

[Shri P. Venkatasubbiah]

- (3) Twenty-sixth Report on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Sixty-fifth Report of the Estimates Committee (Third Lok Sabha) on the Ministry of Railways—North Eastern Railway.
- (4) Twenty-seventh Report on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Ninety-fourth Report of the Estimates Committee (Third Lok Sabha) on the Ministry of Defence—Defence Metallurgical Research Laboratory, Hyderabad.
- (5) Twenty-eighth Report on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in the Ninety-fifth Report of the Estimates Committee (Third Lok Sabha) on the Ministry of Defence—Electronics and Radar Development Establishment and Defence Electronics Research Laboratory.

12.16 hrs.

THE BUSINESS ADVISORY
COMMITTEE

Thirteenth Report

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-
TARY AFFAIRS AND COMMUNI-
CATIONS (DR. RAM SUBHAG
SINGH): I beg to move:

"That this House agrees with the Thirteenth Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 13th February 1968".

MR. SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That this House agrees with the Thirteenth Report of the Business

Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 13th February 1968".

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL (Dabhoi): Yesterday, I had made a request that we abolish the lunch hour.

MR. SPEAKER: No. This was considered and it was not accepted.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL This is practically wasting the time of the House. Only those who have cars can go and come back.

MR. SPEAKER: We cannot have a discussion on the floor of the House on cars and no cars. He has a scooter. Others do not even have that. The question is:

"That this House agrees with the Thirteenth Report of the Business Advisory Committee presented to the House on the 13th February 1968".

The motion was adopted.

12.17 hrs.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

श्री ब्रह्मजीत शारदा : (ब्राजमगढ़) :
माननीय, अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप की अनुमति
से निम्नलिखित प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने
प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ :

"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".

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Say 'Congress Members'.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam): When a Motion of Thanks on the Address by the President is being moved by one of their own Members, the Members opposite have such scant respect that the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister are not ashamed to be absent from the House. We take strong objection to this.

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur): It is very right.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN- TARY AFFAIRS AND COMMUNI- CATIONS (DR RAM SUBHAG SINGH): They are coming.

SHRI NATH PAI: What is the your ruling on the point raised by Shri Ranga?

MR. SPEAKER: There is no ruling.

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR (Quilon): On a point of order. What happens to the Insecticides Bill which was being considered last?

MR. SPEAKER: No. The hon. Mem- ber is on his legs.

श्री ब्रह्मजीत घाटस : माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, हम राष्ट्रपति जी के इस बात के लिए अत्यन्त आभारी हैं कि उन्होंने संसद के दोनों सदनों के सदस्यों के समक्ष उन समस्याओं के ऊपर प्रकाश डाला है जो आज हमारे राष्ट्र के सामने प्रमुख रूप से हैं चाहे वह आर्थिक समस्याएं हैं, सामाजिक समस्याएं हैं या राजनैतिक समस्याएं हैं। श्रीमन्, हम सभी इस बात से चिन्तित हैं कि देश की आजादी के 20 साल के बाद आज हमारे देश के सामने कुछ ऐसे महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न मौजूद हैं कि जो देश के सभी विवेकशील लोगों का ध्यान अग्रकथित कर रहे हैं। उन्होंने सब से पहले हमारा ध्यान देश के अन्दर मौजूद आर्थिक संकट की तरफ खींचा है। पिछले दो वर्षों में देश बहुत बड़े

संकट से गुजर रहा था। हमारे देश की जनता के सामने प्रश्न था उसकी रोटी का, प्रश्न था उसकी जीविका का, एक ऐसा अकाल हमारे राष्ट्रीय जीवन में आया जो चिन्ता का विषय था और उन्होंने इस बात के लिये बघाई दी है, देश की सरकारों को और इस बात का ध्यान रखते हुए कि वह केन्द्र की कांग्रेस सरकार है अथवा राज्यों की कांग्रेस या गैर-कांग्रेस सरकारें हैं, सभी ने इस देश पर आये हुए अभूतपूर्व अकाल का मुकाबला राजनीतिक दलों के स्तर से ऊपर उठ कर, संकुचित विचारों को छोड़ कर साहस के साथ किया। उन्होंने बघाई दी है, देश की जनता को, जिस ने इस संकट का अपने मनोबल को उंचा रखते हुए मुकाबला किया। उन्होंने बघाई दी है देश के जनप्रतिनिधियों को जिन्होंने इस संकट का अहसास किया और इस का मुकाबला बड़ी मजबूती के साथ किया।

श्रीमन्, आर्थिक संकट के साथ साथ हमारे देश में दूसरे संकट भी मौजूद हैं, इस बात से आज कोई इन्कार नहीं कर सकता। हमारे राष्ट्रीय जीवन में आज हमारे विकास और हमारी प्रगति का प्रश्न मौजूद है। हमारे समाज में आर्थिक विषमतायें हैं, बावजूद इस के कि हम ने इस बात का प्रयास किया है कि हम अपने देश और समाज को आगे ले चलें, वे विषमतायें आज भी मौजूद हैं। हमारे देश में आज बेरोजगारी का प्रश्न मुंह बाये खड़ा है। हम ने एक समय इस बात का आवाहन किया था कि हमें लाखों प्रशिक्षित इंजीनियरों की आवश्यकता होगी, इस देश के निर्माण के लिए। लेकिन आज हमारे देश में इस प्रकार के पड़े-लिम्बे प्रशिक्षित तकनीकी लोगों की कमी बड़ी संख्या बेकार है—यह समस्या भी हमारे सामने है, इस से भी कोई इन्कार नहीं कर सकता।

आज हमारे देश के सामने समस्या है—

[श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव]

जो व्रत हम ने लिया था इस देश से गरीबी को दूर करने के लिये, इस देश में न्यायसंगत समाज की स्थापना का, हम उस लक्ष्य तक अभी नहीं पहुंच पाये हैं। एक सब से प्रमुख समस्या आज हमारे सामने हमारी आजादी की सुरक्षा, हमारी राष्ट्रीय एकता की है। 20 साल पहले जब हम ने दुनिया की सब से बड़ी साम्राज्यवादी शक्ति को पराजित कर के अपनी जनता के सहयोग से इस देश में राजनीतिक आजादी हासिल की थी, हम ने उस वक्त व्रत लिया था कि अब हमें इस देश में आर्थिक आजादी को हासिल करना है, हम ने अपने देश की आर्थिक नींव को मजबूत करने का व्रत लिया था, लेकिन आज जब हम देखते हैं कि हमारे देश में भाषा के सवाल पर हिमात्मक दंगे होते हैं, जब हम देखते हैं कि क्षेत्रीय भावनाएँ बढ़ रही हैं और राष्ट्रीय एकता और राष्ट्रीय भावना नजरअन्दाज होती जा रही है, आँखों के सामने से ओझल होती है, जो हमारे देश प्रेम को, राष्ट्रीय प्रेम को चोट लगती है और हमारी राष्ट्रीयता और हमारा देश प्रेम जागता है और जागना चाहिए। आज यह प्रश्न हमारे देश के सामने है, जिसका हमें हल निकालना है। आज इस प्रश्न का हल करने के लिए हमें आगे बढ़ना है। राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने सब से बड़ा आवाहन अपने अभिभाषण में इसी बात का किया है। उन्होंने कहा है कि जो राष्ट्रीय समस्याएँ हमारे देश के सामने हैं, वे समस्याएँ किसी दल विशेष की नहीं हैं, वे समस्याएँ राष्ट्र की हैं और उन राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं को हल करने के लिए उन्होंने इस बात का आवाहन किया है कि हम राजनीतिक दलों से ऊपर उठ कर, राजनीतिक सीमाओं को तोड़ कर, राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर आयेँ, विचार-विनिमय करें, एक दूसरे के सहयोग से इन राष्ट्रीय प्रश्नों का हम हल निकालें। उन्होंने इस बात का भी आवाहन किया है कि हमारे नेताओं ने प्रारम्भ में इस बात को कहा था कि हमने इस देश के अन्दर

प्रजातन्त्र की स्थापना की है, हम ने इस देश के अन्दर एक ऐतिहासिक कदम उठाया है, हम ने इस देश की करोड़ों जनता को मत देने का अधिकार दिया है, हमने इस देश में व्रत लिया है कि हम इस देश में प्रजातन्त्र की जड़ों को मजबूत करेंगे, हम ने इस देश में आर्थिक नियोजन की योजनाओं को बनाया है ताकि अपनी जनता को गरीबी से छुटकारा दिलाकर आगे ले चलें, लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि आज इस देश में वह शक्ति कमजोर होती नजर आ रही है, बिखरी हुई नजर आती है।

12.25 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair].

जब हमें देश में राजनीतिक स्थायित्व का अभाव दिखाई पड़ता है, जब हम बंगाल में देखते हैं कि आज वहां पर कोई सरकार इस स्थिति में नहीं है कि जनता के शासन को चला सके, जनता के कामों को कर सके, जब हम बिहार में देखते हैं कि कोई सरकार वहां पर निश्चित नहीं है, आज कोई सरकार होगी तो कल सरकार का कोई और रूप होगा, जब हम उत्तर प्रदेश के अन्दर देखते हैं तो वहां के मुख्य मंत्री ने स्वयं यह घोषणा कर दी है कि वह खुद नहीं समझते हैं कि वह मुख्य मंत्री हैं अथवा नहीं हैं, वह अपने बारे में अनिश्चित हैं, जब हम देखते हैं कि पंजाब और हरियाणा में कोई इस प्रकार का राजनीतिक स्थायित्व नहीं है तो हमें इस बात की चिन्ता होती है कि अपने देश के अन्दर जिन बातों को, जिन राष्ट्रीय मूल्यों को, जिन राष्ट्रीय धार्मिकों को, जिन राष्ट्रीय नीतियों को हमने संजोया है, हमने 100 वर्ष में हासिल किया है, ऐसा तो नहीं है कि आज उन मूल्यों के लिये, उन नीतियों के लिये खतरा उत्पन्न हो गया है? जब हम देखते हैं कि मेरठ में साम्प्रदायिकता के नाम पर निरीह और निर्दोष लोगों की हत्या होती है, जब हम देखते हैं कि रांची में साम्प्रदायिकता के नाम पर निर्दोष और निरीह लोगों की आम हत्या होती है, जब हम

देखते हैं कि साम्प्रदायिकता की ताकतें सिर उठा रही हैं, तो हमें इस बात का धक्का लगता है कि हमने धर्मनिर्पेक्षता के उच्च सिद्धान्त को जिसे हमने अपने जीवन के दर्शन का भंग बिना लिया है, कहीं कमजोर तो नहीं हो रहा है, आज ऐसी ताकतें सिर उठा रही हैं, जिनसे हम कमजोर हो जाय। जब हम देखते हैं कि कश्मीर के अन्दर वे शक्तियां सिर उठा रही हैं जो हमारी राष्ट्रीय एकता की नींव को झकझोरती हैं, जब हम देखते हैं का असम में, गोहाटी में, हमारे राष्ट्रीय झंडे का अपमान होता है, तो हमें धक्का लगता है कि आज हमारी राष्ट्रीय शक्ति फिर से जाग्रत होगी या नहीं।

ऐसा बड़ा संकट आज देश के सामने है और हमारे महामहिम राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने इन संकटों की तरफ देश के अन्दर पैदा हुई उन कठिनाइयों की तरफ सदस्यों का और देश का ध्यान खींचा है—आइये, एक राष्ट्र की तरह से हम इन चुनौतियों का मुकाबला करें उन्होंने केन्द्रीय सरकार की नीति को प्रतिपादित करते हुये कहा है कि यह समस्या दलों की समस्या नहीं है, यह राष्ट्रीय समस्या है, और आवाहन किया है कि हम सभी दलों के साथ बैठकर, बातचीत करके इन समस्याओं का हल निकालें।

श्रीमन्, मैं ऐसा महसूस करता हूँ कि आज जो एक राजनीतिक स्थायित्व का अभाव हमारे देश में पोलिटिकल इन-स्टैबिलिटी देश में दिखाई पड़ती है, उसके पीछे हमारे देश के अन्दर उत्पन्न आर्थिक संकट हैं। 20 सालों में इस देश को आगे ले जाने के लिये हमने बड़ी बड़ी योजनायें बनाई, २० सालों में हमने इस देश के किसानों के लिये पानी की व्यवस्था, उनकी खेती की पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिये बिजली देने की व्यवस्था, उनके कृषि के उत्पादन का सही दाम देने की व्यवस्था की है, लेकिन आज भी इस दिशा में बहुत कुछ करना है। मैं सबसे पहले कृषि की बात को ही कहना चाहता हूँ। यह बात

सही है कि इस साल हमारी पैदावार काफी अच्छी हुई है और यह भी सही है कि सरकार इस बात पर कटिबद्ध है कि हमें अपने देश के अन्दर कृषि व्यवस्था को समुन्नत करना है इसलिये इस देश की राष्ट्रीय आय का 50 प्रतिशत हिस्सा हमारे देश की कृषि की आय से होता है, कोई भी देश, कृषि प्रधान देश जो अपनी कृषि की अवहेलना करेगा, उसकी उपेक्षा करेगा, वह समुन्नत नहीं हो सकता, उसकी प्रगति नहीं हो सकती, इस बात को हमारी सरकार ने महसूस किया है और यह निश्चय किया है कि हमें इस को करना है। इस के लिये नये साधन जुटाये जाय, किसानों को साधन दिये जायें, उनके लिये नये नये बीज का प्रवन्ध हो, उनके लिये खाद का प्रवन्ध हो, बजली और पानी का प्रवन्ध हो, इसकी तरफ सरकार ने अपना दृढ़ निश्चय और संकल्प इसके अन्दर दिखाया है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसी बात से हम में कोई कम्प्लेसेंसी नहीं आनी चाहिये, हम आज भी बहुत कुछ प्रकृति पर निर्भर हैं। हमने काफी प्रयास किया है, किसानों को नये बीज का आदी बनाने के लिये, उनके लिये खाद देने और कृषि के नये यंत्रों को जटाने का, उनको कृषि के नये साधन देने का और मुझे खुशी है कि हमारे किसानों ने इन साधनों को अपनाया भी है। पिछले दो वर्षों से देश के अन्दर संकट था। बिहार प्रदेश में 15 वर्षों में 10 हजार निजी ट्यूब वेलज लगे थे लेकिन जब संकट आया, वहां के किसानों ने केन्द्रीय और राज्य सरकार की मदद से दो वर्षों में 15 हजार निजी ट्यूब-वेलज लगाये। मैंने उत्तर प्रदेश में स्वयं देखा कि वहां के किसानों के अन्दर साहस पैदा हुआ, उन्होंने इस आवाहन को स्वीकार किया कि हम दुनियां के दूसरे देशों के सामने हाथ न पसारें, भिक्षा का पात्र ले कर नहीं जा सकते, इस से हमारे आत्म सम्मान को चोट लगती है। हमारी राष्ट्रीय नीति आत्मनिर्भर नहीं रह सकती है अगर हम दूसरे देशों पर निर्भर रहे और हमारे

[श्री चन्द्रशेखर वेंकटराव]

किसानों ने इस बात का ब्रत लिया कि वह कृषि के क्षेत्र में आत्म-निर्भर बनेंगे—हमारे देश के लोगों के लिये यह बहुत बड़ा उदाहरण है लेकिन इस से पहले कि मैं और बातों की तरफ आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करूं हम में काम्लेसेन्सी नहीं होनी चाहिये हमारी पैदावार इस वर्ष बढ़ गई लेकिन इस प्रकार कम संकट आगे भी आ सकता है हमें जिस काम को करना है उसे और ज्यादा तेजी से करना है । आज भी लाखों एकड़ बंजर भूमि देश में पड़ी हुई है ।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि वह भूमि जो भूमिहीन किसान हमारे देश के अन्दर हैं उन में उस का बंटवारा होना चाहिए । उस का उल्लेख हम ने बार बार अपने प्रस्तावों में किया है । हमें इस काम को करना है । हमें उन भूमियों के अन्दर गरीब किसानों को सहकारी ढंग से उन के ऊपर लगाना है । उन को साधन देना होगा ताकि हम इस काम को करें ।

श्रीमन् हम ने जो खाद्य नीति अपनाई है जो फूड जोस बनाये हैं, गल्ले के ते आने ले जाने के ऊपर जो नियन्त्रण रक्खा है, हम ने जो वाजिब कीमत देने की कोशिश की है हमारी एक शिकायत थी अर्स से कि किसानों को उचित दाम नहीं मिलते तो हम ने इस सम्बन्ध में आवश्यक कदम उठाया कि हमारे किसानों को उन की उपज की उचित कीमत मिले । पिछले वर्षों में हमारे कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ने का एक कारण यह भी है कि किसान को उस के उत्पादन की सही कीमत मिलनी प्रारम्भ हो गई है । मैं समझता हूँ कि यह नीतियों आगे भी जारी रहेगी । हम को गल्ले के अन्दर राज्य व्यापार करना है और उग के लिए हमें अपने राज्यों के अन्दर बफर स्टॉक बनाने पड़ेंगे । गल्ला वसूली

की नीति जारी रखनी पड़ेगी । मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार इन नीतियों की तरफ से पीछे नहीं जायेगी इस का मुझे पूरा भरोसा और यकीन है ।

श्रीमन् औद्योगिक संकट भी हमारे देश के अन्दर है । आज हमारे देश के अन्दर एक औद्योगिक मंड़ी है जिसका हम मुकाबला कर रहे हैं । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इतिहास का विद्यार्थी इस बात को जानता है, अर्थ शास्त्र का विद्यार्थी इस बात को जानता है कि जब कोई गरीब और पिछड़ा हुआ देश मुक्ति के लिए आगे बढ़ता है, अपनी प्रगति के लिए कटिबद्ध होता है तो उसे ऐसे संकटों का सामना करना पड़ता है । हमें बड़ी बड़ी योजनाएं बनानी हैं । हमें वह संवृलियात सामाजिक क्षेत्र के अन्दर भी अपनी जनता को देनी है, आर्थिक क्षेत्र के अन्दर भी देनी हैं । किन्तु ऐसा काम करते समय विचारों की यह मंजिल आती है जहाँ कठिनाइयाँ आती हैं, जहाँ साधन का अभाव होता है, दूसरों से सहायता लेनी पड़ती है । इस सम्बन्ध में हमारी नीति सही रही है । हमने दुनिया के उन तमाम मित्र देशों से जिन्होंने वगैर किसी शर्त के हमारी अजादी को कहीं बंधन में नहीं रक्खा किसी ने हम पर अंकुश लगाने की कोशिश नहीं की और यदि किसी ने कोई शर्त रक्खी भी और हम से कहा कि आप हमारे धन का सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के अन्दर प्रयोग नहीं कर सकते तो हम ने उन शर्तों को स्वीकार नहीं किया । अपने आत्मसम्मान को ध्यान में रखते हुए हम ने अपने विकास के लिए मित्र देशों से भी सहायता ली लेकिन हम मुख्य रूप से निर्भर रहे हैं अपनी जनता के ऊपर और अपने आंतरिक साधनों के ऊपर । आज यह संकट हमारे देश के सामने है । यह आज हमारे लिए दुख की बात है कि हमारे सामने चतुर्ब पंचवर्षीय योजना नहीं है । जिन योजनाओं को हमने 20 साल पहले शुरू किया था 20 सालों की नियोजित अर्थ व्यवस्था के

बाद आज एस दुखद स्थिति में हम हैं और आर्थिक संकट इतना गहरा है कि हमारे सामने आज चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना नहीं है। यह दरअसल हमारे लिए दुख व परेशानी की बात है और मैं समझता हूँ कि आज वह समय आ गया है जबकि हमें इस पर विचार करना पड़ेगा। मेरा स्पष्ट मत है कि आज का आर्थिक संकट हमारी आर्थिक व्यवस्था का संकट है हिन्दुस्तान जैसे पिछड़े देश में यहां की गरीबी को दूर करने लिए दुनिया के अन्य देशों से इस बारे में सीख कर यह कह सकते हैं कि सिवाय इसके कि प्रजातांत्रिक समाजवाद के रास्ते पर इस देश को ले चलें, उस मंजिल तक देश की ले जायें दूसरा और कोई विकल्प हमारे देश के सामने नहीं है। इस बात को ध्यान में रखते हुए हमारी पार्टी ने इस बात का संकल्प किया किया है कि हमें अपने देश के अन्दर प्रजातांत्रिक समाजवाद की स्थापना करनी है। लेकिन मुझे इस बात का दुख है कि अभी हम कुछ परिस्थितियोंवाश कारणर कदम इस दिशा में उठा नहीं पाये हैं। हमें वह कदम उठाने पड़ेंगे। हमें विदेशों के ऊपर निर्भर नहीं रहना पड़ेगा। हम इस बात को जानते हैं कि आज की स्थिति में चाहे वह वैदेशिक नीति ही, चाहे आंतरिक नीति ही अगर हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति सुदृढ़ नहीं होगी तो हम अपने आत्मसम्मान की, अपनी आजादी की और अपनी जनता के जीवन की रक्षा नहीं कर पायेंगे। इस के लिए हमें उस मंजिल तक बढ़ना है। इसके लिए हम को साधन इकठे करने हैं। इस के लिये हम को कदम उठाने हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में बहुत दिनों से मांग थी कि साधन के उन स्रोतों के ऊपर सरकार का अधिकार होना चाहिए। जो स्वातंत्र्य आज हमें अतिरिक्त साधन दे सकते हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में एक अर्थ से मांग थी कि हम बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करें ताकि वह पूँजी जनता की जो चंद लोगों के हाथों में इकठी है वह जनता के आम इस्तेमाल के लिए आये। उस सम्बन्ध

में मांग थी कि हम यह आयात निर्यात के कार्यों को सरकारी क्षेत्र के अन्दर ले आयें ताकि हमें अतिरिक्त साधन उपलब्ध हो सकें। इस सम्बन्ध में यह मांग थी कि हम आम जीवन बीमा का राष्ट्रीयकरण करें। हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने इस बात की घोषणा की है कि वह सामाजिक नियंत्रण बैंकों के ऊपर और आम जीवन बीमा के ऊपर करना चाहते हैं। मैं उन की इस घोषणा का स्वागत करता हूँ। मैं यह महसूस करता हूँ जैसा कि माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने बार बार कहा है कि यदि ऐसे नियंत्रण के बावजूद भी वह लक्ष्य नहीं प्राप्त होगा जिस से हमें सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में साधन प्राप्त करने हैं तो वह आगे बढ़ेंगे। मेरी निजी राय है कि बैंकों का समाजिकरण या जीवन बीमा का समाजिककरण कामयाब नहीं होगा। निश्चित रूप से हमें राष्ट्रीयकरण करना पड़ेगा और इन बैंकों और जीवन बीमा निगम की तरफ हमें आगे बढ़ना होगा क्योंकि हम जानते हैं कि हमारे देश के अन्दर आज इस मिश्रित अर्थ व्यवस्था के अन्दर हम निजी पूँजीपतियों के खिलाफ नहीं हैं लेकिन हम इस बात को भी स्वीकार नहीं कर सकते कि जनता के नाम पर कुछ लोग उसका निर्बाध रूप से शोषण करते रहें। देश के अन्दर इजारेदारी विकसित होनी रहे। गरीब और अमीर को खाई बढ़ो चली जाये। अगर यह स्थिति कायम रहेगी तो देश के अन्दर अमनोष पैदा होगा। आर्थिक विषमता राजनीतिक संकट पैदा करने के लिए जिम्मेदार हुआ करता है इतिहास के विद्यार्थी इन बात को जानते हैं। आज इन स्थिति में हम पटु ब गये हैं कि 20 सालों की आजादी के बाद जनता को जो हम ने स्वप्न दिखाये थे कि उस को आर्थिक विषमता कम करेंगे, उस को गरीबी मिटावेंगे, अज्ञानता को भावना उखलाना उस के अन्दर से जन्म होगी, रोज़ार उठाके मिलेगा, इनका जीवन प्रगति के रास्ते पर रहेगा हम उस लक्ष्य को नहीं प्राप्त कर सके हैं। उत्तरे अतन्तोर पैदा हो

[श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव]

रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि आज समय आ गया है जब हमें इन तमाम प्रश्नों पर गम्भीरता से विचार करना पड़ेगा और हम को इसके लिए कदम उठाने पड़ेंगे।

श्रीमन्, मैं जिस बात से सब से अधिक चिंतित हूँ जिस बात के लिए राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने अभिभाषण के अन्दर चिन्ता प्रकट की है और वह है कि हमारे देश के अन्दर आज ऐसी ताकतों का सिर उठाना जोकि इस देश की एकता को कमजोर करना चाहती हैं जो इस देश की आजादी को खतरे में डालना चाहती हैं और वह हमारे लिए चिन्ता का विषय है। भाषा का सम्बन्ध भावनाओं से होता है। भाषा का सम्बन्ध लोगों की जीविका से होता है लेकिन भाषा के प्रश्न पर देश को हरगिज बांटा नहीं जा सकता है देश को कमजोर नहीं किया जा सकता है राष्ट्रीय एकता को खतरे में नहीं डाला जा सकता है। इस के ऊपर सरकार ने इस बात का प्रयास हमेशा से किया है कि यह इस देश के लिए, देश की एकता के लिए भी जरूरी है कि हमारी एक राष्ट्रीय भाषा हो। अनेक राष्ट्रीय भाषाओं को रख कर देश की एकता को हम हासिल नहीं कर सकते। सरकार ने इसके ऊपर इस बात का प्रयास किया कि अन्य राज्य सरकारों से कुछ गैर राजनीतिक दलों से बात करें लेकिन मुझे अफसोस है कि कुछ लोग इस प्रश्न को राजनीतिक प्रश्न के रूप में इस्तेमाल करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने फिर आवाहन किया है कि हम इस के ऊपर बैठ कर विचार करने के लिए तैयार हैं। इस सरकार की नीति सदैव इस बात की रही है कि हम इस सम्बन्ध में कोई रिजिड पालिसी अखत्यार नहीं करते। हम इस सम्बन्ध में हल ढूँढ़ने के लिए चिंतित हैं एक ऐसा हल जिसमें आम जनता की सहमति हो, आम देश की पार्टियों की सहमति हो ताकि भाषा का प्रश्न हमारी राष्ट्रीय एकता को कमजोर न करने पाये श्रीमन्, मैं समझता हूँ कि वह समय आयेगा जब हम इस के ऊपर कोई सहमति निकाल

सकेंगे। आज देश के अन्दर ऐसी ताकतें सिर उठा रही हैं जिससे हमें चिन्ता होती है चाहे वह महाराष्ट्र के अन्दर शिव सेना हो, चाहे वह असम के अन्दर लचिट सेना हो, चाहे वह राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ हो, चाहे वह इस्लामी हो...

श्री हरदयाल बेबगुण (पूर्व दिल्ली) :
चाहे वह कांग्रेस हो।

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव : इस प्रकार की ताकतें जो प्रतिश्रियावादी ताकतें हैं इस प्रकार की ताकतें जो देश की एकता को कमजोर करने वाली ताकतें हैं इस प्रकार की ताकतें जो राष्ट्रीय एकता को ओझल करके क्षेत्रीयता के ऊपर बल दे रही हैं मैं समझता हूँ कि यह सब के लिए चिन्ता का विषय है यह कोई पार्टी का प्रश्न नहीं है। चाहे रंगा साहब हों, चाहे मसानी साहब हों, चाहे अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी हों, श्रीबलराज मधोक हों, श्री एच० एन० मुर्जी हों या श्री नाथ पाई हों, सब को इस बात के लिये बुलायें कि आज हम सब मिल कर इन तमाम प्रश्नों के ऊपर विचार करें। आखिर हम सब एक झंडे के नीचे खड़े होकर इस देश की आजादी के लिए लड़े हैं। हम सब का मकसद है इस देश को आगे ले चलने का और यहाँ की जनता की सेवा करने का। जनता की प्रगति का यह प्रश्न हमारे सामने आता है तो जो समस्यायें दीवार बनती हैं हमारे आगे बढ़ने में वह हमारी राष्ट्रीय एकता को कमजोर करती हैं उन्हें दूर करना होगा। अब इन प्रश्नों के ऊपर कोई पार्टी का सवाल नहीं है मैं आपके माध्यम से पुनः इस बात के ऊपर बल देना चाहता हूँ कि आज इन तमाम राष्ट्रीय प्रश्नों के ऊपर हमें एक साथ बैठ कर उनका हल निकालना है।

श्रीमन्, ऐसी ताकतें क्यों पैदा हो रही हैं इसके कारण को भी ढूँढ़ना है। हम यह जानते हैं कि आर्थिक संकट है। कोई उस से इंकार नहीं करता। हम यह जानते हैं कि कोई

स्थानीय समस्याओं के ऊपर किसी की नाराजगी हो सकती है हम इस से इंकार नहीं करते लेकिन क्या इसका हल यह होगा कि देश के अन्दर हिंसा की आग को हम जलायें ? धूँ-धूँ करके वह हिंसा की आग जले, देश के अन्दर राष्ट्रीय सम्पत्ति का विनाश हो और जिसके कि अन्दर देश की प्रगति रुक जाय जिससे कि यह प्रतिबिम्ब निकले कि हमारी राष्ट्रीय एकता इन प्रश्नों के ऊपर नहीं है आज हमें अपनी सीमाओं के भीतर संकट का मुकाबला करना है । देश के अन्दर आने वाले प्रत्येक संकट का मुकाबला करना है । देश के अन्दर जो विभिन्न राष्ट्रीय समस्याएं पैदा हो गयी हैं उन का हल ढूँढ़ना है । तो इस प्रकार का अगर प्रभाव पड़ता है हमारी जनता के ऊपर, देश के ऊपर, पड़ोसियों के ऊपर तो यह हमारे लिए चिन्ता का विषय बन जाता है भारत वह देश है जिसकी आजादी के आन्दोलन का उस महान व्यक्ति ने नेतृत्व किया था कि जो इसानों में हिमालय जैसा था, जिस ने भारतीय संस्कृति, भारतीय जनता के मनोबल को, उसकी प्रतिभा को पहचान कर कहा था कि इस देश की राजनीति के अन्दर नैतिकता का भी स्थान है और हम देश को सत्य और अहिंसा के मार्ग पर ले जाना चाहते हैं, देश में त्याग और सहयोग की भावना को लेकर उसको आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं । वह जो आदर्श था वह आज भी हमारे आँखों के सामने से ओझल नहीं होना चाहिये । कांग्रेस ने पिछले बीस साल में जहां बहुत से अच्छे काम किए हैं, देश के सामने उपस्थित होने वाली समस्याओं का मुकाबला किया है, वहां हो सकता है कि उससे कुछ भूलें भी हुई हों । मैं इससे इन्कार नहीं करता हूँ उन भूलों का आज यह हल नहीं है । आगे से व भूलें न हों, इसको हमें देखना होगा । आज देश के सामने यह सब से बड़ा संकट है और इस पर हमें विचार करना होगा और इसका हल ढूँढ़ना होगा यह जरूरी है कि हम बैठ कर तय करें कि देश में राजनीतिक व्यवस्था को कैसे सुधारा जाए । हमने वगैर किसी संकोच के देश के करोड़ों इसानों को प्रशासन में भागीदार

बनाया है । हम ने इसका विचार नहीं किया कि हमारे देश के नागरिक पूर्ण रूप से शिक्षित हैं या नहीं हैं । उनकी प्रतिभा पर, उनकी बुद्धि पर, उनके विवेक पर हमने विश्वास किया है हमने प्रजातंत्रीय रास्ता अपनाया है । प्रजातंत्रीय अधिकार लोगों को प्रदान किये हैं । हमने कोई दलगत राजनीति चलाने की कोशिश नहीं की । हमें पता था कि मुख्तलिफ दल यहां पनप सकते हैं और वे पावर में आ सकते हैं । इस चीज को हम देश में देख भी रहे हैं । लेकिन इसके साथ साथ आप इस पर भी विचार करें कि आज हम ऐसी जगह पर खड़े हैं कि हम सिद्धान्तहीनता के आधार पर, अवसरवादिता के आधार पर और आदर्शों को छोड़ कर देश को क्या आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं ? मैं समझता हूँ कि नहीं बढ़ा सकते हैं । चौथे आम चुनाव के बाद देश में ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हुई है कि जिसके अन्दर मुख्तलिफ पार्टियों की सरकारें विभिन्न प्रान्तों में बनी हैं । जब ये सरकारें बनीं तब कांग्रेस पार्टी के नेता, हमारी प्रधान मंत्री, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी ने उनका स्वागत किया था और कहा था कि यह इस बात का प्रमाण है कि देश के अन्दर प्रजातन्त्र सफलतापूर्वक चल सकता है और चल रहा है । बाबजूद सारी कठिनाइयों के हम इस बात का स्वागत करते हैं । हमारे उपप्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी एक जगह नहीं अनेकों जगह वित्त मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री को हैसियत से कहा था कि हम इस बात में भेदभाव नहीं करेंगे कि कहीं पर नान-कांग्रेस सरकार है और हम सभी के साथ सहयोग करके आगे बढ़ेंगे और राज्य सरकारों की मदद करेंगे । यह जो वास्तविकता थी इसको नजर अंदाज करके हम नहीं चल सकते थे और न ही चला जा सकता था लेकिन एक बात पर आप विचार करें । अगर एक पार्टी से कुछ लॉग अलग होते हैं केवल सत्ता प्राप्त करने के लिए तो उन्हें क्या क्रांतिकारी होने की संज्ञा दी जानी चाहिये, उन्हें क्या फूल मालायें पहनाई जानी चाहियें, उनको बड़े भारी क्रांतिकारी कहा जाना

[श्री चन्द्रजीद यादव]

चाहिये ? इससे तो सिद्धान्तहीनता और अवसरवादिता ही बढ़ती है। फिर इसके आगे क्या होता है इसको भी आप देखें। फिर दूसरी पार्टी से दूसरे लोग आते हैं तो उनको गद्दार कहा जाता है, देशद्रोही कहा जाता है। इन दोनों में कैसे संगति बैठती है, इसको आप देखें। यह जो स्थिति है यह बहुत दिन तक चल नहीं सकती है। अगर कोई सिद्धांतों के आधार पर पार्टी छोड़ता है तो उसको मैं मान सकता हूँ। लेकिन सिद्धांत हीनता और अवसरवादिता को मैं प्रश्रय देना नहीं चाहता हूँ। इस मामले में हम को सिद्धांतों और आदर्शों को सामने रखकर काम करना पड़ेगा।

आज बहुत सी ऐसी राज्य सरकारें हैं जिन्होंने संकट जो हमारे सामने हैं उसको नजर-अंदाज करके केवल कुछ नारों के ऊपर काम करना शुरू किया है। वे कहती हैं कि टैक्सों को जनता पर से हमको हटा लेना है। मैं पूछता हूँ कि कौन नहीं चाहता कि इस देश के जन साधारण के ऊपर कम से कम बोझा पड़े। कौन नहीं चाहता कि देश के विकास के लिए गरीब जनता के ऊपर कम से कम बोझा डाला जाए? लेकिन हमें कुछ सिद्धांतों के ऊपर काम करना पड़ेगा। यह हम नहीं कर सकते हैं कि राज्य सरकारें सारा बोझा और सारे दायित्व केन्द्रीय सरकार के ऊपर डाल दें और सस्ते नारों के ऊपर वे काम करें। आज ऐसी स्थिति पैदा होने नहीं दी जा सकती है। हमको इसके ऊपर विचार करना होगा और इसका समाधान खोजना होगा।

एक और भी खतरा सामने आता है। अगर जनता को स्थायी सरकार नहीं मिलती है, जनता की भावनाओं और उनकी आकांक्षाओं के अनुसार काम नहीं होता है, उसकी आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति के लिए उचित कदम नहीं उठाये जाते हैं तो जनता का विश्वास जोकि पिछले आम चुनाव में कांग्रेस पार्टी के प्रति थोड़ा घटा है और जनता ने एक विकल्प ढूँढ़ने की कोशिश की है और जनता को जो विकल्प

मिला है वह विकल्प भी अगर अवसरवादिता के आधार पर, आदर्शशून्यता के आधार पर, सिद्धान्तहीनता के आधार पर काम करता है, तो क्या जनता के अन्दर मायूसी पैदा नहीं होगी? उसके अन्दर मायूसी पैदा नहीं रही है। कांग्रेस दल से यह मायूसी कुछ हद तक पैदा हुई। कांग्रेस के विपरीत जो विकल्प उसने ढूँढ़ा जिसके अन्दर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी से लेकर जनसंघ तक सारे के सारे दल हैं और जिन्होंने सिद्धान्तों को तिलांजलि देकर हाथ मिलाया है और इकट्ठे हुए हैं। किन्तु उससे भी जनता अत्यन्त मायूस हुई है। खतरा है कि कहीं उसका विश्वास राजनीतिक नेताओं से न उठ जाये। वह उठ सकता है। राजनीतिक नेताओं से भी और राजनीतिक दलों से भी। अगर प्रजातन्त्रीय पद्धति से वह उठेगा तो फिर खतरा पैदा हो जाएगा उन तमाम राष्ट्रीय मूल्यों को भी जिन को हमने अपने देश के अन्दर स्थापित किया है। जो खतरा प्रजातन्त्र को हमारे देश में पैदा हो गया है उसके समाधान के लिए हमको कदम उठाना चाहिए। अगर प्रजातन्त्र इस देश में खतरे में पड़ जाता है, अगर जनता की शक्ति, जनता के विश्वास और जनता की एकता को नजरअंदाज किया जाता है तो हमारा देश आगे नहीं बढ़ सकेगा। यह प्रश्न जो हमारे सामने मौजूद है इसके ऊपर हमें गम्भीरता से विचार करना होगा।

अपने अभिभाषण में महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने कुछ अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं की तरफ भी हमारा ध्यान खींचा है। उन्होंने इस बात पर चिन्ता व्यक्त की है कि आज दुनिया के अन्दर ऐसे दो स्थल हैं—वियतनाम और पश्चिम एशिया—जहाँ विश्व शांति को खतरा पैदा हो गया है। यह सही है कि दुनिया के सारे लोग इससे चिन्तित हैं। आज युद्ध की विभीषिका वियतनाम के अन्दर चल रही है। आक्रामककारी जिस प्रकार से अपने पैर पश्चिम एशिया के अन्दर जमाये हुये है यह भी हमारे लिए तथा विश्व के लिए एक चिन्ता का विषय है। जहाँ तक हमारी

वैदेशिक नीति का मंत्र है, कुछ आदर्श हमारे सामने थे जिन को ले कर हम चले हैं और हमने काम किया है। हमने प्रारम्भ से इस बात को कहा है कि हम दुनिया के अन्दर शान्ति चाहते हैं और जहां तक पड़ोसी राष्ट्र हैं उनके साथ मैत्रीपूर्ण सम्बन्ध चाहते हैं। दुनिया के किसी राष्ट्र के आन्तरिक मामलों में किसी दूसरे देश द्वारा हस्तक्षेप हम नहीं चाहते हैं। दुनिया का कोई मुल्क गुलाम बना रहे इसके हम घोर विरोधी रहे हैं। हमने यह भी कहा है कि हम चाहते हैं कि साम्राज्यवाद के अवशेष दुनिया से समाप्त हों। हमने कुछ आदर्शों के ऊपर अपनी वैदेशिक नीति को आधारित किया है। मुझे फ़ख्र है कि पिछले बीस बरस के अनुभव ने इस बात को सिद्ध कर दिया है कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति की जो दिशा रही है, जिन मौलिक बातों को हमने स्वीकार किया है वे सही निकली हैं और उनके ऊपर हमें दृढ़ता से आगे बढ़ना है।

जहां तक वियतनाम का सम्बन्ध है, वहां जो युद्ध चल रहा है वह एक गम्भीर संकट का कारण बन रहा है। सारी दुनिया और सारी दुनिया के शान्ति प्रेमी लोग इस बात से चिन्तित भी हैं। मैं एक उद्धरण एक अंग्रेजी अखबार से एक आलोचक का देना चाहता हूं। यही नहीं कि हम इससे चिन्तित हैं बल्कि और बल्कि और लोग भी चिन्तित हैं। अभी दो दिन पहले इंग्लैंड के प्रधान मंत्री श्री विलसन ने कहा है, जब उनका ध्यान इस बात की ओर खींचा गया कि इस बात का खतरा है कि वियतनाम में अणु युद्ध हो सकता है तो उन्होंने कहा कि यह निरा पागलपन होगा। अगर अणु अस्त्रों का प्रयोग वियतनाम में किया गया तो फिर विश्व युद्ध होगा और मानवता इस धरती पर शेष नहीं बचेगी। अंग्रेजी अखबार के एक कमेंटेटर ने वियतनाम के युद्ध के बारे में लिखते हुए कहा है :

"Vietnam War is nonsense in military terms, counter productive in diplomatic terms, dangerous in

terms of its global implications and repugnant in moral terms."

ऐसे युद्ध को बन्द होना चाहिये। मैं यह आशा करता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार जिस ने जब कभी दुनिया के अन्दर ऐसे अणु आए हैं, पहल की है, इस मामले में भी पहल करेगी। एशिया और अफ्रीका के देश जिन्होंने हाल ही में गुलामी के जुए को अपने कंधों से उतार फेंका है, जो साम्राज्यवादियों की चालों से सब से अधिक परिचित हैं, जिन के विकास और जिन के जीवन और मरण के प्रश्न आज उनके सामने हैं, वे ही इसके अन्दर पहल ले सकते हैं। भारतवर्ष जिस ने हमेशा ऐसे मसलों में पहल की है, मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इन मसलों में भी पहल करेगा। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने अभी सोवियत रूस के के प्रधान मंत्री से बात की है, युगोस्लाविया के राष्ट्रपति से बात की है, मिश्र के प्रेजिडेंट नासिर से बात की है तथा दुनिया के और देशों से हम बात कर रहे हैं और मैं चाहता हूँ कि इसके अन्दर एक अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सम्मेलन उनको बुलाना चाहिये और उसके अन्दर इसके बारे में आवाज हमें उठानी चाहिये फिर चाहे हमारी उस आवाज को सुना जाए या न सुना जाए। लेकिन हमारा यह कर्तव्य है कि दुनिया के ऐसे तमाम लोगों को जो युद्ध को रोकना चाहते हैं, जो दूसरे देशों की आजादी को कुचलना नहीं चाहते हैं, जो चाहते हैं कि साम्राज्यवादी अपने हथकंडे आगे न बढ़ा सके, उनको हमको संगठित करना चाहिये, उनका हमको अह्वान करना चाहिये मुझे यकीन है कि ऐसे प्रश्नों पर विश्व मत हमारे पक्ष में आएगा, दुनिया के वे राष्ट्र जो अपने बिकांस के लिए आज संघर्ष कर रहे हैं, जो दुनिया में युद्ध को रोकना चाहते हैं वे इसके अन्दर हमारा साथ देगे और हमारी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय प्रतिष्ठा इस बात में बढ़ेगी कि हमने हमेशा इन नीतियों के आधार पर अपनी आवाज को उठाया है, अपनी आवाज को बुलन्द किया है। हमने कहा था कि इजराइल को अपनी सेनायें हटानी चाहियें। आप इसको

[श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव]

भी याद रखें कि जब पाकिस्तान का बर्बर आक्रमण हमारे ऊपर हुआ था और हमारे सैनिकों ने, हमारे देश को जनता ने उसका मुंह तोड़ जवाब दिया था और जो लड़ाई हमने अपनी सुरक्षा के लिए लड़ी थी उसमें बहुत सी धरती हमारे सैनिकों ने ले ली थी, उस पर कबजा कर लिया था लेकिन जब ताशकन्द का आह्वान आया तो हमारे देश के तत्कालीन प्रधान मंत्री श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी ने कहा कि हम जिस एकता और दृढ़ता के साथ युद्ध क्षेत्र में अपनी रक्षा करने के लिए गए थे, अपनी आजादी की रक्षा करने के लिए गए थे, उसी दृढ़ता और एकता के साथ और उसी मनोबल के साथ हम शान्ति की खोज में भी जाना चाहते हैं, उसकी खोज भी हम करना चाहते हैं। इस देश की लम्बी और ऐतिहासिक परम्परायें हैं। इस देश ने दुनिया में आजादी को प्राप्त करने और इसको बनाए रखने के संबंध में नेतृत्व किया है। आज यह देश दुनिया में अग्रन बनाए रखने में भी नेतृत्व करना चाहता है।

भारत-पाकिस्तान संघर्ष के बाद इस देश में हमारे बहुत से मित्रों के द्वारा हमारी आलोचना की गई कि पाकिस्तान की जिस भूमि पर हमने अधिकार कर लिया था, उस को छोड़ कर हम ने कमजोरी दिखाई है। लेकिन हमने कहा था कि यह आदर्शों और सिद्धांतों का देश है, हम कुछ बनियादी आदर्शों पर चलना चाहते हैं और उस समय राजनीति से ऊपर उठ कर हम ने इस बात का ज्वलन्त उदाहरण दिया। इसीलिए हम आज चाहते हैं कि इसरायल की फौजें ईजिप्ट के क्षेत्र से वापस जायें और उन्होंने आक्रमण का जो फल प्राप्त किया है उस को खत्म किया जाये। महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में भी इस देश का यह मत दोहराया गया है :

मैं समझता हूँ कि आज हिन्दुस्तान

को फिर दुनिया के इन मसलों को हल करने के संबंध में पहल लेनी चाहिए। इस समय संयुक्त राष्ट्र की कामर्स एण्ड ट्रेड कांफ्रेंस हिन्दुस्तान में हो रही है, जिस में संसार के सब देश भाग ले रहे हैं। हम विचार कर रहे हैं कि हम कोई ऐसा रास्ता निकालें, जिस से दुनिया के एक एक देश से गरीबी मिट जाये और दुनिया का कोई सम्पन्न तथा प्रभावशाली देश दूसरे गरीब, पिछड़े हुए और अविकसित देशों का शोषण न कर पाए, उन के विकास को न रोक पाये। हम ने उस में पहल की है। आज समय आ गया है कि ऐसे अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सवालों को हल करने के लिए हम पहल करें।

यह सही कहा गया है कि राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय नीतियों का चोली दामन का संबंध है। अगर हमारे देश को अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में आत्म निर्भरता के साथ स्वतन्त्र रूप से पार्ट अदा करना है, तो यह जरूरी है कि हम अपनी आर्थिक आजादी को मजबूत करें, क्योंकि जो देश अपने राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में आत्म-निर्भर नहीं है, जो अपने पैरों पर नहीं खड़ा है, वह अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में भी आत्म-निर्भर नहीं रह सकता है।

आज हमारे देश में जो स्थिति है, उस पर हम सब को गम्भीरता से विचार करना है। जब भी इस देश में संकट आये हैं, देश की जनता और देश के जन-नेता एकचित हो कर एक साथ खड़े हुए हैं और उन्होंने कंधे से कंधा मिला कर उन संकटों का मुकाबला किया है। महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं की ओर संसद् के दोनों सदनों का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है और उन को हल करने के लिए संसद् सदस्यों को आह्वान किया है। हमारा भी यह पुनीत कर्तव्य है कि हम देश के सामने उपस्थित संकटों को ध्यान में रखते हुए, राष्ट्रीय हितों को अपने समझ रख कर और पार्टियों की सीमा से ऊपर उठ कर इन

प्रश्नों पर विचार करें और उन का कोई रास्ता ढूँढ निकालें।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, इन शब्दों के साथ मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस सदन के सदस्यों की तरफ से महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी तक हमारी इस भावना को पहुँचायें कि उन्होंने संसद् के दोनों सदनों को सम्बोधित करते हुए जो राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं की ओर देश और उस के जन-प्रतिनिधियों का ध्यान आकषिप्त करने का कष्ट किया है, उस के लिए हम उन के अनुगृहीत हैं।

SHRI M. N. NAGHNOOR (Belgaum): Sir, I rise to second the motion moved by my hon. friend, Shri Chandrajeet Yadav. He has given a lucid exposition of the sincere efforts that the Government have put in during the last year to make the people more prosperous and happy. The country knows the hard times we had to face due to the unkindness of nature. Vast areas of our country were hit by drought and scarcity conditions, but in spite of that, Government put in their best efforts to save the country from famine and starvation. Bihar and its surrounding areas were the worst hit, but thanks to the efforts of the Central and State Governments, who have risen to the occasion to meet the natural calamities, the country has been saved from famine and starvation. They have intensified their programmes of not only procuring food but also importing food and also trying to increase the food production in our own country. This has been mentioned in the Present's Address and a good word has been said about food production. Due to the good weather conditions this year, we hope to reap a harvest totalling about 95 million tonnes, which will be 20 million tonnes more than the previous year. This itself proves that Government has spared no pains to grow more food at our own level.

Because we hope to have a bumper crop this year, we should not be com-

placent, but should try to build our own buffer stocks. In this regard the Government, in consultation with the Chief Ministers, have tried to intensify the programme of procurement at State level. The Chief Ministers who met on 8th and 9th April 1967 agreed that all States must intensify the programme of procurement. Unless we make the procurement programme successful, we can not meet the food situation. Therefore, I appeal to the State Governments to see that they keep up the procurement programme as active as possible.

As we all know, we have a very intensive and extensive food production programme in all the State. We have not only taken up major, medium and minor irrigation projects, but we have also tried to give relief to the poorest farmer by giving him a well or a pump set. We have invested crores of rupees in the major medium and minor irrigation programme. I may briefly narrate the huge investment that we have made in the last three plans. In the first plan, we invested about Rs. 300 crores and created an irrigation potential of 6.4 million acres. In the second plan, we invested Rs. 380 crores and created an irrigation potential of 11.7 million acres. In the third plan we invested Rs. 572 crores and created a potential of 17.5 million acres. During 1966-67 and 1967-68, we have invested Rs. 1519 crores and created an irrigation potential of 21 million acres.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. member may presume his speech after lunch.

13. hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for lunch till Fourteen of the clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after lunch at two minutes past Fourteen of the Clock

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—Contd.

SHRI M. N. NAGHNOOR: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir I was just mentioning the efforts of the Government in trying to intensify the agricultural programme. In this behalf we have adopted four measures. One is for providing major, medium and minor irrigation works, the second is to facilitate the use of underground water through pumps and lift irrigation programme, the third is to provide necessary fertilisers and the fourth is to make available improved variety of seeds. I was giving the figures as regards the enormous investment we have made in the matter of major and medium irrigation programme. So far, up to 1967-68 and also during the three Plans we have spent Rs. 1519 crores and created an irrigation potential of 21 million acres. Along with this as we have in our country flood havocs now and then and in this behalf we have spent during the three Plans about Rs. 148 crores and given protection to an area of 11.5 million acres during the three Plans and during the years 1966-67 and 1967-68 we have spent Rs. 13.88 crores and Rs. 12.13 crores respectively for these two years.

Before the three Plan periods the irrigation potential available in this country was of the order of 51 million acres. But today we have the privilege of servicing the country with an irrigation potential of 89 million acres. This is all in respect of major and medium irrigation programme in areas where there was enough water. But there are vast areas in our country which are scarcity areas wherein we do not have a rainfall of 15 inches per year. As the President has been pleased to mention in his address, to cater to the needs of these acres, we have given special emphasis to irrigation pumps and lift irrigation programme. We have tried to make power available to every nook and corner of our

country. Even the small villages in our country have been electrified. In this behalf we have spent about 2400 crores during the three Plans and we have an installed capacity of 10.17 million kilowatts of power. During the year 1966-67 we have spent Rs. 399 crores and created an installed capacity of 11.44 million kilowatts and during the year 1967-68 we have invested Rs. 386 crores and created an installed capacity of 13.50 million kilowatts of power. In the matter of rural electrification, in all the three Plans we have electrified 26,507 villages during the Third Plan and the total number of villages electrified up to the end of the Third Five Year Plan is of the order of 50,000 villages. By the year 1966-67 we have electrified 57,000 villages and up to the year 1967-68 we have electrified 60,000 villages in our country at a cost of Rs. 55 crores.

In the matter of providing irrigation pumping sets also we have a very commendable performance. Up till now we have provided irrigation pump sets totalling eight lakhs in our country. So you can imagine that Government have spared no pains to give relief to the farmers. So that the farmer has got to grow at least the minimum to see that he is able to feed himself and his poor family.

Sir, the President has been pleased to make a mention about fertilisers. In the matter of fertilisers we have invested during the year 1963-64 Rs. 37 crores and Rs. 32.9 crores in 1964-65. These are the imports we have made of fertilisers. During 1965-66 we had to import worth Rs. 44 crores. Therefore, considering the importance of fertilisers in the country we have switched on to have our own fertiliser industry in the country. During the three Plan periods we have up to the Third Five Year Plan invested Rs. 138 crores towards the production of fertilisers and allied material in our own country.

We have also given attention for the development of ports. The Government has been pleased to clear sanction for the development of two important ports, namely, Tuticorin and Mangalore. We must congratulate the Government for this and I request the Government earnestly that necessary funds should be made available for the early completion of these projects.

We have also the privilege of developing nuclear science in our country. We have, recently heard that a rocket has been successfully launched from the Thumba Equatorial Station and two other stations have been developed. We have also heard that very soon we will have nuclear power for the use of industrial development in our country.

As you are aware, Government is doing its best to improve the morale and efficiency of administration. In this behalf Government has been pleased to appoint the Administrative Reforms Commission. The Administrative Reforms Commission has been sitting from time to time and making serious efforts to make important recommendations to tone up the administration of our country. Towards this, the Administrative Reforms Commission has made a suggestion that there should be a Lokpal in our country to eradicate corruption both at the high and low levels. We must have an institution which will look into the mal-administration or corrupt practices in our country. So, with the institution of Lokpal coming into existence, we will have some authority to check corruption at the highest level. Whether it be the Ministers or the Secretary, everybody will come under its purview and I hope very soon corruption will come to an end.

AN HON. MEMBER: You admit it exists.

SHRI M. N. NAGHNOOR: Coming as I do from Mysore, I must make a mention of the Mahajan Commission's Report which has been submitted, Shri

Mahajan was unbiased and impartial in submitting a valuable Report. He was the former Chief Justice of India and his Report must be taken into consideration and must be accepted in toto. I request the Government to see that the Mahajan Commission's Report is accepted in toto and that the border disputes between Maharashtra and Mysore and Kerala are settled.

With these words, I second the motion moved by my hon. friend Shri Chandrajeet Yadav.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The motion has been moved and seconded also.

Motion moved:

"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".

Now there are the amendments, Shri Viswanatha Menon—not here; Shri Uma Nath—not here; Shri Abraham—not here; Shrimati Susheela Gopalan—not here....

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: May I make a submission? We thought that after the first speech was over, the amendments will be allowed to be moved.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Unless it is seconded, how can I take up the amendments?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: You may consider them as moved.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No, no.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: There is a little confusion. All these Members who have given the amendments have done it sincerely....

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: How can I deviate from the usual procedure? There is another way out. There is a large number of amendments to the Motion on Address by the President. Hon. Members present in the House who are desirous of moving their amendments may send slips to the Table within 15 minutes indicating the serial numbers of the amendments they would like to move:

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur) I am here; I can move my amendments.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have laid down the procedure. Please send your slip within 15 minutes to the Table. Shri Ranga.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam): Mr. Deputy-Speaker Sir, the Address that has been presented to us, that has been vouchsafed to us, by the President is the gloomist one and the most despondent one of all the Addresses that have been delivered ever since this Republic was born. The picture of India that is painted by the President is one which cannot be said even by the hard-boiled Government enthusiasts, to be an inspiring or a hopeful one. It is indeed most depressing and disheartening. It does not hold out any hope of quick recovery or inspired action or patriotic or unselfish role to be played by this Government in the spirit of self-denial, the words that were used by the President, self-restraint or self-discipline or the readiness to discharge their responsibilities—these are his words—with deep national concern transcending party affiliations.

On the other hand, what is the picture that we find today of our country all around us? There is lawlessness everywhere. That is admitted in the Address. Who is responsible for this lawlessness? It is easy to say that unruly elements, unsocial elements are indulging in it. But who has been the cause and who has been responsible for providing conditions which are resulting in this lawlessness?

The language problem was brought in here by the Government. They got their Resolution passed not being satisfied with the Act which has incited, which has enraged, the student population in the whole of the South. You may agree or you may not agree with it. It is the Resolution which is directly responsible for all that is happening so far as the student world is concerned.

The gherao evil took place in West Bengal. Did the Government of India assert itself with its authority in the name of the whole nation as soon as the new social evil was launched upon our political horizon? They went on waiting like sphinx until it became a menace, until so many of us in the Opposition had to raise our own voice against that menace and asked the Government of India to do something about it.

There was also Naxalbari. Now in Thanjavur and Parvatipur, recently they are trying to create trouble even within the agricultural sphere, among the agricultural workers and the tribal people. What is it that the Government of India has been doing? What is its role?

There was the Governor's misuse of powers. We ourselves asked for the dismissal of the West Bengal Government. That did the Government do? When it was too late, they did something and that too in a wrong way. They replaced one existing Ministry by another Ministry whose title was no better than that of the earlier displaced Ministry with the result that enraged the people and that gave an opportunity to the Leftist and various other people of the United Front to raise a regular revolt against law and order against the Government as such in West Bengal.

There was the misuse of the Preventive Detention Act and they tackled ordinary citizens, peaceful merchants and others who were keep themselves with the law and order and kept them in jail. Not being satisfied with it, they misused the

Control of Essential Commodities Act and the Prevention of Adulteration of Food Products Act in order to frighten the merchants in this country. All this has led to the lawlessness that is existing. They now come and tell us. 'Please come to our help.'

What about the economic position? Are not the prices rising all over India? They say, "No." They only say that they are not rising as much as they did last year, that they rose by 16 per cent and they have further risen by another 6 per cent or 9 per cent. Is that any consolation? Have they put a stop to inflation? Can the Finance Minister or anybody else possibly assure the country that the price-spiral has stopped, that no more tax burdens are going to be heaped upon us, that there is not going to be any deficit financing, that they are not indulging in deficit financing, that they are not resorting to Nasik press? All these things are going on. Inflation is knocking at the very door and knocking out the value of the rupee with the result that the ordinary masses of our country, the peasants and the workers, are being impoverished. They have been impoverished by rapid stages during the past four or five years and their poverty is still increasing.

They say that the heavy industries are being developed. They have developed them in such a wrong way that they themselves admit that there is need for economy, for efficiency, for streamlining, for reorganisation and for transferring them to the public sector.

Government want to take credit for having appointed the Administrative Reforms Commission. The Administrative Reforms Commission has suggested that the steel plants in the public sector should be transferred to an independent statutory corporation. Yet, Government are taking such a long time in implementing that recommendation. Is it because they want to set their house in order and

see that as many people as possible who are their favourites and who are at their beck and call are appointed and placed in proper key positions before they hand them over? And are they going to hand them over only when the whole thing has become completely bankrupt?

Everyone knows and the hon. Minister has himself had to admit that they are losing more than Rs. 50 crores a year. He was asking us to draw some consolation from the fact that Rs. 30 crores worth of steel products are being exported. But are they not being subsidised? Is it not a fact that the cost of production is about the highest now in India? The only consolation that they offer is that 'Oh, they have been over-capitalised'. But who was responsible for this over-capitalisation of these steel plants, if it was not the Government of India?

Take again the case of light industries. What is their position? Their is so much of unemployment there. Take, for instance, the engineering industries. There is not only unemployment, but they are also slow-moving in their pace of production. The whole gamut of these industries is not able to work beyond 75 per cent of their established capacity in some of the industries, they are not even able to work up to 50 per cent of their established capacity. Is this not recession? And yet our friends opposite say that we have turned the corner. Where have they turned the corner? They say that agricultural production has improved, and therefore, there is going to be more money coming from agriculture into industries and that money is going to be utilised hereafter. Is that any kind of a consolation at all to anybody?

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. There was a time when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sent out an s.o.s call to all the intellectuals in this country and all the young men in our colleges to rush to the engineering colleges and the polytechnics and get

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themselves trained in industrial arts and crafts and sciences and so on. But what is the position today? The Education Ministry admits that today as many as 20,000 fully trained engineering graduates as well as supervisors are unemployed, and by 1970, another 50,000 are going to be trained by our colleges and polytechnics and thrown into the employment market and there are no prospects at all for the employment of these 70,000 educated people, highly skilled people and very well trained people. And yet these people opposite deplore the drain of our intellectual and scientific personnel to other countries, instead of appreciating the fact that some of these people are at least able to go abroad and earn foreign exchange and send it back to us to swell our own depleted foreign exchange resources. They deplore this drain but at the same time they are not able to find any employment at all for these people. Now, what is the real position? For every employed engineering graduate, over hundreds of ordinary workers find employment, but when the engineer himself finds no employment, you can easily imagine how many hundreds of ordinary workers are going to remain unemployed.

Then, what is the plight of private enterprise? There is not one sword, but there are many swords of Damocles hanging over them; the ten points of the Bhubaneswar resolution and later on, the Hyderabad or Jabalpur resolution are held over them. Not being satisfied with all this, they are going to bring in now taxation also. All the time they have to resort to new taxation, because there is no escape from it since they are finding themselves in a deficit. In budget after budget they plead their inability to avoid further taxation. And our people are supposed to be the milch-cows for this purpose. But are they really such milch-cows? Are not Government losing in this process? Then they lose, is there any provision in the governmental economy to make good the losses.

Again, take the case of the textile industry. They asked for some protection. Was it given to them? Because it was not given to them, they are losing, and they are now wrecking vengeance on the poor cotton growers who are not able to find any market at all for their cotton. Can you just blame the millowners only for this situation? Surely, the millowners are also blame-worthy, but much more so is the Government blame-worthy because of their wrong control and wrong disincentive that they have introduced.

In these circumstances, may I know in what way they are going to improve our national economy? They promise that somehow or other there is going to be improvement because of agriculture. I agree that there has been a good crop this year. I am not prepared to say that it is a bumper crop. There could have been a bumper crop if only Government had abstained from creating so many disincentives against the kisans. Are they really protecting the jute growers, the tobacco growers, the tea growers and the rubber growers and the producers of pulses? They are not giving any protection to them. By the time they introduce the minimum price regulation and the support price by the Food Corporation or the STC, 90 percent of the jute has already gone into the hands of the merchants at prices which were highly uneconomic and which were far below the so-called minimum price. The same is the case with tobacco also. All the tobacco merchants under the leadership of the ILTD have now got together and are now trying to pay the lowest price for the highest or the best first grade tobacco. Is there any protection for the tobacco growers Government are not thinking of that at all. On the other hand we find that they have brought in ceilings through the Constitution (Seventeenth Amendment) Act. Then, there is the threat of Cooperative farming and then the threat of compulsory acquisition of peasants' lands for the benefit of the

Companies owned by Government as well as private enterprise as that capitalism can be given a push in this country under the aegis of Government and also under the protection of private enterprise, but all at the cost of the kisans.

Is it not time that they give up the zonal controls? If really their estimates are correct, I hope it is a good enough crop, I am sure we have got enough production to go round without endangering the life of our people anywhere in the country for want of a minimum quantity of food supplies. So could we not give up the zonal controls? Who are these zonal controls benefiting except some of these Ministries, and some of the States and their authorities who are fortunately placed in that position today? Why should there be these zonal controls any longer? I think many of the members in the Congress Party themselves are not in favour of these zonal controls, and yet Government are sitting tight over them at the behest of their own officer and are not prepared to abolish them. Why could they not do it at least now? Why could they not give up the policy of compulsory procurement at least in those areas where there is scarcity? It is high time that compulsory procurement should be given up all over the country and more especially in those areas like Srikakula, Vishakapatnam, Rayalaseema in Andhra Pradesh, Jaisalmer in Rajasthan and certain parts of Orissa etc. which are still suffering from drought and acute famine conditions and scarcity.

Once these two things go, then what is it that should remain? It is minimum price regulation so that the peasants can be protected and saved from exploitation by powerful Industrial and Commercial interest and also by governmental interests.

Again, can we simply say that all is well on the agricultural front? Have they done enough in order to develop irrigation and drainage? Have they not neglected drainage in a criminal fashion? Have they not

allowed denudation of our forest wealth in a suicidal fashion? Why is it that they have been delaying the development of the Narmada valley? They are prepared to interfere in the States' affairs whenever it suits their political interests, but when it is absolutely necessary to do so to promote the economy of our country and to develop our food production they are not prepared to use those powers and they are not prepared to use their good offices with the State Governments in order to see that the Narmada valley project is fully developed as a multi-purpose project.

Then, there is State trading in foodgrains. Only some time ago the Chief Minister of either Punjab or Haryana was complaining that the servicing charges demanded by the FCI were thrice as much as was being charged by the foodgrain merchants.

We were then complaining that the foodgrain merchants were exploiting our kisans. But here is the biggest exploiter, the Foodgrains Corporation. This state of affairs is bound to be there as long as there is no proper competition between the Foodgrains Corporation and the foodgrain trade. Therefore, we reiterate our demand that the Foodgrains Corporation should not be given any monopoly at all. On the other hand, it should be provided with sufficient funds and equipped with the necessary storage capacity in order to compete efficiently, ably and in every State with private trade so that there would be real, good competition between these two great forces and there would be sufficient protection for our peasants against exploitation.

Then we come to the foreign indebtedness. Government say they are not able to meet the servicing charges on foreign loans and investments in this country. Is that not a confession of their failure—that they are not able to service the loans they raise in other countries in order to

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develop industries here so that these industries would be able to help them to repay the interest as well as the principal and also leave a profit here? But is there any profit? Not at all. Is there any prospect of it in the horizon? Not at all. On the other hand, they have invested more than Rs. 2,900 crores of rupees on public enterprises. What result do they show? They themselves admit that it is not even one per cent; it is just a little more than half of one per cent. If even an ordinary merchant or industrialist wants to try to show a profit of 10 per cent, he would be dismissed by his management or board of directors. Can we not expect this bankrupt, inefficient, imbecile Government to show a profit of at least 5 per cent? Not even that. Only half of one per cent, a little more, 0.6 per cent. Is all the public money placed at their disposal by our people, through tax revenues, through internal loan resources, foreign aid and foreign debts to be wasted in this manner just to satisfy their own dogmas? As regards their much-vaunted socialism, where is it? There is a Sanskrit word known as *soshan*. This has resulted in *soshan* for our people.

Then the Fourth Plan. We suggested to them: for God's sake, be sensible; give yourselves a holiday for at least three years from this terrible, painful Planning Commission and its plans so that the staggering burdens would not be too heavy and our economy might be saved. Would they agree? No. They were very brave. They said: nothing doing. They would not even listen to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri's suggestion. They went ahead. What has been the result? For three years, there is no planning at all, no development, even the earlier things could not be developed further except the wrong ones. They themselves say that whatever the three steel plants in the State sector and the other steel plants in the private sector produce cannot be consumed by our people; therefore, they

are obliged to sell abroad and that too in a subsidised fashion. Yet they must go ahead with Bokaro, swallowing hundreds of crores of rupees, not one or two! Even the biggest of irrigation projects would not cost more than Rs. 150 crores, and they would provide employment to millions and millions of people, assuring an independent existence for millions of peasants and raising our own social economy in the country. But no, they would not think of that. They must waste our national resources on this wasteful, useless, unnecessary, redundant Bokaro plant. And what about its cost? It is going up. My hon. friend, the Prime Minister is smiling. She is welcome to her smile. She has gone to Russia once too often. She has invited them also here much too often. She has also given the promise that we are prepared to exchange these visits much more frequently from the highest level to the lowest. And all these visits are to result in what? In our enslavement to Soviet Russia's precious decisions, convenience and economy.

From Rs. 350 crores, the cost had gone up to Rs. 450 crores. I suppose it is now estimated to cost Rs. 900 crores—I speak subject to correction; is it Rs. 800 crores? A few hundreds of crores do not matter to this Government at all, except when the foreign investor calls the bell. When he presses the bell, the servicing charges are not available with this Government. Therefore, they have been sending round dignitaries from this country and inviting foreign dignitaries to this country, because this country has got great prestige. What about our Ministers going round with a begging bowl? The Finance Minister said, 'No, no; I have not gone round with a begging bowl. I have only gone to educate myself'. How late it is for him to try to educate himself, and at such a huge cost? He has gone round. He may say that the begging bowl was not there. But our foreign creditors know where the begging bowl was. They were not

prepared to fill it. With the result that the latest information is that out of the committed aid that has been promised to us, not even half is going to be made available to this bankrupt Government.

Then there is this question of expenditure. They talk of self-denial and self-restraint. To whom? Only to the people, not to themselves as Ministers, the Government, the Governments everywhere and the Reserve Bank, the State Bank and all the other financial institutions that they have brought into existence in such galore fashion. They must observe this self-denial and self-restraint in expending public money, in committing to various projects which yield results in the foreseeable future, not in God's own good time.

How much of unemployment is there? It is anybody's guess. They themselves have admitted that it was 14 million full-time unemployed, not to speak of under-employed. Under-employment there is all over India. More than one crore of handloom weavers are today under-employed; more than three crores of artisans are under-employed, suffering from pangs of hunger. Government have no scheme to relieve their distress. This is the result of all this planning; all these 17 years of hard labour on the part of this Government has produced only this little poisonous rat of unemployment among educated people, among the scientific people and others.

We are told that more and more women doctors are needed. There are no hospitals in villages. Women doctors are being retrenched in Andhra. We are also assured that more schools are being started, because so many more boys are coming to schools. But thousands and thousands of teachers are being served with notices saying that their services may not be needed at all. Acting teachers

have been retrenched and there is no proper recruitment even for training young men for teaching. There is no employment for the already trained people.

Then we come to Centre-State relations. Government say 'Oh, we are going to improve relations between the Centre and the States'. Have they done it? Is it the proper way they are going about the thing? Their Congress President as well as their Ministers—I do not know whether the Prime Minister committed any such indiscretion—go on declaring in their Congress session that they are going to make use of all their influence, all their power and all their political strength in order to unseat these non-Congress Ministries. Is that the right way to go about this?

SHRI K. N. TIWARY (Bettiah): Nobody said that.

SHRI RANGA: Let my hon. friend, Shri Tiwary, who is extremely loyal to his Prime Minister, remember what the Chief Ministry-cum-Congress President—just like the Prime Minister-cum-Foreign Minister here—has said, which was published in bold letters in all the papers. They have started it already. What did they do in West Bengal? What did they do in Har-yana? What did they do in Bihar? What are they trying to do in UP? Everywhere they are doing it. We have been patient with these people all these years, remaining in the opposition, but these people have not got the political stamina to remain in the opposition continuously, sensibly and in a wise manner even for five years. They must get rid of these non-Congress ministries by hook or by crook. And they have begun to talk now of the backward classes, the Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes for the first time, as if all these years we have not been making any

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provision in our budgets for their welfare and so on. Why have they singled out these backward classes, these unfortunate classes for the first time in this very important manner in the President's Address? Because they have now come to realise the advantage of turning these people into a political instrument with which they can disrupt and destroy the opposition in the various States.

The Soshit Dal has suddenly come. When the British were here, we know, of course, how they played with our internal social differences. The same role my hon. friends are now trying to play, and they have done with great *eclat* and in such an ignominious manner in Bihar, and they are going to do it in other States also. They have no sense of decency, and they are not ashamed to make an open confession that they are out for power just like that Rao Birendra Singh of Haryana. What difference is there between that Raoji and this Indiraji. He played with power in such a shameless manner. Herself and her party are playing in the same diabolic manner with power. It is not for this that we fought for freedom and sacrificed so much of our lives and time when the British were here. In those days when Mahatma Gandhi was alive, if any Congressman had ever dared to come out openly and say that he must have a Ministership, he used to be blacklisted, that is all. It was never done except in one case at Nagpur, and that gentleman went in his own way. Now today we have descended to this level that this Congress and the Congress Ministries and Congress Ministers must be going round the whole of the country strutting from town to town in order to work up all sorts of intrigues and schemes to destroy the moral of the non-Congress ministries. They cannot have patience even for five years, even after having enjoyed this power continuously for so many years.

Let me come to the other question, the question of Vietnam. Only this

morning my hon. friend from Mathura posed the question before the Prime Minister whether she was prepared to condemn the action of the Vietcong in the same manner in which she was prepared to criticise the action and activities of America. She said, no. No wonder. We have understood her very well. She is aligned completely on the side of Soviet Russia, and Soviet Russia is backing Vietcong. Why? Not because she is so much in love with Vietcong, but because she does not want to be accused by the Left Communists and others all over the world that she is not standing by the Communist group, by the Vietcong, that is all. This is what they are doing. Is it not possible for our friends to imagine, to understand and appreciate the feelings of the Vietnam people in regard to their own patriotic urges, their own country's interests? Do they really believe that Vietcong and Vietnam are not two separate countries, but only one country? In that case, do they believe that Pakistan and India are still one country and not two countries? Is it not possible for them to realise that Pakistan is thinking only as Pakistan, and we are thinking only as India? In the same manner, the Vietnamese do think about themselves as separate from the Vietcong people who are communists, and that is why they asked for America's help and assistance, in the same manner in which Pandit Nehru had sent an S.O.S. all round the world in order to come to our rescue so that we could be saved from the Chinese aggressors. If it was right for him, surely it is right for the Vietnam people and their leaders to ask for American assistance. America went there and is suffering. We should have also gone there in all decency. (*Interruptions*) She is only an apology of a Prime Minister, it is these Communists, Left and Right, who are dictating our foreign policy, and that is why in Vietnam we are not able to play the honourable role that we should play in order to help them, to stand by them.

They made the poor President say that Israel should be made to give up

her gain of war. You may say that we have given up our gains of war in an honourable manner in the Indo-Pakistan war, and therefore it is right for us to ask them to do so in the same manner if you think you must be consistent with your own activity, but what about Tibet? Why have you not said a word about Tibet, when you have said so much about China. You say you have no quarrel with the Chinese people, I agree with you; you say we have been having traditional friendship with the Chinese people for a long time, I agree with you. Thanks to the foresight of the British people here, we were able to have that Tibet remaining independent, autonomous and standing as a buffer between ourselves and China on the one side and between ourselves and Russia on the other. Now, this Government came with this *bhai bhai*, uncle uncle business, and they made a present of it on a silver platter to China, with the result that China has become our next-door neighbour you know with what calamitous results. Even at the time we had demanded the resignation of the Prime Minister. He would not go. Is it ever possible for a Congressman to go out of office unless he is necked out? He would not. I appealed to the Congressmen to have courage like the Conservatives of Britain who sent out their own Prime Minister. They were not prepared to do it. We wanted the Dalai Lama to be recognised, they would not do it. Even now they are not prepared to say a word about the heroic liberation movement that is being carried on by these peace-loving people in Tibet. Is it not a shame? With what face can we lift our heads in the world?

Then we have got Southeast Asia. They say they are improving our relationships with countries in Southeast Asia, our friendship with these countries. What is needed is a security pact. Only in regard to one thing I was pleased, namely the Deputy Prime Minister's visit to Japan. For once he had gone to Tokyo and had some worthwhile discussions with them in

regard to co-operation. Are they developing it? Mr. Chagla also did some work, but would they develop some kind of security pact? Against whom? Not against Soviet Russia, please do not be afraid but against Communist China. Why? Not because she is communist alone, but because she holds herself as a threat not only to India but the whole lot of Asian countries and also of the fond, beloved Soviet Russia of some of our friends.

I am glad about one thing in the President's Address. A year ago the people have shown that they are losing their confidence in the over-all leadership of this Congress. In 9 out of 15 States they threw these people out lock, stock and barrel, through the political windows of their lives. Yet, these people have learnt nothing. Just because they have a small majority here, they think why should they give up. Therefore, they have some on hugging themselves to power. But is power enough? Was it enough for the British? Did it prove enough even to the Bourbons? Were they not kings when they were toppled over? In the same way it is happening all over India. They are not able to hold the people, there is no union, no communion, no understanding, no urge of belonging, between the Government and the people. It is no longer a national government, they are not able to provide national leadership to our people, they are found inadequate, but we thought that with a sense of democratic disciplines they would at least read the writing on the wall, realise what was happening. They would try to develop better and more harmonious relations with the States and help them. They did not do that. They could have at least developed honourable relations with the Opposition. They did not do even that. Certain agreements were reached on behalf of the whole Opposition through my friend Mr. Masani with the Prime Minister and her colleagues but they were broken. No wonder a hiatus had been created between the Government and the Opposition. We have lost faith

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in the bona-fides of this Government. It has taken them one year to gauge the disaffection of the people all over the country before they could make their confession in the speech of the President:

"After many centuries, the people of India are going through a process of dynamic change."

A poor imitation of Nehru's language.

"It is a challenge to us all to answer the urges and needs of our people."

I say that they have failed to meet this challenge; they have failed to answer and respond to these urges.

"Important national problems must be placed above party politics."

At long last they have realised this. All this time it had been their monopoly. Even the other day, Mr. Chavan said that for the next twenty years the Congress was bound to rule; Congress was very much needed. Certainly it is very much needed for smashes.

"Government will be ready to sit with Leaders of all Parties and take counsel with them on major issues of interest and importance to the nation."

Why have they realised it now? How is it that wisdom had dawned upon them just now? Is it because they have realised that it is not possible for this Government and this party alone to run the show in this country, to own the loyalties of the people, to lead and guide them and inspired them? Is it because of this that they have made this confession? It is for us to make the offer and we are not yet ready to make it because we have lost faith in this Government. Why do they want to sit with us? To put us in the wrong? What did they do in regard to Mysore and Maharashtra? They could not settle a problem between two Congress Chief Ministers, between

one Congress President and one Congress Home Minister. In regard to Assam, they could not settle the problem between their own selves. Shame on them that they allowed that Ministry to continue to remain in power even after the Home Minister confessed here yesterday that there was no Government at all for number of hours in Gauhati on that day. More will be said by my friends later on when the adjournment motion comes up. My friends want us to co-operate with them in preventing defection from party to party. But who started the game? In Andhra they started the game in order to weaken my party, Krishak Lok Party and my friend, Mr. Viswanathan's party, Praja Party by 'stealing' our people. They were not ashamed of doing so and nothing was done when I put it to Pandit Nehru. Worse tricks were played in Rajasthan by using the weapon of the Governor to subvert our majority and manufacture an artificial and shameless majority for the Congress. They were not ashamed to do these things. Is it for these reasons and for such purposes and for such occasions that they want to call us in and put us in the wrong? Is it for this purpose that they want to pervert the whole social and economic life and the political parties of our countries? My answer is: no to this kind of partisan, selfish, unpatriotic and power-mongering approach of the Congress Government.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: On a point of order under rule 340. I beg to move that this House be adjourned. This morning we pointed out that the Assembly was going to meet in West Bengal at 2 P.M. to hear the Government's address. In spite of the assurances given by the Home minister, we have information that one of the ministers of the fake Government in Bengal refuses to acknowledge that nine MLAs are still in jail. I would request that the House be adjourned. This is a very important matter.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have given you an opportunity to raise this matter I have gone through the rule.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: The rule says: at any time after a motion has been made... I have made the motion that the House be adjourned. It does not say: "with the permission of the Chair. The Prime Minister could tell us whether they would remain in jail just to boost up the puppet Chief Minister Mr. P. C. Ghosh—who is a combination of P. C. Sen and Atulya Ghosh—Ghosh from Atulya Ghosh and Prafulla From P. C. Sen.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: How does it concern this House?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Ahi-pore): It is a negation of parliamentary democracy and everything that goes with it.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBIAH (Nandyal): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I rise to support the motion of thanks to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament. In this connection, I am forced to say that when the President has been discharging his constitutional obligations which had been enjoined upon him, on this most solemn and dignified occasion, while he was performing his duty some Members of Parliament behaved in such a manner as to bring discredit not only to themselves but to parliamentary democracy and our Constitution.

14.58 hrs.

[**SHRI S. M. JOSHI** in the Chair]

An eminent person like Mr. Mukerjee, who has been championing the cause of democracy, lead this walk out. It is all the more deplorable. How do some Members of the Opposition who was eloquent on Constitution and parliamentary democracy reconcile themselves to this

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position in which some of their own colleagues act in an unconstitutional manner?

AN HON. MEMBER: Walk-out is not un-constitutional.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBIAH: A committee appointed by the Speaker found it right to reprimand those Members who indulged in such things and Mr. Mukerjee was one of the Members of that Committee.

The President has expressed in his Address concern over the deteriorating law and order situation and the growth of violence and the display of secessionist tendencies in some parts of the country. I will take this occasion to appeal to all the Members of the political parties who firmly believe in the unity and integrity of our country and also to those who have got firm belief in the parliamentary democracy to set an example so as to see that the sovereignty and the unity of the country are preserved.

15 hrs.

From the east to the south, when we see every day certain things happening, we feel that after 20 years of Independence, "where are we going". Are we going towards anarchy and confusion? After winning the hard-won freedom by waging a battle against a mighty empire and after sacrificing many of our sons at the altar of freedom, are we going in for the slow disintegration of this country? A time has come when we have to search our hearts and when we have to take firm decisions to arrest this growing menace. I have got great respect for Shri Annadurai of DMK party. (*Interruption*). I can tolerate your interruption, Mr. Sree-kantan Nair, but you must also take it when you begin to speak. I am glad that Shri Annadurai once said that they have given up the idea of secession.

AN HON. MEMBER: Not once, but many times.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: They are part and parcel of India, and they respect the National Flag and they pay all respect to the unity and integrity of the country. But I just bring to the notice of the House and also to the notice of the leader of the DMK party here an incident which has been reported in *The Hindu*. It took place at a civic reception given in Coimbatore when the Food Minister of Madras, Shri Mathiazhagan, prevented the National Anthem being sung.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur): Sir, on a point of order. It is not a fact.

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam): Shri Mathiazhagan wanted the Tamil version to be sung.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: The Collector of Coimbatore has clarified the position and what has appeared in *The Hindu* is not correct. The Collector of Coimbatore has clarified the position and issued a statement to that effect.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is the point of order?

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: The reference made by the hon. Member, Shri Venkatasubbaiah, is not based on facts.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member should see whether his facts are correct.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: I am only reading a report as published in *The Hindu* which is reputed for its impartiality and correct expression of views. (Interruption). The report says that the Vice-Chairman requested the public to stand silently as a mark of respect to the National

Anthem at the end of the function, but the Minister suddenly banged the table and asked him to keep quiet. Later two children who were engaged to sing the National Anthem sung only *Vazhia Senthamizh*.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: What is the date of that report? (Interruption).

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: It is a press report and I shall place it on the Table of the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think it is on the strength of that report, that he is speaking.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: A further clarification that had appeared after the press report should have been taken into consideration by the hon. Member who is a responsible and senior Member of the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is speaking on the strength of some facts which he has with him.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: But there are other facts which subsequently appeared in the papers.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You will have to hit out when you speak.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: That is not the question here. What about my point of order?

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order. You should see that the facts are corrected when you speak.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: If the hon. Member, Shri Kandappan, repudiates it, I am very happy. I thank him and the DMK party, and if the DMK believes in the unity and the integrity of India and shows respect to the National Anthem, when I have no quarrel about it. I accept his repudiation. Very recently we had the unfortunate incident in Gauhati. In the name of Lachet Sena,

disruptive tendencies and secessionist activities have been started and we are also discussing this in the form of an Adjournment Motion. I thought that it would have been better if Shri Madhu Limaye had agreed to an ordinary discussion wherein we can also join—we lag behind none—in voicing our feelings with regard to the secessionist and anti-national activities. What I am just bringing out to the notice of this House is this tendency for violence and to defy law and order. Who is responsible for that is not a point here. The question is, how best we can preserve the democratic traditions and create a sense of confidence among the people and also educate the electorate and other people to have confidence in the democratic functioning of our institutions.

Time and again, the Congress party has been blamed for creating such things. I will ask my hon. friends—

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: He is charging the Opposition party in Mysore, recently, under the very nose of the Congress, at the time of the Republic Day celebration, when the Congress Minister was presiding, the NCC showed disrespect to the National Flag.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Please resume your seat.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: It has appeared in the press.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: Whoever does it, nobody is above the law and the Constitution. I am not speaking on anybody's behalf. I am only stating the facts that have come to my knowledge.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about Shiv Sena?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: So, this is what is happening in

Assam. The President has rightly pointed out in his Address that all these tendencies have to be curbed. What is the way out? After the general election, certain forces have been thrown up. The Congress has lost the majority, as Prof. Ranga has pointed out, in many of the States. It is no good on the part of Prof. Ranga to accuse that the Congress is behind all these things, to topple this government or that government. If you take State by State—I am not championing anybody's cause—you will find that it is not because of the Congress's effort to topple the non-Congress governments but because the constituent units, which are a conglomeration of heterogeneous elements, are sinking under their own weight. Nobody has done anything. For instance, the Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister has threatened to resign seven times within a week. Everytime, after the Cabinet meeting, the Ministers come out and issue quite contradictory statements. Are we encouraging these Ministers to issue such statements? It is not the fault of the Congress party alone; it is the fault of all the other political parties who believe in the democratic functioning; that is to say, the fault lies in the fact that the parties, having believed in democratic functioning, the parties who have got belief in the integrity and unity of this country, who have believed in the Constitution, get themselves aligned with different parties who have got extra territorial loyalties and who do not believe in the Constitution and the democratic functioning. The real disease lies there. I wanted to highlight the real defect in the functioning of these non-Congress ministries. It is not the fault of the Congress government when the non-Congress ministries themselves disintegrate the moment they form into a ministry.

Coming to the language formula and the agitation about it, we are also

[Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah]
 very much deeply concerned about this unhappy situation that is prevailing in the country due to the language controversy. Every citizen of the country who is loyal to the Constitution believes that this country should have one link language and that link language should be one of the 15 national languages of our country. There is no doubt about that. There are certain historical difficulties. It has been decided upon, to assuage the feelings and misgivings of many people in the non-Hindi speaking States, that bilingualism should be continued for sometime to come. That was the assurance given by Panditji which was incorporated in the Language Bill and the subsequent amending Bill. But the difficulty came when an attempt was made to put more burden on non-Hindi people. I appeal in all humility to the Hindi protagonists to try to appreciate the feelings and difficulties of the non-Hindi people and to share the burden involved in these matters.

The three-language formula was faithfully implemented in many non-Hindi States, but the Hindi States did not implement it. Whereas our children are learning Hindi, the regional language—Telugu, Kannada or Tamil—and English. But unfortunately the Hindi States did not implement this compromise formula which was thought to be in the best interests of the country. Even now I appeal to my friends in non-Hindi States. Whatever language is adopted as link language, the section of the population whose mother-tongue happens to be the link language have an inherent advantage. We cannot penalise them for that. At the same time, the other people should not feel that somebody will supersede them and gain some advantage. All these things have to be sorted out at a national level, instead of sticking to party dogmas or party prestige. I would appeal to all

the political parties to evolve a national consensus on this matter. Language is important in our political life, but if we have to choose between language and integrity of the country, nobody should hesitate to say that country is bigger than the language. That should be spirit of not only Hindi-speaking people but also of non-Hindi speaking people. We must also realise our responsibility. After 20 years of freedom, if we could not agree on a common language to be our link language, we are not fit to be called a mature nation.

Coming to the economic situation, the President has pointed out that because of the prospects of increased food production this year, the present economic impasse will show signs of improvement and recession and growing unemployment will slowly recede into the background; we will be able to turn the corner and go on the path of prosperity. Too much dependence on external assistances in all our plans has made us not only complacent but also indifferent to the betterment of our economic position. Unless we make a determined effort to be self-sufficient and stand on our own legs come what may, this situation will continue for some more time to come. Our record in regard to receiving external assistance has not been very flattering. To be frank and candid, our performance was not upto the mark in spite of getting thousands of crores of rupees from every country in the world. That was the result of the deteriorating economic situation. At the same time, there are enthusiasts in this country who say that the plans must be bigger and bigger, whether we beg, borrow or steal from other countries. We must control that tendency. Within our limited resources, we must be able to improve our economy. Otherwise, this continued dependence on external assistance will take us nowhere.

Under PL 480 we have imported foodgrains to the tune of Rs. 1400 crores in all these years, whereas we are not able to find the necessary funds to complete at least 4 or 5 of our national projects, which are nearing completion and which will require a capital outlay of only Rs. 100 crores. There are projects which can yield quick results like the Rajasthan Canal, the Kosi-Gandak project and the Nagarjunasagar project. If we spend about Rs. 100 or 120 crores, we can attain near self-sufficiency if not complete self-sufficiency in food. The Congress President, Mr. Nijalingappa, speaking at Hyderabad has rightly pointed out that even if we have to resort to deficit financing, we must do so and complete these projects within a reasonable time. I am not an economist, but from a common sense point of view, I feel, where a country's prosperity is at stake, we should not hesitate to resort to deficit financing for completing these projects which will yield quicker results and enable us to march towards self-sufficiency at least in food. I hope the Finance Minister will bear this in mind and give top priority to such projects.

Coming to border problems I do not want to go into the vexed question of the Mahajan Commission's report, but I will highlight only one point. States' reorganisation has taken place on the principle that the local people of that area should have a sense of involvement and must be associated more closely with the administration. I take reasonable pride in the fact that my State has been formed on a linguistic basis after the self-immolation of the great patriot Potti Sriramulu. But now the tendency seems to be that the carving of linguistic provinces is just like declaring independence from the Indian Union. I would point out here that there was a long-standing border dispute between my State and Madras. The two Chief Ministers sat together and it

was resolved without much difficulty. The same spirit of give and take should prevail in all States. We must realise that the States could not be carved out in a very scientific manner whereby no non-Marathi-speaking man will come into Maharashtra or no non-Kannada-speaking man will come into Karnataka. There will be a large number of linguistic minorities in every State. In Madras, there are a large number of Telugu-speaking people who have played a very notable part in the development of that State.

Sir, I do not blame now the DMK Government, but I want to point out that there has been a tendency in the State Government not to protect the linguistic minorities. Language, as I said, is the life of the person. I am very sorry to find that the linguistic minorities in Madras are not treated fairly. They must be given all possible protection to improve, to develop, their language and their culture.

SHRI MANOHARAN (Madras North): How can he substantiate that?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: I can say to Shri Manoharan, because he belongs to a linguistic minority—his mother tongue is Malayalam and not Tamil—

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: He has been protected well. That itself is enough proof to disprove what the hon. Member is saying.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: I would like to point out to Shri Manoharan that the Telugu-speaking population in Madras are having a sense of frustration. They feel that slowly Telugu is being removed from various educational institutions.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: May I request the hon. Member, Sir, not to be so vague but to give specific instances? Even recently our Chief Minister went to the extent of saying . . .

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: I am told that the Chief Minister was kind enough to tell Shri Vinayakam that he loved Telugu more than Shri Vinayakam himself. These platitudes I understand. I have no objection to that. That is why I was very careful in saying in the beginning itself that I do not blame the DMK Government for this, perhaps they have inherited the legacy of the previous Government. I do not mince matters in all these things. Therefore, I say that there must be a sense of justice and fair-play so far as these linguistic minorities are concerned. It is not as though they are living in a separate country, they are part and parcel of our own country. I wish to say that till Shri Rajagopalachari became the Chief Minister of Madras in 1937—I say it with a sense of pride—the Telugus dominated the political field of Madras and all the Chief Ministers were from Andhra in the composite State of Madras. Now the two States have been separated. I have got a great liking for Madras. I have been a member of that Legislative Assembly for a number of years. I say that linguistic minorities should be safeguarded and then only these border problems should be amicably settled.

There is the matter of inter-State water allocations. I am not pleading the cause of any State here. I will only appeal to all friends that these matters should not be referred to a court or tribunal. That way it is impossible to find a solution, because when we come to question the wisdom of an eminent Commission presided over by such an eminent person as Mahajan how can we say that a tribunal sitting there will be able to solve the problem overnight. That should not be the approach. The water should be utilised to the maximum extent. The water should not go waste into the sea but it should go into the production of foodgrains in our country. In that spirit, whether

it is in Andhra, Maharashtra or Mysore, it becomes national property, and where there is facility for proper and quick utilisation it should be gone into. I appeal once again to all friends that it should be taken in the spirit of accommodation and we should see that these water disputes are settled as quickly as is possible.

About rural water supply problem, I very well remember Shri Morarji Desai telling in the Jabalpur Session of AICC that top priority will be given to rural water supply schemes. There are still several hundreds of villages where there is not even one drop of drinking water in spite of twenty years of our freedom. In my constituency itself there is a belt where there are 40 or 50 villages where every year water has to be supplied through lorries. A water supply scheme has also been formulated but it has not seen the light of day. I only wish that Government should give top priority in consultation with the State Government to see that every village should be covered by drinking water supply schemes whether it is through wells or pipes. In every nook and corner the basic amenities have to be provided for our people.

Lastly, I want to make only one appeal to my hon. friends. Unfortunately, political horse trading and changing of parties has become the order of the day. Nobody is sure whether his Government will survive or not. Premium is now being put on defections. That seems to be the order of the day. The Lok Sabha was good enough to give its unanimous approval to my resolution that was brought before this House. I would once again appeal to all our friends that irrespective of party affiliations they should give their serious thought to this matter and work for the stability and also proper democratic functioning in this country. Then alone

this country will progress towards prosperity and what our leaders had wished when they waged the war of independence against a mighty empire will be realised.

समाप्ति महोदय : कुछ देर पहले आपको बताया गया था कि जो सज्जन अपने संशोधन यहां पेश करना चाहते हैं वे उनके नाम यहां भेज दें। माननीय सदस्य अब राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर अपने अपने संशोधन प्रस्तुत करें। संशोधन नम्बर 1 से 4, 22 से 32, 43 से 55, 68 से 72, 74, 93 से 102, 106 से 130, 170 से 176, 230 से 234, 244, 245, 260 से 268, 273 से 276।

श्री श्रीवन्द गोयल (चण्डीगढ़) : आज दस बजे से पहले जो दिये थे उनका क्या हुआ ?

सभापति महोदय : जब यहां पर प्रस्ताव आया था और उसका समर्थन हुआ था तब डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब ने एक एक सदस्य का नाम पुकारा था। लेकिन कुछ माननीय सदस्य हाजिर नहीं थे। इसलिए यह सुझाव आया कि कुछ वक्त दिया जाए और पन्द्रह मिनट का समय दिया गया था। अगर आप कुछ और जानकारी इनके बारे में चाहते हैं तो आफिस से आप पूछ सकते हैं।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : कुछ संशोधन अभी सर्कुलेट हुए हैं। उस वक्त नहीं थे।

सभापति महोदय : आपने जो संशोधन दिये हैं वे तो आपको मालूम ही हैं। जो सर्कुलेट हो रहे हैं वे हम लोगों के फायदे के लिए हो रहे हैं और दूसरे मੈम्बरो के फायदे के लिए हो रहे हैं।

श्री वामपेयी

श्री हुकूम चन्द कछवाय (उज्जैन) : न इस समय प्रधान मंत्री हैं और न ही उप प्रधान मंत्री उपस्थित हैं। कोई तो होना चाहिये।

सभापति महोदय : दूसरे मिनिस्टर बैठे हुए हैं।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : सभापति महोदय, मैंने एक प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर आज उठाया था। उस वक्त डिप्टी स्पीकर चेयर में थे। उन्होंने कहा था कि यह आउट आफ आर्डर है। उस वक्त तक कोई भी खबर हम को बंगाल से नहीं आई थी। अभी टैलीग्राम मैसेज आया है—

श्री रणधीर सिंह (रोहतक) : यह क्या हो रहा है। बार बार आप उनको एलाउ कर रहे हैं।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : बहुत बड़ी चीज है। कांस्टीट्यूशनल बैकम हो गया है। जो मैसेज आया है उस में यह कहा गया है :

Immediately after the Governor spoke a few words standing on a Chair just by the side of the Chief Minister Dr. P. C. Ghosh he was escorted back through the Western Gate by his ADC and others. The Speaker Mr. Bijoy Kumar Banerjee and the Chairman Dr. Pratap Chandra Guha Roy were not seen in the House. The whole Proceedings lasted only three minutes.

गवर्नर साहब जायन्ट सेशन को भी एड्रेस नहीं कर सके। इतना नाकारापन है।

सभापति महोदय : इस में पार्यंट आफ आर्डर नहीं है।

श्री रणधीर सिंह : क्या यह माननीय सदस्य किसी रूल के पाबन्द हैं या नहीं।
No rule is binding on him. What is this?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: He is making me more violent.

वह कह रहे हैं कि मैं किसी रूल का पाबन्द नहीं हूँ। मैं रूल 340 के मातहत यह पायंट उठा रहा हूँ। आप उस रूल को देख लीजिए।

सभापति महोदय : मैं ने उस रूल को देखा है। डिप्युटी स्पीकर साहब ने आप को बता दिया था कि उस मामले का हाउस से कोई संबंध नहीं है।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मेरा निवेदन है कि बंगाल में कांस्टीट्यूशनल ब्रेक डाउन हो गया है, इन लिए उस पर विचार करने के लिए सदन को कार्यवाही को एडजार्न कर दिया जाये।

सभापति महोदय : उस की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। वहाँ पर पहले भी कई दफा ब्रेक-डाउन हुआ है। अब एक दफा और ब्रेक डाउन होने से कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता है।

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON (Ernakulam): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to meet the representatives of the All India (Posts and Telegraph) Administrative Offices' Employees Association, to negotiate on their demands submitted on the 23rd October, 1967.” (1)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to protect the existing conditions of service of the staff of the Telephone Revenue Accounts Offices resulting in pecuniary loss to them due to the non-protection of the present emoluments drawn by them and their pay scale.” (2)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to grant independent status to the Postal Stock Depots in each Circle, which is causing hardship to the staff.” (3)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to stop the heads of the Telephone Districts in New Delhi and Hyderabad from resorting to reductions in the staff strength of their respective offices.” (4).

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR: (Quilon): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the discontinuing of the anti-democratic attitude of the Union Government towards the non-Congress Ministries of Kerala, Madras, etc.” (22).

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the critical economic crisis in the country and industrial recession leading to retrenchment and unemployment of workers.” (23).

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

“but regret that that no mention has been made in the Address of the inordinate rise of sugar prices brought by a conspiracy between the sugar magnates and some section of the government's machinery.” (24).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the necessity of reducing the 20 per cent. increase imposed on the prices of rice and other cereals from 1st January, 1968." (25).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the necessity of reintroducing the subsidy on foodgrains supplied to the deficit States like Kerala and West Bengal." (26).

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

"but regret that no assurance has been given in the Address about protecting the interests of the people of the non-Hindi States against the imposition of Hindi". (27).

SHRI E. K. NAYANAR (Palghat): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to put an end to differential treatment given to Jawans and officers in the army." (28).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to resume relations with People's Republic of China at ambassador level." (29).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to ban the activities of fascist organisation like Shivsena in Bombay." (30).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to recognise the German Democratic Republic." (31).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to condemn the establishment of U.S. military base in Indian Ocean." (32)

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to nationalise Banks in the country." (43).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to stop corruption, nepotism and favouritism in the country." (44).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that Government has abused the Constitutional powers by using Governors to topple non-Congress Governments." (45).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that Government has failed to check lawlessness, disorder and constitutional crisis." (46).

[Shri N. Sreekantan Nair]

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

“but regret that there no mention in the Address of failure to meet food situation and improve irrigation facilities in the country.” (47).

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the break-down of constitutional machinery in the country.” (48)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the recession in industrial production in the country.” (49)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to achieve economic freedom in the country.” (50)

SHRI K. RAMANI (Coimbatore): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to nationalise foreign owned oil companies.” (51)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to modify the Bonus Act in favour of the Government.” (52)

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

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

failure to stop corruption and nepotism at the ministerial level.” (53)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to check the rise in prices.” (54)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to take over the closed textile mills.” (55)

SHRI P. VISWAMBHARAN (Tiruvandrum): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that no concrete proposals have been made in the Address to combat the rise in price of essential commodities.” (56)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made that the Government of India has resorted to unconstitutional and undemocratic methods in dislodging the non-Congress Governments of Bihar, West Bengal, Haryana and Punjab.” (57)

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

“but regret that the Government of India has failed to supply adequate quantity of rice to the deficit States particularly Kerala.” (70)

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

"but regret that the Government of India has increased the price of foodgrains supplied to States." (71)

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

"but regret that the Government of India has not taken effective steps to eradicate regional imbalances in Planning and Development as is evidenced from the utter neglect shown to States like Kerala." (72)

SHRI LAKHAN LAL KAPOOR (Kishanganj): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the manner in which the present minority Ministry in Bihar has been installed." (74)

SHRI E. K. NAYANAR: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the Mahajan Commission Report on the question of boundary adjustment between Mysore and Kerala which created more problems instead of solving the boundary question satisfactorily." (93)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the increasing unemployment every year in our country and the failure of the Five-Year Plans to give employment to the educated and uneducated unemployed persons in the country." (94)

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

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

the Central Government to evolve a national food policy due to which the food situation has become serious in the country in spite of the increase in the grain production." (95)

SHRI M. R. MASANI (Rajkot): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that while dealing complacently with the food situation, there is a surprising failure to announce the removal of zonal and other barriers to the free movement of foodgrains and foodstuffs throughout the country which had been imposed by reason of an acute shortage that no longer persists; the failure to announce the end of the policy of compulsory monopoly procurement; and the failure to propose concrete measures which would provide incentives to the farmer to increase production in order to cope with the rising population." (96)

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

"but regret that while referring to the need for raising the efficiency of State sector enterprises, the Address has failed to announce—

- (a) the acceptance of the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission which are devised to make these enterprises function more efficiently by giving them maximum autonomy from interference by the politicians and bureaucrats in office; and
- (b) a readiness to restrict the establishment of new State enterprises" (97)

[Shri M. R. Masani]

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

"but regret that while referring to the question of the reorganization 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 day light 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)

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

"but regret that while referring to the prevalent unemployment there is no mention in the Address of concrete steps to provide employment opportunities by encouraging productive investment." (99)

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

"but regret that while referring to the conflict in Vietnam, the Address repeats the sterile appeal for an unconditional stoppage of the bombing on North Vietnam at a time when the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong have intensified their attack on the Capital of South Vietnam and other places resulting in large losses of civilian life and that in this manner the Address has shown an utter lack of appreciation of the real nature of North Vietnamese aggression on South Vietnam and the desirability that it should be repelled in the interests of peace and security of the countries of South and South-East Asia including our own." (100)

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

"but regret while referring to the movements for the liberation of people from colonial rule in the Southern part of Africa, no reference has been made in the Address to the brave struggle of the people of Tibet for the liberation of their country from Chinese Communist domination." (101)

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

"but regret while contenting itself with a platonic hope that the ties between India and the countries of South and South-East Asia will be further strengthened, the Address makes no concrete proposals in regard to filling the vacuum caused by the withdrawal of British power from the region and the developing of a system of regional collective security among the countries of South and South-East Asia against the common menace of Chinese Communist expansionism." (102)

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI
(Bhubaneswar): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the worst drought which has affected nine districts and in particular areas of Daspalla, Gania, Nuagan, Mahipur, Koradaa, Jakada, Bolagarh, Bequria, Khurda, Ranpur, Banpur and Khandapada in the district of Puri in Orissa." (106).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the closure of all the khadi spinning and weaving centres in the entire State of Orissa resulting in the un-

employment of 20,000 families engaged in these industries." (107).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the growing awareness of the farmers in the country for utilising water for growing more food as such giving top priority for providing hundreds and thousands of minor and medium irrigation works in the drought affected areas with a view to finding a permanent solution to the problem of drought." (108)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the silting up of the mouth of the Chilka Lake, a national asset, and no mention of the steps to be taken for saving Chilka Lake and helping the 36,000 fishermen families solely depending on fishing from this lake." (109)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address for developing Chilka Lake and Kantilo as important national tourist centres." (110)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the growing combination of the fascist, undemocratic and reactionary forces in the country and no indication of the steps proposed to be taken to meet their challenge." (111)

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

"but regret that no indications have been given in the motion

about the working of the Manibhadra and Gania Barrage irrigation schemes in Orissa." (112)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address for undertaking oil exploration works in Mahanadi Basin and Chilka estuaries in Orissa which has proved oil bearing." (113)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address for taking steps for extracting rare atomic minerals found in Orissa." (114)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address for locating a Naval Shipyard at the Chilka Lake in Orissa." (115)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the steps proposed to be taken to prevent unearned increment in urban land values and putting a ceiling on urban property." (116)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the steps proposed to be taken to ensure the six minimum needs of the vast masses of this country, i.e., food, housing, clothing, employment, health and education, within the coming five year period." (117)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore):
I beg to move:

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the unconstitutional and illegal measures adopted by the Central Government to topple non-Congress Ministries in States like West Bengal, Bihar, Punjab and Haryana.” (118).

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the continued failure of the Central Government to supply minimum requirements of rice to Kerala.” (119).

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to evolve a democratic popular solution for the language question.” (120).

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the utter fiasco in finalising the Fourth Five-Year Plan.” (121).

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the continued and dangerous dependence on foreign aid including PL-480 imports.” (122).

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

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

utter failure to evolve and implement a national food policy based on self-sufficiency.” (123).

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the disastrous effects of recession in the economy, such as factory closures, un-employment, retrenchment, decline in exports, rise in prices, etc.” (124).

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the menacing growth of aggressive, fissionary and chauvinistic organisations like the Shiva Sena in Bombay and the Lachit Sena in Assam.” (125).

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to protect the lives, property and honour of the minority community in various States.” (126).

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the refusal to nationalise the banks and general insurance companies.” (127).

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the Government's failure to denounce U.S. aggression in Vietnam.” (128).

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

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

refusal to establish diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic." (129).

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 to take specific and positive initiative for improvement of India's relations with Pakistan and China." (130).

SHRI C. DAS (Tirupathi): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the steps to be taken in rectifying the difficulties in the implementation of the Official Languages Act and Resolution." (170).

SHRI MOHAMMAD ISMAIL (Barackpore): I beg to moved—

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the closures and lockouts in a large number of factories in West Bengal resulting in unemployment of workers." (171).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the failure of the Government to ban introduction of automation in public and private sector undertakings." (172)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the address of the question of rehabilitation of displaced persons in West Bengal

and failure of the Government to take effective measures for their complete rehabilitation." (173)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the attacks on non-Assamese in Gauhati and in action of the Government of Assam in taking strong action to prevent the happenings on the Republic Day." (174).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the non-implementation of the recommendations of the Wage Board for non-journalists." (175).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the failure of the Government to link dearness allowance to the consumer price index numbers despite steep rise in prices." (176).

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the address makes no mention of the grave threat to the nation's unity and the growing sense of insecurity felt by the large sections of citizens and measures to combat these tendencies." (230).

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

"but regret that the address makes no mention of the grave threat to the Constitution as evidenced by flagrant abuse of the powers of the Governors in the

[Shri K. Lakkappa]

matter of appointment of removal of the Chief Ministers." (231).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the grave malaise in the nation's economy as evidenced by recession, rising prices, unemployment, growing disparity in the income, and measures to combat or alleviate the sufferings of our people." (232).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any measures to redress the pledges taken by Parliament to liberate the territories occupied by China and Pakistan." (233).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any deterioration in the socio-economic conditions of Scheduled Castes Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes of our people and measures to bring them up at par with others in the society." (234)

SHRI BRLJ BHUSHAN LAL
(Bareilly): 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 such dire issues as the threat to national survival contained in the language controversy and down-turn in relations between the Centre and the States." (244).

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

"But regret that the Address

does not condemn the 'Hate India Campaign' in Pakistan and thereby lowers the prestige of India before the world." (245).

SHRI MONOHARAN (Madras North): 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 the failure to remove the justifiable apprehensions of the non-Hindi speaking people through a suitable legislation and amendment of the Constitution." (260).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the demand and the need to discard the concentration of powers at the Centre in favour of the States to rectify the federal imbalance." (261)

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

"but regret that the address makes no mention of the laudable experiment of the Government of Madras in providing rice at measure per rupee and of the deliberate attempt to scuffle down the scheme by the Centre by not providing reasonable financial assistance." (262).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the partisan attitude of the Central Government towards the non-Congress Governments in States." (263).

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

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

fact that prohibition is being scrapped by Congress Government in States and the need to appreciate the zealous and positive stand in enforcing prohibition in Madras State." (264).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the need for setting up a steel plant at Salem." (265).

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

"but regret that the address fails to mention the need to prevent automation in LIC, Railways and Oil companies in the face of opposition by employees." (266).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the deplorable condition of the handloom industry and "of steps for effective relief to weavers." (267)

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

"but regret that the address has failed to take note of the miserable plight of textile industries in general and spinning mills in the State of Madras in particular affecting thousands of workers." (268).

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM
(Visakhapatnam); I beg to move:

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

"but regret that among other omissions in the Address the most glaring omission is the one to make a reference to the deplorable situation that has arisen as a consequence of adopting an ill-considered resolution along with

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Official Languages Amendment Act during the last session of the Parliament or to indicate the steps which the Government propose to set right the injustice done to non-Hindi States by the Resolution referred to above." (273).

SHRI BADRUDDUJA (Murshidabad): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about hundreds of communal riots in the country resulting in colossal loss of innocent Muslims lives and properties and about the utter failure of the administration to prevent and check such communal disturbances that have naturally created a deep sense of insecurity in the Muslim minority in the State." (274).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the arbitrary and unconstitutional action of Governors in toppling down non-Congress Governments in various States." (275).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the failure of the Central Government to solve the Official language problem resulting in serious developments in various parts of the country." (276).

MR. CHAIRMAN: The following amendments may please also be moved:

S. No. 12 to 21
80 to 84
131 to 134
158 to 160
235 to 243
269 to 272

SHRIMATI SUSEELA GOPALAN
(Ambalapuzha): I beg to move:

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

"but regret to note the failure to ban automation in LIC, Oil Companies and various public and private sector undertakings." (12)

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

"but regret to note the failure to fix a national minimum wage based on the rules laid down by the 15th session of the Indian labour Conference." (13).

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

"but regret to note the failure to include Cochin Shipyard in the Fourth Five Year Plan." (14).

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

"but regret to note the failure to continue rice subsidy to Kerala State." (15).

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

"but regret to note the failure to allot sufficient funds for the development of Kerala." (16).

SHRI GANESH GHOSH (Calcutta South): I beg to move:

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

"but regret to note the failure to condemn the U.S. aggression in Vietnam." (17).

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

"but regret to note the failure to prevent the South African representatives from participating

in the UNCTAD—II Conference." (18).

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

"but regret to note the vindictive attitude of the Government towards West Bengal." (19).

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

"but regret to note the failure to distribute waste land to the agriculture workers and poor peasants." (20).

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

"but regret to note the failure to end country's dependence on foreign food." (21).

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA
(Delhi Sadar): I beg to move:

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." (20).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any positive steps to check dis-integrating forces such as anti-national activities of Sheikh Abdullah, lawlessness riots and goondalism on account of regional and linguistic feelings." (21).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the any positive steps to take back lost territories of India from Pakistan and China." (22).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any positive steps to check price rise and to provide minimum basic amenities to people." (83).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any steps to bring forward legislation for uniform civil law." (84).

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the activities of anti-national elements and disrespect shown to the national flag in Assam, and cases of arson in Gauhati on the 26th January." (131).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the serious situation in East Asia and its repercussions on India as also the concrete steps to be taken to face them." (132)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of making the entire country one single food zone after abolishing the various food zones." (133).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the situation arising out of aggressive posture of Pakistan and China

towards the security of India and the steps to be taken to meet the same." (134).

SHRI BENI SHANKER SHARMA (Banka): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government failed to take any action in Assam even after the clear admission of the Home Minister that the State Government totally failed in maintaining law and order in Gauhati on and after the 26th January, 1968." (158)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the break-down of the State administration in Assam after the 26th January, 1968." (159).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to ease the food situation even after a bumper crop this year on account of wrong policies of the Government." (160).

SHRI SHRI CHAND GOYAL (Chandigarh): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to grant the arrears of dearness allowance at the Central rates to the employees of Haryana Government, which has been granted to their counterparts serving in the State of Punjab." (235).

[Shri Shri Chand Goyal]

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to grant dearness allowance at the Central rate to the employees serving the Union territory of Chandigarh who have been allocated to the State of Haryana." (236).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to solve the problem of unemployed Engineers in the country." (237).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to solve the problems of lecturers and teachers serving in the privately managed colleges and schools regarding their emoluments and conditions of service." (238).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to pay emoluments to college teachers and school teachers in accordance with the recommendations of the Kothari Commission." (239).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to provide for any repre-

sentative elected body for the administration of Chandigarh." (240).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to decide the criteria for the appointments of Governors in future in view of the formation of non-Congress Governments in a number of States." (241).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to make proper arrangement for the safety of late Shri Din Dayal Upadhaya when he was travelling from Lucknow to Patna on the 10th February, 1968 by Sealdah Express." (242).

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure to appoint by the Central Government of high powered Commission of Enquiry to probe into the causes of the tragic death of Shri Din Dayal Upadhaya in mysterious circumstances on the night between the 10th and 11th February, 1968." (243).

SHRI Y. S. KUSHWAH (Bhind): 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 the need to encourage the Ayurvedic system of medicine." (269).

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 steps to establish diplomatic relations with Israel and Formosa and to re-install Dalai Lama Government in Tibet." (270)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to condemn the continuance of cow slaughter in India." (271).

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 to scrap the policy of nationalisation of industries." (272).

MR. CHAIRMAN: The amendments are also before the House.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) : सभापति महोदय, संसद् के दोनों सदनों के सामने राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण एक महत्वपूर्ण अवसर होता है। संवैधानिक प्रमुख के नाते राष्ट्रपति संसद् को सम्बोधित करते हैं। यह आवश्यक है कि जब राष्ट्रपति जी संसद् के समक्ष अभिभाषण दें, तो उस अवसर की गरिमा की, उस अवसर के महत्व की रक्षा की जाये। प्रश्न व्यक्ति का नहीं है, प्रश्न पद का है। प्रश्न पार्टी का भी नहीं है, बल्कि लोकतंत्र के स्वस्थ परम्परायें प्रारम्भ करने और उन्हें बढ्दमूल करने का है।

मुझे यह जान कर खेद हुआ कि जब राष्ट्रपति महोदय दोनों सदनों के समक्ष भाषण कर रहे थे, तो प्रतिपक्ष के हमारे कुछ साथी बहिर्गमन कर गये। जिन

भावनाओं से प्रेरित हो कर उन्होंने यह कदम उठाया उन भावनाओं का मैं कद्र करता हूँ। जिस ढंग से गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकारें अफसस की गई हैं और उन की जगह अल्पमत वाली सरकारें धोपी जा रही हैं, वह सभी लोकतंत्र के प्रेमियों के लिए चिन्ता का विषय होना चाहिए। उस से हम भी क्षुब्ध हैं, हम भी असंतुष्ट हैं। लेकिन क्या यह आवश्यक है कि हमारा श्लोम, हमारा रोष उसी समय प्रकट हो, जब राष्ट्रपति जी संसद् के दोनों सदनों को सम्बोधित करने के लिए प्रायें ?

हमारी लड़ाई सामने बैठी हुई सरकार से है। राष्ट्रपति जी सरकार की सलाह पर काम करते हैं। राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के बाद संसद् के दोनों सदनों की बैठक होती है। उस में सरकार से जबाब-तलबी की जा सकती है और सरकार की निन्दा भी हो सकती है। लेकिन जब राष्ट्रपति संसद् को सम्बोधित कर रहे हों, तो इस प्रकार की घटनाओं को टालना चाहिए। अपने असंतोष और रोष को प्रकट करने का एक तरीका यह भी हो सकता है कि हम उस दिन सदन में जाने से इन्कार कर दें। मुझे संतोष है कि डी० एम० के० के माननीय सदस्यों ने इसी तरीके को अपनया।

SHRI N. C. CHATEERJEE (Burdwan): Abstention.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : एम्बटेशन तो मैं समझ सकता हूँ, लेकिन चाक आउट मेरी समझ में नहीं आता।

यह भी जरूरी है कि संसद्-सदस्य आचरण करें, तो यह देखें कि सारे भारत की प्रायें हमारे आचरण पर लगी हैं। आज हम देश के हर एक वर्ग से अनुशासन और संयम की अपेक्षा करते हैं। शपथे अधिकाओं के लिए लड़ते हुए भी हमें कुछ मर्यादाओं का पालन करना होगा, अपने कर्तव्यों के प्रति जागरूक रहना होगा। नई पीढ़ी को हम

[श्री मटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

अनुशासन की शिखा कैंते बे सकते हैं, अगर संसद्-सदस्य के रूप में हम अपने को कुछ मर्यादाओं में नहीं बांधते ?

समापति जी, हमारे राष्ट्र का प्रतीक राष्ट्र-ध्वज भी होता है। शताब्दियों की पराधीनता के बाद हम स्वाधीन हुए हैं। शताब्दियों के बाद हमारा देश एक झंडे के नीचे इकट्ठा हुआ है। इस झंडे की रक्षा के लिए बलिदान हुए हैं। इस के सम्मान को बचाने के लिए लोग अपनी जान पर खेले हैं। देश में राष्ट्र-ध्वज के अपमान की घटनायें हों, यह हमारे लिए बड़ी लज्जा की बात है। 26 जनवरी को जब हम सम्पूर्ण देश में गणराज्य का महोत्सव मना रहे थे, अपनी मुक्ति पर आनन्द प्रकट कर रहे थे, वर्तमान की कठिनाइयों के बावजूद, अपने मविष्य के निर्माण का जो अधिकार हमें प्राप्त हुआ है, उस के लिए हम समारोह कर रहे थे, गोहाटी में राष्ट्र-ध्वज को नीचे गिराने की, उसकी पैरों तले रौंदने की घटनायें हुईं और पुलिस खड़ी देखती रही। एक गोली नहीं चली, एक टीयरगैस का झोला नहीं फेंका गया, राष्ट्र-ध्वज का अपमान विधि और कानून के रक्षक अपनी आंखों से देखते रहे।

सबनुच में जो भी राष्ट्र-ध्वज का अपमान करे, उसे गोली का निशाना बनाया जाना चाहिए। हम राष्ट्र-ध्वज का अपमान बर्दाशत नहीं कर सकते। वह हमारी एकता, हमारी सर्वभ्रुता हमारे सम्मान का प्रतीक है। जान दे कर हमें उस की रक्षा करनी है। इस बारे में हमको असंदिग्ध शब्दों में अपने संकल्प की घोषणा करनी चाहिए। अगर कुछ नोजवान, कुछ तत्व, गुमराह हो कर, भावावेश में आ कर राष्ट्र के प्रति यह अपराध करने की भागीदार होते हैं तो फिर उन्हें उस का दंड भुगतने के लिए भी तैयार रहना चाहिए।

15.35 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

एक सर्वभ्रुतासम्पन्न गणराज्य के नागरिक के नाते हम ने एक संविधान का निर्माण किया है। उस संविधान को हम ने अपने आप को समर्पित किया है। वह संविधान हमारे राजनितिक आर्थिक, सामाजिक ढांचे का आधार है। वह संविधान हमें अधिकार देता है और हमारे कर्तव्यों का भी निरूपण करता है। संसद्-सदस्य के नाते हम उस संविधान की निष्ठा की शपथ लेते हैं। आवश्यकता पड़ने पर संविधान में संशोधन हो सकता है—होना चाहिए, लेकिन संविधान के प्रीएम्बल में संशोधन की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। संविधान को प्रस्तावना, संविधान का वह अंग बदला नहीं जा सकता है, जहां हमने संविधान अपने आप को समर्पित किया है। उस अंग में हम ने यह बात कही है कि हम अपने देश में एक लोकतंत्रात्मक गणराज्य स्थापित कर रहे हैं।

हमारा देश एक प्राचीन देश है। 1947 में हम ने किसी नये राष्ट्र का निर्माण नहीं किया। हम ने एक प्राचीन राष्ट्र के जीवन में नये अध्याय का श्रीगणेश मात्र किया है। अथर्व वेद के पृथ्वी सूक्त में जब हम ने कहा कि यह पृथ्वी हमारी मां है और हम इसके पुत्र हैं वह मानों राष्ट्रीयता की घोषणा थी। पश्चिम के विद्वान और विचारक उस समय राष्ट्र की परिकल्पना भी नहीं कर सके थे। लेकिन आज जो हमारे राष्ट्र का स्वरूप है वह विविधताओं से परिपूर्ण है। यहां अनेक भाषायें बोलने वाले हैं। अनेक सम्प्रदाय, मजहब, मत और उपासना को मानने वाले हैं। हमें इन विविधताओं को विकसित करना है। लेकिन इन विविधताओं के मूल में निवास करने वालों एकता की श्रावण से रक्षा करनी है। जब गोहाटी में इसी देश के कुछ नागरिकों के विरुद्ध उपद्रव होते हैं, उन के मन में सुरक्षा की भवना

पैः होती है, उनकी सम्पत्ति पर हमले किये जाते हैं, वह भासाम छोड़ कर चले जायें, यह नारे लगते हैं, जब बम्बई में शिवसेना की गतिविधियों के कारण हमारे दक्षिण के कुछ भाई अपने को असुरक्षित पाते हैं, जब भाषा के प्रश्न पर मद्रास के गैर-तामिल लोगों को उपद्रवों का सामना करना पड़ता है तो संविधान में हम ने इस देश की जो सामान्य नागरिकता के सिद्धान्त को स्वीकार किया है वह सिद्धान्त खतरे में पड़ता है। कुछ महीनों से यह खतरा बढ़ता जा रहा है। विघटनकारी शक्तियाँ सिर उठा रही हैं। राष्ट्र की एकता संकट में है। जब हमारे शत्रु हमारी एक भी कमजोरी का लाभ उठाने के लिये ताक लगा कर बैठे हैं हमें विघटन के इस तरह खतरे से सावधान रहना होगा और दृढ़ता के साथ किन्तु समझ-दारी के साथ जो परिस्थितियाँ इन संकटों को बढ़ाती हैं उन परिस्थितियों का निराकरण करना होगा।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण के अन्त में एक अपील की है जिस का उल्लेख मेरे वरिष्ठ सहयोगी आचार्य रंगा ने भी किया। राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा कि महत्वपूर्ण राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं को दलगत राजनीति से ऊपर रखा जाना चाहिये। इस से किसी का विरोध नहीं हो सकता। लेकिन केवल कहना ही काफी नहीं है, ऐसा करना भी होगा। लेकिन करने की जिम्मेदारी सब के ऊपर आती है।

यह ठीक है कि दलबदल के अभिशाप का कांग्रेस ने सूत्रपात किया। प्रचण्ड बहुमत में होते हुए विरोधी दलों के सदस्यों को अपनी ओर आकृष्ट किया। उस समय दल बदलने वाले विधान सभाओं से या संसद् से इस्तीफा दे कर वह नया चुनाव लड़े इस सिद्धान्त पर जोर नहीं दिया गया। इस मूल पाप के लिए कांग्रेस दल दोष से मुक्त नहीं किया जा सकता। लेकिन क्या जो कांग्रेस ने

किया वहीं विरोधी दल भी करेंगे? अगर कांग्रेस ने एक गलती कर दी तो क्या आज उसे सुधारने का समय नहीं आया है? मैं उन लोगों में से नहीं हूँ जिन्हे कांग्रेस से बहुत बड़ी आशाएं हैं। लेकिन ऐसे प्रश्नों पर अगर हम मिल कर नहीं बैठेंगे एक सर्व-सम्मत हल निकलने का प्रयत्न नहीं करेंगे तो इस देश की समस्याएं हल नहीं होंगी। कोई भी एक दल अब इस देश की समस्याओं को हल करने का सामर्थ्य नहीं रखता। इसके लिए आर्थिक और सामाजिक प्रश्नों पर मतभेद होते हुए भी राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं को राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण अपना कर समस्याओं को हल करना पड़ेगा। पहले कांग्रेस ने विरोधी दल की चिन्ता नहीं की आज विरोधी दल कांग्रेस की चिन्ता नहीं करेंगे तो फिर इस देश की चिन्ता कौन करेगा। दल-बदल की प्रवृत्ति लोकतंत्र की जड़ों पर कुठाराघात कर रही है।

ग्राम चुनाव के बाद जो लोकतंत्रात्मक क्रान्ति हुई थी मताधिकार का प्रयोग कर के जनता ने शासन पर से कांग्रेस का जो एकाधिकार समाप्त किया था उस के बाद कांग्रेस को एक विरोधी दल के नाते भी आचरण का आदर्श रखने का मौका था। हमारे कांग्रेसी मित्र यह आदर्श नहीं रख सके। मैं देख रहा हूँ कांग्रेस वाले जहां विरोधी दल में बैठे हैं वहां किस तरह से आचरण कर रहे हैं। इस संसद में बैठ कर जनसंघ किस तरह आचरण कर रहा है और इसी दिल्ली में बैठ कर कांग्रेसी सदस्य कारपोरेशन में और दिल्ली की मेट्रोपोलिटन कौंसिल में किस तरह से आचरण कर रहे हैं इस पर कांग्रेस के नेताओं को जरा गंभीरता से विचार करना चाहिए।

मेरा निवेदन है कि राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में की हुई अपील पर सब को विचार करना चाहिए। कुछ समस्याएं ऐसी हैं जिन पर दलबन्दी से ऊपर उठ कर विचार करना होगा। दूसरा कोई चारा नहीं है। अन्यथा

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

उन का हल नहीं निकल सकता। सच्चाई यह है कि यह सरकार और उसको चलाने वाला दल बंटता हुआ है, विभक्त है वह देश की बहुसंख्यक जनता का विश्वास खो चुका है। यह समस्याओं को अकेले हल नहीं कर सकता किन्तु जब तक यह हटेंगे नहीं तब तक हम उन समस्याओं के हटाने में सहायक नहीं होंगे यह विचारधारा भी स्वस्थ विचारधारा नहीं है रचनात्मक विचारधारा नहीं है। मेरा अपने प्रतिपक्ष के मित्रों से इस में मतभेद है। मैं प्रमाणिकता से यह मत प्रकट करना चाहता हूँ। मान लीजिये विदेशी आक्रमण हो जाय भले ही वह विदेशी आक्रमण इस सरकार की 20 वर्ष की गलत नीतियों के कारण हों तो क्या विदेशी आक्रमण के समक्ष हम एक दूसरे पर दोषारोपण करने में लगे रहेंगे? बाहर से आने वाली चुनौती का सामना नहीं करेंगे? करना होगा। व्यक्ति से बड़ा दल है और दल से बड़ा देश है। व्यक्ति आयेंगे और चले जायेंगे दल बनेंगे और बिगड़ते जायेंगे, सरकारें कायम होंगी और पलटती जायेंगी मगर काश्मीर से लेकर कन्याकुमारी तक फैला हुआ यह देश अमर रहना चाहिए, इस की स्वाधीनता अमर रहनी चाहिए, इस की अखंडता अमर रहनी चाहिए। यह आवश्यकता है कि हम इमानदारी के साथ वर्तमान पर विचार करें। जब आचार्य रंगा यह शिकायत कर रहे थे, मुझे उन की शिकायत में बल दिखाई देता है, जब सरकार कठिनाई में पड़ जाती है तो उस कठिनाई में से निकलने के लिए विरोधी दलों का साथ लेने का स्वांग रक्षणी है। क्या भाषा संबंधी विधेयक संसद् में लाने से पहले विरोधी दलों से परामर्श नहीं किया जा सकता था?

श्री जी० भ० कृपारानी (गुना): अपने से भी नहीं किया भाई।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: आचार्य जी यहां नहीं थे, जब मैं कह रहा था कि यह

दल बंटता हुआ है, यह मंत्रिमंडल बंटता हुआ है। लेकिन वह बंटते हुए हैं इसलिए देश बंटता रहे यह ठीक नहीं है। देश की तकदीर किसी एक दल के साथ नहीं बांधी जा सकती। आज चर्चा हो रही है कि सब मिल कर बैठें और भाषा की समस्या का ऐसा हल ढूँढ़ें कि जो जनभावनाओं के अनुकूल हो और देश की एकता को बहमूल करे। लेकिन यह काम पहले होना चाहिए था।

चुनाव से कुछ दिन पहले प्रधान मंत्री ने आमाम के पुनर्गठन के बारे में एक वक्तव्य दे दिया। कोई प्रधान मंत्री आम चुनाव में जाने के पहले बुनियादी नीति में इतना परिवर्तन करने वाले वक्तव्य नहीं देता। लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री ने इस को चिन्ता नहीं की। उन्होंने एक वक्तव्य दे दिया जिसे आसाम का एक वर्ग अपने लिए वचन मानता है। वह आरोप लगाता है कि सरकार अपने वचन से मुकर रही है। और अब सरकार असम के प्रश्न पर सभी दलों से विचार करना चाहती है। हमारे कुछ मित्र कहते हैं कि सरकार संकट में फँपी है, फँपने दो, हम उस सरकार को संकट से क्यों निकालें। मैं उनकी राजनीति की तारीफ कर सकता हूँ, मगर देश के व्यापक हितों को दृष्टि में रख कर उन के साथ सहमत होने की गलती नहीं कर सकता। भले ही कठिनाई सरकार ने पैदा की है, लेकिन उस कठिनाई के निराकरण में अगर हम सहायक हो सकते हैं, तो हम अपनी सहायता देने से इन्कार नहीं करेंगे।

भाषा का प्रश्न भी अगर पहले से विचार-विनिमय कर के तय किया जाता तो यह कठिनाई खड़ी न होती। एक बात तो स्पष्ट है कि जो कानून बना है उस से अंग्रेजी को भारत में बनाये रखने बसलों को कोई शिकायत नहीं होगी। शिकायत का कारण उन्हीं को है जो अंग्रेजी को हटा कर भारतीय भाषाओं को प्रतिष्ठित

करना चाहते हैं। वर्तमान कानून के अनुसार अंग्रेजी जब तक चाहें, चल सकती है, जब तक एक राज्य भी यह कहेगा कि अंग्रेजी चलनी चाहिये, तब तक अंग्रेजी चलेगी, अंग्रेजी के प्रचलन की अवधि सीमा तय नहीं है। जो अंग्रेजी का प्रयोग करना चाहते हैं, केन्द्रीय शासन में उन पर कोई बन्धन नहीं है फिर हमारे अंग्रेजी के प्रेमी क्यों नाराज हैं? कहा जाता है कि वे कानून से नाराज नहीं हैं, प्रस्ताव से नाराज हैं। क्या प्रस्ताव अंग्रेजी में काम करने पर रोक लगाता है? नहीं। लेकिन कहा जाता है कि हिन्दी-वाले केवल एक भाषा जान कर केन्द्र की सेवा में पहुँच सकते हैं, जब कि अहिन्दी भाषियों को दो भाषायें सीखनी पड़ेंगी। अगर बोझ बराबर करने की बात है तो हिन्दी वालों के लिये एक अन्य भारतीय भाषा का ज्ञान अनिवार्य किया जा सकता है और हम उस का समर्थन करने के लिये तैयार होंगे।

डा० मोहम्मद बास (जबलपुर) : अवश्य किया जाये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : जिन्हें केन्द्रीय सेवाओं में जाना है और अगर उनकी मातृभाषा हिन्दी है, तो एक भारतीय भाषा और सीखें।

श्री मोल्हू प्रसाद (वासगांव) : फिर ये खहरपोश अंग्रेज कहाँ जायेंगे?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : इन को जवता समझेगी।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह प्रचार किया जा रहा है कि संसद में जनसंघ दल ने भाषा नीति पर जो कुछ कहा, कालिकट अधिवेशन में उस में परिवर्तन कर दिया इस कथन

का कोई आधार नहीं है। आपको स्मरण होगा, मेरे साथी सदस्यों को स्मरण होगा, इसी सदन में भाषा सम्बन्धी प्रस्ताव और विधेयक पर चर्चा के अन्तिम दौर में हम ने कहा था कि केन्द्रीय सरकार की सेवा में जाने के लिये अंग्रेजी या हिन्दी, इन में से किसी एक भाषा का ज्ञान अनिवार्य नहीं होना चाहिये। परीक्षा का माध्यम मातृभाषायें ही और जो नौकरी के लिये चुन लिया जाता है, वह चुनाव के बाद, लेकिन कार्यभार सम्भालने से पहले, हिन्दी या अंग्रेजी में से एक भाषा सीखे और जिनकी मातृभाषा हिन्दी है उन के लिये एक अन्य भारतीय भाषा का ज्ञान अनिवार्य कर दिया जाय। लेकिन यह संशोधन उस समय नहीं माना गया। वैसे में समझता हूँ कि भाषा की समस्या का हल इस आधार पर निकाला जा सकता है कि न किसी पर हिन्दी थोपी जाय और न किसी पर अंग्रेजी थोपी जाय। यह आधार अगर स्वीकार कर लिया जाय तो फिर एक सर्वसम्मत हल निकालने में कोई कठिनाई नहीं होनी चाहिये, लेकिन कोई भी हल निकालने के लिये हमें मिल कर बैठना होगा चर्चा करनी होगी, विचारों का आदान-प्रदान करना होगा और अगर राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के बाद सरकार इस प्रक्रिया को प्रारम्भ करने जा रही है, तो कम से कम मेरा दल उस का स्वागत करेगा।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में देश की प्राथिक स्थिति की भी चर्चा है। यह कहा जाता है कि देश जिन प्राथिक संकटों में फंसा हुआ है, उस के लिये दो साल का लगातार सूखा और भारत तथा पाकिस्तान का संघर्ष जिम्मेदार है। मैं उन की इस कारण मीमांसा से सहमत नहीं हूँ। दो साल के सूखे से इतना अन्नाभाव क्या हुआ? भारत और पाकिस्तान के 17-18 दिनों के संघर्ष में हम इतने जर्जर क्यों हो गये कि हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था लड़खड़ा गई, इस पर मौलिक रूप से, दूरगामी

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

दृष्टि से विचार करने की आवश्यकता है। हमारी आर्थिक प्रगति की कुंजी खेती में है। जब हम अपने लायक अनाज पैदा करेंगे और कुछ फालतू बचा कर, कुछ अधिक उत्पादन कर के उस से मिलने वाली आमदनी को जब हम कल-कारखानों की ओर मोड़ेंगे, तब हमारे देश के आर्थिक ढांचे में वांछनीय दिशा में परिवर्तन हो सकता है। लेकिन हम ने योजना के प्रारम्भिक चरणों में खेती की उपेक्षा की। अभी तक हमारी खेती मौसम पर निर्भर है और उस का दुष्परिणाम हमें भुगतना पड़ रहा है। तीन पंच-वर्षीय योजनाओं के बाद हम एक वर्षीय योजना पर आ गये हैं। हर साल पेश किया जाने वाला बजट ही एक-वर्षीय योजना है। हमें योजना के उद्देश्यों पर, उसकी वरीयताओं पर, अपने साधनों और देश की आवश्यकताओं के अनुरूप विचार करना होगा और आर्थिक मामलों में नारों से काम न लेकर यथार्थवादी दृष्टिकोण अपनाना होगा।

जब तक प्लानिंग कमीशन में श्री तिरलोक सिंह जी थे, तो देश में एक मजाक प्रचलित था कि भारत में तीन सभायें काम कर रहीं हैं—एक लोक सभा, दूसरी परलोक सभा और तीसरी तिरलोक सभा। अब वह तिरलोक सभा विशङ्कु की स्थिति में पहुँच गई है। मैं आश्चर्य रंगा से सहमत नहीं हूँ—अब वह यह कहते हैं कि हमें योजना को छुट्टी दे देनी चाहिये। योजना को हम छुट्टी नहीं दे सकते...

श्री बी० भा० कृपालानी : वह तां दी हुई है, और क्या दोष है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : दी हुई है, उस का कारण है योजना गलत बनाई हुई है और जितनी गलत बनाई है, उस से ज्यादा गलत तरीकों से उस को कार्यान्वित

किया जा रहा है। आज का आर्थिक संकट हमारे सामने है। लेकिन इस आर्थिक संकट का इलाज ऐसा नहीं हो सकता जो बीमारी को ज्यादा बढ़ाये। बीमारी को ज्यादा बढ़ाने वाला इलाज हम नहीं कर सकते।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि आर्थिक नियोजन को छूट नहीं दी जा सकती, नियोजन की स्ट्रेटिजी, प्रायोरिटीज में परिवर्तन करने की जरूरत है और ना के मोह से मुक्त हो कर आर्थिक, वित्तीय और मुद्रा सम्बन्धी नीतियों के निर्धारण की आवश्यकता है। अगर योजना आयोग इस में सफल नहीं हो सकता तो इस साल अच्छी फसल के कितने भी आसार होने के बाद हम इस विचित्र आर्थिक संकट में से निकल सकेंगे इस के लक्षण नहीं दिखाई देते। एक ओर आर्थिक मंदी है दूसरी ओर दाम बढ़ रहे हैं। दामों में कुछ कमी आई है लेकिन वह कमी नगण्य है और आवश्यक है कि हम अपनी आर्थिक नीतियों पर फिर से विचार करें।

एक बात और मैं कह कर समाप्त कर दूंगा। भारत के ऊपर विदेशी दबाव बढ़ता जा रहा है। हमारे घरेलू मामलों में विदेशों के हस्तक्षेप की गति बढ़ रही है। यह हमारी स्वाधीनता व प्रभुसत्ता के लिए चुनौती है। आर्थिक क्षेत्र में हम विदेशी सहायता पर निर्भर हैं। अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में हम बारी बारी से दोनों शक्ति गुटों के साथ चलने की कोशिश करते हैं। कभी हम रूस के साथ क्रम मिलते हैं कभी हम अमरीका का अनुसरण करते हैं। ऐसा लगता है कि इस सरकार का दिमाग अंगर रूस के साथ है तो दिल अमरीका के साथ है। बारी बारी से हम एक दूसरे को तुष्ट करने की चिन्ता में हैं। अगर हमने दोनों शक्ति गुटों से अलग रहने

की नीति की परिकल्पना की थी तो उसका आचरण इस ढंग से नहीं होना चाहिये।

दक्षिण पूर्वोय एशिया से ब्रिटेन के हटने के कारण जो परिस्थिति पैदा हो रही है उसके प्रति हमें सचेत और सावधान होना चाहिए। ब्रिटेन के लिए वहाँ रहना सम्भव नहीं है। उसके जाने का हमें अफसोस भी नहीं है। मगर दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया के जो छोटे देश हैं उनकी स्वतन्त्रता और सुरक्षा संकटापन्न न हो यह उनके हृदय में आशंका पैदा होना स्वाभाविक है। जब श्री चांगला दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया के दौरे पर गये थे तो उन्होंने "कौंसिल आफ एशिया" का सुझाव दिया था। मैं किसी सैनिक गुटबन्दी में शामिल होने की बात नहीं कर रहा। लेकिन क्या यह सम्भव नहीं है कि दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया के देश आर्थिक क्षेत्र में निकट सहयोग की प्रक्रिया को प्रारम्भ करें? कौंसिल आफ एशिया के उस सुझाव का क्या हुआ? सरकार ने उस सुझाव को ग्रहण क्यों नहीं बढ़ाया? हमें दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया को जरा निकट से देखने की आवश्यकता है। वैसे भी इन देशों के साथ हमारे पुराने सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्ध हैं और मैं चाहता हूँ कि भारत सरकार, चूँकि ब्रिटेन हट रहा है और हम किसी और शक्ति का इस क्षेत्र में पदापर्ण नहीं चाहते, और इस क्षेत्र के अन्य देश इस बारे में गम्भीरता से विचार करें। बस इतना कह कर मैं समाप्त करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

**MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT—
DISTURBANCES IN ASSAM—contd.**

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करना चाहता हूँ कि इस सभा की कार्यवाही स्थगित की जाय। यह प्रस्ताव रखने का मुख्य कारण यह है

कि पूर्वोत्तर हिन्दुस्तान में और असम में इन दिनों में जो घटनाएँ घटी हैं उससे न केवल और असामी नागरिकों की जानें और उनकी जायदाद खतरे में आई है बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान की सुरक्षा और उसकी अक्षुण्णता पर बड़ा संकट आया है और इस संकट से देश को बचाने में न केवल स्थानीय कांग्रेस के नेता और सरकारी नेता असमर्थ रहे हैं बल्कि केन्द्रीय सरकार भी इसमें सम्पूर्णतया असफल रही है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक अस से उनकी प्रकर्मण्यता के कारण पूर्वोत्तर हिन्दुस्तान सम्बन्धी परस्पर विरोधी वक्तव्यों और नीतियों के कारण आज ऐसा खतरा महसूस हो रहा है कि अगर यह नीति चली तो कुछ ही वर्षों के अन्दर यह पूरा इलाका हिन्दुस्तान से अलग हो जायगा। इसलिए आज हम इन नीतियों के प्रति विरोध प्रकट करके इसके बारे में जो सही रास्ता है उस रास्ते को बताना चाहते हैं। पूर्वोत्तर हिन्दुस्तान में पांच विदेशी हस्तक्षेप इस वक्त चल रहे हैं। एक और चीन के द्वारा ऐसी गतिविधियाँ हो रही हैं कि जिससे इस इलाके में अशान्ति बनी रहे फिर पाकिस्तान की भी हरकतें चल रही हैं और साथ साथ अमरीकी, विदेशी पादरी और चाय के बागानों के विदेशी मालिक, यह पांच विदेशी शक्तियाँ पूर्वोत्तर हिन्दुस्तान में बदअमनी पैदा करने की कोशिश कर रही हैं। अगर कांग्रेस पार्टी, जिसके कि हाथ में असम की हुकूमत रही और केन्द्र की हुकूमत है, अगर सही रास्ते पर चलती तो इस विदेशी हस्तक्षेप को रोका जा सकता था लेकिन इन लोगों का बराबर रुख ऐसा रहा जिससे विदेशी ताकतों को वहाँ बदअमनी पैदा करने का और तोड़फोड़ करने का मौका मिले। अभी भी गौहाटी में जो घटनाएँ हुईं उनके बारे में मैं बहुत तफ़्सील में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ।