

हैं। मैं उन से यह निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि जिन छात्रों से इतना रुपया ले कर उन को दाखिला दिया गया है उन के हितों की ओर ध्यान दिया जाय। कल वहां पर कुछ लड़कियां भी बैठ जाएंगी, जैसा कि वह बता रहे हैं। इस लिए मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार इस की तरफ ध्यान दे और यह जो छात्र हैं जो कि एक तरफ तो थोखा धड़ी के शिकार हुए हैं और दूसरी तरफ इस तरह से परेशान हो रहे हैं उन को कम से कम लापरवाही का शिकार न बनाया जाय। इस विषय में मैं चाहूंगा कि हमारी सरकार के जो प्रभाव रखने वाले सदस्य हैं, यहां पर ओम् मेहता जी बैठे हैं, मंत्री हैं, मैं चाहूंगा कम से कम वह आश्वासन द और उन छात्रों के अनशन को जिस तरीके से भी हो, कुछ व्यवस्था उन की उचित मांगों को मानने या उनकी को समझाने की हो सकती है वह कर के उन के इस अनशन को समाप्त करवाया जाय और इस प्रकार कोई दुर्घटना जो हो सकती है उस को टाला जाय। मुझे आशा है कि सरकार इस बारे में उचित और जल्दी कुछ कार्यवाही करेगी।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Om Mehta, do you want to say something?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA): No, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2-15 P.M.

The House adjourned for lunch at thirty-one minutes past one of the clock.

THE House reassembled after lunch at fifteen minutes past two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS -contd.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Dr. R.K. Chakrabarti.

Each Member will take ten minutes.

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I need a little more time.

Sir, I welcome the President's Address. The President's Address is comprehensive and gives an account of the past year's activities and also a look into the future. If one goes through the Address very carefully, one will find that many bold steps have been taken to move the country in the forward direction. Apart from the bank nationalisation, etc., the recent move of taking over the coal-mines and also-taking over the food trade in wheat under Government control is laudable. Also a large number of closed mills and sick units have been taken over by the Government. But I am afraid that the procurement and distribution machinery must be geared in such a manner so that corruption can be made as little as possible; otherwise, the project will fail completely. I like to cite only two examples in this regard from my own experience, one occurred in a court, the highest place for justice, and the other occurred at a crematorium, the last place to leave this world. In the court the lawyers of the two opponent parties shifted the date of a case in favour of one party with the help of the peshkar. Now, there is nothing new in it. The more the dates, the greater the fees the lawyers get. Then what happened? when the announcement of the shifting of the date took place, suddenly one man who was standing opposite the peshkar ran out towards the door. And there was a law enforcement man also standing near the door. As soon as the party who got the shifting in his favour, came out of the door, both these persons stretched their hands and some money came into their hands. The funniest part of the whole thing is during all this period we sat in complete silence and no business transaction took place during this period. In the second case, probably many of you know that there is an electric furnace crematorium at Calcutta, and always there is a long queue of dead bodies there on first-cum-first-served basis. There is a man in charge of the furnace. On that particular day what happened was there was nothing in the line. One party came in and the man in charge of the

[Dr. R. K. Chakrabarti.] furnace told them that there was some defect in the furnace and so asked them to take the dead body away to the ordinary burning place.

So the first party turned round and went to the ordinary burning place. In the meantime the second party came and their case was taken first and put in the first position in the line. By this time the first party came to know that there was nothing wrong with the furnace. So, they came hurrying back and there was exchange of hot words between the man in charge and the first party. But nothing could be done and they were placed in the second position. In the meantime some money changed hands between the second party who got the privilege of being placed in the first position and the man in charge of the furnace.

I am sure hon. Members of this House will be able to cite many more thousands of cases..

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala): Yes, under the Congress rule.

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI: What I am trying to emphasize is that unless the character of the people changes in the matter of corruption, this concerous growth will eat up every proposal and every good intention of the Government

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : And a change of policy.

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI : It is very kind of our President to mention about the industrialisation of West Bengal and the 16 point programme. I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that in many of the cases even after the completion of the feasibility study and the project report and even after the laying of the foundation stone, unnecessary delays take place and the actual work does not start for months. I would mention only the foundation stone for the second Hoogly Bridge which was laid by our hon. Prime Minister six or seven months ago. But the project could not be started till now for delay in releasing some foreign exchange . I understand that this was due to some objections raised in some quarters about the viability of the design. I remember that the question of accepting a design for . I he said project was debated thereadbare

by the engineers. Being an engineer, I personally feel that we must go in for riveting bridge instead of the welding bridge. We have adequate experience and engineering talents who can build rivetting bridge whereas I am afraid our welding technology in this country has not developed to that extent that we can build the welding bridge. Unless we have full knowledge in the technology of welding, it will be dangerous to go in for a welding bridge. I am very happy to note that the Government has already released some foreign exchange very recently so that work on the project can start immediately without further delay . We are thankful to the Government for this.

Next we find that although Haldia Port refinery and other schemes have been approved, objections are raised in some quarters just to create confusion and delay. We are thankful to our Petroleum Minister who said that the teaching of applied Chemistry was first started in the Calcutta University. Jadavpur is a pioneer in producing and supplying the best chemical engineers to the country. It is befitting therefore that a petro-chemical complex should be set up at Haldia so that the talents of our boys can be utilised for this purpose instead of wasting them in manufacturing arsenals.

I understand that there may be some delay in starting the project due to scarcity of Naphta. I plead that an integrated- approach to Haldia port should be made so that by the time the petro-chemical complex is developed there will be no dearth of Naphta. I fervently hope that once the feasibility study has been made and the report for a particular project has been accepted, there should not be any delay on whatsoever account to start the actual work. Otherwise frustration and discontent will be caused in the minds of people. For example, there has been prolonged delay in taking decision for constructing light railway in Iljwrah and other sections. Now the Railway Board think that we should go in for a project report. My plea is that *we* should start work in areas where everything is available so as to mitigate the tremendous difficulties of the people living in the area.

Another point I would like to mention is about the Ganga-Cauvery link-up.- This

is something which affects our State. I would like to say that a national seminar should be held on this subject before we take such big decisions. It may be a good thinking that there should be water linkage between the North and the Southern States. But to get this work done we may require Rs. 2,000 crores and a tremendous amount of power to lift the Ganga water to certain height. In this connection, I would like to quote from an Editorial that appeared in a Delhi paper yesterday. I will simply quote a few lines. I will quote from *The Times of India*: Sir,

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Which paper?

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI: It is *The Times of India* of yesterday. I quote from its editorial:

"It should be explained first why out of a total utilisable surplus flow of over 3000 million acre-feet of water all over the country, he"—that means the Minister concerned—* has selected for high priority an expensive scheme that will harness and divert only 10 to 20 million acre-feet from the Ganga to the Cauveri. The total cost involved may add up to over Rs. 3,000 crores and the energy needed to lift the water by as much as 2,000' in the course of its 3000-km journey will amount to almost as much power as is generated in the country at present."

Now, Sir, if we are going to connect the Ganga with the Cauvery, at the same time, we must think about the scarcity of water in the lower region. That means, Sir, the river Brahmaputra must be connected with the Ganga once we decide on the linking of the Ganga with the Cauveri. My suggestion is that if at all we are going to have this Ganga-Cauveri project, side by side, the project of linking the Brahmaputra with the Ganga must be taken up. If the one is taken up without the other, I am afraid, Sir, that we would be having another Mohenjodaro, that is, Calcutta will become a dead city in fifty years' time.

Then, Sir, not much has been said about education in the country. I want to repeat my suggestion here in this connection. All schools, colleges and universities must act as independent units. They must be given power to issue school-leaving certificates, degree certificates and university

and post-graduate degrees. There should be only competitive tests on the pattern of what we are doing for admission to the engineering and medical colleges, namely, after leaving the school, boys have to take admission tests to get admitted into the colleges and similarly, there should be a procedure adopted for admission to the universities. I feel education must be imparted in the mother tongue. But English must be a compulsory subject or it must be a language paper so that the boys who want to have professional courses or postgraduate studies do not have any disadvantage.

Lastly, Sir, looking at the regionalism that is now prevailing, I feel that unemployment is one of the greatest factors for this, because everybody thinks that if he can drive out the outsiders from his State to other areas, then he stands a better chance for getting jobs. But he is simply forgetting the simple arithmetic that if the people of the neighbouring State also do the same thing, then those displaced persons will come here and create the same problem here or aggravate it further. Therefore, I say, Sir, that if good sense does not prevail on all of us, we may be going back to the pre-Mughul days of total disintegration.

Thank you, Sir.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

उप-सभापति जी, कांग्रेस के लोग कह रहे हैं कि अकल की बात कहना। मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि जो उधर लोग बैठे हुए हैं उनसे अकल का कोई मतलब ही नहीं है। 'रहें बजावत दुंदुभी, रावण के दरबार'। ये रावण के दरबार में दुंदुभी बजाने वाले लोग हैं। ये सरकार जो कुछ करे उसकी दुंदुभी बजा रहे हैं। ये रावण के दरबार वालों को क्या अकल होगी।

श्रीमन्, राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने देश की आजादी के 26-27 वर्ष बाद भी अपना अभिभाषण विदेशी भाषा में ही करना उचित समझा। हम लोग हर वर्ष राष्ट्रपति महोदय के पास अपना निवेदन-पत्र भेजते हैं कि श्रीमन् आप किसी देशी भाषा में अपना

[श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही]

भाषण करें, विदेशी भाषा में न करें। लेकिन आज तक वह हम लोगों के इस निवेदन की स्वीकार नहीं किये। हर वर्ष विदेशी भाषा में ही अपना भाषण करते हैं और हम लोगों को विवश होकर सभा त्याग करना पड़ता है। श्रीमन्, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप बबूल का पेड़ लगाकर आम का फल प्राप्त करने का प्रयास करें, यह संभव नहीं हो सकता। आप देश में राष्ट्रीय भावना को दुर्बल बनायें, राष्ट्रीय भाषा का अनादर करें और फिर इस बात की कोशिश करें कि राष्ट्रीयता राष्ट्र में आये, यह कभी संभव नहीं है। श्रीमन्, हम लोग यह आशा करते थे कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय देशी भाषाओं का समादर करेंगे। देश की कोटि कोटि जनता की राष्ट्रीय भावना का समादर करेंगे और उनके अन्दर राष्ट्रीयता की भावना को प्रेरित करने के लिए कम से कम अपना भाषण किसी देशी भाषा में करेंगे। लेकिन यह इस पर विचार करना तक भी उचित नहीं समझते। मैं श्रीमन्, यहां यह याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीयता की डींग हांकने वाला रूस जिस समय हिटलर की सेना तेजी से आगे बढ़ने लगी, उस समय स्टालिन साहब को भी यह दिमाग में आया कि देश की जनता के अन्दर राष्ट्रीयता की भावना पैदा करनी चाहिए, तभी हिटलर की सेना रोकी जा सकती है और मास्को रेडियो ने केवल राष्ट्रीय गान सुनाना शुरू किया, वह अन्तर्राष्ट्रीयता भूल गये। लेकिन हमारे देश के नेताओं को यह भी नहीं सूझता। और सब चीजें नकल करेंगे विदेशों से, लेकिन उनकी अच्छी चीजों को नकल करने को तैयार नहीं हैं और आज भी जब देश में हर तरफ तोड़-फोड़ हो रही है, आसाम में बंगाली महाराज रहा है, बंगाल में आसामी महाराज रहा है, उड़ीसा में बंगाली महाराज रहा है, राष्ट्रीय भावना इस तरह से कमजोर हो रही है, उस समय भी राष्ट्रीयता की तरफ ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता सरकार नहीं खोज सकती है। सत्य छिपाया नहीं जा सकता।

(Interruptions) । आपके ही दल के एक माननीय सदस्य ने बड़ी दबी हुई गार्डेड लैंग्वेज में कहा है कि पड़ोसी प्रान्तों में क्या हो रहा है। (Interruptions) श्रीमन्, ये मेरा समय खराब करेंगे तो इसके लिए आप जिम्मेदार होंगे।

श्री उप-सभापति : आपके केवल 9 मिनट बाकी हैं, आप अपनी बात कहिए इसके लिए मैं जिम्मेदार नहीं हूँ।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : श्रीमन्, मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि आज भी यह सरकार राष्ट्रीय भाषा का सम्मान करने, राष्ट्रीय वेश-भूषा का सम्मान करने और राष्ट्रीय भाषाओं को बलशाली बनाने को तैयार नहीं है। उसी के फलस्वरूप आज देश में प्रान्तीयता और क्षेत्रीयता बल पकड़ती जा रही है। आंध्र में क्या हो रहा है, आंध्र की मिसाल आपके सामने है। आंध्र का ही नहीं बल्कि देश के कई हिस्सों में इस तरह की भावनायें फैल रही हैं। मैं देखता हूँ कि आंध्र के लिए प्रधान मंत्री जी और सरकार के लोग हल्के फुल्के ढंग से कह देते हैं कि जनसंघ के लोग दंगा करा रहे हैं। और लोग दंगा करा रहे हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अपने दिल पर हाथ रखकर सोचिये कि आंध्र में दंगा कराने की हिम्मत जनसंघ में नहीं है। आंध्र में दंगा कराने की हिम्मत स्वतन्त्र पार्टी में नहीं है। आंध्र में दंगा करा रहे हैं कांग्रेस दल के लोग, आंध्र में दंगा करा रहे हैं, सत्ता कांग्रेस के लोग, आंध्र में रेलवे जलवा रहे हैं सत्ता दल के लोग, आंध्र में डाकखाने जलवा रहे हैं सत्ता दल के लोग। यह जनसंघ और स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के बूते की चीज नहीं है।

मैं, श्रीमन्, कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज जो आंध्र में हो रहा है, 1965 में वह माननीय त्यागी जी के नेता श्री कामराज जी और उधर जो बैठते हैं सुब्रामण्यम्, उन्होंने यह तमिलनाडू में कराया था। 1965 में जब समय आया अंग्रेजी को हटाकर हिन्दी को सत्ताबद्ध करने का, सारा कामकाज हिन्दी में

करने का संविधान के फैसले के मुताबिक, तो श्री कामराज और श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम ने साजिश की, वहां के सरकारी कर्मचारियों और वहां के विद्यार्थियों को भड़काया कि हिन्दी विरोधी दंगा कराओ, रेल की पटरियां जलवाओ, डाकखाने लुटवाओ और यह सब उस प्रान्त में हुआ जहां कि 1946 में सर्वप्रथम मद्रास के मुख्य मंत्री श्री राजा जी ने यह आदेश दिया था कि सरकारी कामकाज सारा हिन्दी में होगा।

1946 में राजा जी ने मद्रास के मुख्य मंत्री की हैसियत से यह आदेश दिया था कि सरकारी कामकाज सारा हिन्दी में होगा और उस पर कोई दंगा या बलवा वहां नहीं हुआ और न कोई वहां डाकखाने जलाये गये या लूटे गये। 1965 में जब कामराज जी और सुब्रह्मण्यम जी वहां के नेता हुए तो इनके उकसाने पर, इनके तुच्छ राजनैतिक स्वार्थ के लिए तमिल नाडु में हिन्दी विरोधी दंगे कराये गये। भारत सरकार ने क्या किया अपनी गद्दी बरकरार रखने के लिए। हमारी कुर्सी बरकरार रहे और देश चाहे जहन्नम में जाए, इस उद्देश्य से कार्य किया गया। संविधान में संशोधन कर दिया गया कि जब तक सूरज और चांद रहेंगे, तब तक अंग्रेजी रहेगी, सैंकड़ों साल तक अंग्रेजी रहेगी। आज जो आंध्र में हो रहा है वह उसी का परिणाम है। मैं आंध्र के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं कि आंध्र का आन्दोलन क्यों हो रहा है। आंध्र का बटवारा क्यों हो, कोई इसका औचित्य नहीं देता, कोई कारण नहीं बताता, कोई आधार नहीं बताता। कोई इसका आधार नहीं बताता कि वहां दो प्रांत क्यों बनाये जाएं। कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि जनता चाहती है, इसलिए। इसी तरह की एक दलील एक नेता ने 1946 में इलाहाबाद कांग्रेस में पेश की थी जब कि पाकिस्तान के निर्माण की बात चल रही थी। एक नेता ने कहा था कि चूंकि मुसलमान मांगते हैं, मुस्लिम लीग मांगती है, इसलिए पाकिस्तान मान लेगा। उसी तरह से जिस तरह से कोई बच्चा कोई

झिद करे तो मान लो। उस तर्क का राजेन्द्र बाबू ने यह जवाब दिया था कि अगर कोई बच्चा यह झिद करे कि हम रेल गाड़ी के इंजन पर बैठेंगे तो क्या उसे रेल गाड़ी के इंजन पर बिठला दोगे। किसी बात के लिए कोई औचित्य होना चाहिये। आंध्र के बटवारे का आज तक किसी भी नेता ने कोई आधार नहीं बताया कि क्यों दो प्रांत बनने चाहियें। आंध्र के बटवारे की मांग इसलिए हो रही है कि प्रधान मंत्री ने श्री ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी को मुख्य मंत्री पद से हटा दिया, इसलिए उनके लिए एक अलग प्रांत बनना चाहिये ताकि वे वहां के मुख्य मंत्री हो सकें। यही आधार है, और इसी लिए श्री ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी और उनकी कम्पनी ने यह आन्दोलन छेड़ दिया है, ताकि आंध्र का एक अलग प्रांत बन जाए और उसके वे मुख्य मंत्री बना दिये जाएं। इसी प्रकार जब श्री चरण सिंह मुख्य मंत्री पद से हट गये तो उन्होंने पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश का एक अलग प्रांत बनाने की मांग आरम्भ कर दी ताकि वे उसके मुख्य मंत्री बन जाएं और मेरठ राजधानी हों। वह मेरठ के नवाब हैं और कमलापति जी कल हट जायेंगे तो कहेंगे कि पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश एक अलग राज्य बनना चाहिये। जिस की काशी राजधानी हो। कमलापति त्रिपाठी काशी नरेश करार दिये जाएं। अगर इस आधार पर प्रान्तों का निर्माण होगा तो उत्तर प्रदेश में चार राज्य बनेंगे, पहाड़ी जिलों का एक राज्य, बुन्देलखंड का दूसरा प्रान्त, पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश तीसरा और पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश चौथा राज्य होगा। इसी प्रकार बिहार में तीन राज्य बनेंगे, उत्तरी बिहार, छोटा नागपुर और पश्चिमी बिहार। महाराष्ट्र में दो बनेंगे महाराष्ट्र और विदर्भ और गुजरात में दो बनेंगे—गुजरात और सौराष्ट्र और जम्मू काश्मीर में दो बनेंगे और इस तौर पर कम से कम साल भर के अन्दर 12 नये प्रान्त आपको बनाने पड़ेंगे। अगर इसी तरह रेलगाड़ियां रोकने और डाकखाने जलाने के कारण प्रान्तों का निर्माण होगा तो साल भर में 12 प्रान्त आपको

[श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही]

और बनाने पड़ेंगे और एक प्रान्त की एक राजधानी बनाने में एक हजार करोड़ रुपया खर्च होगा। इस प्रकार राजधानियों पर ही 12 हजार करोड़ रुपया खर्च होगा केवल भवनों के बनाने में, असेम्बल हाउस और सेक्रेटेरिएट बंगरह बनाने में और श्रीमन्, इसके अलावा 12 मुख्य मंत्री होंगे, 50 मंत्रियों के हिसाब से 600 मंत्री होंगे और अगर एम० एल० एज० और एम० एल० सीज० भी जोड़ लिये जाएं तो 500 के हिसाब से 6000 एम० एल० एज० और एम० एल० सी० होंगे। 12 चीफ सेक्रेटरी होंगे और कितने ही सचिव और आई० जी० और डी० आई० जी आदि होंगे, हजारों व्योरोक्रेट्स बढ़ जायेंगे और हजारों करोड़ रुपये साल का रेकरिंग खर्च बढ़ेगा।

श्री मान सिंह वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : बेरोजगारी दूर हो जायगी।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : बेरोजगारी तो आयेगी। क्या आई० जी० और मुख्य मंत्री बनाने से वह खत्म हो जाएगी? हमारे मित्र की भावना देखिये।

आज जब कि देश में उद्योगों को बढ़ाने के लिए, रक्षा के साधनों को बढ़ाने के लिए, नेवी और एयर फोर्स को मजबूत करने के लिए रुपये की जरूरत है, गरीबों को रोजी देने के लिए रुपये की जरूरत है, उस समय हजारों करोड़ रुपया प्रान्तों के निर्माण पर खर्च किया जाए इसका कोई औचित्य नहीं है। इसलिए श्रीमन्, अगर यह आंदोलन गरीबों की रोजी रोटी के लिए होते, बेकारों को रोजी दिलाने के लिए होते, गरीबों की गरीबी हटाने के लिए होते तो इनका कोई औचित्य होता। लेकिन इस तरह के आन्दोलन हो रहे हैं प्रान्तों के निर्माण के लिए जब कि आज देश में गल्ले की कमी है, जब कि देश में बेहद बेकारी बढ़ती जा रही है, जब कि आज देश में करोड़ों गरीब कराह रहे हैं, उस समय मुख्य मंत्री और गवर्नरों की तादाद बढ़ाने की मांगें हो रही

हैं। मैं इस तरह की मांग का घोर विरोध करता हूँ और प्रधान मंत्री जी को इस बात के लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने आज तक इस तरह के गलत आंदोलन की खिलाफत की है और उनसे कहता हूँ कि हरगिज इस तरह के आंदोलन को, प्रश्रय नहीं मिलना चाहिए। मैं श्रीमन्, यह भी कहता हूँ कि इस के साथ-साथ मुल्की रूल्स ऐसी कोई चीज नहीं होनी चाहिए। एक क्षेत्र में एक प्रान्त में कुछ नागरिकों को उनके कुछ हकों से महसूस किया जाए इसका कोई औचित्य नहीं हो सकता। अगर इस तरह के नियम बने कि 200 रुपये से कम आमदनी वाले परिवार को नौकरी में प्राथमिकता दी जाएगी या शिक्षा में प्राथमिकता दी जाएगी तो यह बात समझ में आ सकती है, लेकिन यह कहना कि तैलंगाना क्षेत्र के लोगों को हूंदरा-बाद में पहले शिक्षा या नौकरी मिलेगी इसका कोई औचित्य नहीं है। लिहाजा श्रीमन्, मुल्की रूल्स ऐसी कोई चीज नहीं रहनी चाहिए। इस तरह की चीज ही आंध्र जैसे आंदोलनों को बल देती है।

मैं सिर्फ थोड़ा सा समय और लूंगा। दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ यह है कि आज हिन्दुस्तान को अमरीका चीन और पाकिस्तान से होशियार रहने की जरूरत है और खास तौर पर उस समय जब कि हमारी स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के नेता पीलू मोदी साहब पाकिस्तान जाते हैं, भुट्टो साहब से बात कर के आते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान में बयान देते हैं कि फौरन 90 हजार कैदियों को छोड़ देना चाहिए। मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसे लोग पासपोर्ट कैसे पाते हैं? उनकी राष्ट्रियता में मुझे गंभीर शक है और मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिनके पैर न फटी बिवाई, वो क्या जाने पीर पराई। पीलू मोदी ऐसे लोग कितने दिन अंग्रेजों की जेल में रहे हैं, कितनी लाठियां खायी हैं उन्होंने और कितने साल उन्होंने अपनी पढ़ाई के खराब किये हैं अंग्रेजों के जमाने में? क्या हक है उनको इस तरह के बयान देने का? आज भी कई सौ हिन्दुस्तानी

पाकिस्तान की जेलों में बन्द हैं। पीलू मोदी साहब ने अपने दोस्त भुट्टो साहब से यह क्यों नहीं कहा कि इनको छोड़ दीजिए। पीलू मोदी साहब उनकी वकालत कर रहे हैं जो कि बंगला देश में 12 और 13 साल की लड़कियों के साथ रेप किये हैं।

जो लोग बंगला देश के करोड़ों मासूम लोगों के साथ बर्बरता किए हैं उनकी वकालत कर रहे हैं पीलू मोदी साहब। मैं श्रीमन्, यह कहना चाहता हूँ जो शख्स भुट्टो से बात करता है, बन्द कोठरी में बात करता है, वह निक्सन से भी बात करता है, वह चाऊ एन लाई से भी बात करता है और इस बात का शक है इसमें मोदी साहब भुट्टो साहब से बात किए होंगे। उस समय कुछ मसला निक्सन का और चाऊ एन् लाई का भी उनके सामने रहा होगा, क्योंकि इस बात का पहले भी एक सबूत रहे हैं शेख अब्दुल्ला साहब जब वे यहाँ से बाहर गए, कैरो में, उन्होंने चाऊ एन् लाई से कुछ गुप्त वार्ता किया। वैसे ही हमारे पीलू मोदी साहब भी जाते हैं, भुट्टो साहब से गुप्तगु करते हैं, बात करते हैं और यहाँ आकर उनके प्रति हमदर्दी में यहाँ बयान देते हैं और ऐसे समय में, श्रीमन्...

श्री उपसभापति : अब आप खत्म कीजिए।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मैं खत्म कर रहा हूँ श्रीमन्। श्रीमन्, ऐसे समय में जब हाल में बाबू जगजीवन राम ने बताया लोक सभा में कि पाकिस्तानी सेना ने क्या-क्या किया अपने विजित भारतीय क्षेत्र में—उन्होंने गुरुद्वारों को ढहा दिया, गुरुद्वारों की ईंटें गिरा दीं और ईंटों को उठा ले गए, उन्होंने भगत सिंह की समाधि की सभी मूर्तियों को तोड़ डाला। ऐसे पाकिस्तानी सिपाहियों की और ऐसे पाकिस्तानी फौजी सिपाहियों की वकालत करते हैं पीलू मोदी साहब। वे पाकिस्तानी सैनिक सारे का सारा भारतीय सामान उठा ले गए, सभी मकानों और स्कूल भवनों को नष्ट कर डाला, सभी

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पेड़ों को काट डाला, ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में सभी नलकूप और मशीनों को उठा ले गए, 500 बिजली के खम्भे भी उठा ले गए, सारे ट्रान्स-फार्मर्स वगैरह उठा ले गए। उन सैनिकों की वकालत करते हैं पीलू मोदी साहब।

श्रीमन्, पीलू मोदी साहब के दूसरे दोस्त—वे आज बैठे नहीं हैं, मेरा मतलब भूपेश गुप्त साहब से है—उनसे मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, जिस समय प्रधान मंत्री ने काटमांडू में अपने बयान की सफाई की, तो भूपेश गुप्त साहब भी यह फर्माते हैं कि प्रधान मंत्री तो निक्सन से डर गई। मतलब क्या है उनका? उनका साफ़ साफ़ मतलब यह है कि ये हिन्दुस्तान को रूसी खेमे में रखना चाहते हैं। उन्हें हिन्दुस्तान से हमदर्दी नहीं है। जिस तरह से रूसी खेमे में यह है, पूरे देश को भी रूसी खेमे में डालना चाहते हैं। मैं श्रीमन्, रूस की दोस्ती का हिमायती हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ, हिन्दुस्तान रूस की ईमानदार दोस्ती की कद्र करे और उस दोस्ती का निर्वहण करे। लेकिन हम रूसी खेमे में देश को नहीं भेजना चाहते हैं...

श्री उपसभापति : अब आपको खत्म करना होगा।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : बहुत जल्द खत्म करता हूँ। लेकिन ये देश को उसी खेमे में भेजना चाहते हैं। उस हालत में श्रीमन्, जब कि 2 दल, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी रूसी खेमे में डालना चाहता है, स्वतन्त्र पार्टी अमरीकी खेमे में डालना चाहता है, ऐसी स्थिति में देश के लिए बड़ा भाग खतरा है। मैं श्रीमन्, यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि आज देश के सामने यह गम्भीर सवाल है कि अमरीका साढ़े 14 अरब रु० का फौजी सामान ईरान को दे रहा है, ईरान को देने का मतलब पाकिस्तान को दे रहा है और पिछला इतिहास बताता है कि जो फौजी सामान अमरीका ने ईरान को दिया वह पाकिस्तान में चला आया। आज इस माहौल में श्रीमन्, देश का प्रमुख कर्त्तव्य है कि अपनी रक्षा और सुरक्षा की ओर विशेष ध्यान दे

[श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही]
(Time bell rings) मैं श्रीमन्, 2
मिनट में खत्म कर रहा हूँ।

श्री उपसभापति : आप एक सेन्टेन्स में
खत्म कीजिए। आपको 25 मिनट हो गए हैं।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : आज सरकार
कहती है कि महंगाई और बेकारी खत्म होगी
आज जब कि गरीबी को दूर करने की बात
करती हैं हम देखते यह हैं श्रीमन्, कि 1952
में लोक सभा और राज्य सभा में बिड़ला
और टाटा के प्रतिनिधि नहीं आते थे।
लेकिन आज हमारे अगल बगल जैपुरिया,
सिधानिया और गोयनका बैठे हैं और इस
तरह से ये सारे लोग रुपये के बल पर
संसद में आ रहे हैं। इन लोगों का आना
इस बात का इशारा है। (Interruption)
बैठ जाओ और जरा शर्म करो। इन लोगों
का आना इस बात का इशारा है कि ये
पैसे वाले लोग संसद् पर कब्जा कर रहे हैं।

श्री उपसभापति : अब आप खत्म
कीजिये।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मैं एक दो
मिनट में खत्म कर रहा हूँ। हरित क्रान्ति
के बारे में श्री चट्टाण साहब ने कहा...

श्री उपसभापति : अब आप खत्म
कीजिये।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मैं खत्म
कर रहा हूँ। पिछले दिनों श्री चट्टाण
साहब ने हरित क्रान्ति के बारे में यह कहा
था कि वह असफल रही है और श्रीमन्,
उनके जो आंकड़े हैं वे इस प्रकार से हैं।
1970-71 में हमारे देश में 10 करोड़
80 लाख टन गल्ला था। 1971-72 में
10 करोड़ 86 लाख टन था और 1972-
73 में 10 करोड़ टन तो उत्पादन हुआ,
85 लाख टन गोदाम में है और 20
लाख टन इम्पोर्ट किया गया है। इस तरह
से इस साल गल्ला ज्यादा है, फिर भी
गल्ले के भाव में देश में बढ़ते ही चले जा
रहे हैं।

श्री महावीर त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
गोदामों में नहीं था बल्कि कासज में था।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मैं वही
कहना चाहता हूँ। श्रीमन्, यह तो आंकड़े
दिये गये हैं...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am
calling the next speaker. Mr. Choudhury.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY (Assam): Sir,
I rise to welcome the President's Address. The
President in his speech has mentioned
almost all the problems that the country is
facing today and he has also given
guidelines for the future. We must be
thankful to him for the learned speech he
made before the joint session of both Houses
of Parliament. Sir, the hon. President has
rightly expressed his deep concern at the
recent developments in Andhra Pradesh and
has expressed his wish that a peaceful
solution should be found. But, Sir, I do not
know why there was no mention in his
speech of the recent developments in Assam
over the language issue.

For over three months last year the lan-
guage issue created turmoil in the Brahma-
putra valley leaving in its trail incidents of
arson, killings and rape on a section of the
linguistic minorities of the State. Then there
was a two-month long satyagraha in the
District of Cachar demanding the intro-
duction of Bengali as one of the medium of
instructions in Assam Universities. During
the last language disturbances in the State
students were uprooted from the different
educational institutions of the State and they
are yet to be rehabilitated. Even today these
boys and girls are roaming on the streets in
the neighbouring States like West Bengal,
Tripura and also in some safe Districts of the
State. They have already lost one academic
year and they have got to be rehabilitated.
Now, Sir, the Cachar Sangram Parishad has
withdrawn the agitation in order to create an
atmosphere for the solution of the problem
by mutual discussion.

The first round of talks between the
Cachar leaders and the Chief Minister of
Assam ended in a fiasco. They, however,
agreed to sit for another round of talks

before the 4th March, when the Union Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. K.C. Pant, should be present. The agitation against the stand of the Assam Government on the medium of instruction issue is gradually growing high among the Dimasaspeaking people; of North Cachar district and Milcir Hills district and the demand for a non-Assamese State, along with the contiguous areas, is gaining popularity in that part of the State. The plain tribal dwellers on the northern bank of the river Brahmaputra are agitating for an autonomous tribal State called Udayachal and the movement for the formation of an autonomous State of Udayachal for the plain tribal people is gaining momentum. On the north bank of the river Brahmaputra today, the 27th February, when we are discussing the President's Address here, they are observing the Udayachal demand day.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : What is their population? Could you give us an idea?

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY : I do not know, but they say that it is perhaps 12 lakhs.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : They want a State for that.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY : Yes. The demand for the formation of an autonomous State of Udayachal has already gained momentum in the plain tribes inhabited area on the north bank of the river Brahmaputra. The representatives of all the linguistic minorities of the State met at a convention on the 24th and 25th last at Lumding, where they discussed the issue threadbare. They have come to the conclusion and they have demanded that in the Assam University four languages should be recognised as the media of instruction, viz., Assamese, English, Bengali and Hindi. Now, Sir, in that convention the representatives of all the linguistic minorities also challenged the census figure of Assam since 1951. They say that since 1951 the census figures of Assam are manipulated and they want a thorough probe into the whole affair of Assam. Not only in respect of the census, but also in respect of the recurring disturbances in the

State there must be a thorough probe into it by a high-powered judicial body, preferably by a Supreme Court Judge. This is what they have demanded. They have given a target date. A decision should be arrived at within the 15th March. If not, they will take action for the fulfilment of their demand. Under the circumstances, we find divergent stands on the medium of instruction issue by the Assamese-speaking people of the Assam valley and the other non-Assamese-speaking people of the State like Bengalees, the Dimasas, the Mikirs, the Bodos and others. It is the non-Assamese-speaking people of Assam who constitute the real majority of the population of the State. It has made it doubly difficult for the State Government to produce a workable formula. This is what appeared from the first round of talks that was held in Shillong between the Cachar leaders and the Chief Minister of Assam on the 22nd last that no workable formula could be evolved. It is now very difficult for the State Government to produce a workable formula because of the divergent stand of each linguistic group in the State.

Sir, It is high time that J.P.M. the Government of India found a solution not only about Andhra but also about that troublesome state of India to the satisfaction of all so that the different linguistic groups in the State may live in peace and amity, with full honour and security. In Andhra the situation has taken a violent turn. In Assam also a few months ago it was violent; today some peace is there. It will be wise for the national leadership to evolve a workable formula in which all the linguistic groups may live together in full satisfaction. Otherwise, this eastern part which was a trouble spot for quite a long period would be affected; since independence there was never full peace, and it is in the interests of the nation that something should be done for the State so that all these troubles do not appear in future. I hope that the Government of India will take up this matter in right earnest and will definitely come to a solution of the problem there.

With these words, I fully support the Motion of Thanks to the President for his Address.

SHRIN.H. KUMBHARE(Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, while welcoming the Address of the President, I would refer to a grave omission in his Address regarding the mounting atrocities committed against the Scheduled Caste people. I do not find even a touching reference to the several hundreds, nay thousands, of incidents of social cruelty and of atrocity to which this oppressed community has been subjected. In Maharashtra there has been a case where two Boudha females were stripped. There has been a case of human sacrifice in Nagpur District and there was also a social boycott of the entire Schedule Caste community in another village because they could not submit to the will of the dominant class who wanted that the Scheduled Caste candidate in the Zila Parishad election should not c.intesi against them. Here also, in our own capital town, there has been an episode where a Scheduled Caste girl Premlata was either made to commit suicide or was murdered after she was subjected to humiliation. We have got another example where a Scheduled Caste boy was burnt to death in Gaziabad. In Madhya Pradesh and U.P. there have been several hundreds of cases where Scheduled Caste people have been uprooted from their villages. They were murdered, their women-folk had been raped. All these incidents are not reported in the newspapers; you will find many instances here and there where this oppressed community is still labouring under such terror. Therefore, I say that instances of atrocities are not only increasing in number but, as we fiqd, they are taking a different shape. In a case where a Scheduled Caste man wants to assert his right in respect of possession of land the poor fellow does not get necessary protection so that he can enjoy the possession of land. Suppose *he* want: to go to a public well he has not the courage to go there for fear of being assaulted. Therefore, the plight of this community is a cause of concern to every right-thinking man.

It is true that the Central Government is making a move to amend the Unfouchability Offences Act. I do see that there is a move to make this law more comprehensive, more effective so that all those areas of untouchability could be dealt with effectively and the stigma could be removed. But our experience is that even when such

laws are made operative the administrative machinery is not set up to deal with such offences effectively. That has been our grievance. Let us watch to what extent it will be possible for the Central Government to see that such offences are brought to book and the culprits are penalised.

I have further to point that there are certain cases in which clashes have taken place. People belonging to higher castes and those who belong to lower castes have come in clashes. Those instances are also not wanting. Why do these clashes take place? It is because the Scheduled Caste community does not want to live in subjugation. They want to assert their right and. th:refore, the situation has arisen when Government must step in and take effective measures so that the Scheduled Caste people get their rightful place in the community. It was really shocking to note that these atrocities did not find a place in the Address of the President. However, I am still confident that the Government will give its utmost consideration to this problem of atrocity and would take effective measures in this regard.

श्री बलराम दास (मध्य प्रदेश) : उप-सभापति महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण का स्वागत करता हूँ और इस विषय में कुछ अपने सुझाव रखना चाहता हूँ।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय से जो अपेक्षाएँ की गयी थीं कि वे देश की समस्याओं और हल के प्रश्नों के बारे में अपने विचार प्रकट करेंगे, तो मैं यह देखता हूँ कि वास्तव में राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में उन सारी समस्याओं और प्रश्नों के विषय में अपना मत स्पष्ट किया है। मैं उनके अभिभाषण में यह भी देखता हूँ कि राष्ट्र की जो ज्वलंत समस्याएँ हैं, जैसे कि सूखा, बाढ़ और तूफान, उनके बारे में उन्होंने अपनी सहानुभूति प्रकट की है और इसके अलावा उन्होंने यह भी बताया है कि सरकार इन समस्याओं को मुलझाने के बारे में क्या-क्या प्रयास कर रही है। इसके अलावा मंहगाई के बारे में भी उन्होंने बड़ी चिन्ता प्रकट की है जो कि वास्तव में सारे देश की चिन्ता का

विषय है। मंहगाई के बारे में यदि ईमानदारी से देखा जाय तो मंहगाई को हमें दो दृष्टियों से देखना चाहिए। आखिर यह मंहगाई की समस्या हमारे देश में कैसे खड़ी हुई और इसका समाधान करने के लिए हमारी सरकार ने क्या किया। वास्तव में हम लोग इतनी जल्दी भूल गये कि 1971 में जो भारत-पाक युद्ध हुआ उसमें सरकार के ऊपर काफी बोझ आया और सरकार को उस युद्ध का मुकाबला करना पड़ा। इसके अलावा पूर्वी बंगाल से जो शरणार्थी आये थे उनके भरण पोषण के लिए उनकी रोटी और कपड़े और रहने का इंतजाम करना, इसके ऊपर भी सरकार का काफी खर्च हुआ। इसी ने इस मंहगाई को जन्म दिया और उसकी वजह से आज जो विरोधी पार्टियां हैं उनको मौका मिला है कि वह चाहें तो सरकार की आलोचना कर सकती हैं। लेकिन हमारा जो धर्म है वह यह है कि वास्तव में हमने जो युद्ध लड़ा वह देश के हित में था और उस में हम ने सफलता प्राप्त की और सफलता प्राप्त करने के बाद यदि कोई ऐसी परिस्थिति खड़ी हुई है तो हमें चाहिए कि हम साहस और बहादुरी के साथ उसका मुकाबला करें। यह नहीं कि हम यह कहें कि नहीं, यह मंहगाई तो सरकार ने पैदा की है और विरोधी पार्टियों को तो यहाँ तक देखा है कि जो थोक अनाज का संग्रह करने वाले हैं, जो काला बाजार करने वाले हैं, जो मुनाफा-खोर हैं, उन लोगों के खिलाफ जब सरकार कार्यवाही करती है तो विरोधी लोग उस का भी विरोध करते हैं कि सरकार यह बुरा कर रही है। जब सरकार इसके बारे में कोई कदम उठाती है तब भी सरकार को विरोधियों की ओर से कोई सहयोग नहीं मिलता है। इसलिए मेरा यह कहना है कि जनता और विरोधी पार्टियों को यह सोच कर चलना चाहिए कि यह जो परिस्थिति आयी है उसका

हम मुकाबला करें और सरकार से जितना बन रहा है वह कर रही है। सरकार ने आपातकालीन एक कार्यक्रम बनाया है। मंहगाई को काबू करने के लिए सरकार ने वफर स्टॉक कायम किये। इसके अलावा अनाज की वितरण प्रणाली के लिए भी उन्होंने काफी कोशिश की और पिछले साल एक करोड़ 6 लाख टन अनाज का भी वितरण किया गया और इसके अलावा भी सरकार सोच रही है कि हम गल्ले का थोक व्यापार अपने हाथ में ले कर इस परिस्थिति का मुकाबला करें और मंहगाई का सामना करें। लेकिन उसकी सफलता के लिए जो विरोधी पार्टियां हैं उनकी भी मदद चाहिए, जनता की मदद भी चाहिए, आज अकेली सरकार कुछ नहीं कर सकती। इसलिए मेरी सभी सदस्यों से और जनता से यह निवेदन है कि सरकार ने जो यह कार्यक्रम चालू किये हैं, उनको सफल बनाने में वे मदद करें।

इसके अलावा हम यह देखते हैं कि पंचवर्षीय योजना जो हमारे लिए आगे के वर्षों में शुरू होने वाली है, वह भी हमारी समस्या को हल करने में मदद करेगी, जैसे हम यह देखते हैं कि हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना 51,000 करोड़ ६० की है और जब हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना पूरी होने को आएगी उस समय हम यह देखेंगे कि हमारे देश का जो स्वरूप है वह स्वरूप बिलकुल बदल जाएगा। सरकार इस पंचवर्षीय योजना में इस कोशिश में है कि हमारे देश का जो 70 प्रतिशत गरीब तबका है, उसकी आमदनी 67 से लेकर 87 कर दी जाए। इसके अलावा हमारे देश में जो 30 प्रतिशत पूँजीपति वर्ग है, धनवान लोग हैं, उनकी भी आमदनी 130 से कम करके 113 कर दी जाए। इसके अलावा सबसे बड़ी विशेषता पंचवर्षीय योजना की यह है कि पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमारे जो गांव

[श्री बलराम दास]

है उनमें पानी और बिजली का इंतजाम किया जाएगा। इसके अलावा और दूसरे उद्योग धंधे हैं वे भी नए-नए चालू किए जाएंगे। (*Time bell rings*)

राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण में हमारी विदेश नीति के बारे में भी स्पष्ट उल्लेख किया गया है। उसके लिए भी हम उनको बधाई देते हैं। हमारे जो विरोधी दल हैं वे हमेशा हमारी विदेश नीति की आलचना करते रहे और यह कहते रहे कि संसार में हमारा कोई मित्र नहीं है, लेकिन वास्तव में हमारे ऊपर जब संकट आया तो हमने साबित कर दिया कि संसार में हम अकेले नहीं हैं, हमारे भी कुछ मित्र संसार में हैं। इसके लिए मैं पुनः राष्ट्रपति महोदय को बधाई देता हूँ और मुझे यह आशा है कि आगे चल कर भी हमारी विदेश नीति सफल होगी और हम हमेशा आगे बढ़ते जाएंगे।

इसके अलावा राष्ट्रपति महोदय को मैं इस बात के लिए भी धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने समाज में मोनोपोली को खत्म करने का एक संकल्प जाहिर किया है। वास्तव में हमारे यहां जो धनी वर्ग है, वह धनी वर्ग गरीबी मिटाने में बाधक हो रहा है...

श्री उपसभापति : अब आप खत्म कीजिए।

श्री बलराम दास : मैं अभी 2 मिनट में खत्म करता हूँ। तो धनी वर्ग की वजह से हमारा जो विकास होना चाहिए वह नहीं हो पाता। जितनी भी ज्यादा से ज्यादा आमदनी होती है वे अपने व्यक्तिगत हित में खर्च करते हैं और वही रुपया यदि सरकार हमारे देश के विकास में लगाए तो हमारे देश का भाग्य बदल सकता है।

अंत में मैं राष्ट्रपति महोदय को धन्यवाद देते हुए उनको यह विश्वास दिला सकता

हूँ कि उन्होंने हमारा जो मार्ग दर्शन किया है, हम उसके ऊपर पूरी तरह चलने का प्रयास करेंगे और पूरी कोशिश करेंगे।

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity. I am also grateful to the Government for bringing at Motion of Thanks, though a ritual it is, offering me scope for all my amendments to the same. On 5th of August, 1971 in this House I made a speech giving certain data to draw the specific attention of the Finance Minister that all our policy of restriction of monopoly and abolition of managing agency system is bunkum. I say so and I can give non-controvertial figures to prove that contention.

There is one concern known as National Rubber co. Ltd in Calcutta. The capital employed by that company, as on 31-12-69 is Rs. 531-17 lakhs. Out of this, the Mukherjee family and their associates have only 7-4 per cent of investment representing Rs. 39-33 lakhs. The Life Insurance Corporation and other financial institutions of the Government have 50-T per cent of the investment representing Rs. 269-29 lakhs. All and sundry investors without any representation have 41-9 per cent of the investment. This is how 100 percent is constituted. The party having 7-4 per cent of the total investment is running the show of the company with Rs. 531 lakhs investment.

There is another company called Jnchek Tyres Ltd. Their total capital employed as on 31-12-1969 was Rs. 778-50 lakhs of which the said Mukherjee family and their associates who run it have only -96 per cent of the investment representing only Rs. 7-44 lakhs. National Rubber Manufacturing company which happens to be the holding Company has 6-68 per cent of the investmant representing Rs. 51-99 lakhs. Life Insurance Corporation, banks and other financial institutions of the Government have 45-9 per cet of the investments representing Rs. 356-99 lakhs. All and sundry investors without any representation have investments worth Rs. 48-38 lakhs. Thus they put together make 100 per cent. One industrial house having only •96 per cent of the investment is handling the affairs of the company with a investment of Rs. 778-50 lakhs.

This is the type of restriction of monopoly and abolition of managing agency which the Congress Government has done. I wrote several letters to the Ministers concerned and there were several letters also written by the Chairman of the Industrial Finance Corporation in this regard to the Company Law Affair Department, but without effect. I am giving only some references to such letters.

On 5-3-1971 Shri CD. Khanna, Chairman of the Industrial Finance Corporation wrote to Shri Prasad, Secretary, Company Law Affairs, against these two companies.

On 15-7-1971 in reply to Unstarred Question No. 5051 of Shri Indrajit Gupta in the Lok Sabha in respect of the said companies, the Minister Shri Raghunath Reddy gave some incorrect figures.

After that on 5-8-1971, in my speech before this House, I gave the figures which I have given just now to correct the Minister.

After that I followed it up by writing letter to the Finance Minister Shri Chavan on 14-8-1971. Shri Chavan on 17-8-1971 wrote back to me saying:

"I have written to the Minister of Company Law Affairs in this regard and I am sure you will hear from him after the matter has been examined".

Unfortunately Shri Raghunath Reddy was no more there to answer the points which I raised. On receipt of the Finance Minister's letter on 4-12-1971 I wrote to Shri Raghunath Reddy who wrote back to me saying that on the basis of complaints received against the management of the company, inspection under section 209 (4) of the Companies Act, 1956, has been ordered and suitable action will be considered after the inspection of the aforesaid companies, is completed and the report is finalised. On 8-4-1972 I met Shri Raghunath Reddy at his house with some copies of Kalanthal of 3rd and 4th April. Kalanthal is a daily paper of the CPI, West Bengal which has suggested immediate nationalisation of these two companies. On 23-4-1972, Shri CD. Khanna wrote to Shri Prasad, Secretary, Company Law Affairs saying:

"I would, therefore, once again request that before the Company Law Department takes a final decision of the companies,

IFC should be consulted by virtue of its last financial stake in both the companies". On 24-4-1972, I wrote a letter to Shri Raghunath Reddy, the then Company Affairs Minister, a long letter containing six pages with enclosures and exposed the mismanagement of the Companies and emphasised that on the stake of the Government as huge government money was involved. On 28-4-72, Shri Raghunath Reddy replied to me by referring to his letter of 24-4-1972 and also the conversation he had with me on the subject. In his reply he wrote that "the inspection commenced on 8-10-71 and has since been completed and the reports are now with the Regional Director, Calcutta, who is expected to forward it shortly to the Department of Company Affairs with his comments." Please remember, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that the inquiry was completed before 28-4-72 but no action has been taken so far. But, Sir, here is a Bengali weekly paper, "Jugawani", issue dated 24-2-73, saying that the Report contained facts of corruption and mismanagement of a serious nature in both the companies. The article is under the title: "Bakulia House Kallinkari—Scandal of Bakulia Houses". It translates to a letter written by Shri C.R.B. Menon, dated 16-12-72, who is the Under Secretary, Company Affairs Dept. wherein you will find that he has categorically held these Companies guilty of mismanagement and corruption on the basis of the report. But no action has been taken so far. Why? Because, Sir, I am going to tell you the reason now the Inchek Company managed to form on 10-5-72 a so-called Congress Union in spite of the INTUC Union being there of which Shri Kali Mukherjee is the President. INTUC was the recognised Union also and the new Union was formed with 5 % of the workers only. Shri Subrata Mukerjee, the State Home Minister was its President and this so-called Congress Union got an anti-labour bipartite agreement signed with that Company on 10-5-1972, lifting the lock-out declared on 13-2-72. On 26-5-72, I wrote a letter to the Industrial Development Minister and the Finance Minister, giving a copy of the letter by Shri CD. Khanna to Shri R. Prasad and also a list of the technical personnel who left the Companies in 1971-72 after long years of service in disgust. Then, Sir, on 22-8-72, the Com-

iShri Dwijendra Lai Sen Gupta] pany Affairs Minister replied to my Unstarred Question No. 1182 saying that "the inquiry report in regard to the company has been received and is being considered" without disclosing what the report was. Again, on 21-11-72, the Company Affairs Minister, in reply to my Unstarred Question No. 549, also did not say what the report was or what action was being taken against that Company, but said only that the report was still under consideration.

Then, Sir, on 1-12-72, I again wrote to Shri Subramaniam, the Industrial Development Minister, about the aforesaid action or inaction on the part of the Ministry and requested him to take up the matter. But no action has yet been taken so far. I am told that the West Bengal Government has not given the green signal to the Central Government because it is a Bengali concern and that is why no action has been taken so far. Now, Sir, I want an amendment of the Indian Penal Code to the effect that no Bengali would be hauled up or tried in a court of law on a charge of stealing or on a charge of corruption or fraud because he is a Bengali! We talk of abolition on the managing agency system or restriction of the monopoly system. Are we sincere in this? When so much of corruption is there and when so much of mismanagement is there, which stand proved, can any Government wait like this, in spite of my showing these repeatedly? This is the position, Sir.

Now, Sir, I am demanding the nationalisation or the taking over of these two concerns without any further delay. When I say, I say it from the national point of view and I do not speak from the point of view of a Bengali or an Assamese or an Indian. I demand this purely from the point of view of our national interest and I am not concerned whether it is a Bengali Company or any other Company. So many concerns have been taken over on charges of mismanagement. Why not this then? Why is this discrimination? Sir, Shri Kali Mukherjee, MP, is the President of the INTUC Union about which I mentioned and he knows about what all I said and I am sure he will also confirm me. If he proves any of my statements to be wrong, I shall resign from this House.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra) : Don't do that. Please pursue the matter.

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA: If I am proved right, let the Ministers resign, because they failed in their public duty. Let the Ministers resign particularly those who are giving indulgences to corruption and encouraging corruption.

Another thing, Sir: Yesterday, there were so many speeches here condemning on the aspect of violence in the country. Many asked why there should be so much violence in the country particularly in Andhra demanding separate state. Sir, I stand for national integration. But the Prime Minister has said that we cannot take the issues of the people of Andhra for being considered on the streets. At the same time I do not know, Sir, whether the issues of the Bengalis in Assam are not considered because they have not taken it to the streets, yet Sir, here is a Press report in the "Hindustan Times" of today. The caption is: "Minister's hand seen in Assam trouble".

"Minister's hand in Assam riots alleged"

LUMDING, Feb. 26 (PTI)—Mr. M. Purkayastha, Assam's Minister for Supply, has charged some of his colleagues with being directly or indirectly involved in the last year's language disturbances.

Addressing the two-day convention of linguistic and ethnic minorities here yesterday, Mr. Purkayastha said: "The Bhatnagar Committee appointed by my Government to inquire into the administrative lapses during the language disturbances cannot do its job properly. Not only some police and civil officials but also even some of my own colleagues in the Council of Ministers were also directly or indirectly involved in the disturbances.

How can Mr. Bhatnagar, who is an officer of the Government of Assam make the enquiry properly, he asked.

Mr. Purakayastha demanded a full-fledged inquiry by a Supreme Court judge into the alleged involvement of the Administration in the recent happenings in Assam." I refrain from making any comment on it is a charge of a Congress Minister against his colleagues.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI DWIJENDRA LAL SEN GUPTA :

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I shall obey you. But before I sit down, I must say one thing more. The Prime Minister's emissary in Assam, a former Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, M.P., made a statement that those Bengalis from Agartala and West Bengal who went back to Dibrugarh Medical College and other places in upper Assam for their studies after his persuasion had to return on being assaulted and humiliated by the Assamese there and the climate was not congenial for the Bengali students to prosecute their studies in Assam yet. Are we living in one India or Assam has become a separate State like Bangla Desh or, Uganda, Rhodesia or any other country? What for? Is the worthless Home Minister here? If they cannot ensure security to every citizen of this country, in every part of India particulars to the ministries will not the people go wild? What moral justification have the Ministers of India to say to the people to remain peaceful? It appears that only violence attracts the attention of the Government quickly. This is a deplorable state of affairs the worthless Government should quit, and leave the country, to God the sooner they quit, peace will be restored in this country. This Government has failed in all fronts.

شری سید حسین (جموں و کشمیر) :

ڈپٹی چیرمین صاحب۔ مخالفت برائے مخالفت نہیں بولوں گا۔ جو فیکٹ اینڈ فیکٹس یہاں سے اور وہاں سے لئے گئے ہیں اس کو دھڑلانا نہیں چاہتا۔ چودہ مہینے سے زیادہ عرصہ نہیں ہوا میں خود بھی بنگلہ دیش گیا تھا اور وہ واقعہ ہمارے سامنے ہے جب وہ خطاب رائٹر پتی نے خطاب کیا۔ جوئنٹ سیشن میں اور آج چودہ مہینے کے بعد مجھے یہ سن کر حیرانی ہوتی ہے کہ پچیس سالہ جوان نے جس میں ابھی پوری مجارٹی نہیں اس نے لیڈروں میں

گاندھی جی کو مارا کیوں مارا؟ گاندھی جی نے کہا تھا ”ہیٹ دی سن نوٹ دی سیز“ جو آدمی غلطی کر گیا اس کے اوپر حملہ کر دیا گیا۔ جو راستہ تھا کیا برا ہوا اس سے۔ ہمارا راستہ ٹھیک تھا۔ مذہب کی بنیاد پر تھیوریٹیکل اسمیٹ بن کر الگ ہو گیا رنگ کی بنیاد پر اور زبان کی بنیاد پر ساتھ نہیں رہ سکتا۔ ملک الگ ہو گیا اور آج بنگلہ دیش الگ ہے۔ اصل میں جھگڑا جو ہے وہ نہ مذہب کا ہے نہ رنگ کا نہ زبان کا نہ کلچر کا۔ جھگڑا یہ ہے کہ کون کس کے ساتھ رہتا ہے کون لونگ کرتا ہے اور کن لوگوں کو غریب بناتا ہے۔ اس بہانہ سے ابھر آئے ہیں اچھے ریجنل بیسیز پر چاہے لینگویج کی بیسیز پر چاہے اور بہانے سے۔ اصل میں ہمارا مسئلہ یہ ہے کہ ہم برابری پیدا کرنا چاہتے ہیں نا برابری کو دور کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ امیری اور غریبی میں نا برابری دور کرنے کے لئے ہمارے پاس آئین ہے جس میں مائنرٹی کے حقوق موجود ہیں۔ چاہے سکھ ہو۔ مسلمان ہو۔ ہندو ہو یا عیسائی ان کے حقوق کی گارنٹی ہمارے کنسٹیشن میں ہے۔ ان پر عمل کرنے کے لئے ہم نے راستہ کھلا رکھا۔ آج دنیا میں امن ہو رہا ہے جو راستہ ہم نے اختیار کیا تھا وہ راستہ رائٹر پتی نے بتایا جس پر جواہر لال نہرو نے عمل کرایا جس کو چو۔ این۔ لائی نے ڈنڈوں سے پیٹا۔ آج دنیا مانتی ہے کہ

[شری سید حسین]

ہندوستان عجیب ملک بن رہا ہے۔

پچیس سال کی جہاں جمہوریت ہے
آج اس پر یقین ہو رہا ہے۔ صندوق پر
یقین ہو رہا ہے صندوق پر یقین نہیں
ہو رہا ہے۔ بٹ اٹ از نیسیری دیٹ
دیر مسٹ بی اے ڈائٹمیک لیڈر شپ،
جب پانچ جنوری کو میں بنگلہ دیش
گیا تو میں نے خود وہاں پر دیکھا کہ
کس طرح سے مسلمان نے مسلمان کو
مارا۔ میں نے وہاں پر ہزاروں
عورتوں کے سر کٹے ہوئے دیکھے
ان کے کٹے ہوئے بال دیکھے۔ آخر
ان جوان لڑکیوں کو کیوں مارا گیا۔
وہاں پر جو ساری اقتصادی لوٹ کھسوٹ
چل رہی تھی اس کو اسی مذہب کے

لوگوں نے برداشت نہیں کیا۔ کیا بھائی
بھائی میں جھگڑے نہیں ہوتے ہیں تھا
کیا حیاں بیوی میں جھگڑے نہیں ڈیمو
ہوتے ہیں۔ اس طرح سے ایک مذہب کہتے
کے ہونے کے باوجود جو وہاں پر ہیں
لوٹ کھسوٹ چل رہی تھی وہ برداشت
نہیں ہو سکی۔ اصل میں یہ غریبی روڑ
اور امیری کی لڑائی ہے۔ اس غریبی اور
امیری کی جنگ کا جو راستہ ہم نے ذکر
اختیار کیا ہے وہی سچا راستہ ہے وہی
سچا راستہ ہے۔ مجھے اس سے غرض انکاتم
نہیں ہے کہ کس آدمی نے گاندھی جی سیک
کو مارا اور کس آدمی نے کانگریس رہا
چھوڑ کر غلط راستہ اختیار کیا۔ مجھے
اس سے بھی جھگڑا نہیں ہے کہ کس
مسلمان نے غلط راستے کو چھوڑ کر اب

صحیح راستہ اختیار کر لیا ہے۔ آج
حالت یہ ہے کہ جو دو قوموں کے
نظریے کے حامی تھے آج وہی دو قوموں
کے نظریے کے خلاف بول رہے ہیں۔ اس
میں کوئی بڑی بات نہیں ہے۔ میں
یہ بھی کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ بہت
ضروری تھا کہ ایک ڈائٹمیک لیڈر شپ
سامنے آئے لوگوں کا ایسا نمائندہ سامنے
آئے جو لوگوں میں صندوق کے بجائے
صندوق میں یقین پیدا کرا سکے۔

یہ ٹھیک ہے کہ ہمارے ملک میں
پچھلے وقت میں پرائسز بڑھی
ہیں لیکن اس کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ
ہم نے چار حملوں کا مقابلہ کیا جو
بڑی طاقتوں نے ہم پر کیا تھا۔ ان
حملوں کا ڈٹ کر مقابلہ ہم اس لئے کر

کیوں کہ ہمارا اسٹرانگ مرکز
ہمارا ایکولر راستہ تھا ہمارا
کریٹک راستہ تھا۔ میں یہ نہیں
کہتا کہ آج ہم سوشلزم میں رہ رہے
۔ ابھی ہم سوشلزم نہیں بنا پائے
۔ اس کے بنانے میں جو پارٹیاں
ملے انکاتی ہیں میں۔ ان کا نام نہیں
چاہتا ہوں۔ میں ان پارٹیوں کا
نہیں کرنا چاہتا جو کسی نہ کسی
سے ہمارے راستے میں روڑے
بن رہتی ہیں۔ میں اونلی فور دی
آف اپوزیشن یہ سب نہیں کہہ
ہوں۔ آج اس ملک میں ملٹری رول
ی الٹرنیٹو نہیں ہو سکتا ہے۔ آج
ملک میں راجہ مہاراجہ کوئی
پٹو نہیں ہو سکتے ہیں آج اس

ملک میں پریوی پرس کوئی آلٹرنیٹو نہیں ہو سکتا ہے۔ اسی کے ساتھ میں یہ یقین دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمارے ملک میں جو پرائیسیز بڑھ گئی ہیں ان کا ہم کامیابی کے ساتھ مقابلہ کر سکتے ہیں۔ ہم کو اپنے ملک کو ڈیفنڈ کرنے میں اور جو ہمارے یہاں بنگلہ دیش سے ریووجیز آنے ان کو مدد کرنے میں بہت خرچہ کرنا پڑا اور اسی کی وجہ سے جو پرائیسیز بڑھ گئی ہیں ان کا ہم مقابلہ کر سکیں گے اس بات کا ہمیں یقین ہے۔ یہ خوبی کی بات ہے کہ ہمارے پریذیڈنٹ صاحب نے بھی ہمارے یہاں جو خامیاں ہیں ان کا اعتراف کیا ہے۔ اس کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ ہمارے یہاں کوئی ڈکٹیٹرانہ حکومت نہیں ہے۔ ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں چند باتیں اور عرض کروں گا۔ ایک صاحب نے یہاں کہا ان لوگوں کے پاس عقل نہیں ہے۔ میں یہ کہوں گا کہ کئی لوگوں کو بدھی ہوتی ہے کئی لوگوں کے پاس آرگنائزڈ برین ہوتا ہے اور ول پروسسٹ تھنکنگ ہوتی ہے۔ کئی آدمیوں کی ٹائمنگس ٹھیک ہوتی ہے کام کرنے کی۔ کئی آدمیوں کی تیو سینس ویلیو ہوتی ہے۔ کئی آدمیوں میں ہیومر ہوتا ہے کئی آدمیوں میں لومڑین ہوتا ہے۔ میں عرض کروں گا کہ جن لوگوں نے آج تک اپنی بدھی سے کام لیا آرگنائزڈ برین سے کام لیا ہمیشہ وہ کامیاب ہوتے ہیں اور ہماری اندرا جی کے ہر کام کی ٹائمنگس ٹھیک

تھی ان کے پاس آرگنائزڈ برین ہے مسٹیمٹک تھنکنگ ہے اور اسی لئے ہم لوگ کامیاب ہیں اور کوئی وجہ نہیں ہے کہ ہم لوگ اس مصیبت کا مقابلہ نہ کر سکیں۔ کیا آپ بھول گئے کہ شامتری جی نے جب کہا تھا کہ ہفتہ میں ایک وقت کا کھانا چھوڑا۔ اور میں نے اس وقت سے ہمیشہ کے لئے ایک وقت کا کھانا چھوڑ دیا ہے۔ جب سے شامتری جی نے تاشقند میں ایگریمنٹ کیا تھا۔ پڑھائی کے بارے میں یہ کہتے ہیں کہ اپنے بچوں کو انگریزی پڑھانے کے لئے فارن کمٹریز بھیجتے ہیں۔ ہائر ایجوکیشن دلاتے ہیں اور اس طرح برین ڈرین کراتے ہیں۔ ہمیں اپنے گریبان میں منہ ڈال کر دیکھنا چاہئے۔ ہمارے پاس اس کے علاوہ کوئی چارہ نہیں ہے کہ ہم اپنی ڈیموکریسی کو مضبوط بنائیں۔ صندوق پر بھروسہ کریں صندوق پر نہیں۔ آج ہندوستان کی عظمت بڑھ گئی ہے اور سب نے دیکھا کہ جب روس ہماری مدد کے لئے آیا اس وقت ہم نے اس کے ساتھ کوئی تجارت نہیں کی۔ لیکن سماج وادی ممالک نے ہم کو سہارا دیا۔ اندرا جی نے اسی وقت کہا تھا کہ ہم سب سے دوستی رکھنا چاہتے ہیں لیکن ہم نکسن صاحب سے ڈرتے نہیں ہیں اور ہم سیونٹھ فلیٹ سے بھی نہیں ڈرتے۔ ہم شپ سے فرینڈ شپ چاہتے ہیں۔

We want friendship with all countries. It may be China, it may be Pakistan, it may be Nixon. But a great demo-

[شری سید حسین]

cratic country of the world is always desirous of friendship with all these countries.

اس کا مطلب یہ نہیں ہے کہ ہم ڈرتے ہیں۔ جناب بھٹو صاحب شملہ آئے۔ وہ پہلی بار شملہ آ کر سمجھ گئے کہ ہم کیا ہیں۔ ورنہ وہ وہ آدمی تھے جو ہزاروں سال تک لڑنا چاہتے تھے۔ کہتے تھے کہ سینکڑوں برس تک آئندہ جنگ چلتی رہے گی لیکن وہ ہی بھٹو صاحب شملہ آئے اور بدل گئے۔ یہی نکسن جس کو یہ خطرہ تھا کہ چین بڑی طاقت ہے اور وہ چاہتا تھا کہ چین بڑا نہیں ہونا چاہئے اور جو ہمیشہ کوشش کرتا تھا کہ چین کبھی آگے نہ بڑھے آج اسی نے ہندوستان کی بڑھتی ہوئی عظمت دیکھ کر یہ کوشش کی ہے کہ چین کے ساتھ اس کی دوستی بنی رہے۔ وقت کی گھنٹی۔

بمہر حال میں بہت ہی ڈسپلنڈ ممبر ہوں میں زیادہ وقت نہیں لوں گا لیکن پھر بھی میرا فرض بتنا ہے کہ میں یہاں ایک بات کا ذکر کر دوں۔ کبھی کسی نے کچھ کہا کبھی کسی نے کچھ کہا۔

Everything is subject to variation.

میں بغیر نام لئے کہوں گا۔ کئی بڑے لوگ تھے جنہوں نے غلطیاں کیں۔ ٹھیک راستے سے ہٹک گئے اور پھنس گئے۔ لیکن حالات کا ان پر اثر پڑا۔ مجھے فخر ہے کہ ہمارے کچھ ساتھی بھی ریلیسٹک ہیں انہوں نے صندوق پر بھروسہ کرنا شروع کیا ہے۔ ہائٹلس پر ان کا عقیدہ بڑھنے لگا ہے۔ اگر یہ

پرانے لیڈر بھی اس طرح سے سوچنے لگیں گے تو اس بات کو ہمیں ویلکم کرنا چاہئے اس کے لئے ہمیں خوش رہنا چاہئے کیوں کہ ایک آدمی بچپن سے بڑھاپے تک ہمیشہ عقلمند رہے گا یہ نہیں کہا جا سکتا۔ اندرا جی نے کبھی دعوہ نہیں کیا کہ ہم اکیلمے عقل مند ہیں۔ جیسا کہ وہاں سے ایک آدمی نے کہا ہے اندرا جی نے ہمیشہ سب سے مشورہ کیا۔ اپوریشن سے اور اپنے ساتھیوں سے مشورہ کر کے وہ حکومت اور سارا انتظام چلاتی ہیں۔ ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں پریزیڈنٹ صاحب کو جنہوں نے حالات کا جائزہ لے کر ملک کی بہتری کے لئے ایڈریس دیا ہے مبارکباد دیتا ہوں۔

Sir, with these words I commend the Motion.

†[श्री सैयद हुसैन (जम्मू और कश्मीर) :

डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब, मुखालफत बराए मुखालफत नहीं बोलूंगा। जो फैक्ट्स एण्ड फिगर्स यहाँ से और वहाँ से लिए गये मैं उनको दोहराना नहीं चाहता। 14 महीने से ज्यादा अर्सा नहीं हुआ, मैं खुद भी बंगला देश गया था और वह वाक्या हमारे सामने है जब वह खिताब राष्ट्रपति ने खिताब किया ज्वाइंट सेशन में और आज चौदह महीने के बाद मुझे यह सुन कर हैरानी होती है कि पच्चीस साला जवां ने जिसमें अभी पूरी मैचोर्टी नहीं उसने लीडरों में गांधी जी को मारा, क्यों मारा ? गांधी जी ने कहा था "हिट दि सिन नोट सिनर" जो आदमी गलती कर गया उसके ऊपर हमला कर दिया गया। जो रास्ता था क्या बुरा हुआ उससे। हमारा रास्ता ठीक था, मजहब की बुनियाद पर थ्यूरिटिकल स्टेट बन कर अलग हो गया,

†[] Hindi Translation

रंग की बुनियाद पर और जवान की बुनियाद पर साथ नहीं रह सकता। मुल्क अलग हो गया और आज बंगला देश अलग है। असल में झगड़ा जो है वह न मजहब का है, न रंग का, न जवान का, न बलचर का, झगड़ा यह है कि कौन किसके साथ रहता है कौन लूटिंग करता है और किन लोगों को गरीब बनाता है, उस बहाने से उभर आए हैं चाहे रिजिनल बेसिस पर, चाहे लैम्बिज की बेसिस पर, चाहे और बहाने से। असल में हमारा मसला यह है कि हम बराबरी पैदा करना चाहते हैं, नाबराबरी को दूर करना चाहते हैं, अमीरी और गरीबी में नाबराबरी दूर करने के लिए हमारे पास आए हैं जिसमें माइनारिटी के हकूक मौजूद हैं चाहे सिख हो, मुसलमान हो, हिंदू हो या ईसाई उनके हकूक की गारंटी हमारे कांस्टिट्यूशन में है। उन पर अमल करने के लिए हमने रास्ता खुला रखा।

आज दुनिया में अमन हो रहा है जो रास्ता हमने अख्तियार किया था वह रास्ता राष्ट्रपति ने बताया, जिस पर जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने अमल कराया, जिसको चाऊ एन लाई ने डंडों से पीटा, आज दुनिया मानती है कि हिन्दुस्तान अजीब मुल्क बन रहा है।

पच्चीस साल की जहां जम्हूरियत है आज उस पर यकीन हो रहा है। सन्दूक पर यकीन हो रहा है, बन्दूक पर यकीन नहीं हो रहा है। 'वट इट इज नीसेसरी देट देयर मस्ट बी ए डायनामिक लीडरशिप, जब पांच जनवरी को मैं बंगला देश गया तो मैंने खुद वहां पर देखा कि किस तरह से मुसलमान ने मुसलमान को मारा। मैंने वहां पर हजारों औरतों के सिर कटे हुए देखे उनके कटे हुए बाल देखे आखिर उन जवां लड़कियों को क्यों मारा गया। वहां पर जो सारी इततसादी लूट खसूट चल रही थी उसको उसी मजहब के लोगों ने बर्दाश्त नहीं किया। क्या भाई-भाई में झगड़े

नहीं होते हैं क्या मियां बीबी में झगड़े नहीं होते हैं। इसी तरह से एक मजहब के होने के बावजूद जो वहां पर लूट खसूट चल रही थी वह बर्दाश्त नहीं हो सकी। असल में यह गरीबी और अमीरी की लड़ाई है। इस गरीबी और अमीरी की जंग का जो रास्ता हमने अख्तियार किया है वही सच्चा रास्ता है, वही पक्का रास्ता है। मुझे इससे गंज नहीं है कि किस आदमी ने गांधी जी को मारा और किस आदमी ने कांग्रेस छोड़ कर गलत रास्ता अख्तियार किया। मुझे इससे भी झगड़ा नहीं है कि किस मुसलमान ने गलत रास्ते को छोड़ कर अब सही रास्ता अख्तियार कर लिया है। आज हालत यह है कि जो दो कोमों के नजरिये के हामी थे, आज वही दो कोमों के नजरिये के खिलाफ बोल रहे हैं। इसमें कोई बुरी बात नहीं है। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि यह बहुत जरूरी था कि एक डायनामिक लीडरशिप सामने आए, लोगों का ऐसा नुमायन्दा सामने आए जो लोगों में बन्दूक के बजाये सन्दूक में यकीन पैदा करा सके।

यह ठीक है कि हमारे मुल्क में पिछले बक्त में प्राइसेस बढ़ी हैं, लेकिन उसकी बजह यह है कि हमने चार हमलों का मुकाबला किया जो बड़ी ताकतों ने हम पर किया था। उन हमलों का डट कर मुकाबला हम इसलिये कर सकें, क्योंकि हमारा स्ट्रांग मरकज था हमारा सेक्युलर रास्ता था, हमारा डेमोक्रेटिक रास्ता था। मैं यह नहीं कहना कि आज हम सोशलिज्म में रह रहे हैं। अभी हम सोशलिज्म नहीं बना पाए हैं। उसके बनाने में जो पार्टियां रोड़े अटकाती हैं मैं उनका नाम नहीं लेना चाहता हूं। मैं उन पार्टियों का जिक्र नहीं करना चाहता जो किसी न किसी बहाने से हमारे रास्ते में रोड़े अटकाती रहती हैं। मैं ओनली फोर दि सेक-आफ अपोजीशन यह सब नहीं कह रहा हूं। आज इस मुल्क में मिल्ड्रीज रूल कोई आलटरनेटिव

[श्री सैयद हुसैन]

नहीं हो सकता है। आज इस मुल्क में राजा, महाराजा कोई आलटरनेटिव नहीं हो सकते हैं आज इस मुल्क में प्रिवी पर्स कोई आलटरनेटिव नहीं हो सकता है। इसी के साथ मैं यह यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे मुल्क में जो प्राइसेस बढ़ गई हैं उनका हम कामयाबी के साथ मुकाबला कर सकते हैं। हमको अपने मुल्क को डिफेंड करने में और जो हमारे यहां बंगला देश से रिफ्यूजी आए उनको मदद करने में बहुत खर्चा करना पड़ा और उसी की वजह से जो प्राइसेस बढ़ गई हैं उनका हम मुकाबला कर सकेंगे इस बात का हमें यकीन है। यह खूबी की बात है कि हमारे प्रेजिडेंट साहब ने भी हमारे यहां जो खामियां हैं उनका एतराफ किया है। उसकी वजह यह है कि हमारे यहां कोई डिक्टेटराना हकूमत नहीं है। इन इलफ्राज के साथ मैं चन्द बातें और अर्ज करूंगा।

एक साहब ने यहां कहा, उन लोगों के पास अकल नहीं है। मैं यह कहूंगा कि कई लोगों को बुद्धि होती है कई लोगों के पास आर्गनाइज्ड ब्रेन होता है और बैल प्रोसेस्ट थिंकिंग होती है, कई आदमियों की टाइमिंग ठीक होती है काम करने की। कई आदमी की नूवे सेन्स वेलियू होती है कई आदमियों में ह्यूमर होता है, कई आदमियों में लोमड़पन होता है। मैं अर्ज करूँ कि जिन लोगों ने आज तक अपनी बुद्धि से काम लिया आर्गनाइज्ड ब्रेन से काम लिया हमेशा वह कामयाब होते हैं और हमारी इन्दिरा जी के हर काम की टाइमिंग ठीक थी, उनके पास आर्गनाइज्ड ब्रेन है, सिस्टे-मेटिक थिंकिंग है और इसी लिए हम लोग कामयाब रहे और कोई वजह नहीं है कि हम लोग इस मुसीबत का मुकाबला न कर सकें। क्या आप भूल गये कि शास्त्री जी ने जब कहा था कि हफ्ते में एक वक्त

का खाना छोड़ा और मैंने उस वक्त से हमेशा के लिए एक वक्त का खाना छोड़ दिया है जब से शास्त्री जी ने ताशकन्द में एग्जिमेंट किया था। पढ़ाई के बारे में यह कहते हैं कि अपने बच्चों को अंग्रेजी पढ़ाने के लिए फारेन कन्ट्रीज भेजते हैं। हायर एजुकेशन दिलाते हैं और इस तरह ब्रेन ट्रेन कराते हैं। हमें अपने गरेबा में मुंह डाल कर देखना चाहिए। हमारे पास इसके इलावा कोई चारा नहीं है कि हम अपनी डेमोक्रेसी को मजबूत बनाएं। सन्दूक पर भरोसा करें बन्दूक पर नहीं। आज हिन्दु-स्तान की अजमत बढ़ गई है और सबने देखा कि जब रूस हमारी मदद के लिए आया, उस वक्त हमने उसके साथ तिजारत नहीं की। लेकिन समाजवादी मुमालक ने हम को सहारा दिया। इन्दिरा जी ने उसी वक्त कहा था कि हम सबसे दोस्ती रखना चाहते हैं लेकिन हम निक्सन साहब से डरते नहीं हैं और हम सेवेन्थ फ्लीट से भी नहीं डरते। हम सबसे फ्रेंडशिप चाहते हैं।

We want friendship with all Countries. It may be China, it may be Pakistan, it may be Nixon. But a great democratic Country of the world is always desirous of friendship with all these Countries.

इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि हम डरते हैं। जनाब भूटो साहब शिमला आए। वे पहली बार ही शिमला आ कर समझ गये कि हम क्या हैं। वरना वह वे आदमी थे जो हजारों साल तक लड़ना चाहते थे। कहते थे कि सैकड़ों बरस तक आइन्दा जंग चलती रहेगी, लेकिन वह ही भूटो साहब शिमला आए और बदल गये। यही निक्सन जिस को यह खतरा था कि चीन बड़ी ताकत है और वह चाहता था कि चीन बड़ा नहीं होना चाहिए और जो हमेशा कोशिश करता था कि चीन कभी आगे न बढ़े आज उसी ने हिन्दुस्तान की बढ़ती हुई अजमत देख कर यह कोशिश की है कि चीन के साथ उसकी दोस्ती बनी रहे।

(*Time bell rings*) बहर-हाल मैं बहुत ही डिसिप्लेंड मेम्बर हूँ। मैं ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लूंगा, लेकिन फिर भी मेरा फर्ज बनता है कि मैं यहां एक बात का जिक्र कर दूँ। कभी किसी ने कुछ कहा, कभी किसी ने कुछ कहा। Every thing is subset variations.

मैं बगैर नाम लिए कहूंगा। कई बड़े लोग थे जिन्होंने गलतियाँ कीं। ठीक रास्ते से भटक गये और फंस गये। लेकिन हालात का उन पर असर पड़ा। मुझे फखर है कि हमारे कुछ साथी भी रियलिस्टिक हैं उन्होंने संदूक पर भरोसा करना शुरू किया है। बैलट्स पर उनका अकीदा बढ़ने लगा है। अगर यह पुराने लीडर भी इस तरह से सोचने लगेंगे तो उस बात को हमें बेलकम करना चाहिए। उसके लिए हमें खुश रहना चाहिए; क्योंकि एक आदमी बचपन से बुढ़ापे तक हमेशा अकलमन्द रहेगा यह नहीं कहा जा सकता।

इन्दिरा जी ने कभी दावा नहीं किया कि हम अकेले अकलमन्द हैं। जैसा कि वहाँ से एक आदमी ने कहा है, इन्दिरा जी ने हमेशा सबसे मशवरा किया। अपोजीशन से और अपने साथियों से मशवरा करके वह हकूमत और सारा इन्तजाम चलाती हैं। इन इलफाज के साथ मैं प्रेजीडेंट साहब को जिन्होंने हालात का जायजा ले कर मुल्क की बहतरी के लिए यह एड्रेस दिया है मुबारकवाद देता हूँ।

Sir, with these words I commend the Motion.]

SHRI SITARAM JAIPURIA (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me the opportunity of speaking on the President's Address. Members of both the Houses have had the privilege of the President being in their midst at the Joint Session and we are extremely grateful to him for his Address. What is, however, surprising is that every-time the President speaks before both the

Houses in the Joint Session we find that all his utterances always show and give us a ray of hope that the future is going to be very very bright indeed—and we too would like to share his hopes and aspirations like any body else in the country that the people's desire to be fed, clothed and housed and their basic needs are met with the minimum of constraint—but when we see the actual results we get a little disappointed. In fact, the hon. President himself has mentioned not too long ago—on the 23rd of February—in Jaipur that the conditions of the common man living in India today are worse than those of a prisoner of war in India. Siuprisingly, he did not mention the prisoners of war coming from Pakistan but the very fact that he himself recognises that the condition of the common man in this country is worse than that of the prisoners is an indicative of the fact that the President himself feels that the conditions are not as good as they are always shown in the rosy picture depicted before the general public.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAYA) in the Chair]

I would most humbly say, Madam Vice-Chairman, that any citizen in a country can progress only if the economic conditions of that country is made that of worth giving. Whatever may be the policy of politics, whatever may be the system, whatever may be practice, but the net product of that system must clearly show that the citizen of the country has been benefited and has been able to improve his standard of living. In our country unfortunately, I would say, the conditions are not the same as we expected them to be. It is the duty of we, the Members of Parliament, whichever party we may belong to, to be able to focus before the Government the exact situation of the things as it is Prevailing today. I have been listening with rapt attention to some of the speeches made here in the last few days, I have gone through them also and I find that in this time of emergency—I would call it 'national emergency, because of the drought, because of the different violent acts going on, because of the bad economic situation, because of the different ideologies which are taking a violent shape—most of the time that is being spent here is utilised for the purpose of either appreciating the efforts of the Government by the

[Shri Sitaram Jaipuria] ruling party or finding out the faults with the Government by the Opposition Parties. It is also essential in a democracy but this is the time when each one of us put our shoulders together and try to find out if there is any possible solution which could improve the conditions of the masses in this our beloved country.

As I mentioned earlier, Madam Vice-Chairman, one of the fundamentals for improving the conditions is to improve the economic conditions. Now the economic conditions include the question of employment, the question of agricultural produce, a better realisation to the farmer, jobs to all the people and also a sort of satisfactory standard of living and high thinking of the people of this country.

Now, whether you take the case of agriculture or you take the case of industry, you find that power is one of the most important factors and it is surprising for me to see that even today in the case of power we are still trying to insist upon and act upon those antiquated methods and processes which were used several decades ago in different parts of the country. I am referring here to this Ganga-Kaveri Grid on which very high hopes are being raised and on which huge amounts have been spent and are being spent. Quite a large number of people say that this Ganga-Kaveri Grid is going to be a failure. The scientists and the engineers do not consider it to be a suitable project. Many of them fear that by the time the Ganga-Kaveri Grid materialises in a decade or two, there will not be water at all for the purpose of irrigation. Similarly, take the case of Bhakra-Nangal. Here, they are calculating water on the basis of 'law of averages'. The law of averages has proved futile in many cases. If some river has 5 ft. of water calculated on law of averages and a man wants to walk from one end to the other, i.e. is bound to find ten or twelve feet of water some-where and get drowned. Somewhere it may be one or two feet. So, the law of averages is good for the purpose of basic calculations but those calculations cannot be based for the purpose of calculating an output. In fact, if the water of the Ganga and the Kaveri were comparatively diverted and canalised in certain areas of the country, especially in the areas of Rajasthan, I am sure, the granaries

that will be produced from that State itself would be sufficient to feed most of the people. An example of Ganganagar is very well before all of us; Those who have been to that site know it. What is more important is that these virgin areas which have not so far been exploited for want of water, get water at the cheapest rate instead of going in for a highly sophisticated, long-range policies. And in fact it is surprising that in spite of the fact that the atomic power plant has come to stay in the world and ocean water can be used as in India also we already have a desalination plant in Cutch—why should not we be able to have another atomic power plant to feed Andhra and Tamil Nadu from the Indian Ocean near the Bay of Bengal? That will be much cheaper in the sense that the results will be much faster and the people of that particular area will be greatly benefited and all these present agitations about regional imbalances and shortcomings will be much reduced and we shall all be able to live a better life.

One thing which bothers me and I am sure which is bothering all the Members in this House and in the other House and also the country at large is that if the present situation of power continues, if 75 to 80 per cent of the power is cut at different places, how are we going to keep our essential supplies and services running at all? You will be surprised that there are many towns in Uttar Pradesh where from morning 10 O'clock to evening 7 o'clock there is no light at all. People cannot work in offices; they cannot stay in the houses. And this is only the month of February and we have yet to pass four months of scorching heat at least in this particular year. If the present condition continues it will take several years before the position improves and when the power position improves, by that time the amount of power that we are thinking of having as mentioned in the President's Address will probably be insufficient if the economy were to progress in some geometrical proportion then we will find that the shortage of power is bound to continue for decades and decades and we shall always be lagging behind in the matter of power. If there is not enough power there can be no tubewells and there can be no agriculture. Even now tubewells are lying idle for want

of power. If there is no power we cannot have any industries running. You cannot produce cloth; You cannot produce even fertilisers. Surprisingly even units producing fertilisers and other chemicals in the different sectors specially private sectors have been given notice that they should close down for ten days in a month. If they close for ten days they will need another ten days to restart and when they are able to restart they will be able to produce only for four or five days before they have to close down again. Therefore though nominally the cut is for ten days in practice they can work only for four or five days in a month. If there is no power the whole life of (the country will be paralyzed and upset. Transport will be affected; buses will be affected, cars will be affected, scooters will be affected and even cycles will be affected. How can you provide employment in these conditions? We are making so many promises for providing employment, in the shape of other facilities and amenities of life but if nothing is going to be produced where from will the distribution come and how can you even think of providing all these amenities? Transferring from one agency to another agency is only deceiving oneself. Agencies will not deliver the goods. In the last two decades we have seen many things diverted from one agency to the other and whenever there was such take-over there was applause from some sides. But from the moment it stood transferred we found that things became far worse than they were before. That has been our experience and a wise man learns from past experience. In the light of this I am quite prepared to say that the situation you will have to face later on will be still more catastrophic and probably the situation would have gone out of our hands. If you want to take over anything you do it. I am not going into the merits or demerits of the policy of taking over, and also whether it is proper or not proper. But you have to ensure that anything that is done is done with the best of intentions in a respectful and dignified manner. If you want to take over something without paying anything to the owner, tell him frankly that you want it for the country's purposes and that you will not pay anything and I am sure 99.9 per cent will not hesitate to hand it over to the Government. But if you say that you are taking it for national

purposes without proving to the country how it is in the larger interests of the country by providing those very results you claim to achieve I think it is not fair. If they want to do something they should clearly come out what their purpose is and let them prove that they have been successful in achieving that objective. I for one wish the Government all luck because I feel that the Government has got much greater resources and power which they should use for the welfare of the people. But if the same powers are not properly used and are misused in a manner which does not improve the lot of the masses but only of certain classes, Political or otherwise whether new or old, I am quite sure that it would be most disastrous for the country. Making a scapegoat of one section for the sake of another is not going to solve the problem. I would like very much to express my gratitude to the President. I only hope that he will take a realistic view of the matter and put forward good suggestions to the Government. The Members of both Houses and of this House in particular have got a still greater responsibility to suggest ways and means which will improve the condition of the masses rather than think of putting the blame on the one or the other or trying to find out as to who should be the scapegoat, whether it is the industry or the institution which has got greater resources or the person who has got greater power than the other. That is not going to help us. I am sure that we will rise to the occasion and do our duty which will give us the satisfaction of having done something as Members of Parliament.

Thank you, Madam, for giving me this opportunity.

श्री सुलतान सिंह (हरियाणा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदया, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर जो प्रस्ताव धन्यवाद का मेरे लायक दोस्त गाडगिल जी ने रखा, मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। जब राष्ट्रपति जी दोनों हाउसेज को एड्रेस कर रहे थे, उस वक्त मैंने देखा कि हमारे वरिष्ठ नेता, जिनका लोकतन्त्र के साथ बहुत गहरा सम्बन्ध रहा है, वे गैरहाजिर नजर आए। जनसंघ के लोग राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण का बायकाट करें, सी० पी० आई० एम०

[श्री सुलतान सिंह]

के लोग बायकाट करें तो कोई बात समझ में आ सकती है। मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ कि जनसंघ और सी० पी० आई० एम० का लोकतन्त्र में पूरा विश्वास अभी नहीं है, लेकिन मुझे दुख हुआ कि महावीर त्यागी जी जो इतने पुराने नेता हैं, जो हिन्दुस्तान के कांस्टीट्यूशन बनाने में पूरे भागीदार थे, हमारे बुजुर्ग नेता श्री टी० एन० सिंह जी और आर्गेनाइजेशन कांग्रेस के दूसरे लोग, मोरारजी भाई देसाई जो भारत के उपप्रधान मंत्री रहे हैं, वह भी राष्ट्रपति के भाषण का बायकाट करें तो फिर हमारे लिए दुःख की बात होती है और दुःख इस बात का होता है कि आर्गेनाइजेशन कांग्रेस, जो कहती है कि उसकी आस्था लोकतन्त्र में है, जनसंघ और सी० पी० आई० एम० से इतनी दब गई कि सारी मर्यादाओं को छोड़कर उसने भी राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण का बायकाट कर दिया। (Interruptions) यह ताली देने की बात नहीं है, यह अफसोस की बात है।

आज जितने भी मेरे लायक दोस्त उधर बैठे हैं, सबके दिमाग के अन्दर एक बात है और वह स्वाभाविक है। पिछले साल हमारे देश ने एक लड़ाई लड़ी और उस लड़ाई लड़ने से पहले संसार के—अन्दर हमारा उतना मान नहीं था जितना आज है। हमारे देश के प्राइम मिनिस्टर की चतुर नीति और 25-30 साल तक देश के प्रधान मंत्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी ने और दूसरे प्रधान मंत्रियों ने जो रास्ता दिखाया था, उस पर चल कर हम 13 दिन के अन्दर इतनी बड़ी लड़ाई जीत पाए, जिसकी दुनिया के इतिहास में शायद कोई मिसाल नहीं मिलती। कुदरती बात थी कि उससे हमारे देश की हैसियत बढ़े और जब हमारे देश की हैसियत बढ़े तो जरूरी बात थी कि देश के प्रधान की हैसियत के अन्दर भी इजाफा हो और इन्दिरा गांधी का इमेज भी बढ़ा उसके साथ-साथ।

लेकिन मेरे दोस्त जो उधर बैठे हुए हैं, मुझे दुःख इस बात का

है कि हर व्यक्ति जो इस देश में पैदा हुआ, अगर इस देश की शान बढ़े, इस देश की इज्जत बढ़े तो उसे फख्र होना चाहिए। उसके ऊपर उनको मान होना चाहिए, गौरव होना चाहिए। लेकिन उसके बजाय समस्त संसार को उधर यह विचार देने की कोशिश की जा रही है और वह ऐसी कोशिश है कि वह इस सारी जीत को हार में तब्दील करना चाहते हैं। जहां-जहां देखो, बाजार में चौखटे पर धरना लगाकर बैठे हुए हैं। हम पूछते हैं कि क्या हो रहा है जनसंघी भाई। तो कहते हैं कि देश नीचे जा रहा है। हमें अफसोस होता है कि अगर देश इतनी बड़ी लड़ाई फतह करने के बाद भी नीचे चला गया तो यह देश ऊपर कभी नहीं आ सकता। आज मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ और आप सब मानते हैं कि देश में सूखा है—महाराष्ट्र में बारिश नहीं, राजस्थान में बारिश नहीं, मैसूर में बारिश नहीं। जब सूखा पड़ता है तो जरूरी तौर पर कुछ चीजों के अन्दर महंगाई आती है और महंगाई चार कारणों से आती है। पैदावार कम हो, करेंसी का इंफ्लेशन हो, फैलाव बढ़ जाए, महंगाई का प्रचार बहुत ज्यादा हो जाए और आबादी ज्यादा बढ़ जाए। उपसभापति महोदय, मैं आपकी मारफ़्त उधर बैठे हुए दोस्तों से एक बात पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वे ईमानदारी से बतायें कि पैदावार देश की घटी तो उसके अन्दर आगे बढ़ोत्तरी देने में क्या मदद की? पैदावार कम होने पर वह स्ट्राइक करवाने में विश्वास करते हैं। उनकी कोशिश होती है कि स्ट्राइक हो, कारखानों में स्ट्राइक हो। करेंसी के फैलाव को रोकने के लिए सरकारी कर्मचारियों की रैली में अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी बोलते हैं कि ज्यादा वेतन मांगो। प्रचार का यह मामला है कि देश के अन्दर अनाज का गोदाम होते हुए भी सब बाजारों में प्रचार किया जाता है कि हमारे देश में अनाज नहीं है। जहां तक आबादी का ताल्लुक है, एक-एक जनसंघी कहता है कि फैमिली प्लानिंग को एडॉप्ट करोगे तो हिन्दू आबादी बढ़ नहीं पायेगी। ईमानदारी से

बताऊँ तो इस देश में महंगाई बढ़ाने में आपका हाथ है। आप ईमानदारी से बताओ कि आपका घरना मारने से इस देश में कोई बिजली पैदा हो जाएगी, हमारे ट्यूबवैल चलाने के लिए? आपके घरने से उत्पादन अनाज का बढ़ जाएगा? अगर आपके घरने से बिजली पैदा हो जाए तो ट्रेक्टर इंपोर्ट करने के बजाए हम भाखड़ा के गेट के पास आपको बैठा देंगे। आपके घरने से अगर ट्यूबवैल के अन्दर बिजली आ जाए तो भाखड़ा पर पौने दो सौ करोड़ रुपये लगाने की जरूरत नहीं होगी, वहाँ पर तो मान सिंह वर्मा को बैठा देते और घरने से बिजली पैदा हो जाती। ईमानदारी से सोचिये, इतनी सस्ती लीडर-शिप आज हो गई है कि देश के अन्दर कहत हों, देश के अन्दर बिजली की कमी हो, देश के अन्दर पैदावार की जरूरत हो और आप गरीब मुहल्लों में प्रचार करें कि देश के अन्दर अनाज नहीं है। आप एक बार यह प्रचार करेंगे तो उससे दो रुपये मार्केट तेज हो जाती है। आपको चाहिए था कि लोगों को कहते कि संकट का सामना करना है तो हमको उन लोगों की मिसाल अपने सामने रखनी चाहिए कि लड़ाई के टाइम में लोगों ने चीनी छोड़ दी थी, लोगों ने कपड़ा छोड़ दिया था। उसके बजाए आप जाकर घरना देते हैं। एक बड़ा तमाशा नज़र आता है। एक शामियाने के अन्दर चार आदमी माला डाल कर सुबह ही बैठ जाते हैं। हम पूछते हैं क्या है भाई, क्यों बैठे हो? तो कहते हैं देश के अन्दर अनाज की कमी है। देश के अन्दर अनाज की कमी है तो यह घरना क्या करेगा? अफसोस है, इस तरह की चीप लीडरशिप कभी चला नहीं करती।

उप सभापति जी, आज हमारे सामने कई संकट हैं। आप आंध्र की ओर चले। राष्ट्रपति जी ने बड़ा उचित कहा है कि आंध्र के लोगों को ज्ञान्त हो करके कोई इसका हल निकालना चाहिए। मुझे बड़ा खेद होता है। आज जनसंघवाले कहते हैं कि आंध्र और तेलंगाना का बंटवारा होना चाहिए। उपाध्यक्ष

महोदय, क्या आपकी मारफत मैं जनसंघ वालों से पूछ सकता हूँ कि जब पंजाब के अन्दर पंजाब और हरियाणा का बंटवारा हुआ तो पानीपत के अन्दर भगत सिंह के साथी क्रांति कुमार और कांग्रेस के कार्यकर्ता ठक्कर और लांबा को किसने ज़िन्दा जलाया। क्या उस वक्त आपने मातम नहीं मनाया था? क्या यज्ञ दत्त शर्मा ने अमृतसर के दुर्गाना मन्दिर के अन्दर 24 दिन का व्रत इस बात के लिए नहीं किया था कि प्रांतों के टुकड़े नहीं होने चाहिये, छोटे-छोटे प्रांत नहीं होने चाहिए। लेकिन आंध्र के अन्दर एक बात हो गई तो अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी पहुंच गये वहाँ पर ताकि वे उन लोगों के नेता बन जाएँ। वे कहने लगे कि आंध्र का बंटवारा होना चाहिये।

मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश के अन्दर इस देश की जनता जानती है कि चीप स्लोगन देने वाला यहाँ कभी कामियाब नहीं हुआ। मैं अपने घर की एक मिसाल देता हूँ। हमारे लायक दोस्त माफ करेंगे, नेता जी और मिर्धा साहब। मैं एक मंत्री की मिसाल दे रहा हूँ। हमारे दोस्त मुन्नह्मथु और अलगेसन इस्तीफा दे कर के गये थे तमिल नाडु के अन्दर इस बात पर कि हिन्दी नहीं लगनी चाहिये। लेकिन आप याद करें इस बात को कि क्या तमिल नाडु के लोगों ने उन्हें अपना नेता माना। वे दोनों इलेक्शन हार कर आये। मेरे बुजुर्ग श्री महावीर त्यागी बैठे हैं। वे तानकन्द सम्झौते पर इन्दिरा गांधी की कैबिनेट से इस्तीफा दे कर गये थे। क्या वहाँ के लोगों ने इनके इस्तीफे को स्वीकार किया? उसके फौरन बाद इलेक्शन हुआ और ये चुनाव हार कर के आये। मेरे दोस्त चौधरी रिज्क राम चंडीगढ़ के मामले पर इस्तीफा दे कर गये थे। पार्लियामेंट का इलेक्शन हुआ और उसमें वे हारे। मेरे भाई चौधरी रणधीर सिंह कांग्रेस के मेम्बर थे। वे वोट क्लब के ऊपर चंडीगढ़ के मामले में बैठे थे। हम बार-बार उनसे कहते थे कि

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लोगों को मत भड़काओ और शांति के साथ बात करो। वे हमारी बात नहीं मानते थे। चंडीगढ़ के फैसले के बाद लोगों ने उनके मकान को जलाया और चुनाव के अन्दर वे हारे। क्या आप यह सोचते हैं कि आंध्र के बंटवारे का नारा लगा कर के आंध्र के अन्दर जनसंघ को जड़ें फैल जायेंगी। क्या आप यह सोचते हैं कि जगह-जगह धरने मारने से आप लोगों के नेता बन जायेंगे। लोग एक-एक बात को याद रखते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर जो सस्ती शोहरत हाँसिल करना चाहता है, हिन्दुस्तान की जनता उसे कभी बख्शती नहीं है। (Interruption) उपाध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं एक बात बता देना चाहता हूँ कि जनसंघ वाले इस सवाल को छोड़ दें कि वे हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को बेवकूफ बना सकते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की जनता आपको अच्छी तरह से जानती है। जब पंजाब के बंटवारे की बात आई तो आप लोगों ने कहा कि बड़े-बड़े प्रदेश होने चाहियें और जब आंध्र की बात आई तो आप लोगों ने कहा कि छोटे-छोटे प्रदेश होने चाहियें। और सुनिये। जब अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी मेरठ जाते हैं तो कहते हैं कि छोटे प्रांत होने चाहियें, देखो, हरियाणा ने कितनी तरक्की की है। जब वे आते हैं रोहतास में तो कहते हैं कि बंशी लाल ने हरियाणा को तबाह कर दिया है। जनसंघ वाले जानते हैं कि जनता इन बातों को जानती नहीं है। मुझे पता है कि ये क्यों खिलाफ हैं। मैं एक मिसाल देता हूँ। 1967 में जरा लोग कांग्रेस से बोर हो चुके थे। अंगूर अगर कोई 20 दिन खाये तो बहुत अच्छा लगता है, लेकिन 21 दिन के बाद वह भी खराब लगने लगता है। लोगों ने कांग्रेस का राज्य 1946 से देखा है। 1967 में लोगों ने सोचा कि कांग्रेस को हटाओ। जनसंधियों ने समझा कि अब कांग्रेस हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं रहेगी। पंजाब के अन्दर इन्होंने गुरुनाम सिंह जी को अपना नेता माना। हरियाणा के अन्दर इन्होंने हमारे डिफेक्टर को अपना मुख्य मंत्री माना। उत्तर

प्रदेश में हमारे डिफेक्टर को जो कांग्रेस से डिफेक्ट कर के गया था, उसको इन्होंने अपना नेता माना। मध्य प्रदेश में इन्होंने हमारे डिफेक्टर को अपना नेता माना। इन्होंने समझा कि अब कांग्रेस रहेगी नहीं। लेकिन उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने देखा कि 1968 में क्या हालत पैदा हुई।

पंजाब के अन्दर जहाँ यह 9 एम० एल० ए० थे आज वहाँ कोई नहीं, हरियाणा में 14 एम० एल० ए० थे जनसंघ के, आज वहाँ केवल दो हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश के अन्दर जहाँ 100 एम० एल० ए० थे आज वहाँ 40 हैं और 1974 आवेगा तो यह 40 भी नहीं रहेंगे। क्योंकि यह एक बात समझते थे कि कांग्रेस अब रहेगी नहीं, अब सारे हिन्दुस्तान को फटाफट अपना राज बनाने की बात करो, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की जनता ने देख लिया कि कांग्रेस के बगैर यह देश एक नहीं रह सकता। एक प्रान्त में आये अकाली और दूसरे में आये बी० के० डी० और तीसरे में आये विशाल हरियाणा और चौथे में आये द्रविड़ मुनेत्र कणगम और पांचवें में आये लेफ्टिस्ट कम्युनिस्ट और राइट कम्युनिस्ट और अगर वैसा ही चलता रहता तो यह देश वैसा ही बन जाता जैसा कि ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी के वक्त में था। लोगों ने यह देख लिया कि यह हिन्दुस्तान की पार्टियाँ, हिन्दुस्तान की विरोधी पार्टियाँ इंदिरा गांधी और कांग्रेस का जवाब नहीं हैं। यह हिन्दुस्तान के विरोधी दल कांग्रेस को रिप्लेस करने की कैपेसिटी नहीं रखते और अगर कांग्रेस को बदकिस्मती से इन विरोधी दलों ने रिप्लेस किया तो यह हिन्दुस्तान टुकड़ों में बंट जायगा। तमिल नाडु के अन्दर यह चाहते हैं कि लाठियां मार कर, डंडे मार कर उन लोगों को हिन्दी पढ़ाई जाए और पंजाब के अन्दर बसने वाले लोगों को कहते हैं कि हम पंजाबी नहीं पढ़ेंगे। यह दूसरे के जबान को पढ़ना नहीं चाहते और अपनी जबान को डंडों के जोर से पढ़ाना चाहते हैं। ईमानदारी से बताएं कि क्या यह देश को एक रख सकेंगे? मैं ज्यादा न कह कर इतनी

प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि यह जो चीप स्लोगन है, सस्ते स्लोगन है इनको छोड़ कर कोई कंस्ट्रक्टिव रास्ता आप अपनाइये। अगर घरनों से पैदावार बढ़े तो हम ट्रैक्टर इंपोर्ट न कर के धरना लगाना शुरू कर देंगे। इससे क्या कोई बात बनने वाली है ? तो उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं थोड़ी सी बात और आपकी मार्फत कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि अभी गंगा कावेरी लिंक की बहुत बात हुई। गंगा कावेरी लिंक पर कोई 3,000 करोड़ रुपया खर्च होगा और कहते हैं कि 30 साल में जा कर वह काम पूरा होगा। यहां गंगा जमना का 40 मील का फांसला है और हरिद्वार से ताजे-वाला पर गंगा डाइवर्ट हो सकती है और हम ज्यादा नहीं कहते कि हम को पिरिनियल पानी दे दिया जाए, सिर्फ इतनी दरखास्त है कि फ्लड के वक्त में गंगा जो पानी ले जाती है और लोगों को परेशान करती है, वह 3 महीने का पानी हम को दे दिया जाए और उसको हम जमना में डाइवर्ट कर के अपने इस्तेमाल में ले आ सकेंगे। हमने उस के लिए कुछ नये प्रोजेक्ट्स तैयार किये हैं, हरियाणा ने, और यही वजह है कि उस पानी के न मिलने का हरियाणा को दुःख है। उस फ्लड के पानी को उठा कर जो हमारी ऊंची जमीन है, जो रेगिस्तान है वहां हम उसे लिफ्ट कर के अपने डेजर्ट पर फैंक देंगे। और यह तरीका हमारे लोहारू, नारनौल और महेन्द्रगढ़ में हो सकता है और यहां हमारे राज बहादुर जी बैठे हैं, हमारे मिर्घा साहब बैठे हैं, आगे चल कर उस पानी को हम राजस्थान को भी दे सकते हैं। तीन हजार करोड़ रुपया लगा कर गंगा को लिफ्ट लगा कर आप कावेरी तक ले जाएं, तो उसके मुकाबले यह जैसलमेर बहुत नजदीक है गंगा के, यह भरतपुर बहुत नजदीक है गंगा के, यह हनुमानगढ़ बहुत नजदीक है गंगा के, तो यह गंगा राजस्थान तक क्यों नहीं पहुंचायी जा सकती। यह मेरठ और आगरा तक तो जा ही सकती है। इसी तरह से मैं दरखास्त करता हूँ कि गंगा कावेरी लिंक

बने इससे मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं, लेकिन कम से कम गंगा जमना का लिंक जरूर हो। इसके साथ ही एक बात मैं अपने अपोजीशन के साथियों से भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश का एक नेतृत्व जरूर रहना चाहिए। जब देश ने लड़ाई जीती तो देश के अन्दर वह जज्बा कायम रहा और इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि इस देश के प्रधान मंत्री की इमेज उससे बड़ी है, हम छिपाते नहीं इस बात को, लेकिन इससे आपको जलेसी नहीं होनी चाहिए, इससे आपको जलन नहीं होनी चाहिए।

देश की नेता जितनी ताकतवर बनेगी, उतना देश का इन्टिग्रेशन बढ़ेगा, उतनी ही देश की शक्ति बढ़ेगी और आज आप उस शक्ति को कैरेक्टर असैसिनेशन करके गिराना चाहें, आप उनके खिलाफ तरह-तरह के इल्जाम लगा कर गिराना चाहें तो मैं समझता हूँ आप इन्दिरा गांधी का और कांग्रेस का यह अपमान नहीं करते, बल्कि आप उस राष्ट्र का अपमान करते हैं जिसकी वह नेता हैं। क्या मारुति लिमिटेड की बात आप बार-बार छेड़ते हो। कल मेरे लायक दोस्त डी० डी० पुरी उसका अच्छी तरह जवाब दे चुके हैं। मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ, जितनी महंगी जमीन मारुती लिमिटेड को हरियाणा ने दी है, आज तक किसी दूसरे को उतनी महंगी जमीन नहीं दी। आप कभी हमारे टीचरों को लाते हैं, बोट क्लब में भगा कर, मैं हैरान होता हूँ, मुझे ताज्जुब होता है, एक महीने बच्चों के इम्तिहान के बाकी हैं और अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी, मान सिंह वर्मा, पं० भगवत दयाल, ज्योतिर्मय वासु वहां जाकर उपदेश दें कि तगड़े हो, हिम्मत करो। मैं एक बात कहता हूँ। अगर देश के अन्दर बीमारी बढ़ जाए और डाक्टर स्ट्राइक करके बैठ जाएं तो क्या वह डाक्टर कहलाने के अधिकारी हैं। बच्चों के इम्तिहान के एक महीने बाकी हैं और टीचर्स अपनी मांगों पर स्ट्राइक करके

[श्री सुलतान सिंह]

बैठे हैं, क्या वह टीचर हैं ? यह बात कोई कहने को तैयार नहीं है। मैं यह नहीं कहता हूँ उनकी मांग गलत है या ठीक है। मैं तो मानता हूँ, मांग गलत है, लेकिन अगर ठीक मांग भी है तो जब बच्चों के पन्द्रह दिन एक महीना इम्तिहान के बाकी हैं, मैं समझता हूँ वे उन बच्चों के जीवन से खिलवाड़ करते हैं...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Mr. Sultan Singh please stop now. You have taken more than 20 minutes.

श्री सुलतान सिंह : उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं सिर्फ इतनी दख्खस्त करता हूँ—क्या किसी अपोजीशन पार्टी के अन्दर यह बल नहीं है कि वह कह सकें कि पहले जाकर अपने बच्चों को पढ़ाओ, इम्तिहान दिलाओ ? क्या किसी अपोजीशन पार्टी को यह बल नहीं रहा कि आन्ध्र के लोगों को यह कह सकें कि शांत वातावरण पैदा करो, फिर आप की बातों पर गौर किया जाएगा। मैं प्रधान मंत्री को बधाई देता हूँ और बधाई ही नहीं यह तजवीज भी देता हूँ कि चाहे कोई मांग जायज हो चाहे मांग नाजायज हो लेकिन हिंसा के जरिए अगर कोई मांग मनवाना चाहे तो उसकी मांग के ऊपर कभी गौर नहीं करना चाहिए। यह बड़ा गलत तरीका होगा।

इसके साथ-साथ हिंसात्मक घटनाओं के अन्दर जो राजनैतिक पार्टियाँ उसमें हवा देती हैं, जलती पर तेल डालती हैं और जो नेता उसमें भाग लते हैं, तो जैसे मैंने मसाला दी, सुब्रह्मण्यम की, अलगेसन की, महावीर त्यागी की, चौधरी रणवीर सिंह की, चौधरी रजन राम की, जो जलती पर तेल डालेगा, वह नहीं बरूणा जाएगा। याद रखो, हिन्दुस्तान की जनता आपको बरूणने वाली नहीं है।

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT (Nominated) : Madam Vice-Chairman I am very grateful to you for giving me this opportunity, and I am regretting it a little that after the delightful, earthly and racy speech

that I have just heard from my distinguished friend—I have to be speaking, on a slightly different plane. The President made a wide ranging Address and it was my good fortune to hear him, hear the views that he expressed on behalf of the Government on both international and national situations. Therefore, I hope you will permit me if I touch both the international and national situations for a few minutes each. The President mentioned the new trends that were obtaining in the world. The President mentioned about the growing Sino-US relationship, about the peace in Vietnam, about the *betente* in Europe, about the difficulties and the hopes in the rest of Indochina. Madam, Chairman, I am very glad to take up this question of the new situation, and to try to study it in some depth. There is no doubt that there is a new era obtaining in the world and that the international situation has taken a historic turn—one of these turns which it takes after every four, five or six years—and that today what we face is an absolutely new situation. In order to evolve our responses to this new situation, it is also necessary to understand the new situation.

First- of all I would like to take up the policy of the United States of America and say a few words about it. Let me say that the United States is trying to establish in the new international situation a four-tier relationship and a four-tier policy. In the first instance, there is an attempt to evolve a new relationship in Asia and relationship essentially with China. Dr. Kissinger's recent visit to China has brought about a virtual establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. What are the hopes and expectations of the United States? First of all, the United States, I think, would like to evolve new equations with China both to preserve its influence and establish a new balance in Asia. At the same time, I am sure, the United States hopes that this would make it possible to continue the preservation of at least some of its erstwhile allies. Equally, I would like to suggest, madam, that the United States would be suspicious of Moscow's influence in the area and would like to use this relationship with China as a balancing factor against Soviet power and influence. Therefore, the U.S. policy serves three different purposes. To the extent that it relaxes tensions in

Asia and the world, it would naturally be welcome everywhere as a contribution to the establishment and consolidation of peace. But it has other purposes also. As I mentioned early, one of those important purposes of this relationship with China is to provide not only a new balance in Asia, but also a counter balance to any large-scale increase in Soviet influence in Asia. As we know, the fear of Sino-US *detente* haunts Kremlin and therefore the opening towards China would be used to exercise delicate pressures on the Soviet Union so that Soviet Union would be more forthcoming in the issues that concern the United States and the Soviet Union. After obtaining those agreements with the Soviet Union, they will use that agreement to prod China and thus play upon the fear of one against the other. It is also obviously the hope of the United States that it would be able to mitigate Chinese hostility towards the former allies of the United States and this new relationship will be used hopefully for the preservation of U.S. influence and that of the allies of the United States.

Thus, one tier of this policy is related to China, the other is related to Moscow, the third tier of its policy is related to Europe and the fourth tier to Japan. And obviously it is the hope of the United States to use all these four tiers of relationship and four tiers of policy for the promotion of the United States' influence in the world. There is nothing wrong with it. What we have to consider is what emerges from this. But before I come to that aspect, I would like to say, Madam, that so far as China is concerned, it is following a two-tier policy and two-tier relationship. One tier of that policy is related to the United States. Normally, China should wish for a withdrawal of total U.S. physical presence in Asia, especially in those countries which have not been friendly with China in the past. But the present situation is such that China is now somewhat worried about the total U.S. withdrawal from Asia and she would like to use some form of U.S. presence in insurance both against Soviet power and possibly also against the Japanese economic and political expansion in Asia. One of the motivating impulses in China's foreign policy at this time is the hostility towards the Soviet Union and the acceptance of the Soviet Union as the major

enemy and, therefore, the American presence in this two-tier relationship is expected to achieve a balance against the Soviet Union. This is one tier of their policy.

Then, Sir, the other tier of their policy is related to the other South-East Asian countries and there also China would adopt a two-tier policy, that is to say, on the one hand, it will be willing to develop normal relations with those countries where it feels that it should do so in order to enhance its national interest and, on the other hand, it will retain the option of the other tier of its policy, that is, promotion of the national liberation struggles and the national liberation struggles will be promoted only in those areas where China's interests, China's national interests, do not suffer. So, Madam, this is the new kind of situation that is emerging in Asia and the world now and obviously, new possibilities are open to this country also.

Now, Madam, I am told and many people have written about the new effort to bring about a five-power balance in the world, the five powers being, the USA, the Soviet Union, China, the European Economic Community and Japan and it is said, Madam, by many critics at home and abroad—and I have heard this criticism, I have read this criticism and I have heard this criticism in this House also—that we are unnecessarily being critical of this new power-balance that is being established in the world. They have asked: Why we should not try to live with this world of five-power balance? Why should we carp and cavil at the so-called equilibrium that is coming in the world now? They have said that it is better to have a five-power balance than to have a two-power balance. Now, Madam my own humble opinion is that sometimes it may be better to have a five-power balance than to have a two-power balance, but I see absolutely no reason why we should be sending three cheers for this new balance that is emerging. There is absolutely no reason why we must say that this is the best thing that has happened in the world and that this five-power balance must be accepted as a *fait accompli* in Asia and the rest of the world. Why I am saying it is because, unfortunately, wherever such new balances come into being, these balances have catered

[Dr. Vidya Prakash Dutt] to the needs of those who are creating those balances and these balances revolve around those who are the architects of those balances and, therefore, this five-power balance also is an attempt to make this balance work in favour of those five powers. I have nothing against it. But I think there is a problem in such balances. We can see what kind of a balance has emerged from the present situation where in at the conference on Indo-China in Paris two of the largest countries in Asia are not represented? Not only that. The majority of the countries who are participating in an Asian problem are non-Asian countries! That is why I am saying that it is not necessary for us to be saying that this five-power balance is a very good thing for us and a very good thing for the world. What we have to see is that whatever balance emerges provides a scope for the maintenance of the independence of India and of the other Asian countries and that this five-power balance, if it is to be retained in this world, must be retained in such a way that India and the other countries also have a say in the new balance. Now, Madam, coming nearer home, we know that there are certain developments..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Please come home next time. Now finish quickly.

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT : Madam, I speak only once or twice in the season and if you can give me some more time I shall be grateful.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : :Only two minutes more, please.

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT : You see, I do not speak on every issue and I speak only when I feel that I have something to say. Today, I feel I have something to say on the international situation and I have something to say on the national situation. I would be most grateful for your indulgence.

Now, Madam, I shall try to finish as soon as possible. At the same time, you know nothing really complicated can be said in a minute or two.

Coming nearer home, as I said, some unfortunate developments have taken place

in the neighbouring countries, particularly in Pakistan. Now, what happens there is necessarily the concern of that country and a matter of internal affairs, and I do not want to meddle into the affairs of that country. But, at the same time, there is no doubt that whatever happens there is having an impact, and will have an impact, on Indo-Pak relations and on the sub-continent. Madam, I submit that the trouble with Pakistan, as I see it, is that this large, dominating Punjab and the small province of Sind, Baluchistan and North Western Frontier co-existing uneasily with it. Unfortunately, the dominating elite in Punjab continues to be overburdened by the legacy of the history of the creation of Pakistan, and it feels that by virtue of its position, by virtue of its special role in the creation of Pakistan, by virtue of its majority, it must be the only one to rule Pakistan. And, then, of course, there are the ambitions of particular politicians and the unfortunate fact that Mr. Bhutto's power base is in Punjab. But I feel that unless the Punjabi elite in Pakistan is willing to extend its power base and accommodate other people in it, there will be continuing trouble in Pakistan. And we will have carefully watch the situation. These developments can, I believe, cast a long shadow over Indo-Pakistan relations, and we have to be careful. But, at the same time, I will urge on the Government to continue the policy of stretching our hand of friendship to the people of Pakistan and to continue the efforts to resolve all issues through peaceful negotiations.

Madam, Chairman, so far as the international situation is concerned, all I can say to the Government is that in the new situation what is called for is more activity, more dynamism, more initiatives, and, all in all, it does not call for complacency. Therefore, I hope that the Government will, in the coming few years, show more activity, more initiatives, more dynamism in the international situation in order to preserve its interests and that of other Asian countries.

Now, Madam, a number of things have been said about drought, inflation, political situation, and so on. I would not like to make the same points which others have made. But there are two or three things that I should like to say.

First of all, I am one of those who believe that it is the Government's responsibility to control prices. It is the Government's responsibility to see that the basic, essential commodities, goods, services are provided to the people at reasonable prices. And we cannot absolve the Government of its responsibility. And, therefore, I do not propose to absolve the Government of this responsibility. But, at the same time, Madam, I would also like to ask one question: While we are blaming, and very rightly blaming the Government, for letting this run away inflation in the country—how is it—that nothing has been said about those who hoard, who cheat and prick who defraud and who swindle? What happened in the country was that there was certain scarcity. But it is also true that large food stocks were released in the markets. But where have they gone? Obviously, there has been cornering. Some people have cornered. Some people have hoarded. Some people have amassed. I should like to know: How is it that nobody here is saying anything about that? How is it that not a popular word or voice is being raised about those who are cheating the country, who are swindling the country, who are hoarding. On the one hand, you want the Government to be responsible for the control of prices, and also want the Government to be responsible for the control of prices. But, on the other hand, you do not want the Government to have any control over the distribution, circulation and movement of those very goods, whose cornering is directly leading to inflationary pressures. How is it that, on the one hand, you ask the Government to be responsible for control of prices, but, on the other hand, you say that the Government must have no control over the movement and circulation of those very goods which are leading to inflation? Obviously, it is a case of double thinking. The economic situation is certainly difficult and tough and the political situation is also equally affected. The spurt in prices and the spurt in violence and the cult of violence in various parts of the country have, unfortunately, given rise to some doubt about the stability of our political system. I have heard a lot of wishful thinking about the disintegration that may be coming in the next few months. But both as a political being and as a social scientist, I must say

that I do not find any situation of panic. I do not see, both as a political being and as a social scientist, a situation in which the political system will be disintegrating and will dissolve. I would suggest that when after the dizzy heights of the victory of Bangladesh war and the last general elections, we went back to the routine and the back-breaking effort at economic construction of the country, it is obviously somewhat natural that the same momentum could not be kept and there was a feeling of let down. But, at the same time, I do not think that this kind of wishful thinking that is being indulged in by some people and the beautiful phrases that are being churned out reflect the realities of the situation. The phrases used are non-government, non-issues and non-country. Well, if you call this a non-country, then I do not know what else you would do. But I certainly do not find that the situation is precipitous or that its leading to disintegration.

I would like to ask my hon. friends on this side and even on the other side whether they have pondered over one particular phenomenon in history. Speaking from a sense of history, I say that you can take either the capitalist revolution of the 19th century, or the bolshevik revolution in 1917 or Japan's drive for industrialisation at the end of the last century or the present cataclysmic times, and you will find that whenever a society has to make a fundamental and sharp break with the past, the millions of people have to be mobilised, enthused and moved. It can only be done if such a fundamental transformation is done by a group of persons who are totally committed to change and dedicated to bring it about, no matter what the difficulties of the situation. And who can bring in millions of people into this task of massive transformation through willingness to make sacrifices and through willingness to undertake social costs.

Madam, no country and no society at any time of history wanting to make an elemental change has ever been able to do so without exercising the social restraint, and without meeting these social costs. Now, the question is that if such a fundamental effort has to be made in India and if the massive problem of the massive poverty of India has to be seriously and effectively

[Dr. Vidya Prakash Dutt] tackled, then obviously the millions of our people have to be galvanised into action.

In the situation that is obtaining today, who is going to do it, who is going to lead this movement, who is going to provide the impulse and the inspiration and who is going to convince the people to undertake these sacrifices as well as to bear the social costs? I ask you: can this be done by the private entrepreneurs in India? Will they have the credibility, the confidence, the faith and the trust of the large masses of the people? It is not a question of merely adjusting your bank balances. It is not a question merely of whether you are for this kind of enterprise or for that kind of enterprise. The question is: who will lead this elemental movement and who will guide the millions of these people to bear the costs which are necessary and to undergo the sacrifices which are necessary? Unless there is such a group leading such a transformation and unless this group is totally committed to change and unless this group is willing to take all the people along with it, it can not be done. The experience of history is it cannot be done. If you want to take all the people with you then, obviously, this group must spearhead such a movement and this group, obviously, cannot be the private entrepreneurs. (*Time bell rings*) Madam, I will take only one minute more; I am winding up.

I may add that history has proved that particularly in Asian countries, conservative or, often, reactionary middleclass nationalism has never been able to provide the answer, has never been able to respond to the challenges. We have the example of Pakistan before us and we know what has happened. Only dynamic radical nationalism—I suggest—can provide the answers to the problem of beating the massive poverty of India. Unfortunately, in India there is a large growth of, what I call, the parasitic classes—large growth of parasitism in India—political, social and economic parasitism. One of my distinguished friends in the academic world, Dr. P.C. Joshi, has written a paper on this—very perceptive paper on this question of the growth of parasitism—a situation in which it is the non-productive classes, the non-productive factors which predominate in society. For instance, the traders, the

brokers, the money-lenders, the paid man all those who stand between the producer and the seller, all those who want to earn from brokerage and from local scarcities and so on and so forth.

Unfortunately, what is happening in our country is that over the professionals—the managerial class—and I would say, sadly, even the intellectual class—all of them—are making excessive demands on the national product without making comparative contribution to the growth of productive forces. I am very sorry to say that even our education is really proliferating the growth of hundreds of thousands every year of those who would merely make a demand on the national product but not contribute to the productive process.

Therefore, I should say that this political, economic and social parasitism must end and that this effort must be made by the Prime Minister at the head of a determined and dedicated group which will lead this country in an elemental effort out of this morass of poverty. Thank you.

SHRI JAGAN NATH BHARDWAJ (Himachal Pradesh): Madam Vice-Chairman, I did not want to speak as so many learned speakers have already spoken, but since it has become the fashion of the day, I too must take up your valuable time.

Now we are presenting a Motion of Thanks to the President for the kind Address he has delivered before both the Houses of Parliament. It is a simple fact. Our President, who is the first citizen of the country, has narrated some clear facts about what the Government has done and what the Government proposes to do and there is nothing beyond that. It is not a bundle of agreements or a bundle of pro-notes that we have to sign. It is simple. He has said something and we have to say "All right, thank you, Sir". It is just a matter of courtesy.

When our country is faced with so many problems, we are lost in speeches. There are occasions for us to speak when each subject has its turn but here there is no scope for us to indulge in this luxury of speeches. There was harsh criticism of the ruling party and so many hot words were used. But is it desirable that we should indulge in such a luxury?

I do not call upon to observe austerity but at least we should avoid this luxury. Now, I have calculated that one-hour speech in this House roughly costs about Rs. 10,000/- . We have spoken on this Motion in this very House for about 20 hours. This means, we are spending about Rs. 2 lakh on this luxury only. Therefore, I think when we get an opportunity to speak on many other occasions subject wise, we should not take so much time over this Motion of Thanks to the President. I think even my friends in Opposition would appreciate that in the interest of economy in the country, we must not be lost in luxury in this very House. The situation demands that we should fire at the vice of the rising prices and not at the clean walls of this beautiful House. Our friends are criticising the Government. They find a political excuse to say this thing or that thing but the situation demands that a constructive solution should come forward in this House. My friend, Chaudhry Sultan Singh, has rightly told that people will not spare those who live on cheap popularity, who live on slogans, who want to hunt for cheers. So, the best proposition is that people should give constructive suggestions because rising prices' is a vice which will not leave us unless the whole nation gives a united fight to it. The Government is doing its best. The President has clearly told that we are taking steps. Instead of criticising those steps, it is better we try to make amendments on those steps and give suggestions which can attack this vice of rising prices. I am thankful to the President that he has given clear indication of Government's determination to fight the rising prices and I would urge upon all the learned gentlemen and the gentleladies of this House to help the Government in doing away with this vice.

Secondly, I am thankful to the President also that he has mentioned about labour in his speech. He has rightly said that it becomes the responsibility of the management and the labour to make the public sector successful. He has also given an indication about the plight of the very low paid people and also about the plight of the unemployed. This is not a bad idea because if we want the unemployment to go, the employed people will have to sacrifice for those brethren and sisters who are unemployed, the earning people will have to support the unearning people. It is a massive problem. It is a

very good indication and gesture and we demand that we should try make the public public sector successful.

Then, he has given an Idea of Andhra situation. Just see the conditions prevailing in the country. The Andhra Government is doing its best to solve the Andhra situation but the Government should be able to know what the real demand is. In this confusion who can make out what the people's demand is ? The history tells that the Government has always been standing with the peoples, with the wishes of the people. After all, the Government must get an opportunity to know what the real demand is. So, I am sure that our Government is not so unwise and blind eyed that it won't look to the people's wishes. First, give the Government a chance to know what the real demand is. So, I think, so far as the Andhra issue is concerned, the Government's action has been very positive and as is expected of the real Government.

With these words I support the Motion of Thanks to the President

Thank you.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Madam Vice-Chairman, I shall base my observations in the light of the summons of the President. He has asked Members of the Parliament not only to transact the formal legislative business but also to take stock of the problems that the nation faces and give guidance to the Government and the people.

The President's Address, as also the 'Economic Survey, 1972-73' that have been presented' to Parliament have highlighted the fact that our economy is under severe stress. I submit that the problems are not entirely due to failure of monsoons or cyclones and floods. In a large measure, the policies of Government have contributed to the present situation.. .

After the valiant efforts made in 1971-72 to over-come the serious difficulties arising from the influx of refugees from former East Pakistan and the major conflict with Pakistan it was hoped that the resilience of the economy would not be overstretched and there would be normalcy in 1972-73. The expectations have, however, been belied. The huge resource base that had been

[Shri Babubhai M. Chinai] created in the name of emergency was expected to give a big push to the Fourth Plan in the final stages but, unfortunately that had to be used for meeting entirely different contingencies.

It is indeed unfortunate that what had been described at one time as the resilience of the Indian economy has turned out into a spectre of shortages and spiralling prices by merely one failure of the monsoon. Within an year of the decision to dispense with food imports a situation has developed in which it has again become obligatory to import foodgrains of 2.3 million tonnes. True that shortage is due to severe drought in Maharashtra, Saurashtra, West Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, North Mysore and other regions.

SHRI SANDA NARAYANAPPA
(Andhra Pradesh) : Part of Mysore also.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : I said Mysore also.

However, this only points out that agriculture has not developed the immunity that was expected after nearly 20 years of planning.

There has been a sharp setback in the output of food and cash crops with the exception of raw cotton. The drop in kharif food production was as much as 9 million tonnes and this is expected to be offset to the extent of 7 million tonnes in the rabi season. Thus, total production is placed at 100 million tonnes while on the basis of the annual plan target the availability should have been much higher at 116 million tonnes.

As regards cash crops a breakthrough in respect of oilseeds is yet to be established. Sugarcane supplies also will not be satisfactory in the current crushing season. Jute crop will also be lower. Only cotton supplies will be adequate although the yield here will be lower by 5 lakh bales at 60 lak bales.

Then there is sluggish industrial production due among others to power shortage in several parts of the economy. The shortage of foodgrains and agricultural raw materials and interruptions in the production schedules in industrial units in the face of rising consumption has led to UB

alarming price rise. The index for all commodities has advanced by 12.7 per cent as compared to a rise of 8.6 per cent in 1970 and 5.4 per cent in 1970.

With the prevalence of normal weather conditions in 1973-74, the abnormalities of the current year might disappear to a great extent. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that there are inherent inflationary pressures in the current economic situation. The uncomfortable rise in prices of agricultural commodities and manufactured goods can be prevented only if there is a balanced growth in production. Also, there should be no undue increase in monetary supply. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that strenuous efforts should be made to increase agricultural and industrial production 1973-74. There should be a curb on deficit financing and non-Plan expenditure which are inflationary in nature. Capital resources should be used more purposefully.

Government's policy continues to be oriented towards extension of State activities in the economic field. This extension is rather negative in character. It is not as if new projects are being set up by Government. The existing private enterprises in coal, copper, insurance and banks, etc. have been taken over. The latest victim will be the foodgrains trade. This, according to me, is *nakli* socialism and I repeat *nakli* socialism. I would earnestly request the Prime Minister to have a second glance at the economic policies recommended to her by her colleagues in Parliament.

Unfortunately, it would seem that, while we have been successful in the war against Pakistan, we are losing in peace. I do not see why we should still bear the burden of maintaining 90,000 war prisoners with us. No doubt Bangladesh is involved. Somehow I cannot appreciate the anxiety of Bangladesh to be recognised by Pakistan. After all, the whole world has recognised it. If Pakistan does not recognise what does it matter even to Bangladesh? My concrete suggestion is that a large number of Pakistan prisoners should be sent back-keeping behind only a few who have committed atrocities.

There is a breakdown of law and order in many parts of the country. Although I discount the theory that foreign influences

are responsible, I cannot help feeling that what is happening in Andhra Pradesh is getting the support of the people who do not want to see India a stable nation. The demand for bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh is not a regional but a national problem. As a matter of fact, not only Andhra Pradesh will be bifurcated, but it may be broken into three parts, Telengana, Andhra and Rayalaseema. There will be a demand for similar bifurcation in almost every State. This is dangerous to the extreme. I would appeal to the Prime Minister to go to Andhra Pradesh and meet the people there who, I am sure, will respond to her wishes.

Before concluding, I would like to refer to the international monetary crisis. The devaluation of dollar, the floating of the yen and lira have posed new problems. The question whether the Indian rupee should be linked with the pound-sterling or not is an open question. Whatever adjustments might be brought about finally in the parity rate of the Indian rupee, one thing, which is beyond doubt, is that we can ill-afford to live beyond our means.

Linked to this, in a way, is also the need to press for the application of the generalised system of preferences by countries which have not done so and to widen the scope of the scheme by including jute, cotton textiles, leather, etc. We should, at the same time, take more energetic steps to take advantage of the scheme. Towards this end, there is need for greater liaison between Government and industry and trade to make the latter familiar with the scheme from time to time.

5. P.M

Finally, so far as our Prime Minister is concerned, I would like to appeal to her to consider the short and long-term implications of the various policy measures before they are adopted as Government's policy. Many of the measures which have been recommended by the so-called progressives are not in the long-term interests of the country. Now that coal mines, banks, insurance and most of the transport sectors are in the public sector, it is difficult to visualise what will be the situation if all of them go on strike at one and the same time. The entire economy would be disrupted. There will be all-round chaos.

This will not be the situation if there was a competitive market. I therefore appeal even now to be rather cautious before taking any step towards further nationalisation.

I thank you.

SHRI SANDA NARAYANAPPA :

I thank you for giving me a chance to participate in the debate on the President's Address to both the Houses of Parliament. And while supporting the Motion of thanks to him, I would like to make some observations. I want to bring to the notice of this august House that last time when I spoke on the five-point formula which our beloved and great Prime Minister announced in respect of Andhra, I supported that formula keeping in view the effects and the impact of it on the whole country. And afterwards, I went to my place and my district and toured my areas. I found that the people were agitating in such a manner they wanted a separate state. Firstly, in November last year, the Mulki Rules came into existence, that is the judgement was announced by the Supreme Court. Soon after that judgement came, the Andhra People who were living in Hyderabad, started this trouble that the Mulki Rules did not apply to them, that if they were applicable to the Andhrias, so many jobs would be lost, that so many people of the younger generation would be affected and they would not get jobs. The movement started like this against the Mulki Rules and it spread to the nook and corner of the whole State. The younger generation people and the NGOS joined, the students left the colleges, even elementary school students left the schools and the movement went on intensifying. Recently—you might have seen in the Press also—the hon. Mr. Justice Obul Reddy of the High Court of Andhra Pradesh has delivered his judgement that whoever resides there continuously for 15 years, though coming from outside, and who does not want to go back, is a mulki. So, the residents of Hyderabad City and the Telengana people are not mulkis according to that judgment. And it has become a complete confusion now. This is the position now. The people are not able to understand and if we go and ask them, they get agitated. Intellectuals, lawyers, professors, NGOS, students?—

[Shri Sanda Narayanappa] post-graduate students, all are there. Everybody is agitated, they want a separate State. This is the position. I thought that I would be able to convince them. But when I went to my part and toured it, I found that there were two groups, even in my own town, they also started the campaign ; everyday they took out processions, they carried on the relay fast and other things. Public meetings were conducted. And we have seen a lot of violence taking place in Andhra area. Private and public properties have been lost and destroyed. We feel that it is a national loss.

I am sorry for the violence. The President, on the Republic Day, made an appeal that violence should be given up so that the problem could be considered coolly, in a calm atmosphere. In the Address also the President has mentioned a paragraph regarding Andhra Pradesh saying that unless violence is given up people cannot sit together and think in a - calm atmosphere. They can find a solution only in a calm atmosphere

In this connection, Madam, I may mention that bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh has become inevitable in the circumstances. I support Mr. Babubhai Chinai and other friends in what they said about Andhra Pradesh. The people's aspirations and the people's mind are quite different today. We met the Prime Minister the day before yesterday and made our points clearly before her. Madam, we are freedom fighters. Since 1934 we have been in the Congress. We were not afraid of the bullet of the Britishers. But today it has become such a difficult thing to come to our parts. You will find the ladies shouting : "We want a separate State".

SHRI MAHAVIR "TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh) : What is your estimate of the people who have been killed ?

SHRI SANDA NARAYANAPPA : They want to live separately. In its report in 1955 the S.R.C. had mentioned a separate paragraph advocating the formation of a separate State of Telengana and the formation of Andhra State with 11 districts. Due to the efforts of the leaders from both the regions they came together and discussed the matter.. .

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : What is your idea of the people who have lost their lives in this agitation ?

SHRI SANDA NARAYANAPPA : According to Government reports the lives lost in police firings are nearly 70 persons. Madam, we condemn police firings and violence. A judicial enquiry should be ordered into these firings which alone will satisfy the people. The C.R.P. people are also there. The army is also there. It can now be withdrawn since near normally is returning slowly. The people are now understanding our great Prime Minister's formula. She will look into the problem soon after violence is given up. That is how according to the President's appeal, the People in the Andhra area, both men and women, boys and girls, have now understood the problem.

(Time bell rings)

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Women cannot be controlled.

SHRI SANDA NARAYANAPPA : To solve this problem a calm atmosphere is necessary because finding a solution requires a cool thinking.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Please take your seat now.

SHRI SANDA NARAYANAPPA : I am finishing. With great respect to the President for his Address, I will call the year 1973-74 the year of misery; it is a very deplorable year because there is deficit in each and every field though our great Prime Minister with all her dynamism is taking every action possible to meet this situation. But if a common man puts the question we cannot answer.

Whether we are Members of Parliament or Members of Legislative Assemblies, we cannot answer them. There is shortage of kerosene, there is shortage of coal and price rise is there. Trade and industry have suffered a set-back. About 120 public sector undertakings are there, but production is going down and our exports are not going up according to our estimation. In almost every field there is shortage. Food shortage is this year on account of failure of monsoon and other things. There

must be some mistake somewhere—may be the machinery is not doing its proper work or the policies are not properly implemented or the policies are not properly enunciated. Four Five-Year Plans are over. And to-day the price of a kilo of rice is more than two rupees. One bag of jowar costs Rs. 120. With the wage that he gets, can the common man purchase it at this price? It is not even sufficient for him to maintain his family, his wife and children. He cannot get them clothes, he cannot send his Children to educational institutions. Expenditure has gone up and the economic crisis in the country has become so acute that they cannot make both ends meet. That is why this Problem has to be solved with effective measures to be taken by our leader and our senior colleagues in the Cabinet. They have to think over it. Four Plans are over and we are entering the Fifth Plan. It is a very big and ambitious Plan, with an investment of about Rs. 50,000 crores. I hope our great Prime Minister will tackle this problem immediately. We know she has given the slogan of "garibi hatao". Every body believed in her and voted for her, Putting their faith in her policies. But I do not know where the mistake lies. The loopholes, wherever they are, must be plugged and the Government should see that the policies are properly implemented. (*Time-beli rings*) Then I want to mention about the weavers' Problem.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : How many problems will you tackle in one speech?

SHRI SANDA NARAYANAPPA : Because I come from a weaver's family, a backward family, I have to mention it. Two crores of people are engaged in this industry. We had a Calling Attention motion in the morning and I also participated in it. Where is safety for the handloom weavers now? Silk weavers are there, wool weavers are there; handicrafts and other things of cottage and village industries are there. There is no work for them. Nobody is going to appreciate their traditional craft and ancient culture and give them minimum wage for their labour. How long will the people tolerate this situation? How long will people keep their stomachs empty and starve? That is why the policies must

be reconsidered and rectified. The economists are there. So many intelligent people are there. They can find out the defects and plan properly. After 25 years-of independence, this is the deplorable condition in which two crores of weavers live. The yarn rates have gone up; and when they bring their finished goods, nobody is there to purchase them.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : You must finish now.

SHRI SANDA NARAYANAPPA : And there is competition against these handloom weavers from the powerlooms. I would earnestly request the Government through you, Madam, that they should impose excise duty on powerlooms and thus improve the Exchequer. The Exchequer is losing now. They have now reduced excise duty from Rs. 50 to Rs. 10 on powerlooms 4 and below. So the Exchequer is losing a lot of revenue. Authorised textile industries which have got two lakh looms in the textile industry are paying Rs. 100 crores to the Government towards excise duty whereas the unauthorised powerlooms which are remaining three lakh outside are mopping up the entire amount of nearly Rs. 50 crores- to Rs. 70 crores which should come to the Exchequer. Therefore, I would request that this handloom industry should be protected and a suitable and good policy should be enunciated by the Planning Minister. A task force has been appointed for handlooms and its report has been submitted to the Government. At least in the Fifth Plan the interest of the two crore weavers, the silk weavers, the khadi weavers, the cotton weavers, the woollen weavers, should be protected and they should be enabled to enjoy their due share of the national economy. Let the country prosper under the dynamic leadership of our Prime Minister. Let the Government take proper steps for improving our economy and increasing our production in all sectors. I hope Rama Rajya will prevail in our country and Mahatma Gandhi's dream will thus come true, under the guidance and leadership of our Prime Minister.

I am thankful to the President for having dealt with our national and international I affairs in his Address...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : You must finish now.

SHRI SANDA NARAYANAPPA : Since you are already ringing the bell, I will not go into those matters now...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Please sit down. Mr. Abu Abraham now.

SHRI SANDA NARAYANAPPA : Madam, I have only one more request to the Government. Andhra is in turmoil now. The people on both sides, in Andhra and in Telangana, are agitating for separation. The Government should take immediate steps and solve the problem. We, Members of Parliament, request that the Government should consider separation immediately.

I thank you, Madam Vice-Chairman, for giving me this opportunity.

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM (Nominated) : Madam Vice-Chairman, we are at the far end of the day and I shall be brief.

Listening to the debate so far on the President's Address it is clear to me that the subject which has been uppermost in the minds of the honourable Members, even more than price rise or drought, is the situation in Andhra and Telangana. Violence, in whatever form it comes, or in whichever part of the country, is certainly a very disturbing phenomenon. There is nothing that so disrupts normal life and activity, nothing that so lowers the morale of the country as the violence of the mob. Although there are situations when violence can produce and has produced positive results, in a country like ours where we have a democratic system and where the majority of our countrymen live in desperate poverty, violence is a luxury that we cannot afford.

Therefore, Madam, I, like everyone else in this House, welcome the appeal that the President has made for a return to peaceful and democratic methods. Yet I cannot help feeling that there is in this appeal an element of unreality, an element of pious platitude, merely because it has come at the end of a long process of doubt, delay, vacillation and wishful thinking on the part of our Government. Instead of going to the root of the problem the Government has

been content to wait for something to turn up, in the manner of that famous Dickensian character, Micawber, who, I dare say, if he had been alive today would certainly have belonged to the Congress Party.

A Government cannot merely live on exhortations. The people will listen to the advice from our leaders only if our leaders listen to them too. It has got to be a two-way traffic. Too often in recent years our Government has acted only when it has been forced to act. How much better it would have been if the Government, instead of responding every time to impossible situations, had acted early enough to prevent the situation from becoming impossible. It should not be the function of a Government to be the fire brigade; the true function of a Government should be to make the country fire-proof.

Dr. Kurt Waldheim, the UN Secretary-General, has coined a new phrase called preventive diplomacy. This is for international peace. But we ought to have in our country, something similar, a system of preventive peace-keeping, whereby problems like we now have in Telangana can be identified, analysed, and resolved before it bursts into the Government's and the nation's face.

Such a system can be evolved if the government chooses to work in closer consultation and understanding with the other national parties represented in Parliament. I am sure this is not an impractical proposition. If we make the effort, it can be worked out. We can form, for instance, a committee which will be called the National Committee for the Prevention of Crises.

But I believe that for such a system to work effectively, members of the political parties must act as far as possible independently of the interests of the party as such. I must say I was somewhat depressed by the monotony of the views expressed in this House, as elsewhere, by so many party members. Their views, if I may say so, were predictable because they were the set positions taken by their respective parties. On the Telangana issue, Madam, I find myself on the side of the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party. But this is not going to embarrass me or inhibit me. If the Jana Sangh has stumbled on a good idea, they

•deserve congratulations. At any rate, I am not going to trim my views just because they are shared by people whose basic political approach is different from mine. This is not an issue which should be decided on the basis of party politics. In Andhra and Telangana there are millions of people who have made up their minds independently of parties. And I cannot see why we in Parliament should take such fixed position on this issue, practically ignoring the opinions of the people of the area.

Now, Madam Chairman, there is a very reasonable, respectable case to be made for the bifurcation of Andhra State. But listening to some of the speeches in this House, it would seem that this is not the case. Some Members have talked as if the demand for bifurcation is an anti-nation movement, a movement inspired by anti-national forces. Shri Bipin Pal Das talked about the possible disintegration of the country. "The country will go to pieces", he said, if the State of Andhra is divided. Shri Bhupesh Gupta called it counterrevolution and spoke passionately of the need to put it down firmly. To Shri Bhupesh Gupta, it is not a revolution because it has some land-lords leading it and because it has, what he called, gaudily dressed women organising it. If well-dressed women could not lead revolutions, where would the Prime Minister be today? Let me tell Shri Bhupesh Gupta that this is not counter-revolution, it is merely the logic of the revolution we started when we set up linguistic States.

If we can have more than one Hindi-speaking States, there is no reason why we should not have more than one Telugu-speaking States.

How is it that when Arunachal and Meghalaya were created, nobody talked about the splitting up of this country? But when a Southern State that has a population of several million people demands, for historical, economic and political reasons, that their State should be divided into two, why should such a demand be called anti-national and disruptive? Is it because some honourable Members have a notion that South Indians are somehow by nature separatist, that they are not for some strange reason as Indian as the people of the North? What kind of logic is it that makes

them think that the Southerners who have inherited rather more of what we know as the true traditions of this country should feel that they are not quite part of the mainstream of national life? Therefore, I appeal to the hon. Members to look at this problem of Telangana dispassionately. Let them ask themselves this question why is it that if we can have four Hindi-speaking States, it is regarded as a crime to have two Telugu States? On the other hand, I believe that it is likely that if we have more than one State in one linguistic area, it will lessen linguistic chauvinism, that exists in some parts of the country.

Madam, Chairman, there is a very strong case to be made for a thorough reorganisation of States. We ought to have many more States, not only Telangana and Vidarbha. This again is something advocated by the Jana Sangh, but it is also something that is supported by many independent political thinkers in this country.

I am glad that apart from the Jana Sangh and Mr. Golwalkar and Mr. Piloo Mody and others, there are quite a few people, independent-minded people, who are on my side and, therefore, I do not feel as lonely as one might think. My friend, Shri Rasheeduddin Khan, for instance, who comes from Hyderabad, who grew up there, and who knows the region well, thinks that bifurcation is not only inevitable, but necessary and desirable also. I would commend to the honourable Members an article he has written in the magazine "Janata" which my friend, Shri N. G. Goray, edits. He meets all the possible objections to the division that one can raise and very convincingly too.

"The case for smaller States is simply this that this country is too large to be run from one central bureaucracy. Some of our States are larger than the largest countries in the world. U. P., for instance, would be the seventh largest country in the world in terms of population. We need not only smaller States, but States with more autonomy. There is no great magical value in having what is called a strong Centre. We have had a strong Centre for some years now and the strongest ever for the last two years. But it has not made much of a difference to the peace

[Shri Abu Abraham] and progress and development of our country. Merely having a strong Centre is of no use. The power of the Central Government will have to percolate to the States and the districts and ultimately to the villages, because, then only we can involve the people in the great task of development that we have undertaken. No amount of theoretical commitment will involve the masses so long as they feel that they cannot influence the change and progress of their own region. That was why Gandhiji always wanted to see a political, economic and social involvement of the people at village level and now, Dr. Gunnar Myrdal comes and reminds us again of Mahatma Gandhi."

I do not think my suggestion has anything new or sensational. What I have suggested can be undertaken and carried through without any upheaval in the country.

But to do it requires courage. If we have the courage now to make this fundamental structural change in our political and economic system, many of our other problems like reforming the administrative system for instance, will be comparatively easier to solve. We have very little time to left today to do these things. We have waited too long and we must hurry. If we do not make these fundamental changes now, it will be the biggest wasted opportunity. Thank you, Madam.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : The House stands adjourned now till 11-00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at twenty-eight minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 28th February, 1972.