

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

**MOTION OF THANKS ON THE
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—Contd.**

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, how shall I term the Address of the President?

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI (Uttar Pradesh): You should storm the Address of the President.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, it is * * * * inept, trivial, * * anti-people and anti-democratic. * * Government is vainly trying to hide the blood stains all over its body.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Niren Ghosh, you must be careful about the words that you use.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Yes, I am. If you want to expunge it, you can.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will have to go through it because the words that I hear do not look to be so parliamentary.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA): Those words which are unparliamentary should be expunged.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will be done.

MR. NIREN GHOSH: There I differ with you, Sir. The bourgeoisie landlord Government headed by the servants of the monopolists cannot but be reactionary. Only some time servers and hangers-on of the bourgeoisie can think otherwise. Now, Sir, the first point I want to make is this. This Government does not

***Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

believe in democracy. This is an authoritarian Government concentrating in its hands all the powers, divesting the State Governments of all the powers and reducing them to mere glorified municipal corporations. It is a Government practised and well-versed in the art of toppling Governments who are in opposition. That is writ large over the last few years. Everywhere they have, through bribery and corruption, purchased Members and toppled many Governments. The last perhaps is the D.M.K. Government in Tamil Nadu.

SHRI OM MEHTA: We never tried to topple the D.M.K. Government.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Under its umbrella it has gathered together all sorts of dubious shady characters. A few goody-goodys who might be there are really nobody. It has murdered parliamentary democracy in West Bengal and gradually making a caricature of election. For example for the by-election in Cuttack Rs. 90 lakhs of State and Party funds have been spent. It is also an expert in election rigging. In West Bengal there was huge rigging all over the State. That is a special case. Besides that in many other places Government indulged in rigging. Those complaints were before the Parliament some time back. Now the Prime Minister goes to the extent, though she has somewhat haltingly denied it, of calling the democratic opposition traitors. Only those who are themselves traitors would like to hide their ugly face by giving that epithet to others. Now the Prime Minister and the Government headed by her wants to wipe out the Opposition by wiping out parliamentary democracy in practice. I would like to submit that Mr. Nehru had set some store by democratic values; Shrimati Indira Gandhi has none. Democracy is alien to her. For the last few months, after the last Presidential Address, a massive repression is stalking the land, repression unleashed by this Government. In West Bengal, in

Maharashtra, in Rajasthan, in Bihar, Andhra, Gujarat, Punjab, Haryana and where not. So this is the real character of the Government. Now I would like to elaborate on these points.

SHRI B. K. KAUL (Rajasthan): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to correct Mr. Niren Ghosh. As far as Rajasthan is concerned, there is no such thing.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You mean there is no repression?

SHRI B. K. KAUL: Yes; no repression,

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: In a factory in Kotah 16 workers were killed in cold blood.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala): Is this not repression? He is giving you concrete evidence.

SHRI B. K. KAUL: I say this is all wrong.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Anyway, you continue with your speech now.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I would only submit that he does not know the facts and I am sorry for him. Now, Sir, things have come to such a pass that in the Congress Party my friend, Mr. Umashankar Dikshit, and nobody from somewhere, Mr. Yashpal Kapur, and Shrimati Gandhi constitute the real Congress High Command. Others are show-pieces.

LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT): I strongly repudiate this kind of false observations. There is not a vestige of evidence or even a reasonable cause for suspicion for such a thing as has been said. I challenge the hon. Member to produce some reasonable evidence for making a wild allegation of that kind.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Now, Sir, the shoe pinches.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Even Assembly parties are meeting in Delhi.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Let me submit before you that since the 1972 elections in West Bengal, 71 of the communist party cadres have been murdered by the Congress. . . .

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: How many have been murdered by the Communist Party; Marxist?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: There have been more murders in West Bengal. . .

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: By whom?

श्री कल्याण चन्द्र (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
आपके वक्त में कितने काल हुए? जब
सी०पी०एम० की रेजीम था तब कितने
लोग मारे गए ?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: There have been more murders in West Bengal during the regime of Shri Siddharta Sankar Ray....

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: During the CPM regime?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: In Dum Dum and Khardah in broad daylight the Congress hoodlums had taken away girls and raped them publicly. This is their character. It has appeared in the press, in the Congress papers and it has not been refuted. No contradiction even was given. Now, Sir, I will give you a list. In 73 higher secondary schools 125 teachers have been prevented from attending schools and teaching students by the Congress in collusion with police. Many have been made forcibly to resign. Four thousand persons under MISA are being detained in jail and more than 1,000 belong to our party. What about those promises they made that MISA would never be used against the opposition political

[Shri Niren Ghosh] parties? Truth is a thing which they always by-pass. They cannot embrace truth. They deal in falsehood. Now, Sir, I would like to submit the list and place it on the Table of the House . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, it is not placed on the Table of the House. Please continue with your speech.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I submit that all the names and schools have been given there. If they want, let them dispute it. (Interruptions). In Maharashtra, in a certain colony the Congress shot down workers. Our party does not exist there, but they have thought it wise to say that CPM is involved and they are trying to stir up trouble there. That is how they behave. As regards Haryana teachers here every day they are being arrested. Those who offer satya-graha are being kept under custody before your very eyes and in the capital itself without food. Where is the emergency? Not only they do not revoke the emergency but they utilise it and D.I.R. against workers and labouring people. There is such a democracy nowhere. In England there would have been an uproar if this thing had happened, but here they merrily continue the emergency when there is no emergency. They utilise the DIR against the workers and they are ill-treating the people of the country. Time and again they are doing so.

Now, I would say what is the basic policy of this Government? Setting one people against another. Look at Andhra. I think it is a crime to divide nationalities; nationalities are being divided. Who is doing it? All are Congress people. How does it come about? Under patronage and encouragement from the Centre, the Mulki Rules and all that. Some Chief Minister made a reference to the Supreme Court. That reference could

not have been made without advice from the Centre. A situation has been created. And now the car of Juggernaut has been riding roughshod over the people there; the CRP is running amuck and 500 or 1000 have been killed by the CRP. And not only that. Women have been raped; houses have been looted. Andhra is bleeding. These bloodstains cover you, the Government of India headed by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Nothing could be more criminal, more callous, more anti-Indian. Look at Assam. Who created the riots over language there? The Congress. It is on both sides; the Congress people did it.

SHRI OM MEHTA: Fantastic.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: And no solution has been found for it. The Prime Minister did not care even to visit these places but she went to Shillong or Gauhati but not to those riot-affected places, in fear. "The Assamese went against her father. So, she cannot take this risk." Are these words befitting the Prime Minister? Can she say so? It appeared in the press.

SHRI OM MEHTA: No, no.

AN HON. MEMBER: It appeared in the papers.

SHRI SYED HUSSAIN (Jammu and Kashmir): Sir, I object to it. The hon. Member tries to put words into the mouth of the Prime Minister. I have never seen such a sentence or such a matter in any paper. Sir, on a point of order. I want to know whether a Member can say such a thing about a leader, whether he can say such a thing which is not relevant.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Let her come here and I will say before her also.

SHRI SYED HUSSAIN: It is irrelevant and not refined. I object to it. I want you to give us protec-

"tion. On this side we are sitting to hear refined talk and not this thing, putting words into the mouth of the Prime Minister.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you are quoting from some newspaper, would you give out that quotation?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: It appeared in all the daily papers. I said it at the Home Ministry Consultative Committee before the Prime Minister herself.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are not concerned about what happened at the Consultative Committee. But if you have a quotation, say about it; otherwise, you do not quote it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: The latest is that some Congress paper writes an editorial. Inspired by Shrimati Nandini Satpathy's Government, the Orissa people have gone against the Bangalee people and in West Bengal— I want to place this information—the Chattrra Parishad elements visited the Oriya workers' quarters and told them, "We give you 24 hours notice, leave."

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa): This is all wrong. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Not only that. The Chief Minister of Bihar . . .

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: I strongly object to that.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: The Chief Minister of Bihar said that in the factories of Bihar only the Biharis should get employment. If that is so, if in Punjab only the Punjabis are to get employment, if in Maharashtra only Marathas are to be there, if in West Bengal only the Bengalees are to be employed . . .

(*Interruptions*)

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You listen to facts, Mr. Panda.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: ... you break up India then. You are encouraging disruption. You are working against the people. You want to destroy the democratic movement . . . (*Interruption*. We may be small in number but with all the force at our command we will fight against this tendency whether we succeed or no. In foreign countries, in England itself there are about 3 lakhs of people of Indian origin. It is a shame that in India the people from one nationality cannot find employment in other States ruled by other nationalities and this is encouraged by the Congress Government. What worse can there be against the unity of the Indian people?

Sir, coming to food, drought and agriculture, 25 years after we achieved independence there are more landless peasantry in the country than it was ever before. These talks of agrarian reform are merely meant to hoodwink the people and nothing else. Other countries too faced agrarian problem, in Korea, in North Vietnam, in Cuba, not to speak of China. The agrarian problems were solved within two or three years after the seizure of power in these countries. But here after 25 years we have been able to produce only poverty, landless peasantry and nothing else. There is food shortage. You are spending valuable foreign exchange over imports of food-grains from America. And precisely for this reason in Kathmandu shamelessly Shrimati Indira Gandhi tendered apology and prostrated at the feet of the Americans. It was a shameless spectacle for the citizens of this country. That is what you are doing. Mr. Raunaq Singh gets a number of licences. He is the Director of the Maruti Ltd. It is reported that he has given Rs. 25 lakhs to the Congress fund.

SHRI OM MEHTA: No, Sir. That is not correct.

(*Interruptions*).

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: It is reported that h« has clandestinely imported drawing and design from abroad for

Maruti Ltd (*Interruption*). It is this fellow who is exporting steel tubes manufactured out of t.h« imported steel at less than the imported price of raw steel ... (*Interruption*). Shri Raunaq Singh is being given all facilities and being compensated for this f&ntastic export. India loses foreign exchange and for this paltry compensation you are compensating him. Now Maruti Ltd. has become too hot. It is rumoured Shri Sanjay Gandhi would get out of Maruti to save the Prime Minister too ...

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SYED HUSSAIN: H« i_s misleading the House ... (*Interruption*) We have been hearing patiently all the tirade. This is all nauseating ...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Mr. Raunaq Singh is doing all thi_s for advancing the cause of Maruti Ltd. In any other country for this shameless patronage, for this sort of swindling th« Prime Minister would have resigned . . .

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh). May I, with your permission, appeal to the Leader of the House to control his party Members? Whatever is said from this side of the House can be duly contradicted. But to disturb a speech is not a good convention. If it continues like, then I am afraid, the Treasury Benches will also suffer. Ther« must be logic.

SHRI SYED HUSSAIN: I am ready to defend myself . . .

(*Interruptions*).

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: Sir, the point is this. Deliberately provocative references, not related to facts, having nothing to do with the various important subjects of national importance which have been raised in the President's Address, ar« being made. Cock and bull stories are being regaled here. Even references totally out of decorum and self-respect of

Members of the House ar« being made, and we are supposed just now even to contradict such falsehoods. I What we are doing is merely contradicting those stories. He said something about Rs. 25 lakhs; given by whom to whom?

(*Interruptions*).

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Are you denying the facts about Raunaq Singh who is a director of Maruti Ltd.? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: We will listen to him, but some decorum of the House has to be maintained.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: When you do all these things, is it decorum? It is degrading for the Prime Minister to do all those things. She should resign.

(*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ghosh, you have got rive more minutes.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, I will never take more time; but I must conclude what I have to say.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude soon.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Now, I come to the new Industrial Policy. What is this? AH the monopolists have been given a new birth in the name of joint sector. In the namg of deciding on the merits of the case, they have retained all the power in their hands so that if any monopolist did not fully contribute to the Congress fund, he would not be likely to get the licence. That is why at the Centre they have retained those powers. There is no procedure for giving licence. They will judge th-e merits in their chamber, outside the knowledge and glare of the public. That is how the new Industrial Policy will work. And not only that, in the Plan document, they say that 30 per cent of the people must

suffer curbs on Consumption for the benefit of the other 70 per cent. And who constitute this 30 per cent? If this Lower Division Clerk will suffer. On 30 per cent is taken, then even the the other hand, a sum of Rs. 280 crores has been sanctioned for giving loans to the bureaucrats to purchase cars. On the one hand, they said that public transport will be encouraged and not private transport. On the other, an amount of Rs. 280 crores has been provided for the bureaucrats to purchase cars. And who will manufacture these cars? Maruti Limited, her son. This is the picture before us. Is this a Government that India can boast of? This is the position we have come to.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: It is not Maruti car alone; any car can be purchased. It was not about Maruti car alone that was mentioned in the press.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, this is the economy. Let me give some facts.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is hardly any time.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: In the Fourth Plan, external aid comes to Rs. 4,180 crores; in the Fifth Plan, it will be Rs. 3,000 crores or so. The total comes to more than Rs. 8,736 crores. So by the Fifth Plan, Rs. 900 crores annually would be spent for debt servicing. And they talk of self-reliance! They have opened fertiliser to Tayo Engineering of Japan. For what purpose? The FCI and the FACT have got all the technical know-how to design and build the plant. Yet, a Japanese company has been invited by this Government. For TISCO expansion, a Japanese firm has been asked to submit a feasibility report, whereas Indian technology is sufficient for this purpose. Obviously the Japanese firm will be given the contract on a turnkey basis. So, there is more foreign capital, more dependence and a slide-back from self-reliance. Always they have talked of self-reliance, but they have gone in ^{for} dependence upon foreign capital, primarily imperialist capital. They have sabotaged Indian

technology and whatever there is, is not being utilised.

Regarding oil refineries, under general contracts foreign assistance is being sought, whereas Indian technology is sufficient for our purpose. Who is responsible—the bureaucrats or the Cabinet? Are you agents of foreign imperialists? By your action you are sounding the death-knell of the Indian economy. It is moribund and bankrupt already and you want to make it more bankrupt. And you make the Indian citizens pay for those debts; for every dollar two or three dollars, for every yen two or three yens, for every mark two or three marks, are taken out of the country. And we are being made to pay for that. This is the position you have come to. You are doing all that. I say another thing. Last night we received a trunk call. In Raniganj there is a paper mill where a CITU union is recognised for the last 30 years, more than 90 per cent are members, the Congress union has demanded recognition and they have called a strike. Naturally the workers did not respond to it. And all goondas are mobilised from the Burdwan district, from Asansol, from everywhere and there in the presence of the CRP two or three of our fellows have been murdered; the union offices have been burnt and looted; party offices have been ransacked and more than 90 people have been arrested including the MLA whom they declared to be elected. This is your raj that is continuing there. This is the latest thing for which I give you the figures. On any account, in democracy, in political raj, in civil rights, in economy, in nursing parliamentary democracy, this Government is totally bankrupt and now they want to divide the country, break the country into pieces. They think their conception of unity is this. If the peoples war against one another under their aegis, under their inspiration, their iron heel, the iron heel of the Centre will keep them together. I pose the question: If a testing time comes when you are indulging in these policies, then India would fall apart . . .

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: Never. Never.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You are bargaining for it. No other party can bargain for this. So we are bound to oppose it. That is what you are doing in this country. Over two hundred our union offices have been ransacked. I as a Member of Parliament cannot visit places covering more than 50 lakh people, cannot hold any meeting, cannot give any poster or any leaflet in these areas where more than 50 lakh people in Bengal reside. And this is the type of your parliamentary democracy. You are murdering parliamentary democracy, you are butchering Parliamentary Democracy. This is authoritarian and one person rule. The people of this country, the people of India, will curse this Government and will pray for the downfall of this Government.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I thought we were discussing the President's Address. But in the course of discussing the President's Address, we have just heard a very interesting speech from my honourable friend, Mr. Niren Ghosh. Mr. Niren Ghosh delivered a long talk on Parliamentary Democracy. I hope he has become a very late convert to philosophy of Parliamentary Democracy.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Parliamentary Democracy has been thrown over board by the bourgeoisie. What else is this.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I wish wisdom had dawned upon him after his bitter experience in West Bengal and Kerala. After the bitter experience in West Bengal and Kerala now they realise, let us talk about Parliamentary Democracy and try to do something. *(Interruptions)*. Please have some patience.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Did you have any patience when I spoke?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: When he was talking about Parliamentary Democracy, I felt as if the devil was quoting the scriptures *(Interruptions)*. His talk on Parliamentary Democracy is something which is very amusing and very interesting. He said that Congress had murdered democracy in this country.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: When did you join Congress?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I was in the Congress and I went to jail when you were not there. I was in the Congress in 1942 when I went to jail.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Then when did you leave it and why?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I was in the Congress in 1928 . . .

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Ghosh, have the patience to listen to him.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Whenever most provocative speeches come from that side, we will react naturally like this.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: With your permission, I want to make an appeal to the Leader of the House, the Party in power and the House as a whole. Let us just come to some agreement that whatever be the speeches, we shall not interrupt so that the speakers can go ahead with their speeches without any disturbance. Otherwise, if this trend is permitted to go on, the House and even the Prime Minister will lose their dignity. I will, therefore, appeal in all earnestness to all the leaders of groups and Parties to control their members and not to allow them to cause any disturbance.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I hope everybody will agree with Shri Tyagi.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Shri Niren Ghosh said that Congress had murdered democracy in this country.

It is not far. It was only three years ago that we all saw the magnificent functioning of democracy in West Bengal, when Shri Niren Ghosh's Party was in power there. I am not going to dilate on what they did or how they functioned or how they suppressed even their own small allies and suppressed the workers and peasants. Ultimately the whole thing broke down ... *(Interruptions)*. The answer was given to them by the people of West Bengal. They just threw them out. And when they were thrown out by their own people, now they talk of democracy ... *(Interruptions)*. Please have some patience. I did not stand up even once when Shri Niren Ghosh was speaking. Let him have some decency to listen to me. He is yet to answer this question. When the history of democracy in this country will be written, the CPM will be called upon to answer this question: Why were they thrown out by the people of West Bengal?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: But where was the election? There was no election. You know that?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Shri Ghosh in the course of his speech, while condemning the Government and my Party went to the extent of saying that Congress Party, even indulged in raping. May I remind you and this House and this country of what happened in Rabindra Sarovar when Shri Ghosh's Party was in power in West Bengal?

(Interruptions)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: What happened?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Well, the whole of West Bengal and the whole of Indian women know it *(Interruptions)*

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: It is all wrong ____

(Interruptions)

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I did not say anything. I only pose the question as to what happened there.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY (West Bengal): Sir, on a point of order. The report of the Inquiry Commission that was appointed has come out and it will tell the truth ..

(Interruptions)

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Sir I want to tell Mr. Roy and Mr. Ganguli one thing. Mr. Roy, I have not said anything. Mr. Ganguli, I have not said anything. I have simply posed the question: What happened there? That is all ..

(Interruptions)

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI (West Bengal): Sir, everybody knows what happened. Nothing happened. . *(Interruptions)*. If the verdict of the judiciary is not respected, we can do nothing about it.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Anyway, the people of India know it well and we know it well. They have said that the Andhra trouble was started by us; the Assam trouble was started by the Congress; and the Orissa trouble has been started by the Congress.

(Interruptions)

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Who else did it?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: It is a funny story cooked up by my friends there on the other side.

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: You have sent hooligans there and you have done that.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Sir, I need not go into the issues of Andhra or Assam. I know what happened there. I know how a murder took place in Assam in an area which is the stronghold of the CPM. I know it. A student was murdered by some people and his body was discovered seven days later, cut into pieces and put in a gunny bag! He was murdered in a place where the CPM is strong. Now, Sir, the information is given to you and to the House -----

(Interruptions)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: One Dass was murdered and it is the Congress people who murdered him and no inquiry for the last two years!

(Interruptions)

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Sir, recently, a strange friendship, a strange marriage, has taken place between the CPM and the great Orissa leader, Shri Biju Patnaik... (*Interruptions*). What is happening in Orissa and Bengal has been the result of this marriage between the CPM and Mr. Patnaik... (*Interruptions* Sir, I know truth is very cruel and I am only stating the facts and I am not saying anything more than that. Mr. Promod Das Gupta went to Bhubaneswar to meet Mr. Patnaik. What is this collusion? The whole trouble in Orissa has arisen out of his collusion. This is all my submission.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Your ^handrajit Yadav also went to meet somebody.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Mr. Niren Ghosh has become very alert and conscious about the economic well-being of our country and he has said that the Congress Party has sounded the death-knell of the Indian economy.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Who else did it?

(Interruptions)

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Sir, what happened in West Bengal when they were ruling there? Many industries were closed down. And what was the position with regard to production then?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: All over India industries are closed down now.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Sir, industries were closed down and

production fell. And the most shameful part of it, Sir, was that even the public sector industries at Durgapur found it impossible to function because of the sabotage by this particular party. Even the public sector industries could not function. I can understand if they do something to the private sector. But the public sector plant at Durgapur found it impossible to function...

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: A Committee has given the verdict, which was appointed by the Steel Ministry, that it is the bureaucrats and the Central Government who have sabotaged it there.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: If any single party has contributed to the weakening of the Indian economy during the last few years, it is the CPM party and nobody else and I am very sorry to say that. It is a fact and you must accept it.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Your public sector is helping a monopoly house.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Sir I think this is sufficient to answer Mr. Niren Ghosh. Now let me pass on to the Address itself. Sir, some of my friends have said that the President's Address is colourless.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, may I seek a clarification?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. You have had your say. Please sit down.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: After Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray took over there, not a single industrial unit has come up in West Bengal. Some friends have suggested that the President's Address is colourless and uninspiring. I do not know what these friends expected the President to say. Did they expect the President to play jazz music or tell a romantic story or recite verses from the Scriptures in order to inspire some people? Sir, the

President's Address deals with the problems that the country faces today. He has given an outline of the policies the Government is pursuing in resolving these problems. Some friends may not agree with those policies. They are welcome not to agree.. But to say that the President's Address was uninspiring or colourless, I do not think, is doing justice to the President by making these remarks...

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Ask your own conscience...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I understand—subject to correction, of course—that at least one friend is very much inspired...

(Interruptions)

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: The President's Address is expected to highlight the burning problems of the country and to give an outline of the Government's policies as to how to meet these problems and solve these problems. And I think the President has done full justice in his Address to highlighting the basic and burning problems and outlining Government's policy as to how to solve the problems. It is not possible to give details of these measures that the Government wants to take. They will come in due course. If one views the President's Address dispassionately, I think one should be convinced that the President has done full justice to his Address by highlighting the problems and outlining Government's policy as to how to solve those problems

AN HON. MEMBER: What about implementation?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Implementation is going on. I am coming to the implementation part of it.

My Hon. friend, Mr. T. N. Singh, said that the President has said that everything is okay, *Sub theek hai*. The President has never said this. As a matter of fact, he started with the drought problem, which is the most burning problem just now. He was

very frank in saying that this was the burning problem. He never said that it was all right. What he said was that we wanted to solve these problems, this much we had progressed and this much we were yet to do. And that he has -said very frankly. It was very unkind of Mr. T. N. Singh to have said this about the President's Address...

AN HON. MEMBER: Mr. T. N. Singh is not here....

SHRI BIPINLAL DAS: Mr. Tyagi, the hon. Leader of the Opposition, is here. He will convey this to him. Mr. T. N. Singh at the end of his speech said: Let there be cooperation among all to solve the basic problems of this country. I welcome this sentiment. The Government would certainly ask for cooperation of everybody, of all parties in this country, all sections of the people, in order to solve the problems of this country. But, Sir, what was the kind of cooperation Mr. T. N. Singh talked about, when five Opposition parties decided to boycott the Address? What was that cooperation? Was that a gesture of cooperation of these five parties when they boycotted the President's Address at the joint session? If this is the kind of cooperation he meant, I am afraid we will not be able to respond...

(Interruptions)

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: We had to boycott it 'because we were treated and called as traitors and there was no spirit of inviting cooperation. On the other hand, the abusive attitude of your party and the manner it was conducted...

(Interruptions)

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Anyway, that is not cooperation.

Shri T. N. Singh also talked about 25 years of misrule, and he said that we were facing these problems and all that because of wrong policies and

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wrong things during the last 25 years. I wonder what Mr. T. N. Singh meant to say when he himself was in power only a few years ago? Why should he forget that he was also part and parcel of the administration few years back, and if something is going wrong today he is equally responsible for it. He must not try to escape...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: We are not part and parcel of the administration . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Why are you interrupting? He is talking about Mr. T. N. Singh. How are you concerned?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: He will shout very loud that this country must be economically independent, that this country must be self-reliant, and so on. The Government agree with this principle. It is one of our objectives. We want to be self-reliant. But when the Approach Paper of the Planning Commission says that by the end of the Fifth Plan we hope to achieve a situation when there will be no need for foreign aid...

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: No, no. You cannot say that.. . (*Interruptions*) . No, No. Don't show your ignorance.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Our Approach Paper says that we are trying to achieve self-reliance and we have to be economically independent.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: I am referring to his ignorance. The Document does not say that. You must read the Document. It only promises net zero aid, but, gross foreign aid will be about Rs. 600 crores.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If Dr. Kurian goes ..on in this matter. I will be constrained to ask the Reporters not to take down anything that Dr. Kurian says during his speech.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You did not stop him when he was speaking.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I did not stop Mr. Niren Ghosh either when he was asking so many things. I am asking you to show the same kind of consideration for him also.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: He makes absolutely wrong statements.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: As they behave, .so they will get it.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I was referring to Shri T. N. Singh's point. On the one hand, he talks of achieving self-reliance. On the other hand, when the Government also says the same thing and hopes to achieve self-reliance by a certain time, he says this is ridiculous. This cannot be achieved Sir, this is a contradiction.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: It is on account of the faulty manner of the Government in which they are carrying out their plans.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Thank you very much. With very little intelligence, I understood it to be an exposition of a split mind, a disintegrated mind. Anyway, take the case of my friend, Shri Sakhlecha. All these days before the Parliament met we had been reading so many things in the newspapers from the Jana Sangh side. Kanpur Conference was there. We expected some new things. But while listening to his speech, I felt, that his teeth 'had been removed or the teeth had lost their sharpness completely. Most of the points he talked about were irrelevant except Andhra to which I am coming soon.

Now, the main criticisms of the Opposition Parties are price rise and unemployment. Sir, we have never made a secret of it. The situation is not very happy regarding the prices. Yesterday, in the Lok Sabha, the Food Minister himself placed the facts before the House. We do not want to

conceal facts. But we have to look at it from two angles; (1) why this situation has arisen, and (2) what steps the Government have taken to meet the situation. These are the two things to be considered. Have we forgotten the crisis we faced in 1971? Have we forgotten that the Government had to feed, house and clothe 10 million people from East Bengal, now Bangla Desh? Have we forgotten that we had to fight a war? Now my friend is a Professor of Economics. He knows very well that the effects of a war can continue up to 2-3 years. Everybody does. Now it is 1973. These are the after-effects of the situation that was faced in 1971. We had to take the responsibility. If we had not done that you would have accused us. We have done it very well, very competently and very successfully. If you are not prepared to face the consequences, it will sound unpatriotic and unnatural. We have to face them. If we are to defend the country by facing such a big challenge, then we should be prepared to face the consequences also. We are facing them and this is only a passing phase; it is passing out.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala): If you have to defend the country, you have to defend black-marketeers, you have to defend hoarders, you have to defend profiteers—however anti-national.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: My friend, Mr. Subramania Menon might not be a good economist—I do not know. But, my friend, Dr. Kurian is. I hope Mr. Menon will take a lesson from Dr. Kurian and try to know the correct answer to the problem to which I am referring.

Apart from the crisis, we have faced drought, we have faced cyclones, we have faced floods. Now, does anybody mean to say that the Government should have a policy to stop droughts, stop cyclones, stop floods? The question is whether we have taken some steps and measures to meet the situa-

tion arising out of these problems, and we have done it. We have done it and you will see very soon that the problem will be eased; it is only a passing phase. We are confident that the steps and measures taken by the Government, which have been enunciated by the President in his Address—I am not going into them—will bring results in a few months; you will see; and then I will listen to your speeches.

About the unemployment problem, we are very conscious. This House had debated this subject several times in the past, and not only the Opposition but also members of the ruling party—our own party—have made criticism due to the Government and we had suggested measures. And out of this cumulative thinking and suggestion and advice something is emerging which is being incorporated in the Fifth Plan. We have to wait. The Approach Document has come. The fifth Plan has not yet come. When the formulation will be finalised I think the Fifth Plan will be able to suggest concrete schemes and measures to solve this problem. Again I should say, these problems cannot be solved overnight. Rome was not built in a day (*Interruption*)... Time will take its own course, but measures and steps have been taken. My contention is, we have adopted certain policies, we have adopted certain steps and measures. They will produce results. They have already produced some results; we have yet to see the full results. That is all; that is the only point. If these policies and programmes and measures had not been successful and effective, then we would have been facing a famine today on a large scale. There is no large-scale famine in this country, there is none. Only yesterday we heard Mr. Gadgil say how the Government is functioning in Maharashtra, how the official machinery is functioning there, how the Congressmen are working there, how our youth are working there. We are doing everything possible on a war footing to face the situation, to meet the situation.

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have not said that we have been 100 per cent successful; I have not said that. But we have taken measures, and very courageously with determination we have been able to meet the situation, and results are promising.

Now, many other things have been said. But these are the main criticisms of the opposition..., (*Timebell rings*) ... Sir, since you want me to conclude—I am getting your gestures—there is only main thing to which I will draw the attention of Mr. Niren Ghosh. Mr. Niren Ghosh has referred to planning and all that. Now, Sir, if the past four Plans might not have been perfect.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Failed.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: If an economist says "failed", I am stunned.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Naturally.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: The population of India has increased from 33 crores to 55 crores. Had there been successful planning, today the whole economy of this country could have been ruined completely.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: The country did not go down even under the British rule, and it will not go down under Congress rule.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I congratulate you for your praises of the British rule. I have to congratulate

you because you have chosen to speak so highly about the

British rule. Now, Sir, had the nation been unsuccessful and ineffective completely, the economy of this country today would have gone to pieces. It is not so today.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: It has.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: No, it has not. During the greatest crisis in 1971, after Independence, it has been shown, it has been proved that our economy has withstood the test, it has vitality it has strength and it has a basic strength. Therefore, it withstood the crisis in 1971. There are facts. No economist, does not matter if he belongs to the Communist Marxist party or any other party, can deny that. Now, I was saying that in the 5th Plan we are trying to correct our past mistakes we are trying to give a new look, a new base.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIAM MENON: Old wine in new bottle.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: No, it is not old wine in new bottle, if you say that, I will question your intelligence, your capacity to understand. If you have a little intelligence and capacity to understand, read it again and you will find that, it is not old wine in new bottle.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: There is nothing new in it.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I do not want to go into the approach paper of the Fifth Five Year Plan. The Plan will come and we will discuss it. What I want to say is that this Government, this Party, we are fully conscious of the basic problems that are facing us. We have to solve them. We are trying to evolve a new pattern of planning which, I think, will ultimately produce the desired results.

Sir, with these words I support the motion moved by Mr. Gadgil and express my thanks to the-----

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You have conveniently evaded Andhra Pradesh.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, please let him conclude. He has already taken so much time.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: He has not touched the question of unemployment, prices, and poverty; and

he has conveniently evaded Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Sir, if you give me two minutes, I will come to Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: Do not confuse the problems any more.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Some of our friends in the Opposition talk of integration, democracy and so on and so forth. Now, may I ask a question to these friends who are supporting bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh_____

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: It is the Congress, You yourself are wanting it.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Whoever they may be....

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY: It is those who have resigned from your Party, the Congress Party itself.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: In a democracy problems must be solved round the table, through debates, through talks and not by taking the problems to the streets. This country will not allow such a method to be pursued for solving any problem, not even for bringing about a socialist revolution.

The situation is that the judiciary has supported the Mulki Rules. On that basis the Parliament has passed legislation. The executive has taken action. Now the three organs of a democracy, the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, are almost united on this issue as against some people who want to take the matter to the streets and they want to bifurcate the State and solve the problem by bifurcation.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Your own Party men want it.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Does not matter. Whoever he may be, I am only talking of the principle. I am opposed to bifurcation. There is no reason.

I want to know from those friends, even of my party, who want to bifurcate Andhra Pradesh, I want to know for my conviction, what is the basis, what are the reasons, on what basis do they want to bifurcate the State? You have the same language, the same culture. This was the first State to come into existence after the sacrifice of Potti Sriramulu on the issue of linguistic States. What is the basis for breaking up the State now? Sir, I would conclude my speech by sounding two notes of warning. Firstly, if bifurcation takes place and Andhra is separated on the flimsy ground of mulki rules which involve less than one per cent of Government jobs, it will be impossible to stop this process and the whole country will go to pieces.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON-Tell your Congress.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: If we want to retain democracy, parliamentary democracy, democratic way of life to which we are committed, then we must take a resolve not to take these issues to the streets. Violence must be abhorred. Violence and democracy cannot go together and I condemn violence, from whichever quarter it comes. With these words I support the motion.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: For this unparalleled untruthful performance of his he should be given a berth in a UN team for the second time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have given some of my ideas to share with the Members of the House in the form of no less than 165 amendments. The number is large because I thought it would be easier that way to communicate with the Members of the House including my hon. friend, the Home Minister, Mr. Dikshit, the Leader of the House. I do not know whether he would like to share the views with me or not but certainly I would seek his indulgence to kindly give a glance at what we have stated.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

Mr. Deputy Chairman, we are doubtless faced with a very critical economic situation and tragically enough on the top of it we are faced with a great political threat to independence. The political situation is also very critical today. Perhaps many of us six months ago did not think that potentially and actually we would be facing a threat of the kind which has emerged from Andhra Pradesh. Some twenty years ago in this House with Dr. Radhakrishnan in the Chair when we got the news of the martyrdom of Potti Sriramulu in the struggle for the reorganisation of the State, in particular for the linguistic organisation of Andhra Pradesh, I was the one here to get up and demand that the matter should be seriously taken up by the Government and the demand of the Andhra people and that of the people of the other States for linguistic reorganisation be conceded by the Government. I recall that day because it was a historic day because the great Andhra people in their patriotism, in their love for Andhra had set in motion the process of reorganisation of the States of which they were the pioneers. And as you know, we had the linguistic reorganisation of the States following the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission. The nation settled down to the arrangement that had been made with such modifications as had been called for in the light of experience and we had not hesitated to carve out other States as we have done in the case of Nagaland and elsewhere when this was found necessary. Therefore nobody is saying that the States as they are constituted must be sacrosanct in the sense that they should not be touched. That is not the issue at the moment. The issue is whether the separation of Andhra Pradesh would be in the interests of either the people of Andhra Pradesh or of the people of the country, primarily if it would be in the interests of Andhra Pradesh. I submit, Sir, it will never be in the interests of Andhra Pradesh and if such a calamity took place in Andhra Pradesh it would be disaster

for the country. The separatist movement has nothing to do with the democratic aspirations and traditions of the masses though some feelings of discontent and frustration may be exploited by the minions of counter-revolution as we see in Andhra Pradesh today. Then, twenty years ago, it was basically a noble and democratic urge of the people so much so even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, despite his prestige and personality, had to concede the demand, even though, speaking on a Resolution in the Lok Sabha which our party had moved in 1952, he rejected the idea of a linguistic reorganisation of the States. He being what he was, yielded to popular will and rightly so. Today in Andhra Pradesh what are we seeing? We did not see any Potti Sriramulu there. We have the somewhat comic figure of Mr. Subba Reddy, who was till the other day, by the grace of Mr. Dikshit and Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. He is talking of a revolution. Imagine Mr. Subba Reddy who, in his advanced state of thinking, has begun to burst forth critically and tragically that 'he would be leiliri; a revolution of the people of Andhra. And whom do you find? Landlords have come and my friend Mr. F. P. Reddy, is sitting here. Well, he is one of the big landlords and counter-revolutionaries in Andhra Pradesh.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is not here at the moment.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There is also Mr. Ranga. I do not know how many times he has changed his party or how many times he is going to change his party, because Mr. Ranga is one of the changeable reptiles in the political life of the country with whose changes we cannot keep pace. Now, he is another person leading the Andhra Sena. Then, we have the Samgram Samiti of landlords and above all the ladies of the landlords gaudily dressed going from door to door for what they call a revolution in Andhra Pradesh. What for? Is it in the interests of agricultural labour?"

Is it in the interests of the workers of Andhra? Is it in the interests of the Government employees and others who have been suffering? Is it in the interests of students who have been fighting for their demands against the regime or is it for something else? I should like to know it. Never did we see these landlords coming into the field to fight in the manner in which they are fighting today. Never did we see the ladies of the landlords' families going from door to door preaching revolution as they call it. Actually it is a counter-revolution. Today we see the great warriors taking charge of Andhra, destroying public property, threatening the people all along and creating a region of terror and intimidation in order to get from the Government of India the tactics of intimidation and pressure, the separation, bifurcation and disintegration of the State that was born in the martyrdom of Potti Sriramulu. What else can be a greater tragedy than this I should like to know. Must we allow these things to happen? Never shall we allow this thing. I hope the Prime Minister and her Government will never yield to this kind of demand. Discuss by all means, but for preserving the unity and integrity of Andhra Pradesh. Talk to them by all means, but bring them to the path of sanity. That is what should be our approach. Simultaneously we find the Jan Sangh, which was preaching the unitary system in the country, which did not even like the reorganisation of States on a linguistic basis, which even the other day when Telengana was demanding separation opposed the separation of Telengana and stood for the unity of Andhra Pradesh, that same Jan Sangh today is demanding not only the bifurcation of the State but the fragmentation of this country into forty or fifty States. They want a second States Reorganisation Commission to be appointed and Mr. Golwal-kar has blessed it. Mr. Vajpayee, our friend, had gone to Andhra Pradesh to bless the movement there and carry the flames of the Andhra struggle, the counter-revolutionary separatist violence, to other parts of the

country. U.P. is to be broken up. Then Madhya Pradesh has to be broken up; other places have to be broken up. They are trying to break up India through turmoil, by violence and terror at a time when it is necessary to carry out radical economic measures for the well-being of the people. This is their counter-revolution. Therefore, it should not be taken as an isolated thing in Andhra Pradesh. Mr. Deputy Chairman, two years ago there was the grand alliance. One was on the floor of the House through the crossing of the floor when some gentlemen came from that side and were sitting there and carrying on a satyagraha. Even I saw one honourable lady—I forget the name of the lady, that is my trouble—Shrimati Yashoda Reddy..

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: You remember the lady all right. You have forgotten the name, rather strange.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I remember the lady all right. They are to be remembered. I saw—that grand alliance was born in the context of the particular development at the Centre and on the floor of the House. A grand alliance, much more vicious, has gone to Andhra Pradesh today, and it is sought to be projected all over the country. That is a grand alliance which knows that the going is bad for it through the normal parliamentary process, that elections cannot be won, seats cannot be won, majority cannot be captured. Therefore, they have opened a new front, they are seeking new forms of struggle, raise new demands and build up the *modus operandi* of the grand alliance in the form of separatist movements based on linguism, regionalism and such other divisive activities in our country. That is the strategy of the counter-revolution or reaction here. This grand alliance is all the more dangerous because it is seeking to exploit unemployment, rising prices and the discontent of the people, in order to divert the masses' discontent into such patricidal and

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] dangerous paths. It is a political diversion of the worst type; and it is still worse that it is an attempt to build up—counter-revolutionary forces, to gather them in an offensive against the progressive trends inside the country, in order to forestall progressive measures. No wonder, Mr. Deputy Chairman, when the ordinance was issued stopping land alienation in Andhra Pradesh, when there was prospective nationalisation of the transport system in the other remaining districts of Andhra Pradesh, when there was the suggestion for the imposition of ceiling on the urban property, the landlords came out of their homes and palaces to lead this kind of a rebellion, what they call a struggle. Therefore, we must see the sinister conspiracy behind this. I would request Members of Parliament not to ignore it as a kind of local movement or treat it as if it is something on which you can negotiate and come to a settlement. It is just to be defeated, it is to be exposed. It is to be based, above all, within the framework of unity; come to any settlement on Andhra Pradesh, come to whatever arrangements you like. Here are some of the statements. Here I have got plenty of material, I do not know whether the Government has got this thing, about one Mr. Madurai Subba Reddy, not that Mr. B. V. Subba Reddy. He is an integrationist. Do you know what Mr. Subba Reddy said about him? "At the meeting, Mr. Subba Reddy directed, 'Catch hold of Mr. Madurai Subba Reddy and cut him to pieces and throw him to vultures if he ever dares to set foot on the soil of Kur-nool.' This is your ex-Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra. This is the language, the idiom of violence, of vulgarity.

My friend, Mr. Papi Reddy, is not here. May I, with his permission.. .

AN HON. MEMBER: No need to seek his permission. He is not here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I asked him to be present. He said that they should see to it that the 186 M.L.A's of the Andhra region vote for separation of Andhra otherwise they must know that they have the risk of their personal safety. The hon'ble Member should have been here. I am sorry he is not here. Mr. Papi Reddy in another meeting on the 10th December said that it would be a good thing to beat those who are opposing separate Andhra, especially the Communists. Mr. Papi Reddy should be here at least to beat me with his words, if not physically. But he has no courage to face me in the House. So, Sir, this is the language used by him. Mr. Subba Reddy demanded separation, North from the South. You will be surprised that such kind of a language was used in a public meeting. Separatists, both Congress and non-Congress, took out a procession in Guntur last month shouting the following slogan—"Down with the rule of the widow". This is a condemnable vulgarity that they are indulging in, and they talk about democracy and values in social life. One of the State Jana Sangh leaders, Mr. Jainarain, M.L.C.— where are my Jana Sangh friends?

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi): We are listening to your sermon in the cause of unity of this country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Your friend said that Mrs. Indira Gandhi likes the Mulks and the Muslims. I would not read the other part of it because it militates against all sense of decency to read such things here. Even though what you demand may be right, but is it the way of carrying on a propaganda? It is combining separatism with communalism, arousing communal passion, separatist passion, combining both with a view to gaining some ground and carry the flame to Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and elsewhere so that you can try your chance again to come back to power.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: They have never been in power there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, they have never been in power there. But now that is what they are dreaming.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Mr. Panda has found the way to come back. For some time he was in power. He lost that power and now he has come back.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Dr. Bhai Mahavir, in personal relations you are an excellent person. But somehow Mr. Golwalkar hovers over your spirit and I lose you. The moment you think of Mr. Golwalkar you forget that you have a friend in Bhupesh Gupta here. That is what I say. Therefore, I say that the separatist movement is an aspect of counterrevolutionary, reactionary strategy. That may be a game for forcing Shrimati Indira Gandhi out of power. They think it will help them. But their real aim is to oppose all progressive forces, progressive trends. Their real aim is to create political confusion so that brother fights brother, Indian fights Indian, so that we do not have time to discuss progressive things in the country so that we can break up with such destructive devices and dangerous movements like the separatist movement in Andhra Pradesh. I say let Parliament be the forum where two years ago we defeated the grand alliance. Let this grand alliance the projection of which we find here also in this Parliament be defeated on the floor of the House—they do not have any majority here but—spiritually, morally, politically by force of our argument, by the force of our debate, by the strength of our patriotism, and by our power and unity. That is what we want to do. Integrity of India, unity of India must at all cost be maintained. I hope Andhra has thrown a challenge. We shall meet this challenge with courage and determination. We shall not allow this thing to be challenged in another case, in another crisis of the kind they want to create for their nefarious political ends. This is about Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, may I interrupt you for a moment?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, I would love to be interrupted by you.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Your argument does not seem to be convincing. You said that this is diversionary tactics, that in order to divert the attention of the people, this has been created. But if they had not been diverted, do you know against whom it would have gone? It would have gone against Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Government because all the promises to the people have not been fulfilled, and that way, the entire grievance of the people would have been directed against Mrs. Gandhi's Government and you, as an ally. Now that it has been diverted to Andhra Pradesh, may be a part of the anger of the people has been diverted to the Andhra Pradesh issue and not against Mrs. Indira Gandhi. How does your argument stand?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, this has been a diversionary interruption. That is all I can say. Everything stands; you have understood it, but you have done your part; it is all right.

Therefore, I say that we should discuss the Andhra question, but we should declare in our mind that we shall not allow the integrity of Andhra to be broken or Andhra Pradesh to be bifurcated because we do not like India to be thrown into the melting pot of another series of disruptive activities by the forces of reaction.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Then why did you work for the disintegration of India in 1947?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is all right.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Why is it all right?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is all right. You stop that.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Because it is a question you cannot answer?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now, I have spoken about the internal political situation. Only one thing more I have to say. Mr. Dikshit, you are very fond of your "massive majorities" in 1971 and 1972. We have an exhibition of "massive majority" in Andhra Pradesh. You had a big majority of 217 out of 230 MLAs. Where is your stability? The massive majority has transformed itself into massive resignations and you have President's rule there. There is a lesson to be learnt. A majority comprised of landlords, monopolists' men, reactionaries, pro-imperialists and other elements, even if they happen to be organised in this or that forum—I would not name them—is not a viable majority. That majority turns against you the moment reaction wants to strike a blow against you. Draw that lesson.

Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman, we are very happy that a peace agreement has been signed on Vietnam which marks a great victory to the Vietnamese people. This has been a cause not only of the liberation of Vietnam, but of all forces fighting for peace, national independence and democracy.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: From Andhra to Vietnam? We thought there was much of India between Andhra and Vietnam.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We will come to it. Let me finish the political part. The economic part will come; you will see that. Also that way, there is not much difference because in Vietnam also reactionary forces have been fought and defeated. Ask Mr. Dahyabhai Patel how many times he has gone to Taiwan.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Therefore, the trouble in Andhra Pradesh has started?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, no. I do not know how much CIA money is going into Andhra Pradesh. You can ask your former leader, Mr. N. G. Ranga, who is leading "senas" there, how it is being financed.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Prof. Ranga is a Congressman now, your ally.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Well, Prof. Ranga is the worst type of political harlot I have seen in the country.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: That is why he is in good company now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He was under your political concubinage. Not only that, you sold yourself to him. Now, stop that.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: But he has gone back to his right quarters.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, is it parliamentary to use such words?

SHRI N. G. GORAY: Sir, here on this floor now words are being used like harlot and concubinage. And he called him a reptile..

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: A changeable reptile.

SHRI S. D. MISRA (Uttar Pradesh) : Such words should not be used.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is good literature. Changeable reptile is a very good usage in English language. My friend is a very learned man. Why should he object to it?

SHRI N. G. GORAY: Reptile is a very good word, but is it proper to use it here?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: All the people in the country know that the CPI people are experts in these words and in this type of behaviour.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is all right. Leave it at that.

Now the President's Address makes a reference to the international situation. We are happy that our country has played an important role in the changing international situation in recent events in a good direction. We hope this tradition will be kept. As I was saying, it is a great event that the Vietnamese people have won a historic victory. The Americans spent there 200,000 million dollars, dropped 10 million tons of explosives, at one time deployed half a million US troops to subjugate the Vietnamese people in order to transform th_{at} wonderful country, that beautiful country, into an American base of neo-colonialism and aggression against other people. Today we are happy that the Geneva Agreement's spirit has been revived in the struggle of the Vietnamese people. They deserve our tribute. I am sorry the President's Address does not pay a tribute to the Vietnamese people while expressing rightly satisfaction at what has been achieved there. Mr. Deputy Chairman, you will remember when the Agreement was signed—the Geneva Agreement was signed in 1954 on Indo-China,—at the same time, Pakistan also signed a Pact directed against our country. Nineteen Seventyone (1971) saw the defeat of the Indo-Pakistan pact in the deliverance of Bangla Desh and the strengthening of forces of peace and freedom in our sub-continent. In 1973 we have seen the historic victory of the Vietnamese people giving a major blow to the US global strategy not only against this region but against other peoples in other regions also. The President should have taken note of the fact that this Agreement is being violated by the South Vietnamese Saigon regime which is persecuting the political prisoners there instead of releasing them under the Peace Agreement, committing acts of terrorism and even declaring that peace would not be lasting. It is quite clear that this regime is being encouraged directly or indirectly by

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the Americans. In so far as the Americans are concerned, although they are withdrawing from Vietnam having suffered a defeat, they are now transferring their bases to Thailand. I am surprised the Government still thinks that we can have good relations with Thailand when Thailand becomes and remains the American base of the bombers the went to bomb Vietnam during the last few months. Eighty per cent of them came from Thailand and this is also a well-known fact. I should like to put one thing here. Even in the Agreement which has been signed, the Americans recognised the DRVN and the existence of two Governments in South Vietnam, the Saigon Government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam. Only diplomatic recognition is not given. But the fact is acknowledged even by the Americans that there are two Governments in South Vietnam. I do not see as to why the Government of India should maintain consular relations with only the Saigon regime and not extend diplomatic recognition to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam to put the thing on an even keel. That has not been done..

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Because Nixon frowns. They do not dare.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Therefore, I demand that so long as one single Government is not established in South Vietnam as envisaged under this Agreement which has been signed, India would be well advised to give recognition to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. This is the point I wanted to mention because the President's

Address is silent on it. Mr. Deputy Chairman, there has been some assessment of the so-called *detente* between China and the United States of America and Japan and China. I wish the motivations are what they are sought to be made out. But unfortunately, China retains its hostile stand against the Indo-Soviet stand and against our country. China

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is blocking the admission of Bangla Desh to the United Nations. It is quite clear that China has not given up its hegemonic objectives and that is why it is seeking the support of not only the United States of America, but also the Japanese militarist expansionism. China is not interested in peace in the first place. It is also tied up with the U.S. Japan security pact maintaining large number of U.S. bases in Japan and at the same time is carrying on a policy of economic expansionism. It is surprising that the Government of India think that it is possible to have proper, equal relations with them under such circumstances.

The Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi made an excellent utterance at the One Asia Assembly session when she pointedly referred to the savage war and bombing in Vietnam. Where was the need for the Prime Minister to come out with clarifications in the matter of a few words simply because one Mr. Charles Bray of the U.S. State Department had taken exception to her remark. The Prime Minister's remark was absolutely justified. It was justified by facts and it was normally also justified. But the Prime Minister started giving clarifications. What for? Are we to speak keeping in view whether America will be pleased or not? The Prime Minister may have her grounds for giving the so-called clarifications. But who was waging the war in Vietnam? Not certainly Vietnamese. They were Americans. Who killed people in bombing, if not Americans? Who was following the policy of Asians fighting Asians? Was it not a modification of the racial hatred and racial complex? Therefore, the Prime Minister was justified when she said: "How long Europe would have tolerated such a thing?" She should have stood by that statement. What was the need for her to say: "I did not mean America". May I ask

madam Prime Minister: "Whom did you mean? Did you mean Shri Mirdha? Did you mean Shri Yashpal Kapoor? Or, did you mean Shri Niren Ghosh? Or somebody else? Surely, you meant America because the facts would permit no other meaning. In this matter why did you retract? America is using this retraction or climb down in order to show to the world how by pressuring India, even the Prime Minister of India can be made to prevaricate on what she had said.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Shri Jha, our Ambassador in the United States of America, did worse things. He said at that time that the relations between India and America were very warm when in Kathmandu the Prime Minister said the relations were not so satisfactory. Shri Jha is well known for his love for America. Everyone knows it when he was here. Why did he say when he was the Ambassador...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Because Government of India is moving away from Soviet Union. Are you aware of that?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I think Government of India has developed good relations. They are maintaining good relations with the Soviet Union and you and I should support it. Let us not blame them on that. Why blame them on wrong issues? Let us say what they are doing and let us also say what they are not doing. Therefore, it is a wrong thing.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will take only a few minutes more.

In this connection, I should like to say one or two things more. As far as economic policies are concerned, the

Budget is coming. Therefore, I do not wish to discuss them, very much now. But there is no realisation of the gravity of the situation. Prices are rising and Government are not showing any awareness of the fact what havoc it is creating on the life of the people. Last year, the rise in wholesale price was 1.6 per cent. This year it is jumping up week after week and month after month and there is no sign of the price level coming down. The Government does not have any policy at all. Unemployment is rising.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: With their patriotic fervour it is also jumping up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Well, you are also jumping up. The prices are jumping up. But you are jumping up because your size is shorter. I wish the prices were as diminutive as you are.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Everybody knows that I am a short man. There is nothing new in that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, the prices are going up. But nothing has been done about it. Now, Sir, I should like to make one or two points more. Others are going to take advantage of the situation now and they are bound to. Hitler took advantage of the rising prices and inflation and the growing unemployment in Germany and the frustration amongst the people there in order to build up his Nazism and destroy the German civilization and plung Germany and the whole world into war. You know it and you must learn lessons from it. You must fight against the right reaction. It can never be separated from the struggle for radical economic and social changes; it can never be separated from the fight against the rising prices and the growing unemployment; and it can never be separated from the fight against monopoly private capital and landlordism. It has been seen time and again in history and it is a confirmed historical fact that you can never -fight against right reaction unless you disorganise their social base and you

can never fight against right reaction unless you carry out such measures as would strengthen the position of the toiling masses and weaken the position of the exploiting classes. You should learn this from them.

Now, Sir, you see what is happening in our country since the last General Election which sent them to power with a massive mandate. Prices have risen by 24 per cent since March 1971. It has been admitted officially and they are still rising.

SHRI LOKANATH MISHRA: It is commensurate with their progressive attitude.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: So much of *garibi hatao!*

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then, with regard to monopolists. The dividend remittances abroad of the foreign monopolists in 1970-71 amounted to Rs. 43.5 crores and it is known that with Rs. 1400 crores of foreign non-banking private investment they are sending not less than Rs. 80 to Rs. 100 crores by way of foreign remittances, royalties, commissions, etc. What is surprising is that the private sector is relying more and more on the advance from the public financial institutions. Capital raised by the corporate sector in 1968-69 was Rs. 96.4 crores, in 1970-71—Rs. 86.7 crores and in 1971-72—Rs. 77.7 crores. It is declining. But, in the same period, the public financial institutions have increased their lend-ings to the private sector from Rs. 86 crores to Rs. 162 crores. This is what we are finding now. And, Sir, it has not reduced their rate of profits. As a matter of fact, their profits have risen from! Rs. 45 crores to Rs. 97 crores. Well, this is the situation! Sir, the monopolists should be dealt with. Therefore, I demand the nationalisation of all monopoly concerns in the country and, in particular, I demand the nationalisation of the foreign oil companies, the concerns of the Birlas, the Hindustan Motors, etc. The Hin-

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dustan Motors should be taken over without paying any compensation. It should be taken over before it is too late. The Birlas have started their work in West Bengal. It should be taken over before it is too late. Take over the Hindustan Motors immediately. I am not asking for anything more at the moment.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Why not Maruti also be taken over?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It has not yet been started, *my friend*.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Take over Maruti also. Take over all of them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, the trouble with my friend, Mr. Niren Ghosh, is this: They are all good people and he is a good man. But I know what to do where and I know what to say where. Mr. Ghosh, you do the wrong thing at the wrong moment. That is the trouble with you. You are chasing Maruti. Even in the Exhibition I have not seen Maruti. But I want to change the Hindustan Motors to begin with...

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: What about Maruti?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know you are mentioning Maruti. But you are after Indira Gandhi. Why don't you say so? Why don't you say so boldly? If I feel, I will say it boldly. Maruti will come later. We will discuss it. First take the monopoly capital. Surely, Maruti is not a monopoly capital, even if it is there (*Interruptions*). Take over without compensation. That is what I want...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Will they ever do it?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I know from the Home Minister—you are now our Home Minister looking after our House—what has happened to the Goenka case? Are you going to start prosecution against him? Is it not a fact that papers are already ready to

launch prosecution against Mr. Goenka? When will you do it?

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Which Goenka? Goenka of posters fame or the other Goenka?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Of Indian Express. What has happened to Biju Patnaik's case _____

SHRI S. D. MISRA: What about Bansilal's case?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are not doing it. I should like to know why these things are not being done (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him finish.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: What about Bansilal?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes. My amendment is there. I am not at all satisfied with the manner in which the charge-sheet against him has been dropped and he has been exonerated. Surely I will not like the Minister to dispose it of like this. The demand for a commission of inquiry stands • • .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now you wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are not expediting land reforms. Your Agriculture Minister, I shall say, is associated with pro-American agents. You have intelligence in your hands. Try to find out what agricultural institutions are filled by American elements. They are sabotaging the take over of the foodgrains—rice and wheat. They are sabotaging the procurement targets. They are sabotaging many other things so that this country becomes again dependent on foreign food and American food. That is their calculation. This Ministry should have been re-organized. The re-shuffling touches you. It touches others. But it does not touch Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed. I am a little surprised...

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has every free.

dom to have any opinion. But he has mentioned the whole Food Ministry, and he also included the institutions in the Food Ministry who have done a lot. I know that they got American money. But the research scholars have done a laudable job and their research has brought about some type of revolution in production in this country. He is at liberty to say anything about anybody because he has the freedom of this House. But he should not brush everybody with the same broom. He has the freedom of expression. But I am surprised to see that nobody from the Government protested against such irresponsible statements from him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am very sorry for Mr. Chandra Shekhar's interruption. When I say there are such people that does not mean everybody. For example, when you say that the Government has got Birla people, do you mean that Shrimati Indira Gandhi is a Birla supporter? I have said that there are some such people. There are good people, I know it. Some of them have done excellent work. But there are some who make it difficult to get good things done. Even if some good people are there, bad people are also there and they have the upper hand. That is all that I am saying. Mr. Chandra Shekhar, it is not your intention to defend them. I pay tribute to many scientists. I have in mind a small number of people occupying key positions. That is all.

There is one point which I should like the Home Minister to consider.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Is the Chair also allotting him the Congress time? It is on a point of order. Let me get the clarification.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is taking his own time, his party's time. He is the only speaker of his party. He had been given 35 minutes. He has taken 5 minutes more.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: He has spoken for more than an hour.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is Opposition. The Government is not opposing. Opposition is opposing. Sir, have you ever seen me objecting to their time any time. Never.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I wish you carry on for the whole day today. I wanted a clarification from the Chair whether he has allotted you Congress time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No. I can assure you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him finish now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I should like to make one point about the Naxalites. Many Naxalites are in prison under detention without trial in different parts of the country for a long time. Mr. Chandra Shekhar is one of those Congress leaders who have spoken in sympathy for them. I am glad he has done it. Why should they not be released? The situation has changed. Incidents are not taking place. They are also rethinking. If there are serious charges against some of them, you should try them. Some of them are being harassed. Families are being ruined. Mothers and sisters are writing to us to do something about them. Therefore, I would urge upon the Government to release the Naxalite prisoners.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I want one clarification.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Only this morning we got a commitment for the release of all CPI detenus and others. I am mentioning Naxalites particularly because they have been suffering all kinds of propaganda and talk. Who is to do political representation for them?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Other categories are also there. I stand for the release of all the detenus.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have sanctioned pension for freedom fighters. It is a good thing, you have done. But kindly see that the pension is given expeditiously. Thousands are not getting pension yet. They made *bona fide* applications. They should not be kept pending. Many are old. Many need money. They are suffering. Since you have granted it, implement it quickly.

There is another request I shall make before I sit down. I am getting a little worried because of the connection that is developing between big business on the one hand and some people in higher places on the other. I think this poses a serious threat not only to our economy, but to the country also. I do hope that steps will be taken and vigilance will be exercised to see that the monopolists are not in a position to strengthen their grip over men in key positions, whether they be Ministers or high officials because this is a source of corruption, collusion, perversion of policies and indirect help to the rightest forces. Therefore, I hope that some steps will be taken.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Can he explain why Mr. Raghunatha Reddy was removed from Company Affairs?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He won't explain anything more.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD (Kerala): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I will, at the outset, make it clear why my party—the Muslim League—did not boycott when the President of India addressed the Joint Session of Parliament. We did not boycott, not because we are of the view that everything is going on well in this country but because we thought it was not proper, unjust and not in keeping with the dignity and decorum of Members of Parliament when the President of the nation addresses the Joint Session

of Parliament to boycott. It was from this angle that our party did not boycott when the President addressed the Joint Session of Parliament.

Sir, the President, in his Address, has taken stock of the problems that the nation faces but, at the same time, he has not indicated how he is going to solve these problems, how his Government is going to tackle the problems that he himself has mentioned in his Address.

The President was good enough to speak about the innocent people who have been effected by drought and floods in some areas, but, Sir at the same time I may say that it is not proper for the Government to take shelter under floods and famine for their omissions and commissions, because students of Indian history would know that floods and droughts are not uncommon in India. During the pre-Independence days and after Independence we had so many floods in this country; we had famines in this country. But the Government cannot take shelter under floods and other natural calamities and say that because of these calamities we were not able to go ahead with developmental work.

No indications are given how the authorities are going to modify their policies in order to meet them. Government cannot hope to overcome these scarcities created by widespread drought last year by taking over the wholesale trade in foodgrains. Government's decision to take over the wholesale trade in foodgrains without first streamlining its procurement and distribution machinery is clearly putting the cart before the horse.

The President has claimed that the sluggish growth rate of industrial production in 1970-71 showed an upward trend in 1972. The increase in the applications and the approval of industrial licences, import of capital goods, credit rates of new companies and capital issues is a welcome sign. Yet shortage of power and industrial raw materials continue unabated in the months to come.

The President has also pointed out the Approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan. Especially, he has mentioned about the development of the backward regions and backward people of this country. I may point out that for the last 25 years' after independence, the backward regions of India continue to be backward and the backward people continue to be backward in spite of the promises that the Government has been making year after year to the backward regions that they were going to develop the backward regions to the level of the forward regions and that they would help to bring the backward people to the level of the people who have already progressed. But these are only promises. Even though the Fifth Five Year Plan is ready, there is no specific policy formulated. We cannot make out from the Address how these regions are going to be developed, how these backward people are going to be uplifted. A mention has been made that special attention would be paid to the uplift of the rural people and rural areas. Sir, 80 per cent of our population come from the rural sector and they form the backbone of the nation but if you have a look what is the position today in the rural sector? Illiteracy, ignorance, poverty is prevailing everywhere, in every nook and corner of the country. Why do you speak of the luxuries? Even the bare necessities are not provided in the villages. In many villages, there is no drinking water available. Drinking water is a problem even today for many villages. Schemes after schemes have been formulated. Boards have been formed to cater water supply to the villages but there are no material results so far.

I may submit, Sir, much has been said about the land reforms but the land reforms have not been implemented in many States. If you go to Punjab and many of the States in the north, land reforms have not been implemented at all. In Mysore even now they are in the process of bringing forward legislations. Ceil-

ings have to be fixed. Whether the ceilings are going to be upper or lower, nothing has been decided except in Kerala where land reforms have been implemented both in letters and words....

AN HON. MEMBER: How about Tamil Nadu?

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD: Has it been implemented?

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL (Mysore): So far as Mysore is concerned I think he is not properly informed. In our State, land reforms have been implemented long back and they have been brought in force in 1961 itself. The problem now before the State is to what extent the existing ceilings should be reduced. The Act has been in force, all the formalities are completed. The only question that is before the Legislature is to what extent the existing ceiling should be reduced and that is also going to be decided soon.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD-I am coming from an area very close to the Mysore State. If I walk about 14 miles, I reach the Mysore State. Even now the tenancy system is prevailing in the neighbouring District, South Kanara District. The tenancy system is there. Landlords are there. The farmers have to pay rent to the landlords. Even today it is existing in that State.

AN HON. MEMBER: The Muslim League is also there.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD: Very good. I know when Mr. Veerendra Patil was there—he was one of the efficient Chief Ministers—I do concede he did many things to bring progressive land reforms but confusion is being created today among the farmers and the farmer sector. When we speak about production, agricultural production, security should be given to the farmers. They should be told what the ceiling is. Nothing has been

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fixed now. There should be an economic ceiling fixed at the national level. Whether you fix it at 10 or 15 acres or even if it is 5 acres, it does not matter but it should be there, a national economic ceiling for the best agricultural production should be there. This has not so far been done today by our economic experts. Then there is the question of fragmentation of lands, cultivation of land on scientific lines—all this has not been done, if the Government is serious and sincere to increase, to boost up agricultural production, then the minimum ceiling should be fixed. No farmer should own less than that minimum ceiling. Today that is not so. Thousands of the farmers go to the fields—The land is not evenly distributed. Some are having 50 acres and some are having 70 acres of land. There should be a national policy, one policy for Mysore, for Kerala, for Maharashtra and for all States. A national policy should be formulated as far as land : efrms axe concerned. Then only we an have maximum agricultural production. As far as Andhra State is concerned, it is not a problem of Andhra or Telengana alone. The economy of not only Andhra but of the entire nation is being ruined today. I had been to Madras Central station recently. The station has dried up; it is completely deserted. There are no incoming train, or outgoing trains. People from the south cannot come to the north, nor the people from the north can go to the south. The railway connections have been cut off; and we connections have been cut off and we fpel as if we have no connection with the Centre. Only high-ups, Members of Parliament, high officials or big businessmen can fly from south to north. The average man is not at all in a position today to move from the south to the north. The Government has really bungled on this problem. I am not one of those who say that the Prime Minister should step down on this issue. The Prime Minister should not step down at this juncture. When the ship is in the middle of the ocean there is no question of her stepping

down. On the other hand she should stand firmly and solve this problem firmly. Have bifurcation if it is necessary. If the husband and wife mutually agree to separate I do not know why anybody else should interfere. If they feel that in their best interest? divorce is the only course and if they mutually agree, then that should be the best course. Anyhow it is for the Government of India to decide and whatever they do, they should do it firmly and see that trains move freely Delhi to Mangalore, from Delhi to Madras, from Madras to Calcutta, so that all this tension is eased. That is absolutely necessary not only in the interests of Andhra arid Telengana but in the interests of the nation as a whole.

Now let me come to another important matter and that is with regard to the Muslim minorities in this country. Muslims are not only a minority community but they are backward people, socially backward, educationally backward. The Prime Minister on many occasions from different parts of the country has expressed her sympathies for' this community but what is their actual position?

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: That was for getting votes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let hira continue.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD: Anyhow, voting is coming in U.P. next year. Muslims do not have adequate representation. If you take Government servic-a they are not adequately represented either in the railways or in the police or in the Central Secretariat, or in the Government sector or semi-Government sectors. The former Railway Minister, Mr. Har.umanthaiya, had often said that Muslims and Harijans did not have proper representation in railway services and he had promised that he would appoint one member from this community in the railway Public Service Commissions. Not only in the railways, but in other sectors also you

find the Muslims do not have proper representation. About this the President has said nothing in his Address. Let the Government appoint a Commission to go into this matter and find out whether what we say is true or it is mere propaganda. After all the Government have the facts and figures with them and they can find out whether the Muslims have got due representation in Bengal, in Bihar, in Madras, in Mysore and other places. If they see that they have got due representation everywhere then we have no quarrel but on the other hand if they find that they are not duly represented it is not the duty of the Government of India to see that this community also comes up to the level of other communities? I would therefore appeal to the Government of India to see that they take up this matter and see that Muslims are given due representation in the different sectors and in all walks of life so that they also can play their role in the life of the nation.

Lastly let me say a few words about the foreign policy of the Government. As far as the Simla Pact is concerned I welcome the Simla Pact. The Government of India has expressed its willingness to have friendly relations with Pakistan and it is now for Pakistan to respond to the good-will that has been expressed by the Government of India. At the same time, we should see that our relations with the United States are normalised. It is absolutely necessary that we should have normal relations with the United States and also we should try "to have normal relations with China. Thank you.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चंडावत (राजस्थान) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राज्य सभा का यह बजट अधिवेशन प्रारम्भ हुआ छः विरोधी पार्टियों के बहिर्गमन के साथ। हम जो इधर बैठने वाले हैं, वे सभी चिन्तित हैं बढ़ती हुई बेरोजगारी को देखते हुए और जिस तरह से कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं उनको देखते हुए हमारी सरकार ने इन समस्याओं को हल करने के

लिए कुछ कदम भी उठाये हैं, सीलिंग का कानून पास किया गया, कौयले की खदानों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया गया और रबी की फसल से अनाज के थोक व्यापार को हाथ में लेने का निर्णय किया गया। इसके अलावा एक पंचवर्षीय योजना का प्राल्प भी मंजूर किया गया, जो योजना विकास की दिशा की ओर उन्मुख है।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम सहाय) पीठासीन हुए]

इसमें दो राय नहीं हैं, इधर बैठने वाले सभी लोगों की यह भावना है कि जनता की जो ज्वलन्त समस्याएँ हैं, उनको जल्दी हल किया जाय और कारगर कदम तेजी के साथ उठाये जायें, लेकिन विरोधी पार्टियों ने मिल कर जो बहिर्गमन किया, क्या वास्तव में जनता की इन समस्याओं को सुलझाने के लिए इन विरोधी पार्टियों ने बहिर्गमन किया था? आन्ध्र प्रदेश के बारे में मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्टों का यह मत है कि आन्ध्र एक प्रदेश रहना चाहिए, लेकिन जनसंघ, स्वतंत्र पार्टी, सिडीकेट और समाजवादी पार्टी सभी चाहते हैं कि आन्ध्र के दो टुकड़े हो जायें। उनके विचार अलग-अलग हैं, लेकिन इस बहिर्गमन में सब एक हैं। इसी तरह समाजवादी पार्टी और मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी 75 इजारेदार घरानों के राष्ट्रीयकरण के पक्षपाती हैं और अनाज के थोक व्यापार को सरकार के हाथ में देने के पक्षपाती हैं, कम से कम एलानिया ऐसा कहते हैं, परन्तु जनसंघ और स्वतंत्र पार्टी इन दोनों मुद्दों के सख्त खिलाफ हैं, लेकिन हैरत यह है कि बहिर्गमन में सभी एक हैं। यह जो विरोधाभास इस तरह से दिखाई दे रहा है या जो सदन में हुआ वह अनायास नहीं है, सदन के बाहर भी सभी जगह यही चीज दिखाई देती है। स्वतंत्र पार्टी वैधानिकता में विश्वास करती है और उस पर बल देती रही है और जब कोई तोड़-फोड़ या आगजनी का सवाल

[श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूडावत]

आया तो उसने उसका विरोध किया, लेकिन आज आन्ध्र में उसी स्वतंत्र पार्टी की सेना आगजनी में लगी है, तोड़-फोड़ में लगी है और एक गुरिल्ला संघर्ष का कार्य उसने चला रखा है। सिद्धान्तों की दुहाई देने वाली स्वतंत्र पार्टी उड़ीसा और बंगाली भावनाओं को भड़काने में चूकी नहीं। उड़ीसा की स्वतंत्र पार्टी की सिंहदेव सरकार ने—सदन को याद होगा—बिजू पटनायक को एक महान भ्रष्टाचारी घोषित किया था, घोषित ही नहीं किया, उसके ऊपर जांच की कार्यवाही भी जारी की गई, लेकिन आज उड़ीसा प्रगति विधान मंडल दल में वही सिंहदेव अपनी पार्टी के साथ हरेकृष्ण महताब के साथ-साथ चल रहे हैं और इतना ही नहीं इन दोनों ने अपना नेता स्वीकार किया है बिजू पटनायक को, जिसको उन्होंने महान भ्रष्टाचारी साबित किया था। तो, उपसभापति महोदय, यह है सिद्धान्तों की प्रगति। यही विरोधाभास आज हमें दूसरी पार्टियों में दिखाई दे रहा है। जनसंघ अखंड भारत का हामी है और कच्चा हामी नहीं, कट्टर हामी है। जब देश में भाषायी आधार के ऊपर राज्यों की रचना की गई तो जनसंघ ने उसका कस कर विरोध किया, लेकिन आज माजरा कुछ और है। आज वह आन्ध्र के टुकड़े करने का हिमायती है। इतना ही नहीं आर० एस० एस० के गुरु गोलवलकर साहब ने मध्य प्रदेश और उत्तर प्रदेश के विभाजन का नारा दे दिया, विभाजन का ही नहीं, त्रिभाजन का नारा दे दिया, तीन-तीन टुकड़े करने का। अभी कानपुर में जो जनसंघ का अधिवेशन हुआ, उसमें उन्होंने राज्यों के पुनर्गठन की मांग की है। मतलब साफ है कि आज पृथक विदर्भ आन्दोलन, पृथक सौराष्ट्र आन्दोलन, पृथक उत्तर प्रदेश आन्दोलन, देश में जितने भी विघटनकारी आन्दोलन हों, उन सबको जनसंघ का समर्थन प्राप्त है।

लेकिन आन्ध्र की ओर नजर डालते हैं तो जनसंघ की यह नीति अपनी चरम सीमा पर,

एक पराकाष्ठा पर पहुँच गई है। उत्तर भारत और दक्षिण भारत के सम्बन्धों को तोड़ने का नारा देने वाली डी० एम० के० के साथ गले से गले मिल कर के आज जनसंघ चल रहा है। जिन मुब्बा रेड्डी ने उत्तर भारत और दक्षिण भारत के टुकड़े करने की बात की है, सम्बन्ध तोड़ने की बात कही है, आज उनके साथ जनसंघ चल रहा है। मुब्बा रेड्डी ने मछलीपटनम में 16 जनवरी को एक भाषण में कहा था कि नार्थ और साउथ को अलग-अलग करेंगे। उन्होंने अपना इरादा साफ जाहिर कर दिया है। उन्होंने कहा था :

"If an announcement of separate Andhra was not made before January 21, Congressmen in the region will resign from the party. Mr. Subba Reddy warned that the loss of Andhra to Congress could lead to separation of the south from the north."

मुब्बा रेड्डी ने ठीक इसके दस दिन बाद 26 जनवरी को जो भाषण दिया, उसमें उन्होंने जो पहले सम्बन्ध तोड़ने की बात कही थी, उसके ऊपर फिर उन्होंने मोहर लगा दी, छाप लगा दी। "इंडियन एक्सप्रेस" ने यह रिपोर्ट दी है :

"Mr. B. V. Subba Reddy yesterday warned the Prime Minister that a situation might develop when there would be a complete breakdown of relations between the Southern and the Northern States, if Andhra was not conceded."

तो उपसभापति जी, अखंडता का नारा देने वाला, अखंडता का हिमायती जनसंघ आज मुब्बा रेड्डी की संघर्ष समिति में शामिल है। न्याय और सुरक्षा की दुहाई देने वाले हमारे ये भाई आज बांधों को उड़ाने में, पुलों को उड़ाने में और बम बनाने के काम में लग गये हैं। वहाँ आज जो कार्य हो रहा है, उसकी इन्होंने संज्ञा दी है परेलल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन से।

इलाहाबाद में जब प्रधान मंत्री को काले झंडे दिखाने का सवाल था, तो अलग-अलग विचारों के, अलग-अलग पार्टियों के लोग उसमें एक हो गये। मुस्लिम मजलिस और जनसंघ जो एक दूसरे को फूटी आंख नहीं देख सकते थे, वे झंडा दिखाने के लिए एक मंच पर आ गये। क्रांतिकारी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी और सिडोकेट ने वहां हाथ में हाथ मिला करके काम किया। (Interruption) सी० पी० एम० और हिन्दू महा सभा वाले भी उसमें शामिल हो गये। आखिर यह बात क्या है अलग-अलग विचार, अलग-अलग तरीका, लेकिन एक बात के ऊपर ये सब एक हो गये। उपसभापति महोदय, बात यह है कि जनता को अपने साथ लेने के लिए इन्होंने जितने प्रयत्न किये उन सबमें ये विफल रहे। इन्होंने एक नहीं अनेक प्रकार के प्रयत्न किये। इन्होंने सम्पत्ति की रक्षा का नारा दिया। लोगों को इन्होंने बरगलाने की कोशिश की। इजारेदारों को छूट दिलाने का इन्होंने नारा दिया। इस प्रकार जनता को अपने साथ लेने के लिए इन्होंने बहुत कोशिश की, लेकिन जनता इनके साथ नहीं आई। जनता ने इनको अस्वीकार कर दिया। 1971 में अस्वीकार किया, 1972 में अस्वीकार किया। इन सभी पार्टियों ने मिल कर के एक नीति की रचना की है और वह नीति यह है कि प्रांतीयता के नाम पर दंगे कराये जायें, भाषा के नाम पर दंगे कराये जायें, फिरकापरस्ती के नाम पर दंगे कराये जायें और यदि कहीं पर जनता में कोई असंतोष हो तो उसके नाम पर दंगे कराये जायें। ये देश की एकता को खतरे में डालने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। मैं याद दिलाना चाहूंगी सदन को कि जब बंगला देश का संघर्ष हो रहा था उस समय अमरीका के प्रेसिडेंट निकसन साहब ने भारत की प्रधान मंत्री को उत्तर देते हुए कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान में भी पाकिस्तान की तरह अनेक समस्याएँ हैं। हिन्दुस्तान में भाषायी समस्या है, प्रांतीय समस्या है, आदिवासी क्षेत्रों की समस्याएँ हैं और धर्म की समस्या है।

हिन्दुस्तान को सोचना चाहिए कि इन संघर्षों में वह खुद भी उलझ सकता है। निकसन साहब कह गए, लेकिन उपसभापति जी, इस देश में कुछ ऐसी शक्तियाँ मौजूद हैं कि जो निरन्तर साहब की चेतावनी को कार्यरत देने में लगे हुई हैं और वह बात आज साफ दिखायी दे रही है। 25 सितम्बर को अमरीकी दूतावास के एक विशिष्ट अधिकारी आसाम में जाते हैं और एक हफ्ते के बाद वहां पर भाषायी दंगे शुरू हो जाते हैं। मई के महीने में न्यूयार्क टाइम्स लिखता है कि आसाम में अक्टूबर के महीने में भाषायी दंगे शुरू हो जायेंगे और वाकई अक्टूबर में वहां भाषायी दंगे शुरू हो जाते हैं। क्या न्यूयार्क टाइम्स में वह लिखने वाला कोई अंतर्दृष्टा या भविष्य को जानने वाला था कि उसने पहले से ही यह लिख दिया? इसके पीछे कारण क्या हैं? स्वतंत्र पार्टी के नेता श्री लक्ष्मण हर हफ्ते मद्रास जाते हैं और वापस आते हैं तो उनके पास आंदोलन को चलाने के लिए काफी रकम होता है, उस आंदोलन में खर्च करने के लिए काफी रकम होता है। क्या यह सब अनायास हो जाता है? आखिर इसके पीछे क्या है? हमें सोचना पड़ता है कि जैसे आसाम में भूमि सुधार का कानून शुरू हुआ वैसे ही भाषायी दंगे शुरू हो गए (Time bell rings) मैं तीन चार मिनट और बोलूंगी। मुझे भी कुछ वक्त दिया जाय। एक औरत बोल रही है उसके लिए कुछ तो ज्यादा समय मिलना चाहिए। आंध्र में भूमि सुधार का कानून पास हुआ, रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट का काम लिया गया, अनाज के थोक व्यापार को सरकार के हाथ में लिया गया और वहां पर मुल्की कानून के मसले को लेकर एक तरफ से झगड़ा शुरू हो गया। कौन है इस आंध्र के आंदोलन में, जो कि एक बैंकवर्ड इलाका है। वह रायल सोमा और तैलगाना का इलाका है, लेकिन वहां के लोगों के हाथ में इस आंदोलन का तकेत नहीं है। अब इस आंध्र के आंदोलन में अगुआ हैं उस इलाके के लोग, जो सम्पन्न हैं। उन में गोदावरी का डेल्टा और कृष्णा का डेल्टा

[श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चुडावत]
 है और आज वहाँ के लोगों के हाथ में इस आंदोलन को लगाम है। क्या कारण है कि चुन-चुन कर ऐसे आफिसरों को जलाया जाता है जिन का बड़े लोगों से संबंध रहता है। इन्कम टैक्स आफिस को जलाया जाता है, लैंड रिकार्ड्स के आफिसर को जलाया जाता है, सैल्स टैक्स के आफिसर को जलाया जाता है और मजा यह है कि इन्कम टैक्स के आफिसर को जलाया गया, लेकिन इमारत को इतना नुकसान नहीं पहुँचा, केवल रिकार्ड्स ही ज्वाला जले। इस तरह से चुन-चुन कर जो रिकार्डों को जलाया जाता है उनके पीछे किसका स्वार्थ है? उनको कौन जला रहा है? वहाँ पर बसें जलाई जाती हैं, लेकिन प्राइवेट बसों का हाथ नहीं लगाया जाता। केवल सरकारी बसों को जलाया जा रहा है। जो वहाँ डार्ड रुपए का टिकट बिकता था सरकारी बसों का वह आज 25 रुपए का बिक रहा है। इसके पीछे किसका हाथ है? क्या कारण हो सकते हैं इसके पीछे? आंध्र प्रदेश का चावल हैदराबाद को भेजा जाता उन उपद्रवियों द्वारा रोक गया। उन के कारण चावल नहीं भेजा जा सकता, लेकिन वही चावल तमिल नाडु को भेजा जाने के लिए है, उसमें ब्लैक मार्केटिंग के लिए और उस से ऊँची कीमत वसुली करने के लिए सब तरह की उन को छूट है और वह वहाँ भेजा जा रहा है। ट्रक के ट्रक लोदे जा रहे हैं। आखिर इसके पीछे कारण क्या है? प्रयत्नवादी नेता हमारे कई बंधु यहाँ बैठे हैं। इस आंध्र के मामले को ले कर जन भावना और जनमत की वह दुहाई देते हैं। वह कहते हैं कि यह डेमोक्रेटिक मांग है। मैं जानना चाहती हूँ कि क्या वह डेमोक्रेटिक है? जब कि हजारों लोगों ने काकीनाडा में जो लेजिस्लेटर वहाँ गए उन की बेइज्जत किया, सुब्बाराव तक को बेइज्जत किया गया और डंडे के जोर पर वह प्रस्ताव पास कराया गया और बेइज्जती करने में एक महिला तक को नहीं छोड़ा गया। वहाँ एक महिला थी श्रीमती भानु तिलक,

उत्तको साड़ी फाड़ दी गयी, उसका क्लाउज फाड़ दिया गया। उत्तको बचाया नहीं जा सका। जब उत्तके पति ने यह बात सुनी तो उत्तको इतना रुझा लगा कि उस का हार्ट फेज हो गया और वह मर गया। क्या यह प्रजातंत्र है? क्या इसी को आप जनमत के नाम पर माँग कर रहे हैं और जो लोग वहाँ प्रयत्नवादी नहीं हैं उन को जुम कर के दबाया जाता है। एक लेजिस्लेटर को वहाँ गंधे पर बैठा कर धुमाया गया क्योंकि वह इसमें शामिल नहीं हैं।

आंध्र पत्रिका (दिसम्बर 11) उसके बारे में यह ज्ञापित है :—

"Shri Geddam Mahalakshmi was gheraoed at Jaggannapet yesterday evening. Agitators tried to apply bangles and huldly and tried to parae him on a donkey."

क्या यही प्रजातंत्र का तरीका होता है? क्या यही प्रजातंत्र का तरीका होता है कि सेनायें बनाई जाएँ और सेनाओं के डंडे के जोर के ऊपर लोगों को राय को दबायें? "हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स" फरवरी 15 को लिखता है :

"The formation of a new organisation called the Andhra Praja Sainyam (People's Army) supporting the demand for bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh was announced today in a press statement. The statement issued by Mr. B. Raja-gopal Rao on behalf of the Sainyam said: 'The Organisation's working committee formed at a meeting last night wanted former Deputy Chief Minister B. V. Subba Reddy to form an alternative Government.' The statement claimed that the Sainyam had a strength of 20,000."

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं ज्यादा वक्त न लेकर 2 मिनट में खत्म कर दूंगी, आपके हुक्म की तामीर करूँगी। आगे चलते मैं जानना

चाहती हूँ कि इस आंदोलन के आंदोलन में जिस तरह से सरकारी अफसरों ने खुल्लमखुल्ला भाग लिया है, उसके बारे में सरकार ने क्या किया ? गेट्टर के कलेक्टर, पी. एंड टी. के डाइरेक्टर और टेलीफोन्स के चीफ इंजीनियर जैसे-बड़े बड़े अधिकारी खुल्लमखुल्ला भाग ले रहे थे। पहले तो माना वहाँ की सरकार हिमायत कर रही थी, लेकिन आज केन्द्र की सरकार उनके बारे में क्या कदम उठा रही है। खुशकिस्मती से होम मिनिस्टर यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं, मैं उनसे जवाब चाहूँगी कि सरकार ऐसे अफसरों के विरुद्ध क्या कार्यवाही कर रही है जो खुल्लमखुल्ला इसमें भाग ले रहे हैं ? विदेशों के नागरिक जॉर्जों में बैठक कर घूम रहे हैं, बाहर के टेलिविजन्स खुल्लम-खुल्ला वहाँ की घटनाओं की शूटिंग कर रहे हैं जो आगे जाकर प्रचार करेंगे, उसके लिए सरकार क्या कर रही है ?

अंत में मैं यह कहूँगी कि जहाँ तक जनता की समस्या है उसको अवश्य मुलज्जाया जाए, उन्हें न्याय दिलाया जाए लेकिन फासिस्ट ढंग से जो काम किए जा रहे हैं, उस फासिस्ट ढंग को मुकाबला करने के लिए, जो प्रजा-तांत्रिक तराकों में ईमानदारी से विश्वास करते हैं, उनको उसका मुकाबला करना चाहिए। मुझे उम्मीद है कि मिनिस्टर साहब मेरे सवालों का जवाब देंगे।

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL: Sir, since yesterday this House has been discussing the President's Address to the joint session of Parliament. I feel that this is the opportunity provided to the representatives of the people to review the progress achieved during the last one year and also the shortfalls, if any. Sir, I would like to know from the treasury benches whether they can legitimately take pride in the happenings of the country during the last one year. What are we witnessing today? We are unfortunately witnessing the fast deterioration of the political situation

and the economic situation in the country. Violence, more has, strikes, agitations, relay fasts are the order of the day. What is the root cause? Why is there so much of violence in the country today? According to me the root cause is the worsening economic situation. The prices are shooting up. Unemployment is growing by leaps and bounds. The common man's life is becoming miserable. All these years we were talking in terms of economic growth. We used to fix targets also for the Five Year Plan periods as to what should be the economic growth. But I feel that a stage has reached when unfortunately we have to think in terms of poverty growth. If anything is growing in the country today and growing very fast, it is poverty. Poverty during this one year, according to official figures that have been made available, has grown up by 12 per cent. But there are economists in the country who dispute this figure. When I say poverty growth, I mean the increase in prices. The cost of living has gone up, according to the official version, by 12 per cent. But according to the other version it is 14.3 per cent. And just now Mr. Bhupesh Gupta was mentioning that it was not 12 per cent or 14.3 per cent, but it is 24 per cent. So prices go up and, naturally, to that extent, poverty grows. In that context I was mentioning that during the last one year poverty in the country has grown by 14.3 per cent. In certain articles the prices have gone up ranging from 14 per cent to 48 per cent. The Government, I must say, has miserably failed to hold the price line. I would like to know who is responsible, whose responsibility it is to hold the price line. The responsibility squarely falls on the shoulders of the Government. As far as the rise in prices is concerned, it is entirely the responsibility of the Government. I think this Government will not hesitate to own this responsibility. Economic prosperity of a country

[Shri Veerendra Patil]

depends upon its political stability. If there is no political stability, then no-body can think of economic prosperity in that country. But at the same time I would like to emphasise that political stability of a country also depends upon the economic prosperity of that country. If there is no economic prosperity, then there is no political stability at all. So far as political stability is concerned, today we have got a stable Government not only here in the Centre but also in almost all the States. After the mid-term election in 1971 the Prime Minister has emerged as the strongest leader of our country. I have no hesitation in admitting this fact. It is a monolithic party. Whenever anybody asked, "Who is the strongest person in the world today?", we used to say, "the President of the United States of America". But I must say that the strongest leader of our country after the 1971 midterm and general elections is our Prime Minister. At no time the Prime Minister was so strong or the ruling party was as stable as it is today. When there is a stable Government, I would like to know why the prices are rising and why the economic situation is deteriorating. Why is there so much of violence. Why are there so many relay fasts and agitations that are going on?

During the last four Plan periods -since 1951. Rs. 65,000 crores have been spent on the development of this country. What is the result? Although there is economic growth and although development has taken place, who has benefited by this growth and development? The theory of percolation has been falsified. Although we have spent so much of amount during the last four Plan periods, the benefit has not gone to the people and the man in the street. It is always said that the rich has become richer. But the poor has not become rich. He has become poorer. That is the result of this development. Accordingly to the figures—I do not know whether they were given in this House or the other

House—there are 220 million people in this country out of 530 or 550 millions who are below the poverty line. What is that poverty line? Poverty line is the line having an average income of Rs. 240 per annum. That means there are 220 million people after twenty years of our planning, whose income is not even Rs. 20 per month.

What about literacy? We have spent thousands of crores of rupees on spreading literacy. Today 71 per cent of our population is illiterate. They do not know how to read and write. They do not even know how to sign. When there is so much of poverty and illiteracy, naturally there is scope for exploitation. My charge against the ruling party is that in the mid-term elections in March 1971 and also in the General Elections, they have exploited fully this situation. My charge is that political exploitation was resorted to by the ruling party by raising a very cheap and easy slogan of 'Garibi Hatao'. Who does not want 'Garibi' to be 'hataoed'? Every body was attracted by that slogan. Naturally the country was in need of a stable Government. I have no grouse against the ruling party so far as that slogan was concerned. What we want as the Opposition Parties is that the pledges given to the people at the time of mid-term election and general election should be fulfilled. They should be fulfilled as early as possible. Whether the ruling party and the country are going in that direction is the point under discussion now. What we find today is that unfortunately during the last 20 months, we are finding ourselves in the age of shortages. There is shortage all-round. There is shortage of power, shortage of fertiliser, shortage of steel, cement, food, industries and what not. If there is no shortage in the country today, it is in respect of population, in respect of the unemployed people and in respect of the slogans. Population is growing steadily although there is a Ministry at the Centre to take care of family planning projects. We have been spending on family

planning hundreds of crores of rupees. I would like to know in this connection whether, during the period 1961—71, population growth rate has been reduced even by 0.1 per cent. The population growth is 2.5 per cent every year, not 0.1 per cent more, not less.

Similarly, unemployment is also growing and it is growing by leaps and bounds. Nobody today is in a position to say what the number of the unemployed persons in the country is. Only the other day—I do not know whether it was in Calcutta or Somewhere else—the Prime Minister said and admitted frankly that it is impossible for the Government of India to ascertain the exact number of the unemployed people in the country.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala): We know the number of the employed people and we know the size of the population. The rest you can find out.

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL: We are not worried about the employed people. They are also the fortunate people and they are better placed. But we as representatives of the people are worried about the unemployed people who are loitering in the streets and we want to know their number. Somebody says that by the end of the Fourth Plan period, the number of the unemployed people would be not less than thirty-five million.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: It is simple and arithmetic you can easily find out their number. Find out the number of the employed people and deduct that number from the total population of the land.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON: That is what I said.

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL: It is simple arithmetic, no doubt. But the difficulty is this. You will know the number of the employed people so far as the Government departments are concerned, so far as the factories are concerned. But what about the peo-

ple who are in the rural areas where 85 per cent of our people live? What is the number of the self-employed people there? How to find out? What is the number of the unemployed people there? They are not only unemployed, but also underemployed. (*Time Bell rings*).

Sir, I have to make so many points. I hope you would kindly allow me fifteen or twenty minutes more. I do not always participate in the debates. I participate only once a year or twice a year and now I would like to deal with the drought situation.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM SAHAI): It would be difficult to allow twenty minutes.

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL: Now, Sir, there is power shortage. So far as power is concerned, the plan target was 23 million kw. But the generation of power is not even 20 million kw. Now there is drought and there is power cut everywhere. Power cut is being experienced all over. The cut ranges from 25 per cent to 80 per cent. In my own State of Mysore, which is known for power generation, there is a power cut of 25 per cent. It might go up to 40 per cent or 50 per cent also in course of time.

Then, Sir, what about food? In 1971, as against the target fixed by the Planning Commission of 112 million tonnes, production was only 102 million tonnes. In 1972, it is not even a hundred million tonnes of foodgrains. Buffer stocks were there and they were of the order of 9.5 million tonnes. The Government was saying that there was no difficulty at all because they had plenty of buffer stocks. When they had plenty of buffer stocks, why did they allow the prices to rise? It was very easy for them to dump the buffer stocks in the market and control the prices. But they did not do it. I think the buffer stock of 9.5 million tonnes of grains has already disappeared or it is hardly about 2 million tonnes or it may be about 2\

[Shri Veerendra Patil] million tonnes which is left now. The country is short by 15 to 20 million tonnes. Now they are thinking of taking over the wholesale trade of food grains. So far as I am concerned, personally speaking, I will say I have no objection and they can take it over. But, Sir, I do not think that they are going to be successful in that. They are bound to become unpopular. I am going to caution this Government and the ruling party, because if they take over the whole-sale food-grains trade, it is to the advantage of the Opposition parties. They are bound to become unpopular. By taking over this foodgrain trade they are antagonizing not only the peasants but also the traders. They do not have the organization. They do not have efficient public distribution system. The machinery is so corrupt that they are bound to become unpopular. This is a word of caution I wanted to give to the Government _____

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Then they will blame the Opposition parties....

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL: I am not going to come in their way. I said individually I welcome it.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Rationing will have to be made compulsory.

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL: I would like to point out one thing more. Today they are purchasing wheat at the rate of Rs. 70 per quintal. But do you know that from foreign countries they are purchasing wheat at the rate of Rs. 90 per quintal. Why not the same rate is given to local farmers? They are not paying Rs. 90 per quintal to them _____

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Is it exclusive or includes transport charges?

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL: I do not know about the transport charges But I know that comes to Rs. 90 per quintal when they purchase from outside, whereas in our country they are paying only Rs. 70 per quintal.

Sir, I was mentioning about the unemployment problem. The figures that have been quoted by Mr. Khadi-ka, are here. He said in Bombay or somewhere—and it has appeared in the 'Times of India' also that during the period 1963—1971—for five years—the unemployed number has almost doubled. In 1968, according to him,—2.5 million people were unemployed, and this figure has gone up to 5.1 millions, whereas, according to other versions, it is not less than 32—35 million people. Now they are creating five lakh jobs. We welcome it since this helps in solving unemployment problem to some extent. But what is the provision made? A provision of Rs. 100 crores is going to be made. That means, per head, per job, they are going to invest Rs. 2,000. I would like to know by investing Rs. 2000 are you going to create job opportunity for a person? It is not possible. It is a wrong calculation and that is not going to solve the problem. If they want to simply create 5 lakhs supernumerary posts, that is again a burden on the society, on the exchequer.

No industries are coming. I do not want to go into these details. But I can tell you that industrialists are not coming forward. Entrepreneurs are not coming forward, because they feel that they are insecure. And the sword of nationalization is hanging. They do not know whether after investing money the industry is going to remain with them or it is going to be nationalized. When this is the atmosphere in the country, who is going to come forward?

Not only that. I can tell you also this thing from my little experience. We are talking about the landless. I do not know how much land is going to be made available for distribution. There is so much of land hunger. You cannot distribute land to every person. The only way is to see that the burden on the land which is there is shifted. How is it going to come? It is only possible when we think of rapid industrialization in this country and that rapid industrialization can come

when you give all sorts of concessions and inducements to entrepreneurs to come forward and establish industries, which is not happening.

My State, unfortunately, is a very badly affected by drought this year. According to the Governor who addressed recently the legislature in Mysore, this is an unprecedented drought in living memory. Nearly 50 lakhs people have been affected by this. And I must say that the Government has miserably failed to provide relief to the people. 75 per cent cattle have died or have been sold to butchers already. I am making this statement with all sense of responsibility because I have toured that area extensively. I have visited a number of villages. The villages are deserted. 50 to 60 per cent of the people have already migrated from the villages. There is no fodder, no drinking water and no foodgrain supply at all to the people. 20 to 25 lakhs of people have migrated to Maharashtra, Gujarat or to distant places. Nobody knows where they have gone.

There are starvation deaths, Sir. But, unfortunately, the Government is very prompt in contradicting the starvation deaths. There was a committee constituted by the Government and I am quoting an extract from the report of this committee. So far as starvation deaths are concerned, it is a very serious matter and I would like to bring it to the notice of this august House. This Committee was constituted by the State Government and announced on the floor of the Assembly. This committee, after surveying the whole area, made a report to the State Assembly. This was a one-man committee headed by Shri C. M. Arumugham. The Report says at page 39:

"At certain places, people complained that there were deaths due to starvation owing to the severe drought position. There were also

reports of deaths due to hanging. The relatives and villagers stated that these deaths occurred for want of food and consequent frustration.

The officers, however, denied such allegations on the ground that the dead bodies were not sent for postmortem and in certain cases on enquiries it was not proved that these deaths occurred on account of starvation. The fact that the people of the drought affected areas are in a miserable condition is indisputable. The condition of those who are suffering from chronic diseases is worse, as they were not able to get proper and nutritious food that is required for a sick man. The probability of death of young, middle aged or old being attributed to starvation cannot be ruled out."

I am emphasising this.

"The probability of death of young, middle aged or old being attributed to starvation cannot be ruled out in the present situation that is prevailing in the drought affected areas. If the present situation is allowed to continue it will not be surprising there may be any number of starvation deaths."

This is the report that has been submitted to the Legislature by the Official Commission appointed by the State Government. There is no drinking water. Even the river Krishna which is supposed to be the biggest river in the South, has no drop of water. I wrote to the Prime Minister. I said that if this state of affairs continued during summer months, *i.e.*, March, April and May, there would not be any drinking water in the villages which are situated on either side of the banks of the river. There are thousands of villages on the banks of this river. The people are starving of drinking

water and Maharashtra is diverting 86000 million cubic feet of water to the Arabian Sea for generating power. There is a reservoir at Koyna. They are generating power and diverting water which is going as waste into the Arabian Sea whereas the people are starving for drinking water. I wrote to the Prime Minister. Let 'me make it clear that I have full sympathies for Maharashtra because they also need power for so many industries in Bombay, Poon_a and elsewhere, But drinking water problem has become a very serious matter. During th_e course of the next two or three months, thousands of people will die out of starvation from drinking water. After all, drinking water should have precedence over other things. I wrote to the Prime Minister with a request to persuade the Maharashtra Government not to divert; if it comes to the question of shutting down the generating stations we can pay compensation, lay-off charges and other charges; it does not matter. Today the question is, how to save thousands of people who are living in the villages on either side of the bank, but I am very sorry to say that till this date I have not received even an acknowledgement from the Prime Minister.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Shame.

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL: I have written not one letter in this connec-tion; I have written three letters to the Prime Minister but she is not courteous enough to acknowledge or send a reply to them. When she was visiting Mysore, I wrote to her making a request that since she was visiting in connection with some functions, and when nearly 45 to 50 lakh people were starving, she could extend her stay by a day more and visit the affected areas. For that also there is

no reply at all.

When the condition is so serious I would like to bring it to the notice of this august House that the amount that has been provided by the Centre so far is- only Rs. 7.5 crores against the demand of Rs. 151 crores by the State Government. Of course, there is callousness and indifference on the part of the State Government, but I do not want to avail this forum, this opportunity to blame the State Government. I will take that opportunity elsewhere. But, whereas as against the demand of Rs. 151 crores only Rs. 7.5 crores have been granted to Mysore, Maharashtra has been granted Rs. 73 crores. Why this step-motherly treatment to my State? —I would like to know. I want an explanation from the Government of India. I have no grouse that they have sanctioned Rs. 73. crores to Maharashtra, but why not give the same amount to Mysore. When the Maharashtra Government demanded Rs. 150 crores, they got Rs. 73 crores but when 'we demand' Rs. 151 crores we get only Rs. 7.5 crores.

When the Prime Minister went to Maharashtra, on the spot she announced four railway lines. We have been requesting since a decade for taking up railway lines in Mysore State, and those four railway lines in Maharashtra costing Rs. 250 crores have been committed as part of the relief programme. Then, why not the same treatment to Mysore, Sir? Not a single project has been sanctioned so far. I~ wrote to the Prime Minister in this connection. I said that this Konkan railway line is the original West Coast railway line. We had' mooted that idea—both myself and Mr. V. P. Naik, the present Chief Minister of Maharashtra—and we made a representation to the Government of India in the Railway Ministry to take up this West Coast railway line. And when the question of takings up- the railway lines comes;

unfortunately the railway line terminates only in Maharashtra. It does not extend to Mysore. This only shows that this Government, although the people have elected 27 Members—100 per cent success in Mysore so far as Lok Sabha is concerned—and this is the only State in the entire country where the Prime Minister was weighed in gold—Mr. Kondaji Basappa will hear with me—is rewarding us thus, and this is the reward we are getting today for this. With these words I conclude, Sir.

شری ایم۔ اسعد مدنی (انپردیش):

صدر محترم۔ یہ سال جو گذرا ہے بنگلہ دیش کے پلاٹہ گزینوں کی امداد خشک سالی اور بنگلہ دیش کی امداد کی وجہ سے اس سال ہمارے ملک کی معیشت پر بہت زبردست بھاری دباؤ بوجھ آپڑا۔ اس کے باوجود ہمارے ملک نے اس بوجھ کو کامیابی کے ساتھ برداشت کیا ہے۔ اور ہماری زر مبادلہ کی پوزیشن پہلے سے بہتر ہے۔ اس مہینہ میں امریکہ نے ڈالر میں ۱۰ فی صدی کی کمی کی تو دنیا کی اور بہت سے اچھی کرنسیوں کی طرف ہم نے بھی بازار میں اس کو چھوڑ دیا تاکہ اس کے ایکشن اور دی ایکشن کے نتیجہ میں اس کی خود بہ خود قیمت متعین ہو جائے یہ اس طرح کے اقدامات کرنا ہمارا اقتصادی مضبوطی کے دلیل ہے اور ہمیں اس کامیابی پر فخر ہے۔ اس طرح پچھلے سال میں ہم نے جب بنگلہ دیش کی تکنیک ہوئی پوری حمایت کی اور اس سلسلہ میں بہت

بڑے ریسک اور خطروں کو مول لیا جرت کے ساتھ اقدام کئے۔ اس کے لئے حکومت کو ہم مبارکباد دیتے ہیں۔ لیکن اس کے ساتھ ہی ہمارے ملک میں لوگوں کی قوت خرید بے حد کم ہوتی جا رہی ہے اور چیزوں کی قیمتیں سوائے دیوڑھا اور دوا گنا تک پہنچ گئی ہیں اور حکومت نے خود اس کا اعتراف کیا ہے گیارہوں کو ہی لیجئے۔ یکم جنوری ۶۷ کو اس کی قیمت ۸۴ روپیہ کونٹل تھی لیکن ۳۱ دسمبر ۷۲ کو اس کی قیمت ۱۰۷ روپیہ کونٹل ہوگئی اس طرح سے اور چیزوں کی بھی قیمتوں کا حال ہے تو وہ جو گرانی اتنی زیادہ ہوگئی ہے کہ اس کی وجہ سے جو غریب طبقہ متوسط طبقہ ہے ان میں خرید کی قوت کم ہوتی چلی جا رہی ہے وہ لوگ پریشان ہیں اور اس سے ملک میں بہت تشویش پائی جاتی ہے اور لوگ پھٹ بھی بڑی مشکل سے بھر پارہے ہیں اور پریشان ہیں۔

جہاں تک تعلق صنعتی ورکروں اور سرکاری ملازموں کا ہے ان کے معاملات زیر غور ہیں اور انہیں آنا چاہئے۔ ان کو تو کچھ امداد بھی مل جاتی ہے۔ مزید اس کی طرف توجہ کرنی چاہئے۔ لیکن جو درمیانی طبقہ ہے غریب لوگ ہیں ان کی حالت بہت زیادہ خراب ہے اور ان کی طرف کوئی توجہ نہیں ہوئی۔ اگر یہ گراؤ اسی طرح

[شری ایم - اسعد مدنی]

سے بڑھتی رہی تو خدا جلنے ملک کے اندر کیا کیا حالات پیش آئیں گے اور کیا کیا نتیجے دیکھنے پڑیں گے۔

حکومت نے اس سال گھریوں اور چاول کی تجارت کو ایڈجسٹ کرتے کا فیصلہ کیا ہے یہ بہت اچھا فیصلہ ہے کاش وہ پورے طریقہ سے ہو۔ پوری توجہ نقدی اور مستعدی کے ساتھ کیا جاسکے۔ ورنہ اگر اس میں بھی نوکر شاہی اور کارکنوں کی جو خرابیاں اور کمزوریاں ہیں وہ راک لاٹھیں تو اس کے نتیجے عوام کے لئے مصیبت کا باعث بن سکتے ہیں اور اس سے بچنے والی اور افراطی ملک میں پہلے کی یہ گرائی اور بیکاری جو ہے اس سے ملک میں امن اور قانون کی صورت حال بھی بگڑتی ہے۔ حالات یہ ہو گئی ہیں کہ باہر نکلتا بھی مشکل ہو گا ہے۔ چوریاں۔ قتل۔ قذائف عام ہوتے جارہے ہیں۔ گزریوں میں سفر کرنا خطرناک ہوتا چلا جا رہا ہے۔ شام کو لوگوں کا نکلنا دشوار ہو گیا ہے۔ بسوں روکی جا رہی ہیں۔ ٹرکوں کو روک کر لوٹ لیا جاتا ہے اور عام بات اس طرح کی ہوتی جا رہی ہے۔ میں ابھی خود بچھوڑ ضلع میں گیا تھا۔ جہاں اس طرح کی چیزیں دیکھنے اور سننے میں آئیں۔ ابھی اس دلی کے اندر ٹاؤن ہال کے

گاندھی پارک میں میوزیم ہوٹل کے سامنے مہرا ڈرائیور گاڑی لیکر آ رہا تھا تو اس کو روکا گیا پتھر دیا اور چوراہے پر حملہ کیا گیا اور اس طرح سے ڈرائیور سے چابی چھیننے کی کوشش کی گئی۔ لیکن مجھے افسوس کے ساتھ کہنا پڑتا ہے کہ ابھی تک پولیس ان ملزموں کا پتہ نہیں لگا پائی۔ بہر حال اس طریقہ سے لا قانونیت بڑھتی جا رہی ہے۔ صرف ملازمت میں ہی نہیں بلکہ اس طریقہ سے جو لا قانونیت ہے یہ بالعموم میں ہی نہیں بڑھ رہی ہے۔ بلکہ بچوں میں بھی بڑھ رہی ہے۔

میں ایک بات اور عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں وہ یہ کہ سنیمائے جو شو دکھائے جاتے ہیں ان میں قاتل قتل۔ چوریاں چھب کاتلا اس طرح کی فلم اور تصویریں دکھائی جاتی ہیں اور یہی چیزیں تیلی ویژن پر بھی دکھائی جاتی ہیں اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہو رہا ہے کہ اس کے ذریعہ ہماری نسل جرائم کے لئے تربیت ہو رہی ہے اور اس کے اثرات ملک میں بہت زیادہ خراب ہوتے چلے جا رہے ہیں۔ یہ چیز تعلیم اور دوسری چیز کے لئے کام آتی تو دوسری بات تھی۔ لیکن یہ تھے طور پر پیسہ حاصل کرنے کے لئے اس طریقہ سے سلسلے خیز و نہایت بعض قسم کی فلم دکھائی

جاتی ہے جس سے نسل ہریاد ہو رہی ہے۔ اور اس طرح نے جو انم دڑھتے اور ہوتے رہتے ہیں۔ بہر حال ان چھڑوں کی طرف توجہ کرنی چاہیے۔ لوگوں میں بد کرداری بڑھتی جا رہی ہے۔ بد کردار لوگ عام طور پر پولیس میں اور ان چھڑوں میں داخل ہو گئے ہیں اور فرقہ وارانہ جڑبات رکھنے والے اور اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ پولیس ایذا فرض کو ایمانداری سے ادا نہیں کرتی بلکہ وہ ایسے کارنامے برابر انجام دے رہی ہے جس سے جانور اور درندے بھی شرمنا جائیں۔ ابھی جو فسادات فہرروز آباد۔ بدنامی۔ زوناری اور دوسری جگہوں میں ہوئے ان میں جو پولیس نے جو بدل ادا کیا ہے وہ بالکل لٹیرے اور فسادوں جھسا ہے۔ مثلاً میں فہرروز آباد کی بات بتاتا ہوں۔ وہاں ایک معمولی چیز تھی دن مٹایا گیا تھا علی گڑھ کے سلسلہ میں مذمت کا اور کچھ لوگ نعرے لگا رہے تھے۔ ایک کانسرپیبل نے ایک نوجوان سے جھگڑا کیا۔ کہا جاتا ہے کہ اس کی رائفل چھین لی گئی۔ اس نوجوان کو اس نے گولی مار دی۔ چنانچہ اور وہاں لوگ آپرے سے باہر ہو گئے۔ لیکن اس کے بعد پولیس نے وہاں پر چھ سات آدمیوں کو اور جو وہاں تھے مسلمانوں کو چلبوں نے پھرو کیا تھا مار ڈالا۔ پرر کرفرو لگایا گیا

اور تین دن تک پورے طریقہ سے کرفرو کے اندر فہرروز آباد کو لوٹا گیا۔ ہی۔ اے۔ سی۔ نے ساتھ ان کی شرکت سے سب کچھ ہوا۔ اور ۶۷ کے قریب جانوں وہاں گئیں اور اس طرح لاکھوں کا نقصان ہوا۔ اگر مسلمان اس مرقہ میں ہوتے ہیں کہ لوٹ مچائی جائے تو وہاں کی اناج ملتی لت جاتی۔ تھوڑا سا بھی اس آگ نے کوئی تمیز نہیں کی اور سب کی جھونپیاں لکڑی کی دوکانوں وکیل پورے میں جلائی گئیں۔ اور مسلمانوں کے پورے پورے محلے اور وہاں کی جامع مسجد کے امام مولانا عبد السلام آزاد کو زندہ جلاہا گیا اس کی کوئی انکوائری نہیں ہوئی اس طریقہ سے وہاں ایک اور محلہ ہے کھو اس کے امام کو مارا گیا۔ مسجد جلائی گئی اور جائدادیں لوٹیں گئیں۔

श्री महावीर त्यागी : ये खबरें अखबारों में नहीं पढ़ी मैंने ।

شری ایم۔ اسعد مدنی: میں نے

کو خود دیکھیں۔

श्री महावीर त्यागी : अखबारों में छापना रोक दिया गया होगा ?

شری ایم۔ اسعد مدنی: پتہ نہیں

سب اس طرح کے سنگین فسادات میں لیکن پولیس موجود تھی۔ کوفرو لگا ہی۔ اے۔ سی۔ موجود تھی ایک بھی قتل ہوا ان کے خلاف کچھ نہ کیا جائے۔ کوئی ان پر ایکشن نہ لیا

[شری ایم - اسعد مدنی]
جائے۔ اگر پولیس کی ذیوتی کے بعد کوئی مرتد ہونا ہے لوٹ ہوتی ہے۔ آگ لگتی ہے یہو بھی وہ ذمہ دار نہیں کہی جا سکتی تو پھر کیا طریقہ ہوگا۔ ایک بات میں اپنی قوم منسٹری سے پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہ بتائیں کہ کتنے فسادات میں افسران ذمہ دار ہیں کتنوں کو سزا دی گئی یا کتنے ایسے ہیں جنکے متعلق کچھ نہیں کہا گیا ہو۔ کتنے ایسے ہیں جن کی ترقی روکی گئی۔ کیریئر رول ان کے خراب کئے گئے۔ دسترکٹ اتھارٹی کے پونیس افسران کچھ نہیں کرتے تو پھر کیا ہوگا کیسے ملک چلے گا۔

وہی چیز آج آندھر میں ہو رہی ہے۔ ابھی میرے محترم ساتھی شکیت کر رہے تھے کہ خود افسران ایسے آندھرا میں آگ لگا رہے ہیں گورنمنٹ کا کوئی کنٹرول نہیں ہے۔ کاسٹ کے نام پر زبان کے نام پر کہیں ایسے ظلم ہونے دینا اور ایڈوں اور پرائیوں کے فرق کرنے دینا ملازموں کا نہیں پکڑا جانا اور ان پر کیس نہ چلایا جاتا اور ان کو سسپنڈ نہ کیا جانا جاری رکھا تو پھر ملک میں کہاں کہاں کچھ کہوں نہ ہو گا ضرور ہوگا۔ ملک برباد ہو جائے گا

اس لئے اس معاملہ میں ایسا نہیں کرنا چاہئے اور ایکشن لینا ضروری ہے۔ میری یہ درخواست ہے کہ

حکومت اس بات پر غور کرے اور اس کے لئے اسپیشل فورس بنائے کیونکہ جو صولت حال ہے اس میں موجودہ فورس بالکل فیل ہو چکی ہے اس قسم کے ہنگاموں کو روکنے میں۔ فسادات کو روکنے کے لئے اس لئے اسپیشل فورس بنے اور اسے ہر طرح کی چیزیں ملیں ہیلکوپٹر وغیرہ دیئے چاہئے جس سے وہ ملتوں میں پہنچکر مقامی افسران سے پولیس سے چارج لیکر حالات پر قابو کرے۔ اس کے لئے مسٹریٹوشن میں امپلڈمنٹ کرنا پڑے سہتر کو اختیارات دیئے گئے تو وہ بھی ہونا چاہئے اس لئے کہ اس ملک کے لوگوں کی جان و مال عزت اور آبرو کو بچانا ضروری ہے ورنہ اس ملک کے لوگ کس طرح بھروسہ کریں گے کس طرح چھلنگے۔ مجھے افسوس ہے کہ ہریجنوں کو اقلیتوں کو کمزور لوگوں کو آواز ہی اٹھانے نہیں دیا جاتی۔ اس سلسلے میں میں نے کئی بار رائٹس پر بحث کے لئے چھرمون صاحب سے درخواست کی ہے جس پرچاس دستخطوں سے درخواست کی لیکن افسوس چلڈ ملٹ نہیں نکالے جاسکے۔ اتنا ہی نہیں ہے معاشی حالت گرتی جا رہی ہے۔ کاروبار کو دیکھئے۔ ملازموں کو دیکھئے۔ تعلیم کو دیکھئے۔ حالات تلک ہوتے جا رہے ہیں۔ اس طرح کمیونٹی کی ایک اتصادی حالت تباہ ہو جائے گی۔

ابھی ایک سڑے کھا کھا تھا اور اس میں بتایا کھا کھا کہ ملازمین میں ۵ فی صدی مسلمان ملازم ہیں۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ محتاج نہیں اور اگر ۵ فی صدی بھی مرکزی حکومت میں مسلمان ملازم ہیں تو وہ بھی بہت کم ہے۔ اور اس کو دیکھنا چاہئے۔ دلی کا سڑے ایک صاحب نے کیا تھا مسلمانوں کی اقتصادی حالت کیسی ہے یہ دیکھنے کے لئے تو ٹیلیفون کو بھینا تھا کتے دیکھنے والے ہیں مسلمانوں کے۔ تو ٹیلیفون کے اعتبار سے خوش حالی ایک یوسف تھی جب کہ دلی میں ۱۰ فی صدی کے قریب مسلمان ہیں۔ اگر کوئی اس کے بارے میں آواز اٹھاتا ہے یا پس منظر کی بات کرتا ہے تو کہا جاتا ہے کہ یہ کمینڈر ہے لیکن کسی طبقہ کو کسی زبان کو کسی مذہب رکھنے والوں کو دبا کر ختم کرنے کی کوشش نہ کیجئے۔ سب کو انصاف کا موقع دیجئے۔ اگر کیس ظالم ہو رہا ہے تو اس کا علاج کیجئے۔ تبھی سیکولرزم چلے گا۔

ہم آہ بھی کرتے ہیں تو

ہو جاتے ہیں بخنام

وہ قتل بھی کرتے ہیں

تو چوچا نہیں ہوتا

یہ صورت حال ہے کہ جان و مال معاش ہو چیز کی گہر ہو اور کوئی انصاف کی ضرورت نہ سمجھتی ہے

یہ بہت ظلم ہے۔ خدا جانے کتنے ہوم منسٹری ہی بتائے گی کہ اس سال کے اندر سیکورٹی فساد ہوئے انیس بڑے بڑے۔ بنارس میں۔ فیروز آباد میں۔ بنگلور میں درہنگہ میں نوناری میں سجنی میں درگ جوت اور کونڈہ وغیرہ وغیرہ میں۔ بد قسمتی سے ۹۹ فی صدی ان میں سے پبلک میں نہیں ہوئے بلکہ پولیس ہی۔ اے۔ سی۔ معمولی چھکڑے کو لیکر جہاں اس کے لئے بلائی گئی وہاں اس لوٹ مار کی تباہی مچادی اور کوئی چیز چھوڑی نہیں۔ جان۔ مال۔ عزت آبرو ہو چیز کو ہرباں کر دیا یہ صورت حال چل رہی ہے۔ اس طرح کی بات اٹھانے نہ ہو اس کی کوشش کی جائے۔

پرائم منسٹر صاحبہ نے پچھلی مرتبہ فرمایا تھا کہ اقلیتوں کی پسماندگی کو دور کرنے کے لئے کوئی منسٹری قائم کرنے والی ہیں یہ بہت بڑی امداد کی کرن تھی اور ملک میں مسرت کی لہر دوڑ گئی تھی اور لوگوں نے سوچا کہ صدر صاحب اپنی اس تقریر میں اعلان کرینگے لیکن پتہ نہیں کیوں وہ چیز بھلائی گئی۔ مجھے افسوس ہے کہ جب اقلیتوں کو جان۔ مال۔ عزت ہر چیز کی مصیبت ہو تو ان کے لئے کیوں محکمہ الگ قائم نہیں ہوا۔ اس طرح سیکورٹی میں نیشنل

[شری ایم - اسعد مدنی]

انٹریگریشن کونسل بنی اس کی تجاوز دی کی ٹوکری میں پڑی ہیں۔ اس کی سفارشات میں یہ بھی سفارش کی گئی تھی کہ مقدمے واپس نہ لائے جائیں۔ ہو کیا رہا ہے کہ جن کو لوٹا جائے مارا جائے جو تباہ ہوں انہوں کو ہسپتال میں لے جانے کے بجائے جیل میں لے جا کر قتل دیا جاتا ہے اور جن کے لئے کی ہڈیاں توٹی ہیں میں نے خود دیکھا ہے ۸۰ سال کا بوڑھا بے ہڈیاں توٹی ہوئی ہیں اور اس کے ہاتھوں میں ہتکڑیاں ہیں کیونکہ اس کے اور قتل کا مقدمہ ہے وہ قتل کرنے گیا تھا جس کے ہاتھ کانپتے ہیں پھر کانپتے ہیں یہ حالت ہے ان کو مقرر کے قتل کے مقدموں سے اتنا زیادہ کھیر لیا جاتا ہے کہ وہ پولیس کے پاس رپورٹ درج کوانے کی بات تصور نہیں کر سکتے سوچ نہیں سکتے۔ یہ ہوتا ہے کہ اب اس کے بعد وہ کشمیر کی انٹریگریشن کونسل کی سفارش کہ جناب مقدمے واپس نہ لائے جائیں۔ یہی معجزہ ہیں جن کے گھر جلے تھے۔ انسٹران بھی رپورٹ کرتے ہیں کہ انہوں نے اپنے ہاتھوں اپنے مکان اردو دوکانیں جلائی ہیں۔ یہ حالت ہے کہ اتنی دھاندلی ہو رہی ہے مشہوری میں اور اس کے بعد بھی وہ افسر گرفت کے قابل نہیں ہوتے اور ان کو سزا نہیں دی جاتی۔ وہ معجزہ نہیں

ہوتے ہیں۔ انہوں نے نہیں کرایا ہے تو کیا کوئی اور کرنے لگتا ہے۔ خیر خوشی کی بات ہے کہ سینیٹر اور مسلم لیگ کو کچھ اردو کا خیال آیا ہے۔

श्री पीताम्बर दास : त्याजी जी कह रहे हैं कि हमारी पार्टी में आ जाइये, हम आवाज उठाये आपके हक में ।

شری ایم - اسعد مدنی : میں اپنی پڑتی میں آواز اٹھا رہا ہوں۔

श्री महावीर त्यागी : आप उस पार्टी में रहये तब भी हमारा सिर आपके लिये झुकेगा ।

شری ایم - اسعد مدنی : بہت بہت شکریہ۔ میں اپنی پارٹی میں آواز اٹھا رہا ہوں۔ آپ بھی اصول کی خاطر آواز اٹھائے اگر اٹھا ہو۔ اگر اس طرح کا اصول ہو تو میں آپ کا شکر گزار ہوں۔ آپ کے اس تحمل کے لئے۔ بہر حال تھائی جی تو میرے پیڑوسی ہیں اور آپ بھی۔ خوشی ہے مجھے اس بات کی۔ کہ اردو کے بارے میں کچھ چھڑیں ہو رہی ہیں۔ میں دو تین چھڑیں جلدی میں کہہ کر ختم کر دوں گا۔ آج یہ ضروری ہے کہ اسکولوں میں اور دفاتروں میں اردو کو دائرہ کیا جائے اور اسے پڑھانے کا انتظام کیا جائے تعداد کی قوت جو بہانہ بن جاتی ہے نہ کرنے کے لئے اس کو ہٹایا جائے کیونکہ ہمارے ملک میں ایمانداری سے عمل بد قسمتی سے ہو نہیں پاتا۔ اس لئے الزمی کیا جائے کہ اس کا انتظام ہو۔

اور ایسے افسران رکھے جائیں جو کم سے کم اردو پڑھ تو سکیں۔ اردو والا اگر درخواست لیکر آئے تو وہ یہ تو کہہ سکے کہ ہاں میں نے پڑھ لیا۔ اور یہ کہہ کر نہ ڈالا جائے کہ یہ تو لکھا ہے کہ اردو میں دیکھتے ہو یہ میں پڑھتا نہیں اور ایک ہفتہ تک سیکھو اس کے مضمون کا پتہ نہیں چلیگا۔ لہذا تم چھوڑ دو کہ ہندی یا انگریزی میں لڑو۔ غیر ملکی زبان انگریزی تو ہمارے یہاں چل سکتی ہے پر اردو نہیں چل سکتی۔ اسی طریقہ سے یہ سنا تھا کہ گورنمنٹ نے کوئی کمیٹی بنائی ہے اردو کے سلسلہ میں۔ خدا کرے کہ جلدی سفارشات کرے اور اس پر عمل ہو جائے۔

اسی طریقہ سے سہیلدر نے کوئی اردو بورڈ بنایا تھا کچھ کتابیں وغیرہ تقریریں اور دوسری چیزیں اردو کی ترقی کے لئے۔ کن لوگوں کے ہاتھ میں کونسا پلان تھا ایک کروڑ یا کھدیا روپیہ دیا تھا کیا خرچ ہوا کھدیا واپس ہو گیا۔ کیسے لوگ ہیں اور وہ کس طرح منتخب کیئے گئے اردو کی ترقی سے ان کا کیا تعلق ہے اور جی حضوری تو صرف نہیں ہے۔ اور پھر وہ ساری رقم لوپس ہونے والی ہے۔ کونسا کام انہوں نے کیا ہے۔ کئی مرتبہ اس ہاؤس میں سوالات دیئے۔ تو اس پر بحث کرنے کے لئے ایجوکیشن منسٹری تیار نہیں ہوتی

ہے۔ نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ شاید ایک کروڑ میں سے ۵۰ فی صدی رقم لوپس ہوئی اور باقی جو ہے وہ یاران ہزم کی گرمی مجلس کے لئے خرچ ہو چکی ہو گی۔

اس طرح سے میں اس بات پر مبارکیاں دیتا ہوں کہ حکومت نے پرسنل لا میں مسلمانوں کی رضامندی کے بغیر ترمیم نہ کرنے کا بارہا اعلان کیا ہے اور اس پر قائم ہے۔ مگر مجھے افسوس ہے کہ لا کمیشن کے چورسوں صاحب کی احمد آباد اور دوسری جگہوں میں جو سرگرمیاں ہوئیں ان سے یہ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ یہ کام حکومت کی یقین دہانی کے خلاف ہے اور وہ اس کے خلاف عمل کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ یہ بات نا مناسب ہے اور اس سے دو عملی کا ثبوت ملتا ہے کہ کہیں ہر لائن میں دو عملی نہ ہو۔ اس لئے حکومت کو اس سلسلہ میں اپنی پوزیشن کو ٹھیک کرنا چاہئے۔

آندھرا کا جو مسئلہ ہے وہ بہت ہی افسوسناک ہے۔ ہمارے ملک میں اگر مسائل تشدد سے لوٹ کر چلا کر اور عوام کی دوست کو بریاں کر کے چل ہونگے تو کوئی مسئلہ حل نہیں ہوگا۔ بلکہ اوو بڑھے گا اس سے آگ بھٹنے والی نہیں ہے بلکہ اور بڑھے گی۔ کاشن۔ جس طرح سے صدر

[شری ایم - اسعد مدنی]

صاحب نے اپیل کی ہے لوگ اس بات کو سمجھیں اور اسی طرح عمل کریں۔ حکومت بھی اس بات کو محسوس کرے اور عوام کی بھینچنی کے اسباب کو معلوم کر کے اس سے پہلے کہ آگ وہاں تک پہنچے وہ مسائل کو حل کرے۔

پاکستان سے ہمارے تعلقات اچھے ہونے چاہئیں۔ ہماری پرائم منسٹر نے بڑی جرأت کے ساتھ ایک طرفہ جنگ بند کی اور آخری وقت میں ضد اور ہٹ کے ماحال میں شملہ کے معاہدے کو مکمل کیا۔ اور مغربی مہکان کے قیدیوں کو چھوڑ دیا اسی طرح سے ہزاروں مہول زمین کو واپس کر دیا۔ کاش پاکستان اتنے قدم اٹھانے کے بعد ایسا طرز عمل اختیار کرتا۔ جس سے اس کی نیک نیتی کا اظہار ہوتا کہ وہ عمل سے جئے اور بچنے دے کا قال ہے۔ افسوس وہ ہمارے ساتھ امن سے کیسے دھینگے۔ انہوں نے بنگلہ دیش کے ساتھ کیا کیا یہ سب لوگ جانتے ہیں لیکن اس سبق کو وہ بھولے نہیں ہیں اور آج بھی قرنٹھ کے لوگوں کی جمہوریت چھینی جا رہی ہے بلوچستان کی جمہوریت چھینی جا رہی ہے اور وہاں کے گورنروں کو جھوٹی شکایتوں پر سازش کر کے لکلا جا رہا ہے اور پریشار کیا جا رہا ہے۔

ان کے ہاتھ میں طاقت ہے۔ اختیار ہے۔ ہوم منسٹری میں عبد القیوم خان بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں۔ سازش کر کے وہاں کے عوام کو کچلنے اور جمہوریت کو برباد کرنے کے لئے بنگلہ دیش کے ساتھ جس طرح سے انہوں نے فرادہ کیا ان کے بڑے بھائی نے اسی طرح سے رہ یہاں کرتے چلے آ رہے ہیں یہ افسوسناک بات ہے لیکن اس کے باوجود آخری دروازے تک ان کو ہمیں پہنچانا چاہئے۔ اور ایسے اقدام سے انہیں سمجھانا چاہئے کہ ہم شریفوں کی طرح اچھے پڑوسیوں کی طرح رہنا چاہتے ہیں اور جنگ کے ماحول میں نہیں رہنا چاہتے۔ آخر وہ ہمارے ساتھ کیا دھینگے جو اپنے عوام کے ساتھ انسانیت سے نہیں رہ سکتے لیکن تب بھی ہم ان کا ساتھ دینگے اور اس بات کے لئے ہمیں کوشش کرنی چاہئے۔

صرف ایک دو باتیں اور کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔ ہمارے سردار سورن سنگھ نے عرب دیشوں کا دورہ کیا۔ میں اس کو بہت ویلکم کرتا ہوں۔ مہرے رائے ہے کہ ان کو زیادہ سے زیادہ تعلقات عرب ملکوں سے برعنا چاہئیں۔ وہاں تجارت۔ صنعت اور ہمارا مال باہر بھجئے کا بہت موقعہ ہے اس کوپ ہے اور ان ملکوں کا بین الاقوامی ملکوں میں کافی اثر ہے اقتصادی اعتبار سے اور ادبی اعتبار سے بھی اس کا ہمیں فائدہ اٹھانا چاہئے۔

علی گڑھ یونیورسٹی کے بارے میں مجھے یہاں یہ عرض کرنا ہے کہ اس کا بل وہاں کے لوگوں کو مطمئن نہیں کر سکا۔ اس سے اس کا ڈیموکریٹک کیریئر واپس نہیں ہوا ہے۔ اس کی اصلاح کرنی چاہئے اور اگر یہ بل بہت عمدہ ہے اور تمام نظریات کو پورا کرے والا ہے تو پھر ایجوکیشن منسٹر صاحب بنارہس یونیورسٹی اور دوسری یونیورسٹیوں کے بارے میں آج تک کیوں خاموش بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں اور ایسا بل وہ ان کے بارے میں بھی کیوں نہیں لائے۔ تو عوام کی شکایات اور پریشانی کو سامنے رکھ کر یہ درخواست کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس پر فوراً نظر ثانی ہوئی چاہئے اور اس کا امینڈمنٹ لانا چاہئے۔

اس طرح سے زونل پلان دلی میں آرہا ہے۔ جامع مسجد ایک اہم مرکز ہے وہاں کے بسنے والے چاہتے ہیں کہ وہ اپنے کاروبار سے الگ نہ ہوں وہ اس کے خلاف نہیں ہیں کہ آپ دو کہیں بھی آباد کیجئے۔ لیکن آپ ان کو ایسی جگہ دیں کہ وہ اپنے کہانے کمارے کی جگہ کے نزدیک رہیں اور ان کا ماحول بنا رہے۔ وہ شہر باہر میلوں دور نہ پھینک دیئے جائیں۔ عام طور پر مسلمانوں کی غربت کی وجہ سے ان کی آبادیاں گندی قریب اور غیر صحتمند ہیں لیکن ان کے

لئے کالونیز نہیں بنتیں۔ مجھے شک ہے کہ جہاں میں میارکباد پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں ہاؤسنگ منسٹر صاحب نے بڑی کوتاہی کے بجائے چھوٹے مکان میں رہنا پسند کیا ہے وہی میں کہتا چاہتا ہوں کہ مسلمانوں کو تو اس ملک میں چھوٹے چھوٹے مکان بنانے کا بھی کہیں سوال نہیں ہے۔ میں سوچوں کہ مسلمانوں کے لئے اس ملک میں کتنی ہاؤسنگ سوسائٹیاں بنیں اور اگر مسلمانوں کے لئے الگ بنانے میں آپ کو کوئی پریشانی ہے تو کتنی ہاؤسنگ سوسائٹیاں دوسروں کے لئے بنیں۔ کیا آپ نے کوئی ایسا سرکلر جاری کیا تھا کہ کوئی ہاؤسنگ سوسائٹی - - -

SHRI OM MEHTA (Jammu and Kashmir): May I make the point clear? There is no bar on any community to register a housing society. They can get it registered and as allotment is made to other societies, it will be made to them too.

شری ایم۔ اسعد مدنی: ذرا میں عرض کروں مولانا آزاد ہاؤسنگ سوسائٹی دلی میں 10 بارہ سالوں سے کوشش کر رہی ہے اس طرح سے تین چار اور ہیں۔ - - -

سری آرم میہتا : आप लिख र दीजिये। We will try to help them.

شری ایم۔ اسعد مدنی: میں تو پورے ملک کے لئے کہہ رہا ہوں اگر بالفرض مسلمانوں میں اتنی تعلیم

[شری ایم۔ اسعد مدنی]

نہیں ہے تب بھی حکومت کو اس طبقہ کو دیکھنا چاہئے۔ گندے بستوں کے بجائے ایسی جگہ ان کو دیگی چاہئے جہاں وہ مزدوری کر کے اپنا پیٹ پال سکیں۔

श्री पीताम्बर दास : जनाब वाइस चैयर-मेन साहब ! इनसे यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह रियायत मुल्क के किसी खास हिस्से में ये इकजाई मांग रहे हैं या हर शहर के लिये अलग अलग मांग रहे हैं ।

شری ایم۔ اسعد مدنی۔ نہیں

جیسے ہو جگہ چھوٹی چھوٹی قائم ہوگئی ہیں۔ ہمارے لئے بھی کوئی صورت نکالنی چاہئے۔ اس کے لئے کوئی راستہ نکالنا چاہئے۔

श्री पीताम्बर दास : मैं समझ रहा था कि मुल्क में कोई एक हिस्सा अलग मांग रहे हैं ।

شری ایم۔ اسعد مدنی۔ طب

یونانی کا مسئلہ بہت تھوڑا ہے۔ اب تک ہیلتھ منسٹری میں اس کا کوئی ایڈوائزر الگ سے نہیں دیکھا گیا۔ ان

کو ایڈووایڈ کے ماتحت رکھا گیا ہے۔ ایڈووایڈ کو دیا گیا بہت اچھا کام کیا گیا لیکن طب یونانی کو بھی ترقی کا موقعہ دینا چاہئے اور اس کا بھی کوئی ایڈوائزر معین ہونا چاہئے۔ اس طریقہ سے - - -

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम सहाय) :

आपने आध बंटा ले लिया । बैठ जाइये ।

شری ایم۔ اسعد مدنی: اسی ماؤس

میں وعدہ کیا تھا کہ یہاں یونانی ڈسپینسری قائم ہوگی لیکن پارلیمنٹ کے ممبروں کے لئے ایک ڈسپینسری اب تک قائم نہیں ہوئی وہ ایڈووایڈس چورا نہیں ہوا ہے۔ اسی طرح ریلوے کی سپولڈیں بوجھائی جائیں، راج دھانی کے چاروں طرف سو میل تک ٹیل لائن ہونی چاہئے۔ - - -

(Time bell rings)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम सहाय) :

अब खत्म करना होगा ।

شری ایم۔ اسعد مدنی: اور دہل

کی رفتار بوجھائی چاہئے۔

†[श्री एम० असन्नद मदन (उत्तर प्रदेश) : सदर मोहम्मि, यह साल जो गुजरा है बंगला देश के पनाहगीजों की इमदाद, खुशक साली और बंगला देश की इमदाद की वजह से इस साल हमारे मुल्क की मसीयत पर बहुत जबरदस्त भारी दबाव बोझ आ पड़ा। उसके बावजूद हमारे मुल्क ने इस बोझ को कामयाबी के साथ बर्दाश्त किया है। और हमारी जर मादला की पोजीशन पहले से ज्यादा बेहतर है। इसी महीने में अमरीका ने डालर में 10 फीसदी की कमी की तो दुनिया की, और बहुत अच्छी करेंसियों की तरफ हमने भी बाजार में खुद व खुद उसको छोड़ दिया ताकि इसके एक्शन और रिएक्शन के नतीजे में उसकी खुद व खुद कीमत मुतमयन हो जाये। यह इस तरह के इकदामात करना यह हमारी इकतसादी मजबूती की दलील है और हमें उस कामयाबी पर फखर है। इसी तरह पहले साल में हमने जब बंगला देश की तहरीक हुई पूरी हिमायत की और इस सिलसिले में बहुत बड़े रिस्क और खतरों को मोल लिया, जुरात के साथ इकदाम किये। इसके लिये हकूमत को हम मुबारकबाद देते हैं।

5 P. M.

लेकिन इसके साथ हमारे मुल्क में लोगों की खरीद बेहद कम होती जा रही है और चीजों की कीमत सवाया, डेढ़ा और दुगना तक पहुंच गयी हैं और हकूमत ने खुद इसका एतराफ किया। गेहूं को ही ले लीजिये, यकम '72 को इसकी कीमत 84 रुपये क्वन्टल, थी, लेकिन 31 दिसम्बर, '72 को कीमत 107 रुपये क्वन्टल हो गई, इसी तरह से और चीजों की भी कीमतों का हाल है तो यह जो इतनी ज्यादा हो गई है उसकी वजह से जो गरीब तबका मतोसत तबका है, उनमें खरीद की कौवत कम होती चली जा रही है, वे लोग परेशान हैं और इससे मुल्क में बहुत तशवीशन पायी जाती है और लोग पेट भी बड़ी मुश्किलों से भर पा रहे हैं और परेशान हैं।

†[] Hindi transliteration.

जहां तक ताल्लुक सनती बरकरो और सरकारी मुलाजिमों का है उनके मामलात जर गौर हैं और उन्हें आना चाहिये। उनको तो कुछ इमदाद भी मिल जाती है। मजोद उसकी तरफ तवज्जो करनी चाहिये। लेकिन जो दरमियानी तबका है, गरीब लोग हैं, उनकी हालत बहुत ज्यादा खराब है और उनकी तरफ कोई तवज्जो होती। अगर यह गरानी इसी तरह से बढ़ती रही तो खुदा जाने मुल्क के अन्दर क्या-क्या हालत पेश आयें, क्या-क्या नतीजे देखने पड़ेंगे।

हकूमत ने इस साल गेहूं और चावल व तिजारत को नेशनलाइज करने का फैसला किया है। यह बहुत अच्छा फैसला है, काश यह पूरे तरीके से हो। पूरी तवज्जो तनदेही और मुस्तीदी के साथ पूरा किया जा सके। बरना अगर इसमें भी नौकरशाही और कार-गुनों की जो खराबियां और कमजोरियां हैं वे लायें तो इसके नतीजे अबाम के लिये मुसीबत का बाहस बन सकते हैं और उससे बेचैनी और अफरा तफरी मुल्क में फैलेगी, यह गरानी और बेकारी जो है उससे मुल्क में अमन और कानून की सरत हाल भी बिगड़ती है। हालत यह गोगस कि बाहर निकलना भी मुश्किल हो गया है। चोरिया, कतल, डाके आम होते जा रहे हैं। गाड़ियों में सफर करना खतरनाक होता चला जा रहा है। शाम को लोगों का निकलना दुशवार हो गया है। बसें रोकी जा रही हैं। ट्रकों को रोक कर लूट लिया जाता है और आम बात इस तरह की होती चली जा रही है। मैं अभी खुद बिजनौर के जिले में गया था। जहां इस तरह की चीजें देखने और सुनने में आईं। अभी इसी दिल्ली के अन्दर टाउन-हाल के पास गांधी पार्क में मेवा होटल के सामने मेरा ड्राइवर गाड़ी लेकर आ रहा था तो उसको रोका गया। पत्थर दिखा कर हमला किया गया और इस तरह से ड्राइवर से चाबी छीनने की कोशिश की गई लेकिन मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि अभी तक

[श्री एम० असअद मदनी]

पुलिस उन मुलजिमों का पता नहीं लगा पाई। बहरहाल इस तरीके से ला-कानूनियत बढ़ती जा रही है। सिर्फ मुलाजमत में ही नहीं बल्कि इस तरीके जो ला कानूनियत है यह बालगों में ही नहीं बढ़ रही है बल्कि बच्चों में भी बढ़ रही है। मरदों में नहीं भी बढ़ रही है बल्कि तमाम अनासर में बढ़ती जा रही है।

मैं एक बात और अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो सीनेमा के शो दिखाये जाते हैं उनमें डाके, कतल, चोरियाँ, जेब काटना इस तरह की फिल्म और तस्वीरें दिखाई जाती हैं और यही चीजें टेलीविजन में भी दिखाई जाती हैं। उसका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि इसके जरिये हमारी नसल जुराइम के लिये ट्रेंड हो रही है और उसके अखरात मुल्क में बहुत ज्यादा खराब होते चले जा रहे हैं। यह चीज तालीम और दूसरी चीज के लिये काम आती तो दूसरी बात थी। लेकिन सस्ते तौर पर पैसा हासिल करने के लिये इस तरीके से सनसनीखेज और निहायत फेहृश किस्म की दिखाई जाती है, जिससे नसल बरबाद हो रही है। और इसी तरह के जरायम बढ़ते और होते रहते हैं। बहरहाल इन चीजों की तरफ तवज्जो करनी चाहिये। लोगों में बदकरदारी बढ़ती जा रही है। बदकरदार लोग आम तौर पर पुलिस में और इन चीजों में दाखिल हो गये हैं और फिरकादाराना जज्बात रखने वाले और उसका नतीजा यह है कि पुलिस अपने फर्ज को ईमानदारी से अदा नहीं करती, बल्कि वह ऐसे कारनामे बराबर इजाम दे रही है, जिससे जानवर और दरिन्दे भी शरमा जाएं। अभी जो फसादात फिरोजाबाद, बनारस, नोनारी और दूसरी जगहों पर हुए उनमें जो पुलिस ने रोल अदा किया है वह बिल्कुल लुटेरे और फसादियों जैसा है। मसलन मेन फिरोजाबाद की बात बताता हूँ, वहां एक मामूली चीज थी, दिन मनाया गया था अलीगढ़ के सिलसिले

में मुजम्मद का और कु लोग नारे लगा रहे हैं। एक कांस्टेबल ने एक नौजवान से झगड़ा किया। कहा जाता है कि इसकी राइफल छीन ली गई। उस नौजवान को उसने गोली मार दी और वहां लोग आपे से बाहर हो गए, लेकिन इसके बाद पुलिस ने वहां पर 6-7 आदमियों को और जो वहां थे मुसलमानों को जिन्होंने पथराव किया था मार डाला। फिर कर्फ्यू लगाया गया और तीन दिन तक पूरे तरीके से कर्फ्यू के अन्दर फिरोजाबाद को लूटा गया। पी० ए० सी० के साथ उनकी शरकत से सब कुछ हुआ। और 68 के करीब जानें वहां गई और इसी तरह लाखों का वहां नुकसान हुआ। अगर मुसलमान इस मूड में होते कि लूट मचाई जाए तो वहां की अनाज मंडी लुट जाती। थोड़ा सा भी उस आग ने तमीज नहीं की और सब की झोपड़ियां लकड़ी की दुकानें वकील पुरे में जलाई गई और मुसलमानों के पूरे-पूरे महल्ले और वहां के जामा मस्जिद के अमाम मौलाना अब्दुल इस्लाम आज्ञाद को जिन्दा जलाया गया जसकी, कोई इन्क्वायरी नहीं हुई। इसी तरीके से वहां एक और महल्ले है कम्बरहां उसके अमाम को मारा गया। मस्जिद जलाई गई और जायदादें लूटी गई।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : ये खबरें अखबारों में नहीं पढ़ी मैंने।

श्री एम० असअद मदनी : मैंने तो खुद देखीं।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : अखबारों में छापना रोक दिया गया होगा ?

श्री एम० असअद मदनी : पता नहीं सब इस तरह की संगीन फसादात हैं लेकिन पुलिस मौजूद थी, कर्फ्यू लगा हुआ था, पी० ए० सी० मौजूद थी, एक भी कतल हो तो उनके खिलाफ कुछ न किया जाये कोई उन पर एक्शन

न लिया जाये। अगर पुलिस की ड्यूटी के बाद कोई मर्डर होता है, लूट होती है, आग लगती है फिर भी वह जिम्मेदार नहीं कही जा सकती। तो फिर क्या तरीका होगा? एक बात मैं अपनी होम मिनिस्ट्री से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वे बतायें कि कितने फसादात में अफसरान जिम्मेदार हैं, कितनों को सजाएं दी गई या कितने ऐसे हैं जिनके मुत्तलक कुछ कहीं किया गया हो—कितने ऐसे हैं जिनकी तरक्की की गई—करेक्टर रोल उनके खराब किये गये—डिस्ट्रिक्ट अथॉरिटी के पुलिस अफसरान कुछ नहीं करते तो फिर क्या होगा कैसे मुल्क चलेगा?

वही चीज आज आन्ध्र में हो रही है अभी, मेरे मोहतरिम साथी शिकायत कर रहे थे कि खुद अफसरान आन्ध्र में आग लगा रहे हैं—गवर्नमेंट का कोई कन्ट्रोल नहीं है—कास्ट के नाम पर, जबान के नाम पर कहीं ऐसे जुल्म होने देना और अपने और परायों का फर्क करने देना, मुलजिम्ओं का न पकड़ा जाना और उन पर केस न चलाया जाना और उनको सस्पेंड न किया जाना जारी रहा तो फिर मुल्क में कहां-कहां कुछ क्यों न होगा, जरूर होगा, मुल्क बर्बाद हो जायेगा।

इसलिए इस मामले में ऐसा नहीं करना चाहिए और एक्शन लेना जरूरी है—मेरी यह दरख्वास्त है कि हुकूमत इस बात पर गौर करे और इसके लिए स्पेशल फोर्स बनाये, क्योंकि जो सूरतेहाल है उसमें मौजूदा फोर्स बिल्कुल फेल हो चुकी है इस किस्म के हंगामों को रोकने में। फसादात को रोकने के लिए इसलिये स्पेशल फोर्स बने और इसे हर तरह की चीजें हेलीकोप्टर वगैरा देना चाहिए, जिससे वह मिनटों में पहुंच कर मुकामी अफसरों से पुलिस से चार्ज लेकर हालात पर काबू करें। इसके लिए कान्स्टीट्यूशन में अमेंडमेंट करना पड़ा। सेंटर को अख्तियारात देने के लिए तो भी होना चाहिए इसलिए, कि इस मुल्क के लोगों की जान व माल, इज्जत और आबरू को बचाना जरूरी है, वरना इस

मुल्क के लोग किस तरह भरोसा करेंगे, किस तरह जियेंगे। मुझे अफसोस है कि हरिजननों को, अकलीयतों को, कमजोर लोगों को आवाज ही उठाने नहीं दी जाती—इस हाउस में मैंने कई बार राइट्स पर बहस के लिए चेयरमैन साहब से दरख्वास्त की, पचास, पचास दस्तखतों से दरख्वास्त की, लेकिन, अफसोस चंद मिनट नहीं निकाले गये—इतना ही नहीं है महाश हालत गिरती जा रही है—कारोबार को देखिये—मुलाजमीन को देखिये—तालीम को देखिये—हालात तंग होते जा रहे हैं। इस तरह एक कम्युनिटी की एक इक्तसदी हालत तबाह हो जायेगी। अभी एक सर्वे किया गया था और उसमें बताया गया था कि मुलाजमीन में पांच फीसदी मुसलमान मुलाजिम हैं—मैं समझता हूँ कि यह सही नहीं और पांच फीसदी भी मरकज; हुकूमत में मुलाजिम है तो वे भी बहुत कम हैं और उसको देखना चाहिए। दिल्ली का सर्वे एक साहब ने किया था—मुलमान की हफ-साजी हालत कैसी है यह देखने के लिए तो टेलीफोन को बेसेज बनाया था कितने टेलीफोन हैं मुसलमानों के। टेलीफोन के एतबार से खुशहाली एक परसेंट थी जबकि दिल्ली में दस फीसदी के करीब मुसलमान हैं, अगर कोई इसके बारे में आवाज उठाता है या परसेटेंज की बात करता है तो कहा जाता है कि यह कम्युनिज्म है, लेकिन किसी तबके, किसी जबान को, किसी मजहब रखने वाले को दबा कर खत्म करने की कोशिश न कीजिये, संवको इन्साफ का मौका दीजिये, अगर कहीं जुल्म हो रहा है तो उसका इलाज कीजिए। तभी सेक्यूलरिज्म चलेगा।

“हम आह भी करते हैं तो हो जाते हैं बदनाम वे कतल भी करते हैं तो चर्चा नहीं होता।”

यह सूरत हाल है कि जनाब माल महाश हर चीज की गड़बड़ हो और कोई इन्साफ की जरूरत न समझी जाए यह बहुत जुल्म है।

[श्री एम० असमद मदनी]

खुदा जाने कितने, होम मिनिस्ट्री ही बताएगी कि इस साल के अन्दर सैकड़ों फसाद हुए उन्हें बड़े-बड़े बनारस में, फिरोजाबाद में, गंगौर में दरभंगा में नानूरी में सजनी में, दरगाह में और गौंडा वगैरा में, बदकिस्मती से 99 फीसदी इनमें से पब्लिक में नहीं हुए, बल्कि पुलिस पी० ए० सी० मामूली झगड़े को लेकर जहां अमन के लिए बुलाई गई, वहां उसने लूट मार की तबाही मचा दी और कोई चीज छोड़ी नहीं। जान, माल, इज्जत, आबरू हर चीज को बरबाद कर दिया यह सूरत चल रही है। इस तरह की बात आइन्दा न हो इसकी कोशिश की जाए।

प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिब ने पिछली मरतबा फरमाया था कि अकलियतों की पसमांदगी को दूर करने के लिए कोई मिनिस्ट्री कायम करने वाली है, यह बहुत बड़ी उम्मीद की किरण थी और मुल्क में मसरत की लहर दौड़ गई थी और लोगों ने सोचा कि सदर साहब इस तकरीर का एलान करेंगे, लेकिन पता नहीं क्यों वह चीज भुला दी गई। मुझे अफसोस है कि जब अकलियतों को जान, माल, इज्जत और चीज की मुसीबत हो तो उनके लिए क्यों महकमा अलग कायम नहीं हुआ। इसी तरह से श्रीनगर में नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन काँसिल बनी प्रती तजावीज रही की टोकरी में पड़ी है। उसकी सफारशात में यह भी सिफारिश की गई थी कि मुकदमें विदवा नहीं किए जाएंगे। हो क्या रहा है कि जिनको लूटा जाए मारा जाए जो तबाह हों उनको हस्पताल में ले जाने के बजाए जेल में ले जा कर डाल दिया जाता है और जिनके हाथ की हड्डियां टूटी हुई हैं, मैंने खुद देखा है। 80 साल बूढ़ा है हड्डियां टूटी हुई हैं और उसके हाथों में हथ-कड़ियां क्योंकि इसके ऊपर कतल का मुकदमा है। वह कतल करने गया था जिसके हाथ कांपते हैं, पैर कांपते हैं, यह हालत है उनको मरडर के, कतल के मुकदमों से इतना ज्यादा घेर लिया जाता है कि वे पुलिस के पास रिपोर्ट दर्ज

कराने की बात तस्सवर नहीं कर सकते, सोच नहीं सकते। यह होता है कि अब उसके बाद वह काश्मीर की सिफारिश की जनाब मुकदमें विदवा नहीं किए जाएं। यही मुजरिम है जिनके घर जले थे। अफसरान भी रिपोर्ट करते हैं कि उन्होंने अपने हाथों अपने मकान और दुकानें जलाई हैं, यह हालत है कि इतनी घांघली हो रही है मशीनरी में और उसके बाद भी वे अफसर गरफ्त के काबिल नहीं होते और उनको सजा नहीं दी जाती। वे मुजरिम नहीं होते हैं। उन्होंने यही कराया है तो क्या कोई और कराने आ गया है। तो खैर यह तो उर्दू की बात है, खुशी की बात है कि सेन्टर और स्टेट को कुछ उर्दू का खयाल आया है।

श्री पीताम्बर दास : त्यागी जी कह रहे हैं कि हमारी पार्टी में आ जाइये, हम आवाज उठाएंगे आपके हक में।

श्री एम० असमद मदनी : मैं अपनी पार्टी में आवाज उठा रहा हूँ।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : आप उस पार्टी में रहेंगे तब भी हमारा सिर आपके लिए झुकेगा।

श्री एम० असमद मदनी : बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया, मैं अपनी पार्टी में आवाज उठा रहा हूँ। आप भी असूल की खातर आवाज उठाइये, अगर उठाना हो। अगर इस तरह का असूल हो तो मैं आपका शुक्रगुजार हूँ। आपके इस तहमल के लिए। बहरहाल त्यागी जी तो मेरे पड़ोसी हैं और आप भी, खुशी है मुझे इस बात की। तो उर्दू के बारे में कुछ चीजें हो रही हैं। मैं दो तीन चीजें जल्दी में कह कर खत्म कर दूंगा। आज यह जरूरी है कि स्कूलों में और दफ्तरों में उर्दू को दायर किया जाए और उसे पढ़ाने का इन्तेजाम किया जाए, तादाद की कैद जो बहाना बन जाती है न होने के लिए उसको हटाया जाए; क्योंकि हमारे मुल्क में ईमानदारी से अमल बद-किस्मती से हो नहीं पाता। इसलिए लाजमी किया जाए कि

उसका इन्तेजाम हो। और ऐसे अफसरान रखे जाएं जो कम से कम उर्दू पढ़ तो सकें। उर्दू वाला अगर दरखास्त ले कर आए तो वह यह तो कह सके कि हां, मैंने पढ़ लिया और यह कह कर न टाला जाए कि यह तो लिखा है कि उर्दू में दे सकते हो पर मैं पढ़ता नहीं और एक हफ्ते तक मुझको उसके मजमून का पता नहीं चलेगा। लेहाजा तुन मजबूर होकर हिन्दी या अंग्रेजी में लाओ। गैर-मुल्की जबान अंग्रेजी तो हमारे यहां चल सकती है पर उर्दू नहीं चल सकती। इसी तौर तरीके से यह सुना था कि गवर्नमेंट ने कोई कमेटी बनाई है उर्दू के सिलसिले में। खुदा करे कि वह जल्दी सिफारिशें करे और उस पर अमल हो जाए।

इसी तरीके से सेन्टर ने कोई उर्दू बोर्ड बनाया था। कुछ किताबें वगैरा लिटरेचर और दूसरी चीजें उर्दू की तरक्की के लिए किन लोगों के हाथ में कौन सा प्लान था? एक करोड़ या कितना रुपया दिया था, क्या खर्च हुआ, कितना वापस होगा, कैसे लोग हैं और वे किस तरह मुत्तखब किए गये उर्दू की तरक्की से उनका क्या ताल्लुक है और जी हजुरी तो सिर्फ नहीं है और फिर वह सारी रकम लेप्स होने वाली है क्या? कौन सा काम उन्होंने किया है? कई मर्तबा इस हाउस में सवालात दिए, तो इस पर बहस करने के लिए एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री तैयार नहीं होती है। नतीजा यह है कि शायद एक करोड़ में से 90 फीसदी रकम लेप्स हो गई और बाकी जो है वह यारांगीर की गर्मी मजलस के लिए खर्च हो चुकी है।

इसी तरह से मैं इस बात पर मुबारकबाद देता हूँ कि हुकूमत ने पर्सनल लाँ में मुसलमानों की रजामन्दी के बगैर तरमीम न करने का बार-बार एलान किया है और इस पर कायम हैं। मगर मुझे अफसोस है कि लाँ कमीशन के चेयरमैन साहब की अहमदाबाद और दूसरी जगहों में जो सरगामियां हुईं, उनसे यह मालूम होता है कि यह काम हुकूमत की यकीन घानी के खिलाफ है और वह इसके खिलाफ

अमल करना चाहते हैं। यह बात नोमुनासिब है और इससे दो अमली का शुबा होता है कि कहीं हर लाइन में दो अमली न हो। इसलिए हुकूमत को इस सिलसिले में अपनी-पोजीशन को ठीक करना चाहिए। आन्ध्र का जो मसला है वह बहुत ही अफसोसनाक है। हमारे मुल्क में अगर मसायल तगड़ी से लूट कर, जला कर और अवाम की दीलत को बरबाद करके हल होंगे तो कोई मसला हल नहीं होगा। बल्कि और बढ़ेगा। इससे आग घटने वाली नहीं है बल्कि और बढ़ेगी काश, जिस तरह से सदर साहब ने अपील की है लोग इस बात को समझें और उसी तरह अमल करें, हुकूमत भी इस बात को महसूस करे और आवाज की बेचैनी के असबाब को मालूम करके इससे पहले कि आग वहां तक पहुंचे वह मसायल को हल किया करे।

पाकिस्तान से हमारे ताल्लुकाल अच्छे होने चाहिए। हमारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने बड़ी जुरात के साथ एकतरफ जंग बन्दी की और आखिरी वक्त में ज़िद और हट के माहौल में शिमला के मुहादे को मुकाम्मल किया और मगरब के मुहाज के केदियों को छोड़ दिया। इसी तरह से हजारों मील जमीन को वापस कर दिया। काश पाकिस्तान इतने कदम उठाने के बाद ऐसा तरजे अमल अश्वित्त-यार करता। जिससे इसकी नेकनिशती का इजहार होता कि वह अमल से जिये और जीने बे का कायल है। अफसोस वह हमारे साथ अमन से कैसे रहेंगे? उन्होंने बंगला देश के साथ क्या किया यह सब लोग जानते हैं; लेकिन इस सबक को वे भुले नहीं हैं और आज भी फ्रन्टियर के लोगों की जम्हूरियत छीनी जा रही है। बिलोचिस्तान की जम्हूरियत छीनी जा रही है और वहां के गवर्नरों को झूठी शिकायतों पर साब्रिश करके निकाला जा रहा है और परेशान किया जा रहा है। उनके हाथ में ताकत है, अश्वेतार है, होम मिनिस्ट्री ने अब्दुल कयूम

[श्री एक. असअद मदनी]

खां बैठे हुए हैं साजिश करके वहां के अवांम को कुचलने और जम्हूरियत को बरबाद करने के लिए बंगला देश के साथ जिस तरह से उन्होंने फ्राड किया उनके बड़े भाई ने उसी तरह से वह यहां करते चले आ रहे हैं। अफ-सोसन क बात है, लेकिन उसके बावजूद आखिरी दरवाजे तक उनको हमें पहचाना चाहिए और अपने अंकदाम से उन्हें समझाना चाहिए कि हम शरीफों की तरह अच्छे पड़ोसियों की तरह रहना चाहते हैं और जंग के माहौल में नहीं रहना चाहते। आखिर वह हमारी साथ क्या रहेंगे, जो अपने आवा म के साथ इंसा-नियत से नहीं रह सकते, लेकिन तब भी हम उनका साथ देंगे और इस बात के लिए हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिए।

सिर्फ एक दो बातें और कहना चाहता हूं। हमारे सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह ने अरब देशों का दौरा किया। मैं उसको बहुत बेलकम करता हूं। मेरी राय है कि उनको ज्यादा से ज्यादा ताल्लु-कात अरब मुल्कों से बढ़ाने चाहिए। वहां तिजारित, सन्त और हमारा माल बाहर भेजने का बहुत मौका है, स्कोप है और उन मुल्कों का बेनुलअक्वामी मुल्कों में काफी असर है। इक्तासादी एतबाद से और अदबी एतबार से भी उसका हमें फायदा उठाना चाहिए।

अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी के बारे में मुझे यहां पर यह अर्ज करना है कि उसका बिल वहां के लोगों को मूलमैयन नहीं कर सका। इससे उसका डेमोक्रेटिक करेक्टर वापस नहीं हुआ है। उसकी असबाह करनी चाहिए और अगर यह बिल बहुत उमदा है और तमाम नजरियात को पूरा करने वाला है तो फिर एजुकेशन मिनि-स्टर साहब बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी और दूसरी यूनिवर्सिटियों के बारे में आज तक क्यों खामोश बैठे हुए हैं और ऐसा बिल वह उनके बारे में भी क्यों नहीं लाए? तो अवांम की शिकायत और परेशानी को सामने रख कर यह दर-

खवास्त करना चाहता हूं कि उस पर फौरान नजर होनी चाहिए और उसका अमेंडमेंट लाना चाहिए।

इसी तरह से जोनल प्लान दिल्ली में आ रहा है। जामा मस्जिद एक अहम मरकज है, वहां के बसने वाले चाहते हैं कि वे अपने कारोबार से अलग न हों वह इसके खिलाफ नहीं है कि आप उनको कहीं भी आबाद कोजिए, लेकिन आप उनको ऐसी जगह दें कि वे अपने खाने कमाने की जगह के नजदीक रहें और उनका माहौल बना रहे। वे शहर बाहर मीलों दूर न फैंक दिए जाएं। आम तौर पर मुसलमानों की गुरबत की वजह से उनकी आबादियां गंदी गरीब और गैर-सेहतमन्द हैं लेकिन उनके लिए कालोनीज नहीं बनतीं। मुझे शिकायत है कि जहां ने मुबारकबाद पेश करना चाहता हूं हाउसिंग मिनिस्टर साहब ने बड़ी कोठी के बजाए छोटे मकान में रहना पसन्द किया है, वहीं मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि मुसलमानों को तो उस मुल्क में छोटे-छोटे मकान छोटे मकान बनाने का भी कहीं सवाल नहीं है। मैं पूछू कि मुसलमानों के लिए इस मुल्क में कितनी हाउसिंग सोसाइटियां बनीं और अगर मुसलमानों के लिए अलग बनाने में आपको कोई परेशानी है तो कितनी हाउसिंग सोसाइटियां दूसरों के लिए बनीं। क्या आपने कोई ऐसा सरकूलर जारी किया था कि कोई हाउसिंग सोसाइटी

SHRI OM MEHTA: (Jammu and Kashmir)
May I make the point clear? There is no bar on any community to register a housing society. They can get it registered and as allotment is made to other societies it will be made to them too.

श्री एम० असअद मदनी : जरा मैं अर्ज करूं मौलाना आजाद हाउसिंग सोसाइटी दिल्ली में है। 10-12 सालों से कोशिश कर रही है, इसी तरह से तीन चार और हैं।

श्री ओम मेहता : आप लिख कर दीजिए ।

श्री एम० असग्रद मदनी : मैं तो पूरे मुल्क के लिए कह रहा हूँ अगर बालफर्ज मुसलमानों में इतनी तालीम नहीं है तब भी हुकूमत को इस तबका को देखना चाहिए । गंदी बस्तियों के बजाए ऐसी जगह उनको देना चाहिए जहाँ वह मजदूरी करके अपना पेट पाल सकें ।

श्री पीताम्बर दास (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैं वाइस चेयरमैन साहब इनसे यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या पूरे मुल्क के लिए आप एक जगह कहीं मांग रहे हैं या यह कि हर जगह थोड़ी-थोड़ी होनी चाहिए ।

श्री असग्रद मदनी : नहीं जैसे हर जगह छोटी-छोटी कायम हो गई है । हमारे लिए भी कोई सूरत निकालनी चाहिए । इसके लिए कोई रास्ता निकालना चाहिए ।

श्री पीताम्बर दास : मैं समझ रहा था कि मुल्क में किसी एक जगह पर मांग रहे हैं ।

श्री एम० असग्रद मदनी : तब और यूनानी का मसला बहुत टेढ़ा है । अब तक हेल्थ मिनिस्ट्री में उसका कोई एडवाइजर अलग से नहीं दिया गया । उनको आयुर्वेद के मातहत रखा गया है । आयुर्वेद को दिया गया । बहुत अच्छा काम किया गया लेकिन तब और यूनानी को भी तरक्की का मौका देना चाहिए और उसका भी कोई एडवाइजर मुण्डन होना चाहिए—इसी तरीके से . . .

श्री एम० असग्रद मदनी : इसी हाउस में वायदा किया गया था कि यहाँ यूनानी डिस्पेंसरी कायम होगी लेकिन पार्लियामेन्ट के मेम्बरो के लिए एक-एक उसकी डिस्पेंसरी अब तक कायम नहीं हुई वह एशोरेंस पूरा

नहीं हुआ है । इसी तरह रेलवे की सहायितें बढ़ाई जाएं, राजधानी के चारों तरफ सौ मील तक डबल लाइन होनी चाहिए ।
(Time bell rings)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम सहाय) : अब खत्म करना होगा ।

श्री एम० असग्रद मदनी : और रेल की रफतार बढ़ानी चाहिए ।

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, with great pains I read this Address of our revered President which runs to nine pages and consists of 35 paragraphs. When I finished reading the Address, I was reminded of one practice prevalent at the time of British rule, when provinces were ruled by British Governors and their Ministers. There used to be one Health Officer for the entire province. He would periodically issue a statement about the condition of general health, which would run like this: 'The general condition of the health of the people is very good except for some incidence of cholera, plague and other epidemics like smallpox, chicken-pox, etc., etc., in the province at various points.' It was a common joke in those days that if anyone began with a big preamble and ended like a punctured balloon, people would say, "You speak like the Health Officer's Bulletin". I am very sorry, Sir, that the President's Address also reads like that. It begins with tall claims, then it simmers down to failures and ends with an appeal to Members to work hard for the uplift of the country. I do not know whether our people are in a position even to stand up now. My friend, Mr. Veerendra Patil, gave statistics that 220 million people are below the poverty-line. How could you expect them to work? The only work they can do is to give life. That is the only thing that can be expected from the people. Since the last meeting, the prices have risen by 45 per cent; it is not 25 per cent. The prices

[Shri S. S. Mari-swamy.]
of essential commodities especially have gone up by 45 per cent. What effective steps has this Government taken to check the rise in prices in the last two months? I would rather say the Ministers spend more time on picnics, in opening colleges, in seeing tamasha rather than sit on the chair even to attend to routine files. Yet they say that it is the Opposition which is to be blamed for the failures. I am really amazed, rather amused, to listen to repeatedly to this kind of statement from some of the Ministers, right from the Prime Minister down to the Deputy Minister, that when ever they face any calamity, they always put the blame on the people and" the Opposition leaders, calling them traitors, unfriendly people and people wflrking under outside influence. It is really amazing, in no other country, so far as my knowledge goes, does the Government come out and say fifth columnists are working. During the grim period of the British war, when Churchill was in power, he kwew fully well that there were fifth columnists in England. You may remember, our then India Secretary, Amery. His own son was a fifth columnist. But neither Churchill nor any other Minister spoke a word against the fifth columnists. The same thing about Roosevelt. There were fifth columnists working in America at that time. But never did h_e speak a word against them publicly. Again De Gaulle was the leader of France. He was in exile. He was everyday appealing to the French people to rise and Jevolt against the Nazi aggression. But no word was said against him or the fifth columnists there. But what has happened to our country. You have got Home Department For that we are spending Rs. 288.89 crores every year. Wherefrom does the money come? Not from th*» heavens, not from anybody's private property. It comes from me sraci my good friend, Mr. Bhupesh jupta. Fortunately Mr. Bhupesh Gupta

does not pay much by way of taxes because he never smokes or takes tobacco. So he does not pay taxes. But the rikshaw puller, the cartman, the vender, the hawker, the poor man, of the country pays through his nose this money, Rs. 289 crores, to the Home Department. What is this mighty department doing? If it has the knowledge that such and such people are traitors that they are in the pay of foreign influence, what prevents the Government from booking them? As my friend, Mr. Veerendra Patil, said just now, you have got a thumping majority in both the Houses and also you have got vociferous propagandists for you in Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and others, and yet what prevents you from booking those people? Now, they have appointed Mr. Dikshit in the Home Department. I believe he has been elevated because of his dynamism. At least let him come out with the names of those people who are in the pay of the foreign influence. Name them. Once in e_every five years we get the Chief Election Commissioner's report. In every report the Chief Election Commissioner directly or indirectly points out that some 'money has played havoc in the election. These reports are there from the very first election from 1952 onwards. What action has the Government taken so far on these reports? So long as it suits the Government, they keep mum. But when it pinches them, they come out and cry. What action has the Government taken against those people? Nothing. It is actually—I would rather say—to put it mildly—ridiculous, shameful, to say from the Government side that there are traitors in the country. The Government's job is to act like a watch dog. Their job is to see that thos_e people are booked. If they fail to do so, a day will come w"hen people will kick them out of their office.

Then, many Members have spoken at great length, including my good friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, about

Andhra. I am sorry yesterday a subtle attempt was made to link up Andhra agitation with the DMK. Of course, a colleague of mine who happens to be a Member of the Lok Sabha, went to Andhra to see the conditions. I went to Cuddapah to attend a social function. On the way I saw things. I had seen the 1935 movement, the Congress movement, 1943 movement, the 1944 movement. But never had I seen such a mass upsurge as I have seen now in Andhra; nowhere, in no part of India, have I ever seen before such a mass upsurge. I am prepared to challenge anybody. It is not run, as Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said, by landlords, mirasadars or zamindars, this or that. For information of the House I say: 99.939 per cent of vested interests, zamindars, big moneylenders, where are all of them? Not in the DMK. Not in any other party. They are all in the Congress Party. Whose responsibility is it then? It is not my responsibility. It is for the Congress High Command. Mr. Shankar Dayal Sharma is there. Mr. Yadav is there. Others are there. It is for them. But they do not go there. They sit here and they keep all the M.P.s. around them. They do not go to Andhra. They dare not go there. Last time, you may remember, when I spoke on some subject, I requested our Prime Minister to go to Andhra and to speak to the people. I even said in a lighter vein that as she went to Tirupathi last time to pray to Lord Venkateswara for votes—and He blessed her with votes—this time also she can go and pray to Lord Venkateswara for peace and security in the country. The point is that she has not gone there. That sense of responsibility has not dawned on her. Shri Narasimha Rao came and others also came and they all gave her a wrong picture. The net result is that the whole of Andhra is ablaze with internal strife. I saw with my own eyes young boys coming from middle class families and young girls and

ladies coming from respectable working class families squatting on the road under thatched sheds. There they conduct their relay fasts. I went to them and talked to them and found out that they were not motivated by any vested interests. Even now it is not too late. You can talk to the people of Andhra and bring peace there. Instead of that what are you doing? You are sending CRP men and armed men and I am afraid you are even sending the Border Security Force men. I tell you that these three elements, wherever they go, are unpopular and their behaviour, to say the least, is obnoxious. Their approach to the problem is something that would never bring any good result. On the other hand, it will have adverse effect on the situation. This is the condition. Do not, therefore, underestimate what is going on in Andhra. You may succeed in suppressing it for the time being. I am told that the ex-Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Shri Narasimha Rao is still staying in Andhra Pradesh house here. I hear that he is telling his friends that the madam has assured him to make him the Chief Minister once again. Suppose this news goes to Andhra, how will the people there react? Shri Brahmananda Reddy was Chief Minister. Shri Sanjiva Reddy was Chief Minister of Andhra. Shri Sankardev was there as Chief Minister. During those periods Mulki Rules were there. But there was no eruption of violence nor was there public agitation. That shows that this man is inefficient. He has no control and is unknown. He was appointed from Delhi. He was appointed as an Upper Division Clerk to be the Chief Minister of a State from here with the hope that with the so-called thumping majority he will be able to control the situation all the time. But those days are gone. People are awakened now. Much water has flown under the bridge since 1971. This fact the Central Government should realise. Sir, I speak with passion, because I belong to the neighbouring State. I know that many of

[Shri S. S. Mariswamy.] the poor people in the South wanting to come to Delhi and other places in the North are stranded on their way. I can afford to fly. And so also Shri Bhupesh Gupta. But what about these poor people? They cannot afford to travel by plane because the fare is Rs. 500/-. It is more than their life saving. How could they come? Some times husband is here, wife and children are there. That is the condition. It is high time that we do something about Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What should be done?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: If the wishes of the people are for bifurcation, you have to bow before their wishes and be a democrat. But do not say for a minute that the trouble is engineered by vested interests. It is insulting to the intelligentsia of Andhra. It is a calumny. It is incorrect. I can challenge you. I am very sorry for this.

Even though we are making all best efforts to establish very good relationship with the Central Government and its Cabinet, we often get pin-picks and brickbats from some of the rootless Ministers who happen to find a place in your Cabinet. For example, Shri C. Subramaniam. I do not know how he has now become such a frustrated and angry man for which we are not responsible. It was he who came and sought the help of the DMK Party and they provided him a seat. He said; "If Shri Karunanidhi will come to my constituency, then I will contest". Shri Karunanidhi gave that assurance and he saw to it that Shri C. Subramaniam was elected. Then he was appointed here. He first came as the Planning Minister. When he became the Planning Minister, people said that it is equal to Deputy Prime Ministership. We were happy that that man, with our help, has become virtually the Deputy Prime Minister. But, for no reason whatsoever, Sir, he has been taken away from that position. As the Planning Minister he went to Manila

and on his way back, at Singapore, he made a statement that he was going to America to meet Mr. Nixon.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Who?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Mr. Nixon, President Nixon. I do not know what happened. Something happened and his sojourn was scotched and after a few months, from the Planning Ministry he was kicked to the Ministry of Industrial Development. Then it was a demotion and people around him felt that for no reason he has been demoted. Now, Sir, in the recent reshuffle, he has been further demoted and many important subjects have been snatched away from him. And, Sir, see what the subjects are that have been given to him. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta would be interested to know them. They are: Coir industry. Coir Board, Sericulture, Silk Board, National Textile Corporation and, Sir, I may tell now—I do not know how far I am right—that the Prime Minister is thinking of adding horticulture to the list.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: What is it?

SHRI P. S. MARISWAMY: Horticulture. Sir, how are we responsible for this? It is down-grading, it is demotion. But how are we responsible for this? Since then, he has become very angry. But he must show his anger here. But he goes to Madras for no purpose and makes a statement. What sort of a statement Sir? Now, there is a power crisis there. The day before yesterday, we heard our Minister, Dr. Rao and the other Minister, Shri Balgovind Verma, making a statement here about the power position in the country. Sir, I am giving only one line. Their statement says this:

"The reasons for the shortage of power all over the country are"—please listen, Sir—"the reduced power generation from the hydro stations due to shortage of water in the reservoir, shortfall in power generation in the atomic power stations, etc., etc."

And, then, Sir, he goes on to say:

"There is power shortage all over the country except in Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Assam."

So, except these few places, all over India we have got power shortage. Now, Mr. Subramaniam goes to Madras and makes a statement. For your information, Sir, I may tell you one thing. Whenever Mr. Subramaniam wants to get a good audience, the only place where he has it is Parliament. Outside Parliament, in our State, only half-a-dozen people would be going there and standing there to hear him. I do not know how much of audience he had in Madras when he spoke. But the papers are kind enough. Sir, the Madras papers are of a particular type of papers. If they want to attack me, they do not have the guts to attack me, but they praise my enemy. That is their tactics. So, he gets a very good publicity. Now you must consider his statement and see whether it is an honourable statement, a dignified statement, a statement worthy of a Cabinet Minister. You must consider this statement. This is the statement that appeared in the papers:

"Power crisis: Union Minister, Shri Subramaniam blames the State Government".

It goes on to say: "Mr. Subramaniam said that they are people who are unscrupulous enough to mint money out of the conditions created by the power famine."

Sir, he says that by using this we will corrupt ourselves, we will loot the people and mint money. Please see the words. This is what he has said. I am quite sure. Sir, that even if you send a Lobby Assistant from here to Madras to speak about this power crisis, he would not say like him. It is because this is a natural phenomenon and it is not only in Madras, but everywhere. It is in West Bengal, it is in Maharashtra and in some other places.

What is the cut we have introduced? We have applied power cut to the tune of 10 per cent to the newspapers and we have not applied the cut to agriculture at all. Are we to blame for this? If you go there, Sir, you will find out that Madras is the only State where the power cut is implemented properly, with all reasonableness and yet, Sir, he has got the cheek to say that this power crisis is a tool for us to mint money!

Sir, I take very strong objection to that. I am now told from a reliable source that they are holding a conference in our State. What for? Not for unemployment. But to protest against the power cut by the State Government. They are holding a conference to condemn the State Government's power cut policy, and it is being held at Vellore, capital of North Arcot District. And who is attending that conference? Mr. Bhupesh Gupta will be surprised, the House will be surprised, to know that Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam is going to attend that conference. Sir, is this the way? They must have a single standard. They must not have double standards. At one time or other you come to Madras like brothers, and at the same time, you allow two of your errand boys to Madras and attack us, and they are carrying on a scurrilous attack. Suppose we say that the law and order situation in Delhi and U.P. has worsened this year. News came in this morning's papers that crime figures have gone up. This is the report given to Parliament yesterday by not less than a person than Mr. K. C. Pant that it has surpassed the population rate. If you say that the law and order situation has been worsened by the Home Ministry only to loot and mint money, will you accept it? There is a teachers' strike in Haryana and Punjab. Thousands of teachers have been arrested. Thousands of teachers are courting imprisonment. If you say that the Education Minister of Haryana, the famous Bansilal, have manipulated this in order to mint money, would you accept this? This sort of

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slandorous conduct and behaviour on the part of these Cabinet Ministers is highly irresponsible and we take very strong objection to that, and we expect the P.M. to pull them up, other-Wise we know the way of retaliation.

He is talking about corruption. Two days ago there appeared a news-item. The famous Bhim Sen Sachar, who was once Governor, and a veteran Congress leader, was addressing an anti-corruption conference in Chandigarh and people had entered the pandal, beaten him and manhandled him. Who are those people? Congress people. Not Government servants. Now they are trying to repudiate it. It is not correct. I have first-hand information that those people were sent by some of the Ministers. And yet these people come to Madras and talk about corruption. They are not even tolerant enough to listen to people who are against corruption. And they come like Lord Budha and preach sermons at Madras.

Sir, finally, there is another Minister. I think he comes immediately after Bertrand Russell. He is a great thinker and philosopher. Every day he gives some philosophy. His latest philosophy is this quotation which I am giving-

"Violence in people's agitations cannot be completely avoided. For example, even in agitations headed by Gandhiji, violence did crop up."

This is the epistle given by Mr. K. R. Ganesh, the new Congress man who has spoken this in Madras. The papers published it in big banners, in a manner to incite people to use violence. Sir, I can understand if Mr. Bhupesh Gupta speaks like that. I can understand if anybody else, for that matter, speaks like that. But he is a Minister, and also he quotes Mahatma Gandhi. What does he know about Mahatma Gandhi? I know him from his student days. From the very beginning, he was a card holder. He may be in Congress today. He may be a Minister-

ter. I was a Congress man. I have sacrificed more for the country than Mr. K. R. Ganesh. And he comes and says: Use violence. What does that mean?

Mr. Karunanidhi, the Chief Minister of Madras today challenged the Union Ministers Shri C. Subramaniam and Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam and others to share a platform with him to discuss the power crisis in the State. This is an open challenge. It has come from no less a person than the Chief Minister himself. I have a lengthy document which gives facts and figures. We have sent deputations and petitions to Delhi. We have on bended knees approached Delhi on this power question. I may tell you, Sir, that when the Congress was in power in Madras, the available power was 800 MW tonnes. We have doubled it to 1600 MW tonnes in 7 years from 1967 to 1973. Nowhere in the country, the generation of power has improved as much as in Madras.

I am thankful to you for the lime you have given me and I hope that some of the hon. Ministers sitting over there would have listened to me in spite of the fact that they were talking and discussing. If they have not listened, I request them to go through my speech tomorrow and do whatever best is possible. When I heard Mr. Bhupesh Gupta speaking about Andhra, I was reminded of Maha-bharata. In the court of Duryodhana, there was a very powerful orator and a powerful strategist, adviser and philosopher. He was uncle Sagni. Listening to his advice on Andhra Pradesh, I was reminded of Sagni.

SHRI N. JOSEPH (Andhra Pradesh): It is justified to pay thanks to the President for bringing in some revolutionary changes the Government proposes to introduce soon. Specially among them is the project of providing jobs to 5 lakhs of educated unemployed. Taking over of the wholesale trade is another daring step for which we should thank him. But we are surprised to see why the retail trade

is not taken by the Government which alone can control the price rise and provide jobs for lakhs of educated unemployed. It is a fact that the Government has done its best to the people under the present circumstances, but there is a lot to do to remove the poverty.

Many of us expected a plan of action from the President to eradicate the caste system which is a dark devil the country and which is destroying the unity. It is a pity to see that no mention has been made to remove the social inequality existing between communities, specially the heinous practice of observing untouchability against a section of the society. Legislation alone does not help the problem. It needs hearty cooperation from all parties, specially from the ruling party, to arrange a voluntary propaganda machinery to work against this inequality. Inter-dining, inter-marriages, etc. should be encouraged. Special privileges and preferential rights should be provided for the intermarried couple and to their progeny in employment.

Coming to the mention of Andhra State, in the President's Address we all expected a declaration of bifurcation as it is a necessity in the interests of both the regions and the Government. Here I shall try to narrate the reasons for bifurcation. The leaders of Andhra Pradesh tried to amalgamate the two States not giving credit to the vast disparities existing in social, economical, cultural and political conditions of the regions thus amalgamated. They thought that language alone can bring them together which proved to be a myth.

The people in Andhra lived under the British Raj where there were better educational facilities, while the people of Telengana had none under the Nawab Raj which was a feudal set-up. Andhras have more irrigation facilities while the people of Telengana have negligible facilities due to which reason Andhras could be better off economically than their brethren.

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As Andhras are economically better off, they used to spend lavishly in the capital, which increased the standard of life causing disadvantage to the people of Telengana in the capital. So, these disparities created suspicion and hatred among the people of Telengana, specially among the employees in the Government services. These disparities and the consequent suspicion and hatred forced the leaders to create separate arrangements at all levels.

In the shape of the Public Employment Act, separation is brought in the services in all the employments excepting a few. Consequently, Andhras and Telenganas have separate Chief Secretaries—one being called Chief Secretary and the other, Assistant Chief Secretary. Both the regions have separate budgets. People of Telengana have a regional committee which acts like a miniature cabinet with full powers to arrange their affairs. They have their separate State Congress which selects its own people while the Andhras should be selected by the Joint Committee. In the capital itself people of Telengana have their educational institutions whereas there is no provision for the children of those Andhras who live in the capital. We have separate water resources for each region. The common agency is only the Chief Minister who was not above suspicion, both in the case of Shri Brahmananda Reddy and Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao. The second common agency is the capital where the Andhras were forced to live as second-class citizens. The only common agency is the Governor.

While separation is existing in all these main agencies and while suspicion and hatred against Andhras was flared up in the 1969 separate Telengana agitation by the political power fighters, it has spread to the rural areas also, because of which humiliation was caused to Andhras in several places. All these factors go to harden the hearts of the people of

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both the regions, specially Andhras. At this stage, the Mulki Rules judgment and the consequent 5-Point Formula get passed in Parliament. As this directly affected the service conditions of N.G.Os., they started the movement. These N.G.Os. enlightened the people of the injustices and about the students who shall be denied provision of jobs for about 25 years to come due to the present Act. Under such separate adjustments at all levels in the same Government and with such suspicion and hatred, how is it possible to keep them in an integrated State? Do such separate adjustments in the same Government exist in any other State of India? When no similar circumstances exist in the other States, why should some argue that people of other States may ask for separation? The case of Andhra Pradesh is entirely different from that of other States as explained above. Hence, no other plan except separation can satisfy both the regions. Hence, the students who thought that their future is at stake because of the present Act jumped into the agitation with a slogan of separation. Then the Assistant Surgeons and Junior Engineers whose services were not included in the Public Employment Act but are now included in the present Act, joined the agitation to save their own skin.

So, all these sections moved all the Andhra people to join the movement which was applauded by all the females who took the lead in the agitation. At a later stage, all other communities which remained inactive for some time joined the agitation and today there is no class, community or group or party which did not join the movement

But, as the goal of all parties, communities, groups is only separation of Andhra, they are forced to get themselves united. But as this is an agitation it is but natural to drag all the sections into one front which represents people of non-violence, lawless

elements and anti-Congress and anti-Prime Minister elements who wanted to make the best use of the opportunity of the united desire of all Andhras, namely, separation. But the Centre, instead of taking immediate steps to find out the reasons and thus assess the situation and offer a solution, sent the C.R.P. to suppress

the agitation. The C.R.P. 6 P.M. killed several innocent youth

and caused fear, chaos in the region because of which even the Congress-minded people could not come forward in support of the Congress and the Prime Minister. The people of Andhra who gave thumping majority to the Congress, having full faith in the policy of the Prime Minister, were perplexed to see the lethargy of the Central leaders. Hence, the Congress leaders joined the people's movement to save "on-gress, to keep the image of the Prime Minister in tact and thus to secure the separation by constitutional methods. Thus the agitation for separation spread like wildfire throughout the State.

Some argue that this is an anti-national movement and a movement against the Prime Minister. "Let me remind my hon. friends that these rich reactionary people, anti-Indira parties and anti-Congress people and groups were there at the time of the parliamentary elections and general elections but all their united fight could not succeed then. If the large majority of the people who gave thumping majority to Congress were not one with the movement, these reactionary groups could not have dared to lead the agitation. When all these forces could not defeat the Congress in the last elections, how can they do so without cooperation of those labour communities, specially the minorities like the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Caste Christians. If these people were not in the movement, why could not those elected representatives come to their constituencies where...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM SAHAI): How much more time do you want? You may continue tomorrow.

SHRI N. JOSEPH: I will continue tomorrow. I want some more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM SAHAI): The House stands adjourned till 11 o'clock tomorrow.

The House adjourned at four minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday the 23rd February, 1973.