

THE BUDGET (RAILWAYS), 1969-70

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I beg to lay on the Table a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the year 1969-70 in respect of Railways.

THIRTY-NINTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE (1968-69)

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN (Gujarat) : Madam, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Thirty-ninth Report of the Public Accounts Committee (1968-69) on Appropriation Accounts (Civil), 1966-67 and Audit Report (Civil), 1968 relating to the Ministries of Education, Commerce and Works, Housing and Supply (Department of Works and Housing).

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now we go on to the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Today we shall sit till 5.30 P.M.

I would now call upon Mr. Parthasarathy.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY (Madras) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I beg to move :

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

"That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 17th February, 1969.' "

Madam, it is an honour and a privilege to move the Motion of Thanks 4RS/69

to the President for his Address to Parliament. The Address by itself is a correct review of the realistic approach of the Government and an appraisal of the economic aspects. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi and her Cabinet deserve the palm of the nation for laying emphasis on the strong economic base which alone will ultimately lend strength, both political and international, to our country. As it is envisaged in the President's Address I welcome the Government's way of thinking and the policy it has chosen to adopt¹.

Madam, the backdrop to the Address lay in the upward turn in agriculture in that the agricultural production touched the target of 95 million tonnes during the year 1967-68 and there was also a toning up of the commercial crop production. This upward move in that the agricultural production mainly due to the scientific advancements that the Government have induced in this country and to the fact that the farmers have taken to it. Also the Government's irrigation policy has gone a long way to promote agricultural production in the country. The President made a reference in his Address, Madam, to the fertilizer policy of the Government. It is good that the Government are arranging to provide adequate fertilizers to improve the output but it should be considered equally necessary to see that this vital input, namely, fertilizer for increased agricultural production is made available to the actual cultivators without what I would call the incidentals of many intermediate transactions and also at the same time without increasing the burden on the general tax-payer. May I have your permission, Madam, to make an observation here? May be it is a suggestion which the Government may be pleased to consider. Today the fertilizer policy of the Government is substantiated by the fact that it is subsidised by the Government's financial structure. How long and how far we should go in this matter, whether all the money that the Government are spending goes to the benefit of the actual cultivator, are points which the Government will have to rethink. In my view, it is

[Shri R. T. Parthasarathy] high time—and I hope the Government will accept it—that in due course the subsidy will either have to be reduced or perhaps stopped altogether. For this it is necessary to increase rural agricultural credit facilities through the medium of established banks and cooperative societies. I hope the Government will consider this cardinal aspect of the whole question and formulate a dynamic policy in respect of agricultural production so that we shall be able to achieve our goal of self-sufficiency.

With reference to foodgrain movement, Madam Deputy Chairman, the President Address has mentioned about the relaxation of restrictions in some areas and regarding some cereals only. I would like to take this opportunity to appeal to the Government to take early steps to completely relax the zonal restrictions on the movement of foodgrains as otherwise it would only create artificial discriminations in the matter of availability and in the matter of price between citizens of one and the same country.

While it is gratifying to note that there is a revival in industrial production this has to increase further and for this in my humble view, Madam, there are two essentials ; one, the creation of an industrial climate and two, a production-oriented labour outlook should be thought of. Already some misgivings are being expressed about the doctrinaire-regional attitudes and these have adverse effects on production and expansion in certain areas which eventually not only militate against the interests of the people in that area but also have a wider impact on the economic conditions and the economic structure of the whole country. I said doctrinaire attitude; this has been clearly established and fully justified in what we have seen during the past one year or more in the States of Kerala and West Bengal. As far as the regional attitude is concerned its impact has been very clearly and effectively noticed in the State of Tamil Nadu as well as in the State of Maharashtra. I would stress this point a little further, Madam, with your per-

mission, with reference to industrialisation both in Tamil Nadu as well as in Maharashtra. I take these two States to illustrate my point. During the last two years, ever since the DMK have come into power in Tamil Nadu practically not a single new industry has been established in that State. Similarly in Maharashtra the regional feelings are so high that slowly the industrial belt is getting shifted and today the belt north of Bombay is witnessing the establishment of various industries. Maharashtra's loss will ultimately be Gujarat's gain. I wish to state here that the Government should not permit this regional attitude in industrial affairs. It will be a suicidal policy to foment either a doctrinaire approach or a regional attitude. What should be the motive, what should be our guide, is a question which one may legitimately ask. May I submit to you, Madam Deputy Chairman, that if industrialisation is to be successfully formulated throughout the length and breadth of this country, the only guiding factor should be that we plan on a national plane, to aim at our national objective and to meet the national economic requirements.

We find a reference, in the President's Address, to the problem of exports and imports. It is a noteworthy feature that our performance in the field of exports and in cutting down imports has been commendable. The fact that our export earnings amounted to Rs. 1019 crores, Rs. 116 crores more than last year, is itself a signal that notifies our progress in international trade and the consequent balance of payments. It should be remembered that this trade gap, of which every-one is speaking, in season and out of season, is mainly due to the import of foodgrains and the extent we reduce it, we shall cease to have this trade gap altogether. The Government deserves our praise for having taken many new measures to achieve this goal. Our export earnings will go higher up, provided we bring down the import of foodgrains and I would only say that we must learn to tighten our import belt with reference to foodgrains and concentrate on the efficacy of self-sum-

ciency and the realisation of self-sufficiency as early as possible. There is no escape, according to me, Madam, from this position and we have to ceaselessly work for it and achieve it ultimately.

The President's Address, I was happy to find, rightly featured the essentials to develop tourist traffic in our country. It should not be forgotten that tourism is one of the best methods of earning foreign exchange and hence we should develop, at a great pace, the means to attract foreign tourists and also the way in which we should provide adequate hotel accommodation for the foreign tourist. India has a great inherent effect in drawing foreign tourists. I would appeal to the Government to take care that there is no imposition of restrictions upon the (tourists and, if possible, the already existing restrictions should be lessened. Care also should be taken to see that when foreign tourists are in our country they should not be allowed to be fleeced. It is of utmost importance that the citadel of foreign exchange earning, namely, the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation, should not be allowed to get away, as the Planning Commission wants them to be moved off, with only Rs. 25 crores during the Fourth Plan. On the other hand, I would appeal to you, Madam, and to the members of the House to see that if tourism is to be promoted successfully in this country and a lot of foreign exchange is to be earned, it would be advisable that at least Rs. 50 or Rs. 55 crores are provided for this vital department, which has been manned very ably by that dynamic Minister, Dr. Karan Singh.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He gave a reply this morning. You did not listen to the reply given by the Minister of Tourism this morning saying that Rs. 55 crores are not available.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY : Any investment to attract foreign tourists, which in this country supplies valuable foreign exchange, should not be pruned for lack of immediate resources.

The President was pleased to refer to the Fourth Plan. I welcome the pragmatic approach to the Plan, namely, the Plan would only be indicative of the future, without any attempt to face the future. I would like to pay, on this occasion, a tribute to the Prime Minister, to the Prime Minister's approach to the Fourth Plan, and welcome the Government's intention to more successfully harness the new prosperity of the rural areas and hope that it will also mobilise new sources of revenue for the Government. A way should be found and a form should be struck to harness the Rs. 2000 crores of surplus agricultural income and it is the duty of the Government, not only to the agriculturists, but also to the whole country, to see how this huge amount is ploughed back into agriculture or safely otherwise utilised for nation-building measures and this amount should not be allowed to be spirited away. Such a step alone will strengthen our economy at its very base. We should do everything to promote the rapid economic growth, which is a prerequisite for social progress and political stability. Foreign aid in excess will drain a nation and its national resources. In a limited way, it may aim at a purpose, but in the long run foreign aid should find at progressive reduction and the accent should be selfreliance, as rightly pointed out in the President's Address.

Madam Deputy Chairman, I now come to what I regard as the most important paragraph of the President's Address. The crux of the Address lies in paragraph 21, wherein the President makes a reference to the disturbing trends in our national affairs, and the tensions caused by the regional and parochial movements in our country. This is thought-provoking too. Public opinion in a democracy, like ours, should aim at strengthening democratic institutions and the concept of democracy itself. The way in which communal, regional and linguistic passions are roused, the way in which the ire of the misguided youth of this country is roused, the way in which violence is caused to be spread

[Shri R. T. Parthasarathy]

throughout the length and breadth of this country by those who believe in extreme leftism, by those who call themselves Senas, particularly the Shiv Sena of Bombay, the Gopal Sena, the Lachit Sena and the other Senas, one wonders where our future lies and what our Central Government is going to do. This is a question that I would like to address myself. Let me assert here that unless and until all these anti-national forces, all these anti-democratic movements in the name of a region or any political philosophy, are nipped in the bud by the Central Government, the future for our democracy is very bleak. All that we want is that the Central Government should act like the strong—may I call it, Madam,—Indian Bhim Sena, against these movements and ensure respect for law, legality, sanctity for life and property, as guaranteed by the Constitution, irrespective of the State or language.

Madam Deputy Chairman, the President has made a reference to our foreign policy and consequently to India's relations with the other nations of the world. I congratulate the Prime Minister, who held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs until recently, for her cautious approach in her dealings with the other nations. It is essential that we should regard Indian interests as the primary factor which should form the keynote in formulating our foreign policy effectively. It has been rightly pointed out by the President that India whilst dedicating herself to international co-operation should be constantly vigilant about her defence. Madam, in my view the defence policy and the foreign policy of our country, as a matter of fact of any country, should be made inseparable and closely knit. We should not take any steps to make either the Western bloc or the Soviet bloc think 'I ha!' we are waiting for a cue from the other side, nor should we subordinate our national interests to the other nations' way of thinking just because we have received aid from them. This basic approach should form the sheet-anchor of our foreign policy, which by and large the Government has successfully followed during the

last one year and more. India's desire to improve her relationship with her neighbours has been rightly stressed in the President's Address which should be consistent with the national sovereignty and integrity of the nation. The Prime Minister has repeatedly stated not only on the floor of both the Houses of Parliament but also outside that India would like to maintain the friendliest of relationship with her immediate neighbours, namely Pakistan and China. Effort should not be lacking on our part to realise these objectives. It should not be difficult either, for India to bring about a reapproachment in the international forum between the great powers like the U.S.A. and China which, if and when realised, will ultimately be for the advantage of India. But primarily, Madam Deputy Chairman, we can and should settle our disputes with Pakistan if only to save the nation's exchequer of crores of rupees which may later on be diverted towards nation-building activities. We are spending on our defence annually over Rs. 1100 crores. An honourable and a peaceful settlement of our disputes with Pakistan will enable India to strengthen her economy to a great degree. We have also rightly tried to cultivate and are cultivating the friendship of what I would call our neighbour's neighbour. In international parlance this is a very important aspect of foreign policy which I am sure our new Foreign Minister will take to and work it up to the advantage of India, which in the long run will yield a good dividend. In this context I welcome the visit to our country by the Shahanshah of Iran which has brought the economic and trade relationship between the two countries into a fruitful shape.

Madam Deputy Chairman, the year was one of measured success to the Prime Minister in moulding India's foreign policy and I congratulate her on her wise leadership.

Madam, I have dedicated my life for the development of sports and as such I felt rather sorry that the President's Address did not contain any reference to sports. The very fact that

India lost her first place in the world in hockey in the Mexican Olympics should have given some thought to the Government as to how best we could develop sports in this country. I feel there must be some sort of self-introspection on our part. I am sure that the Prime Minister probably thought of this and has created a new Department under the Education Ministry, namely, the Department of Youth Services. Good material is there in this country in cricket, hockey, tennis, wrestling and Many other games, but they require to be tapped and pruned properly with a set purpose. Many of the sport organisations in this country not only need help and guidance but they should be made to divest themselves of the parochial and group outlook and group mentality as well. The All India Council of Sports should be made to function not as a mere constitutional head of the sports organisations but the All India Council of Sports should be given some sort of dynamism so that its dynamism will be felt throughout the length and breadth of this country, which will benefit the various sports organisations all over India. Its set purpose should be to tone up the various games and sports at national level and to build up the much-needed team work which was totally absent when India's Hockey Team played in the Mexican Olympics. I would appeal to you, Madam, that the Government should formulate a new Deal, as I would call it, for sports in India and it should be given the top priority so that the energy and the talents of the Indian youth could be properly utilised.

Lastly, Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like to pay a tribute to the Armed Forces of India for their valour, for their dedication, for their loyalty and for their devotion to duty. If we can improve and modernise manifold, as we should, our defence production, we shall have placed our country on the royal road and India in defence preparedness will take her place among her strong counterparts of the world.

In conclusion. Madam Deputy Chairman. let me aver that we should rededicate ourselves in the service of

our country, in defending the integrity and the unity of our Motherland and in preserving its hard-won freedom which we have secured under the inspiring leadership of Gandhiji and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.

Thank you.

डा० (श्रीमती) मंगलादेवी तलवार :
(राजस्थान): माननीय उपाध्यक्षा महोदया, हम राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अत्यन्त आभारी हैं कि उन्होंने संसद् के दोनों सदनों के सदस्यों के समक्ष अपना अभिभाषण दिया और इस अभिभाषण पर जो कृतज्ञता प्रकाश का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत हुआ है उसका मैं अनुमोदन करती हूँ। इस अभिभाषण की अपनी विशेषता है। इसमें संक्षेप में और सरल भाषा में सारगर्भित बातें कही गई हैं।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने कहा है कि हमारी आर्थिक प्रगति के मार्ग में जो निशान दिखाई दिए हैं और जिन्हें आसानी से पहचाना जा सकता है, ये हैं—खेती बाड़ी की पैदावार में निश्चित बढ़ोतरी, उद्योग के बड़े भाग में उन्नति, कीमतों में कमोवेश स्थिरता और शोधन संतुलन में स्पष्ट सुधार।

आर्थिक प्रगति में कृषि उत्पादन का सर्वप्रथम स्थान है। 1967-68 ई० में खेती की पैदावार अधिक हुई और इस बढ़ोतरी का कारण इन्द्रदेव की अनुकम्पा के अतिरिक्त देश के किसानों का प्रयत्न है, जिन्होंने अथक परिश्रम किया और खेती के नए-नए तरीकों को अपनाया। इसमें गवर्नमेंट ने भी काफी सुविधाएं दीं। 1967-68 ई० के वास्तविक कृषि-क्षेत्र का उत्पादन 9 करोड़ 24 लाख टन अनुमानित था परन्तु हुआ 9 करोड़ 56 लाख टन। 3.2 लाख टन अधिक उत्पादन का श्रेय अधिक उत्पादन वाले बीजों और उत्तम खाद तथा अच्छी इरिगेशन की सुविधाओं को दिया जा सकता है। इस साल पंजाब में जो अच्छी फसल होने जा रही है उसकी रिपोर्ट

[डा० (श्रीमती) मंगलादेवी तलवार]
हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स में निकली थी और वह यह है :—

"Twenty-seven lakh acres of the total area of 40 lakhs under wheat in Punjab are proposed to be covered by the new high-yielding varieties during the current rabi season.

"The area under high-yielding varieties during 1965-66 was only 1.4 lakh acres which went up to 16 lakh acres by 1967-68.

"Some of the varieties are capable of giving an yield of 6,000 kg. per hectare."

अब औद्योगिक विकास के सम्बन्ध में हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने जो बताया है कि हम आगे बढ़ रहे हैं और उसके विवरण में हमारी फाइनैस मिनिस्ट्री ने जो सूचना दी है उसको मैं प्रस्तुत करना चाहूंगी और वह यह है :—

"Industrial production as a whole recorded a rise of 5.3 per cent during January-June, 1968 as compared to the corresponding period of 1967. Output rose in a number of public sector undertakings, and this had a favourable effect on capacity utilisation."

इसका मतलब है कि हमारी पब्लिक सेक्टर अंडरटेकिंग्स पहले से अच्छा काम करने लगी है।

श्री ए० जी० कुलकर्णी : (महाराष्ट्र)
कहां अच्छा करने लगी है।

डा० (श्रीमती) मंगलादेवी तलवार : पूरी तरह से तो नहीं लेकिन अच्छा काम करने लगी है।

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : कितना घाटा है।

डा० (श्रीमती) मंगलादेवी तलवार : वह तो पुरानी बातें हैं।

इसमें जिन आइटम्स में बढ़ोतरी हुई है वे ये हैं।

Flour milling and grinding	+3 C%
Sugar factories	+2 -6%
Cigarette manufacturing	+10.3%
Spinning, weaving and finishing of woollen textiles	+7-2%
Vegetable and animal	11-3%
Manufacture of matches	+6-S%

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने निर्यात के क्षेत्र के सम्बन्ध में भी प्रकाश डाला है। निर्यात के क्षेत्र के संबंध में अभी आपने श्री पारथसारथी से सुना कि इसमें काफी प्रगति हुई है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं भी यहां प्रकाश डालना चाहती हूँ।

"Export statistics are available only up to August, 1968. They show that India's exports including re-exports during April-August, 1968 at Rs. 554.2 crores were higher by Rs. 93.5 crores or 20% as compared to April-August, 1967. These were the highest ever recorded for April-August in any year; the earlier record was Rs. 513 crores in April-August 1964."

इसमें हम जो अग्रसर हुए हैं, बड़े हैं वह बहुत हद तक निर्यात बढ़ाने के लिए गवर्नमेंट ने जो कदम उठाए हैं उस पर मनहसिर है। उसकी जो मुख्य-मुख्य बातें हैं, उसकी जो मुख्य-मुख्य चीजें हैं, जो मुख्य-मुख्य स्टेप्स लिए गए हैं वह मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहूंगी।

Export duties have been reduced in the case of selected manufactured products, such as jute manufactures, coir products, etc. Priority is extended in the matter of supply of indigenous raw materials needed for export production. Important indigenous raw materials like iron and steel for engineering industry and some raw materials for the plastics industry are made available for export production at international prices. Cash assistance is also given in selected cases. Concessional railway freight is allowed for the movement of a large number of export products from centres of production to the ports of exports. Then credit, both pre-shipment and post-shipment, is made available to exporters at concessional rates. The time limit for receipt

of payment against exports of industrial machinery has been raised from 5 to 7 years and in some cases to 10 years. The minimum limit to qualify for obtaining blanket permits of foreign exchange has been reduced, and the blanket permit of foreign exchange will under the latest policy be made valid not only to cover expenditure on business travels abroad but also other approved expenditure like market studies, advertising, etc. Export houses recognised by the Government of India have been made eligible to obtain grant-in-aid for increasing exports.

An export orientation has been given to the Import Policy and a policy has been adopted to encourage units with good export performance and to penalise units capable of exports but which do not export sufficiently.

Manufacturing units in the priority sector as well as in the non-priority sector who have exported more than 10 per cent of their production during 1967-68 will be given facilities to import their requirements from sources of their own choice and also for expansion of production capacity.

So, these have been some of the steps which the Government has taken by which exports are helped.

माननीया, राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने परिवार नियोजन के कार्यक्रम को अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण बताया है। आपने कहा है कि सरकार ने विकास का जो कार्यक्रम बनाया है उसमें परिवार नियोजन का बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। इस कार्यक्रम का विस्तार बड़े पैमाने पर अब देहाती आबादी तक हो गया है और उनमें बहुत दूर के इलाके भी शामिल हैं।

भारत की जनसंख्या की वृद्धि का मुख्य कारण जन्म-दर का पूर्णतया बढ़ जाना है और सार्वजनिक स्वास्थ्य एवं चिकित्सा की सेवाओं का विस्तार होना है जिनसे मृत्यु-दर में तेजी से गिरावट आ गई है। 1949-50 ई० में मृत्यु-दर 27.4 थी जब कि जन्म-दर 39.9 थी। इसी प्रकार 1951-60 ई० में मृत्यु-दर 22.8 थी जब कि जन्म-दर 41.7 थी

और 1961-65 में मृत्यु-दर 17.2 तथा जन्म दर 41.0 थी। इन आंकड़ों से पता चलता है कि अति-जीविता-दर 1949-50 ई० में केवल 12.5 प्रति हजार थी जब कि 1951-60 ई० में यही दर 18.9 प्रति हजार थी और 1961-65 में यही दर बढ़ कर 23.8 प्रति हजार हो गई। यही कारण है कि हमारी जनसंख्या बहुत तेजी से आगे बढ़ रही है। अब औसत आयु भी 42 से बढ़ कर 50 हो गई है और जीवित रहने की आशा भी बढ़ती जाती है। इस विषय में, इस क्षेत्र में, भारत के परिवार-नियोजन कार्यक्रम ने 1966 ई० से जोर पकड़ा है। पिछले बारह वर्षों में 45 लाख व्यक्तियों का आपरेशन किया गया और 24 लाख स्त्रियों में लूप लगाए गए। इनमें से 27 लाख व्यक्तियों के आपरेशन और 15 लाख स्त्रियों में लूप लगाने का काम पिछले दो वर्षों में हुआ है। परिवार नियोजन कार्यक्रम का लक्ष्य अगले बारह वर्षों में जन्म-दर को घटा कर एक हजार की आबादी के पीछे 23 करना है। इन उद्देश्यों की प्राप्ति के लिए एक संगठन विकसित किया गया है जिसमें देश के 5 लाख 60 हजार ग्रामों और 3 हजार कस्बों व शहरों में फैलाने का कार्यक्रम है। और यह कार्य अस्पतालों में होता है चाहे वह सरकारी हों चाहे गैर-सरकारी, और प्राइवेट प्रैक्टिशनर्स, वैद्य, सोशल वर्कर्स, सबके द्वारा होता है और जितने भी इनफार्मेशन के मास मीडिया हैं जैसे रेडियो से, लेक्चर से, या डिपार्टमेंटल पब्लिकेशन्स के जरिए सारे साधन काम में लाए जा रहे हैं। इस समय यहां पर यूनाइटेड नेशन्स के विशेषज्ञों को टीम आई हुई है जो कि भारत में परिवार नियोजन क्या प्रगति हुई है उसका अनुमान लगा रही है, वह आजकल केरल में है, जिन्होंने त्रिवेन्द्रम से अपनी रिपोर्ट देते हुए बताया है :

"There has been a fall of 1.9 per cent, in the birth-rate in Kerala as a result of the family planning drive, officials claim.

[डा० (श्रीमती) मंगलादेवी तलवार]

The birth-rate is 38.3 per 1,000 of the population. The State has a long way to go to achieve the national target of 25 per thousand of the population."

महोदया, हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने विदेशी कर्ज पर और उसकी अदायगी के प्रश्न पर भी प्रकाश डाला है। इसमें भी मैं थोड़ी सी सूचना प्रस्तुत करना चाहूंगी जो इस प्रकार है—

While the repayments of principal are made in accordance with the repayment schedules applicable to each loan agreement, the amount of interest payable on loans is calculated from year to year on the basis of the interest rate applicable to the loan and in relation to the drawals of the loans and the repayments falling due. The annual expenditure incurred by the Government for servicing the foreign debts will, therefore, differ from year to year. Expenditure to be incurred by the Government on this account during 1968-69 and 1969-70 has been estimated as follows :—

	1968-69	1969-70
	Rs. crores	Rs. crores
Principal	186.40	210.85
Interest	148.93	161.68

Repayment schedules are worked out for all loans, on the basis of the period of repayment and the rate of interest agreed to in each loan.

The period of repayment varies from less than 10 years to 50 years and include grace periods extending from two to ten years. The last of the repayments, on debt outstanding as of 30th June 1968, will be due in the year 2018. For the years 1966-67, 1967-68 and 1968-69, we got debt relief from members of the Consortium countries amounting to \$34,391 million, \$63.19 million and \$100.64 million respectively. The Consortium has agreed to consider favourably debt relief of about \$100 million for each of the next two years also. Debt relief has been provided as a measure of providing a higher level of net developmental aid inflow, for a given amount of gross inflow, as also

to improve the quality of aid by permitting more of the aid take an untied form.

Then there are three types of outstanding foreign debts out of which outstanding debt, principal repaid and interest paid comes to Rs. 3661.40 crores and Rs. 606.97 crores and Rs. 446.62 ' crores respectively. The number of countries involved is 18. Then loans repayable through export of goods to Czechoslovakia, Poland, U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia in respect of, again, outstanding debt, principal repaid and interest paid comes to Rs. 470.77 crores, Rs. 163.77 and Rs. 47.05 crores respectively. Then loans repayable in Rupees on Government account to Denmark, U.S.A. (excluding PL. 480 loans) and U.S.A. P.L. 480 Loans comes to Rs. 1534.34 crores, Rs. 127.64 crores and Rs. 169.23 crores respectively. The grand total under these three heads respectively comes to Rs. 5666.51 crores, Rs. 898.38 crores and Rs. 662.90 crores.

माननीय, अब मैं कुछ विषयों में हमारे माननीय श्री पारससारथी ने जो विचार व्यक्त किए उनका अनुमोदन करती हूँ। लेकिन खाली दो बातें हैं जिन पर माननीय राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने विचार व्यक्त नहीं किए। एक तो जेनरल वेलफेयर में आ जाता है। महिलाओं की ओर, नवयुवकों की ओर हमारी प्रधान मंत्री महोदया का हमेशा ध्यान रहा है और जैसा कि उन्होंने बताया, यही कारण है कि अब एक नई मिनिस्ट्री युवक वेलफेयर के लिए बनी है। माननीय, मेरे विचार से यह बहुत आवश्यक है कि नवयुवकों की जो इनर्जी है, जो उनकी शक्ति है, जो उनको भावनाएं हैं...

श्री राजनारायण: वह युवक वेलफेयर के अभी कौन मन्त्री हैं।

डा० (श्रीमती) मंगलादेवी तलवार: तो नवयुवकों में महोदया, नवयुवतियां भी आती हैं।

श्री राजनारायण: पोआइन्ट आफ आर्डर।

श्री जयसुख लाल हाथी (गुजरात): लेडी मेम्बर्स के केस में नहीं।

श्री राजनारायण : मेम्बर इज मेम्बर । कोई लेडो मेम्बर नहीं है । मैं आपके द्वारा चूंकि हिन्दी व्याकरण का संबंध है, बताना चाहता हूं कि युवक शब्द में युवती नहीं आती । इसलिए युवजन कहा जाए तो हम समझ सकते हैं । युवक में युवती नहीं आती । युवक मर्द है युवती औरत है । इसलिए हमने समाजवादी युवजन सभा कहा क्योंकि एक केरल की महिला थीं वह हमसे लड़ गई, उसने कहा युवक और युवती दोनों अलग हैं । इसलिए आप नाम युवजन रखिए ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That is not a point of order, it is a point of information.

डा० (श्रीमती) मंगलादेवी तलवार : माननीय, मेरा मतलब उस अवस्था के व्यक्तियों से है, जो 40 से साल नीचे के हैं । युवजन शब्द ठीक है । इस आगस्ट हाऊस के सामने एक सबसे बड़ी बात रखना चाहेंगी कि युवजनों के अन्दर, उनकी भावनाओं को, उनकी शक्ति को, ठीक तरह से अच्छे चैनल पर लगाने के लिए जो राष्ट्रीयता, देशभक्ति और देश सेवा का भाव भरना चाहिए न कि अलग-अलग आइडियोलॉजी वाले राजनैतिक दल भर सकते हैं या भरते हैं, नहीं तो फिर देश का अधिक से अधिक नुकसान हो सकता है ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You must wind up now. You have taken over 20 minutes.

श्री राजनारायण : थोड़ा समय उनको दे दीजिए ।

उपसभापति : आपके समय में से ।

श्री राजनारायण : हमारे समय में से आप दे दीजिए जिससे महिलाओं को विशेष अवसर हो ।

डा० (श्रीमती) मंगलादेवी तलवार : जो मध्यावधि चुनाव हुए हैं उसके विषय में राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण

में कहा है कि कई जगहों से चिंताजनक सूचना मिली है कि लोगों पर दबाव घमकी के रूप में डाला गया जिसके कारण वे अपना मतदान नहीं दे सके । सरकार इस बात पर ध्यान दे रही है . . .

माननीया, मैं इस सम्बन्ध में दो वक्तव्य आपके और सदन के सामने रखना चाहती हूं । एक तो हमारे माननीय सदस्य श्री राजनारायण जी ने दिया है जिसमें उन्होंने कहा है ।

श्री ए० जी० कुलकर्णी : क्या यह प्रेजीडेंट एड्रेस में है ।

डा० (श्रीमती) मंगलादेवी तलवार : जी नहीं ।

Mr. Rajnarain said in a statement today that the Bharatiya Kranti Dal leader exploited the prestige and power of money conferred on him during his Chief Ministership to wreck the progressive socialist forces and parties.

Mr. Rajnarain alleged that the B.K.D. played on caste sentiments and thereby damaged the cause of the socialists as well as the backward castes.

श्री डी० एन० तेवाड़ी, जो लोकसभा के सदस्य हैं उन्होंने भी एक वक्तव्य दिया है जो इस प्रकार है ।

Mr. D. N. Tiwary, Congress M.P. from Bihar, has complained to the Chief Election Commissioner, S.P. Sen Varma that 'most of the votes' cast in the mid-term elections in the State were 'bogus.'

In a letter he urged an impartial enquiry into the matter. He says : In the booth in Ziradi constituency, for instance, the votes of the entire village were cast before the actual voters arrived at the polling booth. When the villagers demanded ballot papers, they were told their votes had already been cast.

In Lalganj, Muzaffarnagar District, 'the votes polled were more than the number of registered voters.'

[डा० (श्रीमती) मंगलादेवी तलवार]

डा० (श्रीमती) मंगलादेवी तलवार: मैं जल्दी समाप्त कर रही हूँ।

माननीया, राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मैत्री पर जो प्रकाश डाला है और हमारे पूर्व वक्ता ने अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय नीति के संबंध में जो बातें कहीं हैं, उसकी मैं सराहना करती हूँ तथा समर्थन करती हूँ। मैं समझती हूँ कि हमारी सरकार की जो नान-एलाइन्मेंट की नीति है, वह बहुत अच्छी है और इसकी वजह से हमने बहुत से राष्ट्रों से मित्रता प्राप्त की है।

इसके साथ ही माननीया, यह कहना भी आवश्यक है कि जो मुल्क, जो देश, हमारे साथ मित्रता का व्यवहार नहीं चाहते हैं, उनके

Mr. Tiwary said. A handful of persons who had brought lethal weapons from U.P. to Saran district, intimidated the polling officers to enable a few persons to cast hundreds of votes, often one person casting more than 20 votes.

माननीया, इस बारे में पूरी तरह से जांच होनी चाहिए क्योंकि यह चीज हमारे डेमोक्रेटिक इन्स्टीट्यूशन और हमारे गणतन्त्र के लिए एक ऐसी चीज है कि अगर इसको पूरी तरह से समझा गया, उसकी जांच करके उन लोगों को पनिशमेंट नहीं दिया गया, तो आगे चलकर इस जनतंत्र के लिए खतरा पैदा हो सकता है।

डा० (श्रीमती) मंगलादेवी तलवार: मैं दो मिनट में समाप्त कर दूंगी।

साथ हमें उस रुख से नहीं बल्कि मित्रता की भावना दिखलाने की आवश्यकता है। यदि फिर भी वे न मानें और हमारी प्रभुसत्ता पर किसी प्रकार का आक्षेप करें या फिर हमारे ऊपर चढ़ाई करें, तो हमें किसी तरह से भी दबना नहीं चाहिए और न ही उनकी बात माननी चाहिए। मैं इस संबंध में श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी को बधाई देना चाहूंगी कि उन्होंने इस संबंध में जो रुख अपनाया है वह बहुत ठीक है और बहुत अच्छा है।

इसके साथ ही जो हमारी सेना है वह बहुत ही देशभक्त है। उनके जो भी अब तक के कार्य हैं वे बहुत अच्छे रहे हैं और मैं आशा करती हूँ कि आगे भी अच्छे रहेंगे। इसलिए मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि उनके परिवारों के वेलफेयर के लिए अधिक से अधिक ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए।

एक बात और आवश्यक है। हमारे जो दो पड़ोसी देश चीन और पाकिस्तान हैं उनके साथ हमने अच्छे संबंध बनाने की भरसक कोशिश की है। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यह प्रोपोजल रखा है कि इन दोनों देशों के साथ हमारे जो संबंध हैं उनको आपस में मिल बैठकर सुलझा लेना चाहिए। लेकिन चीन इस बात के बावजूद भी भारत विरोधी प्रोपेगन्डा करता आ रहा है। वह कहता है।

"A genuine united front of workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie is now building up and mightier struggles than those of the past are about to sweep the country."

इस तरह की वह हमें धमकी दे रहा है। इसके साथ ही साथ वह केरल गवर्नमेंट जो कि एक कम्युनिस्ट गवर्नमेंट है उसके खिलाफ भी प्रोपेगन्डा करता है। वह कहता है —

sion and exploitation of the Indian working people. The State Government's action in the distribution of the State nazool lands, its handling of the strike at the Birla silk factory in Kerala and for not ameliorating the conditions of the poor people..."

So they are very critical of India, including the Government of Kerala. Then again they say :

"The Indians have realised that non-violent forms of struggle like elections and peaceful protests are useless. Hence they are adopting the path of revolutionary struggle."

The radio took a dig at the parliamentary system as well and said that "the minds of the people are speedily moving away..."

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala): What is the relevancy of that document here ?

DR. (MRS) MANGLADEVI TALWAR ; ... from having any faith in Parliament." So we have to take note of these very disturbing trends and the propaganda.

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन करती हूँ।

The question was proposed

SHRI G. GOPINATHAN NAIR : Madam, I beg to move :

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

"but regret that no effective measures have been outlined in the Address to stop the orgy of arson, loot and murder that is being periodically unleashed in Bombay by the Shiv Sena particularly against the South Indian Community."

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

"but regret that no effective measures have been outlined in the Address to give a better deal to the States in the rapidly worsening Centre-State relationship."

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

"but regret that no positive steps have been outlined in the Address to help the backward States like Kerala to catch up with the more advanced States by rendering better financial help and by enforcing an effective policy of licensing in the private sector and establishing more public sector undertakings in such States."

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Madam, I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address does not condemn the Government for the increasing economic disparity, poverty and unemployment in the country and the shrinking of borders and for the failure of the Government to check the dominating influence of casteism, wealth and bureaucracy during the midterm elections."

SHRI GODEY MURAHARI (Uttar Pradesh) : Madam, I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the fact that the Congress Government at the Centre has lost the confidence of the people as evidenced by the defeat of the Party in the mid-term polls."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the complete absence of law and order in the States placed under President's rule especially, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar."

(Shri Godcy Murahari]

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the increase in communal riots during the last one year and especially in States under the President's rule.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not point out the fact that there has been an unprecedented economic chaos due to lack of any plan during the last year.'"

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

but regret that there is no reference in the Address to the fact that unemployment has increased during the last one year.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the fact that regionalism and parochialism have increased under Congress rule both in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh where the Shiv Sena and Mulki agitations have caused irreparable damage to life and property.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the use of official machinery by the Congress Party in the mid-term poll thus setting at naught free and fair elections.'"

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

'but regret that there is no reference in the Address to the failure

of the Government to institute action against malpractices by monopoly business houses like the Birlas, Jains, Tatas and others.'"

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

'but regret that there is no reference in the Address to the increasing humiliation of Harijans.'"

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

'but regret that there is no reference in the Address to the increase in corruption and political bribery.'"

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

'but regret that there is no indication in the Address of any steps to correct the economic imbalance among various sections of the people.'"

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

'but regret that there is no proposal in the Address to limit the range of the lowest and highest incomes in the ratio of 1 : 10.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of a need-based minimum wage for workers.'"

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

'but regret that there is no proposal in the Address to fix prices of commodities.'"

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

'but regret that there is no proposal in the Address to relate agricultural prices to prices of manufactured goods on a parity.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of preferential treatment to backward castes.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of interference by the Centre to topple non-Congress Governments in the States.'"

(The amendments also stood in the name of Shri Rajnarain)

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Madam, I beg to move :

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the 8th Thermo-nuclear explosion carried out by China and its implications for the security of India and for world peace.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not make a firm commitment regarding the formulation of the Fourth Five Year Plan.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of steps to redeem the solemn pledge given to Parliament on the 14th November, 1962, to recover the territory occupied by China.'"

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

but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any concrete steps to protect the legitimate interests of the Indian nationals and of the people of Indian origin living abroad.'"

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

but regret that the Address does not mention the recent outbursts and widespread violence involving immense loss of property and life in many parts of the country and particularly in Bombay and Andhra Pradesh.'"

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

but regret that the Address makes no mention of any steps to correct regional imbalances in development and the growing disparity between States.'"

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

'but regret that no concrete steps are indicated in the Address to solve the growing * unemployment problem in the country.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the failure to indicate any concrete steps to constitute a Council for solving problems arising out of Centre-State relations.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the growing pressures and repression and denial of the basic rights to the Scheduled

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy] Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the weaker sections of the community.' "

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the failure to solve the recurring calamities of famine, drought, and floods."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the steps for solving the shortage of food, inadequacy of drinking water, particularly in the rural areas."

(The amendments also stood in the names of Sarvashri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda, Banka Behary Das and K. Chandrasekharan.)

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : Madam, I beg to move :

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the steps taken to solve the inter-State disputes regarding borders and distribution of river waters."

(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda.)

SHRI A. D. MANI : Madam, I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address presents an over-optimistic picture of industrial recovery which is not fully borne out by available avenues for fresh investment."

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

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"but regret that the Address does not contain any reference to the attempts made by Government to find out a suitable solution for the worsening Centre-State relations."

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

"but regret that besides casual references to the eruption of divisive feelings engendered by caste and regional considerations and the recommendations of the National Integration Council, there are no positive steps announced in the Address for countering fascist organisations like the Shiv Sena which has plunged the city of Bombay for days into a welter of disorder and destruction."

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

"but regret that beyond repetition of platitudes like peace and promotion of international co-operation, the Address does not contain any references to rethinking on foreign policy with a view to bringing into existence a defence organisation of areas in the Indian Ocean and a South East Asian common market."

SHRI MAN SINGH VARMA : Madam, I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address does not indicate concrete steps for the all-round development of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes."

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN : Madam, I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address betrays a dangerous sense of complacency and self-satisfaction in regard to the serious nature and

extent of the economic and political crisis facing the country.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not indicate an honest effort on the part of Government to lay here the basic causes underlying the failures and shortcomings of its policies during the past, and by gloating over the serious crisis in all its various manifestations—economic, social and political—is painting a deceptive and rosy picture to lull the consciousness and vigilance of the people against the dangerous pitfalls ahead."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to make any mention of the complete bankruptcy of the Central Government's policies towards non-Congress Governments in general and the U. F. Governments of West Bengal and Kerala in particular since the last general elections."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to take note of the Central Government's policy of subversion of parliamentary democracy, of emasculation of State's autonomy, of toppling the non-Congress Governments and of squeezing out such Governments through the most immoral, unconstitutional and arbitrary exercise of economic, political and administrative powers of the Centre, including denial of food, financial resources and even legislative competence of such States."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to take note of the fact that the

Government's chosen path of capitalist development of the country has resulted in the unprecedented development of monopolies, in the increasing and humiliating dependence of our country on foreign imperialist aid and the consequent danger to national independence, in the expropriation and ruination of millions upon millions of peasants from the land, impoverishment of the working people, economic and social oppression of agricultural labour and Harijans and Adivasis, the collapse of the small entrepreneurs, and the decline and even threatened extinction of the traditional industries, and in the mounting unemployment, wage-cuts, increasing workload and fall in wages of industrial labour and high prices of the necessities of life of the common people."

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

'but regret that the Address, while noting the "decisive upward turn in agriculture", fails to record that primarily it has been the result of the fortuitous circumstances of two consecutive good monsoons and gloats over the havoc caused by unprecedented floods in many parts of the country and the still existing conditions of drought and famine in vast areas."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to record that the so-called recover, in a large segment of industry has been achieved at the cost of the ruination and closure of a number of weaker units, by resort to rationalisation, retrenchment, increase in workload, depression of wages and prolonged unemployment of millions of industrial workers.*"

[Shri M. R. Venkataraman]

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

'but regret that the Address fails to take note of the fact that the so-called striking improvement in the balance of payments is offset by fall in value of the rupee due to devaluation and what little achievement there has been, is made by the pumping of enormous amount of subsidies paid by the Government out of the tax-payer's money to the big industrialists and exporters.' "

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

'but regret that the Address ignores the fact that the technological improvement in agriculture is leading to the rise and strengthening of a powerful class of capitalist landlords and the simultaneous expropriation of millions of small and middle peasants and increasing unemployment of agricultural labour, thus resulting in distress and destitution stalking the countryside.' "

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

'but regret that the Address ignores the stark realities that most of the agricultural inputs made available by the Government in the form of credit, fertilisers, machinery, improved seeds, etc., are all cornered by the rich peasants and capitalist landlords and have not made any impact on the poor and middle peasants.' "

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

'but regret that the Address while being complacent about the increase in food production and procurements fails to note that the Kerala people are being still denied an adequate quantum of ration by the Central Government.' "

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

'but regret that the Address completely ignores the problems of over 80 textile mills which have been closed down and the unemployment of about 75,000 textile workers in the country.' "

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

'but regret that the Address completely ignores the still continuing crisis in the engineering industry.' "

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

'but regret that the Address ignores the vast problems of under-utilisation of industrial capacity and the consequent huge waste of scarce national resources.' "

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

'but regret that the Address completely ignores the stupendous scale and extent of the unemployed and the underemployed.' "

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

'but regret that the Address completely ignores the basic causes underlying the recent growth of communal, parochial and other fissiparous tendencies and tensions gripping the country and poisoning the body politic and is silent on the policies of the Government which have led to this serious situation and on the role played by the reactionary, anti-democratic, communal, and anti-national forces in aggravating the situation.' "

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

'but regret that the Address is completely silent on the unprecedented and savage repression un-

leashed on the Central Government employees in anticipation of, during and after the 19th September strike and die extremely undemocratic and vindictive victimisation of thousands of employees."

(The amendments also stood in the names of Sarvashri K. P. Subramania Menon, Kesavan (Thazhava) and A. P. Chatterji.)

SHRI NIRANJAN VARMA : Madam, I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address does not suggest any remedy for internal discord, growing corruption in the country and for the unsuccessful foreign policy."

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : Madam, I beg to move :

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any steps to implement land reforms."

SHRI A. K. A. ABDUL SAMAD (Tamil Nadu): Madam, I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address no serious notice is taken of the distressing situation created by die continuance of the aggressive communal and regional violence in various parts of the country."

123. "That at the end of the Motion, die following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address ignores die long-pending vital question of giving Urdu its rightful place."

124. "That at the end of the Motion, die following be added, namely :—

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"but regret that tiere is no indication in the Address of making any effective drive to eradicate corruption which is progressively eating into the vitals of the economics of the country."

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

"but regret that die Address fails to take note that the much talked of secularism is honoured more in die breach than in its observance as witnessed by the repeated instances of wanton demolition of mosques and desecration and appropriation of grave-yards, etc., in different parts of the country, one last instance of which is the demolition of a mosque and despoliation of grave-yard in the Hazrat Nizamuddin area in this very capital of die country and by the Delhi Administration itself."

The questions were proposed.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): Last year, Madam, has been unfortunately a year that has witnessed drought, floods, upheavals, political and otherwise, which have not helped the country to progress. On the one hand, we see a little improvement in agricultural production. Our Government wants to call it the green revolution. I have no quarrel with it. Only it is belated. The Government did not listen to us when we pointed out that you could learn this technique. Under the advice of die former Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon, al) that literature was banned. They thought it was a sin even to look at it. The Rice Research Station from where the Minister is getting rice for us, that grant was offered to this country; but because we did not take it, it went to the Philippines. That is the history of that Rice Research Station in Manila in the Philippines. Apart from that, I had occasion to go to Manila recently for the Asian Parliamentary Unions' meeting. That also our country has thought fit not to attend. I do not know why; while we talk of closer relations with Asian countries, our Government behaves like this.

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel] I tried to understand how they built up their economy and progress. The Philippines have got many minerals. They are rich. They are also rich in forests. But they were short of food and they had particularly to import rice. It is only when they increased their production of rice with the help of this research station and several other research stations which they have set up—they have got a research station in every part—that their economy has become self-sufficient and thriving. And we who are supposed to be a big country, a large country, we are buying rice from that country. If we had listened—I know there are some people who are allergic even to the name of Taiwan; I am not referring to Taiwan but this is; Philippines—if we had listened to them—of course, if we had listened to Taiwan the thing would have come about very much earlier—perhaps the famine that we had in Bihar could have been averted or its devastating effect could have been mellowed down and we would not have suffered so much. Well, I am glad that the new Ministers have taken a more practical view. But why is agricultural production hemmed in by difficulties on all sides? Before the poor agriculturist is able to make a little profit or get something after years of hard life, comes in the Government's procurement policy and what not. How is there any enthusiasm left in the agriculturist to produce more if you behave like this? And we have not turned the corner as some people would like to think in our agricultural production. Perhaps we have got enough foodgrains. But we do not depend only on foodgrains. Our commercial crops, particularly, jute which is a large export earner, seems to be going down and our earnings are dwindling. What does the Government propose to do about it? Take cotton which is very essential for our textile industry which is one of the major industries in this country. What is going to happen to that if cotton production and improvement of cotton and the industry does not keep pace with the demand and the progress that is necessary? It is, of course, something to be satisfied with that food production has gone up; 95

million tons of foodgrains have been produced—an increase of 25 per cent over the previous year. But I suggest steps be taken to encourage the agriculturist to continue this rate of production. It is going to be a long time before we will be in a comfortable position in the matter of food production, particularly when we have to depend on the vagaries of the monsoon and annual experience. While some States, some areas, are fortunate in having a good crop, some areas have drought, some have floods. So, it is necessary to provide for these.

On the side of industrial production unfortunately the situation is not so happy. It is not that there are not enough industries. It is not that we have not enough man-power. On the contrary, the large number of unemployed, qualified and unqualified engineers is a matter that is causing all anxiety. On the other hand, it is also estimated that 20 per cent of our productive machines are lying idle. What is the reason for this? The productive capacity of the public sector industries also is not fully utilised and we are passing through an industrial recession. How do we get out of this? We have got in this country the peculiar phenomenon of high prices and very low production rate. What are the steps that the Government proposes to take to get over this? Unfortunately we do not find it in the President's Address. If there was any mention of this, perhaps it would have enthused us. We would have felt happier. It was just mentioned yesterday in the other House that some 1500 to 2000 applications for industrial licences are pending before the Minister from the State of Orissa alone. I am mentioning one of the smallest States in this country. From the State of Orissa alone 2000 applications for licences are pending. The process of industrial licensing is cumbrous, heavy, dilatory, and it leads to corruption and it retards the natural growth of industry that should normally take place. No concrete steps seem to be taken to improve the situation and this is not only the case with licences of small industries but to vital industries. I will mention a particular case which touches the economy of the State where I come from—Gujarat. Why is the licence of

the Tata Fertilizer Project the Mithapur Fertilizer Project which is commonly known as the Tata Fertilizer Project because the Tatas have sponsored it—being delayed so long? It is estimated that every hour's delay in the grant of this licence is costing this country one lakh of rupees. How many months, how many days, how many years have passed since this application has been pending before the Government and what is the reason for the delay? What a great financial loss to the country it is when we are passing through this recession and when we want progress, when we want development of industry, when we want development of agriculture? This shows that the direction in the matter of the Government policy, if it really has a policy, is mis-guided or it has no policy at all. We are supposed to have a Planning Commission and a plan. This does not seem to indicate that we have a plan. As far as the State of Gujarat is concerned, from where I come, I have always been saying I have been critical of the Planning Commission and I am glad my friends from Gujarat who sit on the Opposite Benches are coming round to my point of view that the Planning Commission has been the greatest impediment in the progress and development of Gujarat. The policies of the Planning Commission, rightly or wrongly, are anti-Gujarat. None of the river valley projects has gone through. About industrial progress I am pointing out just now the policy. In the matter of petro-chemical industries how slow the process of sanctioning is and now some criticism is levelled at it that much progress is not taking place when sanctions are given but there are certain complex industries where sanctioning one major project is not enough. The offtake of the subsidiary projects and the provision for industries to deal with them is very necessary and that is lagging behind. Since I came to this House I have been pointing out that the development of oil drilling, oil-exploration, refining and other petro-chemical industries as far Gujarat is concerned have been very slow, dilatory. I have been pointing out that the Government's estimate is rather mistaken or prejudiced. Perhaps my estimate was over-optimistic but events have shown

that what I was saying since I came here 11 years back is true. Oil exploration in Gujarat has been found to be the most economical anywhere in the world. The most successful number of wells drilled in point of percentage, fortunately, in this country has been in Gujarat compared to world figures, but have we done enough to cope with it? Are we utilising the by-products? If you travel from Bombay to Ahmedabad you will see flares for miles from Surat, Broach, Baroda and the gas is being burnt up and not used. We are short of fuel. People want to use this gas. The Government does not do what it should and will not allow anyone else to do either. This dog-in-the-manger policy that have been criticising still continues. Pakistan, our neighbour, started exploring gas and that Sui gas they have been using practically within a few years of that State coming into existence. We have been pointing out this to our Government but our Government does not seem to think about it or is not satisfied. They were not able to be satisfied of the potential of oil available in Gujarat. Now at least they see it and when they do it, when they took up the question of oil, in what manner do they do it? I do not know whether they want to be vindictive or want to punish Gujarat. They took the best piece of fertile lands in the whole of Gujarat for establishing the refinery. Was it necessary? Was it necessary that the officers who deal with it should live near Baroda so that they can go to the club in the evenings or their children can go? There is plenty of land within five miles but which is not so fertile but they would not listen. There was Satyagraha offered by the peasants of that area but the Government would not listen because, unfortunately, the voice of Gujarat is not heard in the counsels that prevail with this Government.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu): Is there no Gujarati Minister in the Cabinet?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : At that time the Minister in charge was Mr. K. D. Malaviya. Not only I asked him here but I personally invited him and I

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel] offered to go with him to Baroda and show him but it was of no avail.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Fortunately his constituency has taught him a lesson now.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : I was referring to the river valley projects of Gujarat. I have referred to them in this House previously. I will just make a passing reference. During the first general elections just before it, the carrot of the Tapti scheme was dangled before Gujarat. That is not yet complete. In the second general elections the carrot of Mahe project was dangled and in the third general elections, Prime Minister Nehru himself went and laid the foundation stone of the Narmada project. Which one of them has been completed even today ? This is how the Government of India and the Planning Commission have been treating Gujarat. Therefore I say that the Planning Commission has been most unsympathetic if not inimical to the needs of Gujarat and has been behaving like this. I am glad that Members from Gujarat on the other side also seem to realise this by now. My friend from the other side moving the Resolution said that the industries are going to Gujarat. He is sadly mistaken. Industries going out of Bombay is the result of zoning which has been done by the Bombay Municipal Corporation. I had quite a hand in it because I was a member of the Municipal Corporation for a long time. Unfortunately industries that want to go to Gujarat cannot go there because there is power shortage and who wants to take the industries out when one is not guaranteed power ? I do not know whether the Planning Commission sanctioned it or the Gujarat Government took up the Dhruvaram Power Project which was much talked of and much advertised. The revised estimates are now twice the original one and yet the people of the area—Baroda and Khera—do not get the power that was promised. Then why and wherefor of this I have not been able to get. Even when we asked here or in Ahmedabad in informal meetings with the Ministers of Gujarat I could not get the information. What was supposed to have been com-

pleted in Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 crores Mr. Hathi knows about this and I wish he would enlighten us—has gone to Rs. 16 crores and yet the power that was promised is not available. Those who have gone to Gujarat or those who have established industries in Baroda have had to put up their own generating plants and you can understand how expensive it is for industries to do it because one does not know at which moment the power will fail. And there are many intricate industrial plants where one cannot tolerate power failure even for a minute; it will be dangerous to the plant in the industry and would lead to a lot of financial loss. So they have to set up their own power-generating plants side-by-side.

Then roads. The whole of India has gone ahead with road development—I am glad to see. I am glad to see that many States have gone far ahead of the Nagpur Plan, which was put up as an ideal some time back. Some have gone 25 per cent ahead, some 50 per cent ahead. Does this House know that Gujarat still lags behind that 25 per cent even in the development of roads ? It is a misnomer that many people have been feeling jealous that Gujarat has gone far ahead and is rich. Here this is how Gujarat has been treated by the Planning Commission and therefore I accuse the Planning Commission of being most unfair to Gujarat. I have made charges of this type in this House before, and today I stand vindicated because the development of Gujarat has been completely neglected—I am not saying this only for the sake of Gujarat. If this country is to develop, it cannot have an area completely neglected, or an area that feels unfairly treated all the time while others progress. The development of the country will progress better if there is a type of competition in the progress to be made. Wherever there is competition there is progress. In a class where the students compete with one another the class picks up. If the teacher does not take interest and does not infuse a spirit of competition, the class goes down. Similarly this Government should have acted instead of wasting the country's costly money on this Planning Commission, which has been a

complete flop, where you have put unpractical people, people who can hardly be school masters, in charge of the destinies of the future and crores of rupees of this country. It is a result of this that the country has not progressed far enough. If you had put practical people and if you had put the target of progress before all the States and infused the spirit of competition in them giving them incentives—even this Government gives incentives to some people for certain targets—I am sure the progress of this country would have gone very much further. Unfortunately, this Government does not look at things in the proper perspective. And now we are to develop our country by exports. How do we export? For whose benefit? And why? I have, in this House, on a previous occasion, or two, pointed out how the rupee payment agreement that this Government is very fond of operates. It is well known that many of the exports from this country on the basis of rupee payment agreements to East European countries, that the exported products find their way to hard currency areas and the hard currency is earned by those countries instead of it coming to this country. And what is the large export trade that this country wants to develop with Russia? I have no objection to this Government developing proper trade on trade basis. But is it a wise trade basis the result of which is that a shoe made in India and exported for Rs. 15 and Rs. 30 is selling in the markets of Russia for a 100 roubles—which is nearly 200 Rupees and where does the benefit go? Does it come to this country? I am very doubtful. And we cannot ask this because they do not have a Public Accounts Committee in Russia. They are supposed to have a parliament but has anybody been able to ask a question there as I am asking here? Words and language seem to have a completely different meaning there. So I am at a loss to explain things as I would like to. But I would like to know if anybody is able to ask there at what price a shoe is imported from India, what it costs the importer—and the importer of course is the Russian export—import trade corporation or something of the kind—at what price it is sold there and where does the

difference go. Is it this difference that is being used to help the Communist Parties in India, to subsidise subversion, to subsidise the overthrow of different Governments in this country? I would like to know very much.

You probably know but I would like to be corrected if I am wrong in what I say as to what we get as a result of the devaluation because of what is called the secret gold clause—I am using the right words, I believe. Now there is supposed to be a gold clause in the trade agreements with East European countries including Russia. For what was hundred rupees, for what we were exporting for Rs. 100 we are getting less than Rs. 20 today. That means we are being asked to export for the benefit of Russia—if you take a single thing. I would like to know if I am wrong.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : A friendly power.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : That is our friendly power; that is our friendly State. And I have pointed out before in this House, look at the example of Finland. Geographically situated Finland had to switch on all her trade to Russia during the war years. In those few years the Russian net, I would like to call it grip, the Russian grip round the neck of the economy of Finland had been and is so tight that they say, "Nominate so and so as the President. Otherwise this trade agreement does not go through. You do not get trade and you cannot eat. Your economy is ruined tomorrow. Nominate so and so as your Prime Minister. Nominate so and so as your President. Form your Cabinet this way. Nominate so and so as your officers." And their dictation is completely thorough. We know it. Take Czechoslovakia. What happened in Czechoslovakia is not many months old. Madam. The whole world knows it. Does the Congress Government want this to happen to India?

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY : Hear, hear.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : We should like to have a clear explanation on these points; it has never been given

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel]

before. Are our exports a hundred rupees worth being sold at sixteen rupees or twenty rupees when we are in such financial disarray. It is no use crying over spilt milk of the devaluation but many of us from this side had done. I remember I had warned the Government that if proper steps were not taken the benefit of the devaluation would be completely lost and our economy would be ruined: Have we not come to that stage, Madam ? What is the use of talking of recovery ? Where is recovery ? After having gone down to the bottom, not zero, but minus somewhere, if we have now come to one from about a thousand or something that we were having, what is the recovery and what is the enthusiasm about it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Would you take more time. You have taken half an hour.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Madam, I will finish in a few minutes because I would like to leave some time for my colleagues.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : But you have taken all the time.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : No, Madam.

Madam, no wonder with what happened in the last general election and the recovery that was tried to be staged by the Congress in the recent election. North India has completely rejected the Congress from Punjab to Bengal.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (.Bihar): What about your Swatantra ?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : We are not in the Government. Mr. Sheel Bhandra Yajee, why don't you look nearer home ? What happened in Bihar ? You are a professional interrupter. Sitting here what is your contribution except interruptions ? You are certainly entitled to do it. You are the Congress interrupter always but what is your contribution to the State of Bihar and what has it led to your party? Just put your hand on your heart and think or ask your colleagues as to what has happened. Madam, the verdict of the country is very clear.

श्री राजनारायण : दया भाई का कहना है कि वह सरकार है, मगर ये तो सरकार नहीं है।

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : That is what I say. I am not in the Government. I wish to point out that this Congress Government has no moral authority to sit in Government. After the general election itself this was the position and this second effort has also completely failed. And wherever they succeed it is like our friend Mr. Bansi Lal who used to sit here. How did he manage to get that one critical vote ? How did that one vote disappear? Everybody knows that. Thank you.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh) : It was a good piece of amusement.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order. Mr. Akbar Ali Khan.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): May I begin, Madam?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes; you must begin otherwise you lose time.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Madam Deputy Chairman, I join with the Mover of the Motion of Thanks....

DR. B. N. ANTANI (Gujarat) : Why don't you join us ?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : in expressing our gratitude to the President who has given a broad outline of what has happened during the last year and what his Government proposes to do in the coming year.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN' (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair]

Before I touch some of those points I must say that as my esteemed friend. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, leader of the big opposition group was speaking on, the Motion of Thanks I felt that he was speaking as a Gujarat leader but I want to remind him that he is not a Gujarat leader here but he is an all-India leader.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Thank you. I am only pointing out as an example what is happening to Gujarat. And that will happen to the whole of India very soon.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : I would not go into the charges that he has levelled against the Congress Governments. That is no new information to us.

sft TTSMTTPnt : Sft | I

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : And I leave it to the House including Mr. Rajnarain to give its opinion about his comments but I do feel that with the difficulty that this country and the Government faced when there was a bad monsoon it will go in the records of history as a year of determination, fortitude and sacrifice of the people of the country as well as of the Government of India. We have seen what the position was when there was drought and I congratulate the Government for pulling through those difficult time with determination and ability.

So far as these mid-term elections are concerned, let me confess to Mr. Dahyabhai that I am sorry that my party has not done well but one thing

.....

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: We are glad.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: let me tell you that it was due to the wise leadership of the Congress that the election took place on such a large scale in such a by and large calm atmosphere. And that strengthens our faith in democracy and that gives credit to every party and particularly to the party which is running the Government at the Centre. We are really obliged to the framers of the Constitution; we are obliged to those who led us during the last so many years and I am sure everybody now agrees that people now know that change of Government can be brought about through the ballot box and there is no need for bullets. The credit for that I think goes to everybody and particularly to the Central

Congress Government that they have conducted the whole affair in an honest, efficient and proper manner.

Now, Sir, coming to the question of some of the points referred to in the President's Address, I would briefly refer to three or four points only. Firstly I am happy that special effort is being made to develop agriculture, to provide fertilizer, to provide irrigation, to provide pesticides, and all that.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : And to provide corruption.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: And also banking facilities. But in the context in which we are placed more than 80 per cent of our agriculturists have less than 10 acres and I would like the Government to see how much of these benefits go to the poorer sections. The efforts made for the development of agriculture are no doubt welcome but we are very much anxious to see how much the poorer sections are benefited by these measures and I hope that this matter will be made clear in the reply of the Government.

Another thing I would like to say in this connection is this. Every time we say that regional imbalances should be made good. So far as I know, the Planning Commission, although it is a necessary thing and it has done much good—this may be contrary to the views of my esteemed friend, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel has declared that the aid from the Centre will be given according to the population. I welcome that but apart from that they want the States to bear the burden themselves. If that is so, how are you going to put right these regional imbalances? For instance, so far as power generation is concerned, the last are Assam and Andhra. Have you got any scheme to see that this particular imbalance is put right? On previous occasions Bombay got Tarapore, Madras got Neyveli and Bihar got D.V.C. Should you also not see that you keep up this practice? Should you not say that you will see that the weaker States, the weaker section got this Central amount? I am not asking for Andhra or for any other State.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE (Maharashtra) : But for Telangana ?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Don't bring in, Telangana and all that. I have already said what I wanted to say on that.

My respectful submission is that this matter will have to be looked into in greater detail. Things have gone too far. It is no use making generalisations or uttering platitudes. When we say we want to correct regional imbalances let us chalk out a programme and lay down how we are going to make good these regional imbalances. That is one point I want to stress here.

The other point that I want to stress is about the engineers and other technocrats. This is a matter I have been repeating in this House. Last time I approached directly the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister, the Education Minister.....

श्री राजनारायण : काहे के लिए ।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : .. to make some scheme, some plan to absorb these engineers. The Government has spent about Rs. 20,000 on each engineer. Their parents have spent some money and they have given their best to the country. A first-class engineer is an above average man and now that he is left in the street, you can imagine what his feeling is and what a loss to the country it is. I took up this matter and I am glad certain decisions were taken by the Planning Commission and approved by the Government. Those decisions were sent to the Central Ministries as well as to the State Governments to consider and implement them. I will give you three or four things and so far as I know, nothing substantial has been done in implementing them. For instance, take the training-in-industry programme of the Ministry of Education, which may be expanded as soon as may be possible to cover 5,000 trainees per annum. There is the suggestion of the Ministry of Labour and Employment—Mr. Hathi has gone—that the Apprentices Act may be modified to cover engineering graduates and diploma-holders. This may also be examined further in

consultation with the Ministry of Education.

I emphasise it, as it has been referred to in the President's Address. There is the self-employment scheme for engineers. A modest step has been taken in this direction. That is what the President has said. I want to know it and at least in my State I have been urging it, but they say there is no finance. Unless you give some training to these engineers, which will orient them to industry, how can you ask them to take to industry? That is a very important thing. When this decision was taken, the Education Minister had informed me, but so far as I know nothing substantial has been done, at least in my State. I would like other friends to let me know if something has been done in their States.

Then, there was another decision that was taken. Arrangements may be made for the training of 1,500 graduates and diploma-holders for the operation and maintenance of thermal stations. Some step has been taken in this direction by the Irrigation and Power Ministry, but, I think, not to the full extent.

Then, vacant posts may be filled rapidly, recruitment procedure and prescribed qualifications being modified wherever possible. The general ban on the filling of vacant technical posts may be lifted. I would like to know how far the Government have implemented it. I know in my place there are still vacant posts which have not been filled up. I believe the same thing applies to other States.

Then, an early decision may be taken on the introduction of a short service technical commission for the Army Technical Corps. Has that been implemented? Has that decision been taken? I am sure it has not been done. Otherwise a number of young engineers and diploma-holders would have been absorbed in that.

Then, it was decided that the development of Indian consultancy organisations may be encouraged. So far as I know nothing particular has been done in that direction.

Then, it was decided that a special scheme may be drawn up for financial assistance to engineers for the setting up of small-scale industries. The existing State Bank scheme may be reexamined in the light of the response so far evoked. I know that certain principles have been laid down, but how far actual help has been given to engineers to start small-scale industries ? I want the Government to point out how much real work has been done in this direction.

I would not give all of them, but only some important ones. Similarly, a multi-speciality approach may be adopted to scientific research and development. Then, there is the suggestion of the Ministry of Labour and Employment that 'factories employing more than a particular number of workers and using power be obliged to employ a qualified engineer. These were the decisions which were taken about a year back. These were important decisions. That is a demand that has been made from all sides. I would like the Government, either the Education Ministry, the Industrial Development Ministry or the Finance Ministry or the Ministry of Labour and Employment to answer these questions. I had given a suggestion that the four Ministers should sit down and try to finalise things and give finance. So far as I know the bottleneck is finance. I hope something urgent will be done in this connection.

I approve of the announcement of the President regarding the appointment of an Irrigation Commission. So far as I know in 1902 the Government of India had appointed an Irrigation Commission to look into the matter and integrate the irrigation schemes. I welcome the suggestion and I hope that something will be done very early to see that an integrated approach is made to the whole problem. But this reminds me of the cases pending about the Krishna, Godavari and Narmada. As very rightly pointed out by Shri Dahyabhai Patel, why should it go on pending so long ? We have amended the Act last time. Instead of a one-man Tribunal, let there be a three-man Tribunal. Now, it is time that the disputes are

immediately referred to a Tribunal in the case of all the three rivers. It is necessary in view of the geographical and other features that there should be three independent Tribunals, one for the Narmada, one for the Godavari and one for the Krishna and any delay in this matter is very much detrimental to the best interest of our country.

I had said what I wanted regarding Telengana and Andhra affairs yesterday. Now, I do not want to say it and it is 'for my friends from Maharashtra to say what had happened there. But I would like to say that it is really painful to hear about what has been done in a place where there were great men like Lokmanya Tilak and Gokhale, and there is Vinobaji living now. I will have to hang my head in shame. I do appeal to them. I think the basis of all this difference is the border dispute about Belgaum. As an Indian and as one who has given a part of my heart to Maharashtra and ? part to Mysore, I feel a little more interested. Let the Prime Minister call the two Chief Ministers. Let Mr. Chavan and Mr. Nijalingappa sit together with two Opposition leaders of the Bombay Assembly and the Mysore Assembly. Let them decide it. If they do not decide it, I think it is high time that the Government of India took courage in their hands and decided it.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : एक-आध विरोधी
दल का भी बैठ जाए ।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : I have said it. The Opposition leaders of Mysore and Maharashtra should be called. These persons must decide it. I would appeal that this decision should be taken within a month. Otherwise, the Government of India should have the courage to take a decision.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: What about the established formula of Mr. Pataskar, which was applied in the case of Madras and Andhra?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Shall I give you the easiest solution? Time is short and I cannot elaborate it. The Tungabhadra dispute, which was pend-

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan.] ing for eighty years, was decided in eighty minutes by Rajaji and the late Ali Nawaz Jung. I was the consultant in that case. You know what Rajaji said. Rajaji said : "Nawab Sahib, why do you think that I will not agree? I am here on behalf of the Madras Government. I give you full power to decide it. You may decide it in whatever way you want." Then, he responded and said: "Rajaji, after all it is in India. Whether some water goes to Madras or whether some water comes to Hyderabad cultivators, what difference does it make?" In that spirit they decided it. If they could do it, why cannot our people do it? There is something seriously wrong. In this connection, this is the Gandhi Centenary Year. As there is no time, I cannot go on much longer, but as I have been saying, this national integration should begin from the schools. When Mr. Chagla was Education Minister and before that when Maulana Sahib was there, I had been pleading to please see to the curriculum of all the schools and colleges. From the very start if you learn to respect each other and to think of India as one whole Bharat, it would be a very good thing, instead of creating a sectarian, communal and regional atmosphere. You say do not do this, do not do that. It is not going to take us far. Let us take a pledge. So far as education is concerned, so far as our approach to national problems is concerned, let everybody endeavour honestly and seriously so that we can say with some pride that in this Centenary Year we have achieved something.

The other thing I would say is that Shri Shankarrao Deo, the Sarvodaya leader, has circulated recently his scheme having in mind the proposition of a trustee which Mahatma Gandhi advocated regarding the responsibilities of a capitalist. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia had also submitted a draft Bill. I think it is worth trying it in some limited way. Let us try and see how far we can go and implement it.

LasUy, I would say it is true that I do not mind if the people in the higher circles occasionally drink. That is their business. So far as the poorer people

are concerned, I am for prohibition and I want the Centenary Year to be celebrated by enforcing prohibition with all sincerity and vigour

Sir, I give my good wishes to the talks that are going on in Vietnam. I give my good wishes to the efforts that are being made by President De Gaulle in convening a meeting of the four big Powers to settle the West Asia question. Sir, I am proud of the speech which the Prime Minister delivered at the U.N.O., which was praised by everybody as giving a lead not only to my country but to the countries of the world.

With these words, I support the Motion of Thanks that has been so ably moved by my friend.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : महोदय, यह बहुत प्रसन्नता की बात होती यदि माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी की जो भावनाएं थीं उसी के अनुकूल यह सरकार आचरण करती और तब हम धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव पर यहां पर अपनी सहमति देते। हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी विवाद के विषय नहीं, हम उनका सम्मान करते हैं, लेकिन सामान्यतः प्रजातन्त्र में यह कसौटी है कि जो कुछ राष्ट्रपति जी कहते हैं वह राजतन्त्र की एक सामान्य नीति है जो कि अगले वर्षों में बर्ती जाएगी इसलिए उसका विवाद के लिए आना और इस पर विवाद में पड़ना एक आवश्यक अंग है।

आज धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत करने के लिए जब हमारे मित्र पार्षदासी जी खड़े हुए तो ऐसा लगता था कि अच्छे वक्ता, योग्य वक्ता होते हुए भी उनके पास बोलने के लिए कोई विशेष पदार्थ नहीं था, उनके पास बोलने के लिए कोई मसाला नहीं था और इसलिए वह दबी जवान बोल रहे थे। हमारे कांग्रेसी मित्रों को याद होगा कि एक बार सुभाषचन्द्र जी में और गांधी जी में टक्कर हुई, विचारधारा में टक्कर हुई और त्रिपुरी कांग्रेस में जब सुभाष बाबू ने एक प्रस्ताव रखा था तब उस प्रस्ताव के विषय में बोलते हुए श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू

और खां अब्दुल गफ्फार खां ने यह बताया था कि पूरा प्रस्ताव पढ़ने के बाद मैं इस परिणाम पर पहुँचा कि इस प्रस्ताव में कुछ भी नहीं है केवल शब्द है, शब्द है, शब्द है और इसी तरह से आज 30 वर्ष के पश्चात् इस अभिभाषण को पढ़ने के बाद मालूम होता है कि केवल शब्द, शब्द, शब्द है और इसके अतिरिक्त कुछ नहीं है।

बहुत से मिलों ने प्रान्तों की बात की और बहुत से मिलों ने शान्ति के मसीहा बन कर संसार को सीख दी और शुभकामनाएं की। न तो हम शान्ति के मसीहा हैं और न हम प्रान्तीयतावादी हैं। जो हमारे देश में घटनाएं घट रही हैं उन घटनाओं के सामने हम कितनी प्रगति कर रहे हैं इस पर हम विचार करते हैं। यह बात सही है कि हम यह कल्पना नहीं कर सकते कि चाहे कोई भी राज कितना अच्छा क्यों न हो उसमें कुछ खराबी न हो, हमारे राम-राज की कल्पना जो गांधी जी ने की थी उस राम-राज के बारे में भी लोगों ने गलती बताई।

डा० बी० एन० अन्तनी : उसमें भी एक धोबी था।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : इस राज में भी हम यह कहें कि खामियां हैं तो हम समझते हैं कि हमारे मित्र हमें क्षमा करेंगे और अगर हम यह कहें कि गांधी जी के राम-राज की कल्पना को साकार बनाने के लिए जो यह देश आगे बढ़ा उससे हजारों मील हम पीछे हैं। हमारे राष्ट्रपति जो ने तथ्य गिनाए हैं। हमें बहुत आश्चर्य होता है। हमारे देश में दो सामान्य बातें हैं, एक तो देश की आन्तरिक स्थिति और दूसरी देश की बाह्य स्थिति और हम कहते हैं कि दोनों दिशाओं में हम बुरी तरह असफल हुए हैं। हमारे देश का बाहर जितना सम्मान था उसके बारे में हमारे जो नए मित्र आए होंगे उनके सामने हमें तथ्य प्रस्तुत करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है लेकिन 1946 ई० में जब सारे एशिया के राष्ट्रों का सम्मेलन दिल्ली

में हुआ था उस समय हमारी जो स्थिति थी वह यह थी कि आधा संसार हमें अपना अगुआ और नेता मानने के लिए तैयार था लेकिन आज उससे हम गिर चुके हैं और यह गिर चुकने का परिणाम यहां तक हुआ कि पिछले सालों में हमारे बहुत से लोगों को बर्मा से भगाया गया, हमारे बहुत से लोगों को लंका छोड़ने को विवश किया गया, हमारे बहुत से देशवासियों को केनिया छोड़ने पर विवश किया गया और श्रीमान इस से ज्यादा अधोपतन की बात क्या हो सकती है कि हमारे देश का विदेश-मन्त्री जाए और वहां का राष्ट्रपति उनसे मिलने से इनकार कर दे और मिलने का समय न दे, फिर कहे अपने मुंह-मियां-मिट्टू बन कर कि हम बड़े सबल राष्ट्र हैं, संसार में हमारी बड़ी कीर्ति ध्वज फहरा रही है तो मैं समझता हूं कि यह गलत बात है। हमारा पोंड-पावना कितना था और हमने खत्म कर दिया। हमारे पास कितना सोना था और हमने कितना समाप्त कर दिया संसार में शास्त्र ज्ञाता लोग उन्हें मूर्ख मानते हैं जो सदैव केवल शान्ति की बातें और संतोष की बातें किया करते हैं। सत्यानारायण की कथा में, जो कि सर्वप्रचलित है, एक बात बताई गई है और वह राजनीति की सब से ऊंचो बात है कि जो ब्राह्मण असंतोषी होता है और जो राजा संतोषी होता है वह दोनों समाप्त हो जाते हैं, राजा को कभी संतोष नहीं करना चाहिए, जहां संतोष करता है वहीं समाप्त हो जाता है और उसी का परिणाम हमारे यहां श्रीमान, यह हुआ कि जब हमने शान्ति के मसीहा बन कर संसार को शान्ति का संदेश देना शुरू किया तभी यह स्थिति हुई। हमने देखा कि जिन-जिन ने संसार को शान्ति का संदेश दिया और व्यावहारिक कठिनाइयों को सामने नहीं रखा, अपने देश के व्यावहारिक जगत को सामने नहीं रखा अंततोगत्वा उनका हाल यही हुआ कि उस राष्ट्र का पतन हुआ, उसके निवासो खत्म हुए और उसके बाद सैकड़ों वर्षों तक गुलामी की जंजीरों में जकड़े रहे और वही हाल आज हमारा होता चला जा रहा है। श्रीमान, कभी-कभी ऐसा मालूम होता है कि जाजं तृतीय

[श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

के समय में इंग्लैंड को फारेन पालिसी फेल हुई, लुई चौदहवें के जमाने में फ्रांस में आन्तरिक कलह हुई और जार के जमाने में रूस के ऊपर मुसीबतों के पहाड़ टूट पड़े लेकिन हमारे देश में ये तीनों इकट्ठे हो कर जैसे यहां पर आ गए हैं और ऐसे मालूम होता है कि तीनों मुसीबतें भारतवर्ष पर आई हैं। एक स्वाभिमानी राष्ट्र बाहर सम्मान प्राप्त न कर सके यह खेद की बात है। और हथियारों के मामले में हम कितने पीछे हैं। बहुत से मित्र हम पर यह आक्षेप लगाएंगे कि आप विरोधी दल के हैं इस लिए आपको हमेशा विरोधी बातें ही दिखलाई पड़ती हैं, हमारा देश कितना आगे बढ़ गया है इसकी तरफ आप ध्यान नहीं देते, इसकी आप चर्चा नहीं करते, उनसे हम सबिनय प्रार्थना करते हैं कि हम मानते हैं कि बहुत-सी चीजों में हम आगे बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं लेकिन हमें देखना है कि हमारा दृष्टिकोण क्या होना चाहिए। हमारा दृष्टिकोण यह है कि इन 22 वर्षों में अगर एक पश्चिमी जर्मनी जो कि घूल में मिला दिया गया था उठ कर के खड़ा हो सकता है, हमारे देश को अधिक ऋण दे सकता है। हमारे सामने उन्नति का आदर्श यह होना चाहिए कि एक इजराइल का राष्ट्र जहां पर भूमि में पैदा करने की क्षमता नहीं थी, जहां पर कोई भाषा नहीं थी, जहां संसार के सारे देशों से इकट्ठे हो कर लोग आए, जो कि चारों तरफ से शत्रु देशों के दांतों के बीच में घिरा हुआ राष्ट्र है वह आज चुनौती दे रहा है। तो हमारा मापदंड यह है। हमारा मापदंड यह होना चाहिए कि जैसे एक क्यूबा का राष्ट्र है जो अमरीका की सत्ता से चारतरफ घिरा हुआ है लेकिन बराबर आगे बढ़ता जा रहा है। उनके इतिहास से जब हम अपना मुकाबला करें, उनका अवलोकन करें, तब हमको मालूम पड़ेगा हम कितने पीछे हैं उन्नति के मार्ग में। आपने कुछ सड़कें बना दी, कुछ गांवों में बिजली पहुंचा दी, आपने गाड़ी में बैठकर लोगों के सामने भाषण दे दिया इससे काम नहीं चलेगा। हमारा विशाल

भारतवर्ष जिसने अतीत में बड़ा ऊंचा स्थान प्राप्त किया, जिसने सारे संसार को ज्ञान दिया था, जिसके सेनापतियों ने ईरान को विजय किया, जिसके सेनापतियों ने केवल तलवार के जोर पर ही विजय नहीं प्राप्त की बल्कि प्रेम का संदेश फैलाया, उस दिशा में आप बहुत पीछे हैं। इसके अलावा एक बात और भी है। क्या हम तलवार के जोर से बढ़ना चाहते हैं! जो नहीं। लेकिन संसार में निर्बल आदमी जो बात करता है, चाहे उस बात में कितनी सत्यता का अंश क्यों न हो, चाहे उसमें सच्चाई क्यों न हो, कोई उसकी बात को नहीं सुनता है और यही कारण है कि हमारी बातों को नहीं सुना गया। यह तो आपको बाहरी दशा हुई। आज अन्तरद्वंद में फंसे हुए हमारी आंतरिक स्थिति क्या है। अगर मौखिक रूप से नहीं तो दिल ही दिल में हमारे बहुत से सम्माननीय सज्जन हमारे साथ सहमत होंगे कि हम धीरे-धीरे अशांति की ओर बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है यह मध्यावधि चुनाव जो हुए हैं बड़ी शांति के साथ संपन्न हुए। मुझे दुख है इस बात का कि जितने चुनाव अभी तक हुए हैं मध्यावधि चुनाव, इनमें पिछले चुनावों की अपेक्षा ज्यादा कत्ल, ज्यादा खूनखराबियां हुई हैं, दुर्घटनाएं हुई, गोलियां चलीं, लोग मारे गए, आपस में सर फुटव्वल हुआ, करीब 700 आदमी गिरफ्तार हुए और 42 आदमियों की जानें गईं। यह परिणाम हुआ। क्या इससे हम सबक नहीं लेंगे कि हम किस दिशा में जा रहे हैं और अगर केन्द्रीय सत्ता कमजोर हो गई, जैसा कि कमजोर पड़ती जा रही है तो अन्त में बुरा हाल होगा। 1948 के समय में हमने 550 रियासतें पायी थीं, यही हाल रहा तो एक समय हमारे भारतवर्ष में 1000 रियासतें बन कर रहेंगी अगर केन्द्रीय सत्ता को कमजोर करने का यत्न किया। उसका कारण यह सरकार है। आप हमको उपदेश देते हैं तेलंगाना का, आंध्र का, मद्रास का, लेकिन हमारी सरकार बताए इस बात को कि जहां पर एक देश का आदमी दूसरे प्रान्त में जा रहा है उसको रोकने की क्यों कोशिश की

जा रही है। हमें बतलाएं काश्मीर में हम क्यों नहीं रह सकते जब वह हमारा देश है, हमारे मांस का मांस, हमारे हाड़ का हाड़, हमारे वंश के लोग, हमारे खून से सींचा हुआ धन, रुपया पैसा काश्मीर में बहाया जा रहा है, लेकिन आज वहां पर काश्मीर में जाकर हम एक मकान नहीं बना सकते। इसी का नाम प्रान्तीयता है और ठीक इसी तरह से यह प्रान्तीयता का पाप चारों तरफ मंडरा रहा है। एक-एक प्रान्त में यह चीज फैलती जा रही है।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में खेतों की, ट्रैक्टरों की, चर्चों की। उन्होंने कहा हमारे यहां अन्न बहुत पैदा हुआ, 1967-68 में हमारे यहां जितना अन्न पैदा हुआ उतना ही 1968-69 में भी पैदा होगा। राष्ट्रपति जी सम्मान के पात्र हैं, लेकिन जिन्होंने यह लिखकर दिया है, मन्त्रिमंडल के विशेषज्ञ ने, उसकी बुद्धि पर हमें तरस आता है। 1967-68 में उन्होंने बतलाया हमने क्या पैदा किया। 1967-68 में हमारी जनता का एक बड़ा भाग मूछा मर रहा था, अगर अमरीका आपके लिए मल्ला न देता तो अपने राष्ट्र की क्या हालत होती। 1966 और 1967 में अमरीका के राष्ट्र ने अपनी पूरी उपज का 20 प्रतिशत भाग हमारे खाने के लिए दिया। 1967-68 में अमरीका के राष्ट्र की पूरी उपज का 25 प्रतिशत, एक चौथाई, हमारे खाने के लिए दिया...

श्री अकबर अली खान : पैसा ले के दिया।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : पैसे की दशा श्रीमान, आपको मालूम है। पैसा आपके पास है क्या? आपने तो हमें कर्जदार बना दिया, आपने इतना ऋण लाद दिया जिसको यह पीढ़ी ही नहीं आने वाली दो पीढ़ियां इस कर्ज से मुक्त नहीं हो सकतीं। मैं आपके द्वारा अपने माननीय भिन्न अकबर अली खान साहब से निवेदन करूँ कि आप तो अभी राजे और नवाबों की बात कर रहे थे इसलिए राजे और नवाबों की बात याद आती है। हम मजदूर हैं, हम आपका

ध्यान आकर्षित कराएं कि इस वर्ष हमारे ऊपर जितना कर्जा है कर्जों की बात अभी हम छोड़ रहे हैं—इसी सदन में कल हमको माननीय वित्त मन्त्री की तरफ से जो उत्तर दिया गया उसका रेफरेन्स दे रहा हूँ। इस वर्ष हम 147 करोड़ रु० केवल व्याज में दे रहे हैं। एक निबल राष्ट्र, थका हुआ राष्ट्र, जिसके पास जन हैं, जिसके पास मन है, जिसके पास शक्ति है, उसके सब स्रोतों को कुंठित कर दिया गया है। उस राष्ट्र को 147.10 मिलियन, उसके बाद 156 करोड़ अगले वर्ष व्याज के रूप में देना पड़ेगा। इसके बाद श्रीमान् कहते हैं कि हमने रुपया देकर लिया है। आपके रूपए की हालत यह है कि आपके राष्ट्र के ऊपर कर्ज कितना है उसको भी आप मुन लांजिए, आपके ऊपर 5801 करोड़ रु० कर्जा है। बताओ, संसार में ऐसे कौन से देश हैं जिन पर इतना कर्जा हो। हमने कुछ पटानों को कहानी मुनी हैं जो जबदस्ती छोन कर खा जाते हैं, मूछें मरोड़ कर बैठे रहते हैं। मगर अकबर अली खान साहब का सिद्धान्त यह है कि कुछ न देकर बड़ी बात करें। हम आपको इस बात से सहमत नहीं हैं। आखिरकार हमने जो कर्जा लिया है उसको हमें पटाना ही पड़ेगा और यह पीढ़ी समाप्त हो जाएगी और आने आने वाली पीढ़ियों को भुगतान करना पड़ेगा और बार-बार कहा जाएगा कि इनके कारण हमारे ऊपर कर्ज का भार बढ़ा।

श्रीमान इसी प्रकार से हमारे यहाँ इनकम की बात है। कभी-कभी हमारे भिन्न जब जोश में बातें करते हैं तो छोटे-छोटे राष्ट्रों का समूह जो हमारे पड़ोस में हैं उनसे तुलना करते हैं जैसे पाकिस्तान है, लंका है, बर्मा है, कि उनकी अपेक्षा हम आगे बढ़ रहे हैं माननीय उपाध्यक्ष जी, ऐसे मित्रों से मैं निवेदन करूँगा कि हमारी प्रति व्यक्ति वार्षिक आमदनी 1960-61 में 310 थी और 1967 में 481 हो गई, डालर के हिसाब से हमारी आमदनी 79 डालर वार्षिक है। हम पूछते हैं, कृपा करके आप यह बताइए कि पाकिस्तान की प्रति व्यक्ति वार्षिक आमदनी क्या है। उसकी प्रति व्यक्ति

[श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

वार्षिक आमदनी 95 डालर है, अर्थात् हमसे यह आगे बढ़ा हुआ है। तो प्रत्येक बात को देखना चाहिए और केवल इसी बात पर नहीं कि वह हमारे प्रति शत्रुता निबाह रहा है इसलिये हम उनको निंदा करते चले जाएं।

इसी तरह से हमारे शिक्षा मन्त्रालय ने अभी तक बीस वर्षों में क्या किया? आप आश्चर्य करेंगे कि नेफा जिसकी बरफ संसार की आंखें हैं क्योंकि वह संसार के इतिहास में नहीं तो भारतवर्ष के इतिहास में बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण भाग खेलने वाला है वहां 14 प्रतिशत साक्षरता है। कितने बड़े पैमाने पर वहां अभी इल्लिटरेंसी है, निरक्षरता है, हमारा इतना बड़ा विशाल राष्ट्र उसकी तरफ कोई विशेष ध्यान नहीं दे रहा है। इसी तरह से अपने एक्सपोर्ट और इम्पोर्ट की तरफ हमने ध्यान देने की फिक्र नहीं की। 1947-48 में जब अंग्रेज महाप्रभु हमारे देश से विदा होने लगे उस समय की अपेक्षा हम इस समय ज्यादा इम्पोर्ट और कम-से-कम एक्सपोर्ट कर रहे हैं। अब मैं आंकड़े दे रहा हूं और वह आंकड़े मैंने बाहर से चुराए नहीं हैं, गवर्नमेंट ऑफ इंडिया ने जो प्रकाशित किए हैं, माननीय मन्त्रियों ने जो समय-समय पर कहा है, उन्हीं का संकलन मात्र है। वह इस प्रकार से हैं: इम्पोर्ट ट्रेड स्टील पहले 200 मिलियन का आता था अब 1062 मिलियन का आने लगा। लोहे के बहुत से खदानों की, बैलाडेली के खदानों की बात कही गई, भिलाई के इस्पात की बात कही गई, उनके बारे में इतनी कागजी बातें कही गईं, इतने आंकड़े प्रस्तुत किए, लेकिन असली में है क्या कि हमारे सरकारी मित्र कागजी ताने-बाने के जाल में फंस गए।

आंकड़ों की जहां तक बात है, हमारी सरकार आंकड़ों को प्रस्तुत करने में बहुत ही माहिर है। वह आंकड़ों को इस तरह से प्रस्तुत करती है जिससे ऐसा मालूम हो कि हमारा देश संसार में सबसे समुन्नत, खुशहाल और दरिद्रहीन देश है। इस तरह से मन्त्रालय में बैठकर लोग

आंकड़े निकालते हैं और उन आंकड़ों के आधार पर काम करते हैं। लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि जो तथ्य हैं उन पर सरकार को जाना चाहिए क्योंकि तथ्य तथ्य ही हैं।

इस तरह से हमारे देश में पहले 1950 में 677 मिलियन मूल्य की मशीनरी आती थी, अब हमारे यहां 3360 मिलियन मूल्य की मशीनरी बाहर से आ रही है। इसके बाद खाद्य पदार्थ हमारे देश में यानी 1950 में 996 मिलियन के आते थे और वह बढ़कर 5182 के हो गए हैं। अब इतनी मात्रा में बाहर से हमारे देश में खाद्य पदार्थ आने लगे हैं और फिर भी हमारी सरकार कहती चली जाती है कि हम कृषि में उन्नति कर रहे हैं। असल में जैसा मैंने कहा कि हमारे मन्त्रालय और सरकारी नेता कागजी आंकड़ों के ही काम करते आ रहे हैं और उसी आधार पर इस मुल्क को चला रहे हैं। अभी पिछले साल मध्य प्रदेश के एक गांव में किसी किसान ने एक एकड़ में 200 गुना धान पैदा किया। हमारी सरकार ने इस तरह का प्रचार किया कि ताईचुंग किस्म का धान 200 गुना पैदा किया जा सकता है। सरकार प्रचार की भी सामग्री छापती है, वह अंग्रेजी पत्रों में ही छापती है। भागीरथ, कुरुक्षेत्र और योजना आदि कई अखबार हैं जो सरकार छापती है। सरकार को अपने ही अखबारों पर विश्वास है और देश में जो और समाचारपत्र हैं उन पर विश्वास नहीं है। सरकार अंग्रेजी में ही प्रचार की सामग्री निकालती है चाहे किसान अंग्रेजी समझे या न समझे। हमारी सरकार के जितने प्रकाशन हैं, कुछ को छोड़कर, वे सब अंग्रेजी भाषा में ही निकलते हैं। सरकार को सामग्री वह निकाल रही है कि वह देश की जनता या किसान समझते भी हैं या नहीं।

श्री महेश्वर नाथ कौल : (नाम निर्देशित) सारे हिन्दो में आते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव): आपकी पार्टी का एक नाम और भी है।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : मैं संक्षेप में एक बात और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। हमारे देश में 1950 में 124 मिलियन फर्टीलाइजर आता था और अब वह बढ़कर 1441 मिलियन हो गया है। इस तरह से काटन के एक्सपोर्ट में जहाँ सारे संसार में हमारा इस संबंध में साम्राज्य था वह भी खत्म हो गया है। ऊन, लाख, काटन वेस्ट, कालो मिर्च, इनका एक्सपोर्ट घटते-घटते बहुत ही कम हो गया है। इसलिए मैं आपके द्वारा सरकार से पूछता हूँ कि सरकार भारतवर्ष का जो सुनहरा नक्शा, जो सुनहरा चित्र पेश करना चाहती, वह भाषण और शब्दों द्वारा नहीं किया जा सकता। सरकार भाषणों और आँकड़ों के आधार पर निस्सन्देह संसार के सामने देश का एक सुनहरा चित्र प्रस्तुत कर सकती है, लेकिन वास्तविक जगत में तथ्यों के आधार पर देखा जाए तो वैसी बात नहीं है।

हमें एक बात याद आती है। अरेबियन नाइट्स नामक एक पुस्तक लिखी गई है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : कहां लिखी गई है।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : अरेबियन नाइट्स में रोज़ नए-नए किस्से बनाए और सुनाए जाते हैं। अलिफ लैला के किस्सों के बारे में हमारे सैयद साहब अच्छी तरह से जानते होंगे। उसी तरह से अलिफ लैला के नए चैप्टरों को तरह भाषण के रूप में हमारे यहाँ भी किस्से आ गए हैं। हमारे सम्मानित मित्रगण क्षमा करेंगे कि जिस तरह का सुनहरा चित्र यह सरकार हमारे देश का संसार के सामने रखना चाहती है, उतना सुनहरा चित्र नहीं है बल्कि वस्तुस्थिति में वह गिरा हुआ है। सरकार ने जो चित्र रखा है वह आगे बढ़ने की आकांक्षा पैदा नहीं करता है और न सरकार उसके लिए यत्न ही करती है।

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN (Maharashtra) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I deem it a privilege to speak on

this Motion of Thanks moved by my friend, Mr. Parthasarathy. It is but natural that the President should have dealt at length on the very hopeful economic situation and the economic scene that is there in our country. India is certainly, as the President has put it, emerging from the worst period of economic instability and is on the road to economic recovery. He has also given in his Address the milestones that this country has crossed in the field of agriculture, in the field of industry and in the fields of imports as well as exports. The country is today exporting more and more and importing less and less. This is very salient feature of the whole economy of our country.

A basic question arises: How far this country is going to consolidate the advantage which this economic recovery has given to us? It is necessary that we should apply ourselves to basic policies in the field of economic recovery and agricultural development. Unless we try to devote our attention to the implementation of land reforms in so far as this field of agriculture is concerned, I do not think we shall be able to consolidate the gains that this economic situation has given.

In the field of food problem also a stage has come when it is desirable for this country to adopt a National Food Budget. Thirdly, in so far as industry and industrial development is concerned it is desirable that we should lay more and more emphasis on public sector development rather than on the private sector. These questions, I feel, are to be solved by our Government, and that is what the President expects in his Address too.

More than all this, what I consider as a very welcome feature of the Presidential Address is the announcement about the beginning of the Fourth Plan as such. Up till now we have been having Annual Plans and there was a feeling in this country that we may not have any Plan at all, that there may be a total Plan holiday as such. This feeling that was developing in this country that there will be a complete Plan holiday has been removed by this very

[Shri S. K. Vaishampayen.] welcome announcement of the President when he said that this Plan will begin its term from April next.

Then the announcement about an Irrigation commission, as has been pointed out by hon'ble Mr. Akbar Ali Khan, is another welcome announcement and We should see that this Fourth Plan and the appointment of an Irrigation Commission should be welcomed by all.

While the President has dealt at length on this economic scene he has given a warning, so to say, to this country that if we do not have political stability in the country all these economic gains will have no meaning. That is a very important thing to which he has referred.

He has also pointed out to certain disturbing trends in our country and I feel that we should all, to whichever party we might belong, give our attention to this aspect of the Presidential Address. What are • those disturbing trends ? If We just glance over the last four or five years we will find that there have been a plethora of agitations in the country, agitations and demonstrations, agitations by students, demonstrations by government servants, teachers, workers and so many other sections which are there in our country. Of course, I can understand that there have been certain economic reasons. I can understand that there have been certain political parties which have tried to organise all these agitations and demonstrations, what has been the effect of all this on our country? If we try to analyse this we will see that it has had a bad effect on the rule of law. There should be a study of all these agitations and demonstrations in a systematic way, the reasons thereof, their intensity and the way in which they were conducted and the effect they have had on the country as a whole. I am not having much time, otherwise, I would quote certain figures which I have with me. Now as a result of student demonstrations, there have been 75 disturbances within two months in 1966 and these disturbances are still continuing. As a result of these

disturbances, the whole peaceful life of the people is disturbed. Then I have got figures which will show how much loss we have been put to as a result of these agitations and strikes by Government servants, workers and other people. During 1965, 69 lakh man-days were lost. In 1968 more than 2 crore man-days were lost, and out of this, at least 1 crore man-days were lost in West Bengal. So this is not merely a trend, but it is a danger to our democratic way of life.

SHRI M. N. KAUL : But they woo the elections.

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM (Andhra Pradesh) : What are the reasons for the strikes ?

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN : I have referred to them. There might be economic reasons. But there are certain parties which would like to take advantage of them. What is the total effect of all these on our democratic way of life ? To-day what do we find as a result of these agitations and disturbances ? A feeling of doubt is growing among the common people as to whether there is rule of law in this country or not. When the common man sees so much destruction of public property, when the common man sees so many man-days lost, when the common man sees that the whole life as also the administration is paralysed, what is the effect on him? Will he have any faith left in the democratic way of life ? This is the result of these disturbing factors. And they are no more trends only. That is my point. These agitations are no more mere trends, as has been described by the President in his address. They have become dangers which threaten very much our democratic way of life. So you must take note of them.

Then there is another danger looming large and threatening the very secular and national life of our country. And that is the danger from communal forces. If I can give you a few figures, during the three years, 1966, 1967 and 1968, there were as many as 122 incidents of communal riots in the country,

in which 80 persons were killed and 842 persons were injured. And these riots are still continuing. The student agitations are continuing. The strikes are continuing. All these things are happening. And they have an adverse effect on the faith that the common man has in the democratic way of life in our country. Then, as was just mentioned, there are disturbances due to regional and parochial considerations also. There have been disturbances on the border issues. There have been disturbances, as we have seen, so far as Telengana is concerned because of certain feelings and sentiments. And just recently we had the disturbances in Bombay as a result of the activities of Shiv Sena. What has been the effect of all this? We must try to understand this. We must, all of us, try to rise above our party lines and see this picture that is there, and see what we should do to save democracy from such disturbances, from such agitations . . .

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM : Save the people first.

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN : First save democracy and then people will be saved. To-day the situation is like that. So I would like to emphasise that these trends which the President has referred to in his address, are no more mere trends; they have become dangers to our democracy.

AN HON. MEMBER : What about Shiv Sena ?

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN : Even the Shiv Sena has become dangerous so far as our democratic way of life is concerned.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : शिव सेना को तो आपका समर्थन प्राप्त है ।

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN : I am saying that it has also become a danger to the democratic way of life in our country.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : What about R.S.S. ?

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SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN : Of course, communal forces include the R.S.S., Jamiat Islami and other communal forces.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : आप शिव सेना पर बात कीजिए ।

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN : I have said about that. We have condemned in unequivocal terms the activities of the Shiv Sena. I am condemning it in the most unequivocal terms whatever the Shiv Sena has done in Bombay.

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM : What is the background on which it is surviving in Bombay ?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Unsocial elements.

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN : Wherever such divisive forces are there, whether it is R.S.S., or Jamiat Islami, or Shiv Sena, or Gopal Sena, or any other Sena they should be condemned. And not only should they be condemned, but parties who believe in democracy should dissociate themselves from them. We should not even enter into electoral alliances as the P.S.P. did during the time of municipal elections.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : It was only adjustment of seats which we have given up now.

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN : Anyway, the point that I was going to make was that the trends which the President has referred to are no more trends, but dangers to the democratic way of life. All these dangers shall have to be fought. It is true that we will have to fight these dangers by educating the people. We have to wean away people from these divisive forces by trying to educate them on the principles of nationalism and secularism. All this is true. But at the same time, the Government must also become strong, must show to the common people that after all, whatever the parties may do, whatever the Senas may do, their lives will be secure in the hands of the Government. That way the Government must establish its

[Shri S. K. Vaishampayan.]

authority. These efforts at creating a sense of disrespect for Jaw should be faced and the Government must come out and show by legislative measures as well as by their administrative measures that the common man can have protection, can have security under democracy. This is the pass to which we have come.

Now I would like to refer to what I would like to call as "sensitive areas" in our country. One of them is the backward areas in our country. The hon. Leader of the Opposition referred to the State of Gujarat. But Gujarat is a very prosperous State to-day. There are many other areas, like the area from which I come—the Marathwada area—which are very backward. The Marathwada area, for instance, which has a population of 64 lakhs and comprises 5 districts, to-day has no road mileage at all. So there is no question of comparing the road mileage with that of Gujarat. Then it has no comparable railway lines. It has no industries worth the name at all. What about these areas? Unless something is done to develop these backward areas in the quickest possible time by giving them added weightage in regard to development, these areas will become sensitive and there will be a sort of discontent among the people there.

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM : Marathwada is Telengana.

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN : So unless you pay attention to such sensitive areas which are under-developed not because of any other consideration but political reasons, these areas are going to become areas of discontent, and the discontent may be coming out in the form of disturbances here and there. Then there is another area to which the Government must apply its mind. These concerns the landless labourers, the weaker section of the agricultural community in our country. In our country, of the agricultural population that is there, 65 per cent of this agricultural population, comes from small peasants who do not own even five acres of land or who are landless, they are having with them only 15 per

cent of the land today. They are suffering because they are being alienated from their land. They are suffering because they are not getting agricultural credits. They are suffering because they are not able to see to their own development. So unless some attention is given to these weaker sections which include the peasants whose lands are below five acres, the landless labourers, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and such other weaker sections of the agricultural population, there is a possibility that discontent amongst them may take a form which will not be desirable in the present context of our country.

Lastly, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to say only a few words about our international policy, our foreign policy. Our foreign policy is no doubt. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Where is the time? You have already exceeded your time.

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN : I will say only a few words. Our foreign policy is certainly a policy which was laid down by our former Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and it is the most accurate policy that a country like India should have. But at the same time, the time has come when we should try to build up a very broad-based movement for ending racialism in South Africa and Rhodesia, for ending the race for armaments that is there, the race for nuclear armaments and nuclear weapons. So, our foreign policy must be activated and made to develop as a broad-based movement so far as ending racialism in the world is concerned, so far as ending this mad race for armaments is concerned. So, if we do that, our foreign policy will be the policy that was visualised by our great Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. With these few words I support the Motion that is before the House.

SHRI C. ACHUTHA MENON (Kerala) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the President in his Address has claimed to present what he called a realistic appraisal of the year under review and the conditions in the country at the present time.

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

I am afraid, Sir it is nothing of the sort. On the other hand, it is a very unreal picture that he has placed before us and in the process he has avoided many real acute problems that are facing the country. Let me first deal with the economic situation here.

The Address takes credit for the recovery that is apparent on the surface of the economic situation. Much is made of what is called the green revolution in agriculture and the boost in foodgrains production. Certainly there is some increase in agricultural production. Nobody can deny that. But the facts have to be seen "m their real perspective. The agricultural production, rather the foodgrains production in 1967-68 has been given as 95.6 million tons. We know, Sir, that this is mainly due to two reasons. One is, of course, that we have been fortunate enough in having a good season. The second most important factor is the popularisation of the high-yielding varieties, hybrid varieties, of rice, wheat, jowar and other things. These are admitted facts. But the Address says also that the situation in 1968-69 is not going to register any significant progress because the level of production is going to be more or less the same in 1967-68. That certainly is not a reassuring position because we know that our population is increasing at a compound rate of 2.25 per cent per year. So, the overall availability of foodgrains per person in this country is not increasing. And there will also be a scarcity of food the moment an unexpected turn takes place in the matter of rains or some other vagaries of nature occur. The situation is very uncertain. We cannot at all be sure that we are going anywhere near solving the food problem in this country. We cannot have any degree of assurance to say that within such and such time we will be able to stop imports of foodgrains, which is so detrimental to the economy of our country, which is draining away so much of our foreign exchange. What I am saying is that

even on the agricultural front the position is not so reassuring.

The situation in industry is, if anything, not even so good as in agriculture because whatever recovery there has been in industrial production, is mainly due to the fact of the increase in agricultural production, its effect on the overall economy. I have no time to analyse the figures. I will just indicate one thing. If we analyse the components of the national income, of the gross national product during 1967-68 it would be found that the major contribution has been from agriculture. Agriculture alone has registered an increase of 20 per cent whereas all other sectors have fared badly, even registered decreases. And if there is to be real recovery, you must find that more and more investment takes place in all sectors of industry, including heavy industry. That is the only sure guarantee for progress. Then only can we be sure that there will be an increased production all around. But nothing is taking place now. My friend, Mr. Vaishampayan, was very eloquent about the Plans. But I am asking him : Where is the Plan ? The Planning Commission has said that they are going to finalise the Plan. But what Plan are they going to finalise ? I do not know whether my friend has read carefully the communique issued by the Planning Commission in December 1968 after its meeting. There it was said it was only a notional plan. What is a notional plan ? It means there is practically no plan. It is only a year to year programme. That in a sense is giving up the Plan altogether. Of course, we will have this framework of the Planning Commission, all the offices and all these things. But so far as real planning is concerned, so far as the real allocation of the investments is concerned, so far as the real direction of the economy is concerned, it is not going to be revived. That is the position so far as the economic situation is concerned.

Then, another very disturbing feature is unemployment. Sir, you yourself were j referring to the very great problem of

[Shri C. Achutha Menon.] unemployment, of educated unemployment. Sir, at the present moment it is calculated that 18 million people are unemployed and about 100 millions are partially employed in this country. I have no figures about educated unemployment with me now. I have not collected because it is known to us, the vast extent of the educated unemployed in this country. As far as my State of Kerala is concerned I can quote from my memory that there are about 1,500 engineers, full-fledged degree-holders, who are unemployed 5000 diploma-holders and about 20,000 or so certificate holders at the present moment. All these are unemployed. Vast amount of manpower, skilled man-power, highly trained manpower, for which lakhs and crores of rupees have been spent for the training, is going to waste and naturally frustration is creeping in them and is it any wonder that these people are proving very inflammable material at the hands of those wanting to use them for whatever agitations they want? What the state of our economy is we certainly will have time during the Budget to discuss in a more detailed fashion but I will refer to one thing more. Recently the newspapers published an extract from the latest report of the National Sample Survey regarding the level of expenditure and income of the total population of India. The figures are very revealing. They show that our country is one of the poorest countries in the world. The depth of the poverty that the Indian masses are suffering after twenty years of independence is painful. I will give one or two figures. It is said that one-third of the population spend per month below Rs. 15. Actually 34.2 per cent of the population are spending that amount. That is in the rural areas and Rs. 24 per month in the urban areas. I am sorry that Kerala takes the pride of place if I may use that expression in it because it tops the list in the sense that 44 per cent of the population of Kerala spend below Rs. 15 in the rural areas and Rs. 24 in the urban areas. That is the extent of poverty. I am reminded of that controversy that was raised here long ago by the late Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

and the calculations that were made then. But our country has not advanced very much since. The same sample survey figures give that 80 per cent of the population is spending less than Re. 1 per day. Such is the condition of the people of our country. So we have nothing to be complacent about. It is a very sorry condition. It is a very deplorable condition and a painful condition and something more must be done than what the President has said in his Address in order to cure the economy.

One more fact I wish to highlight in this connection. The President has pointed out in his Address that our national income has increased by 9.1 per cent over what it was in 1966-67 but a comparison with 1964-65 will be more instructive, I have made it. The GNP in 1967-68 is Rs. 16,665 crores. Leaving aside 1966-67, if you take 1964-65, the GNP in that year was Rs. 16,219 crores, so that within three years the advance made is only of Rs. 446 crores. It is very little and is nothing to be proud of. Because 1966-67 happened to be a very difficult year due to famines and failure of rains it is not proper to make a comparison with that year because in that year the GNP went very much below normal and it does not reflect the true state of affairs. On the contrary, the fact is that during these three years the GNP has not advanced very much. It is more or less stationary or has only advanced by 3 per cent in 3 years or at the rate of 1 % per year.

Coming to the other part of the Address, the President has expressed his expectation that now that the elections are over, stable Governments would be formed in the State and something good would come from the mid-term elections. The mid-term election was, so to say, a miniature edition of the general election. The newspapers called it 'mini-general election'. What is the verdict of the electorate? It is clear that in unmistakable terms the whole electorate of North India has rejected the ruling party, that is the Congress. In West Bengal particularly there has been a resounding victory for

the United Front. I do not know whether the ruling party is going to take any lesson out of this election because we know what were the manoeuvres the Congress indulged in in order to break the United Front and oust the United Front Government in Bengal and prop up their stooges. Through the Governor who proved to be a very pliable instrument, they dismissed the Government of Bengal. They propped up a minority Government not only in Punjab but also in Bihar and other places. By all these manipulations they thought—by imposing the Presidential Rule and afterwards going through the new general elections—it may be possible for the Congress to come to power but their expectations have been thoroughly belied. The electorate has again voted for the same position as in 1967 excepting in Bengal, where due to the fact that the democratic leftist parties have been able to forge a United Front, they have given a crushing defeat to the Congress. This verdict of the people expresses in unmistakable terms their anger against the Congress 'for all its undemocratic methods. The Constitution was being misused and violated and the democratic principles were being thrown to the winds when it came to the point that it was not possible for the Congress to be in power. This may be an eye-opener in Northern India but we, coming from Kerala, have been used to it for the last 20 years. In the very first general elections after the Constitution came into being in 1952, when the Travancore Cochin Congress was reduced to a minority and they could not form a Government by themselves, the leader of the Congress was asked to form the Government. Then it was said that it was the largest party but in 1965 when the Marxist Communist Party came through the elections in spite of the fact that all their legislators were in prison and the electorate clearly indicated that they had their confidence, the Leader of that party was not called to form a Government. Double standards, Sir. Through these methods they thought that they would boost up the Congress and try to impose it upon the people.

Sir, we are talking of defections and

kidnapping of people. And all sorts of tilings are taking place. I can say that this thing, the defection, happened some eighteen or twenty years ago in Travancore-Cochin, and you know our hon. Law Minister, he is a very important leader of the Congress there. He is going about throughout Kerala saying that law and order has broken down, that there is no safety of . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: He is the only leader left, and without a following.

SHRI C. ACHUTHA MENON : Yes, he is the only leader now.

Do you know this? In 1956, when he was the Chief Minister and his position was challenged, a defection took place; he got one man defect from the opposition overnight. That man disappeared and he was found the next day in the kitchen of the Chief Minister's residence. So it started from there. It is nothing new for us. So far as we are concerned, the people of Kerala taught the Congress a lesson by sending only one representative, one single sole Congress representative to Parliament, and the same is going to be repeated from Bengal right down to Punjab and other places.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK.BAR ALI KHAN) : Five minutes more.

SHRI C. ACHUTHA MENON : So, Sir, what I am saying is that all these methods had been resorted to even quite long ago. Now let us try to respect the electorate. Let us try to serve the people, respect their mandate, respect their sentiments and try to observe the norms of democracy, and whoever get the majority, let them rule. Let them be given the chance. And if they also fail, they will also go the way of the Congress, and nobody need shed a tear for them.

The question of national integration is very important. So many previous speakers also have referred to that question. I would only refer to one or two small things. I want to highlight the ruling party's responsibility with regard to that. Of course I do not say

[Shri C. Achutha Menon.]

that it is only due to them, that everybody else is free from all defects; I do not make any such tall claim, but they most important responsibility, the major responsibility so far as the recent violent incidents are concerned, is that of the ruling party. Take the recent incidents in Telangana. Yesterday also there was some discussion on that question. My friend, Mr. Bhadram, spoke about it, and you yourself, Sir, spoke about it. We are very sorry that so many years after attaining the ideal of a united Andhra Pradesh—for which people had fought and one man had even become a martyr—so many years after that a section of the very same people should come forward and demand a separate Telangana—it is a very sorrowful state of events. Let us examine the course of events, what lead to this thing. Now we find that the agreement that had been entered into at the time Andhra was born was not properly fulfilled. A lot of money that was due to Telangana was not really spent there. They have a feeling that the whole region is undeveloped, and this has been allowed to accumulate, this pent-up feeling has burst up, and now the quarrel is going on. Of course, obviously I am not supporting the separatist slogan, and the only salvation, so far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned, is to build up the unity between the two regions by creating a proper understanding between the two sections of the people. As I understand, on the 18th or 19th of January there was an all-parties conference in Hyderabad in which all the parties joined together, and they came to some sort of an understanding. I hope that if we properly implement it, not in the way in which the former agreement was implemented but sincerely and with a will, it may be possible to take Andhra Pradesh out of the mess that has been made out of it, and I hope it will be done.

The other thing is of course the menace of the Shiv Sena. We have already discussed it yesterday and we are going to have another discussion on it. So I would not like to refer to it at length now. I shall only make some observa-

tions. There also why was Bombay chosen and why this menace there? In spite of what the Home Minister has been saying, he has not been able to dispel the suspicion, very correctly based upon facts which cannot be controverted, that the Maharashtra Government has been at the back of it, or has been collusive in it, because the facts speak for themselves. For days together a whole criminal gang has held the whole city of Bombay to ransom, a city which has very great traditions for its participation in the national movement, and we are very proud of Bombay. I refuse to concede that Bombay belong to Maharashtra State alone. When Bombay wanted to be included in the Sampurna Maharashtra, we also fought for it. We Malayalees fought for it. I am sure Malayalees suffered for it. Lots of Malayalees have been beaten up for taking part in the movement. Still we hold that Bombay is an Indian city, a city of the Keratites and Tamilians etc. as much as of the Maharashtra-rians. But they want to drive us out of it. They want to destroy our business. What business? Small pavement business, hawkers and other people. They want to drive out even such people, very common people, such poor people, such defenceless people from out of the city. Why was it engineered? We know, Sir, that there are very big monopolists and very big capitalists behind the whole thing, because they wanted to divide and defeat the whole working class of Bombay, because the working class of Bombay was proving to be very tough guys. They were conscious of their rights. They were well organised. They were fighting for their rights for bonus, for wages and other things that were their due. And these people, the monopolists and capitalists thought that if they engineered some movement, as in West Germany and other places . . . (Time bell rings). How much time have we got?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : We have to adjourn at 5.30 but we may sit a few minutes more if you will finish your speech. Take three or four minutes more. You have taken half an hour.

SHRI C. ACHUTHA MENON:
Can I take ten minutes more?

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

SHRI C. ACHUTHA MENON : We are very unhappy over this thing, but the responsibility, as I was referring to, of the ruling party for these consequences, for these various developments, for the fissiparous tendencies and all that, cannot be denied altogether. They cannot just wash their hands off the whole thing. And so, if they take a new leaf and try to atone for their sins, it is all right. Otherwise this country is going to ruin. We should take counsel together and fight these menacing tendencies.

Sir, before concluding I wish also to refer to the very sad and very unfortunate development that took place in Tamil Nadu, in the Thanjavur district on the 25th of December. I hope you are all aware of what happened there. Now the President has referred in his Address to the celebrations of the Gandhi Centenary Year. Gandhiji whom we all claim as the Father of the Nation had a soft corner for the Harijans. The name 'Harijan' itself was given to the depressed classes by him. And all his life he fought for them. It was the biggest tragedy in independent India. It is poignant that just on the eve of the centenary year of the Mahatma this inhuman tragedy should have taken place in Thanjavur. And of all days on the 25th December, that is, on the Christmas Day, the day when another great man, Jesus Christ, honoured by millions, who also sacrificed his life for the down-trodden, on that same day 42 Harijans were burnt to death. Forty-two Harijans who were flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood were burnt to death and among them it was stated 19 were helpless women and 14 were children below twelve years of age. We have to hang our heads in shame. I do not know what to say about this. It was apparent from the reports in the Press that it was deliberately done. It was because of some quarrel between the landlords and the agricultural labourers. The majority of our agricultural

labourers happen to be Harijans, That is the case everywhere in the country even at the present moment. In spite of all our talk, in spite of all the ameliorative measures that the Government is supposed to have taken, their conditions have not much improved. They are in the same condition as they were. They are oppressed; they are slaves in the countryside. Last year there was a series of incidents culminating in this very big incident. I say if the Harijans cannot be assured of their right to work, of their right to wages, even of their right to live as human beings, as decent human beings the very independence of this country itself will be jeopardised. What right have we to say that we are independent so long as these people, crores of them, are subjugated, are beaten up, are tortured, are set fire to just as if they are live torches ? It is something unheard of in the history of the whole world. We see something of this sort happening in America but I think our condition is even worse than that. We have no excuse for this sort of thing being done here. So this is the condition in which our country is at the present moment. We have nothing to be proud of; we have nothing to applaud ourselves; we have nothing to congratulate ourselves. This whole Address is brimful with sentiments of complacency, with sentimentalism and other wishy-washy things. This will not do. We have to look to the reality of the things; we have to take into consideration the real state of our affairs, the state of our economy, the state of our nation, the relationship between the classes and the relationship between the people in the different States and an entirely new policy will have to be worked out. Otherwise there is no salvation so far as our country is concerned.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI
AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The House
stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. to-
morrow.

The House then adjourned at
thirty-four minutes past five of
the clock till eleven of the
clock on Thursday, the 20th
February, 1969.