सदस्य : दोस्त हैं।

भ्री हर्षदेव मालवोध : तो श्रीमन्, में निवेदन कर रहाथा.....

श्वी भूवेज्ञ गुप्तः होम मिनिस्टर साहब, जराग्रच्छी तरह से सुनिये।

श्ची उम्स्त इंकर दोक्षित : ग्राप हिन्दी नहीं जानते होंगे, मैं उनका एक-एक शब्द समझ रहा हूं न्यू जपेपर स्रोनरशिप डिफ्युजन में कंफ्यूजन नहीं हुआ है अभी तक ।

श्वी भूवें **गुप्त :** ग्रापको नए एसाइन मेंट देना चाहिए ।

श्री हर्षदेव माललीय : श्रीमन, मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि सरकारी ग्रांकडे हमारे सामने हैं। एक प्रश्न का उत्तर सदन में दिया गया था कि 1956 से ले कर 1971 तक के बीच में जो पी० एल० 480 का पैसा ग्रमरीकन दतावास द्वारा खर्च हुआ, जो उनको कानून के ग्रन्दर एलाउड है, वह 300 करोड़ रुपया था। तो तीन सौ करोड रुपया ग्रापके देश में एक विदेशी दूतावास ने जिस तरीको से चाहा खर्च किया। हमारे सामने तक है कि उसने खर्च किया य० एस० ग्राई० एस० पर. उसने खर्च किया य० एस० ए० आई० डी० पर ग्रीर खर्च किया उसने ग्रपने ऐम्बेसी पर, उसके चलाने पर, तनख्वाहों पर ग्रीर उसका कोई हिसाब ग्राप ले नहीं सकते। तीन सौ करोड़ रुपया आपके देश में चन्द वर्वों में एक विदेशी सत्ता ने खर्च किया और वह सब देश का विघटन करने में खर्च हग्रा।

SHRI N. G. GORAY: What was the Government doing? Was not the Government party to this PL-480?

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA: That is not the question, Sir. We shaii talk it later.

मैं ग्रापसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि यह खतरनाक बात है ग्रीर इस समय

223

225

सबसे खतरे की बात यह है कि झाज वियतनाम से ग्रमरीकी साम्ग्राज्यवाद पीछे हट रहा है। उसको हटना पड रहा है। जो अर्थशास्त्र के ज्ञाता हैं, जो अमरीकन इकोनामी को समझते हैं, जो पढते हैं वह आपको बतायेंगे और ग्रमरीकी विद्वानों को ग्राप पढिए. ग्राप केवल यह न कहिए कि कोई कस्यनिस्ट बोलता है, ग्रापको उससे पता चलेगा कि वहां की पूरी इकानामी वहां का पूरा अर्थशास्त्र आधारित है वहां का आममिंट इंडस्टी पर । वहां की आममिंट इंडस्ट्री नहीं चलेगी तो उनकी अर्थव्यवस्था ठप्प हो जाएगी, बैठ जाएगी। तो उनका ध्येय है कि दूनिया में कहीं न कहीं यद्ध चले, लड़ाई चले, कहीं न कहीं झगडा बना रहे। झगडा बना रहे तो उनकी आममिंट इंडस्डी चलती रहेगी भीर उनका काम चलता रहेगा। तो दक्षिश पूर्व एशिया से तो वह झब हटे, झब उनके सामने हैं उनकी सारी फौजें, सारे बमबार, बडे-बडे विराट वमवर्धक सब सँगौन से हट कर थाईलैंड में ग्रा गए हैं। थाईलैंड ग्रपने देश से 5,7 या 8 सी मील दूर है ग्रीर उनका धगला ध्येय भारत है। भारत की स्वतन्त्र नीति. भारत की समाजवादी नीति. भारत की सब देशों से मैत्री करने की नोति, यह खटकती है उनको, जो उनके ग्लोबल प्लान्स हैं, जो विश्व व्यापी उनकी योजनाएं हैं, उसमें यह स्वतन्त्र भारत और स्वतन्त्र भारत की स्वतन्त्र नीति, जिसको कि हम आज श्रीमती इदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में शान के साथ चल रहे हैं, यह उनको खटकती है ग्रीर इसके लिए ग्रगला यद्ध क्षेत्र कहां हो, उसके लिए उनकी योजना जो भी हो, इमको उससे सतकं रहना चाहिए। बहत जरुरत इस बाल की है कि हम सजग रहें और चेतना से काम करें।

ग्रंत में मैं ग्रापसे कहना चाहंगा कि देश के ग्रंदर स्राज एक बड़ी विषम स्थिति पैदा हो गयी है। हमारा प्राचीन भारत देश है। महान हमारी परंम्परायें हैं। 2032 RS.-8.

हमारा देश इतिहास में कमी भी केन्द्रित नहीं रहा। अशोक के काल में ईसा मसीह के 400 वर्ष पूर्व एक केन्द्रित शासन हमारे देश में था। वह केंद्रित शासन भी इतना संपूर्ण नहीं था, दक्षिण का कुछ भाग बाहर था। फिर उसके बाद अकबर के समय देश में एक केन्द्रित शासन बना। बाकी समय देश विघटित रहा। यह विघटन या खंडन हमारे देश की एक बडी कमजोरी है। फिर म्रंग्रेज आये। अंग्रेज साम्राज्यवादी थे और पहली बार वे हमारे देश को गलामी के पंजे में ले कर जरूर चले, लेकिन उस के लिए देश को एक किया गया । फिर हम ने अपनी आजादी को पा कर एक केन्द्रित देश बनाया है ग्रौर हम को इस देश की एकता की रक्षा करनी है, देश की एकता को सुरक्षित रखना है, इस देश की एकता को आगंख की पूतली के समान सम्हाल कर रखना हमारा कर्तव्य है। हम देश को आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं, हम देश को ग्रागे ले जाना चाहते हैं ग्रीर हमको विश्वास है कि अपने देश को ग्रागे ले जा सकेंगें। हमको अपने देश के प्रारब्ध पर विश्वास है, हमको विश्वास है कि हमारे देश का प्रारब्ध हमारे कांग्रेस दल के साथ मिला हुआ है। इसलिए हमको वहत सुधार लाना पड़ेगा। किन्तु ग्राज हमको बहत दू:ख होता है, हदय से दू:ख होता है कि ये हमारे जनसंधी मित्र जो झखण्ड भारत के बड़े सेवक थे, अब वह खण्ड भारत कर रहे हैं। उन्होंने रेजोल्युशन पास किया। उनके ग्रध्यक्ष वहां जाकर ग्रांध्र प्रदेश का विधटन करना चाहते हैं।

श्वी जगवीजा प्रसाद माथ्र : सबसे पहले विवटन तो कांग्रेस ने किया उसका। ग्रापने विघटन किया । नागालैंड बन गया उसमें विधटन नहीं हम्रा, ग्रव क्यों विधटन होता है...

(Interruption)

श्री हर्षदेव मालवीय : श्रीमन, देश की रक्षा, देश की एकता की रक्षा हमारा सबसे बड़ा काम है। आज देश के अन्दर फूट एक बड़ी ताकत है। जनता को जो कप्ट है मुल्यों की वृद्धि से इसका इस्तेमाल करके देश में खंडनकारी और विघटनकारी चीजें पैदा करन। चाहते हैं, इसके खिलाफ हमको लड़ना है। इसके लिए आवश्यक हो तो हम सब कुछ कर सकेंगे, हम हिंसा करेंगे किन्तु हम देश के विघटन को एलाऊ नहीं करेंगे और हमको खुशी है कि राष्ट्रपति ने अपने भाषण में देश की एकता को कायम रखने की बात पूरी शक्ति से कही।

श्रीमन, हमको ग्रपने देश के प्रारव्ध पर विश्वास करके चलना है। अभा हाल में ही हमारी प्रधान मंत्री श्रोमती इंदिरा गांधो ने अपने भावग में कहीं पर कहा---'इडिया हैजट् बिए फाइटिंगटोम'। हमारे ऊनर मसीबतों के पहाड ग्रा रहे हैं। ग्रभी हमारे ग्रखण्ड भारत, हमारे एकत भारत, हमारे स्वतंत्र भारत का एक्य रूप केवल पच्चीस वर्ष पुराना है। हम झभी केवल 25 वर्ष केहो रहेहैं। तो यह जो खतरे पैदा कर रहे हैं, ये जो विवटनकारी शक्तियां हैं, ये जो विघटनकार तत्व खडे होते हैं, यह स्वामाविक है वे भाइतिहास का देन हैं। मगर इनसे हमको लड़ना है। खतरा यह है कि झाज देश की रार्थिक स्थिति के खराब होने के कारण ये प्रातेकियावादी प्रवत्तियां, ये विघटनकारी प्रवत्तियां जो समाजवाद से बहत घवराती है, इंदिरा सरकार की जो समाजवादी नोति है उससे घवराती है. वह इस स्थिति का इस्तेमाल कर रही हैं देश का विघटन करने के लिए । इनके खिलाफ हमको डट कर खड़ा होना है।

(Interruptions)

श्री जगदीज्ञ प्रसाद माथुरः आपका भी नवर अब आने वाला है।.....

(Interruptions).

- श्री हर्षदेव मालवीय :
- जो बोलतव्यम सो गरतव्यन्

जान बोलतव्यम सो मरतव्यम्

दांत किटाकिट क्यों गरतव्यम ।

ग्राप भी बोलेंगे जब खापका भौका ग्रायेगा। दांत किटकिटाते क्यों हों ?

श्रीमन्, में ग्रापको धन्यवाद देता हं कि ग्रापने मझे इतना समय दिया। हम राष्ट-पति को धन्यवाद देते हैं कि हमारे राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन को जो महान परम रायें हैं उनको हमारे महान राष्ट्रपति ने अपने भाषणे में अच्छेतरीके से फिर आगे बढाया है। हम उनको धन्यवाद देते हैं ग्रीर उनको यह विश्वास दिलाते हैं कि उनके बताए हर मार्ग पर हम चलते रहेंगे । हमको अपने देश के प्रारब्ध पर विश्वास है, हमको पूरी आशा है कि सारा देश और हमारी सारी जनता इन प्रतिकियावादी तत्वों को कूचल करके देश के अन्दर एक ऐसा समाज स्थापित करेगी, जिसके अन्दर समानता हो, जहां स्वतंत्रता हो, जहां पारस्वरिक प्रेम-भाव हो, जहां देशवासी एक दूसरे से प्रेम के साथ रहेंगे ।

धन्यवाद ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are 312 amendments. Amendments No. 1 to 20, in the name of Dr. Bhai Maha-vir. He is not here. Amendments No. 21 to 27 and 30, 31 and 32—Mr.. Mathur.

*SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Rajasthan): Sir, I move amendment No 21 to 27 and 30, 31 and 32.

21. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: — "but regret that the Address makes no mention of the persistent failure of Government policies in regard to controlling the continu-

*The Amendments from 21 to 27 and from 30 to 32 also stood in the names of Shri Pitamber Das, Shri Om Prakash Tyagi, Shri Prem Manohar, Shri Jagdambir Prasad Yadav, Shri Man Singh Varma and Dr. Bhai Mahavir. ous rise in prices of essential consumer goods which are necessary to fulfil the minimum needs of the day to day life."

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the failure of Government in early presentation of the Report of the Third Pay Commission."

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

"but regret that the Address contains no declaration in regard to formation of separate States of Andhra and Telangana."

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the failure of Government in the context of the enormous loss of cattle wealth and the widespread starvation resulting from the conditions of drought and acute shortage of foodgrains in Maharashtra, Rajas-than, Gujarat, Mysore and other parts of the country."

25. That at the end of the motion, the followng be added namely: —

"but regret that the Address make:- no mention of the dismal fa;]ure of the special compaign launched by Government for plentiful production in the Rabi crop."

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the policies

of Government responsible for economic stagnation and steep fall in the pace of development".

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the dilemma of Government in regard to the increasing unemployment in the rural areas and among the educated."

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

"but regret that the Address does not express deep resentment over the ban imposed on the sacred books like Shrimad Bhagwad Gita and Upnishads etc. by Turky."

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

"but regret that the Address does not express surprise on the Chief Minister of Haryana, Shri Bansi Lai being given a clean chit even after substantial allegations having been made against him by 120 Members of Parliament,"

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the necessity for complete change in the priorities in regard to investments under the Fifth Five Year Plan in favour of small irrigation schemes, small scale industries and a balanced nuclear technology."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendments Nos. 28 and 29 in the name of Mr. Pitamber Das. He is not here.

Amendments Nos. 33 to 46 in the name of Mr Om Prakash Tyagi. He is not here.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman]

Amendments Nos. 47 to 56 in the name of Mr. D. L. Sen Gupta. He is not here.

SHRI V. K. SAKHLECHA: Sir, I move amendments Nos. 57 to 65.

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the demand of the people for forming separate States of Andhra and Telengana."

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

"but regret that the Address does not condemn the nationalisation of the whose-sale trade in foodgrains and forcible procurement and levy to be imposed on the farmers."

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

"but regret that the Address does not throw proper light on the failure of the Government in tackling the acute problems of scarcity of foodgrains and ever rising prices and does not make right assessment of the resentment and discontent prevailing among the people."

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address taking any effective measures to eradicate corruption the Government prevalent in administration and also does not make any mention of the connivance of the Central Government in the ever increasing corruption in the States and at the Centre for instance export of oilcakes was banned from Madhya Pradesh with the approval of the Central Government whereas out flow of groundnuts etc, was continuing there and this ban had been got imposed by two or three businessmen for their selfaggrandizement and

against the interests of the State and the country by offering huge amount of money to the persons in authority in Madhya Pradesh."

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the failure of the Central Government in taking effective measures to check the ever deteriorating law and order situation in the country."

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the fact that in order to appease Pakistan, the army was withdrawn from the occupied areas of Pakistan against the interests of the country whereas in Pakistan even at present poisonous propaganda is being made against India and hectic preparations for war are on and that country is not implementing the Simla Agreement."

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

"but regret that the Address does not make any mention to the f^{ac}t that there is anarchy in the field of education and the entire lot of the youth is agitated on account of the acute problem of unemployment as the Government have failed to take any measure in this regard."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to condemn the addition in the Council of Ministers hereby increasing the expenditure of the Central Government as against the appalling famine conditions prevailing in the country on account of which the poor are finding it hard to get foodgrains and the people are suffering from starvation and the poor 'Adivasis' are dying of hunger." 65. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: —

"but regret that the Address does not reflect any real desire of the Government to ameliorate the lot of the poor whose helplessness remains to be the same even today and it does not make any mention of the fact that the favouritism and nepotism is rampant; no heed is paid to the poor; only verbal sympathy is expressed to the poor but no relief is made available to them; neither land is given to them for cultivation or housebuilding nor jobs are provided to them and neither education is imparted to them nor they are provided with medical facilities."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendments Nos. 66 to 88 in the name of Shri J. P. Yadav. He is not here.

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra): Sir, I move amendment No. 89.

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

"but regret that the Address has totally failed to correctly evaluate the internal situation in the country."

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: (Maharashtra): Sir, I move amendment No. 135.

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

"but regret that the Address holds of no reasonal promise of holding the price rise and increasing employment opportunities."

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I move amendment No. 137.

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

"but regret to note that the Address does not take a serious view of the deteriorating condition of law and order in the country, particularly, in the dreas under President's Rule."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, I move Amendments Nos. 138 to 298 and 306 to 312. Altogether they are 168 Amendments.

Only one correction I have to make with regard to Amendment No. 193. On page 8— List No. 3—in that Amendment it should be "tenancy ownership rights". There are other minor suggestions which I have given to the office and they will do it.

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

"but regret to note that in glaring contrast to the fan-fare and pageantry which accompanied the President's arrival at the Central Hall of Parliament, the Address delivered is altogether a colourless ritual."

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

"but regret to note that the Address is not only insipid and uninspiring but a pitiable essay in smug complacency and self-deception."

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

"but regret that the Address is a remarkable example of how not to objectively assess and analyse the prevailing economic situation in the country and is baren of any promise for even the minimum necessary policy changes to curb the exploiting classes or improve the living condition of the masses."

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

"but regret that the Address instead of being self-critical is self-justificatory in the extreme."

142. That at the end of the motion,

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

the following be added, namely: ----

"but regret to note that the slogan of 'garibi hatao' has not found even an echo in the bureaucratic idiom and that rigmarole and platitudes take the place of a firm commitment for concrete measures for implementing the slogan."

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

"but regret that the Address is yet another documentary proof that the Government is not at all serious about implementing the election pledges of the ruling party."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take into account either the revival of a new 'Grand Alliance' of Rightist forces in the country or the situation including popular frustration and discontent which these forces are seeking to exploit to further their short-term and long-term objectives."

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

"but regret that the Address while warning the country against violence does not pay any attention to the fact that having been defeated in the normal democratic processes and in the elections the Rightist and communal forces are now trying to work up regionalism, separatism, linguism and even communalism to rouse passions in order to engulf the country in disruption and chaos to suit their ends."

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

"but regret to note that the Address does not recognise that

the Rightist counter-offensive poses a threat not only to the cause of the working people and democracy but even to the integrity and unity of the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any understanding of the developments in Andhra Pradesh in its larger perspective as an integral part of the strategy of Right reaction which has been routed in elections but is far from uprooted in the socio-economic life of the country."

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

"but regret to note that the Address does not giv_e a clear and categoric assurance that the integrity and unity of Andhra Pradesh shall be preserved and that the game of the vested interests and Right reaction thus defeated."

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

"but regret that the Address does not point out that the separatist movement in Andhra Pradesh with all its violence and terrorism has been engineered by landlords, wholesalers and other vested interests with a view to preventing land ceilings and other progressive measures, such as wholesale take over of foodgrains, nationalisation of public transport etc."

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

"but regret that 'the Address does not take note of the fact that some Rightist communal parties and other elements have entered into the separatist movement with a view to advancing not only the nefarious ends in Andhra Pradesh but also the aims of counter-revolution and reaction on the national plane."

151. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: ----

"but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the mischievous slogan which has j been raised by some Rightist parties and others for the appointment of a second State Reorganisation Commission and for fragmenting the country into 40 or 50 States, their intention being to divert public attention from the urgent economic issues and demands of the masses."

152. That at the end of the motion, rthe following be added, namely: ----

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that certain people belonging to the Rightist reactionary parties were admitted to the ruling Congress party for sheer opportunistic reasons and that these elements now are in the forefront of separatist violence and chaos."

153. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: ----

"but regret that the Address does not take a correct lesson from the fact, as seen in Andhra Pradesh, that the political stability does not depend on a mere majority in the legislature when especially such majority is comprised of reactionaries and agents of vested interests."

154. That at the end of the motion, 'the following be added, namely: ----

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Administration in Andhra Pradesh failed miserably in dealing with the situation and that some top bureaucrats became themselves abettors of the separatist movement in many places."

155. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: ----

"but regret that the Address does not show the necessary awareness that any unprincipled concessions to the separatist under whatever pretext is bound to encourage the forces of disruption and separatism all over the country,"

156.. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: ----

"but regret that the Address does not recognise in due measure the significance of defeating the separatist movement in Andhra Pradesh if separatist disruption has to be prevented from raging its ugly head in other parts of the country."

157. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not call upon the nation to take the separatist movement in Andhra Pradesh as a challenge to the integrity and unity of the country as well as to the cause of democracy and progress."

153. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:-

"but regret that the Address does not show any sign of concern that it is from the ruling party itself the voice of separation was largely raised."

159. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: ----

"but regret that the Address while referring to the situation Andhra Pradesh does not differentiate between the landlords and other vested interests as well as the Rightist and communal forces who inspired and instigated the separatist movement on the one hand and those others among the student community and government employees the unfortunately fell a victim to it on the other."

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

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

"but regret that while understandably suggesting "calm and rational discussion" the Address" does not emphasise that the main purpose of such discussion will be to find a solution within the framework of integrity and unity of Andhra Pradesh and in particular within the framework of Prime Minister's 5-point formula."

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

"but regret that while calling upon the people of Andhra Pradesh to cooperate fully with the government in finding a peaceful solution which is a correct appeal the Address does not at the same time specifically stress the importance of such a common and co-operative effort to preserve and safeguard the unity of Andhra Pradesh and thus ensure that the forces of balkanisation are not let loose in the country in the name of another round of unprincipled and undemocratic Estates Reorganisation."

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

"but regret that the Address does not pay tribute to the inte-grationists in Andhra Pradesh who have heroically withstood terror and onslaughts of the separatists and held aloft the banner of unity even at the risk of their life and property."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the encouragement by the ruling party in Tamil Nadu to the separatist movement in Andhra Pradesh and its slogan of State autonomy bordering separatism as well as jointgovernment at the centre." 164. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: —

"but regTet that the Address does not take note of the slogan which has been raised by the separatists with indirect and direct support of ruling party in Tamil Nadu for pitting South against North in the name of ending the domination of the North."

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

"but regret that the Address does not even take note of the anti-national demand of separation of South from North which has been raised by some leaders of the Andhra separatist movement."

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

"but regret that while calling upon Parliament to "take stock .1 of the problems that the nation faces and give guidance to the people" the Address does not itself display the elementary forthrightness to practice what it preaches."

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

"but regret that the Address totally and inexcusably underestimates the havocs the continued rising prices are causing on the life of the common man while the government goes on dolling out its nauseating and meaningless promises to hold the price line parading its so-called measures which have proved to be utterly ineffective."

168. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, *namely*: —

"but regret that the Address shows a lack of courage and even honesty on the part of the government to admit its monumental failures on the price front or to pinpoint the real causes behind runaway prices, not to speak of taking effective measures against them."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that after a rise of more than 12 per cent in the wholesale price index during 1972 the price graph is rising again in the first two months of 1973."

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

"but regret that the Address does not single out the main cause of rise in prices *viz.*, the existing grip of monopolists on our economy nor does it propose any measure to check the speculative and similar other operations which boost prices."

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

"but regret that the Address does not criticise the attempt in certain quarters to justify the rise in prices by attributing it to the influx of refugees from East Bengal and the brief Indo-Pak war."

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

"but regret that the Address does not even give an assurance that the credit policy of the bank will be changed in order to prevent speculative advances and ether encouragement to price speculation."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the failure on the part of th_e Government to formulate a policy for the State take over of the wholesale trade in foodgrains and other essential commodities."

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

"hut regret that the Address overlooks the fact that even the declared policy in favour of take over of the wholesale trade in rice and other foodgrains is not being implemented by several State Governments and that some of them like the Governments o^f "West Bengal, Rajasthan, have openly come out against the takeover."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the failure of the Food Corporation of India to implement even its own modest target for kharif procurement."

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

"but regret that, while referring to a system of public system the Address does not show any interest in: the urgency of the nationalisation of cotton, sugar, essential drugs and similar other commodities of common consumption which is required to ensure the success of an effective network of public distribution system."

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

• "but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that no effective steps have been taken against big hoarders and profiteers nor even to discover hoarded stocks of foodgrains, cloth and other essential commodities."

178. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not indicate any price policy whatsoever for holding the price line."

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any concern at the fact that at the production level monopolists are boosting prices by taking advantage of their system of cost accountancy and by exerting their influence with the Tariff Commission."

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any understanding of the problem of th_e government employees as well as the employees in the public sector who should be supplied from the Government shops essential commodities at fair prices, especially in view of the rising cost of living."

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

"but regret that the Address does not see that in order to make the coarse and medium varieties of cloth available to the consumers at reasonable price the production of fine and super-fine cloth have ^{t0} he drastically reduced and even in some cases stopped."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that agricultural producers dp not get a fair price for their produce they have to pay high prices not only for the consumer goods but also for other essential articles needed for cultivation."

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

"but regret that the Address does not show concern at the delay in the submission of the Report of the 3rd Pay Commission nor does it give an assurance -that Interim relief will be granted I to the Central Government employees."

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

"but regret that the Address does not show proper grasp of the magnitude of the problem of unemployment in the country including growing unemployment among the educated youths."

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

"but regret that the Address does not call upon the Government even to check the growth in unemployment which will be of the order of well over 15 million, 2.6 million being educated unemployed persons."

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

"but regret that the Address is not aware of the fact that in a developing country like ours nearly 100,000 engineers and diploma holders are without employment today."

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

"but regret that the Address is not alive to the serious social implications of the present phenomena of snow-balling unemployment which is always exploited by the reactionary forces in the political life and also by the monopolists in economic life to keep the wages down and earn high profits."

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

"but regret that the Address is totally oblivious of the disguised unemployment and even underemployment in the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not seem to be aware of the

243

fact that the Government have spent only Rs. 30 crores out of Rs. 50 crores allocated for the so-called 'Crash Programme' against unemployment."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take adequate notice of the fact that in many States even the existing and amended ceiling laws are not being implemented in the interest of the toiling peasantry."

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

"but regret that the Address prefers to be blind to the fact that in States like West Bengal, Bihar and so on a large number of share-croppers have already been evicted and that thousands of cases, especially in West Bengal, are pending against the peasants."

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

"but regret that the Address does not give any direction to the States that the harassment and the peasants as persecution of well as the fraud on the existing land reforms must at all costs be presented as а major national policy."

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any keeness for giving tenancy rights to the peasants which is of paramount importance in the context of agrarian reforms."

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

"but regret that the Address does not direct at th_e Governments like that of West Bengal that the cases pending against thousands of peasants should be forthwith withdrawn, if necessary

by changing the existing procedural and other laws."

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any eoncern for the millions of Harijans who are subjected not only to intense economic exploitation but also social oppression."

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

"but regret that the Address does not stress the urgency of providing minimum living wage to agricultural labourers as a matter of national policy."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the grievances of the toiling peasantry that they are not supplied with necessary credits, fertilisers, seeds and other inputs for improving agricultural production."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the heavy indebtedness of the peasantry nor does it propose any measure to relieve substantially this terrible debt burden on it."

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

"but regret that the Address while referring to 7 per cent growth in industrial production forgets the fact that this is computed on the basis of the low figure of 4 per cent increase in the rate of growth in 1971."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take serious note of the fact that the Fourth Five Year Plan has failed to ensure 8 to 9 per cent rate of industrial growth."

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

"but regret that the Address misses the seriousness of the situation created by the continued stagnation of the industrial economy on the one hand and regional imbalances on the other."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to note that for bottle-necks and obstruction as well as lack in industrial growth the main responsibility must be fixed on monopoly capital and the policies which feed it."

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

"but regret that the Address does not still realise that for the rapid and balanced industrial development of the country the concerns belonging to the 75 monopoly houses have got to be nationalised."

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

"but regret that while the Address refers to industrial licencing policy it forgets that notwithstanding the Industrial Policy Resolution, 1956, which is the basis of the present industrial policy decisions the 75 monopoly houses and especially the Tatas and Birlas have grown enormously and along with them the malpractices and other anti-national operations of the big business."

205. That at the end of the Mo tion, the following be added, namely: ---

'but regret that the Address does not see the necessity c£ reformulating a radical industrial policy for the country which must have a clear anti-monopoly direction and also at the same time provide for nationalisation of vital industries including some consumer industries."

206. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely.—

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the latest industrial policy permits monopoly capital or large business houses to enter even the enlarged core sector of industries."

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

"but regret that the Address does not give a clear assurance that the monopolists who should be eliminated from our economy are not going to be allowed to enter into the so called joint sector with the State."

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

"but regret that the Address does not note the failure of the Government even to convert the loans from the Government and other public financial institutions to monopoly concerns into equities held by Government or such institutions."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the tendency in the ruling circles of some States to offer new concessions to monopolies in the name of industrial expansion, development of backward regions or reducing unemployment." 210. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely: —

"but regret that the Address does not even show concern at the exploitation and plunder by foreign private capital mainly British, Amercian and West German which with investment of nearly Rs. 1400 crores is pumping out of the country every year Rs. 60 to 80 crores, if not more, as profits, commissions, dividends, interests, etc."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that both the MRTP Act and Monopolies Commission have proved an eyewash without having any positive impact on the economic situation."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that actions against the Birlas and Goenkas are being needlessly delayed giving rise to the suspicion of pressures and influence in high quarters."

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

"but regret that the Address is not worried at the fact that in certain ruling circles monopolists have established their very close contacts with the result that there is an attempt not only to give them more concessions but to suppress the demand within the ruling party for action against monopoly capital." 220. That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely: —

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that certain sections of the monopolists have developed close contacts with top bureaucrats at different key places with the result that even the declared policies of the Government are being sabotaged."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that collusion between the monopolists and certain influential politicians including some wielding power have resulted in growth of corruption in public life."

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

"but regret that the Address does not acknowledge the necessity of 100 per cent nationalisation of our import trade."

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

"but regret that notwithstanding heavy foreign debt burdens the Address does not give any indication declaring a moratorium on repayment of such foreign debts involving foreign exchange expenditure."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the pressure tactics of USA and other partners of the so-called Aid [Shri Bhupesh Gupta] India Consortium with a view to influencing India's policy in the direction which would suit the designs of neo-colonialism."

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

"but regret that the Address i does not show any awareness of j the magnitude of the black money operating in the country, nor does it indicate any measure like demonetisation of higher denomination notes which has become extremely urgent."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that even now monopolists have their place-men in the public sector banks and that they use these men for securing unjust credits at the cost of the weaker sections of our economy."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the bank advance to the sugar magnates were largely responsible for speculation in this commodity and for other malpractices."

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

"but regret that the Address does not even promise an early introduction of the Press Bill for diffusion of newspaper ownership and for delinking the press from industrial houses which has been a long-standing demand of

on President's Address 252

the public and journalists in the country and to which the Government itself stands committed."

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

"but regret that the Address does not lay down the guide-line for the formulation of a new industrial relations policy in which the recognition of unions by secret ballot, the right of collective bargaining, no compulsory arbitration or third party interference in industrial disputes and right to strike must be fully and unreservedly accepted as fundamental demo-cractic right of the working class."

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

"but regret that the Address does not give an assurance of the attempts on the parts of the Government spokesmen to canvass public opinion for freezing wages in the name of various policies or otherwise by linking up wages to production."

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

"but regret that the Address does not see that in some cases the real wages of the working people have remained stagnant."

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

"but regret that the Address Joes not promise any recasting and and revision of the entire wage structure to ensure a need based minimum wage with a D.A. guaranteeing full neutralisation and a minumum wage of Rs. 250 and to arrest consumers' price index."

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

"but regret that the Address does not promise that the minimum 8.33 percent bonus shall be made permanent and also extended to all areas of employer and employee relations."

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

"but regret that the Address does not show the necessary sympathy for the working class in respect of their wages when it is admitted that the share of the wage in the total cost of production has fallen and the value added by the manufacture has gone up while the benefits resulting therefor have been unduly and unjustly benefitted the employers."

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

"but regret that the Address does not ta*ke note of the tendency in certain official quarters to encourage unions who are ready to oblige the employers and the managements instead of honestly representing the interests of the workers and employees."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that in some cases certain unions are being used even by the public sector managements in order I to obstruct the growth of normal I and genuine trade union actirities." 243. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: —

"but regret that the Address does not make any promise that all the closed mills and factories will be opened and if necessary will be nationalised in order to ensure their functioning."

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

"but regret that the Address does not call upon the Government to curb industrial profits by necessary legislations and (other administrative measures".

245. That at the end of the motion the following be added namely: —

"but regret that the Address does not see the necessity of improving the salaries and service conditions of the scientific and technical cadres while reducing the fat salaries now given to the senior officers belonging to the IAS and the former ICS."

246. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: ---

"but regret that the Address while referring to the Approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan does not take note of the serious shortcomings of the document."

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

"but regret that the Address does not show that the Government has learnt anything from the failures of Third and Fourth Five Year Plans or from the capitalist planning in general"

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

"but regret that the Address does not give any policy directions for the Planning Commis[Shri Bhupesh Gupta], sion when it is wellknown that the Approach to Fifth Five Year Plan does not have yet the guidelines for formulating the full plan."

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

"but regret that the Address does not realise that no planning in India can be successful on the lines of capitalist planning."

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

"but regret that the Address instead of providing radical reorientation to approach to planning accepted whatever has been stated in the Approach document."

251. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: ---

"but regret that while correctly speaking about self-reliance the Address does not indicate the basic policies which are essential for achieving that approach."

252. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, •namely: —

"but regret that the Address does not set before itself the task of achieving economic! independence which means that Indian economy must not only be free from foreign exploitation but also from the tantacles of the world capitalist economy."

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

"but regret that the Address does not give a call for achieving self reliance and economics independence on ,the basis of vigorous anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly measures.."

on President's Address 256

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

"but regret that the Address does not recognise the urgency of disbanding the top bureaucracy which is not committed to progressive measures and which maintains close liaison with big money and replacing it by officers who are committed to radical social objectives."

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

"but regret that the Address does not even take note of the fact that at the annual session of the ruling party recently held at Vidhan Nagar (Calcutta) strong voice was expressed against bureaucracy and bureaucratic obstruction and sabotage."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take due note of the serious power crisis in the country which has been brought about by bureaucracy and in collusion with certain monopolists and vested interests."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the crisis and unrest in academic world expressed recently in the strike and other forms of actions of teachers of Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and other places."

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any sympathy and understanding of the problems of the students and teachers in the country when it is called upon the Government to bring about necessary policy changes in order to reorient and democratise our entire education and educational system."

259. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: ----

"but regret that the Address does not show concern to the fact that right in the capital of India the teachers of Haryana are humiliated and prosecuted when they should get relief from the Government and their demands should be met."

260. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: ----

> "but regret that the Address does not show any sympathy for thousands of political prisoners who are generally known afl Naxalities prisoners who have been under detention for long without trial or whose cases are pending for years"

261. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: -

"but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the Governments' earlier assurance that Naxalite problem should be politically tackled."

262. That the end of the at motion, the following be added, namely: ---

"but regret that the Address does not show any concern at the fact that the Maintenance of Internal Security Act and other 'repressive measures are being used against these political workers and others in a manner which undermine the very foundation of democracy in addition depriving these political workers of their liberty."

2032 RS-9.

263. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: ---

"but regret that the Address does not pay any heed to the demand of responsible public opinion in the country that political detenue like the Naxalities should either be brought to trial or forthwith released from detention."

264. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: ----

"but regret that the Address does not show due awarnes-3 of the fact that the communal propaganda is still continuing in the country and incitement to com^ munal ill-will and violence".

265. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: ---

> "but regret that the Address does not pay any heed to the demand of Nepali speaking people for inclusion of the Nepali language in the 8th Schedule t» the Constitution."

266. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: ----

"but regret that the Address does not show due awareness of the necessity of giving more economic powers to the States i« order to enable them to carry out the developmental activities."

267. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: ----

> "but regret that the Address does not take note of the unfortunate developments in Ori-ssa in which some people hare incited classes between Bengalees and Ariyas."

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta].

268. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely;—

"but regret that the Address does not make correct assessment of the motivations behind the so-called improvement of relations between China and USA or between China and Japan."

269. -That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:----

"but regret that the Address entertains an illusion about improving the understanding co- | operation with USA when that country basically maintains anu-India position."

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

"but regret that the address while correctly expressing satisfaction at the Paris Peace Agreement in Vietnam, does not take note of the fact that Saigon regime and the USA are already violating the terms of the Agree • i ment."

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

"but regret that the Address while rightly welcoming the Agreement in Vietnam does not pay tribute to the brave Vietnam people; whose sacrifice, sufferings and valour has made the Paris Peace Agreement possible and to whom the President of the ruling party and the leaders of the Government had earlier paid wholesome tribute."

272. That at the end of the | motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not. give any indication that Tndia would send Ambassador to Cuba and also develop trade relations with that country." 273. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that while correctly expressing sympathy for the African people in their struggle against colonialism injustice and oppression, the Address does not indicate any policy of active assistance to them in their struggle."

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

"but regret that while expressing sympathy for the African people fighting for their rights the Address does not promise that the representatives of liberation fighters in the Portuguese colonies will have representation in our country."

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

"but regret that while correctly reacting to the developments in Vietnam the Address does not see relevance or importance of extending recognition to the PRG and South Vietnam so long as one single Government is not established in that country after elections and national reconciliation."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that while the Peace Agreement nas virtually acknowledged the existence of two Governments namely the Saigon Government and the PRG of South Vietnam, India continues to have consular relation only with Saigon regime and not with PRG which is discriminatory and not helpful to the cause of the implementation of the Paris Agreement." 277. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

"hut regret that the Address does not take note of the disturbing tendencies in the official quarters in our country to somehow or other develop relations with the Japanese Government *I* when it is wellknown that the present regime is vigorously carrying forward Japanese expansionism."

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

"but regret that while correctly stressing the significance of the Indo-Pak Simla Agreement the Address does not spell out what other measures it proposes to take in order to ensure the implementation of the Agreement."

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

"but regret that the Address is completely silent on the increasing activities of the CIA in the country which had been admitted recently also in the Orissa Assembly by the State Chief Minister."

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

"but regret that the Address does not acknowledge the danger of certain foreign missions from foreign countries operating in the country."

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

"but regret that the Address does not pay any heed to the enlightened public opinion in the country against the retired ICS officers being appointed as Governors and Ambassadors." 282.That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address has totally ignored the serious criticisms which have been made against the Ministry of Food and Agriculture under whose protective wings American influence still continues to operate in our country in addition to landlord interests."

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

"but regret that the Address does not acknowledge the necessity of doing away with the top foreign missions especially the one in UK and Washington."

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

"but regret that the Address does not acknowledge the necessity of doing away with the top bureaucrats in the Central Administration in matters relating to promotion, posting of officers and cadres."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the¹ fact that the so called confidential reports are often being utilised in order to pressurise and intimidate officers and to make them fall in line with the wishes of the top bureaucrats."

286. That at the end of the motion, the following he added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the problems which have arisen in our judiciaries which calls for radical reorganisation by legislation and other measures including if necessary by Constitutional changes."

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta].

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

"but regret that the Address does not give an assurance that the Chief Justices of the Supreme Court and the High Courts shall henceforth be appointed not merely on the seniority basis but on merits."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the failure to reorganise the judiciary at the top level has resulted in a certain threat to not only the Supremacy of Parliament but also to progressive socioeconomic changes which are called for."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that US State Department ha3 used the so-called clarification of Prime Minister's statement at One Asia Assembly in order to create an impression abroad that the Indian Prime Minister after having made the statement criticising the US, has retracted her criticisms."

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any deeper understanding of the working of the Ministry of External Affairs where pro-imperialist elements still seem to be well entrenched in order to mislead the country."

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

"but regret that the Address ,does not take note of the unbe-

coming behaviour of the Indian Ambassador in USA, who went out t_0 please the State Department when the latter asked him to give an explanation of what Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had told One Asia Assembly in New Delhi."

292. That at the end of the motion, the following b_e added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not seem to b_e conscious of the fact that while the talk of socialism in the ruling circles is going on it is monopoly capital which has grown stronger over past years."

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

"but regret that the Address does not refer to the recent expansion and reshuffling of the Council of Ministers which seems to be based on other considerations than in determination to implement the mandate of 1971 General Elections."

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

"but regret that even two years after mid-term Parliamentary elections the Address does not show any realisation that in order to implement the mandate of the electorate and the people the Government must move out of. its old ruts and develop a whole complex of radical economic and other policies to meet the challenging task."

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

"but regret that the Address does not fully recognise the gravity of the situation created by drought in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajas-than nor does it propose effective financial assistance by the Centre to the affected States." 296. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to note that supplies of food-grains to the drought affected areas of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan and other places are much too inadequate with the result that the people are passing through famine or near famine conditions."

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

"but regret that the Address does not call upon the Government to render all necessary assistance and relief to the drought affected areas on an emergency basis."

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

"but regret that the Address does not give an assurance for interim relief for the Government employees pending the finalisation of the Third Pay Commission Report."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take due note of the public disappointment at the refusal by the Government to order public enquiry under the Commission of Inquiries Act into the serious charges of corruption, misuse of power etc., by some Ministers including Chief Ministers."

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

"but regret that the Address does not show any awareness that the charges against a Chief Minister belonging to the ruling party at the Centre cannot possibly be disposed of to the satisfaction of the public by a team of the Central Cabinet Ministers."

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

"but regret that the Address does not show the understanding of the need that new educational policy has got to be formulated in consultation with the representatives of the teachers' and students' organisations."

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the granting of political pension to freedom fighters under the Government scheme is needlessly delayed with the result that thousands of applications, many from very old people, are still pending before the Home Ministry."

310. That a-t the end of the mo tion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the National Integration Council has virtually become defunct, when it should be really more active in the face of the threat to unity and integrity of the nation by the separatists, divisive and communal forces."

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

"but regret that the Address is silent on the measures against defections by the legislators on the lines of the recommendations of the Committee on Defections."

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

"but regret that the Address does not see the need for raising the present strength of the Lok Sabha so that the constituencies are not too large making it difficult for the candidates or the elected representatives to maintain close contacts with them."

fSHRI THILLAI VILLALAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I move Amendments Nos. 299 to 303.

fThe Amendments from 299 t_0 303 also stood in the names of SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY, SHRI M. KAMALA-NATHAN. SHRI S. SIVAPRAKA-SAM, SHRI V. V. SWAMINATHAN and SHRI G. A. APPAN.

[Shri Thillai Villalan].

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention about the steps to arrest the spiralling prices of essential commodities."

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

"but regret that the Address rm'ies no mention about a demo-olution to the crisis in Andhra Pradesh wher_e the situation has not only affected the life and economy of that State alone but also the entire Nation's in general and the adjoining States in particular."

301. That at *he end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:----

"but regret that the Address fails in mentioning the failure of the Government in stopping the unprecedented repressive measures adopted by the Central Reserve Police against the people of Andhra."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to make mention about the failure of the Government in sanctioning more power projects in Tamil Nadu and also the adjoining Southern States of the country."

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention about the effective steps to combat price rise in the country." +SHRI N. JOSEPH (Andhra Pradesh) : Sir, I move Amendment No. 304.

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the firings and mass killing by the C.R.P. and army in the Andhra Region."

The questions were proposed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Motion and the Amendments are now open for discussion. Mr. T. N. Singh now.

श्री टी० एन० सिंह (उतर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय, मैंने देश के राजनैतिक जीवन में 50 वर्षों से ग्रधिक ग्रसें तक हिस्सा लिया है। मैंने अपने देश की वहन सी गरीबी, बहुत सी यातनाओं ग्रीर बहुत से दुखों का समय देखा है। लेकिन मेरा अन्भव है कि जितना ग्राज हमारे णासन की स्थिति खराब है, अष्टाचार है, ग्रीर जितना गरीवी बढती जा रही है. वैमा हमारे देश में कमी नहीं हुया। मैं ग्रपको आंवड़े बताना चाहता हूं। मैं 1965 को, बहत नजदीक की बात कहता हं जब श्रो लालबहा दुर णास्त्रो जिदा थे। 1965 में पर-कैपिटा ग्रवेलिविलिटी ग्राफ सीरियल्स एन्ड पल्सेज. खाने की चोजों को उरलब्धि, हर व्यक्ति के पीछे इस प्रकार थी-475.9 ग्राम यानो 476 ग्राम, 1969 में वह घट कर 433.4 ग्राम हो गई, यानी करीब 40 ग्राम की घटौती हुई प्रति व्यक्ति । 1970 में बह 445 ग्राम हई और आज 1971 के जो आज तक के प्राप्त आंकडे हैं उसमें भी 450 ग्राम । कहां 475 थी हमारी पर-कैपिटा अवेलेवि-लिटी 6 वर्ष पहले । इससे ग्राप ग्रंदाज लगा सकते हैं गरीबी की क्या स्थिति है । यदि प्रति व्यक्ति ग्रन्न की उपलब्धि इतनी हैं, ऐसी हैतो नीच काजो तबकाहै, ^{lo}west

^Amendment No. 304 also stood in the names of Shri Venigalla Satya-narayana, and Shri Sanda Naraya-nappa.

three decides of the population आ कैंटगरीज हैं, उनकी स्थिति और भी वयनीय होगों। मेरा खयाल है, उनकी 200 ग्राम से अधिक नहीं मिलता है। ऐसी स्थिति में हम आज हैं। लेकिन ऐसा मालम होता है जैने हमारे यहां सब बीज ठीक है।

उपतमापति महोदय, मैं जेल में था, वहां जिसी किती दिन काफी यातनायें मोगनी पढ़ती थीं, लेकिन वहां के जो वार्डर होते थे, वे जब गण्ज करते थे, तो हमारा जो सो॰ ग्रो॰ होता था, (गोविक्ट याफिकर) बह कहता था ताला, जंगजा, लालटेन सब ठोक है हजुर ।

आज हमारे यहां उसो तरह सब ठोक है घाहे हमारी वास्तविक स्थिति कितनी ही धराब क्यों न हो । हमारे एक के वाद एक धरेक में बुरो स्थिति है । आन्ध्र को स्थिति देखो, हरियाणा की स्थिति देखो, उत्तर प्रदेश फी स्थिति देखो, बिहार को देखो और उड़ीसा में तो ग्राज गोली चल रही है । इन सब हालात को हम आज देख रहे हैं और फिर भी हम कहते हैं कि सब कुछ ठीक है । अस्तु, पाज मैं किस मुंह से राष्ट्रपति जी को धन्यवाद दूं । मेरा उनसे पुराना सम्बन्ध है, लेकिन जब ऐसी स्थिति है, तो मैं किस मुंह से आज राष्ट्रपति जी को धन्यवाद दूं उनके व्याख्यान के लिए ।

आज हमारे देश में जो स्थिति है उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं दो-चार बात निवेदन करना चाहता हूं । ग्राज हमारे देश में जिस तरह की स्थिति पैदा हो गई है उस स्थिति को सम्भालने के लिए हमारे पास क्या फिलासफी है । हमारी एक फिलासफी यह है और जिस के लिए हमारे नौजवान साथी वड़े हामी मालूम देते हैं घह यह है कि पब्लिक सेक्टर हमारे ग्राधिक ढांचे में निर्णायक स्थिति में हों, इसे कहते हैं "कमांडिंग हाइट ग्राफ इकोनोमी" है । लेकिन पब्लिक सेक्टर हैं क्या ? बह तो ब्योरोकैसी की कठपुतली है । मेरा अपना यह डपाल है जब देश में चारों तरफ रेगिस्तान है उसी बीच में हमारे पब्लिक सेक्टर नखलिस्तान बने हुए हैं । जितना हाई स्टैन्डर्ड ग्राफ लाइफ वहां पर ग्रापको मिलेगा उतना देश में कहीं भी नहीं मिलेगा । जितनी शराव की खपत वहां पर होती है उतनी देश के किसी भी हिस्से में नहीं होती है । फिर भी ऐसी स्थिति में हम लोग यहां पर कहते हैं कि पब्लिक सेक्टर के जरिये हम सोशलिज्म लायेंगे ।

मेरा भी प्लानिंग कमिशन से सम्बन्ध रहा है और जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी से मेरे अच्छे सम्बन्ध वने रहे । मैं उनकी बहुत सी बातों का ग्रादर करता हूं, लेकिन मुझ को यह ख्याल होता है कि ग्राज देश ने गांधी जी की बातों को भुला दिया है । मैंने गांधी जी के 1920 के ग्रसहयोग ज्ञान्दोलन में हिस्सा लिया था और मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि ग्राज हम गांधी जी की बातों को भूल गये हैं । ग्राज मैं उनकी बातों की ओर सदन का ध्यान दिलाऊंगा ।

अभी यहां पर थोड़े दिन हुए, एक एशिया असेम्बली की मीटिंग हुई थी और लासें स्वीइन के श्री गुर्नाल मिर्डल भी उपस्थित थे। उन्होंने उस मीटिंग में दो जुम्ले बहुत श्रच्छे कहे, जिन्हें मैं श्रापको सुनाना चाहता हूं। उन्होंने कहाँ:

It is only in the latest years that we have more generally come back to Gandhi's ideas, when even some economists have been abated to press for an integrated planning, which is the modern term for what Gandhi was all the time teaching. My Indian friends will not be offended when I say, that if Indian planning has not been more successful than it has actually been the main explanation is that they have not kept so close as they should to the fundamental teachings of the Father of the Nation.

उन्होंने आगे चलकर कहा:

The approach to economic planning for development in underdeveloped countries was for a long time, and is partly today, dominated by

[श्री टो० एन ०सिंह]

the concept capital output ratio. It always implied the narrow attention in economic planning merely to physical investment and to the financial and fiscal appropriations as I have already noted. It thus meant a non-consideration on a largescale of the "human dimensions of economic growth".

इमने अपने आदमियों की, अपनी जनता की अवहेलना की और यह बिल्कुल सत्य बात है। हमने जो बातें, जो सिद्धान्त लागू करने चाहिये थे उनको लागू नहीं किया। गांधी जी ने तालीम के सम्बन्ध में क्रांतिकारी तबदीली की बात कही थी, परन्तु हमने इन 25 सालों में उसकी तरफ बिल्कुल भी ध्यान नहीं दिया। आज हमने एजूकेजन को फैलौया है, वह भी कांस्टीट्यूजन के मुताबिक नहीं। हम कहते हैं कि 70 प्रतिणत जनता साक्षर हो जायेगी, मगर क्या यह आंकडे सही हैं ?

3 P.M. ग्रभी 30 प्रतिशत साक्षर ग्रौर होने हैं। यह स्थिति है, संविधान के अनुसार ग्राज से 10 वर्ष पहले यह स्थिति हो, जानी चाहिए थी। ग्राज जो हमारे लड़के स्कूल-कालेज से निकलते हैं वे काम करने की क्षमता नहीं रखते हैं, ग्रनएम्प्लायड ही होते तो उतना दुख नहीं होता, दूख यह है कि वे अनज्लायेविल हैं। कुछ कर नहों सकते, ऐसी शिक्षा उनको दी गई है, उनका कोई दोष नहीं है, उनकी णिक्षा ही ऐसी है कि वे एम्प्लायमेंट पा नहीं सकते । उनको शिक्षा ऐसी दी गई है कि वे कुरसी पर बैठकर ही काम कर सकते हैं। हमारे देश का सबसे भारी दोष आज सदियों से यह रहा है कि हमारे यहां थोडे लोग काम करने वाले होते थे, ज्यादा लोग मुफतखोर (पैरासाइट) की तरह उन पर निर्भर रहते थे। मझे क्षमा करें ब्राह्मण धर्म का यही लक्ष्य था। इसके कोई श्रीर माने न लगावें। एक जाति की जाति **पैरासाइट होकर रह सकती है ।** क्षत्रिय ने भी खाली तलवार बांध ली मुपतचोर होकर रह सकता है, सिर्फ किसान और मजदूर काम करें, उनकी ग्रामदनी पर सब रहें । आज भी यही हो रहा है । मैं वानिंग देना चाहता हूं कि आज जो केश प्रोग्राम एम्प्लायमेंट का चल रहा है अगर वह प्रोडक्टिव कामों में होता तो कुछ माने रखता, मैं तो गया हू प्लानिंग कमीशन में, बहुत सी बातें की हैं, चाहे ऊपर से जो कहा जा ने, अन्ततोगत्वा व पैरासाइट ही रहेंगे और कुछ होने वाला नहीं है । इससे आपकी इकानामी की हालत बुरी होगी, मैं अभी से बानिंग देना चाहता हं ।

इंडस्ट्रियल प्लानिग की नींव पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने रखी । मेरा भी उसमें कुछ हाथ रहा है और मेरा ख्याल है कि बहत कुछ दढ नीव तीसरे प्लान में डाल दी गई थी हमारे स्वावलम्बी होने की, लेकिन हमारी प्रगति कुछ ऐसी हई है कि आज भी हम विदेशी मदद पर निर्भर करते हैं। यह जो कहा जा रहा है प्लान एप्रोच के डाक्मेंट में---मैं कुछ ग्रधिकार से कह सकता--हं कि हम लोग पांचवीं योजना के अन्त में जीरो एन्ड पर पहुंच जायेंगे, यह धोखा देने की बात है। यह जो भिलाई ग्रौर बोकारो का 10 मिलियन टन का एक्सपेंगन है सोवियत एड से उसमें कितने वर्ध लगेंगे ? 65 में शुरू हुआ था बोकारो कारखाना, 8 वर्ष हो गये बनते हुए, ग्रभी 6 महीने ग्रौर लगेंगे एक मिलियन टन स्टेज पर जाने में, इस इयर के अन्त तक यह भी हो जाय तो बहुत बड़ी बात होगी। ऐसी हमारी प्रगति है। मेरा कहना यह है कि जनता को धोखा क्यों दिया जा रहा है। हम क्यों कहते हैं कि हम जीरो एंड पर पहुंच जायेंगे ? क्या यह जनता को घोखा नही देना है ? मेरा ख्याल है कि इसका बड़ा दुष्परिणाम होगा । हमको सही रास्ते पर चलना चाहिए और सही बातें कहनी चाहिए ।

मैंने पब्लिक सेक्टर की बात कही थी। पब्लिक सेक्टर हमारे ब्यूरोक्रेसी के लिए है हैंगी हन्टिंग ग्राउन्ड है। जितने ब्यूरोक्रेट्स हैं उनको वहां ग्रच्छी-ग्रच्छी जगह मिल जाती हैं, उनके भाई-बान्धवों को, रिफ्तेदारों को ग्रच्छी जगह मिल जाती हैं, यही हो रहा है। मैं इन कारखानों में गया हूं। वेचारे गांधी जी के जमाने में हम लोग आन्दोलन करते थे कि शरावबन्दी हो। मेरे जमाने में भिलाई में शराव के लाइसेंस के लिए जोर डाला गया था लेकिन वह नहीं दिया गया परन्तु दुख है कि अब गराव के एक से अधिक लाइसेंस हो गये हैं। क्लब में शराव की नदियां वहती हैं और यह हालत हर पब्लिक सेक्टर प्रोजेक्ट में है।

हम लोग कहते हैं कि हम समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं। जितनी ग्रामाइम के साथ पब्लिक सेक्टर के अफमर रहते हैं, जितनी आणाइण के साथ हमारी व्यरोकेसी के ऊंचे अफसर रहते हैं और जितनी आशाइश के साथ माफ करिये. ग्राज मिनिस्टर रहते हैं वैसा पहले कभी नहीं था। यह रोग वढता जा रहा है, मझे दुख इस वात का है । गांधी जी ने कहा था कि अगर मेण बस चले तो मैं एक फिसान को इस देश का जासन चलाने के लिए ग्रधिकार दंगा । ग्राज जो नीतियां चल रही हैं उनसे मेरा दावा है किसान और मजदूर का फायदा होने बाला नहीं है। खाली समाज-वाद के नारे से काम नहीं होगा । ग्रगर समाज-वाद करना है तो समाजवादी का जीवन निर्वाह करिये। हम को ख्याल है कि 1922 या 1923 में गांधी जी ने लिखा था कि उन्होंने पता लगाया है कि हर एक आदमी की प्रति दिन सिर्फ छः पैसे आय है, इसलिए उन्हें 6 पैसे से अधिक में रहने का हक नहीं है। यह गांधी जी की स्प्रिट थी. महत्ता थी। ग्राज हमारा क्या रवैया है ? हम सदस्य यहां दिल्ली में खाते हैं (मैं खपने को भी कहता हं) । मैं ब्रटियां निकालने की दुष्टि से नहीं कहता हं। मैं कहता हं कि हम लोग भी जो मेम्बर्स आफ पालियामेंट हैं यह चाहते हैं कि कम से कम 51 रु० प्रति दिन हमारा डी० ए० रहे । भायद कुछ लोग उसे और बढाना भी जाहते थे, यह मैंने सूना है। तो सारी प्रगति इन 25 वर्षों में जो हई है जो गलत दिया की ग्रोर हई है। जो सही दिशा है उससे हम दूर हट गये हैं। इसलिए मेरी प्रार्थना है कि भगवान के लि० ग्रब भी नया रास्ता ग्रख्तियार कीजिये। गांधी जी के दिखाये हुए रास्ते पर चलिए।

यांद्योगिक प्रगति की वात कही जा रही है । हमारे प्रेसिडेंट साहब ने कहा है कि 1972 में हनारी अर्थव्यवस्था की प्रगति 7 प्रतिशत थी । भाई, इसके पहले भी औद्यो-गिक क्षेत्र में 10 प्रतिशत और 12 प्रतिशत की प्रगति हुई है । जरा सोचिये, आज मजदुरों के हदय में विस तरह की अजाति है ? जो ग्राज ला ऐंड ग्रार्डर की हालत है, उसके कारण ग्राज कुछ होने वाला नहीं है। जनता को क्यों घोखा दिया जाता है, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है । हम कहां जायेंगे । हमें जनता के बीच में ही रहना है। मेरा कहना है कि स्थिति वडी गंभीर है। जो प्रेसिडेंट के ऐडेस में गवर्न मेंट की ओर से कहलाया गया है कि "सब चीज ठीक है", यह सब से बडे धोखे की बात है। इसके लिए मैं सब को वाने करता हूं। हम ज्वालामुखी के सिर पर बैठे हैं। में ग्रीर ज्यादा क्या कहं।

इंडस्ट्रियल सेल्फरिलायंस की बात कहते हैं। जब रांची का कारखाना खोला गया तो कहा गया कि उसमें क्षमता होगी एक मिलियन टन स्टील कारखाने के बनाने की। रांची में क्या स्थिति है ? दस वर्ष से अधिक हो गये हम कम से कम 5 मिलियन टन के कारखाने बना नहीं सके। मैं जानता हूं जो रांची में बनता है। यहां पर उसके विषय में बहस करने की जरूरत नहीं है।

आज जो ज्वाइंट सेक्टर और होल्डिंग कम्पनोज को वात कही जाती है उससे मैं काफी चितित हूं। मैं नहीं जानता कि हम किस ओर जा रहे हैं। जो हमारे बड़े बड़े पूंजीपतियों ने होल्डिंग कम्पनीज का एक तरीका निकाला था टैक्स से बलने के लिए, सरकारी नियंत्रण से वजने के लिए। जब से पब्लिक सेक्टर में कम्पनियां बनने लगी रे। नौकरशाही का यही

[श्री टीं 0 एन ० सिंह]

प्रयास रहा है कि पालियामेंट्री कंट्रोल जितना कम हो सके, करा दो । और यह होल्डिंग कम्पनी का बनाना उनका एक तरीका है । मिनिस्टर महोदय भी कहेंगे कि हम से कोई मतलब नहीं, वह आटोनामम वाडी है सौर पार्वियामेंट्री कंट्रोल के वाह⁻ है । यह बडी चिन्ता की बात है । होल्डिंग कम्पनी के विषय में मुझे खेद है कि हमारी लोक सभा और राज्य सभा के सदस्यों ने इस दुप्टि से विचार ही नहीं किया और यह बड़ी खतरनाक चीज होने वाली है । इस वास्ते इस का घोर विरोध करना चाहिए ।

हमारे पुराने मित्र गाइगिल साहव के पुत्र जी ने अभी व्याख्यान दिया है। उन को बड़ी दिलचस्पी से मैंने पुना और मुझे खुशी भी हुई कि वे अच्छा वोले। लेकिन पता नहीं उन को किस ने क्या समझा दिया है। क्या कोई जरूरी था ग्राप के लिए कि आप कहते "यह पांच पार्टियों का सम्मिलन अच्छा नहीं हुग्रा?" क्या यह कोई जरूरी बात थी? मैं आपसे पूछता हूं कि क्या आप ने डी० एस० के० से, मी० पी० आई० से, मुस्लिम लीग मे मैवी नहीं की ? और यह सब राजनीतिक बातें यहां इस बहस में लाने की जरूरत ही क्या थी, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आया। इकोनामिक और पोलिटिकल मैंटसं पर जो कुछ आप कहते रहे वह सब मैं बड़े गौर से सुनता रहा।

में अपने प्रान्तों की स्थिति से बड़ा चितित हूं । आंध्र प्रदेश की हालत तो चिता योग्य है ही, उत्तर प्रदेश की हालत भी वुरी है । प्राइम मिनिस्टर यहां बैठी हुई हैं । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि उत्तर प्रदेश में अप्टाचार बहुत वढ़ गया है और इस की जिम्मेदारी आप की ज्यादा है । हम लोगों की भी है, हम लोग इस देश में बसते हैं और आवाज नहीं उठा सकते, लेकिन जिम्मेदारी आप की प्रधान मंत्री की बहुत ज्यादा है । उड़ीसा में और हरियाणा में, सब जगह स्ट्राइक हो रही है । यह अच्छे निशान नहीं हैं । इस के लिए आप को सजग होना होगा । हरियाणा की बात मैं कहन[ा] चाहता हूं।

एक माननीय सदस्यः पहले भी होते थे।

श्री टी॰ एन॰ सिंह : पहले भी होते थे, में जानता हं, लेकिन कम होते थे। कम से कम कह सकता हं कि बहत बेहतर हालत थी उस समय । तो में हरियाणा की बात कहना चाहना हैं। हम लोगों ने वहां के चौफ मिनिस्टर के खिलाफ आरोप लगाये । मेमोरेंडम दिये ग्रीर दो वर्ष के बाद उन का गवर्नमेंट ने जवाब दिया. 1969 के प्रतिवेदन का 1971 में 1 सौ से ज्यादा एम० पीज० ने और 36 एम० एल० एज० ने जिस के खिलाफ सेमोरेंडम दिया हो उसका जवाब इतने दिनों में दिया जाये ? दख की वात है ग्रीर फिर तीसरा 1971 में दिया गया ग्रीर चौथा दिया गया 1972 में । उस के सम्बन्ध में मंत्री दोक्षित जी ने, जो हमारे पुराने साथी हैं, उन्होंने एक पब्लिक मीटिंग में यह कह दिया कि उस में कोई तथ्य नहीं है । इतना भी नहीं हम्रा कि यह बात ग्राफिशियली कही जाती । यह कोई तरीका नहीं है। ऐसा करने से लोगों को खामखाह संदेह होता है और संदेह इस वास्ते ग्रीर भी होता है कि जो हमारे निकट जमीन ली गयी है 3 या 4 सौ एकड, वह कोई बहत ग्रच्छी तग्ह से नहीं ली गयी। मेरी समझ में यह रूल है कि मिलिटरी इस्टेबलिजमेंट यदि कोई हो, वहां एयर डिफेंस डिपो है, उस के हजार गज के धास पास की जमीन नहीं ली जानी चाहिए, वहां इस रूल की बिलकूल अवहंलना की गयी है। 23 जून, 1971 को नोटिफिकेणन निकाला कि तुम्हारी जमीन ले ली जायगी ग्रौर 10 जलाई, 1971 को सारी जमीन पर सरकारी अधिकार हो गया। नियम यह है कि जब नोटिफिकेणन निकाला जाये और वह उन को मिले उस के मिलने के 15 दिन तक उनको, किसानों को ग्रजी देने का समय दिया जाय और उन का आव्जेक्शन सुनने के बाद कोई निर्णय लिया जाय । म जानना चाहता हं कि वहां 376 किसान हूं

उन के पास वह नोटिफिकेणन पहुंचने के लिए कुछ समय चाहिए । आज कल रजिस्ट्री में कितने दिन लगते हैं । जहां तक मैं जानता टू, करीव 7 दिन लग जाते हैं । उसको पाने के बाद 15 दिन क्यों नहीं दिये गये और 376 स्रादमियों को साब्जेक्शन देने के लिए समय चाहिए कि नहीं ? 10 जुलाई को ही, इतने थोड़े समय में क्यों जमीन ले ली गई । यह बंसीलाल जी ने क्यों किया मैं जानता हूं । यह गंभीर बात है इस वास्ते कि इस का सम्वन्ध प्राइम मिनिस्टर के परिवार से है । तरह-तरह की बाते कही जाती हैं, यह ठीक नहीं है । इस वास्ते मैंने जान-बूझ कर कहा है कि इसकी सफाई होनी जरूरी है ।

श्रीमती इग्विरा गांधी : कोई चीज छिपाई नहीं गई । कई सवालों के जवाव दिये गये हैं कितनी वार बहस हई है ।

श्वी टी॰ एन॰ सिंह : यह ठीक है कि 10 जुलाई को कटजा कर लिया।...

श्रो श्रोम मेहता : लोक समा में पूरा डिस्कशन हो चुका है, जवाब दिया जा चुका है।

श्वी टी॰ एन॰ सिंह : मैं कहना चाहना हं कि इस बात में थोड़े संयम से काम लेना चाहिए । मेरी स्पष्टवादिता के लिए मुझे क्षमा करें । मैं इस बात को बहुत सोच-समझ कर कई सहीने के बाद कह रहा हूं । मैंने जो कागजात देख उसके कारण मुझे बहुत कष्ट हुआ । मैं कैसे कहूं, आज तो मेरी पहुंच नहीं । मैं जो भी लिखता हूं उसकी प्राप्ति के बारे में प्राइवेट सेकेटरी का उत्तर तक नहीं ग्राता । एक जमाना था कि मैं चिट्ठी लिखना था तो जबाब ग्रा जाता था ।

श्री ग्रोम मेहता : किमको लिखा ?

श्री टी॰ एन॰ सिंह : प्राइम मिनिस्टर को लिखा उस समिति के बारे में जो लाल बहादुर शास्वी की स्मृति में चलाई गई थी। उसका जवाब मुझे एक डिप्टी सेकेटरी ने भेजा कि ग्रापका लैटर मिला।

श्री कल्याण चन्द : और क्या चाहते हैं ?

श्री टी० एन० सिंह : यह आप मेरे दिल से पूछिये । आप नहीं जानते । मैं सन् 1920 से म्वमेंट में हूं । . . .

श्रीमती इग्विरा गांधी : मैं तो सब को जवाब देती हूं । कभी दौरे पर रही हूं तो हो सकता है, एकनालेजमेन्ट भेजा गया है । कभी यह भी होता है कि जव किसी विश्य का पता करना होता है तो पहले एकनालेजमेंट भेज दिया जाता है, वाद में जानकारी होने पर पूरा उत्तर दिया जाता है । मैं स्वयं कोणिंग करती हं कि हट एक ख़त का जवाब द् ।

श्री टी॰ एन॰ सिंह ंडिप्टी सेक्टेरो ने ऐसा ऐकनाले जमेंट भेज दिया, आप न रही हों. मैं मानता हूं, लेकिन उसके बाद वह मिनिस्ट्री में गया ग्रौर मेरे पास—मैंने प्राइम मिनिस्टर को खत लिखा था ग्रौर सिर्फ डिप्टी मिनिस्टर का वड़ी भुश्किल से नकारात्मक जवाव मिला। आज लाज बहादुर शास्त्री जिदा नहीं हैं उनकी स्मृति दवाई जा सकती है, भने ही मुझ में कोई शक्ति नहीं है, मगर दुख है ग्रौर दुख को प्रकट कर सकता हूं ग्रौर प्रकट कर रहा हूं। मुझे डिप्टी मिनिस्टर साहब ने जवाव भेजा जो बिलकुल गलत था। उनके पत्न को पढ़कर मुझे महान कथ्ट हुग्रा कि क्या जाज यह स्थिति हो गई है ? इस वास्ते मैंने ये सब वातें कही हैं।

मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता । अमा करिंगेग यदि मैंने कोई बात ऐसी कही हो जिससे आपको कथ्ट हुआ लेकिन मेरे हृदय में दुख था । मैं शान्ति से एक कोने में पड़ा रहता हूं । लेकिन आज जो हमारे प्रान्तों की हालत है, जगह-जगह हड़तालें हो रही हैं, जगह-जगह भुखमरी है, अकाल पड़ा हुआ है, उसमें मैं कैसे चुप रह सकता हूं ? कैसे मैं अपने भाइयों को मरते देख सकता हूं ? गोलियां चलती हैं, अकाल पड़ा है । गुजरात, महाराष्ट्र और अपने प्रान्त में भी भूमकर आया हूं और मैं कह सकता ह कि हालत बुरी है । मेरा तो जन्मजात पिछड़ा इलाका रहा है पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश पिछड़ा इलाका रहा है पूर्वी उत्तर

277

श्ची टो० एन० सिंह]

मैं जानता हं। आज किसान को जो पानी चाहिए उसके लिए बिजली नहीं है, किसान को फटिलाइजर चाहिए तो फटिलाइजर में ब्लैक मार्केटिंग चल रहा है और उसमें बडे-बडे लोग शामिल हैं। मैं क्या कह, मैं यू० पी० की बात नहीं कहना चाहता थ। लेकिन मजबूर हूं कहने के लिए क्योंकि उसका दुख है। अगर मेरी आवाज में कोई भी शक्ति है तो प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहबा यहां वैठी हई हैं, और भी मिनिस्टर्स हैं, उनसे मैं दर्ख्वास्त करूंगा कि इस सकट के समय में राजनैतिक ग्रीर पार्टी दण्टिकोण हम को त्याग देना होगा, हम को सब को मिल कर काम करना होगा। कर सकते हैं, करता भी चाहिए। लेकिन हाथ उसके लिए सब को बढाना होता है। मैं कोई विरोधी नहीं हु इस किस्म का जो बिना कारण विरोध करता हो । लेकिन ग्राज जो स्थिति है उसमें एक नागरिक का. जो ग्रापने देश से प्रेम करता है, कर्त्तव्य है कि ऐसी परम्परा जो इस वक्त चली हुई है, जैसी स्थिति है, उसके खिलाफ अपनी आवाज उठाये ग्रौर जोरों से उठाये । उतना कह कर में वठ जाता हं।

SHRI D. D. SINGH (Bihar): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we are grateful to the President for his gracious presence and speech which really summarises correctly the position obtaining today and his concern and anxiety for the state of things shows that our Government today is keen on removing some of the anomalies, some of the defects or difficulties that have been pointed out in the various paragraphs of the speech.

Sir, today somehow it has become a matter of routine for every party to criticise* the Government for every evil or wrong, that is in the Government. So much so that they would blame the Government even for the rise in population. One is almost bewildered at the kaleidoscopic stands of the various parties. Some of the parties are so passionately talking about the integrity of this country and yet in practice they are advocating Balka-nising of the States. It is really amazing that the very parties who show a frenzied dedication to one India, one people, one nation, do not hesitate at the next breath to raise

the slogan for reorganisation of States which in effect gives a go by to that very stand and its process encourages regionalism, in parochialism and everything that is based and everything that is calculated to destroy the integrity of this country. Sir, today this is a poorer nation with the avai-label cereals which is minimal compared to what obtained in the past. Little do we realise that the population has gone up. After all except for the situation brought about by this unprecedented drought no one has said that there has been a fall in production. We are so anxious to forget the effects of the green revolution which has reduced, rather almost eliminated, our dependence on import of food from foreign countries. Our country has reached a point of self-sufficiency. But for this treacherous and unprecedented drought which is under nobody's control this situation would not have arison and every effort i= being made to get over this difficulty and we hope that with the willing co-operation of our people very soon we will get over this diffi-

culty. Not only this, but in the matter of planning as in the matter of implementation, no one can say with seriousness that this Government has not been making serious efforts to get over the vagaries of nature, to have

mechanised farms, mechanised means of irrigation to reduce the chances and vagaries of nature as far as possible so that in the years to come we eradicate this curse of drought and famine for ever. To give the example of one State alone, today in Bihar production is likely to go up by more than 50 per cent this year. We have not done much in that State; much more remains to be done. Here is Mr. Borooah sitting and he knows what is the effect of what has been done in the last five months. The area under wheat has gone up from 37'

lakh acres to 63 lakh acres and the production this year is bumper. It is not a matter of vague guess but it is a matter of saying something with certainty. Therefore as far as calculated efforts, serious endeavours, are concerned, we are not lagging but that is not to say that there is not much more to do. We have a long way to go and with sustained effort's ! we have no doubt that we will achieve our objective both in this as well as in the matter of industrial production. Three days before I read a statement by the Minister of Industrial Production, Mr. C. Subramaniam, from Madras, that by next year we will be breaking even in the public sector units.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): My friend, you should not rely upon the promises of Ministers.

SHRI D. P. SINGH: I will relv and I would request you to rely also. Probably the moment of criticism might come next vear

SHRI OM MEHTA: He was relying on your promises also when you "were a Minister.

SHRI D. P. SINGH: I will rely on you, I will rely on my Ministers. They are dependable people. Industrial production in general has gone up by 7 per cent, it is a sizeable figure and if we are able to break even, if we are able to get out of the red, it i3 indeed creditable. And in fact it is a safe assertion. In two-thirds of our public sector we are making profit and in the one-third which remains if we are able to do that in another year, then it is not a distant dream, it is not a wild dream at all.. We are on the path of realisation, we are on the path of fulfilment and that fulfilment is nearer today than it was ever before. How short-lived is human memory. Have we forgotten so soon that in the I so-called etticient British days there was a parade of hungry and naked women in Calcutta and millions died of starvation? Today certainly we are able to provide some food to our I people and it is always a matter of; concern if it is reported that one per- '

son in one State has died of starvation. Therefore the fact that we are making a steady march, steady progress towards the realisation of our goal cannot be denied. We have also been making efforts to gear up our machinery for the implementation of the Plan. The various Plans of cours, have come and hi the Fifth Five Year Plan are making a sizeable investment of Rs. 51,000 crores. If that is achieved, then certainly it is a matter for which the Government can legitimately take credit. In this connection you will see the progress shown in respect of various items, in the matter of oil production, in the matter of steel production, in the matter of shipping and so on. I have merely enumerated some of the items. This country is steadily progressing. Today we have developed our expertise, we have developed our knowhow and it is a matter of pride that today our people are independent and self-sufficient in respect of oil refineries. From the beginning to the end every item needed in the oil refinery industry can be made in this country indigenously. So also, in the matter of steel mills, it is a matter of great satisfaction. Therefore, today when we have embarked on the further step of having holding companies, which will combine entrepreneurial vigour and public accountability, it ought to be a matter of some satisfaction and not a matter of criticism. Steadily we have embarked on the development of villages and helping the rural masses in the matter of drinking water, in the matter of providing them with houses and in the matter of giving them credit facilities and work. How contradictory is the stand of the various parties. Some of the parties which say. all right, increase the standard of living of the poor, increase the living standard of every man, are not in favour of the nationalisation of banks, if you are against it, it means that you are not i_n favour of advancing them credit or making available to them resources with the aid of which they can develop and increase their living

[Shri D. P. Singh]. standards. Now, the criticism again is there is the price rise. Well, the very people who criticise today the Government against the price rise are the people who are against the Government taking steps against hoarders, blackmarketeers and profiteers. Is it not a contradiction? They are willing to wound but afraid to strike. That is the natural corollary of their activities. Today they come here and try to censure the Government.

Now. Sir. having said so much about the organised effort of the Government to reform the machinery, to reform the bureaucracy, to take every step to implement our promises and our Plans, I may say that the Government has not been failing in the matter of our foreign relations. The Government have been taking various steps and the bold and imaginative action of the Government has paid us dividends. Today our eastern frontiers are secure. Today we can live in peace and security. The amity and fraternity that is flowing from our great neighbour, Bangladesh, reminds one of the earlier times when that was part of this country. Communication was free and there was no barrier to divide man and man. I hope that in years to come the spirit of the Simla Agreement, which has been accepted, will also be fulfilled. Today we have read a statement by Air Marshal Ashgar Khan.... .who says, "Well, there is some method in madness, there is some method, some design in the effort of the Bhutto Government in getting released the prisoners in India." And he says that millions and millions of rupees are being spent for propaganda abroad. The better thing would be to negotiate with India So that he would be able to secure the release of the prisoners. One can see some method in the reluctance of the Bhutto Government to take a speedy step for the release of the prisoners. He expected that the ninety thousand odd prisoners when they come home, will be able to tell those people in a bellicos

manner, "We have not been defeated, somebody surrendered on our behalf" and that might introduce a certain amount of bellicosity in the politics of Pakistan, which he likes to avoid. Also, he would like to avoid it for the time being. He feels it is better, it would give his Government a little more prestige if he is able to secure a talking point and get support from the various foreign capitals and so on and so forth. As far as our stand is concerned, this Government is still committed to the Simla spirit; this Government is still reminding President Bhutto again and again of his ohligations and says, "This Government is willing to do everything on its part to normalise relations so that peace, tranquillity and amity with a neighbouring! country which was a part of this country, may be restored."

Sir, I will not have done my duty if I do not make my views clear on two questions. One concerns the Middle East and the other concerns Vietnam. As regards the Middle East, there is the problem of Palestine, the problem of the Palestinians who have been ejected from their homes, who are fighting for their homeland, that problem today is uppermost in my mind, and I make no reservation in that respect. Many of our breathern may have some hesitation in supporting the Arab people in their demand because only the other day when we needed their support in the matter of the recognition of Bangla Desh, they were halting, they were hesistant. But one is glad to see that there are at least two countries, Iraq and Yemen, who have supported us. And if one scans through the newspapers, it is not difficult to find that there is lack of hostility today as compared to what obtained a few months before. Hostility is diminishing, and they are realising the inevitability of the situation. They have their own difficulties, and we, on our part, cannot help congratulating the brave Arab people today for their effort to regain their lost territory, to bring about a sort of

economic emancipation. They are struggling for emancipation. They have been struggling for the last 50 years, but for the last 20 years their fight for economic emancipation became very prominent and poignant. This House will remember the famous words of Mossadea. "The soil is ours, the oil is ours". And from then onwards every country has gone on advocating that that particular country should get the full benefit of the material resources that are obtaining in that country. Sir, I may also invite the attention of the House to the fact that in Vietnam there obtains peace today. This peace has not come to Vietnam for the first time. There was an Agreement in 1954 that proved illusory. We hope that this time it will be a reality. The Vietnamese people accepted Uhe Geneva Agreement sincerely but the other party has accepted it after a cruel war, a destructive war which has left a nearwaste-land of Vietnam. We hope that the world opinion and the people of world at large, who have seen the suffering and misery of the Vietnamese people, will lend a helping hand in the regeneration and rebuilding of that great country.

Sir, there is one more problem which has a significant place in the President's Address, and that is the position of Andhra Pradesh. Sir, the Address has no desire to say anything that will offend anybody. But the situation is that if two parties are striving to reach solution of a certain problem, then the solution is slightly coloured and impediments are created if external factors like violence and others are brought in. It becomes worse if foreign hands are visible. As far as this country is concerned one feels very happy that the attitude of the Government is one of watching, of an open mind, which means that the Government is willing to take any decision which in the circumstances might appear just and proper. As an advocate I have known how in a case where the husband and wife fight and when both of them want divorce, how difficult it is to

force them to live together. In matters of partition we have felt that when two brothers fight, when the destruction of the joint family is imminent how difficult it is for the third person to persuade them to live together. These are matters of great significance which, we have no doubt, the Prime Minister in her wisdom will consider and face the novel situation that has been created. We are thankful to the President for the Address and for the very realistic summing up of the situation which reflects ' that the Government is determined on alleviating the suffering of the people and trying to take various steps which might mitigate and remove all the difficulties that obtain today. Thank you.

श्री बीरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा (मध्य प्रदेश): माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी का भाषण और उनके प्रति धन्यवाद व्यक्त करने के लिये श्री गाडगिल साहब और हवंदेव मालवीय जी का भाषण सनने के बाद ऐसा लगता नहीं कि देश के ग्रन्दर जो गम्भीर परिस्थिति विद्यमान है, उसके प्रति उनके हदय में कोई इस प्रकार की भावना हो कि देश में कोई अत्यन्त विषय स्थिति है। मझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि राष्ट्र-पति जी का भाषण केवल सरकार की पद-लिप्सा ग्रीर भ्रब्टाचार जो ग्राज देश में व्याप्त हैं, उसकी कालिमा को छिपाने का केवल एक ग्राडम्बर मात्र है और कुछ नहीं । मान्यवर, इस भाषण में कहा गया है:

"Our hearts go out to all those who have been affected by drought and in certain other areas by cyclone and floods."

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Have' they heart?

श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा : ऐसा लगता है कि जो यहां अकाल से पीड़ित पड़े हैं उनके लिये उनका हृदय जाता नहीं, बल्कि उनका सारा हार्ट ग्रीर दिमाग तो लगता है यहां जो उनके पद हैं उनको बचाने में ग्रीर जो भ्रष्टाचार में व्यस्त हैं उनको वचाने के सिवाय और किस और उनका ध्यान जा रहा हो ऐसा लगता नहीं। श्रीमन, जनाल की चर्चा की गयी, ग्रभाव की चर्चा की सयी और केवल यह कहा जाये कि झाबादी बढ गयी है इसके कारण हम लोगों को खाखान्न उपलब्ध नहीं करा पा रहे हैं, यह तो केवल धोखा देना सात्र होगा । कितनी भीवण और कितनी भयंकर हालत आज विद्यमान है और कल यहां हम लोग ग्राये, 19 तारोख को सत चालू हुआ, हम अपने-अपने प्रदेशों से आ रहे हैं। वहां की जो झलत है उसे देख कर चिन्ता हो रही है। राजस्थान के उदयपुर डिवीजन के मन्दसौर जिले में देखिये, मध्य प्रदेश के रतलाम के स्टेशन के ऊपर देखिये, झौंपडियां डाल कर ग्रादिवासी लोग वहां पड़े हुए हैं। उनकी इस प्रकार की ददनाक हालत है। किन्तू यहां दिल्ली में आकर जब हम कांग्रेस के सत्ताधीश लोगों को देखते हैं तो ऐसा नहीं लगता कि---जैसा रयागी जी ने कहा कि हृदय है या नहीं, लेकिन उनको कोई टीस मालुम पड़ती हो ऐसा दिखाई नहीं देता। म्रापके हृदय, कांग्रेसियों के हृदय भ्रष्टाचार के ग्रन्दर लगे हुए हैं, उन गरीबों के प्रति जो दर-दर की ठोकरें खा रहे हैं, ग्रापके हृदय में कोई टीस दिखाई नहीं देती । जैसा मैंने कहा आप पदलिप्सा और भ्रष्टाचार में व्यस्त हैं, उसमें ग्राप सारा समय लगा रहे हैं, उसके सिवाय झापको कोई चिन्ता नहीं।

अपाज के हिन्दुतसन में यह खबर छपी है कि एक पिता को अपने पुत्र को मजबूरी में जन्धक रखना पड़ा।

"मैसूर में इतनी भीषन सूखा पड़ रहा है कि जीवित रहने के लिये एक पिता को अपने पुत को मजबूरी में बन्धक रखना पड़ा। इस अभागे पिता का नाम मनथप्पा है जो गुलबर्गा तालुक में मेलसंदी का निवासी है। वह सूखाग्रस्त इलाका छोड़ कर शहर में काम की खोज में गया था।

मनअप्पा ने अपनी दारुण गाथा कल खुद उस समय सुनाई जब ग्रधिकारी लोग शहर में आये लोगों को कालिनिधि परियोजना में काम देने का प्रबन्ध कर रहे थे। तब मनथप्पा ने इसकी जिद की कि वह अपने पुत को छुड़ाये बिना शहर से नहीं जाएगा, तो वहीं उपस्थित एक विधायक ने उसके पुत को मुक्त कराने में मदद की।"

क्या ग्रापके हृदय में व्यथा है ? यह स्थिति ग्राज हो गई है कि ग्रापने पुल को बन्धक रख कर खाने के लिए लोग ग्रानाज जुटा रहे. हैं। मगर लोगों के भूखों मरने के बाद भी मुझे मालूम है, माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, कि इस विकट स्थिति में ग्राप क्या कर रहे हैं। क्या ग्रापके कदम यह बताते है कि ग्रापके हृदय में कोई तड़पन है ? ग्राकाल से जो लोग मर रहे हैं, ग्रानाज के दाने-दाने के लिये जो खेतों के ग्रन्दर पड़े हुए हैं ग्रौर ग्राप हवाई जहाज में एक रोज चक्कर लगा कर ग्राकाल के क्षेतों का दौरा करके वापस ग्राजाते हैं, उससे दुख-दर्द दिग्दणित नहीं होता।

माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, हालत यह है कि मध्य प्रदेश के लखनपुर सकिल के ग्रन्दर 85 व्यक्ति ग्रनाज जब उपलब्ध नहीं हुग्रा ग्रौर भूख से ग्रत्यन्त पीड़ित थे तो ये मिशन के पास गए ग्रनाज लेने के लिए जो उनके पास रखा हुग्रा था। जब वह मिशन के पास पहुंचे तो मिशन के प्रमुख कहते हैं कि जब तक ग्राप अपना धर्म परिवर्तन नहीं करेंगे, ग्रनाज नहीं देंगे। इस कारण उन्होंने ग्रपना धर्म परिवर्तन किया ग्रौर ग्रपने बच्चों को जिन्दा रखने के लिए, ग्रपनी पत्नी को जिन्दा रखने के लिए उन्होंने ईसाई धर्म में श्रपने की दीक्षित करवाया, तो उनको ग्रनाज दिया गया। उन ग्रादमियों ने स्टेटमेंट दिया कि हमको इसी कारण अपना धर्म परिवर्तन करना पड़ा कि कहीं अनाज उपलब्ध नहीं हुआ। तो मिनश में इस शर्तपर जाकर हमको अनाज मिला।

Motion of Thanks

289

इसी प्रकार बिलासपुर जिले के रतनपुर सर्किल में, एक चौकीदार थाने में रिपोर्ट करने के लिए गया कि एक ग्रादमी भूख से मर गया तो उसको लौटने पर सस्पेंड कर दिया गया। सरकार की मशीनरी तो उनकी रिपोर्ट पर काम करती है कि कोई भूख से नहीं मरा। रायगढ़ जिले के ग्रन्दर 11 लोग भूख से मर गये। कलक्टर जानता है कि बह जिम्मेदार है कि कोई भूख से नहीं मरे। वह ग्रापकी कभी भी रिपोर्ट नहीं करेगा कि कोई भख से मरा।

हमारे राजस्थान की विवान सभा में थी निरंजन नाथ ग्राचार्य हैं, उनका लेख उदयपुर के बारे में छपा कि भी कंग्रेस के एक एम० एल॰ ए॰ थी मनोहर कोठारी ने वताया कि घरो में ग्रनाज है नहीं ग्रीर ग्रापने यहां राहंत कार्य में डनने लोगों के लिए काम खोल दिया है, इसका केवल रिपोर्ट के ग्राधार पर निर्णय करेंगे तो आप कभी सही स्थिति का अनुमान नहों करेंगे। एक बाप ग्रपने बेटे को बंधक रख कर छनाज जटावे झौर लोग भुख से मर रहे हें ग्रीर ग्राप कह रहे हैं कि ग्राबादी बढ रही है. हमारा ग्रीन रेवोल्यणन सैक्ससफल रहा है. इस साल पानी नहीं पड रहा है, इस कारण गडबड हई है, वह ठीक नहीं। केवल धोखा देना माल होगा और इस विषम स्थिति में मैं ग्रापसे पूछना चाहता हं क्या यह ग्रावश्यक था उडीसा में मंत्रिमंडल की वृद्धि करना? ग्रकाल से देण पीडित है. लोग भख से पीडित है ग्रौर ग्राज हमारे प्रधान मंत्री को चिंता यह है हमारी कुसीं बनी रहे, इसी लिए हमारे मंत्रियों की फौज वढाओं। क्या 50 का मंत्रि-मंडल पर्याप्त नहीं था। ग्रापने स्नार्वश यह रखा कि ग्रीर मंत्रिमंडल में 25 लोगों को रखा जाय । ज्ञाज ऐसी ग्रकाल की दयनीय स्थिति है, देश की गम्भीर हालत है, उस हालत के ग्रंदर इस देश की शासन व्यवस्था चलाते। 2032 RS-10.

वह करने की बजाए मंत्रियों की संख्या बढायी जा रही है। आप समझते हैं, आपने बस्तर के नेता को डिप्टी मिनिस्टर बना दिया तो उससे गरीब ग्रादिवासियों का भविष्य बन जाएगा उनके पास अनाज पहुंच जाएगा या भोला पालवान शास्त्री को कैविनेट मंत्री बना दिया तो उससे गरीव हरिजन जो बिहार में वस्त हैं, उनको रोजगार उपलब्ध हो जाएंगे। यह अवनर नहीं था मंत्रिमंडल में वद्धि करने का जब देश के अनेक प्रदेश स्रकाल से पीडित हैं उस समय मंतियों की फौज बढा कर, उनके ऊपर खर्चा बढ़ा कर, जब कि हमारे यहां एक-एक पैसा लोगों का जीवन बचाने के उपाय में लगाया जा सकता है. उस पैसे को इस प्रकार के कार्य में लगाना यह इस बात का प्रतीक है कि आप केवल अपनी कर्सी बचाना चाहते हैं, उसके ग्रलावा कछ नहीं चाहने हैं । उसी प्रकार के दुनरे उदाहरण मैं दे सकता है. किस प्रकार प्रधान मंत्री द्वारा प्रदेशों के मख्य मंत्री नियक्त किए गए। मध्य प्रदेश में सेठी जो की मुख्य मंत्रो बना कर भेजा हम्रा है। किस प्रकार पहले की मध्य प्रदेश की गवर्तमेंट को कहते थे कि झ्यामा चरण शक्ल की गर्वनमेंट अली बाबा झौर चालीस चौर की सरकार है। अब वहां अकाल से ग्रस्त क्षेत्र है, मंत्रिमंडल का स्टेटमेंट है. 34 जिलों के अंदर ग्रकाल है. 8.000 से ग्रधिक लोग ग्रकाल से पीडित हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि फोडर को प्राप्त करने के लिए यहां केन्द्र से सहमति चाहिए, क्योंकि इन्टर-स्टेट टेड में विना केन्द्र की अनमति के प्रवन्ध नहीं एक सकता है । इस सिलसिले में 2-3 लाख रुपए ले लिए गए। खली की निकासी में प्रतिबंध लगा दिया । में रा स्पष्ट ग्रारोप है कि 2-3 लाख रुपये लेकर यह प्रतिवन्त्र लगाया और वहां की हालात यह है कि एक तो लोग ग्रकाल से वस्त है, ग्रब फोडर बचाने के नाम से इस प्रकार का कदम डठाया जा रहा है। मुंगफली मध्य प्रदेश के बाहर जा रही है, उसकी अनमति हो रही है, लेकिन मुंगफली की खली की निकासी होती है, राजस्थान में उसका तेल निकाल कर

[श्री वीरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा]

मध्य प्रदेश में आ रहा है। खली आ सकती है लेकिन खली की निकासी नहीं हो सकती है: क्योंकि इंदौर के बडे-बडे व्यापारियों को 10 लाख रुपये का फावंड कांटेक्ट में नुकसान था, व जाकर मंत्री से मिले ग्रौर उनको कुछ दे दिया और परिणाम यह हुआ ।(Interruption) आज इस प्रकार को भीवण स्थिति, गंभीर हालत हो रही है और हमसे कहा जाता है अनाज की स्थिति के ग्रंदर सुधार लाया जाएगा सारे गेहं का व्यापार अपने हाथ में लेकर, उसका परी तरह से राष्ट्रीयकरण या सरकारीकरण करके. अनाज का थोक व्यापार अपने हाथ में लेकर अनाज की हालत में सूघार कर सकेंगे। ग्राज ही ग्रौर कल भी यहां सदन के ग्रंदर प्रश्न के उत्तर में जब कि ध्यान आकषित किया गया कि मंहगाई कि समस्या किस प्रकार भंयकर रूप धारण करती चली जा रही है, ग्रापने बार-बार इस सदन में आश्वासन दिए कि हम नियंत्रण करने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं, लेकिन आपने खुद जो आंकडे दिए है सदन के ग्रंदर, वे किस बात के घोतक है ? किस प्रकार से गेह की कीमत जो जुलाई, 1971 में 211.8 पर पहुंची थी, वह जनवरी, 1973 में 245.0 पर पहुंच कर 15.8 परसेंट इंकीज हई । एडिबल आयल्स के ग्रंदर 18 प्रतिशत केवल जुलाई से जनवरी तक रेज हुआ है। इसी प्रकार रा काटन में 20 परसेंट रेज हम्रा है जुलाई से जनवरी के अंदर। जो जीवन के लिए अन्य आवश्यक वस्तुएं हैं, उनके ग्रंदर केवल 6 महीनों में 18-20 प्रतिशत प्राइसेज बढी हैं। इन सब पर चाप कोई नियंत्रण नहीं कर पा रहे हैं, उनकी कीमतों पर किसी प्रकार की बढने से रोक स्थापित करने में आप असमर्थ हैं और आप केवल यह कहें**गे** कि सरकारीकरण कर लेंगे या सारा व्यापार सरकार अपने हाथ में ले लेगी तो उससे समस्या हल हो जाएगी. श्रीर लोगों को अनाज उपलब्ध हो जाएगा ठीक रेट पर उपल्बय हो जाएगा । इससे आप वास्तव में समस्या हल कल पायेंगे.

ऐसा लगता नहीं, क्योंकि अनुभव हमारा दूसरा है। शक्कर का वितरण फूड कारपो-रेशन ने अपने हाथ में लिया, उसका परिणाम यह हुग्रा कि मध्य प्रदेश में दो-दो महीने से शक्कर उंपलब्ध नहीं हुई। फिर आप किसानों के ऊपर लेवी लगा रहे हैं। उसमें सिवाय अख्टाचार और ब्लैकमारकेंटिंग के और कोई नतीजा नहीं निकलेगा। इसलिए आप यह समझते हैं कि अनाज को सरकारी अधिकार में ले लेने से इस समस्या का हल हो जाएगा, यह सम्भव दिखलाई नहीं देता है।

इस अभिभाषण के अंदर देश में जो कान्न व्यवस्था है, उसके सम्बन्ध में भी कहा गया है। मेरे पूर्व वक्ता ने इस सम्बन्ध में अनेक तरह की बातें कहीं । उन्होंने यह कहा कि देश की ग्रखंडता पर विश्वास करते थे वे ग्राज फिर किस तरह से स्टेट रिम्रागेनाइजेशन की बात कर रहे हैं। में उनसे पूछना चाहता हं कि आप लोगों ने ही पहले स्टेट रिम्रागेंनाईजेशन ने बनाया था ग्रौर इसी विश्वास से बनाया था कि इसके द्वारा देश की अखंडता खंडित नहीं होगी । आप ही लोगों ने नागालैंड बनाया. मीजोराम बनाया, मेघालय बनाया और ये स्टेट ग्राप लोगों ने बनाये जिनकी ग्राबादी केवल पांच लाख की थी। ग्राज ग्राप ग्रान्ध के लोगों की बात को क्यों नहीं मानते हैं जो लोग अलग प्रान्त बनाने की बात कह रहे है. जिनकी ग्राबादो इन तीन प्रान्तों की ग्राबादी से ज्यादा है। आज आग्ध के जितने भी कांग्रेंसी सदस्य हैं, उन्होंने कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष को ग्रपना पार्टी से त्याग पत्न दे दिया है, लेकिन वह ग्रभी तक स्वीकार नहीं किया गया है। म्राज जो कांग्रेस के म्रापके सदस्य म्रान्ध्र के हैं वे ग्रान्ध्र ग्रोर तेलगांना को ग्रलग-ग्रलग प्रदेशों में बांटने की बात कर रहे हैं। यह भी तो एक विघटन की बात है और फिर भी आप उनके त्यागपत्न को जेब में क्यों दबाये हए हैं। वे आपके पार्टी के लोग हैं. आपकी पार्टी के संतत्त सदस्य हैं. ग्रापकी पार्टी के विधायक है. वे ग्राज सब लोग ग्रान्ध के विभाजन की मांग कर

रहे हैं। आपने उन लोगों के साथ एक जैन्टल-मन एग्रीमेंट किया था, लेकिन आज कांग्रेस उस जैन्टलमैन एग्रीमेंट को पालन नहीं कर रही है । उस एग्रीमेंट के अनुसार आज कांग्रसे ने वहां के लोगों का अच्छी तरह से संरक्षण नहीं किया । और इसी कारण से आज अलग आन्ध्र और तेलंगाना की मांग खड़ी हुई है । जो इस तरह की मांग कर रहेहैं वह आपके पार्टी के विधायक है, संसद् सदस्य हैं और वे आज त्यागपत्न दे रहें है, लेकिन आप सत्ता अपने हाथ में बनाये रखने के लिए उनका त्यागपत्न स्वीकार नहीं कर रहे हैं ।

जहां तक देश की अखंहता का सवाल है. जनसंघ इस बात पर परा विश्वास करता है। हम तो यह चाहते हैं कि जो ग्राज हमारे देश में असेम्वलियां हैं, वे सब खत्म हो जाय और केवल एक केन्द्रीय सरकार हो। जनसंघ युनीटरी गवनमेंट के लिए कहता है । जब हम इस तरह की बात करने को कहते हैं तो ग्राप में उसको करने की हिम्मत नहीं होती है । जब हम कोई बात जनता के हित के लिए कहते हैं, देण की उपखंडता के लिए कहते हैं, तो आपको वह बुरी लगती है । ग्राप जब वह बात कहते हैं तो तब वह ठीक है श्रौर जब कोई दूसरा वहता है तो वह गलत हो जाती है । इस तरह की आपकी दो तरह की नीति है । आपने नागालैंड का स्टेट बनाया तो उस समय देश की ग्रखंडता भंग नहीं हई । अगर आप आंध्र का अलग से प्रान्त बना देते हैं. तो फिर किस तरह से देश की अखंडता भंग होगी ? जब आपने हरियाणा का क्रलग राज्य बनाया तो उस समय, देश की ग्रखंडता को किसी प्रकार की हानि हई ? जिस समय आपने हिमाचल प्रदेश का ग्रलग से राज्य बनाया, क्या उस समय देण की ग्रखंडता की किसी प्रकार से हानि हई ? ग्राज ग्राप किस तरह से कहते हैं कि ग्रांध ग्रीर तेलंगाना के ग्रलग राज्य बनने से देण की ग्रखंडता भंग हो जायेगी ? ग्रापके व्यवहार के ही कारण ग्राज ग्रांध ग्रीर तेलंगाना में वायलेन्स की स्थिति पैदा हो गई है और इस वजह से वहां की जनता अलग-ग्रलग प्रान्त की मांग कर रही है । ग्रापको पहिले से ही इस बारे में सोच लेना चाहिये था कि वहां का ग्रच्छी तरह से डेवलपमेंट नहीं हुआ है। अगर हम छोटे-छोटे युनिट्स बना देते हैं तो उनको अपना विकास करने का अवसर मिल जायेगा । हमें उन्हें विकास करने का मौका देना चाहिये और वे अपने विकास के लिए ग्रलग प्रान्त बनाने की बात कहते हैं तो इसमें केन्द्र के खिलाफ विद्रोह की कोई बात नहीं है । इसलिए जनसंघ कहता है कि किसी क्षेत्र में वायलेंस शरू होने से पहिले उस क्षेत्र की जनता की इच्छा को पूर्ण कर दिया जाना चाहिये। ग्राज ग्रांध में सैंकडों की सम्पन्ति नष्ट हो गई है. सैंकडों लोग मारे गये हैं ग्रौर उसके बाद ग्राप अलग से ग्रांध्र ग्रीर तेलंगाना का राज्य बनायेंगे। आप तो यह चाहते हैं कि पहिले जनता वायलेंस कर ले तब वहां की मांग परी की जाय । आप पहिले से कोई ग्रच्छी चीज करना नहीं चाहते हैं और यही कारण है कि जनसंघ ने स्टेट रिम्रागॅनाइजेंजन की बात कही है ताकि जिन क्षेत्रों का विकास ग्रभी तक नहीं हो पाया है, उन्हें अलग रह कर ग्रयने विकास करने का ग्रवसर दिया जा सके । जिस प्रकार से देश की भलाई के लिए युनिट्स बन सकते हैं, उस तरह के युनिट्स बना दिये जाने चाहियें ताकि लोगों को वायलेंस करने का ग्रवसर न मिल सके। मुझे यह बात मालम हई है कि जब पहिले स्टेट रिम्रार्गनाइजे-णन हुआ। थातो मध्य प्रदेश के बारे में नेहरू जी ने कहा था कि इस प्रदेश को इधर उधर के प्रदेशों के हिस्से मिला कर मजबत नहीं रखा जा सकता है । आज अगर वहां की जनता बायलेंस के लिए तैयार है. आन्दोलन करने के लिए तैयार है, तो फिर ग्राप वहां की जनता की वात सूनने के लिए तैयार हो जायेंगे और तव ही आप बात सनते हैं। ग्राज मध्य प्रदेश में दूसरे जो क्षेत्र मिलाये गये हैं. उनका ग्रच्छी तरह से इंटिग्रेशन नहीं हो सका है, वे क्षेत्र ग्रन्छी तरह से डेवलप [श्रो वोरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा] नहीं हो सके हैं और इसीलिए वहां पर यह मांग हो रही है कि इस प्रदेश को तीन और हिस्सों में बांट दिया जाय, मध्य भारत, महाकौशल और छत्तीसगढ़ में बांट दिया जाय।

[उप सभाध्यक्ष (ओ वो० बो० राजू) पीठासीन हुए।]

श्वी हर्षदेव मालवीय : वहां पर ग्रापकी पार्टी के सदस्य के घर में बम पकड़े गये।

श्री मःन सिंह वर्माः गलत वात है, वह तो ग्रापकी पार्टी का मेम्बर है ।

श्रो हर्बदेव सालवीय : यह वात अखवार में निकली है ।

श्वी मान सिंह वर्मा : क्या ग्रखवार में निकली हुई सब बातों को ग्राप सच मानते हैं? ग्रखबार में यह भी निकला है कि देश में चारों तरफ भुखमरी से लोग मर रहे हैं, तो क्या ग्राप इस बात को मानने के लिए तयार हैं।

(Interruption)

श्री विरेन्द्र कुमार सखलेचा : ग्राप तो ग्रच्छी तरह से कोई बात कहें तो उसको सनने के लिए तैयार नहीं होते और जब वायलेन्स की बात की जाती है, तब आप बात सुनने के लिए तैयार होते हैं। हम अभी भी यही कहना चाहते हैं कि अब भी ग्राप दुरदर्शिता दिखलाइये ग्रीर जहां पर ग्रमी तक अच्छी तरह से इंटिग्रेशन नहीं हुआ है, जिस क्षेत्र का चमी तक अच्छी तरह से विकास नहीं हुया है, उनको ग्राप ग्रलग कर दोजिने। मध्य प्रदेश की बात मैं कह रहा था, बहा पर इस तरह के तीन युनिटम है जिनका अच्छे तरह से विकास नहीं हम्रा है । आज हर किसी काम के लिए वहां पर लोगों को दूर-दूर से भोपाल आना पड़ता है । वहां पर जो दूर के क्षेत हैं उनका ग्रच्छी तरह से न एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन हो पा रहा है और न ही उन क्षेत्रों का विकास ही हो पा रहा है । लेकिन धाप तो उः लोगों की मांग तब सनेंगे जब

वहां पर आन्दोलन जारी हो जायेगा, जब तक बहां पर हानि नहीं हो जाती है, तब तक आप बात सुनन के लिए तैयार नहीं होते।

4 P.M, तब तक आप सुनने के लिए तैयार नहीं होंगे । इसलिए जनसंघ ने कहा कि आप

पूरा स्टेट्स रिआगेंनाइजेशन कमीशन बनाएं और लोगों की कठिनाइयां, एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन और विकास के सारे दृष्टिकोणों का विचार कर ठीक प्रकार की स्टेट्स बना दी जाने । उसमें देश की एकता को कोई हानि पठुंचने वाली नहीं है और न ही सरकार को कोई कठिनाई होने वाली है । इसलिए मैं कहूंगा कि अन्ध्र से कम से कम कुछ सबक लें और बड़े प्रदेशों के हिस्से बना कर ठीक प्रकार की स्टेट्स बनावें । लोगों में दुर्माब पैदा हो, एक दूसरे के प्रति विगमता पैदा हो उसके पहले दूरद शता से कदम उटाना चाहिए ।

आज ला एण्ड आड़ंर की बात की जाती है । कितनी विधम स्थिति विद्यमा है उसके बावजूद जो कांग्रेस के घर की व्यवस्था देखते थे, तेहरू परिवार की व्यवस्था देखते थे, आज उनको देश का घर-मंती बना दिया है । किस प्रकार की नीति है ?

यहां पर कहा जाता है, मेरे मिल्न भाषण दे रहे थे कि हम इंडस्ट्रियल डेवलपमेंट की काफी कोणिश कर रहे हैं। मालवीय साहब समाजवाद की बडी दुहाई दे रहे थे ग्रौर चीन के उदाहरण देकर कह रहे थे। एक तरफ मोनोपोली हाउसेज के विरुद्ध कहा जाता है और दूसरी ओर लांग्रेस की रूरकार टाटा, विडला जितने इन्डसिद,यल हाउसज हैं उनके सब के प्रतिनिधियों को बुला कर उनसे कहती है कि तुम हमारे यहां उद्योग लगान्त्रो, हम तुम्हें बिजली सस्ती देंगे, जमीन सस्ती देंगे, सब प्रकार की इंडस्ट्री डालो. हम हर प्रकार की सुविधा देने को तैयार हैं। कहां है समाजवाद ? एक ग्रोर गरीवी नारा दिया जाता है स्रौर दूसरी स्रोर बिडला थ्रौर टाटा को बुलाया जाता है । फिर जब ग्राप समाजवाद के भाषण झाड़ते हैं तो ग्रापको नीति का दोहरापन दिखाई देता है, आपकी नीति निश्चित नहीं मालूम पड़ती, जिससे इंडस्ट्रियल डेवलपप्रेंट ठीक से हो सके । स्थिति यह है कि छोटे-छोटे उद्योग जो बढ़ना चाहते हैं, उनको बिजली नहीं मिलेगी, उनको कनेक्शन नहीं मिलेगा, उनको रा मेटीरियल नहीं मिलेगा और जो बड़े उद्योगपति हैं, उनको सब प्रकार की मुविधाएं मिलेंगी ।

गाडगिल साहब नहीं हैं---कि जनसंघ ने केमिकल फॉटलाइजर का विरोध किया । बह शहरों में निवास करते हैं, मैं गांवों में रहता हं, केमिकल फटिलाइजर के साथ जहां देसी खाद उपलब्ध हआ और दोनों को मिला कर जिन्होंने खाद डाला, उनके यहां फसल को हानि नहीं हई, लेकिन जिन्होंने केमिकल फर्टिलाइजर हो डाला, पानी की कमी के कारण उनकी पैदावार पूरी नहीं हुई, उनकी फसलें खराब हुईँ। पता नहीं वे कहां से जनसंब का नाम ले ग्राए। जनसंघ ने कभी केमिकल फटिलाइजर का विरोध नहीं किया । डवलपमेंट ठीक प्रकार से कैंसे हो उसकी बात उनको दिखाई नहीं देती ।

एक बात मैं शिमला एग्रीमेंट के बारे में कह दूं बिदेश नीति की बड़ी प्रशंसा की गई, कहा गया कि शिमला स्पिरिट यहां पर दिखाई दे रही है और बढ़ रही है । मैं चेताबनी देकर कहना चाहता हूं कि तथ्यों को इस प्रकार से ओझल न किया जाय, ग्रांखों से हटाया न जाय । ग्राज से चार दिन पहले बेगम भुट्टो ने पीकिंग के अन्दर कहा कि हिंन्दुस्तान हमें हड़प करना चाहता था, पाकिस्तान को मिटाना चाहता था और हमारे ऊपर जो हमला हुआ उसके घाव अभी हरे हैं । इसको आप शिमला स्पिरिट समझते हैं ? आप समझते हैं कि पाकिस्तान मिशला स्पिरिट को ग्रागे बढ़ाएगा, उसका अनुमोदन करेगा, हमारे हाई कमीशन पर हमले किए जा रहें हैं, वहा आकमण किए जा रहे हैं और भारत के कुछ लोग इसलिए कि प्रधान मंत्री ने शिमला में एक एग्रीमेंट कर दिया उसकी ताईद करने में तथ्यों को ओझल करने के लिए तैयार हैं । वास्तविकता यही है कि पाकिस्तान में आज भी वहीं उन्माद चालू है, भएरत के खिलाफ विपवर्मन चालू है । आपने हर बात प्रधान और उनके नेतृत्व पर दोड़ रखी है, इसलिए उनकी प्रशंसा में दस बातें कहने के अलावा [तथ्यों की और देखने की आपको फुरसत नहीं है ।

नेपाल के बारे में जिस नीति का झापन झव तम्बन किया वह उचित दिशा की झांर कदम है । नेपाल के साथ झौर ठीक कदम बढ़ाएं । लेकिन पाकिस्तान के साथ जो हमारी गड़वड़ नीति है शिमला ऐग्रीमेंट के नाम पर उस पर फिर विचार किया जाना चाहिए ।

[Time bell rings]

इसके साथ ही मैं चाहगा कि ब्रकाल बौर ग्रभाव की जो भीषण स्थिति है, उसका सही आकलन कर गरीव लोगों का जीवन बचाया जाय । मध्य प्रदेश में 34 जिलों में ग्रकाल है । सैन्द्रल टीम ग्रभी तक वहां नहीं गई है । यह स्थिति है, इसे दूर करने के लिए तत्काल कदम उठाएंगे तो उचित होगा ।

श्री सीताराम के सरी (बिहार) : उपाध्यक्ष जी, राष्ट्रपति जी के ग्रभिभाषण पर धन्य-वाद देते हुए मैं ग्राप के द्वारा राष्ट्रपति जी स यह भी कहूंगा कि उन्होंने ग्रपने ग्रभिभाषण में सारी वातों को तो रखा, मगर विरोधी दलों ने जो इधर कार-नामे किये हैं, उनके संबंध में कोई भत्संना नहीं की ।

(Interruptions)

उपाध्यक्ष जी, एक गंभीर परिस्थिति सारे देश में उपस्थित हो गई है। हिंसात्मक बातावरण पैदा करने की कोजिश की जा रहा है। पाकिस्तान के युद्ध के बाद हमारे एक विरोधी दल के नेता श्री पीलू मोदी का श्री भुट्टों से प्रेमालाप हुआ। शिमला में बिना बुलाये उनकी श्री भुट्टों से बातें हई।

[श्री सीताराम केसरी]

वहां कोई सामाजिक उत्सव नहीं था । जब देश एक गंभीर राजनैतिक स्थिति से गुजर रहा था, ऐसे समय में वह स्वतंत्र पार्टी जिसके साथ जनसंघ की सांठ-गांठ है, वह स्वतंत्र पार्टी जिसके साथ सोशलिस्ट पार्टी की भी सांठ-गांठ है, वह स्वतंत्र पार्टी, जिसके साथ संगठन कांग्रेस की भी सांठ-गांठ है, उस पार्टी के एक नेता का श्रो भुट्टों से प्रेमालाप होता रहा ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कुछ दिन पहले इस देश में इस बात की चर्चा चली थी और वह एक गंभीर चर्चा रही है कि सी० आई० ए० के दारा. उसके पैसे के दारा. इस देश में जाति को बिगाडने के लिए, इस देश में जनतांत्रिक सरकार जो है, उसे बरबाद करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। मगर श्री भट्टो के दोस्त मोदी साहब ने बजाय इसके कि वे इसकी भर्त्सना करते, वे इसका विरोध करते, उन्होंने इसका समर्थन किया। क्या यह शर्म की बात नहीं है ? क्या यह इस बात का प्रतीक नहीं उ कि इस देश में अशांति को उत्तेजित किया जाता है। क्या यह इस भावना का प्रतीक नहीं है कि वे एक तरफ श्री भटों से मिलते हैं और उनसे मिलने के बाद दूसरी तरफ इस देश में भंयकर परिस्थिति पैदाकरनेका प्रयत्न करते हैं ? इससे यदि हमारे मन में उनके प्रति सन्देह पैदा हो तो इसमें कोई अन्चित बात नहीं होगी, क्योंकि हमारे दूश्मन देश के नेता से प्रेमालाप करके हमारे देश में हिसात्मक वातावरण पैदा करने का प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है ।

वह जनसंघ जो श्रंखण्ड भारत की कल्पना करता था, वही जनसंघ ग्राज खण्डित भारत की कल्पना करके ग्रपने को ऊंचे स्तर से नीचे गिरा रहा है। मैं सच कहता हूं कि उनके प्रति हमारे मन में जो एक भावना थी, उस भावना पर बहुत बड़ा कुठाराघात हुग्रा है। ग्राज इस बात पर बे उतारू हैं, ग्राज इस बात पर बे उद्यत हैं कि इस देश में शांति न रहे। ग्रापको याद होगा कि भारत- पाकिस्तान युद्ध के केवल जनसंघ के नेताओं ने, जनसंघ के लोगों न युद्ध की मांग की थी ग्रीर युद्ध के बाद जब चुनाव ग्राया तो उन्होंने उन फिरकापरस्त मसलमान दोस्तों की वापसी की मांग की जो हिन्दुस्तान का विभाजन कराने वाले थे। बिहार में जनसंघ ने ऐसे लोगों के साथ सांठ-गांठ भी की । यह इनकी नीति है। यह इनकी देशभक्ति का सबसे ज्वलंत प्रमाण है ग्रीर इसको श्राप देख सकते हैं। यह हमेशा के अवसर-वादी रहे हैं। उनके सामने जो अवसर होता है, उस तरह की वह आवाज बलन्द करते हैं। एक समय था कि जब ग्राप पाकि-स्तान से लड़ाई की मांग करते थे, ग्राज भट्टो से प्रेमालाप करने वाले से प्रेम करने में ग्रपने को सम्मानित समझते हैं ग्रीर ग्राज इस वात पर उतारू हैं कि इस देख में शान्ति रहे हिसात्मक वातावरण आ जाय, अशांति हो । लेकिन इसके बाबजद भी इस देश में शान्ति रहेगी। मैं आप से कहं कि इनका एक-एक कदम देशभक्ति से भरा हम्रा नहीं है। डा० भाई महावीर से मैं पूछता हं जो हमेशा पाकिस्तान के साथ लड़ाई की मांग करते थे, हमेशा कहते थे कि भुट्रो से दोस्ती नहीं चलेगी, वह क्या बता सकते हैं कि भुट्रो की मोदी से दोस्ती का कारण क्या है ? भुट्रो की दोस्ती क्या उसको कोई प्रेरणा देने वाली है या कोई रिसोर्सेज लाने वाली है ? आप क्यों सारे राष्ट्र में. ग्रार० एस० एस० के द्वारा एक हिंसात्मक वातावरण तैयार करना चाहते हैं? मैं गह मंत्रालय से भी एक शिकायत करना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने श्री मोदी को ग्रब तक बाहर क्यों रखा। मैं गह मंत्रालय से शिकायत करूंगा कि झार० एस० एस०, जिस पर देश का करोडों रुपया सालाना खर्च होता है, लाखों नहीं, करोड़ों, वह क्यों एक सैनिक खमा बना हुआ है, एक पैरेलेल गवर्न-मेंट का उसका रूप है। हर जगह उसकी शाखायें दिखायी पड़ती हैं, सूबह और शाम को उनकी मीटिंग होती हैं ग्रौर उसमें सारे दलाके के बारे में तमाम बात होती है और वहां

किस प्रकार हिंसात्मक वातावरण तैयार किया जाय, विद्यार्थियों, मजदूरों स्रौर दूसरे वर्गों को हर जगह भड़काया जाय । यह जो बाता-वरण पैदा हो रहा है, संशयात्मक वातावरण, संदेहात्मक वातावरण हो रहा है उस संदर्भ में जो डा० भाई महावीर की दोस्ती हो रही है, जो भुट्रो से प्रेमालाप हो रहा है, मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या उसके लिए यही समय था ? ग्राखिर उनका क्या सामाजिक उद्देश्य था इस बात के पीछे कि श्री मोदी बहां जायं और श्री मुट्टो से प्रेमालाप करें ? क्या वे देश के राजदूत थे जो वहां गए थे ? क्या वे भारत के सिटीजन के रूप में वहां गए थे ? कभी मैंने नहीं सना कि भट्रो-मोदी प्रेमालाप भारत-पाक युद्ध से पूर्व हुआ हो। कहीं नहीं स्ना ।

डा॰ भाइँ॰ महावीर : बहुत बार पूछ रहे हैं उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसलिए मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि मुझे लगता है कि हमारी सरकार का जो यह ग्राक्ष्वासन था कि भुट्टो साहब बहुत भले ग्रादमी हैं इस पर शायद मोदी साहब ने भरोसा कर लिया ग्रीर इसी वास्ते वह दोस्ती हो गयी ।

श्री सीताराम केंसरी (बिहार) : नहीं वे पैसा लेने के लिए गए होंगे दौलत वालों के लिए । मैं एक चीज और कहना चाहता हं । जब कभी प्रधान मंत्री जी देश को सचेत करती हैं कि देश को खतरा है, उसी समय यह लोग चाहते हैं कि देश को ग्राश्वस्त करें कि खतरे की कोई बात नहीं है । उनका कहना होता है कि वें तो इकोनामिक परिस्थिति में इतनी उलझ गयी हैं, सरकार इतनी उलझ गयी है, इसलिए ही वे देश को सतक करना चाहती हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपके द्वारा उन लोगों से कि जो चटना लंदन में घटित हई हाई कमीशन ग्राफिस में ग्राखिर वह क्या है पाकिस्तानियों ने वहां जाकर जो कुछ किया यह किस बात का प्रमाण है ? वह किस बात का परि-चायक है ? वह इस बात का परिचायक है कि बाज भी देश खतरे में है? उनका उद्देश्य

क्या थां यह मैं ग्रापको बताना चाहता हं। भारत-पाक यद्ध से पहले यह लोग इसलिए युद्ध की मांग करते थे कि हमारे मुल्क का पाकिस्तान से मुकाबला होगा ग्रौर ऐसा समय ग्रायेगा कि जब हिन्द्स्तान की सेना पीछे हटेगी ग्रीर उस समय ये लोग कहेंगे कि इस सरकार को हटाया जाय और उसके स्थान पर हमारी सरकार बनायी जाए. लेकिन यह लोग उसमें फेल हो गए। उन का सफाया हो गया । उन्होंने देखा कि हमने यद्ध जीता और देश को प्रतिष्ठा दी, सम्मान दिया कि यह देश भी युद्ध कर सकता है, लिबरेट कर सकता है ग्रपने पड़ौसी राष्ट्र को जो कि गुलामी के बंधन में ग्राबद्ध था। इसलिए ग्रापके द्वारा मैं इस देश को सूचित करना चाहता हं कि वह सचेत रहे और विरोधी दल केवल विरोध करने की भावना से, आलोचना करने की भावना से ही कोई कदम न उठायें। उनका एक ही उद्देश्य है कि वे सत्ता में आयें, सत्ता में किसी प्रकार प्रवेश करें। ग्राप छोटी-छोटी वातों में उनको देखिए । चार ग्रादमियों की मीटिंग होती है, चार लाख लिख दिया जाता है। ग्रभी हमारे बजगं तिभुवन सिंह जी ने कहा कि मैं किसी रोप के साथ यह बात प्रधान मंत्री जी से नहीं पूछ रहा हं। ग्रौर फौरन ही उन्होंने कहा कि मैंने चिट्ठी लिखी थी और आपने जवाब नहीं दिया । ग्रब बताइये कि एक तरफ तो कहना कि रोष नहीं था और दूसरी तरफ कह रहे हैं कि मैंने खत लिखा था जबाव नहीं मिला। स्पष्ट बात है। आपको पत्न के उत्तर न मिलने के कारण जो खेद हुआ, उसके रोष में ग्रापने यह बात कही। इसलिए दोनों बातें कंटेडिक्टी हैं। मैं उनके जवाब में कह रहा हं। मैंने तो स्पष्ट चित्र देश के सामने रख दिया कि ग्रार० एस० एस० पर करोड़ों रुपया कहां से खर्च होता है। मैं सरकार से, गह मंत्रालय से मांग करता हूं कि एक कमीशन बैठाया जाये कि आर०एस०एस० पर जो खर्च होता है उसकी छानबीन करवाई जाए। नहीं सरकार करवाती है। यही वजह है कि

303 Motion of Thanks [P.AJYA SABHA]

[श्री सीताराम केसरी]

सरकार को इन्हीं गलतियों के कारण इतनी भंयकर परिस्थितियों का मुकावला करना पड़ रहा है।

आज आप आंध्र में जाइये । ये कहते हैं कि भ्रष्टाचार हैं, भष्टाचार में तो ये खुद ही प्रस्त हैं । ग्रभी कानपुर में सम्मेलन हुग्रा, 15 लाख रुपए खर्च कि। । कहां से खर्च किए । 15 लाख रुपए कहां से आये ?

श्री प्रेम मनोहर : आपको किसने बताया कि 15 लाख रुपवे खर्च हुए ?

श्री सीताराम केंसरी : 9 दिन तक 20 हजार लोगों को भोजन कहां से कराया ? क्या हवा में से टपकते थे या जमुना से छल-छली लगती थी ?

उप सभापति महोदय, इनका हिसाव-किताव बडा भंयकर है, इनका हिसाब-किताब पंडा और बनिया सेठ साहकार के साथ है। ग्रापको याद होगा उप-सभापति महोदय, जब कलकत्ता में, वैस्ट बंगाल में सी० पी० एम० की सरकार थी तो रवीन्द्र सरोवर की घटना के लिए ये परेणान थे और कहते थे कि कांग्रेस वाले उनका समर्थन कर रहे थे। जब हमने उल्ट दिया तो ये उनके साथ हो गए। 12 विरोधी दल हैं, 12 इनके उद्देश्य हैं। जिसको कल तक इन्होंने गाली दी आज उसको चाहते हैं. आ पका दल धर्म के आधार पर था । कुछ मेरी भी भावना थी शरू-शरू में, मगर जब मैंने आपका सच्चा रूप देख लिया तो मैं भूल गया। ग्राप किसी ग्रीर के एजेंट हैं। स्नाप पाकिस्तान केभी दुश्मन नहीं है। आप उनके विरोधी नहीं है। आप गहरे दोस्त हैं। अगर दोस्त नहीं होते तो जब मोदी साहव भट्टो से प्रेमालाप करने गए थे, उनको क्राप कहते कि आप प्रेमालाप नहीं करते । ग्राप कहते मोदी तुमने गलत काम किया। मगर आपने ऐसा नहीं किया । आपके सामने मकसद कोई चीज नहीं है। उद्देक्य कोई नहीं है, ग्रापके सामने एक ही चीज है कि देश में ग्रराजकता फैलाग्री। देश में इस तरह की स्थिति पैदा करो; क्योंकि चनाव ग्रा रहे हैं। चनाव में आप जीत नहीं सकते । जनता आपको अच्छो तरह पहचानती है कि कौन-कौन रूप में आते हैं. और कौन-कौन रंग में आते हैं और हार जाते हैं। उत्तर प्रदेण का चनाब होने वाला है तो कानपुर चले गए । उत्तर प्रदेश का चनाव होने वाला है तो ग्रान्दोलन कर रहे हैं, छालों में एक भावना पैदा कर रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं विरोधी दलो के दोस्तों से कहना चाहता हं कि अगर आप चाहते हो, ग्रगर ग्रापको ग्रास्था थी राष्टपति में, डेमोकेसी में तो जो डेमोकेसी का हैक् होता है, जो प्रतीक होता है, जो सिम्बल होता है. उन्हें ग्राप सम्मानित करते ग्रौर ग्रगर इन बातों को बोलते तो शोभा देती। मगर नहीं-ग्रापके दिल में वही भावना है जो सी० पी० एम० वाले करते थे। आप सी०पी०एम० के नेतत्व में आ रहे हैं। एक आर आप कहते थे कि वह चीन का एजेंट है, दूसरे को कहते थे, रूस का एजेंट है, तीसरे को कहते थे अमरीका का एजेंट है। आज हमको कहने में दःख होता है कि आप सभी लोगों में यह सब सुरत हमको देखने में मिलती है। हम बहत चाहते थे, एक ही सुरत देखने को मिलती। वह भारत की सुरत, वह भारत का रूप होता. भारत के जनतंत्र का रूप होता. उसके प्रति ग्रास्या होती, सम्मान होता और वह सम्मान उसके जो मनोनीत व निर्वाचित जो सबसे विशिष्ट व्यक्ति हैं, उनके प्रति झादर प्रकट करके होता । उनको सम्मान देते तब मैं समझता ग्रापका हेंदय साफ है। लेकिन ग्राप ग्रराजकता के पथ पर खड़े गाली-गलौच कर रहे हैं, जिससे आपको कोई लाभ नहीं सिवा इसके कि आराप चाहते हैं दूसरों का रूप खंडित हो और स्राप स्रपने व्यवहार से जो सच्चा, सुन्दर रूप बनता था डेमोकेसी का, उसको विकृत करना चाहते हैं। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति के प्रति सम्मान प्रगट करते हुए उनके अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद देता हूं।

SHRI THILLAI VILLALAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman. Sir. the President has called upon the people to perform certain exacting tasks which lie ahead of the nation. He also summoned the people to take stock of the problems that the nation faces and also summoned us to give guidance to the people. I regret to inform this august Houne that we o ibstained along with the other five Opposition Parties from attending the Joint Session in which our President has addressed on the 19th because of the specific reasons which we have already mentioned. I want to repeat the grounds, the reasons, for our abstention on that day. I want to give the reasons because I want to deal with two of the grounds in detail in my speech. These are the grounds.

The Union Government failed to arrest the spiralling prices of the essential commodities, thereby causing life of the poor and middle class people miserable; failed to take effective steps to combat price-rise in spite of our repeated demands. The Union Government failed to find a democratic solution to the cxiris in Andhra Pradesh where the situation has not only affected the life and economy of that State alone but also the entire nation's economy in general and the adjoining States in particular.

The Union Government failed to stop the unprecedented repressive measures adopted by the Central Reserve Police against the people of Andhra.

The Union Government failed to sanction more power projects in Tamil Nadu in spite of the repeated requests, which has caused serious power crisis in the State.

The Union Government failed to check one or two Central Ministers who are often making irresponsible statements and speeches against the F[^]ooth running of the Government of Tamil Nadu. Our Party in Parliament takes strong objection to the expression of the Prime Minister when she dubbed the entire opposition as anti-national forces under the influence of foreign interests and traitors.

We have clarified that our abstention does not in any way show any disrespect to the President. Sir, the President has made a review of the governmental policies and achievements at home and abroad and has given indication also of the future course of action by this Government in the field of legisaltion and administration. After seeing the speech, we can say that it is the record of the past and not of the future. Certain achievements have been mentioned but the aims for the future are very vague. Today I want to take up the two exacting tasks which our President has mentioned ar-a under consideration. The first and the foremost is about the power crisis. We find a definite fall in agricultural and industrial production due to drought in the case of agriculture and due to shortage of power in the case of industry. But the President has given a categorical assurance that these two maladies will be met vi^orcusly by this Government.

Sir, in our Tamil Nadu the power position is very acute, I admit. Our State Government has taken all measures, long-term and shortterm, to avert this danger. If we read two press notes, we can find out what steps have been taken by the State Government of Tamil Nadu for averting this crisin. The first press note is this:

"Early clearance is expected from the Union Government for the two thermal power projects at Tuticorin and Mettur Dam. The Tamil Nadu Government has submitted detailed reports for the two projects to the Centre recently.

The Tuticorin thermal station will, in the first stage, be of 400 mw of two 200 mw sets and will be based on Bengal-Bihar coal shipped to Tuticorin harbour until Singareni

[Shri Thillai Villalan].

is in a position to meet its coal requirements to the full. A further expansion to 600 mw. is also envisaged.

The Mettur thermal station, which will be based on Singareni Coal, will have a generating capacity of

z220 mw. consisting of two 110 mw, sets. The Tuticorin project is expected to cost Rs. 73-25 crores, while the cost of the Mettur project

is estimated at Rs. 65:53 crores. According to the construction programme drawn up by the State Electricity Board, the firot 200 mw. unit of the Tuticorin thermal station is expected to be commissioned by 1977-78 and the second unit by 1978-79. The two units of the Mettur project are expected to be ready by 1977-78 and it is proposed to raise the capacity by another 110 mw. in 1970.

In view of the fact that Tamil Nadu is among the very few States -which have come out with proposals quickly for new power projects during the Fifth Plan, the State Government is hopeful that early clearance would be given for these two projects. The severe shortage currently being felt in Tamil Nadu ip also exptected¹ to (influence the Centre to come to a quick decision."

Sir, here is another press note.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): You need not read out all the press notes.

SHRI THILLAI VILLALAN: I am, only reading the relevant portions of the press notes. This is what is said in the second press note:

"The Planning Commission has approved the Rs. 34 crore Kadam-parai pumped storage hydroelectric project of Tamil Nadu for inclusion in the Stat_e Plan."

From this we can see how the State Government of Tamil Nadu is taking steps to deal with the power crisis.

Now I come to another important point and I want to bring to the notice

of this august Houpe the paradoxical position in our Constitution itself. In the Constitution the provisions relating to formation of Ministries are very strange. If a party is defeated in a State the leaders of that party cannot become Ministers in that State. But if one or two of them escape by becoming a Member of Farliament, he comes to Delhi and he becomes a Minister in the Central Cabinet. And he comes with all his pomp and peraphernalia to the State, though his party is defeated there and though his representatives are not in that State legislature, because of the loophole in the Constitution he becomes a Cabinet Minister at the Centre and comes to the State and talks tall from the platforms. I regret to note that the previous Minister of Planning and now the Minister of Industrial Development, Mr. C. Subramaniam, has made a speech. I want you to make a note of this. In this connection, I want to read the press report:---

"The Union Minister for Industrial Development, Mr. C. Subramaniam, today criticised the Tamil Nadu Government for its failue" to utilise the available electricity to achieve the maximum social benefit.

The Minister, who was addressing Congress workers at the premises of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee in Purasawalkam, said that till recently the DMK leaders had been proudly proclaiming that Tamil Nadu had been occupying a preeminent place in the production of electricity even without Central assistance. Now, the same leaders were trying to blame the Centre for the serious power crisis in Tamil Nadu. Generation of electricity had been reduced considerably in Tamil Nadu due to acts of nature and other causes!, The situation could not be tackled successfully unless the Government came out with a categorical declaration that power would be made available only for specific and essential purposes.

As far as the Central Government i was concerned, he said, a Cabinet Sub-Committee had been appointed a month ago to see how the power crisis facing various States could be overcome. Expert panels had been deputed to look into the problems of individual power plants including those in the southern region and suggest shortterm solutions as well as ways and means of averting' such contingencies in future."

If any individual belonging to the .ruling party had said like that, we would not have taken note of it, but .as a Cabinet Minister, who is responsible for the whole country and not only for Tamil Nadu, he was accusing a State Government in the State from a public platform. If the press report is true, it is unfortunate and regrettable. I do not want to proceed further with this matter.

So far as the other aspect about the Constitution itself is concerned, the relationship between the States and the Centre in very complicated. I will be brief. The first point is almost •over. I want to deal with the second point. The paradoxical position so far as the structure of the Government of India itself is concerned can be .seen from the extracts from the book— "The Critical Problems of the Indian Constitution toy Justice P. B. .Mukharji." It says: —

"An acute problem today concerns the nature of the constitutional structure of India. Does the Indian Constitution represent a Federalism or not? Some Constitutional experts have described the Indian Constitution as "quasi-federal". Others have used stronger words to say that it is only federal in appearance, but in essence and spirit it is unitary. Again the answer to these high constitutional complexities cannot be given in simple affirmative or negative or by any dogma on one side or the other. Again here the Indian Constitution cannot be said to be either federal or unitary but a mixture of its own."

Then, it says: ---

"From this study it will be seen that events have belied Dr. Ambedkar's hopes. "States are as sovereign in their field which is left to them by the Constitution as the Centre in the field which is assigned to it."

It is just possible that the fault for this is not a fault with the type of Indian Federalism. The fault may be a fault with the administration, as it has been said:

For forms of Government let fools contest,

That which is best administered is best.

Whether a Government is unitary or federal or quasi-federal much of the defects, although certainly not all, can be cured by due and proper administration. It is perhaps in that strain Sir Ivor Jennings concluded his irtudy SOME THE INDIAN CHARACTERISTICS OF observed-CONSTITUTION when he "The Constituent Assembly has give_n India a machine which ought to work. It is based upon the experience of a people who, whatever their other defects may be, do know how to govern themselves. In due course India will probably find, as the Irish did very guickly, that it it the machine and the background of public opinion which The frills and furbelows of a matter. Constitution are as unnecessary as those of fashion. What is more, like those of fashion they cost money"." So, the important point is So far as the relationship between the this. States and the Centre is concerned, it has not been harmonised, but it has been aggravated so far as our State is concerned by one or two Ministers' statements.

Then the next point is about the crisis in Andhra Pradesh, it is not electricity power crisis but political crisis. I do not want to say anything but I want to give the opinions of two common men. They have clearly [Shri Thillai Villalan]. assessed the situation and also given the verdict also. If you read these two opinions published in the newspaper it would be clear how the people

raE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): ,You give a gist of it, you need not read out.

SHRI THILLAI VILLALAN; It is more or less the same. My view is ali30 the same as that expressed by these common ,men.

"A situation exists in Andhra at the moment which is perhaps unparalleled in modern history. Before passions turned into hatred and anger assumed the form of a frenzied fray, the Centre should have stepped in to assuage the Andhra people's wrath. Now, the ' situation is irretrievable *vis-a-vis* Integration.

Mrs. Gandhi initially blundered in seeking to bulldoze the Andhra sentiment and taking things for granted. She first made a person with little following their Chief Minister. Then she dd not bestow her serious attention to what these Mulki Rules wer, and how anomalous and anachronistic they could be in a modern socialistic order. She next defined the struggle for Reparation as one fomented by vested interests, not realising the intensity of the popular feeling behind it. She then pictured the so-called vested interests baring their fangs against her own self in the guine of a separate Andhra struggle. In an amazing lack of foresight and vision, she refused to grant interviews to Andhra MPs, fifteen of them representing millions of people.

Need it be emphasised that the Andhra" people's self-esteem is hurt by these and a host of other acts of commission and omission? Consequently, the Andhra people are smarting under a crushing sense of ignominy. Let the Prime Minister not endeavour to repair the house when it is on fire. It appears to be the wish of the overwhelming; majority. Let her therefore gracefully concede the wish for separation, and refurbish her much tarnished' democratic image."

Then, another common man went. further and . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU); One common man is sufficient.

SHRI THILLAI VILLALAN: writes like this. You will find what in the democratic solution because our Prime Minister has stated that Governmental decision should not be taken on the streets. But Government is formed by the people on the streets. So, I have taken the opinion of the-man on the street.

"How hard it is for Mr. Bhutto to face the realities and recognise Bangla Desh can be well understood from the way in which Mrs. Gandhi. is finding it equally hard to face realities and to recognise the feelings of the people of Andhra Pradesh. Both leaders refuse to renpect the feelings *of* the people and they want at least some semblance of integration, although it is clear now to all right-thinking people that neither language nor religion plays any part in the formation of an integrated State.

Both of them ironically feel that they are the only wise persons in the whole country to tell the people what is good or bad for them and that the people are to do and die and not to ask why. Mr. Bhutto said it was wrong for the Muslim Bengal to go to the neighbour (India) for help and Mm. Gandhi also says, it is wrong for the separatist leaders in Andhra to go to the neighbour (Tamil Nadu) for consultation. Mr. Bhutto does not care how many Bengalis were massacred but he only shouts that his soldiers kept as prisoners in India are being inhumanly treated. Mrs. Gandhi also feels the same-way and does not care about the

sufferings in and around Andhra Pradesh but expresses great concern for the properties damaged by the agitators."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: It is very <ong.

"... It is no use on the part of people to suggest to Mrs. Gandhi or Mr. Bhutto to go to Andhra Pradesh and Bangladesh respectively t_0 face the people there try to explain and convince them what they stand to lose, if they stick on to separation and if they still insist on bifurcation to ask them to resign for failure of their policy. The tussle between the people of Andhra Pradesh and the Prime Minister is being keenly watched by the people of other States and they are waiting to see the outcome of thin struggle of the people against "high-handedness."

(Time bell rings)

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHTAGI): May I just ask the hon'ble Member is that the standard of eloquence and rhetoric of the common man in Andhru Pradesh?

SHRI THILLAI VILLALAN: Common man of the country. We are for integration. The common man from Andhra Pradesh is not different from the common man from Tamil Nadu. He is a common man from India. If a democratic eolation is bifurcation, then do it immediately without any further delay. Delay is always dangerous. Therefore, I would request this Government to take immediate steps so far as the Andhra crisis is concerned. (Time bell rings.) 1 am concluding.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orinsa): Any other common man?

SHRI THILLAI VTLLALAN: I have finished. I have quoted only two common men

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON <Kerala): These common men do .not have facei unfortunately.

SHRI THILLAI VILLALAN: I hope and wish that we Will overcome all the extraordinary challenges and will lead the nation to the path of progress. With these words I conclude.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by my friend, Mr. Vithal Gadgil, and seconded by Mr. Malaviya. Sir, the President in the form of his Address has given us this document of peace and hope and confidence. I agree with the elaborate analysis and interpretation given by three former speakers. I need not repeat ' those things to waste the time of the House and to give you a feeling of boredom.

Sir, what I am concerned about is the drama that is now being enacts in Andhra Pradesh. I will emphasise on it because unless you try to understand what is happening in Andhra Pradesh and deal with it firmly we do not know what will be the shape of things to come within a year or two in the different parts of our great country.

Sir, the agitation, one can easily come to the conclusion, is directed net against the Mulki Rules or the Mulki Rule but there is some motivation from deep inside. My friend, Mr. Malaviya, said that it is an agitation directed, financed and conducted by reactionary forces. I would go a step further and say that this is not only a nuisance created by reactionaries, this is a counterrevolution taking shape in the country. I want the Government to note that those people who could not foil our plan inside Parliament or in the elections are dragging things to the streets so that they can create chaos in the country in order to foil our goals, to sidetrack us from the line we have taken, that is. to establish a socialist society in the country. Now, what is happening? You know, Sir. these people from Andhra Pradesh who have a hegemony in every affair in Andhra, who are controlling politics there, who are controlling the

[Shri Brahmananda Panda].

economic life of Andhra and who are also controlling the cultural life of Andhra, had come here, talked with the Prime Minister, agreed with the five-point programme and then went back. And once they were in Andhra Pradesh, they said, "No, no Mulki rules business; we want separation". So, I am not surprised when George Fernandes says that he wants 50 States. I am not surprised when our Jan Sangh friends say that smaller States will do and it is democratic. And my great friend, Mr. Thillai Villalan—he is not in the House now, but Mr. Appan is there and he can convey my feelings to him...

SHRI OM MEHTA: No, he does not believe in that.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: He is a good man.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRIAL DEVE-LOPMENT (SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE): He is the common man's representative.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: Do not drag in my name unnecessarily here.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: The General Secretary of the D. M. K. addresses meetings in Andhra Pradesh and advocates separation. Villalan read out some common man's view on the Andhra problem. Who is this uncommon man. Villalan has no guts to say that it is his Chief Minister's view, comparing Mrs. Indira Gandhi with Bhutto in their policies; and he compares the situation in Andhra Pradesh with that of Bangladesh. This is a dangerous tendency which has to be curbed. Sir, who is now agitating in the streets? It is not the industrial worker, it is not the landless peasant or the agricultural labourer. It is those people whom the land ceiling affects, it is those people whom urban ceiling will affect, is those people like my friends in unjab whom Mr. Sakhecha repreents, the foodgrains wholesalers, who are financing this agitation. It being financed by rich landlords,

by the show-business proprietors and also by the mill-owners who are spending to the tune of Rs. 5 lakhs per day for this agitation, keeping these corrupt NGOs in front of the agitation. But it is no more in their hands. The agitation has gone beyond these Subba Reddys. For some time, these bulls of Vijayawada went mad. Do you think they will hear your Vedas? What they need is a refreshing beating. Unless they are beaten, unless terror is met with terror, unless violence is met with violence, these mad bulls will not understand reason. So, Sir...

SHRI G. A. APPAN: Is this what Gandhiji taught?

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: Well, if you want to slap me, I am not prepared to show my face. If you slap me, I will beat you.

Sir, I went to some parts of Andhra. I speak their language. I had been to Vijayawada, I had been to Vijaya-nagaram, I had also been to Vizag. The common man is not interested at all. The business people, whom these people threaten and from whom they collect funds, are not happy over it. In a small hotel if four or five youngsters join together, they talk of New Andhra. But if you talk to the proprietor, he says, "How long can you go on with this?" That is the feeling of the. common man there. So this agitation which has now started in Andhra, will not be limited to Andhra itself if separation is allowed. For example, if anything bursts with violence, it has its impact on everything by its side. So, if Andhra Pradesh is bifurcated, it will definitely have its effect not only on Orissa but also on Tamil Nadu, some portion of Maharashtra and also Mysore. 1 do not know what will happen to Kerala. Once you encourage fissiparous and divisive tendencies in this country, the entire country will be on fire. And what is their purpose? Why have they started this counter revolution? To see that India does not go the socialist way. And what is the hurdle? The Prime Minister,

317 Motion of Thanks

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, is the hurdle. The Prime Minister said in her agony for the suffering Andhra people, "If I am the obstacle, I am prepared to step down if by that the Andhra problem can be solved". The Prime Minister has no right to say that. She cannot step down. The great people of India will never allow her to step down, just because the big business wants her to step down, just because the monopolists want her to step down, the grand alliance wants her to step down, the great patriotic agitators in Andhra Pradesh want her to step down. The masses will never allow her to step down. They have so much hope in the Prime Minister, in her dynamism and her right guidance for taking the country in the right direction which will help the underdog. The masses will not allow her to step down, however piously these people may wish. At Vijayawada I saw friends of Mr. Varma. They are from Maharashtra. Jan Sangh volunteers from Maharashtra have gone there to propagate separation. So, do not take it so lightly that this Andhra agitation is only a minor thing, that you can get them to the negotiating table and settle things. It is a counterrevolution, it is a naked counter revolution. And unless we nip it in the bud, the future will be dark for India. If you bow before violence, you will be compelled to bow out of office which is what they want ...

अी मात सिंह वर्मा: मिस्टर पंडा, यह आपका समन उस समय नहीं हुआ जब नागालैंड बन रहा था, जब मेघालय बन रहा था और जब ग्रलग ग्रलग डिवीजन हुआ कन्ट्री का तो क्या उस वक्त भी आपको यह खयाल आया था कि पांच-पांच लाख लोगों की स्टेट्स बना कर क्यों खड़ा कर दिया ?

श्वोत्त्तीसीतादेवीः जनसंघ नेही बनवाई थीं । पहले भी जनसंघ ने बनवाया या श्रीर ब्रब भी जनसंघ वही बोल रहाहै। SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: So there is no point in saying all that. The Prime Minister has clearly said that solutions cannot be reached at in the streets. Therefore, I would advise the Government, first of all, to ask them to withdraw their agitation unconditionally, come to the negotiating table and place their cards. There are sane people everywhere. We cannot deal only with a limited number of frustrated and power-hungry politicians. When Andhra Pradesh

was carved out, they were there. Now when they want Andhra to be separated, they are there. You cannot run with the hare and hunt with the hound. Potti Sreeramulu did not die simply because Subbareddis will have a separatist agitation. Young men of Andhra Pradesh will not spare those people why is there difficulty? As I told you, the working class is not committed except those workers of that integrated Milk Scheme in the Krishna'District and also some industrial clerical staff, counterparts of the corrupt NGOs in some respects. But what is the Government doing to give protection to those people who resist the separatist movement? Their houses are being looted. They are manhandled. Their children are mauled. So unless you give them protection, unless a resistance movement is built up, these people will not stand exposed. And I am told that at Visakhapatnam those people who now come with the New Andhra flag are the same people who are breaking railway wagons, who are biackmarketeers, who are smuggling gold and wrist watches, they are now leaders in Visakhapatnam. The working class leaders live in panic because nobody is there to help them for their safety and security. So this must be the bounden duty of the Central Government, now that you have President's rule there, to help the people who resist the separation movement, to see that their life is secure. That is the foremost thing. I tell you how in Visakhapatnam the police and revenue officers are acting, A few days before

I the imposition of the President's rule,

319 Motion of Thanks

Brahmananda Panda], the [Shri separatists took out a procession in Visakhapatnam. The Collector gave them permission. Three days after that, the dock worker_s wanted to take at a procession. Their leader went to the Collector for permission. The Collector said: "I am not going to give you permission". They asked: "Why". The Collector said: "No. they were unarmed. If I give you permission, you will come with arms. If your men create some mischief, then there will be firing. I do not want to help create any such situation.". Then they contacted the Chief Minister and he gave them permission. There was no trouble. The integrationists took out the procession and peacefully ended it in a public meeting.

At Kakinada the Congress legislators were meeting at the townhall. A bus load of miscreants came and stopped the vehicle just at the gate of the hall. One man with a gun in his hands came out and said: "Take a decision for separation. Otherwise no one will go out of this place alive". The Police were standing there. Nobody intervened. That is why I say that the entire administrative structure of Andhra Pradesh-the Police, the revenue officials, the SDOs- should be changed. Of course, there are some good and sane people. Bar-rir" them, the entire structure should be changed. You cannot control them now. The only answer to this situation is to introduce immediate land-reform. Give land to the landless labourers and Harijans. Build up your democratic base in the villages. Then, I am sure these so-called representatives of the people, black-marketeers and frustrated politicians will not have any say in the affairs of Andhra Pradesh. Now there is no other way left to you. Then, those people who say: "Now bifurcation is the only solution" will stand exposed. "For Shri Thillai Villalan's information, I want to say that the D. M. K. General Secretary, Shri Viswana-than...

SHRI V V. SWAMINATHAN: He

is not the General Secretary. He is Lok Sabha Member...

(Interruptions)

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: I do not know ...

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: Why don't you collect the details and then speak?

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: He addresses meetings in Andhra Pradesh and advocates separation. The DMK Chief Minister comes and meets the Prime Minister and...

SHRI VENIGALLA SATYANARA-YANA: H_e has mentioned about an incident in Kakinada. He is totally wrong....

(Interruptions),

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: This information was given by your people....

(Interruptions).

SHRI VENIGALLA SATYANARA-YANA: They must have brainwashed you...

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: I do not go places to be brainwashed. I have enough brains which I use. You must know that this is not Vijayawada street.

SHRI VENIGALLA SATYANARA-YANA: Let him go and ascertain the facts. Why does he say all these things which are wrong?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Let him continue with his speech.

SHRI VENIGALLA SATYANARA-RANA: Why does he say he had been to Vizag?

(Interruptions)

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: Last time he was in some other Party. I do not know what Party he belongs to.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: I do not belong t_0 DMK. Thank God.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: We do not want you.

SHRI VENIGALLA SATYANARA-YANA: Let him go and see things for himself and then speak. Without seeing, why does h_e speak like this?

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: I have seen certain places. If my information is wrong, I will stand corrected. I was at Vizag the next day after the firing. If you have any doubt, you ask Shri Bhadram...

{Interruptions)

SHRI N. JOSEPH: It is not proper for an hon. Member to say like this without ascertaining the facts.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): No cross arguments, please.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: Sir, have they finished? I want to continue. Your trouble is you want separation. I am for integration.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Please address the Chair.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: I am sorry, Sir. This is a counterrevolution. Unless we nip it 5 P.M. in the bud this will spread to different parts of the country and a situation will be created in this country in which all our programmes, the programmes that are given in this document, cannot be implemented and if at all implemented, will not be a success. This is because the law and order situation must be sound. There is the Fifth Plan. It is significant that this sort of agitation is being launched at this stage and this is their new strategy. Today it is Indira hotao agitation here: in Orissa it is Nandini hatao: in Bengal it is Siddhartha Ray hatao; and in the Rajasthan it may be Barkatullah hatao and such hataos will go on. Fortunately for us, Sir, this hatao misfired in the beginning itself. So it is nothing surprising to us. It is the plan of the Grand Alliance and

it is the plan of the counter-revolutionary forces in this country. Therefore, Sir, if we want to have a socialist society, we should not keep silent simply enacting legislation. We have to organise the socialist forces and we must organise those forces which believe and which hope that by socialism alone they will prosper. They are not the landlords; they are not the black marketeers; they are not the hoarders; they are not the mill owners; and they are not the big contractors. But, Sir, they are the agricultural labourers; they are the working class people in industries and agriculture; and they are the common people and not the uncommon people about whom Shri Thillai Villala.n mentioned. Sir, before I sit down I will have to make certain comments on the international situation.

Sir, the Simla pact was under attack by Shri Sakhlecha. It was nothing surprising. Even before the Simla meet they said that it would be a failure. They said, "Do not vacate the territory; it is the territory which you have conquered". Dr. Bhai Mahavir said that. He said that it is the conquered territory. So, Sir, it is nothing surprising to us. Now the Simla agreement is on test. We have got patience to wait and I am fully confident that the Simla spirit will prevail. We have seen in the world how things are moving. Now, the two Koreas are coming nearer; now there is peace in Vietnam; there is *detente* between the two Germanys; Japan and China are now negotiating; and China and America are coming together. Now, the Big-Power rivalry will lesson and this will be a decade of conciliation and compromise. Therefore, Sir, when the Simla agreement comes under fire, when it is attacked by the Jana Sangh we do not feel shy or surprised about it. We know that the Simla spirit will prevail and the Prime Minister has stressed that it will prevail not only in India but outside India also.

Now, Sir, there are certain Big Powers which cannot forget that

323 Motion of Thanks [RAJYA SABHA]

[Shri Brahmananda Panda]. India is the largest democracy in the world and a power to reckon with in Asia and Africa. They cannot also forget that the emergence of Bangla Desh was possible only with the help of India. Therefore, they are creating and helping the divisive tendencies in the country so that at one time the dream of the DMK will come true and there will be Dravidastan. That will not happen. India is a very big country and in this country people have ancient wisdom. Hindustan will be Hindustan and there can be no Dravidastan however much DMK may try to propagate for and however much they may try to use the Andhra agitation as their weapon.

In West Asia also, Sir, our policy is very clear. We are friendly with the Arabs but with those Arab countries which are very progressive. I wish our friendship should be strengthened more.

on President's Address 324

Before I sit down, Sir, I again say that we are deeply grateful to the President for having given us this Jocument of hope and confidence and

hope, Sir, that after taking lessons from the Andhra agitation, the drama that is being enacted there, the Government of India, which is alive to the situation, will take measures so that the divisive forces and the fissi-parous tendencies in the country will not overwhelm the sanity and wisdom of the other classes of people. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 22nd February, 1973.

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