

THE PAYMENT OF BONUS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1969

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR AND REHABILITATION (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI) : I beg to move :

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Payment of Bonus Act, 1965."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI : I introduce the Bill.

THE ARMED FORCES (SPECIAL POWERS) CONTINUANCE BILL, 1969

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH) : I beg to move :

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to continue the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation, 1958, for a further period."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH : I introduce the Bill.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENTS ADDRESS—*contd.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI)
[in the Chair]

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar) : Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by my friend Shri R. T. Parthasarathy expressing our gratitude and thanks to the President for his Address delivered before the Joint Sitting of the two Houses of Parliament. The President, in the course of his Address, has made an attempt to highlight the fact that all-round economic recession in the country has yielded to gradual economic recovery in both agricultural and industrial sectors but from the few words that the President has been pleased to say on this issue, I find that our President does not visualise rapid recovery of our economic condition. Particularly he has not said a word as to how the Government to propose to meet the growing educated unem-

ployment problem save and except a vague reference to a scheme for employment of qualified engineers in a self-employment programme. We are passing through very difficult times and if we do not take some major steps to relieve unemployment, then we cannot maintain peace in the country. The so-called manifestation of violence all-round is the outcome of this growing unemployment among the educated sections of the country. We have introduced education on a mass scale as a result of which in all the classes it has given rise to educated unemployment. As a result, whenever there is even a small issue anywhere, then a large section of the people, even the younger generation also, indulge in an orgy of violence including looting. The other day in the Shiv Sena agitation in Bombay it was reported that teenagers particularly of the middle classes also took part in the looting. The situation is very serious and we must take effective measures for giving employment to a large number of people. In the face of growing unemployment there is insistence upon automation and in spite of objections from all sections including a section of the ruling party, I find that the Government is not giving any thought to this issue and is going on with the proposal to introduce automation in the various fields. When there is growing unemployment or underemployment, how this automation can be introduced, I fail to understand but some people think that all the wisdom is stored in few heads in the Government and they also think that whatever they think proper is best for the country and should be done and they do not make any attempt to convince even their partymen that it is good for the country. Therefore we think that second thought on this issue should also be given and the introduction of this automation in any more fields should be altogether stopped so that the scope of employment cannot be reduced. The oft-repeated remark that we are not going to retrench anybody is not going to convince anybody. It may be that you may not retrench the existing employees but the scope for employment will be reduced and if it is not reduced, then why is this machinery being brought? Therefore, in my view the Government should seriously think of this issue and stop altogether the

[Shri P. C. Mitra]

policy of introducing automation in any other field. I am happy that the Government have, after persistent demands from many quarters, agreed to set up an All-India Agriculture Commission but generally we give encouragement and make arrangement also for irrigation to such areas where irrigation is easily possible.

But we need to give some thought to the question of irrigation the lands in areas where there is a little difficulty because of the absence of irrigation sources. I mean the high lands in the Chotta Nagpur area in Bihar. Practically nothing has been done so far for irrigating the fields in that area. It is a fact that the land is not on an even level there, but the fertility of the soil there is much more than in many other lowlands, lands situated on an even level, and many types of crops, and vegetables and fruits can be produced in that area if some irrigation facilities could be provided. Though there are not many rivers in that area, subsoil water is there and we can have deep tubewells sunk to draw that water and by the pumping system carry that water to feed the fields needing irrigation facilities—there is no dearth of electricity in that area. So I request the Government to particularly ask the proposed Agricultural Commission to go into this matter so that the areas that are not provided irrigation facilities on the ground that the lands there are situated at a higher level, not on an even level, may also be irrigated by feeding them with subsoil water.

The President, in his Address, has said regarding public sector industries, "Various decisions have been taken to delegate more powers to the management of these enterprises with the object of improving their efficiency and profitability."

I am really doubtful whether, if we delegated more powers to these public sector undertakings, their efficiency or profitability would increase. Actually, they have enough powers even now, but they are not being put to use in the right manner. Among these public sector enterprises, particularly the Heavy Engineering Corporation has become a place where favouritism and nepotism have been going on without let or hindrance, and whenever the Chairman changes, the new Chairman brings in there

certain persons of his choice, brings in certain favourites to work there under him and gives them high salaries, without the posts having been advertised and without taking into consideration the qualifications or anything of such incumbents given placement there. We expected much from Mr. K. D. Malaviya, who had been the Chairman there till recently. But he also followed the same procedure and, actually, he gave appointments to at least a dozen persons in the salary range of Rs. 1100—1600, or Rs. 1600—2000 in this manner, that is, without the posts having been advertised and without taking into consideration the qualifications of the persons given appointments by him. A friend of his, an M.P. in the other House, got his son secure a job in the H.E.C. in the scale of pay Rs. 1100—1600 through the good offices of that Chairman, without any sort of advertisement or any such thing. Also an employee discharged from the TELCO got employed to a position carrying a salary of Rs. 2200 a month, and that also was done without the post having been advertised and without taking into consideration the qualifications possessed by the appointee before he was given such an appointment. And these are not technical posts. If these posts had been technical, I could say, "Yes, get the best men from any source." But these are not technical posts and yet these have been filled up in the manner I mentioned. And it is not a new thing that happened only in the time of Mr. K. D. Malviya. Therefore in such circumstances, I should think that there was no need for more powers to be delegated to them. Instead of giving more powers to them, I would endorse the demand made from some quarters and I believe that perhaps the Krishna Menon Committee had also recommended that an all-India service commission for public undertakings should be formed, and I would suggest that such a commission should be charged with the responsibility of suggesting suitable names for all high posts carrying a salary of above Rs. 500 or so.

In the end I would refer to the observations by the President in paragraph 22 of his Address and he says, "There is no place in a democratic society for groups which seek to change the social and

political structure by armed insurrection." I am happy that he has said so. But is it a pious wish, or has the Government any scheme, or contemplate taking any steps to stop? Actually, the other day, the general secretary of the CPI (Marxist) in Bengal, after the Marxist communists successfully got elected in large numbers to the Assembly, openly and publicly declared that people should not think that we can achieve our objectives by this method, by this democratic system, but we can achieve them only by a bloody revolution—it appeared in many Calcutta papers. So I would like to know from the Government whether they can stop any political party from coming to power with the avowed object of changing the social and political structure by a bloody revolution.

Thank you

श्री जगत नारायण (हरियाणा) वाइस चैयरमैन महोदय, मैंने राष्ट्रपति जी का ऐड्रेस मेंट्रल हाल में बैठे गोर से सुना और उसके बाद भी दो दफा उसको पढ़ा। उसको पढ़ कर मुझ को ऐसा दिखाई देता है कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने यह कहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान में सब अच्छा है। मुझे लाहौर मेंट्रल जेल का एक वाक्या याद आ रहा है। जार्जी गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर यहा बैठे हैं और उनको इसकी जानकारी होगी। हमारे यहा जेलों में मीनार लगे हुए हैं और वहा रात में आदमी पहरा देते हैं। जब पहरा देने वाला आदमी बोलता है "बैरक नम्बर 1" तो कहते हैं सब अच्छा है, जब बोलता है "बैरक नम्बर 2" तो फिर कहते हैं सब अच्छा है। एक दिन वहा एक मौत हो गई और रात के दस बजे से जब उसने आवाज़ लगाई तो उस बैरक में भी कहा गया कि सब अच्छा है। जब जेल वालों ने बाद में पूछा कि सब अच्छा कैसे है तो कह दिया गया कि एक मृतक शरीर पड़ा था, इसलिये मालूम नहीं, सब अच्छा है। उसी तरह से हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने कह दिया है कि सब अच्छा है। अगर आप देखें हालात को तो हालात इतने खराब हो गये हैं कि वावजूद इसके कि प्लानिंग कमिशन की बड़ी तारीफ की जाती है कि प्लानिंग कमिशन ने बहुत काम

किया है, वाइस चैयरमैन महोदय, मैं आपके सामने 'इंडियन एक्सप्रेस' से यह पेश करना चाहता हूँ

"If you can afford to spend 30 rupees a month, you are lucky. Most people in India cannot. According to an authoritative survey, 85 per cent of India's rural population spent less than one rupee a day in 1967-68. Even in the urban areas, where people have more money and all that money can buy, only 35 per cent of the population could afford to spend one rupee a day or more during the period."

इसके आगे यह कहते हैं कि हालात पहले से बहुत अच्छे हैं। आगे जाँ सब क्या हुआ उसमें लिखा है :

"In 1952, 86 per cent of the rural population spent less than one rupee a day. In the urban areas, the figure was 73 per cent. So things have not improved much. In fact, they have become worse, if you take into account the fact that prices have not up by 60 per cent in these sixteen years."

तो यह कहना कि सब अच्छा है और प्लानिंग के सब से हालात सब अच्छे हैं यह बिल्कुल गलत है।

फिर उन्होंने कहा कि उत्पादन बढ़ गया है। अगर हिन्दुस्तान की हिस्ट्री को, तबारीख को देखें तो मालूम होगा कि हर 5-6 साल के बाद, चाहे मुगलों का राज था, चाहे अंग्रेजों का राज था, कहत पड़ा करते थे, कभी अच्छी बारिश हो गई तो उत्पादन ज्यादा हो जाता था। यह क्रेडिट ले रहे हैं कि उत्पादन पिछले साल बहुत हो गया है, अगले साल भी ज्यादा होगा, हालात अच्छे हैं। अगर उत्पादन होने में हालात अच्छे होते हैं तो फिर यह कैसे है कि एक रुपया रोज खर्च करने पर और 30 रुपया महीना खर्च करने पर भी एक आदमी को कुछ नहीं मिल पाता। वाइस चैयरमैन महोदय, पिछले दिनों पञ्जाब में मिड-टर्म इलेक्शन के दौरान 20.25 देहात में जाने का मुझे मौका मिला और

[श्री जगत नारायण]

पंजाब वह सूबा जिसके मुताल्लिक यह कहा गया है कि :-

"Punjab has the highest per capita income" वहां हालात क्या थे। वाइस चैयरमैन महोदय, कभी आप मेरे साथ चलिए, मुसाफिर जा को बहुत कुछ मालूम है, गावों में एक ही कमरे में भैस भी बंधी है गाय भी बंधी है, खाना भी बंधा है और वहां सारा परिवार रहता है और वही खाना पकता है। अन्दाजा काजिए कि आज के जमाने में, आजादी मिलने के बाद, प्लानिंग पर अरबों रुपया खर्च करने के बाद ये हालात हैं पंजाब में, उस सूबे में जो सारे हिन्दुस्तान को घेरे देता है, और जिसे खुशहाल सूबा कहा जाता है। मैं हैरान रह गया, हमने पूछा कि आप मकई को रोटी क्यों पका रहे हैं। हम तो सारे हिन्दुस्तान को गन्दम सप्लाई करते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि हमें गन्दम नहीं मिल सकती उस भाव पर जिस भाव हम से ली गई, अब मारकेट रेट एक रुपए किलो, 40 रुपए मन हो गया है। एक रुपए किलो लेकर वह कैसे अपना गुज़ाग कर सकता है जब कि सारे महीने की उसकी आमदनी 30 रुपए हो। तो मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि जो यह कहा जाता है कि सब अच्छा है, सब अच्छा हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं है।

अब अनएम्प्लायमेंट के मुताल्लिक कहना चाहता हूं। पिछले दिनों आपने पढ़ा होगा कि हरियाणा में एक ग्रेजुएट ने माली का पेशा अखिनयार कर लिया, नौकरी नहीं मिलती थी, वह माली बन गया है। जितनी भी यूनीवर्सिटीज हैं, आपने अखबार में पढ़ा होगा ...

श्री नेकीराम (हरियाणा) : जितने पढ़े हैं सबको एम्प्लायमेंट कैसे मिल सकती है?

श्री जगत नारायण : उनको काम दीजिए। अगर कांग्रेस वाले यह कहते हैं कि पढ़े लिखों को नौकरी नहीं मिल सकती तो

फिर आप हिन्दुस्तान का राज करेंगे? अब क्या हालत है। जो इंजीनियर थे, पिछले दिनों में अखबार में छपा है :

"Jobless engineers of Jaipur have adopted a novel method to draw public attention to their plight.

They have set up a tea stall outside the campus of Rajasthan University on the occasion of its annual convocation to be addressed by UGC Chairman D. S. Kothari."

अब हालत यह है कि हजारों को तादाद में इंजीनियर बिल्कुल बेकार बैठे हैं। मैंने एक केस पता है, एक माहब चक्का चराने से आटा पीसने की, उन्होंने अपने लड़के चाव से इंजीनियर बनाया, नौकरी नहीं मिली, मैंने कहा इसको चक्को पर बिठा दो, काम पर तो लगा दो। इंजीनियर अब वहां आटा पीसते हैं मिल पर। तो मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि हमारे राज में, कांग्रेस के राज में इस तरह के हालात हों तो बड़ा दुख महसूस होता है। हालात यह है कि दिन व दिन इस देश के हालात विकट होते चले जा रहे हैं, हमारे जो नेता हैं वे बिल्कुल कम्प्लेसेंसी में बैठे हैं।

श्री डाह्याभाई व० पटेल (गुजरात) :
वे आदमी को पीसते हैं।

श्री जगत नारायण : वे आदमी को पीसते हैं, यह आप ठीक कहते हैं। हालात क्या हैं? देश में वाइलेंस बढ़ रही है और प्रेमीडेन्ट महोदय ने अपने एड्रेस में एक पैरे में कहा है :

"The country also faces the danger of violence from certain extremist political groups. The doctrines propounded by these groups are clearly subversive of our Constitution and the rule of law, and detrimental to orderly government and progress. There is no place in a democratic society for groups which seek to change the social and political structure by armed insurrection."

लिख तो दिया, मगर यह नहीं बनाया कि मेरी गवर्नमेंट इसके मुताल्लिक क्या कर रही

है। यह मेरे पास 'करन्ट' है फरवरी 1 का, इसमें लिखा है जो वहां पर कलकत्ते में इलेक्शन के मौके पर नारे हैं गेल :

"Election is not the way; Peasants' Revolution is the correct way."

फिर दूसरा नारा है :

"The forces of Liberation are on the way."

फिर तीसरा नारा है :

"There is nothing to fear; Mao Tse-tung is your saviour."

फिर आगे नारा है :

"Be prepared for an armed revolt. Join the Peoples' army of communes" "Gandhivad and Netajivad are all dead. For the present Maovad. Spread the thoughts of Mao."

"It is not by casting a vote alone. We shall have to win by a fight. So unite and get ready for the attack"

इस तरह के नारे मारे इलेक्शन के दौरान कलकत्ते की दंगानों पर लगे थे। यहां मैंने पिछली दफा मवाल उठाया कि आप क्यों नहीं माओ की तस्वीर को बैन करते और नक्सलाइट जिस तरह से काम करते हैं उनको बैन करते तो चन्द्राण जी ने कहा कि कोई कानून नहीं है उसको बैन करने के लिए। आपका प्रेसिडेंट अपने एड्रेस में वाइलेस को मीट करना चाहता है, मगर हमारी सरकार जो है वह कहती है कि हमारे पास कानून ही नहीं है। इतनी धारा पड़ी है इंडियन पीनल कोड की लेकिन न नक्सलाइट को बैन करने के लिए तैयार हैं, न माओ के थाट्स को बैन करने के लिये तैयार हैं। आज आपने अखबार में पढ़ा होगा कि वहां पर जो नई वजारत बन रही है उसमें ज्यादा तादाद पोर्टफोलिओज की उन मिनिस्टर्स ने ली है जो नक्सलाइट हैं, जो कम्युनिस्ट मार्क्सिस्ट हैं, दूसरे लोगों को, चीफ मिनिस्टर को ऐसे पोर्टफोलिओ मिले हैं जिनकी अहमियत नहीं है। आप ही

बताइए अब वहां क्या हालात बनेंगे। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि आप किसी पार्टी को, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को बैन कर दें, मगर हालात का तकाजा है कि आप वहां के इन हालात को समझने की कोशिश करें कि किस ढंग से माओत्सेतुंग के नारे लगाए जाते हैं और माओत्सेतुंग की फोटो बेची जाती है। मुझे बताया गया है कि एक लाख तस्वीरें माओत्सेतुंग की बिकी हैं इलेक्शन के दौरान। अगर यह हालत है और हमारी सरकार इसके मुतालिक बिल्कुल खामोश है तो आप ही बताइए हालात क्या होंगे। हालात वही आ रहे हैं जो मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ, जो चीन में आए थे। माओत्सेतुंग ने वहां पर एक छोट में सूबे पर इकतदार हासिल किया था, फिर उसने आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता मार्शल च्यागकाई शेक को फारमोसा के जजिर में भगा दिया। अब हालात ऐसे बन रहे हैं कि सरकार को—और सरकार हालात को समझ नहीं रही है—अन्डमान में जाना पड़ेगा। अब इन्होंने अन्डमान के जजिरों को भी बनाना शुरू कर दिया है, वहां पर फेसिलिटीज देना शुरू कर दिया है। तो यह आपको अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आप तत्काल का तकाजा है कि आप उन्हें समझा लें और उन पर ध्यान दें।

शिव मेना के मुतालिक एक अजीब बात कही गई—मैं डिबेट सुन रहा था गैलरी में बैठा—कि हम उसका बैन नहीं कर सकते यहां भी हमारे होम मिनिस्टर माहब ने कहा कि हम शिव मेना को बैन नहीं कर सकते। हम समझते हैं कि शिव मेना ने जो कुछ किया, जिस तरीके से वहां नान-महाराष्ट्रियन्स को निकाला जा रहा है—मेरे पास टाइम नहीं है, मैं आपको पढ़कर सुनाता—कांग्रेस के प्रेसिडेंट ने कहा कि हमें बाल ठाकरे ने यह कहा कि अगर आपने वहां पर हमें एजिटेशन न करने दिया और पुलिस को बुलाया तो क्या होगा, जब तक

[श्री जगत नारायण]

मिनिट्री को नहीं बुलाएंगे तब तक हमारे मूवमेंट को बन्द नहीं कर सकते। हालात में जहाँ पर यह हों और सरकार कहे कि हम बैन नहीं कर सकते, एक्शन नहीं ले सकते तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हम हिन्दुस्तान को खानाजी के रास्ते पर डाल रहे हैं। हम सब चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान का नाम है दुनिया में, यहाँ आर्डरली गवर्नमेंट हो, मगर हालात यह रहे तो कोई आर्डरली गवर्नमेंट चल नहीं सकेगी, ऐसे हालात चलने रहे तो खानाजगी ही शुरू होगी। और खानाजगी हिन्दुस्तान को तबाह और बर्बाद करके रख देगी। इसलिये मैं बड़ी अदब से तबज्जह दिलाना चाहता हूँ आपकी मार्फत, कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर इस तरफ ध्यान देने की कोशिश करें।

एक बात और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि हमारी सरकार यह तो दावा करती है कि हमारे में पूरी मोरेलिटी है, हम मोरल ग्राउन्ड पर खड़े हैं, लेकिन मैं उनसे सवाल करना चाहता हूँ आज हरियाणा में क्या हो रहा है, आज हरियाणा में जो कांग्रेसी नुमाइन्दे हैं वह 36 हैं जो अपोजीशन वाले हैं उनका नम्बर भी 36 है, अब बताइए 36 नुमाइन्दे वाले वहाँ पर रूल कर रहे हैं। जरा बताइये कि वहाँ पर मेजारिटी रूल जो होना चाहिये उसके लिये कम से कम 43 मेम्बर होने चाहिये आप कहेंगे जो बाहर इन्डिपेन्डेन्ट्स बैठे हुए हैं उनको हमने बुला लिया। आपने उसके लिये सेशन क्यों नहीं बुलाया? 4 मेम्बरों के बारे में कहा जाता है स्पीकर ने सस्पेन्ड कर दिया। तो आप मोरल ग्राउन्ड पर चलने की कोशिश करें। कांग्रेस महात्मा गांधी की कांग्रेस है। मुझे भी 40 साल कांग्रेस में रहने का मौका मिला है और मैं समझता हूँ महात्मा गांधी ने ही इन्सपायर किया था कि मेरे जैसे नौजवान उस समय कांग्रेस में आ गये, मगर आज

मिर्फ इक्तरदार के लिये, पावर के लिये, कांग्रेस चल रही है, आज उनकी मेजारिटी नहीं है फिर भी हरियाणा में अपना राज्य कर रहे हैं। अगर उनकी मेजारिटी नहीं है तो गवर्नर को कहे मेजारिटी नहीं है, वह मेजारिटी को अमेस करके अपोजीशन को मौका दे और मौका देकर उनको यह साबित करने का मौका दे कि आया उनकी मेजारिटी है कि नहीं, आया वह हुक्मन में आ सकता है या नहीं और नहीं आ सकते हैं, अगर उनमें मोरेलिटी है, इतना मोरल करेज है, तो आज उनको चाहिये कि आज उनको वहाँ की वजायत में हट जाना चाहिये और दूसरों को मौका देना चाहिये। (*Time bell rings*)

मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि मुझे इस बात में मतलब नहीं है कि वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति राज होता है कि नहीं लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ वहाँ कांग्रेस की मेजारिटी नहीं है।

मैं, वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज इस वक़्त जब हम कांग्रेस के नेताओं के साथ प्राइवेट में मिलकर गुप्तगु करते हैं तो वह उस बातचीत में एक बड़ी बात बाज़ेह करते हैं कि साहब हिन्दुस्तान कहाँ जा रहा है, हिन्दुस्तान की हालत बड़ी विकट है, पता नहीं क्या बनेगा हिन्दुस्तान में, बुरा हाल हो रहा है मगर क्यों हो रहा है इसके मुताल्लिक यहाँ हाउस में कुछ नहीं कहते और वह झूठे हो जाते हैं क्योंकि जब वोटिंग होती है तो सच कहने की हिम्मत अपने नेताओं के सामने नहीं कर सकते।

पंजाब के मुताल्लिक मैं आपको बताऊँ कि क्या हुआ, मुझे दूसरे सूबों के बारे में पता नहीं। जो भी लोग वहाँ कामयाब हुए हैं, 70 फीसदी एस कामयाब हुए हैं चाहे वह कांग्रेसी हों चाहे गैर कांग्रेसी कि शराब और रुपये के जोर से कामयाबी हासिल की है। हमारे साथ चलिये तो मैं साबित कर सकता हूँ कि किस तरह शराब की नहरे कांग्रेसियों की तरफ से भी निकाली गई और गैर कांग्रेसियों

की तरफ से भी। मैं 70 फीसदी की बात कह रहा हूँ अगर आज देश इस जगह पर पहुँच गया हो जहाँ के नुमाइन्दे इस गरीबी में चुने जाएँ, तो टेम्पोरेसी कैसे चल सकती है।

शायद मेरे आपसे अर्थ करना चाहता है कि जैसा राष्ट्रपति महोदय समझते कि सब जगह अच्छा ही अच्छा है तो ऐसा बात नहीं है, अच्छा नहीं है देश बुरे रास्ते पर जा रहा है, देश में हालत खानाजगी की पैदा हो गई है। अब भी हमारे नेताओं को समझना चाहिये और हाथों को मुँधारने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) : The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

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

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

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Purkayastha.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa) : But who will listen? There is no Minister on the Treasury Benches.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I am glad you drew my attention to it. There is no one on the Treasury Benches. I did not notice the Treasury Benches.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : And to remind you, this is the debate on the President's Address.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I have no option but to adjourn the House for ten minutes.

The House then adjourned.

The House reassembled at ten minutes past two of the clock, **THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN** in the Chair.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I must mention the lapse on the part of the Treasury Benches...

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR AND REHABILITATION (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI) : I may mention that I came here when the bell was ringing. I do not know how it was adjourned. I was just here at 2 o'clock and the bell was ringing. I do not know how it was adjourned.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I may explain here that when I came to the Chair and I called Mr. Purkayastha, I did not notice the absence of anyone on the Treasury Benches, but Mr. Banka Behary Das drew my attention to it, and you were nowhere inside the precincts in the House. So I had to adjourn. But I do want to appeal to you because it is a very serious lapse that the Treasury Benches should be empty when the House reassembles after lunch. I should also draw the attention of the House, as Mr. Lokanath Misra has pointed out, the House would like the other Members of the Cabinet to be present and listen to the serious debate that is going on on the President's Address. I hope that such a lapse will never occur. Now Mr. Purkayastha.

SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA (Assam) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the motion moved by the Mr. Parthasarathy and seconded by Mrs. Mangladevi Talwar. Madam, we are grateful to the President for mentioning about the problem of unemployment in the country. He has mentioned specially about unemployment among technologist, but he has touched only the fringe of the problem. The problem of unemployment is far more devastating and engulfing. According to modest estimates, there are at least 20 million unemployed in this country. There are other unemployed amongst educated, uneducated, half-educated and highly educated. In all sections of the people there is unemployment.

I would like to draw your attention to the serious unemployment problem that is arising in Assam amongst the tea labour. As you are aware when tea gardens were opened in Assam, labour used to be recruited from Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, U.P., Bihar, Andhra and part of Bengal, and in the course of the last few years those labourers have settled there permanently. Now the problem has arisen of unemployment amongst the tea labour. Every year

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this unemployment is going up. It was first noticed in 1950 when the Government was proposing to introduce minimum wages amongst the plantation labour, and since then we find that the number of employed workers is going down every year. According to tea statistics—that is the latest tea statistics published by the Tea Board of India—we find that during the last few years employment of labour in Assam is gradually coming down. In 1958 there were 5,22,738 labourers working in tea estates; in 1960 it came down to 4,53,761; in 1962 it came down to 4,39,085; in 1964 it came down to 4,35,693; in 1965 it has come down to 4,29,528; and this in spite of the increasing yield per acre. We find from the same tea statistics published by the Tea Board that the yield per acre is going up every year. In 1950 it was 846 lbs. per acre; in 1955 it was 949 lbs.; in 1956 it was 955 lbs.; in 1958 it was 959; in 1961 it was 1,002. We also find from the same source that the *per capita* output in kilogram is going up every year. In 1955 it was 310; in 1958 it was 331; in 1960 it was 379; in 1961 it was 430.

Madam Deputy Chairman, every year the price of tea is increasing and with that also is increasing the workload amongst the tea labour. That is why those who are working among the plantation labour in Assam demanded the setting up of an Enquiry Committee to enquire into the unemployment problem of plantation labour. The Industrial Committee on Plantation set up by the Government of India discussed this problem and decided to set up an Enquiry Committee with Shri N. N. Chatterjee, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Labour, as its Chairman. That Committee submitted its report on 10th September 1965, but since then nothing tangible has been done. One of the terms of reference of this one-man Enquiry Committee was to find out whether there has been a sizeable reduction of employment in the plantation industry as a whole since 1959 and, if so, the reasons therefor. The Committee came to the conclusion that regular employment in the tea plantations has definitely gone down, and the reasons for

this decline in employment were given by the Committee:

- (a) Adoption of mechanisation and other labour-saving devices including improved cultural practices.
- (b) Combining of operations, giving fresh ticca etc.
- (c) Tendency towards casualisation as revealed by the Provident Fund and other data.
- (d) Containing and cutting down the wage bill in view of the increase in the cost of production due to factors outside the control of the industry and revision of the wage structure.
- (e) Speculative habits and short-term objectives of some planters etc.
- (f) Rationalisation mainly by making use of natural wastage in order to get rid of surplus labour which cannot be profitably employed,

But so far as I understand the Government has not taken into consideration all these things. What I desire is that the Government's attention should be drawn to the fact that if this growing unemployment amongst tea labour is not checked, then they will cause a serious handicap to the economy of Assam. That is why we suggest that a remedy should be found for this unemployment problem amongst tea labour. One remedy will be fixing a minimum labour force for each tea garden as has been done by West Bengal in the case of jute industry. The Jute Wage Board has given a direction about maintaining a certain number of labourers in a jute mill. Similarly, the contract system that is in vogue in tea estates should be immediately abolished. There should be a programme for replantation and extension and there should be development of cottage and village industries. Madam Deputy Chairman, in every tea estate there is huge waste land and a good part of this labour can be profitably employed also on that land. But Government is not doing anything

tangible in this respect. You know when the minimum wage for tea plantations labour was fixed, it was fixed on the basis that every man and woman in family were working. But nowadays in most of the families there is only one single worker and on him depend more than four or five persons. So, I would suggest that the minimum wage of tea labour of Assam should be raised. We find that recently a Seminar on minimum wages has recommended that the minimum wage should not be below Rs. 2. But in the case of Cachar, Tripura, Darjeeling, parts of Assam and Bengal, there are wages in tea estates which are far below Rs. 2. So, unless this minimum wage is increased, unless there is a minimum labour force maintained in tea estates, the tea estates in Assam will face a serious situation. I would like to draw the attention of the Government on this occasion to this problem and would urge the Government to do something tangible immediately to remove this unemployment among the plantation labour.

Next, I find that the President in his Address has mentioned about the machinery for joint consultation and compulsory arbitration and he has commented that the machinery would provide a firmer and sounder basis. When we discussed in this House the strike of the Central Government employees, I sounded a note of warning to the Government that unless the Government dealt with the employees sympathetically, the situation would become grave. In spite of that, nothing has been done to stop the victimisation of workers, for the withdrawal of court cases and for the recognition of unions. Already, Kerala and Punjab Governments have withdrawn the cases against the Central Government employees there, and I have no doubt that even the new Government which is being ushered in in West Bengal would withdraw the cases against the Central Government employees in West Bengal. Moreover, I find from today's papers that the leader of the Central Government employees who led the strike on 19th September in West Bengal is

going to be the Labour Minister there. So, I am definite that these cases in West Bengal would be withdrawn. If the Governments of West Bengal, Kerala and Punjab can find their way to withdraw the cases, I find no reason why the other State Governments should not do so and restore harmonious relations between the Government and the employees. Merely setting up the Joint Consultative Machinery cannot restore these harmonious relations. Something more should be done. Government should prove to the workers that there is a drastic change in its policy towards the employees. Unless that is demonstrated before the workers, they will never remain satisfied. I have grave doubts whether, with the setting up of the Joint Consultative Machinery and compulsory arbitration machinery alone, all labour problems will be solved. This machinery has been in existence since 1966. It was the Government which refused to refer the disputes to arbitration and forced the employees to launch the strike on 19th September. Therefore, I would urge upon the Government to reorient their labour policy in the interests of labour and restore healthier relations among the employees and themselves.

I come from Assam which is a backward State. There is so much talk about regional imbalance and its removal. In spite of that, in Assam no attention has been paid to set up any industry worth the name. There are hardly any industries in Assam. There is the possibility of establishing paper, sugar, jute, cement and other kinds of industries for which raw materials are available abundantly in Assam. There is a refinery in Assam. But it is a toy refinery compared to the refinery at Barauni.

So, I would urge the Government to remove this imbalance in the economy of the country, the imbalance between one State and another, and set up industries in Assam which remains backward.

I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the Memorandum submitted by the Government of Assam

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to the Fifth Finance Commission in which they have demanded a legitimate share of the income-tax, the corporate tax, the excise duty and the export duty. Unless this is done, we will not be able to recover economically.

Lastly, I would urge the Government to bring the tea industry under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act so that the State Government may be empowered to take over the mismanaged tea gardens.

With these words, I support the motion moved by Shri R. T. Parthasarathy.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Madam, this morning the House paid its tribute to one of its Members who expired of heart failure two days back. I would not have brought that into my speech but for the fact that there are different standards maintained for carrying the bodies of different Members who belong to this House or to the other House. I hope in the near future the Parliamentary Affairs Minister would develop a tradition by which if any sitting Member of either House of Parliament dies anywhere in the country, his body should at least be brought to his permanent place of residence. In the case of Dr. Baghel who expired the day before yesterday, no arrangement was made by the Parliamentary Affairs Ministry or any other Ministry for the body to be flown from here to Raipur. The body was naturally taken at the family expense by train to Raipur, and I think, by the time the body arrived there, it would have been decomposed completely. If this very human aspect is lost sight of by the Government, I do not know how they expect the Opposition Members to have some sort of understanding with the Government even on national affairs. The bodies of two other Members were flown—one from abroad, from Cairo, and the other from Bangalore to Delhi. I am sorry, I am constrained to make these remarks about people who are dead already. But a clear distinction was made when they belonged to the Congress side. All the expenses were borne by the Congress Government for

bringing down the body from Cairo and from Bangalore to Delhi. Why, in the case of Dr. Baghel, was it not done? I am very sorry about it.

Now... (*Interruptions*)... I do not want my time to be wasted. Mr. Mehta, if you have got any reply, you can give it later but not within my time.

श्री ओम मेहता (जम्मू और कश्मीर) :
जो कैरो में बोडी आई था उनके लिए कांग्रेस
ने कोई रुपया नहीं दिया था और वह
रेगुलर (शेड्यूल) फ्लाइट में आई थी।
No special flight was arranged for it.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : I did not say 'Congress', I said, 'the Government.'

श्री ओम मेहता : गवर्नमेंट ने भी कोई
रुपया नहीं दिया था।
Government also had not paid for it.

श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र . मिस्टर माथुर के
लिए किया गया था।

THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
AND MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI
MORARJI R. DESAI) : He was a member
of the Administrative Reforms Commis-
sion.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : If a member of the Administrative Reforms Commission or any other Commission has a higher status than that of a Member of Parliament, I have nothing to say, if this is the guiding line for the Finance Minister of this country who is a great humanitarian.

Madam, I hope you will not take this time into account. I am very much worried...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have 25 minutes.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : My party has 25 minutes' time. You will allow...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Four minutes have now gone.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Madam, now while coming to the Address itself, the President traces from agriculture to foreign

relations. He seems to be very much satisfied with the agricultural production of the country this year and last year. I do not know whether there is any justification for the complacency shown by the President in his Address. When because of benevolent weather the country's production has gone up, there is absolutely no reason why the Government or its head, the President, should take any credit for it. What should really be taken note of is how far this planning over these 20 years has helped the agriculturists to fight against the weather. If this is not done, and if you only go on saying that we have had a good weather and therefore we have good crops that gives no credit absolutely to the Government or for the head of the State to be advised by his Ministry, whether it is the Agricultural Ministry or the Prime Minister or the Home Ministry or the Finance—Ministry. It is very wrong to be complacent about benevolent weather and say that we have produced greatly during the last two years. My question would be : What have you done to contribute to greater production in our country in the field of agriculture. If you have really done anything, which are the projects which are responsible for higher yield in the country ?

I will deal with the last item now. Because I have shortage of time and I have more important things relating to my State, I would only say a few words on general things. The President has said that he visited a number of countries and that an abundant amount of goodwill was shown to him during his tour abroad and that of the Prime Minister.

If the President's tour and the Prime Minister's tour can win us friends, then we have friends all over the world by now. It is the basic policy, the inherent policy of the Government which has turned every country in the world hostile to India. I have had the pleasure of going round...

(Interruption)

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJ-
PYE (Nominated) : Displeasure.
L7 RS/69—7

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE
(Bihar) : Madam, why should such wrong statements be allowed ?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Since you are next to the Deputy Prime Minister of the country, I would at least expect that he would give you the snubbing because this is not parliamentary practice. Now coming back to foreign affairs...

THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
AND MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI
MORARJI R. DESAI) : I only hope that the hon. Member will remember this when he interrupts other people.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Now I cannot indulge in these things because I have a lot of things to say. It seems the entire Congress Party does not want me to speak. . . .

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI : No, no.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Madam, I had the privilege...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West
Bengal) : What about Biju Patnaik ?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Yes, it is coming.

SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA : His pet subject.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : It is not my pet subject. It is the pet subject of every man in the country now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Madam, he is an expert on Biju Patnaik.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra
Pradesh) : Under your advice.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : I had the advantage of going round a part of the world and I had the august company of a person like you, Madam.

(Interruption)

SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA : That did not change your character ?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : That does not change my character. It changes the character of the Congress; that is what I say. The point is, Madam, that wherever I went, people started complaining about the so-called non-alignment policy of the

[Shri Lokanath Misra]

Government. Where it suits the Government, it comes out very boldly, as in the case of Vietnam...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of order. He said he had the privilege of accompanying you. Do you support what he is saying?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I will tell you later.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : When it comes to Czechoslovakia, the Government is very silent, conveniently silent, about the matter. When it comes to the Suez Canal, they are very vociferous about it. When it comes to Hungary, they are again conveniently silent. These attitudes are somehow misunderstood abroad. I hope our Ambassadors give a correct picture of the people's reaction from different countries to the Government. If the Government closes its eyes to all sorts of reports which are inconvenient, then probably a time would come when India will have to stand by itself, and there would not be any single friend all over the world. Therefore, the satisfaction expressed by our President that he had visited certain countries and the Prime Minister had the occasion to visit certain other countries does not bring us any nearer at all. That way, every day you may probably see in the streets of Delhi some country's flag flying; that means some foreign dignitary is in Delhi all the time. All the same, in time of crisis, India stands all alone. That shows where we stand. Therefore, some effort should be made in the field of foreign affairs so that we gain back as friends countries who used to be our friends but have become indifferent now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Madam, we want to hear him on Biju Patnaik. On foreign affairs, he is no good. He is an expert on Biju Patnaik affairs.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Now, Madam...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He is obliging you, Mr. Gupta.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : ... the other day one of the hon. Members from the Congress side raised the matter of the Khanna Commission. I did not want to raise the matter of Khanna Commission in the House because that was being discussed outside. But since it was brought raised inside the House, I promised that day that I would reply to some of his queries and place my point of view on the floor of the House while participating in the debate on Monday. I wanted in that connection the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Deputy Prime Minister to be present here. I had given them advance notice. I am happy that the hon. Deputy Prime Minister is here. But I fail to understand what has kept the Prime Minister away from the House.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI : May I give an explanation? Is a Minister bound to come at the sweet will and pleasure of a hon. Member who wants to speak about it? I am present here because I want to oblige the hon. Member.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Did I ever say, Madam, that they are bound to come? What is this? Even the Deputy Prime Minister is distorting what I said. I only requested them to be present. It is for them to be present or not to be present. How do I care about it.

Now, Madam, the terms of reference are : "(1) Whether the persons mentioned in the Schedule during the aforesaid period committed various acts of malfeasance, misfeasance, misappropriation, fraud, negligence, favouritism, nepotism, illegalities, irregularities, improprieties and abuse of their power in matters of administration of the State in different cases?" ...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No reference to murder and dacoity?

SHRI B. C. PATTANAYAK (Orissa) : See also page 792.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : You will have your say. Why do you interrupt me? The Congress takes half the time allotted for the President's Address...

SHRI B. C. PATTANAYAK : Do not misguide the House. You must read the facts.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : That monopoly belongs to the Congress Party.

SHRI B. C. PATTANAYAK : I have never misguided the House.

(Interruption)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Let him have his say.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I suggest that the hon. Member in the meantime should read the whole report.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Provided he understands it.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Madam, copies of this report should be supplied to all Members. I understand that copies posted to some of us have been pinched from the post offices.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Madam, my time is running out. Now, Mr. Khanna says...

SHRI P. C. MITRA : Madam, will he place the report on the Table?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : If that is allowed.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He has got it and many other Members have got it.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI : How all this is relevant here?

(Interruptions)

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : I do not know why such a lot of disturbance is there when I start speaking.

Now there is the latest editorial of *Statesman*, one of the most balanced papers in the country, on this Khanna Commission Report. I begin with that. I will read a portion of that editorial. It says :

"Reports of various enquiry commissions in India would perhaps be published more promptly if they were more concise and less prolix than the Report of the Khanna Commission which went into various allegations against three former Chief Ministers of the State.

Mr. Biju Patnaik and others plainly declared the summary issued by the Orissa Government unfair and its publication politically motivated. The number of charges against the arraigned three was indeed large; but an 812-page Report might have seemed more relevant if there were in it fewer obiter dicta on abstract justice and the public weal. The reference to the sunken cheeks and lustre-less eyes of the poverty-stricken people of Orissa undoubtedly be speak a broad humanitarian approach; but in an enquiry into allegations of corruption and abuse of power, elaboration on who was the architect of the election victory in 1961 or what kind of Chief Minister Orissa needs seems hardly to the point.

Those with fewer than 802 pages at their disposal will only note that some very grave charges had been levelled against Mr. Biju Patnaik and Mr. Biren Mitra and that while some were unproven, others were not; those proven, five against Mr. Patnaik and seven against Mr. Mitra, are not less grave because the Khanna Commission confirms popular knowledge that the former is a man of great drive and dynamism. The report also confirms the equally popular suspicion that there was during the rule of these two gentlemen widespread abuse of power, extending perhaps beyond what the Khanna Commission charmingly calls "financial indiscipline."

Now, Madam... *(Interruption by Shri B. C. Pattanayak)* Please sit down. I have my doubts whether the hon. Member understands what I say.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Biju Patnaik is a lost cause.

SHRI B. C. PATTANAYAK : It is a loss to the country even.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : It is a loss to the country? What a climax, what a fun!

Madam...

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I think there cannot be so many interruptions.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : In view of these interruptions, Madam, you would give me about five minutes more.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, I will give you.

(Interruptions)

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Madam, he says serious allegations have been made. I just want to tell the House what the word "impropriety" means for Mr. Khanna.

"Serious allegations have been made and grave charges have been levelled against the respondents of impropriety in the discharge of the functions as Chief Minister, Ministers and Deputy Ministers of the State of Orissa."

This is what he says and he says that under clause (1) "impropriety" should include all these for a public man. A public man who holds an office of responsibility either as the Chief Minister or any other Minister, if he indulges in any of these, "malfeasance, misfeasance, misappropriation, fraud..." this amounts to "impropriety". That is what Mr. Khanna himself says.

Now, Madam, I would indicate some of the findings of the Khanna Commission. As regards the Kalinga Industries, Mr. Khanna says :

"The material on the record shows that the transfer of the Low Shaft Furnace Plant to the IDC has proved to the Corporation a pretty costly venture and not a gift as it was described by Shri Patnaik in his note dated March 6, 1963 to the Union Minister of Planning."

This was a fraud. He said something, but he meant something else. He told the entire country, he went on telling the entire country that he made a gift of it... *(Interruptions)* Madam, does the honourable Member wish to say that his intervention would strengthen his cause? It does not because a foolish friend is worse than a wise enemy...

(Interruptions)

The next is this :

"The mines, on account of which the Plant was set up, have been retained by B. Patnaik Mines Private Limited."—

He retained the mines while he handed over the unprofitable concern, the Kalinga Industries—

"The position, as it emerges in the final analysis, is that Shri Patnaik was able to get rid of..."—

Madam, Mark the words "get rid of"—

"...and sell to the IDC the Low Shaft Furnace Plant, which in his own words was uneconomical, and retain for his Company the mining lease, for the retention of which he was so keen that he had to file a writ petition in the High Court, even though the Low Shaft Furnace Plant and the mining lease were admitted by him to be linked together."

One was a paying concern. He wanted to hand over the uneconomical concern to the Government of Orissa while he retained the other paying concern. He was a very clever man...

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order please.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : And then, Madam, about the trusses allegation he says :

"Trusses of the value of Rs. 77,91,217.41 Paise were purchased by different departments and a Corporation of Orissa Government from Kalinga Industries after Shri Patnaik assumed the office of the Chief Minister on June 23, 1961 till March 31, 1965."

In respect of the order placed on August 13, 1962, the necessity for tubular structures was felt by Orissa Mining Corporation soon after an offer was received from Kalinga Industries for supply of those structures...

SHRI B. C. PATTANAYAK (Orissa) : What about number 14? "There was no impropriety in that transaction..."

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : I have already told you. Do I have to repeat it that a foolish friend is...

(Interruptions)

SHRI B. C. PATTANAYAK : Do not think that you are a wiser friend.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Then, Madam, "the demand for those tubular/structures by Orissa Mining Corporation was made to synchronize with the number of such structures offered by the Kalinga Industries on the ground that it would be necessary to stockpile them":

"Although the transaction involved an amount of Rs. 16 lakhs the normal procedure of getting quotations from different concerns or inviting tenders was not adhered to."

"In order to keep up a semblance of comparative rates Messrs. Stewarts and Lloyds were asked by telephonic trunk call to send their quotation immediately and a somewhat obscure comparative statement was prepared on the basis of their telegraphic quotation."

These are the clear findings. Then he goes on to say :

"The normal procedure of inviting tenders, limited or otherwise was not resorted to and no quotation from any other firm was invited. This course was personally approved by Shri Patnaik as Chief Minister. The whole official machinery moved in such a manner as reveals an attitude that the offer made by Kalinga Industries had to be accepted in its entirety."

"One-third of the 2,500 trusses ordered for Paradeep Port remained unutilized till April, 1964."

Then, I come to another contract in which Mr. Patnaik himself is also found guilty :

"Shri Patnaik concurred with the orders made by Shri Mardaraj and the former's note shows that he was fully cognizant of the matter."

"The facts reveal that an abnormal and an unusual procedure was adopted by Shri Mardaraj with concurrence of Shri Patnaik to favour Shri Kanungo with the award of contract."

(Interruptions)

These are the clear findings.

SHRI B. C. PATTANAYAK : Is that the difference between the findings of the Sub-Committee and the findings of the...

(Interruptions)

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : There is a lot of difference. *(Interruption)*

In another place in his findings Mr. Khanna says—

"The irony, however, is that Shri Patnaik allowed such a sway to the pecuniary and business interests of the companies, which had been started by him and with which..."

SHRI B. C. PATTANAYAK : Please read the full chapter.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : It is for you to read it. I will read whatever is relevant for me. You kindly read the entire thing... *(Interruptions)* Madam, what is this permanent interruption?

"The irony, however, is that Shri Patnaik allowed such a sway to the pecuniary and business interests of the companies, which had been started by him and with which his family members were associated, in dealings with the State Government, that within two or three years of his stewardship his public image became tarnished and the hopes, which were built around him, were shattered to pieces."

In another place he goes on to say :

"If Shri Patnaik felt no compunction in allowing the concerns, with which he and his family members were associated, to enter into major contracts with the State Government, Shri Mitra likewise had no such hesitation."

Now, Madam, I would just say another thing. In yet another place Mr. Khanna says quoting from the Khanna Commission's report :

"This is specially true in the set up of a nascent democracy like ours wherein the role of a minister has got to be that of a pioneer rather than of a pirate, of a public sentinel rather than of a self-seeker, of one dedicated to the public weal and not one obsessed with the desire of personal gain."

[Shri Lokanath Misra]

This is what he says about the entire thing. There is only one thing more where he says :

"The charges proved would bring the one against Shri Patnaik within the ambit of the words 'committed various acts of... improprieties and abuse of their power in matters of administration of the State', as given in clause (1) of the notification appointing this Commission of Inquiry and reproduced in Chapter II of Part I. It may be that those allegations would also fall under some parts of the other clauses of the notification which in a way overlap clause (1)."

Therefore, he has not dilated on that aspect. It is enough that he has found Mr. Patnaik and Mr. Biren Mitra guilty of all these charges of misappropriation, misfeasance, etc. (*Interruptions*) You intend to say that he is a pirate? You know what a pirate means.

(*Interruptions*)

I shall come to the next item for which I requested the Deputy Prime Minister to be present here. This is an Incometax clearance certificate which Mr. Patnaik goes on distributing including to the press. It is a photostat copy. In public meetings also he has shown this. This is a fraudulent thing. The Finance Minister himself is present here...

(*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I do not think he should be interrupted like this.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : It is for the Finance Minister to say.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is interesting that Mr. Patnaik has at least one person in the country to support him. I have not seen anybody now talking about him but my esteemed friend is a courageous person.

SHRI B. C. PATTANAYAK : You are telling a lie and I am telling the truth.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Mr. Gupta, he says you are telling a lie. 'Lie' is an unparliamentary expression.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not mind because the person who, even after all this, supports Mr. Patnaik must not be in his senses.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I do not think you need interrupt any more like this.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : He is also involved. Coming back to the business, here is an Income-tax clearance certificate from the Income-Tax Officer, Cuttack, Central Circle. I have shown this to the Deputy Prime Minister. It is an individual clearance. The first column says : 'Name and style of the company or individual in which the applicant is assessed or assessable to income-tax and address for the purpose of assessment'. It is given : 'B. Patnaik, individual, Ananda Bhawan, Tulsipur, Cuttack'. Then name and address of all companies, firm or association of persons in which the applicant is substantially interested in his individual or fiduciary capacity—Kalinga Tubes Limited, 33, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta. There is another sentence which the Income-tax Officer writes as follows :

"In my opinion the assessee mentioned above has been doing everything possible to pay the tax demands promptly and regularly and to facilitate the completion of the pending outstanding proceedings."

I have my own doubts which I expressed personally to the Deputy Prime Minister. I have always had my allegations against the Finance Minister in this country. He is one of the supporters of Mr. Patnaik and had I not known about it cent per cent, I would not have said it. (*Interruptions*) You can defend your Department. You have to. Duty warrants that you have to defend your Department. I have a copy of the book 'After Nehru who' where the author has mentioned that Mr. Patnaik is one of his supporters and I believe he is in his confidence. I may be wrong. I would be happy if the Finance Minister can now declare in the House that he had never given protection to Mr. Patnaik..

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI : I have given protection to nobody.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : As against this certificate, Mr. Banka Behary Das fortunately had put a question the reply to

which was given. It says that there are six companies in which the outstanding arrears some to Rs. 98 lakhs. I do not mix up the two. The Finance Minister will immediately take advantage of this because he is a technical person and knows how to give concessions and where to give concessions. What does the question ask? The question says: Will the Minister of Finance state the amount of arrears of tax due from the different concerns separating from those with which Mr. Patnaik or his associate is concerned. These are Mr. Patnaik's concerns. I am surprised to find that the name of only one of the companies is mentioned here against the column 'companies and all sources of income' and they have given a clearance. With this clearance he can now apply for a passport and go out. He has other arrears of Income-tax and I have grave doubts whether he is not going to fly away because he is neck deep in debts and he wants to make it convenient for him to go away from this country, with this clearance which is a fraudulent thing.

SHRI N. PATRA (Orissa): You were saying the same thing last year. He never went out.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: He could not go out because his passport was impounded. He would have gone but because of my persistent questioning his passport was impounded and therefore he could not go.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is not fair. He said Mr. Patnaik wanted to leave. Why after all should he leave the country when he can make so much money with that here?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: As long as the Minister of Finance continues he might stay. Nobody in the world is given an individual clearance like this in respect of one of his companies. If it is an individual clearance certificate, it is in respect of his income, might be national or international and in the case of Mr. Patnaik it is a definite special favour given. It is in connivance with the Deputy Prime Minister and his Department.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: Has the hon. Member realised that several certifi-

cates are given by officers which never come to the Ministry?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I do not mean personally you have done. You are responsible for every act of the Ministry. Without the approval of Mr. Morarji Desai, no Minister would do...

(Interruptions)

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: This is the blackest lie.

(Interruptions)

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: This is a serious matter. If anybody gets a clearance like this, he can apply now for a letter of intent. When he has lakhs of arrears he was given this clearance, I do not know how. He got a letter of intent for a Fertilizer Factory and when I brought it to the notice of the House that he got a letter of intent for Rs. 8 crores when he was in arrears of one crore of rupees, then it was stopped. What is this going on? What is this bungling going on here, I do not understand. Therefore I would plead that the hon. Finance Minister either prosecute Shri Biju Patnaik if there is fraud on his part, or outright dismiss the person who is called the Income-tax Officer there, who has given this clearance certificate to him.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I can only say that I will inquire about it and do the needful.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Have you given him a copy?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I shall now give him a copy. He must have got it already from Shri Biju Patnaik. I shall give it now officially, but non-officially he has got it already.

Now, Madam, the other point is that Mr. Biju Patnaik has eaten away a lot of income-tax, which was collected at source by his companies; he has not deposited it.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Criminal misappropriation.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: If it had been any other person, action would have

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been taken against him long ago, a prosecution launched against him. But as far as Shri Biju Patnaik is concerned, why is Mr. Morarji Desai so charmingly soft about him? Why is it so? You should explain your conduct and since...

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI : Not to you.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : To the House. The House is sovereign; if you say that, I demand it in the name of the House; the House is sovereign here. I demand that a prosecution should immediately be started against Shri Biju Patnaik for these criminal offences.

Now, Madam, somebody here raised the question of the report of the Mudholkar Commission. The Mudholkar Commission was one which our Government voluntarily set up against itself. And there is a case in the High Court for which it could not be released. All the same, I hope the hon. Members, the Congress Members at least, in this House, would take cognizance of the fact that a Minister, Shri Vidya Charan Shukla, has said here that the Commission was not appointed as a Commission of Inquiry and that he (Shri Mudholkar) held a confidential inquiry and submitted his report to the State Government in September, 1968. Now, if the Mudholkar Commission report would be released to the public, it will be done voluntarily by the State Government itself. Otherwise, if there is a demand for release of that inquiry report, then we shall demand that the inquiry against Mr. K. D. Malaviya conducted by Shri S. K. Das—that the report submitted by him—should be made public. It may be that the Government has decided to release it, but if there is a demand from the Congress side here and now, I would give them the other analogy of Shri K. D. Malaviya's case inquired into.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of order. My friend is saying that if we demand this particular report he will ask for the report against Mr. K. D. Malaviya. This is not fair.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : We must get both.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Madam, one point more. There is an attempt on the part of the ruling party here in the Centre to create disturbances in different States. Will Mr. Bhupesh Gupta kindly listen? It is about his State also. Now, Madam, there is an attempt on the part of the ruling party at the Centre, I mean the ruling Congress Party, to create disturbances in different States, where non-Congress Governments are functioning. One such case came to my notice when the Orissa P.C.C. chief started to hold a demonstration in front of the Assembly House. It is an elected Government in Orissa and it has just come into power, for two years now. If the Centre-State relationship could be better maintained, if the Centre-State relationship could be cordial, Madam, the Centre could administer public affairs properly, and the States could also administer their affairs properly. On the other hand, if disruptive elements in the Congress Party, if people who are in the Congress Party, if they go on creating all sorts of disturbances like the ones that we had in the shape of communal disturbances in different places in Orissa, then could the Prime Minister ever conceive that cordial relationship could grow between the Centre and the States? Therefore, Madam, I would request the Prime Minister and the members of the Congress High Command who are here in the administration to admonish their own people in the ruling party, in the Congress Party, wherever they are—they start creating trouble for the State Governments. You must know how to live yourself and allow others to live.

Thank you.

SHRIMATI SATYAVATI DANG (Himachal Pradesh) : Madam, Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address moved by Mr. R. T. Parthasarathy. I must congratulate the Government for the appreciable work done by them last year. It is very unkind of friends on the opposition benches to say that if there is an improvement in the production of foodgrains it is because of Nature, that it is Nature's gift. And if Nature is unfavourable, then they put the whole blame on the Government and on the ruling party. It is all wrong because, during 1968-69 also, we had a

very bad time; lots of places went through very bad periods of droughts and floods but it was due to the good administration of the Government that foodstuffs could go to the people in distress in those places, and not a single death occurred anywhere in India. I do not think we can still forget how many people died every day, particularly in that famine in Bengal, and in other places, when there were droughts or floods; we cannot forget those olden days, those British days. So it is all wrong to make such sweeping charges. Because one has to criticise, he brings in Nature's gift or the absence of it to deny the Government its due credit in the matter of agricultural production. Such a criticism does not help.

I am very happy to see this time that the needs of the farmer are being thought of, that the Government is also conscious of the important rôle of the farmer in this country, because up to now all development has been assisted on the basis of the population a State had or a territory had, and there has been more urban development than rural development; all attention has been paid to the population living in the big cities or big towns and near about, and for the people living in the villages very little improvement has been done, very few facilities have been provided. Now, as we can see from the reports, the greatest emphasis is placed on irrigation. I am glad that we have come to this concrete conclusion at long last because, up to now, although we people have always been pressing for more and more irrigation, there was nothing very substantial which the Government was doing. People seem to forget the people of the village and the importance of providing irrigation facilities to them. If the people of the village are not going to produce food for the people in the cities and towns, I do not know how the people in the cities and towns will live. I am glad that at least this time the Government has given first priority to irrigation, all over India. But I must say here, Madam, that though it is all right for the whole of India to have irrigation as the first priority, in the hills it is not the same because, in the hills, even if you give first priority to irrigation, we cannot use the irrigation machinery, whatever it is without adequate road construction. In the hills

first priority should be given to the construction of roads because, unless communication facilities are provided in the hills, it is not possible to develop the area, to put through any scheme of industrialisation there, or any other thing. Take the State of Himachal Pradesh; as you know, it is all hill area and it is all rocky land. There is very little land in between the rocks which can be irrigated. Don't think that I am against the irrigation part of the State's development. Certainly all the land needing irrigation should be irrigated; there should be irrigation facilities provided. But the difficulty is that the Planning Commission is applying one yard-stick all over the country for irrigation purposes, and they say that if you spend so much money on irrigation, you must supply water to so much area. It is very essential for the Government to realise that in the hills the extent of lands is very small and for irrigating them water has to come from a very long distance, and the water has to be lifted from the river, if any, or the *nullah* around the land area and that will cost money. Roads in the hills cost up to Rs. 3 lakhs per mile because we have to cut through the rocks and it does cost more. But in the plains you only have to collect the earth, make the road and tar it and naturally it costs very little. So if you apply that yardstick to us it will be difficult for us and we will not be able to do anything. The same is the case with irrigation and the Government must reconsider it. They will have to provide us more money though you could say that we will not be able to produce that much of food for the money which they provide when compared to the plains. But you will agree that we will become self-sufficient at least. At least I can say about Himachal Pradesh that we work very hard as we did in the matter of providing good roads. And we are all grateful to the Government for having given all that money for our roads. Up to now nearly 30 per cent of our Budget has been spent only on roads and that is why today Himachal Pradesh is one of the most forward areas in the hills. Of course we cannot compare ourselves with the plains and it is not fair to do so. We have done a lot of work on the roads and that has helped the progress of the farmers.

[Shrimati Satyavati Dang]

I would also mention here that it is not correct to place emphasis only on growing wheat and other crops in the hills because you know in the hills the terrain is very uneven and it is not economical to produce wheat and other such crops. This natural feature of the hill area has to be taken into account and only whatever can be grown there should the people be asked to grow. And it will be beneficial for the country also. I am not saying only about Himachal Pradesh. I think everywhere in the hills the first priority should be given to constructing roads because once the roads are there so many other things can be done. We have been asked to set up industries and other things but industries also cannot be set up unless the roads are there. Even for bringing the timber down to the plains you have to have roads. I am saying this again and again because in the Planning Commission we have been repeatedly asking the Government that first priority should be to roads but they do not seem to agree with that. That is why I am bringing this matter to the notice of the House, that is, that in the hill areas roads should be given first preference. For example in Himachal Pradesh in the border area of Kinnaur previously we did not have any roads, and you will be surprised to know that wheat which costs about Rs. 35 to Rs. 40 in Simla was being sold at Rs. 120 to Rs. 140 there because the wheat had to be taken there on the backs of sheep or on mule back. Now because of our policy we have got a road which connects this area and the prices have come down to nearly half. But still we need quite a number of roads; there are still areas where things cannot be taken. You can imagine how difficult it will be for the people in those border areas to pay Rs. 120 to Rs. 140 for wheat. I am glad that the Planning Commission in the Fourth Five Year Plan is determined to "progressively bridge the gap between the needs of the people and the resources in sight." That one statement will cover this demand of ours, that roads should be given first preference. So far as irrigation is concerned, for us in the hills irrigation means lift irrigation, not the irrigation as is generally understood by people, that is, taking water

through the channels. That our elder generation has already done. The only thing left for us is to lift the water from the khuds or from the rivers so that we can have water for purpose of irrigation.

Another thing I want to speak about is, so far all development work has been done only on the population basis. Maybe it is all right for others; I do not say that it is not all right, but in the hills, Madam, as you might have seen, people are scattered about. We have got fewer people compared to the area. One-third of the hill area has to be under forests; you cannot cut them down. If you assess our requirements on the basis of population we cannot go far. That is why I say it should be on the basis of requirements and not on the basis of population. In the hills the population is very much thinner than in the plains. In the plains you may have a village of 5,000 or 6,000 people but in the hills we may have villages of five to ten houses. If it is a very big village we may have 500 people in that village. So you can understand that if it is only on a population basis nothing can be done for the hills. So my point is, for the hills the yardstick should be changed and it should not be same as it is for the plains.

We are grateful to the Government for the generous way in which they have been giving money to us and there is not a single time when we do not praise the Government for that, but I do not know what has happened recently since the merger of the Punjab hill area with the old Himachal Pradesh. Now the population has more than doubled, as also the area has more than doubled, but our grants have been cut into almost half. For our development we were getting Rs. 87 crores; that was the tentative programme. With the addition of this new area we hoped that the Government of India would at least double it if not more because the area that has now been merged with Himachal Pradesh is much more backward in the sense that there is nothing there—no roads, no development of any sort and we have to do everything. Instead of doubling the amount or at least making it Rs. 150 crores they have only increased the re-

sources to Rs. 91 crores and another Rs. 3 crores, they have given for electricity generation. That means they have given only five or six crores of rupees for the new area that has come in. No doubt we are still grateful for whatever the Government is giving but our aspiration was that our brethren who have merged with us should also have the same facilities as we are having. If it is to be done, whatever programme was there in the old Himachal Pradesh will have to be curtailed by about 40 per cent. Now these are border areas. We have got a very long border with Tibet and also with Pakistan and I do not see in what way we are different from the other border areas. While other people shout about we are all law-abiding people. The Government is anxious that there should be no disturbance of any sort in such border areas and I am happy to say here that ours is the one Pradesh on the border where no disturbance of any sort is happening and the people are loyal to the Government, and I think the Government should take this also into account.

I am really happy that the Assam Hill States have been made an autonomous State within the State. I am glad that the Government has realised that the aspirations of those people should be fulfilled but I absolutely cannot understand why the Government could not think similarly about us in Himachal Pradesh, because as far as development is concerned, as far as education is concerned, as far as other things are concerned we have proved to the Government that we are prepared to go through all the difficulties, but everytime we are told that we should be viable if we are to be given Statehood. I do not understand this view point at all. I would ask the Government whether there was any Pradesh which was viable when it was made into a full State. Why should Himachal Pradesh alone be asked to prove that it is financially viable before it is given Statehood? What happened to Kashmir? What happened to Assam? You have made the Asam Hill States autonomous within a State. Are they viable? Is it only the Himachal Pradesh people who have to prove to the Government that they are viable even though I still say we are

viable? To prove that we are a viable State, we have given you a long list last time. It is very sad as far as Himachal Pradesh is concerned that there is no place where anything has been mentioned as to when Himachal Pradesh is going to get its Statehood. At last, Nagaland got it. I hope the Government will look into our case and that we will not be kept in the dark for a long time.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam, the President's Address has really been a very big disappointment so far as I am concerned. I am using a very mild word.

AN HON. MEMBER: You can use a very strong word.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN: Strong words will not break your bones. You are the last people to be affected even by things stronger than words. So, I will not waste time on that. Now, I cannot think of a greater attempt at complacency, when such a serious crisis is facing the country. When the Government has outlined its policy in the President's Address, I cannot think of greater complacency than what it has displayed in it. I cannot think of a greater deception of the people than what is sought to be made out in this document, by suppressing what is really happening in the country, by trying to paint a very rosy picture, even by hiding many things which have actually happened and which this House or the other House has had to tackle. Government has had to tackle and political parties have had to face. These are issues common to all of us. There is no question of trying to run away from realities. That is why I will take the last paragraph of the President's Address first. The President makes an appeal to everybody in the name of Gandhiji that we must all pull together and make our country great. He says:

"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....."

[Shri M. R. Venkataraman]

I can only say these are words and nothing but words and platitudes. I say that this effort to pose, as though all of us can in a goody, goody way get together somehow and build India's greatness and future is just trying to deceive the people. The Congress Government, the Congress party, running the Government from the Centre, has got certain policies. It has been following certain policies. These policies, according to my party, according to me, according to many others—may be for different reasons—have brought not progress, but disaster to the country. Now, are those policies correct? Are there alternative policies which the country has to consider? If so, should we not think of such alternative policies and save ourselves, at least even at this late stage? That is how I would approach the problem. I would say there is no question of saying that we can all get together. We cannot get together. We cannot obviously get together. It is not a personal affair. I bear no ill-will to anybody. Let him belong to any party. Just as I am loyal to my party, sincere to my party, sincere to my convictions. I respect the political convictions of everybody else in this House and his loyalty to the party of his choice. But then it is not a personal matter between us. It is not merely an expression of a pious wish about the future welfare. It is a straight question of the Congress's policies proving themselves to be more and more bankrupt and alternative policies being fought for by the people of this country and brought into operation. Without a change in the policies being pursued by the Congress Party, there is no future for our great country. This is the central thing I would like to make by way of criticism on the Address.

I shall now go from the last paragraph to the first paragraph of the President's Address. Here what is sought to be done in the Address, it seems, is a realistic appraisal of the year under review. My whole case is it is essentially a realistic appraisal that is evaded. A false picture is presented. Complacency is displayed. This House is prevented from really facing

up to the problems, which confront us. I do not want to just criticise in the abstract. I will take a few things concretely and show why I have made such a statement. I wish to talk with a sense of responsibility in this House. Take, for instance, agriculture. Yes, by and large, we are essentially a big agricultural country. We are an Asiatic country where the rural sector plays such a big role. Now, the President's Address tells us that economic recovery has begun and on the agricultural front there is a decisive upward turn in agriculture. Is it true? Is it decisive? It is also coupled with a statement about two good harvests. Suppose the harvest fails. We have been accustomed to Congress Ministers, either at the State level or at the Central level, telling the people, when there is a good bumper harvest that they have solved the problem of food, that things are all right. Then, in the event of a drought coming again they resort to, what we say in our State, "Varuna Japam". That is a prayer to the God of rain. Some such thing must be resorted to. There is no other way out. Now, my whole point is this. The President's Address claims that a decisive upturn in agriculture has taken place in the country, in the year under review. Do you know what it bases itself on? It is based on fertilisers, tractors, more credit, massive investment in the agricultural sector and our farmers having become scientific. I do not want to be sarcastic, but really who are the people who buy tractors? Who are the people who get fertilisers, by and large? Who are the people who get credit? Who are the people who make massive investment? Even so, do we not know in this House that a substantial part of the massive investment, which is given from State funds, is granted to influential gentlemen? So, it is all a question of good harvest and modern scientific methods of agriculture having increased production. I am not against increased production using scientific methods. But I say, in a country where the overwhelming mass of the population consists of ordinary peasants, the working peasantry, to feel complacent that we have solved the agricultural problem by credit extended to the upper strata, by scientific interest being displayed by a

certain top strata of the peasantry, is not right. This is nothing but fooling ourselves. We will wake up only when it is too late. For instance, according to me, with all these things like tractors, good rain, good harvest, scientific fertilizers, and so on, without land reforms there is not going to be any permanent advance on the rural sector so far as India is concerned. This Address is significantly silent on the land reform measures. It does not want to say that the land reform measures of the Congress Government have failed. It does not want to say even what some members of the Congress Party among themselves at Congress Party meetings or in their Committee meetings do say today that their land reform measures have become ineffective.

In my State of Tamil Nadu the agricultural labour is about 40 per cent of the peasantry in Tanjore district; it is not less than 30 per cent in many other districts. What is his position? Where does he come in the President's view? In the eyes of the Congress Government where does the agricultural labourer come? What has happened to him? What has happened to the landless peasant in India? Is it an accident that quite recently in Tamil Nadu a horrible thing took place? Forty-four people were burnt to death, burnt alive, inside a hut. All of them were Harijans. All of them were agricultural labourers. The agricultural labourers of that place, the Tanjore district, have been agitating for higher wages against the landlords, and the landlords have been denying them a fair wage. The Government called a tripartite conference of Government representatives, landlords' representatives and agricultural workers' representatives. The agreements which were come to were not implemented by the landlords. There was trouble again. That has continued. Eventually it was a question of just unleashing terror against the workers, and most of them were Harijan women and children. "How dare you raise your voice, you agricultural worker? For thousands of years you have listened to me as a boss; you have so much cheek and impudence as to form your association, your Kisan Sabha, and ask for increase

in wages?" This was their attitude. Without agricultural labourers where is agricultural production and increase in production, I would honestly ask this House.

Therefore, it is so unreal, the President's Address is unreal to the extent to which it does not take note of the man who actually produces, that is your entire conception. My esteemed lady friend here who spoke before me was talking of farmers. Whom do you mean by farmers? For me in the countryside there is an agricultural labourer, there is a landless poor peasant, there is a small peasant, there is a middle peasant, there is a rich peasant, there is a landlord, the real parasitic class. For you the word farmer, the word peasant does not extend from the middle peasant downwards. No. So long as the Congress Party and the Congress Government have that outlook, they will go on losing the peasantry. Even the recent elections have not begun teaching you a lesson. You will learn it the hard way. That is why I say the President's Address is thoroughly unreal. Was it not in this House that only last year we were discussing the burning of a Harijan, the beating up of a Harijan in Andhra? We felt so badly, all of us, when we were discussing it. Then came the Tanjore incident. I am not citing these things to score debating points against you. No. Should we not feel ashamed and horror-struck by these things, by such untoward, unfortunate things which should never happen in a civilised country? Does the President's Address mention a thing like that? No. For the President and the Government which he represents, for the Party which has placed the policy line for him to deliver the Address the agricultural labourer does not exist as a human being. Otherwise he would have come in; the Harijan would have come in. With murder in the heart and honey on the lips you cannot really do justice. You can have Gandhi Centenary and talk of Gandhi Centenary Year and you can also occasionally, in public meetings, here and there talk of how Gandhiji was concerned about the Harijans, but the President will not mention it in the Address. What has happened to them only as recently as last year?

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I say you are more and more not bothered about them. At the same time the credit you have given, the fertilizers you have arranged, the tractors you are making, they are available to the rich peasantry, they are available to the rich landlords, they are certainly getting the benefit out of it and you are quite satisfied. But how can that mean the improvement of the peasantry as a whole? How can that mean something like a permanent solution for our agrarian problem? Are not land reforms very important even for getting capital for our own industry? Are not land reforms and cash in the hands of the underdog, of the peasantry, very necessary for marketing our industrial goods in a wide way? Is it necessary for the capitalists of our country, just as the capitalists of other countries had to do, to run to other countries and capture world markets? Which capitalists in the world had the advantage and the good fortune of having a country with 50 crores of people, the bulk of whom are peasants?

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar) : It is 53 crores.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN : All right, 53 crores. But the peasant is not able to buy anything. Such complacency is very bad, it is bad for our country. It is bad for our people. Nothing good can be expected from this Government with such an outlook so far as our people are concerned. That is why I say it is so unrealistic while talking of trying to be realistic.

Again take the question of industry. In industry you talk of recovery in a large segment. What is this? Let me not talk in the abstract. I want to talk in concrete terms. I am a man rather obliged to face problems in life. I come from Tamil Nadu where 30 textile mills are closed more or less permanently for the last three years, and the textile industry is the pride of Tamil Nadu, it is one of our biggest industries. More than 20,000 people are without employment. It is not as though the industry was not helped. It was helped. During the last twenty years of the Congress regime many people got licences to put up new mills and also increase the spindleage.

Yet today many mills are closed. In Tamil Nadu there is a proverb in Tamil "padhi kinaru thanduthal"; that is, 50 per cent may entitle you to pass an examination, but jumping 50 per cent of the well is not jumping the well; you will go down. Even if you jump 75 per cent also, you will go down; 50 or 75 per cent marks being scored is something which has a value in an examination paper, but not in jumping a well. Right and left the Congress regime for the last twenty years has been issuing licences to all and sundry, whom they wanted to favour, without an integrated outlook, without a perspective, without thinking what is going to happen in the future. Many of them went in for foreign capital. Now they are twisting your arm. Arm-twisting is going on. You are unable to stand up to them. You cannot look in terms of a huge market of 53 crores of people, you cannot think in terms of making the common, agricultural worker a man of self-respect with a little cash in his pocket, as one who can understand that freedom has come to him and to his family. No. But you are satisfied with a small segment of people at the top who are benefited, and that is all.

Where does your complacency come from? I can tell you about industry after industry. But illustratively I will take only the industry which I took earlier—the textile industry. I am not quoting from any Communist paper but from an organ of big business, the Capital, from its issue of last month. It says that there are 80 textile mills now in the whole of India which are closed; 1.82 million spindles are idle and that 20,000 looms are idle. Eightythree thousand workers, textile workers, skilled workers, the pride of our labour, our working class, are on the streets. They left their villages long ago. Most of them came to the cities to earn a living. They earned a living, became skilled, modern workers.

Now, it is all right for you to say, it is difficult. If it is difficult, I say, get out. Do not claim to run the Government if you cannot run it. It is no concern of you? Govern or get out. I say, when for 83,000 workers you are unable to find a way out, there is no use your saying that the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act

is there. All right. But how long can it be? I say to everyone of us, Member of Parliament or Minister here. If you go on starving, without work, for two or three years, will you keep quiet? Will you not take stones and throw at somebody? Such impatience will be there. But you do not feel that something bad is happening to the country. There are some people here who want to pick the big bad wolf in the Treasury Benches or who are trying to find out the good people and the bad people there. I am not interested in that pastime. For me, it is the Congress Party and its policies, that matter. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is interested in placing before the people alternative policies on every issue to the policies of the Congress Party. To many people who do not understand us—even well-intentioned people—and those who are not deliberately and badly opposed to us, what we are saying is. Eminently practical things we have suggested. We are not asking for the moon. Is Communism our objective? Yes. Is Socialism our objective? Yes. But our immediate objective is a Peoples Democracy for working for Communism or Socialism. We want the democracy of today about which so much is talked about...

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY (Tamil Nadu) : Do you believe in democracy?

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN : You listen to me. You do not try to cut in before I finish even half a sentence. Your talk of democracy, according to me, is the talk of capitalistic democracy. It is a democracy for the rich. Undoubtedly, we have given voting rights to everybody who has come of age—adult franchise. But we know how the elections are rigged, how the elections are conducted, we know how and what role religion plays, the caste plays in the election. And without economic independence on the part of the under-dog, the ordinary worker in the factory or the peasant, this adult franchise will have no meaning in a democracy.

I want as the first step—the people's democracy. Here is the capitalist of India. So long as he is against foreign capital, so long as he wants to build up our country,

so long as he behaves properly towards labour and treats them as human beings, he does have a place. But no longer can the capitalist class of India be depended upon to rule the country. Very good, eminent and well-intentioned people among them, I know; but they are... (*Time bell rings*) You must kindly give me ten more minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Your time was 25 minutes. Please finish.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN : Therefore, I say that the working class is coming forward despite all the rising prices, in spite of all the difficulties to lead. It is from these people, this class, that suggestions for a democratic way of life has to come. Our great people are capable of doing it. That is why I say—saying that the industry is looking up is not correct, is not completely proper. In my own State of Tamil Nadu, the whole of last year saw dozens and dozens of strikes, 100 days, 90 days and so on in the Wimco Match Factory, in the Structurals Factory, in the paper mills and then in the sugar industry, textiles etc. there was strike continuously. And you talk in the President's Address that the industry is looking up. What is all this?

Similarly, with reference to...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You must wind up. You have taken 25 minutes of your party's time, you have taken that.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN : I do not talk unnecessarily.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I know that. But everyone has to get a chance.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN : I will finish as quickly as possible. You must be a little indulgent towards me today. I never ask for time. I will finish my speech quickly.

Madam, I have got some more facts. These are also not from a Communist paper. I have taken them from the Economic Times of the 27 January. They say that in 1966 the total assets of 101 of our top industrial giants alone come to Rs. 2,355 crores. In 1968, they have become Rs. 2,517 crores. Now, they analyse

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it further and say that even in a period of recession, the so-called 7 per cent of profit they got, these big giants. Of course, the publicly accepted profit was 7 per cent. All these giants have 40 per cent of the entire private capital in the country. Now 6,500 others have the rest of the 60 per cent, and out of these nine alone have got one-third of the total. The point that I want to make out is only that monopoly capital is being built up, giants are being built up and their prosperity is recorded, and the President's Address says that the industry is picking up. I can understand if by and large a number of medium capital ventures come up. But medium capital has gone to the wall in these days. In fact, one of the suggestions made by the President of the South Indian Mill-owners' Association, who is himself a big mill-owner and an esteemed Member of our Rajya Sabha, is: "Scrap these smaller mills. There is no point in getting Government assistance to protect the sick mills. How long are we to protect the sick mills?" So, the President's Address...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must please wind up. You will still have some other occasion to speak. We are really pressed for time.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN: So this flourishing of a few monopolists does not mean that industry is looking up. That is the point I wanted to make.

Lastly, the Fourth Plan is in crisis. Even there, the paragraph in the President's Address about the Fourth Plan silently and indirectly hints at more taxes. It says that more resources have to be mobilised out of the well-being of the people. Now everywhere we are talking in different languages. You think the people are rolling in wealth and are in good condition. I do not agree. That is why the President's Address is unreal to me even here when he talks of resources being mobilised from the well-being of our rural people.

Finally, there are many things about regional and other issues. My only point

is: Please honestly search your conscience with reference to the Shiv Sena, with reference to the language issue. Has the Congress Party done anything which has led to many of these things? I am not just finding fault with anything and everything—good, bad or indifferent. No. But as the Tamil saying goes, do not have a dust basket on your head and begin to investigate about the purity of the flower basket on the other man's head. That is what we are trying to do. . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do. Please stop at the baskets.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN: I am sorry, I am sorry—I do not know what to do.

Lastly, I missed reference to the very big thing that happened last year—the student unrest everywhere. Why? Why did our own children, our own grandchildren, behave in that way? Is it that they have become so very wicked? Do we recall our own young days? Do we recall that this student movement played a glorious role in the freedom movement, 35 or 40 years ago? Should we not regard the present student unrest as something which is related to their desire for a new society in India? It may be that we do not give them the proper lead; it may be that they get side-tracked into wrong channels or bad channels. Do we look at the unrest in that way or do we merely say that the students now are indisciplined, when in our days we were all disciplined? I say that it is due to the economic difficulties among the ordinary families in providing higher education for their children. There is no place in the colleges and you have to bribe people to get admission in technical colleges. And there is close-down of colleges. Even after they get higher education in the colleges, no jobs are available for them. Education also is in crisis in the present system. So we must change. The Congress must seriously consider this. No longer is it the only party in India or the top party in India. That brings me to another subject. . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must stop now.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN : I am finishing. Only one minute more. This brings me to the last point, that the Congress Party must learn from the General Elections the lesson which was confirmed by the experience of the mid-term elections that it should change its policies, instead of talking in the high and mighty way of being the only party in the country. I was also a Congressman to start with and was proud to be one. But then, the Congress of today is not even the Congress immediately after independence. We have got to deal with so many parties. There were non-Congress Governments in so many States. Now they piously say "We must all work for stability." Don't talk with your tongue in your cheek. Did you not ever talk of toppling non-Congress Governments? Did not Mr. Nijalingappa, the Congress President, openly say that the non-Congress Governments have got to be toppled and they will topple it?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That will do.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN : The danger to democracy again comes from the Congress Party refusing to observe the canons of democracy...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That will do. I cannot give you any more time.

SHRI M. R. VENKATARAMAN : Madam, I have really three or four points more. But I have to respect you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have other debates to air your views. Dr. Mahavir. Your party has 20 minutes left. So you have 20 minutes.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi) : I hope, Madam, you will not be more stingy than you have been with Mr. Venkataraman.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : But you said you wanted only that much time that was left for your party.

डा० भाई महावीर : महोदया, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में इस बात का

दावा किया गया है कि देश की वास्तविक स्थिति पर वे प्रकाश डाल रहे हैं परन्तु उस अभिभाषण को सुनने के पश्चात् ऐसा लगता है कि उन्होंने देश की वास्तविक स्थिति का चित्र सामने रखने के बजाय कुछ गोलमोल आशाओं, कुछ आत्मतुष्टि की भावनाओं और कुछ ऐसे आश्वासनों को बल दिया है जिनको थोड़ा सा भी जांचने के बाद स्वीकार करना कुछ बड़ा कठिन मालूम होता है।

उन्होंने देश के अन्दर राष्ट्रीय आमदनी जो बढ़ी है उसके बारे में सन्तोष किया परन्तु जब उन्होंने यह कहा कि यह आमदनी खेती की अच्छी पैदावार होने के कारण बढ़ी है तो उनको यह स्वीकार करना चाहिए था कि यह अच्छी पैदावार बहुत कुछ वर्षा अच्छी होने के कारण हुई है। जब हम देश की किसी भी प्रगति के बारे में यज्ञ लेने की कोशिश करते हैं और भूल जाते हैं कि उसमें प्रकृति या निसर्ग का कितना हाथ है तो हम एक बहुत बड़ी आत्म-प्रवर्चना का शिकार बनते हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि राष्ट्रपति के इस अभिभाषण में यदि यह दिखाया गया है कि हम अपने देश की खेती की पैदावार से संतुष्ट हैं तो उसमें यह भी दिखाया जाना चाहिए था कि हमारे अपने ही देश में आज भी राजस्थान के एक बड़े इलाके में एक ऐसा भयंकर अकाल पड़ा है जिसकी तुलना इतिहास में बहुत कम मिलेगी। हमें आज दिखाई देता है, राष्ट्रपति ने कहा, दो-तीन साल के अन्दर अनाज की सहायता न लेने का लक्ष्य पूरा हो जायगा। अन्न की सहायता न लेने का अर्थ उन्होंने क्या लिया है, मैं नहीं जानता लेकिन यदि पी० एल० 480 के आधीन आने वाली अनाज की सहायता खत्म करने का विचार है तो हो सकता है कि उनकी यह भावना ठीक हो लेकिन यदि अनाज के आयात को वे बन्द करने की बात कर रहे हैं तो मुझे याद आता है कि पहली योजना की समाप्ति के बाद नेहरूजी ने कहा

[डा० भाई महावीर]

था कि हम तीन माल के बाद अनाज का एक दाना भी आयात नहीं करेंगे लेकिन जिस वर्ष एक दाना भी आयात नहीं करने वाले थे उस वर्ष के हमारे आयात तब तक के वर्षों में अधिकतम थे क्योंकि प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में जो खाद्यान्न पैदा हुआ वह अपने प्रयामों के कारण कम था और अच्छे मौसम और अच्छी मानसून के कारण अधिक था। यदि वास्तविकता की ओर ध्यान दिया गया होता तो वह स्थिति न आती जो राजस्थान में घटित हुई। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति के इस अभिभाषण के लिए हम लोग क्या भावना व्यक्त करें, जिसमें कह दिया गया है कि हमने खेती के अन्दर बड़ी निश्चयपूर्वक प्रगति की है जबकि हमें दिखाई देना है कि इसी राजस्थान के 4-5 जिलों में इस अकाल के कारण 4 लाख पशु मर चुके हैं और आज भी 7-8 लाख मानव इस अवस्था में हैं कि वे मृत्यु और जीवन के बीच झूल रहे हैं। इसको देखकर लगता है कि हम इतने बड़े भयंकर तथ्य की ओर आंख मूंद सकते हैं तो हम अपने देश की बहुत बड़ी समस्या को केवल अपने मिर को रेत के अन्दर दबाकर भुला देना चाहते हैं। आज वास्तविकता यह है कि पिछले दिनों, सर्दी के दिनों में राजस्थान के उन अकालपीड़ित लोगों की बात को मोचा जाय, जिस समय कड़ाके की सर्दी पड़ती थी, उस समय भगवान के दिए हुए धरती के इस बिछौने के ऊपर और भगवान के बनाए हुए आकाश के वितान के नीचे जो लोग सर्दी की रातों काटते रहे हैं उनसे जाकर पूछना चाहिए कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण से उनको क्या मिला है। आज कुछ सान्त्वना के शब्द भी हम उनको नहीं दे पाए तो इससे बहुत बड़ी हानि नहीं है, हानि इस बात में है कि आज हम उस प्रश्न की ओर ध्यान भी देने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। पिछले दिन तो बीन गए, गर्मियां आ रही हैं, इन गर्मियों में जब मूरज ऊपर से आग

बरमाणा और नीचे से रेत के अन्दर से लपटें निकलेंगी उस समय जिन लोगों के लिए हम पानी की व्यवस्था भी नहीं कर पा रहे हैं वे लोग अपने जीवन को कैसे कायम रखेंगे, यह बड़ा प्रश्न है, जिसका उत्तर मुझे राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में नहीं मिला। आज उन अकालपीड़ित लोगों को हम ने क्या दिया है? दिया जी की मरकार बड़े कृपापूर्वक दी जाती है, जो डेढ़ रुपए, मवा रुपए, एक रुपए के हिमात्र में दी जाती है लेकिन उसको देने के बाद वे महमूम बर लेते हैं कि हम बहुत बड़ा काम कर रहे हैं तो उसमें भी अपनी आंखों पर पट्टी बांध रहे हैं, ऐसा दिखाई देना है। वहां जा कर कोई भी देखे, जिस प्रकार से एक वर्ग के आधार पर, एक काम के आधार पर बेम करके, यह रोज़ी दी जाती है मजदूरी दी जाती है और जिस तरह से वहां काम होता है वहां पर आज काम क्या है? मिट्टी को डोना, मिट्टी को निकालना और इस तरह से मड़कें बनाना। फेमिन कोड के अनुसार कहते हैं, कुछ काम उनसे करवाया नहीं जा सकता, लेकिन जो काम करवाया जा रहा है उसका परिणाम यह है कि पन्द्रह दिन के अन्दर जो काम होता है उसको माप कर जितना काम हुआ है उसको जोड़ा जाता है और पन्द्रह दिन बाद उसको रोज़ी दी जाती है और यह जो रोज़ी दी जाती है उन पन्द्रह या बीस दिनों तक, वह किस तरह से निर्वाह करते होंगे यह एक प्रश्न है। दूसरा प्रश्न यह है कि उन मजदूरों में से बहुत सारे नाम ऐसे हैं जो फरजी हैं और ओवर-मियरों की जेब में, उन फरजी नामों को दर्ज करके, उनकी तनख्वाहें भर दी जाती हैं। लेकिन जहां कम लोग होंगे वहां काम कम होगा, जब जब कम काम होता है तो उसको माप कर जो वेतन दिया जाता है उस वेतन में उतना ही कम रह जाता है उन लोगों का किस तरह से यदि डेढ़ रुपये में से आठ आने या छः आने कम हो गये, तो एक रुपया रोज

के हिमाचल से किम तरह से उनका पेट भरना संभव होगा यह प्रश्न हम लोगों के सामने उठता है और इस प्रश्न को यदि हम कानों में रूई ठूस कर सुनने से इन्कार कर दें तो इसमें वह प्रश्न हल नहीं हो सकेगा।

आज वहां पर पानी की जैसी स्थिति है, सरकार की नीति के मताधिक पाच मील से कम दूरी के स्थान पर ट्यूबवैल लेजाने की व्यवस्था सरकार नहीं करती। पाच मील के दायरे के अन्दर लोगों को अपने आप ट्यूबवैल से पानी लाना पड़ता है और जो टैंकियां हैं उन टैंकियों तक कितनी ही दूर में महिलाएं एक-एक घड़ा उठा कर पैदल चलकर आती हैं और एक घड़ा पानी को ले जाकर अपने बालबच्चों को या दूसरे परिवार के सदस्यों को जब पानी देती हैं, उसमें मुझे लगता है जितना पानी वह आने जाने में देती हैं, देती होंगी, वह पानी से उम घड़े का पानी कम होता होगा। लेकिन यह सारा कुछ दृश्य हमारी आंखों के सामने नहीं आता है जब हम राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण को सुनकर अपने आप को संतुष्ट मान लेते हैं और उनके लिये धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव लाते हैं।

आज प्रश्न यह है कि जो कुछ राजस्थान के अन्दर आज समस्या है वह केवल इस कारण नहीं कि वर्षा नहीं हुई है। वर्षा से, और कई बात, वहां पर ऐसी घटनाएं हुई हैं कि जब वर्षा नहीं होती रही, लेकिन हमें बताया गया कि राजस्थान नहर बनायी जा रही है, यह राजस्थान की समस्या को हल करेगी, सीमा के क्षेत्रों को पानी ही नहीं देगी वहां पर हरियाली ले आयेगी और लोगों की समस्याओं का अंत हो जायेगा लेकिन राजस्थान की नहर को क्या हुआ, राजस्थान की नहर वहीं तक पहुंची, गंगानगर तक जहां पहले ही नहर का पानी पहुंच चुका है और समस्या वैसी की वैसी बनी रही। मगर इस

सारी समस्या पर राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में कुछ भी जिक्र नहीं है।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने कुछ और आंकड़े दिये हैं। उन आंकड़ों के बारे में मुझे ज्यादा कुछ कहना नहीं है क्योंकि बताया है कि आंकड़े कुछ भी साबित करने के लिये काम में लाये जा सकते हैं। अंग्रेजी में कहते हैं तीन प्रकार के झूठ होते हैं : There is a lie, there is a white lie and there is a statistical lie. तो ऐसी किसी भी गलत बात को मिट्ट करने के लिये आंकड़े पेश किये जा सकते हैं। इस वास्ते में उन आंकड़ों के बारे में ज्यादा कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता, मुझे केवल यह कहना है कि जहां हम थोक मूल्यों की बात करते हैं कि थोक कीमतें कम हुई हैं, वहां पर हमें दिखायी देता है कि जो काम्स्ट आफ लिविंग इन्डेक्स है वह, मैन्युअल वर्कर्स का भी और वर्किंग क्लास का भी, दोनों कम नहीं हुए हैं, वह बढ़े हैं।

इसके अतिरिक्त हम लोग अगर किसी भी देश की प्रगति के समाधान का कोई स्वर निकालना चाहते हैं तो दुनिया के दूसरे देशों के साथ तुलना करके। लेकिन अगर हम देखें तो मुझे लगता है कि यदि हम प्रति व्यक्ति नेशनल प्रोडक्ट जो एक व्यक्ति के कारण मैन्युफैक्चरिंग इन्डस्ट्री में उत्पन्न होता है उसको जोड़ें, तो संसार के बीस देशों की सूची में मैंने देखा है कि उनमें से सबसे कम उत्पादन, प्रति व्यक्ति, हमारे यहां होता है। किसी बड़े देश को छोड़िये, जैसे अमरीका है उसका हम एक बड़ा पच्चीस है, लेकिन टर्की का भी एक बड़ा सात है, मलेशिया का एक बड़ा चार है, ईरान और पाकिस्तान के भी आधे के करीब है। इसको छोड़िए, वास्तविक आय में हमारी कितनी प्रगति हुई है पिछली तीन योजनाओं के पश्चात् और यदि आज हमारी साधारण व्यक्ति की वास्तविक

[डा० भाई महावीर]

आय ली जाये, यानी उसकी जो मौद्रिक आय है, जो मनी वैजेज है, उसको घटा कर जो मनी की परचेजिंग पावर है, यानी कास्ट आफ़ निर्विग इन्डेक्स है, उसको साथ जोड़कर देखा जाय तो तीन योजनाओं के पश्चात्, 1949 के मुकाबले में 1967 में, 111 वास्तविक आय साधारण व्यक्ति की यहां पर है, जो मिल का कर्मचारी है उसकी हुई, यानी उस वक्त जो 100 रु० उसे मिलता था अब सत्रह साल बाद 111 मिल रहे हैं और यह भी तीन योजनाओं के अन्दर भारी भरकम इनवैस्टमेन्ट करने के बाद जो परिणाम निकला है इस पर समाधान कर लें तो हमें कोई रोक नहीं सकता।

हमने कहा, उद्योगीकरण हुआ है देश में। इसके विषय में एक संकेत आता है कुल निर्यात में, जो हम एक्सपोर्ट करते हैं, उसमें मैनु-फैक्चर्ड गुड्स का प्रपोर्शन किया है, उसमें निर्मित वस्तुओं का अंश कितना है? तो 1950-51 में वह 45.10 था और 1968-69 में वह 44 प्रतिशत है यानी हमारे कुल निर्यात के अन्दर जो निर्मित वस्तुएं हैं, उनके प्रतिशत बढ़े नहीं हैं, कम हुए हैं।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने योजनाओं का उल्लेख किया है। योजनाओं के बारे में जो कुछ उन्होंने कहा है, यदि सचमुच में उनके शब्दों को लिया जाये, तो मैं समझता हूं, कि कोई गलत बात उन्होंने नहीं कही। शब्द उनके यह हैं :

“अगर हमारी योजनायें हमारे राष्ट्र की इच्छा और उसके दृढ़ निश्चय की तरजुमानी नहीं करती और लोगों की आवश्यकताओं और सुलभ संसाधनों के फर्क को पूरा नहीं करती तो वे केवल भविष्य की नाम मात्र रूपरेखा बन कर रह जायेंगी।”

यह जो उन्होंने आशंका प्रकट की है, ऐसा लगता है, यदि उससे थोड़ा आगे जाते तो

उन्हें प्रतीत होता कि सचमुच हमारी जो योजनाएं हैं, अगर उनसे कुछ काम हुआ है, तो भविष्य के प्रति कुछ कपोल कल्पित आशाएं और आकाश में खींचे नक्शों के अनिश्चित और कुछ नहीं बन आता।

मैं पिछले दिनों, पंजाब के अन्दर जो चौथी योजना का सरकारी ड्राफ्ट आया है, उसको देख रहा था। पंजाब वह प्रदेश है जो कोई बड़े उद्योगों का प्रदेश नहीं है, छोटे छोटे उद्योग वहां फैले हुए हैं और मैं समझता हूं, पंजाब सारे देश के लिये एक अनुकरणीय उदाहरण उपस्थित करना है। लेकिन इस पंजाब के अन्दर भी जो कुछ हमें दिखायी देता है वह यह है कि उस योजना के सरकारी प्रारूप में यह कहा गया है कि जो उद्देश्य रखे गये थे योजनाओं के, उनमें से कोई भी पूरा होने के करीब हम नहीं पहुंचे। पहली एक बात कही गई है कि 1966-67 के मुकाबले में 1974 में एक लाख बेकार ज्यादा होंगे उस पंजाब के अन्दर। बाकी सारे देश के अन्दर जो बेकारी की तादाद बढ़ रही है उसके आकड़े हमारे सामने हैं। आज मवा करोड़ के करीब हमारे देश के अन्दर बेकार हैं जो तीन योजनाओं के बाद इनकी संख्या बनी है।

दूसरी बात उस योजना के अन्दर कही गई है पंजाब में कि जो अधिक धन का उत्पादन हुआ है : Additional wealth has got concentrated in fewer hands and the gulf between the rich and poor has widened.” अमीर और गरीब के बीच में जो अंतर है फासला है वह बढ़ा है और जो धन है, नया उत्पादन हुआ है, वह कुछ थोड़े से हाथों के अन्दर केन्द्रीकरण हुआ है, लापसाइडेड हुआ है, वह सीधा, समान, सब लोगों के हित में, नहीं हुआ है।

इसके अतिरिक्त मेरा आप से यह निवेदन है कि हमारी जो योजनाएं हैं उनका एक और

पहलू है । हमने अपनी योजनाओं के अन्दर कितने बेकार ? कितने बेरोजगार पैदा किये ? रोजगार के बारे में राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने एक स्थान पर कहा है कि खेती और उद्योग के उत्पादन में वृद्धि से बेरोजगारी के ऊपर अच्छा असर पड़ा है—यह कैसे माप किया मैं नहीं जानता । लेकिन मुझे पता है, सरकारी आकड़ों के हिसाब से, यह सरकार का पत्र है, योजना कमीशन का मुखपत्र है, इसमें छपे हुए आंकड़ों के अनुसार आज देश के अन्दर 50,000 क्वालिफाइड इन्जीनियर्स हैं जो बेकार घूम रहे हैं, जिनको डिग्रिया हमने पकड़ा दी है लेकिन उन डिग्रियों का वह क्या करें—शहद लगा कर चाटे, या अपने माथे पर चिपका ले या अपने घर में फ्रेम कराके रख ले ? क्या करें ? यह सब हम नहीं बता पाते । आज स्थिति यह है, हमारे देश के नेता, मंत्री या दूसरे वरिष्ठ सज्जन यूनिवर्सिटी के अन्दर दीक्षान्त, भाषण देने जाते हैं तो वहाँ उनको नारे सुनने पड़ते हैं हमें—डिग्रिया नहीं चाहिये, हमें काम दीजिए, हमें कारोबार करने को दीजिए । हमारी योजनाएँ इस सवाल का जवाब नहीं दे सकती और यह आगे दे सकेगी इस तरह का कोई आश्वासन राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में हम लोगों को नहीं मिलता । इसलिये जहाँ हमने पिछली योजनाओं के अन्दर एक लाख क्वालिफाइड इन्जीनियर्स तैयार किये वहाँ 50,000 बेकार इन्जीनियर्स आज घूम रहे हैं । वह देश की शांति और व्यवस्था के लिये खतरा नहीं बनेंगे तो क्या बनेंगे ? यह प्रश्न हमें आपसे पूछना चाहिये ।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने आशा व्यक्त की है कि हमें विदेशी सहायता मिलती रहेगी । हमारे सामने जो आकड़े हैं उनसे मुझे लगता है कि इसमें भी कुछ थोड़ा भ्रम दिखायी देता है । राष्ट्रपति ने कहा है कि जो बर्डन आफ सर्विसिंग एक्सटर्नल डेट है वह 51.40 करोड़ डालर हो गया है अर्थात् 385 करोड़ रु० से कुछ अधिक, लेकिन यह जो आकड़ा

है यह आकड़ा हमारे पास योजना कमीशन का योजना पत्र जो है उसमें है और इसमें 27 अक्तूबर के अंक में उल्लेख किया गया है कि हमारा जो बर्डन होगा एक्सटर्नल डेट की सर्विसिंग का वह 588 मिलियन डालर्स होंगे, अर्थात् इन दोनों आकड़ों के अन्दर कौन सा गलत है, या दोनों ही गलत हैं, या कुछ अंश में गलत है, यह मैं नहीं कह सकता । लेकिन स्थिति यह है कि आज, हम इस आकड़े के हिसाब से जितनी विदेशी सहायता हमको मिलनी चाहिये, आशा है उसमें ज्यादा हमें चुकानी है विदेशी ऋणों और उनके ब्याज के रूप में और इस वर्ष हम यह आशा रखें कि फिर भी हमें विदेशी सहायता मिलती रहेगी ऊपर से, तो यह सदिग्ध है । फिर भी खुले आम ऐसा आश्वासन दिया गया है कि हम कोशिश यह करेंगे कि हम उस सहायता का उपयोग करेंगे और धीरे-धीरे उस सहायता के बगैर अपना काम चलाने की कोशिश करें । आज ऐसी स्थिति में जब विदेशियों ने जो सहायता के नाम पर हमें धन देते थे उन्होंने सब प्रकार से हमारे देश की आतंरिक और बाह्य नीतियों पर प्रभाव डालने की कोशिश की है फिर भी यह आशा बनाये रखना बड़े साहस का काम है । लेकिन इस साहस के बारे में मेरा निवेदन यह है कि इसमें यथार्थ की बात नहीं दिखाई देती इसलिये चाहिये यह था कि हम अपनी योजना को ऐसा बनाये जो वास्तव में स्वदेशी हो सके और अपने साधनों के बल पर जिस को पूरा करने का साहस-पूर्वक हम निर्णय कर सकें, लेकिन आज इस प्रकार की योजना की रूपरेखा बनाई गई है यह दिखाई नहीं देता ।

मेरा निवेदन यह है कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने विदेश नीति के बारे में यह कहा है कि हमारी विदेश नीति के जो मिश्रता हैं वे खरे उतरे हैं । अब ये खरे किस कसौटी पर उतरे हैं ? मैं नहीं जानता कि कौन सी कमाटी हमने रखली । हमारे देश का जो भाग विदेशों ने

[डा० भाई महावीर]

छीना हुआ था क्या उसको हमने उनसे खाली करवाया ? काश्मीर का जो भाग पाकिस्तान के पास अवैध रूप से है क्या उसको हम उससे छुड़ा पाये ? क्या हमने भरी संसद के अन्दर जो शपथ ली थी कि जब तक चीन से हम अपनी भूमि का एक-एक इंच वापस नहीं लेंगे तब तक हम चैन से नहीं बैठेंगे, क्या हमारी वह शपथ पूरी हो गई ? क्या आज भी यह स्थिति नहीं है कि चीन और पाकिस्तान हमारे देश के अन्दर गड़बड़ करवा रहे हैं, गुरिल्लों को ट्रेनिंग दे रहे हैं ? चीन के पास से शिक्षा ले कर के, हथियार ले कर के, कुछ नहीं तो 25, 30 हजार नागा विद्रोही हथियारबन्द हो कर के भारत में आ चुके हैं, तो हमारी सरकार और हमारी सरकार के रक्षा मंत्री और हमारी सेनाएं क्या उनको आने जाने से रोक सकीं ? ऐसी स्थिति में यह कहना कि हमारे सिद्धांत खरे उतरे हैं, यह मैं नहीं समझता कि यह किस प्रकार की आशावादिता और आत्मतुष्टि के लिये यह कहा गया है कि हमारे सिद्धांत खरे उतरे हैं । मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या आज विदेशों के अन्दर जो प्रवासी भारतीय बैठे हैं उनका सम्मान बढ़ रहा है और क्या उनको हर देश से निकाला नहीं जा रहा है ? अगर निकाला जा रहा है तो फिर कौन सी कसौटी है जिस पर राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में यह कहा गया है ? नेहरूजी का एक कथन मुझे याद आता है । जब चीन की तरफ से धोखा हुआ, चीन का हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण हुआ तो नेहरू जी से पूछा गया था कि क्या आप समझते हैं कि आप की चीन सम्बन्धी नीति गलत थी, तो नेहरू जी ने कहा था कि नहीं, हमारी नीति गलत नहीं थी जो चीन ने किया वह गलत था । यानी नीति की कसौटी का कोई और मापदंड हमने रखा हुआ है जिस पर कस के हम कहते हैं कि वह नीति ठीक थी ।

मुझे यह कहना है कि नीतियां किन शब्दों में घोषित की जाती हैं । उन नीतियों को ले कर के हम जब कहीं जाते हैं तो हमारे स्वागत के लिये कितने बच्चे छोटी-छोटी झंडियां ले कर के खड़े कर दिये जाते हैं । राष्ट्रपति जी ने इसका उल्लेख किया कि प्रधान मंत्री गईं, वे भी गये, उनका स्वागत किया गया । यह स्वागत एक शिष्टाचार है, एक औपचारिकता है, लेकिन इस औपचारिकता से किसी विदेश नीति की सफलता नहीं मापी जा सकती । यदि उसकी सफलता ही मापनी हो तो आप को कोई कसौटी रखनी पड़ेगी । मेरा निवेदन यह है कि कसौटी यह है कि क्या हमारी विदेश नीति ने वे लक्ष्य प्राप्त किये हैं कि जो अपने देश के सामने हम लोगों ने रखे थे । वे लक्ष्य यदि हम लोगों ने नहीं प्राप्त किये तो यह कहना कि चीन ने गलत किया है, यह वैसा ही कि जैसे कोई यह कहे डाक्टर से कि आपने दवाई दी थी, लेकिन मरीज मर गया और डाक्टर यह कहे कि मेरी दवाई ठीक थी, लेकिन यह मरीज की गलती थी कि वह किसी और मर्ज से बीमार हुआ, जिस की दवाई मैंने दी थी वह मरीज ने नहीं पकड़ी थी, यह उसकी गलती है । इस तरह अगर हम कोई दनील देना चाहते हैं तब तो हमारा कहना शायद ठीक है, नहीं तो हमारी विदेशी नीति किस प्रकार से खरी उतरती है । मैं इसको बिल्कुल समझ नहीं पाया ।

हमारी रक्षा नीति के बारे में भी यही बात है । कहा गया है कि हम शांति के लिये कोशिश करते हैं । राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण से कम से कम आज तो यह दिखाई देना चाहिये था कि हम घोषणा किया करते हैं, लेकिन इस बात से दुनिया के अन्दर किसी बात का फैसला नहीं होता । हम हमेशा शांति की घोषणा करते रहे, लेकिन इन 25 सालों के अन्दर चार बार हमें युद्धक्षेत्र के अन्दर जाना पड़ा । केवल शांति की घोषणा से किसी को

शांति मिल जाया करती तो फिर हमें सब से ज्यादा शांति मिल जानी चाहिये थी, लेकिन हमें नहीं मिली। इस कारण से आज स्थिति यह है कि हम जब यह कहते हैं कि हम अपनी शांति की घोषणा करते हैं, लेकिन फिर भी उसके बावजूद हम अपनी रक्षा के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। मानव की रक्षा के लिये तैयार रहना कोई बड़ा पाप है जिस के लिये हमें सफाई देना पड़े, जिम के लिये हमें अपोलोजेटिक होना पड़े। हमारे रक्षा मंत्री यहां पर विराजमान हैं। जब कभी इनसे सवाल आता है कि चीन ने इतनी परमाणु शक्ति पैदा कर ली और इसी वर्ष के अन्दर उसने अपना आठवां परमाणु विस्फोट किया है। हाइड्रोजन बम का विस्फोट किया है, चीन की तरफ से खतरा है, चीन की नीयत साफ हमारे सामने दिखाई देती है, पाकिस्तान और चीन का गठजोड़ है, अगर चीन की तरफ से कोई हमले की अशंका होगी तो हम अपनी रक्षा कैसे करेंगे तो हमारे सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह जी कहते हैं कि हम उसके लिये तैयार हैं। लेकिन कैसे तैयार हैं, क्या तैयारी हमारी है, किसी शत्रु के पास जो हथियार हो वह अगर हमारे पास न हो तो हम उसका मुकाबिला कैसे करेंगे। क्या हम भूल जाते हैं कि दूसरे महायुद्ध का निर्णय अमरीका के पास परमाणु बम होने के कारण जापान के खिलाफ हुआ? अगर अमरीका के पास परमाणु बम न होता, एक मिनट के लिये सोचिये कि हिटलर के पास होता या जापान के पास होता तो उस महायुद्ध का निर्णय किस प्रकार का होता। क्या हम सोच नहीं सकते, कि किसी के पास हथियार का होना और किसी के पास न होना, इससे फैसले होते हैं आजकल की लड़ाइयों के? लोग कहते हैं कि हिटलर बड़ा जालिम था इसलिये हार गया। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूं कि हिटलर जालिम जरूर था लेकिन वह जालिम था इसलिए हारा या उसके सामने ज्यादा प्रबल शक्ति खड़ी हो गई थी जिम से वह हारा। हथियार हारता है

बड़े हथियार से। हथियार निःशस्त्रीकरण से नहीं हारता। हम कहते जाते हैं कि हम परमाणु बम बनाने का आप्शन रखते हैं। मैंने कई बार निवेदन किया और इसी संसद में भी पूछा कि क्या हम परमाणु बम के हमले को अपने आप्शन से रोकेंगे। यह तो वैसा ही है जैसे कोई शिकारी बन्दूक का लाइसेंस ले कर के शिकार करने चला गया था, रास्ते में एक शेर साहब आ गये और उसने उसको वह लाइसेंस दिखा दिया कि इस लाइसेंस में मेरे पास अधिकार है बन्दूक रखने का। वह शेर पढ़ा लिखा नहीं था और इसलिये वह समझ नहीं सका लाइसेंस का मतलब। लेकिन पढ़े लिखे शेर आजकल नहीं हैं। आजकल जो शेर हैं वह बहुत खूबवार हैं। ऐसे खूबवार देश हमारे चारों तरफ जो हैं उनके प्रति हम अपनी आंखें बन्द कर लें, यह हमारी विदेश नीति या रक्षा नीति की सफलता नहीं कही जा सकती।

अब मुझे यह कहना है कि हमारी सरकार ने जहां पर इस तरह की बातें कही वहां पर जो अपने देश की एकता की बात अभिभाषण में कही गई है, वह एकता हमारी सरकार ने कहां लाने की कोशिश की है यह मैं नहीं जानता। आज भी काश्मीर के अन्दर नागरिकता अलग है। हमारे देश के राष्ट्रपति को भी काश्मीर के अन्दर व्यक्तिगत रूप में भूमि खरीदने का अधिकार नहीं है। 370 धारा अब तक रहेगी, यह हम नहीं जानते। आज नागालैण्ड को अलग बना कर के रखा गया है। गोवा को कांग्रेस के आग्रह पर अलग रखा गया है, आसाम का पुनर्गठन हो रहा है और वह भी किसी बड़ी योजना के अन्तर्गत नहीं। हम लोगों ने कहा था कि मागे इस क्षेत्र का पुनर्गठन उसकी सुरक्षा, उसका विकास और उसकी आवश्यकताओं को देख करके किया जाय, लेकिन थोड़े-थोड़े दबावों के अन्दर आ कर के हमारी सरकार जो पुनर्गठन करती है उसका परिणाम क्या होगा। जो

[डा० भाई महावीर]

झारखंड की मांग अलग राज्य के रूप में आई, कांग्रेस के नेताओं ने पिछले चुनावों में उसको समर्थन दिया। उत्तराखंड के अन्दर में गया था। वहां पर हमारे हिमाचल प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री परमार साहब गये थे। उन्होंने वहां पर कहा था कि उत्तराखंड अलग राज्य बनाया जाय तभी तुम्हारे सवाल हल होंगे। वही कांग्रेस हमसे कहती है कि देश की एकता की बात करो। इतना ही नहीं, तैलंगाना के अन्दर जो कुछ हुआ है उसके अन्दर कांग्रेस के नेताओं को अपने गिरेबान में मुंह डाल कर के देखना चाहिये कि वे जो एकता की बात कहते हैं उसमें वे एकता का कितना विघटन अपनी कुरीतियों के कारण कर रहे हैं, यह उनको भूलना नहीं चाहिये। इसके साथ हमारे देश के अन्दर जो मोपलिस्तान बन रहा है, अलग जिला बनाया जा रहा है जिस के अन्दर मुस्लिम बहुमत होगा। मेरा यह कहना नहीं है कि मुस्लिम बहुमत किसी जिले में न हो? आज ऐसे जिले हैं, ऐसा बंगाल के अन्दर जिला है जिस के अन्दर मुस्लिम बहुमत है, लेकिन उसको तोड़ने की कोई बात नहीं कहता, पर केवल मुस्लिम बहुमत बनाने के बास्ते जब कोई जिला घड़ा जाय तो प्रश्न उठता है कि हमारा सेक्युलरवाद कहां जा रहा है। आज काश्मीर के अन्दर यदि कोई विद्यार्थी प्रथम श्रेणी में पास होता तो तब भी उसको मेडिकल कालेज में दाखिला नहीं मिलता है क्योंकि हिन्दू घराने में वह पैदा हुआ है। अगर वह मुस्लिम बन जाय तो उसको दाखिला मिल जाता है। यह सेक्युलैरिज्म नहीं है, यह सेक्युलैरिज्म विद वेजियंस है, कम्युनलिज्म है, यह अपीजमेंट है और ऐसे अपीजमेंट को सेक्युलैरिज्म के नाम पर किसी तरह से ढोपा नहीं जा सकता। इस लिये हमारा निवेदन है कि हमारी सरकार अपने देश के अन्दर भी आंखें खोल कर के देखे। ये जितने प्रश्न हैं,

इनको भुलाया नहीं जा सकता। हमारी सरकार ने दसके बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा है।

विएटनाम के बारे में केवल यह कह दिया गया है कि हम अमरीकी नीति का समर्थन नहीं करते हैं। लेकिन जेकोसोवाकिया के अन्दर हम ने जो कुछ किया, उसके बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा गया है। वहां इस वर्ष इतनी बड़ी घटना हुई कि आज वहां का नौजवान अपने आप को जला कर के, अपने खून को दे कर के आजादी की ज्योति को प्रज्ज्वलित रखना चाहते हैं, लेकिन हमारे राष्ट्रपति ने एक शब्द उनकी महानुभूति में नहीं कहा।

आज स्थिति यह है कि हमारे देश में विदेश दखल देते हैं, हम का रेडियो हमारे देश के चुनावों में दखल देता है। हमने जब आवाज उठाई तो हमारे देश में रूस समर्थक जो पार्टिया हैं उन्होंने उसका डिफेंस करना शुरू किया। यह प्रश्न एक पार्टी का नहीं है। प्रश्न यह है कि हमारे देश के अन्दर कोई भी ताकत कितनी भी बड़ी हो अगर वह दखल देती है तो इस देश की पार्टियों को खड़े हो कर के उसका विरोध करना चाहिये क्योंकि इसी में देश के स्वाभिमान की रक्षा है और इसी में हम अपने देश को प्रभु सत्ता की रक्षा कर सकते हैं।

मेरा निवेदन है कि इन सारे विषयों पर कुछ उल्लेख न होने के कारण मुझे राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में बड़ी निराशा हुई।

SHRI N. PATRA : Madam Deputy Chairman, while my friend in opposition, Mr. Misra, speaking on the President's Address referred to the finding of the Justice Khanna Commission, I felt impelled to reply to his observations in certain regards, and I do so now. I have no time to deal with the merits or demerits in the President's Address as the time at my disposal is very short. Now, therefore, I must immediately switch on to give a proper reply to him, not from what I imagine, but from the references in this voluminous report consisting of 812 pages.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI (Rajasthan) : Why not a commission be appointed to discuss this report rather than both sides quoting from it so much ?

SHRI N. PATRA : You must have pointed out this to your friend on your side of the House when he was raising these things. Now it is too late for you to make such a suggestion. This is just like a mountain in labour producing a mouse.

Now what are the allegations, the number of allegations the Orissa Government has placed before this august body, this Commission ?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra) : What is that report ?

SHRI N. PATRA : This is the Report of the Commission of Inquiry.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : He was referring to the Mudholkar Commission.

SHRI N. PATRA : That I will come to. This is the Report of the Khanna Commission of Inquiry. Now the number of allegations against the fifteen Congress Ministers of the Orissa Government who were serving the country then was 186. Out of them there were only five small charges of impropriety against Shri Biju Patnaik, seven against Shri Biren Mitra, and two against Shri Mardaraj and in respect of these two the Commission has exonerated him by saying that no unlawful pecuniary advantage accrued to him. Now it is not for the first time that my friend in the opposition has been speaking against Shri Biju Patnaik and Shri Biren Mitra's activities. (Interruptions) Now they are terribly afraid of these two gentlemen, these two stalwart politicians of Orissa. Now they are emerging and they will wipe out this Ganatantra Parishad or the Swatantra Party or the Jana Congress. They are terribly afraid of Shri Biju Patnaik. He is not a frustrated man and I shall refer you, Madam, to the recent happenings in Orissa. On the 9th of this month, after the publication of this Report, Shri Biju Patnaik wanted to face the people with the findings contained in this Report. The gathering that wanted to hear him was something between 15,000 and 20,000;

such was his popularity. The people gathered in Gopabandhu Bag, just by the side of the building in which the newspaper "The Daily Samaj" is situated, a paper which has always been writing something against Shri Biju Patnaik. Such a big gathering it was; there was no such big gathering recently and there was jubilation among the people to hear him speak, to find his position vindicated. Two days after, on the 11th, there was again a big meeting in the market place in Bhuvaneswar where 10,000 people gathered to hear him speak.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : At the Congress meetings in Calcutta it is said that it spent two lakhs of rupees. How many votes did you get ?

SHRI N. PATRA : And these two parties, that are raising a hue and cry here, had not the guts to take the challenge thrown by Shri Biju Patnaik there and at least to set up anyone to put him some questions and seek clarifications. Now Shri Biju Patnaik is again emerging. Whatever steps you may take, whatever clamour you may make, you cannot now control him. He is now undertaking a tour of Orissa from the beginning of next month. He is again reviving and his revival is the death knell of this combination, this frustrated Ministry now ruling Orissa.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Will it cause an international stir, or what ?

SHRI N. PATRA : There is going to be a stir. You must know the positive aspects about him, you must know what this Commission has to say about Shri Biju Patnaik's activities. Here are certain positive aspects in this Commission's Report on page 812 :

"There are certain aspects of the inquiry which enkindle hope and show that all moral values are not lost. The inquiry reveals this if there is impropriety or misuse of office in some quarters, there are, by and large, a considerable number of public men who have occupied high offices and whose images emerge untarnished and unscathed. This is clear from the fact that out of the fifteen respondents the

[Shri N. Patra]

charges have not been proved against an overwhelming majority of them. So far as some of them are concerned, there is not even the remotest indication of their having done anything improper with a view to secure personal gain.

A very important fact, of which note must be made, is the report of the Sub-Committee of the Union Cabinet."

Now you will see there that the Cabinet Sub-Committee has not exonerated these leaders of public affairs, Shri Biju Patnaik and Shri Biren Mitra, the Congress stalwarts in Orissa, and they had to face the elections after a while. Now this Commission has not brought any new facts about them beyond what the Cabinet Sub-Committee brought out. Of course Shri Biju Patnaik is just now repentant, that he must have been a little bit more careful when he assumed the Chief Ministership of the State. He was in a hurry then. And why was he in a hurry? He was in a hurry because Orissa was a backward State and the backwardness was due because half of Orissa, about six districts of Orissa were being ruled by feudatory chiefs, who since formed themselves under the label of Ganatantra Parishad and is now the Swatantra Party, the ruling party in Orissa. Such feudal chiefs, till then, had been exploiting the masses and they had never cared to exploit the natural resources of Orissa.

(Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SARDAR SWARAN SINGH): May I point out that my hon. friend need not go on interrupting the speaker? It is a running commentary. He should have the patience to hear now.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: You kindly ask your own people what sort of disturbance they created when I was speaking.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Now because he is at the receiving end he might not have patience; he is only trying to retaliate. But let him say what he wants to say.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now let him finish his speech without interruptions.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: But your Chief Minister, Mr. Kairon, gave up office only when it was found that he had taken a doctor along with him. Kindly note down these things, Mr. Swaran Singh, which is for your benefit. And where should these men be sent after these allegations have been proved?

SHRI N. PATRA: On pages 810 and 811 of this Report the Commission says something good about Shri Biju Patnaik, and that has to be also made known to every Member.

"The need of Orissa is of a leader of great calibre, inspired by the cause, dedicated, devoted and determined, who may arouse the enthusiasm, which is so far dormant, of the masses, harness it to fruitful activity and thus pave the way to economic betterment and future prosperity. Shri Patnaik gave hope of that calibre. He had the halo of an adventurous past. He had daring, dash, doggedness and the advantage of youth, good physique and a tall imposing personality. To all these may be added a touch of flamboyance. The electorate gave Shri Patnaik a clear cut majority in the Legislature."

These are the kind words of the Commission about Shri Biju Patnaik. Mr. Misra is always clamouring that Mr. Biju Patnaik has taken advantage of his position as Chief Minister. And what is the allegation? The allegation against Mr. Biju Patnaik is that he has acquired a lot of wealth while in power as Chief Minister. And what has this Report to say on page 562?

"There is no cogent material before the Commission for giving a finding as to what, if any, was the increase in the income of Shri Patnaik after he became Chief Minister of Orissa.

The wealth of Shri Patnaik, as determined by the Wealth Tax Officer increased from Rs. 21,72,894 in the assessment year 1961-62 to

Rs. 23,79,945 in the assessment year 1962-63 and to Rs. 26,38,207 in the assessment year 1963-64. This increase was mainly due to appreciation in the value of the shares held by Shri Patnaik."

He has so many shares in different companies

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : For which he does not pay taxes.

SHRI N. PATRA : The Commission does not say that he made any illegal gain. He might have sold some shares after some time when they fetched better prices for him. Therefore for the appreciation of his shares if he got something why should you grudge? Do not your Rajas and Maharajas want Privy Purses? And what has your Chief Minister done when he went to Germany? He has taken his second son along with him. And what for? To put him in business.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Who?

SHRI N. PATRA : The Chief of the Ganatantra Party which is ruling Orissa, Mr. Deo, Chief Minister of Orissa, took his second son to Germany along with him. The second son of the Chief Minister accompanied him.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : He is accompanying on his own money. What is wrong there?

SHRI N. PATRA : It was to put him in the business world.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Madam, on a point of personal explanation. He says the Chief Minister of Orissa has taken his son. If anybody takes his own son with his own money is there any bar to it?

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Let him finish now.

SHRI N. PATRA : It is not like that. It was for business purposes. He was doing some business. I heard about it. He is a businessman.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Who is a businessman?

SHRI N. PATRA : He wanted to put his son in good business and he utilizes his Chief Ministership for that purpose.

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Let him finish because he has got very little time

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated) : His point is both Ministers are on par.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : You say something about the Mudholkar Report.

SHRI N. PATRA : This Khanna Commission's Report they would not publish. They had published some extracts which suit them. Mr. Biju Patnaik preferred a writ in the High Court of Orissa and they were compelled to publish the Report. Now we want the Mudholkar Commission Report which is against some of the present Ministers. We have given a memorandum to the President here that something should be done in this connection. The Mudholkar Commission was appointed by the Government of Orissa. He has made a Report. Mr. Mahatab against whom something had been said got informed of it. He made a threat that he will quit the party and if he resigned this coalition will fall. If he does not give his moral sanction and active support this Ministry will be nowhere. So they have themselves devised some means and asked Mr. Mahatab to approach the High Court and prefer a writ. Then he preferred the writ to prevent its publication. Such are the people of the Swatantra Party.

(Interruptions)

Then here is a Supreme Court Judgment and after this indictment contained here we thought that these hon. gentlemen would quit. This is about the kendu leaf trade. This is a case before the Supreme Court, Civil Appeal No. 1472 of 1968. Rashbihari Panda, Appellant versus State of Orissa, Respondent.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : You meant to say that the Mudbolkar Commission Report is against the present Ministry ?

SHRI N. PATRA : Yes. This case went to the High Court and then to the Supreme Court. And here is the finding of the Supreme Court. How long can they go on in this fashion ?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : The finding is against whom ?

SHRI N. PATRA : Against the State Government of Orissa. And this is what they say in the Judgment :

"No explanation has been attempted on behalf of the State as to why an offer made by a well known manufacturer of bidis interested in the trade to purchase the entire crop of Kendu leaves for the year 1968 for rupees three crores was turned down. If the interests of the State alone were to be taken into consideration, the State stood to gain more than rupees one crore by accepting that offer....The Government had to consider, as prudent businessman, whether, having regard to the circumstances, it should accept the offer, especially in the light of the financial position of the offer or the security which he was willing to give and the effect which the acceptance of the offer may have on the other traders and the general public interest ..."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Your time is over, Mr. Patra. Are you going to read the whole of the Judgment ?

SHRI N. PATRA : No, no. Only extracts.

"The learned Judges of the High Court have observed that in their view the exercise of the discretion was not shown to be arbitrary, nor was the action shown to be lacking in bona fides. But that conclusion is open to criticism that the Government is not shown to have considered the prevailing prices of Kendu leaves about the

time when the offers were made, the estimated crop of Kendu leaves, the conditions in the market and the likelihood of offerers at higher prices carrying out their obligations and whether it was in the interests of the State to invite tenders in the open market from all persons whether they had or had not taken contracts in the previous yearIn our judgment the plea that the action of the Government was bona fide cannot be an effective answer to a claim made by a citizen that his fundamental rights were infringed by the action of the Government, nor can the claim of the petitioners be defeated on the plea that the Government in adopting the impugned scheme committed an error of judgment. That plea would have assisted the Government if the action was in law valid and the objection was that the Government erred in the exercise of its discretion. It is unnecessary in the circumstances to consider whether the Government acted in the interest of their party men and to increase party funds in devising the schemes for sale of Kendu leaves in 1968.....We trust that in accepting tenders the State Government will act in the interest of the general public and not of any class of traders so that in the next season the State may get the entire benefit of the monopoly in the trade in Kendu leaves and no disproportionate share thereof may be diverted to any private agency."

Such are the people who have been indicated thus within two years. We have ruled for 20 years and there may have been some omissions or commissions but they have got this in two years. What reply are they going to give to this indictment ? There are good precedents in such circumstances set up by Congressmen. Where there was some little stricture against Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, the present Speaker of the Lok Sabha, about his nationalising some bus-route—there was no monetary gain involved therein he at once resigned and left the Ministry. He again faced the electorate and has become the hon. Speaker. In these cir-

cumstances whatever their arguments may be, they will not hold water.

† SHRI M. C. CHAGLA (Maharashtra) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the mover of the Resolution of Thanks to the President for his gracious message. As we all know, Madam, the President's Address is a constitutional device for the Government to survey the situation in the country and to place its legislative programme before Parliament. And if I criticise the President's Address it must not appear as if I am criticising the august person of the President. I have a feeling that in this Address there is an air of complacency. I do not think there is sufficient realisation of the danger signals ahead in our country. As I look around and look at the landscape, I find that there are three clouds on the horizon and these clouds are growing larger every day. There is the cloud of regionalism, there is the cloud of violence and there is the cloud of the undermining of parliamentary institutions and unless we are careful, the whole sky will be overcast by these clouds.

Now, let me deal with these three problems separately. Let me take first regionalism. I think we are largely responsible for the regionalism that prevails today in our country. We started with the partition of our country. I say 'we' advisedly because there was no reason why we should have yielded to the demands of the Muslim League, nor should we have assumed that the Muslim League represented the majority of the Muslims in the country, but that is a thing of the past. What is written cannot be unwritten. What did we do after that? We had the multi-lingual State of Bombay. We broke it up. We had a bilingual State of Bombay. We broke it up. We broke up Punjab. And what is happening today? There is a demand in Andhra for a separate Telengana State. In Jammu and Kashmir there is a demand for a separate Jammu. In Maharashtra there is a demand for a separate Vidarbha. In Assam there is a demand for a separate hill State. I appeal to Government to say once and for all that there will be no more subdivision of our country. We have

had sufficient divisions and partitions and the time has come when Government should firmly resolve that there will be no further subdivision of our country.

Turning to violence, you all know what had happened recently in Bombay. It is the city of my birth, a city to which I am deeply attached. It is a city of which I have been proud. It has traditions of cosmopolitanism and of secularism of the highest order. But why has this violence erupted? There I blame the Government. I do not say that the Government is a prisoner of indecision, as somebody put it. What I say is that the Government does decide, but decides too late. You appoint an ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to give an award—a completely impartial man—between Mysore and Maharashtra. The award was given a long time ago. Now, for heaven's sake, make up your mind. Are you going to accept it or are you going to reject it? Just procrastination is not going to help you. Passions are roused, emotions are stirred up, feelings are stirred up and you just go on postponing and postponing. You have to displease somebody in this world. You cannot expect to please everybody. Whichever way you decide, you will either displease Maharashtra or displease Mysore, but the art of politics is to know when and how to displease people and you displease them at the earliest. But we wait till the agitation grows, till it reaches the boiling point and violence erupts and then we say, now we must decide. Take the case of Chandigarh. You see in the papers today the Chief Minister of Punjab making one statement and the Chief Minister of Haryana making another statement. Why cannot we decide? Is Chandigarh going to be a Union territory, or would belong to Punjab or would belong to Haryana? Then, again, you have to displease somebody. You cannot please everybody, but we will not decide it. Therefore, it is this constant delay, this constant procrastination that causes all the trouble in our country. I remember only the other day some teachers came to see me. They were taking part in some strike or agitation or some demonstration. I asked them: Is it becoming of you, who are supposed to mould the character of

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

the young, that you should do such things? What was the answer: They said: Unless we have agitations, nobody will listen to us. Nobody replies to our letters or representations. They were perfectly right. I can give you one instance of our Judges. Because they do not strike, because they do not agitate, because they have no trade union, they have been making demands for the last so many years, nobody answers them. Nobody takes any notice of them, because it is a safe sector. Judges will not take to any kind of violence. But once they find that violence has taken place, then they sit up and say: Let us take a decision. My humble suggestion to the Government is, decide before an agitation starts, before violence starts. Decision is the most important part of Government and having decided stand by that decision and enforce it.

Now, coming to the third point, the undermining of parliamentary institutions, I think those who are interested in our country—and I take it that we are all interested in the future of our country and the future of democracy—must seriously consider what is happening and what has happened in the last few years. There is a gradual erosion of parliamentary institutions. The elections have shown one thing that more and more you are getting splinter groups and splinter parties. More and more it is becoming difficult for one party to have a majority in the House. The result is defections, ministership being hawked about, ministership being offered perhaps to get people either to one side or the other. I have said this before in the House. I know I have not had much response, but I again want to make the suggestion. Let us give serious thought whether the time has not come when we should come to the conclusion that at least in the States the parliamentary form of government has failed and we should have the Presidential system of government. Look at the advantages you will have in the Presidential system of government. You will have a Chief Minister who will be in power for five years. He will not have to think of defections or factions or of political pressures and so on. He will have

an executive helping him. It will be permanent for five years and it will be able to attend to administration. You know that Ministers have no time to attend to administration. They are so busy playing politics that files pile upon their tables. Files are not interesting. Files are not sensational. They do not take any decisions. Therefore if you have this system, you will do away with defections. You will be able to do away with this terrible thing that has crept into the body politic. The Presidential system of government is as democratic as the parliamentary system. After all, when we drafted our Constitution, we had the choice either to accept the British system or the American system and advisedly we accepted the British system. I know that the British system is better. We have seen it working in the States. In the Centre it still works, because the Congress is in a large majority. But in the States you do not have the majority of a single party. Even in U.P., though the Congress is the largest party, it has failed to get an absolute majority. Therefore, the time has come when we must give serious thought to our Constitution and whether amendments and alterations are necessary.

I come to the last point and I have done and that is the question of national integration. That is a subject which should be uppermost in our minds. The President, in his Address, has referred to it. I do not think the approach is right. We will not be able to bring about national integration by calling meetings of the National Integration Council and passing solemn resolutions. National integration can only be brought about by action and by not taking those steps which bring about disintegration. Take one simple case. What do we do in elections? How do we issue party tickets? We issue party tickets on the basis of caste and community. Merit plays no part. We find out which is the caste or community in a particular constituency and we select a member of that caste and community. Is that national integration, or is it national disintegration? You tell the constituency that you will elect a member of your own caste. Where is Indian unity? Where is Indian nationalism? Where is national in-

tegration? All that is thrown to the winds. Therefore, we must take those steps which do away with a feeling of separateness on the part of the minority communities, on the part of different castes, and which make them feel that they belong to one country and one nation. Today the situation is so sad that in the States they feel as if they were independent countries. Among the people, castes and communities, they feel as if they were different nations and different races. We owe loyalty to our language, to our region, to our State. We owe loyalty to our caste and to our community. We forget that there is such a thing as India. We forget that our first and foremost and paramount loyalty should be to our own country. I wish in the President's Address, these important aspects had been taken into consideration.

Thank you.

श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर (पंजाब) :
उपमहापति महोदया राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर पुराने साथी लाला जगत नारायण ने एक मिसाल दी थी कि जेल में कुछ होता फिरे कह दिया जाता है कि 'सब अच्छा है' । ठीक है, लेकिन अगर सब अच्छा नहीं है तो उनको यह ख्याल नहीं करना चाहिये कि सब बुरा है । मैं कांग्रेस का मेम्बर हूँ और इस भाषण का समर्थन करता हूँ लेकिन इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि जिस चीज के बारे में मैं समझता हूँ कि इसमें कमी रह गई है उसका जिक्र न करूँ । इसी तरह से मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि जो विरोधी दल के मज्जन हैं वे यह ख्याल न करें कि इसमें सब कुछ बुरा ही बुरा है । इसमें उनको अच्छाई भी लेनी चाहिए और जो बुरा है उसे कहना चाहिये ।

क्यों बरगे मुजतर्बको है सारे चमन
से लाग,

हर एक शाख पर तो मेरा आशियां नही ।

सारा बाग बुरा नही है, एक फूल हो सकता है जो पसन्द न हो । ऐसे नुस्तेनिगाह को सामने

रखे जो हमारे देश की तामीर में सहायक हो सकता है ।

राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में कुछ बातें ऐसी हैं जिनका उन्होंने वजाहत के साथ जिक्र किया है और कुछ इलाज भी बनाए हैं । ऐसी बात नहीं है कि उसमें इलाज न हो । इलाज ही नहीं उन्होंने कुछ भरोसे भी दिलाए हैं । राष्ट्रपति का भरोसा यानी हमारी सरकार की तरफ से राष्ट्रपति की जवान में जो भरोसा दिलाया जाता है उसके बारे में समझना चाहिये कि वह बात जरूर होने वाली है ।

अनाज के मुताल्लिक राष्ट्रपति ने अपने भाषण में पाचवे पैराग्राफ में कहा है कि अगले दो या तीन वर्षों के अन्दर बाहर से अनाज की सहायता न लेने का लक्ष्य पूरा हो जायगा । इसी तरह से कर्ज के मुताल्लिक उन्होंने पैराग्राफ न० 18 में लिखा है कि धीरे धीरे विदेशी सहायता लेने के सहारे को कम कर दिया जायगा । यह कोई कम महत्व की बात नहीं है । हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान देश है । अनाज के मुताल्लिक राष्ट्रपति ने फरमाया है कि अनाज ज्यादा होने की वजह से कुछ सहूलियत हुई है तो मेरे उन साथियों ने जिनके मन में कुछ नुक्ताचीनी करने का ख्याल था उन्होंने यह कहा कि जो अनाज की बढ़ोतरी हुई है वह तो बारिश की वजह से हुई है यानी उसमें गवर्नमेंट का कोई हाथ नहीं है । ठीक है, बारिश की वजह से फल भी आते हैं, बारिश की वजह से नुकसान भी होता है, बारिश की वजह से नुकसान भी कई होते हैं, उस नुकसान की जिम्मेदारी तो गवर्नमेंट पर दे दी जाती है लेकिन बारिश की वजह से जो तरक्की हुई है या जो गवर्नमेंट ने इसके मिलमिले में किया है वह भी ठीक नहीं है यानी जो अच्छा काम है उसको इस ढंग से बयान करना कि उसमें गवर्नमेंट का कोई दखल नहीं है, दरअसल यह बात नहीं है ।

[श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर]

मेरे मानयोग्य साथी ने जो हमेशा मजदूरों और गरीबों की हमदर्दी में बोलते हैं कहा है कि कारखानों में हड़तालें होती हैं और बन्द होते हैं। मैं उनको पंजाब की एक भिमाल देता हूँ कि पंजाब में पिछली दफा इलेक्शन के बाद जब एक फ़ट की मिनिसट्री बनी तो उसमें अकाली, जनमघ और कम्युनिस्ट शामिल थे और इंडस्ट्री मिनिसटर मिस्टर डाग थे जितनी हड़तालें उनके जमाने में हुईं उतनी शायद कभी नहीं हुई, यानी कोई कारखाना नहीं चला।

(Interruption by Sardar Narindar Singh Brar in Punjabi)

श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर : मैं इसको दुरुस्त कर लेता हूँ, आपका शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ, आपने मेरी गलती को दुरुस्त कर दिया लेकिन उम्र मिनिसट्री के जमाने में ऐसी हालत रही कि कोई कारखाना चल नहीं सका। आप मेरे साथ अमृतसर जाएँ तो यह सारी बात आपको साफ हो जायगी। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि नुक्ताचीनी तो बेशक की जाय लेकिन जो तामीरी काम है उनमें जवान में और अमल में भी महायत्ना देने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए।

एक बात बड़ी अच्छी राष्ट्रपति जी ने कही है। हमारे देश में जो तकनीकी लोग हैं उनके मुतालिक उन्होंने कहा है कि उनकी बेरोजगारी को दूर करने की कोशिश की जायगी। यह बहुत अच्छी बात है। मैं देखता हूँ कि हमारे देश में इंजीनियर लोग, मेकेनिकल इंजीनियर और दूसरे इंजीनियर जिनके पास स्किल है वे बेरोजगारी की हालत में हैं। अच्छे से अच्छे इंजीनियर मेरी नजर में हैं, मैं नाम लेकर भी बता सकता हूँ जो देश को छोड़कर चले गए हैं क्योंकि उनको पूरा रोजगार नहीं मिला। खासकर पंजाब में इंजीनियरों की तादाद बड़ी ज्यादा है, वे बेकार फिरते हैं। उतनी

मेहनत करके डिप्लोमा हासिल किया, डिग्री हासिल की, मगर वे बेरोजगार और बेकार फिरते हैं और राष्ट्रपति ने जो इस तरफ नवज्जह दिखाई है कि उनकी बेरोजगारी दूर की जायगी, यह बहुत अच्छी और काबिले तारीफ की बात है।

दलबदलुओं का भी जिक्र आया है। इस में मैं समझता हूँ कि हाउस के मानयोग्य मित्र इस में इत्फाक करेंगे, जैसा राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है, कि हमारी राजनीति में अस्थिरता जो आई है वह इसकी वजह से आई है। इसके मोतालिक मैं यह जरूर कहूंगा कि कांग्रेस पार्टी ने दल बदलने की जो बात है, इसको डिस्करेज किया है। मेरे मानयोग्य मित्र लाला जगत नागयण को पता है कि जब मैं चीफ मिनिसटर था, 1967 के इलेक्शन में कांग्रेसी 48 मेम्बर कामयाब हो गए, 5 और होते तो मैं कांग्रेस पार्टी की मिनिसट्री बना सकता था। कांग्रेस जमात में शामिल होने के लिए 7-8 मेम्बर तैयार थे। मैंने कांग्रेस हाई कमांड से इसका जिक्र किया। सरदार स्वर्णसिंह जी को पता है कि अगर हम 7-8 मेम्बर अपने साथ लगा लेते तो कांग्रेस की मिनिसट्री बन सकती थी, मगर कांग्रेस हाई कमांड ने कहा कि हम किसी ग्रुप को तोड़ कर किम्पी को नहीं लेगे, उसी वजह से वहां कांग्रेस की मिनिसट्री नहीं बन सकी।

एक बात और बता दूँ कि कांग्रेस पार्टी में जो आजाद मेम्बर भी शामिल हुए थे उनको भी टिकट नहीं दिया गया। मगर कांग्रेस को छोड़कर जो गए हैं दूसरी ओर उनको टिकट भी दिए गए हैं, कामयाब कमाने की भी कोशिश की गई है, अपने साथ रखा है। इसलिए स्थिरता कायम रखने के लिए मैं समझता हूँ कि बड़ी जरूरी बात यह है कि दल बदलने वालों को डिस्करेज किया जाय। तभी एकता के साथ, मजबूती के साथ कोई सरकार कायम रह सकती है और मैं समझता

हू कि कांग्रेस पार्टी ने यह एक एक बड़ा अच्छा फैसला किया है कि वे किसी ग्रुप से तोड़ कर अपनी पार्टी में नहीं लेंगे। यह बात दूसरी है कि किसी ग्रुप के साथ कोई कोलेशन बनता है, लेकिन ग्रुप तोड़कर दल बदलने वालों को कांग्रेस एनकरेंज नहीं करती है। एक बात जिसकी वास्तव खास तौर में अभी चांगला साहब ने भी जिक्र किया, मैं समझता हूँ यह बड़ी ही जरूरी और अनिवार्य बात है। हमारा देश एक बड़ा विशाल देश है, इसमें कदम कदम पर मजहब बदलता है, जात बदलती है, इलाका बदलता है, जबान बदलती है, यहां तक कि हमारे इस विशाल देश की आबादवा भी एक जैसी नहीं है कि सिर्फ दिल्ली आकर कोई देश की सारी आबादवा के बारे में अगर कोई फारेनर आ कर अदाजा लगा ले तो इस तरीके से वह ठीक नतीजा नहीं निकाल पायेगा। हमारा देश इस लिहाज में फर्कों (differences) का एक बड़ा समूह है इसलिये इसमें एकजुटता कायम करने के लिये एक ही बुनियाद है। यह जो देश प्यार का लिक है, लड़ी है, यही दरअसल इसमें एकजुटता पैदा कर सकती है। प० जवाहर लाल नेहरू अपने आखिरी दिनों में इस बात से बड़े उदास थे, वह समझते थे कि देश ने एक ओर बड़ी तरक्की की है, हर तरफ से देश को आगे बढ़ाने की कोशिश की गई है परन्तु दूसरी ओर वह उस सिलसिले में महसूस करते थे कि पहले सिर्फ कम्यूनलिज्म को रोकने की बात थी, मगर अब यहां कई इज्म पैदा हो गये हैं, प्राविन्शियलिज्म, कास्टीइज्म, लिगुइज्म कई इज्म पैदा हो गये हैं। तो वह खुद इन बातों से उदास थे। उन्होंने विज्ञान भवन में सारे देश की एक कान्फरेन्स बुलाई थी जिसमें सब लोग, मैक्यूलरिज्म पर विश्वास रखने वाले लोग शामिल हुए थे। कुछ दिन लोगों ने खूब उसमें दिलचस्पी ली और एक बड़ा अच्छा और मजबूत एक्जीक्यूटिव बोर्ड (Executive Board) उन्होंने बनाया जो इस काम को करे। उस वक्त आल इंडिया कांग्रेस ने भी प्रधान मंत्री,

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श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की अध्यक्षता में एक कमेटी इमोशनल इन्टीग्रेशन के लिये बनायी थी, जिसकी वह अध्यक्ष थी। तो कुछ न कुछ इस काम की तरफ ध्यान दिया गया। अब काश्मीर में, जिसका राष्ट्रपति जी ने जिक्र किया है, एक राष्ट्रीय एकता कान्फरेन्स हुई है मगर मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरफ पूरा ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। कान्फरेन्स कर लेने से कुछ काम नहीं बन सकता, काम वहीं का वहीं है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि काश्मीर में जो राष्ट्रीय एकता कान्फरेन्स हुई उसके बाद कदम क्या उठाया गया? कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया जिसमें इस तरफ पूरी तौर पर ध्यान दिया जाय। हमारे जो विरोधी दल के भाई हैं वह अगर कांग्रेस की इस बात पर निंदा करें कि सरकार कोई ऐक्शन नहीं लेती और यह एकजुटता का काम नहीं करती तो कम से कम उनको इस बात पर सहमत होना चाहिये कि यह जो शिव सेना और आर० एस० एस० की बीमारियां हमारे देश में बढ़ रही हैं, किसी सूरत में एकजुटता नहीं होने देती, पहले उनकी हरकतों पर ध्यान देना चाहिये ताकि जो विरोधी अनासिर हैं, जो देश की एकजुटता के लिये खतरा हैं, उनको दबाने के लिये सरकार को भी मदद मिले और जनता का दिल भी बदलने की कोशिश की जानी चाहिये। मैं हैरान होता हूँ कि हमारे देश में जो शिवसेना वाले या और इसी किस्म के संगठन हैं, जब हमारा देश यूनाइटेड देश था, हमें आजादी नहीं मिली थी, तो उस वक्त भी ऐसी जमातें थी, खासतौर पर एक इसी तरह की जमात थी शिव सेना की तरह की, जो देश में कम्यूनल हारमनी नहीं होने देना चाहती थी मगर साथ ही सुखपोशों जैसी एक जमात यूनाइटेड इंडिया में थी जो ठानी ठाक कर कहते थे कि हम देश की एकजुटता के हामी हैं और हम देश की एकजुटता कायम करने में अपना लहू बहायेंगे और उन्होंने लहू उसकी खातिर गिराया भी। खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खां की रहनुमाई में सुखपोशों ने लहू बहाया ताकि देश की

[श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर]

यकजहती कायम रहे। अफसोस है कि इस वक्त किसी जमात ने, किसी इंडिविजुअल ने इस पर ध्यान नहीं किया कि हमारे देश में कोई ऐसी जमात हो, ऐसे लोग हों जो देश की यकजहती के लिये जान देने को तैयार हों। देश को दबाने के लिये, देश के अन्दर खराबी पैदा करने के लिये, देश के अन्दर कम्यूनलिज्म को बढ़ाने के लिये ऐसी मारखोरी जमातें बन गई हैं जो मरने मारने के लिये तैयार हैं, लेकिन दूसरी तरफ हिन्दुस्तानियत के लिये, इंसानियत के लिये, कोई ऐसी जमात नहीं नज़र आती जो कहे हम नौजवान हैं, हमारे अन्दर जोश है, यह काम हम करेंगे, देश के अन्दर यकजहती पूरे तौर पर कायम की जाय और किसी ढंग से भी किसी ऐसी वैसी जमात को हौसला न दिया जाय। तशद्दुद करने वाले लोगों का हौमला गवर्नमेंट तो नहीं देती, कांग्रेस तो नहीं देती। अगले रोज हमारे इसी सदन में बहस हुई है तो चह्वाण साहब ने बड़े स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहा है, और सब ने कहा है, किसी भी तरह से सरकार को तो कोई फ़ायदा नहीं है इससे उनको हौसला दिया जाए जो तशद्दुद करते हैं, जो कम्यूनलिज्म को देश में बढ़ाते हैं। मगर उनको किसी न किसी तरह से मदद मिलती है तभी वह ऐसा काम करते हैं। उनको न किसी जमात की तरफ से मदद मिले न इन्डिविजुअल की तरफ से मदद मिले। हमारे देश में ऐसा संविधान बना है जो फिरकादारी से अलग है, यानी सेपरेट इलेक्टोरेट को छोड़ कर जोइन्ट इलेक्टोरेट के आधार पर विधान सभाएं भी बन गई हैं लेकिन हमारे इलेक्शन में फिर वैसे ही झगड़े होते हैं क्योंकि ऐसी जमात हैं जो मजहब के नाम पर इलेक्शन लड़ती हैं, जो इलेक्शन के दिनों में कम्यूनलिज्म का प्रचार करती हैं। मगर यहां मैं एक बात कहता हूं जो सरकार भी करने वाली है और बड़ी ज़रूरी बात है। हमारे देश के जो बच्चे हैं

कम से कम उनमें यह स्प्रिट रहे कि वह यह न समझें कि मैं हिन्दू हूं, सिख हूं, मुसलमान हूं, मेरा मजहब यह है, कम से कम वह तो इस बात पर फ़ख़ा करें कि मैं सब कुछ होते हुए भी और अपने धर्म में पक्का होते हुए भी हिन्दुस्तानी हूं और हिन्दुस्तानियत ही मेरा धर्म है। इन बच्चों के दिल में यह खयाल कैसे पैदा होगा। कोई धर्म ऐसा नहीं है जिसके अवतार ने या पगम्बर ने अपनी वाणी से कहीं नफरत का प्रचार किया हो लेकिन जिन लोगों

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) IN THE CHAIR]

ने अपने धार्मिक ग्रंथों की, मजहबी किताबों की, अच्छे तरीके से व्याख्या की, उन्हें बच्चों के दिल में भी अच्छी भावना भर दी जिस तरह से मौलाना आजाद ने पांच कुरान की तफ़सीर करके लोगों को बताया कि कुरान में क्या लिखा है और जो बच्चे मौलाना आजाद की कुरान शरीफ़ पढ़ते हैं उनमें सबसे पहले यकजहती का, एकता का, खयाल पैदा होता है। तो ज़रूरी है कि हमारी सरकार ऐसी किताबें लिखवाए। अब भी हमारे देश के स्कूलों में बच्चों के लिये जो किताबें लिखी जाती हैं वह सोच विचार कर नहीं लिखी जाती हैं जो उनके अन्दर देशभक्ति और एकता की स्प्रिट पैदा करे मगर ऐसी किताबें भी युनिवर्सिटियों में कोर्स में लगती हैं जो मुनाफ़िरत पैदा करती हैं। सरकार को सबसे पहला काम यह करना चाहिये कि ऐसी अच्छी अच्छी किताबें वह लिखवाए जो शुरू से ही बच्चों के अन्दर देशभक्ति और देश प्यार की स्प्रिट पैदा करें। (Time bell rings) एक बात मैं खास तौर से चेयरमैन साहब, आपकी वसातत से बर्ज़ करना चाहता हूं। इस प्रस्ताव के मूवर ने दो बातों की तरफ ध्यान दिलाया है। हमारे प्रस्ताव के मूवर ने कहा है कि टूरिस्ट डिपार्टमेंट को ज़रा मजबूत किया जाय, इसका रीज़न उन्होंने दिया है कि इससे फारेन एक्सचेंज

में बढ़ोतरी होगी। मगर सिर्फ, मैं समझता हूँ, कि फारेन एक्सचेंज की बढ़ोतरी नहीं होगी बल्कि उससे हमारे देश की कुछ शक्ति भी बनती है। (Time bell rings) अगर यह डिपार्टमेंट मजबूत हो तो ऐसा हो सकता है। मैंने देखा है दूसरे मुल्कों में खास तौर पर उन्होंने अपनी चीजें ऐसे ढंग पर बना कर रखी हैं, खास कर एप्रोच इस ढंग से बनाया है कि हवाई अड्डे पर उतरते ही किसी फारेनर को ऐसा इम्प्रेशन हो जाय कि यह देश कैसा है। आप यदि किसी मास्को जैसी गुंजान आबादी के शहर में चले जायें तो आपको ऐसा मालूम होगा कि आप एक पार्क में जा रहे हैं। मगर यह बात यहां नहीं है। इस तरफ अभी ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। कई हमारे अच्छे अच्छे स्थान बने हैं और जब फारेनर्स उनको देखने हमारे देश में आते हैं, मसलन भाखड़ा को देखने के लिये, तो वहां पर सरकार ने एक नया टाउन बनाया है नॅबल के टूरिस्ट डिपार्टमेंट द्वारा। वहां इतने खूबसूरत कमरे हैं लेकिन वहां पर कोई बाथरूम नहीं है। फिर कैसे वह एक फारेनर के लिए कोई एट्रैक्शन की जगह हो सकती है। वहां टूरिज्म का आफिस इस तरीके से रहे जहां कि बाथरूम कभी साय नहीं है तो कैसे कोई उसके बगैर रह सकता है। तो इन छोटी मोटी बातों की तरफ भी ध्यान देना चाहिये। हमारे देश का इन्हिसार इस बात पर है कि हमारे देश के मुतालिक दूसरा क्या खयाल करता है। तो इसका इलाज सिर्फ यह हो सकता है कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट से टूरिस्ट आफिस को गवर्नमेंट आफ इन्डिया अपने हाथ में ले ले।

फिर वह उन पर खर्च करे और उनको अच्छी चीजें बनाए। हमारे देश में अच्छी-अच्छी चीजें हैं। दूसरे देशों में जा करके, स्वीटज़रलैंड बगैरह में देख करके जब मैंने अपने यहां कांगड़ा वैली को आ करके देखा तो मैं हैरान हो गया कि क्या चीज हमारे यहां कम है। किसी तरह से हमारे

यहां कांगड़ा वैली या डलहौजी दूसरे शहरों से कम नहीं है। डलहौजी जो हमारा सब से ज्यादा खूबसूरत शहर है वह सब से ज्यादा निगलेक्टेड है। उसको अच्छे ढंग से बनाने की कभी कोशिश नहीं की गई। इसलिए जो ऐसी जगहें हैं उनके लिए कुछ खास कोशिश की जाए।

दूसरी जो आखिरी बात है वह मैं एक मिनट में स्पोर्ट्स के मुतालिक कहना चाहता हूँ जिसका जिक्र राष्ट्रपति जी के ऐड्रेस में नहीं है। मगर इस प्रस्ताव के मुहूर्तिक ने इसका जिक्र किया है इसलिए मेरी तबज्जह इस तरफ हुई है। हमारा हिन्दुस्तान देश जो हमेशा से हाकी में नम्बर एक पर रहता था वह इम दफा क्यों पीछे चला गया इसको सोचना चाहिए। मैं आपसे यकीन से कहता हूँ, नम्रता से कहता हूँ कि इसमें भी थोड़ा सा कम्युनैलिज्म काम कर रहा है। चुनाव के वक़्त जब खेलने वालों के नामों का फैसला किया जाता है उस वक़्त यह खयाल किया जाता है कि उनमें किस क्रोम के कितने आदमी हैं। यह नहीं खयाल किया जाता है कि किस को चुन करके हम हाकी में जीत सकते हैं। वहां यह गिनती की जाती है कि कितने दाढ़ी वाले हैं, कितने हिन्दू हैं और कितने और लोग हैं। इस दफा मैं समझता हूँ कि जो कर्मचारी हैं इसको देखने वाले, उनकी ग़लती से यह हार हुई है। उन्होंने सिलेक्शन किया ऐसे आदमियों का जिनकी वजह से हमारी हार हुई है। इसलिए हर बात में कम्युनैलिज्म अगर हम लाएंगे तो हमारा देश किसी मूरत में आगे नहीं बढ़ सकेगा, यह हमें यकीन रखना चाहिए। इस शेर पर मैं अब ख़त्म करता हूँ :

चमन में इख़लाते रंग बबू से बात बनती है।
हमीं हम हैं तो क्या हम हैं, तुही
तुम हो तो क्या तुम हो ॥

سردار نریندر سنگھ برار (پنجاب) •

وائس چیرمین صاحب - آپ کا شکریہ کہ آپ نے مجھے بیٹھ کر بولنے کی اجازت دی ہے۔ میں بھی راشٹر پتی صاحب کا شکریہ ادا کرتا مگر میں اپنے فرض کی کوناهی سمجھوں گا اگر میں نے تصویر کا دوسرا رخ آپ کے سامنے بیس نہیں کیا۔ بل اس کے کہ میں اپنی بات شروع کروں پنجاب کے دارے میں میں آپ کی نوجہ اس طرف دلاؤں گا جس کا ذکر ابھی میرے بھائی مسافر نے کیا ہے کہ یونائیٹڈ فرنٹ نے وہاں آکر کچھ ایسا کر دیا جس سے تمام گڑ بڑ ہوئی جیسا کہ انہیں وہم ہو گا۔ ڈانگ صاحب کے پاس تھا؟ - وہ سیول سپلائی کے منسٹر تھے صرف چہرہ میں ایک آدھ گڑ بڑ ہوئی تھی اور کہیں کچھ نہیں ہوا تھا۔ جہاں تک ڈفیکشن کا تعلق ہے پہلے ڈفیکشن دھاب کے اندر کانگریس نے کروایا مسٹر بلدیو سنگھ کو لے کر کے۔ اس کے بعد ہم نے ان کو کھینچ لیا اور یہ دیکھتے رہ گئے، کہتے رہ گئے کہ ہم کارروائی کرینگے۔ یونائیٹڈ فرنٹ نے جو احسا کام کیا ہندو سکھ ایکٹا لائی۔ سب فرموں کو اکٹھا کر کے ایک جگہ لا دیا اس کے لئے بہتر یہ تھا کہ وہ ہماری بیٹھ ٹھونکتے کہ ہم اس صوبہ میں یک جہتی لائے ہں۔

श्री गुरमुख सिंह मुसाफिर : मैंने युनाइटेड फ्रंट के खिलाफ कुछ नहीं कहा। मैंने इंडि-विजुअल एक मिसाल दी है मि० डाग की। उसको यह भी मानते हैं।

سردار نریندر سنگھ برار : ہم ان سے فیصلہ کرا لیتے ہں اور اگر وہ (defection) چھوڑ دینگے تو ہم بھی چھوڑ دینگے۔ اب میں اس بات کی طرف پھر آنا ہوں کہ ڈفیکشن ایک بری بات ہے اور اگر کانگریس نے فیصلہ دے دیا ہے اور وہ ٹھیک رہا تو ہم اس پر عمل کرینگے۔

جہاں تک ایگریکلچر میں رولیشن کا سوال ہے۔ میں مانتا ہوں کہ کسی حد تک ووڈ گرینس میں رولیشن آیا ہے لیکن ساتھ ہی میں یہ وارننگ دینا چاہتا ہوں ایک زمین دار ہونے کے ناتے کہ آپ اس رولیشن کو برباد کر دینگے اگر آپ نے کھاد اور پانی کا مسلسل خیال نہیں رکھا اور آپ کی نوجہ اس طرف برابر نہیں لگی رہی۔ ابھی پنجاب میں حالت یہ ہے کہ وہاں بجلی کی کمی ہے دریاؤں میں پانی نہیں ہے، بھرمل بلانٹ کی بات دیر سے جلی ہوئی ہے لیکن آب کے زیر غور ہی اس کو بین چار سال نکل جاتے ہیں اور قطعی ان کا دماغ اس طرف نہیں ہے کہ تھرمل بلانٹ ڈب لکے گا۔ اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ ہفتہ میں تین دن بجلی بند رہتی ہے

نہروں میں پانی نہیں ہے۔ میکسیکن وہیٹ جس سے کہا جانا ہے کہ رولیوٹن آجائے گا ایگریکلچر میں وہ رولیوٹن بھی قائم رہے گا جب پانی کی طرف بوری توجہ دی جائے گی۔ ویسے آب کا کیا ہے اگر کچھ نہیں ہوا تو آب باہر سے بھیک مانگ لائیں گے۔ لیکن اگر آب واقعی ایگریکلچر میں رولیوٹن لانا چاہتے ہیں تو آب کو پانی اور کھاد کا بڑا انتظام کرنا پڑے گا یہی ملک کا فیصلہ ہے اور جب تک آب اس طرف نہیں آسکے تب تک یہ رولیوٹن ناممکن ہے۔

اب دوسری طرف آب کاٹن کو دیکھ لیجئے۔ کاٹن کے اوپر کمرشیل ٹیکس بھی لگا ہوا ہے لیکن ۳۰ سال سے کاٹن میں ایک من ایکڑ بھی بڑھوتری نہیں ہوئی ہے۔ کون کہ لوگوں کو کوئی نئی وراثتی نہیں دی گئی ہے۔ جب کسی وقت یونائیٹڈ پنجاب ہوا کرتا تھا تب سے وہی وراثتی چلی آ رہی ہے اور اس پر بھی کمرشیل ٹیکس لگا دیا گیا۔ پھر بھی کھاد، بجلی، ڈیزل اور بیسٹی سائڈس میں سے کوئی بھی حقز وقت پر ضرورت کے مطابق لوگوں کو نہیں مل پاتی ہے۔ آج تیل اور ٹیریکٹر بھی لوگوں کو نہیں مل رہے ہیں۔ آج انہی کمر بوڑھنگائی ہو گئی ہے

جس سے زمین دار کوئی چیز نہیں لے سکتا۔ جب تک میکائڈ فارمیگ کو عملی جامہ نہیں پہنایا جائے گا تب تک کوئی خاص ڈولپمنٹ انگری۔ کلچر میں ہو نہیں سکتا۔ دوسری طرف جو دیہاتی فالتو لیسر ہے اس کے لئے اگر آب کوئی کارخانہ نہیں لکائیں گے۔ تو آب کا یہ سارا سارا پلان جو ہے وہ دھونک سمجھا جائے گا۔

پنجاب کا جہاں تک بعلو ہے وہاں فرقہ برستی کا برحار کانگریس نے کیا۔ فرقہ برستی کی بنا پر وہاں کانگریس لوگوں کو ٹکٹ دیتی ہے۔ آب کے لیڈر گناہ سنگھ رائے والا نے اسی سال کانگریس سے اسعمی دے دیا کہ آب سے یہ دیکھ کر کے کہ ہندو کتنے ہیں، سکھ کتنے ہیں، لوگوں کو ٹکٹ دیئے۔ جب مسٹر سرارجی دیسائی گئے تھے تو انہوں نے یہاں تک کہا کہ ہم سکھوں کا برحار بند کر دیں گے گرو دواروں میں۔ وہ یہ بھول جاتے ہیں کہ سکھوں کی بنیاد کیا ہے۔ یہ کہاں سے پیدا ہوئے اور ان کا طریقہ کیا ہے۔ جو ہمارے گورو سکھی لائے اور جمہوں نے عمیں سری اور سری کی دو بنواہیں دیں۔ اس کو نیا کی کوئی طاقت۔ ہم سے چھین نہیں سکتی۔ آج سمیج عبداللہ مسجد میں جا کر گزٹ برحار کر رہا ہے، اپنا پروگرام بنانا ہے اور

□ [سردار نریندر سنگھ برار]

اس کے لئے یہ بے بس ہیں اور کہتے ہیں ہم کیا کر سکتے ہیں - نو مندر، مسجد اور گورودواروں میں آب کو دخل نہیں دینا چاہئے اور آب کو رائے عامہ کو ساتھ لے کر چلنا چاہئے ناکہ آپ ملک کا بھلا کر سکیں - آخر پنجاب نے کیا برا کیا ہے؟ کیا گناہ کیا ہے؟ پنجاب کا یہی گناہ ہے کہ اس نے سب سے زیادہ بہادر نوجوان فوج میں بھیجے اور جو بجے ہیں وہ دن رات کھیتی میں لڑتے ہیں اور ملک کی پیداوار بڑھاتے ہیں - آپ یہ دیکھئے کہ پنجاب کے اندر کبھی کوئی گڑبڑ نہیں ہوئی - میں دعویٰ کے ساتھ کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ ہمارے پنجاب میں لا اینڈ آرڈر باقی ہندوستان کے سبھی صوبوں سے بہتر ہے - میں نے سب جگہ دیکھا ہے کہ کہیں لا اینڈ آرڈر کی کوئی چیز نہیں ہے اور ہر جگہ لا اینڈ آرڈر برائے نام ہے - میں یو۔ پی۔ کی لا اینڈ آرڈر کا ایک ممبر ہوں اور وہاں کی حالت دیکھ کر میں حیران رہ جاتا ہوں - میں نے ایک دن شکلا صاحب سے کہا کہ آپ پنجاب میں آ کر دیکھ لیجئے پھر آپ کو پتہ لگ جائے گا کہ وہاں کتنا فرق ہے - آج بنگال کی جو حالت ہے لا اینڈ آرڈر کی وہ سبھی کو معلوم ہے - ہمارا

پنجاب ہمیشہ سے ملک کا وفادار رہا ہے -

ان باتوں کی طرف اور زیادہ توجہ دینی چاہئے ہوئے میں اتنا ہی کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہم نے ۳ جولائی کو ایک میمورنڈم رائٹر پتی صاحب کو دیا تھا - میرے دستخط بھی اس میمورنڈم پر تھے - اس میمورنڈم کے بارے میں کچھ نہیں کہا گیا - وہاں گورنر کے ایڈوائزر جو نرونا صاحب تھے اور جو ایک اچھے آفیسر ہیں انہوں نے لکھا تھا کہ کم سے کم ان میں سے چار محاملات ایسے ہیں جو بالکل صاف ہو چکے ہیں - اس کے بعد سی۔ سی۔ آئی کی رپورٹ آئی - اگر اس میں نہوڑی بھی دیانت داری ہوتی اور وہاں لا اینڈ آرڈر کو سنبھالنے کا خیال ہوتا تو جب کچھ گڑبڑ ہو، جب کوئی زیادتی ہو اسی وقت اگر حکومت ایکشن میں نہیں آنے لگی تو وہ کام بننے کا نہیں ہے -

میں پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں شکلا صاحب سے کہ کیوں لچھمن سنگھ گل کو گرفتار کر کے اس پر مقدمہ نہیں چلایا جاتا جب نرونا صاحب نے لکھ دیا کہ ۷ معاملوں میں برائیا فیسی کہیں بنتا ہے - اس کے بعد ایک وجہ ہو سکتی ہے مجھے ذاتی طور پر علم ہے پنجاب کے کانگریسی پہلے اس کو

مبارک باد دیتے تھے اور اس کی وکالت کرتے تھے اب اس نے انہیں کا سیرازہ نکمیر دیا۔ میں حیران تھا کہ کیوں اس کی بات سستے تھے اور اس کو کڑ بڑ کرنے دیتے تھے۔ دوسرے ہاؤس میں بحث ہوئی پنجاب کے اوپر۔ ایوزیشن پارسوں نے دو چیچکا چلانا تھا لیکن کانگریسی ممبران نے بھی کہا کہ کل نے کریسن کی حدود بار کر دی ہیں۔ انتہا کر دی ہے کریسن کے بارے میں، پھر بھی کوئی قدم نہیں اٹھایا۔ اس کے بعد اب کے ناس رپورٹ آتی تھی کہ قتل و غارت، ڈاکے، دہشت اتنی ہو گئی ہے کہ وہاں جمہوریہ کا نام و نشان نہیں ہے پھر بھی ہماری کیندریہ سرکار نے اس کے خلاف ایکشن نہیں لیا غالباً اس لئے کہ شاید گل نے ان کو کہہ رکھا تھا کہ ہم گورودواروں میں سکھوں کو بھگا دینگے۔ اور انڈائریکٹائی سیمی کانگریس راج کر دیں گے۔ میں حیران ہوں ایک بدمعاش آدمی، ایک لٹیرا آدمی کیندر کو جکھم دے کر ایک سرحدی صوبہ کو تباہ کر دے اور اس پر فوری ایکشن نہ ہو۔ ایڈمنسٹریشن کا کام ہے کہ انہیں یہ ڈائریکشن دے نہیں تو وہ ایڈمنسٹریشن کام نہیں کر سکتا۔ جوان صاحب قابل ہیں اور میں چاہتا ہوں اور کئی جوان صاحب ہوں لیکن اسی کے ساتھ

میں کہوں گا کہ ان کے ایکشن میں فرو ہے۔ جو تھوسینا ہے اسی ہاؤس میں میں نے آوار اٹھائی تھی کہ اس سسٹم کے اوپر کانگریس کا ہاتھ ہے۔ اب ریکارڈ نکلوا کر دیکھئے۔ اب آئیڈمنسٹریس میں بیٹھے ہیں اب آئیڈمنسٹریس کو دیکھا جائے کہ ہر آدمی کا رنگ ڈھنگ کیا ہے۔ چال کیا ہے۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ایسا ایڈمنسٹریٹر، ایسا ورکر، ہی افسیسٹ کہا جائے گا۔ میرے اور دوسرے بھی کہہ چکے ہیں۔ طالب علموں کی روس بہر عطل ہے مان لیتا ہوں لیکن ۲۰ سال تک ایجوکیشن کے محکمہ نے نکمی کامیں دے کر نکما انتظام رکھ کر ان کی طرف کوئی بوجہ نہیں دی۔ اب کہتے ہیں کہ ان کو بھکاؤ اور باہوں کو رہے دو۔ وہ اپنے ماں باپ کے ساتھ رہتے ہیں۔ ببادلہ خیالات کرتے ہیں ان سے الگ تو نہیں ہو سکتے۔ میں چاہوں گا کہ ان کے لئے فوری طور پر کام کریں اور جو انہوں نے سچھاؤ دیئے ہیں کتابوں میں غلطیوں کے بارے میں انہیں دور کریں۔ اسٹوڈنٹس میں ایک سوسل ایلیمنٹ طبقہ پیدا کیا جائے تاکہ ان کے سوچنے کا ڈھنگ بدلا جا سکے۔ کوئی اسٹوڈنٹ اکلوتا بیٹا ہونا ہے گولی کھا کر مر جانا ہے۔ سارے گھر میں ماتم جھا جاتا ہے جو آس لگائے بیٹھے ہیں ان

□ [سردار نریندر سنگھ برار]

چاروں کا خانہ ہو جاتا ہے۔ اگر ڈگری مل بھی جاتی ہے تو پھر بھی وہ دھکے کھائے پھرتے ہیں۔ اگر آپ کو طالب علم نہیں چاہئے، انجینئر نہیں چاہئے تو کالج بند کر دیجئے۔ وہ تعلیم کے لئے ادھار ایتے ہیں ان کا کچھ نکل جاتا ہے اور اس کے بعد وہ مارے مارے پھرتے ہیں۔ اس طرف توجہ دینے کی ضرورت ہے۔

جہاں تک فارن پالیسی کا تعلق ہے میں صرف اتنا کہوں گا کہ انٹی مانوس اور بے ہودہ پالیسی میں نے کہیں نہیں دیکھی۔ چاروں طرف نگاہ ڈال کر دیکھیں کون دیس ان کا دوست ہے کس دیش سے ان کا تعلق ہے۔ اس کے مقابلہ میں پاکستان ایک چھوٹا سا ملک ہے اس کے دوست دیکھیں جو اسے اسلحہ دیتے ہیں اور بروقت ضرورت آپ کے خلاف فوج بھی بھیجینگے۔ اب کی توجہ لگی ہوئی ہے ٹانگ کھینچنے پر، گرانے پر اور انٹی کرسی بچانے پر۔ اسی کے لئے آپ سارا زور لگا رہے ہیں۔ ہم چاہتے ہیں کہ بہتر ٹریننگ ہو، بہترین اسلحہ ہو، ہر بچہ کو، ہر نوجوان کو، ہر عورت کو، ہر بوڑھے کو، فوجی ٹریننگ دی جائے تاکہ ہم وقت پر کام آسکیں۔ میں

ذاتی طور پر کہتا ہوں کہ اگر اس مقصد کے لئے ٹیکس بھی لگا دیا جائے تو میں اس کا سواگت کروں گا بشرطیکہ وہ سارا کا سارا ڈیفنس میں لگے۔ اب سوچ رہے ہیں کہ نہ ہمارا دشمن چھوٹا سا ملک ہے۔ آٹکھ کھول کر دیکھئے اسرائیل کتنا بڑا ملک ہے، کتنے دسمنوں سے گھیرا ہوا ہے لیکن اس کی ایک پالیسی ہے کہ فتح کی ہوئی ایک انچ زمین نہیں چھوڑے گا۔ کہا جاتا ہے کہ فلاں جگہ جوڑڈن کا حصہ چھوڑ دو لیکن اسرائیل نہیں چھوڑتا، کہتا ہے اس جگہ سے مجھے خطرہ ہے، یہاں سے حملہ ہو سکتا ہے۔ مگر یہاں ہم نے انہی ہونہار ساہی نوجوان ایک ایک انچ کے لئے مروانے اور مروانے کے بعد کیا کیا بھر بچھلی لائن پر جہاں تھے وہاں واپس آ گئے۔ ایک ایک انچ کے لئے بہادری بڑھو، دشمن کو جیسا ہے لاہور کو فتح کرنا ہے بڑے کمال کے نعرے تھے اس کے بعد سب کی لائیں لے کر اسی حد پر واپس آ گئے۔ یہ نہایت شرم کی بات ہے جس کو نہیں کرنا چاہئے تھا۔ آرمی کے افسروں سے پوچھنا چاہئے تھا کہ کون کون سے پوائنٹ ہم کو رکھنے چاہیں۔ اس لئے میں کہوں گا کہ ہم اسٹرائٹ منسٹر چاہتے ہیں،

श्री गुरुमुख सिंह मुसाफिर : मैंने यूनाइटेड फ्रण्ट के खिलाफ कुछ नहीं कहा। मैंने इंडिविजुअल एक मिसाल दी है मि० डांग की। उसको यह भी मानते हैं।

सरदार नरेन्दर सिंह नार : हम उनमें फैसला करानेते हैं और अगर वह डिफैक्शन छोड़ देंगे तो हम भी छोड़ देंगे। अब मैं इस बान की तरफ फिर आता हूं कि डिफैक्शन एक बुरी बात है और अगर कांग्रेस ने फैसला दे दिया है और वह ठीक रहा तो हम इस पर अमल करेंगे।

जहां तक एग्रीकल्चर में रेवोल्यूशन का सवाल है, मैं मानता हूं कि किसी हद तक फूड ग्रेन्स में रेवोल्यूशन आया है लेकिन साथ ही मैं यह वारनिंग देना चाहता हूं एक जमींदार होने के नाते कि आप इस रेवोल्यूशन को बर्बाद कर देंगे अगर आपने खाद और पानी का मुसलसल ख्याल नहीं रखा और आपकी तबज्जो इस तरफ बराबर नहीं लगी रही। अभी पंजाब में हालत यह है कि वहां बिजली की कमी है दरयाओं में पानी नहीं है। थर्मल प्लांट की बात देर से चली हुई है लेकिन आपके जेरगौर ही इसको तीन चार साल निकल जाते हैं और कतई उनका दिमाग इस तरफ नहीं है कि थर्मल प्लांट कब लगेगा? इसका नतीजा यह है कि हफ्ता में तीन दिन बिजली बन्द रहती है, नहरों में पानी नहीं है। मेक्सीकन ह्वीट जिससे कहा जाता है कि रेवोल्यूशन आ जाएगा एग्रीकल्चर में वह रेवोल्यूशन तभी कायम रहेगा जब पानी की तरफ पूरी तबज्जो दी जाएगी। वैसे आपका क्या है अगर कुछ नहीं हुआ तो आप बाहर से भीख मांग लाएंगे। लेकिन अगर आप वाकई एग्रीकल्चर में रेवोल्यूशन लाना चाहते हैं तो आपको पानी और खाद का पूरा इन्तजाम करना पड़गा। यही मुल्क का फैसला है और जब

तक आप इस तरफ नहीं आएंगे तब तक यह रेवोल्यूशन नामुमकिन है।

अब दूसरी तरफ आप काटन को देख लीजिए। काटन के ऊपर कर्मशियल टैक्स भी लगा हुआ है लेकिन 30 साल से काटन में एक मन एकड भी बढ़ोत्तरी नहीं हुई है। क्योंकि लोगों को कोई नई वराइटी नहीं दी गई है। जब किमी वक्त यूनाइटेड पंजाब हुआ करता था तब से वही वराइटी चली आ रही है और इस पर भी कर्मशियल टैक्स लगा दिया गया। फिर भी खाद, बिजली, डीज़ल और पेस्टिसाइड्स में से कोई भी चीज वक्त पर जरूरत के मुताबिक लोगों को नहीं मिल पाती है। आज तेल और ट्रैक्टर भी लोगों को नहीं मिल रहे हैं। आज इतनी कमर तोड़ महंगाई हो गई है जिसमें जमींदार कोई चीज नहीं ले सकता। जब तक मैकेनाइज्ड फार्मिंग को अमली जामा नहीं पहनाया जाएगा तब तक कोई खास डेवलपमेंट एग्रीकल्चर में हों नहीं संकता। दूसरी तरफ जो देहाती फालतू लेबर है उसके लिए अगर आप कोई कारखाना नहीं लगाएंगे तो आप का यह सारा का सारा प्लान जो है वह ढोंग समझा जाएगा।

पंजाब का जहां तक ताल्लुक है वहां फिरक़ा परस्ती का प्रचार कांग्रेस ने किया। फिरक़ा परस्ती की बिना पर वहां कांग्रेस लोगों को टिकट देती है। आपके लीडर ज्ञान सिंह राड़ेवाला ने इसी बिना पर कांग्रेस से इस्तीफा दे दिया कि आपने यह देख कर के कि हिन्दू कितने हैं, सिक्ख कितने हैं लोगों को टिकट दिए। जब मिस्टर मुरार जी देमाई गए थे तो उन्होंने यहां तक कहा कि हम सिक्खों का प्रचार बन्द कर देंगे गुरुद्वारों में। वह यह भूल जाते हैं कि सिक्खों की बुनियाद क्या है। यह कहां से पैदा हुए और उनका तरीका क्या है। जो हमारे गुरु सिक्खी लाए और जिन्होंने हमें

मीरी और पीगी की दो तलवारे दी उसको दुनिया की कोई ताकत हमसे छीन नहीं सकती। आज शेख अब्दुल्ला मस्जिद में जा कर गड़बड़ प्रचार करता है अपना प्रोग्राम बनाता है और उसके लिए यह बेवस है और कहते हैं हम क्या कर सकते हैं। तो मन्दिर मस्जिद और गुह्द्वारों में आपको दखल नहीं देना चाहिए और आपको राय आमा को साथ लेकर चलना चाहिए ताकि आप मुल्क का भला कर सके। आखिर पंजाब ने क्या बुरा किया है? क्या गुनाह किया है? पंजाब का यही गुनाह है कि इसने सब से ज्यादा बहादुर नौजवान फौज में भेजे और जो बचे हैं वह दिन रात खेती में लड़ते हैं और मुल्क की पैदावार बढ़ाते हैं। आप यह देखिए कि पंजाब के अन्दर कभी कोई गड़बड़ नहीं हुई। मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि हमारे पंजाब में ला एण्ड आर्डर बाकी हिन्दुस्तान के सभी सूबों से बेहतर है। मैंने सब जगह देखा है कि कहीं ला एण्ड आर्डर की कोई चीज़ नहीं है और हर जगह ला एण्ड आर्डर बराए नाम है। मैं यू० पी० की ला एण्ड आर्डर का एक मेम्बर हूँ और वहाँ की हालत देख कर मैं हैरान रह जाता हूँ। मैंने एक दिन शुक्ला साहब से कहा कि आप पंजाब में आ कर देख लीजिए फिर आपको पता लग जाएगा कि वहाँ कितना फर्क है। आज वगाल की जो हालत है ला एण्ड आर्डर को वह सभी को मालूम है। हमारा पंजाब हमेशा से मुल्क का वफादार रहा है।

इन बातों की तरफ और ज्यादा न जाते हुए मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमने 4 जुलाई को एक मेमोरेडम राष्ट्रपति साहब को दिया था। मेरे दस्तखत भी इस मेमोरेडम पर थे। इस मेमोरेडम के बारे में कुछ नहीं किया गया। वहाँ गवर्नर के एडवाइजर जो नरूना साहब थे और जो एक अच्छे आफिसर हैं उन्होंने लिखा

था कि कम से कम इन में से चार मामलात ऐसे हैं जो बिल्कुल साफ हो चुके हैं इसके बाद सी० वी० आई० की रिपोर्ट आई। अगर इसमें थोड़ी भी दियानतदारी होती और वहाँ ला एण्ड आर्डर को सभासने का ख्याल होता तो जब कुछ गड़बड़ हो, जब कोई ज्यादाती हो उसी वक़्त अगर हुकूमत एक्शन में नहीं आएगी तो वह काम बनने का नहीं है।

मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ शुक्ला साहब से कि क्यों लठमन सिंह गिल को गिरफ्तार करके उस पर मुकदमा नहीं चलाया जाता जब नरूना साहब ने लिख दिया कि 7 मामलों में प्राइमफेसी केस बनता है। इसके बाद एक वजह हो सकती है मुझे ज़ाती तौर पर इल्म है। पंजाब के कांग्रेसी पहले उसको मुबारिकबाद देते थे और उसकी वकालत करते थे। अब उसने उन्हीं का शीराज़ा बख़ेर दिया। मैं हैरान था कि क्यों इसकी बात सुनते थे और उसको गड़बड़ करने देते थे। दूसरे हाउस में बहस हुई पंजाब के ऊपर। अपोज़ीशन पार्टियों ने तो चीखना चिल्लाना था लेकिन कांग्रेसी मेम्बरान ने भी कहा कि गिल ने करप्शन की हद्द पार कर दी है। इन्तहा कर दी है करप्शन के बारे में फिर भी कोई कदम नहीं उठाया। इसके बाद आप के पास रिपोर्ट आती थी कि कतल व गारत, डाके, दहशत इतनी हो गई है कि वहाँ जम्मूरियत का नाम व निशान नहीं है फिर भी हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार ने इसके खिलाफ एक्शन नहीं लिया गालबन इसलिए कि शायद गिल ने उनको कह रखा था कि हम गुह्द्वारों में सिक्खों को भगा देंगे। और इन्डायरेक्टली सेमी-कांग्रेस राज कर देंगे। मैं हैरान हूँ एक बदमाश आदमी, एक लुटेरा आदमी केन्द्र को चकमा दे कर एक सरहदी सूबा को तबाह कर दे और इस पर फोरी एक्शन न हो। एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का काम है कि

[सरदार नरेन्द्र सिंह आर]

उन्हे यह डायरेक्शन दे नहीं तो वह एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन काम नहीं कर सकता। चह्वाण साहब काबिल हैं और मैं चाहता हूँ और कई चह्वाण साहब हों लेकिन इसी के साथ मैं कहूँगा कि उनके एक्शन में फर्क है। जो शिव सेना है इसी हाउस में मैंने आवाज उठाई थी कि उस सेना के ऊपर कांग्रेस का हाथ है। आप रिकार्ड निकलवा कर देखिए। आप जब एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में बैठे हैं तब आपको देखना चाहिए कि हर आदमी का रंग ढंग क्या है। चाल क्या है। मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसा एडमिनिस्ट्रेटर, ऐसा वज़ीर ही एफ़ीशेट कहा जाएगा। मेरे और दोस्त भी कह चुके हैं। तालिब-इलमों की रविश बहुत गलत है मान लेता हूँ लेकिन 20 साल तक एजुकेशन के महकमे ने निकम्मी किताबें दे कर निकम्मा इन्तज़ाम रखकर उनकी तरफ कोई तवज्जो नहीं दी। अब कहते हैं कि उनको भगाओ और बाकियों की रहने दो। वे अपने मा बाप के साथ रहते हैं। तबादलाएँ छ्यालात करते हैं। उनसे अलग तो नहीं हो सकते। मैं चाहूँगा कि उनके लिए फोरी तौर पर काम करे और जो उन्होंने सुझाव दिए हैं किताबों में गलतियों के बारे में उन्हें दूर करें। स्टूडेंट्स में एक सोशल एलीमेंट तबका पैदा किया जाए ताकि उनके सोचने का ढंग बदला जा सके। कोई स्टूडेंट इक्लीता बेटा होता है गोली खा कर मर जाता है, सारे घर में मातम छा जाता है जो आस लगाए बैठे हैं उन बेचारों का खातमा हो जाता है। अगर डिग्री मिल भी जाती है तो फिर भी वह धक्के खाते फिरते हैं। अगर आपको तालिब-इलम नहीं चाहिएं, इंजीनियर नहीं चाहिएं तो कालिज बन्द कर दीजिए। व तालीम के लिए उधार लेते हैं उनका कच्मर निकल जाता है और उसके बाद वह मारे-मारे फिरते हैं। इस तरफ तवज्जो देने की ज़रूरत है।

जहाँ तक फारेन पालिसी का ताल्लुक है मैं सिर्फ इतना कहूँगा कि इतनी मायूस और बेहूदा पालिसी मैंने कहीं नहीं देखी। चारों तरफ निगाह डाल कर देखें, कौन देश इनका दोस्त है। किस देश से इनका ताल्लुक है। इसके मुकाबले में पाकिस्तान एक छोटा सा मुल्क है उसके दोस्त देखे जो इसे असलाह देते हैं और बरवक्ते ज़रूरत आपके खिलाफ़ फौज भी भेजेंगे। आपकी तवज्जो लगी हुई है टांग खींचने पर, गिराने पर और अपनी कुर्सी बचाने पर इसी के लिए आप सारा ज़ोर लगा रहे हैं हम चाहते हैं कि बेहतर ट्रेनिंग हो, बेहतरीन असलाह हो, हर बच्चे को, हर नौजवान को, हर औरत को, हर बूढ़े को फौजी ट्रेनिंग दी जाए ताकि हम वक़्त पर काम आ सकें। मैं जाती तौर पर कहता हूँ कि अगर इस मकसद के लिए टैक्स भी लगा दिया जाए तो मैं उसका स्वागत करूँगा बशर्ते कि वह सारा का सारा डिफेंस में लगे। आप सोच रहे हैं कि यह हमारा दुश्मन छोटा सा मुल्क है। आँख खोल कर देखिए इस्राइल कितना बड़ा मुल्क है, कितने दुश्मनों से घिरा हुआ है लेकिन उसकी एक पालिसी है कि फतह की हुई एक इन्च ज़मीन नहीं छोड़ेगा। कहा जाता है कि फलां जगह जोर्डन का हिस्सा छोड़ दो लेकिन इस्राइल नहीं छोड़ता, कहता है इस जगह से मुझे खतरा है यहाँ से हमला हो सकता है। मगर यहाँ हमने अपने होनहार सिपाही, नौजवान एक-एक इन्च के लिए मरवाए और मरवाने के बाद क्या किया फिर पिछली लाइन पर जहाँ थे वहाँ वापस आ गए। एक-एक इन्च के लिए बहादुरो बढ़ो, दुश्मन को जीतना है, लाहौर को फतह करना है, बड़े कमाल के नारे थे उसके बाद सबकी लाशें लेकर इसी हद पर वापस आ गए। यह निहायत शर्म की बात है जिसको नहीं करना चाहिए था। आर्मी के आफिसरों से

पूछना चाहिए था कि कौन-कौन से प्वाइन्ट हमको रखने चाहिए। इसलिए मैं कहूंगा कि हम स्ट्रॉंग मिनिस्टर चाहते हैं। वीक मिनिस्टर नहीं चाहते। हमें जनरल ध्यान जैसे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर चाहिए।

अब आप हैवी इंडस्ट्रीज को देखें कितने परसेंट हैवी इंडस्ट्रीज आपने पंजाब को दी है। आप गरीबों के पास जाते हैं, हरिजनों के पास जाते हैं, बड़े-बड़े सब्ज बाग़ दिखाते हैं, पांच साल के बाद सब कुछ ले कर जाते हैं। हैवी इंडस्ट्रीज ही उनको कनज्यूम कर सकती है आपको डर है इंडस्ट्रीज लगने से दंगे पैदा होते रहेंगे, आप अपना काम करें। हैवी इंडस्ट्री देनी चाहिए। हमारे पंजाब में थर्मल प्लांट होना चाहिए और ज्यादा से ज्यादा रुपया मिलना चाहिए।

पानों के बारे में भी केन्द्र को दखल देना चाहिए। हर किसान को कर्ज़ा मिलना चाहिए क्योंकि जब तक किसान नहीं उठेगा तरक्की नहीं होगा।

आपने यह थी टायर सिस्टम पंचायत राज का दिया जिससे सिर्फ तकलीफें ही बढ़ी हैं, ईंटे-बेटी में झगड़े हुए हैं। जब वे मुकदमाबाजी में लगे रहेंगे और कचहरियों के चक्कर में फंसे रहेंगे तो पैदावार कैसे बढ़ेगी। आपने डिवाइड एण्ड रूल बनाया हुआ है। एक सरपच हटता है, दूसरे की पार्टी बनती है, इस नाकिस सिस्टम ने सारे देश को तबाह किया है। आप हवाई जहाज़ से उड़कर कहीं चले भी जाएंगे, हमें तो यही मरना है। कहना बहुत था लेकिन टाइम कम है। इसलिए मैं आपका शुक्रिया अदा करते हुए खतम करता हूँ।]

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD (Maharashtra):
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, of course, I will be very brief. I will confine myself to certain important points only. Going through the President's Address you will find that there are certain omissions as regards the

down-trodden masses, the exploited people and so many other things. First of all, you will find, Sir, that the Constitution has said that the Government will remove unemployment. You will find that instead of removing unemployment, unemployment is increasing day by day. The Government is unable to do anything. So, for your information I quote a few instances. I have got before me a statement showing the number of applications on the Live Register of all the categories including clerical, technical and unskilled labourers. When we became independent, at that time, you will find that on the Register there were only 2,39,033 persons, both skilled and unskilled labourers. But today you will find that the number has increased very much. I have got figures for every year to show how it has increased, but I do not want to take the valuable time of this House. I will only read out a few figures. In the year 1968 the number has increased to 30,11,642. This will go to prove how this number is increasing day by day. The Government is not in a position to solve this problem. Secondly, I will tell you that there is a big number of agricultural labourers. The number of agricultural labourers is more than eight crores. They are engaged by the agriculturists for 4 or 5 months in a year during the harvesting season and whenever they are required. For all other days they are idle. There is no other work. At some places they bring headloads of firewood and sell them. Sometimes their ladies bring headloads of grass and sell in the market. With great difficulty they earn their bread. You will find that their daily income comes to three annas. There was a debate on this in the Lok Sabha and Pandit Nehru said it was twelve annas but Dr. Lohia, M.P. proved that it was 3 to 4 annas per day. You can imagine how these people live within these scanty wages. No mention has been made in this regard in the President's Address. Of course some friends were vehemently debating on the problem of unemployed engineers. I have also full sympathy with them. They have spent thousands of rupees for their education but I may tell you that all of them come from better families; otherwise, if they had come from poor families, their parents would not have been able to spend so much money. They

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are not thrown on the streets today. They are living at least from hand to mouth but that is not the case with the agricultural labour. Among the agricultural labour you will find a number of people coming from the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. If they do not get any work, they leave the village and come to the cities such as Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, etc. They do not get accommodation to live. So they construct their huts wherever there is land available, whether it belongs to the Government or private parties. When the huts are constructed, the Government decides to demolish them without informing them. There was a big agitation by the Republican Party in 1964 about the demolition of huts. At that time Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri promised that no huts would be demolished unless and until they were provided with alternative sites or accommodation. Now-a-days you will find every day huts are being demolished without any notice and even in winter several huts were demolished. A representation was made to the Government and the Government was also helpless. They said that it belonged to the Delhi Administration. The Delhi Administration said that there were orders from the Government. It goes on like this. They are our own people. When we are not in a position to improve their economic condition in their villages, they naturally come here to earn their bread and when they live in the huts, we do not allow them to live there and when the huts are demolished, they are thrown far away, twenty miles away from Delhi. They had come here to earn their livelihood. Are they earning their bread if they go 20 miles away? No. It is for the Government and this House to decide as to what they should do. They are the masses and we are not doing any good to them. Every day you find that I receive complaints that they are thrown away. They have admitted their children in the nearby schools. If you throw them away, the children will not get admission in any other school and they will lose everything. In these circumstances the Government should take note of this and see that some alternative site is provided where there are schools.

Many Members were speaking vehemently about the plight of refugees from Zanzibar, Burma and other places and wanted the Government to look after their welfare. Nobody will say that we should not do that. You are going to make provision for those who are coming from foreign countries but what about the refugees who are here for centuries together? When refugees come from outside countries, you provide them food, clothing, tents and even colonies. Those refugees who had come from Pakistan some 21 years back have now constructed decent refugee colonies but for centuries together for those who have been refugees in this country, what have this Government done? They are hutless. No huts are allowed to be constructed for them. This is a very pitiable condition. The Government should do something for their welfare. Many Members have spoken that the Government should make provision for the outsiders who are coming here but have they thought about the people in this country? Secondly, about those who live in the villages, what is their position? Several instances have come to us. You find what happened in Madras. You saw the ill-treatment, burning of localities, burning of persons etc., in the villages. In the district of Kistna, at Kanchakacharla on 24-2-68 it is well-known that forty-four persons were killed. In Andhra a Scheduled Caste boy was burnt alive. Immediately after that, you will find that I had a talk with the Home Minister—Shri Chavan—and I said that I am going to raise this question through a Calling Attention Motion. He said that he would accept it. As soon as our Session started I had submitted the Calling Attention Notice. When I saw the Chairman he was pleased to assure me that the Calling Attention Motion would be accepted. Then the next day I waited for that motion but some other motion was accepted. When I again asked the Chairman, he said: 'I am sorry, instead of accepting your Calling Attention Motion, we will see that you get a Short Notice Question accepted.' Immediately the Short Notice Question was given on the 18th and even today I am told that they have not received the reply from the Home Minister. Going through the procedure for the House as to how the Business should be conducted, I find that if the

Minister does not accept the Short Notice Question, the Chairman will put the question first. Now he says: 'You approach the Home Minister'. Is it the job of the Member to approach the Ministers? What is the office doing? These Scheduled Caste people are suppressed outside and even their representatives are suppressed here. It is a shameful state of affairs. I am very sorry to say this. You will find that persons in Andhra and Madras were burnt. At Beharu in the district of Banda one Scheduled Caste man was arrested by the police on a false complaint. A complaint was made by the Thakur of the village and he was taken into police custody. The Thakur of the village went to the police station and caught hold of Scheduled Caste man while he was in police custody, removed his eyes and he fired him with bullets and he was killed in the police station. And when the Thakur returned home, he raped the wife of that Scheduled Caste man. When these things are happening, can we say, "Oh, we are fit for *Swaraj*"! Is there anybody who can come forward and say, "Oh, we are having our *Swaraj* and we are running a good Government?" Can anybody say this?

You will find that that is not the only case. There are other cases where Scheduled Caste boys are burnt alive. I do not want to take your time narrating these incidents. Hearing all these things you will see that this Government is not capable of running a good Government. When I see these cases, it reminds me of a proverb in Marathi which is this: "मिलमिलति

मीभाग्या पेक्षां ढलढलति वैधव्य बरे"

Perhaps many of you may not understand the meaning of this, and so I shall explain it. The meaning of this is that it is better to lead the life of a widow than to continue to be the wife of an impotent husband. Similar is the case with the Government. Now we are very proud, we call ourselves as the people running the Government. Many of you may be proud of it. But everybody must have some shame when we see these incidents happening when our own national Government is in office. They are not a few incidents. I see hundreds of incidents in the report of the Perumal Committee; you will find that the report is full of these cases; for want of time I cannot

mention them here. So that is what is happening. We want our own Government, but it should be a good Government looking after the welfare of all. But from what we see, nobody will say that our Government is a good Government. It is better to be under a foreign Government—I would prefer that—rather than be under this type of Government, which is ruining the whole country, which is giving no safeguards to the down-trodden masses.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore): Don't you see that self-government is better than foreign Government?

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD: Yes, self-government is always better, provided it is better than the rule by a foreign Government. But are we still competent enough to rule the country properly? Think for yourself; put your hand on your chest and decide for yourself.

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM (Andhra Pradesh): With a Home Minister like this it makes no difference whether it is self-government or foreign Government.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD: Of course, I just want to mention one thing. The main thing is this that when the Scheduled Caste people live in villages you don't allow them to stay there. Generally speaking, they have got separate localities, which you call *maharwada*, *chamarwada* or *mangwada* or some other name. By whatever name called, it is there in every village; in every village you will find two separate villages, so to say, one inhabited by the Scheduled Caste people and the other by the caste Hindus and you do not allow them to mix with you people. Suppose a Scheduled Caste man wants to purchase a house in a caste Hindu village, they do not allow him to purchase it, and if he does in spite of it, the caste Hindus will burn his house. In the circumstances, even before independence, the late Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar had said: "If they don't want us to stay with them, to live in their midst, then the better course for the Government would be to acquire some land adjacent to the Government land; wherever there is considerable Government land available, it should be given to the Scheduled Caste people for

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settlement. And let us have them separate settlements." And if we demand this, naturally, there will be criticism from some of our friends against it, and they will say, "Oh, we do not want to segregate the Scheduled Caste people." Generally speaking, the Scheduled Caste people are already segregated. Yet you do not want that they should stay in a separate settlement, and if they want to go to a different place and construct their houses there, caste Hindus will put forward this plea against them. But I am glad to say that Government has accepted that scheme, and in Mysore, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Madras the Governments have accepted this separate colonisation of the Scheduled Caste people. Land is given to them there and they are made independent people. No question of untouchability is there and so they are leading a happy life. You will find that Baba Saheb Ambedkar had said, "What is the use of your talking about closer integration of the Scheduled Caste people with the caste Hindus? There are these differences of opinion and differential treatment, and when they are there, there is no other go but to demand separate colonisation of the Scheduled Caste people."

(Time bell rings)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : It is time that you brought your remarks to a close.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD : I have yet a lot to say more from what I find on going through these pages, and there are two or three pages left from which I wanted to say. But I do not want to displease you by taking more time. So my difficulty is that we people are suppressed outside and we people are suppressed here also, inside. You will find that the population of the Scheduled Caste people is not less than something like 12 to 15 per cent in some States, and it is 25 per cent in the all-India population. Now I want to raise questions relating to the Scheduled Caste people and my friend, Mr. Appan, wants to talk, and if we people are not allowed to talk, it is nothing but suppression.

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu) : Exploitation.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD : We are already exploited; there is no question of exploitation, but suppression has started again. I know you, I know your heart. I know what you are and I can request you to give us time to speak, but as regards the policy and attitude of the Government it is not in favour of we people. So unless and until you change it there will be no improvement at all. I can only request that you all people and Government should consider this problem very seriously and see that something is done.

Thank you.

सरदार रघुबीर सिंह पंजारी (पंजाब) : मिस्टर वाइस चैयरमैन, सर, मुझे अफसोस है कि मैं उस वक्त हाउस में नहीं था जब लोकनाथ मिश्र जी ने बघेल साहब के बारे में प्वाइन्ट रेज किया। मुझे अफसोस है कि बघेल साहब की अचानक डेथ हुई। साढ़े नौ बजे उनको जब हास्पिटल ले जाया गया तो मैं भी उसी वक्त हास्पिटल में पहुंच गया। उसके बाद मैंने हेल्थ मिनिस्टर को टेलीफोन किया और मिस्टर के० के० शाह वहां पर आए। उन्होंने कहा कि जितना भी खर्च इनको बचाने के लिए मेडिसन पर हो, उसके लिए आपको किसी की पर्मिशन नहीं लेनी है, उसको आप करिए, जितनी मेडिकल एंड आपको इनको दे सकते हैं वह आप दीजिए और आप बाहर के डाक्टर्स लाना चाहें तो उनको भी लाया जाए। उसके बाद अनफार्चुनेटली पौने एक बजे उनकी डेथ हो गई। फिर पौने तीन बजे तक उनके रिश्तेदारों ने यह डिसाइड नहीं किया कि उनकी बाड़ी का क्या किया जाए, यहां पर संस्कार किया जाए या उनके गांव पर भेजा जाए। बाद में उन्होंने हमें बताया कि उनकी बाड़ी को उनके गांव भेजना चाहिए। जहां तक सर्विस प्लेन का सवाल है, सर्विस प्लेन नेक्स्ट मॉर्निंग जाता था और दूसरे दिन शाम को उनकी बाड़ी उनके गांव पहुंच सकती थी। चार्डर्स प्लेन हम नहीं कर सकते

थे। इसलिए उनके रिश्तेदारों ने यह कहा कि ट्रेन का अगर इन्तज़ाम हो जाए तो अच्छा है। चुनांचे हमने ट्रेन में चार सीटें उनके लिए रिज़र्व करा दीं और बाड़ी का इन्तज़ाम किया ले जाने का। उसके लिए एक रेलवे आफ़िसर की ड्यूटी लगाई गई कि वह बाड़ी को दिल्ली स्टेशन पर रिसीव करे और रायपुर तक बाड़ी को इस्कोर्ट करे। उसके बाद वहां के कलेक्टर को टेलीफोन किया गया। चूंकि बाड़ी को डेढ़ सौ मील आगे जाना था। इसलिए उनसे कहा गया कि उसको ले जाने का वे सारा इन्तज़ाम करें। उनसे यह भी कहा गया कि गांव तक ले जाने में कलेक्टर और पुलिस वाले जो हैं वे बाड़ी को इस्कोर्ट करें।

जहां तक मि० माथुर और डा० अनूप सिंह का सवाल है, डा० अनूप सिंह की बाड़ी को सर्विस प्लेन में यहां से ले जाया गया था और माथुर साहब की बाड़ी को भी प्लेन में ले जाया गया था लेकिन उसका पैमेंट गेडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव रिफार्म्स कमीशन ने किया था। इस वक्त जो तरीका है वह मैं आपके सामने अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूं। इस वक्त नियम यह बना हुआ है कि जो मेम्बर किसी कमेटी में गया हुआ है उसकी अगर डेथ हो जाए तो जिस मिनिस्ट्री की वह कमेटी है उस मिनिस्ट्री को बाड़ी ले जाने के लिए पैमेंट करना पड़ेगी। लेकिन होम मिनिस्ट्री ने यहां पर यह कहा कि जिन मेम्बर साहब की यहां डेथ हो दिल्ली के अन्दर उनकी बाड़ी अगर गांव में ले जानी पड़े या किसी और जगह ले जानी पड़े तो उसको सर्विस प्लेन के अलावा और किसी प्लेन में भेजा जाए लेकिन यहां जो मेम्बर मैलरीज एण्ड अलाउंसेज कमेटी है उसने इस प्रोपोज़ल की आलोचना में यह कहा कि चार्टर्ड प्लेन का इन्तज़ाम होना चाहिए, अगर जरूरत पड़े तो चार्टर्ड प्लेन में ले जाया जाए। अभी तक होम मिनिस्ट्री और

मैलरीज एण्ड अलाउंसेज कमेटी का वह झगड़ा चल रहा है और यह रिकमेंडेशन जो उसने किया है उसका कोई फैसला नहीं हुआ है। खैर, इस विषय में जितना हमने हो सका वह हमने किया। फिर भी अगर इसमें कोई लुटि रही है तो मैं उसकी माफ़ी मांगता हूँ।

SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ (Mysore) :
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the motion of thanks tabled by my friend, Mr. Parthasarathy. The President was pleased to state in his speech in the last paragraph :

"I should now like to conclude this Address by recalling that this year we celebrate Gandhiji's birth centenary."

Here the President has very wisely recalled that the country has to pay its homage to Mahatmaji. In this year which is Gandhiji's birth centenary, it is also necessary for us to pay serious attention to what Mahatmaji has said for the improvement and development of industry as well as agriculture. For the last 20 years we have tried to industrialise the country and now the time has come to think seriously how best we can introduce cottage industries in the villages. So many things have been said about the agricultural labourers. We know, Sir, that Mahatmaji was under the impression that every family in the village has to be given aid through a cottage industry if we are to have economic development and if it is not done our *swaraj* will be a misnomer. For the last twenty years we have seen what agitation is there from all quarters and at all levels in the country. In the field of education Mahatmaji wanted that basic system of education should be introduced. If we had introduced the basic system of education twenty years ago, today we would not have had this growing apprehension in the minds of the younger generation who are going in search of jobs. This Westernised system of education only makes the people hunt for jobs, go in search of jobs and when the jobs are not there these youngsters feel frustrated and they begin engaging themselves in various anti-national activities. Therefore it is high time for us to consider seriously

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whether we should not introduce or take up basic education.

As far as industries are concerned, we have got the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, and their officials are there in every State, besides the officials of the various Industries Departments. These officials should be made to go at least for twenty days in a month to the villages to see that in every house in every village the cottage industries are given impetus. Match manufacture, paper manufacture, khadi industry, soap manufacture, glass manufacture, there are several such industries with the help of which according to Mahatmaji village economy could be made self-sufficient. If Mahatmaji's advice had been followed even earlier there would not have been this increase of population in the cities and the creation of slums.

Coming to the question of foreign policy it has been truly said that our Prime Minister as Foreign Minister has done well in shaping the foreign policy of our country. No doubt it is really a creditable thing that we have strictly followed from the beginning the policy of co-existence and non-alignment, that is, keeping India intact and having friendship all over the world.

Now, the hon. Mr. Lokanath Misra, took up a cause which has been over and that was regarding the ex-Chief Minister of Orissa, Mr. Biju Patnaik. When a Commission has given its award in the matter, when it has given a final decision, I do not know what grounds he had to reopen it and to feel so jubilant about it when he has said something which is clearly uncalled for especially after the award given by the Commission. After the award there is an end of the matter. Now, the Commission says on page 812 :

"There are certain aspects of the enquiry which enkindle hope and show that all moral values are not lost. The inquiry reveals that if there is impropriety or misuse of office in some quarters there are, by and large, a considerable number of public men who have occupied high offices and whose image emerges untarnished and unscathed. This is clear from the fact that out of the fifteen respondents, charges have not been proved against an overwhelming

majority of them. So far as some of them are concerned, there is not even the remotest indication of their having done anything improper with a view to secure personal gain".

Now what is there left open that our hon. friend should try to create confusion in the minds of the public of Orissa? I say the people are capable of judging themselves. They know what a person's ability or capability is and there is no ground for our hon. friend, Mr. Lokanath Misra, to say that there is any charge against Mr. Biju Patnaik when the award has been given by the Commission.

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

SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ : Sir, I have spoken only for six minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Now only ten minutes each. I am reminding you because you are spending your time on Mr. Biju Patnaik.

SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ : Now coming to the Address, it is necessary that the Planning Commission should give its attention more and more to the development of the rural economy. During the last two or three years and in some cases for shorter periods, the United Front Governments have tried their best and some of them are again going to try. It is high time for the Government to see that the economic conditions of the rural population are improved. Then only the democracy that we cherish will have safety and security in the hands of the people of the country. Casteism and other things should not be the criterion; economic improvement should be the only criterion.

I now come to my last point. On the initiative of the Bombay Government and also on the recommendation of the Working Committee of the Congress the Central Government constituted the Mahajan Commission and the Report of that Commission has come out two years ago. It is the desire of the Government of Mysore and of the Members of Parliament in both Houses that the Government should take some decision to implement the Mahajan Commission Report. If the Mahajan Commis-

sion Report is to be implemented, let not the *status quo* remain but let this decision not be delayed any longer because of the recent agitation in the guise of this border issue. The SRC also stated that Belgaum city and major part of Belgaum District should remain in the State of Mysore. At that time neither the legislators of Bombay nor the Members of Parliament from the bilingual State of Bombay raised any objection against the decision of the SRC or against the States Reorganisation Act. Now they are taking a new plea on this question. It is the State of Mysore alone which has accepted to have the city of Belgaum and also a major part of the Belgaum district in the Karnataka area. Belgaum was the district headquarters of Bombay Karnataka. Therefore, I appeal to the Government to take a decision as recommended on the basis of the Mahajan Commission. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Balachandra Menon.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Government should make a statement tomorrow. It seems . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Balachandra Menon is leaving tonight and I am allowing him to speak.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I say a statement should be made as to what they are going to do with the Governor of West Bengal, Mr. Dharma Vira. It is very important.

AN HON. MEMBER : Wait.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We have waited. Tomorrow the Government will be sworn in. I am not going into that aspect of the matter. The whole thing is very important from the point of view of parliamentary democracy. Mr. Chavan and other tough guys of the Congress, who had made big statements should tender a public apology to the nation . . .

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : About what ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I should like to know—we took it up—why Mr. Dharma Vira has not been recalled.

(Interruptions)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : He is speaking on the Budget.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On the President's Address.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You have given your views and that is recorded. Those who are concerned with it will take note of it. Mr. Balachandra Menon.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala). Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to take only ten minutes and nothing more. I heard with pain and sorrow my esteemed friend and leader, Mr. Chagla, when he said that everything that has happened here seems to be wrong. He is sorry that the linguistic States have been created. He is sorry that there is so much difference here. All that, he thinks, is because of certain mistaken policies. It is not so. The linguistic States were created because the Congress had promised it from a very early period. We took to linguistic States. There are imbalances. If that can be remedied, gradually if it had been remedied, there will not be this sort of agitation that we are having today. I want to speak on two aspects. One is about the agrarian sector.

It is true that there has been development, from 45 million tonnes to about 98 million tonnes. Thanks to the good seeds and thanks to a good monsoon, we had that development. But then who benefited by it ? That is what I would like the hon. Members of the House to consider seriously. All these benefits, which have accrued, have gone to the rich peasant, has gone to the hoarder. It has not reached the ordinary man. Monopoly in land is being created. Land reforms are not taken up seriously. The result is more and more agricultural labour is being created. The poor peasant is being thrown out. The middle peasant becomes poor. This is the position. Unless we correct it there is going to be a very big explosive position in the rural sector.

Now, take the case of agricultural labour. He is not able to make a proper living, because of the huge unemployment in the rural area. It becomes more difficult, if

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you are not having a proper land reform policy. Unfortunately nowhere it is mentioned here. I am sorry the position is going to be very dangerous.

Now, take the case of industries. Here also we find that in a backward industrial sector, we are having monopoly trends. What will happen is that it will not be possible for industries to develop. The worker has worked for it. Productivity has increased, but it has benefited the monopolies. That will have to be changed. The entire burden is thrown on the worker, on the poor peasant and on agricultural labour. A high cost of living is there, is thrust on him. Unless you have a proper wage policy and unless you have a proper policy on the question of labour, you are not going to settle any issue. What has happened today? The four legislations that we have passed took away our Fundamental Rights. It does not allow you the right to strike. The right to strike is the only guarantee for collective bargaining. You do not have a machinery for collective bargaining. That is what you have done in the Essential Services Act. I request you to change it, so that you are able to build up faith in the worker, who can also be a party for the reorganisation of the economy of our country.

Take, for example, the Banking Act. Section 36AD must be changed. It refuses the right of the bank employee to go into action. So is the case with the Industrial Security Forces Act. These legislations must be removed, so that you win over the worker for rebuilding our economy.

Now, Mr. Chagla was much worried that in most of the States there is insecurity, that there is no possibility of having a strong Government. Why is it so? Now, all the instability in the South has gone over to the North. There is nothing to be worried about it. It is a temporary factor and it will be got over. With political parties who do not have any revivalist thoughts, who do not go on a communal basis, who are prepared to have a correct understanding of the social change, it could be overcome. When they come together, it will be possible to have a stable Govern-

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ment, even if we have a large number of parties. Our experience has been that. The Bengal experience is going to be that. There is nothing to be afraid of. That colossus, the Congress, which has been there for the last so many years, can no more continue. All of us, who are really and seriously thinking of bringing about social changes, but not on the basis of communal, caste and religious prejudices, if we come together, can bring about effective changes. There will be absolutely no difficulty in our marching forward. The whole difficulty and danger is only because we have not understood it. In spite of there being various political parties, by accepting a common programme of action there is a possibility of our coming together. This can be done only if the worker is mobilised, if the peasant is mobilised. That is one thing which we have to do. We have to recognise that right of the worker for collective bargaining, the right of the worker to have some say in the running of the economy of our country. He should have a voice in the running of the industry also. The huge unemployment that we have got will have to be faced. So many thousands of engineers are without jobs. I suggest that we bring them into co-operatives. We have attempted that. I am requesting the Government to seriously consider it. I got 3,000 engineers start a co-operative in Kerala. I want you to seriously consider whether you will be in a position to help us, so that we can rebuild our economy from the village base itself. We can have a modern economy in the villages. Slums will not be created. That is the answer. That is the non-capitalist path and not the Birla way. If you have got the courage we may sit together. At least that is what I want you to consider. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The Prime Minister will speak tomorrow after lunch. The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at ten minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 25th February, 1969.