

MR. SPEAKER: If you want, you may have a discussion some time later. I have been allowing a discussion whenever you have wanted it. But if I allow one question, how can I prevent others from putting hundred other questions? Therefore, I have been following a procedure where no questions are allowed but we have a discussion if necessary.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: The discussion is all right; we will not object to that. But our submission is this. We wanted the hon. Minister to make a statement on this particular issue. He has made that statement. We are very grateful for that. Now we seek some small clarification.

MR. SPEAKER: How can I differentiate between one Member and another? You show me a way out and I am prepared to do that. If I allow Shri Banerjee, how can I prevent others? But if you want a discussion, I have been allowing half an hour or one hour or whatever you want.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Now that you assure us of a discussion, it is all right.

MR. SPEAKER: On any statement we can have a discussion. Let us sit down and see which are the important things. I have absolutely no objection.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: You will not be able to fit it in.

MR. SPEAKER: For that you must find time. Hon. Members must be able to do that.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Neither clarification nor discussion will be there. That is what will happen.

12.16 hrs,

RE. TEACHERS' STRIKE IN DELHI

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): I have a small submission to make. The Parliament is not sitting for three days, that is, 24th, 25th and 26th

February, 1968. May I only request you, without any anger or anything else, to ask the Education Minister to make some statement on teachers' strike?

MR. SPEAKER: No, please.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: A large number of them have been dismissed.

MR. SPEAKER: I know that.

12.16 hrs.

MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.

MR. SPEAKER: We shall now take up further discussion of the motion of thanks on the President's Address.

We have still got 1 hour and 30 minutes. There is ample time. As I said yesterday the Prime Minister will reply at 2.30 P.M. There is still time left. All the Parties have exhausted their time allotted. The Congress has a little time. Shri Onkarlal Bohra.

श्री श्रीकार साल बोहरा (चित्तौड़गढ़): अध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर हो रही बहस के दौरान मैं जैसा कि सबको विदित है इस हाउस में एक निन्दा का प्रस्ताव लाया गया है। मुझे यह कहते हुए दुःख होता है कि यह निन्दा प्रस्ताव एक विशिष्ट पार्टी के सदस्य ने लाया है और उन्होंने यह बात कह कर हम सबको चौंका दिया है कि राष्ट्रपति मुसलमान हैं और इसी कारण से इतने दंगे हुए हैं। इसको सुन कर मैं हैरत में पड़ गया। उस पार्टी के एक जिम्मेदार सदस्य के मुंह से, यह बात निकलती क्या यह उनके लिए शोभाजनक था। मैं उनकी उस पार्टी के सदस्य होने के नाते ही नहीं बल्कि वैसे भी उनको यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के समय में इस तरह का अनर्गल प्रचार करके राष्ट्र के साथ

गद्दारी की है और साम्प्रदायिक भावनाओं को भड़काया है, उसमें उन्होंने योग दिया है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उनके भाषण के उस अंश की खूब भर्त्सना की जाए।

राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के दौरान में देश और विदेश की सभी समस्याओं की चर्चा की गई है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज जो हमारे राष्ट्र की स्थिति है उसमें विघटनकारी तत्व सक्रिय हो गए हैं और उनकी वजह से एक अजीब स्थिति पैदा हो गई है। असम से लेकर कच्छ तक और काश्मीर से लेकर कन्याकुमारी तक आज हमारे देश की स्थिति अजीबोगरीब है। जिस समय हम आजाद हुए थे तब हम एक थे, हमारी शक्ति एक थी, हम एक राष्ट्र थे और एक राष्ट्र के रूप में हमने ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद से टक्कर ली थी और देश को आजादी के द्वार तक लाए थे। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य की बात है और साथ ही साथ अत्यन्त खेद की भी बात है कि आज बीस वर्ष के बाद हमारे देश की पूरी सीमाओं के साथ खिलवाड़ हो रही है। आज हम जिस स्थिति में हैं उसमें हम यह नहीं समझ पाते हैं कि कौन सा ऐसा हिस्सा है जिसकी राष्ट्रीयता को चुनौती नहीं दी जा सकती है। असम और नेफा में जिस तरह के विघटनकारी तत्व काम कर रहे हैं और पिछले दिनों जिस तरह से पाकिस्तान ने गुजरात और राजस्थान के बोर्डर पर आक्रमण करके लाभ उठाया और जिस तरह की घटनायें काश्मीर में घट रही हैं और जिस तरह से मद्रास के अन्दर अराष्ट्रीय तत्वों की हरकतें चल रही हैं उस सबको देखते हुए राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में इस बात को अच्छी तरह से हमारे सामने रखा है और हमसे राष्ट्रीय एकता को मजबूत बनाने की अपील की है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रीय एकता का प्रश्न दलगत राजनीति के ऊपर है। किसी भी पार्टी से

सम्बन्धित यह प्रश्न नहीं है। इसलिए मैं विरोधी पार्टियों से खास तौर से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि कितनी ही मीठी बातें वे कहें, कितनी ही मीठे भाषण वे दें राष्ट्रीय एकता के प्रश्न को वे दलगत राजनीति से ऊपर रखें। इसका कारण यह है कि जब तक हम अपने राष्ट्र की बुनियादी एकता को सुरक्षित नहीं रखेंगे जब तक, अपनी राष्ट्रीय एकता को सुरक्षित नहीं रखेंगे हमारी आजादी सुरक्षित नहीं रहेगी और हम जो आर्थिक विकास करना चाहते हैं, निरंतर विकास की ओर अग्रसर हो रहे हैं, उसमें बहुत बड़ी कमजोरी आ जाएगी।

राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर हो रही बहस के दौरान सदस्यों द्वारा खास तौर से भाषा की समस्या की चर्चा की गई है। मैं भी उसकी ओर इंगित करना चाहता हूँ। भाषा की समस्या केवल काँग्रेस पार्टी की समस्या नहीं है। जो भी पार्टी आईदा केन्द्र में आएगी उसके सामने भी यही समस्या रहेगी। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ अपने विरोधी दलों से कि वे भाषा को अपनी राजनीति न बनायें, भाषा को अपना आधार न बनायें और भाषा को ले कर अपनी राजनीति न चलायें। देश के अन्दर करोड़ों लोग हैं और उनकी बहुत सी समस्याएँ हैं। उन समस्याओं की चर्चा करें, उनके बारे में बतायें कि कैसे उनको हल किया जा सकता है लेकिन भाषा का मामला ऐसा नाजुक मामला है कि इससे हमारी राष्ट्रीय एकता को बहुत बड़ा खतरा पैदा हुआ है। इस वास्ते मैं उनसे अपील करूँगा कि कम से कम इस अवसर पर जब हम राष्ट्र के अन्दर एक अस्थिरता का वातावरण चारों तरफ देख रहे हैं, जैसा कि मैंने प्रारम्भ में कहा है, राजनीतिक अस्थिरता हम देख रहे हैं, तथा हमारी सीमाओं पर शत्रुओं का दबाव है, तब भाषा के नाम पर राष्ट्रीय एकता को कमजोर करना राष्ट्र के

[श्री श्रींकार लाल बेहरा]

साथ गहरी करने के समान है। अगर हम भाषा या किसी अन्य समस्या के नाम पर राष्ट्रीय एकता पर आघात करते हैं, तो हम उन संकलों से विमुख होते हैं, जो कि संविधान के अन्तर्गत हम ने लिए हैं। आखिर भाषा की समस्या देश के हित से बड़ी नहीं है। हमारा देश सब से बड़ा है—हमारा राष्ट्र सर्वोपरि है। इस लिए आज हम में से बहुत से लोग एक “फ्री तामिलनाडु” के आन्दोलन की बात सुन कर भौंचक्क रह गए। हमारे कुछ मित्र यह दलील दे सकते हैं कि इस आन्दोलन के पीछे बहुत से कारण हैं। लेकिन हम यह स्वीकार नहीं कर सकते हैं कल किन्हीं भी कारणों से इस प्रकार के आन्दोलन का औचित्य सिद्ध किया जा सकता है। अगर कन्याकुमारी में लेकर काश्मीर और कच्छ से ले कर असम तक फैला हुआ हमारा यह देश एक है तो हमें इस प्रकार के आन्दोलनों की निन्दा और भर्त्सना करना चाहिए और स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहना चाहिए कि इस तरह की हरकतों को दंडित नहीं किया जायेगा। बस तोर से मैं डी० एम० के० के अपने उन मित्रों से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ, जो कि संसद में बैठते हैं, कि जब उन्होंने संविधान के प्रति शपथ ली है, तो क्या उन्होंने इस प्रकार के राष्ट्र विरोधी कार्यों का विरोध और भर्त्सना की है।

SHRI V. KRISHNAMOORTHY (Cuddalore): He is saying that some elements are behind this agitation. I would like to tell him that the Congress at Coimbatore instigated the students to agitate.

श्री श्रींकारलाल बेहरा : मैं दक्षिण का दौरा कर के आया हूँ। मैं मद्रास में तीन दिन रहा और आन्ध्र और केरल में भी गया। मुझे यह कहते हुए संतोष है कि कुछ राजनीतिक पार्टियाँ और केवल कुछ व्यक्ति ही हिंसा का विरोध कर रहे हैं। केरल के

लोगों का तो हिन्दी के प्रति बड़ा प्रेम है। मद्रास में भी आम जनता का हिन्दी-विरोधी आन्दोलन में कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। मैं इस के विस्तार में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हमारे मित्र वास्तव में राष्ट्र और राष्ट्रीय एकता को सर्वोपरि स्थान देते हैं, तो आज भाषा के नाम पर जो कुछ हो रहा है, वे उस को बन्द करें और उस की भर्त्सना करें।

मुझे यह कहते हुए दुःख है कि आज हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति निरन्तर बिगड़ती जा रही है। हम पिछले बीस वर्षों से समाजवाद की बात करते रहे हैं। आजादी से पहले हम ने अपने देश के करोड़ों लोगों को कई तरह के सपने दिये थे— हम ने उन को राम राष्ण्य का सपना दिया था, उन को एक सुखी और समृद्ध जीवन का सपना दिया था। आज हम राजनैतिक पार्टियों की चर्चा न करें। बल्कि बुनियाद में जायें कि हमने अन्य जो समाजवाद स्थापित करने की बात कही थी, देश के करोड़ों लोगों को सुखी और सम्पन्न बनाने की बात कही थी, उस की मूर्ति की दिशा में हम कितना आगे बढ़ पाए हैं।

यह ठीक है कि हमारे देश का आर्थिक विकास हुआ है, औद्योगीकरण हुआ है, यहाँ पर यातायात के साधन बढ़े हैं, सड़कों का विस्तार हुआ है, विकास के कार्य आगे बढ़े हैं। लेकिन जिस गति से हमें आगे बढ़ना चाहिए था, उस गति से हम ने प्रगति नहीं की है। हमें देखना चाहिए कि रूस, जर्मनी और जापान जैसे कई देश युद्ध में बुरी तरह क्षतिग्रस्त होने के बावजूद थोड़े समय में ही बहुत प्रगति कर गए और उन्होंने अपने आप को मजबूत कर लिया। आखिर क्या कारण है कि बीस वर्षों के बाद भी हम अपने आप को आर्थिक दिवालियेपन और

पिछोपन की स्थिति में मा रहे हैं ? आज हमारे पास अपनी योजनाओं और विकास के लिए पैसा नहीं है । यह एक बहुत बुनियादी बात है ।

अगर हम अपने देश का विकास करेंगे और यहाँ के औसत आदमी के जीवन-स्तर को ऊँचा उठावेंगे, तो हम ऐसी बहुत सी समस्याओं को हल कर लेंगे, जो आर्थिक कठिनाइयों या गरीबी के कारण पैदा होती हैं । अगर हम अपनी आर्थिक-स्थिति में सुधार करने के लिए तेजी से, युद्ध स्तर पर, कोशिश नहीं करेंगे और समाजवाद के मार्ग पर चल कर इस देश के करोड़ों लोगों के जीवन-स्तर को ऊँचा उठाने की ओर कदम नहीं बढ़ावेंगे, तो निश्चित रूप से आने वाले समय में हमारे देश के सामने कई कठिनाइयाँ आने वाली हैं ।

आज हमारे देश में राजनैतिक अस्थिरता है । आम चुनाव के बाद कई राज्यों में गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकारें स्थापित हुई, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे भी जनता की आशा के अनुकूल सिद्ध नहीं हो सकीं । इस लिए इस स्थिति में अगर देश को कोई मजबूत नेतृत्व दे सकता है, तो वह केवल अभी कांग्रेस ही है । इसलिए मैं कांग्रेस पार्टी के बुजुर्ग नेताओं से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमारे सामने यह एक चुनौती है और केन्द्र में होने के कारण हमें इस बात पर विचार करना चाहिए कि हम अपने कार्यक्रमों के द्वारा किस प्रकार देश की आर्थिक दृष्टि से समृद्धिशीली बनायें ।

माननीय सदस्य, श्री चन्द्रबीर यादव ने राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव रखा है, इन शब्दों के साथ मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ ।

देश के असंग अलग हिस्सों में राजस्थान के निवासियों के साथ जो बीत रहा है, खास

तौर से मैं उस की ओर इस सदन का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ । मैं इस सम्बन्ध में केवल राजस्थानियों का नाम नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन चूंकि राजस्थानियों के साथ विशेष रूप से इन प्रकार का व्यवहार किया जा रहा है, इसलिए इस समस्या की ओर मैं सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ । जब हमारा देश एक है, हमारी संस्कृति एक है, तो इस प्रकार की घटनायें होना हमारे लिए लज्जा की बात है गाँधी जी में जो घटनायें हुई हैं, उन को केवल प्रतीक, (सिम्बल), माना जाना चाहिए, उन के प्रकाश में हमें विचार करना चाहिए कि हम किस तरह इस समस्या को हल कर सकते हैं ।

श्री रानजी राम (अकबरपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप का बड़ा आभारी हूँ कि आप ने मुझे राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर बोलने का मौका दिया । माननीय सदस्यों ने जो विचार प्रकट किये हैं, मैंने उन को बड़े ध्यान से सुना है ।

मैंने देखा है कि राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है, “महत्वपूर्ण राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं को दक्षगत राजनीति से ऊपर रखा जाना चाहिए ।” परिवार-नियोजन का जिक्र करते हुए राष्ट्रपति ने जो यह कहा है, “आबादी को नियंत्रित करने के कुछ अन्य उपायों पर भी सरकार विचार कर रही है,” इस को भी मैंने बड़े ध्यान से देखा है । राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में यह भी कहा है, “हमारे समाज के अब तक के अविकसित वर्गों—अनुसूचित जातियों, अनुसूचित आदिमजातियों और पिछड़ी जातियों की सामाजिक-आर्थिक उन्नति सरकार के लिए अत्यन्त रूचि और विन्ता का विषय रहा है... हमारी इस समस्या का आखिरी उत्तर हमारी अद्य-व्यवस्था के जल्दी समुन्नत होने में ही निहित है ।”

मैं आप का ध्यान श्री खंडुभाई देसाई द्वारा लिखी गई एक एक किताब “राष्ट्रीय

[श्री रामजी राम]

मजदूर कांग्रेस और उस की जिम्मेदारियों" में उन के इस वक्तव्य की और दिलाना चाहता हूँ :

".....इस पार्टी की नीति..."

वह कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का जिक्र कर रहे हैं।

"...हमेशा से उल्टी रही है, इस लिए राष्ट्रीय मजदूर कांग्रेस ने यह उचित ही निर्णय किया है कि कम्युनिस्टों को अछूतों की तरह समाज के प्रत्येक क्षेत्र से एक तरफ कर दिया जाये।"

इस के दावे में आप का ध्यान 22 फरवरी के नवभारत टाइम्स में छपी इस खबर की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ 'मुनीरका गांव में छज्जा गिरने से 14 बच्चों की दुःखद मृत्यु'। इस खबर के नीचे यह लिखा गया है : "बरात चमारों की थी...."।

इस तरह से हम यह स्पष्ट देखने हैं कि महत्वपूर्ण राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं में मूलभूत समस्यायें मेहनतकश सर्वहारा वर्ग और अछूत कहीं जाने वाली जातियों की हैं। उन के सामने रोजगार, आवास, जातिवाद, छुआछूत, शिक्षा और आबादी नियन्त्रण आदि की समस्यायें हैं। इन का मूल कारण अर्थ-व्यवस्था में उत्पन्न और उपभोग में समान अधिकार का न होना है।

संविधान के अनुच्छेद 41 में शिक्षा पाने, बेकारी, बुढ़ापा, बीमारी और भ्रंश-हानि की स्थिति में सार्वजनिक सहायता की प्राविधान है। आज हमारे देश में बुढ़ापा और बेरोजगारी की पेन्शन नहीं मिलती है। सरकार को यह व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए कि हमारे यहां बुढ़ापा और बेरोजगारी की पेन्शन मिले, जैसे कि वह दुनिया के कुछ मल्कों में मिलती है।

एक तरफ मिलों और कारखानों आदि में काम करने वाले मजदूरों की समस्यायें हैं, तो दूसरी तरफ खेत मजदूरों और बिल्डिंग तथा सड़क बनाने वाले मजदूरों की गम्भीर समस्यायें हैं। आज भी इन पर न्यूनतम मजदूरी अधिनियम लागू नहीं किया गया है। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि महंगाई के अनुसार उम में संशोधन किया जाये।

संविधान की धारा 340 के तहत पिछड़ा वर्ग कमीशन की नियुक्ति की गई, परन्तु इस की रपट पर गौर नहीं किया गया है और उस को रद्दी की टोकरी में फेंक दिया गया है।

संविधान के अनुच्छेद 14, 15 और 16 में समता का अधिकार दिया गया है और अनुच्छेद 17 में छुआछूत दूर करने का प्राविधान है। अनुच्छेद 46 में अनुसूचित जातियों और अनुसूचित आदिम जातियों की शिक्षा, उन के अर्थ सम्बन्धी हितों की उन्नति, सामाजिक न्याय और शोषण से संरक्षण का प्राविधान है। यही नहीं अनुच्छेद 338 के मातहत उनके उत्थान के लिए एक कमिशनर नियुक्ति की गई, लेकिन उन की रपट केवल संसद् में डिस्कशन के लिए पेश की जाती है और फिर उसको रद्दी की टोकरी में फेंक दिया जाता है।

गांव में खेत मजदूर और अछूत एक एकड़ में 50 घर हैं और दूसरे एक एकड़ में एक घर हैं। शहरों में झुग्गी झोपड़ी के निवासी हैं। मास्टर प्लान के मातहत उन की सुवधा का कोई ध्यान नहीं किया गया और उन्हें यहां से उजाड़ कर दूर दूर के गांवों में जहां उन के लिए कोई काम और रोजो नहीं है वहां पर बसने के लिए मजबूर किया गया है। हमारी राय यह है कि लैंड टु दि टिलर, रिक्सा टु दि पुलर और झुग्गी झोपड़ी टु दि डवेलर।

मैं उत्तर प्रदेश से आता हूँ । हमारे सूबे में ग्राम समाज की सारी जमीन बड़े काश्तकारों के कब्जे में है और वहाँ की सरकार ने 1 करोड़ 80 लाख रुपये का इस्तेमाल नहीं होने दिया । उस को लैप्स किया । इस से उन की सारी सुविधाएं खटाई में पड़ गई ।

हथकरघा बुनकरों की बड़ी दयनीय दशा है । हमारे सूबे के पूर्वी इलाके टांडा, मऊनाथ भंजन आदि कस्बों और दिल्ली में हजारों बनकर उम्दा कारीगर होने पर भी तबाह हैं । उन के माल की गारन्टी दूसरे मुल्कों से सम्बन्ध रख कर सरकार को लेनी चाहिए ।

परिवार नियोजन की सफलता एक धोखा है । मजबूर लोग ही इस में इस्तेमाल किए जाते हैं । बाल विवाह चालू है । आबादी रोकी नहीं जा सकती है । दि चाइल्ड मेरेज रिस्ट्रिक्ट ऐक्ट 1929 बना मगर वह कामयाब नहीं हो सका है । वह कामिजबल आफेंस नहीं है । उसे कामिजबल आफेंस करार दिया जाना चाहिए ।

मुसलमानों को शक की निगाह से नहीं देखा जाना चाहिए और न उर्दू भाषा केवल उन की भाषा ही माननी चाहिए । अन्य भाषाओं के साथ उर्दू भाषा भी जो संविधान में रेकग्नाइज्ड भाषा है मुख्यता उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार और दिल्ली में उसे विशेष स्थान मिलना चाहिए ।

आज की राजनीतिक पार्टियां भी जातिवाद के जाल में फंसी जा रही हैं । शासन-तंत्र तो जातिवाद पर आधारित है ही । तो ऐसी विषम परिस्थिति में केवल समाजवाद के नारे से काम नहीं चल सकता । आज प्रजातंत्र में शोषित और अल्पमत जातियों के मूलभूत अधिकारों की रक्षा बड़ा मुश्किल हो गया है ।

एक तरफ समाज में ब्राह्मण वर्ग है जिसे अन्तर्जातीय अन्तर्प्रान्तीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय विवाह करने का अधिकार है । दूसरी तरफ मध्य प्रदेश के भुंगेली क्षेत्र में अछूतों को ड्रामा में नकली राम और नकली सीता का पार्टकरने पर 5 व्यक्तियों की हत्या की गई जो अछूत थे । इलाहाबाद जिले के क्षेत्र के एक एस० ओ० जो कि अनुसूचित जाति के थे वह रात को मार डाले गए इसलिए कि वह अनुसूचित जाति के थे । यही नहीं अलीगढ़ कालेज के अन्दर अम प्रकाश नेता की हत्या दिन दहाड़े प्रिंसिपल के कमरे में कर दी गई जो कि मानीटर चुना गया था । अखबारों में हम ने पढ़ा कि जूता पहनने, साइकिल पर चढ़ने और मूछें छेंद कर चलने पर हत्याएं की जाती हैं । इस तरह से हम देखते हैं कि अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित आदिम जाति के लिए कोई महत्वपूर्ण कदम नहीं उठाया जा रहा है । इसलिए हम सरकार से यह मांग करते हैं कि ठोस कदम उन के उत्थान के सिलमिले में उठाए जाने चाहिए ।

SHRI B. N. SHASTRI (Lakhimpur):
Mr. Speaker, I stand to support the motion moved by my friend Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav. The President has drawn our attention to some of the burning problems of our nation and he has also indicated broadly how to solve these problems. To my mind the most burning problem before the nation is the removal of poverty and the upliftment of the downtrodden people. Unless these two problems are solved, no amount of wishful thinking will be able to create confidence in the mind of the people. Until and unless the masses are taken into confidence, no Government scheme or project will succeed. Therefore, these are the most important problems to be solved immediately. It is to be regretted that even today there are certain villages where there is no facility for drinking water which is a basic necessity of human life. There should be some scheme to

[Shri B. N. Shastri]

provide drinking water for all the people throughout the country.

Today, we see that in all parts of the country there take place fissiparous tendencies and violent acts and such other things. It is a hydra-headed demon which is raising its ugly head in different States, and at some places it takes shelter under regionalism, and in certain other parts, it takes the form of language, religion and so on and so forth. But the basic thing is the same. The real cause for the growth of this fissiparous tendency is more economical than political or anything else. One major point is the regional imbalance in the growth of our economy. In this respect I refer to my State, the State of Assam. Assam has great potentialities, but it is the poorest of all the States in India. Assam is a paddy-growing State and it is self-sufficient in respect of paddy. But if attention is paid to resist the devastating floods which take place every year, then, it can be turned into a surplus State and it can feed some other parts of India also.

Again, there is no facility for irrigating the lands in Assam. Assam badly needs irrigation facilities. Therefore, I hope the Government of India will take some measures to irrigate the cultivable lands in Assam.

Assam is a backward State in respect of industrial development. Assam produces oil, but oil is the dearest commodity in Assam. The price of petroleum in Delhi is Rs. 1 per litre, but in Assam it is Rs. 1.10. Is it a sin that Assam produces oil, and therefore she should be punished and penalised in this way? For petroleum, if it is calculated, the people of Assam pay Rs. 3,50,00,000 a year, at the rate of Rs. 1.10 per litre, which is more by 10 per cent than what the people in other parts of the country

pay for the same quantity of the oil. Similar is the case of furnace oil. No major industrial project is taken up uptill now in Assam. Therefore, I urge upon the Government that Assam should be given some major industrial projects so that the regional imbalance in economic growth is removed. Unless such regional imbalance is removed, there is bound to be discontentment and the fissiparous tendencies will grow.

In all parts of the country, the law and order situation is not good. The law and order situation is not properly maintained and so the life and property of the people are endangered. Therefore, it must be the first duty of the Government to see that law and order is maintained at any and every cost.

I now quote to an old saying for the Mahabharata where there is a norm given, to ascertain whether law and order is maintained or not. It reads as follows:

स्त्रियश्चा पुत्रा रजन् सत्वालं रक्षितः

निर्भयः प्रतिशब्दो यद राष्ट्रं सुरक्षितम् ॥

Ladies, bedecked with all kinds of ornaments without male escort, if can tread the national highway, without fear, then the country is to be termed well protected that is law and order well-maintained. Though the saying is old, the essence is new and I think this norm can be applied even today.

There is now the question of language problem. The question of language has been agitating the mind of the people all over the country. It is not the question of language as such but it is the question of job that has been agitating the mind of the people. Therefore, if the quota

system is introduced for each State, this question can be solved. Otherwise, there is bound to be more problems, and therefore I suggest that there should be a quota system.

Lastly, I refer to the incidents that took place on the 26th January last in Gaunati. This is said to be a clash between Assamese and non-Assamese. Actually that is not the problem there and that is not the cause or the fact. It is an agitation by some people against the proposal to reorganise Assam on federal structure and the situation has been exploited by some anti-social elements. The unseen hands of some foreign elements also cannot be ruled out. Therefore, the problem of reorganisation of Assam should be solved immediately to the satisfaction of the majority of the people. It is not a question of denying the rights and aspirations of one section of the people, but it is a question of satisfying all sections of the people, living in plains and hills. Such a proposal should be brought forward and if the problem is solved immediately, there will be no cause for agitation and I hope such ugly incidents, which have been condemned by all sections of the people, will not recur.

With these words, I support the motion of thanks to the President for his Address.

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Madhu Limaye had given notice of an Amendment (No. 92) which he may move.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE (Mong-hyr): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of—

- (a) the decision of the West Bengal Governor to dis-

the Ajoy Mukerjee Ministry before it had an opportunity of winning a confidence vote in the Assembly, the reign of terror let loose by the Government with the support of the Central Government and the large scale arrests of legislators;

- (b) the imposition of President's rule and the removal of a popularly elected Government enjoying majority support on grounds extraneous to the provision of article 356 i.e., on the irrelevant ground of defection in Haryana,
- (c) the overthrow of a popular Government through corruption and bribery in Punjab;
- (d) the action of Governor of Bihar to instal Shri Satish Prasad Singh as a stop gap Chief Minister merely to enable him to advise the Governor to nominate Shri B. P. Mandal to Legislative Council in flagrant violation of article 171 of the Constitution of India, thereby reducing Parliamentary Government to a mockery and bringing the Governor's office into contempt;
- (e) the illegal prorogation of the Bihar Assembly which had been convened for the Budget Session in order to avoid an adverse vote in the Assembly;
- (f) the failure of the administration to prevent occurrence of repeated communal disturbances, affecting the lives, liberties, honour and property of the Muslim minority in India;

[Shri Madhu Limaye]

- (g) the failure to prevent attacks on Harijans and other oppressed sections of the population;
- (h) the fraud of free sale of sugar resulting in a loot of Rs. 160 crores;
- (i) 20 per cent rise in the price of imported foodgrains under PL 480 and other sources, bringing hardship on the poor consumers in the cities and rural areas;
- (j) the imposition of English on unwilling States who want to abolish it and the imposition of Hindi on unwilling non-Hindi States;
- (k) the failure to prevent police firing and lathi charge on students in Andhra, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and other areas with the connivance of the Central Government;
- (l) the discriminatory Central policies in respect of food allocation and advances by the Reserve Bank to the non-Congress Governments;
- (m) the failure to constitute an anti-corruption commission to investigate charges against Central Ministers and present and former Chief Ministers, Messrs Sukhadia, K. B. Sahay, Nijlingappa etc." (92)

MR. SPEAKER: This amendment is also before the House now.

SHRI VIRBHADRA SINGH (Mahasu): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are indeed grateful to the President for his Address to the Parliament, in which he has pinpointed the various

social, economic and political problems that the country is facing today. Our country has passed through a very difficult period. In the past few years, we have had to face two wars and a severe drought which affected a great part of our country. Faced with this situation, it was indeed a stupendous task to tide over the crisis. Now that we have turned the corner and things are looking bright, the Government deserves to be congratulated for the manner in which they have handed this difficult situation.

It is indeed gratifying to note that the production of foodgrains this year is expected to be more than in any year in the past. At the same time, it is indeed very shameful and also a matter of concern that even after 20 years of freedom, our country had to face threats of famine. It is not enough to blame the severe drought for this position. I think our Government has now learnt a lesson from this severe crisis. The Government and the planners are now according the priority which agriculture always deserved.

Now that the food situation has improved, there should be no complacency about it. The efforts to grow more food should continue with unabated vigour. At the same time, the Government should take adequate measures to build food stocks in the country. The Government should also review its policy with regard to feed zones, which in my view has not helped anybody—not even the surplus States—and has caused hardship to the people. Yesterday, the Food Minister said that this matter regarding food zones would be reviewed in the forthcoming conference of Chief Ministers. I hope he would advise the Chief Ministers and the conference would also decide to do away with the food zones.

The President in his Address has expressed concern about the emergence of divisive force which are causing conflicts and violence in the name of language, region or community in the country. I am sure all of us here must be greatly concerned about the general deterioration in the law and order situation and the growth of violence and separatist tendencies in many parts of the country. There have been many cases involving desecration of the National Flag and wilful disrespect shown to the National Anthem. In this morning's papers, we have read what happened at Coimbatore on the 22nd. According to the report a group of students in public park pulled down the national flag, burnt it and hoisted the so-called flag of independent Tamilnad. The police did nothing to prevent it. Later, after everything was over, they arrested four students and released them on bail.

SHRI V. KRISHNAMOORTHY: Do you want them to shoot the students?

SHRI VIRBHADRA SINGH: I know the Government there is faced with a difficult situation. At the same time, the Central Government cannot help but take note of this very very serious situation. I think the time has arrived when our Government should take very drastic measures against the anti-national elements who are trying to divide the country. otherwise it would not be far when we will be united only in name and the very unity and integrity of the country will be threatened.

This is also a matter which should concern all the political parties of the country. I should say, all those political parties who have faith in parliamentary democracy and are loyal to the Constitution. They should get together and solve this problem at the national level. All parties should make a concerted effort to combat these divisive forces before it is too late. At the same time, Sir, I feel,

and feel very strongly, that our Central Government has also been rather weak and hesitant in dealing with these divisive forces. I realise the difficulties of the Government in these matters, but it should not be forgotten that ultimately it is the responsibility of the Centre to maintain the unity and integrity of the country.

The language problem has no doubt aroused very strong sentiments in the country and it has let loose powerful forces and sentiments which we are finding it very difficult to control. It is no doubt a very difficult problem, which should be dealt with in a cool and calm manner. But at the same time, this is a matter which has got a certain amount of urgency, because what is involved, and what is at stake, after all, is not the future of this language or that language but the very unity and integrity of this country. It is in this light that we should view this very difficult problem and try our utmost to meet the wishes and objections and also the views of those people who are opposed to Hindi. We should try to remove their difficulties as far as possible. At the same time, it should be understood by all that in a multi-lingual country like ours, a country as large as our country where so many languages are spoken, there is every need for a link language. That link language, due to various historical reasons, can only be Hindi. This is a matter which we should clearly understand. Also, as I said earlier, there is urgency to solve this problem. I think this problem should be solved after arriving at a national consensus and it should be solved very soon before it causes any permanent damage to our country.

The President in his Address, while referring to our relations with foreign countries, has expressed satisfaction on the fact that our relation with them, except Pakistan and China is growing very satisfactorily. This is a matter of great satisfaction. So

(Shri Virbhadra Singh)

far as relations with Pakistan, and China are concerned, our relations with them can never be cordial so long as these two countries harbour ill-will towards us and they continue to have aggressive designs against our country. I regret the President in his Address has made no mention of Tibet and the atrocities which are being committed on the Tibetan people by their Chinese rulers. We know that today China is indulging in genocide in Tibet. China is trying systematically to destroy the culture and religion of the Tibetan people. What is happening in Tibet today is something which has roused the conscience of mankind throughout the world. We on whom, the Tibetan people have so much faith, cannot remain silent spectators to what is happening in Tibet. I would strongly urge the Government to revise their policy towards Tibet. We should do our utmost to help the Tibetan people in their struggle for liberation from Chinese Imperialism and colonialism.

Before I conclude, Sir, I would like to say a few words about the demand of the people of Himachal Pradesh, the area from where I come, for full-fledged statehood. The question of statehood has been agitating the minds of the people of Himachal Pradesh for a very long time and this demand has gained momentum since the integration of the hill areas of Punjab with Himachal Pradesh.

The people there are dissatisfied with the present set-up which, apart from many administrative shortcomings, is not in keeping with the hopes and aspirations of the people there. This demand has the unanimous support of all sections of the people and all the political parties. Recently, the Himachal Pradesh Assembly has also unanimously passed a resolution demanding statehood for the territory.

I am sorry to say that the attitude of the Central Government to this

genuine demand of the people of Himachal Pradesh has not been very sympathetic so far. A lot of arguments such as smallness of area and population or financial viability have been used against us in the past. I think the argument regarding smallness of the area or smallness of the population is no longer valid after the creation of a small State like Nagaland which is much smaller in area and population than Himachal Pradesh and has hardly any resources of its own. Himachal Pradesh now has an area of 22,000 sq. miles, which is larger than that of Punjab, Haryana or Kerala. So far as population is concerned, it is nearly 2.9 million which is almost the same as the population of Kashmir. So I think these arguments are no longer valid. So far as the question of financial viability is concerned, I would humbly submit that there is hardly any State in India today which could be said to be financially viable in the true sense of the word. Even bigger states like UP and Madhya Pradesh are not financially viable in the true sense of the term. There are some States like Kashmir and Assam which are getting hundred per cent grant from the Centre and the other States are also not very far behind. So, I would urge that this question of financial viability which is just a boggy, should not be brought in the way of granting Statehood to the people of Himachal Pradesh.

I know that the Centre may have some reasons for its stand. We have also got our case. Let the Home Ministry call the leaders of Himachal Pradesh and give us an opportunity to place our case before the Centre. Let them give us an opportunity to convince us. That is the attitude which open to conviction, if they can convince us. That is the attitude which the Centre should take. Let an impression not be created that the Government will concede a demand only when there are wide-scale rioting or agitations or when people resort to some other methods. So, in the case

I would urge that the Government should give consideration to the demand of the people of Himachal Pradesh and take immediate steps to fulfil the right demand of the people of that territory.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (उज्जैन) :
राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर काफी लोगों ने चर्चा की है। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ कि गीहाटी में जो घटनाएँ हुई हैं, उसका सारा दोष केन्द्रीय सरकार पर आता है। सारी गतिविधियाँ आसाम की जो चल रही थीं उनके सम्बन्ध में केन्द्रीय सरकार को समय समय पर जतलाया गया लेकिन केन्द्रीय सरकार ने जो बरतवाँ किया उसी के कारण सारी घटनाएँ हुई और इतनी बड़ी हानि हुई। अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस के पीछे हाथ किसका है? पिछले बार भी मैंने इसका उल्लेख किया था, पुनः उसका उल्लेख करना चाहता हूँ कि आज पाकिस्तान के 27 लाख नागरिक जो आसाम में घुसे हैं वे किसके इशारे पर घुसे हैं? उसका प्रमुख कारण यह है कि केन्द्र के एक मंत्री, श्री फजलुद्दीन अली अहमद द्वारा उनको प्रोत्साहन दिया गया, उनका बढ़ावा दिया गया। इतना ही नहीं, केन्द्र को और से उन्हें भारत की नागरिकता दी जावे, ऐसी पहल भी उनके द्वारा की जा रही है। मेरी पहली मांग तो यह है कि केन्द्र का एक मंत्री जिसको कि आसाम के बारे में इस प्रकार का नीति हो, जिसका कि हाथ पाकिस्तानी नागरिकों को हिन्दुस्तान में बुलाने और उनको हिन्दुस्तान की नागरिकता दिलाने के पीछे हो—उनके ऊपर मेरा खुला आरोप है—उनसे इस्तीफा लेना चाहिए।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, शेख अब्दुल्ला की गतिविधियों को सरकार जानती थी लेकिन इसके बाद भी शेख अब्दुल्ला को छोड़ा गया। एकबार नहीं, उसे छोड़ कर फिर पकड़ा गया और फिर छोड़ा गया। यही नहीं, उसे पकड़

कर उसके ऊपर लखों रुपये खर्च किए गए। अखिर रुपए क्यों खर्च किये गये? अगर वह दोषी था तो उसके ऊपर मुकदमा क्यों नहीं चलाया गया? अगर वह निर्दोष था तो उसे पकड़ा क्यों गया? उसकी आज भी उसी प्रकार की गतिविधियाँ चल रही हैं जिनके कारण देश में साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हो रहे हैं। वह व्यक्ति अपनी आदत से बाज आने वाला नहीं है जब तक कि से कठोर सजा नहीं दी जाती। एक दिन वह फिर आएगा जब कि इस सरकार को उसे फिर पकड़ना होगा।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, जहाँ तक भाषा का सवाल है, इस के सम्बन्ध में सारे झगड़े जो देश में हुए उनका प्रमुख दोष इस सरकार का है। इस सरकार की लापरवाही के कारण देश में दंगे हुए, देश में तोड़ फोड़ हुई। जो तोड़ फोड़ हुई, मैं उसका विरोधी हूँ। वह बड़ी गलत बात है। जो दोषी हों उनको दण्ड देना चाहिए, उनको सजा मिलनी चाहिए। लेकिन राष्ट्रीय सम्पत्ति को जो इस प्रकार हानि पहुँचाई जा रही है, आज देश में जो झगड़े बढ़ रहे हैं उनका कारण इस सरकार की झुलमुल नीति है और सरकार की लापरवाही है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, देश में जो बेरोजगारी बढ़ी है उसका प्रमुख कारण सरकार की गलत नीतियाँ, सरकार की गलत योजनाएँ हैं इन्हीं के कारण देश में बेकारी बढ़ी है, लोगों को रोजगार नहीं मिला है। सरकार ने अन्य देशों की नकल करके भारत में बड़ी बड़ी योजनाएँ, बड़े-बड़े कल कारखाने, बड़े बड़े बाँधों की योजनाएँ रखीं, जिनमें बड़ी तादाद में पैसा जरूर लगा लेकिन उनसे जितना लाभ होना चाहिए था वह नहीं हुआ। आज देश की उन्नति के लिए सब से पहली आवश्यकता यह है कि छोटी छोटी योजनाएँ हों, छोटे छोटे कल कारखाने हों, छोटे छोटे उद्योग धंधे हों

[श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय]

जिनसे कि देश की लोगों को अधिक काम मिल सके, अधिक रोजगार मिल सके और देश को बेकारी दूर हो। सरकार को इस ओर ध्यान देना चाहिए और अच्छे अन्तिकारी कदम उठाने चाहिए। आज हम दुनिया के सामने अनाज की भीष मांगते हैं, यह बड़े शर्म की बात है। वास्तव में जब देश आजाद हुआ था तभी इस क्षेत्र में अधिक ध्यान देना चाहिए था कि अधिक अन्न पैदा हो। अगर उस समय इस ओर ध्यान दिया जाता तो आज जो देश के सामने अन्न का संकट बना हुआ है वह पैदा न होता। आज भी इस सरकार को जिस ढंग से कदम उठाना चाहिए, उस ढंग से वह कदम नहीं उठा पा रही है जिसके कारण हम आज भी यह नहीं कह सकते कि हम अपने देश में अधिक अन्न पैदा कर लेंगे और हमें दुनिया के किसी देश के सामने हाथ नहीं पसारना पड़ेगा। आज भी यह सरकार ऐसा नहीं कह सकती है। सरकार यदि छोटी सिचाई योजनाएँ, छोटे छोटे तालाब, छोटे कुएँ और छोटे बांध अधिक तादाद में बनाती और कृषकों को प्रोत्साहन देती तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे देश में अधिक अन्न पैदा होता। लेकिन आज यह सरकार इस ओर जितना ध्यान देना चाहिए, उतना ध्यान नहीं दे रही है। कुछ राज्य सरकारें इस ओर कदम उठा रही हैं, लेकिन वे मजबूर हैं वे केन्द्र की ओर देखती हैं और केन्द्र से जो सहयोग उनको मिलना चाहिए, वह सहयोग नहीं मिलता है। राज्य सरकारों के सामने यह बड़ा संकट बना हुआ है और वे अपने ढंग से जितनी प्रगति करना चाहती हैं, वह प्रगति नहीं हो पाती।

मैं एक बात कह कर अपना भाषण समाप्त करूँगा। आज कई राज्यों में जो संविद की सरकारें बनी हुई हैं, उन के प्रति केन्द्रीय सरकार जान बूझ कर योजनाबद्ध रूप से यह प्रयत्न करती है कि वे सरकारें ठीक न चल पायें। इसके फलस्वरूप उन सरकारों

के सामने आज संकट आ रहा है। मैं मध्य प्रदेश का उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। मध्य प्रदेश के अन्दर सरकारी कर्मचारियों का आन्दोलन चल रहा है। उनकी मांग है कि उन्हें केन्द्र के बराबर महंगाई भत्ता मिलना चाहिये। मुझे ज्ञात है कि जिस समय वहाँ पर श्री द्वारिका प्रसाद मिश्र मुख्य मंत्री थे और उस समय कर्मचारियों ने आन्दोलन उठाया था और उस समय की सरकार ने आन्दोलन को दबाने के सम्बन्ध में केन्द्र से बातचीत की थी, केन्द्र से वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री को यह आश्वासन मिला था कि हम आपकी सहायता देंगे और उसी आश्वासन के अधिकार पर उन्होंने विधान सभा के अन्दर घोषणा की थी कि केन्द्र से हमें मदद मिलेगी और हम आपकी मांगें पूरी करेंगे। लेकिन आज वह सरकार नहीं रही और अब दूसरी सरकार है। अब केन्द्र से कहा जाता है कि हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है, अगर हम इसके लिये पैसा देंगे तो दूसरी चीजों के लिए पैसा ही दे पायेंगे।

13 Hrs.

एक बात मुझे और बहनी है कि केन्द्र जो रेवेन्यू लेता है उसका पचास प्रतिशत केन्द्र राज्यों को लौटा देता है, लेकिन दिल्ली से जो रेवेन्यू मिलता है, उसका पचास प्रतिशत केन्द्रीय सरकार नहीं लौटाती है। मेरा कहना है कि दिल्ली को भी पचास प्रतिशत मिलना चाहिए।

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Sitaram Kesri—absent, Shri Mahida.

SHRI NARENDRA SINGH MAHIDA (Anand): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks moved by my hon. friend, Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav on the President's Address.

MR. SPEAKER: He may resume his speech after lunch. We now adjourn for lunch.

13.01 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

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

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Narendra Singh Mahida to continue his speech.

SHRI NARENDRA SINGH MAHIDA: The President's Address is not supposed to make the crops more fruitful, nor the rains more regular, nor will it make every one wealthier, nor change the level of our education. It will not change the habits of mind we have grown up with, nor create any other miraculous changes in our conditions. The President's Address is a declaration of intent to live a certain kind of life and to act in a certain kind of manner for desired ends. By a mere declaration in the President's Address, we do not become socialists, nor does it give us the way to become more prosperous. All that is required is sincere act of dedication; the Party in power, whichever it may be, should show the way to the nation that only dedication in political life will carry us forward. After dedication come actions and actions should speak for the benefit of our people; it is from that angle that we have to consider the President's Address.

Now, I shall refer to certain issues. I had been to East Africa recently with some of our Members of Parliament. The issue there just now is very much in our minds and many of our members desire me to speak something on this. I must confess, Sir, that our Indian settlers went to East Africa some decades back not to rule but to serve and trade. They went

with intention to trade and with hard labour and hard work they earned money and they have improved the standard of that country and their own standard as well. And now, Sir, in respect of Kenya, they are facing a crisis. They were rightly advised by our former High Commissioner Shri Apa Saheb Pant in those circumstances then to accept the British citizenship. Kenya became independent thereafter. So did Uganda and Tanzania and our people of Indian origin there should adjust themselves to the local conditions. And we had rightly advised them to accept the citizenship of that country in which they had prospered. It is for them, for our settlers there, to accept our advice or not. A majority of them held British passport. They are at liberty to live in the country or go to England or any other place they want. The policy of our Government is very clear that we do not want to interfere in the affairs of any other nation. And in that respect our view must be judged by all. But if the people of Indian origin do not choose to remain there and if at any time they desire to return to India then this country welcomes all those people as we have done in the case of East Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon. In respect of all these people who have originated from India and have settled somewhere else, India will never refuse them asylum. My reference to these people of Indian origin is to assure them through you, Sir, and through this House that India has always been helpful. We have given asylum to Dalai Lama from Tibet. We cannot refuse admission to people from our own country, who have gone elsewhere, whether they come with wealth or whether they come without wealth. India, like a mother, shall never refuse help to the people of Indian origin. So, our stand is very clear. This has been expressed in clear language in this House. Hon. Members must be appreciative of our stand. Something should be done for the people of Indian origin in East Africa. But we should not speak in such a way, whereby we lose the sympathy of

[Shri Narendra Singh Mahida.]

our people there; nor should we speak in such terms where it may be considered that we are interfering with the affairs of an independent country.

Now, Sir, I will refer to some conditions in Tanzania. Particularly in Zanzibar some of our people had suffered. The subject of Zanzibar is a very delicate subject and Tanzania, I understand, is doing its best to bring round Zanzibar to its way of thinking. There are some interesting developments which I noted in Tanzania. It is a fully socialist country. And they have declared their policy in the Arusha Declaration. I will only just mention how Tanzania is developing. My hon. friends in this House should listen as to what their Government intend to do. It is a lesson for all those who believe in a socialistic way of life or a human way of life. I mean what they are aiming at or doing at present. It puts a restriction on members of that TANU party. A member of the party who is in office must be a peasant or worker and should in no way be associated with the practices of capitalism or feudalism; no leader should hold shares in any company; a leader should not hold any directorship in any privately owned enterprise, nor should he receive two or more salaries, nor should he own houses which he rents out to others. These are some of their objectives. It is their policy and way of life. Those who are dedicated to the progress of this country should remember that this country can only rise through a mixed economy and through a sense of tolerance. No hard and fast line will do us any good. India is ahead of Asian and African countries. We have twenty years of experience. These East African countries are also learning from experience. I am merely recounting what they are doing or thinking about. I will not add any comment on it. It is for them to decide what is best for them. My aim is to stress that I do not desire any interference of business in poli-

tics. The famous CACO episode, what they have done during the last elections, is an example to all of us; they had supported the Congress, the Swatantra, the Jan Sangh and other parties also. My objection is to business houses exploiting political situations. They should not make MPs or prospective MPs fight like cocks and watch over it.

I am glad that that organisation has been wound up. In future, we should ensure that our business houses do not dabble in politics, they do not exploit political situations. We MPs may be very poor, but we do not like interference from big business houses in politics. In my public speeches also I have strongly resented the intrusion of these business houses in politics; they should not be allowed to make political parties fight among themselves and enjoy it. This is most undesirable. I am sure our MPs would also oppose such interference of big business in politics.

Politics is a work of dedication. It is not a work of merely coming to this House, and secure more licences or more advantages. Those who come to Parliament with the idea of taking such advantage of their position, such advantages gained will, I am sure, alone be responsible for their undoing, because ultimately the people will find them out and reject them. They will not accept those who come here with bags of money or through money. My plea to members on this side as well as that side is: to reject the idea of big business entering politics.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about princes and privy purses?

SHRI NARENDRA SINGH MAHIDA: The princes and their privy purses is not discussed here. Because I wear a turban, one should not be misguided into thinking that I am a Maharaja. I do not hold any brief for the princes. Some of the princes, have been most patriotic. They have given away their states which were in their possession for thousands of years. Let

their privy purses be reduced; I am not against it. I am only speaking for the common man. The days of princes and big business have gone. Let us talk from the common man's point of view. Let us talk of raising the levels of our people. The only way to do that is to work in a sincere dedicated spirit, to whichever party one may belong. I make this appeal to all, even to my friends in the Swatantra, Jan Sangh, PSP and SSP. Once we are dedicated, once we adopt the ways of nationalism, all our small quarrels and bickerings will pale into insignificance.

Unfortunately, the present trend of disintegration disrespect shown to the national flag or national anthem, which have been accepted since the last twenty years, is very discouraging. I am sorry that in Gauhati or in some other places the national flag had been burnt. In future other parties can come to power and they can change the Constitution. They can do what they like. Till then let us all respect the national flag and the national anthem which had been accepted. It will be the height of disloyalty to our country and to ourselves to burn the flag and the Constitution and not to stand up when the national anthem is sung. We are in a sad plight. Thirteen Governments have fallen after the last general elections. I am not one of those who are very eager to see that Congress comes back to power after each general election. I would rather wish the Congressmen to remember the idea of selfless service. It is only because of selfless service that Congress has survived. Whether in power or not the Congress is the same to me. It is the sense of dedication and right action that will help us to raise the country. We have not come here to utter useless and extravagant words. What we preach, we must also practise. Only then people listen to us. My plea to Congressmen is: let us rededicate ourselves truly, sincerely and selflessly to raise our country, with the full understanding and tolerance of all the parties.

श्री देवराव पाटिल (यवतमाल) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिषेक में मैसूर महाराष्ट्र सीमा विवाद का और महाजन कमिशन की जो रिपोर्ट है उसका उल्लेख किया है और इस समस्या को सन्तोषजनक रीति से हल करने की उन्होंने आशा व्यक्त की है। इस प्रतिवेदन के बारे में मेरे पड़ोसी राज्य के मैसूर के कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने अभिनन्दन प्रस्ताव पर चर्चा करते समय महाराष्ट्र सरकार पर कुछ आरोप लगाए हैं। उन्होंने कहा है कि महाराष्ट्र ने इस प्रतिवेदन को चुनौती दी है। उनकी यह बात सही है। महाराष्ट्र विधान सभा और महाराष्ट्र विधान परिषद ने एक प्रस्ताव पास कर कहा है कि महाजन कमिशन के प्रतिवेदन और उसकी सिफारिशें जैसी की तैसी एच इट इज स्वीकार करने हम असमर्थ हैं। इनको हम स्वीकार इसी तरह से नहीं कर सकते हैं। यह दो राज्यों की सीमा का सवाल है। यह कोई विदेशी सवाल नहीं है। यह एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या है। राज्यों के बीच चाहे सीमायी विवाद हो अथवा नदियों के जल का विवाद हो, उसे तुरन्त दूर करने के लिये व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये। अगर यह समस्या ऐसे ही चलती रही तो इससे राष्ट्र तथा लोकतन्त्र को भी आघात पहुँचेगा। हमें इस समस्या के हल होने की बहुत आशा थी और इसलिए हम उत्सुक थे कि यह बहुत लम्बे समय से चली आ रही समस्या महाराष्ट्र और मैसूर के बीच का सीमा विवाद जल्दी से जल्दी हल हो और इसीलिए हम लोगों ने महाजन कमिशन, एक सदस्यीय कमिशन की नियुक्ति को, विदाउट टर्म्स आफ रेफ़ेस मान लिया था और इस कमिशन की नियुक्ति का हमने स्वागत किया था। अब हम जो उस रिपोर्ट को चुनौती दे रहे हैं वह इसलिये नहीं दे रहे हैं कि हमारी इच्छाओं के अनुसार इस समस्या का हल नहीं सुझाया गया है बल्कि इसलिये दे रहे हैं कि श्री महाजन सरीखा एक आदमी जो बहुत ऊँचे पद पर रह चुका था अपने निर्विकार भाव, अनुभव तथा न्यायिक दृष्टि के कारण समानता और एकरूपता के

[श्री देवराव पाटिल]

आधार पर न्याय देगा। लेकिन उस दृष्टि से यह प्रतिवेदन बहुत निराशाजनक रहा है और इसलिए हम जैसे आशावादी भी अब निराशावादी बन गए हैं। मुझे आशा है कि अगर इस सदन के माननीय सदस्य और मैसूर के माननीय सदस्य भी इस प्रतिवेदन पर बिना किसी प्रकार के पूर्वाग्रह के तथा एक पक्षीय भावनाओं को त्याग कर और प्रादेशीय भावनाओं को छोड़ कर विचार करेंगे और कोई भी बनियादी सिद्धान्त लागू करेंगे तो मेरा विश्वास है कि मेरी जो राय है वही राय उनकी भी हो जाएगी।

महाजन आयोग ने अपनी सिफारिशें करते समय किसी एक सूपरिभाषित सिद्धान्त को स्वीकार नहीं किया है। उसने दोनों राज्यों पर भिन्न भिन्न सिद्धान्त लागू किये हैं। उसने जो सिद्धान्त मैसूर पर लागू किया है, वह महाराष्ट्र पर लागू नहीं किया है और जो सिद्धान्त महाराष्ट्र पर लागू किया है, वह मैसूर पर लागू नहीं किया है उसने जो स्वयं अपने सिद्धान्त बनाए हैं उनको भी दोनों राज्यों पर लागू नहीं किया है।

इसके बाद मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस कमीशन के प्रतिवेदन को एवार्ड नहीं माना जा सकता है। अगर हम पिछले इतिहास को देखें तो मालूम होगा कि जो कमीशन नियुक्त हुए उनके प्रतिवेदनों को एवार्ड नहीं माना गया। किसी कमीशन के प्रतिवेदन की स्थिति सिफारिशों की सी होती है। वे सिफारिशें इस सदन के लिए एक महत्वपूर्ण रिकार्ड हो सकती हैं और इस दृष्टि से यह सदन उन सिफारिशों को स्वीकार कर सकता है। यह मेरा अपना मत नहीं है। इस बारे में सुप्रीम कोर्ट का एक जजमेंट है, जिसमें कहा गया है कि जो कमीशन नियुक्त होती हैं, उनकी सिफारिशें एवार्ड नहीं होती हैं।

आखिर यह सवाल एक राष्ट्रीय सवाल है— दो राज्यों का सवाल है। इसलिए इस सदन को उसे हल करना चाहिए। महाराष्ट्र विधान सभा अगर विधान परिषद् इस आयोग की सिफारिशों को उसी रूप में मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं। मैसूर की तरफ से कहा जाता है कि वह इन सिफारिशों को उसी रूप में मानने के लिये तैयार है। मनिवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह सदन सर्वोच्च संस्था है। जब दो राज्यों में कोई झगड़ा हो और उनके बारे में उनकी अलग-अलग राय हो, तो इस सदन का यह पवित्र कर्तव्य है कि वह राष्ट्रीय दृष्टि से उस झगड़े का निपटारा और उस सवाल को हल करे।

इसलिये मैं इस सदन से प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि वह महाजन आयोग की रिपोर्ट को देखे और कोई भी बुनियादी सिद्धान्त लागू करके इस समस्या पर विचार करे। इस सदन से मेरा आग्रह है कि एक लम्बे समय से चले आ रहे इस विवाद को वह एक न्यायापूर्ण, समान और वैधानिक आधार पर हल करने की कोशिश करे।

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM (Visakhapatnam): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, thank you very much for the time you were able to find for me. Democracy is often said to be government by discussion but now we have government by indiscretion. There are many examples which I could quote, going-back through history of the last 20 years. This morning during the Question Hour we heard a great deal about the problem arising out of Shri Sheikh Abdullah. Now, that can be traced to the indiscretion committed in 1947. In 1947, when Kashmir sent the instrument of accession without any conditions, some British gentleman stood by the side of the Prime Minister and said "Yes, in your broadcast perhaps you can also say later you will get

the opinion of the people." And immediately the Prime Minister in his broadcast adds the words. Till today, we are suffering the result of that indiscretion.

I need not go into several things. Last year, the last act of indiscretion was with regard to West Bengal, we are seeing the results. I think the indiscretion was not stopped. Even after the imposition of President's rule the same Governor is continued, the same Governor who is merely a projection of the P. C. Ghosh Ministry.

But worse than all these indiscretions is the indiscretion committed by this Government during the last session when they introduced the resolution along with the Official Languages Bill. When the Bill was published, those who insisted upon giving statutory recognition to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's assurance to the non-Hindi speaking people were glad although they found that it was not to their complete satisfaction. Yet, as a compromise, they said outside and on the floor of this House, that they would accept it as a compromise. Government took advantage of it; some powerful lobbying went on; the names of two distinguished lady parliamentarians were associated with it and the resolution was amended overnight. The result is what we are now seeing. But the President coolly says in his Address "The overriding objective of the Governments language policy is to strengthen the unity of the country. Is it strengthening it? All of us are anxious that this country should stand united. Some of us are old. We joined the fight for independence when we were very young. We did not join this fight to divide the country. If we say there should be some re-thinking on this question, why should anybody say that we are for dividing the country? As long as they have got that attitude, they are taking steps towards the division of the country. They must give up that attitude. We fought for the independence of this

entire country. In those days, we used to say "Akhand Bharat". Unfortunately, in 1947, a bit of it was taken out, but still we are for the unity of the country.

The President says "It is Government's earnest hope that controversies about language will now be ended. How? They would have been ended if there was not that resolution or at least if it was not amended overnight. That was the whole trouble. Appeals were made here, but then there was an atmosphere of tension and passion, hurling of all kinds of adjectives, etc. Even now if we say, there must be some re-thinking, an appeal is made from the other side, "Unity of the country is above language. Yes, but let those who say it show in action that unity is greater than language, instead of insisting, "Heads I win; tails you lose"

The non-Hindi States are many. After the next elections, the non-Hindi States might get a majority and don't be sure that they will not think of amending the language chapter of the Constitution. Anything may happen in this country by the most democratic and parliamentary method. Therefore, let nobody think that because it is pronounced today that Hindi is the official language, all thinking should cease. I am glad the Prime Minister was good enough some time ago to announce that she would call for a conference of all the leading thinkers of this country from the non-Hindi States also and see what could be done about it. It is a right approach. I only suggest she should be firm now. She was not firm at that time during the last session. The result was so much shooting, unrest and bloodshed all over the country. If she is firm now in her opinion, if lobbying pressures are not too much upon her, I do believe that the unity of the country will be a firm fact.

14.29 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

Otherwise, there is no use blaming always the south, particularly the

[Shri Tenneti Viswanatham]
DMK. The DMK is confused with the DK. South India is only a ballast for them and they do not know the geography of South India and which parties are there. We are always expected to be camp followers. We are willing to be camp followers, but let it be a united country. Let it be a country of union of hearts, not merely a union by lip service.

Sir, some time ago I happened to visit my home down Visakhapatnam where there was trouble. All the colleges are closed. The students are on strike. The engineering college students are on strike. The university and college students are on strike. Now they have gone one step further. They have taken the cue from Shri Annadurai, the Chief Minister of Madras. What the students want now is what Annadurai wants at Madras.

AN HON. MEMBER: That is very good.

SHRI ANBAZHAGAN (Tiruchengode): The people of Madras want it.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM:

It is all very good, no doubt, but why does Government lead the people to take to these extreme measures and all the time talk about the unity of India, allowing things as they are doing? Things should not be decided in the streets, as they say, but they drive people only to go in the streets to get things decided. Therefore, my earnest appeal to Government is that it is time to do some re-thinking. I was glad to hear—I heard it on the radio this morning—that the President of the Congress, Shri Nijalingappa, also said that some re-thinking on this question is necessary and this unequal burden upon the non-Hindi-speaking people should be removed. The Andhra Pradesh Assembly passed a resolution in which it was unequivocally said that this burden upon the non-Hindi Speaking people should be removed. Then there is Madras and Kerala. The whole of the south is of one way of thinking. Please treat south as part of this country. Sit

across the table and decide. Do not take the people for granted. Do not take even Andhra Pradesh for granted (Interruption). Shri Brahmananda Reddy, the Chief Minister moved a resolution in the Assembly in which it was said, "Do this, otherwise we will be obliged to follow some other course." What that course could be no one can foresee. As an old citizen of this country I shudder to think as to what is going to happen if we do not put this unity above other things and give it a top priority. Therefore, what I suggest is, on this question let there be not only re-thinking; let there be an earnest re-thinking.

There is one other point on which I want to say and that is the Kutch Agreement. It is unfortunate that we lost a good bit of territory on this. From the judgment given by the judge chosen by us I find that our case is very very strong indeed over the bit of the Rann of Kutch which we have lost. But there are some people who say, therefore do not accept the Award at all. Then, I believe, we lose not only 300 square miles there but we will also lose our face in the international sphere. Having accepted arbitration in the agreement if we say now that we shall not accept the Award because we lost we cannot lift up our face in the international sphere. It is a thing which is very important. Consider this before deciding it. Already the propaganda by Pakistan has always been in an advantageous position over ours. Today, if we say that we do not agree to the Award outsiders will say, "Here is India which makes agreements and breaks them, which says that she will accept the award and then when it goes against her says that she does not accept it." I am one with those who say that we lost a goods case. But it is our misfortune. Having been in courts of law I know that sometimes we lose excellent cases. Sometimes it happens like that in this world. We lost Pakistan itself for no

fault of ours. Overnight we were told the country was ready for partition. As members of the AICC we were not consulted. I think even members of the Working Committee were not first consulted. Gandhiji asked the Prime Minister: "Are you committed to partition?" When the Prime Minister said "Yes, in a way", Gandhiji replied: "In that case I cannot come in your way". We lost Pakistan itself. It is true I feel as sorely as anybody else for this loss here but we should do nothing by which we face in the international sphere. Let me thank you for the few minutes that you were able to give me.

SHRI S. KUNDU (Balasore): Sir, before you ask the Prime Minister to reply I want to raise a point of order under rule 343. I want to refer to two points. Firstly, while replying to the debate, the Prime Minister should not anticipate certain matters which are pending before the House.

MR. SPEAKER: How does he anticipate that the Prime Minister will refer to them?

SHRI S. KUNDU: It is our experience. Because, in the Rajya Sabha she referred to it.

MR. SPEAKER: Let us not be guided by what transpired in the other House.

SHRI S. KUNDU: Sir, you must listen to me. I have another point. After the Prime Minister finishes her speech on the motion of thanks on the President's Address, voting should not take place because it would prejudice the no-confidence motion, which is a very substantive one. So, first of all, I want an assurance from the Prime Minister that she would not make any reference to the Kutch Award, because she is precluded from doing so under rule 343. You may kindly see that rule. Secondly, no voting should be taken on this motion be-

cause a motion of no-confidence, which is a substantive motion, would be coming in after two or three days when a vote would be taken. Sir, you must give a ruling on this.

MR. SPEAKER: I do not know what to say.

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur): She should bear this in mind.

MR. SPEAKER: So far as the demand that voting should not take place is concerned, that is not possible, because so many other issues are also mentioned here. Also, I cannot anticipate what she would say.

SHRI S. KUNDU: Reference to Kutch issue is strictly prohibited.

MR. SPEAKER: He may resume his seat. Now, the Prime Minister.

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF PLANNING AND MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think the hon. Member should have been more alert earlier if he did not want me to mention Kutch, he should have seen to it that other hon. Members also should not have mentioned it. I am here to reply to the points raised by hon. Members. Even in the short time that I was sitting here one hon. Member touched upon this point, and I know many others have also done so.

There are 280 or so amendments before the House. I am sure that hon. Members realise that it is hardly possible for me to touch upon all of them or the very many points which have been raised. Therefore, I shall have to confine myself to only some which are the most important.

It is quite evident from the trend of the debate that our friends opposite have lost the gusto they had last year. This is understandable because whatever the year might have been like for this governments, it has been a year of disenchantment and disillusionment for our friends opposite and

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

their colleagues in the States. Hurriedly got together. United Fronts of all kinds of parties, all manner of ideologies, have crumbled one by one, perhaps under the weight of their unity. It is all right to fasten the blame again and again on the Congress Party, or on the Central Government, but the fact of the matter is that this disenchantment is born out of the inherent contradictions and weaknesses of the patterns which were evolved.

Today there are many grave issues before the country, and many of these have naturally been referred to in the debate. But some of them however, serious and grave they seem just now, and however heart-breaking they are, are problems merely of the moment. Despite all the cynicism expressed by hon. Members opposite, we are going to get over these problems.

Some of our friends have constantly expressed cynicism. They may be interested to learn of the description of a cynicism given by an English writer, Oscar Wilde. He said that a cynic is "one who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing."

But there are some grave issues which are not merely issues of the moment.

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangaldai): There are better quotations than from Oscar Wilde.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: They involve our long-term interests; they involve higher stakes and they deal with matters of lasting and abiding importance. They involve the question of the very survival of this nation. Two of these issues are democracy and secularism. They are the pillars on which we have sought to build our society. I firmly believe that we must make them secure. This security is not a party matter nor a matter which could be dealt

with on a regional, local or any kind of a partisan point of view. They have to be dealt with on a higher plane.

I was glad to find in many of the speeches a really thoughtful note. This is certainly more welcome than the destructive anger which one sometimes finds in the utterances of hon. Members opposite. There has been a certain amount of passion also exhibited on the question of national unity. I myself share this passion and welcome it at a time when our young people and even some old trouble-makers are taking recourse to violence and perpetrate ugly events in Gauhati, Meerut, Ranchi, Madras and other parts of India.

As one looks at these events, one naturally thinks of the basic and fundamental issue which is before this fourth Parliament, which is to maintain and strengthen the unity and solidarity of India. My hon. friend opposite, Shri Viswanatham, spoke at some length on this subject and tried to give the impression that by the Language Bill or other acts we were trying to weaken this unity. But such talk can create misunderstanding, if I may say so, because it is very easy now to say that if this had not been done, that would have happened. At an earlier occasion we were being told, "If you do not bring the Bill, such-and-such a thing will happen."

SHRI ANBAZHAGAN rose—

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I am not yielding.

I am a little wary of all these ifs and buts which people think of after the event.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam): Why did you bring the Bill and the Resolution?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I shall come to that later.

It is for us to discharge this responsibility of maintaining unity and not

allowing the matter to be decided on the streets. It is certainly the business of those who are in charge, not only of the Government and officials, not only of political parties but even of non-political persons to see how these matters can be kept away from the streets, how these matters can be discussed and debated in the institutions which have been set up for the purpose. It is for us to decide whether we believe in Parliament and the parliamentary method or in mob rule.

It set exactly a year ago that the election results were coming in and they set the world wondering about India's stability. If there is stability in India, it is not due to odd combinations of Opposition parties but because the Centre is strong and stable and fully capable of balancing the instability of the States.... (*Interruption*). I had hoped that the opportunity to be in power and to bear responsibility would also give the opportunity to the Opposition parties to be more responsible. But our hopes have, unfortunately, been belied. I am one of the people who had welcomed these different governments and had sincerely hoped that the opportunity which our democracy gives even to smaller parties to come into power would have been better utilised. What did we find? I am saying this in sorrow—these parties set about furthering their own ends and did not hesitate to work against their own colleagues in the various governments. For some parties, it has become a pastime to make the Centre a kind of bogey-man for all their failures. I must say that I do not think anybody in this country is taken in by this posture. I hope that the second year after the General Elections will see greater stability in the States. We must now make up for lost time and we have to regain the tempo which two years of drought and two wars have interrupted in the development of our country.

This year, nature, have been kinder to us. But, at the same time, we must

not forget or ignore the human effort which countless farmers, scientists and officials have combined to put in to give us a good harvest this year. We want this record harvest to be followed by many others. In science, there is a saying that miracles occur only when the scientist works hard enough for them. If the House will allow me a few minutes. I may tell a story which I heard some years ago visiting a farming community in America. It is about a Negro who was utterly destitute, living on the charity of the village. There happened to be a very tiny plot of land which was regarded as useless. So, the village people said, "Why not give it to him? Even if he cannot grow anything, it will give him something to do." This poor man laboured day and night and managed to take out all the thorny weeds and all the rocks and other things here and there and even managed to grow something on the plot of land. Later when the village priest passed by, he remarked, "John, that is a fine bit of work which God and you have done together." John thought for a minute and said, "Perhaps, you are right, Sir. But you should have seen this plot of land when God alone was in charge!"

Sir, no nation, not even the most affluent nation, is without its ups and downs. No country is free from problems. In fact, as I have said so many times, I believe, that problems in a way determine the strength and the stability of a nation. One of our gravest problems is the problem of food. The Minister of Food and Agriculture has already spoken on the food situation. I think, Bihar has tested the mettle and proved the capacity of our wonderful people. Even in the midst of our grave difficulties, all kinds of programmes were pushed through there and elsewhere. I should like to emphasize that we are not slackening our efforts either on the production front or on the procurement front. We are installing 2 lakh pump sets and digging 32,000 tube-wells, to mention only two items. In

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

the coming year, we shall provide 17 lakh tonnes of fertiliser as compared to 13 lakh tonnes this year. Our effort is to ensure that the spurt in agriculture should spread to other fields also. Some of our new trade agreements are expected to help us to overcome the big slack in engineering industries. I am sorry to say that some Members are annoyed even about the economic agreements with the Soviet Union.

The Budget will soon be presented to you. This morning my colleague, the Deputy Prime Minister, has placed before us a detailed economic survey which we will have occasion to discuss. Therefore, I need not go into the details of this matter. But the one thing that is rightly distressing to us all and is engaging our minds is the problem of unemployment, specially among our young people and our young engineers. The President's Address defines this problem, with clarity and frankness. It has also put the solution in the right perspective, by linking it to the growth of the economy as a whole at a rate and level which would absorb our growing population and its growing expectations. As economic activity picks up, the economic situation should also improve. But let us keep our eyes on the long-term perspective. Ultimately, it is better to have a sufficient number of engineers and technicians, rather than to be starved for them. Capital and equipment can be found, but talent is more difficult to have, trained personnel are more difficult to find to run our industry.

Hon. members have referred to the public sector. We fully share their concern and we are ourselves anxious and are taking every possible step to see that the public sector attains the maximum efficiency and the maximum success as soon as possible.

AN. HON. MEMBER: It has already attained.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI:

Many projects have. But one thing you must also understand. It is very easy for people to ask, why is the public sector not giving profit. The answer is simple. It is because it is busy building a base; you cannot get profit out of certain basic industries immediately. But certainly where there is inefficiency, where there are other such grounds which will create losses, those problems should be looked into and are being looked into.

The Report of the Administrative Reforms Commission has been entrusted to a Committee of the Cabinet and Government's decisions will be placed before this House this very Session, I hope very soon. I see the Chairman nodding his head.

Inevitably, this debate, Sir, has drawn out familiar arguments and counter-arguments on economic policies and programmes, and the solutions are not only varying but, in many instances, contradictory. I can only make our own stand clear and say what we on this side of the House stand for. In the last two decades, we have put our faith in the process of planned development and, I think, this faith has been fully vindicated. But for the work put in this sphere, it would not have been possible for this nation to have overcome the major challenges which were posed in the last few years by repeated external aggression as well as by severe and unprecedented economic problems. I firmly believe that there is no other alternative possible despite the many passing difficulties that we face. I do not want to go into this matter in detail. I have, on earlier occasions, explained the steps taken for the formulation of the revised Fourth Plan and the work done on the annual plan in the intervening period.

It is indeed surprising that my hon. friend opposite, Prof. Ranga is still

harping on a plan holiday, especially since the very captains of industry on whose behalf his party speaks are urging the Government to increase their investment. There can be no holiday for this nation—not so long as this party is in charge of the Government of this country, not so long as their are hungry millions seeking social justice.

Our objective, Sir, is to rapidly promote economic development and increase the wealth of the nation, to promote greater economic and social equality, greater equality of opportunity.

One of the problems which makes us sad is our inability to do more for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and also our landless labour. But I would like to make clear that I am fully conscious of the gaps in these programmes, and that much more needs to be done. We are trying to fill in those gaps. However, at the same time, I think, the House is aware that it is the Congress party which took up this programme initially and it is the Congress party which is now taking it up and trying to push it forward. In the same way, I must express my concern for all the minorities of India. Here again we are deeply conscious of all that we owe them. We are constantly looking at this problem and are in touch with people from many organisations both other political parties and non-political organisations, to see what can be done to deal with it, and with the communal tension which rears its ugly head from time to time.

I had not really wanted to speak on language on this occasion, Sir, but many hon. Members have touched upon it. One of the last speakers, the hon. Member, Shri Viswanatham used a word, saying that I should be 'firm' and suggested that I was not firm on the last occasion. Now, you see, in language, as in many other matters each person interprets words or attitudes from his own point of view. If I agree with Shri Viswanatham, whatever I do, he will consider me

to be firm. But if I agree with some other person, he will think I am not being firm and that I am giving way to him. If I listen to Shri Viswanatham, then the other person will feel that I am not firm because I am not listening to him. It is very difficult to know what exactly the word 'firm' means. I think, Sir, that I have been very firm on the basic issue, and we must understand what the basic issue was. The basic issue was to see that certain assurances which had been given to the non-Hindi speaking people by my father and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri should be honoured. That is why it was important to bring this Language Bill here and that is what we did. Now, it is true that when it came to the House the Hindi-speaking people felt that it was going to create a difficult situation for them. So, what did we do? We did not change any basic thing in the Act. We did not take any position which would take away or lessen the assurance which was given to the non-Hindi speaking people. What we did was merely to add to the burden of whom? Not of the non-Hindi speaking people, but of the Central Secretariat officials, in that they have now to provide translations not only from Hindi into English, but also English into Hindi. This was the one thing that took place. It was made very clear by the Home Minister here in this House that this burden would be on us and not on the those who do not wish to use Hindi.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash): The Home Minister definitely stated in this House. He said in this House that the burden will be on non-Hindi speaking people. It was said in this House.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur): On a point of order. She just now said that the Home Minister did not say that there would be an unequal burden on the non-Hindi speaking people.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Shri Chavan is here. (Interruptions).

15 hrs.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: This is very relevant.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Members have had their say.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: What the Home Minister said on record, that that this is an unequal burden. But she says he has not said that.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I did not say that. I am saying what the fact is.

Now, it is true that there will be a burden on everybody. I happen to come from a Hindi-speaking area (Interruptions). Let Prof. Ranga please listen to me.

SHRI RANGA: Did he not say so?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I was sitting in the House when the Home Minister was speaking. I remember perfectly what he said.

SHRI G. VISHWANATHAN: You have forgotten the whole thing.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Naturally, when a new step is taken, it imposes a burden. It imposes a burden on those who have to learn a new language. But those hon. Members who come from the non-Hindi States perhaps do not realise that the burden of learning Hindi is only slightly lesser on most people who live in the Hindi-speaking States. I can say for myself that the language that is now spoken here is for me an entirely new language, and I have had to learn it a new.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: It is a childish argument.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIA (Bangalore): He ought to be more dignified.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: The Prime Minister just claim that this is a burden for the Hindi people. What

does she mean? This is an impossible position (Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER: Let the Prime Minister have her say.

AN HON. MEMBER: He must behave properly.

MR. SPEAKER: May I tell hon. Members that all of them have had their say?

AN HON. MEMBER: Not all.

MR. SPEAKER: Of course, not all.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: We can appreciate that she is Hindi-speaking, but not this kind of argument.

SHRI ANBAZHAGAN: She should be reasonable.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: This kind of statement should not be made on the floor of the House.

MR. SPEAKER: She is Prime Minister of the country. You may not agree with her, not all of you. I do not expect that. In a democracy, cent per cent agreement will not be there. But still I am sure you can all give her a patient hearing.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: Not this kind of reasoning.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Obviously, those hon. Members do not know the languages that are spoken in the north or the great diversity which we have within this area. Anyway, if they object to this remark, I do not want to make it. But it does not change the facts. If you object, it does not change the facts.

SHRI RANGA: It is certainly your language, not ours.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Any new step does impose a burden on somebody or the other. What the Home Minister said was that the burden would be a little more on the non-Hindi-speaking people. He had said that, but he added that whatever this difficulty, we would discuss it and we would find ways

of minimising it. It was necessary for us to sit and talk and see what were the difficulties of the people of the different States as well as the difficulties of the administrators. He did say that also.

Therefore, from the beginning we did not say that we had closed minds or that we were not going to do anything about the matter, but we said that we are quite willing and anxious to discuss this matter. I repeated it yesterday in the other House, as my hon. friend, Shri Viswanatham, mentioned just now. I think this question is still exciting too much passion and emotion to speak more about it now. Therefore, I am sorry I initiated it. I think the least that is said about it from now until tempers calm down, the better it is; then we may all be in a better position to sit together and to discuss it and try of find a way out which will strengthen the unity of the country and facilitate communication not only between all of us who have had the privilege of a higher education but even amongst those who have not had that privilege. The time has now come when we should give them also this equality of opportunity and lessen this class distinction which has grown through language.

My hon. friends, Prof. Ranga and Shri C. C. Desai, have advised me to quit. I thank them for the advice. Prof. Ranga gave the same advice, as many older members of this House will remember, both to my father and to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, I am glad to be in good company. The hon. Member, Prof. Ranga, has been a true nationalist. But what can I say about the other hon. Member? He has held high positions in Government. He has been in the Indian Civil Service. He has been in the Indian Civil Service at a time when the rest of us were in prison, when some of our colleagues were shot and others were being hanged.. (Interruptions.) Thereafter, he established himself in business.

श्री रवि राय (पूरी) : आपने ही तो गिरजा शंकर बाजपेयी का खयाल ।

SHRI NATH PAI: Your father made him the High Commissioner in a foreign mission. You pampered them and you rewarded them. You depended upon them and you continue to depend upon.... (Interruptions.)

किसने उनका हाई कमिश्नर बनाया ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: After having been in office for a long time, he has chosen to enter politics now.... (Interruptions.)

श्री रवि राय : चन्दूलाल तिवेदी को किस ने बनाया ?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: It is very amusing to see the hon. Members opposite. They feel that they can say anything they like but if we say the smallest thing, you see the anger in their faces. What does it show? It is only when you have no argument that you show anger like this. One Member said that I made a childish remark when I said that there were many dialects in the North. But it is not childish for Mr. Nath Pai to say that my speeches are written by the officials! I should like him to come and see whether they write my speeches.... (Interruptions.) It is upto them to make any kind of remarks they like.... (Interruptions.) I am not angry. I have to shout like this only because they are shouting. Anyway, it is only we who have passed through the ordeal of sacrifice who know better where the shoe pinches and how to conduct our affairs and evolve policies and programmes calculated to promote the interests of our country. It is presumptuous on the part of the people who have not gone through this, who have no idea of the hardships of people who live in the villages or what sacrifices are our poor people forced to make, to tender us advice.... (Interruptions.)

SHRI RANGA: Is it not presumptuous on their part to talk in this manner? Is this not the most irresponsible manner to talk? What does she think of this House? They are here by contesting elections, by getting the votes of the people. She is a baby compared to these people. Does it lie in her mouth to speak in this irresponsible manner? Nobody else is childish.... (Interruptions.) Go to another subject.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I shall go to another subject only when I want to do so.

SHRI RANGA: Do not talk in such irresponsible manner about your own services.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Is it not being irresponsible for hon. Members to ask us to resign on every single question?

SHRI RANGA: You ought not to talk in this irresponsible manner.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I was only referring to Prof. Ranga's remarks which he makes on this issue. It is not for them to say who should be our leader. That statement was equally irresponsible if my remark is considered irresponsible..... (Interruptions.)

SHRI RANGA: Your Government depends upon their advice.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: The ICS people are welcome to give advice in matters in which they have been trained. They have not been trained in the political school of service and sacrifice.

SHRI J. MOHAMMED IMAM (Chitradurga): Sir, on a point of order.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Sit down.

MR. SPEAKER: The Prime Minister is not yielding. Please sit down. (Interruption.)

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Let the Prime Minister sit down.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order. Let us hear the point of order raised by the hon. Member and let us hear the Prime Minister. I feel I am helpless now!

SHRI J. MOHAMMED IMAM: I have listened to the speech of the Prime Minister; I would like to submit that it is expected of the Prime Minister to show all courtesy to the Members who might have opposed the policy of the Government and her policy. But I regret very much that she has cast aspersion on the Members of the Opposition. Firstly, she says that the Members of the Opposition have never lived in any village.

MR. SPEAKER: This is not a point of order. You are commenting on her speech.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is a point of disorder.

MR. SPEAKER: That is not point of order. You are making a speech. Please resume your seat. May I appeal to both sections of the House?

SHRI J. MOHAMMED IMAM: She cast aspersions on the Members of the Opposition; and secondly, she said that ICS officers were not trained in the political school of service and sacrifice.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order. After all, we have had five days' discussion; not one or two days.

AN HON. MEMBER: She was angry.

MR. SPEAKER: Angry in the sense that, when interruptions were there on both sides, there is bound to be a little loss of temper. After all, when you interrupt and do all that, naturally she is also—(Interruption.)

SHRI HEM BARUA: Sir, do not try to defend the Prime Minister's anger. She is very angry. (Interruption.)

MR. SPEAKER: I appeal to both sides of the House. Let us hear the Prime Ministers reply. You have so many opportunities in this House when you can raise the points through so many motions later on, if you do not agree with them. You have the right later on to move so many motions; the no-confidence motion is also coming. So many other motions are coming. You have the right to say something. Will you all kindly listen now to the Prime Minister?

SHRI D. N. PATODIA (Jalore): Can the Prime Minister speak something which goes against the fundamental right of a citizen?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order. Now, please sit down.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: Can the Prime Minister say that an ICS officer is not trained to take any action in politics? Is she permitted to say so?

MR. SPEAKER: She did not say that.

SHRI D. N. PATODIA: She did say. I request that those words should be expunged.

MR. SPEAKER: She did not say that nobody can take action. She only said he has not gone through this mill of political suffering and all that. She did not say that ICS men cannot do that. (Interruption).

SHRI C. C. DESAI (Sabarkantha): In so far as election is concerned, I fought the elections in villages on principles and not on names. (Interruption).

MR. SPEAKER: Now, let me appeal, for Heaven's sake, do not make any more interruptions.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I welcome the point which the hon. Member has made just now, about courtesy being shown to all Members, and I only hope that he will

see to this aspect from the side of the Opposition on other occasions also.

Now, turning to External Affairs there was hardly any new point raised; the usual points were there on Viet Nam and West Asia, and there is not much to say on this, as this opportunity is given to us time and again. The conflict in Viet Nam and its escalation is something that saddens us very greatly, and it is of great concern to us. What happens in South-East Asia is of very great concern to us in India. We have always maintained that the solution cannot be a military one and later events have proved the rightness of our assessment. Today our view is shared by a growing number of nations. We still maintain, as we said many months ago, that the first step should be the stoppage of the bombing of North Vietnam and that this would lead to other steps which could take the conflict from the battlefield on to the conference table.

There were references here to West Asia. Here again, we have always stood for the principle that no party should be allowed to keep the fruits of aggression and that every country should be able to live in peace and security.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: (Delhi Sadar): What about Pakistan?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Regarding Pakistan and China, the President in his Address has stated our stand....

SHRI HEM BARUA: What about China enjoying the fruits of aggression in Ladakh?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I do not think I have anything to add at this moment about either Pakistan or China.

Some hon. members have referred in their amendments and otherwise to the new situation in the

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

Indian Ocean area. We maintain a close and careful watch over the political and other developments in this area and have noted the intention of the British Government to withdraw militarily from there in the near future. Our relations with all these countries of South and South-East Asia are very friendly and cordial and continue to grow satisfactorily. We feel that the security of these countries can best be ensured not through military alliances but by the strength of their national economies and by their political stability.

One hon. member said that I should not say anything about the Kutch Award. But as I mentioned at the beginning of my speech, I feel that this omission would be conspicuous.

SHRI S. KUNDU: On a point of order, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: When Mr. Viswanathan and other members were speaking about the Kutch Agreement, you were there and you did not raise any point of order. I have given my ruling.

SHRI S. KUNDU: With all respect to the Chair, I submit that no point of order was raised at that time. Now I am raising it. Rule 343 says:

"No member shall anticipate the discussion of any subject of which notice has been given, provided that in determining whether a discussion is out of order on the ground of anticipation, regard shall be had by the Speaker to the probability of the matter anticipated being brought before the House within a reasonable time."

Within 3 days, on Tuesday next, the no-confidence motion is coming up. There are several earlier rulings also. Shall I refer to them?

MR. SPEAKER: Not necessary.

SHRI S. KUNDU: The only thing is, she is not to read her prepared text on this.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bobbili): May I make a submission?

MR. SPEAKER: No submission. I do not want any reply to that point of order, unless you have a point of order.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO: My point of order is....

MR. SPEAKER: That he cannot raise a point of order? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Mr. Kundu's point of order has not been disposed of yet. (*Interruptions*).

MR. SPEAKER: There is no point of order. On what issue your point of order is I am not able to understand. He may kindly resume his seat.

When the no-confidence motion was admitted I had mentioned that it was a single-line motion. Now the Prime Minister is speaking under Rule 20 which says:

"The Prime Minister or any other Minister, whether he has previously taken part in the discussion or not, shall on behalf of the Government have a general right of explaining the position of the Government at the end of the discussion....."

If all the hon. Members of all parties had a right to speak about this, she has also a right and she can explain the position.

SHRI S. KUNDU: Sir, you have given your ruling and we accept it. But your predecessor has also given some rulings on this.

MR. SPEAKER: I do not want any further explanation.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Sir, I would have very much liked to oblige the hon. Member and agree to his request had this not been such an important matter and had we not to

wait for three full days before the House meets again. Then I will be replying only on the 28th. Therefore . .

SHRI S. KUNDU: I am only saying that it will prejudice the discussion.. (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Sir, since I made my statement in the House on this subject, the introductory and concluding chapters of the Award have been received.

With your permission, Sir, I lay on the Table, of the House a set of these documents.* Copies of these are under print and as soon as they are ready, perhaps by Sunday or at the latest by Monday, they will be made available to the Lok Sabha Secretariat for hon. Members who are interested.

We are closely examining the Award. But in the meantime, since some anxiety has been expressed about the position relating to certain points, I should like to share with the House the information that the Award has determined that Point 84, Sardar Post, Biar Bet, Karim Shahi, Bavarla Bet, Sarf-Bela Bet, Vighokot, Gainda Bet, and the entire Nara Bet Chain, lie on the Indian side of the border. A marginal area to the south of Rahimki Bazar, including Pirel Valo Kun and Kanjar Kot, and Dhara Banni and Chhad Bet are determined to lie on the Pakistan side of the border.

श्री मधु लिखते : इस निर्णय को फैंक दो ।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: As I have said earlier, as soon as the examination is complete, a further statement will be made. We shall naturally honour our commitments. I feel it would be a sad day if we fail to meet an international commitment.

श्री मधु लिखते : बहुत गलत बात कह रही है ।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: Sir, I would like to repeat the point with which I started. It is the question of violence on the streets and the feeling of parochialism. This is a national problem. I fail to understand how it is that a handful of people can create so much trouble even when a majority are not with them on some of these occasions and on some of these issues. How can a small minority terrorise a larger majority into either just tolerating them or encouraging them? It obviously shows that there is a great need to mobilise the entire community against these acts of violence and against the tyranny of the minority and this is where political and non-political citizens of this country should also take a hand and help to control such activities. As far as the average citizen is concerned, it is not right for him to say that he is not concerned. It is something with which he is very much concerned, because it affects not only his daily life but the future of his children.

In this connection, I should like to say a word about the various *senas* which are cropping up all over the place. I cannot understand what battles these *senas* are going to fight. As I see the Indian situation, there is only one battle to fight and that is the battle against poverty. And it requires only one *sena* and that is the *sena* of a united, determined Indian people. I was greatly heartened to hear one or two voices from the other side—Acharyaji's and hon'ble member, Shri Vajpayee's recognising this. Since Shri Vajpayee is the leader of a party, if he feels this way, I am sure he will exercise his influence to see that on these national problems we can work together.

श्री कंवरलाल गुप्त : अध्यक्ष महोदय में निवेदन करूंगा कि प्रधान मंत्री ने हमारी पार्टी के सम्बन्ध में जो कुछ कहना है, वह

[श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त]

स्पष्ट तौर पर कहें। हमारी जो जिम्मेदारी है, हम उसको निवाहेगे।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : मैं यही चाहती हूँ कि सब अपनी अपनी जिम्मेदारी को समझें।

श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त : वह बतायें कि हमारी पार्टी की क्या गलती है, हम ने कौन सा गलत काम किया है। अगर हम यह महसूस करेंगे कि हमारी कोई गलती है, तो हम उसको सुधारेंगे, वरना हम पर जो आरोप लगाया जायेगा, हम उसका खंडन करेंगे।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी : मैं सिर्फ यही चाहती हूँ कि सब लोग अपनी अपनी जिम्मेदारी को समझें।

श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त : क्या सरकार को कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं है ? सब गड़बड़ तो वह कराती है।

SHRI M. L. SONDHI (New Delhi): If you want to get some more territory, you will get our co-operation, but not for the loss of territory.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: I was talking about the communal situation and the violence that goes about due to communal tension. I think these are issues which deserve to be placed above party, region, caste and creed. As I said earlier on, and as Shri Nath Pai said the other day—I am saying this only to attract his attention to this side—we should be Indians first and Indians last. I ask the same question, I repeat the question which Acharyaji put to us: are we likely to secure this objective if the opposition always adopts a negative and opposing role, regardless of the issues before us?

AN HON. MEMBER: What about you?

श्री मधु निषधे : सहयोग का मतलब है हाँ में हाँ मिलाना।

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: There is clear evidence that we are following the policies and measures which the Congress have evolved after years of consideration and deliberation. They are in accord with modern trends. But the difficulties in solving these problems have not been mitigated by the opposition but, I am sorry to say, they have been increased. However, it is still not too late for us to get together to evolve methods of working together on certain issues which can be recognised or identified as national issues. As the President said, on our part, we shall continue to work for such a national co-operative approach toward the major national problems. Indeed, we shall welcome every effort towards a united and determined effort by this nation to solve these problems and to march ahead and I am convinced that it shall do so.

MR. SPEAKER: Before I put the motion to the vote, I have to dispose of the amendments. I will put separately those amendments which are pressed.

I shall first put amendments Nos. 30 and 31 moved by Shri Nayanar to the vote of the House.

Amendments Nos. 30 and 31 were put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: I now put Amendment No. 80 moved by Shri Kanwarlal Gupta to the vote of the House.

The question is:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the need for abolition of food zones in country." (80).

The Lok Sabha divided:

Division No. 2]

[15.44 hrs.

AYES

Amat, Shri D.
 Amin, Shri R. K.
 Bansh Narain Singh.
 Shri
 Basi, Shri S. S.
 Brij Bhushan Lal, Shri
 Deb, Shri D. N.
 Deo, Shri K. P. Singh
 Deo, Shri P. K.
 Deo, Shri R. R. Singh
 Gowd, Shri Gadilingana
 Gowder, Shri Nanja
 Gupta, Shri Kanwar Lal
 Jha, Shri Shiva Chandra
 Khan, Shri Zulfikar Ali
 Koushik, Shri K. M.
 Kushwah, Shri Y. S.

Limaye, Shri Madhu
 Lobo Prabhu, Shri
 Majhi, Shri M.
 Mohamed Imam, Shri J.
 Muthusami, Shri C.
 Naik, Shri G. C.
 Naik, Shri R. V.
 Nayar, Shrimati
 Shakuntala
 Patel, Shri J. H.
 Patodia, Shri D. N.
 Puri, Dr. Surya Prakash
 Ramamoorthy, Shri S. P.
 Ramji Ram, Shri
 Ranga, Shri
 Ranjit Singh, Shri
 Ray, Shri Rabi

Santosham, Dr. M.
 Sharda Nand, Shri
 Sharma, Shri Beni
 Shanker
 Sharma, Shri Ram
 Avtar
 Shastri, Shri Raghuvir
 Singh
 Shastri, Shri Shiv
 Kumar
 Singh, Shri J. B.
 Sondhi, Shri M. L.
 Sreedharan, Shri A.
 Tapuria, Shri S. K.
 Viswanatham, Shri
 Tenneti
 Xavier, Shri S.

NOES

Achal Singh, Shri
 Ahirwar, Shri Nathu
 Ram
 Ahmed, Shri F. A.
 Ankineedu, Shri
 Arumugam, Shri R. S.
 Babunath Singh, Shri
 Bajpai, Shri
 Shashibhushan
 Bajpai, Shri Vidya Dhar
 Barua, Shri Bedabrata
 Barua, Shri R.
 Bhagat, Shri B. R.
 Bhagavati, Shri
 Bhakt Darshan, Shri
 Bhandare, Shri R. D.
 Bhanu Prakash
 Singh, Shri
 Bharat Singh, Shri
 Bhola Nath, Shri
 Bohra, Shri Onkarlal
 Butta Singh, Shri
 Chanda, Shri Anil K.
 Chanda, Shrimati
 Jyotsna
 Chatterji, Shri
 Krishna Kumari
 Chaturvedi, Shri R. L.
 Chaudhary, Shri
 Nitiraj Singh
 Chavan, Shri D. R.
 Chavan, Shri Y. B.
 Dalbir Singh, Shri
 Das, Shri N. T.
 Dasappa, Shri Tulsidas

Dass, Shri C.
 Deoghare, Shri N. R.
 Desai, Shri Morarji
 Dhillon, Shri G. S.
 Dinesh Shingh, Shri
 Dixit, Shri G. C.
 Dwivedi, Shri Nageshwar
 Ering, Shri D.
 Gajraj Singh Rao, Shri
 Gandhi, Shrimati Indira
 Ganesh, Shri K. R.
 Ganga Devi, Shrimati
 Gavit, Shri Tukaram
 Ghosh, Shri Bimalkanti
 Girja Kumari,
 Shrimati
 Hari Krishna, Shri
 Harzarika, Shri J. N.
 Hem Raj, Shri
 Jadhav, Shri
 Tulshidas
 Karan Singh, Dr.
 Kasture, Shri A. S.
 Kedaria, Shri C. M.
 Khan, Shri M. A.
 Khanna, Shri P. K.
 Kinder Lal, Shri
 Krishnan, Shri G. Y.
 Kureel, Shri B. N.
 Kushok Bakula, Shri
 Laskar, Shri N. R.
 Lutfal Haque, Shri
 Mahadeva Prasad, Dr.
 Mahajan, Shri Vikram
 Chand

Maharaj Singh, Shri
 Malhotra, Shri Inder J.
 Masuriya Din, Shri
 Mehta, Shri Asoka
 Minimata Agam Dass
 Guru, Shrimati
 Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali
 Mishra, Shri G. S.
 Mohammad Yusuf, Shri
 Mondal, Shri Jugal
 Mukerjee, Shrimati
 Sharda
 Naghnoor, Shri M. N.
 Nahata, Shri Amrit
 Pandey, Shri K. N.
 Panigrahi, Shri
 Chintamani
 Pant, Shri K. C.
 Parmar, Shri Bhaljibhai
 Pratap Singh, Shri
 Parthasarathy, Shri
 Patil, Shri Anantrao
 Patil, Shri Deorao
 Poonacha, Shri C. M.
 Qureshi, Shri Mohd.
 Shaffi
 Radhabai, Shrimati B.
 Raghu Ramaiah, Shri
 Raj Deo Singh, Shri
 Rajani Gandha, Kumari
 Rajasekharan, Shri
 Ram, Shri T.
 Ram Dhan, Shri
 Ram Dhani Das, Shri
 Ram Subhag Singh, Dr.

Kam Swarup, Shri
Rana, Shri M. B.
Randhir Singh, Shri
Rane, Shri
Rao, Shri Jaganath
Rao, Dr. K. L.
Rao, Shri K.
Narayana
Rao, Shri J.
Ramapathi
Rao, Shri Thirumala
Rao, Dr. V. K. R. V.
Reddi, Shri G. S.
Reddy, Shri P.
Antony
Reddy, Shri R. D.
Reddy, Shri Surendar
Rohatgi, Shrimati
Sushila
Roy, Shri Bishwa-
nath
Sadhu Ram, Shri

Saigal, Shri A. S.
Salve, Shri N. K.P.
Sambasivam, Shri
Sanghi, Shri N. K.
Sankata Prasad, Dr.
Savitri Shyam,
Shrimati
Sayeed, Shri P. M.
Sen, Shri Dwaipayana
Shah, Shrimati Jayaben
Shambhu Nath, Shri
Sharma, Shri M. R.
Shastri, Shri B. N.
Shastri, Shri
Sheopujan
Sheo Narain, Shri
Sheth, Shri T. M.
Shiv Chandika
Prasad, Shri
Shukla, Shri S. N.
Shukla, Shri Vidya
Charan

Siddheshwar Prasad,
Shri
Sinha, Shri Satya
Narayan
Sonar, Dr. A. G.
Surendra Pal Singh,
Shri
Sursingh, Shri
Suryanarayana, Shri
K.
Swaran Singh, Shri
Tiwary, Shri K. N.
Uikey, Shri M. G.
Veerappa, Shri
Ramachandra
Venkatasubbaiah,
Shri P.
Virbhadra Singh, Shri
Vyas, Shri Ramesh
Chandra
Yadav, Shri Chandra-
jeet.

MR. SPEAKER: The result of the Division is:

Ayes 44; Noes 141*

The motion was negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: Now, I put Amendment No. 92 moved by Shri Madhu Limaye to the vote of the House.

The Amendment No. 92 was put and negatived

MR. SPEAKER: I will now put Mr. Masani's amendment, Amendment No. 98, to the vote of the House.

The question is:

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

'but regret that while referring

to the question of the reorganisation of a border State like Assam, no reference whatsoever is made in the Address to the deplorable attack on Indian citizens of non-Assamese origin and their property that took place in broad daylight in Gauhati and other places in Assam on Republic Day, 26th January, 1968 resulting in a large number of them becoming homeless and in the destruction of property worth crores of rupees as a result of the denial of even elementary protection to those who were left at the mercy of the mob.'" (98)

The Lok Sabha divided:

Division No. 3]

AYES

[15.44 hrs.

Amat, Shri D.
Amin, Shri R. K.
Anbazhagan, Shri
Bansh Narain Singh,
Shri
Basi, Shri S. S.
Bharat Singh, Shri

Brij Bhushan Lal, Shri
Chittybabu, Shri C.
Deo, Shri K. P. Singh
Deo, Shri P. K.
Deo, Shri R. R.
Singh
Desai, Shri C. C.

Dhirendranath, Shri
Gowd, Shri Gadi-
lingana
Gowder, Shri Nanja
Gupta, Shri Indrajit
Gupta, Shri Kanwar
Lal

*Sarvashri B. N. Bhargava, V. N. Jadhav, Hanumanthaiya, Narendra Singh Mahida, Ramanand Shastri, M. Y. Saleem and Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani also wanted to vote for 'NOES'.

Jha, Shri Shiva
Chandra
Kandappan, Shri S.
Khan, Shri Latafat
Ali
Khan, Shri Zulfiqar
Ali
Kikar Singh, Shri
Kirutinan, Shri
Koushik, Shri K. M.
Krishnamoorthi, Shri
V.
Kushwah, Shri Y. S.
Lobo Prabhu, Shri
Majhi, Shri M.
Mayavan, Shri
Meghachandra,
Shri M.

Mohamed Imam,
Shri J.
Muthusami, Shri C.
Naik, Shri G. C.
Nair, Shri Vasu-
devan
Patel, Shri J. H.
Patil, Shri N. R.
Patodia, Shri D. N.
Puri, Dr. Surya
Prakash
Ramamoorthy, Shri
S. P.
Ramji Ram, Shri
Ranga, Shri
Ranjit Singh, Shri
Ray, Shri Rabi
Sambhali, Shri Ishaq
Santosham, Dr. M.

Sharda Nand, Shri
Sharma, Shri Beni
Shanker
Sharma, Shri Ram
Avtar
Shastri, Shri Rama
Avatar
Shastri, Shri Raghuvir
Singh
Shastri, Shri Shiv
Kumar
Singh, Shri J. B.
Sivasankaran, Shri
Sondhi, Shri M. L.
Tapuriah, Shri S. K.
Viswanatham, Shri
Tenneti
Viswanathan, Shri G.
Xavier, Shri S.

NOES

Achal Singh, Shri
Ahrwar, Shri Nathu
Ram
Ahmed, Shri F.A.
Ankineedu, Shri
Arumugam, Shri R. S.
Babunath Singh Shri
Bajpai, Shri Shashi-
bhushan
Bajpai, Shri Vidya
Dhar
Barua, Shri Bedabrata
Barua, Shri R.
Bhagat, Shri B. R.
Bhagavati, Shri
Bhakt Darshan, Shri
Bhandare, Shri R. D.
Bhanu Prakash Singh,
Shri
Bhargava, Shri B. N.
Bhola Nath, Shri
Bohra, Shri Onkarlal
Buta Singh, Shri
Chanda, Shri Anil K.
Chanda, Shrimati
Jyotsna
Chatterji, Shri
Krishna Kumar
Chaturvedi, Shri R. L.
Chaudhary, Shri
Nitiraj Singh
Chavan, Shri D. R.
Chavan, Shri Y. B.
Dalbir Singh, Shri

Das, Shri N. T.
Dasappa, Shri
Tulsidas
Dass, Shri C.
Deoghare, Shri N. R.
Desai, Shri Morarji
Dhillon, Shri G. S.
Dinesh Singh, Shri
Dwivedi, Shri
Nageshwar
Ering, Shri D.
Gajraj Singh Rao, Shri
Gandhi, Shrimati
Indira
Ganesh, Shri K. R.
Ganga Devi, Shrimati
Gavit, Shri Tukaram
Ghosh, Shri Bimalkanti
Girja Kumari, Shrimati
Hanumanthaiya, Shri
Hari Krishna, Shri
Hazarika, Shri J. N.
Hem Raj, Shri
Jadhav, Shri Tulsidas
Jadhav, Shri V. N.
Karan Singh, Dr.
Kasture, Shri A. S.
Kedaria, Shri C. M.
Khan, Shri M. A.
Khanra, Shri P. K.
Kinder Lal, Shri
Kripalani, Shrimati
Sucheta
Krishnan, Shri G. Y.

Kureel, Shri B. N.
Kushok Bakula, Shri
Laskar, Shri N. R.
Lutfal Haque, Shri
Mahadeva Prasad, Dr.
Mahajan, Shri Vikram
Chand
Maharaj Singh, Shri
Mahida, Shri Narendra
Singh
Malhotra, Shri Inder
J.
Masuriya Din, Shri
Mehta, Shri Asoka
Minimata Agam Dass
Guru, Shrimati
Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali
Mohammad Yusuf, Shri
Mondal, Shri Jugal
Mrityunjay Prasad,
Shri
Mukerjee, Shrimati
Sharda
Naghnor, Shri M. N.
Nahata, Shri Amrit
Pandey, Shri K. N.
Panigrahi, Shri
Chintamani
Pant, Shri K. C.
Parmar, Shri
Bhaljibhai
Pratap Singh, Shri
Parthasarathy, Shri
Patil, Shri Anantrao

Patil, Shri Deorao
 Poonacha, Shri C. M.
 Qureshi, Shri Shafi
 Radhabai, Shrimati B.
 Raghu Ramaiah, Shri
 Raj Deo Singh, Shri
 Rajani Gandha,
 Kumari
 Rajasekharan, Shri
 Ram, Shri T.
 Ram Dhan, Shri
 Ram Dhanj Das,
 Shri
 Ram Subhag Singh,
 Dr.
 Ram Swarup, Shri
 Rana, Shri M. B.
 Randhir Singh, Shri
 Rane, Shri
 Rao, Shri Jaganath
 Rao, Dr. K. L.
 Rao, Shri K. Narayana
 Rao, Shri J.
 Ramapathi
 Rao, Dr. V. K. R. V.
 Reddi, Shri G. S.

Reddy, Shri P.
 Antony
 Reddy, Shri R. D.
 Reddy, Shri Surendar
 Rohatgi, Shrimati
 Sushila
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath
 Sadhu Ram, Shri
 Saigal, Shri A. S.
 Saleem, Shri M. Y.
 Salve, Shri N. K. P.
 Sambasivam, Shri
 Sanghi, Shri N. K.
 Sankata Prasad, Dr.
 Savitri Shyam, Shrimati
 Sayeed, Shri P. M.
 Sen, Shri Dwaipayan
 Shah, Shrimati Jayaben
 Shambhu Nath, Shri
 Sharma, Shri M. R.
 Shatri, Shri B. N.
 Shastri, Shri Rama-
 nand
 Shastri, Shri
 Sheopujan
 Sheo Narain, Shri

Shiv Chandika Prasad,
 Shri
 Shukla, Shri S.N.
 Sukla, Shri Vidya
 Charan
 Siddheshwar Prasad,
 Shri
 Sinha, Shri Satya
 Narayan
 Sonar, Dr. A. G.
 Surendra Pal Singh,
 Shri
 Sursingh, Shri
 Suryanarayana, Shri K.
 Swaran Singh, Shri
 Tiwary, Shri K. N.
 Uiksey, Shri M. G.
 Veerappa, Shri
 Ramachandra
 Venkatasubbaiah, Shri
 P.
 Virbhadr Singh, Shri
 Vyas, Shri Ramesh
 Chandra
 Yadav, Shri Chandra
 Jeet

MR. SPEAKER: The result of the Division is:

Ayes 58*; Noes 144†

The motion was negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: I now put Mr. Indrajit Gupta's amendments, Amendments Nos. 118 and 126 to the vote of the House.

Amendments Nos. 118 and 126 were put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: I now put Mr. Tenneti Viswanatham's amendment, Amendment No. 273, to the vote of the House.

Amendment No. 273 was put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: I now put the other amendments to the vote of the House.

The other amendments Nos. 1 to 4; 12 to 16; 17 to 29; 32; 43 to 55; 68 to

72; 74; 81 to 84; 93 to 97; 99 to 102; 106 to 117; 119 to 125; 127 to 134; 158 to 160; 170 to 176; 230 to 245; 260 to 272 and 274 to 276 were put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: I will now put the main Motion, moved by Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav to the vote of the House.

The Question is:

"That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:—

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

The Lok Sabha divided:

*Sarvashri A. Sreedharan, Ghayoor Ali Khan, Madhu Limaye, Anbuchezhian and Shrimati Shakuntala Nayar also wanted to vote for 'AYES'.

†Shri G. C. Dixit also wanted to vote for 'NOES'.

AYES

Division No. 4]

(15.52 hrs.)

Achal Singh, Shri
 Ahirwar, Shri Nathu
 Ram
 Ahmed, Shri F.A.
 Ankineedu, Shri
 Arumugam, Shri R. S.
 Babunath Singh, Shri
 Bajpai, Shri Snashi-
 bhushan
 Bajpai, Shri Vidya
 Dhar
 Barua, Shri Bedabrata
 Barua, Shri R.
 Bhagat, Shri B. R.
 Bhagavati, Shri
 Bhakt Darshan, Shri
 Bhandare, Shri R. D.
 Bhanu Prakash Singh,
 Shri
 Bhargava, Shri B. N.
 Bhola Nath, Shri
 Bohra, Shri Onkarlal
 Buta Singh, Shri
 Chanda, Shri Anil K.
 Chanda, Shrimati
 Jyotsna
 Chatterji, Shri
 Krishna Kumar
 Chaturvedi, Shri R. L.
 Chaudhary, Shri
 Nitiraj Singh
 Chavan, Shri D. R.
 Chavan, Shri Y. B.
 Choudhary, Shri Valmik
 Dalbir Singh, Shri
 Das, Shri N. T.
 Dasappa, Shri
 Tulsidas
 Dass, Shri C.
 Deoghare, Shri N. R.
 Desai, Shri Morarji
 Dhillon, Shri G. S.
 Dinesh Singh, Shri
 Dixit, Shri G. C.
 Dwivedi, Shri
 Nageshwar
 Ering, Shri D.
 Gajraj Singh Rao,
 Shri
 Gandhi, Shrimati
 Indira
 Ganesh, Shri K. R.

Ganga Devi, Shrimati
 Gavit, Shri Tukaram
 Gnosa, Shri Bimalakanti
 Girja Kumari, Shrimati
 Hanumanthaiya, Shri
 Hari Krishna, Shri
 Hazarika, Shri J. N.
 Hem Raj, Shri
 Jadhav, Shri V. N.
 Karan Singh, Dr.
 Kasture, Shri A. S.
 Khadilkar, Shri
 Khan, Shri M. A.
 Khanna, Shri P. K.
 Kinder Lal, Shri
 Kripalani, Shrimati
 Sucheta
 Krishnamoorti, Shri V.*
 Krishnan, Shri G. Y.
 Kureel, Shri B. N.
 Kushok Bakula, Shri
 Kushwah, Shri Y. S.
 Laskar, Shri N. R.
 Lutfal Haque, Shri
 Mahadeva Prasad, Dr.
 Mahajan, Shri Vikram
 Chand
 Maharaj Shingh, Shri
 Mahida, Shri Narendra
 Singh
 Maiti, Shri S. N.
 Malhotra, Shri Inder
 J.
 Masuriya Din, Shri
 Mehta, Shri Asoka
 Minimata Agam Dass
 Guru, Shrimati
 Mirza, Shri Bakar Ali
 Mohammad Yusuf, Shri
 Mondal, Shri Jugal
 Mrityunjay Prasad,
 Shri
 Mukerjee, Shrimati
 Sharda
 Naghnor, Shri M. N.
 Nahata, Shri Amrit
 Pandey, Shri K. N.
 Panigrahi, Shri
 Chintamani
 Pant, Shri K. C.
 Parmar, Shri
 Bhajibhai

Patil, Shri Anandrao
 Patil, Shri Deorao
 Poonacha, Shri C. M.
 Qureshi Shri Mohd. Shaif
 Kadhagai, Shrimati B.
 Ragnu Ramaiah, Shri
 Raj Deo Singh, Shri
 Rajani Gandha,
 Kumari
 Rajasekharan, Shri
 Ram, Shri T.
 Ram Dhan, Shri
 Ram Dhan Das, Shri
 Ram Subhag Singh,
 Dr.
 Ram Swarup, Shri
 Rana, Shri M. B.
 Randhir Singh, Shri
 Rane, Shri
 Rao, Shri Jaganath
 Rao, Dr. K. L.
 Rao, Shri K. Narayana
 Rao, Shri J.
 Ramapathi
 Rao, Dr. V. K. R. V.
 Reddi, Shri G. S.
 Reddy, Shri P.
 Antony
 Reddy, Shri R. D.
 Reddy, Shri Surendar
 Rohatgi, Shrimati
 Sushila
 Roy, Shri Bishwanath
 Sadhu Ram, Shri
 Saigal, Shri A. S.
 Saleem, Shri M. Y.
 Salve, Shri N. K. P.
 Sambasivam, Shri
 Sanghi, Shri N. K.
 Sankata Prasad, Dr.
 Savitri Shyam, Shrimati
 Sayeed, Shri P. M.
 Seyyad Ali, Shri
 Sen, Shri Dwaipayan
 Shah, Shrimati Jayaben
 Shambhu Nath, Shri
 Sharma, Shri M. R.
 Shastri, Shri B. N.
 Shastri, Shri Rama-
 nand
 Shastri, Shri
 Sheopujan

Sheo Narain, Shri
Sheth, Shri T. M.
Shiv Chandika Prasad,
Shri
Shukla, Shri S.N.
Sukla, Shri Vidya
Charan
Siddheshwar Prasad,
Shri

Sinha, Shri Satya
Narayan
Sonar, Dr. A. G.
Sudarsanam, Shri M.
Surendra Pal Singh,
Shri
Sursingh, Shri
Suryanarayana, Shri K.
Swaran Shingh, Shri
Tiwary, Shri K. N.

Uikey, Shri M. G.
Veerappa, Shri
Ramachandra
Venkatasubbaiah, Shri
P.
Virbhadr Singh, Shri
Vyas, Shri Ramesh
Chandra
Yadab, Shri Chandra
Jeet

NOES

Abraham, Shri K. M.
Amat, Shri D.
Amin, Shri R. K.
Anbazhagan, Shri
Bansh Narain Singh,
Shri
Basi, Shri S. S.
Bharat Singh, Shri
Brij Bhushan Lal,
Shri
Chakrapani, Shri C. K.
Chandra Shekhar Singh
Shri
Chittybabu, Shri C.
Deb, Shri D. N.
Deo, Shri K. P.
Singh
Deo, Shri P. K.
Deo, Shri R. R.
Singh
Desai, Shri C. C.
Devgun, Shri
Hardayal
Esthose, Shri P. P.
Ghosh, Shri Ganesh
Gowd, Shri
Gadilingana
Gupta, Shri Indrajit
Jadhav, Shri
Tulshidas*

Jha, Shri Shiva
Chandra
Kalita, Shri Dhireswar
Kandappan, Shri S.
Khan, Shri Ghayoor
Ali
Khan, Shri Latifat
Ali
Khan, Shri Zulfiquar
Ali
Kiruttinan, Shri
Koushik, Shri K. M.
Limaye, Shri Madhu
Lobo Prabhu, Shri
Majhi, Shri M.
Manoharan, Shri
Mayavan, Shri
Meghachandra,
Shri M.
Menon, Shri
Vishwanatha
Mohamed Imam,
Shri J.
Naik, Shri G. C.
Naik, Shri R. V.
Nair, Shri N.
Sreekantan
Nayanar, Shri E. K.
Patel, Shri J. H.
Patodia, Shri D. N.

Puri, Dr. Surya
Prakash
Ramamoorthy, Shri
S. P.
Ramji Ram, Shri
Ranga, Shri
Ranjit Singh, Shri
Ray, Shri Rabi
Samanta, Shri S. C.
Sambhali, Shri Ishak
Santosham, Dr. M.
Sharda Nand, Shri
Sharma, Shri Beni
Shanker
Sharma, Shri
Yogendra
Shastri, Shri
Ramavatar
Shastri, Shri Raghu-
vir Singh
Shastri, Shri Shiv
Kumar
Singh, Shri J. B.
Sivasankaran, Shri
Sondhi, Shri M. L.
Sreedharan, Shri A.
Tapuriah, Shri S. K.
Viswanatham, Shri
Tenneti
Xavier, Shri S.

MR. SPEAKER: The result of the motion is carried
division is: Ayes 149†; Noes 66†. The *The motion was adopted.*
'ayes' have it; the 'ayes' have it. The

*Wrongly voted for 'NOES'.

†Sarvashri Parthasarathy, Tulsidas Jadhav and Pratap Singh also wanted to vote for 'AYES'.

‡Sarvashri Bhogendra Jha, Mohammed Ismail. G. Viswanathan, Kanwar Lal Gupta, V. Krishnamoorthi, Anbuc bezhian, Nanja Gowder and Shrimati Shahikuntala Nayar also wanted to vote for 'NOES'.