

[Shri K. S. Ramaswamy]
ing a corrigendum to Government Notification G. S. R. No. 2026, dated the 23rd November, 1968.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2737/70 for (i) and (ii)]

THE CITIZENSHIP (SECOND AMENDMENT) RULES, 1969

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY : Sir, I also beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Ministry of Home Affairs Notification G. S.R. No. 2795, dated the 19th December, 1969 (in English and Hindi), publishing the Citizenship (Second Amendment) Rules, 1969, under sub-section (4) of section 18 of the Citizenship Act, 1955.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2630/70]

ANNUAL ACCOUNT (1967-68) OF THE MADRAS

PORT TRUST AND RELATED PAPERS;

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, AND IN THE MINISTRY OF SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SARDAR IQBAL SINGH) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Annual Accounts of the Madras Port Trust for the year 1967-68 and the Audit Report thereon and the Administration Report for 1967-68.
[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2631/70]

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN (In the Chair)]

REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT (Madhya Pradesh) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following Reports of the Committee on Public Undertakings :

(a) Fifty-second Report (1969-70) on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Sixth Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings (1967-68) on contracts entered into by Rourkela Steel Plant of Hindustan Steel Limited with M/s. B. Patnaik (P) Limited and others for the supply of Iron Ore and Manganese Ore.

(b) Fifty-fourth Report (1969-70) on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Fifty-

first Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings (1968-69) on State Trading Corporation of India, New Delhi.

FIFTH REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE WELFARE OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES
SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ (Mysore) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Fifth Report of the Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation (Department of Labour and Employment); Directorate General of Employment and Trading—Employment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Services.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE TO SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I have to inform Members that the following letter dated the 19th February, 1970, has been received from Shri B. K. Gaikwad :

As I am still confined to bed due to paralysis, I regret I am not in a position to attend the session of the Rajya Sabha.

I would therefore request that I may kindly be granted leave of absence for the duration of the present Seventy-first session.

Is it the pleasure of the House that permission be granted to Shri B. K. Gaikwad for remaining absent from all meetings of the House during the current session?

(No Hon. Member Dissented)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Permission to remain absent is granted.

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

SHRI ANAND CHAND (Bihar) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of airing my views on the motion moved by my friend, Shri Arjun Arora, regarding the President's Address. I have heard what has fallen from the lips of my hon. friend, from the seconder to him, as well as from the opposite side of the House on the subject. I wish to say that the last four

months of 1969 have marked a turning point in the history and pattern of functioning of the Government and political parties in this country. It is a turning point which is as full of possibilities as the advent of freedom was nearly 24 years ago. The Indian National Congress which symbolised the hopes and aspirations of millions of our countrymen in the 1920's underwent a basic and psychological change resulting in the split of the party and giving to the opposition for the first time a recognised status in both Houses of Parliament.

I will not go into the basic causes of that split. But here I might only be allowed to say that it was a split occasioned by a silent but grim struggle waged throughout the length and breadth of the country during the last Presidential Election between the forces of change and the forces of *status quo*. I am glad that the forces of change won the upper hand and the forces of *status quo* lost the battle. The point, however, remains that in this struggle whereby democratic socialism has now been projected into the forefront not only by the party to which I belong but by those of us who have gone into the opposition as well as by the other political parties of this country, the leader of my party, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, as Prime Minister and as a person, has exhibited significant courage and has played, to my mind, a heroic role in the mobilisation of these forces. I know, most of my friends who have parted company will not accept this proposition. Rather they are much more enraged that such a thing should have happened, and increasingly we find evidence of this in both the Houses whereby they are not going on with the sole object of trying to topple this Government and mostly denigrating the position of the Prime Minister. I think our shoulders are broad enough to answer those critics. I am sure the Government, as it is functioning, has got the wherewithal to meet those onslaughts. Here I will only mention that the Congress Party today, after the split, after this purge, remains as dynamic to my mind as it was in the 1920's, and it is meeting the challenge today in the late 1960's nicely as well as it did in the turning point of the country's struggle in the 1920's.

Sir, the President's Address, although it makes good reading, does not enthuse

me. I am sorry to say that but it does not enthuse me. It does not enthuse me because I think it does not go far enough. The hopes and aspirations of millions of our countrymen after Mr. Giri took the oath of office as President were centered on changes, great changes, quick changes, socialist changes. I will not go into 'isms'. 'Isms' are the order of the day. If I might be permitted to say, the mere word 'socialism' denotes the plea that property, industry and business should be owned by the State or in some other public way. If we are to fulfil this concept of socialism, if we are to act according to the theory which most of the political parties of this country are advocating today, we have to move fast on that road and we have to bring about that equality. Otherwise, we will fail the masses and we will not be able to generate or canalise that enthusiasm which has been exhibited in the country and about which the President has made such pointed reference in paragraphs 6, 7 and 8 of his Address.

Now, it is true that there has been some progress in the agricultural field. There has come about a 'Green Revolution'. But there remains the question of ceilings on agricultural lands, stoppage of restriction on the backward people like the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes from selling their lands and other measures regarding the distribution of Government waste lands to those who are in need of them or who are affected for want of them. Now, it is said that agriculture, being a State subject, it is difficult to move quickly. But whatever it is, unless we move quickly in these directions, this particular revolution or this particular change in the agricultural sector will, to my mind, be a hollow concept. Similarly, the decision of the Government and of both Houses of Parliament to nationalise the banks and thereafter the decision of the Supreme Court which gave an adverse finding then again another ordinance by which the whole process of banking has been renationalised—I do not know what is the exact word for it—all these show that there is a lacuna, a serious lacuna, in the Constitution under which we function at the present moment. I put it not only to the Government but to all the political parties in this House and outside whether the time has not come when some kind of a Consti-

[Shri Anand Chand.]

tuent Assembly called on the basis of adult franchise is not the need of the hour, which may sit and look into the whole Constitution and try to plug the loopholes where they are necessary, if we are to rapidly march on the path which we have selected. Today the very Preamble of the Constitution says that India is to be a Sovereign Democratic Republic. To my mind, there is a basic difference between a Sovereign Democratic Republic and a Socialist Democratic Republic. If we are aiming at a Socialist Democratic Republic, I think basically the Constitution would have to be changed. If we are satisfied with the present context or with the situation as it now exists, then I am afraid many serious obstacles are in the offing and we will find that the measures which this Government have undertaken to raise the condition of the masses in a socialistic manner will find greater and greater hurdles and eventually turn into nullity. That is only a suggestion and a suggestion which should be very carefully weighed and considered.

Then, Sir, I would like to say something on the question of Chandigarh. Chandigarh has gone to Punjab. It is a welcome decision. It has not only been welcomed by the Members, by and large in both Houses of Parliament but I think it has been welcomed—which is much more important—by the people of Chandigarh itself. I happen to have some links there. So I can speak about it with authority. But what worries me, however, is the Government's decision to set up a new Commission for the re-adjustment of boundaries between Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. In 1966, before the Punjab Reorganisation Act was passed, the Shah Commission made a study of all these problems and made a voluminous Report. In that Report, certain factors were put in, certain factors were weighed and certain suggestions were made. Now, if that Commission is to be replaced by another Commission, I am sure it would be necessary—and I think it is imperative—that the terms of reference of such a Commission should be weighed with great care and should be drawn up in such a way that there is no further shifting of ground mainly on political pressures and political considerations. Once we appoint these Commissions and they produce these voluminous

Reports after due research and inquiry, it ill-behoves us to shift the ground merely because of political pressures. In this context, I also hope that the existing conflict about boundaries between the States of Maharashtra and Mysore will find an amicable solution. I know it is a delicate matter. I know the State of Mysore is standing on prestige and so is Maharashtra. But I am sure that some amicable solution will be found by the intervention of the Centre and the goodwill and amity of both the States. After all, whether it is Belgaum or any other area of India, it is all part of India and to treat these areas as if they are foreign territories—they may be within the embrace of one State or the other—is something which hits—I am saying this for everyone—at the very root of the problem. And I feel that it would be wrong to assume an attitude whereby it would lead to a kind of civil war. India, after all, is one integrated whole and it is immaterial to which area or which particular State it belongs.

In this context, I might be allowed to say a few words about the great Bhakra complex and the Beas-Sutlej Link which are going to come within the purview of the new Boundary Commission.

Sir, as you are well aware, the Bhakra Dam is being administered by an autonomous Board, called, the Bhakra Management Board to which the Sutlej link is to be eventually transferred as soon as it is completed. With a complex or with an irrigation as well as electrical potential being given by these projects to no less than four States, Himachal, Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan, it would be wrong to give the power of administration of these particular projects to any one particular State. The present arrangement makes it a kind of autonomous agency where it can look without fear or favour towards the need of all these States for irrigation and power. If the intention is to change the very basis and to bring about fundamental changes in the basic structure of the Board, I hope it will not be forgotten that a pattern will have to be evolved in which the functioning of such a Board is not circumscribed but widened and, perhaps, modelled on the basis of the Damodar Valley Corporation which is a much more autonomous body than the present Bhakra Management Board so that it may be able to function for the benefit of

all these four States which are so effectively involved.

I wish here to state, with your permission, another matter of rather common or, I might say, uncommon interest, the abolition of the privy purses and the privileges of the ex-rulers of the Indian States. It seems that there has come into this House a very great interest in this subject of late, and after the passing of the Resolution during the last session in which by a majority the House agreed that this thing should be done before the next session which is the present one, there seems to be an urgency and agitation in the minds of friends on both sides as to see that some change is brought about or the decision of the Government in principle to abolish them was translated into action.

Sir, I am not here to question that decision. I am here only to say that the President has, to my mind, rightly mentioned in his Address that although the Government have taken a decision in principle for the abolition of these purses there would have to be certain transitional arrangements. Yesterday there was a great excitement when Shri Bhupesh Gupta and my other friend from the P.S.P., I believe Mr. Banka Behary Das, were rather agitated that nothing has been done, that no legislation has been put before this august House before the Budget was presented on the 28th. Then, my friend, the Leader of the Opposition, was very vehement when he said that Sardar Patel with the touch of his fingers decided this question in a few minutes or a few months while this Government cannot decide this much smaller question in so many years. As one who is connected with the background of all this, may I say in all humility that at the time when these settlements were made, at the time of the late Sardar Patel, there was much more manoeuvrability. Then we did not have a Constitution of India. We had a kind of interim period in which these changes were brought about and in which the supremacy of the people of India was on the point of being established. Now what is sought to be done is to remove the provisions of the Constitution embodying those guarantees, and in the amendment of these provisions, naturally, care has to be taken in two directions : one, that these amendments are not made

in a haphazard way which may lead to some kind of litigation in the Supreme Court as was hinted at by my friend, Shri Shyam Nandan Misra, I believe, day before yesterday, and, on the other, that we are going to go back on something which we promised to the Princes at a time when they came to the aid of this country to surrender nearly 48 per cent. of the territory of India as it stands today. We did not then adopt a dog-in-the-manger attitude. We left ourselves to the will of the people who are sovereign.

I for one have no doubt that there can be no question of fight between the Princes and the people of India. The people of India, as laid down in the Constitution, are supreme. There is no question about it. Princes or no Princes, they have to listen to the will of the people and adjust accordingly. At the same time we, the people, have also to see that if they have a case that case has to be properly viewed.

I might give the figures here. I did not speak in the debate last time when it was being debated on the privy purses purposely. Out of the 279 people who are drawing privy purses today, no less than 180 belong to a category which draw a privy purse amounting to Rs. 1 lakh or less. In this 180, there are 75 who draw a privy purse of Rs. 20,000 or less, and in this 75 also, there is a category of no less than 25 who draw a privy purse of only Rs. 5,000 a year or less, that is merely Rs. 400 a month. When the question is asked about this organisational arrangement, I think there is a base on which we have to see these things and come to certain well-defined decisions. I do not say that it is not within the competence of Parliament to do so. I do not say that we should not attempt to do so because, after all, we are not yet an egalitarian society. But what I wish to submit is that nothing should be done which smacks of political expediency rather than political wisdom.

I have only a couple of words more to say before I resume my seat. I wish to say that so far as foreign relations are concerned it is heartening to see that our dialogue with Pakistan still continues although there is very little response from that side. I for one am an optimist and I believe that that dialogue should be continued not only because a pattern in Pakistan of administration and government is now about to evolve, is about

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to emerge. It is going to be much more democratic than the present totalitarian or military rule of President Yahya Khan—also because we in this sub-continent are so situated that unless we have some kind of a dialogue with Pakistan about the mutual understanding and goodwill on all our problems, it is difficult for us to be all the time preparing for war with that country.

Secondly, Sir, I wish to submit that although China today is occupying quite large chunks of our territory and it has shown an attitude of not listening to what is reasonable and what should be reasonable, I feel that the Government of India should not leave the dialogue with China. I know that my friends opposite would be upset particularly because today a simple theory is advocated that China is an aggressive power, that China is trying to bamboozle us, that we have to be eternally vigilant against Chinese aggressions and so on. A psychological climate is created throughout the world, whether it is Vietnam, whether it is the Chinese ambitious claims against Russia, whether it is the other areas of Cambodia or whether it is Thailand and so on. A certain amount of agitation is there that China is an expansionist country. I do not know China intimately. I am not speaking here for China. But I do not know that we have a frontier with China stretching across hundreds of miles along the Himalayas. In order to protect that frontier we have to spend millions and millions of rupees which with our crippled resources we can ill-afford to put into defence instead of putting it into other productive uses. So what I submit is that in its proper skill and proper wisdom, the Government may see the proper time and opportunity to come to a dialogue with China so that the Himalayas which have been an area of peace always once more return to be an area of peace and harmony instead of a theatre of tension and war. I thank you.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we had the benefit of the Address of our President. I believe it was unusually long. I do not know whether the substance justified the length of the Address. In spite of the length I do not see much substance in it in the matter of hope or cheer that it might bring to the people. The President perhaps very rightly

made a survey of the ten years of the last decade.

It is a correct thing. But what have been our achievements in the last 10 years? Sir, you are aware that very recently our Prime Minister visited Gujarat. The Chief Minister of the State of Gujarat handed over an *aide-memoire* to her listing the grievances—or difficulties, if you think the word “grievance” is too strong—of the State of Gujarat. What are the things referred to there? Requirement of rigs for water supply in scarcity areas. This is after 20 years of Congress rule. The Rajyapal of the State also spoke in similar terms in his address to the Gujarat legislature. He pointed out that more than 850 villages were still to get fresh drinking water supply, and this at a period when we have just concluded the Gandhi Centenary Year! The Rajyapal very rightly points out that the difficulty of water is much greater in the case of the poorer sections of the society, particularly the backward classes and Harijans. Now this is one grievance of the State of Gujarat.

The Chief Minister also lists the question of execution of railway works in scarcity-affected areas because Gujarat has certain areas which are very much affected by scarcity and brought repeatedly. This year also the area of Sebakantha is very badly affected. I remember, Mr. C. Subramaniam, when he was Food Minister, said in this House when we were discussing the Bihar famine, that in Gujarat famine relief works were executed more efficiently and with a view to permanent benefit. Why does not the Central Government look into this and sanction some money for removing this permanent scarcity in many areas particularly when it affects the welfare of the backward classes and the Harijans in the area? The Chief Minister referred to the execution of railway works categorically. Sir, I may remind the House of a subject on which I have spoken several times here. I will just refer to it briefly. The Gaekwad of Baroda, late Saji Rao, had given a sum of Rs. 1.25 crores or so to the Indian Railways for the Bhavnagar-Tarapore link. And what did the Government of India do? They quietly credited this amount to General Revenues. Was it very honest of the Government to do this? I have mentioned it more than once in this House and another

colleague of mine, who is no longer a Member in the other House, also mentioned it there. It was also mentioned in the Railway Advisory Committee but to no effect. That money has been misappropriated like this by Government and new works are being taken in hand elsewhere and new railway lines are being constructed elsewhere. This money in the hands of the Government would have multiplied three or four times merely by interest charges. And yet this project remains incomplete. This is mentioned by the Chief Minister of Gujarat to the Prime Minister.

He also lists the setting up of a petrochemical complex about which I have mentioned several times in this House, and the setting up of an atomic power station in Saurashtra. Saurashtra has got possibilities of industries. There is a large amount of bauxite which is exported. But without plentiful electricity and cheap electricity, we cannot convert it into aluminium of which we are so short. I do not know how the Planning Commission views it, but I have seen the figures in the memorandum given by the Chief Minister of Gujarat to the Prime Minister recently and I think the Government of India should take this in hand very early.

Then he has mentioned the question of machine tools project and royalty for crude oil, which is also a moot point as far as Gujarat is concerned. I do not why the Central Government behaves in this manner. Why does the Government have different standards for royalty on crude oil for different provinces? Why should not the rate be uniform? Particularly the case of Gujarat is stronger because plentiful oil has been found there and the drilling of oil wells in Gujarat has been more successful. It is fortunate for this country that it has been more successful and cheap; perhaps it is the cheapest in the world. It is a world record that Gujarat oil drilling is the cheapest. Yet the Government of India is going slow. I have been urging this point in this House repeatedly. I have pointed out that the gas that comes out of these wells is allowed to burn up. It is not given to industries. It is not bottled and given to private homes as is being done in Bombay and as it is being done in Delhi also. It is a very useful commodity. But it is allowed to burn up. As you travel in a train from Bombay to Saurashtra in the

evening or at night, you will see flares all over, particularly between Ankleshwar and Baroda and then a little further, between Ahmedabad and Viramgam. You see the flares burning and the sky being red because of the flares. All the gas is allowed to burn up instead of being utilised. Now this gas can very well be utilised not only for industry but for many other purposes, for private homes and so on.

Then we pursue another penny-wise pound-foolish policy. You dieselise trains in Bengal and Bihar where there is plenty of coal. In Gujarat there is no coal and you haul coal from 2,000 miles for running the trains in Gujarat. I have been urging this point for several years. Why don't you dieselise the trains in Gujarat and use oil when it is there, instead of putting a heavy load on the rails, wearing out the rails and wasting your fuel when it can be beneficially used otherwise? I am glad that at least the Chief Minister has had the courage to speak openly what I have been urging and what the other Members have been urging in this House.

Then he has mentioned naval patrol of Kutch and the Saurashtra area. I think the Chief Minister is very right in mentioning this. This point was urged previously also and actually the dispute with Pakistan on Kutch border would not have arisen but for the negligence of the Central Government. Members will recollect that I pointed out here to the Defence Minister that the Government of Gujarat sent a special representative here to point out that Pakistan was making preparations for war in this area. The Government was complacent and would not listen. When he telephoned to the person in charge of Indian Airlines saying that he wanted to go to Delhi and urge the matter before Government as it was very urgent, the officer said "Do not disturb me. I do not book seats on the airlines." This is the answer got from a responsible officer in the Government of India. "I do not book seats in the airlines. You go there directly." Well, this man had a little patriotic fire in him, even though he was a Government servant. He went to the airport and got a seat to Jaipur and persuaded another Government servant who had a seat to offer his seat and allow him to go to Delhi. After coming to Delhi, what happened? He telephoned the Military head-

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Quarters. They said, "All right, come along". And when he goes there, one of the officers says, "You have got only 15 minutes. I have got to go to a polo match."

He will say, "I have got an engagement. I have to preside over some ceremony." And somebody else has got some other engagement. When this man is coming to Delhi on behalf of the Gujarat Government this is how he is treated by our Defence Ministry. I have pointed out this before. The same thing is being repeated by the Gujarat Government. We have lost our case in Kutch because of the negligence of these people here. May I say our case has been lost because of the cloud of Krishna Menon cast on the Government of India, and we shut our eyes to this completely? When the Kandla Port was built, it was supposed to be a defence port. There should have been a broad way linking Kandla with Delhi and Punjab. It is the Krishna Menon's regime that delayed this link-up. They delayed the patrolling of this, and therefore, we have lost our case in Kutch and Pakistan stands there in its aggressive posture against us today. If you do not protect yourself, if you do not protect or look after your own house, what is going to happen?

The Chief Minister of Gujarat has also urged for a rescheduling of the debts due to the Centre. The debts of Gujarat have been there largely due to the unfortunate arrangement at the time of the partition of Gujarat, I should say the separation of Gujarat and Maharashtra, not partition. A wrong word I have used and I am sorry. In that separation Mr. Chavan had his way and he did everything to see that no advantage came to Gujarat. Even in the case of the transport vehicles of the State Transport Department, all the old vehicles were ordered to go to Gujarat and all the new and renewed vehicles were taken away to Maharashtra. All these things have been pointed out, but because of the very good relations that the Government of Gujarat tried to maintain with the Centre, there was a policy of hush-hush. There are only a few people like me who would not listen and who have urged these points. The time has come for the Gujarat Government to urge these points.

It is their failure and the failure of their representatives some of whom, I am glad, are now sitting behind me. Some of them are sitting on the other side. I have actually seen some of them defend the Centre on its attitude towards Gujarat in Consultative Committees where I pointed this out.

Another thing that the Government of Gujarat points out is about telephone facilities for Gandhigram. This is the halting attitude of the Gujarat Government. Own your Telephone Scheme was made and it was the businessmen of Gujarat, of Ahmedabad, who constituted it largely. With their money today a telephone factory was started in Bangalore, if you please. Another one is to be started now. Where? In Srinagar..

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI (Rajasthan) : A beauty spot.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : ... and Gujarat will continue to suffer its telephone shortage. I have urged upon the Government of Gujarat that just as large industries can be started with a certain amount, the Gujarat Government should start its own telephone factory and absolutely get rid of these difficulties that have been unnecessarily created. The Telephones Department of the Government of India makes 200 per cent profit. It is one of the greediest Departments, and yet we have to suffer. The Ministers of the Government of India do not listen to us in this fight. They make their telephone calls even at the time of elections on the "immediate call" basis at our expense. The cost of an immediate call is four times that of a normal call if I am not mistaken. And if I am mistaken please do correct me. They make those calls at our expense. In the last general elections my party sent me to Bihar. And I could hardly get a call from there to Bombay while Mr. Satya Narayan Sinha, the Minister of Telephones, could get a call to any place all over India in no time. This is the difficulty that we suffer from. And why? Because, the Government of India is not honest and does not want this difficulty to be obviated. Go to even the smallest of countries. Some of your friends have just come back from some African countries. Ask them about the conditions of telephones there. You can telephone from one place to another in the whole country and

sometimes across the country without difficulty. You can dial directly. It is only in this blessed land because of this blessed Government that there is obstruction in the telephone communication. I do not know for whose benefit the Government of India is taking that 200 per cent profit. Why does it not allow the installation of more number of telephones? You will get still larger profits. And why should you go in for these costly machines? Why do you have this *Priyadarshani*? Why do you have these costly pieces? You can use the small Japanese telephone which is only a plastic one if metal is costly. The dial is underneath at the bottom and the phone you speak into is at the top. Why do you not connect those phones and allow as many people as would want to have telephone connections? This attitude of not allowing the people to have telephone communication is wrong and I can see no other motive in this except to perpetuate the Congress rule. Communication is the first thing that is necessary after education. And what are we doing about education? In Bombay, in Gujarat, in South India, everywhere there is a strong literacy drive for adult education. But I do not see it anywhere in Delhi and Bihar. This is a place where learning a language today is the easiest, particularly the national language. But we find the largest number of illiterate people here. Why is it so? How can our agriculture improve when we have got such a large class of illiterate persons? Why do you not educate them?

You remember that I have been urging the use of modern methods, the method of the Taiwanese cultivation, I took advantage of the visit of the Taiwanese Minister when he came for the ECAFE meeting; otherwise, our Government would not like any such thing. They would not like a packet of Taiwanese rice to be brought in. It is a very interesting story. Mr. Subramaniam was the Food Minister. I was urging upon him, "Mr. Subramaniam, why do you not see this rice? You are the Food Minister. This is your responsibility. They have something to say about food production." He said, "But how can I see them? They come from Taiwan. How can I meet them?" I said, "Well, I will bring them to your office." He said, "No, no, not to my office. How can they come to my office?" Then I

asked him, "Shall I bring them to your house if you do not like them to come to your office?" He replied, "Oh, no, not to my house." Then I suggested, "You come to my house and meet them there." He said, "I can consider that, but to make my position secure or better, will you kindly invite the Foreign Minister also?" I said, "I can invite the whole Cabinet, but they will not come. This is something in the interests of our country." So, Mr. Subramaniam and the Foreign Minister, Sardar Saheb, came to my house. And a present of a Taiwanese rice packet was made after a long talk. We had some discussions. But they said "no outsiders, no press". I said, "All right, no outsiders". They just came in a homely manner. There were two other people from Taiwan along with that Minister. We had a nice homely talk. All matters were discussed, China borders, etc. all sorts of things. After that, this packet was given. And at least the people recognised that this made a great difference to us. And do you know what happened then? After that packet was received by the Food Minister, for two months Taiwan was writing to different people in the Government of India asking, "Will you please let us know where to send and to whom to send the consignment?" There was absolutely no reply to this. There was total indifference. Then I got a telegram asking, "What are we to do? Where are we expected to send the consignment?" Then I met Mr. Subramaniam again and after that it was straightened out. But when it was straightened out, some underlings, not the Secretaries, not the Minister, not even the Deputy Secretaries—it was some underlings who wrote that letter—wrote, "Can you send us more?" And they sent us 200 tons, if you please, free of cost. The Government of India has not had that decency yet to say, "Thank you for this." And what do we do? We are buying rice. From where? We are buying Taichung rice from Manila. But we did not say "Thank you" to Taiwan which has given rice to us. I will tell you the story of Manila also a little later. But I would like to draw your attention to how recently our External Affairs Minister has tried to classify countries as friends and non-friends. Taiwan is placed among the unfriendly countries. North Vietnam and North Korea are countries friendly to us. I do not know what is wrong

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with our External Affairs Ministry. Why do they do this sort of things?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Patel, you will have to continue after lunch.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : All right. I have got a few more things to say.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2 p.m.

The House then adjourned for lunch at one of the clock.

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

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Mr. Deputy Chairman, just before we adjourned for Lunch, I was trying to point out that I felt a sense of gratification that the Chief Minister of Gujarat had to submit a Memorandum more or less in the terms in which I have been speaking for the last 10 or 12 years in this House. Some Members must have seen my publications and my booklets about my speeches in Parliament and my questions. A reference to them will show that most of the matters that he has raised in his Memorandum have been mentioned by me. There was one slight omission that I had made or a slight correction. I was referring to the telephone connections with Gandhinagar. Gandhinagar is going to be the capital of Gujarat. They are setting up Government offices there. Already some people are staying there but it is surprising that for a distance of 10 miles between Ahmedabad and Gandhinagar the machinery of trunk telephone has to be used. Knowing the telephone operators and the telephone machinery in this country, Member will realise how difficult it will be to operate this trunk telephone system in this manner. Ten miles is not such a big distance. We have in Bombay telephones for a distance of 30 or 40 miles, in the suburbs; in Calcutta also we have the same system. What is the length and breadth of Calcutta? For this little distance just because it is going to be a new capital the Government wants to charge trunk rates and waste so much time of the people and cause so much delay. I think this is very wrong and this must be set right at once. It should be connected on the normal exchange, the mechanical exchange, and it

should be treated as a local call. It is a matter of only 10 miles. I really do not know why they cannot do it.

Sir, I was also talking about Taiwan. What I was developing was that we have every reason to be grateful to Taiwan for giving us something which is just out of friendliness. I do not know how the minds of some people work but I find some hon. Members of this House, Mr. Kalyan Roy, Mr. Z. A. Ahmed and Mr. Bhadram, have asked a question that is coming up day after tomorrow about my visits to Taiwan. I say "You can ask me about the same and I will give you all the information." They have asked how many times Mr. Dahyabhai Patel has visited Formosa between 1967 and 1969. I say that you should not restrict it to 1967 till 1969, you can ask from my first visit onwards when Mr. Nehru was living. My first visit was in 1964. I have gone practically every year. During these two periods once I went for the meeting of the Anti-Communist League and then I went to attend the meeting of the Asian Parliamentary Union. Sir, I have been urging this Parliament through the Speaker that we should become members of the Asian Parliamentary Union if we want our parliamentary democracy to grow in this country. Of course Mr. Niren Ghosh's Calcutta business is different; so we can ignore him. We know how they treat democracy and we know their sense of democracy. What the Chief Minister says about his colleagues in West Bengal is all public property and I need not dilate on it. Therefore I say that we should take part there, in these meetings of the Asian Parliamentary Union. I have urged upon the Speaker but I am told "Get us clearance from the External Affairs Ministry." I think this is very wrong. The Speaker should not be fettered by the External Affairs Ministry in this manner. The Speaker should have his independent discretion. Countries like Japan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Ceylon, etc. come there. Then there should be no hesitation on our part to go there. But we have been utterly misguided.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : They are American satellites.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Then I can also say that your countries are Rus-

sian satellites. You owe allegiance to somebody else. We know whose allegiance is where. During the time of crisis what they did and where they were during the freedom struggle is well-known. Therefore I do not want to spend more time on these people unnecessarily. But I want to say that the Government is guided and misguided by these people. This Government is talking of socialism; this catchword is quite wrong. In fact socialism is never enshrined in our Constitution. What we really need is social welfare and these people have attempted it in Gujarat. I would like to ask you to go and see Anand. There is a university there and there is a dairy; they have put Rs. 5 lakhs every day into the pockets of the poor agriculturists who keep their buffaloes which give milk not only for Gujarat but also for Bombay and other places. That is a real example how to make our people happy; that is how we can give them a welfare State. Give them education, give them the means of livelihood and give them social welfare; do not give them only a socialist theory and more and more taxes as this Government is doing. Everyday, Sir, for the least reason you want to raise the prices of articles; the price of steel has been raised; the railway fares have been increased. The great Sadachari, Mr. Nanda, begins by raising the railway fares. I hope we will have a suitable opportunity of dealing with him later. It is this Government that is raising the prices at every stage unnecessarily. How many times have the Government got a reduction from the oil companies? Have they ever passed on the benefits of this reduction to the country? They have raised the oil prices, oil which is so necessary for the development of agriculture. I say that this is a very disappointing situation during the last 10 years. There is nothing to be happy about the survey that the President gave us. On the contrary we have gone down economically as well as politically. Politically we have no friend; we are more or less isolated; economically we are not able to stand on our own legs. So it is a very sad state of affairs. My friends here turn their nose whenever I mention Taiwan but they forget that it is only by relying on our own strength and by becoming self-sufficient that our country can become strong and will be able to enjoy reputation in the nations of the world; this cannot be done by depending

on aid or depending on alliances which are not going to take the country anywhere. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the Motion of my colleague, Shri Arjun Arora, thanking the President for his kind address delivered to the two Houses of Parliament the other day. The special features of this Address is that it is a complete departure from the Addresses given on all the previous occasions. The Address strikes a note of robust optimism. It holds forth a promise to the country "that the Government are resolved to go forward at a faster pace towards the achievement of a social order which is just and humane." The President further says:

"It is my Government's unswerving purpose to build, brick by brick, a society which is democratic and socialist."

It is no doubt a very bold promise to the country but at the same time the President has also sounded a note of caution and said:

"The problems of India require uniquely Indian solutions, taking into account our way of life, our history and our traditions."

We, in India, are passing through a very difficult time. The two incidents of the last decade were the wars that we fought and the agricultural situation which was improved, though we had two successive years of drought conditions. That shows that the country is determined to go ahead on the path of self-reliance and also its determination to prepare for any eventuality that it may be required to face from any country with aggressive designs.

The economic situation in the country has improved somewhat and the recession which overshadowed industry for over two years has been lifting gradually. The qualitative as well as the quantitative changes in agricultural production on account of hybrid seeds, favourable monsoon and the associated increases in other inputs have led the way in creating hopes for a more rapid growth of the economy in the coming years. Neither this nor the policies and programmes of the Fourth Plan have offered any solution to the baffling problem of unemployment in the country. Nor does it appear that there will be a substantial decrease in the number of

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the unemployed, educated and other, by the end of the Fourth Plan. The explosive consequences of this situation and the unrest and instability to which it may lead, are not being sufficiently realised.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : What is the remedy?

SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT : Just have patience. It is obvious that without a radical change in the system of education and training of people and overhauling the educational system, it is not possible that things can improve. We have also to see to the production and productivity aspects otherwise, it will not be possible to wipe out the backlog of unemployment and to create a reasonable balance between employment opportunity and the demand for jobs. Outlining the programme during the year against the background of unemployment, the President has said :

"Increased production and better distribution of wealth and income generating opportunities for employment should be the parameters of our economic policy."

The President has further stated that employer opportunities will be provided by large-scale rural works programme, pooling together the resources available under the Plan. It is not enough that we should have only rural electrification or the programmes that have been mentioned in the President's Address. There should be more and more labour-intensive industries in the rural areas. There should be increasing stress on expansion of small-scale industries and on decentralisation of economic activities to achieve this objective.

Every year we are having almost three million students coming out of the school and no programme has been put forward for these boys with the result that we see widespread students unrest. This has created grave dangers and problems and that can be handled only if properly laidout programmes are there for providing jobs for the boys that come out of the school. When I refer to this, I am not referring to the highly qualified or the educated unemployed but I refer to the youngmen who have no programmes, who have no plan of activity to which they can divert their attention. So I demand the setting up of a Commission

come out of the high schools after passing their higher secondary and matriculation examinations. If these people are properly trained and prepared for taking responsibilities, they will prove an asset rather than be a problem as has been the experience so far. There is no ground for complaint if their energies are exploited by anti-social elements and other persons not interested in the development of the country. In fact, they are people who are interested in creating more and more problems. Education should be need-based and I am glad the President has stated that hereafter the policy will be employment-biased for the purpose of development. The new generation of youth has the urge to serve the country and this urge to prove useful to the country has to be appreciated. Trade unions and organised youth should be properly spearheaded for bringing about the new change for which a call has been given by the Prime Minister who to-day symbolises the urges and aspirations of the coming generation. It is necessary that the youth should have a feeling of involvement in the national affairs and it is high-time that it should not be allowed to be neglected any more. The President has mentioned about government's labour policy. We admit that our labour policy is straight and progressive. We admit that all our policies are quite advanced but on the question of implementation, I am sorry to say, there is no progress.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : All the policies are advanced but only the country is backward.

SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT : On the question of implementation I am aware that in cases where the wages of the workers, before announcing the recommendation of the Wage Board, were the highest, because of the slackness of the Government in the matter of implementation, they are the lowest to-day. When I say that, I refer to the condition of the employees of the Assam Railway Trading Corporation. In their case the recommendation of the Wage Board should have been implemented, but it is not being implemented.

The labour policy is quite progressive. The National Labour Commission has given certain recommendations. I would appeal to Government through you, Sir, that a

directive should be given for the implementation of the unanimous recommendations of the National Labour Commission and pressure should be brought on the recalcitrant employers who are not implementing the recommendations of the National Labour Commission. To-day, Sir, even the organised workers have to fight for their rights, to get recognition of their trade unions. Denial of their rights results in strikes. Workers want to avoid work stoppages and strikes. We want our workers' energies to be diverted to productive activity, increased production, and productivity but, unfortunately, Sir, because of the lacuna in the policy of the Government the workers are being forced to resort to strikes.

Sir, I have to say something about the public sector. Sir, the public sector in our country occupies a very important place but we are going today in a doctrinaire manner. No practical approach is being taken to run the public sector enterprises. Today the entire public sector undertakings are manned by either retired officers or bureaucrats who have neither the vision nor the imagination to understand the working of the enterprises and the problems of the workers. Unless the workers have a sense of belonging, unless they have a sense of participation, unless they have an involvement in the running and working of the enterprises, we cannot expect them to give their best to the enterprises. Losses are being reported, but the losses that the public sector enterprises are incurring are not due to the fault of the workers. They are solely due to the fault of the managements who have no understanding or no imagination. It is time that participation of workers in the management has got to be given a concrete shape. Wherever I have gone and discussed with the workers of the public sector enterprises I am happy to report to you that they want to increase production, they want to make the public sector enterprises ideal enterprises and they want to demonstrate them as better examples before the private sector enterprises. But, Sir, because of the shortcomings on the part of inefficient officers and the impractical managements the public sector is not making any progress. Sir, as a member of the Public Undertakings Committee I have had occasion to visit and see the working of a number of public enterprises, but I am very sorry to say that in one case the management even came with

the suggestion that the enterprise should be given a subsidy as it was finding difficult to stand before a private enterprise. I do not see why there should be a need for any subsidy if only wasteful expenditure is avoided. They can do it and also run the enterprise profitably. There should also be a humane touch.

There is a brighter aspect of Public sector also. Sir, in this connection I remember an American journalist, who happened to come to this country, and said that he was hearing so much against the public sector and its problems but at no time the public sector organisations had tried to bring to the notice of the public in general as to, to what extent they had gone serving the interests of the workers. How many houses had been constructed for them and how many facilities had been given to them? Now, instead of highlighting these salient features they are all busy in manipulations and creating problems for the country by putting public sector enterprises to losses. Therefore, Sir, I have to submit that there is need for a complete reappraisal of the country's policy in the matter of public sector enterprises. There is need that this reappraisal should be with regard to their performance, with regard to the services that have been rendered by the workers and with regard to industrial relations.

I am glad to note that the President has taken a decision with regard to taking in hand immediately the work on the second stage of the Bokaro Steel Plant. It is no doubt a very good thing, but I am sorry to say that Government's policy regarding location of some of the public sector enterprises is not fair. In this connection I want to draw the attention of this House to the recommendations made by the British-American Steel Works for India Consortium for the setting up of a steel plant at Visakhapatnam, being a sea port. They admitted that Bailadilla (M.P.) or Hospect (Mysore) would be economical but when making their recommendation, they have recommended in favour of Visakhapatnam. Sir, I am one of those who do not believe in provincialism, who do not believe in narrow considerations of regionalism and so on. But then, Sir, decisions in such matters should be taken on merits without favouring one or the other side. Now, Sir, in Bailadilla besides availability of land, power and water supply there is iron ore, there is

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dolomite, there is quartzite, there is bauxite manganese and all the raw materials of a suitable quality in that area required for a steel plant. Limestone is also available in the Kanger valley and in the bed of Sabri river. In spite of all this, Sir, the recommendation of this Consortium to set up the steel plant at a place other than at Bailadilla is unfair; it is not based on any consideration to develop the backward area of Baster. I would now request the Government through you, Sir, that the question of setting up the steel plant at Bailadilla should be considered in the light of the memorandum that has been given by the Madhya Pradesh Government. Moreover, Sir, setting up the steel plant at Bailadilla will also help the country from the defence point of view. Visakhapatnam is a port completely exposed and from the defence point of view, it is most necessary that this plant should be set up at Bailadilla.

Now, Sir, coming to tourism the President has said that through tourism the country has earned foreign exchange to a considerable extent and our earnings on this account have gone up from Rs. 27 crores to Rs. 32 crores. This is all right but, Sir, no steps are being taken to highlight the important tourist centres like Khajuraho and Mandau in Madhya Pradesh. Large numbers of foreign tourists come but there is no proper arrangement for accommodation, transportation and communication. One is very much distressed to see the plight of those foreign tourists who had come to see these places. They come and they are stranded. There is no arrangement at the Khajuraho Airport even to offer them chairs, not to speak of placing them in comfortable living. When we talk of tourism as the ultimate biggest industry in course of time, it is necessary that Government should pay attention not only to advertise tourist places but also to provide facilities to the foreign tourists. In this connection I also want to bring to your notice the miserable plight of the Government officers who are being posted by the Tourism Development Corporation from place to place. They are not being given any accommodation. There are no medical facilities for them. There are no facilities for the education of their children. It is therefore necessary that, when the Tourism

Development Corporation or the Ministry for Tourism takes stock of these things they should give top priority to provide due facilities to improve the conditions of service of the staff, and living to their family.

Sir, last but not the least, I have one more thing to say. The country at present is passing through a grave crisis. At the root of it lie our moral failures at all levels. It is in essence a crisis of character, and this crisis can be faced boldly provided we resurrect our moral values and face the real challenge that is before us in our own lifetime. Sir, this is the Gandhi Centenary Year and let us search our hearts and rededicate ourselves to arrest the declining moral standards and conform to the principles of truth and non-violence that were given to us by the Father of the Nation. Only by resorting to this way we can take this country and its people to greater heights in the social, political and economic fields.

With these words, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : उपसभापति महोदय, यह हमारा संसद् का सत्र कुछ बुरी सायत में प्रारम्भ हुआ है। पहली बात जो मुझे कहना है, वह यह है कि मैं जानता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के राष्ट्रपति के लिए किसी विशेष भाषा का जानना अनिवार्य नहीं है और देश की किसी भी राष्ट्रीय भाषा का जानना उनके लिए पर्याप्त होना चाहिए। लेकिन यह बात सच है कि जिस स्थिति से अपना देश गुजर रहा है, उसमें हिन्दी यहां की केन्द्रीय भाषा है, और अंग्रेजी यहां की सह-भाषा है। इस बार हिन्दी का अनुवाद एक बाहरी व्यक्ति के द्वारा संसद् के संयुक्त अधिवेशन में पढ़े जाने का यह परिणाम निकला है कि राज्य सभा के सभापति ने भी हिन्दी के उस अनुवाद को सदन के पटल पर रखने की अनुमति नहीं दी। हम एक कदम पीछे गए हैं। मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार और स्वयं राष्ट्रपति महोदय भविष्य में इस बात के लिए सावधानी रखें कि जो संवैधानिक मर्यादियाँ और आवश्यकतायें हैं, उनका ठीक प्रकार से पालन हो।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय को धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखते समय श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा ने जो कहा, मैं कोट करूंगा उन्हें, पेज 329, अनकरेक्टेड रिपोर्ट, तारीख 23-2-70:

"The judgment of the Supreme Court raises certain fundamental issues and basic implications. The President because of his high office is silent on those implications but I hope the Government will not be silent on those issues..."

श्रीमती ललिता राजगोपालन ने इस प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन करते समय कहा है, पेज 335, अनकरेक्टेड रिपोर्ट, तारीख 23-2-70:

"He is a veteran labour leader. The President has mentioned about the labour problems and he has very well said that he understands their problem of wages and the living conditions and the hardship they are facing. And at the same time he has given an encouraging note. The Government is aware of all their problems and they are trying to implement the necessary recommendations."

मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि दोनों प्रस्तावक और अनुमोदक महोदयों ने सरकार और राष्ट्रपति के बीच में एक लाइन ड्रा करने की कोशिश की है। मैं चाहूंगा सरकार की तरफ से इस बात को और स्पष्ट कर दिया जाय कि राष्ट्रपति के इस संपूर्ण भाषण में सरकार की तरफ से क्या-क्या कहा गया है और राष्ट्रपति ने अपनी तरफ से क्या-क्या कहा और उनकी अपनी तरफ से कही गयी सब चीजों को आगे के लिए राष्ट्रपति भाषण का भाग हरगिज न बनाया जाय। इसके लिए हम संयुक्त अधिवेशन में उनका भाषण सुनने के लिए नहीं जाते।

एक तीसरी चीज जिसकी तरफ मैं सरकार का ध्यान ले जाना चाहूंगा वह यह है कि यद्यपि इस सारे भाषण में, अनुवाद में देश के अंदर घटने वाली कुछ चिन्ताजनक परिस्थितियों का उल्लेख किया गया है, परन्तु सरकार का कर्तव्य उनके प्रति क्या होगा, इसका उल्लेख नहीं है। परिस्थितियाँ वास्तव में बहुत विषम हैं। मैं समझता हूँ आज जो परिस्थितियाँ हैं,

उनको देखते हुए हम ऐसे युग में पहुँच गये हैं कि जब राजनीतिक विचारों के मतभेद हम संसदीय या जनतंत्रीय परिपाटी से सुलझाने को तैयार नहीं, उसके लिए हमारे में सब्र नहीं और उस के कारण ही विरोधियों की हत्याएँ करने के उदाहरण जगह-जगह उपस्थित हुए हैं। इस प्रकार की हत्या की घटनाएँ बढ़ती जा रही हैं। मैं कुछ उदाहरण यहां पर देना चाहूंगा। राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ की शाखाओं पर केरल में हमले हुए हैं। एरनाकुलम के अलवी तालुके के श्री वी० चन्द्रशेखरन्, वहां शाखा पर 500 सशस्त्र मार्क्सवादियों के द्वारा हमला किया गया और उन को मारा गया। 11 फरवरी को त्रिवेंद्रम से 20 मील दूर पराशला में राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ की शाखा पर हमला किया गया। पालघाट और अलेपी में भी यह घटनाएँ हुई हैं। मैं यह समझ सकता हूँ कि हमारे कुछ मित्रों को राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ के कार्य से आपत्ति हो सकती है। मैं उनसे ही यह जवाब चाहूंगा कि हमला करने से...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Paper report?

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: This is factual report. I say it on my authority.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Oh, your authority?

SHRI PITAMBER DAS (Uttar Pradesh): Are you prepared to contradict it?

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : कुछ मास पूर्व कोट्टायम के निकट श्री धरन नायर, जिन्होंने मार्क्सवादी पार्टी छोड़ दी थी, उन पर ऐसिड बल्ब से हमला किया गया और उनको मारा गया। त्रिचूर में स्वामी चिन्मयानन्द के भाषण में गड़बड़ की गयी। इसी 19 फरवरी को मालदा में 60, 70 सी० पी० आई० और सी० पी० एम० के कार्यकर्ताओं ने जनसंघ के कार्यालय पर हमला किया जबकि वहां कोई नहीं था। वहां के फर्नीचर को जलाया और बाद में जब वहां के कार्यकर्ताओं को इस पर आपत्ति हुई, तो जनसंघ के कार्यकर्ताओं को उन्होंने मारा। मुर्शीदाबाद के जिले में भी इस तरह

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

की घटनायें हुई और सामूहिक दुष्कांड वहां पर किये जा रहे हैं। हरिहरपुर थाना क्षेत्र इस का एक प्रमाण है कि हारिया, रामकृष्णपुर गांव जला दिये गये हैं, रामपाड़ा, महिषपाड़ा एवं भंडारी गांव में हमले किये गए हैं, हत्याएं हुई हैं। पुलिस वहां मौजूद थी, लेकिन उसने दखल नहीं दिया। अभी थोड़े दिन पहले स्याल-दाह स्टेशन पर रिपोर्ट मिली है कि गाड़ियाँ चलना बंद हो गया। मुझे यह जानकारी है और मैं रेलवे मिनिस्टर को इसके लिए चार्ज करता हूँ कि उन्होंने संसद् और देश को इस बात की अभी तक जानकारी क्यों नहीं दी कि उस स्यालदाह स्टेशन पर उस दिन हमला करने वाले लोगों ने एक गाड़ के दोनों हाथ काट डाले और उसी का नतीजा था कि वहां हड़ताल हुई और गाड़ियाँ चलना बंद हुआ। मैं चाहूंगा कि इसको आर्थेटिकली कंट्रैडिक्ट किया जाय और नही तो मैं रेलवे मंत्री पर यह आरोप लगाता हूँ कि अगर वह अपने कर्मचारियों को इस प्रकार के आक्रमणों से नहीं बचा सकते, तो इस देश के अंदर शासन नंत्र का चलाना किसकी दया पर हम छोड़ना चाहते हैं, इस बात का वह फैसला कर लें। इसके साथ ही मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि वहां पर बंगाल के मुख्य मंत्री श्री अजय मुकर्जी की गाड़ियों में क्या लाइव बाम्ब्स भी पकड़े गये हैं ?

यह मैंने कुछ उदाहरण दिए, जिनसे इस बात का अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि परिस्थिति कितनी चिन्ताजनक है। जयपुर की एक घटना है। पिछले दिनों में विवेकानन्द छात्रावास पर विद्यार्थियों ने हमला किया छुरे, लोहे के वार, हाकी के डंडे, पिस्तौल वगैरह ले कर और उसके परिणामस्वरूप एक विद्यार्थी मारा गया है और दो विद्यार्थी घायल हुए हैं। और बाद में जो कलप्रिट्स थे, वह गायब हो गये उनमें एक राजस्थान के एक मंत्री का लड़का है और एक वहां की कांग्रेस लेजिस्लेटर, महिला लेजिस्लेटर का लड़का है। दस-दस दिन तक पुलिस उनको नहीं

पकड़ सकी। उन्होंने ही जब अपनी मर्जी से सरेंडर किया, तब वह पुलिस की पकड़ में आ सके। मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि सारे देश में एक ऐसी अराजकता, कानून के बारे में अवज्ञा और जानबूझ कर कानून को हाथ में लेने की प्रवृत्ति फैल रही है और सरकार में बैठे हुए लोगों द्वारा उनको मिलने वाला प्रश्रय चिन्ता उत्पन्न करता है। इन घटनाओं पर केवल राष्ट्रपति द्वारा चर्चा करना मात्र ही पर्याप्त नहीं है। मैं इतना जरूर जानता हूँ कि पश्चिमी बंगाल सरकार के संयुक्त मोर्चे में सम्मिलित पार्टियां आज इतनी बुज-दिल हो गयी हैं कि वे परिस्थिति का उल्लेख करती हैं, लेकिन कुर्सी छोड़ने का साहस उनमें नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ राष्ट्रपति महोदय अपनी मदद उनको दें।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: The Jana Sangh does not exist there.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : हम नहीं हैं, यह मैं जानता हूँ। लेकिन इसका यह मतलब नहीं कि पार्टियां जिस बीमारी की मरीज हैं उसको पहचानने की ताकत मुझको नहीं है। आज बंगाल में कोई भी पार्टी अपने माथे पर सरकार भंग करने का घड़ा फुड़वाने को तैयार नहीं है, चाहे बंगाल कितनी ही अराजकता के गड्ढे में धंसता जाय। यहीं पर जरूरत है केन्द्रीय सरकार को अपनी जिम्मेदारी निभाने की। मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि केन्द्रीय सरकार इस दृष्टि से अपने उत्तरदायित्व को निभाने के लिये कहां तक आगे बढ़ने के लिये तैयार है। यह हो सकता है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार आज जिस परिस्थिति में है, स्वयं एक माइनारिटी गवर्नमेंट है, उसको अनेक लोगों की मदद चाहिये, उसमें यदि यह सरकार यहां की अवस्था को, अलग-अलग राज्यों में विभिन्न राजनैतिक दलों की जो भी गतिविधियां चल रही हैं, उसकी चश्मपोशी कर केन्द्रीय सरकार को बचाये रखने में सहायता का सौदा करना चाहती है, तो ज्यादा दिनों तक इन सौदेबाजियों से यह सरकार नहीं चलेगी। "आप डूबे तो डूबे ले डूबे यजमान" वाली स्थिति इस देश में

जल्दी से जल्दी निर्माण होने वाली है। कल भी लोक सभा में Requisition of Immovable Property कानून के बारे में किया गया समझौता इस बात का ज्वलंत प्रमाण है कि सरकार को कितनी कड़वी गोली गले में उतारनी पड़ेगी, इस अधिवेशन में अपनी सरकार को बचाये रखने के लिये उनको किन-किन चीजों का सहारा लेना पड़ेगा।

आज सदन में श्री भूपेश गुप्त ने अपने कार्लिंग अटेंशन नोटिस के रिजर्वेट किये जाने पर "भारतीयकरण" के शब्द का उल्लेख किया। मैं जानता हूँ कि "भारतीयकरण" शब्द की जवसे हमने पटना अधिवेशन में अधिकृत रूप से घोषणा की है, तब से देश में उसकी बहुत चर्चा है, उसका विरोध भी है, और मैं समझता हूँ कि यहां पर भी, यह भी एक ऐसा कोरम है, इस पर विवाद करने का अधिक मौका मिलना चाहिये। जो लोग अपने मन से "भारतीयकरण" शब्द के भूत को खड़ा कर उससे लड़ना चाहते हैं, खुदा उन पर रहम करे। मैं केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो रिजोल्यूशन हमने पटना अधिवेशन में स्वीकार किया, उसमें से कुछ एक्सट्रेक्ट्स अपने मित्रों के लिये जो इस बात को समझने का प्रयत्न करना चाहते हैं, यहां पर उद्धृत करना चाहूंगा और उसको दोनों भाषाओं में करूंगा। जो रिजोल्यूशन इंटरनल सिचुएशन का है, जिसमें यह रिलेवेंट पोर्शन है, वह मैं आपकी अनुमति से यहां पर कोट करूंगा। उसे मैं कोट करता हूँ :

Bharatiya Jana Sangh being the champion of Indian nationalism and committed to preservation and strengthening of Indian unity feels particularly concerned over this state of affairs, and demands that:

1. Every effort should be made to revive and strengthen the sense of nationalism which is the sum total of cohesive forces in any country. This requires a clear understanding of the concept of nationalism and its main springs.

2. Indianisation—by which we mean the subordination of all narrower loyalties like those of religion, caste, region, language or dogma to the overriding loyalty to the nation of all fissiparous elements, 15RS/60—6

especially of these with extra-territorial loyalties or allegiance, overt or covert, to the two nation or multi-nation theory."

अपने सारे मित्रों को समझने में मदद मिले इसलिये इसका हिन्दी अनुवाद भी यहां पर मैं पढ़ना चाहूंगा। मैं उसी प्रस्ताव में से जो कि पटना में जनसंघ के 28, 29 और 30 दिसम्बर, 1969 को हुये अधिवेशन में पास हुआ था कोट करता हूँ :—

"भारतीय जनसंघ, जो भारतीय राष्ट्रवाद का प्रजेता तथा राष्ट्रीय एकता के संरक्षण तथा संवर्धन का हामी है, इस स्थिति पर विशेषतया चिन्ता अनुभव करता है और मांग करता है कि—

(1) राष्ट्रीयत्व के भाव को जो किसी भी देश में सबको जोड़ने का कुल जमा होता है, जागृत करने तथा बलशाली बनाने का प्रत्येक प्रयत्न किया जाय। इसके लिए आवश्यक है कि राष्ट्रीयत्व तथा उसके मुख्य प्रवाहों को ठीक तरह से समझा जाय।

(2) भारतीयकरण जिसका अर्थ मजहब, जाति, क्षेत्र, भाषा तथा मतवाद के प्रति छोटी निष्ठाओं को राष्ट्र के प्रति बड़ी निष्ठा के अधीन लाना है, अन्तर्गत विशेषतः उन सभी तत्वों को लाना जो प्रत्यक्ष या परोक्ष रूप से दो राष्ट्रों अथवा बहुराष्ट्रों के सिद्धान्तों के अनुरूप या तो भारत के बाहर निष्ठाये रखते हैं या उनके प्रति वफादार हैं।"

इसके आगे मैं श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी द्वारा जो पटना अधिवेशन में अध्यक्षीय भाषण में कहा गया है, उसे भी यहां पर कोट करना जरूरी समझता हूँ। उसके पृष्ठ 27 पर यह लिखा है। मैं कोट करता हूँ :

"जब हम भारतीयकरण की बात करते हैं, तो हमारा अर्थ यह नहीं होता कि मुसलमान या ईसाई अपनी विशेष उपासना पद्धति का परित्याग कर हिन्दू देवी देवताओं का पूजन-अर्चन

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प्रारम्भ कर दें। उससे हमारा अभिप्राय केवल यही है कि भारत के सभी नागरिकों को राष्ट्र के प्रति अविभाजित निष्ठा रखनी चाहिए। मजहब बदलने से संस्कृति नहीं बदलती, न इतिहास बदलता है। भगवान बुद्ध के अनुयायी अनेक देशों में रहते हैं। उनके पवित्र स्थान भारत में स्थित हैं वे उनकी तीर्थयात्रा पर आते हैं। किन्तु बौद्धमतावलम्बी होने के कारण वे अपनी राष्ट्रनिष्ठा में किसी प्रकार की दरार नहीं पड़ने देते। यह धारणा गलत है कि भारतीय जनसंघ उन धर्मों के अनुयायियों के प्रति भेदभाव रखता है, जो भारत के बाहर जन्मे हैं। सत्य का साक्षात्कार विश्व के किसी भी भूखंड में और किसी भी वर्ण या नस्ल के व्यक्ति को हो, वह हमारे लिए वन्दनीय है। हम भारत के हरेक नागरिक से केवल यह आशा करते हैं कि वह राष्ट्रहित को प्रमुख और शेष सभी बातों—यथा मजहब, भाषा, प्रदेश, सम्प्रदाय आदि को गौण समझेंगे।

उसी में आगे यह लिखा है कि “यह एक विडंबना है कि 52 करोड़ के देश में स्वर्ण मिलते हैं, हरिजन दिखाई देते हैं, सिक्ख पहचाने जा सकते हैं, ईसाई रहते हैं, मुसलमान विद्यमान हैं, किन्तु भारतीय कहां हैं, कितने हैं! यहां तामिल, आन्ध्र, मराठी, गुजराती, बिहारी, बंगाली और पंजाबी हैं, किन्तु भारतीय नहीं हैं। यहां ब्राह्मण, गैर-ब्राह्मण हैं, राजपूत-भूमिहार हैं, एडवा और नायर हैं, लिंगायत और वक्कलिंगा हैं, किन्तु भारतीय कोई नहीं है। यदि है, तो केवल उंगलियों पर गिनने लायक है। इस स्थिति को बदलना होगा। प्रत्येक को राष्ट्रत्व की अनुभूति करानी होगी। इसी अर्थ में हम भारतीयकरण की प्रक्रिया की चर्चा करते रहे हैं।”

और इसी पृष्ठ के अन्त में उन्होंने कहा है

“क्या यह आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है कि राष्ट्रीय एकात्मता परिषद् की स्थायी समिति में भारतीय जनसंघ के इस सुझाव को मानने से इन्कार कर दिया है कि सभी वर्गों को राष्ट्र जीवन की मुख्य धारा से स्वयं को एकाकार करना चाहिये।” प्रधान मंत्री ने पूछा—“राष्ट्र जीवन की यह मुख्य धारा है कहां!” मुझे उनके अज्ञान पर हंसी नहीं, रोना आता है। किसी के भारतीयकरण की यदि सर्वाधिक आवश्यकता है तो वह प्रधान मंत्री की है जो यह भी नहीं जानती कि भारत एक प्राचीन राष्ट्र है, उसका अपना राष्ट्रीय व्यक्तित्व है और यह कि हमारे राष्ट्र जीवन की मुख्य धारा है, जो हजारों वर्षों से अविच्छिन्न बहती आई है।

इसी के कांटीनुएशन में श्री राष्ट्रपति जी के 20 फरवरी के भाषण का भी एक उद्धरण मैं यहां रिकार्ड पर लाना चाहता हूं। पैराग्राफ 8 में उन्होंने कहा है :

“मेरी सरकार का यह उद्देश्य है कि उसका हर कदम देश को एक समाजवादी लोकतांत्रिक समाज के निर्माण के गंतव्य की ओर अविचल ले जाए। यह काम लम्बा और कठिन है। न ही हमारे सामने कोई ऐसा उदाहरण है, जिससे मार्गदर्शन हो सके। भारत की समस्याएं ऐसी हैं, जिन्हें सुलझाने के लिये हमें अपने तौर-तरीकों, इतिहास और परम्परा को ध्यान में रखते हुए विशुद्ध भारतीय समाधान खोजने होंगे।”

मैं फिर से इम्फेसाइज करना चाहता हूं “विशुद्ध भारतीय समाधान” शब्दों का जिनका राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने उल्लेख किया है। आज श्री विद्या चरण शुक्ल ने दिल्ली के बारे में बोलते समय इस बात को कहा कि दिल्ली हमारे नेशन की राजधानी है, इसलिये दिल्ली

की स्थिति अलग है। मैं अपने देश के उन मित्रों को जो एक नेशन में विश्वास नहीं लाते और अब भी एक से अधिक राष्ट्रों की धारणा में विश्वास करते हैं, उनको जरा श्री विद्या चरण शुक्ल को समझाने के लिये आग्रह करूंगा और अगर मल्टी-नेशनल-कैपिटल यहां पर पैदा करना है, तो फिर दिल्ली के प्रति उन्हें अपने आग्रहमें बदलने के लिये कहूंगा, मैं आग्रह करूंगा। मैंने केवल कुछ फैक्ट्स इसलिये रख दिये ताकि अगर हमारे माननीय सदस्य जो संसद् की कायवाही में रुचि रखते हैं, वह देख सकें। मैं अपना कमेंट उसके ऊपर जोड़ नहीं रहा हूँ। इसीलिये मैंने यहां पर कुछ चीजें कोट की हैं। वह मेरी व्यक्तिगत राय न मानी जाय। पार्टी के सम्बन्ध में आलोचनाओं के लिये मैं हमेशा खुला हूँ, लेकिन मुझको यही कहना है कि इसी आधार पर वह आलोचना करें। इसलिये मैंने आज इस समय में इन चीजों को यहां पर रखने की कोशिश की है।

अब मैं फिर से उस विषय पर आऊंगा, जिसका राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने यहां पर उल्लेख किया है। राजस्थान के अकाल के बारे में मैं कहना चाहूंगा, क्योंकि राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने सूखे के इलाके में भी कुछ न कुछ किया जाये, इस बात को कहा है। मैं इसके लिये तो केन्द्रीय सरकार का आभारी हूँ कि मेरे द्वारा ध्यान में लाई गई अकाल निवारण के कार्यों में की जाने वाली गड़बड़ियों पर निगाह रखने के लिये केन्द्र ने भी एक कमेटी अकाल निवारण कार्यों की जांच के लिये नियुक्त की है। श्री वोहरा उसके चेयरमैन हैं। राजस्थान के मुख्य मंत्री ने इस पर आपत्ति उठाई है। यही तो मेरी आपत्ति थी कि जो पैसा यहां से दिया जा रहा है, जो अनाज यहां से दिया जा रहा है, राजस्थान की सरकार उसके प्रति न्याय नहीं कर रही है। उस कमेटी को राजस्थान का दौरा करने से रोकने की कोशिश की गई है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ, अकाल पीड़ितों की सहायता के लिये यदि हम वास्तव में उनकी सही जगह पर मदद करना चाहते हैं, तो श्री वोहरा जो

21 फरवरी को इस उद्देश्य से राजस्थान में जाना चाहते थे, वह गये या नहीं गये और नहीं गये तो कौनसी कंसिडरेशन्स के कारण उनको वहां जाने से रोका गया? मैं यह भी चाहूंगा इस संदर्भ में केन्द्रीय सरकार राजस्थान नहर के मसले के ऊपर भी विचार करे। जब राजस्थान नहर का निर्माण हुआ था, तो क्या राजस्थान नहर की स्कीम केवल सूरत-गढ़ तक के इलाके को इरिगेट करने के लिये बनी या राजस्थान नहर की बेसिक योजना बीकानेर, जैसलमेर और कच्छ तक के सूखा इलाकों में पानी पहुंचाने का प्राइमरी लक्ष्य रख कर हमने अरबों रुपया खर्च करके अपने माथे पर ली। हमने जो पौंग बांध बनाने के लिये योजना सोची, तो इसलिये कि इनडस वाटर ट्रीटी के अंदर उन नदियों का पानी पाकिस्तान को देने का हमारा कोई आब्ली-गेशन नहीं है। उसके साथ जोड़ा गया कि राजस्थान नहर के माध्यम से पौंग बांध के द्वारा मिलने वाले व्यास के पानी को भी राजस्थान नहर के माध्यम से राजस्थान के सूखाग्रस्त इलाकों को इरिगेट करते हुए कब तक ले जाया जा सके। आज अगर उसका सेकेन्ड फेस रोक दिया है, तो मैंने इस बात का आक्षेप लगाया है कि उसके पीछे उसकी सिंचाई की क्षमता, अन्न का उत्पादन और इस सीमावर्ती क्षेत्र की असुरक्षा, यह कोई कारण नहीं हो सकते। इसका कारण यह है कि पौंग बांध पर 55 करोड़ रुपये खर्च करने के बाद भी यह व्यास का पानी बिना स्कावट के पाकिस्तान को बहेगा। पाकिस्तान को अब 1970 के बाद मुफ्त में पानी मिलेगा। वह तो इन्टरस्टेड है। क्यों यह सब किया जा रहा है, इसका एक कन्विन्सिंग जवाब सरकार की तरफ से चाहिये। मेरा तो आक्षेप है कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार अब उसको मुफ्त में पानी देना चाहती है। हिन्दुस्तान को मदद और सलाह देने वाले अमरीका और रूस दोनों पाकिस्तान की मदद और पाकिस्तान की हिमायत करना चाहते हैं और उन्होंने भी सलाह दी हो "जरा ठंडे-ठंडे चलो", बीस

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

वर्ष तक ऐसे चलो, तब तक पाकिस्तान को फौकट में पानी लेने दो। मैं चाहता हूँ इसके बारे में स्थिति को स्पष्ट किया जाये कि क्यों राजस्थान नहर के काम को लम्बा किया जा रहा है ?

राजस्थान की एक और समस्या है। राजस्थान के भूतपूर्व उप-मुख्य मंत्री और वर्तमान श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की कांग्रेस सरकार की समर्थक कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष श्री नाथू राम मिर्धा के चुनाव का मामला सुप्रीम कोर्ट से अभी-अभी फैसला हुआ है। इस बार चुनाव में वह हार गये थे और चुनाव हारने के बाद उन्होंने अपील की। वहाँ हाई कोर्ट ने इस नाते से उनके चुनाव को नहीं माना कि 1,376 बैलट पेपर्स पर गिनती हो जाने के बाद, उन्होंने किसी भी प्रकार से हो वहाँ पर गड़्डी किये हुए बैलट पेपर्स पर एक ही मोहर से 1,376 बैलट पेपर्स पर, जो दूसरे जीतने वाले उम्मीदवार के बैलट पेपर थे, उन पर टप्पा लगवा दिया और उस जीते हुए उम्मीदवार के चुनाव को खारिज करने का प्ली लिया। हाई कोर्ट में वह प्ली नहीं चला। (Time bell rings) सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने भी वह प्ली खारिज कर दिया है। मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार से कहूंगा, अब इलेक्शन कमीशन को वह इस बात का आदेश दें कि वे जल्द से जल्द सुप्रीम कोर्ट में पड़े हुए उन 1,376 बैलट पेपर्स को अपने कब्जे में लेकर सी० बी० आई० के मुपुर्द करें। फिर सी० बी० आई० इस बात की जांच करे। साथ ही रिप्रेजेंटेशन आफ द पीपुल्स ऐक्ट के सेक्शन 136 के अंदर और पीनल कोड की दफा 466 के अंतर्गत उनके खिलाफ कार्यवाही करे। श्री नाथू राम मिर्धा के ऊपर कार्यवाही शुरू की जाये, क्योंकि यह सारे देश के इतिहास में ला-मिसाल उदाहरण है। अगर इन चीजों के बारे में निगरानी नहीं की गई, तो आगे चल कर प्रजातंत्र और चुनाव की पद्धति में बड़े खतरे का सामना करना पड़ेगा और इसलिये उनके बारे में जांच करने की आवश्यक-

कता है। I hope I am within the limits of the time of my party ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is one more speaker from your party.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: I will leave some time for him also because I am not consuming the whole of it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Ten minutes are left for another Member.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: I am just finishing. जहाँ पर सरकार ने सारे उपेक्षित इलाकों की उन्नति की बात की है, वहाँ मैं जरूर चाहूंगा कि उपेक्षित इलाकों के बारे में राजनैतिक दांवपेंच कुछ नहीं होना चाहिये। अब तो पृथक्तावादी लोगों को इस राजनीति की लड़ाई में आनन्द आने लगा। अगर हमारे इधर विरोधी दल पर बैठने वाले कांग्रेस के नेताओं ने कांग्रेस के विभाजन के बाद तेलंगाना में कांग्रेस कमेटी को मान्यता प्रदान कर दी, तो सत्ता पर बैठे कांग्रेस के नेता भी पीछे नहीं रहे। वे गुजरात में सौराष्ट्र की कांग्रेस कमेटी को अलग से प्रान्तीय स्टेटस देने की बात कर रहे हैं। अगर कांग्रेस का अपना आपस का झगड़ा, अपनी-अपनी रोटी सेंकने का मामला, इस तरह की पृथक्तावादी मनोवृत्तियों को अपनी राजनीति का अखाड़ा बनाना चाहता है, तो इसका कोई अंत नहीं होगा।

श्री नीरेन घोष : इसके लिये भारतीय-करण करना होगा।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : इसकी जरूरत है। यहीं पर इसकी आवश्यकता होती है। मैं श्री नीरेन घोष को इसके लिये धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि यहां भारतीयकरण शब्द का उन्होंने हन्ड्रेड परसेंट सही इस्तेमाल किया है।

(Interruption)

मेरा कहना है कि अब भी प्रधान मंत्री ने सीमावर्ती विवादों को राजनैतिक समझौते का आधार बनाया है। चंडीगढ़ का फैसला

राजनैतिक सौदेबाजी का परिणाम है और इसी कारण दोनों प्रदेशों में इस पर संतोष नहीं निर्माण हुआ आज भी हरियाणा और पंजाब के बीच के गांवों का झगड़ा बाउन्डरी कमीशन के सामने ले आने से काम नहीं चलेगा। मुझे तो डर है कि शाह कमीशन की और महाजन कमीशन की रिपोर्ट्स की जो दुर्गति हो रही है, उससे अब कोई भला आदमी जिसकी इज्जत है, जो मेहनत लगा कर और अपनी खोपड़ी खपा कर तथ्यों के आधार पर फैसला देना चाहता है, बाउन्डरी कमीशन हो या कोई दूसरा कमीशन हो, तो वह उसका चेयरमैन बन कर अपनी रिपोर्ट की बेइज्जती करवाने के लिये कभी तैयार नहीं होगा। अगर यही तरीका है तो हम इस पद्धति को बंद कर दें। हरियाणा और पंजाब के बीच में भी जुडीशियल आर्बिट्रेशन करवाया जाय। कोई आश्चर्य नहीं अगर मैसूर में सत्ताधारी दल के विपरीत सरकार है और महाराष्ट्र, जिसने राष्ट्रपति चुनाव में विरोध का ढंका वजाने के बाद भी एकदम काया पलट ली—मेरा मतलब है महाराष्ट्र के पालिया-मेंट के सदस्यों ने और महाराष्ट्र की कांग्रेस ने—और उसी के परिणामस्वरूप बेलगांव का एक-एक टुकड़ा उनकी गोदी में फेंका जा रहा है, तो फिर दुनिया के सामने या हिन्दुस्तान के किसी भी व्यक्ति के सामने यह संदेश देना कि आप कोई न्याय कर रहे हैं यह शोभा नहीं देता। इन चीजों को राजनीति के दायरे से ऊपर उठाये और जैसा कि हमारे राज्य सभा के विरोधी दल के नेता ने कहा, प्राइम मिनिस्टर की पर्सनेलिटी एक महत्व रखती है, लेकिन जिस तरीके से पिछले दिनों प्राइम मिनिस्टर की पर्सनेलिटी को घसीटा गया है और केन्द्रीय सरकार में रह कर जो एक फेडरल गवर्नमेंट का रोल उसको प्ले करना चाहिये—being representative of all States put together—उसकी वजाय एक पार्टिजन अप्रोच किया। केन्द्रीय सरकार की सत्ता और साधनों की राजनीति का दांव बना कर सरकारें बनाना और बिगाड़ना, ऐसा करके,

as leader of the Congress in-power, she has forfeited the confidence of the people of India, फिर किस आधार पर इन डिस्पूट्स को वह अपने व्यक्तिगत आधार पर फैसला करने की कोशिश करें ?

हमने वह तमाशा देखा है, जब यहां मेघालय बनाने की बात आई कि इधर उधर के 5 जिलों की बात है, उनको मिला कर वहां की हिल्स की समस्याओं का समाधान होगा और इसी तरह के आर्गुमेंट देकर हमने उसके निर्माण को जस्टिफाई करने की कोशिश की।

3 P.M.

आज तो केवल दो जिलों का वह राज्य मेघालय बनकर रह गया है, जिसकी लम्बाई 8,700 वर्ग मीटर है और जिसकी जनसंख्या 9 लाख 33 हजार है। अगर इस तरह से केवल हिल लीडर्स के राजनीतिक दबाव के सामने हमने मरेंडर करके दो जिलों का सब स्टेट या स्टेट बनाने का फैसला किया तो यह चीज सारे देश के हित के लिए अच्छी नहीं होगी। मैं यह बात नहीं समझ पाया हूं कि इस तरह के राज्य बनने से कौनसा फायदा देश को होगा और कौनसी चीज इसमें से निकलने वाली है।

मैं चाहता हूं कि श्री चालिहा जल्दी स्वस्थ हो जायें, लेकिन आज महज इस वजह से कि श्री चालिहा की बीमारी के कारण जो परिस्थिति पैदा हो गई थी और जिसकी वजह से उन्होंने त्यागपत्र देने की इच्छा व्यक्त की थी, उन्हें फिर से अपना त्यागपत्र वापस लेने के लिए कहा गया है; क्योंकि राजनीति की गोट वहां पर अच्छी तरह से बैठ नहीं रही है। इस वान के बारे में स्टेटमेंट दे दिया गया कि वे स्वस्थ हो गये हैं, लेकिन हम हैरान हैं कि दूसरे ही दिन अखबारों में यह मालूम हुआ कि अन्डर मेडिकल एडवाइस वे किसी से नहीं मिल रहे हैं तथा किसी को बात करने की इजाजत नहीं है। तो इस तरह से वहां पर राजनीति की गोट खेती जा रही है। इस तरह की बातें वहां पर की जा रही हैं, उससे तो परमात्मा ही बचाये।

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

मेरा कहना यह है कि अगर हमें सरकारें चलानो हैं इस देश में, तो केन्द्रीय सरकार सही रास्ते पर सरकारें चलाये और हम डैमोक्रेटिक तरीके से अपोजीशन करने से संतुष्ट रहेंगे लेकिन जो यह नया तरीका अपनाया जा रहा है उससे इस देश में स्वस्थ परम्परायें पैदा करने में मदद नहीं मिलेगी। मैं चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय इन सब चीजों को ध्यान में रखकर अपनी सरकार को उचित मार्गदर्शन दें। सारे देश में सरकारें चलाने का ज्यादा दायित्व उन्हें ही निभाना है जैसा कि मैं प्रारम्भ में कह चुका हूँ प्रस्ताव के प्रस्तावक व समर्थक ने भी सरकार व राष्ट्रपति में भेद किया है कि मैं राष्ट्रपति का उन के भाषण के लिए तहदिल से शुक्रगुजार हूँ।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, annually we have this particular occasion when the President of the Republic gives a message to Parliament and through Parliament, to the country. This year it is doubly important because at the end of the decade, he has tried to give an idea of what happened during the previous decade as well as the progress for the future. I join with my friend, Mr. Arora and Shrimati Lalitha (Rajagopalan) in expressing my gratitude to the President of the Union who will always command our respect. But in the person of Mr. Giri we have got a freedom fighter and a person who has devoted more than half a century to the service of the country, particularly in the labour field. And so it gives greater weight as to what he says.

Sir, he has given a clarion call to the nation, asking the people to work hard, to be disciplined and to see that on all aspects, on all fronts, the economic development takes place and that production is increased. He has also made it clear that we want to increase production, not to make the rich richer, not to multiply the monopolies or give further advantages to the monopolists, but the idea and object is to help the poorer sections of the society, to help the poorer humanity of our country and to bring about a social order which we all

desire and which we all....

SHRI S. D. MISRA (Uttar Pradesh): Only slogans.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: What your leader was saying, we all respectfully listened; I hope you will also extend that courtesy to me.

The objective is to increase production, to improve the social order. Not only that, Sir. He has also said, we will do it with self-confidence brick by brick, step by step. It implies that in every measure that we take, it will be after full deliberation, after mature and serious thought to bring about advancement, progress and a social order. Not only that, Sir. He has further expanded and said, well, this will be done not in the Russian pattern, not in the American pattern, but in the purely Indian fashion. Having in view....

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Qu-stion.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: The traditions and conventions and policies were given to this country by sages, the last of whom was Mahatma Gandhi. Now, does it lie in the mouth of anybody to say that the policies of this Government are Russian-oriented or American-oriented? I think the respected President has given the lie to all these slogans as well as to the statement that everything is being done, as said just now, through slogans.

Now, for building up the country, he has called upon the nation to do hard work. He has appealed to the nation to be disciplined. He has appealed to the nation to avoid conflicts as has been pleaded just now by my friend.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: Disciplined by this Government.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I know, these are some of the things very inconvenient to you. My respectful submission is that in this Address he has detailed the programme on the agricultural, industrial, employment and other sectors. Let me tell you—I have got great respect for my esteemed friend, Mr. Misra. I wish he were here. We have worked together. We came together under the guidance of Nandaji in the Socialist Forum, and I must say that he contributed substantially to those deliberations. Now for Mr. Misra

to say that it is a humdrum Address is not proper. Does it lie in the mouth of my learned friend, Mr. Misra, to say that the Address is completely lifeless, dull and drab? I have also had the privilege of attending to 16 Addresses. This is the 17th Address. And I know, Every time I am proud of my leader, Jawaharlal, of my leader, Lal Bahadur Shastri, and so am I proud of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. What I say is, you have also been trained under those two great leaders. Do not forget them. What I say is, in view of that training and education, we have always tried to think in a very serious manner about the developmental problems of this country.

Now, the whole serious problem is the social and economic reconstruction. Now, when he says that in agriculture we have turned the corner, we have got our facts, and this year we are going to achieve still better. Is it not a word of cheer? My esteemed friend, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, also said, there is no cheer in this. What cheer does he want? I mean, here we can give a pleasure to him by saying what we have done, what we have achieve and what we we intend to do.

SHRI T.V. ANANDAN (Tamil Nadu) : It was not due to the ruling Congress it was due to the united Congress.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Mr. Anandan, you are my colleague and you are my dear friend. Let us respect each other at least. Take the agricultural sector where not only the achievements are given but a programme for the future is given. You must have seen what the Address has said about reclamation of land and about the proposal to utilise dry land. You must have also seen what the Address has said about increase in the production of fertiliser. We want to further increase fertiliser production. Sanction has been given about three more fertiliser plants. Have you seen what the President has said about tractors? The whole of our State is getting mechanically-minded. We have also said that we will increase and give top priority to the production of tractors. If these things do not give cheer to my friends, Mr. S. D. Misra and Mr.

Dahyabhai Patel, I leave it to the House to judge whether this Address gives cheer or not.

Take the industrial aspect in the Address. In industries also we have turned the corner. There is no doubt that we had difficult days in the previous decade. There were two wars and we are proud that when these aggressions came India stood as one man and sacrificed and did everyting to throw out these aggressors. Although there were two droughts and our people had to suffer a lot, thanks to the courage of our people they have withstood it well. Still if my friends say that there is no cheer, that there is nothing in the Address, then I am sorry I cannot help them.

Coming to the question of export and employment, let me be very clear, I am sorry that exports have not gone as they ought to have gone. I think it is time for the Foreign Trade Ministry, as has been promised, to go into the matter very deep and analyse why our exports have not improved.

Regarding employment, true the increase in employment is not encouraging. I am not happy about it. So far as rural unemployment is concerned, we have given the programme. Now it will be rural electrification. There will be more dams, more intensive minor irrigation and all these things. With roads and markets in every village I am sure it will give further impetus to employment. But, Sir, I am not satisfied.

Regarding the proposal of employment of technicians, only a fortnight back I wrote a letter to the Prime Minister and the Industries Minister saying that the amounts that are being given to the small-scale industry, the engineers and the technocrat who come fresh are not enough. There is a gap. Two things are very essential. There should be a training programme for a short period to these engineers and diploma holders as has been agreed to. Some re-orientation is necessary. I would like the Government to allot a substantial amount for the training of these people so that they may be ushered in the small-scale industries.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: I do not want to disturb but it will help you...

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I am sorry, my time is limited.

SHRI S. D. MISRA:....Mr. Deputy Chairman, you may kindly give him one minute out of our quota if he needs it because I will take only one minute. I want to know one thing. The hon'ble Member just said that there is a bigger programme for electrification. But does he know one thing—let him clarify when he answers—that his own Government two years back gave the target for electrification of villages as one lakh in the Gandhi Centenary Year. Out of that 45,000 villages were electrified, and within the last 1½ years only 20,000 villages have been electrified. The total number so far electrified is 65,000 as against the target of one lakh. How does he expect this Government to reach the target within the rest of the year?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I am very thankful to my friend who has interrupted me. I am equally sorry as he is, that the full implementation has not been made. But now the position is different. The people who were then keeping us behind have gone over to that side. Now we will bring about electrification with greater vigour and greater force; there will now be greater electricity and greater power and I hope we will implement the programme with the grace of God.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala): Sir, the question deserves answer supported by facts and not emotion. We expect a reply to this very serious question from the Prime Minister at least.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I could give facts but my time is limited. I will give you facts and figures also.

Now I was suggesting that there should be a co-ordination committee in each State with a representative each of the nationalised banks, the Industries Department and the Small-scale industries on it. Otherwise what I feel is that too much time is taken in correspondence with the bureaucracy. So I suggest the appointment of such a co-ordination committee in each State so that the advantages that we want to have through bank nationalisation, the advantages that we want to come to our technocrats and engineers may be utilised by them with greater speed and with greater rapidity.

Sir, now I come to a point where I do not want to bring regionalism. I am very glad and I am sure all of us are very glad that there is a greater demand for steel so much so that we have to start the second stage of the Bokaro Plant. We have also decided to have three plants, one in the Southern region. I think my friend, Mr. Bhatt, espoused the cause of Baladalia. I have nothing against it. But the same team which indicated these three places, after detailed consideration has given preference to Vishakhapatnam. In this matter expert advice should be followed and not the regional considerations.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: All experts should be given leave on furlough.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: The Address has placed special emphasis on regional development and I do hope that regional development will have a prominent place in the future planning, in the Budget as well as in the Fourth Plan.

Lastly, I come to a problem which has hurt me, that is, the problem of Telengana. I am one of those, I assure you, who think that these matters should not be entrusted to any Government, but the people should settle the matter....

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: On the streets.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: No, between themselves. Mr. Bhandari can settle that way, I leave it entirely to him. I say they should settle on the negotiating table. Sir, when the question of Chandigarh was being considered—my learned friend will bear me out—in the Consultative Committee of the Home Ministry at the initiative of some friends and myself including, we passed a resolution that all the leaders of Telengana as well as the Andhra region should be called in and the matter should be discussed.

But later on difficulties arose and some people felt it was no use calling a meeting. But I did not agree with them. Now, what has happened? Four days back they issued a communique. What is that communique? Instead of strengthening my hands, or the hands of persons who are of my view that we do not want a separate

Telengana, unfortunately this communique has strengthened the hands of the separatists. Now, I wanted regional autonomy, something on the lines of Meghalaya, not exactly that, but something on those lines. Why?—you may ask me. Because in 1956 it was a gentleman's agreement and the Kanuru Commission had given me full opportunity to remain for five years separate, but when we sat in the Hyderabad House, I was also one of them—the leaders of Telengana and leaders of the Andhra region came to an understanding; and that understanding unfortunately was not kept up. Now it is a question of crisis of confidence. It is not a question of a few crores of rupees or a few things or a few jobs. I want to restore that confidence and I want that the people of the Andhra region and the Telengana region should remain one. They should have affection and consideration for each other. That is my desire. I do not believe in separation. So my submission is that instead of giving help to those who are opposing separatism, this communique has frustrated that idea. So my point is that statutory form should be given to the powers that have been given to the Regional Committee. Leaving it to the discretion of the Governor is a very bad thing. That will create bad blood between the Chief Minister and the Governor.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : विदर्भ वालो को भी यह दे दिया जाय ?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Mr. Bhandari, I am one of those who do not introduce lightheartedness on serious occasions.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : यह तर्क ऐसा ही है ।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: So my submission is this. There is a movement and you know every day we are hearing about it. It hurts me. What I submit is, there is an opinion "All right, if you want to ascertain the opinion of the people, have an opinion poll." Either you accept that...

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI: No.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Or my own view is that we should not go into emotions. We should come to some settlement. What you have given just now should come in a statutory form so that we can go and say to the people "There were differences, but now let us restore confidence."

One word more and I would finish. My complaint is more against my elder brother, the people of the Andhra. I have many a time with bended knees and folded hands appealed to them: Neither the Andhra Pradesh Government nor the Central Government will solve this question. It is a matter of crisis of confidence. Let the leaders of both the regions sit down and discuss and come to a decision. Once again I appeal to the leaders of the Andhra region. I am your younger brother. You are my elder brother. It is the tradition of this country that the elder brothers have got some affection and some consideration for the younger brothers. I appeal to you as a humble younger brother. Sit down, thrash out the matter and come out with a settlement, as we did in the gentleman's agreement. This is the only way by which we can restore confidence and happiness and progress in our presently disturbed State. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the President has delivered this Address to the two Houses of Parliament at a moment of great crisis. It was only a few weeks earlier that the entire nation welcomed the Bank Nationalisation Ordinance and the Act that was legislated upon by the Houses of Parliament. It was really thought that the taking over of the 14 major banks in this country was a very serious attempt made by the Government to change the economy of the country and tune it definitely in favour of progress, to see that the poverty-stricken people of this country were enabled to utilise the very large resources that were at the command of these 14 banks. But then a very critical situation has arisen on account of the fact that the Supreme Court has struck down the legislation taking over these banks, in its entirety. This situation has not been referred to by the President in his Address. It may be that the position was sought to be rectified by the Ordinance that had been issued. It may be that it is a solution for

[Shri K. Chandrasekharan] the moment. But I have no doubt that unless more radical measures are taken, it will be impossible to formulate and implement socialistic legislations in this country. We have got to make a distinction between private property of different kinds, private property which has got incidence of a public nature and private property which is personal. Private property which is personal is something which need not be touched upon by legislation. But property with public incidence, belonging to the entire nation, whoever has built it up, whatever be the circumstances under which that property came to be accumulated, can be legislated upon. Therefore, may I commend to this hon. House that this is the time when we should seriously think of making a major amendment to the Constitution of this country, I heard at least one hon. Member of this House suggesting the convening of a Constituent Assembly for the purpose of going into the provisions of the Constitution. I do not think that it is necessary to re-write the Constitution or re-draft the Constitution or erase the Constitution that we have and replace it by a different Constitution altogether. We have yet to give a fair and objective trial to the various provisions of the Constitution which is in force to-day. But so far as the fundamental rights guaranteed under Part III of the Constitution are concerned, to call those rights as sacrosanct or permanent is a political mischief that we are committing and is a failure on our part to understand the changing situations particularly in this country. Nowhere in the world has any particular thing been sacrosanct or permanent. What is sacrosanct or permanent to-day may be absolutely unnecessary to-morrow. The framers of the Constitution thought in their best of intelligence, in their best of sincerity, that the provisions in Part III of the Constitution were necessary. But 20 years and more of the working of the Constitution has shown that judicial pronouncements have come to be a stumbling block.

And today we are criticising the courts, the High Courts and the Supreme Court, for such judicial pronouncements little knowing or little realising that the judges themselves are not particularly at fault. The judges are only interpreting and applying the provisions of the Constitution,

and if the provisions of the Constitution can be interpreted only in a particular manner, it is for Parliament to see that the provisions of the Constitution are amended. I would, therefore, appeal to the Government with all the force at my command and I believe that today the nation as a whole or at least larger and larger sections of this country, particularly, the poverty-stricken people, desire that so far as the rights to property with public incidence are concerned they should be completely taken away from the ambit of Part III of the Constitution. Then and then alone will it be possible for us to implement the socialistic legislations of the nature of the taking over of banks. That is one aspect.

Another aspect is that so far as Parliament is concerned, already a Bill to amend the provisions of the Constitution in the light of the judgment of the Supreme Court in what is popularly known as the Golaknath case, is pending. The Joint Committee of Parliament has submitted its report. It was thought that the Bill could be proceeded upon even on an official day in the other House and was once proceeded upon. But then that Bill has not been pursued and no progress has been achieved in the procedure of passing of the Bill moved by the honourable Mr. Nath Pai, I would suggest that the sooner the Houses of Parliament take into consideration the Bill that has been moved by the honourable Mr. Nath Pai as reported by the Joint Committee of the two Houses, the better it would be. If that Bill is passed and the Constitution is amended, Parliament will be able to take power to itself to amend the provisions of Part III of the Constitution so as to restrict or remove certain of the fundamental rights guaranteed in Part III of the Constitution. The first stage, therefore, should be the passing of Mr. Nath Pai's Bill, and the second stage should be a direct amendment of the Constitution so that property rights with public incidence are no longer covered by Part III of the Constitution.

Another aspect that I would very seriously suggest to the Government is the manning of the Supreme Court. We have seen that so far as the present Constitution is concerned, so far as the three wings of Statehood, the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, are concerned, the

legislature has been moving in a particular way, the legislature has been moving in the direction of progress, moving in the direction of socialism, moving in the direction of implementing the Directive Principles of State Policy as contained in Part IV of the Constitution itself; the executive wing has been trying to implement them. But even though there has been some sort of correlation and cohesion and coordination between the executive and the legislature, we have found that in the years past so far as the judicial wing is concerned, the judicial wing would not move in that manner, whatever be its approach, whatever be its reasons. And the result has been that there has been a stumbling block in the implementation of the socialistic legislations passed by the various legislatures including Parliament. A situation has come now as happened in the United States of America when President Roosevelt had openly stated that it is necessary to pack the Bench of the Supreme Court with persons who have got pronounced views in one particular way. I am not suggesting that party politics should enter in the matter of appointments of the Supreme Court judges. But it is time enough for the Central Government to see that the entire procedure and the pattern of appointments of the Supreme Court judges is reviewed at the highest level and I would particularly request the Government that in the matter of filling up the two or three vacancies that are likely to arise in the coming one or two years and if necessary, in filling up the additional vacancies that might arise in the coming one or two years, to see as to what sort of personalities the Government is going to appoint to the Supreme Court because, after all, it is possible to interpret a particular law in one way or the other. It is possible that many laws are on the borderland. The discretion of the judge, the viewpoint of the judge, the approach of the judge, will be a major matter so far as the decision is concerned. I would, therefore, submit that in the matter of appointment of judges to the Supreme Court the Government should depend more and more upon lawyers being appointed to the Supreme Court rather than promoting the Judges or the Chief Justices of the High Courts. And the lawyers that are being appointed to the Supreme Court should not be merely party politicians, should not belong to one political category, or

another, but should be safe to be depended upon as the wheels of progress in the judicial wing of the Statehood guaranteed by the Constitution of this country.....

SHRI S. D. MISRA: Should they make a commitment to that?

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN: I do not want to expound on it further at this stage. Everybody who wanted to understand it would have understood it, I am sure.

Sir, we have seen particularly so far as some of the States are concerned, a very unrealistic approach in regard to the socialistic legislations, particularly land reforms legislations. That sort of unrealistic approach is being taken by some of the State Legislative Assemblies on account of the guarantee that these State Governments have in their mind that the particular legislation would surely be struck down by the High Court or the Supreme Court. What is the harm in importing such and such a provision in a particular legislation even though that provision may be dangerous, even though that provision may be unworkable if the entire legislation is likely to be struck down by the High Court or the Supreme Court? In fact, in the Kerala Land Reforms (Amendment) Act that has been recently enacted there are provisions which are absolutely unworkable. There are provisions which are there just for political purposes, which are there just for propaganda purposes. And this sort of unrealistic, irresponsible, attitude towards the legislation by the State Governments would not have been there if they knew that such legislation is not capable of being struck down by the courts at all and that the ultimate responsibility of implementing that legislation would be on the State Governments themselves. I submit, therefore, that the situation that has arisen on account of the Supreme Court striking down the law in relation to the taking over of banks should be very seriously considered. And I submit that the fact that the President having not referred to the same in his Address to the Houses of Parliament is certainly a very serious lacuna.

Sir, in the course of his Address, the President has referred to a new licensing

{Sri K. Chandrasekharan} policy. In fact, the industrial licensing policy has come in for criticism several times before this House and the other House and various legislations are on the anvil in the two Houses of Parliament. And some of them have already been passed into law. It is stated in the course of the President's Address that the idea behind the new licensing policy is to avoid the growth of monopolies in the private industrial sector. The President has also referred to the necessity for the growth of small-scale industries on account of this new licensing policy.

So far as the growth of monopolies is concerned, I do not want to add anything except that it is not merely in the formulation of a new licensing policy that we can achieve successful results ultimately, but the desired results can be achieved by the way in which we implement any new policies. If we are going to have implementation in the same way as we have had in the past with regard to the licensing policies, in a ruthless manner, so far as the growth of monopolies in this country is concerned, without absolutely caring for such growth, I do not believe that this declaration in relation to our new licensing policies would achieve the desired results.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Do you think it is an improvement or not?

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN: Undoubtedly it is an improvement; I have absolutely no doubt about it and I want to congratulate the Government on the new industrial policy. But I only want to say that it is the implementation of these policies in all their details that is going to ultimately give us good results.

In so far as the small-scale industries are concerned, I submit that the picture is very dismal. There are small-scale industries spread all over the country but the difficulty is of raw materials in many of the States. I have personally had it from so many industrialists that on account of the way in which the Central Government and its officialdom have formulated and implemented their policies—it is not possible for many of the small industries to work throughout the year just because they are not having the raw materials, even though these raw materials could have been there if they had been equitably,

properly, correctly and fairly distributed. I submit, Sir, that the country expects that for the growth of small-scale industries there would be a fairer and more equitable distribution of raw materials than was done previously.

So far as the Plan is concerned, in the Address given by the President in 1969 a promise was given by the President that from 1st of April, 1969 the Fourth Five Year Plan would be implemented. We are reaching the 1st of April, 1970 and there is no prospect of any such Plan coming as yet. Even in the Address that has been delivered by the President this year it has been stated that the Fourth Five Year Plan would come. I share that expectation and I welcome the coming of the Fourth Plan at least in 1970.

Then, Sir, so far as foreign aid is concerned, a very dismal state of affairs has been projected in this Government of India's publication of the Department of Economic Affairs, External Assistance, 1967-68. The entire approach, so far as foreign aid is concerned, is wrong. The Government of India seem to think or at least the authors of this book seem to think that foreign aid is an integral part of our planning, which it should not really. Foreign aid can only be a temporary affair so far as the development of this country is concerned. But see what this paragraph says. It says:

"Foreign aid has played a significant role in India's economic development. Whereas in the First Five Year Plan, 6% of investment was accounted for by external assistance, in the Second and Third Plans the share was 21% and 28% respectively. Aid utilisation in the two annual plans 1966-67 and 1967-68 accounted for 38% and 36% respectively of the total investments in these two years. A large part of this was however accounted for by food aid. If food aid is excluded, the share of external aid in the total investment during the three plan periods was 14%. The share during 1966-67 and 1967-68 however rose to 24%."

I would submit that our Plans should be pruned in such a way that there would be less and less of foreign aid component in these Plans and unless that is done, it will appear as if we are dependent more and more on foreign aid.

Now, Sir, one matter that I want to submit in the course of my remarks on the President's Address relates to a very serious situation that has arisen in the State of Kerala on account of the engineering colleges in that State having been closed. The Central Government has followed a policy that only a five-year engineering degree course would be recognised and that was because the pre-degree was treated as pre-university for a term of one year. But now instead of one-year pre-university course in Kerala, in all the other States we are having a two-year pre-degree course and it was with the consent of the Government of India and the Education Ministry that this two-year degree course was introduced and maintained in Kerala. On account of that the 5-year engineering course was reduced to 4-year degree course. It would appear that the Government of India have recently told the State Government that their 4-year engineering course would be recognised not as a degree but only as a diploma, which will not be equivalent to the degrees that are granted by the engineering colleges in the other States. This has been so even with regard to the regional engineering college in the Kerala State. As a result of this for the last about two months no engineering college in the Kerala State is functioning. There is a strike by the students because they are not prepared to attend the classes. What is the use of their going in for this costly course when they are going to get only a diploma? Sir, in spite of the fact that the matter has been taken up by M.Ps. and by the State Government with the Government of India, there has been callous disregard of the entire matter on the part of the Central Government and as a result of it technical education in the State is suffering.

Sir, I am one of those who think and my party also probably feels the same way that this Government is not liable to be opposed for this and that, that this Government is not liable to be opposed just for the purpose of opposition. The Congress, i.e. the ruling party today is rid of all the orthodox, conservative and unprogressive elements and the country expects and many of the Opposition Parties expect of the Government to behave in a way in which it would be possible for the Opposition Parties to constructively co-operate with

the Government. But the Railway Budget is a lamentable spectacle. The increase in the railway fares, sleeper charges and the freight rates will not only affect the common man but will shatter the economy of this country; further it will increase inflation in this country and will enhance the prices of consumer goods. If the Government wants really the support of at least some of the Opposition Parties who think with Government in respect of many matters—today it is a minority Government which is in office for the first time at the Centre—there is nothing wrong in seeking that support theoretically or in practice. But it is necessary for the hon. Railway Minister to see that these unsocial practices which are incorporated in the Railway Budget are withdrawn. Of course that is a matter to be raised at the time of the Railway Budget discussion.

The country is facing a very very difficult period. The country to-day requires honest politicians. The country requires men of responsibility in public offices. In the way the country has been moving in the last few years, if the country were to move again in that direction, we would be going through the evening of parliamentary democracy in the States. From the peaks of the Himalayas to the waves that lap the shores of Kanyakumari the India has always heard through the pages of history, the musical voice of India, that is Bharat. If we are to tune ourselves to the strains of that musical voice if we are to preserve the unity and integrity of this country, I have no doubt that this Government should be sustained and maintained and strengthened in office and for this purpose it is necessary that the Government should act in a more responsive and critical manner and this Government should be able to constructively cooperate with at least some of the Opposition Parties so that the Opposition Parties may have the confidence and faith in the Government that the Government is going in the really socialist way.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD (Kerala) : The esteemed President of India was pleased to address both the Houses of Parliament on 20th February. By this Address the Head of the State only announced the policies and programmes of the Government to the House and to the people at large. I may draw the attention

[Shri Hamid Ali Schamnad] of this House to the significant fact that the very Presidential election was a turning point in the history of our nation. I say this, not because the Indian National Congress has been divided into two groups as the Ruling Congress and the Opposition Congress. Anyhow it is unprecedented in the history of this country. At the same time I humbly feel that this turning point is definitely for the betterment of the country and for the progress of our nation and I definitely feel that democracy and socialism will survive because of this turning point of the Presidential election.

Taking stock of our record during the last 20 years of Congress rule, nothing substantial has been achieved. Poverty and ignorance are not eradicated. This is reflected in the Address of the President on page 2, paragraph 7 where he says:

"Government are aware of the inequalities in the country which become glaring when contrasted with the prosperity of some section of the community. Consequently, change in the social structure and removal of poverty are two aspects of the same question. Government are resolved to go forward at a faster pace towards the achievement of a social order which is just and humane."

This definitely would indicate that so far we did not achieve what we ought to have achieved in these long 22 years. Thousands of starving bellies are in the streets without shelter, clothing and other minimum necessities to lead a decent life. Our esteemed President was pleased to make reference to the agricultural production. A good portion of his long speech has been devoted to the agricultural production in the country and rural electrification. Only by giving good statements or saying some good words we cannot give substantial benefit to the common man. What is the position in the rural areas to-day? What is the position of the rural areas regarding electrification? I know in my own State of Kerala hundreds of villages are to-day even in darkness. The very word electricity would be something new to them. There are villagers, farmers and agriculturists who do not know what is electricity. Even now we are in the dark age and the President has said that the Government is concentrating on rural electrification. I hope the Government

would speed up the work that at least in the future, the common man in the village may also have the facility of electricity. Our nation is a nation consisting of agriculturists. Agriculturists form the backbone of the country. Even now they suffer from lack of credit facilities. Merely saying that the bank nationalisation has been done is not going to benefit the common man. How is the farmer going to get the credit facility? It is said that an agriculturist is born in debt, lives in debt and dies in debt. This is a matter of fact and this is the reality to-day and it is for the Government to see that the poverty and ignorance of the villagers are wiped out for ever.

Something has been said about land reforms by the President. Land reforms are implemented in many States. No doubt Kerala has implemented all sections of the Land Reforms Act and they are in force but at the same time the Centre should help the States in implementing the land reforms. When the ceilings are fixed, the surplus lands have to be acquired from the landholders and they have to be paid compensation. For that it is a great burden on the States. So it is the duty of the Central Government to help the States so that land reforms are properly implemented. Then there is no equality in ceiling under the land Reforms. There is disparity. In Kerala the ceiling has been fixed as a minimum of 12 standard acres and maximum of 15 acres. In Mysore it is 40 acres and in Madras 50 acres and perhaps in UP it is 75 acres.

AN HON. MEMBER: In Madras it is 30 acres.

AN HON. MEMBER: In UP it is 30 acres.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD: I am told that in some States 100 acres is the minimum. If that is so, are they not Indian states and why should there be this disparity? The Centre should take the initiative and have a uniform land legislation throughout the country.

As far as the industrial policy is concerned, the Government is not clearly stating their mind. At one stage they preach socialism. They say about nationalisation of the industry and at another stage they say that the

Government is going to encourage the private sector to invest in industries. Either they should say clearly: 'We are going to help the private capital to invest money in the industries' or they should say: 'No, we are going to nationalise the key industries'.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: They are not clear in their mind.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No interruption in the maiden speech.

4 P.M.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD : As far as helping the backward communities is concerned, the President has been very pleased to say about helping the backward areas of our country. But merely saying that it is the intention of the Government to help the backward areas is not going to get anything. Now I may ask this. Is there one single industry worth mentioning in, say, the whole of the Malabar region so far? Not a single one. At least hereafter this Government should sincerely make up their mind to establish one worth mentioning industry in the Malabar region.

The unemployment problem has been mentioned in the President's Address. But nothing has been said how to tackle it; no solution has been mooted. Only hopes and hopes are being given. If wishes were horses beggars would rise. It is like that. Hundreds of people are thrown out on the streets. Among them graduates and post-graduates are there. Hundreds and thousands of engineering graduates are without jobs and they are also thrown out on the streets. Is it not a shame on the part of our country that it produces engineers and yet is not able to give them all jobs? Will the Government think seriously over this? In this connection may I also draw the attention of the Government to the facts placed before this House by the hon. Mr. Chandrasekharan just now, the fact of the engineering students facing difficulties in Kerala? I fully agree with him. I also associate myself with the sentiments expressed by Mr. Chandrasekharan, because hundreds of engineering students, young boys, without going to the college, are now on the streets. It is because they have been told that "if you complete your B.E. engineering course, then it would be equivalent to the Diploma course". And the Centre is quite blind to this fact. It

is high time for this Government to open up their eyes and help the people of Kerala, especially the engineering students of Kerala who are on the streets today.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Engineers in all the States have difficulties.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD : I am very glad, Sir, that the President has been pleased to say something about the communal disturbances in our country. He has also made a reference to the unfortunate Ahmedabad riots. But I regret to say, Sir, that the President has not made mention of how to solve this problem, how to prevent in future at least the recurrence of such communal riots and see that the communities do not fight with one another. It has been pointed out by our friends that they are all brothers and at the same time a sense of feeling has to be created in the minds of the minorities. But nothing has been said in the President's Address and nothing has been said how to redress the grievances of the minorities involved in the communal riots. I am sorry to that extent. This morning there was a hue and cry for Indianisation of the Muslims. Where is the question of Indianising the Indian Muslims? You can rest assured that the Muslims are as patriotic as others and they will be in the forefront of the country in fighting any enemies of the nation; there is no doubt about their patriotism. Patriotism is not the monopoly of any particular group in this country, and Muslims are as patriotic as those belonging to the Jan Sangh or the Swatantra or the Congress. If the Prime Minister or the Leader of the Opposition is prepared to fight for the country the Muslims of this country will be behind them. So the question of doubting their patriotism or the question of Indianising them cannot arise. Do not please suspect your darling wives. This is what I want to say the people who are sitting to my right.

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN (Tamil Nadu) : We are not in it, as I said before.

SHRI S. D. MISRA : It is not our view either.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra) : Maybe but unfortunately you are in the arms of the Jan Sangh.

SHRI PITAMBAR DAS : Our shoulders are strong enough to bear our burden. Why unnecessarily trouble others?

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD : It is applicable only to those who unnecessarily suspect the Muslims.

As far as the abolition of privy purses is concerned, the Government is following a hide and seek policy, is not sincere in their efforts to abolish the privy purses. I do not blame this Congress alone. I blame both Congress put together in this matter, because the matter has been pending for years and the people have been asking for it. This issue is being played upon still. I think the President's Address has made reference to it and this Government will go ahead and see that something is done in this matter.

Another point I should like to make is about the Indians who have come away from Ceylon and Burma; especially the labourers have been driven away from Ceylon and Burma and other countries, and it is the duty of this Government to provide them jobs and settle them in this country.

Thank you Sir.

SHRI GULAB NABI UNTOO (Jammu and Kashmir) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, while rising on this occasion to thank the President of India for his address delivered to Parliament, I want to discuss two things which are very much striking. One striking feature I find is when I compare my country with other countries in the world. The other feature I find is that there is serious confrontation between the various organs of the State. I find that my country is miles away from those which are progressing in the world and I am alarmed at this. Recently a study has been made by the Economic and Scientific Research Foundation and I quote this from the 'Statesman' dated the 23rd February.

"For instance, the study says India is 20 years behind Brazil, 44 years behind Japan, 45 years behind the U.K. and 53 years behind the U.S.A."

This is alarming news to me while discussing the President's Address. Also I find that an important wing of the State, that is the Judiciary, is in serious confrontation with another important wing of the

State, that is the Parliament. These two things are so much thought-provoking while discussing the President's Address that I feel that unless the entire nation adopts a new approach, a new thinking, it is neither easy nor possible for us to make up this deficiency or to resolve this confrontation. Yet I feel most hopeful that in the seventies we have entered a new era, that is, the era of thinking. And the thinking is becoming stronger because, ultimately, it is the welfare of the people that counts most. And that cannot be ignored by any party at any stage.

As far as the new thinking is concerned, the question arises, what is the path or the goal that this thinking is leading us to and that is the welfare of the State. But actually what path should we follow in order to achieve the welfare of the State? That will be that we place socialism as the target for the welfare of the nation. But, Sir, the socialism that we have to achieve will be qualitatively different from the socialism that other regimented countries are trying to attain. The reason is that in our country we have multilingual, multicultural and religious communities. Therefore under these circumstances the socialism that we have to evolve will have to be different not only in quantity but in quality as well from the socialism of Russia or China. It will be wholly and solely Indian socialism where the dignity of the individual will be maintained and simultaneously social justice will be achieved. In order to achieve this goal we have to change some of our basic concepts regarding property. Unless we change our concept about property it is not possible for us either to make up the deficiency that we have compared to other countries as far as progress is concerned or to come nearer the goal of socialism that we have in our mind. In the concept that we have so far been having with regard to property we have to make a basic revision, a basic shift. The right to property as has been guaranteed in the Constitution should not mean unlimited and indefinite but that right should be guarantee only to that property which is absolutely personal and absolutely private, property over which an individual has control and which an individual can himself utilise. The rest of the property over which he does not exercise any control should be straightway take

away from him without any compensation, if the country wants that it should make any progress, if the country wants that the goal set before it should be achieved so that we can in a very short time go side by side with the other developing countries in the world. Otherwise the figures that the Economic study has given are indeed alarming. I quote :

"If India's per capita real income grows at an average annual rate of 1.6 per cent (the average of 1950-60 which is higher than the average of the 60s) then India will take 63 years for reaching the Philippine's 1963 level, 83 years for Portugal's, 142 years for Italy's 176 years for U.K.'s and 218 years for the USA's".

Looking to these alarming figures it is essential for us to adopt this new thinking and change our concept towards property we have been so far having and amend article 31A of the Constitution so that the chances that the courts have for striking down the Acts passed by the legislatures are not available to them and so that it does not serve as a barrier to the legislative bodies going ahead towards progress.

Sir, one thing I may also suggest here. We have the Directive Principles in the Constitution and article 38 says that Parliament and the legislatures will always be guided by the Directive Principles while laying laws for the country but this article has no application upon the courts and the courts do not take any notice of it. Therefore this article also should be amended in such a way that as it is binding on the Parliament and legislatures to be guided by the Directive Principles laid down in the Constitution it also becomes binding on the courts to be guided by them while interpreting the Constitution. The courts should not say that this part of the Constitution does not apply to them and therefore they need not be guided by these Directive Principles while interpreting the Constitution.

Sir, the President has been pleased to mention that the Government has decided to appoint an Agricultural Commission. In this respect I would submit that a major shift is necessary if we want to progress in the field of agriculture. We should make a basic revision in our educational policy. We

all know that 80 percent of our people live in the villages and the Indian economy substantially depends upon the village economy. Therefore our education should be such that a coordination develops between the teacher and the tiller. Unless education is useful for the tiller, for the agriculturist himself education cannot be of any avail to him. We must make most of our schools and colleges, and universities impart agricultural education because the majority of our people are in the villages and they depend upon agriculture. If we do not do that it is not possible for us to bring socialism to the peasant. Therefore I would suggest that we should start more and more colleges and universities in the field of agriculture and boys coming from the villages should be persuaded to go for agricultural education. That will solve two problems. Firstly the problem of educated unemployed will not trouble us because the boy who becomes an agricultural expert and who comes from the village will have no reason not to stay in the village and utilise his knowledge and experience in the field because the fields will serve as a laboratory for him unlike an engineering student or a medical student who has no scope in the villages. Therefore the majority of the village students should be asked to take to agricultural education and in every village, in every district, there should be an agricultural college so that we are able to produce more number of students with agricultural education. In this way we can bring real socialism to the villages.

The President has been pleased to state we should take to agrarian reforms. It is distressing to see that so far no State has taken up the matter seriously. The reason behind the crisis that we see in the country, whether in respect of law and order or unemployment, is that no State has actually implemented the agrarian programmes. Everywhere this is being delayed and escaped. Unless we take a serious view of this and put a ceiling on agricultural land, so that the surplus land that is with the agriculturist goes to those who are the actual tiller, we will not be able to make any progress in this field. In this respect I would say that my State was the first in India to come forward with a drastic agricultural reform which so far has not been followed by any State in India. Our ceiling at present is 22 acres, up to 22 acres. The State has committed

[Shri Gulab Nabi Untoo]

itself to put the ceiling at just ten or twelve acres.

As far our foreign policy is concerned, I am always of the view that India should take to the peaceful way with all. As far as our neighbours are concerned we should always try to be friendly if we can afford it. We should project the view that India is always for peace with everybody and particularly those who happen to be on our borders.

Thank you.

SHRI S. R. VASAVADA (Gujarat) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have listened to the Address delivered by the President very carefully and I have gone through his printed Address also. The impression created on my mind is that a note of optimism has been struck. It is always good for one, for an individual, for an organisation and also for the Government to be optimistic, but the optimism must be justified. There should be some facts, some indication to justify that optimism. When I go through the text of the Address and the view which has been taken of the political and economic conditions prevailing in the country, I find that there is more of complacency on the part of the Government, rather than optimism. It would have been much better and I would have welcomed it if the President had told us and our countrymen that we are passing through an economic crisis, that our political conditions are very unsteady, that we have to girdle up our loins and make the supreme sacrifice to defeat the enemies namely poverty, ignorance, superstitions, backwardness and various other things which are there in our country. I say it would have been much better and it would have encouraged us.

In the very first paragraph the President has asked Members of Parliament and countrymen to dedicate their services to the cause which is so very dear and near to us. We all want to do that. We are interested in removing poverty from this country. Also, we do not want inequalities. We want prosperity in this country, but a real, correct and realistic picture should have been given to us. I feel that it has not been done in the President's Address.

We have been told that recession is receding. Is it really so? Is there any sign of in-

creasing production? Have we ever been told what is the idle capacity in the country? Off and on we were told that so many million days are lost as a result of industrial strikes. Let us see and examine the record of our achievements in this direction in the past year. I am afraid that our industrial production has not only decreased, but it is on its way to a further decrease due to the lack of certain policies and also because the Government is not able to implement some of its policies. We are told that our exports are improving. Only last month we were told that we had cut a sorry figure in the field of exports. Instead of 7 per cent growth, we have achieved only 3 per cent growth. An export drive or a crash programme is to be placed before the country. Even though more than two months have passed, we are not aware that that programme is and how the industries have responded. I find the industries are complaining about the shortage of raw materials. There is a shortage of steel and the engineering industry is suffering. Even now there is a shortage of cotton and the textile industry is suffering very much. Several of the textile mills are sick. There are droughts sometimes. But we have not been told how to overcome all these difficulties. This is a realistic picture. Why should we feel shy of that? If there is danger we must be told that there is danger and we are going to prepare ourselves to fight that danger. We do not want chaos in this country. I am talking about myself and my party. I do not know about others. We want peaceful progress and we want necessary conditions for such progress. If any sacrifice is needed, we are going to make that also.

About savings we have been told that everybody should save. So many schemes are there. Recently one of the most easy and beneficial schemes has been pointed out to the Government by the National Labour Commission. Increase the rate of provident fund from 6 to 8 percent in other cases and from 8 to 10 percent. By this a few crores of rupees will be obtained. The worker will benefit and the Government will have long term finance for their development programmes. When such things can be decided easily and immediately, that is not done. It is merely sloganising and saying that everybody has to save. I do believe that merely by foreign aid, merely by getting loans,

we are not going to develop. The development has to be made by our own efforts. If we are going to be proud of our development, we will have to sacrifice, we will have to save and we will have to export even articles which are a necessity, if need be. Then only we will be able to develop and we will really be proud of it. I do not know what the Government are thinking about his matter of savings and how they are going to find the resources.

In the Address there is a mention of the nationalisation of banks. I am not averse to nationalisation. Nationalisation is good, but we have to decide from time to time whether certain pre-conditions are fulfilled, and whether the nationalisation is good for the country. In my humble opinion two most important conditions must be fulfilled.

Number one, the workers who are employed in these industries must feel that from now onwards they are going to be the employees of the State, employees of the country, employees of the nation. In that spirit they should imbibe a sense of responsibility. Secondly, the management should also feel that the industry now belongs to the country. It cannot afford to lose the money. It is the money that belongs to the public exchequer. The Government is running a large number of concerns, a large number of public projects. But what we find is we are lacking in efficiency there is often mismanagement, there are labour troubles and there are losses too. I would not call this nationalisation. Nationalisation must have two things attached to it, two conditions must be fulfilled; responsible management and responsible workers. The industry must serve the important needs of the community. Therefore, I am not against nationalisation as such, I would say, *nationalise everything if we have got the capacity, do that if we are able to do that; I do not mind that. But having nationalised these industries let us take care that the industry really serves the interests of the community. Therefore, Sir, I would suggest very humbly to the Government, let us not take more than we can chew. We have nationalised the banks. It does not matter, the legislation will be coming and we will pass that also. But I would say let us pause, let us take a close view of all the industries owned by the*

State and run by the State. Let us find out what mistakes we have committed and what further remedies should be found to make these industries efficient and really nationalised industries; then only we may go further in this direction.

The President has in his speech said something about the prices, and I felt that it was a rather very over-optimistic picture. Prices had been going on rising since long, and in the last two months or so there is another trend of rising prices. This is there for the last several years. Inflationary tendencies have come to stay in the country with the result that our economy has been completely disrupted. We do not know where this price rise will land us in, I would like the Government to think very seriously about this matter. Where is the poor man going to find his necessities of life with these prices? In one of the meetings where I was exhorting the workers to save something, to give to the Provident Fund, to give to some National Savings scheme, the workers have become intelligent; they told me, "we are saving a rupee today and after ten or fifteen years we are getting two annas worth out of the same thing". If the workers are saving one rupee now, it will come down to four annas or six annas in value a few years hence. If this is the trend, if we are going to ignore this rising trend I am afraid there are very few chances of developing our economy. The Government will have to take very strong measures,

A number of suggestions have been made, and this brings me, Sir, to the central theme of my speech today. It is true that the President has very rightly said that these prices cannot be controlled unless there is increased productivity, unless we produce more. What steps are being taken by the Government to increase our production? If the President of the Government through the President's speech exhorts us to co-operate, I want to co-operate, I want to offer all possible constructive suggestions. But I have to offer all possible constructive suggestions. But I have to co-operate with what? There are no suggestions. How are you going to increase productivity? Number one, there are shortages of raw materials. Number two, there are strikes and lock-outs. Number three, there are unsteady political conditions I would like the Government to consider one proposition. If

[Shri S. R. Vasavada]

there is an unsteady Government, can there be any industry, any business ? Is there any confidence in the people ? At first we had no experience of this thing, but during the last two years I find in my own country that because of these unstable conditions industries are coming to a stop, there is no production, unemployment increases. I do not want to indulge in any political gimmicks, but I am hurt when I find some responsible politicians talking that they want to topple this Government or topple that Government, as if toppling a Government or toppling that Government which is steady, is a matter of pride. Toppling a Government and replacing it by an unsteady Government means ruining the trade, ruining the business, ruining the industry, creating unemployment. By all means we can replace a Government by democratic methods, but we are not ashamed to use the word "topple", and we are doing it. I would very humbly point to those who are at the helm of affairs that this toppling business is not going to lead to the prosperity of the country. Sir, I was talking of the most important question to which President has referred, that we will have to create employment avenues. Some items are listed like rural electrification, road construction, and so on. There is nothing new about it. All these things we have been doing for the last so many years, and what has been the rate of growth of employment ? Very little. Very insignificant. The population is also increasing. Even then the Government has to face this problem. There are about 3 crores unemployment in the country according to a lowered estimate. I am not finding fault with the Government or with anybody. We are talking that we want secularism, but these 3 crores of people in our country want to understand what is the remaining of this socialism. If socialism means permanent unemployment, I am afraid they do not want this socialism. If the socialism has to be meaningful to the poor people of this country, we will have first to find out ways and means to provide them with some means of earning, with some job which may in turn provide them with food, shelter and clothing. We are talking of capital intensive industries a number of things, fertiliser, chemical industries, steel plants etc. I am coming in touch with these industrialists

and they very proudly and boldly tell me, "Yes, this is a Rs. 50 crores project", 'this is a Rs. 100 crores project'. I am asking them what will be the employment potential in the Rs. 50 crores project. They say in the Rs. 50 crores project 750 workers will be employed. The modern economist may ridicule us. In this country if you want to find employment for all those who want to work, I want to point out very emphatically to the Government that the only course open to the Government, to the economist and the society is to start village and home industries. That industry must be such a productive industry that it will provide some necessities of life. The only such productive industry is Khadi. You may laugh at it. You may ignore it. You may not pay much attention to it. But unless we do that, I want to submit that it is not possible for the Government for any Government, to provide employment. If this problem is not solved in time, it will not be possible for any Government, for any society, for any police, for any army to combat the forces of discontent. They will upset the whole peaceful growth of the country. I have nothing more to say, but if we are all interested in having peace in this country, I would suggest let the Planning Commission, let the Industry Ministry, let the entire Government devote their whole attention to this problem. Sometimes we are asked what will be the wage in Khadi Industry. The same question was put by the late revered Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi was discussing the wage level of the spinners, with his colleagues. Jawaharlal was horrified to know that it was three annas per day, only three annas. In England people are getting 2 shillings, in the United States they are earning 2 dollars. Of course, I am talking of 40 years back. At least it must be a rupee. That is what Nehru said. Gandhiji said, give me as many rupees as there are unemployed. I do not want this spinning wages. There must be a higher wage level. Today also in this country what is the minimum wage fixed in the agricultural industry where the workers are getting six to seven months' employment ? It is not more than three or four rupees, some are getting Rs 5. But then the employment is only for six or seven months. Therefore it does not matter. What wage level we are giving to those who are unemployed . . .

(Time bell rings)

I am very sorry. I will finish.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : There is nine speakers. The time for your party is about 52 minutes only.

SHRI S.R. VASAVADA : I do not want to complain. May I have three or four or five minutes more ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All right. Then you will have to adjust with your own Members.

SHRI S.R. VASAVADA : In paragraph 31 which I am not going to read, the President has said something about the labour policy. I want to know what is the labour policy of the Government which policy the President is supporting and which he wants to advocate. The labour policy of the Government is fully described in the First, Second and Third Five Year Plans, which has been accepted by Parliament. Are we following that labour policy ? We are told that the State is not going to interfere, wherever may be the strikes, what ever may be the loss to the country. There is the jute strike in the country, there is the engineering strike, there is the tea plantation strike, and the Central Government is merely looking at it, not interfering at all. Without industrial peace, in this country there is going to be no industrial production, and if industrial peace is to be maintained the only way open to the Government is to make arrangements, to give justice to both the parties. The Industrial Disputes Act has to be implemented quickly, has to be implemented without delay and justice should be meted out to the employees. Why do we want to go astray ?

At the end of his Address, the President has enumerated certain pieces of legislation which are going to be introduced here. It is also important. But I do not find the name of a legislation which has been promised on the floor of the House not once, but twice. Minister after Minister has told us that a Bill regulating the relations between the Central Government and its employees providing for the settlement of disputes will be placed before the House. It was two sessions back. I did not find it in the last session. I do not find it in the list here

also. I request the Government to include it in the list.

Lastly, there is one more piece of legislation which this House has passed. I do not know where it is hanging. It does not go to the Lok Sabha. It is an amendment to the Industrial Disputes Act which was passed long back, about two years back, by this House. And it has taken so much time for it to go to Lok Sabha from here. I would request the Government. We are concerned with the security of the service of the worker.

And my last suggestion is, the President is reported to have said at a very high level conference that if he had his say, he would introduce prohibition everywhere in the country. Sir, this prohibition is one of the Directive Principles in our Constitution. I am deprived...

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : It is a nasty failure.

SHRI S.R. VASAVADA : Maybe, from your point of view.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : From the national point of view.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is not correct.

SHRI S.R. VASAVADA : The point is, if I am given a higher wage, Rs. 100 or Rs. 200, as soon as I get it, the Government and the middle man takes away 60 or 70 percent. If the Government is anxious to improve the living standards of the working classes and the poorer sections of this country, they should forego this income from licensing liquor etc. and should forcefully introduce prohibition.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : This is the first Address of Mr. Giri after being elected as President. He was elected with what fanfare, with what hopes and expectations roused among the people, and after the bank nationalisation also. But this Address, what an anti-climax it is. It has dampened the expectations of the people, nor do they find the needed progressive swing in it. Nothing of the kind. That is the first point that I would like the ruling party to remember. Perhaps, this Address is notable not for what it has said but for what it has not uttered or dare not utter. That is the main burden of this. It is a colourless speech in that

[Shri Niren Ghosh]

respect because when the people expected that new lines of advance would be indicated, new democratic advances would be chalked out in this Address, there is absolutely nothing whatsoever in the speech except certain platitudinous wishes and in certain pious exhortation. Nothing else. It was especially right for Mr. Mishra to point out. The entire burden of his speech, the Leader of the Opposition, was : You call us reactionary. What are you, Sir ? No better than we are. That is what he wanted to prove. The entire burden of his speech was like that. You call us damn reactionary. Your Address places on record, that you are almost no better than we are. That was what Shri. S.N. Mishra said. That is how the matter stands. How has this Address come up ? It is the logical corollary to the thesis of the Bombay Congress Session.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) *in the Chair*].

They said that they will fight the reactionaries and the extreme democratic elements. That is their resolution. The present address is the logical corollary. They say they are going to fight on two fronts but are actually fighting on only one front. That is to be seen in the future because in your policies you do not differ from them.

Nationalisation was there before. Life insurance was nationalised. Then, the Imperial Bank was nationalised. But the people were not stirred. After 20 years of Congress misrule the people are eager for a big and fundamental change. That is what is wanted. Those persons in the countryside or the rikshawallas or the taxi drivers who did not know anything about the mysteries of banking or finance, they were enthused. They thought that perhaps this Government is going to end the domination of the vested interests and that the resource would be utilised for the benefit of the entire country and its people. That was their expectation. They expected...

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : The leftists have given them to understand that the money would be distributed to them.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : ...that this money would be utilised for the poorer and

down-trodden people. Nothing has happened. We support nationalisation. We will do so in future also. Perhaps certain capitalists or certain small landlords also might get some fraction of benefit. So long, it was almost the exclusive monopoly of the monopolists. Perhaps to that extent it might be diversified. But the credit facilities have not gone to the people and there is no indication that they will go to the poorer strata of the people of India.

In this connection I draw your attention to land reforms and the exhortations to the States for implementing them from time to time. Pandit Nehru during his life-time was exhorting the States to implement the land reforms. There was the Agricultural Reforms Panel. Decisions were taken, but nothing came out. Now agriculture is a concurrent subject. Our ruling Congress President, Shri Jagjivan Ram, presides over that Ministry. I throw a challenge. Why not declare a moratorium on peasant indebtedness—it is within your power—instead of exhorting the States to do that ? As you know the States are landlord-ridden. What Mr. Sukhadia is doing in Ganganagar is well known. What is Mr. Brahmananda Reddy doing in his State ? Why not take the initiative yourself ? It is within your ambit of power. Declare a moratorium on peasant indebtedness. Divert Rs. 400 crores of credit facilities to the labouring peasantry to free him from the clutches of money-lenders, and this credit can be advanced against crop, and at the time of harvesting they will pay the money back to you in crop. Do it. Now the money-lenders have become big landlords, cornering foodstuff and money crops and amassing wealth of crores of rupees, and divesting the peasant of his land. With your help they will sigh a breath of relief. If Mr. Jagjivan Ram adopts this measure who benefits ? It is the six crores of Scheduled Castes who benefit therefrom. They are the agricultural labour and poor peasants. Why not do that ? So in effect what is it that you are doing ? If you pursue the same beaten track which you were pursuing when united, we may see some illusory, petty reform here and there in order to give some impression and create more illusion but will that illusion last for ever ? In Kerala with your Syndicate-Jan Sangh-Swatantra alliance you would be objectively fighting the demo-

cratic forces. The Indira Congress and the Syndicate have banded together there. That is the result of that theory. It is bound to happen. What will happen ? They will stage a come-back. They are quite conscious that so long as you stick to that beaten track you will not effectively attack the monopoly interests.

What is this enhancing the steel prices ? Whom have you benefited thereby ? What is your giving licence to the Birlas mean ? And the imperialists who have a majority share in the Goa project have clubbed together with the Birlas. I am confident very soon the Mithapur Project will also be granted a licence. And why not ? After all, the Tatas have to be propitiated; they are a big force. If that happens, how long can you go on and nourish the idea that the people will gather under your banner ? The people sitting over those benches, are a very strong tripartite alliance.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : And you are the band master for the ruling Congress.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I would not reply to your frivolities. My time is limited. I may reply to significant interruptions but not your frivolous ones.

Now the Jan Sangh has raised the slogan of Indianisation. I call this force an anti-national anti-Indian force, an anti-Indian party with the blood of the Mahatma on their hands. Their soul resides in Washington, Israel Taiwan and only their body resides in India, because I saw Mr. S.N. Mishra run down democratic Vietnam. He had not a word to say for the brave Vietnamese people who are fighting a battle of liberation for the whole of Asia, fighting our battle. So I say their soul resides in Washington and Israel and not in India though their body lives here. Naturally our party will never allow this triple alliance to come back and occupy the gadi of Delhi. Naturally we do not want them because that would be anti-Indian and anti-national, a calamitous thing. I have no doubt about that. But that does not mean that I can give bouquets to Maharaja Dinesh Singh. He is sitting there. What prevents him from recognising the provisional revolutionary government of South Vietnam ? What prevents him from recognising the German Democratic Republic ? Because the German imperialists

are stronger, you are afraid of them. You are afraid of the American imperialists knowing full well that recognising G.D.R. and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam would be in the interest of the Indian people and the whole of Asia. But you dare not take such a step. Therefore where is the difference ?

Now during the entire course of bank nationalisation not a single step has been taken to hurt the imperialist interest. You have excluded foreign banks from nationalisation. You have excluded foreign oil monopolies. They cannot be touched even if they violate the law of the land. They have granted some insignificant reduction in the crude oil prices still it has not come down to the international price. The foreign oil interests are out to exploit India and keep us ever dependent upon them for oil.

Sir, it is not my purpose to make an economic survey. The President's Address is not the time for that. The proper time for that is the Budget discussion. But naturally it comes under political survey. It is particularly significant that they have not dared to touch a single imperialist interest, they have taken extra care not to hurt the imperialists. Now they are wooing Japan also, as Mr. S.N. Mishra pointed out. He pointed out from the other extreme, I will point my accusing finger from another extreme, from the point of view of the interest of India. That is where our view differ.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : He is the Chinese window.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I do say that if you go on pursuing this policy ultimately objectively you will strengthen the Syndicate. And they are quite powerful. Some of the monopolists who are behind you now won't bat eye lids to change horses in midstream. They will throw their full weight behind them. And these friends know that. So in effect, objectively, if not today, tomorrow or the day after, your policy will help the reactionary parties whom I call anti-national and anti-Indian to stage a come-back. So I utter a word of caution...

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Five minutes more.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Why ? There is no other speaker from our side. About the problem of unemployment...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : That is right. You have got 21 minutes. Now five minutes more to you so that you may cover your important points.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Let the ruling Congress give him some time because he is talking on the same note.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The Chair has nothing to do about that.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Nothing doing about that. And what is most significant is that the Address is completely silent on Centre-State relations. I raise this point. For example we feel that all the States of India should be given more and more autonomous power. It is not a unitary State. The States are not going to come to New Delhi on bended knees for years and years to come.

5 P.M.

We can eradicate unemployment if we have the powers in our State, if the major portion of the Rs. 400 crores of foreign exchange that is due to us is given to us, if we are given the power to take over some of the viable concerns of the monopolists, Indian and foreign. Rupees six hundred crores are being drained away from Calcutta and Calcutta cannot get even a paltry sum of Rs. 200 crores to salvage the city which is moribund. We can do that if we get the money and these powers. What about the income-tax arrears ? Why don't you give to the States the power to collect income-tax. If you give these powers to the States, the big fry would not be allowed to escape. You have by this time written off at least income-tax arrears of Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 2,000 crores. But we will catch them by the throat. That we can do if we have got the powers, and we must get these powers. Please do not think that if unemployment months up, we will have no powers and we will remain silent spectators. The affairs of India are not going to be shaped that way. In that case, State after State will raise the banner of revolt and we will agitate. Already Mr. Karunanidhi of the D.M.K. has said—and I congratulate him for that—that provincial autonomy should be granted. The States should be granted more powers. The people will say whether that can be done or not. About agrarian reforms, Mr. Jagjivan Ram

agreed that a Constitutional amendment was necessary. Now they say that it is not necessary. Everybody knows that unless there is proper amendment of the Constitution, it is extremely difficult by mere legislation to give land to the people. We have seen that from our own experience. Legislation Congress legislation—was there, but not a single acre of land went to the peasants. It is only now, after the United Front Government came into power, that the peasants wanted to implement that law, and they have seized at least 10 lakh bighas of land, and I daresay they will seize more, whether you like it or not.

So I say that it is a sterile address and not a single major departure has been made.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : Family Planning.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Yes, that is because Washington has taught them. (*Time bell rings*). A few minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Two minutes more.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : So I do say that people are not going to be silent spectators if the States cannot get more power, financial, legislative and executive. We should have these powers in order to solve our problem. And then if any State Government cannot solve them the people will settle their accounts with that State Government. We would rather stew in our hell than live in your paradise of unemployment and poverty. And the Supreme Court's judgment vindicates our position that this is a bourgeois landlord Constitution. * * *

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : No., no.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Yes, yes.

SHRI A. D. MANI : On a point of order, Sir. He cannot cast reflections on the Supreme Court.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : * * *
I do say that the Supreme Court cannot arrogate to itself the powers of the sovereign Parliament.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir, those words must be expunged.

***Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : (Kerala) It should be there.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It should be there, because that is the position.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) : I will look into it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I do say that unless you take these steps...

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir, do I take it that the Leader of the House agrees with what is being said ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : The tripple alliance is just binding their time. So utter a note of warning to the ruling party. What gave ballast to your sails is the nationalisation of the banks. That had raised hopes and expectations. That is what has decided things in your favour and you were able to capture the Congress. But if experience tells people otherwise, the illusions will be shattered to the ground, your heterogeneous forces will fall apart and precisely at that time the tripple alliance will strike. That is the position. So I utter a note of warning to the ruling party. *(Interruptions)* I sometimes agree with Mr. Yaje, or something like that. On many points I agree with Mr. Chandra Shekhar and Mr. Dharia. But I do say that it is an opportunistic combination. It will bring grist to their mill, not to your mill. So it is time that you move forward. This President's Address has had a dampening effect on the entire Indian people, on the down-trodden masses of the people. Please realise that and make changes make departures from the point of view of democracy in time. India is in a crisis, not in a crisis of character, but in a political crisis. This political crisis will be solved one way or other either in favour of reaction or in favour of democracy and the country. Please make changes so that the forces of democracy and the forces of national interests can triumph. That is the only solution. There is no other solution. So, either you are on that side of the barricade, or on this side of the barricade. You cannot sit on the fence. If you sit on the fence, shots will wipe you out. Please remember that barricades are being drawn between the for-

ces of reaction and the forces democracy. You cannot mark time. You have to make your choice. Woe beside the party which fails to make the choice in favour of democracy and the country.

श्री शुकदेव प्रसाद (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय वाईस चेयरमैन महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति महोदय को धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव के पक्ष में बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैंने जहाँ तक इस अभिभाषण को सुना और उस के बारे में जो मेरा अध्ययन रहा, मैं वाईस चेयरमैन महोदय, आप को साफ बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि उस अभिभाषण में देश का एक सही नक्शा मौजूद है और उस के अन्दर मुल्क के अंदर हम क्या तब्दीली करने जा रहे हैं, मुल्क ने अब तक कितनी तरक्की की है, यह सारी चीजें मौजूद हैं। जहाँ तक देश को सोशलिज्म की ओर ले जाने का प्रश्न है, इस बारे में राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने भाषण में संकेत दिया है और हम यह देखते हैं कि हम शनैः शनैः उस पथ की ओर प्रगति कर रहे हैं जहाँ पर पहुँच कर हम पूर्ण सोशलिज्म को प्राप्त कर सकते हैं। वाईस चेयरमैन महोदय, एक बात मैं साफ तरीके से बतला दूँ कि हमारे भारत के 80 प्रतिशत लोग किसान हैं जो देहातों में रहते हैं। वे गावों में खेती करते हैं और अपना जीवन उस के सहारे बसर करते हैं। उन 80 प्रतिशत के बारे में अब तक देश ने जो प्रगति की है उस का भी इशारा इस भाषण में है। आप इस के पहले देखेंगे कि जिस समय हम स्वतंत्र नहीं हुए थे उस समय हमारे देश का नक्शा क्या था और हमारी खेती की स्थिति क्या थी, हम कैसे खेती से दूर रहते थे, हम विदेशों से कितना गला मंगा-मंगा कर खा रहे थे और उस के बाद भी हमारे देश में चारों तरफ अकाल की छत्र छाया थी, कितनी हमारे यहाँ भुखमरी थी। लेकिन मैंने देखा कि इन बीस सालों के दौरान हम ने खेती में कितनी तरक्की की, हम ने खेती की दशा में, सिंचाई में और दूसरे साधनों में कितनी तरक्की की कि हम एक

[श्री शुक्देव प्रसाद]

प्रकार से अकाल के डर से मुक्त हो गये हैं। हां ! अभी देश में कुछ भाग अवश्य ऐसे हैं कि जिन के बारे में यह बात सही रूप से लागू नहीं होती, लेकिन फिर भी बहुत सारी नहरें खोद कर बहुत सारे ट्यूबवैल तैयार कर के और बहुत सारा फर्टिलाइजर का उत्पादन कर के हम ने खेती में काफी प्रगति की है और देश के बहुत सारे पिछड़े इलाकों को उन्नत इलाका बनाया है। हां, उस में अभी और भी जोड़ना बाकी है। वाइसचैयरमैन महोदय, जहां तक बैंक नेशनलाइजेशन का प्रश्न है, हमारे कुछ विरोधी भाइयों ने यह प्रश्न उठाया था कि बैंक नेशनलाइजेशन से हमारे छोटे किसानों को, गरीबों को, छोटे लोगों को कोई फायदा नहीं हुआ लेकिन मैं यह बतलाऊं कि बैंक नेशनलाइजेशन जो हम करने जा रहे हैं, जिसके लिये हमने अध्यादेश निकाला है और जिसका इशारा राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने भाषण में किया है वह केवल, खास तौर से, छोटे लोगों, मध्यवर्गीय लोगों, श्रमजीवी वर्ग और खेतिहर लोगों के लिये है और इसलिये है कि वह इससे लाभ उठा सके। अब तक हमने यह देखा कि बैंकों से जो कर्जा मिलता रहा है वह ज्यादातर बड़े-बड़े लोगों को ही मिलता रहा है चाहे वह अपने कल-कारखाने लगावें, चाहे वह अपने खेतों की तरक्की करे और उसके लिये बड़ी-बड़ी जमानतें देनी पड़ती थीं और बहुत लम्बे प्रोसेस से गुजरना पड़ता था तब जा कर के बैंकों से रुपया मिल पाता था लेकिन अब बैंकों से गरीबों को सहूलियत मिलने की बहुत उम्मीद है। हम उससे रुपया लेकर खेती के छोटे मोटे औजारों को खरीद सकते हैं, ट्यूबवैल लगा सकते हैं, ट्रैक्टर खरीद सकते हैं और उसके लिये मामूली जमानत देनी पड़ेगी और एक छोटे से प्रोसेस से गुजर कर हम रुपया पा सकेंगे और हम तरक्की कर सकेंगे। जो बैंकों से कर्जा मिलना हमारे लिये एक कष्टसाध्य चीज थी वह बैंक नेशनलाइजेशन से आसान होने जा रहा है।

महोदय, जहां तक भूमि सुधार का प्रश्न

है इसका इशारा भी राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने भाषण में किया है। देश का बहुत सारा भाग ऐसा है कि जहां पर बहुत सारे छोटे-छोटे गरीब किसान हैं और बहुत छोटे खेतिहर मजदूर हैं और दूसरी तरफ बड़े-बड़े फार्म-होल्डर्स हैं, एक तरफ तो चैन की बंशी बजाने वाले हैं और दूसरी तरफ गरीबी की रोटी तोड़ने वाले मौजूद हैं। तो भूमि सुधार के बारे में उन्होंने इशारा किया है और हमारी प्राइम मनिस्टर महोदया ने भी भूमि सुधार के बारे में जो लोगों को सलाह दी है उसका केवल यही एक मकसद है कि बड़ी-बड़ी ज़ोतों को सीमित कर के उससे जो ज़मीन बचे वह छोटे किसानों में या जो भूमिहीन लोग हैं चाहे वह हरिजन हों या चाहे दूसरे वर्ग के हों उनमें वितरित कर दी जाय ताकि वह लोग भी ठीक ढंग से खेती कर सकें और अपना जीवन-यापन कर सकें। इस बारे में, वाइसचैयरमैन महोदय, आपसे मैं एक और अर्ज कर दूँ कि हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश में अभी मौजूदा मुख्य मंत्री चौधरी चरण सिंह जी ने भूमि सुधार के बारे में एक अध्यादेश निकाला है और वह यह है कि कोई भी बड़ा किसान एक परिवार में 30 एकड़ से अधिक भूमि नहीं रख सकता। हां कुछ ऐसे क्षेत्र हैं जैसे कि कुमायूँ का इलाका है, या तराई का इलाका है जहां पर कि यह नियम लागू नहीं है और वहां पर 45 एकड़ तक रख सकते हैं। यह उनका सराहनीय कार्य है और इसके लिये हम सब को उनकी सराहना करनी चाहिये।

तीसरी चीज राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने भाषण में राजाओं के प्रिवी पर्स को समाप्त करने के सम्बन्ध में कही है और इसकी ओर एक संकेत दिया है। मैं आपको बतलाऊं कि यह प्रिवी पर्स मुल्क में एक प्रकार का अभिशाप था और राजाओं को जो विशेषाधिकार मिले थे उससे एक प्रकार से उनकी राजसत्ता समाप्त नहीं हुई थी, राज्य अलबत्ता समाप्त हुआ था लेकिन उस सत्ता का दुरुपयोग होने का, उस धन का दुरुपयोग होने का भी प्रश्न था जिसको लेकर देश में बहुत कुछ किया जाता रहा है

और किया जा सकता है लेकिन ऐसा कदम उठा कर हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने एक सराहनीय काम किया है और मैं समझता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट कोई एक विधेयक जल्दी से जल्दी संसद में पेश करने वाली है और उसका हम सब को तहेदिल से समर्थन करना चाहिये।

छोटे-छोटे और बड़े-बड़े उद्योगों के प्रसार और प्रचार का जहाँ तक प्रश्न है उसके बारे में केवल इतना कह देना चाहता हूँ कि आज बहुत सारी बातों की तो इतनी नुक्ताचीनी की जाती है लेकिन चाहे हम भिलाई को देखें, चाहे दुर्गापुर को देखें, चाहे टाटा स्टील कार्पोरेशन को देखें, चाहे चित्तूरंजन को देखें, ये ऐसे स्थान हैं जहाँ पर कि उद्योगों की प्रगति को कोई भी देख सकता है और वही देश का एक सही नक्शा है जो कि 20, 21 साल की आजादी में हमने बनाया है। इसी प्रकार से छोटे मोटे उद्योगों को देखना हो तो कोई पंजाब में जा कर देखे कि वहाँ घर-घर के अन्दर यह चल रहे हैं और वहाँ इसके सेंटर बने हुये हैं जहाँ कि लोग बैठे हुये हैं, औरतें बैठी हुई हैं और अपने बेकार समय में काम कर रही हैं और कुछ नहीं तो 10, 5 रुपये का उत्पादन अपने अतिरिक्त समय में कर रही हैं। जो कोई कुछ करे ही नहीं उसके बारे में तो कुछ कहा नहीं जा सकता है। (समय की घंटी)

वाडमचेयरमैन महोदय, एक खास बात मैं उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में और कह देना चाहता हूँ और वह बात यह है कि कल भी वहाँ के गवर्नर के बारे में वहम चला था और आज भी वहाँ की गवर्नमेंट के बारे में कुछ लोगों ने जिक्र किया लेकिन इस बारे में मैं खास तौर पर बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि चुनाव के बाद जब हमारे श्री सी० वी० गुप्ता ने सरकार बनाई थी तो उसके बाद कांग्रेस का विघटन हुआ और विघटन के बाद हमारे गुप्ता जी बिल्कुल अल्पमत में आ गये थे जिसको कि खुद उन्होंने स्वीकार किया है कि अब हम अल्पमत में हो गये हैं लेकिन वहाँ पर गवर्नर पर यह दोषारोपण किया जाता है कि गवर्नर

महोदय ने जानबूझ कर अपनी सत्ता का दुरुपयोग किया और सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के इशारे पर चरण सिंह जी को सरकार बनाने के लिये कहा और उनको आर्थ दिलाई। मैं साफ बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि जब वह अल्पमत में रहे तब भी तीन महीने तक उम मरी हुई सरकार को ढोया, हालांकि चारों तरफ से आवाज आती रही थी कि यह सरकार अल्पमत में हो गई है और तुरंत हाउस को बुलायें। तब वह गवर्नर बुरे नहीं थे लेकिन जब चरण सिंह जी और रुलिंग कांग्रेस पार्टी मिल कर के बहुमत में आये और उन्होंने चरण सिंह जी को आर्थ दिलाई तो उन पर चारों तरफ से कीचड़ उछालने लगे कि यह जो आर्थ दिलाई वह गलत किया, नाटकीय ढंग से आर्थ दिलाई और सत्ता का दुरुपयोग किया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : अब खत्म कीजिये।

श्री शुकदेव प्रसाद : एक बात मैं और अर्ज कर दूँ कि जिस समय श्री सी० वी० गुप्ता ने रेजिगनेशन दिया था तो यह लिखा था कि चौधरी चरण सिंह को बुला कर सरकार बनावें और गवर्नर ने चरण सिंह को ही बुला कर सरकार बनाई तो फिर क्या दोष उनका है। यह अलग बात है कि बाद में उन्होंने कहा कि गिरधारी लाल जी हों लेकिन जिसकी सरकार की उन्होंने सिफारिश की उसकी सरकार बना दी तो इसमें गवर्नर का कोई दोष नहीं है।

श्रीमान्, इतना समय देने के लिये मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ और साथ ही राष्ट्रपति महोदय को उनके अभिभाषण के लिये धन्यवाद देता हूँ और तहेदिल से उनका शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ।

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, now in the whole country everybody claims himself to be a socialist...

SHRI A. D. MANI : Not everybody.

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM : I may say in this connection that the first socialist State that was born in the world is the Soviet Union. Within 24 years, that is, when Hitler attacked it—it withstood the test of the War, its damages and devastation—it recovered from the whole thing and it has now become one of the foremost and powerful countries in the world. And the simple reason for that is their entire means of production were nationalised and owned by the people. So this idea has gripped the entire world. Therefore, everybody now claims to be a socialist. As far as the ruling party is concerned, it started its socialism from Avadi in 1954 and it has now travelled up to 1970; but nowhere has any leader made any attempt to define what socialism is, what democratic socialism in India is. In this connection I would like to refer to the Constitution. When the Constitution was framed, the idea of socialism was not there in the Constitution at all.

The Constitution is coming in our way now. The first step that was taken by the Government, which is not a socialist step but which is a good one, is that bank nationalisation was undertaken by this Government but it was struck down by the Supreme Court. (*Interruption*) The former Chief Justice of India, Shri S. R. Das,—I am reading something from a newspaper—said the Bank Nationalisation Act and the subsequent Supreme Court judgment had raised one burning question—how far the Fundamental Rights could be accepted as unamendable. Citing some instances, Mr. Das said, 'immediately after the Constitution came into being, the courts held that even incitement to murder was permissible under the right of freedom of speech. Parliament stepped in to amend the relevant portion of the Constitution. The Fundamental Rights were amended by adding the words 'reasonable restrictions'. When the Bank Nationalisation is done and when it is in the interest of the whole country and when it has generated so much enthusiasm in the country, the Supreme Court should have thought twice before delivering that judgment. Mr. S.R. Das said that it did not mean rupee for rupee, but compensation should be fair and reasonable. The Fourth Schedule clearly says that.

But the Supreme Court Judges held a different view. I may in this connection add...

SHRI A. D. MANI : Sir, you are a lawyer of eminence and you should not allow this kind of observation to be made with regard to the Supreme Court Judges

(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Bhadram, you must not say anything derogatory to the Supreme Court judges.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Once the Press picks it up, no useful purpose would be served by your expunging it tomorrow. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : Fact is a fact. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM : Are they not human beings, are they not influenced by what is happening in the country? They are not above our society. In that connection I may quote that one judge of the Supreme Court was addressing the Mysore Bar Association in Bangalore and he was passing derogatory remarks against Parliament Members. I am reading from a newspaper :

"In that speech Hegde had poooh-pooohed parliamentary form of democracy, passed the learned remark that President would be able to resist pressures from political groups and derided the uneducated mass of our people."

The gentleman was a lawyer in a mofussil town of Mysore. When Mysore was bifurcated, he became a Judge of the Mysore High Court. From there he was transferred and he was appointed by a political group of Mysore.

SHRI LOKANATHA MISRA : What is the paper he is reading from?

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM : 'New Age'.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : If that is not correct, then prosecute the 'New Age'.

***Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Menon, you should not disturb your colleague.

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM : Therefore, Sir, if the Constitution comes in the way of our progress, that Constitution must be changed. If it is not changed peacefully through Parliament and if the Supreme Court or the Jan Sangh or the Swatantra Parties come in the way, then the people will have to change it in the streets. But I suggest that such a situation should not be created. Therefore Parliament should take it up and change the Constitution and the Fundamental Rights should go.

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated) : We will do that.

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM : If you do not do it, the people will do it in the streets. (*Interruptions*) Whether it is socialism or democratic socialism, the national wealth should increase and the main instrument in the production is the worker. But what is the status of the worker today in the present day society? Unfortunately the President has been made to say something in which he does not believe; some words have been put in his mouth unnecessarily. I would like to read just one sentence from his Address, page 12, paragraph 31. He says :

"The National Commission on Labour, whose report the Government have recently received, has made several recommendations for strengthening the Trade Union movement and promoting effective collective bargaining."

Now, Sir, the Report of the National Labour Commission was condemned by all sections of the labour irrespective of their political affiliations. I may give just one instance in this connection. The Labour Commission decided that there shall be no strike in the essential services and the strike is permissible for 30 days in other industries. It means that the fundamental principle for collective bargaining is the right to strike, and that right is taken away by the National Labour Commission. So where is that collective bargaining? It is taken away by the National Labour Commission. It is very unfortunate that some words have been put in the mouth of the

President who had all along been serving the workers, that the recommendation of the National Labour Commission will strengthen the bargaining capacity of the workers; it is an irony.

In this connection I would like to draw the attention of the House to the ILO Conventions 87 and 98. Both of them deal with collective bargaining and the right to strike. But our Government has not been able to see its way to ratify them so far. Convention 87 was ratified by 77 countries but India was not one of them. Convention 98 was ratified by 89 countries but India was not one of them. So far the President to say that the recommendation of the National Labour Commission will strengthen collective bargaining is very unfortunate.

Under the Trade Unions Act of 1926, even the British had given the right to the industrial workers in the organised unions but where is the guarantee for the workers against victimisation? If a worker forms a union, if there is victimisation, there is no protection. Only the right is given on paper. When he asserts his right, he has to undergo so many difficulties. On 26th February 1969 the Joint Select Committee report on the Contract Labour (Abolition and Regulation) Bill was presented to the Lok Sabha and for the last one year, it is not coming before us. Throughout the country so many construction works are going on and lakhs and lakhs of workers are engaged in the profession. There is no protection to them and if the Government is really sincere and believes in the welfare of the workers, they should bring up the legislation and get it passed in the current session.

Lastly I must say a word about secularism. Recently I came across some of the Government officials who are also indulging and earning their rights to become members of the RSS. My Collector who has given an official reception to the Sankaracharya has sent a special circular to collect Rs. 70 lakhs for the Sankaracharya Mutt. He has also addressed a meeting organised by the Hindu Viswa Parishad. If people of that type are Collectors, the Muslims in my constituency are naturally afraid about what would happen in the hands of these Collectors. Such people should not be posted

[Shri M.V. Bhadrani]

in the Executive. I therefore urge upon the Government to see that the real workers who produce the real wealth should be taken care of.

SHRI M.N. KAUL : Mr. Vice-Chairman one of the speakers who preceded me stated that our Constitution is not committed to establish a socialistic pattern of society. I was surprised at that statement because I know that the Preamble to the Constitution which was drafted by the late Prime Minister Nehru himself states the position quite clearly as follows:

"WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens :

JUSTICE, social, economic and political".

Pandit Nehru, addressing the University of Delhi, stated that this statement in our Preamble—justice, social, economic and political—is the essence of the Communist revolution. If the Communist revolution of 1917 had clearly established one thing, it was to place the concept of justice, social, economic and political above all things and that occupies a preeminent position in our Preamble. Further he said that the concepts of the French revolution—liberty, equality and fraternity are also stated in our Preamble so that our Constitution combines the concepts of two historic revolutions, the French revolution and the Russian revolution. Therefore it is quite out of order to say that our Constitution is not committed to a socialistic pattern of society.

Coming to the Address, I think the Address is a realistic one and as I heard the President deliver the Address, I felt it had a refreshing approach which I think is determined by the key sentence in the Address on page 2 :

"Government are determined to give to these vast forces which have been unleashed by the developments of the last two decades, a new sense of direction and purpose as well as a realisable goal."

What is essential is that there should be a realisable goal. We have, in the past, spent our resources on a large number of objec-

tives with the result that the achievements are not clearly marked out in some spheres. Now the Government have, for the first time I think, clearly stated that priority is a vital issue. I recall here an observation made by Anneurin Bevan in one of the speeches in the House of Commons—and he was himself a great socialist—that the religion of socialism is the language of priorities. We have limited resources and I think what the next Plan is going to do is to settle the priorities. If we have limited resources and if we bestow the favours on a very large number of objectives, the results are not obvious and the resources are scattered, I think the Government have, for the first time, clearly felt that the settlement of priorities is a vital issue. In one of my visits to the US, I asked a student of Chinese affairs as to why China had made remarkable success in certain directions and his answer was prompt and clear. He said : 'The regime is authoritarian and the priorities are settled and quickly implemented without any hitch'. So the basic concepts were of priorities and an authoritarian regime. That led to quick development. We are certainly having priorities now and I think that is the correct approach. An authoritarian regime is out of question so far as India is concerned. Let our progress be not rapid but we do not want an authoritarian regime in this country. We have to make that sacrifice. That sacrifice is enjoined by our Constitution and we surely do not want to give it up.

What are the key points in this Address? I think proper attention has been devoted to the question of unemployment. The President said :

"My Government are aware that unemployment is the most serious problem facing the economy and an early and effective solution to it must be found."

The question of unemployment must be solved to an appreciable extent. Secondly, there should be stability of prices. Thirdly, we should give serious and earnest attention to the housing problem and the Address is quite emphatic and clear. It says :

"My Government therefore propose to direct larger resources towards programmes such as the bulk acquisition and development of land for the allotment

of house sites, housing for low income groups and slum clearance, particularly in metropolitan areas where the housing problem is most acute."

Now having stated these priorities, the next matter that arises is that of resources and in this connection, the important question is of savings. I think the nationalisation of banks and extension of Banks in rural areas will help in that direction to a considerable extent and we may reap the benefits of nationalisation of banks so far as savings are concerned within a measurable time. Having stated these objectives—and we will soon have the necessary steps and the Budget will also be unfolded in a few days—and having done all that, the question arises of implementation of these proposals and a rigid adherence in the matter of expenditure of resources to the priorities which have been stated by the Government.

A great deal of comment was made on an observation made by the Prime Minister in regard to the commitment of the civil service. That I think is an issue which is closely linked with implementation. Our civil servants must have faith in our Constitution. For instance a civil servant cannot have a communal approach and still continue to be a civil servant. He must go out of the service. He cannot say that one community should be squeezed out and another community should survive. That approach he clearly cannot have. That commitment he must have and if he does not have that commitment in his mind, it is better that a civil servant who is honest to himself should resign. Another commitment is that in his private conversations and observations he should not condemn the public sector, that is, say 'Oh, the public sector will never prosper; etc. or speak in derisive terms of the public sector. If he has no faith in the extension of the activities of the Government in the economic sphere, then clearly he is out of place in that service and he must chalk out another career for himself. Commitment is a vital thing and the only instrument in our present Constitution, unless we have political cadres as in Communist Russia and China, is the civil service. In the civil service there must arise a passion and also certainly a commitment to the social objectives and the principles of our Constitution. Pandit Nehru once, in a speech said :

"I am not interested in excuses for delay. I am interested in a thing done."

The civil services have got to be tackled properly. There are ways of doing it. I was recently reading the memoirs of Prime Minister Macmillan and I was impressed by his description of the ways of methods that he adopted to carry through his policies.

He was entrusted by Mr. Churchill with producing thousands of houses within a limited time. And the first step that he took was to inject new blood into the civil service. He came to the conclusion that there was a brilliant person whom he knew and who would be able to do the job. There was great opposition from the civil service, but Mr. Macmillan was able to obtain his services for a year and he gave an impetus to the work.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY :

There is practically none on the Treasury Benches.

श्री मानसिंह वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
टैजरी बेंचेज के लोग कितना आदर करते हैं
राष्ट्रपति का देख लीजिए ।

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra):
I am here to take them to that side.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : I depend upon the support of all of you.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Order please.

SHRI M. N. KAUL : There are one or two matters to which I will make a brief reference. There is first the question of violence to which the President has devoted a separate paragraph in his address. I was reading an analysis of violence, which is now all over the world in a sense, and one of the greatest psychologists of modern times has said that considerable part of violence arises from self-depreciation. I think that probably is a partial explanation and covers a good deal of ground. We are accustomed to self-depreciation to an abnormal extent, and that produces a chain of reactions, which ultimately lead to violence. Certainly, if violence goes ahead, as it is going on in some parts of the country,

[Shri M. N. Kaul]

then all the schemes would be wrecked. So it is the duty of everyone to follow the advice which the President has given. He has said that this was a paramount issue to which we should give our first attention.

And lastly I would say that, so far as the Ministers are concerned, they should not only appeal to the civil service to implement but they should also see to it as to why the proposals are not being implemented. As Mr. Macmillan says, he made it his job as Minister to identify the bottlenecks. Likewise, it is the duty of Ministers to locate the bottlenecks, to know how the administration is running and where are the bottlenecks. It is not enough to say that there are bottlenecks. Bottlenecks are difficult to identify. You have got to throw the searchlight into many dark crevices of the administration before you really come to know as to where the bottlenecks are, and the bacilli of waste must be killed. Ministerial vigilance over civil service is a vital condition.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Thank you. Now Mr. Mani. Ten minutes.

SHRI A. D. MANI : Make it twelve minutes, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir let us strike a bargain.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I want to join other hon. Members who have paid their humble thanks to the President for having taken the trouble to come and address us in the Central Hall of Parliament. His Address is a notable landmark in our political history because, for the first time, we are having as our President a representative of the working class in the country.

The hon. the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Mishra, described this Address as a desiccative address (*Interruptions*) . . . Please do not interrupt me. I have got only twelve minutes.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : The House is practically nil on that side. You speak. I have no objection. I just want to remind the ruling party that they must show a little more respect to the esteemed President of India. No doubt I appreciate that at least the Leader of the House is sitting there, but his followers are not there. Where are they?

(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Order, order.

SHRI A. D. MANI : Sir, I like to mention here that the hon. Leader of the Opposition described this Address as a desiccative address, and my hon. friend, Mr. Kaul, called it a realistic address. If I am asked to describe the Address I would like to say, referring to the Address, that the picture of Indian economy is like that of an old man trying to look young by dyeing his hair and touching up all his eye-lashed and so on. Unfortunately, the Address of the President has not been borne out by the facts of the Economic Survey, which has been published. The President speaks about the green revolution, but the Economic Survey says that there has been a fall in agricultural production. Sir, I would not like to deal with this aspect of the matter at this stage but would like to concentrate my attention on the problem of unemployment, to which reference has been made by other speakers.

(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Order, please.

SHRI A. D. MANI : Sir, recently I presided over a seminar organised by the Ministry of Education on the question of educated unemployment. Now the facts are on the Employment Register. In 1968 there were registered 10,00,000 (below matriculates), 8,37,000 (matriculates and below graduates) and 1,19,000 (graduates and above). Sir, at that seminar certain suggestions were made which I would like to place before the House. One of the suggestions is that the domicile qualification should go. I would like to mention to my hon. friend, Mr. Somasundaram here, that even a progressive State like Tamil Nadu has got the domicile qualification. The most forward State in India, namely, Maharashtra requires 16 years' domicile before a man can get a job. Now, if you are going to solve this unemployment problem, all the domicile qualifications should go and we, as a united Parliament, members of all parties, should ask for the acceptance of the concept of common Indian citizenship. It should not be the case that unless I possess the domicile qualification of 16 years I do not become a Maharashtrian

or that unless I possess the domicile qualification of 12 years I do not become a Tamil Nadu man. It should be the case that if I am born an Indian, I have a right to seek a job anywhere in the country. This is the point I want to put forward.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Why do you call Maharashtra progressive? Because of Shiv Sena?

SHRI A. D. MANI : No, no. It is because it is the foremost State, and I know a good deal about Maharashtra.

The second point that I would like to mention here is that I do not agree that much is being done in West Bengal under the dynamic leadership of Mr. Jyoti Basu and the anaemic leadership of Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee. In West Bengal they started talking about an unemployment allowance. Now a stage is reached when there are literally lakhs of educated unemployed in the country. When there is so much unemployment the Government of India must evolve a scheme of giving an unemployment dole to those persons who are not in a position to find employment.

(Interruptions)

My time is limited and under the rules running commentaries are not permitted.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You please carry on.

SHRI A. D. MANI : This is the first point I would like to make.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Why are you encouraging this doling business?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You may not agree, but let him proceed uninterrupted.

SHRI A. D. MANI : I seek your protection, Sir.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : You may ask them to start some industries.

SHRI A. D. MANI : I seek your protection, Sir. Running commentaries are not allowed; they are prohibited under the rules.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You are right. I have asked him not to do it. You please proceed.

SHRI A. D. MANI : The second point I would like to make is on the question of privy purses—I have tabled an amendment in this regard. I have never been an admirer of Maharajs or princely privileges, but then we have to take into account the fact that only twenty years have passed since that Article was inserted in the Constitution guaranteeing the treaties and the privileges to the princes. Now I want all these privy purses to go for the sake of an egalitarian India and I am in agreement with Members of the Opposition that we cannot carry it on for a hundred years or two hundred years. But some time must be given to the princes to adjust themselves to the changing conditions. *(Interruptions)*. I understand that Government are thinking in terms of giving a 15-year lump sum privy purse to the princes. That would not be an equitable settlement. *(Interruptions)*. I must be allowed to state my point of view; it may be an unpopular point of view.

I have suggested an amendment that the present Princes should be allowed to have their purses during their life-time but I would like to add one clause that they should also pay income-tax like other persons. They should not be in a privileged position to use all that money for fighting elections and for defeating or opposing candidates who do not have the same financial resources.

The third point I would like to make this and it has been mentioned in an amendment which I have tabled. The Centre-State relations have come to such a state that there are cries in various parts of India for States with wider autonomy, feel if the green revolution of which President has spoken is to be maintained for some years to come and if we are to go round the capitals of the west world begging for food, begging for the Central Government must have power to issue directives in regard to agricultural policy and land reforms. Recently there have been announcements of land reforms in one State or the other. We do not have even an agreement the question of ceiling, some people say 25 acres, some say 15 acres and some of

[Shri A. D. Mani]

say 35 acres and the Government of Kerala has already thought of nationalising plantations. These are all matters wherein we should have a well-directed and concerted central policy and it is for that reason that I have suggested that when this dialogue about Centre-State relations starts we should amend the Constitution giving the Centre power to issue directives in regard to agricultural policy because this is necessary with our teeming population explosion. We must become self-sufficient by 1980 and I hope that whatever our population growth may be, we should produce enough foodgrains in our country to feed our people.

The next point I would like to mention is in regard to the lopsided socialism which we have developed in this country. I have been a student of socialistic doctrines from my college days. In the days when I was a student at college Lenin had started the Revolution in Russia. My friend, Mr. Balachandran was also about that time reading the same books that I was reading.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : The only thing is he did not understand them.

SHRI A. D. MANI : You will agree with me that socialism is confined to our cities and urban centres. We believe in taxing monopolies, in taxing people having high incomes, having incomes over Rs. 20,000/- but what has happened today in the country is—I have met many representatives—we are allowing a rich kulak class to come up in the country in the villages. Now we should not have this lopsided development of the economy, Swatantra in the villages and Socialism in towns.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Have you gone to any village, Mr. Mani?

SHRI A. D. MANI : I have gone to the villages in Maharashtra, not in Tamil Nadu alone. (Interruptions) Anyway, I am not going to enter into a dialogue with you.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I doubt if you have ever gone to a village.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI KBAR ALI KHAN) : You may doubt it please sit down now.

SHRI A. D. MANI : And we should not allow this kulak class to get away with it. Both the parties—CONGO, as well as the ruling party—are not prepared to do anything which will offend this rich kulak class on whom their return to power or their return to opposition depends. (Interruptions) I do not want such interruptions. Respect my age at least if not anything else.

Therefore we should not try to fleece the urban rich, the salaried classes and the classes engaged in trade and commerce and at the same time allow this kulak class to get away in the countryside making thousands of rupees without taxation.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : They are the exploiters.

SHRI A. D. MANI : Yes; they are as much exploiters as the big monopolists and others. I would like therefore to suggest that in regard to this matter some policy should be evolved at the central level regarding a steep agricultural income-tax so that the State Governments get the benefit in revenue of the green revolution.

I would like to go on to another point about Belgaum. On this also I have an amendment. Sir, we are experts in going and lecturing to other countries of the world about how the Vietnam problem should be solved. We are members of the Control Commission in Vietnam. We make representations to the State Department in Washington telling them, you don't do this in Vietnam. And on the question of East and West Berlin we profess to take up a neutral stand, while everyone wants both East and West Berlin to be united. But when it comes to the question of solution of national issues we are extremely timid because we are very much dependent on vote catching and vote losing. Now the position in which the ruling party finds itself today, is, if it gives an award on the question of Belgaum setting aside the Mahajan Commission Report in favour of Maharashtra, they lose Mysore irrevocably and if it gives it in favour of Mysore, they lose Maharashtra which is their main pillar of strength in Parliament completely and there is no chance of their getting back the confidence of the people of Maharashtra. Recently the papers said that there is some proposal to have a division of the city of Belgaum.

Sir, I have visited the cities of East and West Berlin and I have seen for myself what havoc that division has caused not only to the economy of the Berliners but to the minds of Berliners also. You go across the wall—and I have gone across the wall—they abuse the West Berliners. They regard them as their enemies and not as their brothers speaking the same language. Now I would submit—I have put in an amendment on this too—that when it comes to the question of deciding these border disputes we should go by certain principles. I am told that if we had an opinion poll in Belgaum somebody will turn round and demand an opinion poll in Kashmir. Now, I would not concede an opinion poll in Kashmir because Kashmir is an integral part of India and we do not accept the jurisdiction of the United Nations to decide this issue. When there was the question of Goa and all of us were concerned about Goa's merger with Maharashtra, Mr. Chavan took a very sensible decision—if I may say so with great respect to him—to have an opinion poll and the entire people of Maharashtra whatever their fraternal feelings towards Goans had to accept that decision. I feel that in regard to the disputed areas of Belgaum—the Canarese and the Marathi-speaking areas in that area—they should accept the principle of opinion poll and if the people of Mysore do not accept the result of the opinion poll they will stand condemned in the eyes of the rest of India because we must accept some democratic verdict at some stage.

Only one more point I would like to mention and that is about electoral reforms. I have tabled an amendment on that also and this is my fifth point that I am taking up in these fifteen minutes that you have given me. I do not want to refer in detail to the proposals made by the Chief Election Commission at a conference or seminar held about a month or so ago. I feel that if we have to safeguard our democracy, our democracy must be made immune from the money influence. They have suggested the raising of the expense limit to Rs. 35,000/- for Lok Sabha. Now it will be very difficult for a poor man to stand for election to the Lok Sabha, unless he enters into some contract with various parties or groups to find finances for elections. A suggestion has been made by the Election

Commission which should be immediately implemented that all returns of election expenses must be made on an affidavit before the Election Commission so that everybody knows that if he files a false election return it would not only become a corrupt practice but he is likely to be sent to jail also.

The second point I would like to say is some limit should be put on the expenditure by the parties concerned for the elections. An experiment was tried in Pakistan. In Pakistan when the presidential election was held the Government of Pakistan gave money to the various parties.

AN HON. MEMBER : In addition to what they collect themselves?

SHRI A. D. MANI : Yes; in addition to what they collect. That is what we are going to have here also in any case. We have come to that stage; we have the biggest electorate. We may have even to give financial assistance for carrying on propaganda through loudspeakers etc. to recognised all-India parties which have fulfilled certain norms laid down by the Election Commission.

Sir, these are the few points that I want to make. I thank you very much for giving me a patient hearing and I also thank Mr. Kulkarni for responding to my appeal.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Appan, you will be the first speaker tomorrow.

Now, I have seen some of the remarks that Shri Niren Ghosh and Shri Bhattacharya have made about the Supreme Court. I have directed some passages to be examined.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA
THE REQUISITIONING AND ACQUISITION
OF IMMOVABLE PROPERTY (AMENDMENT)
1970

SECRETARY : Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Se-