

[श्री राजनारायण]

कुछ सोच रहे हैं तो हम एक ही प्वाइंट उन से पूछना चाह रहे थे कि एटारनी जनरल को बुलाया जाय और पूछा जाय कि 1965 का जो प्रोक्लमेशन था वह डिविजिबिल है या अनडिविजिबिल (विभाज्य या अविभाज्य) है। हमारा ऐसा ख्याल है कि वह डिविजिबिल नहीं है अनडिविजिबिल है। तो इस तरह तमाम कांट्रोवर्सी सारे देश में फैली हुई है और उसके बारे में हम रिक्वेस्ट करने जा रहे थे कि वह इस तरह से उठ कर के एक घृणा करके चले जायें तो यह सीधे सीधे कंटेम्प्ट आफ दि हाउस बनता है। आप मेज पालियामेंटरी प्रैक्टिस देखिये, सब जगह के उदाहरणों को ले लें। मेरा नम्र निवेदन यह है कि यह चीज जो घटी है वह यहां सब हाउस के सामने हुई है, इसमें कोई गवाही की भी जरूरत नहीं है, तो सीधे सीधे इस सवाल को आप विशेषाधिकार समिति को भेज दें, यह हमारी प्रार्थना है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Unfortunately, I was not in the House. The Chairman was presiding over this House. I have just been informed that the Home Minister did inform the Chairman as to why he had to abruptly go away. If there is any further complaint, it should be made to the Chairman and therefore, you can take it to the Chairman tomorrow.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: All right.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We go on to the next business. Mr. Mookerjee.

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
आप संतुष्ट हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : उनकी व्यवस्था सही है।

MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE (West Bengal): Madam, I beg to move that an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:

"That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 18th March, 1967".

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): On a point of order. A serious constitutional point has arisen. After the election results are out and after the changes in the composition of the Legislatures of the States, it is quite clear that this House does not represent collectively the Legislatures of this country.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): No.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Assuming today there were elections to this House from all the new Legislatures, I am doubtful if the Congress Party would have a majority here. They would have been turned into a minority.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The point of order should be brief, if there is one.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The position is this. He is moving a Motion of Thanks from a House whose existence now, speaking from the spirit of the Constitution, if not from the letter of it, is in grave doubt because we are elected by the State Legislatures. Our electoral colleges have undergone great changes. We do not represent, collectively speaking, properly the Legislatures of the country.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: A paradox has arisen.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have heard your point of order. There is no point of order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: A minority is moving the Motion of Thanks.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): They will be in minority in 1970.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: They are not in majority even now.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE: I do not feel called upon to reply to the point of order since you have already been pleased to dispose of it very summarily.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Coming as you do from Bengal, how do you feel, Mr. Mookerjee?

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE: I do not know whether Mr. Gupta objects to my presence here but I will remind him of the fact that he is here although his Party was in a minority in the West Bengal Assembly.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No. We are a majority in the Bengal Assembly and we are in the Ministry and you are in the minority.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE: I shall be happy to change place with him when the appropriate time comes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I want it to happen.

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE: He is drawing merely upon imagination that this side of the House has no right to propose a Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

Madam, in my submission, the Address lays down the guidelines of the policy of the Government to be pursued in the immediate future. The Government have resolved:

1. To end our dependence on food assistance from abroad by the end of 1971.
2. To do all that is possible to ensure that the rising trend in prices of the basic necessities of life is halted and conditions of stability achieved in the shortest possible time.
3. To attain and sustain an adequate rate of economic growth so as to eliminate the need for external assistance by 1976.

In order that we might have a correct appraisal of this policy statement I would, with your leave, give you certain background facts very briefly.

I am giving the figures of 1966 as the later ones may be of doubtful validity. Last year there was a 15 per cent. shortfall in agricultural production. The total output of foodgrains was 72.3 million tonnes as against 89 million tonnes. The price level rose by about 36.5 per cent. That was the state of affairs at the end of the three years of the last Plan. There was deficit financing by the Centre and the States to the extent of Rs. 385 crores. As a matter of fact Rs. 95 crores of overdrafts by the States were cleared by the Central Government last year in June. There was a fall in the invisibles from Rs. 78 crores to about Rs. 12 crores during the first four years of the Third Plan. There was a fall in the reserves to the tune of Rs. 527 crores. Our obligation to the International Monetary Fund stood at 475 million dollars, and the cost of servicing external debts rose to about Rs. 147 crores. Now all this was partly—I should say, largely—brought about by certain circumstances over which we had no control and those circumstances had, what you may call, a cumulative effect. We must remember that we had to fight two wars—one in 1962, and another

[Shri Debabrata Mookerjee.]

in 1965—and our defence-spending rose to about Rs. 1,000 crores from a mere Rs. 150 crores. Then these were followed by an unprecedented drought, and the drought continued this year too. The inevitable consequence was inflation. At one time we thought it was a case of creeping inflation. Then it appeared to be somewhat of a galloping type, and eventually it looked as if it were of a runaway type. There was in addition the adverse balance of payments due to the widening gap between the cost of imports and the outturn on exports. Now as a result of the drought there was not only a shortfall in foodgrains but also a shortfall in commercial crops. There was cut in power and there was, therefore, a fall in the rate of industrial growth. As a matter of fact, our exports were not much in demand in the international market on account of the increasing cost of production. When we found ourselves in this predicament, certain selective remedies were thought of and applied one after the other. We tried to evolve an export promotion scheme. We took all the measures to have, what are called, import restrictions; we thought of import substitution and we also devised schemes for import entitlements. Various other steps were taken in aid of Government's anxiety to correct the imbalance in the economy. We allowed refund of excise drawback on customs and concession in freight. Special subsidies were allowed on certain articles, particularly sugar and steel, and concession in the rate of tax on export earnings. These are the special remedies which we tried, or rather selective remedies of which we thought. But unfortunately they failed to produce the desired result with the consequence that we were forced to think of devaluation and the Rupee was devalued. Well, that is the picture of the country's economy last year and, as far as one can see, that also continues broadly to

be the picture today. The immediate need is that we should do something drastic on the food front and therefore I say with respect that the President's Address has laid due stress on this aspect of the matter and informed us that the Government is determined to have a very viable policy for the purpose of raising the foodgrains output. In order that we might achieve this, all kinds of efforts are intended to be made by Government. But the change cannot possibly be brought about overnight. Government are determined to see that there is a regular flow of inputs so that agriculture might improve. They have decided to supply high-yielding varieties of seeds and decided to establish more seed farms. They have taken the decision on intensive cultivation in areas of assured water-supply. Improvement of irrigation potential is another aspect on which the Government is bestowing special attention. Supply of pesticides and fertilizers and efforts to meet the credit needs of the farmers are some of the items to which Government's attention is now being paid most urgently; we have indications of all this in the President's Address. Now, increased agricultural production there must be in order that the nation might be saved from hunger. At the same time we cannot altogether neglect the industries, particularly our agro-industries which require to be speeded up. But we have to see that we do not indulge any more in deficit financing; we have to avoid that as far as possible. Overdrafts by the State Governments have to be cut down. These are the subjects which have received special mention in the Address which the President has been pleased to deliver. I think, Madam, that they are the essential features of the present-day economy, which cannot be neglected, and Government, we are happy to find, is determined to find a way out by laying emphasis upon these aspects of the economy. Some day, soon enough, sooner than later, our economy has to be made self-reliant

and self-generating. In order that this target might be achieved, no effort should be spared, and Government are determined to make every effort in this direction. Plans we must have; no underdeveloped nation can do without a plan, but as the President has been pleased to indicate, the Planning Commission may be reorganised, and we hope that the reorganisation will take place in such a manner as to make further forward progress at no distant date. Even so, we must remember that the Plans, defective as they might have been in certain respects, have done a great deal of good to the country. While the rate of growth has undoubtedly not been less, than 3.5 per cent in the last year it used to be more earlier—the *per capita* income has risen from Rs. 275 to Rs. 325 at 1960-61 prices. Life expectancy has risen from 32 to 50 years. Hospitals we have numbering about 14,500; some little time ago the figure stood at a mere 8,600.

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA (Madhya Pradesh): How many without doctors?

SHRI DEBABRATA MOOKERJEE: We have succeeded in eradicating malaria, and small-pox has been controlled. There are at the moment roughly 5,000 rural primary health clinics. There are thousands of tubewells and piped water supply has been arranged for 17,000 villages. As many as 68 million children go to school at the moment. (*Interruption*). You will have your turn. Now as many as 68 million children go to school as against 28 millions some 15 years ago. The *per capita* supply of food has risen from 12.8 ounces to 15.4 ounces. There has been a rise in the *per capita* availability of cloth from 11 metres to 15 metres. Now 56,000 tractors are produced every year in addition to 34,000 passenger cars and 36,000 commercial vehicles. There is a rise in steel productivity by 4.6 million tonnes. Coal production has risen from 30 million to 70 million tonnes. There has also been a significant increase in

the shipping tonnage capacity. The freight carrying capacity of our Railways has risen from 93 million to 205 million tonnes. Madam, the Planning Commission has very often been the target of adverse criticism. Nevertheless this is what they have achieved. I do not say that this is enough. What I wish to say is that we have made a good beginning and with the reorganisation ahead of which promise has been made by Government we hope that the planned development of the country will proceed apace.

The President's Address makes it perfectly plain that a high-power committee will be convened very soon for the purpose of considering the whole question of ban on cow slaughter and legislation will be undertaken to give statutory recognition to the assurances with regard to the official language of the Union. Similarly, a high-power Labour Commission is already working for the purpose of investigating the conditions of life and work of the labour force as a whole.

Madam, all this will, I fear go in vain unless and until the administrative machinery is geared up. There must be integrity and efficiency in administration and for that purpose the Government has already appointed the Administration Reforms Commission. That Commission is now deeply engaged in considering the various types of reforms that are urgently needed in the entire administrative set-up. As a matter of fact, the Commission has already sent in an interim report on Ombudsman. That is awaiting the Government's consideration and will at no distant date come up before the House for its consideration along with the recommendations of the Government. It is refreshing to note that the Government approves of the principle that there should be a high-power authority to go into the question of corruption in high places, of high officials, be they administrators or politicians.

[Shri Debabrata Mookerjee.]

Turning to the question of foreign policy to which reference has been made by the President in his Address, the Government has adhered to the policy of peaceful co-existence. I submit, Madam, that this is a positive approach in our foreign policy. Our foreign policy is not non-alignment only, or disarmament only. It is really peaceful co-existence and non-alignment and disarmament are the fulcrums upon which our foreign policy of peaceful co-existence rests and rotates.

With regard to Vietnam, the position has been made perfectly clear. The attitude of the Government is that there must be an unconditional cessation of bombing and that the parties must be brought to the negotiating table for a peaceful settlement.

The President has been pleased to say that we always wish to live in peace with Pakistan, but there have been difficulties in the way. With regard to China I say, Madam, that we are not concerned with the internal squabbles that are going on there at the moment. There was a time when China declared in a full-throated manner that she believed in peaceful co-existence. Today she has rejected it out of hand. We have therefore, to deny ourselves the joy of her company. There was a time when they said: "Let a hundred flowers blossom." But now they seem to suggest "Let only one flower blossom" and that must be the Chinese flower. "All the others must wither." We have to trust to the future to find how we can adjust our relations with that country. It has to be remembered that thousands and thousands of square miles of our territory are still under their illegal occupation. But we hope some day soon enough they will see reason and will give up this attitude, the war like posture that is preventing us from settling our differences with that country.

The Government is glad that there is to be discussion on disarmament. We have done all in our power for the

purpose of helping such discussions. The Seventeen Nations Committee on Disarmament is likely to meet very soon in Geneva and we wish that Committee success. But there is just one thing that troubles us and it is this. Even today we find that there is a distinction made between the non-nuclear aligned nations and the non-nuclear non-aligned nations. That distinction ought to go. It is no use that the stock-piling of arms should go on and at the same time talks about peace encouraged. It is time that the leaders of world opinion, big and small sat together to follow up the policy which we have been adumbrating for the last 15 or 18 years that there should be complete disarmament. Everybody will agree, I hope, that nuclear science has made nonsense of war. The fear of a nuclear holocaust led Khrushchev some time ago to cry out in the agony of his soul that if such a disaster overtook the world, then the living would envy the dead. It is to be remembered that although efforts are made no tangible results have yet emerged from the numerous international conferences about a complete banning of arms, particularly nuclear arms.

But it has fallen, I think, upon this country as well as on some other countries in Asia and Africa to mobilise world opinion and create conditions which will ban for all time to come nuclear weapons. It is not enough to have what you call a partial test ban treaty; it is necessary that there should be no more stockpiling of nuclear arms and the nations of the world should come forward and declare in one voice that there should be no nuclear stockpiling. The nuclear stocks that are already there have to be destroyed and unless that is achieved this world can never be made a safe place for any nation however powerful that nation may be. Well, I am reminded of a famous utterance of John F. Kennedy that if men and nations cannot end their differences, they can, at least, make the world safe for diversity. We may have different systems of Government but let

us all decide on one thing that there should be no further possibility of a nuclear holocaust. That is the policy which this country has steadily pursued and the President's Address gives indications that the present Government stands committed to it.

There is one feature, Madam, to which I must make a reference. In some of the States there have been Governments formed by persons who were accustomed in the past to oppose the Government of the day. I think it is a very welcome feature. The Indian Constitution envisages that and it lays down rules for determining the relations between the Centre and such Governments. It is indeed very refreshing to note the President's observations in this regard that there should always be co-operation between the Centre and the States. The Congress Party has always wished that there should be responsive co-operation. Indeed the Indian democracy today is a many-splendoured mansion with room for all parties and groups who believe in democracy and constitutional government. I need not refer in detail to the legislative and administrative provisions found in the Constitution. They are to be found in Part XI and I hope and trust that there will be no cause of complaint as regards the treatment meted out to non-Congress Governments in the States, the only condition for Central co-operation being that these Governments must function within the four corners of the Constitution and that they must in letter and spirit believe in democratic institutions.

I do not wish to refer at this late hour to the Proclamation under which the President has been pleased to assume powers in relation to the administration of Rajasthan. Half an hour ago we had a detailed discussion about it. All that I say is: without going into the merits of the matter—the President has been pleased to indicate that his Government has no desire to continue the present state of affairs and a hope has been clearly expressed that as soon as conditions permit

responsible government will be made possible to function in Rajasthan. I am not going into the merits of the matter; it is not necessary for me to do so. I only wish to emphasize the Government's intention proclaimed in the President's Address to see that the party in majority forms the rightful government of Rajasthan. The only difference that seems so emerge from the discussion that we lately had in this House is about the time. The demand is that it should be done at once and the reply is that it is going to be done and that it will be done as soon as circumstances permit.

I think, Madam, the President's Address taken as a whole gives us the guidelines of the future policy of this Government, the policy to which this Government stands committed. On the domestic front, if I may say so respectfully, due emphasis has been laid on the question of food production and the other items of work envisaged in the programme set out are mainly with a view to putting the country's economy on a better footing. In foreign affairs this country is committed to pursuing the policy which it has always pursued all these years. There will be no deviation from that. There was a time, Madam, after the World War or immediately before it—in 1943 and 1945, if I remember a right—conferences were held in Cairo, Teheran, Moscow and later in Potsdam with a view first as to how best to terminate the war and then to evolve a general peace settlement. Unfortunately, that general peace settlement has not yet been evolved and conditions arose which led to the creation of a bipolarity of the two super Powers, the United States of America and Soviet Russia. There was a time when our foreign policy was very much misunderstood. They took non-alignment as a purely negative attitude. There was no one with us in the United Nations. When we said that we were not going to align ourselves with either of the two power blocs they smiled at us and looked askance; but today I am sure you will agree with me that both the

[Shri Debabrata Mookerjee.]
United States of America and Soviet Russia appreciate the stand which the Indian Government took then and adheres to even now. Non-alignment has been believed in as an indispensable step, as the most important prop upon which our positive policy of peaceful co-existence rests. Today they do not look upon us with suspicion. Many nations of Africa and Asia appreciate the stand which we then took and for which we were very much criticised. It is the hope of this Government that the pursuit of this policy will bring better results in the near future. You will remember, Madam, that this policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence was not a hoax. When China exploded nuclear devices one after another this country reviewed the situation; without mortgaging the future we said that we still adhered to the policy of non-alignment. We were not attitudinising; it is not a matter of attitude. It is a matter of firm faith and belief and therefore it is the hope and trust of the Government of this country that the policy which we have been adhering to all these years will be adhered to in future unless some unfortunate exigency occurs which compels a revision.

Naturally, we cannot mortgage the future generations. We can speak only for ourselves. But even so, looking at our past and considering the trends of the present, there is reason to think that the way of peaceful co-existence which this country has shown to other nations, without playing the part of a 'big brother, pays.

With these words, Madam, I move the motion which I have been privileged to move.

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी (मध्य प्रदेश): उपसभापति जी, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो कृतज्ञता-प्रकाश का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत हुआ है उसका मैं अनुमोदन करता हूँ। इस समय जो भाषण आया है उसकी अपनी एक विशेषता है। बहुत संक्षेप में अर्थगर्भित बातें कही गई हैं और

यद्यपि कहने का तरीका सूत्रों में है परन्तु इसमें भूतकाल का लेखा-जोखा भी है, वर्तमान काल की समस्याएँ भी हैं...

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : भविष्य का सपना भी है।

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : और भविष्य के निर्माण के सकेत भी हैं।

पहला उदाहरण, यदि परराष्ट्र नीति के सम्बन्ध में जो बातें कही गई हैं उनका ही लिया जावे तो यह कौन नहीं जानता कि हमारी परराष्ट्र नीति के निर्माता स्वनामधन्य पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू थे। उनके अपने जीवन काल में ही यह सम्भव हो सका था कि जो दुनिया के विकासशील देश हैं, विशेषकर एशिया और अफ्रीका के देश हैं, वे अपना एक आवाज बना सकें और उसे बलवत् कर सकें उनके ही जीवन काल में यह सम्भव हो सका था कि जो बड़ी शक्तियाँ परस्पर विरोधी थीं वे समीप आईं और संसार के कल्याण के लिए मिल-बैठकर मोचने समझने लगीं। फिर हमने यह भी देखा कि इस परराष्ट्र नीति की सफलता का शिखर आदरणीय लाल बहादुर जी शास्त्री के समय आन पहुँचा जबकि जो आक्रामक था, आक्रमणकर्ता था पाकिस्तान उसे बाध्य होना पड़ा उस दस्तावेज पर हस्ताक्षर करने के लिए जिसमें उसने स्वीकार किया कि शांतिपूर्ण ढंग से वार्ता करके ही समस्याओं का निपटारा किया जा सकता है। उस समय रूस, अमरीका और कितने राष्ट्र इसके समर्थन में खड़े हो गए और स्वर्गीय लाल बहादुर जी शास्त्री ने अपने आत्म-बलिदान में ही शिखर पर यह रेखा खींची। उसके बाद यह भी स्पष्ट है कि इस नीति का सवर्द्धन इंदिरा जी के नेतृत्व में हुआ।

श्री राजनारायण : वाह, क्या खूब।

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : और उसके उदाहरण मौजूद हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : लाठी, गोली।

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : आज हमारे मित्रों की संख्या पहले से अधिक है। जो पड़ोसी राष्ट्र है उनसे और प्रगाढ़ सम्बन्ध हुए हैं, समझौते हुए हैं और आगे बढ़ने चले जा रहे हैं। अभी अभी का उदाहरण जैसे बर्मा से समझौता हुआ सीमांकन का। उसका श्रेय तो इन्दिरा जी और उनके नेतृत्व को ही जावेगा। इसी प्रकार वियतनाम के सम्बन्ध में जो स्पष्ट घोषणा नीति, की गई और कहा गया कि अमरीकन बमबारी और उसकी यद्ध नीति से हमारा मतभेद है, हम उससे सहमत नहीं हैं, उस सम्बन्ध में भी भारत की नीति बार्ता करने की है और यह होनी चाहिए—इससे नीति स्पष्ट हो गई। इस तरह से परराष्ट्र नीति कदम-ब-कदम आगे बढ़ती चली जा रही है।

श्री राजनारायण : इसी नीति का फल है कि स्वतलाना चली गई, आप कुछ नहीं कर पाए। यही तुम्हारी परराष्ट्र नीति है?

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : आप भी तो उस वक्त यहीं थे।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : हमारे हाथ में सरकार नहीं है।

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : मैं आपको मुनता हूं, आप मुझे सुनिए।

जहां तक घरेलू नीति का सम्बन्ध है, यह बात स्पष्ट है कि हम एक आम चुनाव के दौर से गुजरे हैं और इस आम चुनाव के जो परिणाम सामने आए हैं उसमें देश में परिवर्तन चाहा गया है इसमें संदेह नहीं है, परन्तु जिस शांतिपूर्ण ढंग से—और जिसका उल्लेख इस अभिभाषण में है—मतदान हुआ और परिणाम सामने आए उससे एक बात और स्पष्ट होती है और वह यह है कि आतंक से या हिंसा के माध्यम से या अराजकता से उलटफेर करने वाली प्रवृत्ति को भी एक करारा तमाचा मारा गया। आप स्वयं ही देख रहे हैं,

जो घटनाएं घट रही हैं, कुछेक हुई हैं, पर वे सर्वथा निन्दनीय हैं। जो प्रसंग सामने है कि एक शपथ लेने वाले असेम्बली के सदस्य को रास्ते में ट्रैन की जंजीर खींच कर रोका गया और उसकी हत्या कर दी गई, किसी ने भी की हो पर यह जिस प्रसंग में की गई है वह सर्वथा निन्दनीय है।

अभी प्रस्तावक महोदय राजस्थान के सम्बन्ध में जिक्र कर रहे थे। राजस्थान के सम्बन्ध में पक्ष और विपक्ष है परन्तु यह बात स्पष्ट है कि इस पक्ष और विपक्ष के कारण राजस्थान में जो सत्ता की छीना-झपटी की घटनाएं हो रही हैं उससे यह बाध्यता आन पड़ी कि प्रेसिडेंट को, राष्ट्रपति को अपना शासन लागू करना पड़ा। हमें इस बात से सन्तोष होना चाहिए कि बहुत विनम्रता पूर्वक यह घोषणा भी इस अभिभाषण में है कि जितनी जल्दी हो सकेगा राष्ट्रपति का शासन उठा लिया जायगा और प्रजातांत्रिक ढंग में सत्ता संचालन का मौका दिया जायगा।

3 P.M.

जो आर्थिक कार्यक्रम है उसके लिये इस अभिभाषण में चार सकल्प बताये गये हैं, खाद्य की आत्मनिर्भरता, मूल्यों की अभिवृद्धि की रोक, विदेशी सहायता से मुक्ति और जन्म दर घटाने के प्रयास। अस्ल में मुझे यह लगता है कि ये चारों सकल्प एक ही शीर्षक के अन्तर्गत आ सकते हैं और वह शीर्षक है खाद्य सकट का निवारण, क्योंकि बाकी या तो उपाय हैं या परिणाम हैं। जो खाद्य सकट का निवारण है उसके लिये आज हम देख रहे हैं कि प्रत्येक प्रदेश से, जहां कांग्रेस की सरकार बनी है या जहां नहीं भी बनी है वहां सब जगह से, एक सी आवाज उठ रही है कि इस सम्बन्ध में बिना परस्पर सहयोग के इस प्रश्न का हल तो मुश्किल ही है। इस दिशा में श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने पहल की है यह बात भी छिपी नहीं है।

श्री राजनारायण : माननीय, एक प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है। वह बैठ तो जायें।

प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर यह है कि इन्दिरा जी का नाम यहां पर गलत ढंग से लिया जा रहा है। उनका नाम इन्दिरा गांधी नहीं है, उनका नाम श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी है। तो इसको सुधार लिया जाय। क्या प्रधान मंत्री का अधूरा नाम लिया जायगा यहां। यह उनका अपमान है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do.

श्री राजनारायण : यह रहस्य तो मैं कल खोलूंगा कि यह नाम कैसे हो गया लेकिन उन्होंने जो शपथ ली उसमें भी श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी है और जो उनकी वोटर लिस्ट है उसमें भी श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी है। मैं आश्चर्यचकित हूं कि यह क्या है, इन्दिरा गांधी हम जानते थे, यह नेहरू कैसे और कब जुड़ गया। आप भारतीय संस्कृति की परम्पराओं को जानती हैं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do.

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : अब आप-की बात नहीं मानी गई। मैं तो जैसे आदर-पूर्वक उनका नाम श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी लेता हूं वैसे ही लेता चला जाऊंगा।

श्री राजनारायण : मेरे प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर का क्या हुआ। उन्होंने जो शपथ ली है उससे क्या भिन्न नाम लिया जा सकता है। प्रधान मंत्री ने जिस नाम से शपथ ली है स्वीकर के सामने उसको मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या बिगाड़ा जा सकता है, क्या कोई सदन के सम्मानीय सदस्य के द्वारा वह बिगाड़ा जा सकता है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीय, उस नाम से उन्होंने शपथ ली है।

श्री महाबीर दास (बिहार) : सिग्नेचर के वक्त इनिशियल होता है नाम नहीं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do. Let Mr. Tiwary continue.

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : मैं यह कह रहा था कि जिस तरह से अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में सहअस्तित्व की नीति द्वारा भारत को गौरव प्राप्त हुआ है उस नीति को सफलता प्राप्त हुई है, उसी तरह से शायद आज यह मौका आ गया है कि उन्होंने जो इसमें पहल की है श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने ...

श्री राजनारायण : फिर गड़बड़।

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : ... कि अलग अलग प्रदेशों में जो अलग अलग विचारधाराओं की सरकारें बनी हैं वे भी सहअस्तित्व की स्थिति में रह सकती हैं और खाद्य के इस संकट का निवारण तो सब को मिल कर करना पड़ेगा और एकमत हो कर करना पड़ेगा। यही पहल उनके द्वारा की जा रही है।

अब इसमें संकट निवारण के जो उपाय हैं वे तो सर्वविदित हैं, उनको कहना नहीं चाहता, इसमें उनका प्रसंग भी आया है। पर एक बात जरूर है कि किसान से इसका सीधा सम्बन्ध आता है और इस अभिभाषण में यह संकेत है कि किसान का जीवन स्तर ऊंचा उठाने के लिये सब कुछ किया जायगा, क्योंकि अस्ल में किसान ही हिन्दुस्तान है और उसका जीवन स्तर उठे तो भारतवर्ष में खाद्य संकट और इस तरह के दूसरे संकट धीरे धीरे दूर होंगे। तो मैं इस अवसर पर उन प्रदेशों को धन्यवाद और बधाई देना चाहता हूं जिन्होंने यह घोषणा की है या इस तरह के कानून बनाने जा रहे हैं कि छोटे किसानों का लगान माफ कर दिया जायगा, कितने ही प्रदेशों में कर दिया गया है और अनेक प्रदेशों में इसकी घोषणाएं हो चुकी हैं कि छोटे किसानों का लगान माफ किया जा

रहा है। स्वभावतः इससे उनका उत्साह बढ़ेगा और अनाज की अभिवृद्धि में सरकार की नीति का समर्थन होगा और वह कार्यान्वित हो सकेगी।

इस अभिभाषण में नई पीढ़ी को समझने का भी संकेत है। जो नई पीढ़ी आती है वह जवान पीढ़ी आती है और एक बात स्पष्ट है कि यह जवान पीढ़ी निराशा की बात सुनने को तैयार नहीं, उसमें तो उत्साह होता है, उमंग होती है, जोश होता है, वह पीढ़ी संघर्ष करना चाहती है, जूझना चाहती है। इस अभिभाषण में संकेत है कि जो सरकार की नीति चल रही है कि अज्ञानता, दरिद्रता और अस्वास्थ्य से संघर्ष जारी है उसके लिये नौजवान पीढ़ी को एक प्रकार से निमंत्रण है कि इस संघर्ष में वह शामिल हो और इस निमंत्रण को स्वीकार करें। इस संघर्ष में वे शामिल हो जाये और उनको इसका मौका दिया जाये तो हमारा यह ख्याल है कि उनका संतोष हो सकेगा।

सारे अभिभाषण में भारतवर्ष को गौरवपूर्ण स्थिति देने के लिये उचित दिशा दर्शन है, अतएव मैं राष्ट्रपति के प्रति कृतज्ञता-ज्ञापन के प्रस्ताव का पुनः समर्थन करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

The question was proposed.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are 114 amendments to the motion which may be moved at this stage.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Madam, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not condemn the nefarious attempt of establishing a dynasty in the realm of politics'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not properly compliment the

people for expressing 'no-confidence' in the corrupt practices of certain senior Union Ministers'."

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

'but regret that the Address neither denounces the undemocratic methods adopted by the Governor to prevent the formation of Government by the Samayukta Virodhi Dal in Rajasthan formed by the representatives of the people, nor condemns the Central Government's action in imposing President's rule there'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not warn the Government against the wrong step taken by the Governor of Uttar Pradesh to re-establish the Congress Government which was rejected by the people of the State'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not draw the full attention of Government towards starvation, food crisis, drought, etc., prevalent in the country'."

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

"but regret that the Address does not direct the Government to accede to the demand to institute judicial enquiry into the incidents of firing on the 7th November, 1966'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not condemn the Government for imposing a ban on the students' demonstration on the 18th November, 1966, which re-

[Shri Rajnarain,]

sulted in countrywide resentment'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not draw the attention of Government to the national loss as a result of devaluation'."

9. "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 the Election Commission to prevent the practice adopted in the printing of ballot papers and extending facilities to the Congress Party in various States during the General Elections'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not draw the attention of Government towards the failure of the Five Year Plans in the field of agro-industrial education'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not draw the attention of Government to the increasing poverty, unemployment, black-marketing, corruption, cases of dacoity and murder, riots, evils of drinking and prostitution, beggary, anarchy and violent tendencies and does not suggest measures for their eradication'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not suggest to Government steps for checking the rise in prices and hoarding and for striking a reasonable balance in the prices of essential commodities'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not suggest to Government steps to permit workers employed in Government Undertakings to take part in politics'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not suggest steps for introducing a scheme for large-scale agricultural production and for recruiting a Food Army to bring new areas under cultivation'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not direct the Government to take vigorous steps to prevent the concentration of national wealth in the hands of a few capitalists'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not condemn Government for the unpardonable delay in implementing the important recommendations of the Backward Classes Commission for the uplift of the backward sections of the society, viz., Harijans, poor Muslims, women, Adivasis and backward classes'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not advise the Government to implement the recommendations of the Kothari Commission regarding pay'."

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

'but regret that the Address, does not give the noble suggestion of not including in the Cabinet those Ministers, against

whom there were allegations of the tahre rmf mfhrmf hr corruption at the Centre or in the States without instituting an enquiry into their cases'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not give necessary instructions to Government to expedite the implementation of the suggestions of the All India Medical Association'."

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

'but regret that the Address, does not mention steps for implementing a uniform policy of abolition of land revenue or rent in all the States'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not give direction for imparting uniform primary education and for the abolition of fancy schools'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not give direction for reducing the ever-increasing expenditure on Ministers and high-ranking officials and for curtailing the amenities given to them'."

(Amendment Nos. 1 to 22 also stood in the name of Shri G. Murahari.)

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA (West Bengal): Madam, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not refer to the stern realities of life of the citizens of India arising out of unemployment and famine

and serious damage of India's prestige internationally, and lacks socialistic approach'."

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Madam, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not reflect the reality of the situation of the people of the country, particularly in relation to food, unemployment and allied problems of life and condition of common people'."

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

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

'but regret that the Address does not make a mention of the steps the Government are going to take to prevent violence and disturbances at future elections'."

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

'but regret that the defence in the Address of the imposition of President's Rule in Rajasthan was unjustified and uncalled for'."

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

'but regret that the Government's enunciation of foreign policy in the Address does not reveal any new feature and that this policy will not serve the interest of the country'."

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

'but regret that Government have not announced in the Address their plans for bringing about improved State-Centre co-ordination in view of the fact that in some States non-Congress Governments have come into existence'."

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Madam, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not make any reference to the continuance of the Emergency and does not consider whether from any view of democratic principle, it should have continued so long since 1962.'"

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

'but regret that the Address seeks to justify President's rule in Rajasthan which is retrograde and against all democratic principles.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention that one of the essential conditions of increase in food production is distribution of land to the actual tiller of the soil and does not indicate the policies of the Government in that behalf.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention that devaluation has so far failed in its objective, namely, increase of exports, and that the prophets of devaluation have so far been proved wrong.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not refer to the necessity of expanding basic and heavy industries and does not indicate the Government's policy in this behalf.'"

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

'but regret that the Address, does not mention the necessity of

further expansion of the public sector in industry and does not indicate the Government's policy in this behalf.'"

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

'but regret that the Address discloses a negative approach to the question of peace with the People's Republic of China in that too ready an assumption is made of the possible attitude of China to any peace overtures on the part of the Government.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not indicate the Government's policy in regard to the regional languages in the Union vis-a-vis the official language.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not indicate that the question of ban on cow slaughter will be decided not on communal considerations and that the economics of any such ban will be duly kept in view.'"

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Madam, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address, has failed to mention steps for checking corruption at the political level.'"

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention measures for checking the rising prices in the country.'"

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention measures for checking famine and scarcity conditions in the country and for avoiding starvation deaths.'"

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention measures to promote export after introduction of devaluation of the Indian currency in the face of opposition by the Indian people.'"

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention adequate and effective measures to stop crisis in Indian economy both in the agricultural and industrial sectors.'"

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention firm steps, both economic and social, to remove disparity in income and to bring about an egalitarian society.'"

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention complete revocation of emergency clamped on the Indian people and the repeal of the Defence of India Rules.'"

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention measures to solve the problem of unemployment that is getting aggravated due to bad planning.'"

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention effective measures to stop dependence on foreign aid, particularly aid of foodgrains.'"

47. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention steps for immediate vacation of aggression on Indian territory by expansionist China and Pakistan.'"

48. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention measures to give a fair deal to the working class of India for their social and economic upliftment.'"

49. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention the interference by the ruling party in the conduct of the last General Election, thereby impeding fair and free election.'"

50. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention immediate revocation of the Presidential Proclamation in Rajasthan in order to bring about a non-Congress Government in the State in accordance with the desires and verdict of the people of the State.'"

51. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention effective steps

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy.]
for bringing about a happier relationship between the Union and the State Governments in the changed circumstances after the Fourth General Elections, due to emergence of non-Congress Governments in a number of States."

52. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address, has failed to mention immediate steps to nationalise credit institutions like Banks and Insurance Companies and also foreign trade.'"

(Amendment Nos. 38 to 52 also stood in the names of Sarvashri R. S. Khandekar, Banka Behary Das and Niranjana Singh).

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Madam, I move:

53. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to revoke the emergency and restore rights and privileges of normal life to the citizens of the country.'"

54. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to formulate a correct language policy acceptable to all the people of India and the continued delay in bringing forward legislation embodying the assurances given by the late Prime Minister Nehru.'"

55. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of Government to outline concrete

measures to resolve the crisis that has set in and is continuing in all the sectors of the country's economy.'"

56. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of Government to outline concrete measures to retrieve the fast deteriorating food situation in the country.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to hold the price-line which is fast crippling the life of millions of middle and working classes in urban and rural areas of the country.'"

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA: Madam, I move:

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

'but regret that while making a reference to the Fourth General Elections the Address does not make any declaration, in view of the large-scale rejection of nomination papers in Jammu and Kashmir and the excessive irregularities committed during the elections there, for conducting the elections again in Jammu and Kashmir after annulling the entire elections conducted during the Fourth General Elections.'"

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

'but regret that the Address, while making a reference to the National Development Council in para 4, does not make any declaration to the effect that the said Council would consist of experts only.'"

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

'but regret that the Address while making a reference to the food situation in para 7, does not make any declaration for abolishing the food zones in order to solve the food problem'."

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

'but regret that the Address, while making a reference to the irrigation projects in para 8, does not make a mention of the aim of bringing the entire cultivable land under irrigation'."

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

'but regret that the Address, while making a reference to increasing production in the fields of agriculture and industry in para 9, does not indicate the policy of ending dependence on foreign countries advancing towards self-reliance'."

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

'but regret that the Address, while making reference to the plans in para 10, does not indicate that in view of the formation of Governments by different political parties in various States, necessary modifications would be made in the Draft Fourth Plan before giving it a final shape in consultation with all the State Governments; nor does it indicate that the entire energy would mainly be devoted to the unfinished work of the previous plans before the Fourth Five Year Plan is given a final shape'."

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

'but regret that the Address, while making a reference to the reorganization of the Planning Commission in para 13, does not make mention of the fact that it would consist of experts only and would not be made a ground for political rehabilitation'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not make any declaration in para 15 for a total ban on the slaughter of the cow and its progeny'."

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

'but regret that the Address, while making a reference to the re-organization of the State of Assam in para 15, does not give a clear assurance that the integrity and sovereignty of India would not be impaired in any way'."

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

'but regret that the Address, while making a reference to the question of changing the financial year does not make a declaration to the effect that the financial year would begin from Deepavali after the rains are over'."

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

'but regret that the Address while making a reference to the foreign policy in para 17, does not make a reference to the fact that in regard to international matters which have national importance for us, we have become friendless as a result of our foreign policy and we have not shown due respect to the friendship extended to us by Israel'."

[Shri V. M. Chordia.]

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

'but regret that the Address, while making a reference to the foreign policy does not take note of the expulsion of Indians from Burma, Ceylon and Africa and of the acquisition of their property by the respective Governments and fails to suggest remedial measures'."

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

'but regret that the Address, while making a reference to the desire for friendship and cooperation with Pakistan in para 22, fails to give the assurance to the people of India that no step would be taken which would undermine the integrity and sovereignty of India'."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to give an assurance in para 23 for extending full cooperation to the people of Tibet, oppressed by the atrocities of China, in their struggle for the attainment of Independence and for cooperating in every way in getting the Government of Dalai Lama re-established in Tibet'."

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

'but regret that the Address while making a reference to the introduction of President's rule in Rajasthan in para 30 fails to consider it unnecessary and illegal and does not make a declaration for ending it'."

(Amendment Nos. 75 to 89 also stood in the names of Sarvashri Sundar Singh Bhandari, D. Thengari and Niranjana Verma.)

SYED NAUSHER ALI (West Bengal): Madam, I move:

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

'but regret that there is no mention of socialism or socialistic pattern of society in the Address or of any measures by which it be achieved'."

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

'but regret that there is no suggestion in the Address as to how the unity and integrity of India could be preserved'."

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not suggest any measures to attain self-sufficiency in food, control rise in prices, prevent hoarding and profiteering in food-grains'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not suggest any concrete measures to do away with the country's dependence on foreign loans and foreign aid especially foreign aid in foodgrains'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not condemn the subversive activities of C.I.A. in India'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain any assurance on the part of the Government that firm and effective steps would

be taken to stamp out political corruption in the country'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain any promise to take effective steps to prevent concentration of economic power in a few hands'."

108. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address has failed to mention the urgent need of distribution of land to the actual tiller of the soil with a view to increase food production in the country'."

108. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not contain any promise that the additional burden of the State Governments on account of the increase in Dearness Allowance of State Government employees will be met by the Centre'."

110. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not contain any promise of early nationalisation of commercial banks in the country'."

111. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret the failure to supply sufficient quantity of rice and cereals at reasonable price to the people particularly in the States of Madras, Kerala, West Bengal and Bihar'."

112. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret the failure to immediately revoke the proclamation of President's rule in Rajasthan'."

113. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address has failed to condemn the American aggressive activities in Vietnam and other parts of Asia'."

SHRI DEVI SINGH (Rajasthan):
Madam, I move:

114. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address seeks to justify the unwarranted establishment of the President's rule in Rajasthan and fails to recognise the urgent need for the restoration of constitutional democratic government in that State by immediately

(a) rescinding the President's proclamation, and

(b) directing the Governor, to invite the Samyukta Dal being the Party having an absolute majority in the State Legislature, to form a Government'."

The questions were proposed.

4 P.M.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): Madam, the Fourth General Elections have just passed and the people of this country have reason to congratulate themselves on the peaceful manner in which the elections were generally carried on. However, we have still many defects to improve upon. It is a pity that the ruling party did not accept the suggestion made, I think, by all the opposition parties to vacate office at least three months before the elections. Perhaps it was the fear of the events that were coming that prevented

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.]
 them from doing so. Otherwise, there would have been a freer and a better expression of the popular will that would have been reflected in the elections. Still, that in this country a lot of official pressure was exerted, a lot of official machinery was used during the elections, is a fact that cannot be disputed.

SHRI OM MEHTA (Jammu and Kashmir): No.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:
 By your saying 'No', it does not alter the fact. I have recorded the facts to the Election Commission and I stand by them. I wrote to them on those very days when those events took place and I am in a position to prove them if you want.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: In your own State nomination papers were invalidated.

SHRI OM MEHTA: That was on many grounds.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:
 All sorts of opportunities were used to make things difficult for the opposition including the State wherefrom my hon. friend opposite comes, where nomination papers of candidates validly filed were missing.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD (Uttar Pradesh): Twenty-two.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:
 Nomination papers of Members of Parliament validly filed were missing.

SHRI OM MEHTA: That is wrong.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:
 The officer refused sometimes to acknowledge that he was the authority before whom to take the oath. These are small, little pin-pricks, hinks of a minor nature but which materially affect the election results, with which the opposition parties had to contend with. Perhaps, we will

get another opportunity to discuss all these at length. But let us take the vote of the people as an interpretation of what the people feel about the twenty years of misrule of the Congress. The people are determined not to tolerate this. That is evidence from the vote that has been expressed by the people, in spite of the misuse of official position and power. But the worst feature of the election has been this conspiracy by the Prime Minister, the Home Minister, the former Chief Minister of Rajasthan and the Governor of Rajasthan to undo the Constitution of India. We have had a little, brief discussion or questions and answers on the point. The whole country is shocked at what has been done. The Constitution requires that after the elections the Governor should summon the party that is in a position to form the Government. If one party is not able to do it, it is his duty to immediately summon the next party, the opposition. Why has the Governor of Rajasthan failed to do it? Madam, this happens because former politicians, partymen, are made Governors. The office of the Governor is looked upon as a place of pension for retired people. This habit of the Congress of looking at Vice-Chancellorships and Governorships as the prizes to be given to loyal people when they are defeated in the elections must go if this country is to survive as a democracy and if this Government will not do it, the people will do it in the next general elections, if they come after five years, maybe if they come earlier.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: Before that.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I hope that very much earlier we will see the end of all these.

SHR S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras):
 In fifteen months we will have another General Election.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:
 Indeed, that a responsible person like

the Home Minister should have trotted out the defence that he dared to do in this House in defence of his action shows his failure of duty to advise the President rightly.

Madam, I was one of those concerned who went with the deputations that came from Rajasthan to meet the President. The President is willing to take good advice. He is open to listen to people. And Members of this House particularly have had experience when many deputations of this House went to the President to point out the misdeeds of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon and the President readily took the initiative. It was the same case when Members of this House went to him to point out the doings of Mr. Biju Patnaik and the doings of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, and the President readily took the initiative. This time the change in his attitude is there because we have a different type of Home Minister sitting there and this conspiracy of the four of them,—the Prime Minister, the Home Minister, the former Chief Minister of Rajasthan and the Governor of Rajasthan—has prevented the President from acting rightly as he should have been allowed to do.

Madam, the review contains what has happened in the last year or in the last few years. It is quite all right that we have been going along, drudging along. The President admits that the Planning Commission needs to be recast. He has put it very mildly. But the admission of the total failure of the Planning Commission is brought to light by those mild remarks that the President has made. Twenty years of planning has resulted in hunger and high prices. And the vote of the people is because of this total failure. What the country needs is planning, if at all you want it, with a new outlook, planning which plans for higher production because it is only through higher production that the prices can be reduced. No amount of control or regu-

lation of prices will bring down the prices. It is only through better production, and in this our Government has been failing repeatedly. The first problem that needs to be tackled is food and agriculture and in this, this side of the House has been pointing out the failures of the Government repeatedly during the last few years. We have been pointing out the examples of countries that have made very rapid progress in a few years in this direction. For a few years, our Government even refused to listen or even to look at it. Fortunately, in the last year or two, they have had to change their outlook and now, new methods, use of better seeds and the use of fertilisers have been recognised as a means of increasing agricultural production. But have we gone far enough? I submit, Madam, that because of some of our fads, we have not been able to go as far as we should have. We have spent crores and crores on big river valley projects. In many places there is water but no utilisation. In the last few months, I spent a lot of time in Bihar. The people of Bihar complain of famine. I dare say there is famine. But to talk of famine when water is available 25 feet below the earth, sounds to me a contradiction in terms.

In a place like Gujarat where I come from, water has to be drawn from 100 ft. During the War years, when there was shortage of food, the hardworking peasants of Gujarat got water pumps and electricity easily and they pumped water to raise three crops like bajra in a year. The result was that the water level went down to 20 ft. What is happening in a place like Bihar where there is plenty of water. The water level has gone down by 5 ft. but there is no one to guide the agriculturist. There is no one to help him. He cannot get pumps. If he can get pump he cannot get electric power because the machinery of the Government is so corrupt and so rotten that the poor agriculturist is left nowhere. There is no remedy unless we have more production of foodgrains because agricul-

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.]
 ture is the key to everything in this country and agricultural production can be improved only by hard work on the soil. The Planning Commission and thick reports that are produced by experts, some from abroad and some from here with foreign ideas, are not going to help us. What we need is a people who know what they are talking about, a people who know their own soil and who can show how to do it. Small countries have made great progress in this direction by taking their peasants along by going to their small farmers and telling them how a particular thing is to be done, by advising them, not by an army of officers, sitting on tables and chairs going on directing people and collecting taxes.

Madam, I am glad one of the things that the Swatantra Party has been talking of since it enunciated in its statement of principles abolition of land revenue is now being accepted more or less and many of the Congress Ministers in office and outside have also been accepting it. Land revenue is an outmoded system of taxation adopted by the British. I do not think they were very keen about the amount of tax. They were interested in having a representative of theirs in every village. That is all they were keen about irrespective of the revenue that they got. I think in most places the income from land revenue is practically as much as the Government spends or 3/4th of it is going in collection. What is the use of such a tax? It is better that that system of taxation is scrapped. Agricultural tax, if it is at all to be there, must be placed on a more rational basis where people holding large farms are taxed as income is taxed, where people beyond a certain income are taxed, not that every one who works hard on the soil braving the elements, whether it is the hot sun or the monsoon, pays the same amount of tax. That is where we need to improve. But I fail to see any indication of this in the President's Address.

Similarly, Madam, we have made not much progress in industrial production. Industrial production in 1966-67 remained almost stationary in contrast to the growth at the rate of 11 per cent. per annum five years earlier. The tempo of industrial activity has gone down due to a number of factors such as shortage of raw material, stringency of finance, prohibitive controls and insufficient off-take. Industrial production may revive in the months to come because of liberal import policy announced after devaluation. Under this policy, 59 industries accounting for about three-fourths of the industrial production are allowed to import their full requirements of components, raw materials and spare parts. The improvement in production may be particularly manifest in industries producing equipment needed for development of agriculture, industry, power, transport etc. There are also contrary factors in the operation.

The position with regard to the supply of raw cotton has necessitated the closure of textile mills for one day in a week in addition to the weekly holiday. Also the selling prices of cotton have been increased by 5 per cent. without any increase in the prices of controlled variety of cloth. These measures are bound to affect the production of cotton textiles.

The off-take position in respect of some industries has been difficult because of the peculiar character of agricultural commodities. This has absorbed an increasing part of the consumers expenditure. In consequence there is a smaller demand, for example, of industrial commodities like cotton textiles, refrigerators, electrical appliances, steel tubes etc. Unless inflation is brought under control, the distortion in the economic pattern will not be corrected.

The upward trend in prices in 1966-67 has been discernible. The index of wholesale prices went up from

174.4 at the beginning of April 1966 to 202 on February 11, 1967. More than 5 per cent of the rise took place in the two months preceding devaluation. The increase in general price level since devaluation has been 8 per cent. The price of manufactured goods since devaluation rose by 6 per cent. In 1965-66 the non-developmental expenditure of the Centre, States and the Union territories was Rs. 2,301 crores representing 11.3 per cent. of the national income. In 1964-65 the ratio was only 9.8 per cent. Thus in a single year Rs. 335 crores, or 1.6 per cent. of the national income, has been put to non-productive uses.

For 1965 to 1967 the non-productive expense was of the order of Rs. 2,482 crores. Unless the Government at the Centre and in the States put a curb on expenditure, prices will not be brought under control. We have been repeatedly asking for proper control of expenditure not only at the Centre but in the States also which simply go on overdrawing on the funds of the Central Government.

The Reserve Bank of India somewhat liberalised its credit policies for the busy session of 1966-67, that is from October to May. But they have simultaneously imposed restrictions on acceptance of deposits from the public by non-banking companies. The main purpose of the directive is to put a ceiling on public deposits equal to 25 per cent. of the paid-up capital and free reserves. Obviously this affected a number of industries particularly in places like Ahmedabad and Coimbatore where public deposits have been the mainstay of industrial development. Share prices have been steadily declining since 1962. The index of variable dividend securities has fallen from 100 in 1961-62 to 82 at the end of 1967.

There was a slight improvement after the Budget for 1966-67 mainly due to the removal of the Bonus Tax. But even this proved to be ephemeral

and uncertain. The trend in share prices in India contrasted with the share prices in other countries has indicated a fall of about 22 per cent in India in the period 1960-66. The share prices in Japan rose by 32 per cent in the U.K. by 20 per cent and in the U.S.A. by 54 per cent. A buoyant share market is a pre-condition for a rapid industrial development. As a result of the slackness in Indian share market, capital issues of private sector companies considerably declined. Right shares and issues through prospectuses were only Rs. 49 crores in 1966 up to October as compared to Rs. 76 crores in 1965 and Rs. 82 crores in 1964. Of the issues through prospectuses, Rs. 47 crores and Rs. 28 crores were offered to the public and issues amounting to Rs. 26 crores were underwritten. Thus mainly 94 per cent of the issues offered to the public in 1966 were underwritten as compared to 58 per cent in 1966. What is worse is that the bulk of the underwritten shares were left with the underwriters themselves. The lack of public response has caused considerable hardship in raising risk capital for industrial development. This reflects a high incidence of direct taxation and the tax structure calls for some basic reform.

Exports did not register expansion which was anticipated as a result of the devaluation of the rupee. Rather they declined precipitously. This was partly due to the initial dislocation of trade caused by factors like revaluation of export contracts, etc. There was also a general decline in world prices of primary export commodities like tea, jute manufactures, cashew nuts and spices. To speed up exports, Government announced additional measures in August 1966. A higher priority has been given to import of capital goods needed for export industries. Import of certain essential raw materials required for major export industries has been put under open general licence. Also cash assistance is given to exports of certain products, mainly engineering goods.

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.]

These measures are not, however, adequate to increase the competitiveness of Indian exporters. Exports are intimately linked with the programme of manufacture. As such our industries must be given the same opportunities in respect of size, technique, raw material, taxation, etc., as prevail in other countries. Any artificial barrier to affect costs will decrease our ability to export. As a positive inducement for export promotion, exporters should also be allowed to retain part of their export earnings. This would help better utilisation of production capacity in the rest of the industrial sphere. Unless, therefore, there is re-thinking by Government on many of its plans, there can be little progress or relief to the people. Integrity must replace corruption, efficiency must replace official lethargy and red tape. Without this, this country will not be able to progress.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, Deputy Chairman, it is traditional that at the joint session, the President is pleased to lay down the general trends to be followed by his Government for the coming year, at the same time taking stock of the things that have been done previously. This becomes more significant and important when the new Lok Sabha has come in. I do not join issue with my friend, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, when he refers to the election results and to the new trend . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: The main treasury benches are empty. We do not have quorum. We are discussing the President's Address. I hope you will, Madam, ask the Chief Whip of the Congress Party . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: But a Cabinet Minister is here.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: There is complete confusion. There is no whip.

SHRI G. MURAHARI (Uttar Pradesh): The trouble is all the whips have become Ministers.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: The main treasury bench is altogether empty.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now there is quorum. But there should be more Cabinet Ministers when the President's Address is discussed in this House. You may continue.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: So I think the new situation and the new conditions have to be studied with the respect that they deserve and we have all particularly at this time to do a lot of heart-searching. I have no doubt that the new conditions and the new complexion in the States is a challenge to the ability and statesmanship of the Central leaders as well as the leaders who are in power in different States. I am glad the beginning has been well made. The messages that have passed through the Prime Minister to the new Chief Ministers of different parties are a good sign to begin with. I am also happy that the first and the foremost importance was given to the position of Bihar. Soon after taking over, the Prime Minister had very detailed discussions with the new Chief Minister of Bihar and from what I have heard and from what I see from the statement given by the new Chief Minister of Bihar, who belongs to a non-Congress party, the attitude of the Prime Minister and the Food Minister and all concerned has been very helpful. There is satisfaction at the negotiations and the talks he has had with the Prime Minister. Madam, I support the motion moved by my friend, Mr. Mookerjee, and supported by my friend, Tiwariji. Mr. Mookerjee, has given details about the achievements during the last 20 years. I think those facts cannot be denied by the Opposition. But let me tell them

that I am also not fully satisfied with the situation and I think there have been lapses which have to be looked into very seriously. We have to see that particularly the position of the rising prices and the food problem are given the top priority and are handled on a war footing with all the energy and with all the wisdom and that all activities follow to implement the decisions that have been taken in these two matters.

So far as the question of general rise in prices is concerned, it is obvious that more production on the side of agriculture and more production on the side of industries are the replies. That will improve our position in the country as well as give us more foreign exchange but the question we have to consider here is, so far as increase in production is concerned, I do not think there are two opinions from any of these sides but regarding the question at present about rise in prices, we will have to take certain drastic financial and monetary measures and for that purpose I will wait for the Budget proposals and I do hope the experienced new Finance Minister will come with proposals which will help to control the rise in the prices and improve the general economic condition in the country.

So far as the food problem is concerned, I wish to pin-point certain things with your permission. It is obvious that there is shortage of food. It is admitted that the population is increasing and we have to meet the challenge of the increase in the population but the most important thing is, apart from increasing the agricultural production by having more fertilizers, better seeds and by having big irrigation projects completed at the earliest possible date by having tunnels and tubes to connect with the fields—all these things will have to be done—apart from these there is one other thing. The previous Food Minister had given full thought to these and it is for the new Government to

pursue them. Here I express my appreciation of the services of Mr. Subramaniam. I say that those things will have to be applied with greater force but the difficulty comes in another way. There are parties who say now 'Let the controls go'. There are people who think that the going of controls will bring disaster.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (Nominated): Which Party?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: The Swatantra Party says that it must go.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: In Madras they have not done so.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I am glad, notwithstanding the instructions of Rajaji, Mr. Annadurai has stood firm.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: How do you know that it is in spite of that?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I am talking from newspapers, you may know better.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Mr. Annadurai does not belong to the Swatantra Party.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: But he works under the inspiration of Rajaji.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Only in the elections.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: The question is whether there should be zones or not, whether there should be rationing or not, or what should be the quantity of grain to be supplied or what kind of grain is to be supplied, with this shortage in the world regarding food. Even the U.S.A. is not able to give as much as she would like to give. You see that in the neighbouring countries like Pakistan, which were affluent regarding food-grains, they are also having difficulties. We have therefore to give very serious attention to this matter and

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan.]

there the question of co-ordination or co-operative effort of all the States and the Centre comes. This morning we had questions about food and all of us saw the trend. They ask: 'Why not so much food sent?'. They ask as if the Centre is a producing machine. The responsibility must be squarely shared by the States and the Centre.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: It is the policy of the Centre that has landed the country in this situation.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: You know I have a soft corner for you but we have to look to the facts. Even if you suggest that there have been omissions and commissions in the past, now we have to look to the future and see that things are improved, see that these wranglings go and we have the food available to the people and the common man at a reasonable price. That point should be kept by all of us before our minds and I have no doubt that even possibly the Opposition Parties or even the non-Congress Governments will bear that in mind. This has to be the main objective because according to me, party is a means to an end, the end is the people of the country, the people of India, the welfare of those people and the welfare of the poorer sections. For this purpose I would ask the Prime Minister through you that immediately a Conference of all the Chief Ministers and Food Ministers should be called so that we may sit down and discuss these. I am very grateful for the recent report of the Venkatapiah Committee in which our learned colleague, Dr. Gadgil, was also a Member and I can say that it is a very realistic and well-considered recommendation that they have given. They have laid down that there should be no question of taking away or abolishing controls when there is food shortage. They have suggested some measures. For instance regarding zones some want State zones and some want larger zones. Let us sit down and discuss. It is not a question in which one State

or the Centre is interested. This is a question in which everybody is interested. That is the first problem that the new Government should tackle with all seriousness. Otherwise, I am sure that whichever Government will be there, will have to face a very serious situation. That is the first problem that I place before this new Government.

The second thing I would place before this House and the authorities concerned is about the Fourth Plan. Let us come to some decision. Again there is that very debatable question whether the Plan should be as it is or it should be reduced. If it should be as it is, you will have to find the resources. You know the position now. Again resources from outside will be difficult. You know the foreign exchange position and notwithstanding our best efforts after devaluation, the position has not very much improved. We have now to take a decision whether we stand by the same size of the Plan or we want a reduction. This concerns all the Governments, whether it is a Swatantra Government of Orissa or a Communist Government at Kerala or the mixed Government of Bengal. These are problems of the country. All other things are minor. What we have done is there and what we have to do has to be taken note of or taken stock of. If the plan is reduced, you will have to determine the priorities and you will have to say what things you have to give up. Again the question will arise about unemployment and many other questions will arise. So after tackling the food problem, the Prime Minister should immediately take up the question of the Plan.

I welcome the announcements, as some friends have referred to, that some Governments have said that they would do away with the land revenue. I have no quarrel with that. Some Governments have said that they would have free education up to matriculation. I welcome that. Now

the Government of my friend has said that D.A. would be given in the same ratio as is given by the Centre. I have no quarrel with that but these Governments and Chief Ministers should bear in mind their resources, their income and the development plans. It is necessary that they have to see how far they can finance the different plans of development and at the same time carry out the measures that they have announced; otherwise I am sure it will be a very difficult position so far as the States and the Centre are concerned and unnecessary quarrels might arise particularly when there are different ideologies. Then people would start saying: 'This is not being done because we do not belong to the Congress'. Again I emphasise that the country is first, and Congress or any other party second. With that objective, with that thing before us, we have to sit down, tackle and solve this problem.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: But Dr. Sampurnanand has not learnt that the country comes first, and party second.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I consider these things trifling, Mr. Misra. Dr. Sampurnanand may have been right, or may have been wrong but that is a very very insignificant thing. What I am concerned with is the programme of the country and its economic position, its development plans and the good of the people, especially the poorer sections of the people. Now that is the problem which we have to tackle. Sampurnanands may come and sampurnanands may go, but the people are there all the time. My people are there and you have to look to the best interests of the people.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: They only come; they do not go.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: We have got limited time and, Madam Deputy Chairman, you have to give me the time lost to me in this manner.

Now regarding planning, my own view has been that and I am glad and I welcome the suggestion that the Planning Commission may be reorganised. My own view is that it should be an expert body. Now, when it was started, it was an expert body as well as a political body. That is why the Prime Minister was the Chairman, and there used to be very important Vice-Chairmen. We had the late V. T. Krishnamachari and so on and so forth.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: But defeated Ministers should not find their berths in it.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: You are interested in Ministers and in other small things. I am not interested that way; I am interested in the problem, in the principles and in the questions that confront me. Now these are facts that you have to take note of, Mr. Reddy. Now my question is this. I feel that there are already experts in it. Let it be reorganised, but the final decision should be with the Government. In those days it was necessary to avoid delay; it was to see that no delay was done. I am also referring to the report of the Administrative Reforms Commission, and to the Government I would say this. So far as my assessment is concerned, it is not the policy, it is not the principles in which the Congress has lagged; it is the implementation and enforcement where we have failed and we have failed miserably. In view of that I would like all these matters to be taken with a sense of urgency and dealt with expeditiously.

Now after that I would just take up the question of international affairs, because I am sure that I have not got much time to dilate further on this. All the same, before I go to international affairs that this over-drafting, this unnecessary expenditure must be drastically cut, and I appeal to the new Finance Minister to see that it is done and the administrative expenses and overhead expenses are brought to the minimum.

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan.]

Now so far as this non-proliferation treaty is concerned, Madam, I am very much worried about it. Again I want to pin-point the issue instead of saying general things about non-alignment, co-existence and so on. I do feel that there was a time when Russia and the United States were at logger-heads and we in our own humble way, under the great leadership of our late lamented Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru did accomplish something which we are proud of. But now the position is, so far as this proposal of treaty is concerned, Russia and America have combined; they are of one opinion that this treaty should be signed. The position presented thereby is difficult, but I am sure, at least I hope that the Government in the Ministry of External Affairs will take a firm stand in this matter.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Speak to them.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Certainly, and with your support. What I want to say here is this. So far as this question is concerned, what does it say? It says: No further proliferation, no further people going in for nuclear war weapons. Now what about those who have already got them? What about those who are still augmenting them, increasingly producing and adding to them?

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA: Stock-piling them.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: So the problem has to be seen and these people also should stop making them any further and whatever they have got in stock will have to be destroyed. That is why, Madam, I attach great importance to the question of general disarmament. The question of conventional weapons should be taken up, and of course nuclear weapons have also certainly to be taken up. But in this treaty there is this flaw that has to be taken notice of, and our position becomes still more difficult

because we are a non-aligned nation. We are not in any bloc. If somebody attacks us with nuclear weapons, then there is nobody to support us in that position. Still more our position becomes difficult, because China is our neighbour and it has that nuclear power. Although I fully confirm and endorse the policy of the Government that we want to use our nuclear strength for peaceful purposes, at the same time I want my Government to see that our position, our integrity and our security are fully safeguarded.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): How?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: For that purpose the United Nations and all the nuclear powers will have to come together, and sit together with us to consider the proposition which we as a body of countries put to them for safeguarding our interests. Our efforts will have to proceed in that direction. Our emissaries will have to go, in fact, to the other countries, not only non-aligned but also others, that there is a greater number of people who do not possess nuclear power. So you have got your base that way. All will be with you, and world opinion will be created. It is very important to create world opinion for peace, to see that disarmament comes in and that this nuclear destructive power goes down and the world is made safe for peace.

Now last I would refer to the question of Vietnam. The latest position about Vietnam is that in the Address that President Johnson has delivered to the Assembly of the Tennessee State, he has said that bombing has not been very effective and bombing will not force Hanoi to come to the negotiating table. In addition he has gone in for appropriations and a big amount has been sanctioned for this war. That is one position taken by that big country. The other position is that, as one of the Members of the Commission, there is a big responsibility on our country. I know and I

fully realise that we are in a very difficult position. On the one hand, we feel that, so far as our food supply is concerned, we have to go to the United States and other countries. So far as the question of development funds is concerned, we have to go to all these countries and seek their help, because no country, even the United States or Soviet Russia, has developed without aid and without loans from foreign countries. So we are not doing anything extra-ordinary. But now I am placed in this position. On the one side, India's moral being, the soul of India revolts when somebody is using the big stick against a people, I would say innocent people—and a great damage is being done to humanity. On the other hand, I feel and India also feels that U.S.A. has been good to this country and people, and we should not be very harsh to a friendly country. So I feel, Madam, that I and the people who think alike me are being suffocated, that the Indian soul, the Indian spirit and the moral being of India, which we have seen under the guidance of Mahatmaji and Nehruji, are undergoing suffocation now. In that light, we are feeling that we are in a very difficult situation. Now that U. Thant is coming shortly to India, I offer my congratulations to him, on behalf of me and you, on winning the Nehru Peace Award, and we are happy that it has gone to a man of the calibre of U. Thant. And recently he has come with a new proposal. That has also appeared some three days back in the papers and we are glad that it is mostly on the lines that we had indicated, that is to say, that there should be unconditional stoppage of bombing, simultaneous reduction in war activities on both sides, recognition of the Vietcong and lastly, the meeting of the Geneva Conference. That is what we also want. Even in America the Senators are protesting against the present policy of President Johnson. Also eminent lawyers in international law at a meeting in September, 1965 have issued a statement to say that according to the provisions of the U.N. Charter and

according to the provisions of the Treaty of Geneva it is unconstitutional, it is illegal that there should be military involvement of the U.S.A. in Vietnam. So this is not the opinion of only this country. It is world opinion even. I am sorry that America that has produced persons like Abraham Lincoln, America that has all along been against colonialism and that has always joined in the fight against imperialism, with such a history it should behave worse than an imperialist power. At the same time India is in this difficult position. Before long they will have to come to some solution in this matter and I have every reason to believe that our Government will give its full support and use all its powers to see that this inhuman warfare is stopped. It is not only a political affair but it is a humanitarian affair. I say this as a friend of the United States of America, to safeguard their name and to safeguard their honour.

Madam, my time is up and I am grateful to you for giving me this much time. I do hope now that we will apply in our internal and external affairs a constructive mind, a cooperative mind. I have no doubt that although the provisions of our Constitution are there, so far as the States and the Centre are concerned, much more important than those provisions is the spirit and the way we deal with the matter. I have no doubt about the leadership of my country and I know that Shrimati Indira Gandhi with her other colleagues will meet the situation and will meet the challenge and will certainly do all that is best for the development of our country as well as keep its position and credit high in international affairs. Thank you.

SHRI MULKAR GOVINDA REDDY:
Madam Deputy Chairman, the President's Address is an insipid, odourless, and colourless document. It does not come out with any concrete solutions for solving the burning problems of the country, for eliminating poverty

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy.]
in this land and for providing a better life to the suppressed and oppressed humanity in this country.

Madam Deputy Chairman, after nineteen years of Congress rule the position in the country has changed. In as many as eight States the Congress has been voted out of power and in the Centre too it has secured less number of seats than in 1962. In spite of the fact that the Congress party with big money indulged in all corrupt practices, the people of India exercised their franchise and defeated the Congress at the polls in eight States. We must congratulate the people of India on their political maturity and the President has referred to this aspect of the matter in his Address. It is time that we thought about electoral reforms. It is time that the present system of elections, the present system of voting, is reformed as it does not truly reflect the desires of the people of this country. Even today big money is trying to play its role here. We must avoid reckless spending in these elections. Some way must be devised. Otherwise it will be difficult to cope up with the increasing expenditure that is involved in these elections.

Madam Deputy Chairman, only in one State, Madras, we have the absolute majority of a party. There the D.M.K. has secured an absolute majority. In other States it is a combination of parties that has come to power. So it may be difficult for any political party hereafter in India to get power at the Centre as well as in the States. So we should learn to live with Coalition Governments for some years to come. If there is electoral reform it is quite possible that a proper reflection of the mind of the electorate might be there in the election of candidates, in the election of the MLAs or M.P.s. to the different Legislatures and the Parliament of this country.

I have to support what has already been said by my hon friend, Shri

Dahyabhai Patel, that in some of the States, particularly in Kashmir, the elections were rigged.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): There were two free elections there.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY. With your permission, Madam, I will read out a small extract from an article written by Balraj Puri in the Janata of 12th March, 1967:

"With the rejection of 120 nomination papers in 39 of 75 constituencies of the State Assembly, including 22 unopposed returns, the question of the formation of the Government in Kashmir has been decided without the participation of the voters."

If any proof is needed it is here. It is quite evident that Returning Officers in most of the constituencies in Kashmir have acted more as election agents of Mr. Saïq and his colleagues, than as Election Officers and they had thrown to the winds the proprieties, etiquette and the rules of conduct of Election Officers as they have been adumbrated in the People's Representation Act. Again, some of the Returning Officers did not provide an opportunity for the candidates who had filed their nominations, to take their oath. It is stated here:

"Rejected candidates have alleged that Returning Officers refused to administer the prescribed oath, removed or tampered with the oath form, of which some of the candidates had a duplicate attested copy or rejected the form on the ground of a non-subsisting contract with the Government or Government employment long terminated."

These are very serious allegations made against the Returning Officers in Kashmir. It is not necessary that we should wait till these candidates file their election petitions and then seek the verdict of the Election Tribunal or the High Court as the case may be.

These are serious charges made against the Election Officers, the Returning Officers. So it is incumbent on the part of the Election Commission under whose jurisdiction and authority election, for the first time was conducted in Kashmir, to probe into this matter. The Election Commission need not wait till the petitions are filed. On its own accord it should go into this question and investigate and then punish those guilty persons who have acted not as Returning Officers under the jurisdiction of the Election Commission but as agents of the Congress Party in Kashmir.

Madam Deputy Chairman, I would also like to draw the attention of this House and the Election Commission to another interesting case where the election was rigged. We were all wonderstruck, and some shocked, when the newspapers announced that the Chief Minister, Mr. Nijalingappa, was elected unopposed in Mysore from Shigao constituency. Twentieth of January was the last day for filing nominations and on the 21st the names of the candidates who had filed their nominations in the different constituencies were announced. If Mr. Nijalingappa who was the Chief Minister at that time and who is a prominent leader of India . . .

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Not of India.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Of the Congress Party; if he had filed his nomination on the 20th his name should have been announced in all the papers but significantly his name was not found in the list of candidates who had filed their nominations in that constituency for the State Assembly. This Returning Officer was also the Returning Officer in Bagalkot in 1962 when Mr. Nijalingappa after getting defeated in his own home constituency got into the Assembly through the back door. I therefore urge that it is mysterious how a person whose name was not found in the list of candidates on the 21st morning got elected without a

contest. A lot of money flowed into this nefarious affair; some of the candidates were purchased or forced or intimidation was used against them. One candidate made a public statement that he had under duress to sign a blank paper which was later pulled up and produced as his withdrawal contrary to the provisions of the Representation of the People Act. Madam, this is a very serious charge I am making against the Chief Minister. If he had contested we know he would have been defeated but because of the power that he had, because he was the Chief Minister at that time, the official machinery, position and money were made use of for getting him elected unopposed. That is the reason why some of the Opposition parties in the legislature in the States as well as in Parliament demanded that the Ministries—which-ever party is in power—should resign three months before the elections take place. This is a very salient thing and I know the force of this argument will be realised by the Congress Party now since they have lost eight States and since non-Congress Governments have come into being in those States. It will be advantageous to them as well if they now accept this principle that the Government at the Centre as well as in the States should resign three months before the elections take place so that they do not use their official position and power in the elections for their selfish or for their parties' ends. If they accept this proposition here the non-Congress Ministries will also accept it and will resign before the elections.

Madam, this Fourth General Election has given rise to a new situation in this country. All these years we were accustomed, except in Kerala and once in Orissa, to have the Congress in power at the Centre and in the States as well, and so the question of relations between the Centre and the States, though it was very important, was not given much importance all these 18 or 19 years. Now a new situation has arisen and non-Congress Governments have come

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy]
into power in some States. In spite of all the tall talk of the Prime Minister that they would like to have cordial relations between the States and the Centre and that they will give all encouragement and assistance permissible under the Constitution to the State Governments, we know that the Central Government has belied that assurance and has acted in violation of that assurance. The President in his Address on page 2 has said:

"The Union Government will respect the constitutional provisions in letter and in spirit without any discrimination and endeavour to strengthen the arrangements for a co-operative approach to our national problems. We are sure that all States will extend their co-operation in preserving these institutions and in making their deliberations increasingly fruitful and beneficial both to the Union and to themselves."

There is absolutely nothing to be objected to in the statement that the President has made but what we object to is that in practice it is observed more in violation than in implementation. The question I am referring to is about Rajasthan. Here there is a deliberate violation of the Constitution. Ninety-two out of the 183 elected Members wrote to the Governor asking him to invite the leader of the Samyukta Dal to form the Ministry in Rajasthan. The Governor refused to invite him to form the Ministry. He had a strange calculation of the support that the parties had. He had the audacity to say, "I am not going to count the independents who are backing up the non-Congress coalition party." He acted as if he was the election agent of Mr. Mohanlal Sukhadia. He invited the Congress Party which had no majority in the legislature. In fact the people of Rajasthan had rejected the Congress Party at the polls and the Governor invited the leader of the discredited Congress Party to form the Ministry throwing to the winds all the conventions that were accepted

here in India and abroad. All the parliamentary practices were thrown to the winds and the Chief Minister Mr. Sukhadia tried his best to win over some of the independents to his side. Offers of money were made to the independents and also to some of the members of the non-Congress parties. It must be said to the credit of these members that neither the lure of office nor of money tempted them to extend their support to the discredited Congress Party and the matter was reported to the President. I was one of the members of the Delegation which met the President in Delhi on the 6th March and we presented a memorandum which was signed by 92 M.L.As. of Rajasthan. We appraised the President that what the Governor of Rajasthan had done was in contravention of the constitutional provisions and was in contravention of the parliamentary practices and conventions. It was a dereliction of duty on the part of the Governor of Rajasthan that he did not invite the leader of the majority party, the Samyukta Dal, to form the Ministry. But when Mr. Sukhadia failed to mobilise the necessary strength he declined to form the Ministry. At least at that stage in order to right the wrong that was done by the Governor, the Governor should have invited, in all fairness, the leader of the Samyukta Dal to form the Ministry. It is true there were disturbances on the 7th when thirty precious lives were lost. The entire blame for this holocaust should lie on the Governor. If he had invited the leader of the Samyukta Dal to form the Ministry, there would not have been any demonstration at all. We are not in favour of demonstrations, but if a gross injustice is done, a wrong is done, people should not be allowed to keep quiet. They should protest against such injustices. That is what happened there. But when the leader of the Congress Party refused to form the Ministry, there was absolutely no disturbance in the city of Jaipur. Curfew was there. Section 144 was there. Except for the fact that a call

for *hartal* was given there was no disturbance on that day. Instead of requesting the leader of the Samyukta Dal to form the Ministry, he again made a recommendation to the President that a constitutional Government could not be formed and the administration could not be run in accordance with the provision of the Constitution. The Central Government, without examining the report properly, accepted the report of the Governor. In this monstrous thing the Governor has committed rape of the Constitution. He has violated the fundamental principles of parliamentary institutions. He has acted more as a Congressman than as an impartial Governor of Rajasthan. It is time we should consider whether we should continue with this existing system of appointing Governors from the discredited politicians of the Party. Dr. Sampurnanand has done the greatest injustice to the cause of parliamentary institutions. It has shaken the faith of the country in parliamentary institutions. He deserves to be impeached and he should be dismissed forthwith. Hereafter when Governors are to be appointed, I feel the time has come when the appointment of Governors by the Central Government should be done away with. As in America we should elect Governors hereafter for the States. That will solve the problem. Otherwise it is quite likely that one Party will come to power at the Centre and different parties or a combination of Parties will come to power in the States.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: In Australia and Canada, the Government of the day, the Government of the States select the Governor. This is something peculiar to India.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken over twenty minutes. Your Party has got forty minutes.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Madam Deputy Chairman, I was referring to the acute food situation in the country. Prices are going up. Adequate quantities of food are not

being supplied to our people. Eighteen years of misrule of Congress Government in the Centre and in the States has brought this country to this pass. We are all agreed that unless the tiller of the soil is given land, is made the owner of the land, he will not have that much of enthusiasm to produce foodgrains. India is a country where eighty per cent of the people live on agriculture. In spite of that and in spite of the three Plans where we have spent more than Rs. 21,000 crores, we have not been able to increase our food production. It is, therefore, necessary that the agrarian reforms and the land reform legislations that have been passed by several Legislatures in India should be immediately implemented. Otherwise, this question of providing food in adequate quantities to the people of India will never be solved.

The President has said in his Address that they have resolved to end our dependence on food assistance from abroad by the end of 1971. These assurances have been given by the Government from time to time and they have gone on extending the date of fulfilment year after year. Unless and until we implement the land reforms and give land to the tiller of the soil and unless we make adequate provision for giving fertilisers, implements and the credit that is necessary for the agriculturists, it will not be possible for us to increase food production so as meet the needs of the five hundred million of this land.

It is also necessary that we should nationalise credit institutions. Banks should be nationalised forthwith to immobilise the activities of some of the big business houses, which utilise the funds of these Banks under their control for the expansion of their industrial empire. These banks should be nationalised forthwith to provide cheap credit to the agriculturist and for the development of small-scale industries. Unless these credit institutions are nationalised, the money that is necessary for developmental

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy] work will not be available. General insurance should also be nationalised, so that funds for developmental activities may be made available

I come to my last point. The President has also touched upon it that we should develop friendly relations with our neighbour. I am glad that the Government of India and the Government of Burma have come to some understanding with regard to the boundary question between India and Burma. We have all along neglected small neighbours and we must evince more interest in their affairs and give all assistance to these countries. Our relations with China have not improved. Unless China changes its present attitude, its bellicose attitude towards India, it will be very difficult to have friendly relations with China. It is unfortunate that in this Address the President has not mentioned what steps they are going to take to liberate the 14,000 acres of land that is still under Chinese occupation. We must make effort straightway to see that this land of ours which is under their occupation, about 14,000 square miles, is recovered, and for that purpose the Government of India should be prepared to spend money to equip its army to liberate this land from Chinese aggression. Mr. Akbar Ali Khan referred to the nuclear bomb. It is true that the present nuclear powers are not prepared to destroy the nuclear stockpile they have but they do not want others to have nuclear bombs. But this has not prevented China in developing nuclear bombs. I wonder whether it is possible for us to continue in the same position as we did all these years, whether it is not time for us to launch upon the manufacture of atom bomb to save our country from the nuclear holocaust that may be unleashed by China.

Thank you

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY:
(Madras). Madam Deputy Chairman,

It is my privilege to rise to support the Motion of Thanks to the President for his Address to Parliament. The Address itself envisages a new epoch in our history. I wish to congratulate the Government of India on their many-sided achievements particularly in the fields of defence and social services especially as last year was one of turbulence and turmoil. At the outset I would express my profound gratitude to the President of India for making the policy statement on what is known as the official language to give a statutory shape to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's assurance to the non-Hindi speaking people, an assurance that has been given one year before his death by the late Prime Minister and which has not been carried out in the two Houses of Parliament. I have been appealing to our Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, ever since I was sworn in as a Member of this august House consistently, persistently and insistently that Mr. Nehru's assurance to the non-Hindi speaking people should be given a statutory effect. I am happy at last that the Official Language Bill will be placed before the two Houses of Parliament during the ensuing session. I wish to take this opportunity of once again appealing to the Government that in the larger interests of the unity of our people, to maintain the integrity of our nation and to carry on an efficient administration it is very necessary and it is of cardinal importance that English cannot be given a go-by and unless and until English enjoys an equal status with Hindi as the official language and as the associate language I am afraid we shall not be marching forward in many directions. I only hope that wisdom will dawn on the Government and that they would carry out their promises to the Non-Hindi speaking people without fear or favour and do that in the right direction without any delay.

I heartily welcome the assurance given by the President in his Address

that the Planning Commission would be reorganised. While I congratulate the Planning Commission and the Government of India for the successful implementation of the first two Plans, I would lay the blame at its very door for the partial failure of the Third Plan and I am sorry that the Planning Commission in spite of its hard labours has not yet delivered the Fourth Plan baby. I am convinced that the Planning Commission as it is constituted today has become immobile and has assumed the shape of a white elephant and has assumed also the stature of what I would call a super Government of India. A radical change has to be thought of and brought forward immediately without any further delay in this matter. The reorganisation of the Planning Commission should be towards making it small and compact with accent on technocrats both from the public and business life as well who will be charged with the primary duty of improving the economic condition of the country without any prior doctrinaire approach and without colouring the approach to this basic problem. The determination of the quantum of money that is needed for the implementation of the Fourth Plan should primarily rest on our national wealth and our national resources only, and I would call upon the Government to make an announcement, a solemn declaration that they will not resort to any deficit financing or overdraft facilities which have ruined our economy and struck the foundations on which our three Five Year Plans have been built. If we should march forward, we should really concentrate on the production value of our industries, of our agriculture and our various other activities. The Third Plan projects should be completed before the Fourth Plan projects are taken on hand. That is very necessary and the Government should lay great emphasis on that. I would appeal to the Government on this occasion in making a reference to the subject, which the President has been pleased to make, that prestige

projects exceeding Rs. 1000 crores⁸ which may produce results ten years later should be avoided. The planning should be realistic and should yield quick results. What we should do is to depend more and more on self-reliance and self-help. Fifteen years of planning, I am very sorry to state before this House, Madam Deputy Chairman, have not economically bettered large sections of the people particularly the middle class and the lower middle class who are made to suffer under a very heavy inflationary pressure which I would call man-made. It is the prime need of the hour for the Government to state to the people what they are going to do immediately and not what the people would get thirty years later as a result of our planning. Foreign aid may be good enough but not with strings attached to it as it is accepted today, and foreign aid should be accepted only within our limits, within our economic bounds of how far we will be able to pay back the debt within a short space of ten years or fifteen years or maybe even twenty years. Considering our resources and the paucity of foreign aid it would be a dangerous attempt on the part of the Government if they are going to trend on a project that would cost them more than Rs. 17,000 crores for the Fourth Plan period of five years starting from the 1st of April next. The Government of India should in all directions emphasise on what I would call greater financial discipline and must have greater financial control not only on themselves but also on all the States of India, whether they be manned by Congress Governments or whether they be run by Governments of the opposition parties. The Government should also lay, and I demand it here a quarterly statement before the two Houses of Parliament as to what is the correct position of overdraft facilities and deficit financing if at all they should indulge in it, so that we will be in the know of things as to what the correct position is. The Centre is the repository of all authority and it must be told that the States ai-

[Shri R. P. Parthasarathy.]

subordinates, and the Centre's authority shall not be questioned on any account by any State whatsoever if we are to realise that the nation should rally round the Government of India in making bold national policies and implementing them.

I have a word, Madam, about foreign affairs. Only when our country has become economically strong and strong in defence can we adopt an independent foreign policy. And for that we must concentrate on our economy, on developing our industry and agriculture and also on our defence forces. It is true that the foreign policy of India, namely the policy of non-alignment was evolved by that great architect of liberty and freedom, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, and it was all right and it suited us when the two major power blocs were sitting at two divergent ends crossing their swords. But what is the position today? The two major power blocs have sealed practically all their differences, even to the extent of having some unity with reference to nuclear activities. And that being the case, I wonder what will be the great advantage to India if it should continue to adopt the policy of non-alignment. I would very much like the Government to make a declaration on this score. On the other hand, I would very respectfully submit to this House through you, Madam Deputy Chairman, that it would be better if we adopted a strictly neutral attitude in foreign affairs, what I would call the practice of dynamic neutralism in our foreign relations, and I am sure we shall have won more friends and we shall have created no enemies and we shall not be subject to the antipathy of the foreign nations belonging to the two major power blocs very often by our comments, by our unwanted comments. I hope that the Government of India would give due consideration to this humble suggestion of mine, namely, to follow a policy of dynamic neutralism in foreign affairs.

Lastly, Madam, I would like to conclude by making a reference to what the President has been pleased to mention in almost the concluding part of his Address. The President has been pleased to make a reference to the services in the administration. It is of cardinal importance that the services should receive adequate and total protection from the Government without which, I am afraid, the services would tend to break and the services would not be able to take bold and correct decisions. An efficient Civil Service is the reflection of a sound democracy. Whereas it is incumbent on the services to give their unqualified co-operation to the Government, it is obligatory on the part of the Government as well to give adequate protection to the services if we are to make progress in all directions. The services should not be attacked because they are not in a position to defend themselves. I hope that the members of the Government and the Members of this House will strive hard to achieve this laudable objective, uphold the authority of Parliament and ensure the safe working of democracy in India.

Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, I understand that the Budget that was to be presented to this House at 5-30 is in the process of being presented to the other House. Therefore we shall continue with the debate.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: No, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Or we may adjourn for a little while and re-assemble for the Budget to be laid on the Table of the House. I think one or two Members may speak in the meanwhile if the House so desires that we continue. I shall call the next speaker. Mr. Chengalvaroyan.

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJAGOPALAN (Madras): We were not aware of this.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are not aware, but the House is sitting. The Budget had to be placed on the Table and therefore the Members should be there. Mr. Chengalvaroyan.

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN (Madras): Madam, I prefer to have your leave tomorrow.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Well, if there are no Members ready to speak now, the House will stand adjourned for half an hour.

The House then adjourned at thirty-five minutes past five of the clock till five minutes past six of the clock.

The House reassembled at five minutes past six of the clock. The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1967-68.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Madam, before you permit the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance to lay the Budget on the Table of the House, I would like to suggest to you, Madam, or rather submit that since we had to adjourn we expected the new face to appear here after his long banishment...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is all right.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: No, Madam. Please listen to me because I have a submission to make. After his long banishment we thought we

would have a look at the new Deputy Prime Minister. I expected him to come personally and lay it on the Table of the House because both things could be done today. We adjourned and waited for half an hour for him. Therefore, for his sake we can wait for ten minutes more. Therefore, I suggest...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is all right. We will follow the convention. Mr. Pant, Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. C. PANT): Thank you, Madam Deputy Chairman. May I say that it is my misfortune that, taking the cue from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, Mr. Misra has also extended a lukewarm welcome to me? Madam Deputy Chairman, on behalf of Shri Morarji Desai, I beg to lay on the Table a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the year 1967-68.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Madam Deputy Chairman, I wonder whether he is within his limits to lay the Budget Proposals. The Finance Minister in the other House is still reading out his proposals.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is over. The House stands adjourned till 11 A. M tomorrow.

The House adjourned at seven minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 21st March 1967.