

authority to restore the words. That is quite clear so far as the procedure is concerned. So, it is no use approaching the Chairman about this particular case. You can approach the Chairman to allot time for a discussion on the working of the current rule and practice.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** What do you do now ?

**SHRI M. N. KAUL :** The House should express its opinion on the present rule on an appropriate motion before it.

*(Interruption by Shri Bhupesh Gupta)*

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** Order, please. I am standing now. It is rather an unfortunate thing that this has been discussed in this House. As pointed out by some hon'ble Members, there are two distinct issues. The first issue is whether the hon'ble Members can criticise the Judges of the Supreme Court. And the second issue is what should be done when once a ruling has been given by the presiding officer here. I do not want to go into the first question. But so far as the second question is concerned, I feel that the matter should not have been discussed in this House regarding the ruling given by the presiding officer. I remember Mr. Niren Ghosh had been to the Chamber and the Chairman wanted to discuss that matter with him. In spite of that he has tried to raise this question here. I do not think this is desirable. We all believe in parliamentary democracy. As Members of Parliament, I think, we are striving to foster parliamentary democracy in this country. If it is the desire of the hon'ble Members and if it is their endeavour that parliamentary democracy should flourish in this country, it is their responsibility also that they should try to create good and healthy conventions. It is not desirable to question the ruling given by the presiding officer. By doing so we will be creating very bad precedents and it will be harmful to parliamentary democracy.

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL :** What about the use of parliamentary democracy to subvert democracy ?

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** Therefore, if at all any person feels aggrieved by any ruling given by the presiding officer, the

normal course would be for him to approach the Chairman and, in consultation with the presiding officer at that time to discuss the whole matter and to get it settled. It is not desirable that the rulings of the presiding officers should be discussed in this House. I hope this will not be treated as a precedent but only as a sort of exception. I hope no such ruling would be debated and discussed in this House in future.

The House stands adjourned till 2.15 P. M.

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

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

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

**SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu) :** Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, while taking part in the discussion on the Motion of thanks to the President for his Presidential Address I have to bring to the notice of the Government through you, Sir, the following salient points which may not be, or might not have been, covered by other speakers. People rightly or wrongly speak about democracy, social democracy and socialism. Whether they are honest or not is to be seen by the fruits the people and the society have got up to now. What is democracy ? Democracy is the best form of Government, by a Government which intervenes or rules the least. A true democratic Government is one which is ruled by the people, for the people and of the people. Is it true of our democracy ?

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL :** (Gujarat) : No.

**SHRI G. A. APPAN :** I would say an emphatic "No". Why ? You know the value of our Indian currency has become so cheap and the purchasing power of our Indian currency has fallen so low, to an extent of barely 5 per cent compared to the 1939 price level in respect of most commodities. Many people simply compare the prices of 1950 with the prices of 1969. That is a false notion of economic principle of philosophy.

[SHRI G.A. APPAN]

Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman Sir, the minimum needs of the people will have to be met by every government worth the name. What are the minimum needs ? No doubt, food, shelter and clothing. But where do most of these poor people live ? On the pavements, on the gutters, on the banks of canals where sewage water flows, in most of the cities. Is it the type of achievement that this Government should be proud of ? It is a vanity, I would rather say. I should thank the Government for sending me early this month as one of the members of the delegation which went to Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey and Kuwait. When I saw the position of the people in those countries, the services rendered to the people and how people in Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey and Kuwait live, I felt ashamed about the people of our country to say that our country is the poorest country and that our rulers have not done sufficiently for the advancement of people of this country when compare to the great services and development that the rulers of those countries have done for their people. Where do we excel them ? People of Russia and America are going to the Moon. Industrial technology and science are advancing rapidly far beyond man's comprehension. Where are we clever ? Clever only in changing the names of places, the names of streets and doing things like that and looking at the Government that exists now perhaps with our jaundiced eyes and with coloured spectacles.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am really very proud that the Congress was defeated in Madras in the last elections ? Why ? Because we could save this country from the predicament it would have faced in the election of Mr. V. V. Giri as our President, a poor man, a learned man who worked for the poor, a man who has sacrificed for the poor, a man who has worked for the labour and the poor people in various capacities with no blemish. Regarding our Prime Minister, I should say that I do not attach undue importance to political leanings. I am a Scheduled Caste man myself, you are all aware, and I come from a very poor place in Tamil Nadu from a family of social workers. But which family has lost or sacrificed more than our Nehruji's family in the freedom struggle of this country ?

The worthy daughter of our worthy Nehruji is now ruling this country to accomplish socialism here. People say so many things against her out of bias or ill-will. She is not going to give me a Ministership and I do not wish to curry her favour, but I feel that the country is proud and privileged to have her as the Prime Minister at this stage of transition and crisis. She is sacrificing most of her interests, comforts and conveniences and strives to help the poor and to protect the interests of the poor people those in the villages and those who are needy to protect the fair name and fame of this great country. Where is Mr. Giri and where is the other candidate ? The difference is as between a hill and a dale. By the election of Mr. Giri the prestige, honour and fame of this country have been saved that we have elected the best to be our President. At least when Mr. Giri sits on the Presidential gaddi he occupies the full space. What will be the position if things had happened otherwise ? We are very proud that the D. M. K. has saved this country from that perilous position it would have got into otherwise and I thank our Chief Minister and our party members for saving the prestige of this country. When our revered Arignar Anna went to America, he went to the then Prime Minister and got her views. He saved and enhanced the prestige of this country by his good and generous report wherever he went. What would have the other Opposition parties and propagandists done in such circumstances, I leave it to the discerning public.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal):  
What about the people here ?

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Mr. Deputy Chairman, we have accepted some leadership. Let us give respect to that leadership. If there is anything to be done and if there is anything wrong in the Government let us try to convince those in office, be it Prime Minister or a Minister rather than indulge in tall talk here. Every word spoken here goes out and people all around are watching our proceedings. We should first realise that by decrying our Government here, we are decrying the name of our country. If there is anything wrong, go to them in parties and do not leave those in power and authority till they realise their faults position and mis-

takes that they are here to serve the poor people of this country and not to their detriment.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, now I would like to come to the question of the poor Scheduled Castes who have been used as pawns, as coolies, labourers and workers, hewers of wood and drawers of water. They have been the hardest workers they are so throughout, but what has happened to them in all walks of life ? You know that the Constitution provides for reservation of jobs employment and certain other privileges in the Government sector and in akin sectors. It is rather ridiculous to note and we should be ashamed that the position of the Scheduled Castes in services is not even two per cent in most cadres, in most offices and in most walks of life. I call upon the leader of the Government to see that the relevant provisions of the Constitution are not treated with scant regard as things on waste paper and our voice as a voice in the wilderness.

Sir, you know the position of the Scheduled Castes in the Railway Department. Most of the senior officers in that Department are doing the gravest injustice and disservice to the interests of the Scheduled Castes in regard to employment and in respect of promotions even to the highly qualified ones among them. The Railway Department is the largest employer. Nobody can doubt the *bona fides* of the Government and the Ministers to help the Scheduled Castes and tribes. But it is the officers who are there in that Department who are spoiling the interests of the Scheduled Castes in their own communalism, casteism or parentism. Under the cloak of in efficiency and things like that, they want to deprive the Scheduled Castes of their rightful place. They wear coloured glasses and they want to boycott the Scheduled Caste people in the matter of responsible appointments. Who can say that the Scheduled Caste people are inefficient unless one is prejudiced or biased ? We can work harder than anybody else. That is why I call upon the Government to appoint a cell in every Ministry, in every department, not only at the Centre but in every State and in every Government undertaking and in institutions receiving aids, loans and grants from government, to see that the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes are protected, that the legitimate complaints and valid grievances of these

unfortunate ones from 1950 up till now are collected and tabulated and that necessary action taken on them forthwith. Just now I want an assurance from the leader of the ruling party in power to this effect on the floor of this House. I know that there are rules that there should be a Deputy Secretary in every Ministry, in every Department and undertaking or that there should be a Liaison Officer to look into the interests, complaints and grievances of these unfortunate ones. But I request the Government to go into this issue immediately and to suspend, dismiss or transfer or suspend increments to the concerned officers who do not take up this matter to the extent necessary for redressal of their grievances. I call upon the leader of this House....

SHRI SUNDAR MANI PATEL (Orissa):  
Who is the Government's leader ? It is Indira's Government.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : All right, she is the head of this Government. Let us not worry about that.

Then, Sir, I come to the other issue. People talk about national integration and national unity etc. But the gravest disservice is being done by imposition of Hindi. In the past Pandit Nehru and his successor Prime Minister Shastri gave an assurance that Hindi would not be imposed on the non-Hindi speaking people unless all the States wanted this language to be introduced. People say that there should be a national language. I wonder why Hindi alone is given undue preference to other 14 languages of India. English can continue to be our national language until Hindi is sufficiently developed. English should be our national language. And next to English all the regional languages can be there. Till now crores and crores of rupees of our meagre resources have been spent on this linguistic fanaticism and imposition of Hindi. If only we had spent that money on the development programmes and projects in India we could have built many anicuts, dams and reservoirs and we could have even linked up the northern rivers with the south and could have done away with the food imports from other countries and saved so much of foreign exchange. We see now in our country, we now

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see there is so much of drought, there is scarcity of drinking water. All these things could have been wiped out if the money so far spent on Hindi could have been spent on irrigation projects. I call upon the Government to make a statement and give an assurance on the floor of the House that the assurances of Nehruji on the language policy will be implemented by scrapping the last resolution, and that the promise of late Nehruji on the linguistic policy will be implemented during this session itself by amending the Constitution itself appropriately. If that is done, this Government will have the support of a great many people. The people from Bengal, the people from most of the non-Hindi speaking areas, will support this Government because they know that it is this prodigious monster of Hindi that is spoiling the integration of this country, which is eating away, most of our national resources and that the earlier the undue prominence to Hindi here is scrapped, the better to develop their own regional languages lest the three-language formula is not a menace to the younger generations.

People talk about the reservation for the Scheduled Castes. Out of the 15 Ministers in the Central Cabinet here there are only two Scheduled Caste Ministers including the latest addition. What about the Ministers of State? There is only one Minister, Mr. Murthy out of 17, though we should get three posts in that cadre. Of course, we have Deputy Minister's posts instead of 4 in the past in that cadre. What I want is that at least one-fifth of the posts of ministers, of all ranks not only at the Centre, but in the States also should be reserved for the Scheduled Castes. Some people say out of bias that the Scheduled Castes are not clever and intelligent. I challenge them on the floor of the House. Is there anybody cleverer than Dr. Ambedkar who drafted the Constitution in a record time? Is there anybody cleverer than Mr. Jagjivan Ram who is handling the Food Ministry dexterously, besides his onerous responsibility of the Presidentship of Indian National Congress from where a number of others had to resign? What about the youngest of the Chief Ministers, Mr. Sanjivayya who acted as the President of the A.I.C.C. and as a cabinet minister very successfully?

What about our Deputy Chairman before us here? People talk all sorts of things unscrupulously because they wear coloured spectacles. In our diplomatic corps there is not one Scheduled Castes person in the higher ranks of external and foreign services also. I want the Government to see that the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes get at least one-fourth of the posts in the Council of Ministers both at the Centre and in the States and in all other high posts such as Governors, Ambassadors, Consuls, Trade Representatives, as chairmanship of Government undertakings, etc. Not only that. In the Council of the States and in the Legislative Councils also there should be some reservation upto 20% for Scheduled Castes and tribes. We see today that in the Swantra Party of 15 in this House there is not a single person from the Scheduled Castes. And the Swatantra Party talks that they champion the interests of Scheduled Castes. So, I would request the Swantra Party to select at least three or four persons from the Scheduled Castes for biennial elections to this House. So also there is the Communist Party with no Scheduled Caste among them in this House. They must provide at least the second place or the third place and the sixth place for the Scheduled Castes out of every eight places. Let us be honest and fair to the Constitution. Let our Constitution be not a scrap of paper like the currency of our country whose purchasing power has depreciated so much in the last 22 years. People say that our Governors do not have much work. I have heard a number of Governors speaking like this on various occasions.

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJAGOPALAN)  
(Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Appan, Chowdhary Ram Sewak is also here.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Yes, yes. He is one of the best, worthy and qualified Deputy Ministers. I wish he becomes a Cabinet Minister sooner than later. (*Interruptions*). We should know it is not a thing to be laughed at. It is a thing on which we should shed tears. I am speaking here from my practical experience. I feel like weeping here when I see the injustice done to the Scheduled Castes, the atrocities that are committed in this country on the poor Scheduled Castes. People talk about the welfare of the Scheduled Castes with false lips. There are many people in the Scheduled

Castes who were killed and burnt, who sacrificed their lives...

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) :** Do you not feel that the DMK should set an example in this ?

**SHRI G. A. APPAN :** Yes, yes. They are doing it. People talk about untouchability. How do you wipe out untouchability ? For wiping out untouchability our Madras Government has instituted prizes. They are giving prizes to people who intermarry. Why not every other State do it ? Furthermore, in order to encourage wiping out untouchability, Government must give jobs first to those people who marry from a caste other than their own. The Government will also have to encourage inter-caste marriages by giving jobs on a priority basis. It will be a good gesture if the Government can follow this principle of the Tamil Nadu State Government. Of course, the Government could give jobs taking into consideration also the qualifications and the suitability of those persons to encourage these things honestly instead of simply paying lip sympathies and shedding crocodile tears. I want the leader of the Government to answer every point that I am touching here today.

Then, you speak about prohibition. Do you not agree with me that Madras is leading in prohibition in implementing the dreams of Mahatma Gandhi in a most honest, honourable and sincere way ? Is it not our right to ask for sufficient compensation from the Centre for the great losses we suffer and amounts we forgo by way of revenue on this account ? We are losing crores and crores of rupees in Tamil Nadu. We have been asking the Centre for sufficient financial assistance for this programme but we are not successful. The West Bengal Government is asking for some financial aid for introducing compulsory education up to the 8th Standard. What a pity it is ! Whereas our Madras Government has introduced free education up to the PUC, should not the Centre give us sufficient recoupment assistance ? Is it not fair for us to ask you for some money for these constructive programmes. I would request the Government to see that something is done in this respect, sooner than later.

People speak about free and compulsory education. If the Government does not

introduce compulsory education at least up to 11 years from this March or April, It will be doing a disservice to this country and it will not be honest and true to its word, because this is one of the Directive Principles of our Constitution. Catch all the children, put them to school, give them free schooling, boarding and lodging, etc. If their parents do not send them to school, do not leave them. That is what had been done in other countries during the period of Compulsory Education.

What about this glaring unemployment problem too ? How many educated people are unemployed ? When I visited certain countries early this month, I found that there was a great demand for Indian scientists and technologists and technicians. Our people enjoy great reputation in other countries for their good and honest work. If we cannot give them work in this country, then why don't you send them to other countries where there are better job opportunities. It is sad to hear that when Indians abroad remit their hard-earned foreign currency, our Government are doing disservice to them by taxing them. Is it fair ? We are giving them import substitution and we are giving export benefits to those concerned to earn foreign exchange.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** Now please wind up.

**SHRI G. A. APPAN :** Sir, you will have to allow me some more time because I represent the Scheduled Castes and I am the only Member of the D.M.K. speaking today.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, what do we find in the Railway Board ? The Chief Personnel Officer is Mr. Mathur, the Member of the Senior Personnel Department is also Mr. Mathur, the Deputy Chief Personnel Officer is another Mathur and the Assistant Personnel Officer is yet another Mathur. So is it a department of a national Government or a Government of Mathurs ? Mr. Deputy Chairman, we want a Member of the Scheduled Castes to be the Minister in-charge of Railways ; we do not want a Minister who is a Scheduled Caste only for name sake and who would not do anything for them.

**AN HON. MEMBER :** Nandaji is there.

**SHRI G. A. APPAN :** Nandaji has been a very nice man and he is indeed a very nice

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person but he is too old and too good for the post. At the same time we do not want a person like Dr. Ram Subhag Singh too who is one with a honey tongue and sweet words only. I represented many matters to him but he did not do anything about them despite his false promises.

Then, Sir, the Governors and the President say that they have not much work to do. So why not they serve like Ombudsmen ?

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR (Madhya Pradesh) : According to the Allahabad High Court the Mathurs are also Harijans.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : So, Sir, let us give the President and the Governor some good work for the money that they get to be useful to the nation and to the rate payers. I would rather recommend to the Government to come forward with a proposal that we have a Presidential form of Government as it is in America. Mr. Venkataraman is now a Member of the Planning Commission and he is a very learned person whom I know from 1940 onwards; he is a very nice person and one who sees many things constructive effective far ahead of times. Why not we take his advice ? Why not have a Presidential form of Government sooner than later here ? If there is anybody who is worthy of it, Mr. Giri is there and next to him there is nobody else who is equal to the task of the President, except of course the indefatigable Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the worthy daughter of a worthy father to shoulder the Herculean responsibility. I do not think that anybody will disagree with me when I say this.

Then, Sir, coming to the question of eradication of poverty and hunger, I request the Government to find out and provide the necessary funds for doing this job. People everywhere are prepared to give us the money required but let us not try to exploit them who help us with their funds; let us also not shun the foreign capital and let us not shun the advanced foreign technical know-how. Russia and other countries like Germany, China, America etc, help Afghanistan, Turkey and other advancing countries. So what is wrong if we also take help from similar countries ? Let us not be ungrateful to them and suspect their *bone fides*. As long as we

are not able to stand on our own legs, there is nothing wrong in getting foreign aid, help, technical know-how and foreign collaboration from those countries which are better placed than ourselves.

Then, Mr. Deputy Chairman, land is also a very important factor. Let the Government appoint a Commission to collect the statistics with regard to arable and waste lands fit for cultivation, which are lying idle throughout this country and see that the same be distributed to the landless labourers, and farmers and to the agriculturists with small landholdings. Land should not be given to individual members. But these lands should be given to them to be cultivated under co-operative farming or farming colonies as people in Russia do. Let us by that way give the proof of our productivity and our efficiency. At the moment what is our work-efficiency in the Government agricultural and industrial sectors. In other countries there are people, Ministers, who are working for 14 to 18 hours a day. How many Ministers here work for 18 hours a day in our country ? I work for 18 hours a day and most of the Scheduled Caste people also work for 18 hours a day because they know how to maintain their own position. Members of Parliament are full-time servants; they should do no other work, because they get their salaries and allowances from the poor man's revenue; they should leave their personal work and family work, and business to their relatives and others, if they are true to the trust that has been reposed in them by the electorate. Let us not try to build houses for ourselves but let us try to build houses for the poor people among us and let us try to improve their lot brick by brick in all walks of life to quote the words of our President.

Then, Sir, I want to say something about the village roads and the villagers. Loans and subsidies are granted to them, fertilisers are given to them and loans for electricity and other things are given to them. All these go to the moneyed bags and landlords with larger holdings only and very seldom to those who are in dire need. They go to the top ranks, not to the lowest ranks. Therefore let the Government do something about it and help the villagers in every possible way; let it start from the lowest ranks and not from the top ranks and let us meet

at a certain point. Let this be the economic philosophy of our Government. Poor Mrs. Indira Gandhi would not have had this trouble if she had thrown some crumbs and loaves of office to some of these disgruntled and disappointed elements. She has been an ardent, true and social democrat and we want such people. Let us strengthen her hands and the hands of the present Government. If all of us co-operative, we can improve productivity and our efficiency and then the other countries will come forward to help the poor people of this Country.

Furthermore, Sir, if we do our duty, I can assure you that our rights and obligations—everything—will ensue as the night follows the day and the day follows the night. Can there be any exception? People should realize that we are there in the Opposition Benches just to correct the Government and guide them on constructive lines for the interest and welfare of large majority. Let us help the agricultural labour and the people who are employed in the Khadi and village industries who get the lower wages in this country. They are not able to get even one or two rupees per day. We should help those poor people first and foremost. I have recently heard a news that those in power have sanctioned an allotment of terebene and nylon yarn to some top-ranking people in an arbitrary way. Why not it be distributed to a large number then only to a favoured few? Regarding export and import...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have taken 30 minutes and you must finish now.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : I remind once again that the Government should give an assurance that they will try to implement the assurances of the late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, regarding language and amend the Constitution accordingly doing this session itself.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra) : For me, the Address of the President to the Parliament is a frank review of the past and a firm resolve for the future. It is a solemn affirmation of the Government of India and also the people in this country to enter the decade of seventies with courage, confidence and determination to implement the socialist objectives that we have cherished so far. Instead of taking stock of the situation

and coming before the House with some constructive and concrete suggestions, it most unfortunate that some of the leaders, and particularly the Leader of the Opposition, Shri S. N. Mishra, has utilised this opportunity or rather abused this opportunity to criticise and malign the Prime Minister and the Government. I dislike to speak anything about personalities because I always like to pursue principles and not personalities but while making all these allegations, is it not necessary for us to take into consideration what is happening in the country to-day? The happenings of the past few months in the country have certainly agitated many. It has irritated also some but it has certainly enlightened the people in the country and we find a new atmosphere throughout the country particularly when the decision to nationalise the 14 major banks was taken by the Prime Minister. The politics certainly was stagnated. There was a great gulf between our preachings and practice. Our performances were not necessarily following our promises and that is why the people were getting frustrated and they had started losing their faith in democracy and this great parliamentary institution in this country and it is in this background, is it not a fact that the Prime Minister, with her firm action, has stormed the citadel of stagnation and has created a lively atmosphere in this country? It is not a fact that so far it was convenient for all political parties to play politics of convenience but since the time the Prime Minister has resolved and the Party in power has resolved to play politics of commitment, the whole politics in the country has become programme oriented. The resolutions of Ahmedabad and the resolutions of Bombay could be welcome perhaps. Perhaps from the point of view of language, it may be argued by the Leader of the Opposition that the language of the Ahmedabad is more radical.

AN HON. MEMBER : You accept it?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : It is not only the language that counts. It is the determination, it is the courage, it is the firmness behind that language which is more material. The Ahmedabad resolution, I am here to agree with Mr. Mishra, said that pseudo-socialists are worse than reactionaries but who are the pseudo-socialists? That also shall have to be examined. Is it not Mr.

[Shri M.M. Dharia]

Morarji Desai who opposed the nationalisation of the banks and went to the length of saying ; 'We will resign from the Cabinet if banks are nationalised' ? Is it not Mr. Patil who, before the Bangalore Session and at Bangalore, said that if the banks are nationalised the Congress Party will stand divided ? When Mr. Patil contested from Banaskantha we were aware that he was defeated in Bombay and since the time he lost his seat for Parliament, like a father who is in search of a son-in-law for his daughter, he was in search of a parliamentary constituency throughout the country and to his fortune, he found a constituency in Gujarat. I agree with the statements made by Mr. Jagjivan Ram and Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed. They have their own substance and it could be seen that Mr. Patil found a constituency with the blessings of Mr. Desai because of his further association to come, in Banaskantha and there he declared that till the end of his life, even though a resolution had been passed by the Congress Party in 1967 that the privileges and the privy purses shall be abolished he will not allow the party to implement the resolution and the programme. Now, when Mr. Desai and Mr. Patil who opposed the nationalisation of the banks and Mr. Patil has opposed the abolition of the privileges and the privy purses, when they passed a resolution at the Ahmedabad conference that the conference welcomed the decision of nationalisation of the 14 major banks and that the conference reminded that the privileges and the privy purses should be immediately abolished, it is not out of their heart that those utterances were given. This is hypocritical politics about which we know very well. These people are not having their hearts in it and they cannot implement that resolution. The resolution of the Ahmedabad conference is only political. They want to throw the dust of socialist language in the eyes of the people and it will not be tolerated by the country. As against that, the Prime Minister and her colleagues do stand by the resolutions that they have accepted in Bombay or in the requisitioned meeting at Delhi. A charge is levied that the Prime Minister is a dictator. It is strange. Who is a dictator ? Is it Mr. Nijalingappa and his colleagues who had the audacity and courage to dismiss the Prime Minister of the country from even

ordinary membership of the party or is Madame Prime Minister the dictator ?

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, when we made a demand to have a requisitioned meeting of the Congress Party and let the majority decide the fate of this party, because Mr. Nijalingappa, Mr. Morarjibhai Desai, Mr. S. K. Patil and others were sure that the majority of the members of the AICC were not with them, they threw away this requisition into the waste paper basket, and with a minority vote they wanted to rule over the Congress Party and to have the reins of the party in their hands. It is these people who have no faith in democratic order. They are the dictators, and when Mr. S. N. Mishra says that the Prime Minister is a dictator, it does not lie in his mouth to say so.

He should rather examine his own leaders and see as to how they have functioned in this country. So, Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is not this ruling party which consists of pseudo-socialists. It is Mr. S. N. Mishra and his party who are pseudo-socialists and therefore I say that these repseudo-socialists are certainly worse reactionaries. Further more, Sir, in this country these pseudo-socialists have joined hands with the reactionaries, which is still worse and more dangerous in this country. It is for the progressive elements in the party, it is for the socialist elements in the party....

SHRI S. D. MISRA (Uttar Pradesh) : What about the D.M.K. with whom you have joined ? We have not joined at least with the Communists who have extra-territorial loyalties and with communalists like the Muslim League who were responsible for the partition of this country and who said—

‘हंस के लिया है पाकिस्तान,  
लड़ के लेंगे हिन्दुस्तान ।’

You are in league with them. So let us not raise political bogeys about these matters.

श्री भूपेश गप्त : मैसूर में निजलिंगप्पा  
हंस के लेंगे लाइसेंस . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it is very clear that so far as implementation of progressive programmes is concerned, we would like to have the co-operation from everybody. Whether he



is a socialist, whether it is the D.M.K. or whether it is the Congress in the Opposition we seek the co-operation from all.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** But without permit. No permit must be in your pocket.

**SHRI M. M. DHARIA :** Without permit.

**SHRI S. D. MISRA :** They get money from Russia also.

**SHRI M.M. DHARIA :** Mr. Deputy Chairman, my friend Mr. S. D. Misra should blame his own party for joining hands with the Jan Sangh, the rank communalists in this country.

**SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ (Mysore) :** What about the D. M. K. ?

**SHRI M. M. DHARIA :** Mr. Deputy Chairman, here also I would like to warn the House that while accusing the D. M. K. let us not forget the other bright social factors in that party also, and if the D. M. K. have adopted a progressive approach in this country, let us not go on hammering over the past but let us see to the bright future. If good conditions could be created in this country, all possible endeavours should be in that direction, not in the direction of going over past history.

**SHRI S. D. MISRA :** So far his philosophy is good.

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI M. M. DHARIA :** I hope all these interruptions will provide more time for me.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** No, no, the time is very much limited for you and therefore I should say that you should continue your speech. Do not reply to the interruptions.

**SHRI M. M. DHARIA :** This collaboration between the pseudo-socialists and the reactionaries has created the greatest danger to our democracy and so this country should be saved from this danger. It is against this background that we should look at the progress that we have made and the progress that we intend to achieve in future. When we think of our progress, of our achievements, let us not forget the basic tenets behind our independence and the basic tenets for me are the freedom of this country, the unity and integrity of this

country, secularism in this country, democracy, and socialism. These are the five basic tenets for which we have achieved our independence, and these are the five basic tenets for which we stand.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** The sixth becomes the President's Address. That is my fear.

**SHRI M. M. DHARIA :** Or President's election ? *(Interruptions)* I feel we cannot forget the dangers that are being faced by our democracy. Mr. Appan, who made his speech here, was full of emotions. I appreciate his views and I do feel that in spite of twenty-three years of our independence we have failed in giving justice to the minorities in this country, to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The distance between the village and the *marwada* or *chamarni* has not yet come closer. The wells have been thrown open to them under the pressure of laws but so long as our hearts are not open to them it is no use and simply throwing the wells open to them will not serve the purpose. Even after twenty-three years of independence, in several towns there is no proper drainage system and the scavenger has to carry the bucket of human excreta on his head. So long as this continues, this independence has no meaning, this democracy has no meaning. So long as that bucket is not brought down from his head I will never say that there is socialism or there is democracy or there is independence.

So far as economic disparities are concerned, I have no time to dilate on it to day. But we know that nearly thirty crores of people in this country hardly get 50 *naye Paise* per day. And how can we say that these economic inequalities are just being brushed aside? It is not so. They do exist in our country today, and so far as these economic and social inequalities exist in the country, it is perhaps the greatest danger to our democracy.

Similarly, Sir, let us not forget the problem of the unemployed youngsters in this country, whether educated or uneducated. To be educated and to remain uneducated, they now fall more or less in the same category because of the unemployment facing both. If to remain uneducated is a crime, to get educated and become a qualified engineer is also a crime now in this country. If this continues, it is also a danger to our democracy.

[Shri M.M. Dharia]

Similarly there is the growth of monopolies including the press monopoly. How can we forget that they have retarded the whole progress in this country ?

Now coming to the role of the Supreme Court, I feel that the Supreme Court in this country has failed in realising the aspirations of the country. I do agree that in a democratic structure our executive, our legislatures and our judiciary are the three main pillars. But these three pillars are there to safeguard the interests of democracy. And if any of them is failing in their duties, they are creating a danger to our democracy, and I must say here that the Supreme Court has failed in realising the aspirations and the needs of this country. And if they are creating any hurdles in the achievement of our social objectives, those hurdles shall have to be removed. And if it is not done by this Parliament, it shall be failing in its own duties and in rendering justice to the people. I do understand the ideal of prestige and understand that the prestige of the Executive, the prestige of the Judiciary and the prestige of the Legislature should be maintained. While this prestige has to be maintained, let us not forget that ultimately we want to maintain and increase the prestige of the people at large. And if that cannot be done, this prestige is a false idea, it has no meaning whatsoever.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I entirely agree and I am very pleased to hear this. Some sixteen or seventeen years ago this is what we were saying here. I am very glad that this is now applauded on the other side.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Sir, in this country there are some parties like the Naxalites who openly declare that they have no faith in the Constitution and that they want to destroy the Constitution with violence. I do feel that such forces can not have any existence in the country and they shall have to be banned and they shall have to be ruthlessly crushed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is a most unfortunate statement. Your Mr. Brahmananda Reddy is suppressing people like anything. Blood and terror he has let loose in Andhra Pradesh, slaughtering people, shooting them without trial. This is what Mr. Brahmananda Reddy is doing in Andhra Pradesh. And Mr. Sukhadia is doing the

same thing in Ganganagar in Rajas than. I think Mr. Chandra Shekhar and Mr. Dharia should make a trip jointly to Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh) : What is your CPI doing in West Bengal?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Chandra Shekhar was in West Bengal only the other day—I saw in the papers. Now that he has come back, for Goodness's sake, go to Andhra Pradesh and you see how in the name of suppressing the Naxalites, terrorism is let loose by Mr. Brahmananda Reddy and by Mr. Vengal Rao, the Home Minister of Andhra Pradesh Government. People are brought out of houses and shot. I am sure you would not support such a thing. (Interruptions) You will say yourself that the hooligans of Andhra Pradesh Government should not be encouraged.

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH (Andhra Pradesh) : How can order be maintained ?

MISS M. L. M. NAIDU (Andhra Pradesh) : Sir, how can he say....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No Interruptions please.

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has said incorrect things about the situation in Andhra Pradesh. Let me explain. I ask this : what are the Communist Governments doing in Kerala and West Bengal ? Do they want to maintain law and order in West Bengal and Kerala or not ? The Andhra Pradesh Government also....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If anybody commits a crime put him on trial but what the Andhra Government police, the Reserve police and the special police are doing is that they are going to the peasants' homes, taking them out and shooting them and then saying they died in encounters. That what is taking place there.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : It is all right. No more interruptions. Mr. Dharia will continue now.

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH : Sir, I challenge that; it is wrong statement.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Will you please sit down ?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : No ; it is fully correct. You are physically exterminating people there.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Niren Ghosh, will you please sit down ? Nobody should speak now. Only Mr. Dharia will continue.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Sir, I do appreciate the interest being shown from all corners of the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : But they are taking up your time.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Whatever the position, I do say that such parties or such forces...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You have not said a word about Shiv Sena.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : ...who have no faith in the Constitution and who want to destroy the Constitution with violence shall have to be banned in this country, shall have to be crushed with a heavy hand. I am not prepared to compromise on this issue. At the same time I want to warn this Government that people are becoming victims of such Naxalite movements because their legitimate demands their legitimate grievances are not being redressed. If they are not going to get the basic minimums for life in the country and if they become victims of Naxalite movements the Government also has its responsibility and therefore the Government shall have to take immediate measures to see that their grievances are immediately remedied.

Besides, the rate of growth of population in this country is also a danger to democracy. Every minute this country produces 30 children and during my speech of 20 minutes this country has produced about 600 children. It is really very difficult to solve this problem. At the same time the apathy of intellectuals and the failure of the socialist forces to come together is also a danger. It is really strange that when the reactionaries, when the pseudo-socialists are coming together and getting integrated the socialist forces in the country stand disunited, stand disintegrated. I would like to appeal through you, Sir—I have read the Address of the President and I feel that there also is an appeal to the country that all the socialist forces

should come together and get integrated for the implementation of our socialist objectives.

There is one more aspect and that is the strained relations between...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You go to the Chairman's Chamber.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : I will not go to the Chairman's Chamber for that I will go to the people's Chamber. If the leaders do not come together I will go to the people.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Dharia, you have taken 21 minutes.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : I shall now be winding up.

Coming to the strained relations between States and States and between the Central Government and the State Governments I feel that these matters can be amicably solved on the basis of certain principles. In this connection I may mention the dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore. I am really pained when all kinds of remarks are made about Maharashtra. Maharashtra does not intend to grab any territory. We only want what we can get in justice based on some principles, on the basis of village as units and also the desire of the people which is material. On the basis of these principles what we demand is mere justice. We do not want this territory or that territory. Maharashtra does not want to be expansionist unnecessarily nor does it want to grab any territory which is not being liked by the people there. When all sorts of arguments are being put forward by my colleagues I feel really very sorry. Here we shall have to apply certain principles. While doing this I feel that the Government shall have to take some drastic decision.

So far the right to property has been a fundamental right in our Constitution but this Government shall never be in a position to implement the socialist programmes if the right to property continues to remain a fundamental right. The right to property cannot be a fundamental right in any socialist country. But that does not mean that we want the family unit to be broken up. Whatever is below ceiling whether in urban area or in rural area is protected and we shall

Shri M.M. Dharia]

have nothing to do with it but above ceiling, the ceiling to be prescribed by Parliament, whatever is there with any body it belongs to the State and not to any individual. Capital grows not because of money; it grows out of the labour and sweat of the people and the society has every right on that capital. It is in this background that the Government shall have to come forward immediately to accept Mr. Nath Pai's Bill and to see that the right to property is no more a fundamental right in the Constitution so that we can go forward with the implementation of our socialist objectives.

Similarly, the bureaucracy has become a great hurdle on our way and I feel that the bureaucratic set-up of this country has to be changed. Those who have faith in the socialist objectives and those who are loyal to Parliament they alone should be the persons who are allowed to handle the matters; and none else. Those who have created their own vested interests cannot serve the country; they cannot serve the society, and they cannot have any place in our services.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Do you propose to undertake a probe to weed out the anti-democratic elements ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What about the ICS ?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Coming to participation of labour in management—the hon. Minister of Labour is present here—we have been saying all the time that there should be participation of the workers in the management. But where is the participation of workers in the management in spite of all our slogans ? We have failed in implementing this idea of ours. A new era is being introduced in the country and the labourers, the workers and the expert, those who are prepared to work in any field they should all get due participation in the respective managements. That decision shall have to be taken immediately.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Dharia, say one word about Shiv Sena.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : I have made it very clear....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Let him continue his speech.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : ....on many occasions that these parochial senas should have no place in the country. But at the same time let us not forget why the parochial senas have come up in the country. It is because of the local grievances remaining unattended. If the problem of the educated unemployed youngsters is not solved the senas are bound to remain in the country. If we want to do away with these senas we must have some concrete approach to this matter. Otherwise simply by your saying you cannot do away with Shiv Sena or any other sena. So far as the backward areas in the country are concerned, there is a volcanic situation.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You are mild on Shiv Sena !

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : Mr. Deputy Chairman, these backward areas shall have to be given priority. On many occasions I have been making a reference to the Konkan Railways but it is most unfortunate that in spite of repeated demands, in spite of repeated assurance by the hon. Minister, nothing is being done to implement that assurance. Even in this Budget I do not find anything. It is the poor third class passengers who are being charged more. Those who are clinging to the railway trains in Calcutta and Bombay, if they are to be taxed more, we shall be doing a great injustice to them. They do not get even room in the third class compartments

I demand today that the taxation, the increase in the third class passenger fare should be removed immediately from the present Budget. This is my demand and we shall raise this demand in our party.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please resume your seat.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity. I would only say that this country is making new history. It is for us to play a historical role in this country. Let us not lag behind. There may be many obstacles in the way from pseudo-socialists or the communist forces. They shall have to be faced courageously. This is the piece of advice rendered by the President. This is the affirmation of the Government and we all shall have to stand by it. Thank you very much.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The only thing is that Mr. Dharia is very soft to the Shiv Sena. You should have spoken strongly against the Shiv Sena.

SHRI K. P. MALLIKARJUNUDU (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, the President's Address can be compared to the findings of a doctor who is unable to prescribe remedial measures. What is the most serious problem that is now confronting our country ? In my opinion, the most acute problem is the problem of unemployment. The elementary duty of any civilised government is that it should be able to give employment to its people. If any Government fails to give employment to the people and fails to feed the people, it has no right to exist. Our Constitution, in the Directive Principle in article 39, lays down as follows:—

“The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing:—

(a) that the citizens have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;”.

It enjoins on the Government that it should be able to provide full employment to all people. What has the Government done so far ? I wish to know whether any comprehensive survey of the problem has been made. I wish to know whether any investigation was carried out by the Government to assess the magnitude of the problem. So far as I know no such thing was done, but I would like to give some facts and figures from the figures supplied by the Government. From the Indian labour Statistics of 1969 published by Ministry of labour I am able to gather certain figures.

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

These figures are based on returns supplied by the various employment exchanges. The number of applicants on the live registers at the end of 1953 was 5,22,316. At the end of 1968 the figures is 30,49,823. These figures, I must submit, relate only to persons who got their names registered in the employment exchanges. What about the persons who did not get their names registered ? I believe their number must be far larger than this. Apart from that I may also submit that there were certain figures given by the Chief of the Manpower Division. He says

that there are now 57,000 engineers unemployed and it may go up to one lakh by the end of the Fourth Plan. This is the magnitude of the unemployment problem. There is unemployment amongst the educated and the uneducated. There are the unemployed amongst the skilled and unskilled. There are unemployed amongst the technical and non-technical personnel. That is the problem which is facing us and we have got to deal with it effectively.

I am sorry to say that the President's Address has only a faint and hazy realisation of the magnitude of the problem. I may be asked : What do you suggest for giving relief to the unemployed ? I would at once say that the unemployment problem can be relieved by an increase developmental works. How can these developmental works be under-taken. They can be undertaken by an increase in investment. Unless we increase the rate of investment, it is not possible to undertake any developmental programmes on a large scale. Then the question arises, how is adequate investment secured ? It can be secured, according to me, in two ways. One is by saving and the other is by deficit financing or created money. We have seen the dangers of created money. During the three Five Plans we have seen how deficit financing or created money has worked havoc by raising the prices. I may be permitted to say that the deficit financing, which pumped money, on a large scale, into circulation, was mainly responsible for the rise in the level of prices. It may be noted in this connection that between 1950-51 and 1969-70 the money supply went up by 200 percent, but the nation product, at constant prices, rose only by 90 percent. What is the result ? The result is high prices. When I say these things I should not be misunderstood that I am opposed to the principle of deficit financing or created money, I know that some amount of created money is necessary in a developing economy but it should be resorted to with great caution and with the necessary reservations. If the created money is employed in projects which produce consumer goods, it will no be harmful. If it is employed in projects with a short gestation period, than also it may not be dangerous. But if it is employed in projects which produce capital goods, it would cause inflation. That is what has happened during the three Five Year Plans.

[Shri K. P. Mallikarjunudu.]

So, we must guard against the dangers which were posed in the three Plans, when we had pumped a lot of money into circulation.

Then, Sir, there is another method by which investment can be secured. It is by way of foreign assistance of foreign loans, but I may at once say that this method has got to be discarded. We do not want to depend any further on foreign assistance. We should reduce, as far as possible, our dependence on foreign assistance. That being the case, I cannot recommend foreign assistance as a source of investment.

Then, Sir, I can think of another method by which investment can be secured. That is the method by which the public undertakings can be made to yield profits. The performance of the public undertakings, so far, is very dismal. Instead of creating profits, instead of yielding profits, the 'public undertakings are running at a tremendous loss.

Then Sir, what about the public undertakings ? How are they faring ? That is a question to be answered I can answer that question by a reference to the figures supplied by the Annual Report on the working of the Public Undertakings for 1967-68 issued by the Ministry of Finance. According to those figures the Hindustan Steel is shown as a separate category and 54 other running concerns are shown in a different category. What is the position ? The position is this ? The investment made up 31-3-68 in Hindustan Steel was Rs. 1220.37 crores. What is the position of profit and loss ? It is a loss of Rs. 122.44 crores. On an investment of Rs. 1220.37 crores we have only a loss of Rs. 122.44 crores. What about the other 54 concerns ? The total investment is Rs. 2010 crores and the loss is Rs. 127.23 crores. That is the position. We have invested on the whole in the public sector an amount to the tune of Rs. 3500 crores, and what is the return we got ? We got a loss of Rs. 250 crores in addition to the loss of interest we suffered on the capital invested. That is the position. When I say this I should not be understood as being opposed to public sector. I am in favour of public sector. I want the public sector to grow and function properly and efficiently. But what I complain of is the incompetence with which these public undertakings are managed. My only objection is

to the incompetent management of this Government so far as the public undertakings are concerned.

So, even when we take these resources into consideration, namely, the resources that can be made available by the public sector undertakings, even those resources are not to be found, they are not available at present. That is the miserable position. Then the only course left to us is domestic savings. Is there any possibility of securing domestic savings on a large scale ? It is not possible because of the high price level. So long as the prices are not brought down it is not possible to secure proper savings. That is the present position. In this connection with regard to price level also I might submit that during the first three months of the current busy season, from 1969 November to 1970 January, wholesale prices rose by 4 per cent; over the whole year ending January 1970 the wholesale prices spurted by 7.2 per cent; food articles by 7.8 per cent; industrial raw materials by 17.2 per cent. That is the price position. Under these circumstances when the Government is unable to control prices, how can the Government expect to make any savings on a big scale ? So, the present position brought about by the Government's management is we are left with very little scope for securing any investment on a proper scale. Hence I submit that the management of the economic affairs of the country is very unsatisfactory and very disappointing.

Coming to the political front—I do not have much time and I shall conclude very soon—so far as the political front is concerned, my leader put forth very able arguments the other day when he opened the debate. I need not traverse the ground all over again, but the way in which the Governments are formed in U.P. and Bihar shows that there is the hidden hand of the Central Government behind those happenings. Of course I know that the Government has denied that, but anybody who can read between the lines can easily understand that there is the hidden hand of the Central Government behind these moves and the Government is really responsible for subverting the democratic procedure. I do not want to elaborate that point because the time at my disposal is very short. I just make a reference to that aspect of the matter.

On the political front it is a miserable failure. The Government has acted in such a manner that the democratic conventions and the constitutional apparatus are thrown to the winds.

Coming to the international front also I can submit that the Government is a failure. They say it is a policy of non-alignment that the Government is following. I fail to understand how it is really a non-aligned policy. Let them examine their own hearts and say whether they are really following strictly a non-aligned policy. I fail to see that it is really a non-aligned policy.

So, on any account, on the economic front, on the political front, on the international front, I have no doubt in saying that the Government has failed miserably and it has no moral right to govern the country.

**SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA** (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the President's Address provides an opportunity to the Government to detail their achievements during the year and also to indicate the future programme. I do not know how far I can go in welcoming the President's Address this year. If it is simply a statement of Government's policy, I have nothing to say, but from a dynamic President I expected that he would project his own image also into the President's Address and would tell the reality of the situation as it exists in the country today. I am sorry to say that that aspect has not been put into the President's Address.

Coming to the glaring omissions, I must say I am really very sorry that no mention has been made in the President's Address about the sad demise of our revered President, Dr. Zakir Husain, who died last year after delivering his last President's Address. If I may say so, he was the unifying force in the country after the elections of 1967. He was the embodiment of Indian culture, Indian traditions, Indian manners and whatever is good in the country, and a Government which has not the courtesy to make a mention about the demise of such a great soul cannot be excused. That is my grouse number one with the Government, and I hope that the Prime Minister when she replies to the debate will make amends for this lapse on the part of the

Government. I said he was the unifying force. The country is well acquainted with the forces which came up after the fourth general elections in 1967, and it was considered very doubtful if the ruling party, the Congress, would be able to muster majority to win the Presidential election.

But it was because of the personality of Dr. Zakir Husain and because of the united manner in which the ruling party acquitted itself that the Presidential election was won easily. He was in fact, by his indirect method, by advising the Prime Minister and the Government from time to time, keeping a balanced view of all the things and he did not hesitate to advise the Government wherever he thought that the Government was going wrong. That was the impact of Dr. Zakir Husain, the late President. After his sad demise, forces which were unable to play their part during his life-time were unleashed and the trouble started in the country.

Mr. Mohan Dharia, my friend, has made out a case as if the entire blame for the ills of the country are at the door of certain people. My friend, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Shyam Nandan Mishra, tried to make out a case that all the ills of today are due to the acts of the Prime Minister and the ruling party. I am one of those who will say that the ills of the country are due to both and they are more due to the self-seekers, the job-hunters and the opportunists in both the parties, in both the groups.

I must pay a compliment here to the Prime Minister for the way in which she has handled the affairs of the country. What to talk of a woman, even a strong man would have collapsed under the strain and stress which the Prime Minister has had to undergo during the last eight to ten months after the Presidential election. But it must go to her credit...

**SHRI S. D. MISRA** : No compliment to her.

**SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA** : I am coming. Will you bear with me ? She has acquitted herself most courageously; most boldly she has tried to put the country on the path of progress. That cannot be denied.

Now, coming to the events of last year after the death of Dr. Zakir Husain,

[Shri M.P. Bhargava.]

let us see how the various events happened and who is to be blamed for what. First of all, came the question of sounding the various candidates for Presidentship unofficially by the Congress President and by the Prime Minister. Both were within their rights to sound the various candidates. The Congress President, as the leader of the ruling party, had every right to find out who was the most acceptable candidate for the high office. The Prime Minister is the head of the Government; she has to deal every day with the President, and she was also within her right to sound the various candidates for that high office. Now, my first grouse is that they were both acting independently as if one had nothing to do with the other. The Congress President thought that it was entirely within his jurisdiction to choose the candidate and the Prime Minister thought that it was *entirely within her discretion* to choose the Presidential candidate. That is where the misfortune of the country started. I would have expected that people placed in very high position would be more accommodative, would try to understand each other much better than those whom they expect will always act in the right manner wherever they functioned.

Then what happened? We had the Faridabad Session. There were pronouncements on behalf of the Prime Minister as well as the Congress President. None of those pronouncements indicated any of those steps which they had to take performance by subsequent events. Both were thinking as if the country would be waiting for things to happen. But they did not realise that the country was on the march, that people's aspirations had to be fulfilled and therefore there was no time for guessing, there was no time for delay, and things had to move if the aspirations of the people were to be satisfied and fulfilled.

Then came the actual selection of the candidates for the office of the Rashtrapati, the President. Then they met at Bangalore. Here I must say that decisions should be taken by mutual consultation, by sounding every member of the Board. These are not the occasions when decisions could be taken by a majority vote and no heavens would have fallen if the request of the Prime Minister were accepted and the decision had not been taken at Bangalore. There

was plenty of time to take a decision calmly and coolly after consultation on return from Bangalore. That, in my personal opinion, is the first mistake of the Congress President and his associates who thought that it was their right to choose start the Presidential candidate. It is nobody's monopoly in any organisation to assert his will or her will over others. Things must be above board in all such circumstances by mutual consultation and that has been the tradition of the ruling party of whose office I happened to be in charge for long, long years and I know how the candidates for the Presidential election were selected in 1952, 1957...

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD  
(Kerala) : On a point of clarification.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI  
AKBAR ALI KHAN) : His speech should  
not be disturbed.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD :  
The part of his speech...

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : I am talking  
of the course which brought misfortune to  
the country.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD : The  
hon. Member was referring to the selection  
of candidates for Presidentship. Is it a sub-  
ject-matter which could be discussed here?

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : I am not  
surprised at the hon'ble Member. He has  
just come new. He is not acquainted with  
the practices and privileges of this House.  
By and by he will come to know of this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI  
AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Bhargava,  
you have a limited time.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : I would  
like to have my full half an hour. You  
cannot discriminate between a Member  
and a Member. I have as much right as  
anybody else has to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI  
AKBAR ALI KHAN) : We are giving  
all Members 15 minutes.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : To the  
party Members. I am not a party Member  
I am an independent Member.



SHRI S. D. MISRA : He is a Member of an independent party. Give him some more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I will give you 20 minutes.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I will take 30 minutes and not a second more. So, Sir, I was talking about the selection of the candidate. Somehow, rightly or wrongly, this selection was made. Even the Prime Minister agreed to that and she agreed to file the nomination. Now it is here where I differ. Have you ever heard in the history of the world that a Prime Minister files the nomination of a candidate adopted by the party and then takes a *volte face* and then works against that candidate for another candidate? That is my grouse. I can say from my experience that she had a clear mind but it is her advisers who are to be blamed. In the whole impasse, I must say, that it is the advisers of the Prime Minister, whether in the Government or in the Organisation, who are misleading her, and if I do not strike a personal note, that was the reason why I had to leave those benches. and when the split took place I retained my seat thinking that I have been elected by the Congress and I shall discharge my duty as a good Congressman. under discipline. But pinpricks started from the so-called lieutenants of the Prime Minister, some asking me...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You can have your right to speak on any subject. But this thing occupies a very small place in the Presidential Address.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am speaking about the misfortune of the country, how the present state of affairs has come about and who are the people responsible for it.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER : It is irrelevant.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : I am not speaking anything irrelevant. You, Sir, have every right to stop me if I am irrelevant. But I have certainly a right as a citizen of this country to project what is good for the country and what is bad for the country.

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR : Analyse the causes also.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : It is the misfortune of the country that the leaders have betrayed us. What happens today is a crisis of leadership and nothing also. People have always responded to the call of leadership. Whether it was in 1962 or in 1965, they responded and they responded magnificently. But the common man finds himself helpless today. He does not know what to do. He is being told by slogans that such steps are being taken for his benefit. But what is the actual benefit? He is concerned with the actual benefit.

I am not against the public sector. I have always advocated the public sector. But I am not for mismanagement in the public sector. I am not for spending money through the drain in the public sector. Just think if the public sector was correctly managed and even if we got 6 per cent. interest on the investment in the public sector, the entire economy of the country would have been different. May I ask the Prime Minister and her Government what steps are being taken to see that wastage in the public sector is stopped, that the public sector is better managed, that the public sector becomes productive, that the public sector gives return for the money invested therein. These are the things which should have the attention of the Government. But how can these things have the attention of the Government when all the energy of the Government is all the time engaged in...

SHRI S. D. MISRA : Toppling.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : ... Do not talk of toppling. For that I will require some other occasion—in keeping oneself in the Chair, in scheming how to avoid a mid-term election, how to topple this Government, how to topple that Government. These are some of the things on which I will speak some other time. Today I am talking only about the country.

Now, Sir, if sane people analyse the present situation then the only solution to save the country in my personal opinion is not to practise hypocrisy but to come out with open coalitions. If the Congress(O) say that they should go with the Jan Sangh

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and the Swatantra, they should openly form an alliance and say that those going on the rightist lines will do this. And if the ruling party think that they should have a coalition of all the leftist forces, let them openly say that they are for forming this coalition. Before we go in for the mid-term polls let there be clear-cut combinations.

SHRI OM MEHTA (Jammu and Kashmir) : We do not want to go in for mid-term polls.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : You cannot help it whether you like it or not. Therefore, let them leave this hypocrisy, taking the support of the D. M. K., the Akalis, the Muslim League, the C.P.I. or the C.P.(M) in West Bengal. Let us stop this hypocrisy. Let us be true to ourselves and let us come out with what we believe in. Tell the country that these are the two parties and they can choose between the two, one, the Congress (O) coalition and the other, Congress (I) coalition. Let the country decide as to who will govern the country.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa) : Whom will you choose?

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOA SWAMI (Assam) : He himself has not been able to select a party.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : Mr. Goswamy knows what pain I am suffering from. It is impossible for any right-thinking man to align himself with this party or that party which I have already described as opportunist. Nobody cares for the good of the country. I am not going to align myself with any of these parties unless they clear out this cloud which is over the country.

Coming to another thing, we say that our policy is of non-alignment.

But what is happening? If we read the President's Addresses for the last 10 years or more, we find that all the important Heads of Government who visited this country and the countries where our President went are mentioned. This time I find that the only mention about it is : "We have had the privilege of receiving many distinguished Heads of States and Governments in our midst." No mention has been made of the first visit of the President of

the United States of America during 1969. Why? Are we afraid of anybody in mentioning it? The Shah of Iran was mentioned by name in last year's Address and the King of Afghanistan was mentioned in the Address of the year before last. Is the President of the United States of America such a tiny figure. . .

SHRI OM MEHTA : That was not an official visit; it was a passing visit.

(Interruptions)

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : I am just pointing out the omissions. So this should have found a place.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If he is such a big man, he does not need to be mentioned.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : Well, I am glad if you accept that.

Then, we talk of non-alignment. But we are not prepared to recognise Israel. Why? Because we are afraid that the Arabs may get angry with us.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated) : The Arab-Indian trade is over Rs. 1,000 million while the Israel-Indian trade is Rs 3 million.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : We are not prepared to recognise Formosa. Why? Because China will get angry.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : Israel must first get out of Arab lands.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : Formosa is a member of the United Nations and it is not only a member of the United Nations, but it is a permanent member of the Security Council. Who are angry there?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Everybody.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : Even then you are not able to drive her out.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : That is a disgrace for the U. N.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : Now, my friend Mr. Dharia mentioned about the Supreme Court. I have the greatest respect for the Supreme Court. Let us not blame the Supreme Court for not managing our things properly. Let us be clear about the demarcation of the

jurisdiction of Parliament and of the Supreme Court. It is for the Parliament to legislate and it is for the Supreme Court and other courts to interpret. Nowhere has the Supreme Court said that you have no power to nationalise. They have not said that. What they have said is, it is discrimination between banks and banks. It has been formulated by your Law Ministry for which I have not very much respect. We see every day what is happening about the legislations proposed by them.

**SHRI S. D. MISRA :** They give political interpretation.

**SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA :** For the inefficiency of your Law Ministry, do not have a fight with the Supreme Court. It will be a sad day for this country if the independence of the judiciary is tampered with or if the courts are not allowed to function independently and in their own right and jurisdiction.

**SHRI JOACHIM ALVA :** I think you know that a former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court accepted a party from Shanti Prasad Jain on his sixtieth birthday. Accessibility and corruption.

**SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA :** Mr. Alva knows that there are black sheep everywhere.

**SHRI JOACHIM ALVA :** I can give a thousand instances. We want our judges to be incorruptible.

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** We know a person was made a judge of the Supreme Court upon the insistence of the Birlas superseding 12 judges.

**SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA :** Do you want to say that exceptions prove the rule ? Now, on the one side the Government talks of appointing a Commission of Inquiry for Birlas and on the other, they take out a licence granted to Birlas in 1966 for the Goa fertiliser plant and renew it now. Is it a consistent position ? Will you condemn the Government for this one act of giving a licence to Birlas ?

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** I have condemned.

**SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA :** You can not condemn a whole Government for one act. These things will happen, have

happened and will continue to happen, whatever safeguards you take.

**SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOASWAMI :** Like Caesar's wife, the judges should be above suspicion. There should be no exception.

**SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA :** I agree 100 per cent with Mr. Goaswami that judges should be above board, above suspicion.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** But there are so many seducers around that even Caesar's wife cannot remain above suspicion.

**SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA :** But there is nothing to show suspicion at present.

Then about two small points. One is about black money. I have been pressing on the Government that demonetisation should be thought of. Am I to understand that the Government is afraid of demonetisation ?

**SHRI NIREN GHOSH :** Yes.

**SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA :** Or is it because it will affect politicians who seem to have got a lot of black money ? Is that standing in the way of demonetisation ? Let demonetisation take place, whether it affects A, B or C. We have to look to the interests of the country, and not to the vested interests of A, B or C.

Finally before I sit down, I want to say a word about bureaucracy. My views on the subject are known to the House. Unless we bring into check the bureaucracy, the country will never progress. The sooner we take steps to bring the bureaucracy under control, the better it will be in the interests of the country and for the benefit of the common man in general.

**DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA (West Bengal) :** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we have been listening to scores of lectures, some short and some lengthy. In some of these lectures we have been listening to frequent references to some people's glorious past to cancel their inglorious present. Some people were speaking under the impression that the strength of voice compensates lack of reason. But I think we should take this issue, the issue of the President's Address, rather seriously and not from a sectarian point

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of view. It is a national issue and it should be approached from a broad point of view and not blurred by passion and obscured by unreason.

I think the President's Address is remarkable for certain new features. The President has pointed out that three parameters for an assessment of our economic policy should be taken into account. And those three parameters are known to us; increased production, better distribution of wealth and income generating opportunities. These three points are very important points. Directly and indirectly they touch upon the lot of the whole masses of the country. It has been often said that nothing has been done by the Government. But the Economic Survey just published two days makes it absolutely clear that our economy is now prepared for a new breakthrough. And it is possible now that we will embark upon a commendable rate of growth, namely,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. I am sure this rate of growth is not satisfactory. We should try to increase the rate of growth further. We should try to make the rate of growth as high as 7 per cent, to say the least. The resources that will have to be mobilised for this rate of growth are enormous and we know we are indeed a very poor country. But unless we can mobilise and properly utilise our resources, the rate of growth envisaged in theory will not be practicable. And having regard to this important thing the Government has nationalised the banks. It has often been said and said unfairly that this nationalisation of banks is a party issue and that it has been utilised for partisan ends. But those who say this either do not understand it or they deliberately distort the facts of national importance. We are all aware that India is not the India we see either inside this House or outside in the cities. We all know 82 per cent of the population of India is living in the countryside and we should do certain things to improve their lot. And if we fail in that respect, all our tall talks and all our planning are absolutely of no use except as an academic exercise in futility. The problem of agriculture is the main issue. As you know, unless agricultural income goes up, the purchasing capacity of the agrarian people cannot go up, our economic planning will come to a naught and it will bear no fruit.

And we know that something in this respect has been done by the Government. We know that when we achieved freedom, that is, around the year 1947-48, the total agricultural production in the country was of the order of 50 million tons. Now it has gone up to 100 million tons. It means a cent per cent increase. But always in our zeal to criticise the Government, often swayed away by passion, we fail to see the broad fact, the fact touching upon the lot of the people; by people I mean the 82 per cent of the people living in the countryside, that is India proper. So, a cent per cent rise in our agricultural production is not a meagre achievement although the Government has not achieved the main target in some respects. But swayed away by our passion, we should not fail to see what has been achieved by the Government. And it has also to be noted that in the last three years the areas under high yielding variety of paddy or other cereals that have been brought under cultivation are vast. This is also commendable. It was only 1.9 millions hectares in 1966-67. Now it has gone up to as high as 9 million hectares. This sort of figures are indeed very relevant now. This only shows that the lot of the people, the people of the countryside who are in majority, almost in absolute majority, has improved and the people have been benefited by the measures taken by the Government in the field of agriculture. We know and it has been rightly emphasised in the President's Address that agricultural production should be given priority. In the order of priorities it has been given the first priority. But sometimes it is confused with radicalism in politics. Whenever we say that an agricultural revolution should be achieved, some people feel panicky and think that it is political radicalism. You are aware that in Japan there has been an agrarian movement aimed at higher and quicker production. An agrarian movement was launched by none other than McArthur whom I should think nobody will go to the length of characterising as a radical man in politics. Even in Taiwan. The other day our honourable friend, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, was referring to Taiwan. Taiwan is not a very progressive country so far as politics is concerned. But in agricultural production it has got something to teach us. We have a lot to learn from the models of Japan and Taiwan in agricultural

production. When we criticise the Government we should bear in mind one very important factor, a unique factor, that nowhere in the world do you find such a large population. If you want to compare China with us, you should remember one thing; the total cultivable land in China is much greater than that in India. The pressure on the cultivable land in India is unparalleled in the world. Moreover, there are other difficulties. As you know, we have a multi-party system. We have Opposition here. We have trade union movement here. There are such other restrictions under which we have to work. Given all these restrictions it is natural that some of our targets of production in the industrial field or in the agricultural field we have failed to achieve. It is really a sad thing that we have failed to achieve the targets which we have envisaged ourselves. But while we should not blindly criticise the Government on the score, we should bear mind the restrictions, the limitations, the conditions, under which we have to work. And these are conditions which are created by those very people who criticise the Government for its failures. Now, it is very gratifying to note that the President has admitted that the Government is acutely aware of the inequalities and that there are weaker sections of the people who should be backed in a serious manner. And backing of the poorer sections of the people means several measures and unless we do certain things very quickly and positively to ameliorate the misfortune of the poorer sections of the people, there may happen something very unfortunate. The Government has rightly recognised that there is tension. I would say it is more than tension. There is a possible explosion, perhaps in the rural areas of the whole of India. What do we find today in Srikakulam or in Naxalbari? We may not like the politics of Naxalbari. We are opposed to the politics of Naxalbari. But we must not forget that these are the weaker spots of our democracy and if we do not make them strong, and if we do not remove the genuine grievances of the people there, they become the victims, the prey, of the insane and radical romantic and adventurous politics. If we really want to save our democracy, we have to take certain positive measures immediately. Our democracy cannot be saved, our democracy cannot be protected, unless it is strengthen-

ed, unless its base is strengthened by socialism, by social justice. Now, social justice is a comprehensive concept and it is incomplete, it is lamentably incomplete, unless it is supported further by economic justice. Land legislation and land reforms are integral aspects of dispensing social, political and economic justice to the poorer sections of the people who are open to the romantic seduction and the temptation of the left reactionaries. There is no room for complacency in this respect. And the time is moving fast against us. We know in West Bengal, for example, our Government, the Congress Government, as early as 1954 had enacted the land reforms legislation, but they had not implemented it. I am sorry to say that they had not implemented it. And when in 1967-68 the agrarian unrest was referred to, the present Land Revenue Minister of West Bengal, Mr. Harekrishna Konar, rightly pointed out, "I have not brought any new piece of legislation. I am just putting into practice the very land reforms legislation which you yourself had enacted." Just a few minutes back we have been told by the Members of the Congress Opposition that they are as much socialists as we are. Yes, they are socialists, but only by profession and certainly not by practice.

During the Presidential election I was called by one of my party bosses and by the President of the Congress Organisation itself. I was asked, "What are you going to do?" And I told them that between the right and the wrong I am not an independent. I am a partisan when the question is between right and wrong, and I took that stand. When I take that stand, I do not mean that the stand that I take is cent per cent vindicated in politics. After all you have to commit yourself to an ideology. Now commitment to some ideology does not mean that those who practise that ideology shall be all cent per cent honest people. I certainly wish that all my colleagues are cent per cent honest and righteous, but if some of them do not feel committed, that is no reason why I should not be committed to my ideology. That is what I said and I say it today that between right and wrong I am not independent, I am a partisan and I am proud of being a partisan.

But the point is that the land legislation that was enacted during the last decade

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has not been practised. It has not been implemented due to lack of our foresight. Subsequent Naxalite movement is due more to our failure than to their own initiative. This time our Prime Minister has taken some positive and bold steps in the direction of democratic socialism and we wish we do not repeat the blunder of the fifties, that we do not keep our legislation on the shelf of the bureaucracy, we do not leave the task of socialism to the Block Development Officers and the Junior Land Record Officers. I expect our party colleagues to come forward and do something for it.

Sir, it has been very rightly pointed out and pointed out for the first time that the task of socialism has to be fulfilled by the political party in this case the Congress. It is not the task of the party to leave this ideology and programme to be implemented by the bureaucracy. That is not possible. Socialism of the party has to be implemented by the party itself. Government comes only in between the two ends as an aid to the party. In democracy the party programme should be implemented by the party; we cannot rely upon the Block Development Officers and the Junior Land Record Officers or for that reason on bureaucracy. I do not use the term 'bureaucracy' in any critical sense but in a descriptive sense. So this thing we must do. Bank nationalisation has to be viewed in that larger perspective. You take the figures of the banks from 1951 to 1968 and you will find that they are bringing down the amount they are lending to trade, export-import trade, poorer sections of the people, e.g. farmers. They are diverting their credit mainly to the industry wherein the banker-industrialists themselves have proprietary rights or management rights or both. So only big industry is being supported, trade and agriculture are being systematically neglected. Not only that, the financial credit institutions set up by the Governments are also not being supported by the banks, for these financial credit institutions they fear, might help the poorer sections of the farmers; their credit policy is mainly, if not exclusively, industry-oriented and systematically opposed to agriculture. So it is from this larger point of view, from the national point of view, from the point of view of the 82 per cent. of the people

living in the country that the issue of bank nationalisation has to be viewed. Politics should be viewed from the standpoint of the poorer people living in the countryside and not from that of M.Ps. and M.L.As.

First of all we have to take note of the fact that socialism as a programme needs commendable and considerable attention of all sections. It is primarily a party task and it has to be practised as such. But there are two other factors to be taken into consideration, one bureaucracy and other judiciary. Socialism, I think, demands a larger involvement of both judiciary and bureaucracy. We indeed believe in the rule of law. But if we really mean that our programme of socialism is to be implemented it is to be implemented in collaboration and co-operation between, and not merely by the separation of the three wings of the Government.

Now it is really a sad thing to note the role of the Supreme Court in the matter of progressive legislation; it has been uniformly detrimental to the cause of progress in the country. You remember that the Land Legislation of Bihar was nullified by the Supreme Court. And it is no accident. Even the present Bank Nationalisation act has been nullified by the Supreme Court. So we must express our view as Members of Parliament, as the representatives of the people of India. We will be singularly failing in our task if we fail to convey the feelings of millions of Indians that they do not like this view of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court is after all a democratic institution and if it fails by its actions or inactions to further the cause of democracy, then it must be criticised and that criticism is not malicious; it is not a criticism prompted by any political motives but by the interests of millions of Indians.

Now I would like to say a word or two about bureaucracy. Bureaucracy has also a very important role to play. I am sorry to say that bureaucrats look upon politics as the exclusive business of the politicians, they do not like the political commitment.

But they would like it if they understand it. It is the lever of power—the lever of social welfare; so it has to be rightly used. The trouble of the bureaucracy is that

they are not committed people. Sometimes we have been told that commitment on the part of bureaucracy is a dangerous thing, but we must make a very careful distinction between committed bureaucracy and partisan bureaucracy. When we say that bureaucracy will be committed, we do not mean that bureaucracy should be partisan. I do not mean that when the Congress rules, the bureaucrats will be the supporters of the Congress. It is not only for the politicians to commit themselves to the cause of the people, bureaucracy has also to commit itself to the cause of the people. They must remember that they are public servants. The same thing I shall say about the Judges of the Supreme Court; they are there to dispense justice and by justice we mean social and economic justice. So the judiciary has also to play a very significant role in the politics of commitment, I mean the socialistic commitment. Thank you, Sir.

**श्री बी० एन० मण्डल (बिहार) :** उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं भार्गव जी को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि इस भाषण में जो कमी थी, उस कमी के बारे में उन्होंने जिक्र कर दिया है। स्वर्गीय डा० जाकिर हुसैन जो गत वर्ष मर गये हैं और जो हमारे पिछले राष्ट्रपति थे उनका जिक्र इसमें रहना चाहिये था जो नहीं था। उन्होंने उनका उल्लेख करके इसकी पूर्ति की है इसलिये उनको धन्यवाद है।

एक बात अब मुझे खटकती है और उस बात को समझने में मैं अपने आप को असमर्थ पाता हूँ कि क्या हमने यह अच्छा किया था या बुरा किया था कि जो आज का राष्ट्रपति है उसको जिताने में हमारी पार्टी और हमने भी उसमें योग दिया था। क्योंकि राष्ट्रपति ने जो सबसे पहला असंवैधानिक काम इस पार्लियामेंट के अन्दर सेन्ट्रल हाल में किया वह उनको नहीं करना चाहिये था। उन्होंने संविधान की शपथ ली है। और उन्होंने इस बात को माना है कि इस देश की राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी है और हिन्दी को धीरे-धीरे प्रतिष्ठित करना चाहिये और अंग्रेजी को हटाना चाहिये। लेकिन आज इतने दिन हो जाने के बाद भी,

संविधान के इतने दिन पास हो जाने के बाद, उनके वाइस प्रेसिडेंट रहने के बाद और उनके प्रेसीडेंट होने पर भी, आज तक उन्होंने हिन्दी भाषा को नहीं सीखा यह बड़ी आश्चर्य की बात है। अगर सीख कर भी नहीं बोलते हैं तब तो यह और भी बुरी बात है। जो आदमी संविधान की शपथ खाता है और उसके मुताबिक आचरण नहीं करता है तो उससे कैसे आशा की जा सकती है कि और बातों में संविधान की इज्जत करेगा।

अभी हाल में दो घटनाएं हम लोगों ने देखी हैं, बिहार में और यू० पी० में। उन दोनों घटनाओं में जो हुआ है, मैं नहीं कह सकता कि उसमें राष्ट्रपति का हाथ है, या नहीं है।

लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहां पर जो घटनाएं हुई हैं उसमें निश्चित तौर पर सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट का हाथ है। अभी जो घटनाएं हुई हैं उनसे ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि हमारे देश में जो गवर्नर का पद है और उस पद की जो इज्जत होनी चाहिये, उसकी जो मर्यादा रहनी चाहिये, वह मर्यादा हमारे देश में रह सकेगी या नहीं रह सकेगी, यह कहना आज मुश्किल हो गया है। इसलिये मैं चाहता था कि इन सारी बातों का जिक्र राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में होता।

**श्री एस० डी० मिश्रा :** मर्यादा अब कहाँ रह गई है।

**श्री बी० एन० मण्डल :** मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह बात नहीं हो सकी। इन्दिरा नेहरू ने बैंकों का नेशनलाइजेशन किया। वह जो भी प्रगतिशील काम करेगी उसका साथ जनता देगी। वह जो भी प्रगतिशील काम करेगी उसमें हम उनका साथ देंगे। मैं अपनी पार्टी की ओर से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू की सरकार की ओर से जो भी कानून और जो भी बातें पार्लियामेंट के सामने लाई जायेंगी, अगर वे प्रगतिशील कार्य होंगे तो हम उन कार्यों

[श्रीबी० एन० मन्डल]

में उनको सपोर्ट देंगे। लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कह देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर गद्दी की लड़ाई की बात होगी तो हम उसमें उनका साथ नहीं देंगे क्योंकि हमको उनके ऊपर विश्वास नहीं है। वे जिस आर्गनाइजेशन में थी, जिस कांग्रेस संस्था में थीं और उसमें जो उनका काम हुआ है, उस काम की वजह से, हम उन पर विश्वास नहीं कर सकते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान के प्राइम मिनिस्टर के रूप में जो उनका चरित्र रहा है और जैसा एक प्राइम मिनिस्टर का चरित्र होना चाहिये उस चरित्र का उनमें अभाव है। इसलिए उनके उपर हमारा विश्वास नहीं है। इसलिए जो पावर की लड़ाई वे लड़ रही हैं उस पावर की लड़ाई में वे हम से कुछ एक्सपैक्ट नहीं कर सकती हैं कि हम उनकी मदद करेंगे। फिर भी जो उनके अच्छे काम होंगे उस काम में हम उनकी मदद करने की कोशिश करेंगे।

मुझे इसबात की खुशी है कि आज हिन्दुस्तान में ऊँची जगहों पर जो लोग हैं उन लोगों के दिलों में भी जो खतरा हिन्दुस्तान के सामने उपस्थित हुआ है उसके बारे में चिन्ता है। यही कारण है कि जो हिन्दुस्तान के चीफ जस्टिस हैं, सुप्रीम कोर्ट के चीफ जस्टिस हैं, उन्होंने भी इस बात की ओर इशारा किया है, क्योंकि उन्हें राष्ट्रपति की गद्दी में रहने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हो गया था। उन्होंने कहा है कि आज हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार के अन्दर इस तरह की प्रवृत्ति उठ रही है जो अधिनायकवाद की ओर ले जाती है। इसलिए मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि हमारा देश, यह पार्लियामेंट अगाह हो जाय ताकि इस तरह की प्रवृत्ति हमारे देश में न पनपने पावे। ऐसा न हो कि बैंकों का नेशनलाइजेशन का नारा देकर जनता को चकमा दिया जाय ताकि अपनी गद्दी कायम रह सके। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारा सारा देश और यह पार्लियामेंट इस बात से जागरूक रहे।

अभी हाल में रबात में हिन्दुस्तान की जो बेइज्जती हुई है, उसका जिक्र राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में नहीं हुआ है। मैं चाहता था कि इन सारी बातों का जिक्र राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में होता। अभी हमारी सरकार की जो अधिनायकवाद की प्रवृत्ति पनप रही है, जिस तरह से पार्लियामेंट के गेट के सामने श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा का अपमान किया गया, जिस तरह से श्री निजलिङ्गप्पा का अपमान किया गया, जिस तरह से श्री मोरारजी देसाई का अपमान किया गया उसको देखते हुए यह निश्चयपूर्वक कहा जा सकता है कि प्रधान मंत्री इस देश में इस तरह की कार्यवाही से तानाशाही कायम करना चाहती हैं। उन्होंने इस देश में तानाशाही को कायम करने के लिए एक स्लोगन जारी किया और सारे देश में समाजवाद का नारा लगाया है। लेकिन मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि उनका समाजवाद क्या है। हमारे देश में जो प्लान बने उनका क्या परिणाम निकला। उसका परिणाम यह निकला कि जो अमीर थे वे तो ज्यादा अमीर हो गये और उन लोगों की आमदनी दिन प्रति दिन बढ़ती ही चली गई और विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में दिन प्रति दिन असमानता बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है। आज इस प्लान का यह नतीजा हुआ कि देश में लाखों की संख्या में बेरोजगार लोग पड़े हुए हैं। जब पहला प्लान खत्म हुआ था तब उसमें लाखों की संख्या में लोग बेरोजगार रहे। जब दूसरा प्लान बना तो उसमें और अधिक लाखों की संख्या में लोग बेरोजगार रहे और जब तीसरे प्लान का अन्त हुआ तो उसमें भी अत्यधिक लाखों की संख्या में लोग बेरोजगार रहे और इस तरह से हमारे देश में बेरोजगारों की संख्या दिन प्रति दिन बढ़ती ही चली गई। जिन योजनाओं से बेरोजगारों की संख्या दूर होनी चाहिये थी उससे बेरोजगारों की संख्या बढ़ती ही चली गई।

देश में कल कारखाने लगाये गये, लेकिन जिस तरह से उनका उपयोग होना चाहिये



था उस तरह से उनका उपयोग नहीं किया गया। आज स्थिति क्या है। आज स्थिति यह है कि जितनी क्षमता से उन कारखानों को काम करना चाहिये था उतनी क्षमता से उनसे काम नहीं लिया जा रहा है। जिन लोगों ने इस तरह की योजनाएं बनाई उन्होंने गलत तरीके से बनाई। ये योजना इसलिए बनाई गई थी ताकि हिन्दुस्तान में जो गरीब लोग हैं उनकी सेवा हो सके, जो पिछड़े हुए इलाके हैं उनका पिछड़ापन दूर हो सके। लेकिन देखने में यह आया कि जितनी क्षमता से इन कारखानों में उत्पादन होना चाहिये था उतना नहीं हुआ, इससे कम उत्पादन हुआ और इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि बेरोजगारी सारे देश में भयंकर रूप में खड़ी हो गई। इन सारी बातों की जड़ में गलत योजनाओं का बनाना था। आज कहा जाता है व्योरोक्नेसी को सरकार की नीतियों के बारे में कमिटमेंट होना चाहिये। आज 20, 22 साल से इस देश में कांग्रेस का शासन रहा है और उसी कांग्रेस के शासन की वजह से आज हमारी व्योरोक्नेसी जो हमारे हिन्दुस्तान का संविधान है, जो आपका समाजवाद है, उसको नहीं समझती है। आज वह व्योरोक्नेसी यह समझती है कि जिस देश में जवाहरलाल प्रधान मंत्री हो, जिस समय इन्दिरा नेहरू प्रधान मंत्री हो या कोई दूसरा मुख्य मंत्री हो, जैसे बिहार में श्रीकृष्ण मुख्य मंत्री थे या फिर कोई दूसरा मुख्य मंत्री हो, उनके ही पर्सनल काम करेंगे। यह भावना उन लोगों में आ गई कि उनके ही पर्सनल काम करना हमारा कर्तव्य है। यही कारण है कि आज देश में व्योरोक्नेसी, उन मंत्रियों के स्वार्थ सिद्ध करने के बाद अपने स्वार्थ सिद्ध करने में लगा हुआ है और जनता की तकलीफों की तरफ वह ध्यान नहीं देता है। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि आज हमारे देश में यह हालत पैदा हो गई है। हिन्दुस्तान में जो सरकारी मशीनरी थी वह मशीनरी बहुत खराब हो गई है। (Time bell rings) मैं चाहता हूं कि कम से कम मुझे 15 मिनट बोलने दिया

जाय। हमारी पार्टी को जो टाइम दिया गया है उसको कम से कम आप को हमें देना चाहिये। श्री राजनारायण जी को जो टाइम आपने या चेयर ने दिया है वह उनको दान के रूप में दिया था। वह ज्यादा टाइम आप हमारे समय में नहीं लगा सकते हैं। इस बात की सूचना हमने आपके सेक्रेटरी को दे दी थी। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूं कि मेरा जो टाइम है वह मुझे मिलना चाहिये।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :** चेयर टाइम दान नहीं करता है। इसलिए आपको 4 मिनट दे दिये हैं और दो तीन मिनट आप और बोल लीजिये।

**श्री बी० एन० मन्डल :** हमे जो 35 मिनट मिले थे उसमें से 20 मिनट तो बोल चुके हैं और 15 मिनट हमको बोलना है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :** आप दो तीन मिनट और बोल लीजिये।

**श्री बी० एन० मन्डल :** आज जो हमें खतरा दिखलाई देता है वह यह है कि देश में तटस्थता नीति का नारा लगाया जाता है। प्रेसिडेन्ट निक्सन हिन्दुस्तान में आये थे। इस बात का राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में जिक्र होना चाहिये था जैसा कि पहले होता था लेकिन वह नहीं किया गया है। इस तरह से जो नान एलाइनमेंट की बात हमारी सरकार की थी वह अब खत्म हो रही है। अब रूस को खुश करने के लिए हमारी सरकार दिन प्रतिदिन आगे बढ़ती चली जा रही है। अभी रूस के साथ बोखारो डील के संबंध में देख चुके हैं। बेगन डील के संबंध में टेढ़े मेढ़े बातचीत चल रही है। इन्डियन एयरलाइन्स के लिए भी हवाई जहाज खरीदने के बारे में सरकार ने रूस को खुश करने के लिए इतनी देरी लगाई थी। रूस को हमारी सरकार ने आफशोर ड्रिलिंग करने के लिए इजाजत दी है जबकि इस काम के बारे में उनका अपना अनुभव कम ही है। हां, अब हमारे ही खर्च से वे यह काम सीख सकेंगे। आज सरकार स्थिति की

श्री बी० एन० मण्डल]

वास्तविकता का अनुभव नहीं कर रही है। इन सब चीजों का क्या असर होगा। वह तो चाहती है कि हम दूसरों के भरोसे पर चलते रहें और दूसरों पर निर्भर रहें और उनके इशारे पर चलते रहें। यही बात हमारी सरकार आज चाहती है।

समाजवाद लाने की बात कही जाती है। इस गरीब देश में समाजवाद को लाने वाली प्रधानमंत्री क्या वह अपने लिए 35 लाख रुपए का मकान बना सकती है? क्या वह समाजवाद हिन्दुस्तान में लाएंगी? जो कानून पास हुआ है उसमें मेनेजिंग डाइरेक्टर का वेतन 7,500 रुपया रखा गया है। बिड़ला को 1967-69 के बीच 20 लाइसेंस दिए गए। जो फर्टिलाइजर वाला कारखाना बन रहा है गोआ में उसका भी लाइसेंस बिड़ला को ही दिया जा रहा है। टेलीफोन फैक्ट्री जिसके बारे में लालबहादुर शास्त्री ने निर्णय कर दिया था कि वह पब्लिक सेक्टर में रहेगी उसको प्राइवेट सेक्टर में दिया जा रहा है। इसी तरह से एच० एम० टी० में सुपरवाइजर्स की संख्या दिनोदिन बढ़ रही है जबकि वर्कर्स की संख्या नहीं बढ़ रही है। इस तरह से कम्पनी को नुकसान होगा। इन सारी बातों को देखने वाला आज कोई नहीं रहा है। स्माल कार प्रोजेक्ट के बारे में प्लानिंग कमीशन ने कहा कि इसको बनाने की जरूरत नहीं है। फिर भी आज सरकार की तरफ से जोर दिया जाता है। क्यों जोर दिया जाता है? यह सरकार पहले क्यों जोर नहीं देती थी और अब क्यों जोर दे रही है? इसका कारण यह है कि प्रधान मंत्री का बेटा कार बनाना चाहता है। फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद जो आज इसके मंत्री हैं वे चाहते हैं कि उनको हम दें। अगर ऐसा होगा तो मैं समझता हूँ कि न प्रधान मंत्री की प्रतिष्ठा के लिए और न देश के लिए वह कोई अच्छी बात होगी।

मैं चाहता था कि जो सरकार की मशीनरी सुरसा की नाई बढ़ रही है इसको रोकने का

इन्तजाम होना चाहिये। लोगों से जो रुपया समेट कर लिया जाता है वह इस मशीनरी को पालने में ही खर्च हो जाता है, जो डेवलपमेंट का काम है, दूसरे लोगों की दशा को उठाने का काम है उस पर खर्च के लिए बहुत कम ही बच पाता है। इस मशीनरी को जो बहुत बड़ा दोष है, जिसको आज हिन्दुस्तान की परिस्थिति में निश्चित रूप से दूर होना चाहिये वह यह है कि इसमें बड़ी जाति की संख्या वैशी की वैशी हो गई है। शायद, उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आप समझ नहीं सकेंगे। हम बिहार में रहते हैं, बिहार के देहातों में जो बड़ी जाति के अफसर हैं वे किस तरह से अपने लोगों को हेल्प किया करते हैं। किसी गांव में अगर सौ आदमी हैं, 99 आदमी एक तरफ हों और 1 आदमी एक उनकी जाति का दूसरी तरफ हो तो उस एक आदमी की बात रह जायेगी, 99 आदमियों की बात नहीं रहेगी। आज आप अगर हिन्दुस्तान में जाति-कलह को रोकना चाहते हैं, इस गृह-युद्ध को रोकना चाहते हैं तो वह समय आ गया है। पिछड़े समाज के लोगों में तेजी से जागृति हो रही है, उसको देखते हुए जो प्रशासन का तंत्र है, उसमें कम से कम 60 सैकड़ा पिछड़े समाज के लोगों का प्रतिनिधित्व होना चाहिये, जिनके ऊपर बराबर शासन ही हुआ है, उनको शासन का आधार बनाया जाय। एक छोटे तबके के लोगों के अनुभव के आधार पर शासन चलाया जाता है, जिनका पुराना संस्कार है शोषण करना और शासन करना। इसलिए इस जनतंत्र में इस बात की जरूरत है कि जिनका शोषण हुआ है जिनके ऊपर शासन हुआ है उनका जो अनुभव है उसको शासन-प्रशासन का आधार बनाया जाय।

SHRI M. VERO (Nagaland) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the President's Address which he delivered in the Joint Session of Parliament the other day. I am extremely happy that he has outlined many progressive steps that the Government of India will initiate during the current session. I congratulate him for this. He has, however, left out many important

problems, specially concerning the northeastern region of India. I would like to mention them on the floor of this House and I would like also to request the Government of India to take a serious note of them; otherwise, we cannot rule out trouble in that region.

The House is aware that there has been an agreement of cease-fire of suspension of operations between the Government of India and the Nagas underground since the latter part of 1964. During this peace period, the Nagaland Government could achieve many wonders in all fields. Firstly, more than 400 Chinese-trained Naga boys have been arrested without shedding a drop of blood in our land. It is because of the peoples' support to the security forces that they could be arrested. Secondly, many of the underground workers are now overground and leading a peaceful life in their respective villages. Even the hard core section of the underground people are very much aware of the desire of the Naga villages for an early settlement. Thirdly, the peaceful general election has amply proved most of the people's desire to maintain peace in the area. The House should note that it is the demand of the ruling party, and the new Government, with a fresh mandate from the people, has started working for a peaceful solution of the long-standing problem through democratic and constitutional means. And this policy has paid great dividends in ample measure. Through the initiative of the ruling party of Nagaland various meetings were held between the underground and overground people, as a result of which the suspicion and fear have been removed and the underground leaders have become more alive to the realities of the situation today. It was only through peace efforts that progress could be made in the way of understanding among the Naga people themselves. I would like to tell the House that the underground people are also an inalienable part of the Naga society and therefore they must have a say in any settlement. With this commitment the State Government of Nagaland is tackling the problem with great success. When more people are coming round for understanding and early settlement, the Government of India should help the peace efforts. It is true that during the cease-fire period the

underground people have sent a large number of youths to China for training, which is definitely a violation of the cease-fire agreement. But since the people were against this violation, they were arrested as soon as they landed in Nagaland. From the public side it has been proved that any group or groups of people, who go against the peace in Nagaland, will have to receive similar treatment. But it is really regrettable that even now the security forces, in the name of Chinese arms, are searching all camps and village. They are imposing curfew in the villages and are making indiscriminate arrests of the underground people. As a result, even those people, who were most willing to remain in the villages, or to start talks for a settlement, were compelled to go back to the jungle hideouts for their personal safety. Is it the way to convince the underground people and the public of Nagaland? Is it the way to observe the cease-fire agreement? Is it the Gandhian way to solve the problem? We cannot go back on our word. Can we make any caste distinction about the weapons? If all aright-thinking people in this country see these facts without any bias, I hope we shall be adjudged wrong for these actions. The cease-fire terms, which were entered into between the Government of India and the underground leaders, must be respected by the respective parties. When the ruling party has clearly declared a policy, the security forces, who are deployed there in aid of the civil administration, cannot go over that policy of the State Government.

Unless the Government of India mends its ways, the entire people in Nagaland will be antagonised. In that case the blame shall have to be placed on the Government of India. If the so-called cease-fire has to be extended month after month, the Government should strictly adhere to the agreement. Otherwise, the cease-fire would become only a laughing stock.

Another burning problem is the Assam-Nagaland boundary dispute. Since 1957, The Nagas have been asking the Government of India to restore the traditional boundary between Assam and Nagaland. Several representations were made by the Nagaland nationalist organisation as well as the Chief Minister of Nagaland but all these representations have fallen on deaf ears. The Govern-

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ment of Assam, on the other hand, is taking advantage of the Central Government's indifference to this problem by way of deploying elephants and armed police to harass the Nagas, destroy our houses and crops and even killing our people on the boundary. But the Central Government is still keeping silent as if they do not know anything about that. May I warn the Government of India that the Nagas cannot be driven like dumb driven cattle according to the whims of the Assam Government? The Naga public is prepared to face any challenge to defend their territory and our people, if necessary, will sacrifice the last drop of blood for their land. But as a member of this great family of the Indian Union the Government of Nagaland feels strongly that good neighbourly relations with the sister State of Assam should be maintained in the interest of security of the country as a whole. Today the tension is really very great and unless the Central Government intervenes in this dispute immediately it may explode any time at any place.

Nagaland is a full-fledged State and is occupying a very strategic area in the eastern India. When the Naga leaders entered into an agreement in 1960 with the Prime Minister of India for the creation of a State on the basis of the 16-point memorandum, all the points were agreed to in principle. Since then the Government of Nagaland has been asking for the appointment of a separate Governor for Nagaland but this right has been denied to the State. Sometimes I really wonder as to whether the Government of India is really sincere to the Naga people. All the time they go back upon their promises but whenever it is to their advantage they want to impose everything on the Nagas. If this is the attitude, the Nagas will be justified in asking for separation from India. But since Nagaland has become an integral part of the Indian Union, whatever is legitimately due to the State, for instance, separate Governor and law and order, should be immediately conceded to the State Government without any argument.

The integration of contiguous Naga areas was also one point agreed upon. The British policy in India was to divide and rule and therefore they bifurcated the Naga

areas some of which are now in Manipur, Assam, NEFA and Burma. The Nagas have a right to live under the same roof as proud citizens of India but this demand also has been resisted by the Central Government on the advice of a handful of bureaucrats. In this connection I would like to mention the boundary demarcation between India and Burma. The Nagas cannot be divided by artificial boundaries in this manner and therefore any decision taken for this boundary with Burma without the consent of the Nagas cannot be recognised. Before the final demarcation, the Government of India should ask the views of the Nagaland Government and then talk to the Burmese Government. This is one of the legitimate demands of the Nagas I represent.

I hope that the Government of India will take immediate steps to see that the demands that I have made here are met.

Thank you.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have the profoundest regard for the President of India, Mr. V. V. Giri, and his Address to both Houses of Parliament, I feel, is a testament of faith and hope. I am happy that my friend, Mr. Bhargava, refreshed my memory about the incidents of the last few months. For him it is a tragedy for the country; for a man like me it is a matter of jubilation. In every change, or if you usher in a new era, there will be definitely upsets, change of *status quo*, change of ideas and also change of our conduct. He was very sorry that the Congress was split into two. When I entered Parliament two years ago I remember I spoke in my first speech and I addressed these benches as Dandakaranya having no character, no form, no ideology and no strict adherence to principles.

SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ : How about you?

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA : I am here as solid as I am.

I was predicting then that if India is to progress, if India is to move ahead, then this Dandakaranya must split and I am happy today not to find Mr. S. D. Misra by the side of Mr. K. K. Shah. It is not a tragedy, it is a development of history; it is a process of evolution that nobody could have checked,

**SHRI MAN SINGH VARMA** (Uttar Pradesh) : I hope you are not shifting there

**SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA** : Please do not try to cover them.

**SHRI S. D. MISRA** : He is already there.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN** (**SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN**) : No interruptions please. Mr. Misra, you will be speaking. Be patient.

**SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA** : Sir, you are sitting in front of me. I see you in front of me. He sees you from a different angle. Naturally when you view a particular thing different views have to be accepted. I do not deny him his stand. I accept his stand but I say it is wrong and we will fight it out elsewhere. Therefore when the President draws an objective picture of the country he is not satisfied with that alone. Along with that he points out also certain objectives that have to be reached during the 70's. Therefore the 70's will not be easy years for any of us. Everyone of us must pass through trials and must prove ourselves to be persons who adhere to particular ideals, and to implement them, to work them out are prepared for sufferings. And with that view when I look at this side sometimes I develop a little cynicism also because although separated they do not still feel that they have a separate duty to perform. They have to go a long way with suffering, with struggle. If that were their attitude, their President, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, would never have said that his doors were open for these people; he would not have wanted people from the other side to walk in. You cannot do things keeping your door open. It is true and I appreciate when Mr. Nijalingappa says that his doors are open. But let both sides remember that it is not the decision of Mr. Jagjivan Ram or of Mr. Nijalingappa but it is the people who will determine, it is the people who will see that they will never unite again because unity amongst them means trouble again with loss of progress, loss of dynamism and again we will be stagnant.

**SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ** : No chance to you.

**SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA** : I told you my friend that I am as solid as myself. I need not get your certificate.

The President in para 6 of his Address says:—

“There has been an unleashing of a vast amount of human energy and enthusiasm. Ideas, attitudes and even habits are rapidly changing. And this transformation is taking place by consent and within the framework of a political democracy.”

When you say, a political democracy', I remember Mr. Krishna Menon, while addressing the Congress session at Bhuvaneswar saying a very significant thing. 'We are not only the biggest democracy in the world. We are (the Congress then) the biggest socialist party in the world'. He said. I want my friend to remember this, It is a clear commitment this year. It is no more the socialist pattern. It is not the Avadi resolution. It is a clear commitment that India is going to be a socialist country and this commitment everybody must bear in mind. Those forces or people who are against socialism, who take the name of democracy and who talk of history, tradition and culture, should know that these are not at all applicable to the present day India. They should understand that nobody can stop the march on the path of progress. People are vigilant. People are awake and they will move ahead. This new Government or this party should stand by the people and shoulder their responsibilities and hardships together in the seventies.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

I shall refer to another paragraph in the President's Address. In para 34 he says:—

“At a critical period in our history, the Princes showed patriotism and imaginative understanding of the aspirations of the people and made a major contribution to the smooth and peaceful unification of India under a democratic regime.”

Somehow or other this word 'patriotism' in the context of, the Princes hurts me. It pains a common man's conscience. When a Prince becomes a Minister, he does not become a patriot. May I know how many Princes suffered during the freedom struggle? May I know how many of them went to jail during our movement for independence? How many of them know what is hunger?

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How many of them know that clothing is necessary to be decently dressed? They have suffered nothing. In the last but one sentence of the Address it is said:—

“Government have, therefore, decided to abolish the privy purses and privileges of the Rulers of the former Indian States and legislation will be introduced to give effect to this decision.”

Now, we do not hear of that legislation. Then, it is said:—

“It is, however, our intention to make certain transitional arrangements so that the former Rulers may have time to adjust themselves to changed circumstances.”

I do not think they deserve this type of treatment. When a poor man, a poor Harijan suffers in his hut, are you to tell him that you have given him twenty years' time to adjust himself to poverty? It is not that. If the Government are unhappy that their Highnesses are gone, they can give them Padma Bhushan or Padma Shree. If they cannot maintain their palaces, let us purchase them and convert them into children's homes. But to say that we must give them time to adjust themselves to changed circumstances is not correct. I do not agree with it. Government should bear in mind that if such an adjustment is to be made only in the case of a few persons who can be counted on one's finger tips, millions of Indians will not look at it with favour. I do not accept that this Government which says that is progressive and which says that it will march ahead whatever be the obstacles, should give this treatment to the Princes. It is not fair.

I told you at the beginning that the President's address is a statement of faith and hope. So far as hope is concerned, I wish that it does not remain a hope only. The Congress Party, the ruling party, which is now spearheading this movement must be awake. I support this Government not because I feel that the Prime Minister should rest content with being the leader of a truncated Congress party. I support it because I see some bright faces on this side of the House. I hope some new movement will start. There will be a new unleashing of forces. New energies will be created and people will feel that they are marching ahead to a stage of a socialist and stable

democracy. Therefore, youngsters like Mr. Mohan Dharia and Mr. Chandra Shekhar, who are the theoreticians of this party, I believe, should see that there are no pressure pockets in their party. The more the pressure pockets, the more the grumbled and disgruntled elements, the more you are giving a handle to reaction. I support you because we do not want that reaction should take over from you, until the people are prepared to take over the reins from your hands.

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR : That is your condition for support.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA : I think politics is always conditional. It is not surrender. I surrender only to ideas, not to human beings.

(*Interruption*)

The other day my esteemed friend, Mr. Bhandari, was labouring hard quoting from this paragraph and that paragraph of other's speeches to prove that the Jan Sangh is secular. If I am to be honest to myself, I know all the smiling friends there. I have no personal animosity, but events have proved that they are yet to believe in secularism. There are many intellectuals there. I know people who have suffered and who are prepared to suffer, but I may also request them to understand from a different perspective, the aspirations of the Indian people.

SHRI MAN SINGH VARMA : What is your definition of 'secularism'?

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA : Secularism does not mean that which is bound by organised religion. I myself am a spiritualist. I believe in the development of the spirit, but I am not bound by any organised religion centering round a mosque, Mandir, church or Gurudwara. (*Interruptions.*) I have to finish. My time is limited.

In paragraph 18 the President has stated:—

“The policies of financial institutions are being progressively reoriented towards the promotion of industries in backward areas. While these policies are designed to accelerate the flow of finance for industrial development in backward

areas, they will succeed only in so far as the requisite infra-structure is built up imaginatively and speedily. The primary responsibility in this regard is that of State Governments and it will be the endeavour of my Government to work in close harmony with them in promoting balanced regional development."

I wish this was implemented properly. I come from a backward State. I believe that the money of the entire eastern region, that means, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam, today is flowing to Bombay. This has to be checked and if our areas are to develop industrially, it should be taken into account that Bombay should not grow richer at the cost of Orissa, Bengal, Bihar and Assam. I hope Mr. Dharia who is a rich man will agree with me—he comes from a rich and prosperous State—that this harmony and promotion of balanced development should have to be taken into account and I believe Government should be awake to, and aware of this.

Another point I wanted to make. We talk much of bank nationalisation. I think it is becoming a little stale. Let us not make much of it any more. It was not meant only to be a slogan but a step to be taken. It might have been done long long years ago. I know that in France and other countries banks were nationalised long ago.

As far as the fundamental rights are concerned, for which certain friends are making loud noises, in the U.S.A. also property is not a fundamental right. I do not know, of course I am not wiser than those founding fathers who created our Constitution, they were highly judicial-minded people, but I do not know why they included that in the fundamental rights. It is high time that we now change it. Otherwise we cannot proceed with progressive legislations.

So much had been talked about the Supreme Court also. I am unhappy that the Supreme Court struck down our Bank Nationalisation Act. But we should also look into the malady. We have to maintain a judiciary and also an executive, but we should not think that the judiciary is all-powerful, all-pervading, omnipotent or omnipresent, whatever you call it, or omniscient. But there are laws by

which they are also bound. We have to change those laws. We must harp on that. If you want that they should not stand between the people and their aspirations, those laws are to be changed, and I think Government should take note of it, and the sooner we change those laws the better. We do not want to do away with courts, we do not want to do away with the judiciary, but when change comes in, according to the changed circumstances laws and enactments should also change. I think those friends who believe that India should progress should be aware of this and in the coming months we must see that those laws are changed because Parliament is supreme, Parliament can legislate, and Parliament while legislating can take into account the needs and aspirations of the people.

A word about bureaucracy. I am one of those who rarely blame the bureaucracy because, if you have some experience in Government, you have to move with those officers. But I appreciate the point made by my friend, Mr. Chattopadhyaya that the bureaucrats must have a commitment, not a partisan commitment politically motivated but a commitment for their duty and their responsibility. If a Secretary feels that he is there to sign a paper or a note sent by the lower officer, I think he will lose his imagination. He is also part of the nation. He has his sons and daughters who are in colleges, who are citizens. They have also a future to face. He must be conscious of that. But from my experience I can say, to whichever office you now go—Mr. Shah, please hear me, Mr. Shah, please hear me—to whichever office you go, when you discuss a topic with a big Government official, is you loosen a little and strike a personal note, the first question he puts is, "Do you believe that this Government can continue for long?" What can you expect from that officer? He should not be left in a state of uncertainty. Today the Congress is in power, tomorrow Mr. Bhupesh Gupta may come. But the officer should have no inhibitions. You cannot block anybody.

AN HON. MEMBER: He is already there.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: Naturally, when people return Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you cannot stop it. Crystal-

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lisation is to go on. It will open up the way for polarisation of forces. People will come and go. You cannot stop anybody. I want that the bureaucracy should not be kept in this state of uncertainty. How can they work then? Take an instance. A barber of my place wanted Rs. 100 from a bank for a cabin to start a saloon. I went to the bank manager. By that time nationalisation was struck down; then the Ordinance came. But to help the barber I proceeded directly to the bank—I would not name the bank—I talked to them, I stood surety to that man and somehow or other I got him Rs. 100 or Rs. 150. When I wanted to discuss a little more with the manager about bank nationalisation, he said, "Do you feel that this Government will continue for long?" How can you then expect that he will commit himself to a particular type of work? This uncertainty must go even though this is a minority Government. And there is nothing wrong in taking support from those who agree with them, whatever heart-burning there may be from other sections. They must show to the people and the bureaucracy that this is a Government which will go on. That feeling is not there. If that feeling is not there in the bureaucracy, by simply blaming them or maligning them here you cannot bring any improvement.

One more thing, a political point I want to strike, and that too not for myself but for my friends on these benches. They are now thinking the building up a new cadre. Have they understood the meaning and the significance of building up a cadre? I understand, they have not taken it seriously at all. I read their resolution. What is happening at the lower level? In a State if there is a Minister who belongs to a particular party, he is no more loyal to the party. The Minister takes certain workers around him and thus builds his own council. The workers of that Minister run to the Block Development Officer, to the Collector, to the Revenue Commissioner and if they are a little vocal, a little threatening, by pressurising they get their work done. Cadre means those who politicalise the people. The political worker must be active at the lowest level. A man needs money. The bank is there to provide him with money. The political worker, belonging to which-

ever party, must run to the bank manager, get the application form, and help that person in every way. Similarly the worker should be there to help the peasant in his needs. That is what I mean by cadre. If cadre means only Minister's counsel, new ambitions and idle hopes, development of pressure pockets inside a party, then nothing will come out of it. I am never a pessimist, I am an optimist by nature, and I hope after this split between Mr. Shah and my friend Mr. Misra crystallisation is setting in and polarisation will not be far off if they stick to their ideology and mean business for themselves and for the people.

Mr. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; That will do.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: I am happy you gave me this opportunity to speak out my mind. I thank you for that.

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : उपसभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी आए, उन्होंने भाषण दिया, तकलीफ किया और उनका समय गया। उसके लिये तो जरूर हम उनको धन्यवाद देंगे, लेकिन जिस तरह से और जो बातें उनके अभिभाषण में आई वह तो ज्यादातर निराशाजनक ही रही, अगर उनको हिस्सों में बांटा जाये तो कुछ तो हम उनको बढ़ाई जरूर देगे, क्योंकि उसमें स्लोगन्स बहुत आए। जैसे यह सरकार साल भर से स्लोगन मांग-रिग कर रही है, उसका प्रतीक जरूर आया भाषण में। लेकिन ज्यादातर चीजें बहुत निराशाजनक रही। मुझे लगता है कि राष्ट्रपति जी को खाम बात जो कहनी चाहिये और जो उन्होंने नहीं कही, वह यह है कि आज सरकार की किस-किस कार्यवाही से इस देश में लोकतंत्र को खतरा है। यह बात कहनी चाहिये थी और यह बात अगर इस सरकार ने उनके अभिभाषण में उनको कहने नहीं दिया, तो मैं यह कहूंगा कि सरकार ने इस देश के साथ न्याय नहीं किया।

दूसरी बात जो कि इस अभिभाषण में होनी चाहिये थी, जिसके लिये देश को शर्मनाक कहानी अभी हाल देखनी पड़ी और जिससे



अपनी बेइज्जती करानी पड़ी, रबात में, तो उस रबात के बारे में चर्चा ही नहीं हुई है। इस सदन में उस पर इतना महत्वपूर्ण डिसकशन हुआ, देश में टेन्शन डेवलप हुआ, लोगो ने चर्चाएं कीं, लेकिन इस अभिभाषण में रबात की कोई चर्चा नहीं। फिर इस अभिभाषण में इस बात की भी चर्चा नहीं कि आज राष्ट्रपति की सरकार एक माइनारिटी दल की सरकार है और वह आश्रित है दूसरों पर और ऐसे—दूसरों पर ...

**श्री ब्रह्मानन्द पंडा :** दोस्तों पर।

**श्री एस० डी० मिश्र :** दोस्त तो हो ही गए हैं। मैं तो यह कहता हूं दोस्त नहीं, छिपे लोग हैं, खुल कर उनकी सीटों पर बैठ जायें। तो यह बात भी अभिभाषण में नहीं आई।

तो यह बात भाषण में नहीं आई। भाषण में यह बात आनी चाहिये थी। आज हमारी सरकार, राष्ट्रपति को कहना चाहिये था कि बहुमत में नहीं रही और अपने दल में वह अल्पमत की सरकार हो गई है। उस सरकार पर आज साम्यवादियों की कृपा हो गई है। श्री भूपेश गुप्त मुझे डम बारे में क्षमा करेंगे डी० एम० के० मुस्लिम लीग और और दलों की आज यह सरकार बनी हुई है, इस बात की चर्चा राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में होनी चाहिये थी; क्योंकि यह कोई छिपाने की बात नहीं है। सरकारी पार्टी की ओर से कहा जाता है कि दूसरे दल में जनसंघ, सोशलिस्ट और दूसरे दल उनके साथ हो गये हैं। ठीक है। आपके साथ जो लोग रहे, वे तो बहुत अच्छे हो जाते हैं। आज कम्युनिस्टों को बढ़ाने वाला कौन है, जो इस बारे में इतिहास लिखेगा, वह इस बात को अच्छी तरह से जनता के सामने रखेगा। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूं कि देश में साम्यवाद को रोकने के लिए श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री, श्री पटेल, श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू और गांधी जी ने बगबर प्रयास किया था, डम बात को इतिहास अच्छी तरह से जानता है। कल का जो इतिहास होगा चाहे उसमें

इन्दिरा गांधी नेता हो, प्रधान मंत्री हो, आप मुझे माफ करेंगे, मैं इस समय उनकी रेंस्पैक्ट के संबंध में कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता हूं। (Interruption) तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जो इस देश का इतिहास लिखेगा, वह यह बात अवश्य लिखेगा कि इस देश में एक अल्पमत की सरकार भी रही थी। जो साम्यवादी सामने के दरवाजे से आना चाहते थे, जिस चीज को हमारे नेताओं ने रोका, उसको हमारी अल्पमत की सरकार ने पीछे के दरवाजे से आने दिया वरना यह कैसे होता कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में वेस्ट बंगाल के संबंध में, वहां ला एन्ड आर्डर के संबंध में कोई चर्चा तक नहीं होती। कैसे होती; क्योंकि हमारे जो वयोवृद्ध नेता श्री चन्हाण साहब हैं, जब वे भाषण देते हैं, तो कहते हैं कि वेस्ट बंगाल में ला एन्ड आर्डर कहां टूटा है। कैसे हम उनको दिखलायें। कैसे हम उनको दिखलायें कि वहां के ला एन्ड आर्डर के संबंध में वहां के ही मुख्य क्या कहते हैं ज्योति बसु क्या कहते हैं और दूसरे मंत्री क्या कहते हैं। मैं अगर उधर की बातों की तरफ जाऊंगा तो समय लग जायेगा। तो इस अभिभाषण में यह बात आनी चाहिये थी।

सब से पहली बार इस सरकार के पास पार्ट टाइम फूड मिनिस्टर है। पहली बार इस सरकार ने प्रयत्न किया है कि कांग्रेस प्रेसिडेंट को अपने नीचे बनाये रखा जाय और उन्हें प्रधान मंत्री ने अपने नीचे किस तरीके से बनाये रखा है। ये तमाम बातें उन्होंने अपने अभिभाषण में छोड़ रखी हैं।

रबात के अलावा अभी हनौई में कौल साहब गये थे और वहां पर क्या क्या रिक्फ हुआ, इसकी कोई चर्चा नहीं हुई। अभी भार्गव जी ने कहा कि यहां पर राष्ट्रपति निकसन आये थे और राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में आने जाने वालों की चर्चा रहती है, लेकिन राष्ट्रपति निकसन के बारे में कोई चर्चा नहीं है। बेल्जियम के किंग और क्वीन वहां आये, मुझे याद है

(श्री एस० डी० मिश्र)

पिछले साल यहां आये, लेकिन राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में उसकी कोई चर्चा नहीं है। साफ बात यह है कि अब सरकार नान-एलाइन-मेंट से डरने लगी है और वह अब एलाइन्ड होती जा रही है। अब यह डरती है और रूस की ओर देखती है। यह सब काम इस तरीके से करना चाहती है, जिससे रूस किसी बात में भी नाराज न हो और किस तरह से वह खुश हो। रूस को त्रिवेन्द्रम से अपना कलचरल सेंटर हटाना पड़ा और रूस को कम्पेंसिएट करने के लिए यह आर्डर निकाला गया कि सब को हटा दो ताकि जो हमारे चाचा रूस है, वह चाचा नाराज न हो जाय। हर 6 महीने में वह चाचा यहां आ जाता है और यहाँ की सरकार को समझा जाता है जैसे कि दीक्षित जी एड-वाइजर काफी नहीं हैं। इतने वयोवृद्ध दीक्षित जो एडवाइजर हैं उनकी एडवाइज काफी होनी चाहिये और सरकार विदेशों से एडवाइज क्यों लेती है। उसे विदेशों से एडवाइज लेने की जरूरत नहीं है। तो ये सब बातें ओपीशन की हैं। इसलिए मैं कैसे उन्हें अभिभाषण के लिए बधाई दू।

श्रीमन्, आज मैंने शुरू किया था कि हमारे जनतंत्र को खतरा है। मैं यह लाइट हाटेंडली नहीं कह रहा हूँ और इसलिए भी नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि मैं इधर आ गया हूँ। बल्कि मैं इसलिए कह रहा हूँ पिछले साल जो राष्ट्रपति का चुनाव हुआ था, उसमें डेमोक्रेसी की हत्या की गई और देश में जिस तरह से पहले डिमिप्लिन था वह बरबाद हो गया है। मैं अभी भी बहुत से भाइयों का चेहरा देख रहा हूँ, जो उस चुनाव में हमारे साथ थे, मगर अब विरोध में हैं। यह बात नहीं है कि उनसे हमारा किसी बड़े उसूलों में मत-भेद है। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो उनके साथ हो गये, वे प्रोग्रेसिव हो गये और जो इधर आ गये वे रिएक्शनरी हो गये। आज श्री भूपेश गुप्त उनके साथ होने पर बड़े प्रोग्रेसिव हो गये हैं और अगर आज वे उस पार्टी का साथ छोड़ दें, तो वे रिएक्शनरी हो जायेंगे

जैसे कि महाराजा गायकवाड़ हो गये। महाराजा गायकवाड़ जो गुजरात के हैं, जब उनके साथ हो गये तो अच्छे हो गये थे। श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम् ने अपनी एक तकरीर में कहा था कि क्या प्रिन्सेज बदल नहीं सकते, क्या वे समाजवादी नहीं हो सकते। लेकिन दो, चार दिन बाद दुर्भाग्य से वे इधर चले आये, तो उनके बारे में कहा गया Oh, it is a good riddance. तो ये बातें जहाँ हिपोक्रैसी की हों, उसके बारे में क्या कहा जा सकता है।

श्री धारिया यहां पर नहीं हैं। उनकी बड़ी कृपा है कि उन्होंने मुझे चिट्ठी भेज दी थी कि मैं किमी मीटिंग में जा रहा हूँ, जिससे मैं तुम्हारा भाषण नहीं सुन सकूंगा। मैं उन्हें ही जवाब देना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने अपनी तकरीर में कहा कि श्री एस० एन० मिश्र ने कहा कि श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के ऊपर छीटा कमा है। मेरा किसी के ऊपर छीटा कमाने का कदापि इरादा नहीं है। मैं किमी के ऊपर व्यक्तिगत रूप से छीटा कसना नहीं चाहता हूँ। मैं तो व्यक्तिगत रूप से सरकार के संबंध में बातें कह रहा हूँ। लेकिन जब उन्होंने यह बात कही और आरोप लगाया कि श्री एस० एन० मिश्र ने व्यक्तिगत रूप से श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के खिलाफ बात कही और इस वाक्य के बाद उन्होंने श्री निजलिगप्पा का नाम लिया, पटेल का नाम लिया और फिर श्री मोरारजी देसाई का नाम लिया। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे पहले अपनी शक्ल आइने में देख लें और देखें कि कैसी शक्ल है। आज यह सरकार कम्युनिस्टों की तरह स्लोगन देती है। फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब बैठे हैं या नहीं बैठे हैं। मुझे क्षमा करोगे; क्योंकि मैंने समझा था कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब बैठे हैं श्री दीक्षित जी के पास। इस सरकार में एक गुण आ गया है और वर्तमान सरकार में कम से कम एक साल से यह करने लगी है कि कम्युनिस्टों की तरह स्लोगन दे देती है, जिससे यह साबित हो जाय कि वह बहुत प्रगतिशील है, चाहे वह काम

भीतर में पूजावादियों की तरह करती है। यह बड़ा भारी गैप हो गया है। वह इस तरह का स्लोगन देती है, जिससे यह मालूम हो जाय कि उसके दिल में जनता के लिए बहुत दिल है और वह उसके भलाई के कामों को करने के लिए मरी जा रही है। लेकिन जब वह कार्यवाही करती है, तो बड़े लोगों के लिए ही करती है। अभी सरकार ने डी लाइसेंसिंग पालिसी का ऐलान किया और वह यह समझती है कि उसने यह काम गरीबों के लिए किया है। लेकिन मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ डी लाइसेंसिंग की पालिसी में इस सरकार का इरादा पूजावादियों को मदद करने का है। अगर उसने डी लाइसेंसिंग किया तो यह कह कर किया होता कि जो लोग कोनकन या ईस्टर्न यू० पी० में जायेंगे, उनके लिए 25 लाख तक या एक करोड़ तक फ्री लाइसेंस कर देंगे। (Interruption) अगर बुन्देलखंड के मिनिस्टर रहेगे, तो वह कैसे बैंकवर्ड एरिया रहेगा। अगर बैंकवर्ड एरियाज के लिए एक करोड़ की छूट दे दी गई होती, तो मैं उन्हें धन्यवाद देता, क्योंकि इससे वहां पर एक अच्छा काम होता। आज होगा क्या कि आज जो बड़े-बड़े एक करोड़ वाले उद्योगपति अपने देश में हैं, वे कोई छोटा आदमी नहीं हो सकता है। इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि इस नीति से हमारे देश में छोटे-छोटे बिरला और टाटा पैदा हो जायेंगे, जो 10 करोड़ का काम एक ही जगह पर करना चाहते हैं। इस नई नीति से वे लोग 75 लाख में दस जगह काम करेंगे और जो छोटे उद्योगपति हैं वे उनके कम्पिटिशन में खड़े नहीं हो सकेंगे और वे मारे जायेंगे। आज सरकार स्लोगन-मोर्गारिंग करती है, कम्प्युनिस्टो के स्लोगन देगी, करेगी बड़े लोगों के काम, कहेगी कि इधर तो रिएक्शनरी लोग हैं, जो उनके साथ हैं, वे सब प्राग्रैसिव हैं और जो दूसरों के साथ हैं वे सब रिएक्शनरी हो गए हैं। आज वह सरकार क्या कर रही है।

श्री श्रीमन् प्रफुल्ल गोस्वामी : कौन स्लोगन कम्प्युनिस्ट का देते हैं बताइए।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : आप बाद में बोल लीजिएगा। मैं यह कह रहा था कि हर काम में इनकी राजनीति है। आज गवर्नर की नियुक्ति हो तो उसमें राजनीति है, आज चेयरमैन आफ कारपोरेशन की नियुक्ति हो तो उसमें राजनीति है। मैं नाम नहीं लेना चाहता, आप प्रोवोक न करें कि मैं नाम लूँ। मैं मिसाल दे सकता हूँ कि गवर्नर की नियुक्ति, चेयरमैन आफ कारपोरेशन की नियुक्ति आदि तमाम बातें पोलिटिक्स से होती हैं इस देश में, यहां तक कि जगह-जगह गोटी बैठाने में दो-चार मिनिस्टर बड़े माहिर हो गए हैं कि किसको अशोक होटल कारपोरेशन में बैठा दो, किसको एल० आई० सी० में बैठा दो, जिससे हमारे दल को फायदा हो। उसी का नतीजा यह है कि—इस छः महीने की बात मैं कह रहा, गलत बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ—एम० पीज की, एम० एल० एज० की, स्टेट्स के मिनिस्टर्स की फाइल—मेरे पास प्रमाण है—इनकम टैक्स कमिश्नर कुछ नहीं रह गए हैं, फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर तक जाती है ताकि डरवा दिया जाय कि अगर नहीं माने तो आपके साथ यह ज्यादाती होगी वरना आप इंडीकेट में रहें। यह इंडीकेट एक बला है। इंडीकेट में रहने वाले तमाम गलत बात करते हैं, भीतर-भीतर थ्रैट करते हैं। दो राज्यों में, यू० पी० और बिहार में क्या-क्या काले कारनामों अपने इन्होंने नहीं दिखाए। मिनिस्टर लोग जाकर टिके थे। हमारे पास प्रमाण है कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के मिनिस्टर लोग सरकारी हवाई जहाज, चार्टर्ड प्लेन लेकर गए—हो सकता है कि रुपया उन्होंने कांग्रेस कमेटी से दिया हो—खाली गुप्ता जी के दल से तोड़ने के लिए, दो दिन रहे, चाय-पान हुआ, अखबार में आया। ये सब बातें इस सरकार की कहानी है। फिर कहा जाता है कि आप धन्यवाद दीजिए राष्ट्रपति को। ठीक है राष्ट्रपति को धन्यवाद दें तकलीफ के लिए जो वे आए, लेकिन मैं सरकार के तमाम काले कारनामों के सम्बन्ध में जो उसमें नहीं हैं या हैं उनके लिए कैसे धन्यवाद दूँ, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता।

[श्री एस० डी० मिश्र]

गुजराल साहब चले गए। आल इंडिया रेडियो ने एक नई कहानी शुरू की है। मेहता साहब सुन लें, उनके दोस्त हैं, सुना देंगे।

श्री ओम् मेहता : मैं आपका भी दोस्त हूँ।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : उन्होंने स्पोकस्मेन की एक थ्योरी बनाई है—और थ्योरीज तो थी हीं—जो कुछ कहना होता है गुजराल साहब को या इस किचेन कैबिनेट को, कोई आदमी न मिले तो One spokesman talked like this: "The Governor of U. P. said that it was 290 for Mr. Charan Singh." I am just giving you an illustration, not the actual thing. बिना नाम लिए हुए यह स्पोकस्मेन थ्योरी दिन भर में चार बार चलती है। इस तरह से आल इंडिया रेडियो और टेलीविजन दुष्प्रचार कर रहा है। इस सम्बन्ध में पहले भी मांग हुई थी। राष्ट्रपति को अपने अभिभाषण में कहना चाहिए था कि आल इंडिया रेडियो का जो दुरुपयोग हो रहा है, उससे यह सरकार निश्चित रूप से इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँची है कि आल इंडिया रेडियो एक कारपोरेशन बने, जिसमें पार्लियामेंटेरियन्स और जजेज वगैरह ही रहें और गवर्नमेंट की छाया तक न हो। अभिभाषण में इसकी कोई चर्चा नहीं है।

आज जितनी डिस्प्यूट्स हो रही हैं चाहे चंडीगढ़ की हो, चाहे पंजाब और हरियाणा की हो, चाहे ब्रह्मानन्द रेडडी की हो, तेलंगाना की हो, चाहे काश्मीर की हो।

श्री ओम् मेहता : चाहे मैसूर की हो।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : उधर मैं दूसरे ढंग से आऊंगा। तब तक फैसला नहीं होता जब

तक दोनों तरफ से मौदा न पट जाय। बेलगाम की समस्या सोई हुई थी, जगा दी गई। क्यों जगा दी गई? इसलिए क्योंकि उत्तर प्रदेश को टापिल करके आए हैं—अब यह टापिलिंग सरकार हो गई है—बिहार में आए हैं, अब कोई न कोई बहाना चाहते हैं मैसूर में घुसने का, चन्हाण साहब बड़े मजबूत रहें, महाराष्ट्र के लोग मजबूत रहें, उन्हीं के नाम पर इन्दिरा जी खेल जायगी और इसीलिए बेलगाम में कोई न कोई सिलसिला शुरू कर दिया। महाजन कमीशन की रिपोर्ट है, मैमेरिट्स पर नहीं जाऊंगा, मेरी जानकारी भी बहुत नहीं है, मेरा कहना यह है कि इस तरह से प्रधान मंत्री और केन्द्र की सरकार समस्याएं उठा दें और पोलिटिकल मोटिव लेकर उठा दें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इस देश के लिए बड़े ही दुर्भाग्य की बात होगी।

एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, शाह साहब सुन लें। पब्लिक सेक्टर और प्राइवेट सेक्टर की बड़ी चर्चा है, स्लोगन मोंगारिंग की बड़ी चर्चा है, पब्लिक सेक्टर के मामले में आपको हमारा पूरा सपोर्ट है। लेकिन मेहरबानी करके पब्लिक सेक्टर के नाम पर—मैं फोर्थ प्लान की बात करता हूँ—जो पब्लिक सेक्टर में आप करता चाहते हैं, वह आप एनाउन्स कर दीजिए इतना पब्लिक सेक्टर में हम करना चाहते हैं चाहे वह घाटा करें। अगर आप घाटे की इकानामी चाहते हैं तो हम वह भी टालरेट करने को तैयार हैं, लेकिन पब्लिक सेक्टर के नाम पर प्राइवेट इंडस्ट्रीज को लाइसेंस देने से इनकार करना और पब्लिक सेक्टर को न लाना एक बड़े गुनाह की बात है। मैं मिसाल देता हूँ। मैं हिमाचल प्रदेश गया था। वहाँ 5 बरस से इस बात की चेष्टा हो रही है, हिमाचल प्रदेश सरकार कह रही है कि दो पेपर के कारखाने, एक सीमेंट का कारखाना आप पब्लिक सेक्टर में लगाइए। साथ ही साथ प्राइवेट सेक्टर वालो ने—किसने मुझे मालूम नहीं है—लाइसेंस के लिए एप्लाइ किया। आज 5 बरस हो गए हैं। दो साल से

सरकार कहती रही कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में होगा। लेकिन पब्लिक सेक्टर में करते नहीं; क्योंकि पैसा नहीं है, प्राइवेट सेक्टर में आने नहीं देते; क्योंकि स्लोगन मोगरिंग करती है। आज उत्तर प्रदेश की बात लीजिए। हमारी खुद की कांस्टीट्यून्सी मिर्जापुर है। वहां फर्टिलाइजर प्रोजेक्ट के लिए लैंड और बिल्डिंग सब ले ली गई, लैटर आफ इन्टेन्ट एक प्राइवेट इन्स्ट्रुमेंट को दे दिया गया, मैं यह कह देना चाहता हूं—जिससे कन्स्यूजन न हो—कि बिड़ला को दिया गया, मैं कहता हूं कि बिड़ला को न दिया जाय, अगर समझते हैं कि बिड़ला को देना गैर-जरूरी है, लेकिन वहां काम शुरू होने के बाद, लाइसेंस देने के बाद महीने के अन्दर सब बन्द कर दिया। अगर प्राइवेट सेक्टर में नहीं चाहते, तो पब्लिक सेक्टर को करने दीजिए, 100 करोड़, 80 करोड़ की पूंजी लगाइए ताकि वहां की जनता की आकांक्षाओं की पूर्ति हो। डाग इन दि मेंजर पालिसी सरकार की है, न आप करेंगे और न करने देंगे। तो फिर किस बात के लिए धन्यवाद दूँ। इसलिए धन्यवाद दूँ कि सरकार में बैठे हैं, जो आदमी बैठे हैं मंत्रिमंडल बनाने के लिए। दो-चार मंत्री बनेंगे। बहुत से लोग आशा लगाए बैठे हैं, इन्दिरा जी की पालिसी बहुत है, हम लोग जानते हैं और लोग बैठे हैं, मेहता जी बैठे हैं उस बड़ी लिस्ट में, लेकिन तत्काल चान्स नहीं आने वाला है, यह इन्हें समझ लेना चाहिए। यहां मैनइटर की सी बात हो गई है, जैसे खून लगा इन्होंने जान लिया, अब जान गए हैं कि जो लोग हैं, वे पद के लिए बैठे हैं, इसलिए दो साल तक दो-दो, तीन-तीन महीने में एक-दो एपाइंटमेंट करते रहो, ये लोग अपने आप झुकते रहेंगे।

एक बात और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ।

श्री उपसभापति : आपका टाइम हो गया।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : कुछ समय और दीजिए। हमारी पार्टी के समय में से दे दीजिए।

श्री उपसभापति : आपकी पार्टी का समय 10 मिनट है।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : श्रीमन्, एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ, हमारे भाई भी इसको सपोर्ट करेंगे। इसमें रूरल इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन की चर्चा है। बराबर हम लोग इस बात की मांग करते रहे कि रूरल इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन को बढ़ाना चाहिए।

श्री अकबर अली खान (आंध्र प्रदेश) : जिसके आप मिनिस्टर रह चुके हैं।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : ठीक है, इसकी अन्दरूनी बात मुना दूँ। तीन बरस पहले श्री के० एल० राय ने एनाउन्स किया कि 1967 में केवल 45 हजार गांवों में इस देश में बिजली थी, गांधी सेन्टेनरी डायर के शुरू होते यानी 2 अक्टूबर, 1969 तक एक लाख गांवों में बिजली आ जायगी, यानी 55 हजार और गांवों में बिजली देने का वादा किया, टारगेट रखा। आज गांधी सेन्टेनरी बीत भी गयी, लेकिन देखें कि आज उनकी संख्या क्या है। 45 हजार से बढ़ कर उनकी संख्या केवल 70 हजार हुई है। इसके मायने है कि 25 हजार गांवों में बिजली और हुई है इन डार्ड, तीन वर्षों में और यह सरकार वायदा करती रही है गांधी सेन्टेनरी के समाप्ति तक सब कुछ कर देने का। उसके लिए जो कुछ करना चाहिए था, उसने नहीं किया।

इस अभिभाषण में कहा गया है कि रूरल इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन आर्गनाइजेशन हम आज कायम कर रहे हैं, जिससे हम बड़ी सुविधायें देंगे। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार के कारनामों कुछ और हैं और वायदे कुछ और। यह रूरल इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन आर्गनाइजेशन का बर्ड निकला है अमरीका को फालो कर के, लेकिन अगर उस का एक हिस्सा भी फालो करें, तो कम से कम रूरल इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन के लिए आपको इंटरैस्ट फ्री लोन्स देने चाहिए। आज सरकार पांच वर्षों बाद इस पोजीशन में आयी है, लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ कि इससे भी

[श्री एस० डी० मिश्र]

कुछ होने वाला नहीं है। रूरल इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन की आवाज खड़ी कर के वह एक चकमा दे रही है और अगले साल भी केवल दस, पांच हजार गांवों को ही बिजली मिलने वाली है।

फटिलाइजर को देखिये कि क्या बात है। कहा गया कि फटिलाइजर की पोजीशन बड़ी इजी हो गयी, जिसका अर्थ यह लगा लीजिये कि उसका प्रोडक्शन बहुत ज्यादा हो गया। जरा मिनिस्टर साहब से पूछिये कि क्या प्रोडक्शन फटिलाइजर का इजी हो गया, बढ़ गया? वास्तविक स्थिति यह है कि फटिलाइजर प्रोडक्शन तो इस साल थोड़ा ही बढ़ा, लेकिन फटिलाइजर कन्जम्पशन इस साल घट गया और वह क्यों घटा? इसके घटने का मुख्य कारण यह है कि यह सरकार साल, दो साल से फटिलाइजर पर लेवी लगा रही है और यहां पाकिस्तान से दूने प्राइस पर किसानों को फटिलाइजर मिल रहा है और वेस्टर्न वर्ल्ड से कम से कम 25 फीसदी ज्यादा कीमत पर फटिलाइजर हमारे यहां मिल रहा है। एक दो बात कह कर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करूंगा।

श्री उपसभापति : एक मिनट में अब आप खत्म करिये।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : मैं कह रहा था कि अभी हिमाचल प्रदेश के संबंध में कल होम मिनिस्टर ने यहां एक जवाब दिया। इन लोगों का जवाब समय समय पर बदलता रहता है। अभी हिमाचल प्रदेश का प्रतिनिधिमंडल यहां आया था, होम मिनिस्टर से मिला और उन्होंने कहा कि हम सहानुभूति पूर्वक विचार कर रहे हैं कि उसको स्टेटहुड मिलना चाहिए साथ ही साथ कल मैंने प्रश्न पूछा कि अगर उसकी फाइनेंशियल वायबिलिटी नहीं है, तो वहां की यूनियन टेरिटरी के जो

गुम्लाइज हैं आर जो क्लेम कर रहे हैं कि उन को पाम के स्टेट्स के पे स्केल्म दिये जाएं, उसमें आप को क्या एतराज है? या तो वे स्केल्म उनको दिये जायें या उसको स्टेटहुड दिया जाय। मेरी तो सरकार से यह सिफारिश होगी कि हिमाचल प्रदेश और मनीपुर और त्रिपुरा का मुकाबला बराबरी से नहीं होना चाहिए। अगर असम और काश्मीर को फाइनेंशियल वायबिलिटी न होते हुए, भी स्टेटहुड दी जा सकती है तो कोई कारण नहीं है कि हिमाचल प्रदेश को, जिसका कि इतना बड़ा एरिया और मैंने सुना है कि उस का रकबा 25 हजार स्क्वायर मील है और जहां लाखों की तादाद में लोग रहते हैं, उसको भी स्टेटहुड क्यों न दी जाय।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं उपसभापति जी, राष्ट्रपति जी को धन्यवाद तो जरूर दूंगा, लेकिन इस सरकार के रवैये की काली कहानी इतिहास में अमर रहेगी। हम इतिहास में रहें या न रहें, ओम मेहता साहब रहें या न रहें, लेकिन यह कहानी काले अक्षरों में निखी जायगी। अफसोस है कि यह बातें राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में नहीं आयी।

SHRI G. R. PATIL (Maharashtra) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, in the last two days I heard many speeches in this august House. But I am sorry to say that there were very few speeches which referred to the President's Address. Though every hon. Member in this House is entitled to criticise the Government's policies, I found that only political things and personal things were spoken more and more. I personally stand to support the motion of thanks moved by my friend, Mr. Arjun Arora, and supported by Shrimati Lalitha Rajagopalan.

The President has quite rightly described the period of the sixties as one of trials, tribulations and also of achievement. It should not be forgotten that since the attainment of independence, this country has made tremendous progress in various fields, particularly in the fields of industry, agriculture, science and technology, education

and arts. Unfortunately we are in the habit of comparing our development with the developed countries in the world. Therefore, we feel that whatever be the achievements of this country during the last 20 years, particularly during the last 10 years, more has to be achieved. I do entirely agree that more has to be achieved. But at the same time, we should take into consideration the circumstances under which the Government had to face so many difficulties, particularly the two successive years of drought and the two wars. In spite of these achievements, some of us feel, because of some political motivations, that the Government has not done anything for the promotion of the welfare and well-being of the people of this country. For this I can only say that we forget to take into account one thing. I know that we are tempted to compare our development and progress with the development of countries like Japan and West Germany. I have also visited Japan, West Germany and these advanced countries. Japan and West Germany have come out of the ashes and made tremendous progress during a period of 15 years. What is the reason behind this? The reason is that the people there in those countries have been working sincerely and honestly and very hard for a sustained period of 15 years. What about our country? In Japan a worker works for eight hours for his own salary and for four hours more for the cause of the nation. Can we do this here in our country? In Germany also I have seen workers working for 12 hours zealously and that, too, on whatever salary or wages paid to them. Here a new concept is coming up. Therefore, if we want our country to be rich and prosperous, we should be prepared to undergo sacrifices and sufferings. I have not heard a single word from any of the hon. Members about sacrifices and sufferings except in the Address of the hon. President.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: We are suffering.

SHRI G. R. PATIL: I personally feel that sacrifices have gone with Mahatma Gandhi and Nehruji. We never think of these things. We want all things to be done by the Government. Every time we look to the Government for any particular thing. I am quite sure that, as the President has rightly put it, if we follow the path of

suffering and sacrifices and hard and dedicated work, then what has been achieved in Japan and West Germany can be achieved in this country also. But unfortunately the atmosphere prevailing in our country is different from the atmosphere that is prevailing in these developed countries. What is the atmosphere here? We want more wages for less work. Less work and more wages is the order of the day. Therefore, we cannot have more and more production. I do not say that the labourers should be denied their rights. But when a country which is poor wants to become prosperous and rich in line with the other countries, you must not forget that those countries have also suffered a lot. It took Russia 40 years to come to the stage where it is today. What about a country like India? It became free only about 20 years back and is going through so many difficulties. It is a country of so many castes, religions and languages. And because of these disparities there is not a single thing in common. It is very difficult for this country to bring about all the things that we want in such a short time. Therefore I would tell you: ask not what the country can do for you; ask what you can do for the country. And this is what is required today and unless we do all these things and unless everybody contributes his mite for the welfare and prosperity of the country, the country cannot progress and I am afraid all this wrangling, whether it is the Syndicate or the Indicate or other political party, will be of no use for the progress and betterment of the country.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: You are mentally in the Syndicate.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do not disturb him. He has got very little time at his disposal.

SHRI G. R. PATIL: Sir, the President has rightly mentioned that in the field of agriculture the country has made progress and there is a green revolution. Now we have crossed a hundred billion tons of foodgrains and this is a rare achievement. Unfortunately we do not see what we have achieved. We always feel that what we have achieved is not much. I know when Ravindranath Tagore wrote the Gitanjali he was little known in this country. But

[Shri G. R. Patil]

only when he was awarded the Noble Prize that this country came to know of him and started saying here is the great son of India. Similarly only some foreigner, either a Russian or an American or some other countryman, comes and lauds and appreciates the progress that this country has made in this period that we realise that we have really made some progress. I do understand the right of Members to criticise the Government. But that criticism should be healthy and constructive. Unfortunately that sort of criticism is not there. Every party is trying to see that something appears in the newspapers in its favour so that the people will support it in the next elections. We have got an eye on this next election. Elections do come in this country because democracy is going to stay in this country for ever, as long as the sun and the moon shine on this earth. Therefore, as far as elections are concerned we should not sorry about them. What we should worry about is how to eradicate poverty and backwardness and other things. Here while lauding and appreciating the work done as far as agricultural production is concerned. I would like to say that the prices of agricultural commodities must be fixed by the Government. The Government has taken some steps as far as the prices of wheat, jawar, paddy and sugarcane are concerned. But as far as other commodities are concerned, particularly cash crops like cotton and oil seeds, unless their prices are fixed, the agriculturists will never get the benefit. It is common knowledge that whenever the farmers take their produce to the market, generally the prices fall down; and when the commodities have been purchased by the traders, then, after some time the prices rise and therefore, the benefit out of it goes to the traders and the farmers never get the fruits of their sweat and toil. Therefore, I humbly request that the Government should take some steps to see that prices of these commodities, particularly cotton and oil seeds, are fixed and those prices should be declared before the sowing operations so that the farmers will come to know that if they produce more and more of a particular commodity, they will get higher returns. Another thing I would like to mention is that as far as oil seeds or any other agricultural produce are concerned,

this forward trading should be banned from this country. I humbly request that the Government should implement the economic resolution that was passed at the Bombay session of the All-India Congress Committee.

As regards other requirements of the agriculturist, particularly the long-term and short-term finances, a disparity is still being made. The industrialists are being given money for 20, 30 years even at 1/2 per cent rate of interest. But what about the farmers? The farmers are never advanced money at less than 10 or 12 percent rate of interest and that too for a period of only 10 or 15 years. In all the developed and the developing countries like Iran and others, I have seen the Government advances money for a period of 25 to 30 years at 1/2 to 2 per cent rate of interest. Why is this disparity here in our country? This disparity is not there in other countries. You know the uncertainty of the rainfall. The farmers have to face so many difficulties. After having a good season for three consecutive years we are now having some improvement. But we do not know the next year may turn out to be a bad year and we may not get a better crop. And this has to be faced by the farmers. When the farmers get no further loans, when they do not get anything on the crop, even then they will have to pay back all the advances that they had taken for agricultural production. I feel the Government has not made any provision regarding the conversion of such loans which the agriculturists are not in a position to repay because of drought or unfavourable season. Their loans should be converted into long-term loans. But at the moment there is no long-term fund, and therefore, that is not being converted and the farmers are made to pay all the amount of loan in the next year. Therefore, the farmers can never come out of their rut and their debts are ever mounting. My honourable friend, Mr. Phool Singh, has mentioned that the debts of the farmers are mounting and therefore some steps should be taken and a long-term fund should be provided and made available to them through the Central Government cooperative banks or through some other banking system. The Reserve Bank of India should come forward and do something. But this is not being done.



Regarding fertilizers and other requisites things I would like to say that the cost of our fertilizers is the highest in the world. Even Pakistan supplies fertilizers at a much lower cost. Unfortunately the subsidy which was being given, has been done away with on the ground that the subsidy was utilised not by the poor farmer, but by the rich farmer. Not only that. As if to add insult to the injury, excise duty was gain levied last year. I humbly request the Government to come forward now at least and do away with the excise duty that was levied last year on the fertilizers. Fertilizers, pesticides, and other things should be made available to the farmers. Proper irrigation facilities also should be made available to them. I do not know why there is disparity even in the case of electricity supply. There is a talk of electrification of rural areas in this country, whether it is 45,000 or 1 lakh villages, whatever it be. My honourable friend, Mr. Misra, might have some grudge over it. But one thing is true that there is so much of disparity regarding the rate per unit of electricity supplied to the farmers for agricultural production. Unless there is greater and greater agricultural production this country cannot be industrialised. Therefore, I would say that all these things should be taken into consideration.

I welcome the appointment of an Agricultural Commission even though it is coming after a period of 40 years. I hope the Agricultural Commission will take into consideration all these aspects.

Then I come to crop insurance. There is a long standing demand in this House and the other House, but it is not coming up, I hope that at least during this year the Crop Insurance Bill will be passed by both the Houses.

Before I conclude I want to make one or two points about the demands of Maharashtra as far as irrigation is concerned. As you know Maharashtra is having only 7 per cent of irrigated land. There are so many irrigation projects which have been submitted to the Government and which are not being finalised and sanctioned. So far the Dudhganga and Varna projects have not been sanctioned. They are very vital and important projects and they benefit lakhs of people. They can irrigate

some 1 lakh 34 thousand acres of land. But they have not been sanctioned so far. I would earnestly and humbly request the Government to take necessary steps and see that the Dudhganga and Varna projects are undertaken immediately. I just want to say one more thing before I close. I must congratulate the Prime Minister on solving the Chandigarh issue in such a fine way and even the President has made a mention of it in his Address. He says that the solution that has been found out for Chandigarh is just and fair. I know that some friends like Mr. S. D. Misra and others may not like it. (*Interruptions*, But, Sir, the border dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore has not been mentioned at all in the Address. Of course I am very happy to note that the Prime Minister is seized of this problem and some solution will be found expeditiously. As far as the Marathi-speaking people are concerned, for the last 14 years they have been agitating for this. I am very happy that a decision is being taken outside the Mahajan Commission Report. For the last 14 years almost three elections were fought and won on this particular issue. It is therefore that I say that all the Marathi-speaking villages in the taluks of Chikodi, Athni, Supa, Halyi, Khanapur, Santpur and Bhalki including Belgaum city should be forthwith included in Maharashtra. Thank you, Sir.

श्री ना० क० शेजवलकर : माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, जितनी अपेक्षा मुझे श्री उसी के अनुसार मैं समझता हूँ कि यह राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण है। मेरा तात्पर्य यह है कि जिम ढंग से और जिन परिस्थितियों में राष्ट्रपति और यह नयी सरकार हमारे सामने आई है, उनके रहते मैं पहले से ही कोई ज्यादा अपेक्षा नहीं करता था और इसलिये मुझे यह भाषण पढ़ कर विशेष निराशा भी नहीं हुई है। निराशा तभी होती है जब कोई अपेक्षा की जाय और वह पूरी न हो। आज ही, जिस प्रकार से सरकार चल रही है, उसका अंदाजा शायद आपको पता लग गया होगा कि उत्तर प्रदेश के अंदर आज गवर्नर के एड्रेस को नहीं पढ़ा जा सका।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : अब हरियाणा जाने वाला है ।

श्री नेकी राम (हरियाणा) : आपही के यहां जायेगा ।

श्री ना० कृ० शंजवलकर : परसो इसी सदन के अंदर एक रेफरेंस में बताया गया था कि मुख्य न्यायाधीश ने अपने किसी भाषण में बताया कि वास्तव में इस समय हमारे देश के लिये एक बड़ा खतरा उत्पन्न हो गया है ; क्योंकि जहां पर सरकार की अस्थिरता होती है ; वहां पर शासन के द्वारा कोई कार्य-बाही करना कठिन हो जाता है । यह प्रायः सर्वमान्य सिद्धांत है कि ऐसी परिस्थिति में जहां शासन में कोई दल अलग-अलग दृष्टि-कोण रखने वाले व्यक्तियों में संबंधित हो, तो देश की प्रगति कुंठित हो जाती है । जैसा कि मान्यवर श्री मिश्र जी ने कहा, आज हमारी हेमोक्रेमी के लिये वास्तविक खतरा पैदा हो गया है ; क्योंकि जब शासन दोट नोट और चोट के भरोसे चले ...

श्री नेकीराम : चोट से मतलब आपका डंडे से है ।

श्री ना० कृ० शंजवलकर : चोट का मतलब मैं आपको बताऊं कि कोई डंडा ही नहीं है, आपकी समझ में डंडा ही आता है, आप हरियाणा से आ रहे हैं । मैं यह कहना चाहता था कि जैसा उन्होंने बताया इनकम टैक्स की फाइलों पर प्रेजरिजेशन में, दबाव डालने में जो काम लेने की प्रवृत्ति है, तो उसमें नोट से मतलब केवल कागज के नोट में नहीं है । मिनिस्ट्री का पद देना या कोई दूसरा लालच का पद देना ।

(Interruption)

श्री उपसभापति : नेकीराम जी आप बैठ जाइये ।

श्री ना० कृ० शंजवलकर : तो यह वास्तव में हमारे देश के लिये बड़ा खतरा है । जहां में विवाद हुआ उसकी सच्चाई को देखिये ।

आज जो हमारे राष्ट्रपति विराजमान हैं, उनके प्रति हमारी बड़ी श्रद्धा है ; क्योंकि हमारे सदन के अध्यक्ष रह चुके हैं । लेकिन मैं इसका जरा सही वर्णन करूँ कि वह कैसे चुने गये । मैं तो कहूँगा "इट वाज अमीयर फ्लूक" । कोई मुनियोजित योजना के अनुसार वह नहीं चुने गये । तो जैसा मैंने कहा वह एक फलक था ।

इसी तरह से मैं कहूँगा कि आज हम यह निर्णय नहीं कर पाते कि जो सूडो सोशलिस्ट हैं यह कौन हैं । लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ जो बात है, वह सामने नजर आ चुकी है । इसके बारे में हमें वास्तव में बड़ी गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार करने की आवश्यकता है और इस समय यह भी देखना पड़ेगा कि कौनसी ऐसी शक्तियाँ हैं, जो शक्तियाँ योजनापूर्वक आपको एक ट्रैप के अंदर, एक बेल्ट के अंदर फसाती जा रही हैं, जिसका आपको कोई ध्यान नहीं है । यह उनका मान्य सिद्धांत है कि देश के अंदर अराजकता उत्पन्न करो, लोगों की श्रद्धा के केन्द्र नष्ट करो, अस्वाभाविक रूप से वहाँ अव्यवस्था फैलाओ और प्रजातंत्र अपने आप नहीं रहेगा । यह बड़ी पुरानी थ्योरी है उनकी जो चल रही है । लेकिन हमारे लिये दुर्भाग्य की स्थिति यह है कि हम उस पर ध्यान नहीं दे रहे । मेरा यह नहीं कहना है कि आप ही अपने बनाये कानूनों का निर्णय करें । संविधान के अंदर सुप्रीम कोर्ट बनी है, उस सुप्रीम कोर्ट को संविधान के अंतर्गत कार्यवाही करने का अधिकार है । आप संविधान बदल दीजिए, यह मैं समझ सकता हूँ और उसमें कानून कुछ भी बना दीजिए, चाहे आप उसमें व्यक्तिगत अधिकार रखिये या न रखिये, सम्पत्ति के अधिकार रखिये या न रखिये, लेकिन आज जो संविधान जिम्मे रूप में है, उस संविधान को इन्टरप्रेट करने के बारे में अगर उसकी पवित्रता समाप्त कर देगे तो कल क्या होगा । आज बड़े-बड़े स्लोगन उठते हैं रिपब्लिकनरी, एन्टी पीपुल वगैरह, तो मैं आपसे निवेदन करूँगा कि एक बार आप विचार करें कि इन

शब्दों की एक पोलिटिकल डिक्शनरी बना दी जाय कि उन तमाम शब्दों का अर्थ क्या है; क्योंकि हर व्यक्ति अलग-अलग अर्थ निकालता है। आप रिएक्शनरी किमको कहते हैं, इसका निर्णय कर दीजिए। आप राष्ट्रीयकरण किसको कहेंगे यह भी बता दीजिए। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ आपने बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण, यह क्या कहा? यानी, क्या इसके पहले बैंक अराष्ट्रीय थे, क्या पहले विदेशी के थे। लेकिन विदेशी बैंकों को तो आपने किया नहीं है। तो क्या दूसरे बैंकों को जो लिया गया वह अराष्ट्रीय बैंक थे। तो राष्ट्रीयकरण जो किया उसका कोई विशेष मतलब है, उसका डिक्शनरी में कोई मतलब निकालना पड़ेगा।

अभी मैं तारापुर गया था, वहाँ देखा डेडीकेशन सेरेमनी हो रही है। सेरेमनी किस बात की हो रही थी, क्या हमारी कोई निजी सम्पत्ति थी या प्रधान मंत्री की निजी सम्पत्ति थी, जो राष्ट्र को डेडीकेट कर दी। इतने साल हो गये उस योजना को, गुजरात और बम्बई सरकार उसकी बिजली से लाभ उठाते थे, अब वह उसको डेडीकेशन सेरेमनी कहते हैं। डेडीकेशन किसका होता है। क्या राष्ट्र की चीज का राष्ट्र को ही डेडीकेशन होता है। अलग से डेडीकेशन करने का अधिकार किसको है। तो यह जो नया-नया शब्द ऐसे निकाला जाता है, मैं उसके बारे में कोई चर्चा नहीं करना चाहता। वैसी ही एक बात भारतीयकरण की आई। हमने अपने दल के उद्देश्य को मिट्ट करने के लिये उसका जिक्र किया है। भारतीयकरण के ऊपर इतनी बड़ी आपत्ति की गई और इतने जोर से कहा गया। भडारी जी ने यहाँ इस बात को स्पष्ट कर दिया है कि हम किसी तरह धर्म का भेदभाव नहीं चाहते। हम नहीं चाहते सब लोग चुटिया रखें। कोई चुटिया रखे या न रखे या महिलाएँ बाव कट रखें, इसका कोई सवाल नहीं। यह अकारण एक बबंडर खड़ा कर के जनसंघ के खिलाफ बातावरण बनाना एक पोलिटिकल उद्देश्य मात्र ही रह गया है। एक चाल थी, लेकिन वह

चाल बार-बार कामयाब नहीं हो सकती। इसलिए मैं कह रहा था कि इस तरह के अनेक शब्द हैं, जैसे एक शब्द है प्रोग्रेसिव। इसका भी एक बार निर्णय हो जाना चाहिये कि प्रोग्रेसिव कौन माना जाता है।

इसी प्रकार से जब हम पश्चिमी एशिया के बारे में सवाल करते हैं कि सरकार की नीति उसके बारे में क्या है और रबात का सवाल आता है तो कहते हैं कम्युनल बात करता है, साम्प्रदायिक बात करता है।

मैं एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूँ, जिसका हमारे मित्र ने जिक्र आखिर में किया था। हम रबात में फैलियर हुए; क्योंकि हम वहाँ पर बिना बुलाये गये थे। जब वहाँ पर हम गये तो हमें टोकें मारी गई और हमारा अपमान किया गया। तो मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह हमारी देश की पालिसी कोई मफल पालिसी है, जहाँ पर कि देश का अपमान हुआ है।

मैं सरकार का ध्यान एक और बात की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। वीर अर्जुन अखबार में 22 तारीख के सस्करण में सीरिया के बारे में एक नक्शा निकला है और एक समाचार भी छपा है। यह नक्शा 190 पृष्ठ की एक पाठ्य पुस्तक में लिया गया है, जो दमिश्क (सीरिया) में स्कूली बच्चों को पढ़ाई जाती है। नक्शे में महाराष्ट्र, गुजरात, राजस्थान, पंजाब, काश्मीर, उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार को इस्लामी जगह के अंग के रूप में दिखाया गया है, जिसे मुक्त करना जरूरी है। तो इस तरह की पाठ्य पुस्तक वहाँ के स्कूलों में बच्चों को पढ़ाई जाती है और हमारी सरकार अरब मुल्कों के साथ हर तरह से मेल करना चाहती है। रबात में जब हमारे देश के प्रतिनिधि गये थे, तो उन्हें वहाँ पर बैठने और रहने के लिए भी जगह नहीं दी गई थी और जिस तरह से उनका अपमान किया गया वह सब जानते हैं। लेकिन फिर भी सरकार की ओर से कहा जाता है कि हमारे प्रतिनिधियों को वहाँ पर

[श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर]

सम्मान के साथ बिठलाया गया और कुर्सी दी गई। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब दुबारा जो कमेटी बैठने जा रही है, उसमें भारत को क्यों नहीं बुलाया गया है। वास्तव में देखा जाय तो हमारी सरकार ने अभी तक जो विदेश नीति अपनाई है, उसमें उसको कोई सफलता नहीं मिली है। वह तो सिर्फ स्लोगन देती रहती है, जिससे देश की जनता गुमराह होती रहे। इसलिए मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की जो परिस्थिति पैदा हो गई है, वह वास्तव में देश के एक-एक के लिये बड़ा भारी संकट है तथा बड़ा खतरा है।

SHRI S. D. MISRA: He can continue on the next day.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He will take one or two minutes. Please finish.

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR: I will finish as early as possible.

आज हमें सबसे बड़ा एक अन्धकार दिखलाई देता है, जो हमारे प्रजातंत्र के लिए और देश के उत्थान के लिए बड़ा भारी खतरा है, वह यह है कि जो भावी पीढ़ी है, उसके बारे में कोई चर्चा राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में नहीं की गई है। आज कहा जाता है और जैसा कि अभी पाटिल साहब ने कहा है, ठीक ही कहा है कि हमारे मुल्क के अन्दर लोग मेहनत और मजदूरी करना नहीं चाहते हैं। वे लोग 8 घंटे भी काम करना नहीं चाहते हैं। लेकिन मेरा कहना यह है कि इस संबंध में आज तक आपत्ति क्यों नहीं की गई। आज 22 साल तक शासन करने के बाद अपने युवकों को राष्ट्रपति जी ने यह इस सरकार ने प्रेरणा क्यों नहीं दी और अपने देश के उत्थान के लिए तथा उसकी रक्षा करने के लिए मर मिटने की भावना जाग्रत क्यों नहीं की। इस प्रकार की भावना न भरने का दोष किस पर है। सरकार के पास शिक्षा विभाग और दूसरी सब बातें जब उसके पास है, तो उसने आज तक इस बात को क्यों नहीं किया। लेकिन आपस में सरकार लड़ती रही और सत्ता के लिए एक दूसरे की टांग खींचती

रही, जिससे जनता की भलाई के जो काम हैं, उनकी ओर उसका ध्यान ही नहीं गया। आज हम देखते हैं कि इस देश के अन्दर लाखों लोग बेरोजगार हैं और बेकारी के कारण उनके सामने निराशा छाई हुई है। आज इस बेकारी की हालत को देख कर उनके सामने विद्रोह करने के सिवाय और कोई चारा नजर नहीं आता है। आज हमारे देश के नौजवान के दिल में बड़ी निराशा है और उसको हल करने के लिए इस सरकार ने कोई न प्रयास किया है और न ही कोई हल सुझाया है।

इस अभिभाषण के चलते-चलते राष्ट्रपतिजी ने अपने भाषण के पैराग्राफ 10 में जो बातें कही हैं, वह इस प्रकार से कही हैं कि जिससे देश में खेती की समस्या बहुत जल्द हल हो जायेगी। उन्होंने चलते चलते इसमें कह दिया है "देश में ही ज्यादा से ज्यादा ट्रेक्टर बनाकर और बड़ी मात्रा में उन्हें विदेशों से मंगा कर सरकार उस मांग को पूरा करने की कोशिश कर रही है। छोटे उद्यमियों, विशेषकर इंजीनियरों और तकनीशियों द्वारा कृषि सेवा केन्द्र खोलने के एक बड़े कार्यक्रम को बैंकिंग क्षेत्र की सहायता से जोरों से कार्यान्वित करने का भी विचार है"। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि समस्या क्या है और उसका हल क्या है। हमारे जो लीडर आफ दी हाउस हैं, मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वे इस बात पर विचार करें कि पिछले चार, छः वर्ष के अन्दर हमने इस संबंध में क्या काम किया है। मैं प्राइवेट सेक्टर के पक्ष में नहीं हूँ। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस बात पर विचार किया जाय; क्योंकि यह एक गम्भीर समस्या है। हमने जो यह पालिसी आखिनियार पिछले तीन चार सालों से कर रखी है कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में तो आपके खोलने की क्षमता नहीं है; क्योंकि आप उनको ठीक ढंग से नहीं चला सकते हैं और प्राइवेट क्षेत्र में जहां पर इंजीनियर काम में लग सकते हैं, वहां पर आप उन्हें खोलने की इजाजत नहीं देते हैं। तो मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस बारे में सोचें और विचारें और

उसके संबंध में जल्दी से निर्णय लेने का प्रयत्न करें; क्योंकि यह प्रश्न अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। आज देश में महंगाई बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है, जिमसे कर्मचारी बहुत परेशान है। सरकार अपने कर्मचारियों को अंतरिम सहायता देने के लिए भी तैयार नहीं है। मेरे पास अब ज्यादा समय नहीं है और जो मैंने जो संशोधन दिये

हैं, उन्हीं मुद्दों पर मैं कायम हूँ और अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at ten minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 27th February, 1970.