

on the Table a copy of the Twenty-fourth Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings (1968-69) on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Thirty-sixth Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings (1966-67) on Indian Oil Corporation Limited (Refineries Division).

**FORTIETH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE (1968-69)**

**SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY** (Madras): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Fortieth Report of the Public Accounts Committee (1968-69) on Appropriation Accounts (Posts and Telegraphs), 1966-67 and Audit Report (Posts and Telegraphs), 1968.

**SIXTH REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SUBORDINATE LEGISLATION**

**श्री ब्रज किशोर प्रसाद सिंह (बिहार) :** अधीनस्थ विधान सम्बन्धी समिति का छठा प्रतिवेदन मैं प्रस्तुत करता हूँ।

**MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS**

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** Mr. Mahabir Dass may begin his speech. The House sits till 6.00 P.M.

[The **VICE-CHAIRMAN** (Shri M. P. BHARGAVA), in the Chair]

**श्री महावीर दास (बिहार) :** माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय श्री आर० टी० पारथसारथी जी के प्रस्ताव का, जिसका समर्थन डा० श्रीमती मंगलादेवी तलवार ने किया है, हादिक स्वागत के साथ मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। साथ-साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति महोदय के प्रति उनके अभिभाषण के लिए आभार प्रगट करता हूँ जो उन्होंने ज्वाइन्ट सेशन में दिया था।

उन्होंने जो खाद्य उत्पादन में वृद्धि का संकेत दिया है वह बहुत संतोषजनक है और 1968-69 में जो आशा की गई है कि 85 लाख

हेक्टर जमीन पर अधिक उपज वाली फसलें बोई जाएंगी और 61 लाख हेक्टर जमीन पर खेती शुरू की जाएगी, यह देश की प्रगति को बताता है। थोक कीमतों का इन्डेक्स जो गत वर्ष 211 था वह घट कर 205 हो गया है। यह केन्द्रीय सरकार की सफलता है। आयात में कमी और निर्यात में बढ़ोतरी तथा जहाज बनाने के काम को बढ़ाते जाना और आई० एन० एस० को नीलगिरि प्राप्त होना, जो भारत में बना है, बहुत सफल प्रयास है। महाराष्ट्र राज्य में तारापुर नामक अणु बिजलीघर जुलाई 69 से 380 मेगावाट बिजली देना शुरू कर देगा जिससे हम इंडस्ट्री को बढ़ावा दे सकेंगे। यह भी एक महान सफलता है।

माननीय सदस्यों ने जो सुझाव दिए हैं वह मुझे दोहराना नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि श्री अकबर अली खान के सुझावों को सरकार अमल में लाए। मैं इस समय यह व्यक्त करना चाहता हूँ कि प्रांतीयता, जातीयता और धार्मिकता के नाम पर जो दुर्घटनाएं हो रही हैं उन्हें सभी राजनीतिक दल रोकने का प्रयत्न करें ताकि गांधी शताब्दी के अवसर पर राष्ट्रीयता की भावना देश में व्यापक रूप से बढ़ सके।

हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य ने इजराइल और क्यूबा का उदाहरण देते हुए भारत की उनसे तुलना करने की कोशिश की है, जो आश्चर्य पैदा करता है क्योंकि इजराइल और क्यूबा आदि देश बहुत छोटे हैं, उनकी सरहद छोटी है और उनकी जनसंख्या कम है, इसलिए उनकी प्रगति इन्हें दिखलाई पड़ती है परन्तु भारत जो इतना बड़ा देश है जिसकी प्रगति बहुत अधिक हुई वह उन्हें दिखलाई नहीं पड़ती है। हमारी आबादी बहुत अधिक है, जो जन्म दर प्रति वर्ष बढ़ती जा रही है, नए आगन्तुक बच्चों के लिए जो रोज-रोज का मसला पैदा हो रहा है, उसको कम करने के लिए हमारी सरकार जो कर रही है वह वास्तव में एक सफल प्रयास है।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) :** महावीर दास जी, अब दो बजे।  
The House stands adjourned till 2.00 P.M.

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

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

**श्री महावीर दास :** माननीय उपसभापति महोदया, मैं श्री एस० के० वैशंपायन जी के उस उद्गार का समर्थन करता हूँ। उन्होंने जो शिव सेना, गोपाल सेना, ऐसी-ऐसी सेनाओं को दबाने का सुझाव दिया है उसका भी समर्थन करता हूँ।

हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य ने आंकड़े प्रस्तुत करते हुए कहा कि नेफा में 7 प्रतिशत ही शिक्षित व्यक्ति हैं जब कि 1961 ई० के सेंसेस के अनुसार वहाँ शिक्षित पुरुषों की संख्या 12.3 प्रतिशत थी जो कि 1961 ई० के बाद और अधिक बढ़ गई होगी। माननीय सदस्य महोदय ने यह कहने की कृपा नहीं की कि 1961 ई० के सेंसेस के अनुसार दिल्ली के शिक्षित पुरुषों की संख्या 60.8 प्रतिशत है, केरल में 55 प्रतिशत, पांडिचेरी में 50.4 प्रतिशत, मणिपुर में 45.1 प्रतिशत है। नेफा का उदाहरण देने के साथ-साथ यह नहीं कहा गया कि 1961 ई० में त्रिपुरा में 29.6 प्रतिशत शिक्षितों की तादाद थी। स्वराज्य प्राप्ति के पहले सम्पूर्ण भारतवर्ष में पढ़े-लिखों की बहुत कम संख्या थी, जहाँ तक मुझे याद है यह लगभग 7 प्रतिशत थी। इसको दृष्टिगत करने से नेफा में पढ़े-लिखे पुरुषों की संख्या 12.3 प्रतिशत 1961 ई० में हो गई जो यह बताता है कि पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में भी शिक्षा का प्रचार और प्रसार काफी जोर से हुआ है। यह ठीक है कि नेफा में पढ़ी-लिखी महिलाओं की संख्या 1961 ई० में 1.5 प्रतिशत थी परन्तु 1963 ई० में यह संख्या बहुत अधिक बढ़ गई होगी।

हमारे कुछ माननीय सदस्य कांग्रेस की आलोचनाएं करने में ही वीरता का अनुभव करते हैं। आलोचना करना लोकतंत्र में जरूरी भी है परन्तु आलोचक दल अपनी खामियों की ओर नहीं देखते कि उत्तर प्रदेश में जहाँ कि जनसंघ और एस० एस० पी० मिली-जुली सरकार में बड़ी पार्टियाँ कहलाती थीं उनको जनता ने दो वर्ष के राज-काज को देख कर गिरा दिया।

**श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** दो वर्ष !

**श्री महावीर दास :** जी हां, बिल्कुल दो वर्ष। उत्तर प्रदेश क्षेत्रफल और आबादी के लिहाज से बहुत बड़ा राज्य है और वहाँ सभी राजनैतिक दलों को विस्तृत मौका मिला है परन्तु जनता ने मुक्तकंठ से कांग्रेस को अधिक समर्थन दिया और कांग्रेस से बिछुड़ कर जाने वाले कांग्रेसियों को दूसरी बड़ी पार्टी के रूप में चुना क्योंकि जनता को कांग्रेसियों पर और कांग्रेस से बिछुड़े कांग्रेसियों के प्रति अभी भी आस्था है। इससे स्पष्ट जाहिर होता है कि जनता कांग्रेस के साथ है।...

**श्री राजनारायण :** बंगाल में भी है।

**श्री महावीर दास :** बिहार में भी एस० एस० पी० पार्टी, जिस पार्टी के व्यक्ति डिप्टी चीफ़ मनिस्टर थे, दो वर्ष में ही नीचे चली गई। नागालैंड में भी काफी सफलता कांग्रेस को मिली। बंगाल और पंजाब में भी कांग्रेस को मध्यावधि चुनाव में जनता का काफी अधिक समर्थन मिला है। चूंकि चुनाव के पहले भिन्न-भिन्न विचार और उद्देश्य के दलों ने चुनाव समझौता कर सीटें बांट कर एक दूसरे के मददगार बने और अपने उद्देश्यों को छोड़कर दूसरों की तरफदारी कर जनता को गुमराह कर वोट प्राप्त कर जयघोष कर रहे हैं, उन्हें सोचना ही होगा कि उनका प्रभाव सभी सीटों के क्षेत्रों पर नहीं था और न उनके पास उतने उम्मीदवार और समर्थक ही थे और इस कमजोरी को छिपाने के लिए जो

### [श्री महाबीर दास]

राजनीतिक सौदा किया वह सराहनीय नहीं कहा जा सकता है। और जहाँ एकछत्र राज्य किसी पार्टी का कहा भी जाता है तो वहाँ की जनता ने उपचुनावों में कांग्रेस को विजयी बनाया जो तमिलनाडु और दिल्ली के उपचुनावों से साफ प्रकट होता है। तमिलनाडु और दिल्ली के उपचुनावों का उदाहरण सामने है।

**श्री राजनारायण :** और श्री केशवदेव मालवीय का भी है।

**श्री महाबीर दास :** श्री केशवदेव मालवीय का तो उत्तर प्रदेश का है, उत्तर प्रदेश में तो आपकी सरकार थी, वहाँ की हार का मैं नहीं कहता। मैं कहता हूँ कि जहाँ एकछत्र राज्य था, तमिलनाडु और दिल्ली में, वहाँ के उपचुनाव में यह हुआ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** हमारे यहाँ तो राष्ट्र-पति शासन था।

**श्री महाबीर दास :** राष्ट्रपति शासन तो आप लोगों को हटा कर चुनाव कराने के लिए हुआ था।

माननीया, उत्तर प्रदेश के चुनाव में कांग्रेस के हरिजन उम्मीदवार अधिक सफल रहे अर्थात् 52.35 प्रतिशत और जनसंघ केवल 16 प्रतिशत ही सफल रही।

तो मेरा निवेदन है कि यदि हम शिक्षा की ओर ध्यान दें तो 1961 का सेंसेम बताता है कि भारत में पढ़े-लिखों की संख्या में काफी वृद्धि हुई है अर्थात् पुरुषों की कुल संख्या का 34.4 प्रतिशत और महिलाओं की कुल संख्या का 12.9 प्रतिशत (गोआ, दमन और दीव को छोड़कर) शिक्षित थे। 1968 ई० तक तो इसमें और अधिक वृद्धि हो गई है। दिल्ली में 60.8 प्रतिशत और केरल में 55 प्रतिशत पुरुष पढ़े लिखे 1961 ई० के सेंसेम के अनुसार थे। बिहार में 29.8 प्रतिशत पुरुष और 6.9 प्रतिशत महिलाएँ पढ़ी लिखी थीं। अतः

देने की आवश्यकता है। जिस बिहार में विश्व में लोग विद्याध्ययन करने आते थे उस बिहार में शिक्षित व्यक्तियों की संख्या में कमी होना ठीक जचना नहीं है अतः बिहार में शिक्षा की ओर अधिक ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

अब सरकार से मेरा एक अनुरोध है कि निर्यात होने वाले टेक्सटाइल की चीजों में जो छूट या मदद दी जाती है उसमें भिन्नता है, किसी को अधिक और किसी को कम है, अतः इस भिन्नता को दूर किया जाना चाहिए ताकि निर्यात और बढ़े।

ग्राम एक्मटर्नल अमिमेंट्स जो यूटिलाइज्ड हो चुके हैं उसकी ओर ध्यान देने में मालूम पड़ता है कि जहाँ फर्स्ट प्लान 1951-56 तक में 201.67 करोड़ रुपये, सेकेंड प्लान 1956-61 में 1430.20 करोड़ रुपये और थर्ड प्लान 1961-66 तक में 2867.51 करोड़ रुपये यूटिलाइज्ड हुए वहाँ सिर्फ एक वर्ष 1966-67 में 1052.82 करोड़ रुपये और 1967-68 में 1172.92 करोड़ रु० यूटिलाइज्ड हुए, जो यह सिद्ध करता है कि हमारी वर्तमान केन्द्रीय लोकप्रिय सरकार देश की उन्नति में बाधाओं के बावजूद तेजी से आगे बढ़ रही है।

हमारा ध्यान प्रोडक्शन की ओर भी गया है। मेरे एक साथी ने कहा कि यहाँ केवल कागजी स्टैटिस्टिक्स रहते हैं कागजी स्टैटिस्टिक्स शायद कुछ हों जहाँ कि उत्पादन होता है वहाँ स्टैटिस्टिक्स कैसे होगा। मैंने पाया है कि 1950-51 में कोयले का जरा उत्पादन 32.8 मिलियन टन्स होता था वह 1967-68 में बढ़ कर 70.8 मिलियन टन्स हो गया। इसी तरह आयरन और 1950-51 में जहाँ 3 मिलियन टन होता था वहाँ 1967-68 में 19.1 मिलियन टन हो गया। 1950-51 में फिनिस्ड स्टील जहाँ 32.8 मिलियन टन होता था वहाँ वह 1967-68 में बढ़कर 70.8 मिलियन टन हो गया, अल्यूमीनियम जहाँ 4,000 टन

**श्री महाबीर दास**

होता था वह बढ़ कर 100.4 हजार टन हो गया, पावर ट्रामफार्मर्स जहा 0.2 मिलियन के० वी० ए० होते थे वह बढ़कर 1967-68 में 5.3 मिलियन के० वी० ए० हो गए, सल्फ्यूरिक एसिड 101 हजार टन होता था वह 853 हजार टन हो गया कास्टिक सोडा में जहा 12 हजार टन होता था वह बढ़कर 281 हजार टन हो गया। इसी तरह से सोडा एश में भी वृद्धि हुई है, 45 हजार टन में बढ़कर 371 हजार टन हो गया। फर्टिलाइजर्स 18 हजार टन से बढ़कर 547 हजार टन हो गया। सीमेंट में 2.7 मिलियन टन था वह बढ़कर 11.5 हजार टन हो गया, काटन यार्न 5.34 मिलियन किलोग्राम से बढ़कर 926 मिलियन किलोग्राम हो गया, काटन क्लॉथ 4215 मीटर्स में बढ़कर 75.95 मिलियन मीटर्स हो गया और...

**श्री राजनारायण** क्या यह डिप्टी मिनिस्टर हो गए हैं ?

**श्री महाबीर दास** : सुना जाय । जूट टेक्सटाइल 837 हजार टन से बढ़कर 1156 हजार टन हो गए। उत्पादन में भारत ने हर तरह से 1950-51 की तुलना में 1967-68 में तरक्की की है परन्तु यह भी सत्य है कि 1960-61 की तुलना में 1967-68 में बेयर कौपर कन्डक्टर्स, रिफ्रेक्टरीज, टेक्सटाइल इन्डस्ट्रीज के मिल सेक्टर और फूड इन्डस्ट्रीज के शुगर में कुछ कमी हुई है जिसके बहुत से कारण हैं ...

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN** : Your 15 minutes are over.

**श्री महाबीर दास** हमने तो शुरू ही किया है।

**SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh)**: Rajnarainji was disturbing him, Madam. So we request you to give him some more time.

**श्री राजनारायण** यह चूँकि हरिजन हैं इस लिये मैं चाहूँगा आप उनको ज्यादा समय दें।

**SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana)**: This is very bad.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN** : I do not think that argument should be given.

**श्री राजनारायण** : हम तो इसलिये कह रहे हैं कि उनमें पहले जो कांग्रेसी बोले हैं उतने इफेक्टिव नहीं हुए। उन्होंने मेहनत की है और उनकी बातों को सुने हम।

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN** : Mr. Dass, you can take 5 minutes more and no more because there are many others on the Congress list.

**श्री महाबीर दास** मंत्रीदया, नेशनल इनकम एक्ट एग्जेंट प्रारंभ जब कि सन् 1960-61 में 134.5 बिलियन था वह 1966-67 में 241 बिलियन रु० हो गया और जहा पर कैपिटल इनकम एक्ट करंट प्रारंभ 1960-61 में 310.0 रुपये था वह बढ़कर 1966-67 में 481.5 रु० हो गया है। मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि हम हर क्षेत्र में तरक्की पर हैं।

परन्तु यदि 1961 के जनसंख्या के आंकड़े को ले तो यह मालूम होता है कि 1000 पुरुषों के अनुपात में महिलाओं की संख्या गोआ, दमन और दीव में 1071, केरल में 1022, मणिपुर में 1015, पांडिचेरी में 1013 और उड़ीसा में 1001 पाए गए हैं जो महिलाओं की संख्या में वृद्धि बताता है परन्तु दिल्ली में केवल 785 ही महिलाएँ पुरुषों के अनुपात में पाई गई हैं। पर मध्यावधि चुनाव में मिलीजुली सरकार की प्रेरणा में मतदाताओं ने किसी-किसी राज्य में तो एक भी महिला को नहीं चुना। इस ओर हमारा ध्यान इसलिये जाना जरूरी है कि मतदाताओं ने महिलाओं को बहुत कम संख्या में क्यों चुना? अतः इसके कारणों को दृढ़ता की कोशिश सभी राजनीतिक दलों को करनी चाहिये। जहा कांग्रेस के द्वारा महिलाओं का क्रमशः अधिक स्थान मिलते

## [श्री महावीर दास]

रहे वहां अन्य राजनीतिक दलों के गठजोड़ ने महिलाओं की मख्या घटाना क्यों शुरू किया ? अथवा मतदाता क्यों महिलाओं में विमुख होने जा रहे हैं ? आशा है इस ओर सभी नेताओं के ध्यान अवश्य आकर्षित हुए होंगे । तमिलनाडु जहां गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकार है वहां 42 हरिजनों को जला दिया गया, अर्थात् हरिजनों को मताने में बढ़ांतरी हुई है ।

हमारा ध्यान उन दो राज्यों की ओर भी गया है जहां मुख्यतः वामपंथी राजनीतिक दल सरकार को अपने हाथ में लेकर राजकाज चला रहे थे और चला रहे हैं । केरल के सरकार का 1968-69 का बजट देखने से मालूम पड़ता है कि ग्रेवेन्स में जहां 1280 मिलियन रुपये दिखाए गए हैं वहां खर्च में 1417 मिलियन रुपये दिखाए गए और वेस्ट बगल में भी जहां ग्रेवेन्स 2092 मिलियन रुपये दिखाए गए वहां खर्च 2104 मिलियन रुपये हो गया है । जो कहते थे कांग्रेस बहुत खर्चीली है उनका एक नमूना आपके सामने है ।

शिक्षा में प्रगति हो रही है परन्तु शिक्षित व्यक्तियों की बेकारी को लेकर देश के सामने एक विकट समस्या उत्पन्न हो गई है । शिक्षित बेकारों में हरिजन और आदिवासियों की मख्या काफी शोचनीय है । इन समस्याओं को मुनज्ञाने के लिये मैं कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूं कि हरिजन और आदिवासियों में जो कम से कम एम० ए० मेकेन्ड क्लाम हो, इन्जीनियर हो, डाक्टर बन गये हों उन्हें बिना किसी टेस्ट अथवा इन्टरव्यू के नियुक्ति देनी चाहिए और अविलम्ब नियुक्ति होनी चाहिये । सभी लोग जो फर्स्ट क्लाम एम० ए० है, इन्जीनियर है, डाक्टर है उनको अविलम्ब नौकरी मिलनी चाहिये और अन्य डिप्लोमा वालों को कापीटिटिव्ह एग्जामिनेशन में एपी-यर कराना चाहिये । आई० ए० एम० और आई० पी० एम० में जितनों को आप पास करते हैं सबको नौकरी में ले लेते

हैं । यदि आप सभी फर्स्ट क्लाम पास एम० ए० वाला को, इन्जीनियरों को, डाक्टरों को नौकरी देगे तो वह पढ़ने में मन लगाएंगे और अच्छी योग्यता प्राप्त करके निकलेगे । तो मेरे इस सुझाव में शिक्षित वर्ग में एक स्थिरता आएगी कि उस हद तक पहुंचने वाले व्यक्ति सरकारी नौकरी के हकदार हो जाएंगे जिससे विद्यार्थियों में पढ़ने लिखने और उत्तम योग्यता प्राप्त करने की ओर रुचि बढ़ेगी और वे निराश होकर जो गलत काम कर बैठते हैं उसमें बहुत कमी हो सकेगी । मेरा एक और सुझाव हरिजनों के सम्बन्ध में है कि पोस्टल डिपार्टमेंट ने बड़ा अच्छा काम किया है कि हरिजनों के कोटा में, जितने हरिजन उम्मीदवार होते हैं, उनमें जो अधिक नम्बर पा लेते हैं उसी के मुताबिक नियुक्ति हो जाती है । यह सिद्धान्त और यह परिपाटी हर विभाग में सरकार को लानी चाहिये ताकि हरिजनों में जो बेकारी बढ़ रही है, खाम कर पड़े लिखे हरिजनों में, वह बेकारी खत्म हो सके । हम सभी बापू के राम राज्य की बातें करते हैं । हमने देखा है कि राष्ट्रीय नमूना सर्वेक्षण की जाच में यह पता चलता है कि देश की पूरी आबादी का 34.6 प्रतिशत प्रति माह 15 रु० में 24 रु० की आमदनी पर निर्भर करता है । अगर ऐसा है तो इस का हल पूज्य बापू ने दिया था बापू ने चर्खा और कर्षा आदि को एक रास्ता बताया था लेकिन हम उसमें विमुख हो रहे हैं । आपको मालूम है 1919 में कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष भाषण में स्व० पंडित मोतीलाल नेहरू ने कहा था कि हमारा ध्येय वह भारत है, जहां प्रत्येक व्यक्ति स्वतंत्र होगा, जहां स्त्रियां दामी न रहेंगी, जातिभेद की सर्वानता मिट जायेगी, जहां सुविधाप्राप्त जातियां और दल न होंगे, जहां सबको निःशुल्क शिक्षा प्राप्त होगी, जहां पूँजीपति और जमींदार मजदूरों और गरीबों का उत्पीड़न नहीं करेंगे, जहां श्रमिकों का आदर होगा और उन्हें अच्छी मजदूरी मिलेगी, जहां वर्तमान पीढ़ी की दरिद्रता भूतकाल की वस्तु हो जायेगी । इसके

बाद भी देश रहने योग्य होगा, इसमें प्रसन्नता और आशा नाचती रहेगी और दुर्दशाएँ हमारे वह स्वप्न होंगी जिनके सुप्रभात की गहरी किरणों का स्वागत करते हुए हम भूल जायेंगे।" इसको सफल बनाये। इसी की प्राप्ति के लिए कांग्रेस आगे बढ़ती जा रही है परन्तु सीमाओं पर की बाधाएँ तथा चीन और पाकिस्तान की लड़ाई, राजनैतिक पार्टियों की दलबंदी, दल के अंदर लोगों की सत्ता प्राप्त करने की होड़ें, न उसकी प्राप्ति की गति में अवरोध पैदा कर दिया है। हमको १० जवाहरलाल नेहरू का वह नारा "आगम हराम है" तथा स्व० लालबहादुर शास्त्री का नारा 'जय जवान जय किसान' को सार्थक बनाना है जिससे हम अधिक से अधिक उत्पादन कर सकें और कठिन श्रम करके अपने देश की गरीबी को जड़ मूल से दूर कर सकें। अगर हमने ऐसा किया तभी हम अपने ध्येय में सफल हो सकते हैं। हम सब राजनैतिक दलों से आशा रखते हैं कि वह प्रण करें कि हड़ताल आदि रोक दें। लोगों की मांगों का एक ऐसा उपाय निकालें जिससे समस्या सुलझायी जा सके? अगर आपने प्रोडक्शन को बंद किया तो आपकी आर्थिक अवस्था गिरती है जिससे हम गरीबी को दूर करने में सफल नहीं हो सकते हैं।

मैं एक मिनट और लेकर यह कह देना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो रौशनारी आजकल वोट देने के लिये लगायी जाती है मैं अनुरोध करूँगा सरकार से कि चुनाव कमीशन को इस पर ध्यान आकर्षित करे उसके लिये आजकल कोई दवाई निकली है जिससे हमने देखा है दाग तुरन्त मिट जाता है और बारम्बार वोट देने के लिये कुछ लोग जाते हैं। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि कोई दूसरी स्याही निकालनी चाहिये ताकि उसका दाग मिटे नहीं और किसी तरह में दवाई में छुड़ाया न जा सके।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के प्रति उनके अभिभाषण के लिये कृतज्ञता प्रकाशन

करता हूँ और धन्यवाद के साथ प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** माननीया, मैं अपने मित्र श्री महावीर दाम जी को उस बात के लिए जरूर मुबारकवाद दूँगा कि उन्होंने अपना भाषण देने में बहुत मेहनत की है। उन्होंने आकरटे जुटाने में जितनी मेहनत की अगर उतनी मेहनत वे मूल तथ्य पर पहुँचने पर करते तो शायद हमारे मुँक का फायदा होता। मैं उनकी इस बात का पहले उत्तर दे देना चाहता हूँ ताकि मैं आगे उसे भूल न जाऊँ। उन्होंने अपने भाषण में हरिजनो के ऊपर अन्याचार की चर्चा की। मगर मैं उनसे अदब के साथ पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हरिजनो के ऊपर जहाँ भी अन्याचार हुए, सिवाय संसोपा के और किस पार्टी ने उनकी तरफ ध्यान दिया? उत्तर प्रदेश में जो बकेवर कांड हुआ था उसके बारे में सब को अच्छी तरह से मालूम है जहाँ पर एक हरिजन नारी के ऊपर उसके बच्चे द्वारा पुनिम के सामने अन्याचार का व्यवहार किया गया और इस बारे में संसोपा के अलावा किस पार्टी ने आवाज उठाई। अन्य किसी दल या पार्टी में इतनी क्षमता नहीं रही कि उस जगह पर जाते और उस अन्याचार का विरोध करते। इस अन्याचार के संबंध में जब विरोध किया गया था तो घटनास्थल में चार आदमी मारे गये थे। इस सदन की सम्मानित सदस्या श्रीमती सरला भट्टाचार्या सर्वप्रथम वहाँ पर पहुँची थी और उन्होंने इस अन्याचार के विरुद्ध आवाज उठाई थी। गोडा में पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों के साथ जो घटना हुई थी सिवाय संसोपा के और श्री राम सेवक यादव के और किसी पार्टी का आदमी वहाँ पर नहीं गया। मैं इस निश्चित मन का हूँ कि आज हरिजनो के ऊपर जितना कांग्रेस के हरिजन लोग अपकार कर रहे हैं उतना और कोई नहीं कर रहा है। आज कांग्रेस के हरिजन लोग ही हरिजनो के ऊपर तरह तरह के अन्याचार कर रहे हैं। मैं यहाँ पर इतना ही निवेदन कर

## [श्री राजनारायण]

देना चाहता हूँ कि गोंडा में जो कांड हुआ था सिवाय संसोध के और कोई पार्टी वहाँ पर नहीं गई थी जबकि उस प्रदेश में राष्ट्रपति का शासन था।

इसी तरह से बाराबंकी में जितने हरिजनों का कत्ल कर दिया गया था, वहाँ सिवाय संसोध के और कोई भी पार्टी के लोग नहीं गये और न वहाँ पर जाने की किसी ने हिम्मत ही की। आज कांग्रेस पार्टी खुलकर कत्ल करने पर आ गई है और इसलिए अनावश्यक ढंक पर बातें करने से कोई फायदा नहीं है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जग जाहिर है कि संसोध चाहता है कि हरिजनों को और लोगों के समान अधिकार देना चाहिए। डा० राममनोहर लोहिया जी ने इस संबंध में सारे देश में आवाज बुलन्द की थी।

आपको मालूम ही होगा कि जब बनारस के विश्वनाथ मंदिर में मत्स्याग्रह चला था, तो हरिजनों को लेकर मैं वहाँ पर गया था और उसमें हमें सजा हुई थी। स्वर्गीय डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द जी इस दुनिया में आज नहीं हैं, उन्होंने हमको एक खत लिखा था जिसमें उन्होंने यह लिखा कि आप इस वहाने हिन्दू धर्म को प्रभावित करने जा रहे हैं और हिन्दू समाज के ढाँचे को बदलना चाहते हैं। अगर इन सब बातों को देखा जाय तो मैं इस निश्चित मन का हूँ और दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि हरिजनों को सब की तरह समान अधिकार मिलने चाहिये और उन्हें समान स्तर पर रखा जाना चाहिए। हरिजनों को आज विशेष अवसर और अधिकार आगे बढ़ने के लिए मिलने चाहिये। इस तरह का कार्यक्रम संसोध पार्टी ही अपने पाम रखती है और कोई पार्टी इस तरह का प्रोग्राम नहीं रखती है।

मैं यह बान अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ कि हमारे देश में हरिजनों की दशा बहुत खराब है और उनके पास जीवन निर्वाह के साधन बहुत कम हैं। यह ठीक है कि जब उसको

पैसा मिल जाता है तो वह हमको वोट नहीं करता है क्योंकि उसकी आर्थिक हालत इतनी खराब है कि जब उसे पैसा मिलता है तो वह समझता है कि चलो एक हफ्ते के लिए काम चल जायेगा और इस तरह से वह कांग्रेस को वोट दे देता है। इसलिए मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमें मूल बातों की ओर जाना चाहिये और उसी के आधार पर बातें कहनी चाहिये।

अब मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण की ओर आता हूँ। मैं राष्ट्रपति जी की बड़ी इज्जत करता हूँ। आप इस बात को अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि उनकी विद्वत्ता और जानकारी का मैं कायल हूँ। मगर जब वे राष्ट्रपति के रूप में भाषण और सम्बोधन करने के लिए दोनों सदनों के सामने आये और जब वे भाषण कर रहे थे तो अगली कतार में प्रधान मंत्री तथा जितने मंत्रीगण बैठे हुए थे वे सब सो रहे थे। प्रधान मंत्री भी ऊंग रही थी। राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो अपना अभिभाषण किया उससे मैं इस नतीजे पर पहुँचा कि उन्हें केवल एक छोटा सा भाषण करना चाहिये था जिसमें एक मिनट लगता। अगर मैं उनकी जगह पर होता तो इस तरह का भाषण करता :

“संसद सदस्यगण, संसद के दोनों सदनों के इस मिनट जुले सेशन में आपका स्वागत करते हुए मुझे बड़ी खुशी हो रही है।”

मैं आप लोगों को यहां ज्यादा देर तक तकलीफ देना नहीं चाहता। मैं कहुँगा कम, आप लोग समझियेगा ज्यादा।

मैं अभी तक सभी हालातों को देखते हुए महज इतना कहना जरूरी समझता हूँ कि मेरी सरकार चल रही है, अभी आगे भी चलेगी। हमने लोक हित में, न कुछ किया है, न आगे करने का इरादा रखती है। शुभ कामनाओं के साथ।

जयहिन्द”

**SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN :** Are we commenting on the Address of the President or are we commenting on the Address of Mr. Rajnarain ? We are commenting on the Address of the President.

(Interruptions)

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** Please sit down.

**श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) :** जब राष्ट्रपति होंगे तब इसी तरह का भाषण दोगे ।

**श्री भोम मेहता (जम्मू और काश्मीर) :** क्या अपनी सरकार में इसी तरह का भाषण दोगे ?

**श्री राजनारायण :** अगर राष्ट्रपति जी अपने भाषण में इतनी ही बात कहते तो कोई बुरा असर नहीं पड़ता । अपना भाषण देने के बाद उन्हें अंग्रेजों में अपना भाषण वाइस प्रेजिडेंट से पढ़ने को कहने के लिए भी आवश्यकता नहीं होती और न उन्हें मुसीबत में ही डालते । राष्ट्रपति जी कांग्रेस के राज के पापों को रखने के लिए किम तरह से मजबूर हुए उसके लिए मुझे तरस आता है और दया आती है ।

अब मैं व्योरे में न जाकर थोड़े से मैं सम्मानित सदस्यों के सामने निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ । जब कोई गम्भीर और गुस्तर बात होती है तो उसको यह सरकार हल्केपन और छिछोरेपन से लेती है और इस तरह से काम चलन वाला नहीं है । मैं यह बात पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस सदन में जितने भी मल प्रश्न उठते हैं, मानवता के प्रश्न उठते हैं, देश को बनाने के प्रश्न उठते हैं उनके संबंध में किस तरह से यहां पर हंसी और मजाक के साथ चर्चा होती है । इस बात से मुझे तर्क आता है । मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर राष्ट्रपति जी के सम्बोधन के माने क्या होते हैं और राष्ट्रपति जी सम्बोधन क्यों करते हैं । यह सरकार की ओर से कहा जाता है कि यह वर्ष गांधी जयन्ती समारोह का है । लेकिन सरकार ने राष्ट्रपति को यह

सुझाव नहीं दिया कि वह अपना भाषण गांधी जी से शुरू करें । गांधी शताब्दी जब मनाई जा रही है उस समय सादगी का समावेश हो, उसमें देश को बनाने का निर्देश हो, देश को उठाने की कल्पना हो, लेकिन सम्पूर्ण भाषण को देखा जाय उसमें देश को बनाने, देश को उठाने और समाज के अन्दर जो आज रोग हैं उन रोगों को सुधारने की कोई चर्चा नहीं है ।

उन्होंने कुछ विधेयक हमें बताए हैं, फलां फलां विधेयक हमारी सरकार लाएगी । उन विधेयकों को ठीक तरीके से देखा जाय । क्या वे जनतंत्र को बढ़ावा देंगे, क्या वे विधेयक समाजवाद को बढ़ावा देंगे ? हरगिज नहीं । जितने विधेयक आने वाले हैं उन तमाम विधेयकों के जरिये सरकार ज्यादा ताकत अपने हाथ में लेने जा रही है, जो डेमोक्रेसी का नीगेशन है । डेमोक्रेसी का अर्थ होता है । “decentralisation of political and economic power” राजनीतिक और आर्थिक सत्ता का विकेंद्रीकरण । यही जनतंत्र है । अगर इसके विपरीत है तो क्षमा करेंगे, मैं, आपके द्वारा, सम्मानित सदस्यों से माफी मांगूंगा, फिर वे जनतंत्र की जगह कोई शब्द बदल दें, अधिनायक शाही, प्रपंचशाही, ढोंगशाही कर दें ।

माननीया हमने जो संशोधन दिया है बहुत ही सोचसमझ कर दिया है । आज हमारे देश का जनतंत्र सूख रहा है जनतंत्र पर जाति-तंत्र और धन-तंत्र हावी हो रहा है, जनतंत्र और धन-तंत्र एक दम से पत्थी मार बैठ गया है । जो चुनाव हुए हैं क्या यह जनता की सच्ची भावनाओं के प्रतीक हैं ? हरगिज नहीं । माननीया, मैं ऐसे निर्वाचन क्षेत्रों को जानता हूँ जहां पर एक जाति वाले दूसरे जाति के लोगों के लिए डंडा लेकर रास्ते में बैठ गए और कहने लगे कि हम आपको चुनाव में वोट डालने नहीं जाने देंगे ।

**श्री शीलभद्र याजी :** उत्तर प्रदेश में यही हुआ ।



**श्री राजनारायण :** बिहार में, उत्तर प्रदेश में ऐसा हुआ है। बिहार में यहां तक मेरी जानकारी है कि वोटर आए हैं लेकिन उनके आने में पहले ही सैकड़ों वोट पड़ चुके हैं और सैकड़ों वोटरों को वापस लौटना पड़ा है। राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने भाषण में ऐसी कुछ चर्चा की है। इस शासन के किसी प्रतिनिधि से मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं, वह सरकार का प्रतिनिधि अपनी छाती पर हाथ रखे और बताए कि जो पोपुलर रिप्रजेंटेशन ऐक्ट है और उसके मुताबिक निर्वाचन क्षेत्रों में पैसा खर्च करने की जो तह है उसके साथ ही खर्चा हुआ है? उस तह के साथ खर्चा नहीं हुआ है। तो जो कानून आपने बनाए हैं उनसे बलात्कार क्यों कर रहे हैं? यह धोखा है, आत्म प्रवंचना है और देश को जहन्नुम में ले जाने का मार्ग है। माननीया, मैंने पूरा विश्लेषण किया है 1937, 1946, 1952, 1957, 1962, 1967 और मध्यावधि चुनाव का। 1937 का जो चुनाव था, यद्यपि वह सोमित मताधिकार पर था, फिर भी वह जनता की इच्छा का प्रतीक था, 1946 का चुनाव भी जनता की इच्छा का प्रतीक था लेकिन 1952 से धनपति चुनाव में अपना मुंह निकालने लगे। ईमानदारी के साथ देखा जाय। आज इस सदन का कोई कांग्रेस मंत्री जवाब दे। किस तरह से शुरुआत हुई है। 1952 में चीनी के उद्योग पतियों से करीब 3 करोड़ रुपए का चन्दा आया और उस कारण 1952 में उद्योगपतियों के सहारे के लिए किसानों के गन्ने की कीमत दो रुपए की जगह एक रुपए चार आने की गई और चीनी से कन्ट्रोल हटा। माननीया आप जानती हैं कि 1952 में लेकर 1958 तक उद्योग-पतियों के कारखानों की चीनी पर कोई कन्ट्रोल नहीं था। किसके हित में? किसान के हित में? उपभोक्ता के हित में? आज अगर अपने को समाजवादी कहते हो या समाज के सुधार करने का दम भरते हो तो जो तीन करोड़ रुपए का चन्दा लेने के

के लिए चीनी के उद्योगपतियों को इतनी बड़ी मुहलियत दी उसके लिए क्या कहने हो।

(Interruptions)

में पूरा ब्यौरा दूंगा। अजित प्रसाद जैन बैठे हैं, राज्यसभा के सदस्य हैं, 1958 में ये खाद्य मंत्री थे, बहुत मेहनत के बाद इन्होंने चीनी को साढ़े 36 रुपए मिल के रेट पर कन्ट्रोल किया। 1967 का चुनाव आया। 1967 के चुनाव में एक नहीं अनेक चुनाव मीटिंगों में अपने भाषण में हमने बताया कि कांग्रेस सरकार और उद्योगपतियों में समझौता हो गया है कि यदि दिल्ली में कांग्रेस की सरकार बनी तो देख लेना चीनी पर से कन्ट्रोल हटेंगा। हुआ भी यही कि 40 फीसदी चीनी पर से कन्ट्रोल हट गया और 60 फीसदी पर रह गया। मैं अदब के साथ पूछना चाहता हूं अपने मित्र मोहन धारिया में यह जो 40 फीसदी चीनी डिक्कन्ट्रोल हुई और 60 फीसदी पर कन्ट्रोल है, दो भाव जगजीवनराम और इन्दिरा रानी चीनी बिकवा रहे हैं, पाँचे दो रुपए किलो से लेकर साढ़े सात रुपए किलो तक, साढ़े सात रुपए किलो खुले बाजार में दिल्ली में चीनी खूद खरीदी है, तो जो 40 फीसदी चीनी का डिक्कन्ट्रोल हुआ वह किसके हित में हुआ? क्या इसमें उपभोक्ता का हित हो रहा है? क्या इससे ग्लेक मार्केटिंग नहीं बढ़ रही है, क्या इसमें मुनाफाखोरी नहीं बढ़ रही है? ईमानदारी से अगर कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्य इस पर विचार करेंगे तो उन्हें पता चलेगा कि समाज को बिगाड़ कौन रहा है?

इसके बाद चुनाव के मौके पर डालडा के कारखानेदारों ने जो किया उसको देखें। एकाएक जो 18 रुपए की कनस्तरी बिकती थी उसका दाम 23 रुपए केन्द्रीय सरकार ने कर दिया। श्री चन्द्रभानु गुप्त जौनपुर के बाजार में थे डालडा के व्यापारी के घर गए, उसने उन्हें खूब खाना खिलाया, खाना खिलाने के बाद करीब 50 हजार चन्दा दिया। उन्होंने चलते-चलते उसके कान में फूँक दिया कि 5 रुपया भाव बढ़ा दो, केन्द्रीय सरकार बढ़ाने

जा रही है। यह किसके हित में है? जो प्राइस कंट्रोल कर रही है केन्द्रीय सरकार यहां बैठ कर वह कहाँ हो रहा है? उपभोक्ताओं का गला काटा जा रहा है केवल स्वार्थ के लिए, चुनाव में धन ताजायज तरीके से हासिल कर लेने के लिए। इससे जनता का लाभ होगा, देश का लाभ होगा? ऐसे एक नहीं अनेक उदाहरण दे सकता हूँ। इसी के साथ-साथ सीमेंट को देखा जाय।

मैंने श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी की मीटिंगों के आयोजनों का तीन जगह मुलाहजा किया, गाजियाबाद, हरदोई और शाहजहांपुर वे लन्दन में ही थीं, 15 दिन पहले तमाम राज्य के डिपटी पुलिस सुपरिंटेंडेंट सब आकर वहां बैठ गए, तमाम डाक बंगले सिवाई विभाग के, पी० डब्ल्यू० डी०, डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड और म्यूनिसिपल बोर्ड के भर गए। आई० जी० साहब आए, तमाम पुलिस आई, इन्दिरा जी का प्रोग्राम सारा राज्य का पुलिस एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन प्रधान मंत्री की मीटिंग की सजावट में लगा हुआ है। यह जनतंत्र है? उनकी मीटिंग हो ने वाली थी 15 जनवरी को और पहले से ही यह तमाम साजबाज हो रही है हरदोई में, शाहजहांपुर में। यह कौन सा जनतंत्र है जिसमें प्रधान मंत्री कांग्रेस पार्टी के चुनाव प्रचार में जायें और प्रधान मंत्री की सारी मीटिंगों के कार्यक्रम का खर्च जनकोष से हो? इस तरह से जनतंत्र चलेगा? छाती पर हाथ रख कर सोचो कि हम देश को कहाँ ले जा रहे हैं। (Interruption) हमारे पास श्री के० के० शाह का यह सरकारी लिफाफा जिस पर लिखा है—

Office of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. और उसके अन्दर है— Tour Programme of Shri K. K. Shah, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi. पूरा का पूरा इलेक्शन का प्रोग्राम है, सारी इलेक्शन की मीटिंग के० के० शाह ने एड्रेस की हैं, उनका प्रोग्राम गवर्नमेंट के कागज पर, गवर्नमेंट की फाइल पर, गवर्नमेंट की ओर से भेजा गया है। यह जनतंत्र है?

जनतंत्र में सरकार और पार्टी का अलगाव होता है, जनतंत्र में सरकार और पार्टी एक नहीं है (Interruption) मगर यहां पर सरकार और पार्टी का एकीकरण हो रहा है। और हमारे देश के जनतंत्र के स्रोत को सुखाया जा रहा है। एक नजीर हमने दे दी। 20 जनवरी से लगातार प्रोग्राम चलता चला गया है, पूरे महीने भर का प्रोग्राम के० के० शाह का था। इसी तरह से सभी मिनिस्टर्स का सब जगह गया है। मैं सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कैसा समाज वे बनाना चाहते हैं। याद रखना हमारे यहां नजीर हैं। मैं आज पाकिस्तान की जनता को मुबारकबाद देना चाहूंगा। मैं पाकिस्तान की जनता को मुबारकबाद देने के अपने कर्तव्य से च्युन नहीं हो सकता। मैं चाहता था कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय आज पाकिस्तान में जो फौजी प्रशासन है उसके विरुद्ध जनतंत्री प्रशासन के लिए जो पाकिस्तान की जनता उठ खड़ी है उसके बारे में अपने भाषण में कुछ कहते, लेकिन उन्होंने नहीं कहा। वह चित्त की दुर्बलता है। मैं शीलभद्र याजी से कहना चाहूंगा कि पाकिस्तान में आयूब साहब फौजी कमान्डर रहे हैं, उनकी बन्दूक और उनकी तलवार, उनकी पल्टन, उनकी पुलिस रखी रह गई है, आज जनता, विद्यार्थी, प्रोफेसर, अध्यापक, सड़कों पर निकल आए हैं, वह स्थिति दूर नहीं होगी शीलभद्र याजी जबकि भारत की जनता भी यहां की इस भ्रष्ट सरकार को हटाने के लिए उन्हीं मार्गों का अवलम्बन करेगी। तब तुम कहीं दिखाई नहीं पड़ोगे। मैं जानता हूँ।

माननीया, मैं नहीं चाहता कि भारतवर्ष की जनता पाकिस्तान के रास्ते पर जाए, मैं नहीं चाहता। मगर पाकिस्तान की गरीब जनता वहां के मेहनतकश मजदूर, वहां के विद्यार्थी, गरीब अध्यापक, वहां के दौलत पैदा करने वाले मेहनतकश हमारे लिये एक नजीर बन रहे हैं कि हमारे देश में भी जो भ्रष्ट सरकार है, नालायक और निकम्मी सरकार है, जिसने देश की जनता के मनसूवों पर पानी फेरा है,

## [श्री राजनारायण]

जो कि हर प्रकार से उसकी तरक्की को रोके हुये हैं, उसे हटाने के लिये इस मार्ग का अवलंबन कर, आगे बढ़े। जनता आगे बढ़े। और वह दिन दूर नहीं है, वह दिन आ रहा है। इसलिये मैं कहूंगा कि इन रोगों को पकड़ कर रोग को दूर करे, केवल लक्षण को देख कर चिल्लावे नहीं।

माननीया, आज मैं इस मौके पर फिर कहना चाहता हूं कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय को बहुत ही सफाई के साथ हमारी सरकार को कहना चाहिये था कि अब वह दिन आ गया है जब कि वह भारत और पाकिस्तान दोनों की जनता को कहे कि अब हमारा हित इसी में है कि हम फिर आपस में एक हों। और एकीकरण का प्रारम्भ हो, शुरू हो, कंफेडरेशन से, भारत-पाक महासंध से। भारत-पाक महासंध आज जितना आवश्यक और जरूरी हो गया है और उसकी जरूरत को जितनी आसानी से आज जनता महसूस कर रही है इसके पहले शायद न करती, क्योंकि देखा जा रहा है कि एक मुसलमान का गला काट रहा है, एक मुसलमान प्रेसिडेंट दूसरे को जो कि उसका मंत्री रह चुका है उसको जेलों में ठूस कर के बन्द करता है। उसे मारने की साजिश हो रही है। तो अब यहां हिन्दू और मुसलमान दोनों के दिमागों को समझाना चाहिये। यही अवसर है। स्ट्राइक दि आयरन वाइल इट इज हाट, जब लोहा गर्म है तब मारोगे तो बढ़ेगा। इस वक्त उसके दिमाग में इस चीज को बिठाओ कि जो 15 अगस्त 1947 ई० को एक भयंकर भूल की मुल्क का बटवारा कर के उससे कोई समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सका, न तो हिन्दू-मुसलमान समस्या का समाधान हो सका न दोनों देशों में प्रेम-मुहब्बत बढ़ी बल्कि एक मुल्क का शासन वहां अपने मुल्क की जनता पर, वहां जनतंत्र के लिये चिल्लाने वाले नेताओं पर कुठाराघात है, उनको जेल में बन्द कर रहा है और तमाम गोलियों और आंसू गैस और लाठियों का प्रयोग कर रहा है।

इससे बढ़ कर कोई दूसरा मौका नहीं होगा। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूं, माननीया, आज इस राष्ट्रपति के सम्बोधन पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव आया है उसमें अपने संशोधनों को पेश करते हुये हम बात को महसूस करें और आज चतुर्दिक बढ़े पैमाने पर निकल जाएं हिन्दू-मुसलमानों में परस्पर प्रेम, हिन्दू-मुसलमान में भाईचारा पैदा करने को, उनके अन्दर इस भाव को भरने को कि हम दोनों एक हैं, एक थे और एक रहेंगे। इससे बढ़ कर दूसरा मौका नहीं है। अगर इस मौके को सरकार खो देगी, भारत के जो नेता लोग अपने को कहते हैं खो देंगे तो इसका पछतावा रह जायेगा। आज बहुत से मुसलमानों से मेरी बातें हुई, पढ़े-लिखे लोगों से मैंने बातें कीं, पढ़े लिखे जो अपने को हिन्दू परिवार कहते हैं उनसे बातें कीं और उन्होंने कहा कि बहुत ठीक कहते हो। मैं आज फिर कहता हूं कि डाक्टर लोहिया ने कहा था कि कंफेडरेशन बने, यही समस्या का समाधान है, काश्मीर समस्या का समाधान है, यही पख्तूनिस्तान का समाधान है, यही बिलोचिस्तान का समाधान है, यही पूर्वी और पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान के बिगड़त हुये रिश्ते का समाधान है, इससे दूसरा और कोई समाधान नहीं हो सकता है। इसलिए इस मौके पर मजीबुर रहमान साहब को बधाई देते हुये मैं चाहता था कि डा० जाकिर हुसेन साहब अपने राष्ट्रपति-सम्बोधन में, भाषण में, इसकी कुछ चर्चा जरूर करते।

माननीया, यह गांधी शताब्दि की बात राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने भाषण के आखिरी पन्नों में की है, पहले से इसकी शुरूआत नहीं की। उसके बारे में आपको बताऊं। यहां पर मार्टिन लूथर किंग की पत्नी कोरेटा किंग आई थी, उनकी वक्तव्य आपने पढ़ा है, उन्होंने कहा था कि गांधी जी का नाम लिया जाता है मगर गांधी जी की भावनाओं की उपेक्षा सब जगह दीख रही है। 19 तारीख

## [श्री राजनारायण]

से लेकर 30 तारीख तक जो 11 दिन हैं उनमें क्या शान-शौकत, विलासिता और ऐश्वर्य का प्रदर्शन हुआ है दिल्ली में गांधी शताब्दि के नाम पर, क्योंकि 20 तारीख को पहला बम्ब फटा था गांधी जी के ऊपर और 30 जनवरी को गांधी जी की हत्या हुई थी, तो 20 तारीख से इस सरकार ने रिपब्लिक डे का सेलिब्रेशन शुरू कर दिया और 30 तारीख तक उसको ले गई। यह क्या है? यह किस दिमाग को बताता है? मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री जी यहाँ विराजमान हैं, यह कभी कभी एक दार्शनिक के रूप में बात करते हैं, वह मैं चाहता हूँ कि जरा इस को, इस तथ्य को समझे कि गांधी शताब्दि के साल में क्यों 20 तारीख से लेकर 30 जनवरी तक, 11 दिन तक लगातार शान-शौकत और रोशोइशरत दिल्ली की तमाम सड़कों पर फैला और सारे देश में फैला। क्यों? कारण क्या है? क्या गांधी जी यही चाहते थे?

माननीया आपने इस बात को देखा होगा, हम ने इस बात को देखा है, समाचारपत्रों में आपने पढ़ा होगा, जब हिटलर का उदय हुआ जर्मनी में तो एक लेखक ने दिवाली पर एक नारा लिख दिया था। उसने लिखा था न रोटी न मक्खन, न अंडा लेकिन चांसलर के लिये नई कोठी। गांधी शताब्दि समारोह के अवसर पर भारत जनता के लिये न कपड़ा, न रोटी, मगर इन्दिरा के लिये नई कोठी।

**श्री शील भद्र याजी :** आप सब में ज्यादा ही जाते हैं।

**श्री राजनारायण :** इन्दिरा के लिये नई कोठी बन रही है 40 लाख रुपये के खर्च पर। यह क्या है? क्या यही गांधी जी के कहने पर चल रहे हैं उनके किसी मार्ग का अवलोकन कर रहे हैं, उनके किसी मार्ग को लेकर चल रहे हैं? क्या यही समाजवादी है? क्या यह गांधी जी का नाम लेने वालों के लिये उचित शोभा देता है। गांधी शताब्दि की तमाम चर्चा है कि गांधी जी का नाम चलाया जाय

और गांधी की आत्मा को मार दिया जाय? मुझे याद है, 1946 ई० में "आन एन इंडियन गवर्नर" का एक लेख गांधी जी ने लिखा है कि भारत के राज्यपालों को कैसे रहना चाहिए। उन्होंने कहा कि भारत के राज्यपालों को शोपड़ी चाहिये भारत के राज्यपालों को अपने कर्म और कर्तव्य और आचरण में सिद्ध करना चाहिये कि हम भारत की गरीब जनता के राज्यपाल हैं, हम किसी अमेरिका के राज्यपाल नहीं हैं। मगर आश्चर्य है कि यह क्या हो रहा है? यही नहीं, हमें कभी कभी गुस्सा आता है, हमें गुस्सा नहीं करना चाहिये, लेकिन यह जो नेहरू मेमोरियल के चारों तरफ और चारों ओर मकान और लगा हुआ अंग है उसमें कौन लोग रहते हैं उसे भी देखा जाय।

**श्री गोडे मुराहरि :** (उत्तर प्रदेश) : पद्मजा नायडू।

**श्री राजनारायण :** पद्मजा नायडू रहती है। क्यों? कैसे? तो यह सारी की सारी चीजें हमारे सामने हैं। इन चीजों के मद्देनजर हम समाजवाद और जनतंत्र का नाम ले।

माननीया मैं बहुत अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि जून के महीने में बनारस की जेल में पांच सौ लोग हमारे साथ थे उसमें चकिया के करीब 70 आदमी थे, एक दिन हमने चकिया के लोगों को बैठाया और हमने उनसे कहा कि अपनी अपनी आमदनी व्यौरा दो, तो एक परिवार जिसमें 10 आदमी खाने वाले थे उसकी मुश्किल से दिन भर की पूरी की पूरी आमदनी 20 आने है और एक परिवार जिसमें आठ आदमी खाने वाले थे उसकी दिन भर की पूरी की पूरी आमदनी 24 आने है। अब जरा बताया जाय कि जिस परिवार की फी आदमी औसत आमदनी दो आने, तीन आने या चार आने है वह क्या खायेंगे और क्या खिलायेंगे अपने बच्चों को। दुनिया का कोई भी मुल्क हमें बताया जाय जिसमें डिसपैरिटी इतनी बड़ी हो जितनी कि भारत में है। भारत में आज आर्थिक विषमता चरमसीमा पर चली गई है। कल यहाँ पर चर्चा हुई, बिड़ला परिवार की

(श्री राजनारायण)

चर्चा हुई, टाटा परिवार की चर्चा हुई, साहू परिवार की चर्चा हुई, 508 करोड़ 1967 ई० तक बिड़ला परिवार और 555 करोड़ 1967 तक टाटा परिवार; यह क्या तमाशा है। यही एक मुल्क है जहाँ एक परिवार की एक-एक आदमी पर पाँच-पाँच या दस-दस लाख रोज़ाना की औसत आमदनी पड़ रही है और दूसरी तरफ वह है जिनकी औसत आमदनी दो आना, तीन आना या चार आना पड़ रही है। इस सरकार को शर्म से डूब मरना चाहिये। फिर भी हमारे भाई महाबीरदास जी इसको तरक्की कहते हैं, वह कहते हैं कि यह तरक्की हुई कि इतनी औरत पढ़ गई, इतने बच्चे पढ़ गये यह हो गया, वह हो गया। खैर, उस पर हमें नहीं जाना है, हमें जाना है मूल तथ्य पर। मूल तथ्य जरा देखा जाय।

**उपसभापति :** आपने आधा घंटा ले लिया है, अब 10 मिनट बाकी हैं। आपकी पार्टी के 40 मिनट हैं।

**श्री शीलभद्र याजी :** इनका तो जनतंत्र है। इनको मोनोपोली चाहिये, यह सोशलिस्ट नहीं हैं।

**श्री राजनारायण :** माननीया, ठीक है। मैं आपके द्वारा इस सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों की खिदमत में जो अपने देश में एक प्रादेशिक विषमता है, जो रीजनल डिसपैरिटी है, इसका थोड़ा सा मूल्यांकन करना चाहूंगा। हमारे मित्र ने एक आंकड़ा पेश किया। हमारे यहां सभी लोग इस तथ्य को मानेंगे। गांधी जी भी यही कहा करते थे कि जो जितना ही पिछड़ा हो उसको उतनी ही सहायता की जरूरत है। मैं अब भी मानता हूँ देश में जो जितना ही पिछड़ा है उसको उतनी ही सहायता और मदद देकर आगे बढ़ाओ। अंतरदेश में भी, अंतर्राष्ट्र में भी यही सिद्धांत लागू करो। जो मुल्क जितना पिछड़ा है दूसरा बड़ा मुल्क उसको उतनी ही ज्यादा मदद दे, यह एक मुख्य सिद्धान्त आज चालू होना चाहिये। मगर देखा जाना चाहिये हमने शिक्षा के आंकड़े लगाये।

उत्तर प्रदेश में 1000 पीछे एक ग्रैजुएट का औसत आ रहा है, बम्बई मद्रास, कलकत्ता, में हजार पीछे इस वक्त चार जा रहा है। आमदनी का भी अगर हिसाब देखा जायेगा तो हर राज्य की आमदनी का हिसाब इसी प्रकार से आवेगा और माननीया, हमारे पास जो उपलब्ध आंकड़े आए हैं हमें 1950-51 और 1964-65 से आगे के आंकड़े नहीं मिल पाये हैं अगर आप देखेंगे हम 1964-65 को ले लेते हैं, पंजाब में प्रति व्यक्ति आमदनी इस वक्त तक, यानी 1964-65 में, 619 रुपये है, उत्तर प्रदेश में 374, बिहार में 212 उत्तर प्रदेश की और बिहार की आमदनी मिला कर करोड़ के करीब आबादी यहां 6 करोड़ के करीब आबादी वहां, 15 करोड़ हो गई, यह पिछड़े हुए राज्य हैं, औसत आमदनी के हिसाब में भी 1950-51 में भी रेशियो यही है। केवल पंजाब में 404 रुपये प्रति व्यक्ति आमदनी है, महाराष्ट्र, में 273, गुजरात में 381, पश्चिमी बंगाल में 471 उड़ीसा में 259 और बिहार में 181, उत्तर प्रदेश में 271। यह स्थिति है, पिछड़ाव का सबूत है। इस पिछड़ाव की यह स्थिति है, इस पिछड़ाव के सबूत को जो सरकार अपने को जस्ट कहती है उस सरकार के जस्ट और उचित होने का सबूत यह आपके सामने मैं दे रहा हूँ। यह क्या है कि जो पर कैपिटल प्लान आऊटले है और सेन्ट्रल असिस्टेन्स, है, यह हर राज्य में किस अनुपात से मिला है इसको भी जरा हृदयंगम करना चाहिये। माननीया, उत्तर प्रदेश को पर कपिटल असिस्टेंस मिली है जो 17 साल में कुल 102 रुपये है, बिहार की 99 रुपये। यह सेन्ट्रल असिस्टेन्स है। ज्यादा किसको मिला है, आन्ध्र प्रदेश को, 138 असम को 182 गुजरात को 120, जम्मू और काश्मीर को 361, केरल को 146, मध्य प्रदेश को 153, मद्रास को 119, मैसूर को 149, उड़ीसा को 201, पंजाब को 131, राजस्थान को 185, नागालैण्ड को 570, नागालैण्ड को 573 देकर के भी उत्तर प्रदेश को

102 और बिहार को 99। यह है सेन्ट्रल असिस्टेन्स का पणिनाम पर कैपिटल सेन्ट्रल असिस्टेन्स सत्रह साल में। समझ गए शीलभद्र याजी जी, इससे क्या सरकार की दृष्टि जान गये। मैं पूछता हूँ मोहन धारिया से, मैं बहुत परेशान हूँ उन लोगो से जो कांग्रेस पार्टी में पड़े हुए अपने को प्रोग्रेसिव मानते हैं और कहते हैं ममाजवाद के लिये कंधे में कंधा मिलाकर हमारे साथ लड़ना चाहते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कब लडोगे? क्या ममाजवादी दृष्टि यह है कि जो अगड़े राज्य हैं उनको ज्यादा से ज्यादा दिया जाय और जो पिछड़े हुए राज्य हों उनको न दिया जाय। माननीया जो कुछ भी आप हमको समय देंगी, उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार में चुनाव के मौके पर जो सरकारी साधनों का प्रयोग हुआ है और पुलिस की ओर से ज्यादाती हुई है उसको कहना चाहता हूँ। उत्तर प्रदेश में चीफ इलेक्शन कमिशनर को कई तार हमने दिये, चीफ इलेक्शन कमिशनर से टेलीफोन से भी हमने बात किया कि प० कमलापति त्रिपाठी और श्री चन्द्रभानु गुप्त के निर्वाचन क्षेत्रों की विशेष रूप से देखरेख हो। श्री प० कमलापति त्रिपाठी की जीत शुद्धतः एस० एस० पी की थी, वहा का एस० एस० पी० शर्मा अपने को कहता है हम कमलापति के रिश्तेदार हैं। एक ढंग में तमाम पुलिस दारोगाओं को छोड़ दिया, लगातार एक महीने से पूरी कैंन्वेसिंग हुई और धमका कर पुलिस के लोग सादी बरदी में जा कर जनता के वोटों को निकालते थे, जनता को बुलाते थे, रात में बैठ जाते थे ये सारे कारनामे हुए हैं। मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है अपने को विरोधी दल कहने वाला, मगर जिसकी महावीर दास ने तारीफ की, और जो कांग्रेस का पिछड़ा हुआ बी०के०डी० के रूप में आया, उन्होंने भी कुछ ज्यादा सीटें लेली जरूर, लेकिन हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश का जो चरण सिंह है, जिस ढंग की उसने जातपात चलाई, जिस ढंग का उसने पूरा खुल कर के प्रचार

किया नेहरू की नकल, कोने में चरण सिंह, "चरण सिंह का हाथ मजबूत करने के लिये बी०के०डी० को वोट दो"। उम्मीदवार का नाम नहीं। हमने एक साहब से कहा : क्या उनके हाथ में लकवा मार गया है? बी०के०डी० का उम्मीदवार जीत जायेगा तो मालिश करेगा। कही कार्यक्रम की चर्चा नहीं, न कही कार्यक्रम खीचा था न सिद्धांत खीचा था। कांग्रेस के जगजीवनराम की मीटिंग रही थी, उसके बाद हमारी हो रही थी। श्री बाबू जगजीवनराम की मीटिंग का असर क्या हुआ, कही कोई चर्चा हुई? केवल एक दो भाषण हुए, ढाई भाषण हुए। एक भाषण हुआ श्रीमती इंदिरा जी का, एक भाषण हुआ श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी साहब का और एक आधा भाषण हुआ श्री चरण सिंह का। इंदिरा जी के भाषण में 5 लाख रुपये से 1) लाख रुपये हर मीटिंग में खर्चा होता था। "अगर आप टिकाऊ सरकार चाहते हो तो कांग्रेस को वोट दो"। न कोई कार्यक्रम, न कोई सिद्धांत, न कोई चर्चा। देवी जी आई और चली गई। अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी का भाषण हुआ : हमारा भारत राष्ट्र जहां तिमिराच्छन्न गगन हो, हिमाच्छादित ललाट हो, समुद्र पान प्रलोपण करता हो, विन्ध्याचल कंकरीट कर्धनी हो, जहां निर्मल चंद्रिका हो, प्रफुल्ल मल्लिका हो, जहां कोकिल की काकली हो, जहां कुसुम का मोरभ हो, जहां रमणी का मुखड़ा सुंदर हो, वही है भारत राष्ट्र। यह है अटल बिहारी। और चरण सिंह 12 तारीख को घोषणा हो जाने दो, भ्रष्टाचार खत्म और गन्ने के दामों का भाव बढ़ जायेगा। (Interruptions.) हंसो मत, रोडये बैठकर। मोरारजी भाई इस समय आगये हैं। मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ : हमारी प्राचीन परम्परा क्या है भूत की अनुभूति क्या है, हमारा वर्तमान कर्तव्य क्या है, भविष्य की कल्पना क्या है, किस ढंग के ढांचे में समाज को ढालना चाहते हो? भ्रष्टाचार, डिमोक्रेसी को हिपोक्रेसी में बदल कर चाहते हो जनतंत्र

[श्री राजनारायण]

को भ्रमतंत्र में बदल दे। माननीया, वित्त मंत्री आ गए हैं, आप कुछ समय दीजिए। मैं वित्त मंत्री से बहुत अदब के साथ कहता हूँ जरा वे सोचें, छाती में हाथ धर कर, अगर आज देश के चार बड़े बड़े धनपति झुक जायें, तो किसी को भी हरा सकते हैं। देखो, सुन लो, जैसा हुआ है। हमारे यहां जानते थे कि 500 सीटें हमारी हैं, बराबर हम जीतते थे, धनपतियों ने साझा किया और उसका नतीजा क्या हुआ, कि जितने अहीर, जितने कुर्मी, जब एक होने लगे तो फिर ठाकुर, बनिये, अहीर, भूमिहार, सभी ने कहा कि अब तो आपकी पार्टी नहीं जीत रही है, कांग्रेस को जिता देंगे। अगर कोई बी०के०डी० का हो इस बात को समझले, कि श्री चरण सिंह के जातिवाद में जो कुछ उनके परिवार के लोग रहे हैं कांग्रेस में, उनको जितवा दिया है और हमको हरा दिया है। यह समाजवादी और जनतंत्र नहीं है। और माननीया, जिस दिन चुनाव हो रहे थे, क्या बाहर से पैसा आया है। कहीं से 10,000, कहीं से 5,000, कहीं से 4,000 यह है इलेक्शन जीतने की तिकड़म और अगर इन धनपतियों के हाथ में देश का जनतंत्र चला जा रहा है, देश के जनतंत्र पर धनपति बैठ रहा है तो कोई कारण नहीं कि इंदिरा जी और मोरारजी का टकराव है। तो धनपति लाखों करोड़ों रुपये खर्च करके चाहता है मोरारजी को बैठा दे। मोरारजी भाई, फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने कहा था, मुझे माफ करेगे डिपुटी प्राइम मिनिस्टर उन्होंने कहा था, लोगों को याद होगा, कि मैं किन का आदमी हूँ क्योंकि देश के बड़े बड़े धनपतियों ने हमारा साथ नहीं दिया। उनका पहला बयान आया था जब कि पिछली दफा प्राइम मिनिस्टर के चुनाव के लिये इंदिरा जी से उनका मुकाबला हो रहा था। 3 P.M. चूकि यहां पर श्री मोरारजी भाई हैं, इसलिए मैं इन्डो नेपाल ट्रेड के संबंध में कहना चाहता हूँ। आज भारत की सरकार भारत के हितों को बिल्कुल गिरवी रखने जा रही है। क्यों रखने जा रही है, इसकी भी चर्चा की

जानी चाहिये। 50 करोड़ रुपये से ज्यादा देश के धन का नुकसान हो रहा है और यह नुकसान कांग्रेस की सरकार कर रही है। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत के हितों के संबंध में भारत के ट्रेड के संबंध में पहले श्री भगत ने सरेन्डर किया था ट्रेड एग्रीमेंट करके कभी दिनेश सिंह ने सरेन्डर किया और कभी प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने सरेन्डर किया। जब डा० जाकिर हुसैन साहब वहां गये थे तो उन्होंने कह दिया था कि नेपाल का सामान भारत में अबाध गति से आना चाहिये। आज भारत में नेपाल का सामान काफी मात्रा में आ रहा है। माननीया, आप विराटनगर को जानती ही होंगी। विराटनगर और नेपाल के बीच में सिर्फ दो मील का ही फर्क है और वहां पर काफी मात्रा में नेपाल का सामान आ रहा है।

(Interruptions)

माननीया, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमारे देश में जितना संकट है उतना संकट पहले नहीं था। आज यह देश टूट रहा है, उसका मन टूट रहा है और उसको जोड़ने का काम केवल शब्दजाल से होने वाला नहीं है। जब तक ठोस काम नहीं किया जायेगा तब तक यह काम नहीं होगा इसके आर्थिक ढांचे को मजबूत करना होगा और वह ठोस काम करके ही हो सकता है। इस देश में जातपात की भावना को दूर करना होगा। आज हर पार्टी में सिवाय संसोपा के जात पात की भावना फैली हुई है।

महोदया, मैं आपके द्वारा अदब के साथ निवेदन करूंगा कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने जो भाषण दिया है, उन आंकड़ों में जाने की जरूरत नहीं है। उनका भाषण बहुत ही छोटा होना चाहिये था और जिस तरह का भाषण होना चाहिये था यह मैंने आपके सामने पढ़ दिया है। अगर उन्होंने संयम से काम लिया होता तो उनका भाषण इतना ही होना। "किसी न किसी प्रकार मेरी सरकार चल रही है और आगे भी चलेगी"।

(Interruptions)

माननीया, मैं फिर श्री मोरारजी भाई से अदब के साथ कहना चाहूंगा कि उनकी अवस्था काफी हो चुकी है और अगर वे मंत्रिमंडल में नहीं रहेंगे तो कोई नुकसान नहीं होगा। देश को बनाने के लिए यह जरूरी है कि जो तपे तपाये लोग हैं वे प्रशासन से अलग हो जायें, पार्टी से अलग हो जाये तथा निष्पक्ष होकर देश को बनाने में लग जाये। आज देश में मनोपली आफ इकोनोमिक पावर को खत्म करने की आवश्यकता है, डिसेन्ट्रलाइजेशन आफ पोलिटिकल पावर करने की आवश्यकता है। जबतक यह चीज नहीं होता तबतक हमारा जनतंत्र नहीं बच सकता है। आज देश में किस तरह की शिक्षा होनी चाहिये, किस तरह की इकोनोमिक पावर होनी चाहिये, जबतक हम इन सब बातों की ओर ध्यान नहीं देंगे तबतक देश नहीं बच सकता है। माननीया, मैं आप से एक सवाल पूछना चाहता हूं क्योंकि आप विद्वान हैं, आपको जानकारी है कि जब कभी मंत्री आपके यहां चाय पीने आता है या आप किसी दूसरी जगह पर चाय पर जाती हैं, तो देश किस तरह से बनेगा, इस संबंध में कभी चर्चा हुई और इस तरह की चर्चा कभी सुनी? सेन्ट्रल हाल में बारबार चर्चा होगी कि मोहन धारिया, शिव नारायण टंडन और श्री चन्द्र शेखर को क्यों नहीं लिया गया। वहां पर बारबार इसी तरह की चर्चा होगी कि कौन डिप्टी मिनिस्टर बनेगा। इस तरह की वहां पर चर्चा होती है और इस तरह की चर्चा से देश कैसे बन सकता है। देश की जो बुनियादी खराबी है उसकी चर्चा वहां पर नहीं होती। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर देश को बनाना चाहते हो, देश को बचाना चाहते हो, तो पाकिस्तान में इस समय जो हलचल हो रही है उसका असर अपने देश में भी होने वाला है और समय रहते बुनियादी तबदीली कर लो वरना पाकिस्तान में जिस तरह की हलचल हो रही है उसी तरह की हलचल भारत की जनता भी करेगी। इस बात को अच्छी तरह से सब को समझ लेना चाहिये।

**SHRI M. M. DHARIA** (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, while

I was listening to the speech of my friend, Mr. Rajnarain, I felt that at least on this occasion and after the various incidents in the past, he would try to get out of the cave of his own party and try to give free expression. Unfortunately with all his efforts I could not see that he could come out of the cave of his own party.

Before I proceed with my speech, I would like to make one submission regarding the present system of the Presidential Address, which is under article 87 of the Constitution. Unfortunately it so happens that it is at the beginning of the Budget Session that the joint session of both Houses is convened. When the President's Address is delivered, the discussion takes place. The moment we come out of the discussion, the Budget is presented by the hon. Finance Minister. I believe that if this Address is given earlier, say, at the beginning of the month of January—the article says at the first session which begins early in the year—then it will be possible for the hon. Finance Minister to understand the views and sentiments expressed by both the Houses and then formulate the Budget. Unfortunately, both these things synchronise together and it is not possible for the hon. Finance Minister to take into consideration the sentiments of both Houses. The discussion on the President's Address is nothing but a ritual. May I request you....

**SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE** (West Bengal): The hand that writes the Budget is the same hand that writes the President's Address.

**SHRI M. M. DHARIA** : I am sorry he has not realised what I said here. After the President's Address and after the deliberations take place here, it will be possible for the Government to understand and know the views of both Houses. Then, it may be possible for the Government, if it so desires, to include all those suggestions to the extent possible, in the Budget itself. From that point of view we want to have fruitful deliberations and I would appeal to the Government to examine this point.

Now, coming to the President's Address itself, the President has made a reference to the situation that exists in



[Shri M. M. Dharia]

the country today. The President was kind enough to mention the new green revolution in our country and I am also here to subscribe to the views that are expressed by our President. I have no doubt in my mind that this country, during the past few years, has certainly given a good lead in agricultural production and in years to come this country will be self-sufficient in agriculture. Whatever good has happened, it should be welcomed.

Similarly, the President has referred to the industrial progress and has said that there are symptoms of our coming out of the recession and here also I agree with the hon. President.

The President has also announced that the Government will soon set up an All India Irrigation Commission. I welcome this move of the Government through the President's Address. I feel that this was the need of the country since long and I have no doubt that the Commission will take into consideration the present imbalanced growth of irrigation in this country and try to render justice, particularly to such States where irrigation is absolutely meagre. I may mention four States, viz., Mysore, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. While the national average of irrigated land under cultivation is to the tune of 24 per cent, all these four States are not having irrigation even to the extent of 10 or 11 per cent. There are some States which are having even less. For instance, Maharashtra particularly is having only 9 per cent of irrigation. I have no doubt that the All India Irrigation Commission will go into this and also look into the pattern of distribution of schemes.

The President has also made a mention of the Joint Consultative Machinery and has expressed the view that compulsory arbitration is the only way out. I do concede that compulsory arbitration is absolutely essential, but may I say, through you, Madam, to the Government, that any move on the part of the Government to ban strikes, without rendering social justice and that too speedy justice, will not at all be welcomed or appreciated in this country?

I shall be one of those who shall oppose this move on the part of the Government, if they in any way try to ban strikes without providing remedies for securing justice. From that point of view due note of it should be taken by the Government.

At the same time as was rightly insisted and stressed by our Chairman and the Vice-President of our country, Mr. V. V. Giri, a veteran labour leader, that there shall be only one union in one industry, I fail to understand why the Government should not come forward and say that there shall be only one union in one industry, that political leaders or outsiders will not be allowed to be office-bearers of such unions. Such unions will be recognised unions and the J.C.M. will be a powerful body to settle various grievances at various levels. If there is any dispute whatsoever and if in the J.C.M. the dispute is not resolved, then the matter will automatically go to the arbitrators or to the tribunal, whatever it is, and the decision of the tribunal or the arbitrators will be binding on all including the Government. It shall be only this Parliament, it shall be only the State Legislatures who should have the right to have any amendments in the decision and not the Government. If such a decision is taken by the Government, I have no doubt that the present wrangling, the present dissatisfaction that we see today will have an immediate end and there will be a cordial atmosphere in this country. Today I feel that what is needed is the creation of a new feeling whereby there should not be either a strike or a lock-out for at least fifteen years. It should not happen only where there are Government services, but it should happen both in the public sector and the private sector. Let us come to an understanding whereby there should not be a strike for fifteen years. It is not by banning the strike that the Government will be in a position to achieve anything. It will be by taking into confidence all the parties concerned. I believe that the Government will make its approach accordingly.

Madam, the hon. President has made a reference to various things like ship-

pings, tourism, planning, public sector, integrated economic development, political stability, external policies, defence, etc., and he has also mentioned various Bills that are likely to be introduced. He has also made a mention of something which is more disturbing to me. It is the disturbing trends in our national affairs and also the extremist political groups. The President has stated in para 22 :

"There is no place in a democratic society for groups which seek to change the social and political structure by armed insurrection."

When this is being stated by the President, I fail to understand why such extremist political groups or extremist groups which may not be necessarily political parties but whose character is of that type, why they are not being banned in this country. If these are extremist groups who do not believe in democracy, whether it is the Marxist Naxalite party or whether it is Shiv Sena or Lakshit Sena of some other place, which groups have no place in democracy, should they not be immediately banned? Why does the Government feel shy about it? I make a demand today that Shiv Sena—I will not take the time of the House on that because we shall be discussing this very soon; but I have no doubt whatsoever that from the speeches of Mr. Thackeray, from the behaviour and activities of Shiv Sena it is clear that it is a fascist organisation having no faith whatsoever in democracy, and such sort of groups should not be allowed to exist. All possible strong action should be taken against such groups. In the city of Poona when municipal elections were held, with all accusations from Mr. Thackeray, I am one of those persons who had shown courage to oppose Shiv Sena, and that way we organised our campaign. That was the first major defeat in the life of Shiv Sena. Only one candidate out of several of their candidates was elected and that too only by a marginal vote of 11 defeating the Congress rival. So they are having only one corporator in the Poona Municipal Corporation. So, it should be fought on

political grounds. At the same time when the President expresses these views, why is the Government feeling shy of banning such extremist political parties? There is no Bill likely to be introduced because the President's Address is quite silent about it. It does not mention anything. I have not followed why it is not being done.

Coming to the Address itself and coming to my own comments, I am really sorry I am constrained to say that this Address does not make any mention of socialism. Here I do not know whether the Government has drifted from its own policy. Whereas we have accepted democratic socialism, why no mention is made of that in this Address, why no single word is mentioned about it. Why?

Coming to some other points, in spite of the fact that during the whole of last year there were serious atrocities of a severe nature against our own Harijan brothers and sisters, there is no mention about it. Should not there be any mention about it in the whole Address? In spite of the fact that there were communal disturbances in various parts of the country and our Muslim brothers in some areas were simply massacred, should it not be mentioned in the whole President's Address? Then what about the youth unrest? Today we find that there is tremendous unemployment in the country. The minds of the youth are shattered. They feel that there is no bright future for them whatsoever, and when I go through the whole Address, but for a minor reference to unemployment—what is that reference? It is in para 9 :

"Growth in agriculture and industry is having a salutary effect on the unemployment problem in the country. We have still a long way to go to offset the effect of the two drought years and to improve on the position, especially about unemployment amongst technologists which is causing serious concern. A modest start has been made with the programme for employment of qualified engineers in a self-employment programme."

[Shri M. M. Dharia]

Where is that programme? How long are the suffering engineers to loiter in the streets? I have made it clear on several occasions that last year 20 lakhs students appeared for matriculation or higher secondary examination, and only 280,000 could be accommodated or allowed to be admitted in colleges and universities. Other students, who are nearly 17 lakhs, are just loitering in the streets in a frustrated atmosphere. During the next five years, 1 crore of students between the age-limit of 15 or 22 will be roaming about here and there for employment, and if nothing is provided to these youngsters, should we take it for granted that this democratic set-up, these democratic institutions will continue in this country? The greatest danger to our democracy is unemployment. The greatest danger to our democracy is not taking into consideration the agitated feelings of the youth, and unfortunately there is no mention of it in the whole of the President's Address? What is this democracy for? What is this freedom for? We shall have to think about it very seriously.

There is no mention regarding the growing monopolies. My friend, Mr. Rajnarain, rightly pointed out that the elections have become a very difficult matter for the common man. It is not possible for any common man to fight an election without the help of monopolists or their money. Their encouragement at the political level is also a menace to our democracy, danger to our democracy, but there is no mention about it in the whole of the President's Address. Madam, I feel that in this country today all parties should come together, should sit together and should think about the happenings in the country, what is the present political set-up, how the political parties have been behaving. There are the opposition leaders who say that the Congress has failed, but have they not sufficiently realised that if Congress has failed, they have failed and failed miserably? Should they not realise that also? I do not want to blame this party or that party, but, Madam, I do feel let us take into consideration all these various

dangers that exist in the country today, but unfortunately no cognisance is taken of it by the hon. President's Address. We won our independence. What are the basic tenets of our independence? I feel that unity, integrity, democracy, secularism and socialism are the basic tenets of our freedom.

But if we cannot give a fruitful meaning to these five basic tenets, this independence has no meaning whatsoever. We may be politically free. But what about the social and economic freedom? What do we see today even after 21 years of independence? When I go to several villages and I see those two localities, one the maharwada and the other the chamarwada on one side and the locality of the Hindus on the other side, my head bows in shame. After 21 years of independence, how can we allow this sort of dual citizenship to continue? Why should this subordinate citizenship be allowed to be continued? Have we thought about it? How are we going to have a breakthrough from this atmosphere, from these social disparities and inequalities? If we take into consideration the various castes and sub-castes and the various religions, where are the feelings of harmony today? Democracy has its own evils, it has got its own good things too. But there is nothing, under the name of democracy.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :  
Kindly wind up.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : I am going to finish in five minutes. Others have taken nearly half an hour. So, you will please allow me.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Not from the Congress Party.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : I will not take much time.

Madam, I was making a reference to the present democratic set-up. Now, under the name of democracy, there are efforts which are being made to mobilise castes and sub-castes. Where will it ultimately lead to? Will it not crack the whole democratic set-up? What is the meaning behind democracy?

Is it for such a creation of castes and sub-castes or for the mobilisation of such castes and sub-castes that we have this democratic set-up in this country? Should we not rebel against it? Similarly, in the case of economic inequalities, should we not take them into consideration? There is no mention of it whatsoever here. There is the growth of monopoly. In this country of 50 crores, more than 50 per cent of the people are not getting even 50 paise per day. There is no mention about it in this Presidential Address. I feel that every political party shall have to think about it very seriously. We shall have to resolve ourselves that we shall go ahead with determination and courage to see that economic and social equality is established in this country and that we shall establish it without losing a single moment. And in that direction we shall have to work. Therefore, I appeal to the Government to take a serious view of the whole situation. It is no use being complacent. What I smell after going through the whole speech of the honourable President is the smell of complacency. We cannot allow ourselves to be complacent. Let us not be complacent. Let us take into consideration all these serious dangers to and stresses on our democracy. Let us try to understand the mind of the youngsters who are to be the true rulers of tomorrow.

These are my feelings, Madam. To quote the real meaning of freedom, I shall only read out from one of the best poems of Rabindranath Tagore. I am referring to the Collected Poems and Plays of Rabindranath Tagore.

"Freedom from fear is the freedom I claim for you, my Motherland,—  
fear, the phantom demon, shaped  
by your own distorted dreams;

"Freedom from the burden of ages,  
bending your head, breaking your  
back, blinding your eyes to the  
beckoning call of the future;

"Freedom from shackles of slumber  
wherewith you fasten yourself to  
night's stillness, mistrusting the star

that speaks of truth's adventurous  
path;

"Freedom from the anarchy of a destiny, whose sails are weakly yielded to blind uncertain winds, and the helm to a hand ever rigid and cold as Death;

"Freedom from the insult of dwelling in a puppet's world, where movements are started through brainless wires, repeated through mindless habits; where figures wait with patient obedience for a master of show to be stirred into a moment's mimicry of life."

I look at freedom from this point of view. I believe that the Government will take due note of it. And the President will know—we have the highest regard for the President—and it may be in his mind. But ultimately the President's Address is nothing but a review by the Government. I am not criticising the President. I feel that the Government has failed to take this meaning of our freedom which was in the minds of our great leaders.

Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy. Your Party has 25 minutes.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Madam, I listened very attentively to the Address delivered by the President on the 17th of this month. It was insipid and uninspiring. As was rightly stated by my predecessor, there is no mention of socialism. There is no mention of the efforts being made by this Government which has accepted socialism as its objective to bring down the disparities in income. There is no mention how this society is going to be transformed into a new socialistic society wherein the oppressed and the depressed will come into their own and will have equal opportunities for their development.

Madam, the President has referred to the recent mini-General Elections that were held in four States of Bengal, Bihar,

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy]

U.P. and Punjab recently. The elections in Haryana were held much earlier. What do we learn from these elections? In 1967 the Congress was voted out of power in nine States and President's rule was imposed in five States. The Congress did not like or tolerate any non-Congress party or combination of non-Congress parties to come into power. And through the machination and instrumentality of the Governors, President's rule was imposed and the elected Governments were dismissed. Unconstitutional and illegal interference by the Governors in these States has paid dividends not to the Congress Party which expected that it would get the majority but to the opposition parties. And that is what happened in West Bengal. That is what happened in Punjab. That is what happened in Bihar. And in U.P. I am not sure whether the Congress will get the required majority.

Madam Deputy Chairman, here and in the other House, charges of Central interference in non-Congress States were made and it is absolutely imperative that a Council for resolving the Centre State differences should be constituted. This view was also supported by Mr. Gajendragadkar, the ex-Chief Justice of India. It is under the Constitution but the Central Government has not taken the trouble to constitute a Council of that sort. In view of the fact that no longer the Congress is enjoying the support and confidence of the people as it did before 1967 and the other parties are coming into power in the different States, it is necessary that the delicate question of the relations between the Centre and the States should be properly gone into and a Council is necessary to solve such disputes.

Madam Deputy Chairman, another interesting situation has arisen in Bihar where no party gets the majority. It is very unlikely that any party will come into power there. If it does I will welcome it. But if it does not, then inevitably the President's Rule will have to be imposed in Bihar. But we would very much like that a democratic party should come into power or a combina-

tion of parties should come into power in Bihar. This is not the first time that this is happening in Bihar. Some time back in Kerala a similar situation arose; no party got the majority and the President's Rule was imposed. Therefore, it is time that an Electoral Reforms Commission is appointed to go into this question which would suggest ways and methods of revising the present election law either on the basis of proportional representation or preferential system of voting and some other methods may be adopted so that such situations would not occur again.

Madam Deputy Chairman the speakers who preceded me also referred to election expenses. We have been time and again demanding that there should be a ban on contributions by companies to political parties and the expenses incurred by political parties on behalf of the candidates should be included in the returns to be filed by the candidates. This was so previously. But unfortunately it was amended and the money spent by the political parties are not included in the election returns, so much so that corruption is rampant and moneys collected from the big business people are spent lavishly and the election law is violated in spirit as well as in letter.

There is a reference to the Fourth Plan, that from the 1st of April the Fourth Plan will come into being; it will be implemented. For these three of four years there was no Plan at all there was a Plan holiday. We believe firmly in the planned economy of this country. We believe firmly that there should be a socialist economy in this country and to achieve that there should be a Plan. I was sorry to find that the Government is not serious in formulating the Fourth Plan and implementing it. Year to year Plans are being formulated and that too is not implemented properly. Unless there is a proper Fourth Plan evolved and implemented it will be difficult to progress on planned lines.

Madam Deputy Chairman, the last two years, particularly the last year we were faced with famine and floods and

we have been faced with shortage of food during the last twenty years. In spite of 21 years of freedom, in spite of more than Rs. 20,000 crores spent during the three Five Years Plans we have not been able to solve the problem of floods, the problem of famine and shortage of food. If the Government had invested more moneys in agricultural development, today instead of importing foodgrains from other countries and going about with a begging bowl for food to America or Canada we would have been in a position to export food from this country. We have many rivers. Floods have not been properly controlled. We have seen the devastation that has occurred on account of floods. Some devastation has occurred on account of famine conditions in some parts of the country. All these things could have been solved if there was proper planning for agricultural development. I do not see why the Government should be so complacent. It may be true that we have produced more during the last year but that is not sufficient for the mouths which are multiplying every day. So we should not be complacent about the agricultural production that we have achieved. On the other hand what ever agricultural production has been achieved in certain areas, it is the rich peasants that have benefited from it. The poorer sections of the population have not benefited at all. They do not get loans in proper time. They do not get fertilisers. They do not get irrigation facilities. They do not get power facilities. It is only the rich peasants that have benefited.

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

The poor farmers have not benefited at all. Therefore, the land reforms, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that were passed by different States have not been implemented at all. They should be properly implemented and all facilities for the poorer sections of the population should be afforded so that they can have the benefit of freedom, they can get their sons educated and they can get all the other benefits that are available to the richer classes.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, we should also learn something from the other countries. We have rivers but we have not utilised them. We are quarrelling among ourselves with regard to the distribution of river waters. Maharashtra, Mysore and Andhra, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh are quarrelling over the distribution of river waters. The waters of these rivers should be utilised for the benefit of the community. In a country like Israel where there is paucity of water, where there are deserts, these deserts have been turned into gardens by utilising lake water which runs through pipes for hundreds of miles. Here we have so many rivers and we see devastation through floods every year but we are not utilising these river waters for irrigation purposes in an adequate manner.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, the economy, according to the President, is recovering. He is always having a complacent view of things. The President, or the Central Government, thinks that there is some improvement in some sectors, that everything is all right. But it is not so, Mr. Vice-Chairman. Even today there are so many textile mills which are lying closed down. There are so many engineering industries which are not functioning and there is growing unemployment in the country. You were good enough to refer yesterday that thousands of engineers, diploma holders, are going without employment, they are loitering in the streets. If it is true of Hyderabad, if it is true of Bombay, it is true of Mysore and so many other States in this country. There is growing unemployment of engineers, let alone arts and science graduates.

The President has also referred to this aspect of the matter that technologists are loitering and the problem of unemployment is growing. If this problem of unemployment is not solved properly it will be very difficult to contain unrest of the youth. The students are hostile. The youth are frustrated not in any one University. They are frustrated in all the Universities in India and I must warn the Government that if the students take the situation very seriously in their hand it is likely that they

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may overthrow the Government. That is what happened in Indonesia. It was about to happen in France and it is happening in Pakistan today. So I warn the Government that if sufficient steps are not taken to solve the unrest, if sufficient steps are not taken to solve the unemployment problem, then we will be in for trouble.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, it was already pointed out that there is a rise of monopolists in this country. Recently answers were given that the assets of Birlas and Tatas have multiplied and there were so many Birlas and Tatas of a minor nature who were growing rich. The rich are growing richer, the poor are becoming poorer; that is the socialism that the Congress Government is bringing about in this country.

For any democratic Government to function properly and effectively and for the benefits to be reaped by all sections of the population, corruption must be put down. And what is happening to-day? Corruption is on the increase. So many Ministers and Chief Ministers have been involved and charges of corruption were made against the former Chief Minister of Mysore. But the Central Government and the President are keeping mum. They are not enquiring into these affairs. We demanded a commission of inquiry under the Commission of Inquiry Act so that these corrupt Ministers could be brought to book. But when we made these charges, they brushed aside these charges saying that they were frivolous. Now for the information of this House, Mr. Vice-Chairman, let me quote the judgment of the Supreme Court with regard to an excise case in Mysore. In civil appeal No. 2095 of 1968, the Supreme Court of India has this to say :

"It is rather surprising that the Government acted so hastily and issued licences to Respondent No. 4 on or about September 18. It is not quite clear how licences in respect of 1,168 shops could be issued on a single day. The effect of this precipitate action on the part of the Government was that the appellant could

not on the next day obtain a stay of the operation of the High Court's Order. There is ground for suspecting that the Government was favouring Respondent No. 4."

So it is quite evident that the Government was interested in a particular excise contractor and they went out of the way to help him. Here is how corruption comes in. I need not prove it; it has been upheld that corruption was there in the Mysore Government and I understand that the Supreme Court Judge had this to observe, that if there is any sense of responsibility in the Mysore Ministry, they should resign. We demand that they should resign, and this is what the Supreme Court Judge has said. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : In the judgment ?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : Judgment I have read out, but these were observations by the Supreme Court Judge in the open court which were conveyed to me by some friends.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala) : Anyway, he is going in for *Vanaprasthasrama*.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY : That is what he has said. He is fond of declaring that he wants to resign. He did it in 1965 when Lal Bahadur Shastri went to Bangalore. He did it in 1967 before the general elections. He did it sometime back. He is aspiring to become the Prime Minister of India. He is not retiring. It is only to fool the gullible public that he is making such fantastic statements.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, this morning there was an interesting discussion with regard to the plight of Indians living abroad. It is unfortunate that the Government of India is not evincing interest as much as they should to safeguard the legitimate interests of the Indians living abroad or of persons of Indian origin. Our embassies are not functioning properly. Dr. Antani stated that one of

the Ambassadors accredited to Zanzibar never visited Zanzibar and he did not enquire about the welfare of the Indians there, and did not assist them. I have received complaints from some others who were living abroad that some of the Indian embassies are not functioning properly at all and they are not helping persons of Indian origin or the Indian nationals there in their trade relations. They would like to improve the trade relations between India and the countries where they are living, but our embassies are not helping them. The Government of India should look into these matters. Mr. Vice-Chairman, we should not forget that at the time of need, these people, whether they are Indian nationals or persons of Indian origin, have always come to our rescue. In 1962 when India was attacked by China, funds were collected and donated to the Defence of India Fund by these people. In 1965 when India was attacked by Pakistan, funds were donated by the Indians living abroad and they were sent to the Prime Minister's Defence of India Fund. Therefore, it is our duty to see that we give all assistance to the Indians who are living abroad and if they want to come here and settle down, we should not stand on legal formalities and technicalities.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) :** You have got 5 minutes more.

**SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:** Yes. I am finishing. Mr. Vice-Chairman, the President in his address has referred to the West Asian situation. Yes, it is true that the situation in West Asia is very explosive. Some steps should be taken to see that peace is restored there. But peace imposed by the so-called big powers will not be a lasting peace. We know that for the last 20 years the Vietnamese have been fighting. North Vietnam is fighting against South Vietnam, and the Viet Cong are fighting against the South Vietnamese; and the Americans also were involved in the fighting. Now the peace conference is going on in Paris. I welcome the peace conference and I hope it will come to some settlement and peace will be res-

tored there. But here all the parties who were directly involved in the conflict are participating in the peace negotiations. So whenever we want peace to be restored in a particular area, it is necessary that all the parties concerned should take part in such peace conferences. In Tashkent, for example, it was at the instance of the U.S.S.R., President. Ayub Khan and the late Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, met there and the Tashkent Agreement was arrived at. The parties directly involved in the conflict were asked to conduct peace negotiations and come to a settlement. And then there was truce. Similarly, in West Asia, if we are really serious that peace should be restored, all the parties involved in this conflict should sit together and negotiate. India had a splendid opportunity of offering itself as a mediator in evolving some formula for the solution of the West Asian crisis. Unfortunately, it identified itself with the Arab countries and thus lost the splendid opportunity of bringing about peace in West Asia. I demand, Sir, that the Jarring mission should be strengthened and that we should see that all the parties involved in the conflict participate in the peace conference. The Arabs and the Israelis should live together. It is their home. Nobody can say that the Israelis are planted there. They should live together. They should try to live together and they can live together. A lasting peace can be obtained only if all the parties concerned participate in the peace conference. Lastly, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I come to our relations with China and Pakistan. On 14th November, 1962 the Parliament took a solemn pledge to see that all the areas occupied by China were vacated and that every step would be taken by the Government to see that such vacaton of aggression took place at the earliest. It is unfortunate that nearly seven years have passed, but no effort has been made to vacate the aggression committed against India by China. China is growing in its potentialities of destruction. It has recently exploded eighth thermo-nuclear weapon. Unless proper steps are taken by the Government, it will be difficult to safeguard the integrity and sovereignty of India and in



[Mulka Govinda Reddy]

order to do that we must have friendly relations with our neighbouring countries like Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand. Our relations with our neighbours should be more cordial and should be more friendly. India, such a big country, should give all assistance to these countries. We should have friendly relations with Burma, with Ceylon, with Nepal, with Afghanistan and other countries. Then only our image, our position to safeguard the interest of the smaller nations, our position to safeguard the interests of democracy, will be restored. Mr. Vice-Chairman, after the Tashkent Agreement it was proposed that ministerial-level conferences should be held to settle pending problems between India and Pakistan. Unfortunately, Pakistan is reluctant. I will be happy if the present regime is dislodged and a democratic regime is installed there and more negotiations, fruitful negotiations, take place so that the outstanding problems between India and Pakistan can be solved. The Government of India knows that while some of the ships and cargo that were captured by Pakistan during Indo-Pakistan war have not been released, they have taken unilateral steps to release the goods that were seized by India. They should have some negotiations with Pakistan and if it is not possible to have negotiations at the ministerial level, we should ask the U.S.S.R. which was instrumental in bringing about the Tashkent Agreement,—the Tashkent Agreement is being violated everyday by Pakistan—that it should see that this Tashkent Agreement is respected and the goods that were seized by Pakistan are released.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, lastly, I am not happy at all with the Address that was delivered to us. There is no mention of socialism. There is no mention of the steps that the Government of India wants to take to see that the disparities of income that are now prevailing, are reduced and that a new socialist order is going to be ushered in this country. I am unhappy about this Address and I hope that the Government of India will take care to see that some radical steps

are taken to remove the inequalities that are now existing in this society.

SHRI M. H. SAMUEL (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is a psychological phenomenon that no person anywhere in the world is ever happy with the present ... (*Interruptions*) Some people or most people are happy with the past and no one can be happy with the future because he does not know what is his future. Much is happening in this country and in the world. There is a new ferment all over world, a new awareness of things about them, a new hope, and it is very difficult to speak about these things in the short space of 15 to 20 minutes nor is possible to mention the whole lot of them in a brief Address of the President to the Joint Session of Parliament. I would, therefore, confine myself to just three paragraphs of the President's Address, paragraphs 25, 20 and 21.

Paragraph 25 refers to foreign affairs. It is coincidental that we have a new Foreign Minister. As far as I know him, he is a very pragmatic person, responsive to changing conditions and a person with a fresh spirit to look afresh into the foreign policies of our country which, in my opinion, do need review and readjustment. The President in his Address reaffirmed peaceful co-existence as our foreign policy. For the first time he has not only not mentioned socialism in his Address but he has also not mentioned non-alignment. . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : It is very good. . .

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. H. SAMUEL : Well, you may compliment him but I am not going to compliment him for that nor criticise him, but I am merely taking the circumstance for a discussion on the subject. . .

(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : No interruptions please. He has only fifteen minutes.

SHRI M. H. SAMUEL : I am not going to cavil at minor am I going to cavil at the omission of non-alignment in the Address, because condition vastly

changed since it was first conceived by Pandit Nehru. In Nehru's time we were a big power. India was a big Power and the concept of non-alignment needed a big personality to give it substance and banner. In Nehru's time, as I said, we were a big in world affairs. People used to consult us, take our advice. But today the picture is very much shaded. We have no Nehru and our big Power status has now become but a shadow, such a pale and inhospitable shadow that even small nations do not like to take refuge under it in the present hot, blazing sun of current nuclear politics in the world.

But I am not by any means suggesting a change in the policy of non-alignment. No. But under the changed conditions of today, of course, both of personalities and of status, I do think that we need to review and readjust the base and fabric of this policy.

I believe we are still the vanguard bearer of the banner of non-alignment. Who is now with us? At one time Ghana was very prominent as a non-aligned nation, but it is now enmeshed in its own internal troubles. Yes, today we have Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic. But I should be forgiven if I say that these two do not lend even a modicum of strength to the policy, to the concept of non-alignment. I do not want to criticise the Presidents of these two States. They have their own limitations. They have their own troubles. But I do think they in their policies are the least non-aligned. The sands of time are running out for most

of them even as they have almost run out for Field Marshal  
 † P.M. Ayub Khan. Yes, conditions have changed indeed, very radically changed. Therefore, we should not only look to the hypothesis of the concept but also to the fabric and purpose of it.

A little while ago I said that the sands of time have run out for Field Marshal Ayub Khan. Our relations with Marshal Ayub Khan have been bad enough but I suspect that our relations

with whosoever succeeds him may probably be worse. Personally I do not foresee any improvement in our relationship with Pakistan as long as the present generation lasts. Maybe a generation hence they may improve but it is my firm conviction that the best portion for good international relationship is domestic health and stability, internal strength and stability. We must therefore look to our fences in regard to these matters.

I hesitate to speak about China not only because we know so little of what is happening in that country but also because I distrust the statements and other things that come from that country. Therefore to me, China is an enigma, shrouded in an embryo and embeded in mystery. Our Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary Mr. T. N. Kaul have given broad hints about our desire to speak to the Chinese leaders. They do not seem to have taken any notice of them, but, on the other hand we still hear the blare of propaganda against us. And this, is a positive proof; China seems to be helping Pakistan in a very big way. I calculated the other day the loans and credit that China has given to Pakistan during the last 3 years comes to Rs. 142 million dollars. I agree that we should not have enemies all around us. We should make up with one or both. But in doing so, I hope our Government is keeping Russia fully informed of our intentions in the matter. This is very important; otherwise, we shall be in a far worse position than we were in 1962.

Now I would go to the domestic affairs. In para 21 of the Address though it refers to what are described as "certain disturbing trends in our national affairs" and "certain parochial, regional, caste and communal movements having caused tensions and violence in the country", I beg to submit that there is no mention whatever of the problem of students' restiveness, which, I think, is quite apart from all these problems that the Address mentions. Because I do not agree that the students are yet influenced by only parochial, regional, caste or communal con-

[M. H. Samuel]

siderations. I do not think they have come yet to that mental adolescence to take in these viruses but selfish and professional politicians cry about these and the students are excited and incited. No, students have not yet fallen a victim to these considerations. Now, students' restiveness is not just our internal problem. It is a world phenomenon. I sometimes wonder whether the students are inspired by certain urges, noble urges or just wayward indiscipline. I need not elaborate on the extent and dimensions of the students' restiveness in our country but you will agree that it deserves study and remedy. The students' environment and milieu, the students' psychology, their behaviourism, teachers' role, parents' responsibilities—all these need study and remedy.

I do not want to apologise for referring to the Telengana stir about which some people have spoken on the Bill on Public Employment and Mr. Achuta Menon referred to it briefly yesterday in his speech. You will remember that it began with the students' stir. They were incited. They are not, I am sure, so much aware of the safeguards or non-implementation of the safeguards as their elder politicians were. They began the stir. Much was said in the debate on the Bill on Public Employment and Mr. Menon also referred to it. Reading through these debates I discern a good deal of misunderstanding which seems to persist even after some people have clarified the issue. Therefore, I propose merely to state some facts and I hope the Members will bear with me. For the economic development of Andhra Pradesh the formula agreed was 2:1 in relation to the expenditure between Andhra Pradesh region and the Telengana region. This was decided in consultation with the Regional Committee and this, according to the figures I will give you, you will judge yourself. Take the Plan investment. In the Second Plan period the total investment in Andhra was Rs. 188.60 crores. I will leave out the points and give the round figures. Of these Rs. 188 crores, Rs. 124 crores were spent for Andhra region and Rs. 64 crores for Telengana

—which is more than half. In the Third Plan period, the total outlay in Andhra was Rs. 352 crores of which Rs. 205 crores were spent in Andhra and Rs. 146 crores in Telengana which is three-fourths. The outlay in Andhra and Telengana regions from 1966 to 1969 was Rs. 130 and Rs. 102 crores respectively, which comes to two-thirds in Telengana.

Take Major and Medium irrigation. The investment under Major and Medium Irrigation during the Plan was Rs. 36 crores in Andhra region and Rs. 21 crores in the Telengana region which is two-thirds in Telengana. In the Third Plan the expenditure was Rs. 56 crores in Andhra area and Rs. 35 crores in Telengana area—more than two-thirds. The irrigation potential created has increased from 82,000 acres in Telengana during the Second Plan to 207,000 acres in the Third Plan.

Now take power generation. There were only 18 villages electrified in Telengana in 1956, by March 31 this year it will be as many as 209 villages electrified, 627 in 1968-69 alone. In 1956-57, there were only 213 pumps sets in the Telengana region; by 1969 there were more than 30,000 pumps sets, of which 13,000 have been installed in 1968-69.

I come to industrial investment. The bulk of the industrial investment during the last twelve years has been in the Telengana area. Central investment in this period amounted to Rs. 84 crores in Telengana (including Hyderabad) as against Rs. 41 crores only in the Andhra area. If the private sector investment is also taken into account, the percentage in the Telengana area would be even higher.

Let me take roads. At the time of the formation of Andhra Pradesh, the total mileage in Telengana was 3647 kilometres, while in 1965-66 it was 9024 kilometres representing an increase of 147 per cent.

Speaking of hospitals, the hospital bed capacity in the Telengana area increased from 5215 in 1956-57 to 9563 in

1965-66 In the same period, the number of beds in the Andhra area has increased from 8680 to 16392.

Take Technical Education. The number of seats in the engineering colleges in the Telengana area was only 185 in 1956-57 as against 240 in the Andhra area. In 1965-66, the number in Telengana increased to 885, representing an increase of 370 per cent as against 870 in Andhra. Similarly, the seats in polytechnics in Telengana have increased from 370 in 1956-57 to 1370 in 1965-66, representing an increase of 275 per cent. The seats in the Andhra area increased from 490 to 1553. In the medical colleges, in Telengana the number of seats went up from 158 in 1956-57 to 420 in 1965-66, while in the Andhra area it increased from 280 to 700.

I am sorry, Sir, I have bored you with these facts, but I have not only given you the facts as they exist, but also a comparative picture both in the Telengana and in the Andhra areas. I submit that the area from which I come in Andhra Pradesh is Rayalaseema which, many will agree with me, is far worse in economic conditions.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : Exactly.

SHRI M. H. SAMUEL : Our fault is that we have not made noise. On August 11, 1968 we submitted a memorandum to the Deputy Prime Minister about the conditions in Rayalaseema. I want to know what has been done about it

Sir, I will take just a couple of minutes and wind up. Paragraph 20 of the Address speaks about the mid-term elections. Though the mid-term elections in the five States have been conducted in a peaceful manner you can see that the situation was loaded with dangerous possibilities. One fact stands out. The mid-term elections have not brought about stability in these States. Voters did not realise their responsibilities, nor their interests. In spite of the United Front victory in West Bengal, I doubt if that State will have less in-

stability now than it had before. Please note that the United Front in West Bengal is a conglomeration of disparate elements topped by a militant Marxist majority. Whatever they may be and whatever they may do, I have just one or two requests to make.

SHRI M. H. SAMUEL : I beg of the State.

SHRI M. H. SAMUEL : I beg of them not to betray the country. I beg of them not to use their majority for revolutionary methods but use it for revolutionary policies—I am one with you in that respect. Let us radically change our policies. Yes, let us have a new lodestar. Let us have a bold banner, but please let us honour our motherland.

Thank you.

SHRI KAJA MOIDEEN (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is gratifying to see that the President's Address gives the first place to agricultural development. Agriculture, particularly in our country, is undoubtedly entitled to first place in any plan or scheme of development. If this special importance of agriculture had been recognised by our planners from the beginning, the economy of our country would be much different today. However, it is good that this realisation has come upon the Government at least at present. But still, it seems strange that one vital and integral aspect of any scheme of agricultural development in our country, namely *minor irrigation* schemes, has not found any mention in the President's Address. Minor irrigation projects consist of such items as tapping of underground water, making use of even small sources of surface water, keeping existing tanks in good repair and excavating new ones, supply of better varieties of seeds and manure and they will yield almost immediate results. The considerable prosperity resulting from such a scheme will in turn make its own contribution to the bigger schemes. This aspect of agricultural economy, namely *minor irrigation* schemes, has been earnestly and

[Shri Kaja Moideen]

repeatedly urged upon the Government and the concerned authorities by my party the Muslim League, for more than the last two decades. Even now if this scheme is put into operation more seriously and intensively, it will serve as a decent source of strength to the general economy of the country.

Next only to agriculture, handloom is the most important industry in the country, is the avocation of a large section of the people in the country. It is still carried on on cottage industry lines and occupies a vital position in the life of the people. Under the stress and pressure of modern life it requires more assistance to keep up its stability and strength. The main and indispensable requirement of the industry is the easy and ready supply of yarn, also at a subsidised price, and the finding of a good and ready market for its products. The present co-operative effort has not yet come up to the required level of helping this industry sufficiently.

The President's Address no doubt makes some mention of the evil of communal tension. But it is deplorable that it does not sufficiently deal with the communal and regional aggression which, if anything, has only increased in violence and volume during recent months. The present state of affairs in this respect has injured and distorted the secular image of the country. Though there is incessant talk in certain quarters of the secularism of the country, in actual practice nothing substantial has been done for stopping the communal aggression perpetrated on the minorities, particularly the Muslims. The Muslims are not still allowed to have an unimpaired sense of security. Their life and property are brought into jeopardy by the miscreants at will. Mosques and Madrasas are demolished and grave-yards desecrated. Only a few months ago, in Ramakrishnapuram within the area of Greater Delhi, a grave-yard was obliterated by digging out the dead bodies from the graves and carting them away to some other place.

A few days ago in the middle of this very capital of India, that is, the Hazrat Nizamuddin, a mosque had been pulled

down and a grave-yard desecrated by the authorities of the Delhi Administration. In the face of such happenings where and how can secularism stay? Under such circumstances how can a Muslim minority have the sense of security and live a peaceful life even as they are entitled to under the Constitution of India?

The President's Address seeks to give consolation to the affected people by saying that a piece of legislation for this purpose is now before Parliament, but really speaking this is not at all a question of any new legislative Act. Even now there are laws in the country which can deal with such activities and aggressions. But were these laws put into operation in the proper way against such misdeeds? Even without any new law violence, regional and communal, could have been sufficiently controlled with the help of the laws which are already in existence. But why did not the authorities concerned make use of these laws? The law mentioned in the President's Address has not yet been passed by Parliament. After years of aggression a few weeks ago prosecutions were launched against some papers under the existing laws. Why was not such action taken in the previous years when there was aggression? One noteworthy fact about these recent prosecutions is that the great majority of the prosecuted papers belongs to the minority community which wrote criticising the aggression perpetrated upon members of the Muslim community.

Sir, the Address of the President made no mention whatsoever of the issue of Urdu language which has been agitating the minds of the Muslims painfully for so many years past. The demand that Urdu should be made a second regional language in U.P., Delhi and Bihar and given a fair deal in the other States is a very reasonable and irresistible one. The Government of India which has got the responsibility of securing equality of treatment for the minorities must in equity and justice take necessary steps at least now when so much emphasis is laid on national integration. When speaking of equality and justice they point out to the Constitution

of India which provides them the necessary provisions but should they who respect the Constitution not implement those provisions? Surely justice to all concerned and the interests of the country consist in the implementation of the Constitution and the laws of the country in the true spirit.

Thank you.

**SHRI Y. ADINARAYANA REDDY** (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, it is gratifying to note that in the President's Address a very great stress has been laid on agricultural development, not only the production side of it but also the scientific side which will help to produce more in the country. Fertilizers and high-yielding varieties have been used in the country to produce more and even the fertilizer position has improved of late but I must say that the fertilizer that the people of the particular areas want is not being supplied to these areas. For instance, in Andhra some varieties of fertilizers which are not wanted there are being supplied. The fertilizers that the people there require have got to be supplied if the people are to really take interest and use them.

We are still far behind in producing our own tractors and fertilizers that the farmers need. Today we are not able to supply the farmers as many tractors as they need. There is another factor also. The Government is conscious of the need for maintaining reasonable prices for the agricultural produce which is a very good incentive to the farmer to produce more. Along with irrigation facilities what the farmer needs today is supply of power at a cheap rate. Supply of cheap power to the villages will not only help the farmers to produce more but it will also change the very social system of the villagers. That will provide employment to the unemployed to a much larger extent. Therefore the Government in its Fourth Plan must see that top priority is given to power throughout the country so that not only the farmers can produce more but also the extent of unemployment could be reduced. Here I must make a mention of my own State,

Andhra, where production of electricity is at a very low level. It is a State with 3½ crores of population. It supplies to others but their *per capita* consumption at the end of the Third Plan was only 25 kws, whereas the national average is 120. Therefore I make an appeal to the Government to see that special efforts are made for electricity development in Andhra by taking up some Central power schemes as they have already done in Madras and other places.

Sir, the President's Address has also made mention of a very important thing in paragraph 21 about which everybody has been speaking in the House. Even at the risk of repetition I would also like to say something about it. It has been said here that parochial, regional, caste and communal movements have caused tensions and violence in the country. Sir, this is the year of Mahatma Gandhi's centenary and in this year there have been arson and loot organised by communal elements, fascist elements and anarchist elements all over the country. Whether it is in Bombay or Assam or in Telangana, these elements have taken advantage of the situation that arose from time to time. For instance, in Bombay it is the border dispute that was taken advantage of by the Shiv Sena and then by the rowdy elements in the social structure. It is not a new factor that today these forces are raising their heads. On 7th November 1966 we had witnessed the same type of demonstrations and we saw what happened just outside the Parliament House here. In the name of cow protection a few hundred sadhus armed and abetted by communal forces in the country tried to capture the very citadel of democracy, this Parliament House, when we were sitting here and discussing things. That was the situation and but for the timely intervention of the police and the armed forces of our country they would probably have captured this very House itself. This reminds me of the Weimar Republic and how it went out of history in Germany. After all Hitler was in a very small minority but he played on the sentiments of the people by saying that their nation was the greatest in the world and theirs is the only nation that

[Shri Y. Adinarayana Reddy]

could rule the country. With this fascist ideology, by raising such sentiments they captured the imagination of the people and they could capture power in that country. Similarly if we tolerate these forces in this country any more—we have been tolerating these forces for long, even organisations which had organised and abetted the murder of Mahatma himself—if these forces are allowed to continue to have their way, it will be no wonder if the fate of the Weimar Republic is repeated in our country also.

Then, again, in his Address, the President has mentioned the extreme political elements, either fascists or anarchists, whatever they may be. I have only mentioned one or two organisations. The other side of the picture also we have got to see. There are the Naxalites who have been trying to create an armed revolution in the countryside of Bengal and in Kerala State. This also has to got to be taken care of by the Government. If our Government is complacent about these things—I want to warn them again—we are going to hand over this country either to the fascists or the anarchists. That situation should not be allowed to happen at any stage. They have been very clearly stating their objectives in open speeches, through propaganda leaflets and there is no secret about their aims and objectives. Therefore, I do not know why the Government hesitates to ban these organisations and take firm steps to deal with them.

Then, again, these forces have, to a large extent, influenced the minds of the student community in the country. Whatever might be the causes of certain incidents in colleges and universities, violence has broken out in a number of cases. What I feel is that the ideologies of these forces of anarchism and fascism have got a great influence on the minds of the student youth, who today see a very bleak future for their uplift. My own feeling is that the students as a community are fair, idealistic and very upright in their dealings. But when they are being used by certain selfish

elements for their party purposes or private purposes and that is being allowed by the Government, we do not know where it is going to lead. I would like to quote here our former President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, what he said about students, and he had touch with them for long. He said :—

“The solution to the student unrest lay not in closure of schools and hostels but in providing the youth a spiritual outlook and in the leaders setting up an example if not of probity, at least of common decency.”

This is expected of the leaders of all political parties. He further says. What then was wrong today ? He asked and answered :—

“Today the tragedy of scepticism and Nihilism is sweeping the student community. They have no purpose and no direction in life. They lack hope. What can education give us ? Ask the students today.”

This is what he said addressing the Gujarat Vidyapith convocation on 18-10-1965.

Again about the student unrest the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities in the country held a conference on 18-10-1968 and they made some recommendations for solving the problem. I do not know how far the Government has implemented them. Anyway, I would like to quote some of them. They said :—

“Serious attention should be given to the introduction of more field work into the curriculum, social service and work experience.”

The most important of their recommendations was :—

“Promotion by every possible means of personal contact between teachers and the students.”

This is a recommendation where the teachers alone are responsible. If they are not prepared to abide by these instructions, the Government must take it up and see that it is enforced as far as

possible. The students by themselves are not a bad lot. That is what I have found. They have been meddled with by a number of forces. One is the selfish politician. They may be anybody. I do not name people. I do not mention any parties. But it is the selfish politician who tries to exploit the student community for his personal benefit and party propaganda. That should be looked into by all political parties.

Then the second element, who is very dangerous, is the educationist who turns into a politician. If the educationist, who is expected to guide the students of the country on right lines, himself turns into a politician and tries to interfere in the students' activities and takes sides, I do not know what will happen to the students. This has got to be checked at every level. Then, of course, there is the economic aspect. The student feels that his future is bleak. He does not know what his future is after his education. That is why after getting frustrated due to all these mental and psychological factors, he tries to indulge in all these violent activities and falls a prey to so many influences. That is as far as the students are concerned.

With regard to the foreign policy, I will just say one or two words and wind up. The President has said that our foreign policy is based on the broad principle of peaceful co-existence. This is a legacy that has been left to us by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and in the present world of conflicting ideologies and power politics, I do not see any other way out. That is the only thing that we can preach to the world for promoting world peace through cooperation amongst the nations of the world. In this connection, we have been following the policy of non-alignment. Non-alignment does not mean neutrality. It means active participation in the affairs of the world, day to day, and express our opinions in the right manner. Being non-aligned and accepting the principle of co-existence, I do not see why we have not been recognising certain countries in this world. There have been *de facto* countries, countries like

East Germany, Israel and North Vietnam. We are not having relations with these three countries, as we are having with other countries. Thus the base of the conception of non-alignment itself is destroyed, if we do not have normal relations with these three countries in all respects.

Thank you.

**SHRI THILLAI VILLALAN (Tamil Nadu):** Sir, every year there will be a day for stock-taking and opening new accounts. So also the President's Address is a political stock-taking of the past year and opening of new accounts for the coming year. Before passing my remarks on this occasion, I want to make mention of two things which were mentioned by two hon. Members of this House, one by Mr. Parthasarathy the mover of the motion, and the other by Mr. Mahabir Dass, another Member. The mover of the motion, when he made his speech on the motion, mentioned that due to regional attitude two of the States suffered in the growth of industrialisation, namely, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. He said they suffered a lot due to their regional attitude. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I want to say that this is not correct and at the same time I want to say that this is an unsympathetic and uncharitable remark made by the hon. Member. Due to recession there is no growth of industrialisation not only in Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra but in all the States for the past two years. The Fourth Plan is yet to be put to function. It will be done only in the coming month. For more than one year there is no Plan at all. But my hon. friend said that due to regional attitude Tamil Nadu suffered and there is no new industry for the past two years during the period of the D.M.K. regime. He attempted to cast a slur on the party, but his attempt is futile because not only in Tamil Nadu but in any other State there is no new industry in the last year, because there is no work at all in the line of planning, in the line of creating new industries.

Another point made out by another friend was that in the non-Congress



[Shri Thillai Villalan]

Ministry, that is the D.M.K. Ministry, in Tamil Nadu, 42 Harijans were burnt in a particular village—as if the Government has burnt 42 Harijans. It was a clash between two sets of Harijans. One set burnt the other. There is a case pending before the criminal court. It is *sub judice*, and the Government has also appointed a one-man Commission to go into all the grievances of the Harijans in that area.

Now I want to proceed to the President's Address. Most of the Members regretted the Address for not mentioning this point or that point. I want to deal with three points mentioned in the speech. In the speech it has been mentioned :

“Our country is rich in resources. . . Our people are skilled craftsmen. Our scientists and technologists are some of the best which any country could boast of. While we can argue with one another within the limits of reason and rationality about the best means and methods to be adopted for reconstructing our society, we can all unite in a purposive effort to build the India of Gandhiji's dreams and to endeavour to wipe every tear from every eye”.

We find tears are rolling on the cheeks of the common men of the country. We are attempting to wipe it out but for the past two decades we are not able to do that. Instead of wiping the tears we are joining the weeping crowd and also shedding tears. Why ? If we put the question why, the answer is there itself. In the same sentence we can find the answer. We are not able to wipe out the tears as we are adopting wrong means and methods. Here we have to sit and find out the means and methods mentioned in the Address. But we are adopting the wrong means and methods. That is why we are not able to wipe out the tears of the common men for more than two decades. The tears have become an ocean. The time allotted is very very limited, so I cannot deal with the ocean itself. I can take three drops. One by one I want to deal with. The first drop is regarding the regional or

parochial organisations. It has also been mentioned in the speech itself. We can find there two sentences, Mr. Vice-Chairman :

“Parochial, regional, caste and communal movements have caused tensions and violence in the country.”

“The country also faces the danger of violence from certain extremist political groups.”

We are witnessing that there are organisations which are poisoning the minds of the people. There are organisations which are indulging in violence but we are not taking any action against those organisations. So far as the Shiv Sena of Maharashtra is concerned, we are discussing it in different shapes for the past four days in both the Houses. We are also going to discuss the same problem in the next week. So I do not want to take the precious time of the House to discuss about the Shiv Sena in detail but I want to mention only this point. This is an organisation and I can call it the illegitimate son of Congress which has been brought into existence during the election in Bombay to defeat Mr. Krishna Menon. The members of this organisation were used as tools against Mr. Krishna Menon. The monstrous child is against the mother itself. It wants to devour the mother herself. That is the real situation. So far as the other extremists in Kerala are concerned, no action has been taken, but we are mentioning that parochialism has shown its ugly head. We are telling that extremists are strong in one State or another. But I want to stress that immediate action should be taken against these organisations.

Then the next drop of tear is regarding the stable Government. Here there is mention about this by this sentence :

“Every political party should endeavour to ensure political stability which is essential for rapid social and economic development.”

In the dictionary we can find two meanings. Stable means firmly fixed. That is one meaning. Another meaning is

the building set apart and adapted for lodging and feeding horses.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN):** Let us go by the known meaning, not by the dictionary meaning.

**SHRI THILLAI VILLALAN :** I am telling this with a purpose. With a specific purpose I am saying that there are two meanings. So far as the stability of Government is concerned, the Congress is asking for stable Government. But, Sir, after the horses have run away they want to lock the stable. In five of the States the Congress is responsible for toppling the Governments. The Congress is responsible for imposing the President's rule but they say that they want stable Government. In our part there is a story about the chicken thieves. They will steel chicken and prepare 'biriyani' and they will join with the persons who are in search of the chicken. So also the Congress which is responsible for toppling those Governments in the States says, "We want stable Government, we want stable Government". Stable means firm in one sense. Stable means the house for horses in another sense. The horses have run away. Now the stable is locked. That is the situation.

That is the Constitution. They are attempting in two ways; in toppling the non-Congress Governments, they are adopting two ways. One is open; the other is mysterious. By the open method, they say that law and order has broken down in that particular State. Then they will bring in the President's rule. To explain the other method, I want to deal in detail about Tamil Nadu. In the election of 1967, the Congress got 50 seats and the DMK got 138 seats. Before 1967, the Congress got 138 seats and the DMK 50. The people of Tamil Nadu turned the table by a silent revolution in that State. They turned the table correctly—previously 138 seats the Congress got; now the DMK got 138 seats. Previously the DMK got 50 seats; now the Congress got 50 seats. They have turned the table silently, without any whisper or

any murmur; they have changed everything. So also, for Parliament out of the 39 seats, the DMK contested 25 seats and they got success in all the 25. The other parties got 11. Only three members belonging to the Congress came out successfully. They are those three in the Lok Sabha. By deceptive way, if any of these three is made a Minister, of course, the Constitution allows it. This will be a way of toppling the Government there. There are two provisions in the Constitution regarding the Council of Minister. One is article 74 and the other is article 75. Article 74 says that there shall be a Council of Ministers, with the Prime Minister at the top to guide and aid the President for executing his functions. That is the gist of this provision. The other provision deals with the other functions of the Ministers but not with this aspect. My point is this. In our State, a particular party has been defeated the people totally rejected the Congress in Tamil Nadu. At the same time for Parliament also they sent only three Congressmen out of 39 candidates. They are only 50 in number in the State Legislature. The Constitution allows it—if a particular person is successfully elected to Parliament, he is legally entitled to be a Minister. If he has been made a Minister and comes to the State what will happen? It is against the spirit of democracy. That is my humble submission.

**AN. HON. MEMBER :** Humble submission to the House? Or to whom?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN):** Do not disturb him. Mr. Thillai Villalan, you have got only three more minutes. You have already taken 13 or 14 minutes.

**SHRI THILLAI VILLALAN :** Yes, Sir

It is against the spirit of democracy. Some lacunae are there in the Constitution. A Council of Ministers can be formed by the party which enjoys the majority in Parliament, of course. But we cannot inject the majority of a particular State into another State. Just as

[Shri Thillai Villalan]

they are injecting cement into the hills in Nangal to strengthen the hill, we cannot inject the majority of a party of a particular State into the other State. There is a Constitutional lacuna. That is against the tenets of democracy. We must find some way out for this.

So far as the third tear drop regarding the relations between the State and the Centre are concerned, before 1967 the position was different; after 1967, the position has been changed. As Ivor Jennings correctly puts it, the constitutional difficulty will be felt only when one party rules at the Centre and another party rules in the States. That situation has arisen only after 1967. For example, in Tamil Nadu, the DMK is the ruling party; at the Centre the Congress is the ruling party. Now, the relations between them before 1967 may be cordial, the State may be obedient and the State may be a servant even to the Centre. Now, the position has been changed because in these two places, different parties are the ruling parties. Previously, the confrontation between the two was only in the field of allocation of funds. Now the position is entirely different. There is confrontation in the field of Constitution, in the field of law and order and in other things. We are witnessing a dispute between the State of Kerala and the Centre. We are also expecting the very same troubles between West Bengal and the Centre. In so many States, there is a growing tendency about the assertion of their own rights against the powers of the Centre.

So, my submission would be that there should be a permanent body to consider all these disputes between the States and the Centre, not only in regard to finance, but in other fields also. There is a provision in the Constitution itself for forming a Centre-State Council. Under article 263 we can form an Centre-State Council for discussing and taking decisions regarding the relationship between the State and the Centre. That may be formed.

With these remarks, I conclude

SHRI GULAM NABI UNTOO

(Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Vice-Chairman. Sir, in the beginning, I may remind my friend just right to me—he elaborated his party position versus the Congress Party's position. But I think this is not the right occasion. If there had been a Resolution about the Centre-State relationship, that might have been better and proper. However, I may say that some hon. Members expressed their anxiety that no mention of the word 'socialism' has been made in the President's Address. I am not worried that such a word is not there. What I am worried about is that there should be an effort towards socialism whether that word is being mentioned or not.

However, I rise to welcome this Address because there are some good points that the President has made in his Speech. One cannot expect that the President in his Address will touch on all the issues facing the nation at present. But it gives one tremendous satisfaction to see that he has touched on the most important issues and problems that we face at present. Firstly, he has taken a very pragmatic and correct appraisal of the situation by giving a lead to the topic of agriculture—he has said that our country is basically an agricultural country.

5 P.M.

Sir, our country being an agricultural country we have always to depend upon the development of agriculture for the development of all other branches of industry and economy. In this regard the most important thing for agriculture is the availability of water. However gigantic the space our country has and however tremendous the potentiality of water, the fact remains that we lack in organised system of water; we have a very poor irrigation system. Besides that when we like to tap our irrigation resources we cannot forget that without electricity we cannot dig out or tap the under-surface water for better agriculture. Therefore, irrigation and power go side by side; they are of prior importance for the development of agriculture. In this respect, I may submit, the President has rightly referred to the constitution of an Irrigation Commission

and also the construction of an all-India grid that will connect electricity of the various States with each other so that power consumption is available to all States on equal and smooth basis.

Here I may submit that it is the irrigation and power resources which serve our economy and are the backbone of the country's economy and area guarantee for the development of agriculture; yet we cannot forget that this irrigation and power system has to suffer on account of controvercies between the various States. Take, for example, Mysore, Maharashtra, Punjab, U.P. and so many other States which have on their borders some irrigation system or power system. These States have always disputes to settle between themselves. In this respect I beg to submit that power and irrigation instead of finding a place in the State List should be exclusively in the Central List. While on the one hand, it will result in quick, proper and smooth distribution of power and electricity, on the other it will remove the most important irritant that this country is facing at this time with regard to certain disputes between one State and another and allowing regional and parochial tendencies to grow and develop. So my submission will be that power and electricity should be entirely the concern of the Central Government. In whatever State the power or irrigation system is located it should be directly controlled by the Centre.

The second thing that I may have to submit is that when we talk of the development of agricultural co-operatives and other systems that are a guarantee for the development of the economy as a whole, the question is about the handle which controls the entire economy, and that weapon is money. Wherefrom this handle, this money will come? We have already enough money but the trouble is that it is not with us; it is with certain private concerns who use it and exploit it as and when they like. Therefore, the President ought to have mentioned in his Address the necessity of handling this weapon so that the entire economy of the country could be fully and properly controlled. There-

fore, unless this country goes in for nationalisation of banks it is not possible either to develop agriculture or to develop industry or to sustain and protect the public sector that we have ushered in.

So, my submission is that when we talk about the development of agriculture the fact remains that a major part has been played by nature itself rather than the human hand. Therefore, unless we nationalise the banks, take the handle of the entire economy in our hand, control the economic system directly and effectively, it will not be possible for agriculture or for industry or for any other part of our economy to develop in this country. If we are able to do that, we will not only save ourselves on this front, but we will not allow this monster to reach the stage when it will devour the whole system of our socialistic pattern. We can fight this monster only if we take away that weapon which they have in their hand. Unless we do that we will fail on all the fronts and allow the entire nation to face a very acute crisis which all systems, where there is no control over banking, usually face. Therefore, I strongly submit that the President has failed to mention the necessity of controlling and nationalising the banks.

Secondly, the President has mentioned in his Address that an integrated economic development in this country requires political stability. It is true that political stability will be the result of economic stability and economic stability will be the result of political stability. While trying to understand it we should not forget that in this vast country of various cultures, languages, religions, castes and other parochial and regional tendencies we have to face many problems, and we are at present facing such problems. In Bombay, for example, there is the problem of Shiva Sena while in Assam there is another problem and in Andhra there is yet another problem. These problems will grow because we have to accept this question as it is. We cannot forget what we are. We may quote other socialist countries, yet we have to see what we actually ourselves

[Shri Gulam Nabi Untoo]

are. We are a community of various castes, various religions, various colours, various languages, various cultures. Therefore, we have to accommodate all these things and allow these things to develop to the extent they are needed and not allow them to dominate the entire scene.

Suppose there is a language issue, or a regional issue or a cultural issue. It should not dominate the entire national scene. It should confine itself only to its true field. But unfortunately our economic and political system is such that we have allowed ourselves to fall into contradictions. We have left the economic weapon, i.e., the banking industry, in the hands of private owners. Those private owners who are called capitalists are very shrewd. They are aware that unless and until they engage the common man in the issue of race, in the issue of language, in the issue of region, in the issue of caste, in the issue of Harijan versus Brahmin and Hindus versus Muslims, they cannot be safe and alive. And so they exploit this backward tendency of the people. If we leave that weapon which is in their hands at present for five or ten years more, the weapon is so sharp that nobody amongst us will be able to take it away from them. We will have to bow before them and they will rule this country. Therefore, it is highly advisable and desirable even at this moment to take this step and nationalise the banking industry so that all the evils of this country which are mainly economic evils will be solved. There is no alternative to it. Any other alternative will be torn into contradictions; it will be self-contradictory. If you want to take the country on the path of socialism, unless one has the banking industry, one has no control, one has no force, however magnanimous or august the Parliament or the legislature may be. It will be only on paper. Unless you have this weapon of money with you, you cannot control the national economy. Another point I may submit.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You have only two minutes more.

SHRI GULAM NABI UNTOO : One point, Sir. With regard to the foreign policy, I am of this view that the policy we have been pursuing so far is quite relevant, proper and has achieved dividends. Therefore, on this front, I congratulate my Government for successfully pursuing the policy of peaceful co-existence. But I must emphasise one point; that is, peaceful co-existence cannot be fruitful unless we peacefully co-exist with our neighbours, Pakistan and China. As far as Pakistan is concerned, it is so small and petty a country that we can afford to be magnanimous towards it. As far as China is concerned, we are a big country and we can face it safely. Our aim should be that we should be friendly with our neighbours.

Then the President has mentioned about the introduction of some Bills. There is one Bill which relates to the extension of a law to Jammu and Kashmir. We have always been welcoming the extension of any good law to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. And this law we will welcome. Rather we will urge that all good laws which have so far not been extended should immediately be extended to Jammu and Kashmir. But I have to submit one point here. The President has applied in his wisdom, though it was required at that time, article 35(c) of the Constitution; that is not actually part of the Constitution; it is a Constitution application to the Jammu and Kashmir State. It is envisaged in that article that however inconsistent an Act passed by the State may be with regard to the fundamental rights, however inconsistent it may be with article 13 of the Constitution, the Court will not take it into consideration. And the term of that article, according to the President's Order, expires on April 1969. My submission will be that the President should not now allow it to continue on the statute book, because it is a crippled form of the application of article 13. Article 13 is the only guarantee for the citizen. In the past it had been applied in a very crippled, very narrow way. I wish that the President does not further allow that

article to continue in force. It should stop. Thank you.

DR. K. RAMIAH (Nominated) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am glad you are giving me a few minutes. I will not take much of your time. Being a nominated Member has both advantages and disadvantages. You do not get your chance until the end and you can keep abreast of the points already made in the discussions. The disadvantage is that practically all the points are already mentioned and you are nowhere. Still I would like to draw your attention to a few points in the President's address.

It is good that it has been stated that agriculture has had a breakthrough and that the industrial front also shows a recovery. It is very gratifying that improvement in agriculture with a production of nearly 97 tonnes of foodgrains in one year changes the economy of the country by increasing the national income by about 9 per cent. This is a very significant fact. Some people have said that we had a good crop in 1964-65 also. But the 1967-68 crop is very much higher than the 1964-65 crop and it cannot be attributed mainly to a good season, rains and so on. It is partly due to the efforts in intensifying agriculture that is being followed—growing of high-yielding varieties, fertilising them and giving all the facilities to the farmers. Yesterday I found one of my colleagues to my right would not believe that any progress has been made on the agricultural front. As one interested in agriculture, during the last six months I have attended seminars and field days organised by the farmers in Mysore, in Orissa, in Punjab and in Madras. It is really surprising to see the great enthusiasm of the farmers who have had their experience in growing these high-yielding varieties. Therefore, the programme of increasing the production of 97 million tonnes to about 120 million tonnes by the end of the Fourth Plan is quite feasible and can be accomplished provided we do not slacken our present efforts. Production of a large quantity of foodgrains also creates other problems. You have got to build up buffer

stocks and find satisfactory storage houses to prevent it from going to waste and spoilage by vermins and insects. Fertilizers, one of the key points in this programme, are still in short supply and greater production of the same in the country would involve also additional storage facilities. More than anything else, you have got to keep the price for the agriculture produce at a fairly satisfactory level.

Although in the intensive cultivation of high yielding varieties programme we are dealing with crops like maize, jowar, bajra, wheat and rice—the first three are minor cereals—it is the pump or the advance we make in rice and wheat that can make a real contribution to the increased production. In the case of wheat we have been lucky that the new varieties from outside could be multiplied and straightway cultivated on a large scale. But in the case of rice these varieties have their own limitations. They are particularly good for growing in some areas, but they do not do equally well when grown in the rainy monsoon season. But I wish to bring to your kind notice that the ICAR has been reorganised as an independent concern and there is a team of young men, well trained and well qualified who are in charge of the improvement of different crops. There is an all-India coordinated project for each of these crops, wheat, rice, jowar and so on, and a very intensive work is going on here. I can assure the people here that in another year or two we will be producing our own varieties which are very much better than the ones which we have got from outside. Now, the growing of high yielding varieties and the intensification of agricultural cultivation is practically confined to irrigated areas. We have a large area under rainless conditions and these methods would not be applicable there, and therefore, we have got to have improved water resources. We need research not only in making the best use of the existing supplies but also to supplement our supplies by tapping underground water. The problem of tapping underground water is not anything different or any difficult so far as the river valleys and the deltas

[Dr K. Ramiah]

are concerned. It is a real problem when you come to the south of the Vindhyas, the central plateau of the peninsular India where you meet with hard rock. And it is really surprising how even with the high yielding varieties people are tempted to bore and blast rocks. One has to go and see in Coimbatore. They have gone to 200 or 300 ft. blasting the rock and they are growing jowar, bajra, rice, sugarcane and so on, and they are getting big dividends. It shows that the farmer is well convinced of the efficacy of going in for these high yielding varieties. There is, however, not all a rosy picture. We know that it is the better or well-to-do farmers that have reaped the benefit from these programmes. The Government is well aware of this position. Although the small farmer does realise the advantages of introducing and adopting these high yielding varieties, somehow he is unable to meet the situation. We are glad that there has been a committee set up under the chairmanship of one of the Planning Commission's Members, Mr. Venkatappaiah, which has examined this question very thoroughly and has brought forward certain recommendations. I hope the Government will take care to implement these recommendations so that the disparity between the big farmer and the small farmer in utilising these varieties will disappear.

There is another point, the provision of large scale credit to which the President has drawn attention. We are told that the cooperative movement and the banks will take care of it. I know from personal experience as well as by my talk to the farmers that the cooperative movement, except in certain places, has not been a success. Even in the banks it is only a few who do take interest in agricultural development and are going about it in a large way. Very many of the big banks are not interested in agriculture or agricultural development. I do not know why we are speaking in this Parliament about social control of banks and so on. It does not seem to have had any effect so far as the larger banks are concerned.

The rapidly growing and intensive cultivation is changing and has changed already the subsistence-farming into making agriculture an industry. But unless the prices are kept up, as I mentioned before, there is great difficulty in making the farmers take to the improved practices on a large scale. Our rapidly increasing population not only needs food, but food of a better nutritious quality. We are told by the scientists that the age between 1 to 5 in children is the most vulnerable age and the brain development practically ceases by 5, and this is the critical time when the child has to be fed with a fair amount of proteins. And the Food Corporation Organisation of the United Nations has already drawn the attention of the developing countries to this gap in the protein production. Now, I may bring to your notice that under the new scheme of the ICAR in improving crops and producing new varieties, we have included the programme of evolving new varieties which not only give a higher yield but also rich in proteins which the particular grain is supposed to have.

Lastly, Sir, the President has drawn attention in his Address to some unhealthy movement in different parts of the country. To my mind I think the basic reason for this is the disparity in the development of the areas. In the distribution of credit or finance from the Centre, population has been taken as one of the considerations. But it is better that when giving effect to large industrial schemes or irrigation schemes or even agricultural programmes, greater attention is paid to the really backward areas so that they can come up and face the issue better than the already developed areas. Thank you.

SHRI B. K. MAHANTI (Orissa) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I associate myself with the Vote of Thanks that is proposed to the President for his Address to both the Houses of Parliament. It is customary that in the beginning of the budget session the President addresses both the Houses of Parliament, and in his Address generally mention is made of the policy in regard to the activities during the past year and the policy to be followed in the coming year. But in

this Address I find that almost the same policy that was followed last year, has been enunciated as the policy to be followed the next year. Nothing new has been said. On the other hand, no reference has been made to socialism. No reference has been made to non-alignment policy. And a sort of apprehension has been created due to indiscipline and violence that is committed here and there. Sir, it has been said that political stability should result in economic stability and ultimately democracy will have its stay in India.

We have to see that unless there is economic stability, you cannot have political stability. Millions of our people are hungry. They are not having enough to eat and they are roaming in the streets. You go to Calcutta or Bombay and you see a large number of unemployed there. We also see that there is not adequate employment opportunities. Under these circumstances it is but natural that a stalemate has been created and it is heading to anarchy. It has been said that the economic condition has improved. If there has been any improvement in the economic condition, it is primarily due to agricultural output. The agricultural output has been increased due to adequate rainfall. Therefore it has to be seen that no complacency is created in the minds of the Government and of the people by simply saying that we have economic stability and there is some stabilisation in the prices. What we have to do, what the Government has to follow is they should have planning, planning with some purpose and some meaning with a socialistic bias. Unless that is done you cannot give adequate employment and that is the need because there are a number of people unemployed and there is not enough of employment opportunity. In this connection I would refer to the State of Orissa and the economic condition preventing there. In Orissa we have vast forest resources. We have all the mineral potentialities and we have a vast coastline. We have all that but we do not have enough industries. Unfortunately the present government which is a coalition—I always say it is a coalition based on opportunism—and

by what they have done the entire hopes of the people of Orissa have been shattered. That is evident from what has happened during the last two years, when nothing has been done by the Government of Orissa. The little resources also have been cut down by the abolition of land revenue. Who are benefited by that? It is the big landlords, having thousands of acres, the erstwhile Rajas and Maharajas who have benefited, not the common man. Not only that. One of the forest resources was Beedi leaf—we call it kendu leaf. A crore of rupees has been bungled by the State Government in this connection and it is evident from the judgment of the Supreme Court. When an opportunity comes, I will quote it but a crore of rupees has been mismanaged on account of which the State is in complete financial chaos. The responsibility can be squarely fixed on the Government and this is sufficient for the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry to enquire into this bungling. They have been all along talking of impropriety. All the words were quoted from the dictionary. I do not like to use the same words which the Members opposite used on the floor of the House but I must say that they have bungled and they have improperly cut down the revenues by following certain measures which they should not have done. In this connection I would bring to your notice that a few years ago a hue and cry was raised about the appointment of a Commission and it was appointed. It was alleged that Mr. Patnaik and his colleagues have bungled with the State finances and they have misappropriated the money and abused their political power for their own benefit. But unfortunately they will be sorry to see that not a single case has been proved where bungling has been done. On the other hand Justice Khanna has commented that there has been development in the State of Orissa during the regime of Mr. Patnaik and his colleagues. When this matter was raised here I was one who said that it was a State matter and the Parliament was not competent to discuss it because we have a quasi-federal type of Government. We have clear-cut division of responsibility and therefore we



[Shri B. K. Mahanti]

should not discuss it here but unfortunately the friends from the Opposition wanted that there should be Central intervention and they submitted a memorandum to the President and ultimately a Cabinet Sub-Committee was appointed, the CBI was sent, it even resulted in bringing a vote of no-confidence in the Lok Sabha. I do not like to detail what happened but I point out that when a similar memorandum was given by us to the President of India, at the instance of the Home Minister the State Government appointed Judge Mudholkar. He has given a report. Why is the State hesitating to publish it? Why are they not coming out with that report and say that they are free from the charges? To find out a *prima facie* case it was appointed. While we go to the court for the publication of a Commission's report, they go to the court for non-publication of the report of a Judge like Mr. Mudholkar. This is the state of affairs in Orissa. We have a responsibility and for the discharge of that responsibility we have every right to ask the Government of India to get it published. They have bungled, they have brought misery to the people of Orissa and now the State Government's finances is almost in a bankrupt condition. If financial discipline is not brought about, we have to think one day about Central intervention in the State where purposely and knowingly they have brought the State's finances to such a pass. I have a few points to make here. We, Members of Parliament from Orissa, gave a memorandum to the President of India and we are entitled to get a reply from the President as to what has happened to that. Unfortunately we have not got it. Therefore through you I demand from the Government here that they should furnish us with a copy of the report that was given by the retired judge, Mr. Mudholkar.

Coming to the industrial development in our country, I would bring a few points for your consideration. We have a few public sector industries under the H.S.L. We have invested Rs. 1,000 crores on them but what results they are yielding it is for us to consider. I

am sorry to say that they are not yielding the results or returns which we should expect from them. This year we have observed the 15th Steel Jubilee and it is for us to assess how much progress has been made in these 15 years and if there are any mistakes, we have to correct them. Unfortunately the labour relations in those is not satisfactory. Everywhere there is trouble and sometimes they are created by political parties. I hope the National Labour Commission which is going into the future labour policy of the country will give its report soon and the Government would come forward with a comprehensive legislation to give justice to the workers in the public sector and elsewhere.

As I was referring to in the beginning, there has been widespread indiscipline in this country, indiscipline among the student community and indiscipline among the working class and indiscipline among the unemployed youth. This is a matter which should be looked into with all seriousness and efforts should be made, chalking out proper plans, to solve this problem.

This year, simply because our economic condition has improved a little, we should not be complacent. Government should take a correct and proper view of matters and do the needful. With a clear understanding and in clear terms all these problems should be discussed with all seriousness and solutions have to be found for them.

Thank you.

SHRI DWIJENDRA IAL SEN GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have tabled an amendment.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Before he begins, Sir, I would like to say this. There has been some reference, the previous speaker made reference to Orissa's affairs. I do not want to reply to those specific matters now. I propose to reply to them on Monday. I say this because at least that hon. Member should know that I am going to speak on those matters on Monday. I keep him informed of this. I do not

want to say things when people are absent. He may be present on Monday to hear me speak dealing with those specific matters.

SHRI DWIJENDRA LAL SEN GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, my amendment was No. 71 and my points of regret were that no reference has been made in the President's speech to (i) the growing regional tendencies and causes thereof; (ii) the deterioration of Centre-State relations and causes thereof; (iii) the huge unemployment in the country and its menacing effect; (iv) the chronic poverty of the common man and solution thereof; and (v) the erosion of the moral values of life. In brief this is all what I wish to develop today. The points are eloquent; they speak for themselves. This is neither the occasion when I can develop each and every such point at length to make it impressive, nor shall I attempt the same.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, on Tuesday, that is, on the 18th, we had a Calling-Attention on the Shiv Sena in Bombay. This is nothing but a symptom of a disease that has caught hold of our body politic. Now in West Bengal, if anybody visits tomorrow, there he will find under the stamp of the Bengal National Volunteer Party the demands, "We want 90 per cent employment for Bengalis". This has been the cry everywhere. In Assam at least I remember the two linguistic riots. In the first Bengalis were attacked and in the second Marwaris were attacked, on a large scale. The slogan was 'Assam for Assamese'. Our friend, Mr. Mahitosh Purkayastha, of the Congress said openly in this House that many Congress leaders in Assam, the top rank Congress leaders of Assam were at the helm of this movement in Assam. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, therefore, from Bombay to Assam we find that there is a slogan that every State should belong to the people of that State. Then for whom India? Then India for none. And how to stop it? If these riots cannot be stopped, our national integrity will be damaged; our national independence will be in jeopardy. To put it pointedly, the cause

behind, the cause behind the riot is the economic poverty. It is not that a Bengali Sen Gupta has any difference with Mr. Mahitosh Purkayastha of Assam or with Mr. Mohan Dharja of Maharashtra. No, nothing of the kind. It is the common man, who is suffering from the pangs of starvation, who is really unemployed in spite of being educated and having a healthy body, and he does see that the Government here at the Centre, has put him in the position where he is now. The Government, in the last twenty-two years, has not come to the rescue of the common people. So the common man thinks of uprooting the man of a different State who is working there and earning his livelihood. The root cause is the man's suffering. He has no animus against another individual coming from another State. His real grievance is that he is unemployed. The entire grievance stems from that. So his grievance must be redressed if we want to do away with the growing regional tendencies. So, essentially it is an economic problem and it has got to be tackled economically. And quick industrialisation is necessary. Unless and until every able-bodied young man, educated or uneducated, gets employment, this cry of regional tendencies will be there. You cannot stop it. But you can stop it by another slogan—but that will be temporary; that cannot be for all time—that our nation is in danger. When the Chinese attacked India we gave the call that the nation was in danger. At that time we lost all feelings of regionalism. We thought like Indians. But that is an emergency slogan and it cannot be a slogan for all time. That slogan will have no meaning and no appeal to a hungry mouth. You cannot give a slogan to quench hunger. A hungry man only sees that his employment potential is being taken away by a man of a different State. So Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I squarely blame this Government here that they have directly or indirectly been instrumental in creating this problem, which was not there earlier.

Then, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I come to Centre-State relations and the causes thereof. The other day, in West Bengal

[Shri Dwijendra Lal Sen]

we had the mid-term General Election. If you ask me, the voting against the Congress there was based on a major consideration. And what was that major consideration? The Congress at the Centre, the Congress in the State, and the Governor who is at the dictates of the Government here at the Centre, by an intrigue, removed from office the popularly elected Government led by Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee. So the voting was against the Congress in this mid-term election—that is my lurking suspicion; I may be right, may be wrong. So such a voting played a very important role. Apart from that West Bengal suffers from another grievance with the Centre; not West Bengal alone, the whole of India, all the States I can say. The grievance is that the States are being made to starve so that the Capital can flourish and that certain States are being patronised by some important men of those States in the Centre. If one particular State has no important man in the Centre and therefore has no say with the Government here, that State has nothing to get from the Centre.

The first one was political; the second one was economic and the third thing is industrial development. There is an imbalance. Certain States are developing too fast whereas some States are not. My own State I can submit with confidence, having the advantage of coal, having the advantage of market, having the advantage of raw materials, is still not flourishing because of certain licensing policies of the Government of India. The Government in the last ten or twelve years has given licences to certain States of the west and the south but not to Bengal. This is the feeling and the Government has got to explain this economic imbalance at least in matters of licensing.

Then I come to the huge unemployment in the country and its menacing effect. Originally in the First Five Year Plan we talked of industrialisation. Through industrialisation the unemployment problem was to be solved but we found that unemployment was increasing and not being solved. Then came the policy for agricultural development

and we neglected the industry. That is how because of the defects in planning instead of solving the problem of unemployment we find it is growing every day. So what will the unemployed people do? The unemployed people will indulge in politics which is charming, which has got a quick appeal. It may not be in the best interests either of themselves or of the country. The unemployed people are expected to exercise their discretion in national interests or in their own interests. Any talk of revolution will appeal to him. If you say there will be revolution, you come with me, that will appeal to him. What is wrong? Unless I can show him the right way, unless I can show him light, he is bound to be in the other camp. What has the Government done for this category of people? What is the idealism the Government has placed before them? How does the Government want to solve their problem? There is nothing about it.

Chronic poverty of the common man and the solution thereof. Now we all know that the earning of an average man in this country is not even 25 paise but a man has got to spend Rs. 2 for a meal. So he can have a meal of Rs. 2 which may be his normal balanced diet only once in eight days. If he can starve for seven days on the eighth day only he can get his meal. For seven days what will he be doing? He will be thinking how to remove this Government, how to displace this Government which has failed to give him even the minimum subsistence. That is what happens. If the country goes the Communist way, if the country goes wrong, today I will be the last person to blame anybody except this Government because this Government has created a condition in which nobody can live honestly, soberly and in a rational manner. The Government is irrational and they have created irrational conditions. Then how do you expect the people to remain rational? The man is thus in starvation and poverty but as against that he finds that the wealth of this entire country is accumulated in the hands of 75 families as is evidenced by the Report of the Monopolies Commis-

sion. He cannot think that it is earnest earning. He thinks : I am honest and suffering but he is dishonest but he is prospering and so let me also choose the dishonest way of life. So if he chooses the dishonest way of life how can you blame him when you bestow the honour of Bharat Ratna, Padma Vibhushan and such things on people who have no moral values of life, who have abandoned everything sacred and who have only all the money and an indecent way of life, may be cinema actresses, may be multi-millionaires. But these impoverished people who cannot have even a meal for seven days, who can have a meal only on the eighth day, cannot be expected to have an honest way of life. So by encouraging a section of the people you have introduced an element of dishonesty in our body politics. This Government has not only ruined us economically, it has ruined us morally also.

That brings me to my last point—erosion of the moral values of life. If a country has no money it can rise up provided it has character, provided it has industry, provided there is imagination. Japan was reduced to dust in the second world war; so also Germany.

They have industry and they have grown up again. Not a single factory of this country was demolished in the second world war but our foreign loans at the time of the British was Rs. 500 crores but now it is Rs. 5800 crores odd. Wherefrom has this money come and where has all this money gone ? Did we borrow all this money only to get it accumulated in a few hands ? Whoever was the leader of the country, Jawaharlal Nehru or Lal Bahadur Shastri or Indira Gandhi, they could not give a call to the nation; they did not behave in the manner they should have. So what can you expect from the common man ? These are important aspects in the life of our country and these are not reflected in the Address of the President. So Mr. Vice-Chairman I would only say that the Address was not an objective one. That is my point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The House stands adjourned till 11 00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at fifty nine minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 21st February, 1969.