

# ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform Members that I have allotted four days, viz. February 15, 19, 20 and 21 for the debate on the President's Address. To enable more Members to take part in the discussion, the House will, during these four days, have lunch recess between 1 P.M. and 2 P.M. and sit up to 5.30 P.M. in the evening.

## LEAVE OF ABSENCE TO SHRI M. J. JAMAL MOIDEEN

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform Members that the following letter dated the 31st January, 1968 has been received from Shri M. J. Jamal Moideen:

"I am in receipt of your summons dated 9th January, 1968 about the commencement of Rajya Sabha on the 12th February, 1968.

I am sorry I am not able to go over to Delhi at present as my doctor feels that I should not go out at all.

I am afraid I may have to absent myself during the ensuing session of the Rajya Sabha also.

I request you to kindly move and obtain leave of absence for me for the entire session."

Is it the pleasure of the House that permission be granted to Shri M. J. Jamal Moideen to remain absent from all meetings of the House during the current session?

(No hon. Member dissented)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Permission to remain absent is granted.

## MESSAGES FROM THE LOK SABHA

I. THE DISPLACED PERSONS (COMPENSATION AND REHABILITATION) AMENDMENT BILL, 1968.

## II. THE BIHAR AND UTTAR PRADESH (ALTERATION OF BOUNDARIES) BILL, 1968.

SECRETARY: Sir, I have to report to the House the following two messages received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha:

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Amendment Bill, 1968, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 15th February, 1968."

### II

"In accordance with the provisions of Rules 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Bihar and Uttar Pradesh (Alteration of Boundaries) Bill, 1968, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 13th February, 1968."

Sir, I lay both the Bills on the Table.

## REQUEST RE STATEMENT ON WEST BENGAL

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Sir, I would request you to direct the Government to make a statement on West Bengal.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is a different matter. You have said it.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

## MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

श्री राम निवास शर्मा (राजस्थान) :  
उपसभापति महोदया, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ

[श्री राजा निवास मिश्रा]

कि राष्ट्रपति के प्रति निम्नलिखित रूप में कृतज्ञता ज्ञापित की जाये :

“12 फरवरी, 1968 को संसद की दोनों सभाओं की सम्मिलित बैठक में राष्ट्रपति ने कृपया जो अभिभाषण दिया है उसके लिये राज्य सभा के सदस्य, जो सभा के वर्तमान सत्र में उपस्थित हैं, राष्ट्रपति के प्रति अपनी हार्दिक कृतज्ञता ज्ञापित करते हैं।”

राष्ट्रपति जी का जो अभिभाषण हुआ उसमें उन्होंने हमारे देश के समक्ष जो पिछले वर्ष कठिनाइयाँ थीं, उनका एक विवरण दिया है और उसके साथ ही सरकार की ओर से उन कठिनाइयों को दूर करने के लिए जो प्रयास किये गये, जो योजनाएँ बनाई गईं जो नीतियाँ प्रतिपादित की गईं, उनका भी उल्लेख किया है। यह सही है कि पिछला वर्ष एक बहुत ही कठिनाई का वर्ष था। हमारे देश के कई भागों में सूखा पड़ा और दो सालों से लगातार वर्षा की कमी के कारण कई क्षेत्रों में एक अकाल जैसी स्थिति बन गई। सौभाग्य से अब वह स्थिति समाप्त हो गई है और इस साल जो अनाज की पैदावार हुई है, उससे स्थिति में काफी सुधार आ जायेगा और जनता को काफी राहत मिल सकेगी। केवल अच्छी वर्षा के ही कारण यह फसल हुई है, सो बात नहीं है। सरकार की ओर से जो कृषि उत्पादन के संबंध में योजनाएँ बनाई गई थीं, सुधरे हुए वीज, खाद और वैज्ञानिक टैक्नीकल तरीकों के संबंध में जो प्रसार किया गया, उनका भी यह फल हुआ कि इस साल जो फसल हुई वह इतनी अच्छी हुई। अगर इस संबंध में किसी को धन्यवाद दिया जा सकता है तो किसान को ही जिसने इन सारे तरीकों को अपनाया तथा अपनी मेहनत और हिम्मत से सूखे के बावजूद भी

इस साल बहुत अच्छी पैदावार देश को दी। ऐसा अनुमान लगाया जाता है कि इस साल जो फसल होगी वह 9-1/2 करोड़ टन से लेकर 10 करोड़ टन तक होगी। इस से हमारी सारी खाद्यान्न की समस्या हल हो जायेगी, ऐसा मैं नहीं मानता हूँ क्योंकि अगर खाद्यान्न उत्पादन बढ़ भी जाय फिर भी हमारी जनता को अच्छा पौष्टिक भोजन देने के लिए, उनको अच्छा आहार पहुँचाने के लिए और भी प्रयास करने पड़ेंगे। ताकि हमारे देश के नागरिकों को अच्छा पौष्टिक भोजन मिल सके।

इसके साथ मैं इस समय सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा कि आज हमारे देश के सामने जो सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता है वह यह है कि कोई सुनियोजित खाद्य नीति राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर बनाई जावे।

पहली योजना प्रारूप में यह लिखा हुआ था कि देश के लिये खाद्य नीति की आवश्यकता है। परन्तु इतने वर्षों के बाद तीन पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के बाद भी ऐसा नहीं हुआ। इतनी कमेटियाँ बनीं, कमीशन बने, सब कुछ हुआ, उनकी रिपोर्टें और सिफारिशें आईं परन्तु आज भी हमारे सामने कोई निश्चित नीति नहीं है जिसके आधार पर हम अगले पांच, दस या पन्द्रह साल में अपने देश की खाद्यान्न की स्थिति के बारे में और कृषि के बारे में कोई योजना बना सकें। कभी भाव गिर जाते हैं, कभी भाव बढ़ जाते हैं और इस ऊँच नीच से जनता को बहुत बड़ी परेशानी होती है। इस साल ही देख लीजिये, थोड़ी सी अच्छी फसल हुई तो देश के कई भागों में खाद्यान्नों के भाव गिरने लगे। सरकार आज ऐसी स्थिति में नहीं है कि जो न्यूनतम भाव निर्धारित किये गये हैं उन पर उन खाद्यान्नों की खरीद कर सके। भावों में ऊँच-नीच का फायदा केवल बिचौलिये को होता है। यह भावना कभी कभी हमारे देश में बन

जाती है कि ऊँचे भाव होने के कारण किसानों को बहुत ज्यादा मुनाफा या फायदा हो रहा है। यह गलत है क्योंकि किसानों की ज्यादातर जो फसल है वह फसल निकलने के साथ ही सस्ते भाव पर निकल जाती है और मुनाफा बिचौलियों को होता है। इसलिये यह आवश्यक है कि हमारे सामने एक राष्ट्रीय खाद्य नीति हो। ऐसी नीति में दो चीजों का हमें ध्यान रखना पड़ेगा। ऐसी नीति निर्धारित करते समय पहली बात यह है कि इतनी दिक्कतों के बावजूद किसान जो मेहनत करता है और जो अपनी हिम्मत और हौसला से पैदावार करता है उसको अपने परिश्रम का पूर्णरूप से मुआविजा मिले और इसके साथ साथ दूसरी बात यह भी हो कि जो उपभोक्ता है उसको भी ठीक दाम पर खाद्यान्न साल भर तक मिलते रहें। इन दोनों बातों की बहुत बड़ी आवश्यकता है। ऐसी नीति निर्धारित करने के लिये अनाज का व्यापार जब तक सरकार नियंत्रित नहीं करती, अपने हाथ में नहीं लेती, तब तक ये दोनों बातें कभी भी संभव नहीं हो सकती। इसलिये मैं सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करूँगा कि इसके बारे में अच्छी योजनाएँ बनायें और किसी न किसी तरीके से जो भावों में बढ़ाई चढ़ाई है उसको रोकें और जनता को राहत दें। अनाज का राजकीय व्यापार बहुत क्रांतिकारी मुद्दा हो, ऐसी बात नहीं है। जापान जैसा देश जहाँ समाजवाद का नाम नहीं है और जो विशुद्ध पूँजीवादी तरीके से काम करता है वहाँ पर केन्द्रीय तरीके से खाद्यान्नों की खरीद व फरोख्त होती है और वहाँ सारा जो उत्पादन होता है वह सरकार खरीद लेती है या सरकार के द्वारा उनके संगठन खरीद लेते हैं और फिर उसका वितरण राजकीय स्तर पर किया जाता है। बर्मा में भी यही स्थिति है और श्रीलंका में भी कुछ हद तक इस तरह की योजना चल रही है। इसलिये जब मैं यह कहता हूँ कि खाद्यान्नों का राजकीय व्यापार किया जाय तो मैं यह इस दृष्टि से कहता हूँ कि यह

बहुत ही व्यावहारिक बात है और ऐसी बात है जो दूसरे देशों ने की है और बहुत ही सफलता से निभाई है। हमें इस नीति के बारे में विशेष गंभीरता से सोचना है क्योंकि इस साल थोड़ी सी अच्छी फसल में भाव इतने गिरने लग गये आज हरियाणा और पंजाब में ही नहीं, राजस्थान के कुछ इलाकों में भी मक्की के भाव सरकार के न्यूनतम रेट से नीचे गिरने लग गये हैं। जो सरकार की कृषि विकास की योजनाएँ हैं वे अगर सफल होने लग गई, जैसी कि हमें आशा है कि अवश्य होंगी, तो अगले वर्षों में जब तक इस प्रकार का वृहद आयोजन न किया जाय, कोई योजना न बनाई जाय कि किस तरह से खाद्यन्नों की खरीद करेंगे, किस तरह से वितरण करेंगे तब तक जो भी हमारी खेती बाड़ी की उपज बढ़ाने की योजनाएँ हैं वे सब असफल हो जायेंगी और हमें कोई उनसे फायदा होने वाला नहीं है।

पी० एल० 480 के बारे में हमें गंभीरता से सोचना है। पिछले वर्षों में जो हमारी कृषि में विकास नहीं हुआ और कृषि विकास का सारा कार्यक्रम कुठित हुआ उसका मुख्य कारण यह था कि पी० एल० 480 के अंतर्गत जो सस्ता और सड़ा अनाज आता था उसकी वजह से हमारी उत्पादन और वितरण की व्यवस्था समाप्त हो गई, भाव दबने लग गये और उत्पादन के लिये जो भी लोगों में हिम्मत या हौसला होता चाहिये था वह नहीं हो सका। इसलिये जितनी जल्दी इसको खत्म किया जाय उतना अच्छा है। हमें स्वावलंबी बनना है। हमारे यहाँ जो भी अनाज बाहर से आता है उसको बन्द किया जाय। केवल अनाज ही नहीं आप रुई को देखिये, पी० एल० 480 के अंतर्गत हमें रुई मिलती है। आप रुई का हमारे देश में अच्छा उत्पादन हुआ है और उसके भाव गिरते जा रहे हैं, फिर भी सरकार ने यह नीति बना रखी है कि लखौं गाँठें अमरीका से मंगायेंगी और उनका यहाँ

[श्री राम निवास मिर्धा]

पर वितरण करेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि हम सारी व्यवस्था पर हमें पुनर्विचार करना चाहिये ताकि हमारी जो कृषि विकास की योजनाएँ हैं वे ठीक तरह से आगे बढ़ सकें और हमारा राष्ट्र विकसित हो सके।

पिछले साल बिहार और अन्य इलाकों में बहुत बड़ा अकाल पड़ा, लेकिन हमें यह नहीं मानना चाहिये कि अकाल कोई दैवी प्रकोप से होते हैं। अकाल होते हैं मानवीय उपेक्षा से। नीतियाँ अगर ठीक ढंग से न वें तो अकाल की स्थिति का सामना करने में हम समर्थ नहीं होते। इसलिये केवल यह कह देना कि बरसात नहीं हुई, अकाल पड़ गया, यह बहुत ही गलत तरीका है सोचने का। इसके लिये मैं आपको एक दो मिसालें देना चाहूंगा खास तौर पर बिहार की। 1966-67 के कुछ महीनों में बिहार में 15 हजार कुओं का निर्माण हुआ और इस साल के पिछले कुछ महीनों में 15 हजार और कुओं का निर्माण हुआ। इस तरह तीस हजार कुओं का निर्माण हुआ। पिछले 15 वर्षों में, तीनों पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में, वहाँ केवल 18 हजार कुओं का निर्माण हुआ। क्या हम नहीं सोच सकते थे कि कितनी चीजों को हमें देश और विशेष रूप से बिहार प्रदेश की स्थिति देखते हुये, प्रमुखता देनी चाहिये। आज जब मुसीबत और आफत पड़ी तब हम सारा प्रचार करने लगे। यही चीजें पहले हो जाती तो मैं समझता हूँ कि अकाल पड़ता ही नहीं और पड़ता भी तो उसका असर इतना भयंकर नहीं होता जितना अब हुआ।

इसी तरह से नलकूप हैं। पिछले साल 1200 नलकूप, ट्यूबवैल, बिहार में बने। यह संख्या पिछले 15 साल में तीनों योजनाओं से ज्यादा है। इस तरह के और भी आँकड़े मैं दे सकता हूँ लेकिन उनकी आवश्यकता नहीं है। इस लिये मैं सरकार से विवेदन करूँगा कि जो हमारी इस तरह की

योजनाएँ हैं उन पर गंभीरता से वह सोचे, केवल अकाल में राहत पहुँचाने की दृष्टि से नहीं बल्कि अकाल जैसी संभावनाएँ हमारे देश से हमेशा के लिये मिट जायें, इस दृष्टि से कुछ योजनाएँ बनाई जायें।

राजस्थान नहर का प्रश्न मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहूँगा। कई साल से यह योजना चल रही है और उसमें बड़ी संभावनाएँ हैं हमारे देश खाद्यान्नों की उत्पत्ति बढ़ाने की लेकिन वहाँ पर भी पिछले दो साल से पूरे साधन उपलब्ध नहीं होने की वजह से वह योजना बिल्कुल रुकी सी पड़ी है। वहाँ सैकड़ों जो टेक्निकल, इंजीनियरिंग और दूसरे लोग हैं वे निकाले जा रहे हैं और टेम्पो बना था पिछले पांच दस साल में इस योजना को आगे बढ़ाने का वह सब समाप्त हो जाता रहा है। उसका नतीजा भी आगे चल कर बहुत बुरा होने वाला है यह हमें निश्चित रूप से स्वीकार करना चाहिये।

इसी तरह से राजस्थान में नलकूप ट्यूबवैल का काम चल रहा था। उन्होंने कहा कि ड्राई सौ ट्यूबवैल हम बनायेंगे दो, चार, पांच साल में। वह तो बने नहीं लेकिन उसके पहले ही ऐसा सुनने में आया है कि भारत सरकार ने यह निर्णय किया कि वह सारी जो संस्था है जो नलकूप राजस्थान में बनाते हैं उनको वहाँ से हटा लिया जाय क्योंकि वे समझते हैं कि इसकी वहाँ आवश्यकता नहीं है। इसी तरह से पीने के पानी की बात है। जब अकाल पड़ता है तो करोड़ों रुपये का खर्चा हम करते हैं पानी पहुँचाने के लिए पानी की व्यवस्था करने के लिए, लेकिन बहुत ही दुख की बात है कि स्वतन्त्रता के बाद 15, 20 साल के बाद योजनाबद्ध विकास के बाद भी आज हम यह कहने की स्थिति में नहीं हैं कि कम से कम पानी जो एक बुनियादी आवश्यकता है एक नागरिक के लिए वह हम सबको उपलब्ध

कर पा रहे हैं। सरकार को इन बुनियादी बातों पर सोचना है और इस तरह की योजना बनानी है कि जनता को कृषि के बारे में, पीने के पानी के बारे में अच्छी तरह से सब चीजें पहुंच सकें और इसके लिए चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना जितनी जल्दी लागू की जाय उतना अच्छा है। मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि पिछले दो तीन साल जो चौथी योजना को हमने आगे चलाया वह भी एक तरह से गलत था। योजना का मतलब यह नहीं है कि बहुत ही बृहद आकार की योजना हो। हमारे पास साधन कम थे तो हम योजना छोटे ढंग से बना लेते। लेकिन यह कहना कि चौथी योजना हम तीन साल तक बनायेंगे नहीं यह बहुत गलत बात मालूम होती है। अगर हम यह मानकर चलते हैं कि बड़ी चीज ही योजना होती है तो यह बात नहीं है। हमारे पास जो भी साधन मौजूद हैं उनका ठीक ढंग से, सुनियोजित तरीके से उपयोग हो सके, उसी का नाम योजना है। इसलिए जितनी जल्दी हो सके हमें इसकी कोशिश करनी है कि जो भी योजना का कार्य रुका हुआ है वह आगे बढ़ाया जाय।

आजकल औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में मंदी चल रही है और उत्पादन कम हुआ है। इससे बहुत बड़ी गंभीर स्थिति पैदा हो गई है। उसके कारणों पर हमें गंभीरता से सोचना है। यह जो मंदी है यह सारे क्षेत्र में है ऐसी बात नहीं है। कुछ ही ऐसे क्षेत्र हैं उद्योग के जिन में मंदी का असर ज्यादा पड़ा है। कृषि से संबंधित उद्योग हैं उनमें मंदी का कोई असर नहीं पड़ा है। अगर आप आंकड़े देखें तो जैसे इंजन है, ट्यूबवैल हैं, ट्रैक्टर हैं या जो भी खेतीबाड़ी या कृषि से संबंधित उद्योग हैं वे बहुत अच्छे ढंग से चल रहे हैं। इस लिए हमको सोचना है कि भविष्य में हमारे यहां औद्योगीकरण की नीति किस प्रकार की हो। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे देश के लिए एक सही और सच्ची औद्योगिक नीति वही हो सकती है जिसका

घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध हमारी कृषि से हो। हमें उन उद्योगों को प्राथमिकता देनी चाहिये जिनका कृषि से सम्बन्ध हो, जिनके लिए कच्चा माल कृषि उत्पादन से उपलब्ध होता हो। इसी के साथ-साथ कृषि क्षेत्र का पोषण करने वाले जो उद्योग हैं जैसे खाद, ट्रैक्टर, ट्यूबवैल इत्यादि उन्हें लगाना चाहिये। इतना बड़ा यह क्षेत्र है कि जितने चाहे उद्योग उसमें लग सकते हैं। इन दो दृष्टियों से औद्योगीकरण करें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि न कभी मंदी आयेगी और न कभी औद्योगिक उत्पादन कम होगा। इसलिए हमें एक सच्ची औद्योगिक नीति का निर्माण करना है जो हमारे देश की परिस्थिति के अनुकूल हो और जिसके आधार पर हम देश को जल्दी से जल्दी आगे बढ़ा सकें।

अब निर्यात का प्रश्न आता है। इसके लिए योजनाएं बनती हैं कि आयात किस तरह से बढ़े, कौन सी नई चीजें बाहर भेजना शुरू करें। आज स्थिति यह है कि 75 फीसदी जो चीजें देश से निर्यात होती हैं वे कृषि उत्पादन से उपलब्ध होती हैं। इसलिए अगर कृषि उद्योग को थोड़ा कारगर और एकीकृत बना देते हैं तो हमारी निर्यात बढ़ाने की समस्या भी बहुत कुछ हल हो जायेगी और बहुत अच्छे तरीके से विदेशी विनिमय की जो कमी है उसको पूरा किया जा सकता है।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में सरकारी क्षेत्र में जो संगठन हैं उनके बारे में उल्लेख किया। यह बहुत ही असंतोषजनक स्थिति है कि तीन हजार करोड़ रुपये सरकारी क्षेत्र में डालने के बाद भी आज हमको पूर्ण रूप से उसका फायदा नहीं मिल रहा है। देश में जो मंदी आ रही है और इन्फ्लेशन जैसी स्थिति बन रही है उसका एक कारण मैं यह मानता हूँ कि इतना रुपया इस क्षेत्र में लगाया गया जिससे वापस हमारे देश को पूरा फायदा नहीं मिल रहा है।

[श्री राम निवास मिर्धा]

राष्ट्रपति जी ने संकेत भी किया है कि सरकार इसके बारे में योजना बना रही है। मैं समझता हूँ कि ज्यादा योजना के सोचने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। हमारे यहां पर जो प्रशासनिक सुधार आयोग है उसने इस सम्बन्ध में बहुत अच्छी रिपोर्ट दी है। उसके आधार पर जल्दी से जल्दी सारे सरकारी क्षेत्र का पुनर्गठन किया जाय तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे देश की बहुत बड़ी दिक्कत दूर हो जायेगी। चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना के संबंध में हम कहते हैं कि साधन नहीं हैं इस लिए योजना नहीं बना सके। बहुत बड़े साधन का स्रोत हमारे देश के सरकारी क्षेत्र के उद्योग बना सकते हैं। नहीं तो क्या आवश्यकता थी इन उद्योगों को लगाने की और करोड़ों अरबों रुपया जो जनता के टैक्स से वसूल होता है उसको इस क्षेत्र में लगाने की। इसलिए जितनी जल्दी से जल्दी हो सके प्रशासनिक सुधार आयोग की सिफारिशों को सरकार कार्यान्वित करे। केवल इतना ही नहीं प्रशासनिक सुधार आयोग ने कई रिपोर्ट दी हैं जो सरकार के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों के बारे में हैं। इन सब रिपोर्टों में जो सुझाव हैं उनको जल्दी से जल्दी हम कार्यान्वित करें तब हम कह सकते हैं कि जो उच्चस्तरीय आयोग का निर्माण किया गया उससे हमारे देश को फायदा पहुंचा है।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कई बातों के साथ-साथ दिल्ली में हो रहे दूसरे संयुक्त राष्ट्र व्यापार एवं विकास सम्मेलन, अंकटाड का उल्लेख किया। यह बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण सम्मेलन है और संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के प्रमुख कार्यालय के बाहर कभी भी इतना बड़ा सम्मेलन नहीं हुआ जैसा कि अब दिल्ली में हो रहा है। हमारे लिए भी यह बहुत गर्व की बात है कि हमारे देश में, हमारी राजधानी में यह सम्मेलन चल रहा है और इसके लिए जो भी व्यवस्था की गई है वह बहुत अच्छी और सुचारु है और

सब लोगों ने उसकी तारीफ की है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सारी चीज का संचालन बहुत ही अच्छे तरीके से हुआ है। इसमें कुछ कमी भी करते तो भी काम चल सकता था लेकिन जो हमारी परम्परा है आतिथ्य की उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए हमने जो भी व्यवस्थाएं की हैं उनका हम स्वागत करते हैं और इससे सम्बन्धित जो व्यक्ति हैं उनको इस सारी व्यवस्था के लिए बधाई देते हैं। हमारी सरकार के जो व्यापार मंत्री हैं वे इसके अध्यक्ष हैं। उन्होंने अपने भाषण में जो बातें रखी हैं वे बहुत अच्छा आधार है इस सम्मेलन का कार्य करने का। जितनी जल्दी ये बातें की जायं उतनी ही जल्दी इस सम्मेलन के उद्देश्य पूरे हो सकेंगे। जो आज विश्व की स्थिति है उसमें एक तरफ ऐसे राष्ट्रों का समूह है जो बहुत ही साधन सम्पन्न हैं, जो बात ही धनी-मानी हैं, विकसित देश हैं और दूसरी ओर विकासशील देश हैं जो अपने हितों का अच्छी तरह से संरक्षण नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। इस सम्मेलन के पहले अल्जीयर्स में विकासशील देशों का एक सम्मेलन हुआ था, उसमें 77 देशों ने भाग लिया और वहाँ एक घोषणापत्र बनाया गया। मैं समझता हूँ कि उस घोषणापत्र में जो भी कार्यक्रम का संकेत दिया गया है वह न्यूनतम कार्यक्रम है जिसके आधार पर यह सारी बात चल सके। बड़े खेद की बात है कि इस प्रकार के पहले सम्मेलन के निर्णयों की जो 1964 में जिनेवा में हुआ था आज तक विकसित देशों ने उपेक्षा की और आज तक उन पर कोई कदम नहीं उठाया। हमें आशा है कि इस सम्मेलन में उन बातों पर विचार होगा और एक स्थायी हल निकल सकेगा ताकि हम विश्व में बहुत अच्छे आर्थिक तंत्र का निर्माण कर सकें। मिसाल के तौर पर मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि 1964 के सम्मेलन में यह निर्णय हुआ था कि जो भी विकसित देश हैं उनकी राष्ट्रीय आय का केवल एक प्रतिशत भाग विकासशील देशों की मदद के लिए, सहायता के

लिए दें। यह निर्णय था जो सब ने स्वीकार किया था, लेकिन स्थिति क्या है ? स्थिति और बिगड़ती जा रही है। 1964 में उनकी सहायता उनकी राष्ट्रीय आय का 87 प्रतिशत था, 1965 में गिरकर हो गया 72 और 1966 में 62। विकासशील देशों को ऐसी स्थिति का सामना करना पड़ रहा है। अगर ऐसी ही स्थिति चलती रही तो मैं समझता हूँ कि सारी विश्व व्यवस्था को बहुत बड़ा खतरा पैदा हो जायगा। इसका मतलब यह नहीं कि हम और दूसरे विकासशील देश कोई खैरात चाहते हैं, हम यह चाहते हैं कि विश्व का जो आर्थिक संगठन है वह इस प्रकार सुधारा जाय कि जो विकासशील देश हैं वे स्वयं अपने प्रयत्नों से निर्यात करके और व्यापार करके अपनी सारी समस्याओं को दूर कर सकें और अपना विकास स्वयं कर सकें। यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण काम है और मैं सरकार से निवेदन करूँगा कि इसमें बहुत सतर्कता बरते और इस सम्मेलन का उपयोग करते हुए जो इसके निर्णय हैं उनको कार्यान्वित कराने का प्रयास करें।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में विदेश नीति के सम्बन्ध में कई बातें कहीं हैं। विशेष तौर से मैं सदन का ध्यान पाकिस्तान और चीन के सम्बन्धों की ओर आकृष्ट करना चाहूँगा। हमें बहुत ही खेद है कि इन देशों के साथ, जो हमारे पड़ोसी देश हैं, हमारे सम्बन्ध मैत्रीपूर्ण होना तो दूर रहा बहुत ही असंतोषजनक स्थिति में हैं। लेकिन हमें यह कोशिश हमेशा करनी पड़ेगी कि किस तरह से हम अपने पड़ोसी देशों के साथ सम्बन्ध सुधार सकते हैं। यह तभी हो सकता है जबकि दूसरे देश, चीन और पाकिस्तान, भी अपने दिल में इस तरह की भावना रखें कि उन्हें भी भारतवर्ष से मैत्रीपूर्ण सम्बन्ध रखने हैं। इसलिए जो भी हमें करना है बहुत ही गम्भीरता से, संयम से करना है, सारी स्थिति का मुकाबला करना है। यह बात निश्चित रूप से स्वीकार

करनी पड़ेगी कि किसी भी देश की विदेश नीति इस आधार पर नहीं चलाई जा सकती कि उसके जो पड़ोसी देश हैं उनसे सदैव के लिए दुश्मनी रहेगी या झगड़ा रहेगा। इसलिए हमारी विदेश नीति का इस प्रकार संचालन करना चाहिए कि कुछ न कुछ तरीके ऐसे मिल सकें कि चीन और पाकिस्तान ही नहीं इस क्षेत्र के जो दूसरे देश हैं उनसे भी ज्यादा से ज्यादा सम्पर्क बढ़ सके और हमारे सम्बन्ध मैत्रीपूर्ण बन सकें। दुनियाँ के कई ऐसे क्षेत्र

1 P.T. है जिनमें मैं समझता हूँ अभी तक हमारा प्रतिनिधित्व उस स्थिति में नहीं है जितना कि होना चाहिये। हमने कूटनीति के दृष्टिकोण से उत्तर अमरीका और यूरोप के देशों को विशेष प्राथमिकता दी है। जब कभी हम बात सोचते हैं तो उन देशों की बात सोचते हैं और अपने देश का प्रतिनिधित्व करने के लिये दूतावास स्थापित करने का प्रश्न आता है तो केवल उन्हीं देशों की बात हमारे दिमाग में आती है। जो भी हमारे अच्छे कूटनीतिज्ञ हैं, अच्छे अधिकारिण हैं वे भी उन्हीं देशों में रहना पसन्द करते हैं लेकिन लैटिन अमरीका, एशिया, अफ्रीका देशों को जो एक बहुत बड़ा क्षेत्र है उनके बारे में हमने उतना ध्यान नहीं दिया है जिससे हमारे संबंध उनके साथ अच्छे और मैत्रीपूर्ण हों। इसलिये इसके लिये हमें और प्रयास करने पड़ेंगे और सरकार को अपने इस दृष्टिकोण में परिवर्तन लाना पड़ेगा और हमारे अधिकारीगण को भी दृष्टिकोण नया लाना होगा जिससे हम लैटिन अमरीका, एशिया और अफ्रीका के देशों में अपने अच्छे से अच्छे प्रतिनिधि भेजें, जिससे उनके साथ हमारे देश के दोस्ती के संबंध ज्यादा अच्छे बन सकें। इस तरह से हम अपनी विदेश नीति को और भी अच्छे ढंग से चला सकें।

पाकिस्तान के संबंध में अभी बात हुई। कुछ दिनों पहले दिल्ली में जूट मिल असोसियेशन के द्वारा एक सेमीनार हुआ था, उसमें सवाल यह आया कि जूट पर एक्सपोर्ट ड्यूटी बहुत

[श्री राम निवास मिर्धा]

है उसे कम किया जाये क्योंकि विदेशों में हम पाकिस्तान का अच्छी तरह से मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते....

उपसभापति : आपको कितना वक्त और चाहिये ?

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: Just fifteen more minutes only.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may continue later. The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

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

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

श्री राम निवास मिर्धा : उपसभापति महोदया, मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारे सम्बन्ध किस प्रकार अच्छे किये जा सकते हैं। व्यापार एक ऐसी चीज है जिसके आधार पर कुछ सम्बन्ध पाकिस्तान से और बढ़ा सकते हैं। जो मुख्य समस्याएँ हैं वे सम्भवतः कुछ समय तक हल न हो सकें परन्तु फिर भी कुछ समस्याएँ ऐसी हैं जिनको हम अगर धैर्य और विश्वास के साथ हल करने की कोशिश करें तो सम्भवतः कुछ परिणाम निकल सकता है। कुछ समय पूर्व जूट मिल एसोसियेशन की एक विचार-गोष्ठी हुई थी उसमें मैंने सुझाव दिया था कि जूट के सम्बन्ध में पाकिस्तान से उसी प्रकार के समझौते करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए जैसे कि चाय के सम्बन्ध में हमने सीलोन से किया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस क्षेत्र में अगर आपस में ढ़ चलती रही तो हमारे दोनों देशों को फायदा होगा। सरकार ने जूट पर से अभी

कुछ ड्यूटी कम की है लेकिन उससे समस्या का हल नहीं हो सकता और इसका स्थायी हल ढ़ने के लिये हमें और प्रयत्न करने पड़ेंगे।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में परिवार नियोजन के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहा है और उन्होंने इसे एक अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण कार्यक्रम बताया है। उन्होंने कहा कि इस वर्ष साढ़े 28 लाख से अधिक स्त्री और पुरुष विभिन्न परिवार नियोजन कार्यक्रमों के प्रतर्गत आए और अगले वर्ष 60 लाख अतिरिक्त स्त्री पुरुष परिवार नियोजनों की परिधि में लाये जायेंगे। मेरा विचार है कि यह जो टारगेट तय किया गया है बहुत ज्यादा है। परिवार नियोजन को केवल आंकड़ों के आधार पर हल करना उचित नहीं होगा। हमारी ग्रामीण जनता की मान्यताओं में परिवर्तन लाना पड़ेगा जो कि एक बहुत कठिन काम है। लेकिन आज जिस प्रकार यह कार्यक्रम चल रहा है राज्यों में, उसकी एक बहुत बड़ी प्रतिक्रिया हो रही है। सामान्य तौर से अस्पतालों में डाक्टर, नर्स, इत्यादि होने चाहियें थे वे वहाँ पर न होकर इन परिवार नियोजन के कार्यक्रमों में लगा दिये जाते हैं और वह इसलिये कि इस कार्यक्रम में करीब-करीब शत-प्रतिशत अनुदान केन्द्रीय सरकार से राज्य सरकारों को मिलता है। भारत सरकार को भी विदेशों से इन योजनाओं के लिये बहुत बड़ी सहायता मिलती है। इसलिये संभवतः वह भी इस कार्यक्रम को इस तरह से चला रहे हैं। किसी भी कार्यक्रम की क्या अहमियत है वह इस बात से लगा सकते हैं कि अगर राज्य सरकारों को शत प्रतिशत अनुदान केन्द्रीय सरकार से न मिले तो वह कितने कार्यक्रम चला सकती है। मैं समझता हूँ ऐसा दृष्टिकोण हमारे सामने अवश्य होना चाहिये क्योंकि अगर विदेशी सहायता में कमी हो गई तो यह सारे कार्यक्रम हमको रद्द करने पड़ेंगे। एक बड़ा खतरा जो है वह यह है कि जो भी आंकड़े आ रहे हैं वह बहुत बढ़ा-चढ़ा कर आ रहे हैं। इसलिये अगर उन आंकड़ों के आधार पर हमने अपनी



योजनाओं का निर्माण किया तो मैं समझता हूँ बहुत ही गलत आंकड़ों के आधार पर हमारी योजनाएँ बनेंगी और सारी योजनाओं की मान्यताएँ गलत हो जायेंगी। इसलिए परिवार नियोजन कार्यक्रम को एक बहुत ही व्यावहारिक दृष्टिकोण से देखना चाहिये। जो भी इसकी सीमायें हैं और जो भी इस कार्यक्रम को आगे बढ़ाने में सीमा हो सकती है उनको स्वीकार करते हुए भी यह टारगेट मुक़रर करना चाहिये।

राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण में ग्राम बीमा के सामाजिक नियंत्रण के बारे में कहा है। परन्तु उन्होंने, बैंकों का सामाजिक नियंत्रण किस प्रकार हो उसका कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया है। कुछ समय पूर्व तो यह बात चलती थी कि ग्राम बीमा का राष्ट्रीयकरण अवश्य हो जायेगा और बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण न कर कम से कम सामाजिक नियंत्रण में अवश्य लाया जायेगा। लेकिन अब जो स्थिति हमारे सामने है वह यह है कि ग्राम बीमा पर सामाजिक नियंत्रण का सुझाव है लेकिन बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण का कोई उल्लेख अभिभाषण में हम नहीं पाते। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि सरकार ने इस योजना को छोड़ नहीं दिया है। वह किस प्रकार से उसको कार्यान्वित करना चाहती है उस के बारे में यदि हमको संकेत मिल सके तो हम सरकार के आभारी होंगे। यही नहीं बल्कि मोनोपोलीज़ बिल जो एक बहुत ही गम्भीर समस्या को हल करने के लिये लाया गया है, पेटेंट बिल जो कई वर्षों से लटका पड़ा हुआ है, उनके सम्बन्ध में भी सरकार की क्या नीति है, और क्या सदन में इस सत्र में उनके ऊपर कुछ विचार किया जा सकेगा, इसके बारे में भी हमें कोई संकेत नहीं मिलता है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इसका स्पष्टीकरण होगा। सरकार की नीतियों में कोई परिवर्तन हुआ है, मैं ऐसा नहीं मानता, तो मेरा विश्वास है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी की जो दस सूत्री योजना है, उसे उसी तरह सरकार स्वीकार करती है जिस तरह से उन्होंने पहले उसका प्रतिपादन किया था।

मैं आशा करता हूँ कि सरकार यहां पर इस सदन में हम सबको आश्वस्त करेगी कि इस सम्बन्ध में उनकी क्या नीति है और वह किस प्रकार से उन नीतियों को आगे बढ़ाना चाहती है।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में गहरी चिन्ता व्यक्त की है कि देश में विभाजक शक्तियाँ अपना सिर उठा रही हैं और झगड़ा फसाद बढ़ा रही हैं तथा हिंसा का वातावरण बना रही हैं। हर रोज देश के किसी न किसी भाग से तोड़-फोड़ की खबरें आती रहती हैं जो एक बहुत ही दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण स्थिति है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि सरकार इस स्थिति का दृढ़ता से मुकाबला करेगी और जो भी इस सम्बन्ध में उसको करना है दृढ़ता के साथ करेगी। मेरा विश्वास है कि यह सदन सरकार को, गृह मंत्री जी को और प्रधान मंत्री जी को पूर्णतः समर्थन देगी और इस सम्बन्ध में जो भी सख्त कार्यवाही करनी होगी उसका अनुमोदन करेगी।

आज हमारे सामने कई तरह की हिंसा की घटनाएँ आती हैं। श्री दीनदयाल उपाध्याय जी की जिस तरह से दुखद मृत्यु हुई, सम्भवतः वह कत्ल की वजह से हुई, वह बहुत ही दुखदाई है। उनका बहुत ही उच्च कोटि का व्यक्तित्व था और वे एक निःस्वार्थ जनसेवक थे और इस तरह का उनका अन्त होना, मैं समझता हूँ कि एक बहुत ही दुःख की बात है। आज जिस तरह से राज्यों में व्यवस्था देखने में आ रही है उसके सम्बन्ध में हमें गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिये ताकि इस तरह की घटनायें भविष्य में न घटें। हमारे देश में जो भी राजनैतिक नेता हैं उनको अच्छी तरह से सुरक्षा मिले, यह बात सरकार को देखनी चाहिये। सरकार को इस बात की ओर विशेष रूप से देखना चाहिये कि जितनी भी राजनीतिक पार्टियाँ हैं और जो उनके

[श्री राम निवास मिर्षा]

नेतागण हैं उनकी अच्छी तरह से सुरक्षा हो। अगर इस कार्य के लिए ज्यादा पुलिस की भी व्यवस्था करनी पड़े तो करनी चाहिये। मंत्रियों की सुरक्षा का प्रबन्ध तो होता ही है लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ हमारे देश में जो प्रजातन्त्र की व्यवस्था है और उसके अन्दर जो अन्य नेता काम करते हैं, उनकी सुरक्षा के सम्बन्ध में भी सरकार का पूर्ण दायित्व होना चाहिये और इस सम्बन्ध में जो भी योजना बन सके बनाई जानी चाहिये।

आज राज्यों से कई तरह की हिंसा की खबरें आती हैं। आसाम से जो खबर आई है वह बहुत ही दुखदाई है। जिस तरह से 26 जनवरी के पावन पर्व के दिन वहां पर दुखद घटना घटी है उसका विवरण देना मैं आवश्यक नहीं समझता। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि कुछ अरसे से कुछ लोग इस तरह की योजना बना रहे थे कि 26 जनवरी के दिन इस तरह की घटना हो तथा विशेष व्यक्तियों पर तथा विशेष वर्ग के लोगों पर ही हमला किया जाय। मैं सदन के समक्ष यह कहना चाहूंगा कि राजस्थान के निवासी जो वहां पर थे उनको बहुत बड़ी तादाद में नुकसान हुआ। मैं आशा करता हूं कि सरकार इस सम्बन्ध में गम्भीरता से विचार करेगी। गम्भीरता इस प्रश्न की सारे भारतवर्ष के दृष्टिकोण से है क्योंकि अगर हिंसा की हवा सारे भारतवर्ष में काम करने लगेगी और लोग यह महसूस करने लगेंगे कि हम जो कुछ चाहते हैं वह हम सरकार से मनवा सकते हैं चाहे उसमें यथार्थ हो या न हो। तो इस तरह की भावना देश के लिये घातक होगी। आज देश में तरह-तरह की सेनाएं देख रहे हैं। कहीं पर लचित सेना बनाई जा रही है, कहीं पर शिव सेना बनाई जा रही है और केरल में साम्यवादी मिलिसिया की तीर पर एक सेना बनाने जा रहे हैं। ये सब देश के लिये अच्छी बात नहीं है। इन सारी परिस्थितियों के सम्बन्ध में सरकार को

सोचना चाहिये और दृढ़ता के साथ उनको दबाया जाना चाहिये। सरकार को इस सम्बन्ध में एक निश्चित योजना बनानी चाहिये ताकि जो विषम स्थिति हमारे देश के सामने, हिंसा के वातावरण की, पैदा हो गई है उसका दृढ़ता के साथ मुकाबला किया जा सके।

अपना भाषण समाप्त करने से पहले मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि हमारी सरकार ने जिस धैर्य और साहस के साथ परिस्थितियों का मुकाबला किया उसके लिए मैं उसको बधाई देता हूं। मैं आशा करता हूं कि अब भी हमारे देश के सामने जो समस्याएँ हैं, जैसे भाषा की समस्या है, राज्य और केन्द्र के सम्बन्धों की समस्या है और जो दूसरी समस्याएँ हैं उनके सम्बन्ध में देश की विभिन्न पार्टियों के जो जिम्मेदार नेतागण हैं, उनको आपस में विचार विमर्श करके इन सब राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं को हल करना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस समय देश के सामने जो समस्याएँ हैं उनको हल करना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। कुछ समस्याएँ ऐसी हैं जिन पर एक राष्ट्रीय मत बने, एक राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण बने, यह बहुत ही आवश्यक है। हर एक मसले को संकीर्णता के दृष्टिकोण से देखना देश के लिए घातक सिद्ध होगा। इसलिये मेरा सरकार से अनुरोध है कि वह इन समस्याओं को विशेषकर भाषा की समस्या को अच्छी तरह से सुलझायेगी। भाषा के सम्बन्ध में जो अब नीति है या भविष्य में जो रहेगी उसके सम्बन्ध में चिन्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। इस भाषा की समस्या से कुछ क्षेत्रों को दिक्कत तथा तकलीफ हो सकती है और उसका निराकरण किस प्रकार हो, यह आपस में बातचीत करके तथा सौहार्दपूर्ण वातावरण में विचार-विमर्श करके हल की जानी चाहिये।

सरकार ने जो कुछ कार्य किया है उसके लिये मैं उसे बढ़ाई देता हूँ और सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उमने हर क्षेत्र में जो प्रयास किया है उसका अनुमोदन करें। मैं आशा करता हूँ भविष्य में हमारे देश के सामने जो भी राष्ट्रीय समस्या आयेगी विभिन्न पार्टियों तथा विभिन्न व्यक्तियों का उसमें उसको पूर्ण सहयोग प्राप्त होगा।

*The question was proposed.*

**SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY** (Madras): Madam Deputy Chairman, I consider it a privilege to be called upon to second the Motion of Thanks to the President of India for his Address to the members of the two Houses of Parliament that was moved by the hon. Mr. Mirdha:

"That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 12th February, 1968.

The Government deserves, Madam Deputy Chairman, the congratulations not only of the members of this House but of the entire country for its manifold achievements in the field of agriculture, industry, technical education and the careful manner in which it has planned our economy though the achievements have been very moderately given expression to in the President's Address. The President vividly echoed the feelings of the right-thinking men all over when he referred to the conflicts and violence that are caused in this country in the name of religion, language and community. We have been set to think, Madam Deputy Chairman, more deeply on this vital question that affects the very foundations of our democracy. Today we are at the cross-roads. The success of our democracy hangs in the balance. The Central Government is put to the severest of tests that I feel that only a firm as-

sertion of national leadership could save democracy in this country. What has been happening in West Bengal during the past ten months and more and what has been happening in other States as well following the West Bengal model, has resulted in the gross abuse of democratic means ending in lawlessness and violence. The question on everybody's lips today is: What has happened to law and order in the States of India? Many State Governments, I am sorry to state, Madam, have failed in essence and in spirit, and in technique as well to protect the citizens from the violent activities in which others indulged and as a result of which they have suffered a lot. The evil effects as I see—and I am prepared to point my finger at the Left Communist Party of India whose ideology is well known and which believes in violence, in chaos and in confusion—are the result of what I would call their extra-territorial loyalty, and I feel that unless and until that ideology does not find a place in our country, unless and until the Government of India takes a very firm line against the Communist Party of India, maybe the Right, maybe the Left, as the case may be, I am afraid democracy will be rooted out of this country.

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL** (Gujarat): What about the communists in your Party who are sitting with you?

**SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY:** Madam, I was referring to the problem of law and order and I would like to make a humble suggestion to the Government of India which, I believe is the only way by which the law and order problem, within the terms of the Constitution, can be dealt with carefully and efficiently in the various States of India. The only way by which the Government of India can save the country from disorder is by establishing or developing a powerful, large Central reserve police force.

[Shri R. T. Parthasarathy.]

recruited from all the States' personnel and putting them in large numbers in every State in India, without that particular State's personnel in that particular State. If they do it, they would function as a sort of second line to our Armed Forces, supplementary to the local police force and complementary to the Army itself as a second line of defence, it will set right matters in the various States of India and ultimately deliver the goods. The position in West Bengal and Assam and the position in Kerala and Madras are depressing. I would say with reference to Madras, the State from which I come, that the position of law and order is very unhappy and the Government is almost in a position of helplessness. Whether it is wanton or otherwise, I am not prepared to comment on that, but they have exhibited their weak-kneed policy in Madras State during the last three or four months. Now, in Madras the DMK kindled the students to start the language agitation. The movement having passed on from the hands of the students to the hands of the anti-social elements, the Government is finding it extremely difficult to carry on the normal administration of law and order.

SHRI V. V. RAMASWAMY (Madras)  
The Congressmen are doing it.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY: I have got a right to speak about my Government. The Madras Government is as much my Government as it is yours, as there is no doubt that I am a citizen of Madras. Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like to sound a note of warning and a stern warning not only to the DMK Government of Madras, but also to other State Governments in India. If they are going to make use of the student population as tools and as levers to gain their own political ends, there will not only be an end to democracy in this country, but ultimately we shall be going and Mad-

ras will be going the Indonesian way and I do not want that to happen because I have implicit faith in democracy. It is time the Central Government took strong measures against Governments in Madras or Kerala and maybe even against Bengal and Assam, and this is the time when the Central Government leadership should assert itself if India is to be saved and democracy is to be saved in this country.

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM (Andhra Pradesh): Why not in Andhra?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras): I would request my hon. friend to resume his seat for a minute. Let me put things right. In Madras now if there is any lawlessness, it is the creation of the Congress President, Mr. Subramaniam, and nobody else.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY: Madam, the President was pleased to refer to the agitation as a result of the formulation of the language policy which he said, very rightly, has been directed to strengthen the unity of the nation. I crave your permission to read one sentence from the President's Address:—

"It is Government's earnest hope that all controversies about language will now be ended. Whatever practical problems arise in the implementation of our language policy and programmes should be approached in a spirit of understanding and mutual accommodation."

Madam Deputy Chairman, I would take this opportunity of appealing to my Hindi brethren, those belonging to the majority in this country, that they should come forward with magnanimity and generosity, and allay the fears and misgivings of the non-Hindi-speaking people, their fears and misgivings have arisen as a result of the passing of the Official Language Resolution—I am very careful in my expression; viz., the Official Language Resolution, and it is up to them to remove the heavy burden,

the unequal burden that has been cast upon the non-Hindi-speaking people.

**SHRI V. V. RAMASWAMY:** I want to know whether the hon. Member welcomed that Resolution in his previous speech.

**SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY:** Please go through my speech, if you have any doubts on it. The non-Hindi-speaking people should not be made to feel that they are third class citizens. The widespread and continued agitation for the last three months and more in Andhra Pradesh, Mysore as well as in Madras, is a revealing index of the bent of popular opinion especially against the Resolution on language, even cutting across party barriers. The picture, which the framers of our Constitution envisaged years ago on the language issue, has been totally eclipsed today and we have to face a new situation under changed circumstances. The problem has assumed alarming proportions and has to be tackled delicately and with wisdom and with the sole objective of preserving the unity and integrity of the nation and nothing else. The students of the non-Hindi areas view the language Resolution as a matter of life and death for them. They genuinely feel that if it is implemented they will be outweighed, outmanoeuvred and out-serviced in the Union Government Services and that their future will be blighted. I have been taking an abiding interest in this very subject ever since I became a Member of this august House and I pick up courage to plead with the Prime Minister, and I make a fervent appeal to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, whose sympathies for the non-Hindi-speaking people are well known, to exhibit the great qualities of leadership which she has derived from her father Jawaharlal Nehru and take a bold . . . -

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:** By consulting Kosygin.

**SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY:** . . . step to suspend the implementation of the language Resolu-

tion. This would not only put an end to the growing suspicions and agitations all over the country, but would also create a healthy climate in which leaders of public opinion may sit together with the Prime Minister and evolve an acceptable solution to this vital problem that affects the very life, existence and the future of our youngmen all over the country. I do hope that the Prime Minister will do the needful in the matter and this should be done without any further delay.

It is gratifying to note in the President's Address that a paragraph has been devoted to the importance of science and technology and atomic research in the matter of developing our economy. This has a direct bearing on the language policy, of the Union Government as well as that of the States. I would, therefore, appeal to everyone, not only in the Union Government but also in the various State Governments, not to be shortsighted and not to develop what I would call a tribal outlook for giving up English. In the field of atomic research, in the field of science and in the field of technology, English has come to stay and English will stay. Whether people want it or not, there is no escape from that position and in our tribal outlook let us not hate the English language, which has given to all of us the benefits of scientific education. Ultimately, if we do that, we will isolate ourselves and go down and down until we are forced to sign a petition of intellectual insolvency. I would not only condemn the U. P. Government for taking a decision to give up English as the medium of instruction at the University stage, but I would condemn with equal vehemence the Madras Government's decision to give up English and adopt the Tamil medium at the University stage, which is going to ruin the entire younger generation in the State of Madras. I hope wiser counsels will prevail in the Madras Government and that they will rescind this step and give the-

[Shri R. T. Parthasarathy.]

students a new life and a new energy to play a great part in the future of our country.

Madam Deputy Chairman, the Government deserves all congratulations for the manner in which they have manned the defences of our country, efficiently planned both in the front and on the productive side. I had the honour to visit the Chinese border in Sikkim along with eleven other Members of Parliament, and I might take this opportunity to say that our defences are wonderfully established, and the enemies can never penetrate whatever may be their strength, seeing the manner in which our jawans and our officers are getting on; it is something that deserves the congratulations not only of this House but of the entire nation.

Madam, this policy of our defence in my view has a great bearing on the policy of our foreign affairs. Whereas the Government's foreign policy could be described as aiming at peace through non-alignment, the success of non-alignment could well be perceived only if it is used as a means and not as an end in itself. It is of cardinal importance that to make our foreign policy more dynamic, a reorientation of it should be thought of and worked out carefully. The success of our defence policy not only very much depends upon our foreign policy but it depends more on the stability of our own Government, and hence the two should be treated as twin objectives and only such a course would make our defences impregnable and our defence production plan self-reliant. In the successful formulation of a defence plan and programme the youth of the country must be fully utilised and this can be made possible of achievement only through the N.C.C. and A.C.C. Madam, it is tragic that the Madras Government should have thought it necessary to suspend the N.C.C. and the A.C.C. on the issue of

the language of command, a very unwise but dangerous step of which the Central Government should take serious note. The future of our defence and the future of our young countrymen, are intertwined and interdependent, and there can be only one approach to this, and that is an integrated national approach. We must resist any attempt at isolationism and separatism from whatever quarter it might come.

Madam, I come to the concluding portion of my speech and I must say that I was deeply moved when the President referred to the national problems and appealed to everyone to keep the national problems above party politics. This is an epoch-making suggestion coming from the highest authority of this land, one who himself is not only a great statesman and scholar but who has gone through the travails and tribulations of the freedom struggle, and I am sure this appeal of the President of India will go into the hearts and minds of every Member of this House and every countryman and that we shall do our best to uphold the dignity and the stature of our nation and preserve the great traditions which belong to us.

Madam Deputy Chairman, there is only one suggestion which I would like to make, and that is about showing respect to the Constitution, the National Flag and the National Anthem. Whatever may be the differences of political parties, whatever may be the ideological differences between the various sections of the people, I would declare here and now that there can be no compromise on this question. If anybody in India—whether he comes from the Himalayas or the Cape Comorin, it does not matter—is going to show disrespect to the Constitution, the National Flag or the National Anthem, I would plead with the Government of India to promulgate a law by which that particular person could be

tried for an act of treason and nothing short of it. It is up to us, the Members of Parliament and the Members of the Legislatures, to set an example to the whole country as to what they should do and what they should not do and how they should preserve the hard-won freedom of our country, the hard-won unity of the people, and uphold the dignity of the nation as a whole.

I have very great pleasure and I deem it a privilege, Madam, to second the Motion moved by the hon. Member, Shri Mirdha.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are 108 amendments which may be moved at this stage.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Sir, I beg to move:

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

'but regret that while dealing complacently with the food situation, the Address has, surprisingly, failed—

(i) to announce the removal of zonal and other barriers to the free movement of food-grains and foodstuffs throughout the country which had been imposed by reason, of an acute shortage that no longer persists;

(ii) to announce the end of the policy of compulsory monopoly procurement;

(iii) to propose concrete measures which would provide incentives to the farmer to increase production in order to cope with the rising population."

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

'but regret that while referring to the need for raising the efficiency of state sector enterprises,

the Address has failed to declare (a) the acceptance of the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission which are devised to make these enterprises function more efficiently by giving them maximum autonomy from interference by the politicians and bureaucrats in office, and (b) a readiness to restrict the establishment of new State enterprises."

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

'but regret that while referring to the question of reorganisation of a border State like Assam, no reference whatsoever is made in the Address to the deplorable attack on Indian citizens of non-Assamese origin and their property that took place in broad daylight in Gauhati and other places in Assam on Republic Day, the 26th January 1968, resulting in a large number of them becoming homeless and in the destruction of property worth crores of rupees as a result of the denial of even elementary protection to those who were left at the mercy of the mob."

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

'but regret that while referring to the prevalent unemployment, there is no mention in the Address of concrete steps to provide employment opportunities by encouraging productive investments."

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

'but regret that while referring to the conflict in Vietnam, the Address (a) repeats the sterile appeal for an unconditional stoppage of the bombing of North Vietnam at a time when North Vietnam and the Viet Cong have intensified their attack on capital of South Vietnam and other places resulting in large losses of civilian life and (b) has in this manner

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.]

shown an utter lack of appreciation of the real nature of North Vietnamese aggression on South Vietnam and the desirability that it should be repelled in the interests of peace and security of the countries of South and South-East Asia including our own."

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

'but regret that while referring to the movements for liberation of people from colonial rule in the southern part of Africa, the Address fails to refer to the brave struggle of the people of Tibet for the liberation of their country from Chinese Communist domination.'

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

'but regret that while contenting itself with a platonic hope that the ties between India and the countries of South and South-East Asia will be further strengthened, the Address makes no concrete proposals in regard to filling the vacuum caused by the withdrawal of British power from the region and the developing of a system of regional collective security among the countries of South and South-East Asia against the common menace of Chinese Communist expansionism.'

[The Amendments also stood in the name of Sardar Ram Singh.]

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, I beg to move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain concrete proposals to solve the problems created by the divisive forces in the name of region, language or community, which are destroying the unity of the country.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain, in particular, any proposals capable of implementation which seek to reconcile the serious differences of opinion between the Centre and the States on the Official Languages Act recently enacted by Parliament.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not reveal an adequate awareness of the serious danger to the stability of Parliamentary institutions by recent developments in West Bengal, Bihar and Punjab.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain schemes to remedy the staggering problems of unemployment which threatens to undermine the very fabric of the community.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain suggestions for the solution of the West Asian crisis based on the just claims of Israel for the recognition of its territorial existence.'

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Sir, I beg to move:

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

'but regret that the Address makes no mention of the grave threat to the nation's unity and the growing sense of insecurity



felt by the large sections of citizens and measures to combat those tendencies.' "

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

'but regret that the Address makes no mention of the grave threat to the Constitution as evidenced by flagrant abuse of the powers of the Governors in the matter of appointment or removal of the Chief Ministers.' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in Address of the grave malaise in the nation's economy as evidenced by recession, rising prices, unemployment, growing disparity in the income, and measures to combat or alleviate the sufferings of our people.' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any measures to redeem the pledges taken by Parliament to liberate the territories occupied by China and Pakistan.' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the deterioration in the socio-economic conditions of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes of our people and measures to bring them up at par with others in the society.' "

(The Amendments also stood in the names of Sarvashri Triloki Singh, Banka Behary Das, J. Venkatappa, R. S. Khandekar and Niranjana Singh.)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal)  
Sir, I bag to move :

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to finalise the Fourth Plan.' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to nationalise General Insurance.' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to settle the dispute about the future of Chandigarh.' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to implement in full the recommendations of Khosla Commission Report for Delhi Policemen.' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to give assistance to state Governments to enable them to pay dearness allowance to their employees at par with the Central Government employees.' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to ban

automation in L.I.C., oil companies and various public and private sector undertakings.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to fix a national minimum wage based on the recommendations made by the 15th session of the Indian Labour Conference.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to include Cochin Shipyard in the Fourth Five Year Plan.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to continue rice subsidy to Kerala State.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to allot sufficient funds for the development of Kerala.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to declare a moratorium on foreign debt repayment.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to stop importing PL 480 cotton despite foreign exchange difficulties.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to stop police verification in public sector undertakings.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to compel the newspaper managements to implement the wage board report for working journalists and non-working journalists.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to find out an amicable settlement of the language question in India.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to condemn U.S. aggression in Vietnam.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the

failure of the Government to prevent the South African representatives from participating in the UNCTAD-II conference.”

47. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

‘but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the vindictive attitude of the Government towards West Bengal.’”

48. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

‘but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to distribute waste land to the agricultural workers and poor peasants.’”

49. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

‘but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to put an end to differential treatment given to jawans and officials in the army.’”

50. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

‘but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to establish ambassadorial relations with the People's Republic of China.’”

51. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

‘but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to ban the activities of fascist organisation like Shiv Sena in Bombay.’”

52. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

‘but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the

failure of the Government to recognise the German Democratic Republic.’”

53. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

‘but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to condemn the establishment of U.S. Military base in the Indian Ocean.’”

54. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

‘but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to fulfil their assurance to the staff of the Telephone Revenue Accounts office that they will be absorbed in the other P. and T. units of the Telephone Districts in New Delhi and Hyderabad.’”

55. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

‘but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to stay the orders of the Postmaster General, Madras Circle, Madras, who has resorted to reduction in the strength of the peons in his offices.’”

56. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

‘but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to meet the representatives of the All India (Posts and Telegraphs) Administrative Offices Employees Association, to negotiate on their demands submitted on the 23rd October, 1967.’”

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy.]

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to put an end to the country's dependence on foreign food.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to protect the existing conditions of service of the staff of the Telephone Revenue Accounts Offices resulting in pecuniary loss to them due to the non-protection of the present emoluments drawn by them and their pay scales.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to grant independent status to the Postal Stock Depots in each Circle which is causing hardship to the staff.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to stop the Heads of the Telephone Districts in New Delhi and Hyderabad from resorting to reduction in the staff strength of their respective offices.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to give

the promised monthly quota of 75,000 tons of rice to Kerala.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to adopt a national food policy.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to grant adequate funds for development of fisheries in Kerala.'"

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to release all political prisoners in Bengal.'"

(The Amendments also stood in the name of Shri Arvindakshan Kaimal.)

SHRI REWATI KANT SINHA (Bihar): Sir, I beg to move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the following facts, namely:—

(i) that after the adoption of the no-confidence motion against the Sanyukta Vidhayak Dal Government in Bihar, the Governor, by violating the provisions of the Constitution, administered the oath of office of the Chief Minister to Shri Satish Prasad Sinha for merely two days, nominated Shri Bindhyeshwari Prasad Mandal to Legislative Council on the ad-

vice of the interim Chief Minister, Shri Satish Prasad Sinha in violation of article 171, and then administered the oath of office of Chief Minister to Shri Bindhyeshwari Prasad Mandal;

(ii) that the Governor of West Bengal installed Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh as Chief Minister by dismissing the U.L.F. Government without ascertaining its majority in the Legislative Assembly, leading to a constitutional crisis in Bengal;

(iii) that the Governor of Punjab administered the oath of office of Chief Minister to Shri Lachhman Singh Gill despite the fact that Shri Gurnam Singh claimed a majority in his favour;

(iv) that President's rule was enforced in Haryana despite the fact that the majority was in favour of Rao Birendra Singh's Ministry;

(v) that the State Governments have not been able to grant dearness allowance to their non-gazetted employees admissible in terms of the recommendations of the Gajendragadkar Commission for want of sufficient financial assistance from Central Government, as a result of which agitation by employees in every State is becoming more and more violent, and particularly in Haryana where they resorted to strike;

(vi) that no laws regulating the appointment and service conditions of Government employees in pursuance of article 309 of the Constitution have so far been enacted even after eighteen years of the coming into force of the Constitution;

(vii) that Government employers have been deprived of trade union rights."

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : (राजस्थान)  
श्रीमान्, ये प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि :

66. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में आसाम में राष्ट्र विरोधी तत्वों की गतिविधियों राष्ट्र ध्वज के अपमान, 26 जनवरी को गोहाटी में हुए अग्निकाण्ड, आसाम में पाकिस्तानियों की घुसपैठ से उत्पन्न हुए खतरे का तथा उनको शमन करने के उपायों का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।'

†[SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHAN-DARI (Rajasthan): Sir, I beg to move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the activities of anti-national elements in Assam, disrespect to the National Flag, the acts of arson in Gauhati on the 26th January, the threat posed by the infiltration of Pakistanis into Assam and the steps for dealing with them.'"]

67. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में पूर्वी एशिया में विद्यमान गम्भीर स्थिति और भारत पर उसके परिणामों और उसका मुकाबला करने के लिये ठोस उपायों का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।'

†[67. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention the present se-

†[ ] English translation.

[Shri Sunder Singh Bhandari]

rious situation in East Asia and its repercussions on India and concrete suggestions to face it.' ”]

68. “प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

‘किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में वर्तमान खाद्य क्षेत्रों को समाप्त करके सारे देश का एक खाद्य क्षेत्र बनाने के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा गया है।’ ”

†[68. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

‘but regret that the Address does not say anything about the formation of a single food zone for the country as a whole by abolishing the existing food zones.’ ”]

69. “प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

‘किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में चीन और पाकिस्तान के आक्रामक रवैये के कारण देश की सुरक्षा के लिए उत्पन्न खतरे पर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया और न ही इसमें इस चुनौती का सामना करने के लिये की जाने वाली कार्यवाही का कोई संकेत दिया गया है।’ ”

†[69. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of the situation arising out of the threat to the security of the country on account of the aggressive designs of China and Pakistan nor does it indicate the steps to be taken to face this challenge.’ ”]

70 “प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

‘किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सरकारी क्षेत्र के उद्योगों में अनुमानों और उनके वास्तविक कार्यों के बीच अत्यधिक अन्तर के कारण हुई करोड़ों रुपये की हानि तथा उसे रोकने के उपायों का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।’ ”

†[70. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

‘but regret that the Address does not mention the loss of crores of rupees suffered by industries in the public sector on account of the wide gap between estimates and actual performances and the steps for avoiding such losses.’ ”]

71. “प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

‘किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में पाकिस्तान द्वारा ताशकन्द घोषणा का बार बार उल्लंघन करने का तथा भारत सरकार द्वारा ऐसे उल्लंघनों के सम्बन्ध में क्या ठोस कदम उठाये जाने चाहियें, इसका कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।’ ”

†[71. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added namely:—

‘but regret that the Address does not mention the repeated violations by Pakistan of the Tashkent Declaration and the concrete steps which the Government of India should take in regard to such violation.’ ”]

72. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में केन्द्रीय सरकार तथा विभिन्न राज्यों की सरकारों के कर्मचारियों के महंगाई भत्त में बड़ी असमानता अथवा उस असमानता को मिटाने या कम करने की प्रस्तावित कार्यवाही का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the wide disparity between the dearness allowances of employees of the Central Government and of the various State Governments or the action proposed for removing or minimising that disparity.'"]

73. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में सेना के उच्च अधिकारियों में व्याप्त पाश्चात्य सभ्यता के प्रभाव को धीरे-धीरे समाप्त कर उनमें भारतीय सभ्यता के प्रसार का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।'

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

'but regret that no reference has been made in the Address about steps to remove gradually the impact of western culture prevalent among the high officials of the Army and to propagate Indian culture among them.'"]

74. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश की सुरक्षा के हित में सहायक सेना के विस्तार के लिए उठाये जाने वाले कदमों का निर्देश नहीं किया गया है।'

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

'but regret that the Address does not indicate steps for expansion of the auxiliary force in the interest of the security of the country.'"]

75. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में पश्तूनों तथा पूर्वी पाकिस्तान के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के समर्थन का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।'

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

'but regret that the Address does not indicate support for the struggle for Independence by the Pakhtoons and the East Pakistan.'"]

76. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में मृत सैनिकों के परिवारों को भिन्न भिन्न राज्यों में दी जाने वाली राहत के मामले में एक रूपता लाने के लिए प्रस्तावों का समावेश नहीं किया गया है।'

[Shri Sunder Singh Bhandari.]

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain proposals for bringing about uniformity in the matter of giving relief to the families of deceased soldiers in different States.'"]

77. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में देश में व्याप्त मिट्टी के तेल की कमी तथा उसे दूर करने के लिये उठाये जाने वाले पणों का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।'

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the scarcity of kerosine oil all over the country and the steps to be taken to meet the situation.'"]

78. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये अर्थात् :—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में किसानों के लिये खाद्यान्न का सहायक मूल्य निर्धारित करने तथा उसे किसानों को दिलाने के बारे में कोई संकेत नहीं किया गया है।'

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

'but regret that the Address does not make any reference about the fixation and grant of support price to the producers of food-grains.'"]

79. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये, अर्थात् :—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में काश्मीर को दिये गये विशेष दर्जे को समाप्त करके अन्य राज्यों के समान करने के प्रवर्तनों का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।'

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

'but regret that the Address does not indicate steps for abolishing the special status given to Kashmir under the Constitution and to bring it on a par with the other States.'"]

80. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये अर्थात् :—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में विद्यार्थियों में बढ़ती हुई अनुशासनहीनता तथा विध्वंसकारी प्रवृत्तियों का और उन्हें दूर करने के उपायों का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।'

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

'but regret that the Address does not refer to the growing indiscipline and disruptive tendencies among the students and the steps to be taken to remove them.'"]

81. "प्रस्ताव के अन्त में निम्नलिखित जोड़ा जाये अर्थात् :—

'किन्तु खेद है कि अभिभाषण में इंजीनियरों तथा अन्य लोगों में बढ़ती हुई बेकारी तथा इस समस्या को हल करने के उपायों का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।'



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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the increasing unemployment among engineers and others and the steps for solving this problem.'"]

[The Amendments also stood in the names of Sarvashri V. M. Chordia and Niranjan Varma]

**SHRI V. M. CHORDIA** (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, I beg to move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not make any mention of the desirability of establishing diplomatic relations with Israel with a view to adding to the number of countries friendly to India.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for the attainment of independence by Tibet.'"

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

'but regret that the Address contains no mention of the failure of Government to fulfil the assurances given in the Address of the previous Presidents and the steps to be taken to fulfil them in future.'"

(The Amendments also stood in the name of Shri Niranjan Varma)

**SHRI G. MURAHARI** (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I beg to move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not draw attention to the indifference and wrong planning by Government for—saving the people from famine conditions in the country.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not condemn Government for not accepting the demand of the Samyukt Socialist Party for the recruitment of a 'Food Army' (Anna Sena) with a view to expanding agriculture by bringing under cultivation non-fertile, fallow, barren and waterlogged areas, forest No. 4 and other waste lands.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain any warning regarding Government's failure to free the farmers from old debts and to make available to them cheap manure, water and electricity etc., and to the sufferings caused to them thereby.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not express concern about the continued fall in the per capita national income.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention Government's failure to check rise in prices of essential commodities of every day use.'"

[Shri G. Murahari.]

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

'but regret that the Address does not draw attention of Government to the need for establishing a rational balance between the prices of essential agricultural produce and industrial products.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not emphasise the need for irrigating the unirrigated land by making extensive use of minor irrigation projects.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not draw proper attention of Government to the need for increasing export of goods produced in the country.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not denounce Government for its failure to implement the Fourth Plan, thereby leading to recession, increased economic strain on the poorer sections of the people and loss to the nation.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not throw any light on the necessity for giving an appropriate dearness allowance and other facilities to the workers and employees of the public sector industries and the other services with a view to raise their standard of living.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not draw the attention to the corruption and blackmarketing prevalent in the Government among Ministers and the administration and does not contain any exhortation to the Ministers and responsible officers to lead an ideal life in order to save the society from moral degradation.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not emphasise the need to check the continuously increasing unemployment, poverty, dearness, dacoity, murders, epidemics, immorality, riots and robbery.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention Government's failure to improve the lot of the Harijans and other backward classes of people by implementing the report of the Backward Classes Commission and by accepting the Samyukt Socialist Party's proposal to reserve 60 per cent of seats in every walk of life for backward people (Harijans, Shudras, Women, Advasis and poor Muslims).'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not condemn the Government for the riots which occurred as a result of the wrong policies of the Central Government regarding language, caste and community.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not condemn undue interference by the Centre in the affairs of West Bengal, Bihar, Haryana and other non-Congress States and the unholy attempt to topple the non-Congress Governments and thereby throttling the Constitution.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the failure of Government to defend the national borders.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not draw attention to the increasing foreign loans and the increasing foreign influence.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not hold Government guilty for non-acceptance of the demand of the Samyukt Socialist Party to create a third Power and a third Camp in the international field and to adopt a functional and constructive foreign policy, nor does it indicate how far Government's policy to advocate in turn the cause of American and Russian blocs has gone against the national interest.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not warn the Government about the harm suffered by the country by not following a well-planned and firm policy in rela-

tion to Pakistan and China in the interest of the Nation.'"

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

'but regret that the Address has not warned the Government about those absurd and irrelevant declarations made by it from time to time regarding the solution of the Assam and Nagaland problems and thereby adding to the unrest and riots in that area.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not draw the attention of the Government towards the basic mistakes so far committed by it with regard to the practical domestic, foreign, educational, agricultural and industrial policies.'"

(The Amendments also stood in the names of Sarvashri Rajnarain, B. N. Mandal, and Revati Kant Sinha)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, I beg to move:

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

'but regret that the Address fails to emphasise that only by amending the Constitution and granting maximum possible powers to the States in order to enable the people of the States to fully develop themselves and fashion their own destiny without any dependence on and interference from the Centre, can the fissiparous tendencies be checked, unity of India cemented on a durable basis and democracy maintained and strengthened.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of

[Shri Niren Ghosh]

the Government to solve the language problem on a democratic basis by trying to impose only one of the Indian languages as official language on the people of India, thus relegating other Indian national languages to a secondary position while at the same time retaining a foreign language on an official basis—a policy leading to the balkanization of India.’”.

108. “That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely:—

‘but regret that the Address does not sharply bring out the fact that only by amending the Constitution and giving all the Indian national languages the status of link language, can the vital national aspirations of the people of India be satisfied, a democratic solution found for the language problem and democratic unity of India strengthened.’”.

The questions were proposed.

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:**

Madam, we have every time when Parliament assembles for the Budget session an opportunity to discuss the happenings in the country when the President's Address is taken into consideration. But perhaps during all these twenty years we have not met under as distressing circumstances as we meet today. There is unrest. Law and order is a thing difficult to find anywhere. Murder has become as easy as anything. To add to that, while agricultural production provides a silver lining, everything else is in a mess.

**THE MINISTER OF STATE (DEFENCE PRODUCTION) IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI L. N. MISHRA):** Including your party.

**SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:**

The hon. Minister might hold the mirror before himself before trying to criticise others. Madam, before I was interrupted by the hon. Minister, I was saying that everything, else is

in a mess, everything else is in a very sorry state of affairs, a state of affairs that could have been prevented. The happenings in Assam, or what happened in Delhi only a few weeks ago are matters about which all right-thinking people would feel ashamed, but feeling ashamed is not enough. It is necessary to think and find a remedy.

Madam, I am sorry, with the greatest respect to the personality of the President, I have to say that the President's Address, unduly long, reads like a wail of an old widow's woe. It is true, and nobody denies it, that there are some improvements, perhaps a little in irrigation, for which the Government cannot take any credit. It is nature's bounty that after two years of serious drought, we have had good monsoons; it is nature's mercy to save the sufferings of our people. It is true that in 1966-67, agricultural production was only of the order of 76 million tonnes. This was supplemented to the extent of 8.5 million tonnes by import, mainly from PL-480 assistance. Fortunately, in 1967-68, I am told that production is likely to be 95 million tonnes. This is no doubt a significant achievement in agricultural production. It is good to see that Government have at last learnt taking advice, good advice, from whatever source it comes and rice which the people of this country like so much is going to be a little more plentiful than it has been before. But what about the industry? Industry has been under a cloud of recession since 1967. The remedy could have been and should have been followed, particularly after the devaluation which has hit our industries very hard. Relief in the form of reduction of excise duties was the real remedy. That has not been given. Non-developmental expenditure should have been cut. That does not seem to be any serious intention of the Government to do so in spite of the Administrative Reforms Commission and the reports that are piling up in the files of the Government. The wholesale price index rose from 206 in

December, 1966 to 234 in December, 1967. On the other hand, the price index of manufactures fell from 166 to 164. The wholesale price index which was 196 in December, 1966 went up to a peak of 224 in the middle of 1967. It has since declined to 207. In a developing economy, while some rise may be understood, the steep rise that is taking place in prices is preventing growth and development. It is causing inflation which is the greatest burden to the people, to the industry and to the economy of the country. The capital market is none too good; it is very largely due to the measures that the Government have been following. Bank credit is in short supply. We have got special control, another name for very near nationalisation of the banks, and what is the result? It is a question of *gaya Ram and aya Ram* again. In many banks, it is a case of 'you scratch my back and I scratch your back.' There have been some changes in directors. I do know how that constitutes the avowed object of the Government, with which I am not at all in agreement. Does the Government want itself to be misled? Does the appointment of a few people who are secretaries or underlings as directors in banks or in commercial organisations according to the desire of their boards or the people who made room for them, mean social control? Let us know what is the real intention of the Government in this is. Export trends are not very encouraging in spite of the devaluation and no effort is being made to correct this situation. The policy of the Government of high taxation is killing enterprise and initiative in this.

The country is faced with many problems, particularly the language agitation which came about by a step perhaps which was absolutely unnecessary at this time. When all of us desire to make progress, this sort of agitations, two languages or three languages or one language, create confusion and chaos all over. Perhaps, it was the Government's intention to divide the Opposition which was com-

bining and pointing out the faults of the Government and giving them difficult time. Perhaps, their intention was to topple the few State Governments by throwing this apple of discord. But what great harm has it done to the economy of the country? We have so much work to do in this country; we have so many unfinished schemes. Instead of tackling them, we want after something which after all, is merely a shadow. Is this country's economy going down because somebody speaks in English or somebody speaks in Hindi or somebody speaks in Tamil?

An HON. MEMBER: Somebody speaks in Marathi.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Marathi or Gujarati is all right. After all, let us recognise that language is a medium and let us not make too much of it in the manner in which it is sought to be made out in certain places. Why have we lost our sense of broad understanding? Why do we go after things that will disrupt the unity of this country? We have so many unfinished schemes to tackle. Are we doing anything about them? Are we going forward with what is to be done? There is growing unemployment in the country. I agree, what are we doing about it? Now we are told that there are a large number of educated technicians and engineers. What are they going to do? Is any effort being made to mobilise their services? No. The concrete method is to employ them, allow them to form their own co-operatives and do many of the things that we need quickly. For instance, one of the most hopeless services in the country is the telephone service. Have you ever seen such an inefficient telephone service in this country after the Government took it over? We had a very efficient telephone system and an efficient trunk telephone system. Why have we allowed it to come to this situation? And if it is too big for the Government, too much of a task, why not allow the private enterprise to come in and help you.

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel]

Why not make a combined effort to help? After all, communication is a means that is very very necessary. If an important message does not reach, it means loss to the industry, it means loss to the Government. Perhaps, Government does not care because it can pick out a little more from the tax-payers pockets. It does not worry them. The Ministers have a host of secretaries and PAs who go and ask for numbers of ordinary and trunk telephones and it does not worry them that the other people suffer. But do you realise how much of inefficiency and how much of delay in the completion of work in business this results?

Madam, we are still continuing, and perhaps to a great extent, with the fraud of this Rupee payment. We have been told that these Rupee payment agreements are to our advantage and the Dollar is expensive. I have pointed out repeatedly in this House—no Finance Minister or any Minister of the Government has contradicted me—that most of the Rupee payment agreements are really harder than the Dollar agreements because they contain a clause to say that Rupee of so much gold content. And gold is certainly harder than dollar. This fraud has been perpetrated on the people of this country to throw dust into the eyes of the simple people who do not understand why things are in this state. Of course, we go on paying more and more. Is it known that some of the countries who deal with us under Rupee payment agreements are benefited by this because they get higher value than they would normally get; it is not competitive. We do not buy in the free world in the open competitive market. Under this Rupee payment system we undertake agreements which should not have been undertaken. After devaluation this has been brought about. Has the Government really made any survey of the loss that has occurred because of this, and how many Rupee payment agreements, or what were boasted to be advantageous to India

in the name of Rupee payment agreements, how much more they have cost actually?

Madam, today in the city of Delhi we have a gathering of people from all over the world. It is supposed to be the 5th conference of people from all over the world. And where do we stand in it? In spite of all this boast of so much progress under the development plans we have come to be classed among the countries that are very very far behind. We are a country classed among the countries that ask for the scaling down of debts, that we are unable to pay our debts knowing that we would have to pay them back and that we are unable to pay them back in spite of being the leaders of the oppressed nations, nations struggling for freedom, as we were under Gandhiji, we have become one of the nations of the world that want to repudiate their debts, debts that were taken in good faith, knowing full well the implications. Agreement after agreement were made by this Government with several countries and now the suggestion is seriously made in this country that these debts should be scaled down.

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL (Punjab): Who has made that statement? I say categorically that a statement has been made by the Finance Minister that no debts will be scaled down.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I am glad to hear that. But what does your representative at this meeting say? I hope you read the newspapers. Your representative has taken the lead in asking the people to ask for the scaling down of debts.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): There are developing countries which have made that demand.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: And you are in that class.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: We are not.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:  
You are in that class.

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL: Repudiation is something different from scaling down.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:  
Madam, you can use another word and call it something different. It is the same thing to my mind. This is what you have brought this country to. You made agreements with the Princes and now you want to repudiate them. You promised them pension. Now you want to say that you do not want to give.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Pension or privy purse?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:  
Whatever you might call it. Tomorrow this Government might say that they do not want to pay pensions to the Government servants because they also fall in the same line. I am afraid I cannot agree to that sort of thing.

Madam, I think the Government is leading us to a very wrong way. I am not happy the way this Address was delivered to us by the President; there is no hope; there is no progress. We are told in a good language that we are poor, that we have no foreign exchange, that we do not know how to manage our business. Madam, other countries have solved their food problem in a period less than what has been available to us. And where are we? Have we been able to solve our food problem? We are never going to get out of the economic rut. We are doing nothing to get out of it. In Bihar we have had a very bad famine. I agree it is very, very hard on the people who suffered in that way. I do not deny the suffering of the people. What is the real state of affairs? In some places you want to curtail land holdings; and you apply ceiling on land very vigorously. What do you do in Bihar? Is there a ceiling on holding of land? There was the huge Betiah Estate in Bihar. You

know how Congressmen got a share out of that, every one getting 250, 500 or 1,000 acres.

You talk of distress and famine in Bihar where the water level is only 20 ft. In other areas they have tackled their water problem when the water level is 100 ft. This is the efficiency with which we work.

Madam, the Prime Minister's Bihar Relief Fund was formed and my Leader, Prof. Ranga, nominated me and asked me to go there because I had toured that area sometimes. I had suggested—and this was what the former Food Minister, Mr. Subramaiam had suggested—to take advice from the people of Gujarat who have solved their famine problem very easily and very well. They have now permanent works of famine relief which are of permanent use. No effort is being made, or the effort that is made is very slow. I suggested the name of a Member of Parliament who is not elected this time; he was there last time. The Famine Relief Committee asked them to send the address of that gentleman. It is not difficult to find out his name and address since he was a Member of Parliament. It is so easy for the Prime Minister's Secretariat to find out that information. Madam, this indicates the manner in which we are handling the affairs of this country. Until we straighten this out there is going to be no relief for us.

Madam, it is the plan of the Government to divide the Opposition just when it suits them. This question of language might not have been raised at this time. What a terrible destruction and loss of man hours it has caused in this country? The work was going on all right. Progress of education, however slow; was going on. Now what is going to happen at this rate? Now provincial jealousies prevent work being done. Referring to my own State of Gujarat, the Narmada scheme was proposed many, many years ago. It is being obstructed purely because of reasons of pro-

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel]

vincial jealousy. The Ministry at Delhi admits that it is a scheme which will be beneficial to the whole of India. It would be a scheme that will give us a lot of food, food that we miss so often. It will give us irrigation potential and power will come as 3 P.M. a by-product without much investment. But provincial jealousies come in the way and every attempt to solve them seems to be blocked. Madam, I am sorry I cannot be happy at the manner in which the Parliament has been addressed and the manner in which we are told that this country is going ahead. I feel that we have come to a complete standstill. The mover of the Resolution said that there was progress in certain directions. He may be right. There was progress in some directions. But is that enough? What are we doing to reduce our burden of debt? What are we doing to make our public sector projects pay? And if our bureaucrats cannot manage the public sector projects, why do you want to go on expanding them and burden this country, burden posterity with debts which perhaps you will never be able to pay at this rate? It is necessary to clean the Augean's stables. It is all right that Mr. Kosygin may come and say "Do this, do that." We know what his ways are, what he thinks of and how that Government, that system wants to expand its sphere of influence. We were supposed keep a non-aligned stand. But in the last few years we have become more and more aligned . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: To America.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: ... to the path where progress is regimented, where progress is according to the wishes of the ruling clique and where people cannot even write freely, and authors are given harsh sentences of seven years of imprisonment for life. Is that the progress that this country fought for? Is this what was envisaged for this country by the Father of the Nation? Madam, I do

not think we are making any progress and I am utterly disappointed at the address of the President.

श्री भर्तृहरि प्रसाद (आंध्र प्रदेश) :

उपसभापति महोदया, आज हमारे सामने जो राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर प्रस्ताव रखा गया उसका मैं हार्दिक स्वागत करते हुए अनुमोदन करती हूँ।

स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त कर आज बीस वर्ष पूर्ण हुये और अब 21वें वर्ष में अनेक महत्वपूर्ण घटनाएँ उभर आई हैं। आज केन्द्र और प्रांतीय शासन संबंध कड़ी परीक्षा से गुजर रहे हैं। अत्यन्त कठिन परिस्थितियों में भी वर्तमान केन्द्रीय शासन अच्छे सम्बन्ध बनाये रखने के कारण प्रशंसा का पात्र है।

राष्ट्र के सर्वोत्तम हित के लिए यह बात अनिवार्य है कि यदि कोई राजनैतिक परिवर्तन की भी आवश्यकता पड़ जाय तो वह एकता और स्थिरता को हानि न पहुंचाने पाये।

प्रान्तीयता, जातीयता भाषावाद स्वार्थपरता एवं राजनैतिक अवसरवादिता ने नेतृत्व में व्यवधान उपस्थित कर दिया है। अनेक असरों पर हिंसात्मक मनवृत्ति सिरे उठा रही है। कुछ समस्याओं में व्यक्तिगत सुरक्षा एवं संपत्ति खतरे में पड़ गई है। इससे यह प्रगट होता है कि कुछ हद तक समाज के अनेक स्तरों पर नेतृत्व में अभी भी वृद्धि है। मनगशील व्यक्तियों के मन में हलचल उत्पन्न करने वाली बात छात्र एवं नवयुवकों की अनुशासनहीनता एवं हिंसात्मक प्रवृत्ति है। इस घातक स्थिति की रोकथाम के लिये सरकार कम से कम शक्ति का प्रयोग कर रही है। इससे लिए एक विचारों का सफल है। अत्यन्त उन्नेजनात्मक तथा तीव्र तनाव के पश्चात् भी हमारे शान्ति और सुव्यवस्था के प्रबन्धक बाफो संयम से कार्य संभाल रहे हैं। इस लिये



मैं उनको बता देती हूँ कि हमारी दैनिक संस्थाओं को सुचारु रूप से चलाने के लिये मौलिक परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता है। मेरी दृष्टि में विद्यार्थियों के असंतोष में सहायक जो बाते हैं उन में बढ़ती हुई निराशा और भाषावाद के सम्बन्ध में उदासीनता प्रमुख है। इसका मुख्य कारण शिक्षित वर्ग में बेरोजगारी है। व्यवसायिक शिक्षित वर्ग में भी कई व्यक्ति बिना उद्योग के हैं। वह अत्यन्त ही भयप्रद एवं चिंताजनक स्थिति है।

हमें यह एक भयानक एलार्म नोट कर लेना चाहिये कि आज हमारे देश में बहुत से टेकनिकल युवक, युवतियाँ बिना काम के हैं। यदि इस ओर हमने ध्यान न दिया तो बाद में हमें भुगतना पड़ेगा। आज यह देखा जाता है कि जब हमारे बच्चे बाहर के देशों से टेकनिकल डिग्रियाँ ले कर लायक बनकर वापस आते हैं तो उन्हें काम नहीं मिलता। इस हालत से परेशान हो कर वे विदेशों में जा बसते हैं। इससे भी हमें हानि होती है और इस तरह से हम अपने विद्वानों को भी खोते हैं। इस लिये मेरी प्रार्थना है कि भविष्य में उन के लिये हम कोई न कोई काम निकालें जिससे हमारे टेकनिकल लाइन के बच्चे बाहर विदेशों में जाकर के न वसें और उससे हमारे देश को लाभ हो।

इस वर्ष की महत्वपूर्ण घटना इमर्जेंसी को समाप्त करने की है। इस समय हमारी सीमाओं पर कुछ न कुछ शांति का अनुभव नज़र आ रहा है। आज हमारे साथ शुभेच्छा रखने वाले और हमारी भलाई चाहने वाले काफी मित्र विश्व में हैं, यह एक खुशी की बात है। इस के लिये हमें सरकार को बधाई देनी चाहिये।

हमारे देश के अन्तर्गत यानी घरेलू स्तर पर कुछ दुर्भाग्यशाली राजनैतिक घटनाएँ घटी हैं जिससे विश्व में हमारे स्वरूप को हानि पहुँची है, फिर भी हमारी कठिनाइयों के प्रति सहानुभूति प्रगट की जा रही है।

पाकिस्तान के साथ जो सम्बन्ध है उनमें "ताश्कन्द" की भावना का प्रभाव निरन्तर नज़र आता रहे यह हमारी इच्छा है।

विश्व की समस्याओं को सुलझाने के लिये जो दृष्टिकोण हमारे शासन ने आजाया है वह प्रशंसा का पात्र है। अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय संधर्ष या मतभेद हटाने में यह सफल सिद्ध हुआ है। वियतनाम की भूमि पर जो बातें हो रही हैं उससे हम बड़े व्यग्र और चिंतित हैं। वहाँ के विरोध को समाप्त करने के लिये हमारी सरकार जो प्रयत्न कर रही है उसमें हमें साथ देना चाहिये।

सामाजिक पद्धतियों में भेद होने पर भी राष्ट्रों में विश्वशान्ति तथा स्नेहभाव बनाये रखने के लिये हम बड़े तत्पर हैं।

प्रत्येक देशभक्त नागरिक के लिये देश की रक्षा महत्वपूर्ण तथा प्रमुख है। चीन ने गत जून में जो "हायड्रोजन बम" का विस्फोट किया उस से विश्व के इस भाग में एक नये संकट का निर्माण हुआ है। हम आशा करते हैं कि सरकार देश की रक्षा के विषय में सदैव जागृत एवं सचेत होगी।

चीन में लाल रक्षक आन्दोलन एवं हमारे दूतावास के अधिकारियों के साथ जो अपमान जनक व्यवहार पीका गया है, यह गंभीर घटनाएँ हैं। चीन के हीन और उद्दंड व्यवहार की स्थितिका का मामला हमारी सरकार ने वीरता, शान्ति, गंभीरता और सहृदयता से किया और दूतावास की स्थिति को बड़ी कुशलता से टाला गया।

गतवर्ष विश्व की घटनाओं में मिडि ईस्ट की घटना अशांति और यत्न थी संयुक्त अरब प्रजासत्ता और इजराइल के बीच तनाव के सम्बन्ध के कारण स्वेज नहर

[श्रीमती सीता युद्धबेर]

का मार्ग जहाजों के लिए खुला नहीं रह सका। हमारे विदेशी व्यापार पर इसका काफी प्रभाव पड़ा है। यह आज जो हमें नुकसान हो रहा है मैं समझती हूँ कि इस सम्बन्ध में कोई ऐसा मार्ग निकलेगा जिससे हमारा यह नुकसान रूक जाय।

श्रीमती जी, आर्थिक स्तर पर चौथी योजना को अभी रूप धारण करना है। योजना आयोग की नई टीम यह आशा दर्शाती है कि चतुर्थ योजना का आरम्भ या निर्माण 1969 में होगा। योजना प्रगति और विकास की विशेषता रह चुकी है। और हमें आर्थिक प्रगति के महत्व को बनाये रखना चाहिये। हमारे जैसा गरीब देश राजनैतिक और भाषा संघर्ष या मतभेद की विलासप्रियता पर अपना सामर्थ्य व्यय नहीं कर सकता और वह भी शांतिमय योजनाबद्ध आर्थिक विकास के मूल्य पर।

गतवर्ष बिहार और कुछ प्रान्तों में अकाल की स्थिति का सामना करना पड़ा। फिर भी यह वर्ष संतोषजनक फसल की आशा दर्शाता है। सरकार ने अनाज 7 से 8, 10 लाख टन संग्रहीत कर आयात को रोकने का जो निर्णय लिया है वह प्रशंसनीय है।

गतवर्ष हमारी जनसंख्या 50 करोड़ के स्तर तक पहुँच चुकी थी। बढ़ती हुई जनसंख्या को अन्न देने की समस्या से हमारी अन्य आर्थिक समस्याओं पर काफी गहरा प्रभाव पड़ा है।

यू० ए० ने 3 से 5 लाख टन अनाज देने का जो वचन दिया है उसके लिये हम उनके आभारी हैं। मगर प्रश्न यह है कि हम कब तक माँग माँग कर खायेंगे।

श्रीमती जी, दिन प्रति दिन मंहगाई बढ़ती जा रही है। कभी कभी इस मंहगाई को

देखकर के सोचती हूँ कि कमाने वाला कितना कमा कर लाय और घर चलाने वाली गृहीणी किस तरह से घर चलाय। आजकल देखा जाये तो मध्यम वर्ग के लिये जीना ही मुश्किल हो गया है। मैं समझती हूँ कि हमारी सरकार के ढाँचे में कहीं न कहीं कोई ऐसी त्रुटि अवश्य है जो बढ़ती हुई कीमतों पर काबू नहीं पा रही है।

आज जो चीज हमें बाजार में नहीं मिलती है वह ब्लैक मार्केट में मिलती है। अगर आपके पास धन ज्यादा है, पैसा ज्यादा है, तो आप यह हर चीज खरीद सकती हैं। आज ऐसा हो गया है कि इन्सान का मूल्य कम हो गया है चीजों का मूल्य बढ़ गया है।

आज चीनी के दो भाव सरकार ने रखे हैं, राशन का अलग और बाजार में अलग। यह खुल्लम खुल्ला ब्लैक मार्केट है। मेरी सरकार से प्रार्थना है कि इस चीनी के दाम पर जो आम जनता में चर्चा हो रही है उस पर फिर से गौर करें और अच्छी तरह से कोई हल निकालें।

आज हम लेबर एलाउन्सेज बढ़ाते हैं। उनके एलाउन्सेज जरूर बढ़ने चाहियें, हर इन्सान की तरक्की होनी चाहिये, मगर एक तरफ यदि 5 रुपये एलाउन्सेज बढ़ाते हैं तो दूसरी तरफ 10 प्रतिशत भाव बढ़ जाते हैं। इस तरह से हमें एलाउंस बढ़ाने से कोई फायदा नहीं होता जब तक हम भावों पर कन्ट्रोल न करें। तो मेरी प्रार्थना है कि आज हमारी गरीब जनता के लिए सस्ता अन्न और सस्ता कपड़ा इन दो चीजों के भाव तय कर दिये जाय तो आज हमारे देश में जो अन्दरूनी अशांति फैली हुई है वह दूर हो जाये। मेरी प्रार्थना है अपनी सरकार से कि इस पर गौर करें। अगर आय के लिये धन निकालना है तो ऐसी चीजों पर ज्यादा बेशक टैक्स लगाए जिसके बिना गरीब जनता का गुजारा

हो सकता है, मगर गरीब जनता जो अन्न और कपड़ा मांगती है उनका सस्ते दामों पर प्रबन्ध किया जाये।

उपसभापति महोदया, लाखों लोगों के लिये अन्न उत्पादन के हेतु नागार्जुन सागर जल सिंचाई योजना द्वारा पानी देने का निर्णय बड़ी आनन्ददायक घटना है।

कोयना के क्षेत्र में भूकम्प आया, वह क्षेत्र हमेशा ही भय से दूर रहा था, मगर इस दुर्घटना का वहाँ के शासन ने बड़ी हिम्मत से सामना किया, वह प्रशंसा की पात्र है।

हमारी आर्थिक योजना का उद्देश्य मुद्रा संचालन को रोकना था। घाटे की आर्थिक स्थिति को हटाना महत्वपूर्ण कदम रहा। केन्द्रीय तथा प्रान्तीय सरकारी नियोज्य वर्ग की बढ़ती हुई महंगाई को मांग के कारण वज्रटयांत्रिक आय-व्यय का संतुलन बिगड़ गया है। केन्द्रीय शासन का एकांगी निर्णय प्रान्तीय शासनों के लिये असुविधाजनक सा होता है ऐसी शिकायत भी कभी कभी सुनी जाती है।

मैं अपने विचारों में सबसे महत्व का विचार यह रखना चाहती हूँ कि आज कुछ प्रान्तों में मद्यपान-निरोध को छोड़ दिया गया है। अगर हमारी सरकार को कोई नियम बनाने हैं तो हर प्रान्त में एक जैसे नियम बनाए। यह बहुत ही खेदजनक बात है कि मद्यपान-निरोध किसी प्रान्त में है, किसी प्रान्त में नहीं है। अगर इसका निरोध करना है तो हर एक प्रान्त में होना ही चाहिये।

अच्छी वर्षा होने पर भी कुछ प्रान्तों के चन्द क्षेत्रों में अनावृष्टि की स्थिति आई है। गत वर्ष जिस प्रकार केन्द्रीय सरकार ने कुछ प्रान्तों की मदद की थी, अभी भी

वह सहायता देगी, मैं ऐसी आशा करती हूँ।

महोदया, विज्ञान और सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्रों में विश्व में गत वर्ष तेजी से प्रगति हुई है। शरीर चिकित्सा शास्त्र में मानवीय हृदय को रोपने में सफलता प्राप्त करना एक बड़े ही महत्व का विषय माना जाता है।

कुछ ही साल में अणु शक्ति का प्रयोग शांतिमय उद्देश्यों के लिये करने में सफलता मिली है, वह भी संपूर्ण घटना है।

अंशु राष्ट्र चारों ही प्रगति का जो अधिवेशन दिल्ली में हो रहा है मैं आशा करती हूँ कि इस अधिवेशन में ऐसी क्रिया की योजना प्रस्तुत की जाएगी जिससे विश्व के भिन्न क्षेत्रों के मध्य आर्थिक स्तर पर जो भेद या असमानताएँ हैं उन्हें कम किया जाये।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The next one is Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy. But there is a request from Mr. Niren Ghosh and Mr. Bhandari, if you can accommodate them. Mr. Niren Ghosh.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Madam Deputy Chairman, this Address as usual is an attempt to cover up by deceitful phrases all the misdeeds, the black deeds and the acts of Government which are contrary to the interests of the nation. As such we cannot approve of it.

Now I will make only some few points. Let us be clear about one thing. What are the forces and what are the classes that rule India? In my opinion it is the big capital, some Marwari and some Parsi and a sprinkle from Gujarat or South India or Bengal, just one or two. There are about 25 or 30 houses. (Interruptions.) Biren is there. They are in

[Shri Niren Ghosh] alliance with the Maharajas, the Princes, the landowners and the sahu-kars and in collaboration with the Western imperialism mainly. It is this combination that rules India and Congress leaders as well as our friends on the right are faithful servants of this combination. But it is they who rule India. (*Interruptions*). My time is short and therefore I would like to have my say. Now it is they who rule India. That is why India is now in a dead alley, in a blind alley out of which this leadership and this Government can find no way out. The only way out they have thought of is more and more dependence on imperialist powers and some hobnobbing with the Soviet Union. They are crushing our inward economy and therefore our economy will never pick up. Then 30 per cent. of the so-called aid—it is not aid, it is just an investment of their capital—you require only for debt services. If you add to it exploitation that goes on under the banner of foreign private capital, it will come at least to another 20 per cent. So out of the so-called foreign aid 50 per cent. goes in order to service those exploiters. You are well serving your masters very near their apron-strings. That is why this Government has banned the publications of North Vietnam concerning the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. I make this charge deliberately. The Director-General of P. and I. has issued a circular to that effect. It is a scandal and it is deliberately done. It goes against our national honour and prestige that such a circular should be issued. But you have done that. If I am called upon to do so, I am prepared to lay before the House a copy of that circular issued by the Director-General. Now that is the pass you have come to.

Now I would not like to go into any economic details, because the Budget is there and we can take up all those things then. Of course they have said that agriculture has picked up. That is because of the heavens, not because of your efforts. The rains have been

good and they came in time over parts of the country. So there has been some improvement in agricultural production.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Would you not recognise the hard labour of cultivators and their efforts?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: No. In spite of the efforts of the Government, agricultural production has gone up to a certain extent. They depend upon only fertilisers. They keep mum over the rural indebtedness of Rs. 3,000 crores; they keep mum about land reforms, giving land to the peasants and all those things.

They keep mum over the fallow lands and the cultivable waste lands that can be distributed to the poor peasants and brought under cultivation. All those things they keep silent about because they are in league with the vested interests. That is the greatest stumbling block.

As regards the industrial side, you will never get out of it. The way you are moving about, you will get more into the clutches of the foreign powers. You will be more servile depending upon the foreign powers. What can Mr. Kosygin do? If he wants that this Government should adopt an anti-imperialist stand, then he should be prepared to pump Rs. 8000 crores at least into the Indian economy. He can never do that. You have the halter of Rs. 8,000 around your neck from the Western Powers. He cannot compete with that. So he should be prepared to underwrite the present Government if he wants this Government to take an anticolonial, anti-British stand but he cannot do so. You are a pro-imperialist Government, toeing the Western line generally. That is why you could not condemn the U.S. aggression in Vietnam in spite of being an Asian Power.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: We have done it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: No. Have you condemned that the 5½ lakhs of U.S. troops have invaded South Vietnam and that they are the invaders? You have not. So do not quarrel over that. You have not the guts. You know that aggression is being committed there.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra): Did you condemn the Chinese aggression on India? If you have not done that, what right have you got to say this?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: We are against all aggression. We defend our country against anybody's aggression. You are unpatriotic and I know you can hand over the country to America. It can easily be done because you are unpatriotic. We will never do that.

(Interruptions.)

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): He would have joined the Chinese army. He is frank about it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: That is why you have come to this pass. As a result of these unpatriotic and anti-national policies, both internal and external, the people have rejected you once and for all.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: If we were rejected, then we would not have been here.

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): Please address the Chair and do not say 'you'.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I am addressing through the Chair. Through the Deputy Chairman I want to say some words to them. Having done that and getting thoroughly isolated, they have got hold of the weapon of turning India into a Police State. They are crushing democracy by entrenching authoritarianism and so-called bourgeois democracy and thereby they hope to rule India but they are trying to count their chicken before they are hatched. What have

you come to? Mr. Chavan's game of Bengal is up. It is blown up. Now they are in the soup. They do not know what to do but let me tell them through you that the interference of Delhi in the affairs of the States must stop once and for all and the primacy of the Legislatures in all the States must be ensured. Any other path would be met by the united opposition of all the States. Let there be no doubt about it.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: You are not prepared to face the Assembly in Bengal.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I warn them and let them undo the unconstitutional intervention they did in the affairs of Bengal. They must dismiss this illegal Ministry and then only they must ask the Assembly to choose any form of Government.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: Can an hon. Member say that the Bengal Ministry is illegal when the High Court has said that it is legal? It is contempt of the High Court.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: What is the High Court? I am speaking about the powers of the Parliament. The High Court gave a partisan judgment. (Interruptions.) Let me tell them that it has been arranged by Mr. Atulya Ghosh between the High Court Judge and others.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: No. (Interruptions.)

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Only some opinions were expressed by the Calcutta High Court. It was not a judgment and it was not binding.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Let me say that no court or the judiciary has the authority to go into the rulings of the Speaker or the rulings given on the floor of this Parliament. Not even the Supreme Court has got the right to declare a null and void and

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I warn the judiciary that if they try to enter the precincts or encroach upon the sovereignty of the Parliament and the Legislatures it would be wrong. Only when the unconstitutional act is undone and the Ministry is dismissed, then only the Assembly should be given a chance to form any new Ministry and thereby the primacy of the Legislature and the sovereignty of the people of the State must be established; otherwise, there will be no Government. Whatever you might try will be met by the resolution of the entire Bengal people and no way out can be found. (*Interruptions*). In our country which is supposed to be federal but unitary in character, this way of treating and imposing and intervening is leading to the breakup and dismemberment of India. Your policy is leading to it. I warn them that they are treading that path. They want to foist their will on the States. Do they think the states are the bond slaves of Delhi? No. In Bihar, Bengal, Tamilnad, U.P. Gujarat and Maharashtra everywhere, in all the States, the people must be the ultimate arbiters. The sovereignty is not in Delhi. Let there be no mistake about it. The present set-up of the Constitution should be changed and the utmost powers must be given to the States so that the people of the States can fashion their own destiny and can be made supreme in law so that they can punish those treacherous officials who conspire against an installed Ministry with the Governor as the Centre and bring them to book. You cannot touch them now. These powers should go. Minimum power should be there in the Centre and the States must be endowed with full powers to fashion their destiny and to arrange their way of life. That is the only way in which you can cement the unity of India; otherwise, you are trying to crush all the States under the jackboot. That is what you did in Bengal, Bihar, Punjab, Haryana and I know you want to do it in Kerala and the last chance will come to Tamilnad. In that way you will

not keep India united. You will raise revolts in all the States. That is the only way to solve this problem to give powers to the States. The time has come when the Centre-State relation should be thoroughly reexamined afresh and the States must be given full powers. Only four or five subjects should vest with the Centre. The position should not be such that for practically every Bill put through a Legislature they have to wait for the concurrence of the Union Government and all that. The Ministry and the Legislature want to be fully competent to initiate and pass a legislation they think necessary for example, in the case of the industrialist. Now, when they close down factories, they are sabotaging production acting as the fifth column. In such a case the State Legislatures should have the power to confiscate those enterprises for the sabotaging of production. All those powers must be there. Otherwise there would be no solution to this problem.

As regards the link language, Madam, I would like to put before the House that no one Indian language can be made the link language. That concept must go for ever, the concept that one language is superior and the other Indian national languages are inferior, that some citizens are first grade citizens and others are second grade citizens. India is a multi-national country, a multilingual country, and no people would give up their language, because it is the very fabric of their soul, is the very fabric of their being. Therefore that is the only solution and that democratic solution is that all the Indian national languages must be given the status of link languages. I give full support to that part of the Resolution passed by the Tamilnad Assembly urging upon the Centre to amend the Constitution and make all the 14 languages link languages. Otherwise you will be stunting the other languages. If you are trying to impose Hindi or English on us, you are dividing India. You are encouraging fissiparous tendencies. You are doing all those

things. What happens unless you give those rights to the peoples of the States, you have seen. Take Kashmir. In Kashmir, even with military suppression, even after pumping hundreds of crores of rupees there you have not been able to win over the Kashmiris. Had you conferred Statehood on Nagaland in 1950, had you given them sufficient powers and created that States at that time, the revolt would not have arisen. And in Assam again you are taking your own course. It should be a federal structure, or there would be some three separate States, Assam, Cachar and the Hill States. There is no other solution. But you won't have that. You want to crush them. You want to punish them. So their revolt will again rise up. In this way, all over India, you will raise revolts, because your policy is the policy of suppression, force, violence and all the rest of it in putting down people's movements. This is your policy. So this is the only democratic solution for the language issue and it is—I demand it—that you immediately, without any further delay, amend the Constitution and make all the 14 languages national languages giving them the status of link languages. Otherwise there would be no solution to the language problem and otherwise you yourself would be the embodiment of the divisive forces rending the country as under on this issue.

Now I would make a few remarks about the judiciary. The judiciary in our country, in some way, sometimes, I do not say all the Judges but some, they are behaving in a partisan manner. They are not fair. Their judgments are not impartial, and they are inspired by class interests, vested interests, and they lean towards the vested interests. It is a sorry state of affairs that the judiciary is so behaving. The judiciary is losing its independence because they are leaning towards the vested interests, and the people of India must know this character of the Indian judiciary. Either the Indian judiciary mends

its behaviour, learns to uphold the interests of the people or the people will give up all respect for the judiciary.

Then I would say about the bureaucracy and the army, a section of them. They are not pro-India; they are pro-foreigners, and specifically they are more leaning towards the western powers. A section of the army officers and a section of the bureaucracy, they are neither patriotic nor pro-India; they are pro-vested interests, and they want to curry favour with the foreigners against the interests of this country, and everywhere, Madam, even in Government, even if in Parliament or otherwise good legislation is passed, this bureaucracy scotches that legislation in practice. They never implement it. Where it goes in favour of the people, they crush it. They conspire with the vested interests and here the peoples of India must know the character of this section of the bureaucracy. The time has come when their conspiracy, their anti-people activities should be curbed. The peoples will take note of each and every highly placed bureaucrat behaving like this, and days will come when they will settle accounts with them. Let there be no doubt about it.

Then another thing. The Government of India has banned the publication of an ESCAFE report on India. It is United Nations publication, ECAFE's Economic Survey. But you have banned it, because it does not speak very much favourably about you. It is unparalleled, unprecedented the Government of India banning a United Nations' publication. And you can never get it in India, in the bookstalls. A circular has gone out to that effect. I make this charge definitely and I speak with a very full sense of responsibility.

Then, Madam, I do not understand why trade relations with China are cut off. You are maintaining diplomatic relations and trade relations even with that puppet Government of Vietnam, which has betrayed Vietnam and betrayed the soul of Asia, with

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Nguyen Cao Ky and others, but you cannot trade with China. And is it not a fact that even our *Charge d' Affairs* perhaps has submitted, a report to you that India should open trade, should have immediately trade relations with China? But you are not considering that. I make this point clear.

Then I refer to our unequal trade relations with the Western powers. During the last decade we have lost in value 20 per cent. Our export value has gone down, and the value of the manufactures which they sell to us has gone up, adding together 20 per cent. Suppose we export and import goods of the value of Rs. 2,000 crores, we are losing Rs. 400 crores to the Westerners, and that is unequal trade relations. And that is the perennial source of exploitation of India. And in order to counter it, can't you stop the payment of debts that you are servicing? You are pleading for rescheduling of debts and all that. You should consider that apart from their interest charges, apart from the profits that they get from out of their private investments, apart from their banking operations, apart from the strategic positions they occupy in our foreign trade, through unequal trade relations we are losing Rs. 400 crores annually, and this is called imperialist exploitation. You meekly submit to that. You want to get one or two concessions from UNCTAD, but with this thing you cannot fight. So why not you negotiate at least for the debt repayments to stop? That is the way you should go about.

Then in the end I should say about the Congress in league with the rightist forces. Some Congress leaders are casting their longing eyes towards the Swatantraites, and perhaps a section wants to join hands with a section of the Jan Sangh also—that is what they say—in order to have a thoroughly rotten and black Government, combining all the reactionaries together, combining with the imperialists, surrendering the sover-

ignty and independence of India, becoming a stooge Government, a puppet Government and opening the flood gates for the exploitation of India by the foreigners and by the native capitalists of this country. These are the unpatriotic anti-national policies that you are pursuing, and these have been rejected by the people. Your attempt to divide the country by imposing one language, your attempt to crush the State people, to crush the people of all the States, to crush them under your jackboots, this effort will never succeed. You will alienate the States people. One by one they will be alienated. That is good neither for you nor for India. Let not that day come. There is yet time. You please look and see where you stand. You are at the brink of a precipice. Don't jump in. Please retreat, and take some steps at least, to save the country and not ruin the country and hand over our hard-earned sovereignty and independence on a platter to the Westerner. You are travelling the way that Chiang Kai-shek did. You have not completed the journey as he has done, but you are well on that road. You should stop now and give up this anti-national and unpatriotic policy and try to earn some blessings from your countrymen and not only curses from them.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Madam . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have a request. You were not present. I cannot go on doing this and you have to be here. I have a request and Shrimati Ammanna Raja has said that if Mr. Bhandari so desires he may speak first. So, now Mr. Bhandari will speak. After that I will call you.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : महोदया, मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। इस देश की स्थिति का वर्णन और वर्तमान अव्यवस्था के संबंध में राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में उल्लेख है। मुझे केवल एक बात का दुख है कि इस अभिभाषण में सैद्धांतिक चर्चा अधिक



है श्रीर ध्यावहारिक चर्चा कम है। कुछ उपदेश इस अभिभाषण में दिये गये हैं परन्तु इन उपदेशों को देते समय इस देश के अन्दर विभिन्न तत्व आज किम मनोवृत्ति से काम कर रहे हैं और उनके मनों पर इन उपदेशों का क्या परिणाम होगा इसका अनुमान लगाये बिना ही उन्होंने एक फावड़े से सारे देश को हांकने की कोशिश की है।

मैं यह स्वीकार करता हूँ कि इस समय देश में कुछ जगहों पर हिंसा प्रगट हुई है। कहीं कहीं पर प्रजातंत्र के विरुद्ध काम हो रहे हैं लेकिन मैं यह स्वीकार करने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ कि सारा देश हिंसा के मार्ग पर चल पड़ा है या सारा देश जनतंत्र के अन्दर आस्था खोने लगा है। कहीं कहीं पर इक्का दुक्का होने वाली इन घटनाओं से अगर सारे देश को हम गलत रंग देने की कोशिश करेंगे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि आज इस देश के अन्दर वे तत्व जो इस देश की परम्परा और प्रजातंत्र के मिद्धांतों के आधार पर शांतिपूर्ण तरीके से देश को आगे ले जाना चाहते हैं उन सब को हम नुकसान पहुंचाने की कोशिश करेंगे। हमारे यहां एक हिन्दी में कहावत है कि जिस को पीलिया रोग हो जाता है उसको दुनिया पीली दिखाई देती है। तो जिन लोगों ने तय कर रखा है इस देश में हिंसा को पनपाना और जो प्रजातंत्रीय संस्थाओं का उपयोग करना चाहते हैं प्रजातंत्र को तोड़ने के लिये मुझे दुख है कि आज का शामन इस विवेक को भूल कर जब ऐसे कदम उठाने लगता है, जब राजनैतिक स्वार्थों से प्रेरित हो कर केन्द्र में बैठी हुई सरकार पार्टिजन डेसीजन्स ले कर के कोई काम करना प्रारम्भ करती है तो उसका परिणाम, उसके द्वारा पैदा होने वाली परिस्थितियां इतनी विषम बन जाती हैं कि उसमें विवेक रखना या उसमें नीर क्षीर को अलग अलग करना बड़ा कठिन हो जाता है। केन्द्रीय सरकार पर यह जिम्मेदारी है कि ऐसी परिस्थिति में जब कि आज अनेकों प्रकार के संकट हमारे सामने खड़े हैं, यह केन्द्रीय सरकार अधिक से

अधिक पक्षीय हितों से ऊपर उठ कर अगर अपने दल विशेष पर भी कहीं आघात पहुंचता हो तो स्वार्थों से प्रेरित होकर कोई काम नहीं करेगी तो मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि ये मुट्ठी-भर ताकतें जो इस देश की शक्ति को बिगाड़ने पर तुली हुई दिखाई देती हैं उनका मुकाबिला करना, उनको एक किनारे पर खड़ा करना और सारे हिन्दुस्तान से उनको कंडेम करवाना यह कोई बहुत मुश्किल की बात नहीं होगी। लेकिन उस के लिए जैसा कि मैंने कहा यह जरूरी है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार को भी अपने रवैये में परिवर्तन करना होगा। अलग अलग प्रदेशों में जो राजनैतिक परिवर्तनों के कारण परिस्थितियां पैदा हुईं और गवर्नरों को इस्तेमाल करके जो जो कदम अलग अलग जगहों पर उठाये गये, आज हिन्दुस्तान में शायद राजनीति के क्षेत्र में खड़ा हुआ कोई भी व्यक्ति राजस्थान में स्वतंत्र लोगों की गिनती न कर के गवर्नर ने जो फैसला किया, शायद निरपवाद रूप में भी उसका समर्थन न कर पायेगा। क्या राष्ट्रपति जी यह स्वीकार करने के लिये और केन्द्रीय सरकार यह मानने के लिये तैयार है कि वह एक गलत कदम उठाया गया। अब वह गई हुई चीज लौट कर तो नहीं आती, लेकिन इस साहस में कुछ परिपाटियां कायम की जा सकती हैं कि गलती कोई छोटा आदमी करे तभी उसकी सजा भोगे और बड़ा आदमी गलती कर के साफ बच कर निकल जाय, यह न्याय को पुरःस्थापित करने में कभी मदद नहीं दे सकता। इसी लिये एक गलत श्रृंखला जो शुरू हुई अलग अलग प्रांतों में उसका रूप बदला लेकिन गलत तरीके से हर बार जो इस्तेमाल की गई कभी जल्दबाजी में, कभी नैतिकता के शोथे उपदेशों में, आज उन चीजों को कोई भी समर्थन नहीं कर पायेगा। हरियाणा में लोगों ने पाटियां बदलीं, एक गन्दगी पैदा की राजनीति में, उसका कोई समर्थन नहीं कर सकता। लेकिन कठपुतलियों की सरकार बना कर के और जिम्मेदारी से अपना कंधा बचा करके आज कांग्रेस किस मुंह से नैतिकता का प्रचार कर सकती है? राजनैतिक कर्तव्यों

[ श्री तुन्दर सिंह भंडारी ]

के प्रमाण के रूप में जो केन्द्रीय सरकार हरियाणा का उदाहरण ले सकती थी वह बंगाल में किस प्रकार अपना दामन साफ रख कर चलने का साहस कर सकती है ? आज वहां भी रोजाना बदली जाने वाली लायलटीज के बाद उसके संबंध में हम क्या कहना चाहते हैं ? महज इस वजह से क्या कि वहां पर कांग्रेस शासन में है, महज इस वजह से क्या कि आज कांग्रेस वहां पर सत्ता में कदम रखती है । इसलिये अगर हम नैतिकता के लिये, देश के वातावरण को सुधारने के लिये और जान-बूझ कर गड़बड़ पैदा करने वाली ताकतों का हम मुंह तोड़ जवाब देना चाहते हैं तो इस तरह से अपने स्वार्थों के हित में उठाने जाने वाले कदम देश के अन्दर कभी अच्छे वातावरण का निर्माण नहीं कर पायेंगे ।

मुझे अफसोस है कि देश के अन्दर इन भावनाओं से सफलतापूर्वक जिस आधार पर मुकाबला किया जा सकता है आज केन्द्रीय सरकार में वह साहस नहीं दिखाई देता । केन्द्रीय सरकार का नेतृत्व आज उस प्रकार के साहसपूर्ण पग उठाने के लिए तैयार नहीं मालूम पड़ता—चाहने वे जरूर हैं कि देश की एकता रहे, देश का स्वाभिमान बना रहे लेकिन यह स्वाभिमान और एकता शब्दों में प्रगट नहीं हो सकते । देश के नेतृत्व को उनके अनुसार साहस बरत कर अपने नजदीकी लोगों पर अगर कुछ कठोर बनने की आवश्यकता दिखाई देती है तो उसको भी आज अपनाने की आवश्यकता है । राष्ट्रपति महोदय यदि अपने भाषण में इस प्रकार के कदम उठाने के संबंध में कुछ ईंगित करते तो मुझे प्रसन्नता होती परन्तु मैं इतना जरूर निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूं कि जितना शीघ्र हम इस दिशा की ओर बढ़ने लगेंगे उतना शीघ्र अनेकों ताकतें जिन्हें आपकी इन गलत नीतियों ने मजबूर कर दिया है आपका समर्थन करेंगी। सारे देश में हिंसा नहीं है सारे देश में

प्रजातंत्र को खत्म करने की मनोवृत्ति नहीं है, सारे देश में जनतंत्री मूल्यों को गिराने की इच्छा नहीं है । अपना देश आज भी एक अच्छे मार्ग पर ऊंचे सिद्धान्तों पर चलना चाहता है, परन्तु वैसी परिस्थिति पैदा करने में मदद दीजिए जिसके कारण ऐसी ताकतों को बल न मिले जो इस देश को भविष्य में रसातल पर पहुंचाना चाहती हैं और अपनी पाली आंखों के कारण सारा इल्जाम देश के एक-एक व्यक्ति पर थोपने का दुस्माहस करनी दिखाई देती हैं । अगर आप इस दिशा में बढ़ने लगेंगे तो मुझे पूरा भरोसा है कि इस विगड़ती हुई परिस्थिति में हम इस देश को पार लगाने में कामयाब होंगे ।

सुरक्षा की कठिनाइयां मौजूद हैं । मुझे इतना ही निवेदन करना है कि जितनी सावधानी और चेतना इस पहलू पर आनी चाहिए उतनी नहीं आती दिखाई देती । 1963 में जब उस समय के केन्द्रीय प्रधान मंत्री जोधपुर गए थे उस समय राजस्थान की सीमा की सुरक्षा के लिए पांच सड़कें बनाने का निर्णय दिया गया था ।

[ THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) in the Chair ].

1965 के हमले तक भी वे सड़कें गायब रहीं । उसके बाद भी यह तय किया कि हम सड़कें बनाएंगे । बाड़मेर से गडग का 50 मील का अन्तर है । रात-दिन हमारी सेनाओं को असावधानी का सामना करना पड़ता है । 1965 के बाद आज 1968 में तीन साल हीन के बाद भी वे सड़कें नहीं बन पायी एक सड़क की मैंने मिसाल दी । इसी इलाके में पाकिस्तान से लड़ाई की बन्दी हो जाने के बाद और ताशकन्द घोषणा के अधीन जब सेनाएं वापस गई उस दौरान राजस्थान का बाड़मेर-जैसलमेर का जो इलाका पाकिस्तानी सेनाओं के कब्जे में रहा उसमें

दो महीने के अन्दर उन्होंने ट्रैक्टरों का उपयोग करके सड़के बना लीं। वे मौजूद हैं वे इस बात का सबूत हैं कि काम किया जा सकता है कोई करना चाहे तो।

उस इलाके में कठिनाइयां जरूर हैं। पीने के पानी की कमी है। यह तय किया था कि अन्टरप्राउण्ड ट्यूबवेल अर्गनाइजेशन की तरफ से दो करोड़ रुपए भी मंजूर किए गए कि दो साल के अन्दर 200 ट्यूबवेल खोद कर देंगे। 4 साल का समय हो गया—उमके प्रशासन में जो रुपया खर्च हुआ, वह भी शामिल है—4 साल के समय में मुश्किल से 140 कुए बने। अभी तक डेढ़ करोड़ रुपया ही खर्च हुआ है, पैसा भी बचा है। जैसा कि प्रस्तावक महोदय ने, आपने उल्लेख किया, इस बात के संकेत हैं कि यह डिपार्टमेंट वहां से हटाने की कोशिश चली। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि उस इलाके को आप किसकी दया पर छोड़ना चाहते हैं? 20 बरस के बाद भी उस इलाके के लोगों को हम पानी की एक बूंद के लिए मोहताज रखना चाहेंगे या हम अपनी जिम्मेदारी को इस आधार पर निभाना चाहेंगे। राजस्थान के मुख्य मंत्री ने मांग की थी कि राजस्थान केनाल के काम को पूरा करने के लिए 40 करोड़ रुपया दिया जाय। आपने तीन करोड़ रुपया उनको दिया है। यह आंशू पूछने के लिए दिया है या राजस्थान नहर में पानी लाने के लिए दिया है? आज इसी के कारण वहां की एक-तिहाई मशीनरी खत्म हो गई, सारा काम रुका पड़ा है। ये कोई बार्डर के लोगों की सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से चीजें नहीं हैं।

युद्ध के दौरान मैं कुछ लोग सीमा पार पाकिस्तान के इलाके से चले गए। आपने कहा था कि जो लोग पाकिस्तान चले गए उन्हें लौटने नहीं दिया जायगा। आज लौटने ही नहीं दिया जा रहा, आज जम्मू और काश्मीर में, राजस्थान में, आसाम में, बंगाल में सरकारी आदेश निकले हैं कि जो लोग लौटकर आए

हैं उन्हें जमीन लौटाई जायें, उन्हें मकान दे दिए जायें। क्या हम रास्ता खोल रहे हैं, क्या हम रिकगनाइज्ड कर रहे हैं युद्ध के दौरान जो उन्होंने किया। हम यह चाहते हैं कि सीमा पर रहने वाले लोग दुश्मन का मुकाबला करने के लिए खड़े हों लेकिन इन हुकमों से, इन नोटिफिकेशनस से हम एक मनोवृत्ति देश के लोगों के अन्दर दुश्मन से मुका ला करने की नहीं पैदा कर रहे। फिर वे लोग दुश्मन के साथ हो जायेंगे और फिर से मौका लगने पर सरकार के प्रोटेक्शन में आएंगे क्योंकि आपने हुक्म निकाले हैं उन लोगों के लिए कि तुमको कोई तकलीफ नहीं होगी, तुम्हारी जमीन मिलेगी, तुम्हारे मकान मिल जायेंगे, तुम आराम से लौट कर आ जाओ, तुम्हें कोई खतरा नहीं है। ये हुक्म देश की सुरक्षा के लिए वाजिा नहीं कहे जा सकते। मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार इस आधार पर विचार करे।

राजस्थान में सेनाओं की आवश्यकताओं के लिए, फील्ड फायरिंग रेंजें के लिए कुछ आदिवां खाली कराई जा रही हैं। राजस्थान की सीमा से 80 मील, 100 मील अन्दर के गांव इस काम के लिए खाली कराए जा रहे हैं, बेचारे लोगों को इधर-उधर भेजा जा रहा है, मुआवजा नहीं दिया जा रहा है। राष्ट्रीय आवश्यकताओं के लिए लोगों को कहा जाय, मैं इसकी तार्ईद करूंगा। हम अगर थोड़ा सा अपनी साधारण बुद्धि का इस्तेमाल कर तो पायेंगे कि राजस्थान बार्डर के इलाके में मैं पहले भी कह चुका हूं—दस मील की पट्टी में मुश्किल से दो तीन गांव हैं, कुछ ही सैकड़ों में आबादी है। आप इस सारे इलाके को बड़ी आसानी से इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं। वहां आप नहीं करना चाहते, अन्दर से आप आदि को अपरूट करके, उखाड़ कर भेजना चाहते हैं। यह कोई बुद्धिमत्ता की बात नहीं कही जाएगी। आप इस नीति को बदलिये।

आप तैयारियां करिए, तैयारियों में हम पूरी मदद देंगे, लेकिन जैसे मैंने पिछली बार

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

पंजाब के बारे में उदाहरण दिया था, आज राजस्थान के सीमावर्ती इलाके में भी ऐसे अनेकों लोग हैं जिनकी खेती या जमीन या मकान युद्ध के दौरान बर्बाद हुए, उसका मुआवजा उनको नहीं मिल रहा है। हरियाणा की सरकार खत्म करने के बाद जो बजट पेश हुआ था उस समय वित्त मंत्री को ऊंगली उठा कर मैंने वह आइटम बताया था जिसमें केन्द्रीय सरकार की सारी गलती रही, वित्त मंत्रालय की तरफ से वे कागजात फ़ैसल नहीं हो पाए थे। मैं फिर सरकार का ध्यान उस तरफ आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ। ये चीजें, ये देरियां लोगों के दिमागों पर असर करती हैं और इस प्रकार की बातें देश की सुरक्षा के लिए उचित नहीं मानी जाएंगी।

हम विदेशों से अपना सम्बन्ध बढ़ाएं, हम ताशकन्द घोषणा के अनुसार चलें। मुझे हैरानी हुई पिछले दिनों अपने एक सवाल का जवाब सुनकर। मेरा सवाल था—प्रश्न संख्या 470, 60वां, सत्र, मुझे यह जवाब दिया गया—मैंने यह पूछा था कि वापस कितने लोग लौट कर आए—कि राजस्थान में अनधिकृत तौर पर आने वालों की संख्या 31 थी जबकि उरुकी तुलना में 1966 में इन्हीं मामलों में ऐसे व्यक्तियों की संख्या 11 थी। अर्थात् 4 P.M. वह आने वालों की संख्या बढ़ी है। लेकिन सरकार ने अपनी तरफ से उसमें एक्सप्लेनेशन दिया है : “परन्तु राजस्थान सरकार की तुलना में पहले की कम संख्या का कारण ताशकंद घोषणा थी”। तो आने वालों के मन पर असर पड़ा था। या सरकार के रिकार्ड कीपिंग पर भी ताशकंद घोषणा का असर पड़ा था ? ताशकंद घोषणा की भावना में आंकड़े भी सही न दिये जायें, अगर ताशकंद घोषणा इस प्रकार की है, तो मैं माफी चाहूंगा कि इस तरह की ताशकंद घोषणा के नाम पर हम लोगों को गलत सूचनाएं देने की या जो घटनाएं हैं उनको कम करके देने की बात न की जाय। इसका साफ अर्थ निकलता है कि जिस मतलब से यह माना गया है कि

सरकारी तौर से पाकिस्तान ने ताशकंद घोषणा को रद्दी की टोकरी में डाल दिया। हम हमेशा दलील देते रहे हैं पाकिस्तान की जनता के साथ हैं, मेरा भी उससे मतभेद नहीं, लेकिन वास्तविकता को हम इस भावना के आधार पर छिपाने की कोशिश करें, देश को अंधेरे में रखने की कोशिश करें, इस विचार को कभी भी स्वीकार नहीं किया जा सकता और अगर इस तरह से ताशकंद घोषणा का अर्थ अपने देश के लोगों को अंधेरे में रखकर, वास्तविकता को उनके सामने न प्रकट करके यह जो उसके सही सही इन्फेरेन्सेज निकाले जा रहे हैं उस की तरफ रूपोश करने की कोशिश की जायगी तो मैं समझता हूँ हम दूसरी तरह से उसकी भावना के वास्तविक कार्याकिन को खतरे में डालेंगे। सारे देश को उसके कारण धोखा होगा। इस आधार पर इन समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं हो सकता।

पाकिस्तान और चीन आज मिल कर समस्याएं पैदा कर रहे हैं और हमारे सीमावर्ती इलाकों पर उसके कारण कठिनाइयां पैदा हुई हैं। प्रसम की घटनाओं की चर्चा हुई, जिनका नुकसान हुआ है उनकी मरहम पट्टी आप करेंगे, आप 1960 से करते आ रहे हैं। उस समय भाषा का नाम था, किसी को गिनती करने में आनन्द है कि बिजनेस में कौन है, पता नहीं उन्होंने गिनती क्यों नहीं की कि नौकरियों में कौन हैं, उसमें भी गौरी चमड़ी वाले कितने हैं, काली चमड़ी वाले कितने हैं, उसमें धोती पहनने वाले कितने हैं। जिनका छिद्रान्वेषण ही करना है देश का, जो किसी न किसी प्रकार उन छिद्रों को देख कर ही सारे देश की बातें कहते हैं, देश की एकता की बातें करते हुए भी आरोप लगाना चाहते हैं, वे प्रारम्भ करते हैं छिद्रों में से; उनको लगा कि व्यापार में ये लगे हैं। तो मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ : नौकरियों की भी गिनती कर लो, कौन लोग लगे हैं। और अगर किसी के स्वभाव में कौन सी चीज है, इस देश को

हम क्या करना चाहते हैं, इस देश के टेलेन्ट को जो जिस तरह ज्यादा से ज्यादा सूटें हैं जो उसको फिट करता है, जिस तरह के काम में वह लगा हुआ उस तरफ उसको हम जाने देना चाहते हैं या नहीं देना चाहते हैं, या हमारी आपस की दरारें या दीवारें ऐसे व्यक्ति के इतने बड़े देश के नागरिक के स्वस्थ और स्वाभाविक विकास के मार्ग में बाधक होंगे यह यहां पर क्यों बैठा है, यह यहां पर काम क्यों कर रहा है, एक ही सांस में दो बातें की जाती हैं, एक तरफ जब इस तरह की घटनाएं हों तो हम उनकी निंदा करें और दूसरी तरफ उन बातों की तरफ इंगित करके दोनों चीजें साथ नहीं चल सकतीं। मेरा निवेदन है, असम को जो घटनाएं 1960 से हो रही हैं उसमें आज स्थानीयवाद, क्षेत्रीयवाद का आवरण जरूर लिया जा रहा है और मुझे दुःख है वहां अनेकों संगठन आज लोगों में इस क्षेत्रीयवाद का आवरण लेकर वहां की परिस्थितियों को जटिल बनाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं लेकिन यह जो क्रम चला है पिछले सात वर्षों का, इस क्रम के पीछे जो धारणा चली है और उस मनोवृत्ति का जो शिकार बनाये जा रहे हैं। लोग और सरकार में अगर केवल एक घटना हो गई, लोकल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन ने जिम्मेदारी सभाली कि नहीं सभाली, मिलिटरी काबू कर पायी कि नहीं कर पायी, तुम्हें कितनी चोट लगी, तुम्हारा दुकान कितनी जल गई, तुम्हारा कितना नुकसान हुआ, तुमने क्वेम्स फाइल किये कि नहीं किये, यदि ऊपर की ड्रेसिंग करके इस समस्या का समाधान कर लेना चाहिए तो यह मरहम पट्टी का एक स्थायी महकमा खोजना पड़ेगा। यह समस्या का समाधान नहीं है। आज इसकी जड़ों में जाने की जरूरत है। जिनको राहत देने की आवश्यकता है उनको राहत दी जाय लेकिन राहत मात्र से इस समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकता। मुझे दुःख है कि एक के बाद एक 'ग्रेविटी' आफ दी 'सिचुएशन' बढ़ रही है। पिछले दिनों में केवल पोस्टर

निकलते थे, इस बार आग लगी है, लेकिन अब पोस्टर निकलने लगे हैं, अगली बार खंजरों के वार होंगे। यह सरकार अगर मरहम पट्टी करना चाहती है तो असम में पता नहीं कब, जो खतरे बताये जा रहे हैं लोगों को धमकियां मिल रही हैं और वह धमकियां पता नहीं कहां से आ रही हैं, सरकार उसकी तह में नहीं जा पायी, लेकिन नुकसान हो गया, बरबादी हो गई, आनन फानन चार घंटों के दौरान में अरबों की सम्पत्ति नष्ट हो गई, पुलिस देखनी रही, मिलिटरी देखती रही, बिजली के कनेक्शन टूट गये, पानी नहीं मिला, फायर ब्रिगेड जैम हो गये और फिर आगे आने वाले संकेतों में किसी दिन वह खूंखार दृश्य उपस्थित होंगे। लेकिन रिपोर्ट करने से काम नहीं चलेगा। हम कोई कदम बढ़ा कर उन घटनाओं को रोकने की हिम्मत पैदा करना चाहते हैं या नहीं? अगर वह नहीं कर सकते तो "दिम गवर्नमेंट इज नाट वर्थ इट्स नेम"। यह सरकार फिर यहां पर कुसियों पर केवल थोड़े बहुत के आधार को लेकर बैठी रहे और देश के किसी न किसी कोने पर लोगों को मरने के लिये किसी की दया पर छोड़ती जाय, इसमें तो सरकार की जिम्मेदारी नहीं मिलती। हमको इस मामले में बहुत कठोर नीति बरतनी होगी और केवल यहां पर कुछ ताकतें हैं जो इस प्रकार से प्रांतीय सरकारों को पैरलाइज करके आज उस एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के स्वाभाविक कर्तव्यों का निभाने की कोई गुंजायश नहीं देते और यहां सेंटर स्टेट की वतें खड़ी करके केन्द्र सरकार के हथों का भी रोकना चाहते हैं। यह सारे काम हो रहे हैं लेकिन यह केवल कंस्टिट्यूशनल प्रस्पेक्ट नहीं है। यह केवल विधान की धाराओं में से कौन सी चीज निकलती है उसी पर जोर देकर आज एक देश की बात करते करते भी उस संतरे के ऊपर के छिलके में अन्दर की कलियों को गिनना और उनको मजबूत करना चाहनी है। हमें इन सारी चीजों की जड़ों में जाना पड़ेगा। अगर हम इन सारी चीजों की जड़ों में न जाकर और

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडार]

ऊपर से मरहम पट्टियाँ करते रहें तो जैसा मैंने कहा मुझे दुख है फिर मरहम पट्टियों का एक स्थायी महकमा सरकार खोल दे । इन कठिनाइयों का कोई इलाज नहीं ।

हम विदेशों से अपने संबंध बढ़ायें । मैं एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ । उसमें दो तीन मंत्रालय साथ हैं । मारिणस से पिछले दिन एयर इंडिया के द्वारा मद्भावना के तौर पर कुछ लोग लाये गये । मैंने जानकारी की है कि जो लोग लाये गये उनकी मारिणस के प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कोई लिस्ट नहीं बनाई थी, कोई श्री रामगुलाम के द्वारा नाम नहीं दिये गये लेकिन जो प्रतिनिधि लाये गये उनमें एक कम्युनिस्ट चीन के सज्जन थे । काहे के लिये लाये गये ? हिन्दुस्तान को उन्होंने देखा नहीं है या हिन्दुस्तान में कोई नयी या अपने नज़रिये से कोई नयी चीज़ देखना चाहते थे ? तो उनको लाये । एक सज्जन और हैं वहाँ पर जो रात दिन पाकिस्तान के बारे में खुल कर बकालत करते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान की बदनामी करते हैं उनको यहाँ पर एयर इंडिया में उम मारिणस से आने वाले डेलीगेशन में शामिल किया गया । एक और सज्जन है जो रात दिन हिन्दू धर्म की और हिन्दू समाज की बुराइयाँ करते हैं, हम सेक्यूलर हैं लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहूँगा : क्या सेक्यूलरिज्म में हिन्दू धर्म की बुराइयाँ करना, उसको हर तरह से बिनौता सिद्ध करना, यह सेक्यूलरिज्म की परिभाषा में क्या क्षम्य है ? तो इस प्रकार के लोग छांट कर लाये गये । वहाँ के एक सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता का पहले नाम रखा गया था । उनको बाद में कहा गया : मुशलि है तुन एयरो-ड्रोम में आ जाओ । एक स्वामी है सामाजिक कार्य करते हैं, एयरोड्रोम से उनको लौटा दिया गया कि तुम्हारी जगह नहीं है । उन चीनी सज्जन को, पाकिस्तान के हिमायती को, हिन्दू धर्म की भर्त्सना करने वाले को एयर इंडिया लिफ्ट में यहाँ लाया जा सके इसलिए

उसका नाम काट दिया गया । मैं चाहता हूँ कि सब मिनिस्ट्रीज जो इसके लिये कन्मन्ड हैं इसकी छानबीन करें, इसका पता लगायें कि ये सब घटनाएँ कैसे हो गई और हम अगर हिन्दुस्तान में लोगों को लाना चाहते हैं तो किस मकसद से लाना चाहते हैं । इसके पीछे हमारी कौन सी बातें काम करती हैं ? इन सब चीजों पर गये बिना देश के संबंध पैदा नहीं होंगे और हम इस मसलहत से इस देश की समस्या का समाधान नहीं कर पायेंगे ।

पिछले दिनों भाषा के कारण देश का वातावरण खराब हो गया । जब भाषा के संबंध में संशोधन विधेयक पेश किया गया था तब हमने कहा था कि यह निरर्थक है और तुम किसी का संशुष्ट नहीं कर पावोगे । पिछले दो महीनों की घटनाओं ने इस बात का सबूत दे दिया है कि इस भाषा के संशोधन ने और इस प्रस्ताव ने लोगों के मनों का समाधान नहीं किया । विशेषकर परीक्षा के माध्यम में और केन्द्रीय सेवा की दृष्टि से जिसमें आपने यह लाजमी कर दिया है कि अंग्रेजी और हिन्दी में से एक को लेने का । यह स्वाभाविक है कि जिनकी हिन्दी क्षेत्रीय भाषा नहीं है उनके लिए एक जगह का जवान आपने डाला है । कम्पीटेटिव टेस्ट में यहाँ पास होने की बात नहीं है । १०० में अस्सी और साढ़े अस्सी नम्बर लेने की बात है और अधा अधा नम्बर भी लोगों को तकलीफ देता है । इसलिए जितन शोध आल इंडिया सर्विस कम्पीटेटिव टेस्ट में जिस को हमने रीजिनल लैंग्वेज के माध्यम से लेने का फैसला किया है उसको उसी पर समस्त करें और यह लैंग्वेज का जो कम्पलसरी पेपर रखा है जो कम्पीटेटिव टेस्ट का भाग है उसको वहाँ से समस्त करें तो फिर किसी भी क्षेत्रीय भाषा के माध्यम से परीक्षा लेने वाले व्यक्ति पर कोई इम्बैलेंस नहीं रहेगा । उसको ज्ञान च हिये, ज्ञान प्राप्त करना और कम्पीटेटिव टेस्ट के लिए उस भाषा पर अपना अधिकार

रखना इन दोनों में हुत बड़ा अन्तर है। और एक बार कम्पिटिटिव टैस्ट में मिलेक्ट कर लिये जाने के बाद प्रोबेशन पीरियड में, ट्रेनिंग पीरियड में एक भाषा पत्र अनिवार्य रूप से उस के लिए पास करना आवश्यक कर सकते हैं। इसमें समस्या का समाधान होज. येगा। प्रस्ताव का दृष्टि से उस समय भी जो विरोध प्रकट किया गया था जो वास्तविक विरोध था उसका भी समाधान हो। और हम लोगों को आवश्यक रूप से एक माँका नहीं देंगे आग लगाने का, गाड़ियाँ तोड़ने का और ब्रैक्वॉर्ड रंगने का। माफ करिये। तो कुछ भी कहें। यह न केवल उत्तर की चीज है और न दक्षिण की चीज है। गड़बड़ पैदा करने वाले देश के किसी भी कोने में इस तरह का इश्यु उपस्थित कर सकते हैं। शोविनिज्म कोई अलग चीज नहीं है। शोविनिज्म का आरोप लगा सकते हैं उस तबके पर, उस तत्व पर जो किसी चीज का सहारा लेकर और आधार लेकर कहीं भी आग लगाने के लिये खड़ा हो जायेगा। आज वह इस खेल को हर कोने में खेल रहा है और उसको जीवित रखना चाहता है।

राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में अनाज की समस्या का उल्लेख किया गया है और मुझे खुशी है कि अन्न का परिस्थिति सुधर रही है। प्रस्तावक महोदय ने अपनी एक शंका प्रकट की कि आज भी सरकार के द्वारा निर्धारित मूल्य से कम मूल्य हो गये हैं। इसके जवाब में फिर वही चीज आ गई है कि सारे देश में अनाज के व्यापार को हाथ में ले लिया जाय। पिछले दस और पन्द्रह वर्षों से यह चांज श्लोक की तरह दोहराई जा रही है। हम भी इसका 108 बार पाठ कर सकते हैं। लेकिन सवाल यह है और पिछले अनेकों वर्षों से यह सिद्ध हो गया है कि कुछ समय से अलग अलग राज्यों में इसके प्रति अलग अलग मनोवृत्ति पैदा हो गई है। यहां पर सत्र मान लेते हैं कि इन विद्वान्त के आधार पर इतना प्रोक्वोरमेंट करेंगे, लेवो लगायेंगे और इतना खद इकट्ठा कर लेंगे और इस तरह से अपनी समस्या का समाधान हो जायेगा।

अगर केन्द्र से कुछ जरूरत होगी तो केन्द्र से मंगा कर दे देंगे। जब वर्कआउट होता है तो प्रोक्वोरमेंट का परसेन्टेज घट जाता है। प्रोक्वोरमेंट न होने के अनेक कारण बताये जाते हैं। फिर कहा जाता है कि केन्द्र नहीं दे रहा है और हमारे साथ सीतेले की तरह व्यवहार हो रहा है। इस तरह का आरोप लगाया जाता है और अज इस तरह के भूल भुलैया का निर्माण हो गया है। आज सारे प्रान्तों में कांग्रेस की सरकार नहीं है, इस बारे में मुझे अफसोस है पर इसका इलाज भी नहीं है। इस तरह से अलग अलग प्रान्त अपने अपने ढंग से इस समस्या को ले रहे हैं। वे सोचते हैं कि केन्द्र से कितना लिया जाय, क्योंकि अगर प्रोक्वोरमेंट में लेंगे तो भी अपने पास रहेगा। अगर प्रोक्वोरमेंट में छूट गया तो फिर भी प्राविशियल एंड्रबिलिटी आफ फूड ग्रेंस बना रहेगा। जब सब इस धारणा से चल रहे हैं तो आप कहां से इस सवाल का समाधान करेंगे।

मार्केट एंड्रबिलिटी बढ़ गई है और उसके प्राइस नीचे जा रहे हैं। एग्रोकल्चर प्राइस कमोशन के निर्धारित भाव के समकक्ष बाजार आ रहा है और आप बार-बार लोगों को डैलिमा में डालने के लिए क्यों इस तरह की बात कह रहे हैं कि हम सोच रहे हैं। आप यह तय करिये कि जो फूड जोन्स हैं उनकी परमानेन्ट पालिसी बन गई है और फिर इस आधार पर इस देश का बनेगा। खाद्य मंत्री जो ने पिछली बार कहा और इस बार हम सोचते थे कि राष्ट्रपति जी इस बात का संकेत देंगे। अब तो अच्छे संकेत मिलने लगे हैं कि जितनी पहले अपेक्षा थी आज उससे ज्यादा अनाज उपलब्ध होने लगा है। खरीफ के साथ रबी की फसल की भी अच्छी पिकचर सामने आई है। इसलिये यह आवश्यक है कि राष्ट्रपति घोषणा करते कि अब क्षेत्र समाप्त कर दिये जायेंगे।

दूसरी बात यह कही गई है कि वर्ष भर लोगों का मिलता रहे, इस सम्बन्ध में हम स्टेप्स उठा सकते हैं। मैंने पता किया कि

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

पिछले प्रोक्लोरमेंट में आपने जोर जबरदस्ती से जितना इकट्ठा किया फूड ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन ने खुले बाजार से उससे ज्यादा खरीदा और अपने गोदामों में इकट्ठा किया। वह कर सकते हैं और आप इसके लिये गुंजाइश दे दीजिये। फूड ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन फ्लोर प्राइम निर्धारित करने में मदद देगा, किमानों को नुकसान नहीं हो पायेगा और अपने गोदाम भी भर जायेंगे। अगर एक समस्या के समाधान करने का इरादा है तो रास्ता तय किया जा सकता है। अगर आप डाक्टिनेयर एप्रोच लेकर चलना चाहते हैं तो फिर केवल यह कहना कि पिछली बार से इतने लाख टन अनाज ज्यादा पैदा होगा, यह हमारे दिलों को सन्तोष नहीं दे सकता है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है, इन चीजों के सम्बन्ध में हम राष्ट्रपति जी से संकेत चाहते हैं।

मैं अन्त में फिर कहना चाहूंगा कि देश की परिस्थिति को कुछ ताकतों विगाड़ने पर तुली हुई हैं। अगर केन्द्रीय सरकार बुद्धिमानी से कदम उठाये तो बुराफात पैदा करने वाली ताकतों, हिंसा के मार्ग पर चलने वाली ताकतों को अलग-थलग किया जा सकता है। राष्ट्र के जीवन में प्रथम किम्वदन्त ज सकत हैं और उनक मुक ला किया जा सकत है। लेकिन इसके लिये आवश्यक है कि हम लोग यहां पर बैठकर ऐसी नीतियां निर्धारित करें जिनका समर्थन किया जा सके।

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am glad to be able to support the Motion of Thanks moved by you to the President. While speaking on this actually I feel it would have been better if there was a separate discussion held on the revolutionary process that is going on in the country on the language issue. Now we are so much obsessed with it that even though there are so many other burning problems, we are not able to mention all those things in the speech because the time is limited, and we will not be doing our duty if we do not bring it to the notice of the Gov-

ernment how much perturbed people are all over the country particularly in the South over the confusion that has been caused after passing that amending Bill along with that Resolution. Probably the Government thought that they would be solving one problem by passing that Bill, but they have added to our problems.

SHRI N. PATRA (Orissa): You have voted for that. We have done it because we are not used to indiscipline and I want to bring it to the notice of the people of the whole country that we require to observe some discipline. If people were aware of it, it would not be very difficult today, as it is obtaining all over. We have voted for it because of the discipline we are used to. But even then, we were telling the Government that this was not a solution at all. On the other hand, they said that they were only codifying the assurance given by Pt. Jawharlal Nehru. That was not what came out of it. Pt. Jawharlal Nehru and Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri said that we would have English as the associate official language as long as the people of the South wanted. That does not mean that the Hindi people will have Hindi and the people wanting English will have English. Hindi is accepted as the official languages of the country not only by the Hindi people but all over the country, even by the South and that position should continue. And English, as the associate official language, also must be learnt both by the South, by the North and everybody. Otherwise, what is the use of having English for those wanting English and Hindi for those wanting Hindi? It means that you are dividing India into two bits. That is not what was anticipated. Now, whom are we to blame for all this confusion? We said, this Hindi or English business will not do. That was what was written in the Resolution. It must be Hindi and English for all people. Otherwise, there is not contact or communication or there is no unity or integrity or there is nothing connecting the whole country. So, I am sorry to say that the Government has not listened to it. And soon after the passing of it and during,



ing, the process of passing it, there was agitation all over the country. And even when we were having the Congress Session in Hyderabad, the Congress President said that it needed a little rethinking. At least then they should have stopped and not hurried with the giving of assent by the President because it would become an Act and after that it would be difficult to change it even if we wanted to. It requires a little more effort and little more time. We cannot take things for granted. We must carry the people with us; we must carry the public with us. Democracy means the rule for the people and not just doing what we like. I am sorry to be speaking in this vein.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Why do you feel sorry?

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: It looks as if I am opposed to the Government; it is not that. I want the Government to understand the feelings of the people. As it is, we have various problems to think of from the morning till the night. There is nothing that causes happiness to us. In addition to that why are we creating more problems. Now, I want to know, because of this how many students have lost their lives, how much of property has been destroyed, Central and State property and how many officers were injured both police and other officers. It is all a very very sad thing that has happened and it is now made worse by so many people living in so many States. Particularly, Madras has taken a very unhelpful and extremist view. They say that they do not want any Hindi, they do not want any Sanskrit, they do not want anything that is not Tamil. And they want English only as far as the Centre is concerned and as far as the central services are concerned, not for use in their own State. That means, people, living in that State will have to suffer. They have made all regional languages as Tamil including the Central Services, the All India Radio and our Government is

sitting and tolerating it. What happens if suddenly they switch over to Tamil in Madras? Everybody remembers that Madras was once considered whether it should go to Andhra Pradesh or Tamil Nad. The Andhras living in Madras State were so many and in the City particularly there were so many. The doubt was there. Even now there are so many people, not only Andhras, but there are the Malayalees, there are the Kannadigas and there are so many other people. Now, suddenly if they switched over to Tamil, what happens to the others? These people do not allow the Centre to use Hindi because the Tamil people will be at a disadvantage. What about the Telugu-speaking people living in Madras? Are they not at a disadvantage? What language should they learn in the schools and colleges? And those who are there already, who have learnt Telugu, they will not be able to get any jobs at all. They have to leave. They have created a very unhappy situation in Madras for the minorities. Some people who may not know the significance may say that it is a State subject. It is not. The Linguistic Minority Commission should have to look after the minorities. Even the Central interests are not safeguarded in Madras. They say, no National emblem, no Hindi, no flag, no NCC, no ACC because the commands are given in Hindi. And what is the Centre doing? Is it to be tolerated? Just as Mr. Parthasarathy said, this should be considered as treason and anti-national and immediately some steps should have been taken against them. But a thing is done. In some speech somewhere the Prime Minister said that they would take action. What action was taken and when, I do not know. They allow these things to continue.

I am sorry that I have to refer to this also. Our President—I am not criticising his action—while inaugurating the World Tamil Conference in Madras says that he looks forward to a day when it will become an international language....(Interruptions). No, 'International language' he said.

[Shrimati C. Ammanna Raja]

Will you please wait for your chance? I am sure you will get a chance. I am referring to this because you are giving too much of importance to a people. They think that they are very very important that they can do what they like....(Interruptions). I do not know whether it is ancient or primitive. Whatever it is, even before Independence, I want to remind hon. Members that on the rupee coin we used to have English, Hindi, Bengali and Telugu, there was no Tamil. Why? By doing propaganda....

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): There was Kannada also.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: There was no Tamil. I am saying what I know.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY (Madras): But you are misrepresenting.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: You can represent properly when you speak if it is such a great language and all that. We have got music in Telugu. We have got music in Kannada. There is Thyagaraja, there is Purandaradasa. We do not have any great musicians known in Tamil.... (Interruptions) No, no. You are going on ignoring certain people because they are not vociferous or assertive or they do not bully you. There was no much of Telugu predominant at that time. The Tanjore Saraswathi Mahal Library is full of Telugu books. Why is it so? It is because people who can have their way do it in so many ways. It was all Telugu. And now gradually.....(Time bell rings). No, no. My time is not over. In my own case, in my own time, I know. In Madras, wherever there were Telugu names written on the streets, they used to write them in Tamil and if it was Naidu, they used to make it Naicker. I am telling you history. I am telling you what I know because I feel strongly about it. And people talk without knowing anything. Unfortunately, when you think of south, you think only of Tamil. This is be-

cause they go on talking so much about Tamil. You have to listen to their Radio "Sentamil" to know facts. We do not talk of Telugu as a language. It does not require a propaganda. When Mr. Kumaraswamy Raja, the then Chief Minister of Madras, came away to Andhra Pradesh—he used to speak Telugu but he learned Tamil—then Tamil was forced down the throat of the people.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: No, no.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: Today in Andhra Pradesh if there are Tamil-speaking people in Massaulipatnam or Bezvada, we have offered to them a separate section for learning their language because people must learn in their own mother-tongue. Similarly, we have given equal status to the Urdu-speaking people. In the same way facilities should exist for Telugus in Madras to learn Telugu. Is it not justice, is it not fairness to ask for this? Ask Mr. Bhaktavatsalam. He learned his alphabet in Telugu because Chingleput was a Telugu-speaking city and the records used to be kept in Telugu. Gujarat is doing business in Madras used to keep records in Telugu. (Interruption) I know it I was Deputy Speaker at that time. Injustice has been done even at that time. That is why I was protesting. I know all these things. That is why I am mentioning all these things.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Kindly listen. The Madras Chief Minister made a statement two days ago before the Madras Assembly that special arrangements would be made to teach not only Telugu, but Malayalam and Kanarese along with Tamil with equal status.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: Keep English in its original position because you are asking for English here. You ask for your rights in Ceylon. You ask for your rights in other places. Can we not ask for our rights in our own place?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: It is already there. Why do you separate? The Telugus of Tamilnad have already become Tamilians....

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: Please do not take any time. I was always warning, and even today I say that the D.M.K. is more dangerous to the country than even the C.P.I. (Leftist) because at least we know what they stand for. But these D.M.K. people are so surreptitious. They have suspended their agitation for separatism only for the time being because they want some more things from the Centre. Anyhow, things will improve I hope, and the Government will open their eyes and will not allow them to take separatist ways, leading to disintegration, disunity and separatism.

What is happening in the Bengal Legislature? This is all very sad. People who do not believe in democracy, why should they come to Legislatures at all? If they do not allow the Governor to enter the Assembly, why should they be elected at all? They can go out? Even here, what happened? The D.M.K. people abstained from attending the President's Address. Is it not against the Constitution? You have a right to protest against anything that the President says or does not say in his Speech...

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: In spite of all that you say for Madras, they elected you as their Deputy Speaker.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: It was my right. It was not given to me out of any generosity. That is what I am asserting here.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: She was the Deputy Speaker of the Madras Assembly and it was she who led the agitation to separate from Madras; otherwise we would have made her the Chief Minister.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: Thank you very much. It is really amazing. Why do such people come

to the Legislatures at all? If they want to protest, well, they can do it in the streets. What is happening in Bengal? They do not know anything about democracy. People come and occupy the Chairs meant for the Governor and the Speaker. And, then, there are some ladies lying down to prevent the Governor from entering. What is all this? I want to know what the Centre wants to do in these matters.

Just one thing about the language. You know that everybody, except Madras, agreed to have Hindi as the official language. Now they are going back on their word.

(Interruptions)

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: In Bangalore there is agitation. In Andhra Pradesh there is agitation all over.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: We all agreed in the beginning. But we had to rethink about it because of the extremist elements, because of the attitude taken by certain people.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: By whom?

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: Just for your information, yesterday a resolution was passed in the Andhra Assembly. You see, we were all very, very willing to have Hindi as the official language but for the attitude of some persons. The other day in a conference, one lady, who knew English very well, insisted on speaking in Hindi. I submitted to her that I was not asking her as a matter of right to speak in English but I requested her to speak in English so that I could understand fully. But she said that she understood only Hindi. Similarly, an hon. Member while speaking something about the Railways used the words "Sone ka dabba". I was wondering what it was because it could not be gold compartment since there is not much gold in our country. Then it occurred to me that by "Sone ka Dabba" he meant a "sleeper coach". I am quoting this just to

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show how difficult it is even for a person who studied Hindi in her Intermediate. Therefore, we have our own difficulties. If I go and settle down in Allahabad or Lucknow, within five years I will be able to understand and speak Hindi because it is the atmosphere that matters and not the books. So we have really difficulty. Therefore, even though we are very anxious, we have no objection at all to Hindi being made the official language, but give us time. I do not like this unhelpful attitude of the Hindi people.

So moving the official resolution on language in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, the Chief Minister said . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: Which paper.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: It is in every paper. It is the official language resolution. I am reading from the *Hindustan Times*. He said:

" . . . commended the three language formula as one absolutely necessary for maintaining national unity and integrity.

The resolution, based on an all-party consensus, arrived at on the issue last night, contains five provisions and urges that the resolution adopted by Parliament be amended because "it has led unfortunately to serious handicaps for people in the non-Hindi speaking States.

The resolution also urges "equitable representation to all States in Central and all-India services".

It ends on a note of warning that 'quick and effective action on the lines suggested in the resolution before the State Assembly could alone remedy the deteriorating situation and pave the way for a lasting solution to the language problem'. It adds 'however in case the disadvantage to any lan-

guage group in regard to the entry to Central and all-India services and instruction in schools and colleges continues hereafter, then it will be open to the State to evolve its own policy in the interest of the people'."

He goes on to say:—

" . . . Today some States like Andhra were ignored and neglected in this. All States and all languages should have equitable representation here. It was important that the three-language formula was applied at the time of recruitment to Central Services because the idea of a 'working knowledge' would not suffice to equalize the burdens."

So this is what everybody is feeling. Not only that you may call me a reactionary, I do not mind, I want the Central Services to be in proportion to the population, otherwise justice is not done. One State adopts one policy. Another State adopts another policy and people who are very loyal, people who are very sincere suffer. It is we who suffer. There is no Andhra officer in Madras whereas we keep so many Tamilian officers in Andhra. Like that, by trying to follow the Constitution, by trying to be loyal to the country and loyal to what we profess, we suffer. So I want to suggest very seriously and very sincerely to the Central Government that they must hereafter provide services in the Centre in proportion to the population. Not only that, I want also the Government to place on the Table of the House the amounts in rupees spent on the public undertakings and public institutions in the various States. I know that certain States which have the pull, which have the influence, manage to get everything that they want from the Centre whereas some of us are not getting anything even for our minimum needs.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: What about Nagarjunasagar?

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: Nagarjunsagar is very well known. We have to sink all our monies on Nagarjunsagar to feed the country. Is that fair, I ask you. Now that the Minister of Broadcasting is here, I may mention another thing. When we go out we cannot carry big radio sets. We take fairly big sized transistors. Now I want to hear Hyderabad. I cannot hear. I want to hear Vijayawada. I cannot hear. I hear Bombay, I hear Trichy, I hear Madras and I hear Bangalore. I want justice to be done to us. I want more powerful transmitters to be installed at least in all the State Capitals. Do I not want to hear my own Telugu music and Telugu news? I was talking to Shrimati Nandini Satpathy the other day about this. We used to have Hyderabad Station start at 6-O Clock in the morning. But now they have begun to start at 6-30 in the morning. I do not know why this change has been brought about. And classical music and all these things have been cut down for the sake of other things, I do not know what. So I want the Minister to look into these matters. There are many other things I want to say. If I get another opportunity, either during the Budget debate or on some other occasion, I shall give vent to my feelings on those things also. Thank you very much.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the President's Address was a very monotonous one, a distressing, depressing document. We need not congratulate the President for this address that was given to us. He has catalogued so many ills that have happened and so many problems that are facing this country.

Let me first take up the question of language. It has agitated the minds of so many people in this country. When this language Bill was discussed when the Resolution on the language was discussed, the very Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, of whom the hon. lady Member was so proud, and the Chief Minister of Mysore, who is now the Congress President, did not move their little fingers to protest

against the injustice that was perpetrated on the non-Hindi speaking people of this country.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: They have to be congratulated that at least belatedly they are able to realise it.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: They are realising it not because wisdom has dawned upon them, but because the students, who are the victims of this language policy, are protesting in Andhra Pradesh and in Mysore, and that is the reason why these people are now trying to see whether any consensus can be arrived at and whether this language question can be re-opened. We all agree that the three-language formula should be implemented. That has been accepted. But most of the Hindi States have not implemented this three-language formula. They are implementing only a one-language formula, thereby making the Madras Government take an extreme attitude in this matter. It is not that Madras wanted to have only Tamil and English. It is only the attitude of the Hindi-speaking States that made them take that extreme position. I am not here to defend the action of the Madras Government. But this is the retaliatory way in which the Madras Government is looking at this problem. Too much of fanaticism for any language is not going to solve this problem. I and members of our Party appeal to the Hindi-speaking people that they should have patience, that they should have forbearance and that they should move slowly on this question of language. Then only it is possible for the people of this country to make Hindi not only the official language, but a real link language in this country. But their haste, their over-enthusiasm and their fanaticism kindled retaliation in the non-Hindi speaking areas. It is not that the people of the non-Hindi-speaking areas are whipping up this agitation. It is the students who are going to be affected by this language policy who are conducting these agitations. We deplore violence being practised by any section of the student community or by any section of the

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population. But unfortunately, Sir, as you know, it is only violence that makes this Government open their eyes and think afresh on problems that face this country. If the students resort to violence, what about the violence resorted to by organised Governments? They have let loose police raj in Andhra and Mysore. Only the other day, I was reading a document regarding the atrocities committed by the police in Bengal. The atrocities committed by the police in Mysore are so severe that no civilised human being can tolerate the conditions that are now prevailing in Mysore. When the students conducted a peaceful demonstration, a peaceful violation of Section 144, they were fired upon. The students were beaten up by the police.

AN HON. MEMBER: Where?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:

In Bangalore, Mysore and so many other places in Mysore State. Not only that, when the Vice-Chancellor was counselling patience and was advising the students not to go on strike, tear-gas shells were fired. Luckily, those shells did not hit the Vice-Chancellor. The Vice-Chancellor himself complained about this. Without the permission of Vice-Chancellor, the police entered the precincts of the university campus. This is against all accepted that the police should enter the precincts of the university campus without the permission of the authorities concerned. The Vice-Chancellor has condemned the action of the police. Not only did they enter the campus, but they entered the class-rooms, beat up the Principals and beat up the Lecturers who were reading in the Library. Not only that, they entered the university and college hostels also. The students were beaten up. They were bleeding. I was a witness to the fact that some of the students were beaten up by the police hooligans and they were bleeding there. This is the state of affairs not only in Bangalore, Mysore and other places, but in most of the towns in

Mysore State and in Andhra Pradesh. And this made the Chief Ministers of Mysore and Andhra ask the Central Government to re-open this question. If sanity was there and if unequal burdens had not been imposed on certain areas, this trouble would not have arisen. There was no need for that Resolution to have been passed by this Parliament which imposed unequal burdens on the non-Hindi speaking areas. Therefore, Sir, this language question is a very important question; it has touched the hearts of many people. Language should not be a disruptive force in this country and it should not impair the unity of this country. On the other hand it should be a unifying force, but it has become a disruptive force. It is hoped better and wiser counsels would prevail on the Congress leadership and on the powers that be so that a satisfactory solution is evolved and this three-language formula is implemented faithfully in all the States.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, what is it that we are seeing today after the last General Election? In 9 out of 15 States the Congress has lost its majority. Non-Congress parties have come together to form non-Congress Governments in some States. In Rajasthan, from where you come, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Governor behaved very badly. In utter violation of the constitutional provisions he tried to help a minority party to come to power by rejecting the plea of the majority group to form the Ministry. Again in Bengal when the United Front Ministry was functioning, the Governor, without waiting for the Assembly to meet, dismissed the Ministry and installed a puppet Ministry there. His plea was that the United Front Ministry had lost the majority and he had received letters from Shri P. C. Ghosh and from the Congress Party leader that they had the majority. On the basis of the letters received, Mr. Dharma Vira had the audacity, in utter violation of the constitutional provisions, to dismiss the Ministry and installed a quisling Government

in West Bengal. But today what has happened? Sir, 18 members of the Indian National Democratic Front have withdrawn their support from the P. C. Ghosh Ministry, thereby reducing the present puppet Ministry of Shri P. C. Ghosh to a minority. What has this wonderful bureaucrat done there? He has not the courage to admit his mistake and rectify the mistake that he committed some two months back. He has not dismissed the Ministry which he should have done. Even now I say that it is not given to the Governors to play politics, that it is not given to the Governors to dismiss elected Ministries without testing the strength of the Ministries on the floor of the House. But when once he dismissed the Ministry of Ajoy Mukerjee saying that that Ministry had lost the majority, with what purpose can he now say that he cannot do the same thing now? Does he want to apply double standard, if it is a Ministry supported by Congress, one standard and if it is a Ministry supported by another non-Congress Party, another standard? Is this the way how a Governor should behave in this country? Is this the function of the Governors to play politics and to take a partisan attitude and to be mere tools in the hands of the Congress monopolies? This is very unfortunate and we should try to revise our Constitution and strip the powers of the Governors. In fact there are no powers empowering the Governors to dismiss the elected Ministries but unfortunately the Central Government which is run by this discredited Congress has approved the action of the Governor.

What is happening in Bihar? Here again the Governor has misbehaved. In utter violation of the Constitution he has installed one Mr. Mandal who is losing his strength in the Assembly as Chief Minister. What has happened there? He was a Minister there for 5 months 28 days or so. He could not continue for more than 6 months. They tried to see whether he could be nominated as Chief Minister being elected as the leader of the Soshit Dal

supported by the Congress Party. But the legal opinion went against them. Then they resorted to another subversion of the Constitution. What did they do? He was nominated to the Legislative Council. Nomination to the Legislative Council is governed by the Constitution. Article 171(5) of the Constitution says:

"The members to be nominated by the Governor under sub-clause (e) of clause (3) shall consist of persons having special knowledge or practical experience in respect of such matters as the following, namely:—

Literature, science, art, co-operative movement and social service."

I would like to ask the Governor of Bihar under what category this Mr. Mandal was nominated to the Legislative Council.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY:  
Political art.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:  
Yes, political manoeuvring he has; there I agree. But that is not covered under the constitutional provision.

Similarly what happened in Mysore in the past? The present Chief Minister of Mysore is also the Congress President. He is holding both the offices. He does not want to relinquish either this or that. I know it is for the Congress Party to take note of it. But he is spending the money of the exchequer, the money of the State Government, the taxes of the ordinary people of the State in order to further strengthen the cause of the Congress Party of which he is the President. This is not the way the Congress Party which is supposed to be the premier political party in this country should set standards; they should set some healthy standards. This is not the way how they should behave. What happened in 1962 was that he was defeated in his home constituency. In order to get elected at the leader and then

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become the Chief Minister, he requested a Member of his own party to resign from the Assembly membership and nominated that member who resigned in favour of Mr. Nijalingappa to the Legislative Council in utter violation of the provisions of the Constitution. This is how the Constitution has been subverted by this Congress Party. This is how the Constitution has been subverted by the Governors who are there to defend the Constitution. This is how the Constitution is violated by the Governors. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I therefore say that Mr. Mandal's Ministry should not have been installed there. The Governor who was not acceptable to the last Ministry was thrust upon it in Bihar. The Central Government is making appointments of these Governors in a partisan way. It wants those people who are going to play a subservient role according to the dictates of the Congress Party. The Congress Party must have the tolerance to tolerate non-Congress Governments to be in power. They should have the patience and the decency to be in opposition. When the people have given a verdict against them, they should not try to subvert the non-Congress Governments in this 5 P.M. illegal and unconstitutional manner.

They have massacred parliamentary decencies, they have massacred the democratic values of the people of India. In the name of the Constitution and in the name of democracy, they are doing everything possible on earth to subvert democracy. This is not going to bring a fair name to this country. This has shaken the very faith of the people of this country in the democratic institutions. "This is not going to help to further the cause of democracy. I therefore urge that the Congress Party should try to be in the opposition wherever the people have rejected them at the polls.

The President was pleased to say something about our relations with

China and Pakistan. This is what he said:

"As for our relations with China we have always wished the Chinese people well. We naturally expect China to respect our right to pursue our own domestic and foreign policies. The principles of mutual respect, non-aggression and non-interference alone provide a durable basis for international relations. On our part, we seek restoration of our relations with China on these principles."

The President has clearly forgotten the vow that Parliament had taken in November 1962. We will not rest until the entire territory that has now been occupied aggressively by China is vacated. What happens to the solemn pledge that we gave to ourselves and to the country? In this he pleads for normalisation of relations with China. Yes, we do want to have friendly relations with all people, particularly with our neighbours but here is a country which has committed unprovoked aggression against our country. Here is a country which has violated all the pacts and the Panchasheel that were entered into between the two countries. Here is a country which does not believe in the principle of mutual respect, which does not believe in non-aggression, which does not believe in non-interference and with such a country the President, under the inspiration of the Prime Minister, has advised us to be friendly, irrespective of the fact that China is still continuing to hold about 20,000 square miles of our territory. So it is time that we should take every steps to see that this aggression is vacated. I have no doubt that the present Congress Government is incompetent and incapable of delivering the country from the clutches of the Chinese aggressors.

Similarly we want to have friendly relations with Pakistan but what has happened? Pakistan does not believe in the Tashkent Agreement. In spite of the provocations we have tried to



implement the Tashkent Agreement but Pakistan refuses to have any meeting at the ministerial level to discuss the problems confronting the two countries. Pakistan does not believe in the Tashkent Agreement but we go on chanting this *mantram* that we believe in the Tashkent Agreement. Good, but the other party does not believe in it. This one-way traffic should stop. We have released unilaterally all the ships that were seized by us but Pakistan has not released all the ships that were seized by them in 1965. So some attempt should be made to see, if possible, through the good offices of the USSR, that all these ships are released by the Pakistan Government.

There is a reference to Israel in the Address and to the West Asian crisis. We are interested that this crisis should be solved as early as possible but amicably it should be solved. Yes, the aggression should be vacated but the Arab countries should be advised to recognise the existence of Israel. Vacation of aggression and the recognition of Israel go together. The Government has played a very partisan role in this connection and therefore it has lost its initiative to solve this burning problem. This morning the question of the Suez Canal had come up in the House. Because of the closure of the Suez Canal, the Government of India and the people of India are paying heavy freight charges as the ships are to be diverted through the Cape of Good Hope. So this question should not be kept pending for a long time and it is possible to solve the West Asian crisis provided the Government of India takes an impartial attitude in this matter and we should see that Israel's existence—Israel which is a Member of the United Nations—is recognised and there is mutual respect for the territorial integrity of Israel as well as the Arab countries. Our relations with our neighbours should be improved. The President has made a particular reference to the South and the South East Asian countries. It is unfortunate that enough attention has not been paid

to our relations with our neighbours and with the South and South East Asian countries. It is necessary that we have better relations with these countries because they are also facing a similar aggressor as we are today—China—and China which is an expansionist power, wants to subvert democracy, wants to destroy democratic values and wants to have its own hegemony in the whole of Asia. Therefore, it is necessary that the countries of South and South East Asia have more friendly relations and we should do everything in our power to give them aid in order that those countries may build up their industries and may improve their economy. In this respect I would say that we should have better relations with Formosa. It is true that we advocated the admission of the People's Republic of China into the Security Council but now things have changed. China is a friend of our enemy. China has committed aggression against us. China, if admitted into the Security Council, with the power of voting there, will always vote against us and vote in favour of Pakistan. Therefore, our relations with Formosa should be improved and we should recognise both Chinas—the People's Republic of China as well as Taiwan.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about the G.D.R.?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: In his Address the President has said:

"It is gratifying to note that the process of detente in Europe continues. Our own relations with the European nations, regardless of their political systems and ideologies, are growing satisfactorily."

But this is not the whole truth. Our relations with all the European nations are not growing satisfactorily. We are prejudiced against political systems and ideologies that are prevailing in Europe. Just now my attention was drawn to Germany by one of our Members who asked: 'Why not recognise the G.D.R.?'

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Yes, we should not be prejudiced against the political system that is prevailing in the G.D.R. What we want is, if there is a reality, if a State is a reality, irrespective of the political complexion of that country, we should recognise it. We should recognise the German Democratic Republic. Of course our relations with West Germany, for some time to come, may not improve. The West German Chancellor, when he was here, held out the threat that, if we have any relations, diplomatic relations with East Germany, the West German Government will have to think twice whether to continue their relationship with India in a friendly and diplomatic way. These threats we should not heed. This is only a threat to prevent the Government of India from recognising East Germany. We are interested in recognising all countries which are a reality, and the G.D.R. is a reality. On the other hand, West Germany as a State has taken, during and after our war with Pakistan, an unhelpful attitude, and it has always tried to help Pakistan through military equipment. So even this consideration should weigh while we consider the question of recognising the G.D.R. I therefore plead that we should not only recognise the G.D.R., that is East Germany, but we should also recognise Taiwan and have diplomatic relations at Embassy level with Israel.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, then there is reference to the agricultural sector in our economy. It is true that we are having, if not a bumper crop, a good crop, after all the ills that we have suffered in the last twenty years. I hold the Congress Party responsible for that. In our First Plan adequate attention was not paid to and adequate resources were not provided for improvement of agriculture, so much so that we have to depend more on rains and nature to have better crops. And by neglecting our agriculture the Congress Government has driven this country to go to other countries with a begging bowl for

wheat, for rice, for all the foodgrains that we want. And this position would not have been there if proper steps had been taken at the proper time. And even today the prices are going up. When the Central Government employees or the State Government employees ask for merger of dearness allowance in pay, the Finance Minister says that the present spiral will stop and it is likely that the prices might go down. It is not so; in the last so many years the prices have been going up. And they should have taken an average of the price level for the last five years and merged the dearness allowance of Central Government as well as State Government employees in their pay. We must have contented Government employees. Then only they can give their wholehearted support to the policies of the Government and they can see that the policies of the Government become effective and purposeful.

I would now like to take up another point, Mr. Vice-Chairman. The President has referred to the corruption that is now prevailing in the administration. Political corruption is there. Nepotism is there, and they are going to bring forward a Bill appointing a Lokpal to look into these charges. The Santhanam Committee had made very sound recommendations, that whenever allegations are made against persons in authority, particularly against Ministers, if the allegations are made by 10 M.L.As. or M.Ps., they should be referred to a panel of Judges and one of the members of the panel should be chosen by the President to look into those allegations. But they have not done so. In Mysore charges of corruption and nepotism were made against the present President of the Congress, who is still the Chief Minister of Mysore. But they were not looked into. They were made by 35 M.L.As. including some 10 Congress M.L.As. at that time, and by some M.Ps. So the people of Mysore have lost all faith in the Central Government, and the Central Government, which is run by the Congress Party, looks at these problems in a partisan

manner, not in an impartial manner. They want to hide the misdeeds of their party-men in different States. They tried to save Mr. Biju Patnaik, but he could not be saved. The commissions and omissions of Mr. Biju Patnaik and Mr. Biren Mitra were exposed and so they could not be saved. They tried to see that Mr. Kairon was not brought to book. But the commission of inquiry exposed him. I therefore demand that there should be a commission of inquiry to go into the charges of corruption and nepotism and favouritism that were practised, that are being practised and will continue to be practised by Mr. Nijalingappa and his henchmen, and if Mr. Nijalingappa continues to be the Chief Minister getting the post of the Congress President devalued to that of the Chief Minister, he will continue to commit these ill deeds in Mysore. It is high time that the Central Government takes not a partisan attitude but an impartial attitude so that the confidence of the people in the administration is restored and these political corruptions and other things are put an end to.

Thank you.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, associating myself with the mover of the Motion of Thanks, I offer my grateful thanks to the President for the Address delivered by him the other day to Members of both Houses of Parliament at that joint session.

Sir, on a perusal of this Address I find that he has catalogued several achievements to the credit of India after independence. My point is that what we have achieved is not the test, and is not to be gloated over; but what should have been our achievement is the test. If we compare these two things of what we have achieved and what we should have achieved, then I would say that we have not achieved much in comparison to the efforts that we have put in. Now in the achievements catalogued, whether in agriculture or

in fertilizers or in industry or in the tempo of economic development, or in any other field, there is much to be said which is not to the credit of the administration, when the achievements are compared to the number of people who are now residing in this country after independence; we have since increased in population by almost one-third of what we were some twenty years back. When compared to that, the agricultural production, though it may be 75 million or 92 million tonnes of foodgrains, there are the extra people who have come into existence, the newly-born, and so the production is still not enough to adequately supply the needs of the whole population. Therefore I would say that the agricultural production in respect of foodgrains, when compared to the population, really falls short of its requirements, and that is the reason why we go in for import of foodgrains from other countries. We have been saying ever since independence that in a period of ten or fifteen years we will achieve self-sufficiency, and this slogan is being repeated year after year, and we only live in the hope that in another five years we will certainly stop getting foodgrains from other countries. And we have been maintaining the same trend ever since we started saying that we are going to be self-sufficient in the matter of foodgrains. Therefore, I would say that the agriculturists, the farmers must be given the necessary incentives by way of credit loans and implements to see that lands which are not being cultivated are cultivated and we should also see that irrigation facilities are given to them for this purpose. So far as the States are concerned, there are places where more than two crops can be raised. But what happens is that after one crop is raised the land is left alone and the people do not put forth the effort needed to raise even a second crop. The reason is that they have already produced enough for the family and they do not feel the urge or incentive to raise something more from the land. So, for the time being all that

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land is allowed to be idle. Therefore some sort of incentives should be given to the agriculturists, say, in the shape of credit and implements so that they do not spend time on other things and do not remain satisfied with raising only one crop.

I know the language problem has been referred to by Members from this side as well as on the other side of the House. There are the fears of the Madras Government. In Madras they have passed a Resolution. That Resolution should not be viewed from the point of view of the Hindi-speaking people only. It is something not to be implemented. They have the two-language formula, i.e. Tamil as well as English. One small error was committed, of eliminating English altogether after five years which might be said to be unfortunate. I for one think that there is deep politics in it. I do not believe for a moment that the Resolution passed by them should be very seriously considered by us. Of course, it has created a sort of re-thinking all over the country. It is said that the Bill as well as the Resolution we passed recently here in Parliament are to be redrafted. They are now thinking of how to amend them, how to make the burden equitable as between the Hindi and the non-Hindi areas. That is a corollary or result of the Resolution passed by the Madras Legislature. They have insisted on the two language formula being followed by other States also. We have been saying here that no State supports the Madras Government. But I may say that when I compare notes with persons from other States I find that they in their heart of hearts are also for two languages, i.e., one the regional language and the other English. Of course, Hindi is supposed to be the official language of India. But this official language has not developed to the required stage in the last twenty years. After passing this Bill that we have done, I doubt whether it would ever be implemented. According to me it is impossible of imple-

mentation as it is. Therefore, this Resolution of the Madras Government has given food for thought to all of us and it has served to bring all persons in the country together who are against this Bill, to thrash out a common programme so that all the persons in the country and all the parties may accept a particular formula. I am sure the time has come when no State will accept any formula adopted by another State. This is a delicate problem and a delicate subject on which everybody has to give a second thought and not be pressurised into implementing the Bill as well as the Resolution. We have seen the several upheavals taking place in State after State. The situation instead of getting stabilised, I find each State turning out to be a country, almost. We are having fifteen States. We may be having fifteen countries, so to say. And then no State will follow the principle adumbrated by the Centre. Therefore, the time has come to convene a Constituent Assembly which should be asked to evolve a link language or official language for the entire country. I am sure if such a Constituent Assembly is constituted, it will have representatives from the various States. I do not mean that the present Parliament should be dissolved. This Constituent Assembly will be entrusted with the task of finding out the official language for all the States.

Along with that there is another thing to be done. There is difference of opinion as regards the Fundamental Rights between the Executive and the Judiciary. There is a recent judgment of the Supreme Court that Parliament cannot do anything derogatory to the principles enunciated in those articles of our Constitution and that if anything was really to be done in that respect, then a Constituent Assembly should be convened and asked to go into that matter. They say that Parliament has no right to touch this Chapter. So this also has created some sort of a stumbling block as far as the progress of the country is concerned. So this subject also should be referred to this

Constituent Assembly so that they may tell us which language can be fixed for the whole of India and also how far these Fundamental Rights can be amended. Therefore, I suggest that a Constituent Assembly should be convened. The time to do it has come because we see that different States are not following a particular policy. We have seen in Assam how they were saying non-Assamese should get out.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Parliament can do this job.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: I agree that Parliament also can do it. But in so far as the Supreme Court has pronounced this judgment we must respect their judgment, though there may be difference of opinion from one Bench and another Bench. The latest Bench has said that whatever had happened before that judgment was delivered may stand; but after that, in future we should convene a Constituent Assembly. I think they are wise men and their advice should be adopted. Otherwise the Judiciary and the Executive in this country will be at loggerheads. The Judiciary has duties adumbrated for it. We have left some loopholes for them to interpret in this way. So the time has come for the Constituent Assembly to deal with the question of language and also this problem. Of course all the time language has been a problem in this country. We spent so much time and so much money. But we have not yet come to any final conclusion. When this Bill and the Resolution were passed we were aware how much of wire-pulling was going on, how much was going on behind the scenes, how the Prime Minister had said not a comma or a dot would be changed and how she had to yield. I can understand the difficulties of the Hindi-speaking people. They do not want English, it is said. But talking to Hindi people I find that they are not bothered about Hindi or English. They want to learn English also. But the English-knowing people are in a very minor number, only about one per cent.

They are at the top administration. As for the rest we can manage at the lower levels with the regional language. At the middle level also we can manage with the regional language. It is only at the top that English has to be adopted. We are all assembled here and we know English. Even those who do not speak English, they do know English. But they have taken a vow not to speak in that language. As for those who do not really know English, I do appreciate their difficulty. But the Chair also allows anybody who does not know either Hindi or English to speak in his own language.

Now this is the position. But we see that the Congress Party has been losing State after State. This language question has given a good handle for other Parties. The Communists are happy because they love confusion. The Jana Sangh is happy because it has given them a platform on which to work.

AN HON. MEMBER: They do not want English.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: They do not want English. Of course, they know their places best, just as I know my own place best. There are these difficulties. There are fissiparous tendencies and the President has rightly expressed distress and unhappiness at the divisive forces becoming apparent in India, in the name of community, language, religion and so on. We are having all these things here. We know there are different communities. Only one belonging to a community can realise the difficulties of that community and work for its improvement. Who else will do it? So also with religion. One belonging to that particular religion will know the difficulties and try to remove them. Nobody else will be able to do it. Such limitations or drawbacks are there. We know that at the national level we do not have them. But ordinary people are bound to have them. After all, we are ordinary human beings and we have our own failings.

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and drawbacks. Circumscribed by them as we are, we have to reckon with them and make allowances for all these small things. Therefore, I say that the time has come to do something about it. Now the Congress is powerful at the Centre and in some States. But even those States may slip out of our hands in a few years' time. We want to safeguard the unity of the country and it is time that we thought about the unity of the country and did something. We are bothered about the unity of the country and not about uniformity in India. A uniform language is essential but let us have unity first. We are thinking of Rashtrabhasha; Rashtra is first or Bhasha is first, I want to know. Unless you have a Rashtra you cannot have a Rashtrabhasha. Before you have a Rashtrabhasha you must have the country first. First think of the country and when you have the country, then think of a language in relation to that country. But now if you think that it gives rise to divisive influences, then suspend it for the moment. There is nothing wrong in doing that. The President can, under his own powers, suspend the particular article of the Constitution or he can suspend the implementation of the Language Act and the Resolution so that we can work out an arrangement in such a way that all parties are brought together. Even the Jana Sangh has given a rethinking to it. They are saying that something should be done about it. Everybody is thinking like that. Individually if you go and ask them they are not so much against English but as a group they do not want to accept it, the reason being that they are bound by certain regulations of their party. That is the platform on which they base their political growth. How can they grow unless they have got some such thing? In their heart of hearts it may be something else. I do not think they are very much against English because their children are sent to public schools. Let anybody put his hands on his heart and say that it is not so.

Even Seth Govind Das's grandchildren are sent there. They may be saying anything for the purpose of their party or group. Sir, I do not want to dilate much on this language issue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): Please finish.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: I need at least ten minutes more. If you so think I can close now and continue tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): I think the House can sit for a few minutes more. You finish your speech.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: Since we are going to sit now, I shall speak for ten or fifteen minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): No, no. Just five minutes. You have already spoken for fifteen minutes.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: As regards socio-economic advancement to which he has referred, I am very happy that he has done so. So far as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned their advancement does not compare well with their percentage in the population. We are having 12 and 2½ per cent representatives in services of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes but they are not given even 2 and half per cent respectively in services. They also need some sort of help. There is one other thing also. We have the backward classes and they are to the extent of 72 per cent in the whole of India and the rest accounts for 10 to 12 per cent. So the majority of the people belong to the backward class. Now all of us put together may be backward in relation to other countries. And we know what is going on in the UNCTAD conference between the advanced countries and the developing countries. So far as this problem in the domestic sphere is concerned, we have produced a Backward Classes Com-

mission Report. The Commission toured the entire country and submitted a Report in 1955. We are now in 1968 but nothing has been done so far. It was not even touched with a pair of tongs. You are not doing anything about it. At least the Report should have been discussed in this House and something must have been said by the Home Minister as to what he is going to do in that regard. He has done nothing of the kind. He has simply thrown it into cold storage. This is another grievance of the people. If you go to the country parts and talk with those backward people, you will find that they are not very happy with this Government because of this report not having been taken into consideration. This is one of the causes why the present Government is not having a hold on the entire country. Therefore I would submit that the Government should at least give a chance for that Report to be discussed in the House; leave aside the implementation part of it now. So I want that to be done.

Sir, much has been said about our debts. We have read in the papers that our public debts amount to the tune of Rs. 5000 crores. It would mean that each one of us, even those who are to be born, is burdened with a liability of Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per head. Even the unborn child is enjoined with this liability and it has to discharge a debt of Rs. 150. That being the case, the question is how are you going to do that? And we find we still go on incurring debts and we borrow money. Therefore I say there is a provision in the Constitution that Parliament can pass an Act whereby we can suggest to what extent we can borrow and for what items we can borrow. Unless such an Act is passed by Parliament I do not think it is possible to restrain the Government, who in their ambition to bring the country at par with other advanced countries, would go on borrowing. (Time bell rings). Sir, you will excuse me. I am speaking at the fag end of the day and I would

crave your indulgence for a few more minutes.

Unless an Act is passed by this House and the other House also limiting the borrowing capacity of this Government, I do not think we can ever arrest the magnitude of the debt liability that we are getting into and even the future generation is also pledged in a way. In the long run, what will happen is this. I want to suggest this by way of caution. When those countries begin to think of recovering the debts doled out by them to other countries who in their anxiety to develop had got them, they may put forward some arrangement by which they would ask—if the other countries are not able to repay their debts—to adjust or give some portion of the country. That is the only way to do it. The mentality of the people who make inroads into other countries is not one of acquisition of territory but of ideological conquest. The scheme is such that if the Communists want to come they have their own scheme; the capitalists have got their own scheme; the socialist countries have got their own scheme. With everyone we seem to have some friendship but we seem to tilt with somebody else. Even in the I.C.C. when they wanted something to be done, we refused. We did not support the request for reactivising the Commission with the result that India is being misunderstood everywhere as going with the USSR. As a matter of fact I do not understand the real policy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): I think . . .

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: Sir, you seem to be allergic in which case I can close right now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): Please wind up; last point.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: Thank you.

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That is why I say we should not be left to the mercy of other countries misunderstanding us. They must understand us correctly.

About our relationship with Pakistan, every time we are speaking of a no-war pact but they seem to be getting ready for war. We seem to be begging for friendship while all the time they are preparing themselves for war. And we find even other countries are in a way siding with them. I only wish to warn this Government that so far as our foreign

policy is concerned we should not put our fingers in everything in a pronounced way. Let us have some check as others are doing.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirty-eight minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 16th February, 1968.