

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

(No hon. Member dissented)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Permission to remain absent is granted.

### **MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.**

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Chairman, as I rise from my seat to speak on the President's Address I am reminded of an old Sanskrit saying:

That is what is happening to the Congress today. In fact the days of the Congress are numbered. Twenty years of misrule have brought this organisation to a position which to say the least is pathetic. Its leadership has lost all sense of reality. Its leadership has got habituated to living in its own ivory tower. It cannot feel the Mother Earth. This document which is a very important document, which is supposed to be the document of the year, is in our hands. This document should have clearly enunciated the policies, clearly and in a very precise manner, which the Government is going to pursue in the next one year. It should have laid the proper accent on the proper things. It should give a general picture of the shape of things to come. Unfortunately far from doing all this, this document is full of general enunciation of objectives, in an expressions, faltering promises and without any reference to what they have done in the past. No picture emerges therefore as to what it is going to do in the future. A concrete picture does not emerge. Objectives have been laid down. Objectives, objectives and objectives. How long shall we put up with this enunciation

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of objectives? We want a statement of performance. We want to know what you have done in the past and in the light of that what you propose to do in the future.

Now, Sir, the main question that faces all of us, faces you, me, Members opposite and Members here, is this question: in what direction is India advancing? What is the direction of our advance? That is the key question which has to be answered. Last year I went to Yugoslavia, and one of the leaders of the Yugoslav Government asked me this question: "We are a friendly country. We can give a little aid to you. We cannot give much but we are concerned about this fact and we want to ask you this question: in which direction is your country going?" I state here clearly that I could not answer that question because I realise this fact, and I want to state it clearly and emphatically here, that we have got into the habit of playing between contradictory forces, a habit born of incorrigible decadent liberalism, playing between contradictory forces. Therefore, a positive line of advance does not emerge. Therefore, I state here that while we are discussing this question, there are so many other problems facing us, immediate problems. This question must be posed fairly and squarely: what is the direction of our advance?

AN HON. MEMBER: What is the direction of advance of the Communist Party?

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: This is not the way in which you should talk. You will get your opportunity. You tell me that we have a direction and I accept that. You tell me that our direction is to develop a mixed economy, to develop a socialist pattern of society, to develop a welfare State. I submit, Sir, with all due respect to you and to the House that to me these are mere phrases and and catchwords. They do not mean anything to me. I want to know exactly what is the coa-

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tent of the socialist pattern you are developing. I want to know precisely what is the welfare State that you are developing. I want to know precisely what is the mixed economy you want to have. Under cover of mixed economy you can do anything. Therefore I am perturbed at the whole development and what I see with my own eyes is that the record of twenty years of Congress rule is a record of dismal failure. It is a record of broken pledges and promises. It is a record of betrayal of the interests of the people. I want to assert that emphatically. The people through their own bitter experience have realised this fact. Therefore, this Congress organisation has got a knock on its head. Six or seven provinces have gone, they are lost. Gone are those days when you and everybody else in India used to believe that Almighty God has given a contract to the Congress to govern this country. Political heads have rolled and basically a new situation has been created. I feel that a new political India is being born however distressed you may feel about it. But we are happy at the fact that a new political India is being born, and it is the mighty people of India who are giving birth to that new political situation. Has the Congress Government any realisation of the changes that the fourth general elections have brought about to the political life of the country? I am afraid the Congress leadership has not got that realisation. I am afraid they still think that they can happily job along. I am afraid that they explain their defeat in terms of organisational weaknesses. They do not explain it in terms of a collapse of their policies, a crisis of their policies. "Not enough money was given to the candidates"; "he did not have so many cars", "he did not have the support of this fellow"; "there were some dissensions in the organisation"—that is what they say. No. These may have been there but the big fact is that the Congress and the country as a whole today are facing a crisis, a crisis of politics, a

I crisis of policies, political and economic policies that have been pursued by the Congress Government for the last twenty years, and that crisis expresses itself in the form of strikes, in the form of demonstrations and in the form of massive revolt against the Congress during the elections. Therefore, this fact is to be realised by the Congress leadership. I am afraid there is no realisation of this big upheaval that has taken place in the country. There is no realisation of the intense crisis that we are facing in this Address that is in our hands. Now, Sir, what is the position in the country? Where do we stand today? I assert that every aspect of our national life is jammed. Whether you take the economic aspect or the political aspect or the cultural aspect, there is a terrible jam of the whole thing. You do not know how you are going to advance. There is no positive blue-print for anything and the advance you are making is formal and nominal. Mr. Mookerjee yesterday trotted out certain figures. Well, I do not rely very much on the official figures 'because I know what those figures are. But after saying that there are so many thousands of schools and so many thousands of dispensaries and all that, he said that it was not a bad thing for a beginning. It is always a beginning. Twenty years have passed. Still you are beginners. When will you come of age? Every time you will say, it is not tackled<sup>1</sup> because this is the beginning. And after five years that beginning will end, and I do not know what will start again. That is not the way in which serious problems should be tackled.

I want to take some aspects of our life which need urgent attention. Take the economic aspect. What is the position? There is a "huge food scarcity. Wheat is being sold at half a kilo per rupee. Famine is stalking the land. Agricultural production is absolutely stagnant. Advance of industrial production is at a very low pace. Unemployment is growing rapidly, by

leaps and bounds. Whatever may be the figures given by the labour exchanges, today it is a reality—if you know your India you will admit this—that nearly 33 per cent of the Indian population is either totally unemployed or is victim of gross under-employment. That is the reality.

Then there is inflation. What are the limits to which inflation can go? Mr. Asoka Mehta is there, he will define them. Where do we go? How high up do we go? There is concentration of wealth on the one hand; there is concentration of poverty on the other hand. It is a matter of shame that 75 families of India control nearly half the capital resources of India. It is a matter of shame for a country which we say is a socialist country or a country which is going towards socialism. There is the problem of black money. And let us look at the so-called socialist sector the State sector. That is supposed to be the basis of our socialism. What is happening in the State sector? Gross mismanagement. The factories are losing, there are no profits. The whole thing is controlled by ICS and IAS men, incompetent people, people who do not know what production is and how production can be developed. And as against this background, dependence on foreign aid grows. Foreign capital is penetrating into our country to the tune of nearly Rs. 900 crores I am not exact about the figures, may be about Rs. 1,000 crores. It has already penetrated into our country. We are indebted to the tune of Rs. 5,000 crores to America and other countries. There is the PL-480. Where are we going? There is almost a collapse of our internal structure and in order to save yourselves from that collapse, you go with a beggar's bowl abroad and become the biggest international beggar.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMTN (Gujarat): And you also eat that food.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: You and I may eat that food but it will eat us up one day.

Then, planning is at a stand-still. Mr. Asoka Mehta, the great planner, is not able to work out a proper line of planning; he is not able to give a firm blue-print because he has to depend on foreign aid and he does not know the quantum of foreign aid that he will be able to get. Therefore, in this critical situation, what happens?

Then, take industrial production. Where do we stand? Small-scale industries are disappearing. Medium-scale industries are not growing. But monopoly is growing. How do you control that monopoly? You do not know. The Monopolies Commission's Report is there. No action has been taken on it so far. The banking monopoly is growing. Big commercial houses, company after company!, are coming up. The State sector is almost in a state of collapse.

Therefore, I say, Sir—if you sum up this whole development, I would say that the quintessence of the Congress rule during the last 20 years in this. Internally we have been made a nation of black marketeers and externally we have been made a nation of debtors. That is the quintessence of Congress rule so far. I will put it very sharply because I feel very sharply about it.

Now, let us go to the political sphere. What is happening in the political life of our country? Reaction is raising its head. Communalism and casteism are raising their heads.

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING, PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS AND SOCIAL WELFARE (SHRI ASOKA MEHTA): You are co-operating.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: Whose cooperation it is and whose original sin it is, history will decide, you cannot. He laughs best who laughs last.

SHRI ASOKA MEHTA: You are laughing just now.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: The princes and the capitalists, they are organis-

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ing themselves into parties. Who is responsible for nursing these princes and princelings, the *ranis* and the *maharanis*? Previously, there was a popular storm against them. We thought we were saved. But they were given privy purses. Today if we strengthen them, they will take advantage of it and they are organising themselves into a party. And that party will challenge you. You still do not have the guts to challenge them. Such and such princes come into your Cabinet with all the agents of the big monopolists and capitalists behind them. How many are they? Look at the class composition of the new legislators that have come to Parliament. I do not want to go into details about it. But it is a fact that there is an overloading here, an overloading of vested interests. Gone are the days when the Congress used to give tickets to those who had suffered and served. Those who served and suffered are dying of starvation, they are buying wheat at the rate of half a kilo a rupee but those who have never suffered, those people are sitting in the Cabinet, people whose families slaughtered our patriots and our freedom fighters. They have been placed in the Cabinet, in charge of administration and all that. It is politics?

Then, communalism is raising its head. That is a fact. There is an organised section of opinion in India which wants to destroy the secular character of our State, which wants to reduce the minorities of India to a position of second-rate citizens. What is happening to Urdu? I want to know what has happened to the cultural life of the minorities? Where are we today? That secular character of our State of which we boast is being disrupted by organised vested interests which find a place in your ranks and also outside your ranks, and it is under their pressure that the Congress Ministries are working.

What about national values? Where are the national values? There was a

thin veneer of nationalism when we were fighting the British. That veneer of nationalism is gone. What has emerged, what has come and occupied the centre of the State is tribalism, casteism and communalism. That is what is happening. And why is all this happening? It is because the Congress organisation has given no ideology to the people; it has no socialist philosophy to give them; it has no value, it is an organisation which believes in snatching and grabbing; it is an organisation which is devoid of principles. Therefore, in the absence of any ideology, in the absence of principles and in the absence of value, where will the nation go? Besides, you have no personality at all. There was a time when Mahatma Gandhi was there; there was a time when Jawaharlal Nehru was there. They were the pillars and they used to give a new turn to the whole national outlook. Now, second and third rate citizens are members of the Cabinet, people whom we do not know and whose faces we never saw before.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh):  
Young blood.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: In the name of young blood, they all have come in. Where are those giants who built up the super-structure of the Indian State? They are gone. Some are in the opposition. Some remnants are still left. But the new blood that is coming is not a new blood, I tell you. When you have no ideology, when you have no socialist philosophy, when you have no personality, where do you take the country? Everybody believes in snatching and grabbing, and that is what is happening in the country today.

Now, Sir, by the way I say this about the distribution of tickets. It is a matter of shame, Mr. Chairman, that in my town of Lucknow, Dr. Siddhu—I do not know whether he is sitting here now—was refused a Congress ticket, and the king of alcohol, Mr. V. R. Mohan, was given the Congress ticket.

SHRI A. D. MANI: He does not drink alcohol.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: He may not drink alcohol but he makes you drink it.

The king of alcohol was given the Congress ticket and his name was suggested in the unanimous list along with that of Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

What has happened to the Congress? Where are you taking the country? Anyway this is a matter of detail. Take the administrative sphere. In the administrative sphere there is strangulation by the bureaucracy, a bureaucracy trained and nurtured on anti-people ideas and practices. They are the real masters. Mr. Asoka Mehta is not the master. He may be a big man—I am talking about him because he is sitting opposite to me—but he is not the master. His Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, they decide and make allocations. He has just to go through them.

SHRI ASOKA MEHTA: You are very mistaken there, my dear friend.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: The bureaucracy, the police, the magistracy, the prison officers, they openly and shamelessly violate the fundamental rights of the people and if we raise a hue and cry, we have to receive police batons and police bullets.

Then in the so-called nation-building departments, the bureaucracy indulges in horrible wastefulness of national resources and nobody calls it to order. Now comes up the question of streamlining the administration. After twenty years of misrule the question of streamlining of the administration has come up. Suddenly they realise that an Administrative Reforms Commission is necessary. What will that Administrative Reforms Commission do? I can tell you what it will do. It will bring about some merging of departments. They will merge this department with that department and

change some routine here and there. But that is not enough. That is not what we want. There has to be a basic reorganisation of the administration at every level in a fundamental way. A new official class should come into existence which should believe in democratic values and socialistic values and we should not be guided by the old antiquated practices and ideas which existed during the days of the British or even earlier. There is the Vigilance Commission. But a Vigilance Commission of one man at the State level sometimes becomes a centre of all corruption.

Sir, I am Communist. I will quote Lenin's remarks. After the 1917 Revolution he said that if you want to build socialism you will have to destroy root and branch all this bureaucracy. You will have to have new people to build the superstructure of the society on the basis of a socialist concept which the new government will practise. That we have not done and, therefore, this bureaucracy is eating up the bowels of our country, eating up the bowels of our economy, destroying the foundations of our political life.

Coming to the cultural sphere, I assert with all the emphasis at my command that not only materially but also culturally we are one of the most backward countries of the world. ! Mr. Mookerjee may trot out all manner of figures but it is a fact that ! illiteracy and ignorance are growing in India in an absolute sense. Though > there may be some hospitals and dispensaries, some of these dispensaries ! are without doctors and compounders. In an absolute sense disease and starvation are growing in India.

There are no cultural amenities for the common people in the rural areas. Then how do you say that you are advancing culturally? So, Sir, taking all these factors into account, I

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charge this Congress Government that you have brought the country to a position where there is no alternative left to us except that we stand up and remove you lock, stock and barrel from the offices that you hold and the positions that you hold.

I have not much time, Sir, but I would take up a few paras from the Presidential Address and give my remarks. Para. 6 speaks about advancing the major objectives. What are those major objectives? Ending dependence on foreign assistance, increase in agricultural production and control of prices. I say how long are we going to listen to this sort of sermons? What have you done so far? Why have you not controlled prices so far? Why have you handed over your food to the blackmarketeers? I say today every shopkeeper is a blackmarketeer. Why are you not prepared to organise state trading in food? Are you prepared to get rid of those people who indulge in blackmarketing and give them exemplary punishment? You cannot do that and you will not do that because you are dependent for your funds on them. I appreciate Mr. S. K. Patil's remarks who said openly, "Yes, we are taking funds from industrialists". He is frank enough to say that.

SHRI A. D. MANI: He is proud of it.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: Yes, proud of it. He says he is taking funds. He can say that but he has exposed the whole organisation.

Then there is the question of agricultural production. Here is the Minister of Planning sitting opposite. Let me tell him that production of agricultural commodities does not depend exclusively and entirely, as is sought to be put forward, on technological advancement. There have to be basic socio-economic changes. The great bulk of our peasants are small holders\*  
The small holder who

has to have the resources in his hand. Today he is lacking resources. You may give maunds and maunds and tons and tons of manure, but who is going to use it? Is it the small man owning 1, 2 or 3 acres who will use it? You may give seed. But a good seed requires a lot of attention. It is a delicate thing which the poor man cannot do. Ninety five per cent. of your producers are poor peasants. Therefore, what is necessary is to give them all possible help. It is necessary to develop agricultural services on a co-operative basis, not co-operative production or co-operative cultivation but co-operative services on the basis of, say, cooperative tubewells. On co-operative basis you should develop tractors. But instead of giving them service you give them *Anudan*. You hand over money to them, Rs. 300 or Rs. 600 to them. That becomes a source of corruption. I want you to give me an example in any part of the world where for the purpose of production cash is handed over to the people. That cash is not used for that particular purpose. That cash is used for the daughter's marriage or for building a house. This is the state of affairs. Are you prepared to bring about basic socio-economic changes by imposing curbs, by re-imposing the process of land reforms, by abolishing these blocks? I do not know where Mr. S. K. Dey has gone. He presented these blocks to the country. Friends opposition know what these blocks are. He wasted millions and millions of the national funds in blocks. Though he has gone the blocks still remain. He duped Jawaharlal Nehru who did not know much about agriculture. He told Jawaharlal Nehru that every village had got electricity and that every village was prospering. I am glad he is gone. Now I want his blocks should go. It is all a wasteful expenditure.

The peasant should be assured cheap water.  
The peasant should be assured a fair price.  
The peasant should be assured enough, adequate cheso manure and cheap seed and, then, his interest should be safeguarded.  
"J"\*

land revenue system should be abolished. This system should go. It is a vexatious system. It is a burdensome system. The system of tax on incomes should be introduced. The small cultivator should not be taxed at all.

Now, Sir, these objectives are there, but I do not know what you are going to do. You say you want to attain a sustained and adequate rate of economic growth. What is the rate of economic growth? I am not an expert. But I was told that from 5 per cent, targets you have come down to 2.5 per cent. in the Third Plan. I want to know why this matter has not been enquired into. Why those Ministers have not been called to book? Why those officials who are responsible for this serious shortfall in production not been punished? Is it an ordinary thing? Millions and Millions of Rupee, you have spent. You have mortgaged your freedom to America and other countries. You have taken loans from them and from 5 per cent, target you have come down to 2J per cent, a shortfall of 50 per cent. Who is responsible? The entire Cabinet is responsible. The entire Parliament must discuss and then punish those who are guilty of it.

We want you to develop production. But can you develop industrial production without nationalising banks, without curbing monopolies, without nationalising foreign trade? Where are the resources? Where is the extra wealth to come from? These resources must come from nationalisation of banks. Only through nationalisation of banks, curbing of monopolies, nationalisation of the import and export trade, oil industry and, above all, curbing of foreign capital you will be able to eliminate dependence on foreign aid.

Now, Sir, I come to Plans. Mr. Asoka Mehta will excuse me if I indulge in some plain talking. I was told that the Planning Commission is going to be abolished. There is something in the air like that. I would not like the Planning Commission to be abolished. I am a firm believer in planning. But I want solid planning, plann-

ing for the people. I do not want paper planning. You sit in the offices here and cook up all sorts of statistics and start allocating here and there. At the lower level what is happening? There is utter wastefulness. I was Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee in U.P. for years and I know how millions and millions coming from the Centre are just thrown away. One project is taken up and abandoned and another taken up. Monsoon inter-venes, Mijitnery from abroad is not available, foreign exchange is not available, electricity is not available, and then it is given up. I can tell you so many stories about it, but there is no time. So Planning has to be reorganised in a fundamental sense. Planning has to be planning for the people. Planning on paper will not do. Mere financial planning will not do. Planning has to be for the people and by the people. It has to go down to the village. Planning has to start from the village level. Therefore, the Department and the Commission may remain, but competent people should be there. A total overhauling of the entire outlook of planning has to be brought about. This is my submission, Sir.

Now, there is another statement in this Address which says that a National Commission on Labour will be appointed. Very good. Let there be a National Commission. There have been so many National Commissions. I don't know what has come out of those Commissions. Let there be another Commission. But I say, before you do something about labour in general, please do something about your own employees. After all they are part and parcel of the whole Government set-up. I know in U.P. for 21 months those people were loitering in the streets demanding a meagre increase in their salaries. But they were told "no". There was lathi charge and they were put into prison. When your hands and feet refuse to work for you, how long will you last? In Delhi, the policemen demonstrated for a raise in their pay. And the time is not very far off when the poor sons of

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peasants who are in the Army, who are defending our frontiers, will also demand an increase. They will say "we have a right to live. We are Indian citizens. The Birlas get millions but we don't get Rs. 75 or Rs. 85 per month. It is our birth-right to live and live decently." So please before you do anything further, do something for your own employees. They are in a state of revolt. At the provincial level, you should see that at least the Central level of pay is guaranteed to the State employees. I congratulate some of the new non-Congress Ministries who have taken this decision. About Labour in general, I don't have much to say. But, of course, it is a very complicated problem and a very serious problem—the linking up of the dearness allowance with the Cost of Living Index, giving of proper bonuses, etc. It is a problem that has to be tackled very rapidly and firmly.

Now, Sir, I come to another point, the last point, that is 'Foreign Relations' mentioned here. Now the policy of non-alignment has been underlined here. Very good. The policy of non-alignment is correct. The whole country believes in the policy of non-alignment. But I submit, Sir, that there has been a process of gradual weakening of this policy—corroding of this policy, I should say. Why? It is because of our dependence on imperialist powers for aid and food. That is the reality of the situation. Yesterday, Mr. Akbar Ali Khan, a very honest man, said it was a crisis of conscience. He said "I think America is doing barbarous things in Vietnam. But I have to get food from America, from Mr. Johnson, and, therefore, I can't speak out openly." What is happening in Vietnam is something atrocious, he said. "Part of humanity is being destroyed, but I can't speak openly because I have to get food." He has to get aid. He goes about, he brings about devaluation at their command.

SHRI A. J. MANI: Not he, Government.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: By "he", I mean only the Government. He is the only Minister sitting here. I do not mean anything personal. I am pointing to him as a symbol of the Government. Now, you were eager to get money from them. How will you then maintain your non-alignment? How long will you maintain it? Your dependence will grow when the internal economic life becomes bankrupt. Your dependence will grow. You are depending more and more on food from abroad. As the saying in English goes, "he who pays the piper, calls the tune." That is what is happening to-day. America has the temerity to say "don't trade with this country, don't trade with that country." You are not very clear on that. Mr. Chagla says it is not part of the agreement and all sorts of things. He does not say "no, we have definitely taken a position." He does not say that; he dare not say that because Mr. Johnson will be annoyed. Therefore, there is a gradual weakening of your foreign policy of non-alignment, and this fact has been noted by Asian and African countries . . .

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated): What is your alternative policy?

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: The alternative policy by implication is very clear. You are a clever man; you should realise.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh): You quit, we will show.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: So that is being realised by Asian and African countries. The tremendous respect we had once upon a time under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, in the counsels of the world, is not there now.

Then we boast about this fact that our policy of peaceful co-existence has been accepted by America and by the Soviet Union alike. Well, it is good that as many countries of the world as possible should be made to accept the policy of peaceful co-existence. It is good foreign policy. But I would like to check your statement, I would like to correct your statement.



America may have in words accepted the policy of peaceful co-existence. But in action, it is violating it at every stage, at every level, at every moment, the policy of peaceful co-existence. What is happening in Vietnam is a veritable genocide. Millions of poor peasants are being destroyed there. Their crops are burnt. They are victims of this germ warfare. Is it peaceful co-existence that is going on in Vietnam? What was America's attitude when the India-Pakistan conflict took place? Did not America supply all the Patton tanks and planes to the Pakistan Government? Who was giving all the ammunition to Pakistan? Was America believing in peaceful co-existence between India and Pakistan? In the name of fight against China, it was giving Patton tanks to Pakistan as if the Patton tanks can go across the mountains to fight China. The Patton tanks rolled along the plains of Punjab. . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am sorry to interrupt. You have exhausted the time allotted to your party.

SHRI Z. A. AHMAD: I will finish in two minutes. It does not matter. I will be the only person from my party.

So, Sir, you can't equate America with the Soviet Union in your statements on peaceful co-existence. This is the habit that you have got into, equating this and that. It is dictated by certain weaknesses. Your feet are of clay and, therefore, you cannot walk firmly on the ground. So you have to walk gently looking to this side and looking to that side. That does not give you credit in the counsels of the world.

Lastly, I come to the question of China and Pakistan. First of all, I want to say that it is correct that India is taking a clear-cut position about Pakistan. The Tashkent spirit has to be maintained. We have to do our best to see to it that despite provocations and the wrong attitudes of the Pakistani rulers, we stand by that Tashkent Declaration and to see that it is observed in letter and spirit. We

should go further and keep making continued efforts for a no-war pact with Pakistan with a settlement of the Kashmir issue on the existing border line. We are always prepared to settle the issue on the existing cease-fire line with minor adjustments here and there. Of course, we are very clear that Kashmir is an integral part of India. We will not bargain on that point. We should take a firm stand on this whatever the consequences may be.

Regarding China, I entirely agree with the statement made by the President of India earlier that we have to 'make up'. We condemn China's militant and expansionist postures. We consider those postures to be dangerous to the peace and welfare of Asia and the world. We consider their aggressive designs dangerous not only for us but dangerous for the entire humanity. Therefore, in a forthright manner we condemn the militant, the aggressive, the expansionist, adventurist postures and positions taken by China and it is time that we, as a big nation, keep on patiently struggling for peace, struggling for adjustment of the boundary questions. The Colombo Proposals were there. They are just proposals, they are fair proposals. We have already taken our position and we hope that if we go in this manner, a day will come when India and China will live as good neighbours and the danger of war between them will disappear. We do want to cut our Defence expenditure because our economy is jeopardised, our development is jeopardised by our Defence expenditure. Therefore if we make these efforts, if we consistently take our position that we want peace both with China and Pakistan, our neighbours, then it will bring us credit in the eyes of the world but if we indulge in the same sort of opportunist talks it will not bring credit to us. We will be equated with China. There are people outside, this is a big world and they do not understand things. They will say 'You are militant, you are also wanting to fight with China and they want to fight with you.' We do not want to fight with

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anyone. We believe in peaceful living, we believe in peaceful co-existence. We believe in positive co-operation and we want to extend our fundamental outlook which was given to us by Mahatma Gandhi and then developed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We want this to be lined up, these friendly relations and friendly co-operation between friendly countries. I have said what I wanted to say. It is quite right that I could have elaborated those points and give you more positive suggestions but one last thing I want to say and that is this.

Our Congress friends know that things are going to change. I would appeal to you to sit up and think. I would appeal to you to realise the state of affairs that we are facing inside our country, the crisis of the policies that you have pursued during the last 20 years. I want the progressive elements in the Congress to realise that things have to change, that you cannot go on with this claptrap, that you have been indulging in and that you have to think in terms of fundamental reorganisation of the social structure of India. Without that neither the prices will fall nor the production will grow nor the industries will advance nor the unemployment will diminish. A fundamental reorganisation of the economic structure of India on socialistic lines—that is what we have to do. Then there are changes. Now in India we have the Federal Constitution of India becoming a living thing. There are States with non-Congress Ministries and we should see to it that the Federal Constitution of India, this entity, is preserved and developed. I will not fight because I do not believe in violence but I will request you to pay all attention to the new Governments that have come up in some States, that have been formed in some States. They are backed by the people of those States. Those Governments have taken the initiative and passed certain laws. They have put forward certain programmes. Do not obstruct those programmes. Let them

develop, let there be real competition between the different States, let them show by results. I will call it a socialistic competition, a competition in the interests of the people, a competition for the benefit of the people. Let there be competition and the people will judge you by your performance. But if you adopt a step-motherly treatment towards them, to those young Governments that have been formed in the States, I am afraid you will have to pay a very heavy price for that. The people will not tolerate it and I do not want to see that day when the process of disintegration starts, with the States going their way and the Centre going its own way. I want unity in diversity to be maintained and the unity to be strengthened and, that will be strengthened only if you recognise that the Federal entity of our Constitution should be preserved and that the different parties, the different combinations of parties, the different outlooks entering into the field of competition to serve the people and save them from the distress that they are facing.

Thank you.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Mr. Chairman, I am supporting the motion under discussion. For over a decade and a half we have been accustomed to seeing the Opposition parties blaming the Government for everything that is happening in the country. It reminds me of what history tells us about the Christians in Rome. When the Christians were to be persecuted and when the Government found no ground to persecute them with, some of the Christians were persecuted on the ground 'the cock crows'. It has become a saying now. If there is more rain in the country, the Congress is blamed. If there is no rain, the Congress Government is blamed. If the prices of foodgrains fall as it did in 1964-65 again the Government was to be blamed. The complaint was that the agricultural section was neglected!, that the agriculturists were not getting their due price and when to-

day there is food shortage again the Government is blamed. I heard with respect three Opposition leaders who have spoken. The hon. Member this morning was blaming the Government for depending upon foreign aid. If the Government wants to build up the economy of the country and when the resources of the country are not adequate to strengthen the economy and when foreign aid is received, again the Centre is blamed. Again the Member was blaming the Government for receiving foodgrains from foreign countries. Does he mean to say that when we had no other means, when gricultural production fell short of the national needs, we should have allowed the people to starve? "Whatever method the Government could think of for coming to the aid of the people in this situation was followed and again the Member says that the Government was wrong in depending upon foreign countries for food supplies. Since the President was pleased to address us last and since his present Address, there has been a lot of change and the change is very indicative. Now the Congress Governments were held responsible for everything in the country. To-day the Opposition parties can no longer charge the Congress Governments for what is happening in the country, for either shortages of foodgrains or for industrial production or the lacunae in administration or the corruption that is prevailing in the administration because to-day in six of the States the Opposition parties have combined to form cocktail Governments and to-day if one says in Orissa or Bihar or West Bengal or anywhere that the Government is responsible for the shortage of foodgrains or for the rise in the prices, who is responsible? My point is, I expected the Opposition to change its attitude with assuming the responsibility for administration in some of the States. They can no longer shoot like a man amuck blindly. To-day their criticism is out of place and it should be constructive if it is to be at all taken for what it is worth. When they have assumed responsibility for the

administration, if not full responsibility if they are constituents of the Government, to-day anybody can lay against those Governments the same charges which they were laying on the Congress Government everywhere till now and on the Central Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Ask Mr. Atulya Ghosh to lead a demonstration for the nationalisation of the banks and the Bengal Government will welcome it.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I hope Mr. A joy Mookerjee will have to answer the same charges. For what has happened the speaker this morning was asking us to sit up and think over. There is sufficient for the Congress Party to think over. I am sure the jolt the very severe jolt, that it has received surely makes the Congress leader, take a look at the things that are happening outside and in the organisation. But that is not the question now. The point I am referring to is that my hon. friends there are now in the same position as the Congress was and therefore they should realise that blind criticism, unreasonable ' criticism, would recoil on them. Therefore they should be | careful hereafter.

There is another danger, Sir, which I would like to point out very humbly to the Opposition benches, and jt, is that they are releasing forces which are bound to recoil on them. They I want to subvert law and order, Sir, I in order to reduce the Congress j majorities in some of the States which have, unfortunately for them, still retained their majorities. They are adopting methods which are not decent political methods.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Where?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: The Congress may not suffer from them, but the same technique and the same methods are bound to recoil on the j Opposition benches. It is a danger : which they should visualise and rea- ' lise in their own interests.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): What? Be specific.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Where?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Newspapers are giving you the information of a Congress Member being shot there, another Member being asked to join a political party at the point of a pistol. I need not go into these unpleasant things. Let me not repeat them. Well, they are happening today to Congressmen, and they may happen tomorrow to you. So you have to realise that danger. (*Interruptions*) I am not yielding.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Was the Congress Member shot by the Opposition?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I did not say that the Opposition shot him. But the Opposition techniques are there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: In J due course it will prove as to who shot him, as to what had happened. You have heard the hon. Minister say I as to what the Governor's report revealed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is what the Governor says.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I am not yielding. My time is running short. Well, the hon. Members have got the right to speak for themselves and they may do so.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Do not make hysterical allegations.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I am not making any allegation but I am pointing out to you the indications, the writing on the wall. I am pointing out to you to be careful in whatever you are doing today. They may recoil on you tomorrow.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What are we doing?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: We are prepared to take what comes to us.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Wb\*1 we are doing today? What we have done in West Bengal is that we have allowed the West Bengal Security Act to lapse, and we are proposing to amend the West Bengal Government employees' service and conduct rules so as to ensure their trade union rights.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is saying, "Don't do what we have done."

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: What they are doing, I am saying. Of co-course if there is anything wrong that we have done, it is welcome for them to point it out.

Sir, next, in the matter of food grains it is a very serious situation. We certainly request the Government to take a very serious view of the situation. Sir, I should like just to make some suggestions. I know what the Government are doing in order to increase production in the agricultural sector, both in the matter of food-grains as well as in the matter of industrial raw materials. Sir, in the matter of foodgrains I know that the Government is very earnest in multi "plying seed farms and the hybrid seeds which alone hold the key to increasing our agricultural production. In addition to that I want to suggest very humbly to the Government to think of having a probe into the agricultural sector itself. The agricultural sector, today, is not organised; whether it is on the production side or on the scientific technical side, or on the credit side, the agricultural sector is not organised. Food shortage is a long-standing problem, and in view of the increasing population it is going to be a great headache to us for a long time yet to come. So it is better to review the whole position with regard to the agricultural sector. A concerted plan has to be evolved for the agricultural sector. Our hon. friend, this morning, was pointing it out and asked why industrial production had fallen. Well Sir, it is partly

the handicaps in the agricultural sector that are responsible for the fall in industrial production as well. So from the point of view of increasing foodgrains as well as from the point of view of enhancing industrial production it is necessary that the agricultural sector has got to be strengthened, and that could be done only by instituting a thorough probe into it. Sir, from time to time I have been pointing out—and I am never tired of pointing it out—that the Government have not given due prominence to agriculturists in this matter; those who are engaged in agricultural administration are generally people coming from urban areas, people who have no adequate knowledge of rural conditions and, therefore, in implementing the various schemes of the Government they do not have eye to see to their correct implementation and, therefore, the administration in the agricultural sector has to be reinforced by those sections which have real knowledge of the agricultural sector.

Sir, the next thing I would like to *come* to is our foreign policy. Our foreign policy was blamed by the hon. Member who was speaking this morning. He was saying that we have weakened our non-alignment policy. I do not know where we have weakened our non-alignment policy. He was saying that at one time we were getting very great respect internationally but we have lost that now. I do not think so. In fact, India has been respected for the stand which it has taken in international affairs, and if I may, I may point out one instance to my friend—who is not here—to show what independent action, what firm action we have taken this time in the matter of Vietnam. We all know it and I need only recapitulate it. In the matter of Vietnam, although one of the countries involved is supporting us by giving us assistance in food, and by giving other assistance, other aid, still we have taken a stand which is not to the liking of that country, and I should certainly congratulate the Government for taking that courage-

ous stand, that independent stand, for suggesting that bombing Vietnam would not be the solution to the conflict, that instead of a military solution we have to seek a political solution. This is one instance which the hon. Member may keep in mind and see for himself that our non-alignment policy has not been weakened, and the respect that India was accustomed to receive in international affairs from other countries is not in any way lessened.

With regard to Pakistan the hon. Member was saying that the Tashkent agreement should be respected. There is no instance of its violation, Sir, not even Pakistan can show to us an instance where we have violated any of the clauses of the Tashkent agreement. As this morning the Question Hour revealed, the Russian Government did comment upon the very scrupulous manner of our fulfilling the Tashkent agreement. Therefore, Sir, considering also their comments or observations there is not much for which one could hold the Government as being guilty of any lapses; the Government is doing its best. Sir, in every way the Government has achieved progress and I do not want to tax the patience of the House by repeating the progress we have achieved in several fields. The mover of the motion has already done this. So there is not much—which the Government could be found fault with, and if it comes to a question of finding solutions to the numerous problems in the country, I think the Opposition Members must congratulate the Government for finding such solutions as were in their power. As I said before, the Opposition parties also are now holding the reins of Government in several States, where the responsibility of achieving progress also behaves them and, therefore, they should show to the country that they have achieved much progress either in the industrial or the agricultural sector.

With these few words, Sir, I commend the motion to the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We shall stt up to 1-30 P.M. Mr. Bhandari.

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान) :** सभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी का यह अभिभाषण देश में हुए चौथे आम चुनाव के बाद है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि इस आम चुनाव में, पिछले पांच सालों की बदलती हुई राजनैतिक परिस्थितियों के कारण कांग्रेस पार्टी अपेक्षा कर रही थी कि राजनैतिक नकशे में परिवर्तन होगा।

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.] लेकिन जितने बड़े पैमाने पर यह परिवर्तन हुआ है, शायद कांग्रेस उसके लिये तैयार नहीं थी और जो कुछ दृश्य आज देश में उपस्थित हुआ है उससे कांग्रेस दल को एक ब्रेलेंस के आधार पर परिस्थिति का जायजालेना कठिन हो गया है। अभी तक यह क्रम समाप्त नहीं हुआ। परसों ही हरियाना में हुआ परिवर्तन, और पांडचेरी में होने वाला परिवर्तन और बाकी प्रान्तों में भी राजनैतिक दृष्टियों से जिन परिवर्तनों की अपेक्षा की जा रही है, उनको देखते हुए आज यह ठीक तौर पर नहीं कहा जा सकता कि राजनैतिक परिवर्तनों की यह दिशा पिछले आम चुनाव के आधार पर ही, कहाँ जाकर उठरेगी। और आज केवल राज्यों में ही नहीं बल्कि केन्द्र में भी कितना जबरदस्त उसका परिणाम आने वाला है, कुछ दिनों में वह भी दिखायी देगा। अनेक राज्यों में गैर कांग्रेसी मंत्रिमंडल बना है। कांग्रेस के भाइयों को इस बात से बड़ा आश्चर्य होता है कि ये भिन्न भिन्न दल कांग्रेस को अपदस्थ करने के लिये चुनाव के बाद, उनकी आज्ञा के विपरीत, एकत्र हो गए, संगठन बना लिया, एक एग्रीड प्रोग्राम उन्होंने स्वीकार कर लिया, और उसके आधार पर अनेक प्रान्तों में गैर कांग्रेसी मंत्रिमंडल बनना संभव हो गया। मैं उनसे यही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान का जनसाधारण लगातार 15 वर्षों के कांग्रेस के शासन में भिन्न भिन्न राज्यों में रहता आया है और इन पन्द्रह वर्षों में जो उनकी पद्धतियाँ रही, देश का जीवन जितना वस्तु बना, साधारण प्रशासन जितना जटिल और

लोगों के लिये कष्टकारक बना, और कांग्रेस की नीतियों ने जिस प्रकार का बोझा लोगों पर डाला, आर्थिक दृष्टि से भी और नागरिक जीवन को सरलता से चलाने के मार्ग में, उनके कारण देश के प्रत्येक व्यक्ति में सबसे बड़ी मांग इस बात की पैदा हुई कि आज कम से कम किसी भी रूप में पन्द्रह वर्षों से चले आने वाले राजनैतिक एकाधिकार को समाप्त कराया गया।

अभी मेरे पहले कांग्रेस के जो बंधु बोल रहे थे उन्होंने आज की वर्तमान की, समस्याओं के बारे में सबकी साझा जिम्मेदारी की चर्चा की है। मैं समझता हूँ, इस साझा जिम्मेदारी से हम भागना नहीं चाहेंगे। मैं केवल उन्हें इस बात की याद दिला देना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस जब शासनाख्त हुई थी तब कांग्रेस को प्रारम्भिक अवस्थाओं में उनकी योजनाओं, उनके तरीकों के आधार पर काम करने का मौका मिला था। हम हिम्मत के साथ आज की परिस्थितियों में सरकार की जिम्मेदारीयाँ लेने जा रहे हैं हम जानते हैं कि पन्द्रह सालों में प्रशासन की जितनी गड़बड़ियाँ पैदा हुई हैं, सरकार की नीतियों के कारण आर्थिक जीवन में जितनी विषमताएँ उत्पन्न हुई हैं, जो बोझ बढ़ाये गये हैं, जो अनावश्यक कार्य प्रारम्भ किये गये, जिनमें सरकार की पूँजी और सरकार की शक्ति अड़ी हुई है, हमें उस रंगीन पृष्ठभूमि पर काम करने की शुरुआत करने का मौका आया है। हम उससे घबड़ा नहीं रहे, हम उस जिम्मेदारी को लेकर चलेंगे जो आज हमारे सामने उपस्थित हुई है।

मैं केवल इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस बदलती हुई परिस्थिति में जो सम-सहयोग का भाव केन्द्र में और राज्यों के बीच में इन जिम्मेदारियों को सरलता से निभाने के लिये रहना चाहिये, मैं चाहूँगा, केन्द्र में बैठी हुई कांग्रेस पार्टी उसको देखे और उस सहयोग को देने का अधिक और अधिक

परिचय दे। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने भी अपने अभिभाषण में उन चीजों का समावेश किया है, और जो इस नयी सरकार के बनते ही पहला निर्णय, पहला फैसला, इस नयी सरकार के हाथों से हुआ, और जिसको राष्ट्रपति महोदय को उनकी सलाह के अनुसार चलने के कारण स्वीकार करना पड़ा, उसका उल्लेख इस अभिभाषण के 30वें छंद में है और यहां पर उन्होंने उल्लेख किया है कि "दुःख का विषय है कि राजस्थान में राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू करना पड़ा।" लेकिन कल जो तर्क प्रस्तुत किये गये, प्रजातंत्र की रक्षा करने के और संविधान की मर्यादाओं को ऊपर उठाने के, मैं समझता हूं ये दोनों उद्देश्य इतने पवित्र हैं कि अगर वे सही तौर पर उनकी रक्षा करने के लिये इस्तेमाल किये गये होते तो राष्ट्रपति महोदय को प्रसन्नता होती। दुःख करने का कारण उसमें उपस्थित नहीं होता। लेकिन आज जिस तरीके से वहां की घटनाएं उपस्थित की गईं, जिस तरीके से राष्ट्रपति महोदय को सलाह दी गई और जो समाचार उन्हें मिले हैं, उसी पर से लगता है कि उन्हें दुःख हुआ है, उन सारी चीजों को लागू करते समय। ईमानदारी से अगर देखा जाय, तो राजस्थान की सरकार का घटनाचक्र तथ्यों पर आधारित नहीं है बल्कि अपनी दिमाग की उलझनों का परिणाम है केवल।

गवर्नर महोदय की रिपोर्ट जो कल यहां सदन की मेज पर रखी गई उसके संबंध में उपसभापति महोदय, मुझे आप से एक शिकायत करनी है कि वह कल यहां सदन की मेज पर रखे जाने के बाद भी समस्त सदन को आज सकुलिट नहीं की गई। यहां पर 11 बजे मैंने जब यह बात यहां के सचिवालय के अधिकारियों के सामने रखी, मुझे जरूरत उसकी पड़ी, तब प्राप्त हुई है। साधारण तौर पर मैं चाहूंगा कि आपकी तरफ से यह व्यवस्था हो कि जो पत्र यहां सदन की मेज पर रखे जाते हैं वे हमें जल्द से जल्द कम से कम दूसरे दिन, उन कागजों के साथ

समावेश करके दे दिये जायें जो हमें दिये जाते हैं। तो यह जो प्रति मुझे आज मिली है उसमें भी राज्यपाल महोदय ने अपना सारा केस राजस्थान के संबंध में बनाया है I cannot conscientiously call upon the other party. यहां पर भी यह कान्फेन्स का झगड़ा है, फैक्ट्स का झगड़ा नहीं है। 3 मार्च को राजस्थान में मिनिस्ट्री किसको बनाने के लिये "काल अपान" किया जाय, इसका सैल्यूटरी उदाहरण हिन्दुस्तान में यह मिलेगा कि गवर्नर महोदय एक प्रैस कान्फेन्स में इसकी घोषणा करना चाहते थे। मैं चाहूंगा सरकारी पक्ष मुझे इस बात का उदाहरण देने की कोशिश करे कि अलग अलग रियासतों में जो लीडर आफ दी पार्टिज को सरकार बनाने के फार्मल इन्विटेशनस दिये गये, क्या उनकी घोषणा करने की आवश्यकता किसी राज्यपाल ने प्रैस कान्फेन्स में करने की महसूस की कभी? लेकिन राजस्थान में ऐसी परिस्थितियां पैदा की गईं कि इन सारी चीजों को एक्सप्लेन करने के लिए गवर्नर महोदय को यह अनिवार्य दिखलाई दिया कि वह प्रैस कान्फेन्स में इस बात को कहें। 3 मार्च को प्रैस कान्फेन्स की घोषणा की गई थी लेकिन उनके सामने विरोधी सदस्य के एक रिमार्क से उनकी मनःस्थिति बिगड़ गई और मनःस्थिति बिगड़ जाने के कारण जो निर्णय वह तीन मार्च की प्रैस कान्फेन्स में करने वाले थे उसमें उन्होंने कह दिया कि आज घोषणा नहीं होगी और 24 घंटे के बाद घोषणा होगी। 24 घंटे के बाद जो प्रैस कान्फेन्स उन्होंने फिर से बुलाई थी, उस कान्फेन्स के 18 घंटे पहले जयपुर में 144 धारा लागू कर दी गई। तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि वे कौन सी परिस्थितियां पैदा हो गई थीं, वे कौनसी नौबत पैदा हो गई थी? विरोधी दलों की तरफ से ऐसी कौनसी बात पैदा उस दिन कर दी गई थी जिसकी वजह से 4 तारीख को घोषणा होने के 18 घंटे पहले ही जयपुर में 144 धारा लगा दी गई। उस 144 धारा की छाया में गवर्नर महोदय ने अपनी घोषणा रखने की कोशिश

## [श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

की। मैं सदन के सदस्यों की जानकारी के लिए यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि गवर्नर महोदय शायद 3 तारीख को जिस चीज की घोषणा करना चाहते थे, राजस्थान की परिस्थिति के बारे में जो कुछ कहना चाहते थे तथा सदस्यों के इधर उधर अनिश्चित बात के बारे में जो कुछ गवर्नर महोदय ने कहा वह ठीक नहीं था। उन्होंने निर्दलीय सदस्यों के बारे में जो कुछ कहा वह भी ठीक नहीं था। लेकिन मैं इतना जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो 15 निर्दलीय सदस्य राजस्थान विधान सभा में इस बार चुने गये हैं उनमें से तीन पहले ही दिन से कांग्रेस की तरफ हैं और 12 सदस्य विरोधी दल की तरफ हैं। इन लोगों ने अपनी निश्चितता का प्रमाण दे दिया था और आज भी उस निश्चय में किसी प्रकार की शंका नहीं है। वे तीन निर्दलीय सदस्य जो पहले कांग्रेस में थे आज भी कांग्रेस के सदस्य हैं और 12 निर्दलीय सदस्य जो हैं वे भी आज तक अपने निश्चय पर अड़े हुए हैं और विरोधी दल के साथ हैं। उनके बारे में आज तक किसी प्रकार की शंकाएँ नहीं उठाई गई और न उनके परिवर्तन के संबंध में ही कोई बात कही गई है। इस तरफ की कोई बात तथा एक भी शब्द आज तक कांग्रेस की तरफ से इन 12 निर्दलीय सदस्यों के बारे में नहीं कहा गया है। लेकिन गवर्नर महोदय ने निर्दलीय सदस्यों को तजर अन्दाज करके राजस्थान में एक नये इतिहास का निर्माण करने की कोशिश की। गवर्नर महोदय ने कुछ घंटों के बाद अपना स्पष्टीकरण करने की कोशिश की, लेकिन मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इस बारे में मुझे कुछ कटु सत्य निवेदन करना ही पड़ेगा। मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहूँगा कि मुझे एक भी ऐसे सदस्य का नाम बतलाया जाय जो दो बार गवर्नर के सामने उपस्थित हुआ और जिसने एक बार जाकर एक बात कही और दूसरी बार जाकर दूसरी बात कही। हाँ इतना जरूर है किन्हीं सदस्यों के दस्तखत से जब

कोई चीज गवर्नर महोदय के सामने पेश की गई तो वहाँ पर सदस्य ने बाद में उपस्थित होकर कहा कि यह मेरे दस्तखत नहीं हैं। वह अपना क्लैरिफिकेशन देने के लिए गवर्नर महोदय के पास गया। जब उस सदस्य के सामने यह बात नोटिस में आई कि उसके सामने नहीं उसके पीठ के पीछे उसके बारे में, मिस-रिप्रेजेंटेशन किया गया है और उसके बारे में गलत-बयानी की गई है। इसके अलावा कभी भी किसी भी प्रकार से एक ही सदस्य द्वारा दो बातें गवर्नर के सामने उपस्थित नहीं की गईं। तीन तारीख को जब गवर्नर महोदय प्रेस कॉन्फ्रेंस में फैसला देने वाले थे तो उसके आध्र घंटे पहले विरोधी दल के नेता ने जिन सदस्यों के बारे में शंका पैदा हो गई थी उनको गवर्नर के सामने ले आये और यह सिद्ध करने में कामयाब हो गये कि वे विरोधी दल में शामिल हैं। उन्होंने यह सिद्ध कर दिया कि कांग्रेस के साथ 91 सदस्य हैं और विरोधी दल के साथ 92 सदस्य हैं। शायद गवर्नर महोदय अपने दिमाग से कांग्रेस को सरकार बनाने के लिए निमंत्रण देना चाहते थे और इस बात का फैसला वह तीन तारीख की प्रेस कॉन्फ्रेंस में करने वाले थे लेकिन वे उस समय इस स्थिति में नहीं पहुँचे कि वे इस तरह का एलान कर सकें और इसी वजह से उन्होंने 24 घंटे बाद प्रेस कॉन्फ्रेंस करने की घोषणा की। पाँच साल पहले भी इसी प्रकार कांग्रेस को 176 के सदन में 88 सदस्यों का बहुमत था। उन्होंने कुछ निर्दलीय उम्मीदवारों को अपनी तरफ मिला लिया और इस तरह से विलियर मेजरिटी के आधार पर कांग्रेस को सरकार बनाई थी। लेकिन आज विरोधी दल के नेता पर यह आरोप लगाया जाता है कि प्रजातंत्र को सुचारू रूप से न चलने के लिए ऐसी परिस्थिति पैदा कर रहे हैं जबकि पाँच वर्ष पूर्व इन्हीं विरोधी नेताओं ने जिन में महारावल लक्ष्मणसिंह जी, भैरों सिंह जी और श्री अग्रवाल जी थे, इसी कांग्रेस सरकार को ठीक प्रकार से चलने देने के लिए



और वैधानिक रूप से चलने के लिए हर प्रकार का मौका दिया था। लेकिन इस बार कांग्रेस को क्लियर मेजरिटी नहीं रही। राजस्थान में कांग्रेस तीन तारीख को क्लियर मेजरिटी के पद से वंचित हो गई और इसी वजह से 24 घंटे के लिए प्रेस कॉन्फ्रेंस को पोस्टपोन कर दिया गया। उसी दिन यहां पर दोपहर को कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष द्वारा यह घोषणा करवा दी गई कि चूंकि राजस्थान में कांग्रेस को स्पष्ट बहुमत न होते हुए भी वह वहां पर सब से बड़ी सिंगल पार्टी है इसलिए उसको वहां पर सरकार बनाने का मौका दिया जाना चाहिये। इस तरह के आदेश जयपुर में प्राप्त हुए। तीन तारीख की रात को श्री सुखाड़िया जी ने वक्तव्य दिया कि हमारी पार्टी को स्पष्ट बहुमत न होते हुए भी लार्जसेट सिंगल ग्रुप है और इस वजह से हम सरकार बनाने के लिए तैयार हैं। मुझे दुःख है कि उस दिन तीन तारीख की रात को दिये गये वक्तव्य से और चार तारीख को सबेरे प्रेस कॉन्फ्रेंस में गवर्नर महोदय द्वारा राजस्थान में कांग्रेस को मंत्रिमंडल बनाने का अवसर देने वाले वक्तव्य को माननीय सदस्य देखेंगे तो वे दोनों चीजों को अपने सामने रखने की कोशिश करेंगे। मैं उन से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इन दो वक्तव्यों में लेशमात्र में किसी को कोई अन्तर नहीं दिखलाई देगा। आज मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि राजस्थान के गवर्नर जो राजस्थान में भारत सरकार के नुमाइन्दे हैं, राष्ट्रपति के शक्ति के आधार पर काम करते हैं ताकि वहां पर संविधान का ठीक प्रकार से उपयोग हो, जिनके ऊपर वहां की देखभाल करने की जिम्मेदारी सौंपी गई है उन्होंने कांग्रेस पार्टी के लीडरों के तर्क के जाल में फँस कर इस तरह का स्टैंड लिया जैसा कि कांग्रेस चाहती थी और इस तरह से उन्होंने वहां पर कांग्रेस को मंत्रिमंडल बनाने का मौका दिया।

राजस्थान के गवर्नर के इस निर्णय से विरोध में प्रान्त व्यापी आन्दोलन हुए

137 RS.—4.

और मैं उन घटनाओं का वर्णन यहां पर नहीं कहूंगा। सात तारीख की घटना का वर्णन मैं यहां पर इसलिए नहीं करना चाहता हूं क्योंकि जयपुर में उस दिन जो घटना हुई उसके बारे में ज्युडिशियल जांच का आदेश दे दिया गया है। लेकिन उपसभापति महोदय, मैं यह कहें बिना नहीं रह सकता हूं कि चूंकि मैं यहां पर उन घटनाओं का वर्णन न कर सकूँ, इसलिए वहां पर ज्युडिशियल इन्क्वायरी की घोषणा कर दी गई है। आज पांच, छः दिन हो गये हैं, लेकिन अभी तक जज का पता नहीं है। जो अफसर वहां पर इन घटनाओं के लिए जिम्मेदार थे वे आज तक समपेड़ नहीं किये गये और न ही उनका स्थानांतरण ही हुआ। केवल ज्युडिशियल इन्क्वायरी की तलवार हम लोगों के गले पर लटका दी गई है ताकि हम उन घटनाओं का वर्णन यहां पर नहीं कर सकें कि किस तरह से उस दिन जयपुर में हत्याकाण्ड हुआ था। मैं इस पर नहीं जाऊंगा। लेकिन राजस्थान के एक एक कसबे में, एक एक शहर में, 4 तारीख से 11 तारीख तक प्रजातंत्र की जो हत्या की गई गवर्नर महोदय के द्वारा, उसके विरोध में तीन तीन बार सारे राजस्थान में शांति हड़तालें हुई हैं और हजारों लोगों के जलूस निकले हैं। मैं जानना चाहूंगा ला एंड आर्डर की दोहाई देने वाले लोगों से कि क्या राजस्थान में एक तिनका भी हिला है, क्या एक व्यक्ति भी ला के डिफायंस में गिरफ्तार किया गया है या कहीं भी सार्वजनिक रूप से इस शासन को कोई खतरा पैदा हुआ है। मैं आपसे जरूर इस बात का प्रोटेशन चाहूंगा कि राजस्थान के नागरिकों ने जो चुनावों के आधार पर मंडेट दिया, लोग वहां पर सरकार बनाने के मार्ग में जो सफल सिद्ध हुये कांग्रेस की माइनारिटी को ला कर, उनके खिलाफ अगर कोई कदम उठाया जाता है तो क्या राजस्थान के लोग शांति से, अपने कानूनी दायरे में रहते हुये, इन चीजों के प्रति विरोध प्रगट न करें।

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

मेरा निवेदन है कि इन सब कोशिशों के बावजूद भी राजस्थान में कांग्रेस पार्टी अपना मंत्रिमंडल बनाने की स्थिति में नहीं आ सकी और इस सारी परिस्थिति में से रिगिल आउट करने के लिये कांग्रेस पालियामेंटी पार्टी का एक निर्णय यहाँ पर हुआ और उसके पब्लिकेशन को आल इंडिया रेडियो से घोषित किया गया कि राजस्थान का कांग्रेस विधायक दल सरकार बनाने के अपने फैसले को रिव्यू करे। उसको अनथराइज्ड कहा गया है, उसको रेफ्यूट नहीं किया गया, उसको गलत नहीं कहा गया। उसको अनथराइज्ड कह कर उसमें से केवल निकलने की कोशिश की गई। केन्द्रीय सरकार भी इस मत की बन गई थी, केन्द्र की कांग्रेस पार्टी इस मत की बन गई थी कि प्रजातंत्र में कांग्रेस को अपनी सरकार बनाने के लिये दुराग्रह नहीं करनी चाहिये। लेकिन जो कांस्टिट्यूशनल परिस्थिति फार्मल इविटेशन की पैदा हो गई थी उसमें से रिगिल आउट करने का एक ही मार्ग था कि कांग्रेस स्वयं मंत्रिमंडल बनाने से इन्कार कर दे। उस दिन की कांग्रेस पालियामेंटी पार्टी की बैठक में भी सब कोशिशों के बावजूद कांग्रेस बहुमत का दृश्य उपस्थित नहीं कर सकी। उसके बाद भी उन्होंने कहा कि हम सरकार बनायेंगे। 12 तारीख की रात में जो पी० टी० आई० को उन्होंने इंटरव्यू दिया है और जो "इंडियन एक्सप्रेस" में छापा है, "पेट्रिएट" में छापा है, उसमें सुखाड़िया जी ने यह दावा किया है कि मेरी तबियत खराब हो गई थी, इस लिये कल मंत्रिमंडल शायद नहीं लेगा, 14 तारीख को जपथ लेगा। यहाँ पर श्री चव्हाण ने जो कल वक्तव्य दिया है और जिसमें उन्होंने मुख्य मंत्री के पद का उल्लेख किया है, उस में उन्होंने उसको 12 तारीख का लिखा हुआ बताया है। मैं हैरान हूँ कि 12 तारीख की रिपोर्ट छपी है कि कांग्रेस मंत्रिमंडल बनायेगी, 13 तारीख से एक तारीख ऐडवॉंस की उन्होंने और कहा कि सुखाड़िया

जी की तबियत अच्छी नहीं है, इस लिये मंत्रिमंडल 14 तारीख को जपथ ग्रहण करेगा। 12 तारीख को चिट्ठी उन्होंने गवर्नर को दी है कि मैं मंत्रिमंडल बनाने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ और इसमें भी कारण यही दिया कि मेरे मन पर बहुत गहरा बोझ है, इस लिये मैं मंत्रिमंडल बनाने में असमर्थ हूँ।

तो राजस्थान में जो कुछ हुआ है वह प्रजातंत्र पर आधारित नहीं है, वह कंजक्चर्स पर आधारित है, वह मनो में पैदा होने वाला अविश्वास था। हरियाणा में कांग्रेस के मुख्य मंत्री को स्पीकर के चुनाव में पहले ही दिन एक झटका बर्दाश्त करना पड़ा, एक घृणित दृश्य देखना पड़ा, लेकिन सुखाड़िया जी इतने बुद्धिमान हैं कि उन्होंने पहले से अनुमान कर लिया था कि यह जो स्पीकर का कन्टेस्ट होने वाला है 15 तारीख को राजस्थान में, उस में कहीं भी लोकस स्टैंडी हमारी नहीं है। उस सारी परिस्थिति का सामना करने की, इस लिये ईमानदारी से यहाँ से हट जाने की कोशिश करो। मैंने कल भी यहाँ प्वाइटेड सवाल किया था। मुझे दुःख है कि मुझे उस का जवाब नहीं मिला। मेरा यह स्पष्ट चार्ज है कि जब सुखाड़िया जी ने मंत्रिमंडल बनाने से इन्कार किया, उस समय ला ऐंड आर्डर मिच्युएशन की बात कुछ अफ को गई, पैदा की गई, बेवूनियाद पैदा की गई। उसी वक्त ला ऐंड आर्डर को थोट पैदा हो गया था, डेमोक्रेसी को थोट पैदा हो गया था, कांस्टिट्यूशनल फंक्शनिंग को थोट पैदा हो गया था, यह कह कर वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति शासन की दलील दी गई। गवर्नर महोदय ने अपने लेटर में यह कहा :

"The speeches made and the statements issued by the Opposition leaders clearly say that they will not allow a Sukhadia Government, i.e., Congress Government to function in any case and would indeed try every possible means to prevent a Congress Ministry from being sworn in."

मेरा निवेदन है कि विधान ठीक प्रकार से चले । राज्यपाल यह जिम्मेदारी लें कि कांस्टिट्यूशनल फंक्शनिंग हो रही है । क्या कांस्टिट्यूशनल फंक्शनिंग केवल कांग्रेस मिनिसट्री के साथ जुड़ी हुई है । अगर गवर्नर महोदय इस रिपोर्ट में कहते कि राजस्थान में कोई भी कांस्टिट्यूशनली फार्मड मिनिसट्री चल नहीं सकती तब तो मैं मान सकता हूं और उस को मैं कांस्टिट्यूशनल ब्रेक डाउन की संज्ञा देने की तैयारी रखता । लेकिन जहां पर उन्होंने कहा है कि राजस्थान में केवल कांग्रेस मिनिसट्री नहीं चल सकती थी, कांग्रेस मिनिसट्री चलने के लिये परिस्थितियां अनुकूल नहीं रह गई थीं । मैं समझता हूं कि यह चीज किसी भी प्रकार से एक गवर्नर के पद के लिये शोभाजनक नहीं है ।

आज भी गृह मंत्री महोदय "नार्मलसी" वापस आ जाय । इस बात को दोहराते हैं । जहां तक प्रजातन्त्र के नार्मल होने का सवाल है, गवर्नर महोदय 16 मार्च को दिल्ली आये थे और 17 मार्च को जयपुर पहुंचे और जयपुर पहुंचते ही प्रेस कॉन्फ्रेंस में उन्होंने ने यह कहा है कि मैं समझता हूं कि राजस्थान में शांति की अवस्था की स्थिति पैदा हो गई है । 17 तारीख को उन का यह बक्तव्य अखबारों में छपा है । जब वहां नार्मलसी पैदा हो गई, जब किसी भी प्रकार का थ्रेट नहीं रहा तो फिर अब जो कुछ हो रहा है उस में कौन सा जस्टिफिकेशन है । 17 तारीख को गवर्नर महोदय ने जो प्रेस को बक्तव्य दिया, उसके बाद मैं यह प्रतीक्षा कर रहा था कि 18 तारीख को होने वाले इस राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में राजस्थान में राष्ट्रपति राज्य की समाप्ति की बात होगी । मुझे दुःख है कि उस की घोषणा नहीं हुई । मुझे डर है इस बात का जो गवर्नर महोदय ने इस में एक रिमार्क दिया है :

"I cannot for a moment expect such person to follow democratic methods and procedures in administration."

ये जो विरोधी दल के लोग चुन कर आये हैं, उन के बारे में भी गवर्नर महोदय ने फतवा दे दिया है कि ये लोग जबतक हैं, इन लोगों के हाथों में अगर सरकार सुपुर्द की गई तो ये डेमोक्रेटिक फंक्शनिंग को राजस्थान में लागू नहीं होने देंगे । मैं निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि इस का मतलब यह है कि गवर्नर महोदय के सामने आज प्रजातन्त्र नहीं है, गवर्नर महोदय के सामने आज राजस्थान में ला एंड आर्डर सिव्जुएशन के डिस्टर होने का खतरा नहीं है, गवर्नर महोदय को इन विरोधी दलों के नेताओं से जाती तौर पर चिढ़ पैदा हो गई है । इस का इलाज वर्तमान गवर्नर महोदय के रहते कभी नहीं हो सकता । इसी लिये मेरा पुर जोर फिर से निवेदन है कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय अपनी उसी कांस्टिट्यूशन की धारा के अनुसार राजस्थान में राष्ट्रपति के शासन को रिवोक कर सकते हैं ।

गवर्नर महोदय की किसी प्रकार की प्रतीक्षा न करें, क्योंकि उन की एक मनःस्थिति बन गई है । राजस्थान की पालिटिकल क्राइसिस तथ्यों पर आधारित नहीं है, उनकी मनःस्थिति पर आधारित है । इस का कोई दूसरा इलाज नहीं होगा । राजस्थान के लोगों के राजनीतिक अधिकारों को जल्दी से जल्दी प्रस्थापित करने का इसमें उल्लेख किया गया है । मुझे डर है कि इस के लिए गवर्नर महोदय को वहां से हटाए बिना राष्ट्रपति महोदय के लिए वहां पर सुगम परिस्थितियां पैदा करना उन की मनःस्थिति के कारण कभी सम्भव रहने वाला नहीं है । इसी एक बात को इस भाषण के समय सरकार के समक्ष रख कर अपने इस विरोध को अंगक करता हूं ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

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

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

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not find anyone on the Treasury Benches.

Is any Minister in the House?

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA (Madhya Pradesh): No Minister, but would-be Ministers are there.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then I shall adjourn the House for ten minutes.

The House then adjourned for ten minutes.

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

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Once again I have to draw the attention of the Treasury Benches that the House reassembles at 2.30. It was announced at 1.30 and I do hope that the Treasury Benches will take note of this that they must be in their seats at 2.30 sharp.

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN: (Madras) This is not the first occasion that this has happened.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is why I am drawing their attention over again.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया :  
आश्चर्य तो इस बात का है, उपसभापति महोदय । . .

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT): I am sorry. Madam. On behalf of my colleagues I apologise to the House.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया :  
मैं यही निवेदन कर रहा था कि यह आदत पुरानी है । यह आशा थी कि नए मिनिस्टर आयेंगे, सम्भवतः ठीक तरह से काम करेंगे, यंग ब्लड है । जो ओल्ड ब्लड वाले हैं वे सम्भवतः लेट हो गए हों, इसलिए किसी नए मिनिस्टर को डिप्यूट कर देते ।

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: In the last fifteen years it has happened first in my life.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What has happened?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: That I am late. Because he referred to old Ministers, this has happened first in my life.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Old or new, you must take the responsibility. It does not matter that individually you have not committed a lapse. But you have to take the responsibility. I think the House must be treated with proper courtesy and dignity.

#### MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman. I am glad that the President has addressed the joint session and an opportunity has been afforded to the President to announce the policies of the Government and for us to hear him, and this is the proper place for him either to announce policies or to give suggestions as cannot criticise the Government outside. We are meeting here in changed circumstances. In some of the States some new Governments which we cannot call as party Govern-