

MR. SPEAKER: The result\* of the division is:

Ayes—83; Noes—213.

*The motion was negatived*

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Shame, shame!

MR. SPEAKER: Now, we adjourn for Lunch to meet again at 14.15 hrs.

13.15 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till fifteen minutes past fourteen of the Clock*

*The Lok Sabha reassembled after Lunch at nineteen minutes past Fourteen of the Clock*

[SHRI THIRUMALA RAO in the Chair]

#### MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now we take up the motion of thanks on the President's Address.

Shrimati Sushlia Rohatgi:

श्रीमती सुशीला रोहतगी (विल्हौर) : सभापति महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करती हूँ :

राष्ट्रपति की सेवा में इत शब्दों में एक समावेदन प्रस्तुत किया जाय :

“कि इस सत्र में समवेत लोक-सभा के सदस्य राष्ट्रपति के उस अभिभाषण के लिए जो कि उन्होंने 17 फरवरी, 1969 को एक साथ समवेत संसद् की दोनों सभाओं के समक्ष देने की कृपा की है, उनके अत्यन्त आभारी हैं।”

मैं अत्यन्त आभारी हूँ कि आज का इतना बड़ा अवसर मुझको मिला है कि मैं राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने जो अभिभाषण 17 फरवरी को दिया है उसके सम्बन्ध में अपने कुछ विचार रख सकूँ और उसके बारे में इस सदन के सदस्यों तक अपनी बातें पहुँचा सकूँ। With your permission, I would like to draw your kind attention to a few things. First and foremost, it is a ceremonial ritual every year that the President takes the trouble of coming and addressing both the Houses; but though it is a ceremony and a ritual, it is a very solemn occasion; it is not only heralded by the sounding of bugles, followed by the taking of a procession here, but it is also a solemn occasion when the President takes the trouble of taking stock or having a reappraisal of what has happened in the country during the last year and also pinpointing the difficulties and turmoils which are confronting the nation at present. While mirroring those difficulties at the same time asking the nation to reflect upon the shape of things to come. Therefore, I say that it is an extremely solemn occasion; it is solemn not merely because the most exalted person and the most

\*The following Members also recorded their votes.

AYES: Shri Janeshwar Misra; Shri Jai Singh and Shri Mohammad Ismail.

NOES: Shri Narendra Kumar Salve and Shri Bhola Nath Master.

esteemed personality of the country comes here to give his Address, but it is solemn because the various important facets of our national life are brought before us, and we as the representatives of the country here have to face them and discharge the duties which we are called upon to do.

Now, what are the main factors to which our very esteemed President has drawn our attention? First and foremost, there is a dual note present in his Address, a note of great optimism so far as our agricultural production is concerned, and at the same time a note of pessimism so far as our political, social and economic conditions as prevalent in the country today are concerned. This duality runs through the entire Address. We as the Members of this sovereign Parliament have to pinpoint our attention on those main factors, keeping in view the optimism shown by him on the one hand and also the note of pessimism which he has sounded.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would like to make an announcement with regard to the amendments. I would like hon. Members who want to move amendments to select the amendments which they want to move and be ready with the numbers of those amendments, and afterwards, I shall call them and they may stand up and mention the numbers and the amendments will then be taken as moved.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI: Last year when the President was pleased to deliver his Address, there was a lamentable state of affairs in the country. The country had just then faced two famines. We had to face a difficult state of affairs. Large tracts of land had been parched. People in various States had been facing starvation and hunger. The sources of drinking water had dried up, and it was an extremely difficult and lamentable state of affairs that we had to face. But in spite of this, the country under the rule of this Government which has been for the last two days censured by the sponsors of the censure motion, and which had the courage and the vision and the broad mindedness to come to their relief,

facéd the situation well; relief was rushed to the famine-stricken people; aid was sent where it was necessary and medicine was sent where it was necessary and a difficult state of affairs was brought under control.

Then, another situation which had engulfed the country immediately after the famine was floods. The floods had submerged large tracts in West Bengal, Assam and Sikkim; it was more or less like a deluge and large tracts of areas were under water. The rivers had overswept their banks; bridges had collapsed and roads had collapsed. Some of us who had occasion to tour as Members of the PAC had occasion to see the havoc caused by the Tiesta river, for instance. We know what amount of havoc has been caused on account of land slides and flood waters. It must be said to the credit of the Army and it must be said to the discretion and fortitude and the power of resilience of our people and their courage and strength and to the vision of this Government which has been castigated for nothing for the last two days, that we stood unitedly in the face of all these difficulties. When the President pays a tribute, surely we wholeheartedly endorse it and say that at that juncture of turmoil the nation had stood firmly as a rock behind the Government, and aid was rushed wherever it was necessary. It is in the face of these turmoils that the President has been pleased to commend the remarkable achievement in the field of agricultural production.

Today, we now that because of the policy enunciated by this Government, because of the speedy implementation of these policies, because of the planning of this Government, because of the support given by the people as a whole and because of planning, agricultural production has leapt up by bounds. There is an overall increase of 6 million tonnes. What has this been due to? This has been due to the fact that there has been planning. This planning is not the planning done by the Government alone but it is planning done based on the needs of the people and for the people, in which the people had reposed confidence. The people gave their support. So, it is the people's

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planning. They realised the importance of planning. With the co-operation of the people as a whole, whether it be the farmer in the farms or the factory worker in the factories, and with the harnessing and mobilisation of resources, we find that today there has been an improvement so far as agricultural production is concerned. On account of this increase in national production, the national income has gone up by Rs. 1400 crores, which is not a small sum when we realise that this has been achieved in the course of just one year.

Apart from the incentives given by Government in the form of scientific methods, improved seeds, fertilisers, and irrigation and electricity and remunerative prices to the farmers and the loans given by the various banks, we should also remember that there has been price stability. The index of prices had gone down from 211 to 205 as pointed out by the President. We find that there is an air of faith which has been restored among the people as a whole. That is not a small achievement by any means.

While endorsing throughly the policy launched upon by Government and which has been accepted by the people at large, I would like to point out that certain changes are absolutely necessary in this direction. First and foremost, I would suggest that the time has come when the system of zones must go. We must not think in terms of different States or zones and how much each State produces but we must think in terms of food as a national commodity, and the zones being a disincentive should go. The sooner Government remove these zones, the better it is for all of us.

I would also welcome the setting up of the Irrigation Commission. Those of us who have been touring the constituencies either because of the elections or on our own have found that in our villages there are two things which require the topmost priority. The first is the provision of irrigation facilities to our farmers. I would pay a tribute to our farmers for the patient manner in which they have improved the production. The scientifically im-

proved seeds require more irrigation and water but they are not able to get them. Therefore, I welcome the setting up of the Irrigation Commission. I would plead with Government that they should rush irrigational facilities and other facilities at the cheapest rates possible to the rural areas. The second thing which should receive priority in the rural areas is the setting up of a network of roads. Those of us who stay in the cities hardly know the conditions prevailing in the interior rural areas.

Now that we are drawing up the Fourth Plan in its final form, I would beg of the Planning Commission, the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister—fortunately the Finance Minister is present in the House; I am sure he would welcome this idea—when Government are straining their utmost to give all their attention in thinking out the plans necessary for the country to take into consideration the necessity of setting up of a network of roads throughout our rural villages and to give higher priority to that type of activity and less to the construction of big buildings in all the big cities like Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay. The stage has come, when we who have accepted socialism as our goal, must give priority to the right things. Government offices can do without big palatial buildings and funds can be diverted to the construction of a network of roads in the villages so that the villages get the roads which are necessary, which are not only a means of communication but also provide other facilities.

The note of optimism is also to be noticed in the field of industry. We have passed through great turmoil herein the field of industry. I can only say that it is heartening and encouraging to see that our exports have gone up by Rs. 117 crores and imports are reduced by Rs. 107 crores. But to create an industrial environment, it is absolutely necessary to have stability and an air of certainty. In this connection, I would like to ask a question of my friends in the Opposition, specially Shri Ramamurti, who waxed eloquent two days ago while he was condemning the activities of Shiv Sena, which he should have condemned, which every Indian should rightly have done, what was happening preciously at this

time two years ago when the UF Government was in power in Bengal. Was there not the same air of uncertainty, the same air of intimidation, terror, lawlessness, chaos and confusion prevailing in West Bengal? In such an atmosphere of lawlessness, can any industry flourish?

**SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA** (Bengal): You have got the popular verdict whether there was lawlessness or not.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** We know what it is. They are rowdies.

**SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA:** For you the people are rowdies. You have become such sort of people.

**SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI:** I have got the people's verdict and I bow to it. At the same time, I would like my hon. friend to remember what is the verdict of the people in UP also, where there has been intimidation, where there has been terrorisation, where people have been forced to vote against their conscience.

We are fully aware of what happened in Bengal. I was there for a week and I know. While our Government was rushing food to the needy, the hungry and the starving, here are our friends in the Opposition, who have the gumption and audacity to blame and censure Government, were putting obstacles for putting through such schemes. I would ask of them: was it their duty only to indulge in gheraos and bundhs and closing down of industrial establishments? Will such tactics help us to raise ourselves to the status to which we all aspire?

Shri Ramamurti quoted and compared some figures of man-hours lost. He said that Government had lost 3½ million man hours in disputes, in arbitration and so on and loss due to gheraos was only 67,000 hours. I would ask of him and every other member of the Opposition, is this the time when we should be indulging in such acts of retardation of industrial progress, is this the time to do such things when we should be doing everything in our power to achieve the higher things to which we all aspire, things which will do good to our people and usher in the welfare state which is our aim and goal? Can we afford to waste 67,000 valuable hours at this juncture? I would ask him and his

colleagues to search their hearts and give an answer whether we can do it or not.

Secondly, can an entrepreneur have the enterprise, courage and wisdom to launch on new industrial ventures under such inhibiting conditions? Therefore, I would beg of the Opposition friends not to fritter away their energies in these destructive pursuits but harness them to the national interest so that industrial development can go ahead with speed, unimpeded and accelerated, so that our economy which is self-generating now may rise to higher levels and we might be in a position to do greater good to our people, which is the ultimate goal of all of us in the country.

Coming to the third point, I would like to draw attention to the fact that there were many of us on that side who blamed the Government at the time food scarcity and famine conditions were prevailing. From the Swatantra party, Prof. Ranga had been speaking. I have gone through some of his past speeches; they are brilliant speeches and I place him on a high pedestal and I have great appreciation and admiration for his speeches. Probably in 1961 or 1965, he expressed his grave doubts about PL 480 and enquired whether this assistance under PL 480 would not lead to complacency in the nation in the matter of food production. He is a great logician and I hope he would correct himself on this particular point when he realises that foodgrains production has gone up in this country because of programmes launched by the Government with PL 480 assistance a couple of years back. Many of our friends condemned planning. Some said that the Government should not have a plan holiday. But is it not necessary for a responsible Government to pause and weigh whether every penny in its public exchequer is used properly? Is it not necessary to do so especially in the climate of uncertainty about foreign assistance? Should not the Government take stock of the resources which are limited and try to fall back upon its own resources, earnings and savings. I think the Government should be congratulated having embarked upon this policy so that they will be in a position to give us all these things by doing things

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on an ambitious scale. The Planning Commission says that there are priorities before the country. Things have to be considered in different light now. Luxury aspect must be given a lower priority and there should be focus on the basic necessities of life. I do not see why there is so much need of second chambers in the States. This is my own personal view; Government may disagree with this view. But we should look at things from the economic angle. The amounts spent on them can be utilised for better uses.

Another point which had been highlighted by the President and touched upon by the Members is youth and education. Never before in history had there been such a cataclysm. Why is it so not only in our country but in other places also? Is it not necessary for us, as responsible persons, to give them lead and direction? The youth of even affluent countries like the USA, France and Japan have gone astray. Is there not a great deal of frustration and disillusionment and discontent among our youth? As responsible Members of the Congress, we must analyse the reasons. Not long ago, in 1967, in my maiden speech on the budget I suggested the creation of a Directorate of Youth and I congratulate the Prime Minister for having taken initiative in this matter. She had always sympathy and appreciation for the students and their problems and I am sure the new department will diagnose the malaise correctly and find out the reasons why the youth are behaving in this manner and how are they played upon by the political parties. The Congress and the Opposition parties are all equally concerned with the future of the country and we cannot mortgage the future of our country and the aspirations of our youth by quibblings and bickerings and narrow mindedness. I make this appeal to all Members. There is the creed of violence and it is spreading all over the world now.

It may be in other countries, but can India subscribe to a creed which is absolutely alien and foreign to us? Can we, Members sitting here, subscribe to a creed of violence, which is against the very traditions of our country? Can we subscribe to a creed, those of us who believe in justice and non-violent theories of

Ashoka—it is the Ashok Chakra which we have accepted as our own symbol—can we give in so easily and take it for granted that violence has become the order of the day? It is for us to think over it, for those who propound the theories of non-violence, non-interference and non-involvement in our foreign affairs, for those of us who have got a place in international affairs. India has got a place in international affairs today and the high pedestal which has come to us through our policy of peace and non-violence and non-involvement which India has chosen, which follows intrinsically a policy of non-violence. How is it that we can just sit and let those violent actions to take place, whether they are in Maharashtra, whether they are in West Bengal, whether they take place in Uttar Pradesh or in any other part of the country? We have to have a policy of introspection and find out the reason. It is not only economic; it is not only social; it is not only educational. It is malaise which has a cancerous growth. I would beg of the Opposition leaders to think of it; let us unite our hearts together and ask ourselves, how is it that the creed of violence which is so alien to our country has come up, and is it going to sweep us off our feet. We have to think about it in a very, very serious manner.

It is not a question of Shiv Sena alone. I remember two years ago when the Shiv Sena came into existence, I was the first person from the Congress Party to have moved a resolution under the No-Day-Yet-Named Motions which never came up because the day is not yet named! But the motion is there. Shiv Sena, Gopal Sena, Lachit Sena, whatever be the Sena, they have no existence in this country where we have accepted a democratic way of life. Therefore, I would like to say that it is for us to sit together and search our hearts and consider and wax eloquent on a matter which concerns our very existence and the very survival of the people in this country.

Last of all, I would like to draw your attention to a matter which is extremely vexing but which is extremely clear to us. Some of our fine speakers yesterday and the day before waxed eloquent on the matter of Centre-State relations. The

Prime Minister has very categorically and very clearly laid down that it for the West Bengal Government to behave properly and that the Centre would be following the actions which the Government have laid down according to the terms of the Constitution. I would like to pay my tribute to the great man who has departed, Mr Annadurai, who have laid down a very great example to show how good relations could exist between the Centre and the States even in these abnormal times.

But I would like to point out and tell my Jan Sangh friends who are somehow absent today...

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (उज्जैन) : बैठे हुए हैं।

श्रीमती सुशीला रोहतगी : मैं माननीय सदस्य को भूल गई। क्षमा करें।

He alone represents his party now, but he is quite big enough; I can quite understand; of course, he is equal to a party. Now, all I have to say is that the Centre-State relation is a new phenomenon which has developed in the last few years, following the harrowing experiences of the last two years because of various defections, because violent sections came into existence; because of various unholy and unprincipled alliances, certain things have been happening which have not done credit to any party, the Congress or any other party sitting there. All I would like to say is that in this delicate matter of Centre-State relationship, we have seen the wisdom and tested the wisdom of our Constitution-makers, the vision and the broad-mindedness which inspired the framers of our Constitution. We have seen that it is explicitly laid down therein, that we have just to behave in a proper manner, in a disciplined manner and it is necessary.

Here, I have to submit one thing. I was reading through the speeches and I find that our friend, Shri Nath Pai, a couple of years back, had accused the Congress party by saying that it is a party which is going on a ship on the unchartered seas without any leader and without any rudder. All that I would like to say is

this: now, what is happening? What was happening in the past elections and what is happening now? In Uttar Pradesh, all the constituents of the Opposition, as we have been seeing, were going on a ship of political adventure. They were without any leader and without rudder. They had no policy even. Their nineteen point common programme had flundered on the uncharted seas. In the absence of any discipline, each party was going at the other's throat and the boat capsized. The only persons who would reach the shore safely was the person who had 20 years' training under the Congress—Mr Charan Singh. If they say that the Congress should not sit at the centre, because it has forfeited the confidence of the people, I would say that in spite of the reverses, the Congress is still the party which has come out in a majority... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): I am wondering whether you are replying to the no-confidence motion or speaking on the President's Address.

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI: During the discussion on the no-confidence motion, people were speaking on the President's Address instead of on the no-confidence motion.

SHRI PILOO MODY: So, you are reversing the tables?

SHRI SUSHILA ROHATGI: No; I am setting them straight. At this stage, it is not for us to say which party is in the right and which is in the wrong. If by a simple process of logic, they say that because Congress has been ousted from these States, it should vacate, let it be applied to every constituent of the SVD in UP, where every party except the Congress has been thrown out. If we have no right to sit here, none of the constituents of the opposition have the right to stay there either.

The President's Address is an occasion of great solemnity and it behoves the dignity of the President and the Members of Parliament who represent the sovereignty and supremacy of the ballot—even if the ballot goes against us, it is the people will and we respect it. The challenge today is not to any party. The challenge

[Shri R. D. Reddy]

today is the anti-democratic elements in the country. There I hope all the cynicism all the fears and doubts expressed by so many people, including Sir Winston Churchill who said that Indian people were a people of straw and if they were given power, they would not be able to run the government for a single day, have been falsified and we have shown that democracy will live in this country. We have shown that the people have survived it. In the name of democracy, I beg of the opposition parties to think together, to plan together and to work together in cooperation with the Government.

SHRI R. D. REDDY (Kavali): Sir, I rise to second motion of thanks moved by the hon. lady member. Two years ago, when the country was in the grip of famine, we all realised that no self-respecting nation can afford to be deficit in food and we made a solemn resolve to wipe off this deficit and become self-sufficient in food in the course of two or three years. Since then, the Government has taken every step to achieve this objective. No doubt the agricultural season was favourable last year. This year it has not been so good; The increase in food production which we have achieved is not due entirely to the good agricultural season. It has been entirely due to the several steps that Government has taken in the direction of helping the ryots to produce more food.

The less ryots have now begun to develop agriculture in a scientific manner. They are exploiting all the ground water and using improved agricultural machinery. Manure has been given to them in good quantities in proper time, even if it had to be imported. High yielding varieties and intensive cropping patterns have been introduced. Due to all these things, even when the season was is not good and the crop had to be grown late, we have been able to increase food production.

Credit facilities, by cooperatives was considered not to be sufficient and therefore, under the social control legislation, commercial banks have been asked to provide a large volume of additional Credit to the farmers. I would therefore submit that these steps that have been taken by the Government have helped the agriculturists in good manner and they have been able to use all these facilities and

enable the country to produce more food-stuffs.

The national income has been reported to have gone up by 9.1 per cent. The national objective last year of eliminating reliance on foreign aid for foodstuffs is likely to be achieved. In the field of industry also the process of recovery has been achieved. Imports have gone down and exports have gone up. This would clearly indicate that we are trying to realise our objective and in course of time we will be able to export from this country the goods that we manufacture and they will be in demand in other countries. In the same direction we are also trying to have import substitution in this country and in that way help the indigenous industries. Thus we will be able to rely more upon locally manufactured goods and less dependent on imported machinery.

These are things which have been prominently mentioned in the President's Address. The President spoke eloquently of how the country has already turned the corner in both agriculture and industrial recovery. He also paid a glowing tribute to the fortitude of the people who worked hard to overcome the distress of two droughts. They have proved to us beyond all doubt that God helps those who help themselves. And let us all, as Members of this great Parliament, try to emulate their noble example and be worthy of the trust imposed in us.

The President's Address has highlighted the imperative need for national discipline at a time when all kinds of parochial, regional and communal forces are again raising their ugly heads in the country. Whether it be in Bengal, Andhra Pradesh or Bombay, wherever, it is, parties, leaders of all sections have condemned these acts of violence. When it suits some persons they condemn some activities at some time and some others condemn them at other times. But I appeal to all Members of this House that all of us should be united in condemning these activities whether it be in Bengal, Andhra Pradesh or Bombay. It is absolutely necessary that stern steps should be taken by the Government to see that

most of these Senas, wherever they have acted improperly, wherever they have been responsible for these atrocities, they should be liquidated or wiped out. There are other organisations which are helping the country and doing some service. I am not speaking of such organisations. But organisations of this kind must be sternly dealt with whether they are persons who had at some prior time helped the Congress Government or their elections. We must now take stern action against all these organisations.

There can be no political stability or economic progress without a sense of discipline amongst the people. We must bring back the spirit of high patriotism and sense of participation which characterised the freedom movement to galvanise the enthusiasm of the people for creating a better India of Gandhi's and Nehru's dreams. That should be our effort and in that the Parliament has a great duty to give the necessary lead to the people through constructive debate and responsible criticism. The opposition is there to criticise the actions of the Government wherever they are faulty. But wherever they are good it must be appreciated.

The Prime Minister also a year ago invited leaders of the Opposition to cooperate with her. She has convened a number of meetings in order to seek their cooperation and advice and thereupon to take decisions to conduct herself under Government in the interest of the country. I appeal to all Members of the House, particularly the leaders of the Opposition, that they should cooperate with the Prime Minister and give a helping hand to her to administer the affairs of the country in the best interests of the people.

What India needs today is orderly development and our parliamentary system offers the necessary political forum for it. In the last 22 years of independence, India has gone through many trials and tribulations—including wars, famine and civil strife—but it has managed somehow to emerge stronger from these ordeals because of its sound political foundations.

The big challenge that is facing the nation today is to bridge the gulf between poverty and progress. The Central Government, under the leadership of

Nehru, Shastri and now Shrimati Gandhi, has made a gallant effort to rebuild the Indian society on the basis of social justice and equality of opportunity for its people. But what the country is now facing is essentially a race against time. We have to build ourselves, as it were, from the cow-dung age to the atomic age. We are a poor country with one foot still deeply imbedded in the murky past but the other foot jauntily poised for a major step forward into a new era of opportunity and promises for its people. In the ultimate analysis, human beings matter more than atom bombs. If we have the will to progress, we can easily generate the capacity of march ahead as a nation.

A country is also measured by the electricity it consumes. There are regional imbalances in several States and it is necessary to set those things right. In Andhra Pradesh we have got regional imbalances in the matter of power. Whereas the all India average of power is very high, the average for Andhra is very low. Therefore, if in the Fourth Plan additional aid is not given to Andhra Pradesh to generate more electricity, the disparity will become greater. I, therefore, appeal to the Central Government either to assist the State Government to take up more power projects or the Centre themselves should have a scheme as they are having in Madras and Bombay, which will help us to move forward. Because most of our resources have so far been spent on agriculture, we find it difficult to raise resources to meet this demand.

Both in her own right and as Nehru's daughter, Shrimati Indira Gandhi today symbolises in herself all that is best in us as a people deserving a better opportunity for ourselves and our children. She stands out as a shining example of our patriotism, sense of unity and all that is best in us as a people. And it is our duty as good Indians to give her a helping hand in creating a better India, an India worthy of Gandhiji's and Nehru's sacrifice.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved that an address be presented in the following terms:—

'That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grate-



[Mr. Chairman]

ful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 17th February, 1969.'

There is a large number of amendments to the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. 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 N. SREEKANTAN NAIR:** It is against your earlier ruling.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** This is the procedure that is being followed. I do not have a list of all the amendments on my Table. So, I would request hon. Members to give the numbers of their amendments for which they have given notice.

**SHRI RANGA:** Mr Chairman, I am sorry I could not send the amendment sufficiently early. Therefore, it has not been numbered. I would seek your permission and the permission of the House for moving it.

**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 in the Address no mention has been made of the steps to improve the conditions of Harijans and Scheduled Tribes." (1)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of steps to settle the Maharashtra Mysore border dispute leading to disturbances in Bombay." (2)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of any steps to liberate the illegally occupied Indian territory by Pakistan and China." (3)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of any steps to establish diplomatic relation with Israel and Taiwan." (4)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of any specific steps to check the misuse of Government machinery and funds in future as was done in recent elections of five States and to take effective steps so that voters may be able to cast their votes freely." (5)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of any steps to ensure that Radio Peace and Progress of Russia does not interfere in our internal affairs." (6)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made that the money taken from Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee for the site of Kotwali in Delhi where Gurus made sacrifices will be returned to the Committee and the site will be given free." (7)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the steps Government propose to take to meet the situation created by Pakistan's not carrying out the principles of Tashkent Agreement." (8)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention why Government wants to talk with China and Pakistan when they have not agreed to vacate our territory." (9)

**SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR:** I beg to move:

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

“but regret that no effective measures have been outlined in the Address to stop the orgy of arson, loot and murder that is being periodically unleashed in Bombay by the Shiva Sena against the people and communities of South India.” (10)

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

“but regret that no effective measures have been outlined in the Address to give a better deal to the States in view of the rapidly worsening? Centre-State relationship.” (11)

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

“but regret that no positive steps have been outlined in the Address to help the backward States like Kerala, to catch up with the more advanced States by rendering better financial help and by enforcing an effective policy of licensing in the Private Sector and establishing Public Sector undertakings in such States.” (12)

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

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the appalling and disastrous conditions in the drought affected areas of Bikaner, Barmer, Jaisalmer and Jodhpur in the State of Rajasthan, where there is paucity of drinking water, food and fodder for human beings as well as cattle.” (13)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no Assurance regarding the establishment of a desert development authority.” (14)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention at the Russian interference in our internal affairs through the Moscow Radio and the Radio Peace and Progress, during the recent mid-term election campaign and the consequent failure of the Government to lodge a timely, strong and effective protest in this behalf.” (15)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failure of the Government to vacate all punishments which had been awarded to the Central Government employees as a consequence of the strike of September 19, 1968.” (16)

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

“but regret that in the Address neither any anxiety has been expressed regarding the ever increasing prices of essential commodities nor any steps have been suggested to check them.” (17)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any scheme to bring at par the industrially backward States like Haryana, Rajasthan and Union Territory of Chandigarh, with the industrially advanced States.” (18)

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

“but regret that in the Address neither any anxiety has been expressed regarding the increasing economic disparity nor any directions have been issued to fix the minimum and the maximum expendable incomes.” (19)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the ‘Plan Holiday,’ that has resulted from the failure

[Shri Shrichand Goyal]

of the Government to formulate the Fourth Five Year Plan in time." (20)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any steps for recovering areas of Kashmir occupied by Pakistan and the Indian territory grabbed by China and the failure of the overall foreign policy of the Government." (21)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the growing unemployment of the educated as well as uneducated people in the country and the failure of the Government to check the same." (22)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failure of the Government to introduce the three-tier Panchayati Raj System throughout the length and breadth of the country." (23)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failure of the Government to introduce prohibition throughout the country even after 22 years of Independence." (24)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the fact that separation of judiciary and the executive has not been effected in the entire country, even though 19 years have elapsed after the enforcement of the Constitution." (25)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to ban the slaughter of cows

and calves and other milck cattle in the country." (26)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government to check the recurring losses in Public Sector Undertakings." (27)

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any programme to correct regional imbalance in development work and the failure of the Government to rapidly develop backward areas of the country." (28)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note that even after 19 years of the enforcement of the Constitution, the universally condemned practice of untouchability is being practised in one form or the other." (29)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the failure of the Government to provide drinking water to all human beings and cattle in the country even after 22 years of Independence." (30)

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

"but regret that the Address contains no assurance of reorienting our education system to serve more adequately the needs of the nation." (31)

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

"but regret that the Address does not spell out the Government's stand on manufacture of nuclear weapons in view of the failure to check nuclear proliferation and particularly in view

of the fact that China is making great strides in that field." (32)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make a mention of the glaring malpractices committed during the mid-term elections, more specially the vicious propaganda carried out appealing to the religious, cast and regional sentiments of the people and the colossal use of money." (33)

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

"but regret that the Address does not suggest any satisfactory solution of the serious students' trouble, brewing in most of the parts of the country." (34)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make a mention of the said plight of primary teachers in the country and fails to mention the measures to improve their lot." (35)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of any effective steps for bringing about a happier relationship between the Union and the State Governments in the changed circumstances due to the emergence of non-Congress Governments in a number of State in the country." (36)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to provide irrigation water wherever irrigation is possible." (37)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the scrapping of the policy of automation in L.I.C., Railways and oil companies." (38)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of the Government to provide for any representative elected body for the administration of the Union Territory of Chandigarh." (39)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failure of the Government to provide for a Rajya Sabha seat for the Union Territory of Chandigarh, which is altogether unrepresented in Rajya Sabha at present." (40)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failure of the Government to convert the Punjab University, Chandigarh into a Central University, devoted to research and higher studies." (41)

**SHRI K. M. ABRAHAM (Kottayam):**  
I beg to move :

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

"but regret the failure of the Government to reinstate all the victimised Central Government employees after the strike of the Central Government Employees on the 19th September, 1968." (72)

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

"but regret the failure of the Government to institute judicial enquiry into police firings during the Government employees strike at Pathankot, Bikaner and other places." (73)

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

"but regret the failure of the Government to give sufficient food subsidy to Kerala Government." (74)

[Shri K. M. Abraham]

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to include Cochin Shipyard as a priority project in the Fourth Five Year Plan.” (75)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to take adequate steps to improve Centre-State relations.” (76)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to consider sympathetically the alternative Fourth Five Year Plan suggested by the Kerala Government.” (77)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to take strong measures against the activities of Shiv Sena in Bombay.” (78)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to take constructive steps to improve relations with People's Republic of China and Pakistan.” (79)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to take firm steps against the activities of C.I.A. in India.” (80)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to nationalise foreign oil companies and banks.” (81)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to ban the introduction of electronic computers in Public and Private Sector Industries in India.” (82)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to intervene in the disputes in Hotels in New Delhi over the question of non-implementation of the Wage Board Report.” (83)

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

“but regret the delay in taking decisions by the Government on the Wage Board Report for the Engineering Industries.” (84)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to criticise the police firing on the peaceful demonstrators protesting against compulsory vasectomy in Haryana State.” (85)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to put an end to the repression of backward communities in Andhra Pradesh.” (86)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to criticise the police repression on the Telengana people during the recent agitation for a separate State.” (87)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to criticise the action of the Jammu & Kashmir Government for the repressive measures against the State Government employees.” (88)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to criticise the victimisation of trade union leaders by the management of Central Electronic Engineers Research Institute at Pilani, Rajasthan.” (89)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to take action against the subversive activities of Dalai Lama in India.” (90)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to point out growing corruption at the Ministerial level.” (91)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to criticise the setting up of the Anglo U.S. military bases in the Indian Ocean.” (92)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to support the proposals of Dr. Ho-Chi-Minh of North Vietnam for settlement of Vietnam issue.” (93)

SHRI DEVEN SEN (Asansol) : Sir, I beg to move:

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

“but regret that there is no mention of the steps to curb the phenomenal increase in profits and assets of some of the big business magnates.” (94)

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

“but regret that no steps have been suggested to check the rise in unemployment.” (95)

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

“but regret that on steps have been suggested to combat the fall in real wages.” (96)

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

“but regret that no steps have been suggested for the implementation of the recommendations of the Coal Wage Board for introduction of gratuity.” (97)

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

“but regret the failure to provide for the improvement of the Calcutta Metropolitan area.” (98)

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

“but regret the failure to provide for the construction of a second bridge over river Hooghly.” (99)

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

“but regret the absence of any integrated scheme for the supply of drinking water in the Asansol subdivision of Burdwan.” (100)

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI (Kendrapara) : I beg to move:

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

“but regret that there is no mention of the 8th Thermo-nuclear explosion carried out by China and its implications for the security of India and for world peace.” (101)

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

“but regret that the Address does not make a firm commitment regarding the formulation of the Fourth Five Year Plan.” (102)

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

“but regret that there is no motion of steps to redeem the solemn pledge given to Parliament on 14th November, 1962, to recover the territory occupied by China.” (103)

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedi]

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

“but regret the absence of any mention of concrete steps to protect the legitimate interests of the Indian nationals and of the people of Indian origin living abroad.” (104)

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

“but regret the failure to mention the recent outbursts and widespread violence involving immense loss of property in many parts of the country and particularly in Bombay and Andhra Pradesh.” (105)

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

“but regret that the Address makes no mention of any steps to correct regional imbalances in development and the growing disparity between States.” (106)

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

“but regret that no concrete steps are indicated in the Address to solve the growing unemployment problem in the country.” (107)

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

“but regret the failure to indicate any concrete steps to constitute a council for solving problems arising out of Centre-State relations and inter-State relations.” (108)

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

“but regret that there is no mention of the growing pressure and repression and denial of the basic rights to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections of the community.” (109)

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

“but regret the failure to solve the recurring calamities of famine, drought and floods.” (110)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to mention the steps for solving the shortage of food, inadequacy of drinking water, particularly in the rural areas.” (111)

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 definite steps proposed to be taken at the earliest 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 year.” (112)

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

“but regret that there is no indication in the Address of the steps contemplated for preventing undue increase in urban land values and for putting a ceiling on urban property.” (113)

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 taking speedy measures 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 indication in the Address of the need 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 indication in the Address of the need for setting up of the Naval Training Institute at Chilka Lake.” (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 unprecedented flood and cyclone which seriously affected the entire district of Puri, Ganjam and part of Cuttack district in Orissa in last October.” (117)

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

“but regret that there is no indication in the Address of the awareness of the growing gap between the rich few and the vast multitude of poor people in the country and the steps contemplated for reducing this growing economic disparities.” (118)

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

“but regret that there is no recognition in the Address of the gap between profession and practice in respect of timely supply of agricultural inputs to the farmers in the State of Orissa, where they have not been able to get the supply of calcium and other fertilisers for their Taichung paddy which they had grown with great enthusiasm.” (119)

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

“but regret that no indications have been given in the Address about the taking up of Ranibhadra and Gania Barrage Irrigation Scheme in Orissa which was surveyed and for which preliminary works were undertaken.” (120)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the problem of protecting the areas around Chilka Lake from heavy inundations of flood water and from drought as well.” (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 problem of silting up of the mouth of Chilka Lake, a national asset and of the steps to be taken for saving the Lake from silting and helping the 36,000 fishermen families solely depending on fishing from this Lake.” (122)

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, Kantilo, Mundlapada and Attri (Hot springs) in Orissa as important national tourist centres.” (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 indefinite closure of the Agricultural University in Bhubaneswar set up with Central assistance for the last 80 days.” (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 steps taken for undertaking oil exploration works in Mahanadi Basin and Chilka estuaries in Orissa which has proved oil bearing.” (125)

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

“but regret that the Address has failed to take note of the fact that thousands of landless people in Orissa and in other States have not yet got lands and even lands under their occupations have not been settled with them by the various State Government so far and furthermore the peasants are being evicted in spite of the clear directive of the Planning Commission for giving lands to the landless.” (126)



[Shri Chintamani Panigrahi]

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

“but regret that the Address has failed to recognise the growing unrest among the students and youth of our country and does not spell out the mind of the Government for setting up of a National Youth Commission for handling this problem methodically and scientifically in a phased and systematic manner.” (127)

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

“but regret that the Address has not given any indication regarding the amalgamation of all the outlying Oriya speaking tracts into Orissa in the near future.” (128)

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

“but regret that the Address does not outline any dynamic programme which can instil faith and confidence among the people in respect of removal of abject poverty and hunger of the vast masses.” (129)

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

“but regret that the Address does not take note of the serious and grave strictures passed by the Supreme Court against the Orissa Government in respect of its Kendu Leaves Orders, wherein the loss of revenue by way of profits to the State Exchequer comes to about one crore of rupees.” (130)

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES** (Bombay South): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention about the increasing number of illiterates in the country and the need for wiping out illiteracy within a specified period of time” (131)

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention the need for immediate settlement of the boundary disputes between the various States of the Union, and especially of the Maharashtra-Mysore boundary dispute.” (132)

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 employees who were killed in the brutal police firings during the strike of September 19, 1968.” (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 Government's determination to recover Indian territory currently under Chinese, Pakistani or Ceylonese occupation.” (134)

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 the abolition of Food Zones in the country.” (135)

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

“but regret that no specific plans and programmes for eradicating unemployment in the country have been enunciated in the Address.” (136)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the legitimate demand of the people of the under-developed regions of the country for more equitable economic development.” (137)

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

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

and order in Bombay during the second week of February, 1969, and the terrible orgy of violence, loot and arson and the death of 57 persons in police firings in Bombay." (138)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the immediate need to put a ceiling on individual expenditure in the country at Rs. 1500 per month so as to divert internal resources from wasteful consumption to useful production." (139)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the brutal killings of Harijans and other under privileged people in all parts of the country and the total denial of constitutional and human rights to a large portion of our people." (140)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the killing of landless labourers and their families by burning their huts in Tanjavur District." (141)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the new threat posed to the country's security by China's beginning to stock-pile nuclear weapons." (142)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need of a massive house construction programme especially in metropolitan centres like Bombay where more than half the city's population are living without houses." (143)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need to have free, uniform primary education in the country." (144)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need to recognise trade unions by deciding the representative status of the unions by means of a secret ballot." (145)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need to carry out a project in co-operation with the World Health Organisation to eradicate small pox, malaria and cholera from the country." (146)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the problems of the teachers and of ways and means to raise the teacher's status in the country." (147)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need to nationalise the basic industries like steel, cement, textiles, chemicals, oils, etc., and for the nationalisation of banks and general insurance." (148)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the ever growing disparity between the rich and the poor in the country, and the need to remove these disparities." (149)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the various substances of

[Shri George Fernandes]

communal riots in the country and the sense of insecurity prevailing among the muslims and other minorities." (150)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the surrender of 327 square miles of Indian territory to Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch, despite the opposition voiced by the people of the country against such a surrender." (151)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need to provide free medical treatment to every citizen." (152)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need to provide all facilities and opportunities to scientists and scholars, so that the brain drain from the country may be stopped and men like Dr. H.Khorana do not feel the need to leave the country." (153)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need to adopt a price policy in which balance is maintained between the prices of agricultural and industrial produce, and in which manufactured goods are not sold at more than one and a half times the cost of production and transport, and the prices of foodgrains do not change by more than 20 per. cent between two harvests." (154)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need of a Seven Year Plan to provide irrigation water to all land where irrigation is possible." (155)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need for creating a Land Army to bring under the plough all the fallow land in the country; and for the distribution of land among the landless labourers." (156)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the new problems facing the younger generation and the need to find fresh solutions to these challenges facing the youth of the country." (157)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need to reduce the age of adult franchise to 18 years." (158)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need to set up a permanent commission to inquire into cases of corruption against ministers and public servants." (159)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need to introduce flood control measures in the country to prevent the colossal loss of life and property every year during the monsoons." (160)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the freedom struggles waged by the African people against white colonialism in Angola, South Africa, Rhodesia and elsewhere." (161)

**SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA**  
(Madhubani): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that no mention has been made for further reforms in land-ownership in agriculture through the village ownership of land.” (162)

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

“but regret that no notice has been taken of the growing concentration of ownership and power in the industrial sector.” (163)

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

“but regret that no light has been thrown on how unemployment would be abolished and the era of full employment would be ushered in.” (164)

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

“but regret that no path has been shown as to how the rise in the prices would be checked without the stoppage of deficit finance.” (165)

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

“but regret that nothing has been said about India's exports to Britain which are hampered by the import security scheme imposed by Britain.” (166)

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

“but regret that no light has been thrown on how the unexcavated historical places would be made the tourist centres.” (167)

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

“but regret that no clear cut line has been taken for speeding up the village electrification work.” (168)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made that the coming plans would be made more indicative of the future course of the Indian economy as used to be in vogue under the past three Five Year Plans.” (169)

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

“but regret to say that no step is visualised for making the workers' participation in the public sector undertaking for increasing production and efficiency.” (170)

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

“but regret that nothing has been said about the freezing of the portion of the PL-480 retained by the American Embassy in New Delhi for lessening the foreign aid burden.” (171)

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

“but regret that while India's first Uranium Mine and Mill at Jaduguda, Bihar, has been commissioned, no step is being visualised for setting up an atomic plant in Bihar which it well deserves.” (172)

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

“but regret that nothing has been said for introducing mobile voting system so that bogus polling in the country be stopped.” (173)

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

“but regret that no new policy seems to be visualised for stopping Centre-State tensions and other regional and communal tensions.” (174)

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

“but regret to say that the machinery for Joint Consultation and Compu-

[Shri Shiva Chandra Jha]

sory Arbitration has been a total failure." (175)

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

"but regret to say that nothing has been pointed as to how the so-called Azad Kashmir can be liberated from Pakistan's occupation." (176)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made about the immediate withdrawal of the American forces from Vietnam for solving the Vietnam problem." (177)

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

"but regret to say that nothing has been said about the withdrawal of the American fleet from the Mediterranean Waters for having a lasting peace in West Asia." (178)

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

"but regret to say that much conspicuous consumption was made in the reception of foreign dignitaries to India last year." (179)

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

"but regret to say that no Bill is being brought by the Government for recognising the Maithili language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India." (180)

**SHRI MOHAMMAD ISMAIL** (Barackpore): I beg to move:

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

"but regret to note the failure of the Government to prevent retrenchment

of about 50,000 workers in Jute industry." (181)

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

"but regret to note the failure of the Government to stop retrenchment measures of Texmaco, Saxby, Britaina Engineering M. M. C. Burn & Co., Braithwaith and other Engineering units in West Bengal." (182)

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

"but regret to note the failure of the Government to derecognise the INTUC Union in Durgapur Steel Plan despite participation of the leaders in sabotage activities and to recognise the most representative INTUC union." (183)

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

"but regret to note the failure of the Hindustan Steel Limited, management to absorb all the existing security staff in the new security organisation." (184)

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

"but regret to note the failure to ban automation in all private and public sector undertakings." (185)

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

"but regret to note the failure to rehabilitate all the East Pakistan refugees in permanent settlements." (186)

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

"but regret to note the failure to supply adequate quantity of foodgrains in deficit States like West Bengal and to permit the deficit States procure surplus foodgrains from other States." (187)

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

“but regret to note the failure to condemn the police firing on minority community in Calcutta on 31st January 1969.” (188)

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

“but regret to note the failure of the Government to take adequate measures to rehabilitate the victims of communal riots in Ranchi, Nagpur, Meerut, Allahabad and other places.” (189)

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

“but regret to note the failure of the Government to take firm action against officials encouraging communal riots in various centres.” (190)

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

“but regret to note the failure to condemn R.S.S. for its communal activities and suggest measures to ban it.” (191)

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

“but regret to note the failure to condemn brutal police repression on agricultural workers in Telengana villages.” (192)

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

“but regret to note the failure to take firm action against Lachit Sena in Assam State for subversive activities.” (193)

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

“but regret to note the failure to take action against administrators responsible for not informing the people

in advance about the danger of flood in North Bengal.” (194)

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

“but regret to note the failure to effectively intervene in strike of Bengal Immunity workers despite its prolongation for over 3 months.” (195)

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

“but regret to note the failure to take action against the management of Bengal Immunity for not honouring agreement with the Union.” (196)

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

“but regret to note the failure of the Government to provide retaining allowance to unemployed engineers as demanded by young engineers in their agitation.” (197)

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

“but regret to note the failure to take measures to provide adequate jobs for qualified engineers.” (198)

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

“but regret to note the failure to ensure need-based minimum wage to all the industrial workers as suggested by the 15th Indian Labour Conference.” (199)

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

“but regret to note the failure to introduce wholesale state trading in foodgrains through the Food Corporation of India.” (200)

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

“but regret to note the failure to ensure adequate supply of necessities of life

[Shri Mohammad Ismail]

through proper control over production of these commodities." (201)

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

"but regret to note the failure to keep the prices under control of all the essential commodities to prevent deterioration in standard of living of the common people." (202)

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

"but regret to note the failure of the Government to grant adequate dearness allowance to all the workers and employees to ensure cent per cent. neutralisation in the rise in cost of living." (203)

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

"but regret to note the failure to merge the dearness allowance in the basic wages for all the industrial workers and salaried employees." (204)

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

"but regret to note the failure to encourage ancillary industries to engineering industry to produce spare parts." (205)

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

"but regret to note the failure of Government to play its role as Chairman of the International Control Commission in Vietnam." (206)

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

"but regret to note the failure to condemn the anti-communist and anti-Chinese trends in India directly helped by U.S. agencies in the country." (207)

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

"but regret to note the failure to take initiative in quitting the Commonwealth." (208)

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

"but regret to note the failure to mention corruption among army officials and the need to take steps to prevent it." (209)

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

"but regret to note the failure to put an end to contract system in the defence department." (210)

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

"but regret to note the failure to mention the need to stop privy purses to former princes." (211)

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

"but regret to note the failure to abolish Zamindaris system and distribution of land to the tillers." (212)

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

"but regret to note the failure to provide loans to the tillers with a view to free them from the clutches of money lenders." (213)

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

"but regret to note the failure to condemn the State Governments which have not implemented the legislation regarding the conditions of Bidi workers." (214)

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

"but regret to note the failure to impose total ban on forward trading in cotton." (215)

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

"but regret to note the failure to prevent closure of textile mills in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Coimbatore, West Bengal, etc." (216)

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

“but regret to note the failure to unearth the black money and use it for the national development.” (217)

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

“but regret to note the failure to ban retrenchment, lay-off and closures in all the industrial establishments.” (218)

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

“but regret to note the failure to increase the benefits under the E.S.I. scheme by increasing the contribution of the employers.”. (219)

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

“but regret to note the failure to take over the India Electric Works Limited of Calcutta despite its closure for 18 months and payment of wages to the employees.”. (220)

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

“but regret to note the failure to pay the employers share of contribution to the Provident Fund by the India Electric Works, Calcutta prior to its taking over by the Government.”. (221)

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

“but regret to note the failure to regulate wages for workers in Chemical Industry.” (222)

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

“but regret to note the failure to condemn the role played by the Congress Party in encouraging communalism, provincialism and casteism in the country.” (223)

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

“but regret to note the failure to take adequate steps to improve the deteriorating conditions of municipalities in different parts of the country.” (224)

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

“but regret to note the failure to ensure non-discrimination towards Muslim community in giving jobs in Government services.” (225)

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

“but regret to note the failure to criticise role of Press Advisory Council in approving the controversial article on the eve of mid-term poll which was published in Statesman, Calcutta on 26th January, hurting the feelings of minority community.”. (226)

SHRI SHEOPUJAN SHASTRI  
(Bikramganj) I beg to move:

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

“but regret to note that there is no mention in the Address of the acute shortage of irrigation facilities, fertilisers, insecticides, improved seeds, modern farm implements, tractors, etc.” (239)

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

“but regret to note that there is no mention in the Address of any machinery to ensure equitable distribution of national income.” (240)

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

“but regret to note that there is no mention in the Address of any solution to the problem of unemployment.” (241)



[Shri Sheopujan Shastri]

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

“but regret to note that there is no mention in the Address of Gramdan, which is a very simple method to exploit the internal resources of the country.” (242)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, name'y :—

“but regret to note that there is no mention in the Address of any specific modes of repayment of foreign loans.” (243)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address a mere expression of a pious hope has been made regarding formation of stable Governments in States.” (244)

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

“but regret to note that there is no mention in the Address of inherent inconsistency between nationalism and secularism.” (245)

**SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI**  
(Patna): 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 following a non-capitalist way, *i.e.*, the socialistic way for all-round development of the country by giving up the capitalistic way.” (304)

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

“but regret that in spite of 22 years of independence, the rich have become richer and the poor poorer.” (305)

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

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

30 per cent of nation's wealth in the hands of the Tata's and the Birlas.” (306)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the hold of 75 monopolist capitalist families on country's economy.” (307)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the measures to root out poverty from the country.” (308)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of failure to end unemployment.” (309)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of stepping up the pace of industrialisation in the country.” (310)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of measures to make the country self-reliant in the field of industry.” (311)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of curbing rapidly increasing monopolistic tendency in industry.” (312)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of nationalisation of foreign capital.” (313)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the nationalisation of basic industries in the country.” (314)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of nationalisation of tea plantations.” (315)

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 taking out of the country of millions of rupees each year by foreign capitalists by way of profits.” (316)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of improving the critical economic condition of the country by unearthing hoarded black money, realising tax arrears amounting to crores of rupees from capitalists, nationalisation of banks, nationalisation of foreign trade, wholesaled trade of foodgrains and nationalisation of Oil Companies and abolition of privy purses.” (317)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of having closer relations with socialist countries and giving up the policy of dependence on colonial and capitalist countries for healthy economic development of the country.” (318)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of removing the obstacles in the way of economic progress effectively.” (319)

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 of basic agricultural reform to increase agricultural production.” (320)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, name'y:—

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of expeditious completion of major irrigation projects in the country to increase agricultural production.” (321)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of implementation of Tenancy Laws amended by first U.F. Government of Bihar.” (322)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of providing seeds and fertilizers at cheap rates in order to increase agricultural production.” (323)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of concrete proposals to bring stability in prices.” (324)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of getting reasonable prices paid to the farmers.” (325)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of providing industrial material to farmers at cheap prices.” (326)

[Shri Ramavatar Shastri]

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of reducing the price of the sugar.” (327)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention regarding fixing the reasonable prices of the cash crops like jute, cotton, oil-seeds, sugarcanes.” (328)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of providing special facilities to the farmers to improve cultivation.” (329)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of distributing free the Government fallow land among the agricultural labourers and the poor farmers.” (330)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of giving proprietary rights of land to the agricultural labourers.” (331)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of taking any concrete step to increase the minimum wages of the agricultural labourers.” (332)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of ending our dependence on others in regard to fertilisers.” (333)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of reducing the prices of the eatables being supplied through the ration shops.” (334)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is mention of checking the misuse of funds being carried on under the pretext of family planning.” (335)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of usurpation of the increased national income by the capitalists.” (336)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of the equitable distribution of the national income among the workers' class.” (337)

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

“but regret to note that in Address there is no mention of the failure of Government in giving the profit of the increased production to the labourers.” (338)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of providing employment to the unemployed engineers of the country.” (339)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of any schemes to provide employment to the lacs of educated persons of the country.” (340)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of the agitations being launched by students and the youth of the country to protest against unemployment.” (341)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention regarding setting up large-scale industries in the country to combat unemployment,” (342)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of any concrete scheme to save the various parts of the country from the onslaught of drought.” (343)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of the failure to further reduce the import.” (344)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of any schemes to develop famous tourist centres of the country.” (345)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of the failure to implement and complete the irrigation projects of Bihar.” (346)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of the failure to reduce the rates of electricity in Bihar.” (347)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of the causes of inordinate delay taking place in the implementation of the Fourth Five Year Plan.” (348)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of the failure to expose the forces at work to obstruct secretly the expansion of the public sector.” (349)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of the measures to exploit sources within the country to get rid of the foreign loans.” (350)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of holding Congress Party and Government responsible for the political instability in the country.” (351)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of the anti-people policy of the Congress Party and the Government of India to topple the non-Congress Governments by encouraging defections.” (352)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address no mention has been made to condemn the efforts to bring about fall of the Kerala Government.” (353)

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

“but regret to note that in the Address no mention has been made to con-

[Shri Ramavatar Shastri]

condemn the free use of the American Money of the C. I. A. and P. L. 480 during the recent mid-term elections." (354)

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

"but regret to note that in the Address there is no mention of the un-democratic activities during the mid-term elections in Bihar to prevent the voters, particularly Muslim, Harijan and backward class voters from casting their votes." (355)

SHRI HUKAM CHAND KACHWAI (Ujjain): I beg to move:—

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

"but regret to note that in the Address no mention has been made of the interference made by some foreign countries in the internal affairs of India during the recent mid-term elections." (356)

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

"but regret to note that in the Address no mention has been made of the increases in the violent tendencies seen in the mid-term elections." (357)

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

"but regret to note that in the Address no mention has been made of the measures to be adopted to check the loss of cattle wealth, to make liberal the policy of granting loans to agriculturists, to make available tractors etc. at cheap rates to the cultivators, etc." (358)

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

"but regret to note that in the Address no mention has been made of the policy to be adopted by Government in the coming years for the propagation and spread of Hindi." (359)

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

"but regret to note that in the Address no mention has been made of the elements engaged in the conversion of Harijans and Adivasis into Christianity by the Christian missionaries and of the misuse of foreign money by the foreign missionaries." (360)

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

"but regret to note that in the Address no mention had been made of the atrocities being perpetrated on Harijans in various parts of the country and of steps proposed to be taken for their betterment and providing employment to them." (361)

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

"but regret to note that in the Address no mention has been made of the solution of the problem of increasing unemployment in the country, particularly that of the young engineering and other graduates." (362)

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

"but regret to note that in the Address no mention has been made of the closure of textile mills in the country at times resulting in large scale unemployment of workers and the proposed solution to this problem." (363)

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

"but regret to note that in the Address no mention has been made of the policy of Government for checking the increasing prices in the country." (364)

SHRI YASHWANT SINGH KUSHWAH (Bhind): I beg to move:

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

"but regret to note no mention has been made in it of the steps proposed

to be taken for the progress of the country and people in view of the basic requirement of the people." (366)

SHRI DEVEN SEN: I beg to move:—

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

"but regret the failure to restore the recognition of various trade unions participating in the strike of the 19th September, 1968." (366)

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

"but regret the failure to reinstate such Central Government employees as were suspended or dismissed for participation in the strike of the 19th September, 1968." (367)

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

"but regret the drastic measures curtailing the rights of the workers." (368)

SHRI HARDAYAL DEVGUN (East Delhi): 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 to the growing danger to the integrity of the country by the activities of pro-Pak and pro-China elements." (378)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made about development of atomic deterrent in the country to meet the growing danger from China and Pakistan." (379)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made of the failure of the Government to re-think about its foreign policy in the light of shift in the

Russian Policy in regard to Pakistan and West Asia." (380)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made about the need of regional cooperation with the countries of South East Asia including Taiwan to meet the threat posed by Communist China to the entire region." (381)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made of the plight of Indian origin in African countries who are being squeezed out by their respective Governments." (382)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made of the discriminatory attitude of U. K. towards India and the people of Indian origin." (383)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made of the interference by U.S.S.R. through its Radio Peace and Progress into the internal affairs of India." (384)

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

"but regret that nothing has been said about the steps to be taken to fully integrate Jammu and Kashmir State with the rest of India and liberate 1/3rd part of it still under hostile occupation of Communist China." (385)

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

"but regret that nothing has been said about the steps to be taken to liberate the Indian territory under hostile occupation of Communist China." (386)

[Shri Hardayal Devgun]

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

“but regret that no mention has been made of the growing threat to Indian security from the Sea because of increasing activity of Russian fleet in the Indian Ocean area.” (387)

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

“but regret that nothing has been said about the step-motherly treatment of the Central Government towards Delhi Administration in regard to funds for the development of Delhi.” (388)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made of the need for setting up a Housing Corporation for the metropolitan region to meet the growing housing problem of Delhi.” (389)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made regarding the steps to be taken to improve the condition of urbanised villages falling in fast expanding capital city of Delhi.” (390)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made of the problem of Government employees in Delhi and the steps to be taken to solve them.” (391)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made in regard to the steps to be taken to supply milk to the people of trans Jamuna colonies of Delhi by the Delhi Milk Scheme.” (392)

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

“but regret that no mention, has been made in regard to the steps to be

taken to amend and re-draft the Master Plan for Delhi.” (393)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made of steps to build new bridges particularly one near Shanti Vana to link the trans-Jamuna colonies with Delhi main.” (394)

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

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

“but regret that the Government is betraying a dangerous sense of complacency and self-satisfaction in regard to the serious nature and extent of the economic and political crisis facing the country.” (395)

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

“but regret that the Government has not made an honest effort to lay here the basic causes under lying the failures and shortcomings of its policies during the past and by gloating over the serious crisis in all its various manifestations—economic, social and political—is painting a deceptive and rosy picture to lull the consciousness and vigilance of the people against the dangerous pitfalls ahead.” (396)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to make any mention of the complete bankruptcy of the Central Government's policies towards non-Congress Governments in general and the U.F. Governments of West Bengal and Kerala in particular since the last general elections.” (397)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to take note of the Central Govern-

ment's policy of subversion of parliamentary Democracy, of emasculation of States' autonomy, of toppling the non-Congress Governments and of squeezing out and such Governments through the most immoral, unconstitutional and arbitrary exercise of economic, political and administrative powers of Centre including denial of food, financial resources and even legislative competence of such States." (398)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the fact that the Government's chosen path of Capitalist development of the country has resulted in the unprecedented development of monopolies, in the increasing and humiliating dependance of our country on foreign imperialist aid and the consequent danger to national Independence, in the expropriation and ruination of millions upon millions of peasants from the land, impoverishment of the working people, economic and social oppression of agricultural labour, and Harijans and Adivasis, the collapse of the small entrepreneurs, and the decline and even threatened extinction of the traditional industries, in the mounting unemployment, wegecuts, increasing workload, and fall in wages of industrial labour and high prices of the necessities of life of the common people." (399)

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

"but regret that the Address while noting the decisive upward turn in agriculture fails to record the primarily it has been the result of the fortuitous circumstances of two consecutive good monsoons and glots over the havoc caused by unprecedented floods in many parts of the country and the still existing conditions of drought and famine in vast areas." (400)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to record that the so called recovery in large segment of industry has been achieved at the cost of the ruination and closure of a number of weaker units, by resort to rationalisation retrenchment, increase in workload, depression of wages and prolonged unemployment of millions of industrial workers." (401)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to note the fact that the so called striking improvement in the balance of payments is offset by fall in value of the rupee due to devaluation and what little achievements has been there is made by the pumping of enormous amount of subsidies paid by the Government out of the tax payer's money to the big industrialists and exporters." (402)

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

"but regret that the President's Address ignores the fact that the technological improvement in agriculture is leading to rise and strengthening of a powerful class of capitalist landlords and the simultaneous expropriation of millions of small and middle peasants and increasing unemployment of agricultural labour, thus resulting in distress and destitution stalking the countryside." (403)

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

"but regret that the President's Address ignores the stark realities that most of the agricultural inputs made available by the Government in the form of credit, fertilisers, machinery improved seeds etc., are all cornered by the rich peasants and capitalist landlords and have not made any impact on the poor and middle peasants." (404)



[Shri E. K. Nayanar]

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

“but regret that the President's Address while being complacent about the increase in food production and procurements fails to note that the Kerala People are being still denied an adequate quantum of ration by the Central Government.” (405)

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

“but regret that the President's Address ignores the problems of over 80 textile mills which have been closed down and the unemployment of about 75,000 textile workers in the country.” (406)

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

“but regret that the President's Address ignores the still continuing crisis in the engineering Industry.” (407)

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

“but regret that the President's Address ignores the vast problems of under utilisation of industrial capacity and the consequent huge waste of scarce national resources.” (408)

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

“but regret that the President's Address ignores the stupendous scale and extent of unemployed and under-employed.” (409)

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

“but regret that the President's Address ignores the basic causes underlying the recent growth of communal, parochial and other fissiparous tendencies and tensions gripping the country and poisoning the body politic and is silent on the policies of the Government which have led to this serious situation and on the role

played by the reactionary, anti-democratic and communal, anti-national forces including congressmen in aggravating the situation.” (410)

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

“but regret that the President's Address is silent on the unprecedented and savage repression unleashed on the Central Government employees in anticipation of, during and after the 19th September strike and the extremely undemocratic and vindictive victimisation of thousands of employees.” (411)

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Kozhikode): I beg to move:—

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

“but regret that no serious notice has been taken of the distressing situation created by the continuance of the aggressive communal and regional violence in various parts of the country.” (420)

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

“but regret that long pending vital question of giving Urdu its rightful place has been ignored in the Address.” (421)

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

“but regret that there is no indication in the Address of any effective drive to eradicate corruption which is progressively eating into the vitals of the economics of the country.” (422)

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

“but regret that the much talked of secularism is honoured more in the breach than in its observance as witnessed by the repeated instances of wanton demolition of mosques and

desecration, and appropriation of grave-yards." (423)

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI: 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 of Central Government to resign considering the result of mid-term elections as an expression of no-confidence in Congress Government at the Centre." (424)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of non-implementation of decisions taken in the National Integration Council Meeting held at Srinagar." (425)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the policy of torpedoing the decisions of National Integration Council taken at Srinagar." (426)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of condemning communal riots and their instigators." (427)

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 banning communal propaganda." (428)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of declaring the R.S.S. unlawful which is the author of communal tension and communal riots." (429)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of banning such fascist organisations as Shiv Sena and Lachet Sena who spread riots and hatred between various sects and communities." (430)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of orgies of looting, arson and other anti-social acts in Bombay by Shiv Sena resulting in complete disruption of daily life in the city." (431)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about accepting the 10 point charter of demands of Central Government employees." (432)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the intention to remove the discontentment of Central Government employees by acceding to their demands regarding needbased minimum wages, neutralisation of dearness, increase in D.A. etc." (433)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of withdrawal of various types of action taken against Central Government employees in connection with token strike of 19th September, 1968." (434)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of withdrawing cases filed against Central Government employees in connection with recent strike." (435)

[Shri Ramavatar Shastri]

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address about withdrawal of orders de-recognising Government employees' unions.” (436)

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

“but regret that the Address does not condemn fascist ordinance issued to crush the strike of Central Government employees.” (437)

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

“but regret that there is no mention in the Address of scrapping such laws as are aimed at crushing just agitations of Government employees.” (438)

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 giving special grants to States for granting D. A. at Central rates to non-Gazetted States Government employees.” (439)

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 accept the just demands of non-gazetted employees of Bihar Government.” (440)

SHRI RABI RAY (Puri): I beg to move:—

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

“but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of any steps to eradicate poverty, malnutrition as recently revealed by the National Sample Survey analysis based on the data of 1963 and 1964, wherein it has been amply proved that one third of our country's population

live in absolute poverty expending less than Rs. 15/- per month in the rural areas and Rs. 24 in the urban areas.” (442)

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

“but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of any strong action against those people who perpetrated atrocities in the name of Shiv Sena on the non-Maharashtrians of Bombay and thereby undermining the very basis of our nationhood and deviding the nation into two categories of citizens such as sons of the soil and sons of the sky.” (443)

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

“but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the phenomenal increase in the number of unemployed persons in the country so as to give them employment through investing enough money in forming the land-army and literary-army and to bring fallow land under cultivation and eradicate illiteracy respectively.” (444)

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

“but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of any step to remove regional imbalances among different States and different regions in the single State.” (445)

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

“but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of steps to remove the use of English language in schools, colleges, universities, secretariat and to immediately switch over to mother tongue media.” (446)

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

“but regret that no mention has been made of the need to fix a maximum

ceiling on expenditure at Rs. 1500/- per month for every Indian and thereby making a saving of three thousand crores of rupees per year, which can easily be invested to develop agriculture and industry." (448)

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

"but regret that in the Address, no mention has been made of any effective steps for the removal of untouchability to give a fair deal to the Adivasis and Harijans of the country during Gandhi Centenary year." (449)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the need to take over the entire Birla House, where Mahatma Gandhi breathed his last during Gandhi Centenary year." (450)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of any steps for the eradication of casteism from the services by giving promotion to those public servants, who would take to inter-caste marriages." (451)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the need to give diplomatic recognition to East Germany and Taiwan." (452)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of having no truck with the Peking Government until they recognise the independence of Tibet and restore to India those lands which she occupied in 1962." (453)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of any steps to strengthen the defence of the country by taking recourse to military service among the persons in the age group of 24 to 26." (454)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of the need for giving adequate relief to millions of people who have been made homeless by the floods and cyclones in Puri and Ganjam districts of Orissa, Jalpaiguri in West Bengal and famine affected districts of Rajasthan." (455)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in Address of the need to set up a Commission of Enquiry on the pattern of Vivian Bose Commission to enquire into the allegations against the Birlas." (456)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of governmental interference in the mid-term polls." (457)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made of the reported proposal of building a house for the Prime Minister by spending twenty lakhs of rupees resulting in wasteful expenditure during Gandhi centenary year while millions of people are without any hut whatsoever." (458)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of spending of 19 lakhs of rupees on the Prime

[Shri Rabi Ray]

Minister's election tour only in Bihar in the recent elections." (459)

SHRI MAHANT DIGVIJAI NATH (Gorakhpur): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that no assurance has been given in the Address to ban cow-slaughter, to prevent large scale of conversion of Tribals by Christian missionaries and large scale infiltrations of Pakistan Muslims into India." (464)

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 stop such family planning drive as is fatal for Indian culture and democracy." (465)

SHRI HUKAM CHAND KACHWAL : 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 a compromise between the employees and Government." (466)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of permitting employees to express their opinion freely, and withdrawing the laws aiming at stifling their voice." (467)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the need to withdraw the Criminal and Election Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1968 which aims at strangling Opposition Parties." (468)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the forces that divide people against each other in the name of nationalism and secularism." (469)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the taking over of the construction of Rajasthan Canal." (470)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of developing Barauli and Gandhi Sagar Atomic Power Stations as tourist centres." (471)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the need to seek co-operation of minorities in country's development and Family Planning Programmes." (472)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of floods and drought in Rajasthan." (473)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of unemployment of engineers and the steps to remove such unemployment." (474)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Allpore): 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 strike by Central Government employees on the 19th September, 1968, and the repressive measures used against them." (481)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention any proposal to withdraw the disciplinary measures and court cases against over 10,000 Central Government employees." (482)

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

"but regret that the Address does not refer to the alarming growth of communal and anti-secular forces like the Shiv Sena and R.S.S." (483)

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

"but regret that the Address does not refer to the plight of displaced persons from East Pakistan and the need to rehabilitate them." (484)

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

"but regret Government's failure to build up an adequate buffer stock of foodgrains to meet the country's minimum requirements." (485)

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

"but regret Government's refusal to recognise the German Democratic Republic." (486)

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

"but regret Government's failure to demand unequivocally the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam." (487)

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

"but regret Government's failure to give fair treatment to the non-Congress State Governments." (488)

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI: I beg to move:

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

"but regret Government's failure to settle dispute with employees." (489)

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

"but regret that Government have violated the tripartite decisions by not referring their disputes with the Central Government employees, to the arbitrator." (490)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the need for the reimbursement of salaries of non-gazetted employees of the Bihar Government for the period of their 20 days' strike." (491)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention to stop the retrenchment of the non-gazetted employees of the Bihar Government being done from time to time." (492)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of making any change in the anti-labour policy of the Government." (493)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any concrete step to raise the standard of living of the workers." (494)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any action to raise the salaries of the workers and also to give them other facilities." (495)

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

[Shri Ramavatar Shastri]

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of making payment of bonus to the workers and employees in every case." (496)

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

"but regret that the Address contains no mention of enforcing effectively the labour laws." (497)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention punishing capitalists for violating labour laws." (498)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no assurance to stop using police to suppress labour movements." (499)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failure to check bureaucrats from controlling Government machinery." (500)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made to make the education cheap so that it is made available to the common people." (501)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the necessity of uniform syllabus for the entire country." (502)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the necessity of revising the standard of education." (503)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the necessity of imparting education in mother tongue and regional languages." (504)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of taking effective steps to stop inhuman atrocities being perpetrated on Harijans." (505)

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

"but regret that no emphasis has been laid on the necessity of good neighbourly relations with China and Pakistan." (506)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the necessity for taking an initiative for solving the disputes with China." (507)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of following the policy of according recognition to East Germany." (508)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of starting and increasing trade with North Viet Nam, North Korea and Cuba." (509)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of stopping the import of foodgrains under P.L. 480." (510)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of checking American infiltration into the Indian universities." (511)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the need to expel the American Peace Corps from the country." (512)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of finding out a solution to the drinking water problem." (513)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the necessity of ending the imprisonment of the non-gazetted employees of Jammu and Kashmir Government and of releasing them." (514)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of acceding to the demand of the removal of the Governor of West Bengal." (515)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of acceding to the just demands of the electricity workers of Bihar and thus ending their State-wide strike." (516)

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

"but regret that there is no reference to entrust the administration of the Patna city to the residents by holding elections to the Patna Corporation soon." (517)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the need to support the four-point

proposals of the North Viet Nam Government for the solution of Viet Nam problem." (518)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the necessity of special financial aid to Bihar Uttar Pradesh and other backward States." (519)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the necessity of hundred per cent grant being given by Government for improvement in the slums of Patna city and other big cities." (520)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the necessity of construction of a bridge over Ganga river." (521)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the need for extension of industries in Bihar and setting up of factories particularly in North Bihar." (522)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of improving the miserable economic condition of the colliery labourers of Bihar." (523)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of any concrete steps for ensuring the implementation of the recommendations of various Wage Boards." (524)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the reinstatement of the suspended



employees of the Posts and Telegraphs Department of Bihar." (525)

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

"but regret that the Address contains no steps to root out the bribery and corruption rampant in our national life." (526)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of constituting a high-power committee to enquire into the charges of corruption against the Ministers and high officials." (527)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any effective steps to check eviction of farmers from their land." (528)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention to abolish land revenue on uneconomic cultivation." (529)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention to introduce slab-rates of income-tax after abolishing land revenue system." (530)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of reducing the rates of electricity for irrigation." (531)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any concrete steps to safeguard the interests of the minorities." (532)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of giving a respectable place to Urdu language." (533)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of giving full rights to Urdu speaking people to submit applications in the Courts in Urdu and to study Urdu in schools." (534)

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

"but regret that in the Address no mention has been made of writing the names of the Railway Stations in Urdu and of the printing of Ration Cards and electoral rolls in Urdu." (535)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any steps to develop all other languages of the country alongwith Hindi." (536)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any proper and legal steps to protect the land of the tribal people." (537)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of abolishing for ever agricultural indebtedness." (538)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of taking any concrete steps to root out casteism, communalism, provincialism and parochialism in the country." (539)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of bringing about parity in the prices of the agricultural and industrial goods.” (540)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the need to make special allocations for the spread of education.” (541)

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

“but regret that in the Address no emphasis has been laid on the necessity of increasing the pay-scales of the teachers of schools and colleges and on bringing about uniformity in them.” (542)

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

“but regret that in the Address emphasis has not been laid on the necessity of implementing the recommendations of Kothari Commission throughout the country.” (543)

SHRI RANGA : I beg to move :

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to protect the lives, persons and property of citizens.” (544)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to discontinue policies calculated to promote national disintegration.” (545)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to abolish food zones and rationing.” (546)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to sanction the Fertiliser project at Mithapur in Gujarat and at the Talcher Industrial Complex in Orissa.” (547)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to develop the petro-chemical complex in Gujarat and the oil resources of the Gulf of Cambay.” (548)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to develop the Mangalore Port in Mysore and to construct the Talcher-Mimalgarh Railway line for the effective development of the hinterland of the Paradeep Port in Orissa.” (549)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to remove excessive tax burdens on the textile industry and to tackle effectively the problems of silk textile mills, hand-loom weavers.” (550)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to stop further infructuous expenditure on the Bokaro Steel Project.” (551)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to tackle the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Indo-Pakistan border Zones of Rajasthan and to build an effective system of border roads there and in Kutch, Tripura and Manipur.” (552)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to settle the Narbada Basin River dispute between Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat.” (553)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to settle the Krishna, Godavary water dispute between Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Maharashtra.” (554)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to settle the boundary dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore.” (555)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to remove or transfer the Minister for Industrial Development, Company Affairs and Internal Trade, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, the principal obstacle to rapid development of industries in all regions of the country.” (556)

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

“but regret the failure of the Government to ensure the effective defence of India by a system of regional collective security in South East Asia.” (557)

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

15 Hrs.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : I am very glad, Mr. Chairman, that you are in the Chair as you are generally in the meetings of your party held in the Central Hall. We were together also in the national movement and in the Congress Party for so many years. Therefore I was not surprised when you got angry with us the other day when you

rose in your seat to make a speech because we were not chivalrous enough towards the Prime Minister. I am glad Shri Dasarathama Reddy has made a special appeal to the House that the House, irrespective of party and personal differences, should show some courtesy to our Prime Minister, specially because she happens to be a woman. We are second to none in showing chivalry. I am second to none, I can tell you, in my affection for Indiraji. There was a time when she was a young woman, a young girl, I used to visit their house and, like all others, used to bless her also.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur) : She was the leader of the monkey brigade at that time.

SHRI RANGA : But now, as things are, she happens to be the Prime Minister and I have to discharge my duty as she has to discharge her duties.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा (खम्मम) : राज-  
कल महिलायें इन लोगों को कर्टेसी दिखला  
सकती हैं ।

SHRI RANGA : What is the position today in our country? My hon. friend, the Prime Minister was asking for the co-operation of all parties in the discharge of her duties. But then there is a way of asking for co-operation and obtaining it. She has not been following just the right line, the right policy and programme. in order to ensure that co-operation.

Some time ago she wanted us to co-operate with her on the question of national integration also. We gave her our advice. It is not enough to have at the head of the Integration Council merely the Prime Minister. You know now the limitation and disabilities of the Prime Minister. That is why they ask for all this co-operation. I do not blame them. But knowing those limitations and having seen also the results of those limitations in all these terrible things that have been happening in different parts of the country, they should have heeded the advice that we had thought it fit to tender to her. We suggested that a man like Radhakrishnan, Rajaji or Jayaprakash Narayan should be invited to be the head of the

National Integration Council. Certainly, the Prime Minister should be there as their right-hand person to give all the support that she could just as we would have to give our support too. We thought that that kind of a council would make a better appeal to all sections of people in this country and all political parties. But, unfortunately, wisdom when it is preferred from the Opposition does not appear attractive to the Prime Minister or her advisers.

Now again she asks for our co-operation. Long before the mid-term elections came to pass, we told—the Government, the Prime Minister and everybody in the Congress, people from all platforms—that it would not be possible for any one party to get a clear majority, an effective and reliable majority, in any of the States; therefore, it would be their duty to think in terms of forming coalition governments. So far as we are concerned, from our party platform we said—I offered taking courage in both my hands because I had not consulted my party at that stage—have an all inclusive democratic coalition. Did they heed our advice? They went about singing the hymns of stable Government.

My hon. friend, the Home Minister, yesterday, was taking pride of the fact—he got a lot of encomiums from quite a number of papers this morning—saying, “We have achieved one great thing. We have remained in power for 22 years whereas these unfortunate S.V.D. people could not remain in power even for 22 months.” If that is the only qualification, if that is the main qualification, that they have achieved so far, I cannot congratulate them. How long does the crow live? Everybody knows what is said in the *Panchtantra*. I need not go beyond that. Is that the qualification? They should be ashamed of saying that, remaining in a responsible position, as they do from the Treasury Benches, and that too the Home Minister to proffer that kind of a serious argument. If that is the way in which this country is to be appealed to by the Treasury Benches, I cannot very well say that the country would be wrong and has been wrong in turning its back upon them.

Sir, they deplore all this violence. They want everybody's cooperation and they are so unhappy about it. They want to go on explaining all sorts of things. The Home Minister was saying yesterday that the Maharashtra Ministry allowed itself to be deceived by mere appearances in the beginning and, therefore, they did not anticipate the seriousness of the trouble that had overtaken Bombay city. What is the duty of the Government then? Why do they have the C.B.I.? Why do they have the Intelligence Department? Why do they have all their agents and so many of these people who go about taking notes of the speeches that we make, the words that we utter, and also our movements? Is it not to forewarn themselves, to equip themselves, to inform themselves, about what is happening and what is likely to happen and then get ready to meet the situation? They failed to meet the situation not only in Bombay but also in our State of Andhra Pradesh.

Here is our Chief Minister—he was kind enough to write to a large number of us, including myself, and possibly you may have received it also—who says:

“In fact, in the past 12 years, the people of Andhra Pradesh have not only contributed effectively to the development of economy but also worked for the promotion of understanding and unity between the two regions.”

Now, the Home Minister, yesterday, and the Prime Minister today and our other friends also, have all admitted that Telangana had come to be neglected. Why was Telangana neglected? Not because there was no warning. Telangana, at that time, took time by its forelock and insisted upon some protection to be given to them, some safeguards to be incorporated in the Constitution. Because the Government could not incorporate them in the Constitution they passed a separate law according to which a Committee came to be established there on which all parties were represented. All the parties in Telangana were there.

At the same time, we must also realise one thing. The Opposition Members cannot

[Shri Ranga]

so easily come to possess all the facts as easily as the Government. The Government knew it and it was their duty to investigate and to find out, every six months what was the position, how many of those posts which had to be reserved for Telengana were being actually given over to them and how much of money was being spent for their protection and for their development. They failed in their duty in a criminal manner. And for how many years? They have failed in their duty all these years. Suddenly, now they say, "We did not know that was going to happen." It came upon them as a surprise. When the people there, for whatever reason, through whosoever's initiative and influence, mischievous or wise or whatever it may be, exerted themselves, demanded satisfaction, what did the Government do? They sent for the leaders of all the Opposition parties, sat together and within two days, they were able to see how many thousand of jobs which should have gone to Telengana had not gone to them and were, on the other hand, given over to others and how many of the officers had to be removed. They should be sent over to Andhra, the erstwhile Andhra, at a cost of Rs. 1½ crores per annum. If there were to be no jobs, no work at all, for them, it does not matter; they would be provided with salaries, with allowances and everything, but they would be kept there in anticipation of some work to be provided only in Andhra area. So far as Telengana is concerned, the hospitals had to be denuded of doctors and nurses—even male nurses; schools had to be denuded of their teachers. All these places are not to be filled in at all. Why? Because they do not want the erstwhile Andhra-walas here. There these Andhras are not needed because there are no jobs for them. This is the wasteful manner, the irresponsible manner, in which both this Government here as well as that Government have failed. My hon. friend was telling us 'After all why do you blame us? We are only at the Centre.' The Centre has its responsibilities also to the States, especially in regard to these two places:

Shiv Sena is such a dangerous thing, a mischievous thing. We are unanimous in

saying that it is a fascist organisation. We have now seen the results, the kind of results that would flow from that kind of organisation and the objectives it has had. It made no secret at all; it distributed so much of literature; we all got it two years ago or a year ago. We knew what they wanted to do, how much of mischief. So many times the Government was also warned. Why is it that the Government has not taken any action? My hon. friend, Mr. Ramamurti, was right this morning when he said that when the communists were playing the same kind of mischief, they were locked up and yet, Shiv Sena was allowed to go on with its mischief all this time. Even Naxalbaris are there—the Left Communists or Marxists of whatever they call themselves here—; Naxalbari leaders are free to do all the mischief that they can and which they are doing in my own constituency; they are playing so much of mischief in the district in which my constituency finds itself; I warned them, but they did not care, they would not yield; they must carry on their blood-thirsty activities, and they are carrying on. What is it that this Government has done? They say that it is the responsibility of the Andhra Government. How can it be so? It is the simultaneous responsibility of the Government of India as well as of the Andhra Government and of the Maharashtra Government in these cases. The Government of India has failed criminally in its duty. Just because of the cow agitation and because a few thousand people had the courage to come over here upto our very gate last time, the Prime Minister was good enough to accept the resignation of the then Home Minister; the then Home Minister had the decency, the self-respect and the sense of responsibility to offer his resignation. Why is it that the present Home Minister comes here with all smiles, with all jokes, and speaks in such an irresponsible manner without, first of all, placing his resignation in the hands of the Prime Minister? What is it that the Prime Minister has been doing without demanding his resignation? There was my friend, Shri Asoka Mehta; somewhere in Czechoslovakia all those horrors were perpetrated, not by this Government but by another Government, the Communist Government, and he had the decency to offer his resignation because this Government did not have the humanity,

self-respect and moral stature to protest against the actions of Soviet Russia: And what a Home Minister we have! The Prime Minister is very proud of him. They are welcome to their pride, but I am sure their pride will come to be humbled. People are not going to be fooled all the time nor are they going to be fooled every time. They say, 'We will come to the results of elections'. What are these results? My party has not fared well. We knew it. We did not claim at any time that we were going to get a majority. The other parties certainly made their claims; they are justified in their claims to some extent, to this extent that, cumulatively, they have prevented the Congress from getting the majority. That itself is an achievement in the cause of democracy because these people are too arrogant, drunk with power, and, therefore, they have become completely irresponsible.

The other day, more than forty people were allowed to kill themselves in the train accident. If a man says that he is going to kill himself, according to the criminal law it is a crime and the person can be handed over to the police and he can be hauled up before the court. But here were more than forty people. The station master and everybody else must have known and everybody else there should also have known that the train was going to move and quite a large number of them were going to be killed, and yet they allowed the train to move. It was suggested that if the train had not been allowed to move the officers might have been lynched. Some paper had the wisdom to suggest that they could have waited until another train had been brought in and carriages were provided afterwards, and so all these people could have been accommodated in them and these lives could have been saved. Why were they allowed to die in that manner?

Only this morning, one of my friends was suggesting that I should pay my tribute to that young man there in Czechoslovakia who had immolated himself in order to protest against the Soviet dictatorship and Soviet domination over that country in such an imperialistic manner. I pay my tribute. That is how our hearts are burning in this country about one man

and for freedom. Here were more than forty people who were allowed to die, and this Government does not even have a word of sympathy of sorrow or regret or apology.

The burden of the song that our Prime Minister has sung this morning is that it is everybody's responsibility. If it is everybody's responsibility, why should she be the Prime Minister for this party? Let her be the Prime Minister of a national Government. Let her be the Prime Minister of all-talents-Government, as my leader Rajaji has been suggesting. Let her be the Prime Minister of all the parties in this country, and as I would like to add, of only the democratic parties. But, no, she must enjoy this luxury notwithstanding the fact that her party had faced discredit not once but twice, once in 1967 and again now. On both the occasions, the people have rejected them in so many places. Yet, she wants to continue to be the Prime Minister. And she wants us to share her responsibility, and then share the blame also for all the horrors that are going on. No, we are not prepared to share this kind of responsibility. This is a vicarious responsibility; and this is a dangerous responsibility. We cannot afford to share this kind of responsibility along with her and her party while those people have got the monopoly of doing everything in the wrong way and going the wrong way also.

Let us now take agriculture. My hon. friend Shri N. Dandekar has already made some very relevant remarks. I would only add one or two more. Lack of irrigation and flood control measures has strongly affected development in the country. Government say that they are doing so much but they are not doing enough. I have been pleading for a very long time for the establishment of a national level of an all-India flood, famine and other national calamities insurance fund with Rs. 100 crores as contribution from the Centre and with some corresponding contribution from the States so that with that fund we would be in a position to offer protection and support to all those areas and all those people who happen to suffer from these national calamities from time to time.

[Shri Ranga]

My hon. friend Shri Dasaratha Rama Reddy was finding some satisfaction in the fact that we had had a very good crop. It is true that we have had a very good crop. But we could have had 50 per cent more production if only we had had proper flood protection measures, if we had developed our irrigation to a larger extent, if we had utilised all the irrigation potential which we had already provided ourselves with at such heavy cost, and if we had settled the river water disputes.

Why is it that the Narmada dispute has not been settled? It is not because we do not have the expert's decisions. Mr Khosla was an impartial man, an excellent engineer and an eminent administrator and he had given his decision. He was asked to go into the matter and he went into it and gave his decision. But here is this Government with no legs to stand upon and which has not got the strength, moral or material or political to enforce this decision. If this Government is not able to do it, then let it set up another tribunal under the Act. Why does it not do it? Gujarat is crying. The *kisans* of Gujarat are highly educated people, and energetic people and enterprising people, they are crying for more and more water. While they are crying on the one hand, on the other we find that Surat and other cities are being flooded whenever the Narmada becomes very angry. Should not something be done in this regard? I do not think that this Government is capable of doing anything.

Take again the Godavari and Krishna water dispute. What is the present point of difference? The Maharashtrians and Mysorens want only one tribunal while the Andhras want two tribunals through their Government. I do not know the niceties about this thing and what mischief there is if it is only one tribunal and what it means if there are two tribunals. Now, the Prime Minister is expected to give her verdict. I do not know whether she is competent enough to give a verdict in regard to such technical things. Even if she is competent to do so, why should she delay the matter? Why should she take months and years? Four years ago, this should have been settled.

If there had been a decision in time, it would have been possible for Dr. K. L. Rao and the Andhra Government to instal the crest gates in a period of six months or one year. But criminally they have delayed it. Who is responsible for all this?

Then, there is the question of prices also. But before I come to that, I would like to say a word about the zonal controls. Why should there be these zonal controls? One of our friends was saying that there were controls on movement from State to State, but I may point out that in my State there is even control on district to district movement. So many of the MLAs of my party have been demanding that for God's sake, these district-to-district controls should be removed. But, no, Shri Brahmananada Reddy would not remove them because it would not suit the pockets of the tahsildars and the check-post masters or of the other paraphernalia and of course all those people and political interests who are behind all this. Is it not time that these zonal controls go? Even the AICC had recommended that the zones should go, but they persuaded the AICC not to go on record in that respect but said that they would anyhow do it. But then they deceived the AICC also and they deceived themselves. What a capacity Indiraji's party has got to deceive itself.

In regard to remunerative prices, the President has talked about it as others also have talked about it. But there are no remunerative prices today. My hon. friend Shri Dasaratha Rama Reddy ought to know the correct position, because he is an agriculturist, a good and a big agriculturist. Remunerative prices should not be the same as the procurement prices. Remunerative prices should be what is now prevalent in the bazar which are much higher than the procurement prices. We want the procurement prices to be fixed, no doubt, but we do want the procurement prices to be the remunerative prices. The Food Corporation should enter the market and compete with ordinary people in purchasing as much grain as it wants. If they want to build a buffer stock, by all means let them do so, but they should purchase the grains

in the open market in competition with others. Please do not think that this Ranga has suddenly sold himself away to this ideology of free enterprise. No. The peasants are the biggest votaries of freedom. If anybody is opposed to, I used to oppose him because he was opposed to the peasants and their freedom. Even in those days when he inherited this Government from the British, he inherited controls also and hugged them like a fish takes to water. It needed so much pleading from me and from Gandhiji and so many others also to make him give them up. I also persuaded Gandhiji to use his great influence with the very powerful man, Jawaharlal Nehru. Even then he would not yield, because he had got into power, and once he got the bit into his mouth, he would not even care for Gandhiji and Gandhiji had to threaten him with a hunger strike to get him remove controls at that time. But afterwards, he came back with the controls from which we are still suffering, and which Indiraji has inherited; she has inherited not only the Prime Ministership but also this blight of controls.

We want these controls to go. We want these controls to go not only in agriculture but also in industry. We have made suggestions in this regard. My leader, Rajaji, after having been in charge of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry here had said that if there be need for a few controls here and there, for giving a few licences and quotas, to that extent, a commission should be appointed, a commission non-political, non-partisan, quasi-judicial before which all the facts would be placed. Let their Commerce Ministry, the Industry Ministry and the new Ministry, the Ministry of International Trade, the new *avatar* Dinesh Singh, place all the facts before the commission and let the commission decide upon priorities, licences and all that. Why have they not agreed to this suggestion? My hon. friend, Shri Nanda, when he was Home Minister, was inclined to agree to it. But the Secretaries would not allow him to implement it. He had asked for a scheme also. My friend, Shri Dandekar, who is an expert in these matters, submitted a scheme also. But they simply dismissed it because it did not suit them. Shri Dandekar was saying the other day

that the high dignitaries of this Government were collecting money for the elections. Where from? From whom?

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peer-made): The hon. Member also collects.

SHRI RANGA: We collect, but we have nothing to offer, and what is more, we cannot frighten anybody. They can frighten anybody. The Minister of Industrial Development—has power over the management, coercive power, persuasive power. That is the reason why Shri Dandekar's scheme and Rajaji's scheme have not come to be accepted till now by this Government.

They have appointed the Administrative Reforms Commission, which is going on like this Government. The Government have remained for 22 years, and God alone knows how many years this Commission will go on producing report after report. In one of their reports, they said that the Prime Minister ought not to be the Chairman of the Planning Commission. But what was the Prime Minister's reaction to it? She called some of us for our views. I do not know what others have said, but I told her that she was not competent enough to be its Chairman and it would be wise for her not to be its Chairman. But she said 'So many people are asking me to be there because as Prime Minister. I might be able to push through their activity a little more effectively' and so on. I said 'Yes, they would only like to please you' They would do the same with anybody. If I were Prime Minister, they would say the same thing to me and would like to please me. This is the manner in which the Government have been accepting the recommendations of the ARC.

Shri B. R. Sen, who was one of the seniormost Secretaries here, who was Secretary of the Food Ministry here, and who became later Director General of FAO, unanimously elected for 9 years, one of our most respected Indians, who was considered to be an expert from their point of view, said the other day that the Planning Commission should not have any Minister on it, it should be a completely independent and advisory body.



[Shri Ranga]

That is exactly what my hon. friend, Shri Masani, has been advising Government as well as our party all these years. He had gone to France and studied the manner in which they have appointed a planning machinery there. He told us the details about that and suggested that with some necessary adjustments, we could have the same type of planning machinery here. We put that suggestion to Government. We did not keep it as a kind of monopoly or secret nursing it until we would be able to come to power and then fling it as a surprise. We wanted to co-operate with Government by offering constructive criticism as well as useful suggestions.

But this Government is stone deaf to suggestions that come from outside and even from its own members. Mrs. Gandhi was mentioning corruption in her reply this morning. But what is it they have done to eradicate corruption? The Chairman of the Administrative Reforms Commission, Mr. Hanumanthaiya made repeated charges that we had raised here against no less a person than the President of the Congress. It does not please me to refer to this matter; he happens to be one of my best friends just as you are and all of us worked together for many years but we have to discharge our responsibility to the public. He was then the Chief Minister of Mysore. What did he do? He did something which we do not know. Charges were framed and they were placed before the Prime Minister as well as the President. Was anything done about it?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am not interrupting you but I request you to confine your remarks to persons here. You should not bring in persons who are not here to defend themselves. That is my request. You are relevant in your speech while dealing with the President's Address and any criticism is valid, I agree.

SHRI RANGA: When Mr. Hanumanthaiya, Chairman of the Administrative Reforms Commission wanted them to look into these charges, what was the attitude displayed by his party? Did they deal with him honestly, honourably and respectfully, as he deserved, holding the position he did at their own mercy and

because of their own favours? No. Here is the touch-stone, and it is enough to prove that this Government has not got the fervour of resentment against corruption and the love and passion for integrity. It is not altogether dead yet. They were good enough to kick out four of their men including some chief ministers from candidature in Bihar. It is good; but it is not enough. That only shows that they harboured so many such people and for such a long time and at the time of elections they were afraid of placing these four people before the public and they felt that they better be kept in their secret wardrobe. It is not the right approach; it only shows that the Government is lacking in moral fervour.

SHRI PILOO MODY: They gave tickets to their wives.

SHRI RANGA: My hon. friend Mr. Dandekar warned the Government the other day against imposing agricultural income-tax. I reiterate that warning. It would be very dangerous and very bad. Thank God, it happens to be in the State List and the State Chief Ministers can be expected to exercise a little higher sense of responsibility than this Government. What about the excise duties? Very soon the Budget is to come. So many papers have been saying that so many more taxes are in the offing. I warn the Prime Minister as well as her colleague not to raise the excise duties any more and if they have any feeling for the suffering people, they should reduce it at least by 25 per cent, if not by 33 1/3 per cent as suggested, year after year at the budget time by my friend Mr. Masani. It is high time that they were reduced. Mr. Collin Clark, one of the internationally well known economists has said that within a few years, the share of the central excise in the total tax revenues had gone up by more than ten per cent, from 65 to 75 per cent. Is it reasonable? Can they place their hands on their hearts and say to themselves that they are doing a good turn to the masses by the continuous rise in the excise duties and asking the people to go on bearing these burdens? There was a cartoon this morning about the Railway Minister saying: I am not raising any more fares and freights. But what about the rise that

his predecessor had made during the last year, the year before last, and the year before that and a short time ago the ten per cent increase in the freight rates. We do not know what other babies the Deputy Prime Minister has got up his sleeve. Whatever they may be, they are sure to be ugly; they are sure to be troublesome and suicidal, suicidal for the masses and suicidal, I hope some day it will turn out to be, to the Congress party also.

In conclusion, I am glad my hon. friend Shrimati Sushila Rohatgi has been asked to move this Motion of Thanks. For what reason? Because she has not yet been swallowed up by this octopus of this Ministry. She comes from a heroic family with which my ties are very strong.

MR CHAIRMAN: Please deal with her arguments.

SHRI RANGA: Let me pay a compliment to her. On her side, she has made a good speech also today. On hearing her speech, I felt happy that she is not in the Ministry, because, I do not want good people, competent people, to be swallowed up by this Congress Ministry which is capable of destroying every talent and every tremor of social conscience.

Sir, I cannot congratulate the Prime Minister on the results of the elections, on her election speeches or on the kind of appeal that she made to the masses at the time of the elections for a "stable Ministry." I cannot congratulate her on the manner in which she wants to tackle these issues, nor can I congratulate her on the Chief Ministers of the Congress side that she has got in various States, on whose advice she is dependent in so melancholical a manner. I hope that as soon as possible she would try to hearken to the advice that is being offered by the sagest, the sanest and the wisest of our statemen in our country.

MR CHAIRMAN: I have to impose certain restrictions on time. The movers and the leader of the Opposition have

spoken. I think for the time being we will allow 15 minutes for each speaker.

डा० गोविन्द दास (जबलपुर) : सभा-पति महोदय, जो प्रस्ताव अभी मेरी बहन जी ने उपस्थित किया है, मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। राष्ट्रपति का अभि-भाषण एक ऐसा अवसर होता है कि उस पर धन्यवाद देने के प्रस्ताव पर सब कुछ कहा जा सकता है, और हम जो कुछ करते रहे हैं उसका सिंहावलोकन भी किया जा सकता है।

हमारे देश की इस समय जैसी परिस्थिति है उसमें मैं सबसे पहले आदर्शों की ओर और उन आदर्शों के अनुसार हमने जो उद्देश्य और ध्येय बनाये हैं, उनकी ओर हमारा लक्ष्य जाना चाहिए। बिना आदर्शों, बिना उद्देश्यों और बिना ध्येयों के कोई काम ठीक से नहीं चल सकता। महात्मा गांधी ने स्वराज्य के बाद हमारा देश किस प्रकार का बनेगा इसकी एक तस्वीर खींची थी। यद्यपि मैं शुरू से, लगभग 48-49 वर्षों से, कांग्रेस में ही रहा हूँ और कांग्रेस की ओर से ही इन केन्द्रीय व्यवस्थापिका सभाओं में चुना जाता रहा हूँ, आज भी कांग्रेस में हूँ, और इस 73 वर्ष की अवस्था में जो थोड़ा सा समय बाकी है उसमें मैं कांग्रेस में ही रहना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन मुझे यह कहते हुए खेद होता है कि गांधी जी ने जो तस्वीर हमारे देश की खींची थी उसके अनुसार कांग्रेस और कांग्रेस दल नहीं चल रहा है। जब मैं इस बात को देखता हूँ तब मेरा हृदय खेद से भर जाता है। गांधी जी ने सबसे पहले हमारे सामने त्याग का आदर्श रक्खा था। नई दिल्ली की सरकार में या राज्य सरकारों में हमें कहीं भी आज वह त्याग की भावना दिखलाई देती है? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कहीं नहीं दिखलाई देती।

अभी एक नया प्रस्ताव आया। मैं तो स्तब्ध रह गया उस प्रस्ताव से कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री के लिये 20 लाख रुपये लगाकर

## [डा० गोविन्ददास]

एक नया बंगला बनाया जाने वाला है। यह 20 लाख रुपये नहीं लगेंगे, उस नये बंगले को बनते-बनते 50 लाख रुपये लगेंगे। इस गरीब देश में इस गरीब देश के प्रधान मंत्री के लिये एक नया बंगला 20-30 लाख या 50 लाख रुपये लगाकर बनाया जाये, यह कहां की नैतिकता है। पंडित जवाहरलाल जी जब त्रिमूर्ति के बंगले में रहते थे उस समय उनके लिये एक छोटा बंगला बनाने की बात हुई थी। जब पंडित जी ने देखा कि उस छोटे से बंगले में तो लाखों रुपये लग जाने वाले हैं तब उन्होंने स्वयं उस बात को अस्वीकार कर दिया और कहा कि लाखों रुपये लगाकर नया बंगला बनाने की अपेक्षा तो इस त्रिमूर्ति के बंगले में ही रहना अच्छा है। मैं उनकी पुत्री से, जो इस समय प्रधान मंत्री हैं, कहना चाहता हूँ कि उनके पिता ने जो कुछ किया था, इस सम्बन्ध में उनको भी वही करना चाहिए। या तो वह त्रिमूर्ति के बंगले में रहें या फिर राष्ट्रपति भवन भी इतना बड़ा है कि उसके किसी हिस्से में वे रह सकती हैं। इस प्रकार से जो लाखों रुपये इस गरीब देश के आज प्रधान मंत्री का बंगला बनाने के लिये खर्च किये जा रहे हैं उसको रोक दिया जाये।

हमने गांधी जी के दूसरे आदर्शों को भी भुला दिया है। हम इस देश में प्रजातन्त्र चलाना चाहते हैं। अवश्य प्रजातन्त्र चलना चाहिए। बड़ी कठिनाई से हमको प्रजातन्त्र हासिल हुआ है। लेकिन क्या यह प्रजातन्त्र केवल 2 प्रतिशत अंग्रेजी समझने वालों की भाषा से चल सकता है? हमारी संविधान सभा ने सर्वमत से हिन्दी को इस देश की राज्य भाषा के पद पर प्रतिष्ठित किया था। मुझे ताज्जुब होता है जब मैं देखता हूँ कि आज भी कुछ मनषले अंग्रेजी पत्र लिखते जा रहे हैं कि संविधान सभा ने तो हिन्दी को केवल दो सदस्यों या एक सदस्य के बहुमत से राज्यभाषा के पद पर प्रतिष्ठित किया था। मैं कहता हूँ कि यह

बात संविधान सभा की छपी हुई कार्रवाई में देख ली जाये, जो सरकार की ओर से छपी गई है, कि हमने हिन्दी को संविधान सभा में केवल एक या दो सदस्य के बहुमत से राज्यभाषा के पद पर प्रतिष्ठित किया था अथवा सर्वमत से किया था। मैं नहीं जानता कि इस सदन में कितने सदस्य हैं जो संविधान सभा के सदस्य थे, लेकिन मैं संविधान सभा का सदस्य था, और मैं चुनौती देते हुए कहता हूँ कि पत्रों में जो भी इस प्रकार की बातें लिखते जा रहे हैं कि संविधान सभा में हिन्दी को केवल एक सदस्य के बहुमत से राज्यभाषा के पद पर प्रतिष्ठित किया गया था, वह गलत लिखते हैं। हम प्रजातन्त्र चलाना चाहते हैं। लेकिन यदि हम प्रजातन्त्र चलाना चाहते हैं तो क्या वह विदेशी भाषा के द्वारा हो सकता है?

इस सम्बन्ध में दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि 1969 में जो विधेयक पारित हुआ, उसके अनुसार हिन्दी के साथ अंग्रेजी चल सकती है, क्या हिन्दी के साथ अंग्रेजी चल रही है? नहीं चल रही है। आज अंग्रेजी ही चल रही है, उस विधेयक के बावजूद भी कि अंग्रेजी केवल हिन्दी के साथ चल सकती है। फिर उस विधेयक के साथ हमने एक संकल्प भी पारित किया था हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में। मैं हमारे गृह मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उस संकल्प के अनुसार क्या-क्या काम हुआ है इसको वह हमें बतायें। मैं समझता हूँ कि उस संकल्प के अनुसार कोई काम नहीं हुआ है और वह संकल्प रद्दी की टोकरी में पड़ा हुआ है। प्रजातन्त्र प्रजा की भाषा से चल सकता है। प्रजातन्त्र विदेशी भाषा से चल नहीं सकता।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने राजनीतिक स्थायित्व की बात भी कही है। मेरा भी कहना है कि बिना राजनीतिक स्थायित्व के प्रजातन्त्र नहीं चल सकता है। लेकिन हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो एक अपील की है कि सभी दलों को इस स्थायित्व को नाने के

लिए सरकार के साथ सहयोग करना चाहिए, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आई है। किस प्रकार सभी बल सहयोग करेंगे। श्री रंगा के अभी के भाषण के एक अंश से मैं सहमत हूँ। विनोबा जी भी वही कहते हैं कि यदि इस देश में प्रजातन्त्र को चलाना है तो समय आ गया है जब सब दलों की यहाँ पर सरकार बने। बिना उसके प्रजातन्त्र इस देश में चलने वाला नहीं है। हर जगह प्रजातन्त्र अलग-अलग ढंग से उसी प्रकार चलता है जिस प्रकार विभिन्न देशों में वहाँ की परिस्थिति के अनुसार साम्यवाद चलता है। हमारे देश की परिस्थिति दलगत पार्टी की सरकार के अनुकूल नहीं है, यह मेरा विश्वास हो गया है। कहा जा सकता है कि अभी संविद सरकारें बनी थीं। यह बात ठीक है। लेकिन उन संविद सरकारों में कांग्रेस नहीं थी। मैं चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस नेतृत्व करके सब दलों की सरकार बनाये।

एक तीसरी बात राष्ट्रपति जी ने अन्न की अधिक उत्पत्ति के बारे में कही है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में खाद्यान्न का प्रश्न बहुत महत्व का है। मैं सदा कहता रहा हूँ और फिर कहता हूँ कि इस देश में खाद्यान्नों की उत्पत्ति तब तक नहीं बढ़ सकती जब तक इस देश में पूर्ण रूप से गो रक्षा न हो। गांधीजी ने इसीलिए गो-रक्षा के ऊपर इतना बल दिया था।

फिर खाद्यान्नों की उत्पत्ति के साथ परिवार नियोजन का काम भी चल रहा है और उल्ल और भी ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए। इस परिवार नियोजन के सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप देखें कि किन-किन समाजों में यह परिवार नियोजन चल रहा है। एक सम्राज केवल एक विवाह कर सकता है जबकि दूसरे समाज में चार विवाह किये जाने की छूट है। यह कैसा कोढ़ है यह समझ में नहीं आता। परिवार नियोजन केवल हिन्दुओं पर लागू हो, अथवा हिन्दुओं पर लागू हो,

इससे तो परिवार नियोजन भी सफल नहीं हो सकता। साथ के प्रश्न से परिवार नियोजन के प्रश्न का बहुत अधिक सम्बन्ध है और इस पर भी ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

अभी हाल ही में मैं हिन्दी के लिए एक लम्बा दौरा करता रहा हूँ। उस दौरे में मुझे एक बात जो दिखाई दी है उसको अन्त में मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। यहाँ पर गत 6 दिसम्बर को शंकराचार्य जी के एक लेख के ऊपर एक विवाद खड़ा हो गया था। वह लेख छपा था गोरखपुर से प्रकाशित होने वाले "कल्याण" पत्र में। मैंने उस पत्र को मंगाया और मैं उस पत्र को इस टेबल पर इसलिए उपस्थित करना चाहता हूँ कि चव्हाण जी इस पत्र को देखें। श्री फरनेंडीज का मैं बड़ा आदर करता हूँ। उन्होंने इस लेख के सम्बन्ध में अपने प्रश्न में जो कुछ कहा था क्या वे बातें इस लेख में हैं? यथार्थ में यह लेख नहीं है, एक मुलाकात है। इस मुलाकात के सिलसिले में गृह मंत्री जी एक बात कह गये जिससे मुझे बड़ा क्षोभ हुआ। उन्होंने कहा था :

"I could understand the Honourable Member's feeling that the Shankaracharya has compared Shudras and other people, the untouchables, to lesser animals, to dogs etc. From this sort of comparison of human beings that sort of category of animals, we should know what type of person he is."

भाग्य चलकर वह कहते हैं :

"As I have said, the way he has expressed his views, really speaking, does not deserve the high position he holds."

इस पर सारे देश में बड़ा क्षोभ मुझे बिया है। इस सम्बन्ध में शारदापीठ, इटिका के श्री शंकराचार्य ने एक तार भी भेजा था। उस तार को मैं आपको बढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ। वह इस प्रकार है :

[डा० गोविन्द दास]

“Union Home Minister's Statement in Parliament against Puri Shankaracharya is highly objectionable and denounces intentionally the dignity of Hindu religious heads and interferes with Hinduism and their religious practices when so-called secular Government dare not utter a word about activities of other minority Communities. We therefore vehemently protest against this reported Statement on behalf of forty crore Hindus and demand its withdrawal.”

चव्हाण जी का मैं बड़ा आदर करता हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस सम्बन्ध में जो कुछ कहा है वह कुछ गलतपहमी में कहा है। शंकराचार्य जी ने क्या कहा था। उनसे प्रश्न किया गया था कि “जो शूद्र अछूते कार्य करता है तो क्या वह ब्राह्मण नहीं बनेगा।” शंकराचार्य जी ने उत्तर में कहा था :

“हां, यदि शूद्र स्वधर्म का पालन करता है और शास्त्रानुसार वर्णाश्रम-धर्मानुसार मर्यादानुसार चला है, पापों से बचता है और शुभ कर्म करता है तो वह अगले जन्म में ब्राह्मण बन जाएगा, इसमें सन्देह नहीं।”

श्री शिव नारायण (बस्ती) : आप देखिये कि अगले जन्म में कह रहे हैं, इस जन्म में नहीं।

डा० गोविन्द दास : मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ, उन्होंने कहा था।

आगे देखिये उनका क्या कहना है। श्री जार्ज फरनेंडीज ने यह कहा था शंकराचार्य जी का यह कहना है कि स्त्री, शूद्र, मुसलमान और ईसाई आदि तमाम लोग यहाँ की भारतीय संस्कृति में बैठ नहीं सकते। इसके बारे में शंकराचार्य जी का क्या कहना है इसको भी आप सुन लीजिये। अक्टूबर के कल्याण में पृष्ठ 1221, कालम 1, पंक्ति 8 में उनका कथन लिखा है कि आजकल जुलूसों में स्त्री, शूद्र, मुसलमान, ईसाई आदि सबको

सम्मिलित सबसे वेद मन्त्र बुलाये जाते हैं; यज्ञों में भी सभी आहुति डालने लगे हैं और वेद मन्त्र बोलने लगे हैं। हम इन सब बातों को शास्त्र विरुद्ध मानते हैं।

इस पर शंकराचार्य जी पर यह आक्षेप करना कि उन्होंने शूद्रों का; भंगियों का कुत्तों आदि से मुकाबला किया है, बिल्कुल गलत है। मैं हरिजनों को, शूद्रों को और मुसलमानों को, सबको ईश्वर का वंसा ही अंश मानता हूँ जैसा हिन्दुओं को और ब्राह्मणों को मानता हूँ। मुझे इनमें कोई भेद दिखाई नहीं देता। लेकिन शंकराचार्य के सदृश व्यक्ति की जिनको हम जगद्गुरु शंकराचार्य कहते हैं, एक मुलाकात को तोड़-मरोड़कर यहाँ पर उपस्थित करना और गृह मन्त्री महोदय उस पर यह कहें कि वह उस पद के योग्य नहीं हैं जिस पर वह बैठे हुए हैं, ठीक नहीं था। इस पर बड़ा भारी क्षोभ दिखाई दिया है। इसका निवारण गृह मन्त्री महोदय को करना चाहिए। कल्याण पत्र को मैं यहाँ उपस्थित कर रहा हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ वह देख लें और देखने के बाद अगर उन्हें स्वयं मानूम हो कि उन्होंने एक गलत बात पर एक बात कही है, तो उसको उनको सुधार लेना चाहिए। गांधी जी गलती को सुधारा करते थे। उनको भी अपनी गलती को सुधारना चाहिए, यह मेरा नम्र निवेदन है।

अन्त में मुझे यह कहना है कि मैं स्वयं कांग्रेसवादी हूँ, कांग्रेस में रहा हूँ और भविष्य में भी कांग्रेस में रहना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन अगर कांग्रेस भी कोई गलती करती है गोरक्षा के सम्बन्ध में, हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में, जगद्गुरु शंकराचार्य के सम्बन्ध में या किसी और सम्बन्ध में तो मैं सदा उनकी ओर ध्यान दिलाता रहा हूँ अभी भी दिलाता हूँ और जब तक जिन्दा रहूँगा तब तक यही प्रयत्न करता रहूँगा।

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur):  
Sir, I hope you will give an opportunity

to Shri George Fernandes because he has been wrongly quoted.

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : आज वह इस वक्त यहाँ नहीं हैं, इसलिए वह बोल रहे हैं सेठ जी को इन चीजों में जाना नहीं चाहिए था। क्या जरूरत थी इनमें जाने की? सेठ जी का हम आदर करते हैं। लेकिन उनको इन चीजों में जाना नहीं चाहिए।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मधु लिमये जी ने अक्टूबर के मासिक पत्रिका का हवाला देकर इस सवाल को उठाया था। फरनेंडीज जी ने जब इस सवाल को उठाया तो बाकायदा कल्याण पत्रिका को पढ़ कर सुनाया था। अब श्री जार्ज फरनेंडीज की गैर मौजूदगी में सेठ जी ने इस सवाल को उठाया है। उनको ऐसा नहीं करना चाहिए था। उनकी 73 साल की उम्र है। वह हम लोगों के पिता के समान हैं। उनको ऐसी बात नहीं कहनी चाहिए थी जिससे फिरकापरस्ती फैले। अगर पाकिस्तान से कोई लड़ा था और टैंक को तोड़ा था तो उसका नाम सेठ गोविन्द दास नहीं था, अब्दुल हमीद उसका नाम था।

श्री मधु लिमये : शंकराचार्य जी के बारे में मैंने पहले सवाल पूछा था जिसका जवाब गृह मन्त्रालय ने दिया था। गृह मन्त्री जी ने यह कहा था कि इसमें जो विचार प्रकट किये गये हैं वे अनुदार हैं लेकिन उनके बारे में कोई कानूनी कार्रवाई नहीं हो सकती है। यदि यह सरकार की नीति है तो इस तरह सरकारी दल के एक आदमी को, बुजुर्ग आदमी को जिनका हम आदर करते हैं, इस चीज में नहीं जाना चाहिए था। आप हमारी तरफ से और पूरे सदन की तरफ से उनको यह बात कह दीजिये।

श्री शिब नारायण : सभापति महोदय, मैं सेठ जी से, और शंकराचार्य जी से भी, प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वे मद्रास के मन्दिरों में जाकर देखें कि उनकी संस्कृति का क्या हाल है।

SHRI VIKRAM CHAND MAHAJAN (Chamba) : Mr. Chairman, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address which has also dealt with various aspects of economic development of the country.

The Opposition has raised certain points regarding the internal security of the country and the results of the mid-term polls saying that they were an indication of the failure of the Congress Government. One of the points made was that the Congress Government at the Centre has failed to meet the challenge of regionalism; that is, the Central Government is responsible for whatever has happened in the State of Andhra or in Bombay City.

What has happened in Bombay is a matter of shame and we all condemn whatever has happened there—the action taken by Shiv Sena and the suffering of South Indians. We all share their feelings. But this is not a matter on which we should condemn the Central Government because it is a matter which is basically concerning the State Government. Again, we have to test the development of the country from the broader aspect and if we look at it from that point of view we find that the economy is improving every year. Statistics show that in 1967-68 food production was 6 million tonnes more than the previous peak figure in the year 1964-65. We find that the new thermal projects which are coming into being—the latest being at Bhatinda in Punjab—would increase tremendously the electricity capacity of the country. Similarly, new projects are coming up in Himachal Pradesh. The Seul Project would meet practically the need of the entire State of Himachal Pradesh and there would be surplus electricity for the rest of the country.

Similarly we find that more and more tubewells and canals are being dug. The latest advance in this respect is the example of Punjab where we find that in the field of irrigation and agricultural development it has beaten even many advanced countries.

An aspersion has been cast that in the mid-term poll the Congress has failed

[Shri Vikram Chand Mahajan]

miserably. It reminds me of a small animal which is found in our State. It is found in hilly terrain. It is a small animal of the size of a frog and it is not able to face even a small bird; even a small bird can terrorize it and finishes it, but it has a bloated sense of self-importance. It is called Binda. It sits on the top of a bamboo tree and questions whosoever passes near that tree, "Who are you? What are you doing here? What do you want from this place?" So, a little success here and there in the mid-term poll has given a bloated sense of self-importance to some of the parties and they cannot contain themselves. They have chosen this as an opportunity for hitting at the Congress Government.

My submission is that they should be modest enough to contain themselves and to have a balanced view of the whole thing instead of showing that bloated sense of self-importance as that little, small-animal has when it sits on the top of a bamboo tree. A little sense of balance on their part would not be a bad virtue for them.

#### 16 Hours

Coming to the external affairs, we find that there is a sound policy, a sound basis, which is meeting our economic needs and the security of the State. There is all-round strengthening and improving of our relations with various countries and the main basis of that is the policy of non-alignment and co-existence. We find that more and more countries in the world are coming out of the blocs or the treaties which they had formed or the combinations which they had formed. They are disengaging themselves from those blocs and coming into the field of non-alignment. This is the greatest tribute to our foreign policy. More and more countries are following the same policy. This would help in promotion of international cooperation and would bring peace to the tense world.

There are a few other things which I want to point out. One of them is about the educated unemployment. Our educational system has certain shortcomings.

One of them is that we are following the same system of education which was being followed by the Britishers. Our universities are turning out a class of persons, a class of youngmen, who are not suited to the present needs of the country. Our universities are turning out clerks only. What we need is a new class of people who can go in for the development of agriculture and industry and, for that purpose, what we need is a change in the curriculum of education.

In our educational system, we find that when a youngman comes out of school or college, what he knows is very little about the practical aspect of agriculture and industry and what he seeks is a job, preferably in Government or in some private sector. The educational system should be agriculture-oriented and industry-oriented so that a student or a youngman who comes out of school or college could go in for agriculture or industry and not for the jobs in public or private sector. Therefore, what I submit is that this aspect of educational system should be looked into.

In most of the States, we have free education and by giving free education, every year, we are bringing all these youngmen into the fold of unemployment. That will be very harmful. In the coming years, what we need is re-orientation of the entire educational system so that all these youngmen who come out of school or college do not seek jobs but go in for independent employments and professions in industry and agriculture.

Another thing which I want to point out is about famines, droughts and floods.

**SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA**  
(Gauhati): You do not want them to seek jobs.

16.05 hours.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: *in the Chair.*]

**SHRI VIKRAM CHAND MAHAJAN:** The educational system should be so oriented, the curriculum should be so planned, that during the time he is getting education, he is taught the practical side of

industry and agriculture so that when he comes out, goes in for those particular professions, rather than seek employment in government.... (*Interruption*) There is a vast scope in industry. Our country is industrially backward. What we need is a better class of people with managerial skill, entrepreneurs, who can develop these things. Therefore, I submit that this should be added in the curriculum of education.

Coming to droughts and floods, what I submit is that this is a regular feature in our country that every second or third year we have either huge floods in some States or famines in other State. Last year we had floods in Bengal and in the south, and we had famine in Rajasthan. Government has, very correctly, come up with a solution that there should be regular famine brigades and flood brigades who will meet the need of that particular region. What I submit is that these should be properly organized so that whenever there are floods in a particular area, the warning could be given much earlier and preventive measures could be taken at the proper time and not at a late stage when the floods had done the damage. Similarly, about famine, one can easily know earlier that in a particular region there have been less rains or that there is a likelihood of famine, and relief measures should be taken much earlier than when the damage has been done and when very little can be done. Therefore, I submit that these should be properly organized.

The government is now doing but they should go a step further and do a little more, *i.e.*, we should anticipate the trouble rather than going on for relief after the damage has been done or the occurrences have taken place.

There is another aspect which I would like to touch, and that is, the regional trouble all over the country. The theory of regionalism and linguism has gone too far; we have given it too long a rope and; therefore, we now find trouble arising everywhere. In every State we find that the people of one region are trying to oust throw out the people belonging to the other regions. For example, in Bombay, we find that, though it is a

cosmopolitan city, some bad elements under the garb of regionalism are trying to make an issue to throw out the people belonging to the other regions, for example, people from the South or non-Maharashtrians, from Bombay. Similarly, a trouble has arisen in Andhra, *i.e.*, a fight between Telengana and Andhra. I am not going into this that the people of Telengana have been left backward or that they were not given enough or what they deserved, but what I am submitting is that such issues have cropped up. When they are taken in the background of regionalism and linguism, the persons who really gain are different from those for whom the issue was made out. What I am trying to say is that these issues should be curbed and those parties or those anti-social elements or political parties whosoever raised the issue of regionalism or linguism, should be curbed. That is, if Shiv Sena is bringing forth the issue of Marathis and non-Marathis, the best course would be to ban it. Similarly, any other party which raises the issue of regionalism or linguism should be banned. What I submit is that it is time that we took a strong action against such parties or elements because once this particular wave starts in a particular State, it can have repercussions in other States.

For example, in Madras there can be an anti-Kerala movement, in Bengal, there can be an anti-Madras movement and in another State, there can be an anti-Bengali movement. Then it will be difficult for any political party to curb it. Therefore, this is an issue, on which, as the Home Minister rightly said yesterday, all political parties should combine and curb these evils of regionalism, linguism, communalism and casteism. There can be no two opinions on that.

In conclusion, I would say that on the whole, the Government has done, and is doing, sufficient, thought according to some, it is not enough. But it is trying hard for the development of the country.

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी (कानपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण को काफ़ी संजीवनी के साथ सब की दफ्त मैंने



[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

सुना क्योंकि पिछली मर्तबा तो हम लोग बाहर चले गए थे और मैंने सोचने की कोशिश की कि आखिर राष्ट्रपति जी ने ऐसे मुद्दों के बारे में, जो कुछ सवालालत देश के सामने खासकर हैं, कुछ कहा है या नहीं। मैं खासकर आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि अभी अविश्वास के प्रस्ताव पर दो दिन या ढाई दिन की बहस के सिलसिले में शिव-सेना की बात और कुछ और बातें भी की गई थीं, उसका कोई जिक्र उसमें नहीं है। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि शायद राष्ट्रपति जी उसकी ग्रहमियत को समझना नहीं चाहते हैं या वह क्योंकि सत्ताधारी दल का हाथ उसमें है इस वजह से शायद उसका जिक्र करना नहीं चाहते।

इसके साथ-साथ मुझे ताज्जुब यह हुआ कि उन्होंने 19 सितम्बर, 1968 की हड़ताल के बारे में कोई जिक्र नहीं किया और आज भी उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि 18 अक्टूबर, 1968 को मंत्रि-मंडल ने फौसला लिया और यह कहा कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट एम्प्लोईज, जिनकी नौकरियाँ खत्म कर दी गई हैं उनके बारे में लीनियेंसी से काम लिया जायगा और उनको नौकरी पर वापस लिया जायगा। उसके बारे में केवल इतना ही नहीं, गृह मंत्री जी ने या उनके छोटे मंत्री जो हैं विद्याचरण शुक्ल जी न, दोनों ने यह आश्वासन दिया था कि ऐसे लोग जिनके ऊपर मुकदमे चल रहे हैं या जिन्होंने सिर्फ हड़ताल में हिस्सा लिया था उनके कसेज को रीकंसीडर किया जायगा। प्रधान मंत्री जी से जब हम लोग मिले थे तो उन्होंने भी आश्वासन दिया था कि ऐसा होगा। लेकिन 4 जनवरी, 1969 को भी जो कैबिनेट का फौसला हुआ वह भी अभी तक लागू नहीं किया गया है और मुझे अफसोस के साथ यह कहना पड़ेगा कि आज भी 9 हजार सरकारी कर्मचारी ऐसे हैं कि या तो उनके ऊपर मुकदमे चल रहे हैं या उनकी नौकरी खत्म कर दी गई है, एक महीने की तनख्वाह

देकर। राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में उसका जिक्र भी नहीं हुआ है जबकि उन्होंने कहा है कि उत्राइन्ट कन्सल्टेटिव मशीनरी को एक परमानेंट स्टेयूटरी बांडी हम बनाना चाहते हैं।

9 हजार या 10 हजार सरकारी कर्मचारी आज भी सड़कों का चक्कर लगा रहे हैं प्रधान मंत्री के आश्वासन देने के बाद और गृह मंत्री के आश्वासन देने के बाद भी अभी तक उनको नौकरी में वापस नहीं लिया गया और मैं इसलिए निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ आपके मार्फत प्रधान मंत्री जी से या गृह मंत्री जी से कि कम से कम वह इसका फौसला जल्दी से जल्दी कर दें वरना हम लोगों को मजबूर होकर कोई न कोई कदम उठाना पड़ेगा। ग्राल इण्डिया डिफेंस एम्प्लोईज फेडरेशन ने यह फौसला ले लिया है कि यदि 23 मार्च तक कोई फौसला नहीं हुआ तो चाहे एस० एम० बैनर्जी हों या एस० एम० जोशी हों या और भी कोई हों, हमें भूख हड़ताल करने पर मजबूर होना पड़ेगा। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वह एक फौसला लें वरना प्रधान मंत्री जी के आश्वासन पर कोई भरोसा इस देश को रहेगा नहीं। ऐसी कौन सी चीज थी, कोई वायलेंस का केस उनके खिलाफ नहीं है, जिनके खिलाफ वायलेंस का केस नहीं है, उन कसेज को वापस लेने में आपको क्या दिक्कत है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यही कारण था कि बंगाल के मध्यावधि चुनाव में आपने देखा कि जहाँ 280 सदस्यों के सदन में कांग्रेस के 128 सदस्य थे, वहाँ केवल 55 रह गये। यही कारण था कि उत्तर प्रदेश में जहाँ कांग्रेस का बहुमत होना चाहिये था, जिसकी आशा चन्द्र भानु गुप्ता करते थे, वह उन्हें नहीं मिला। यही कारण है कि बिहार में कांग्रेसी हुकूमत नहीं आई। यही कारण है कि पंजाब में कांग्रेस के सदस्य दूबे से नहीं मिल रहे हैं। इसलिये मैं इस बात की तरफ इशारा करना चाहता हूँ कि अब भी मौका

है, कम से कम इस मसले को तो हल करें। यदि 23 मार्च तक सरकारी कर्मचारियों को काम पर वापस नहीं लिया गया तो चाहे सरकार बुरा समझे या भला समझे, कोई कदम हमें उठाना पड़ेगा, जिसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी इस सरकार पर होगी।

दूसरी बात—उन्होंने यह कहा है कि ज्वाइन्ट कन्सल्टेटिव मशीनरी को कानूनी रूप दिया जायगा, स्टैंचूटरी बाडी बनाई जायगी, लेकिन हड़ताल के हक को परमानेंटली छीनने की कोशिश हो रही है और यह कहा जा रहा है कि ज्वाइन्ट कन्सल्टेटिव मशीनरी होगी लेकिन हड़ताल के हक को हमेशा के लिए छीनने की कोशिश की जायगी। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपकी मारफत निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यदि हड़ताल के हक को हमेशा के लिये छीनने की कोशिश की गई तो उसका मुकामला सड़कों और गलियों में होगा।

तीसरी चीज—मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि उत्तर प्रदेश में अभी तक राष्ट्रपति जी का शासन है, अभी चन्द्र भानु गुप्तजी कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि कोई ऐसा निर्दलीय सदस्य उनको मिले जो राजी हो जाय, पांच-दस हजार रुपये से ज्यादा उनको न देना पड़े ताकि वहां पर उनकी सरकार बन जाय। ऐसे मौके पर वहां डिप्टी कालेजेज के टीचर्स की हड़ताल चल रही है। मैं इस मौके पर खासकर डा० राव साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि, वह जरा इस बात पर ध्यान दें, क्योंकि वह एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर हो चुके हैं और मुझे खुशी है, मैं उनको बधाई देना चाहता हूँ—यह ऐसा काम है जिसके लिये वास्तव में वे उपयुक्त व्यक्ति हैं। अगर उत्तर प्रदेश में चुनी हुई सरकार बन जाती तो मैं उनसे निवेदन नहीं करता। 250 डिप्टी कालिजिज आज उत्तर प्रदेश में बन्द पड़े हैं। उनकी मांग क्या है? उनकी मांग है कि जिस तरह से स्टेट गवर्नमेंट एम्प्लाइज को मंहगाई भत्ता मिलता है, उनको भी मिले

और मुझे यह कहा गया है कि इसमें केवल 36 या 37 लाख रुपये का खर्चा होगा। वहाँ पर डिप्टी कालिजिज के टीचर्स का मंहगाई भत्ता सरकारी कर्मचारियों से कम है।

दूसरी डिमाण्ड—कोठारी कमीशन की रिपोर्ट, जिसको सरकार ने माना है, उसको अभी तक वहाँ लागू नहीं किया गया है। वहाँ के गवर्नर साहब से जब वे लोग मिलने के लिये गये, उनकी एसोशियेशन के लोगों ने उनसे कहा कि आप हमारी हालत को देखिये और कोई उपाय बताइये। गवर्नर साहब ने उनको कहा—

If you are not satisfied, leave the job.

यह गवर्नर साहब का उत्तर था, उन लोगों के लिये जो देश के निर्माता हैं। मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि जब डिप्टी कालिजिज के टीचर्स का डेपुटेशन डा० राव साहब को मिला, शायद वह कल मिला था, तो उन्होंने उनसे कहा कि वह वायदा करें कि पहले एजीटेशन को खत्म करेंगे, उसके बाद उनकी सुनवाई हो सकती है। मैं डा० राव साहब से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वह अगर एक स्टेटमेंट इस सदन में करें और यह प्राश्वासन उन लोगों को दें कि उनकी मांगों की सुनवाई होगी तो मेरा विश्वास है कि उनके स्टेटमेंट पर यकीन करके, भरोसा करके, वे आज अपने आंदोलन को खत्म करने के लिये तैयार हैं। यह मैं इसलिये कह रहा हूँ कि यह कोई छात्रों का आंदोलन नहीं है, मजदूरों का आंदोलन नहीं है, डिप्टी कालिजिज के टीचर्स का आंदोलन है, जिनको बाध्य होकर हड़ताल करनी पड़ी। आज 250 कालिजिज बन्द हैं, उनके छात्रों के इम्तिहान मार्च-अप्रैल में होने वाले हैं। उन लड़कों के भविष्य का क्या होगा—आप जरा इस पर विचार कीजिये। इसलिये मैं उनसे निवेदन करूंगा कि इस मामले को जल्द से जल्द सुलझाने की कोशिश करें।

दूसरा मसला—उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे खुशी होती यदि राष्ट्रपति जी को भाषण में

[श्री स० मी० बनर्जी]

नेशनल फिटनेस कोर के बारे में भी कुछ जिक्र होता। आपको मालूम है कि जब भी विदेशी लोग हमारे देश में, चाहे वे रूस से आये हों या चीन से आये आये हों या अमेरिका से आये हों, उन्होंने कहा कि इस देश में दो ही चीज अच्छी लगीं—एक नेशनल फिजिकल लैबोरेट्री और दूसरी नेशनल फिटनेस कोर। जैनरल भोंसले साहब ने इसको शुरू किया था, लेकिन अचानक इस सरकार के दिमाग में यह बात आई कि इसको डीसेन्ट्रलाइज कर दिया जाय। मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसके सम्बन्ध में जो भी रिपोर्टें दी गई हैं, वे गलत दी गई हैं। उन रिपोर्टों में कहा गया है कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स इसको लेने के लिये राजी हैं। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपकी इजाजत से यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह रिपोर्टें बिलकुल गलत है। जिन राज्यों से जवाब आये हैं, उनमें से एक-दो स्टेट और यूनियन टैरिटरीज को छोड़कर, चाहे मणिपुर हो, त्रिपुरा हो, हिमाचल प्रदेश हो या चण्डीगढ़ हो, दो-तीन जगहों को छोड़ कर सब राज्यों ने कहा है कि वे लेने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। हमने डा० त्रिगुण सेन साहब और भागवत भा आज़ाद साहब को भी समझाने की कोशिश की और कहा कि आपके इस निर्णय से नेशनल फिटनेस कोर के ७ हजार इंस्ट्रक्टरों की नौकरी पहली मार्च से खत्म हो जायगी। अब मैं डा० राव साहब से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वह खुद डि-नोत्रो इस मामले को देखें, ऐसा न हो कि उन गलत रिपोर्टों के आधार पर गलत फैसला हो जाय। मैं अथोरिटी के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब प्रधान मंत्री जी ने इसके बारे में रिपोर्टें माँगी तो डाइरेक्टर जैनरल, नेशनल फिटनेस कोर और उनके ज्वाइन्ट सैक्रेटरी ने प्रसली चीज को दबाकर गलत तस्वीर प्रधान मंत्री के सामने पेश की। आपके इस निर्णय से आज सात हजार नेशनल फिटनेस इंस्ट्रक्टरों, जिनको सालों

तालीम मिली, जिन्होंने देश के काफी बच्चों को मजबूत बनाया, उनके अन्दर देशभक्ति की भावना भरी, आज वे सड़क पर मारे-मारे घूम रहे हैं। मेहरबानी करके आप दोबारा इस चीज को देखें, उनसे फाइल मंगाकर, उसको देखने के बाद फैसला करें। यह सात हजार कर्मचारियों का सवाल है। मैं सारे डायूमेन्ट्स उनको देने के लिये तैयार हूँ और मैं साबित करने के लिये तैयार हूँ कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर के सामने फंड्स को सप्रेस किया गया है, गलत चीज पेश की गई है और इस सदन को गुमराह करने की कोशिश की गई है। यह आरोप मैं डा० सेन या आज़ाद साहब पर नहीं लगा रहा हूँ, उनको गुमराह करने की कोशिश की गई है। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि डा० राव इस मामले को दोबारा देखने की कोशिश करेंगे।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे आज बड़ा दुख हुआ, जब सेठ गोविन्द दास ने, जो इस सदन के सबसे पुराने मेम्बर हैं, अपने भाषण में हमारे सदस्य जार्ज फरनान्डीज के बारे में कहा कि उन्होंने गुरु शंकराचार्य के बारे में कुछ ऐसे शब्द कहे हैं। जार्ज फरनान्डीज ने कोई ऐसी बात नहीं कही है, आज भी हमारे देश में अग्रर हिन्दू धर्म का इसी में कल्याण हो सकता है कि शूद्र शूद्र बन कर रह जाय, अग्रर हिन्दू राष्ट्र की यही कल्पना है तो मैं भी हिन्दू राष्ट्र को मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ। इस देश में अग्रर सरदार भगत सिंह, अशफ़ाक उल्ला खाँ और दूसरे देशभक्त फ़ाँसी के तख्ते पर इन्कलाब ज़िन्दाबाद कहते-कहते कुर्बान हो गये और इस देश की आज़ादी को लाये, तो भगत सिंह और अशफ़ाक उल्ला खाँ के खानदान के लोग कभी इस बात को गवारा नहीं करेंगे कि इस देश में यह शूद्र है, वह ब्राह्मण है। शूद्र और ब्राह्मण का काम क्या है, अत्रिय का काम क्या है जो शूद्र नहीं कर सकता। मैं चालीस करोड़ हिन्दुओं की तरफ से एक चीज कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो कम्युनल हेटेड सेठ गोविन्द दास जी ने फैसाने की कोशिश की है, प्रधान

मंत्री जी को उसका जवाब जरूर देना चाहिये ।

कानपुर में भी इस दफा कम्यूनलिज्म फैलाने की कोशिश की गई थी, लेकिन हमने कहा कि कानपुर स्वर्गीय गणेश शंकर विद्यार्थी का था, आज भी है और कल भी रहेगा, इसको नाथू राम गोडसे का शहर नहीं बनने दिया जायगा ।

अभी पिछले चुनावों में, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुसलमानों के वोटों को हासिल करने के लिए कांग्रेस के लोगों ने क्या किया ? वह पर्चा मेरे पास है, जो उनकी तरफ से निकाला गया था, उसमें दस्तखत हैं, उसे उर्दू भाषा में लिख कर मुसलमानों के इलाकों में जाकर बाँटा गया, जिसमें कहा गया कि यह चुनाव आपकी हुब्बुलवतनी को खुला चैलेंज है, हुब्बुलवतनी के मायने हैं, देश-भक्ति । यानी आपकी देशभक्ति को खुला चैलेंज है, इसका मुब्त आप दे सकते हैं, फंला कांग्रेसी उम्मीदवार को वोट दीजिये । देशभक्ति देश के साथ होती है, यह तो कांग्रेस भक्ति है । यह पर्चा मुसलमानों को डराने के लिये निकाला गया, अगर कांग्रेस को वोट नहीं दोगे तो जनसंघ को वोट चला जायगा और जनसंघ की हकूमत बन जायगी । मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि फिरका-परस्ती के खिलाफ प्रधान मंत्री ने भाषण दिया और कहा की बीलीव इन सेकुलरिज्म लेकिन उसका नमूना यह है कि मुसलमानों की बस्तियों में जाकर मुसलमान जैसा भाषण देना और हिन्दुओं की बस्तियों में जाकर हिन्दुओं जैसा भाषण देना, यह सेकुलरिज्म नहीं है । आज मुसलमानों को खुली चुनौती दी गई, उनकी देशभक्ति को ललकारा गया । मैं आपको बतलाता हूँ कि कैसे ललकारा गया ? मुसलमानों की बस्तियों में जाकर मुसलमान माताओं और बहनों को मीलाद शरीफ के नाम पर बुलाया जाता है । जिसमें 15 मिनट जिन्ने रसूल होता है और पन्द्रह मिनट जिन्ने कांग्रेस और जिन्ने वोट होता है ।

मैं मुसलमानों के इन खामियों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो भाषण दिया है उसमें उर्दू भाषा के बारे में क्या तरक्की हो रही है, उसके बारे में रत्ती भर भी कोई चीज नहीं कही गई है । मुसलमानों की जबान को काट लिया गया है । आज उत्तर प्रदेश में और दूसरी जगहों पर, जहाँ उन्होंने दस्तखत किए थे कि उर्दू भाषा को बराबरी का दर्जा मिलना चाहिए, उसके बारे में सरकार क्या कहती है ? कांग्रेसी लोगों ने अपने चुनाव घोषणा-पत्र में कहा है कि उर्दू भाषा की तरक्की की जायेगी । मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर आपको उर्दू भाषा की तरक्की करनी है, तो यह गालिब की सेन्टिनरी है, जहाँ राष्ट्रपति भी जाते हैं, इन्दिरा जी भी जायेंगी और दूसरे मंत्री लोग भी जायेंगे, वहाँ पर दीवाने गालिब पढ़ा जा रहा है, गालिब की गजलें पढ़ी जा रही हैं... (व्यवधान)... तो चीज यह है कि यह गालिब के सेन्टिनरी का समय है, अगर आपको गालिब को टिब्यूट देनी है, उसके बारे में कुछ भी करना है तो वह लाल किला में मुशायरा करके नहीं होगा या विज्ञान भवन में जाकर भाषण देने से नहीं होगा बल्कि आप यह डिक्लेयर करें कि उर्दू भाषा की तरक्की होगी । अगर आप यह डिक्लेयर नहीं करते हैं तो इसका मतलब यह होगा कि आप उर्दू भाषा की तरक्की नहीं कर सकते हैं । आप मुसलमानों की बस्तियों में जाकर वोट डालने के लिए कहते हैं । आप कहते हैं कि उर्दू भाषा की तरक्की होगी, आप मुसलमान कांग्रेस को वोट दें । मैं कहता हूँ कि फिर आपमें और दूसरे लोगों में फर्क क्या है ? जैसे जनसंघ का नारा था जय भारत माता, दीपक को वोट दो, जय गोमाता, दीपक को वोट दो और अब एक नया नारा बना है, जय राजमाता, दीपक को वोट दो, उसी तरह से आप भी मुसलमानों की बस्तियों में जाकर वही कहते हैं कि 'जय उर्दू भाषा' बलों की जोड़ी को वोट दो । इसलिए मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उर्दू

[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

भाषा की तरक्की होनी चाहिए और सेकुलरिज्म को लाने के लिए कुछ चीजें, कुछ भावनायें पैदा करनी पड़ेगी। आज जो शक्तियां पैदा हो रही हैं चाहे शिव-सेना की शकल में, चाहे ललित सेना की शकल में, चाहे आर० एस० एस० की शकल में या दूसरी शकलों में उनको रोकना पड़ेगा। अटल जी को भी इन शक्तियों को रोकना पड़ेगा और हम भी रोकेंगे क्योंकि यह चीजें किसी को भी कामयाब नहीं करेंगी। इस्माइल साहब ने भाषण दिया और उन्होंने ठीक ही कहा कि कुछ चीजों के बारे में शक पैदा हो गया है। क्या वजह है कि आज मजलिशें मुशव्वरत पैदा हो रही हैं? क्या वजह है कि आज अकिलियतें यह सोच रही हैं कि कहीं अकसरियत हमें मार तो नहीं डालेगी? क्योंकि रांची में लोगों ने देखा और उसके बारे में सरकार कुछ नहीं कर सकी। इसी तरह से लोगों ने मेरठ में भी देखा। इसलिए जब तक आप हिन्दू मुसलमानों को नहीं समझायेंगे कि यह लड़ाई दाढ़ी और चोटी की नहीं है बल्कि यह लड़ाई रोजी और रोटी की है तब तक काम नहीं चलेगा। मैं आपसे पूछता हूँ कि जब पाकिस्तान से युद्ध हो रहा था तो बर्गर सोचे-समझे, निडर होकर, किसने पैंटन टैंक तोड़ा था? उसका नाम क्या था? उसका नाम अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी नहीं था, सेठ गोविन्द दास नहीं था बल्कि उसका नाम अब्दुल हमीद था। आज उसकी विधवा रसूलन ज़ार-ज़ार रोती है। लेकिन उसे एक ही सन्तोष है कि अगर मेरे शीहर का इन्तकाल हुआ और वह कुर्बान हुआ तो देशभक्ति में कुर्बान हुआ। इन चीजों की तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। कुछ चीजें मैंने आपके सामने रखी भी हैं। जैसे कि मुझे दुख है, राष्ट्रपति जी ने उर्दू ज़बान के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा। रिट्चमेंट के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा। बंगाल में सरकार बन गई, उसके बारे में कल हम लोगों ने कहा कि लाल भंडे वालों की हुकूमत क्यों बन गई तो ऐसा

मालूम हुआ कि उनके चौके में हमने पैर दिया। बहुत नाराज थे। कहा गया कि स्टेटिस्टिक्स देखिये कि किस तरह से वोट का परसेंटेज बढ़ गया है। परसेंटेज आफ वोट्स के ऊपर अगर फ़ैसला हो जाये तो यह सरकार यहां पर रह नहीं सकती है।

एलेक्शन के दौरान कितना खर्चा किया इसके लिए मैं एक मिसाल देना चाहता हूँ। इसको वेरीफाई किया जाय। गरीब देश की प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिराजी की एक मीटिंग उन्नाव में थी, एक मीटिंग कानपुर शहर में थी और मीटिंग कानपुर जिले में थी। इन तीनों मीटिंग्स के लिए जो दोनों तरफ बल्लियां लगीं चालीस मील तक उससे ऐसा मालूम होता था कि लक्ष्मण रेखा खींच दी गई है कि कहीं कोई पार न हो जाय, चला न जाय। पाँच लाख रुपया इन तीन मीटिंग्स पर खर्च किया गया... (व्यवधान)...

एक माननीय सदस्य : इसमें गवर्नमेंट का पैसा नहीं बल्कि कांग्रेस का पैसा लगता है।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : अगर इतना पैसा आप खर्च कीजिएगा तो बिरला से लेना पड़ेगा। इसलिए ऐसा खर्चा मत कीजिए। ... (व्यवधान)...

इस रुपये के बारे में आप निश्चित रूप से डी० एम० कानपुर और डी० एम० उन्नाव को बुलाकर पूछिये तो कह देंगे कि दस मील बल्ली लगाने के लिए 26 हजार का ठेका था और पन्द्रह मील में 36 हजार का था। ठेकेदार चाहते हैं कि रोज चुनाव हों और प्रधान मंत्री यहाँ पर आयें और उनको ऐसे ठेके मिलते रहें। इतना खर्चा गरीब देश के प्रधान मंत्री ने कानपुर और उन्नाव की गरीब जनता को क्या समझाने के लिए किया था? मैं इन्दिराजी की बहुत इज्जत करता हूँ और मैं उनके ऊपर कोई टीका-टिप्पणी नहीं करना चाहता। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ यह बात सही है जैसी कि आलोचना होती है, सेठ गोविन्द दास ने सही कहा है कि प्रधान मंत्री नये मकान में न

जायं। हमारे पंडित जी तीन मूर्ति में रह सकते थे और हिन्दुस्तान की बनी हुई छोटी मोटर में वे चढ़ते थे तो वह सादगी की वजह से। वह गांधी जी की बात थी। मैं आपसे सच कहता हूँ कि गांधी जी अगर आज किसी हालत में यहाँ आना चाहें जीवित या उनकी आत्मा यहां पर आना चाहे तो कांग्रेसी परेशान हो जायेंगे कि गांधी जी को कहाँ बैठाया जाय। आप उनको विजिटर्स गैलरी में बैठा नहीं सकते और वे डिस्टिग्विश्ड गेस्ट थे नहीं क्योंकि वे कोई एम० पी०, एम० एल० ए० या एक्स-गवर्नर बने नहीं। इसलिये अगर उनको कहीं जगह मिलेगी तो पत्रकारों के बीच में ही क्योंकि वे हरिजन अखबार चलाते थे। मैं इन गांधी जी के आदर्शों पर चलने वालों से कहना चाहता हूँ गांधी जी की एक बार हत्या तो नाथूराम गोडसे ने की लेकिन उनके सिद्धांतों की हत्या कांग्रेस ने की है। इस तरह से उनकी दो बार हत्या हुई। मैं आपको मार्फत सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट एम्प्लाइज के बारे में, नेशनल फिटनेस कोर के बारे में और डा० राव टीचर्स के बारे में प्राबलम को साल्व करें। आज एलेक्शंस के जो नतीजे निकले हैं, उनको देखें, सोचें और दिल दिमाग से टटोलने की कोशिश करें कि क्या हो रहा है।

अंत में मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश में दो कंडीडेट्स को गोली से मार दिया गया और उस चीज को जब हमने उठाने की कोशिश की तो कहा गया कि यह उत्तर प्रदेश के गवर्नर साहब से पूछिये। उत्तर प्रदेश के गवर्नर साहब काफी दिन वहाँ पर रह चुके हैं। वह लखनऊ का पानी और गोमती का पानी काफी देख चुके हैं। आप मेहरबानी करके अब उनको वहाँ से हटा दीजिये। और अगर हो सके तो मेहरबानी करके धर्मवीर साहब को भी बुला लीजिये और उनको किसी ऐसी जगह पर रख दीजिये जहाँ पर कि कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट हो और उसको वहाँ पर खत्म करना हो। या फिर शिव सेना

को कंट्रोल करने के लिए उनको वहाँ पर गवर्नर बनाकर भेज दीजिये लेकिन मेहरबानी करके उनको बंगाल से हटा दीजिये। बंगाल में लोगों ने साफ तरीके से कहा है और इतना प्रचार हुआ है। कहा गया चीन के एजेंट और रूस के एजेंट लेकिन न चीन के एजेंट और न रूस के एजेंट। बिरला और टाटा के एजेंटों ने आपको हरा दिया, अतुल्य घोष और 55 और लोग, यानी अलीबाबा और उनके 55 और थीफ, ऐसी हालत कर दी गई... (व्यवधान)...

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आशा करता हूँ कि मेरी इन बातों का जवाब प्रधान मंत्री या दूसरे मंत्री देंगे। मैं आपको भी धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि आपने दल से ऊपर मुझे इतना समय दिया।

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA (Kaliabor). Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, it appears that a few speakers from the opposition have not yet been out of the dazed condition resulting from their success in the elections and even in the discussion on the President's Address, which is meant to focus attention on the vast national problems, they have again come back to the elections. In a democracy Congress alone has no right to be elected in a majority. But it would have been a credit to democracy if the opposition parties could have given a substantial pragmatic approach to the electorate at the time of the elections, instead of combining as they did on practically no programme. Possibly, because of the prevailing situation it was not practicable to have an opposition party that can give an alternative programme. Yet, when we listen to the debate from Professor Ranga to the last speaker, Shri Banerjee, we do not exactly know what is being focussed.

On the one hand, Professor Ranga, arguing from what is called the rightist angle, would like all controls to go, including foodstuff control. He would also like Government to listen to those experts on whom he relies upon. So far as experts are concerned, be it in the field of economics, politics or other spheres,

[Shri Bedabrata Barua]

their views are biased by ideological considerations and it is not difficult to get an expert opinion which will fit in with one's thinking. Then Shri Banerjee comes with his argument that because of unemployment and poverty there should be a certain amount of control in the economy. Possibly, to face up to the difficulties of the situation that we are in, to take up the very obstinate problems which need to be solved, we need powers more drastic than the government would like to have; possibly, for more action has to be taken to eliminate corruption; possibly, it is also necessary to discipline the economy in a far greater degree than is being done.

But, then, it is a question of the direction which you want to give. It is not simply a question of criticising a problem from a particular angle, but of finding what is the nationally acceptable solution and what solution should we have for the variegated problems that we are facing today. Naturally, all the approaches so far have been political. Things like elections or a particular strike have been given more emphasis. I would request the hon. Members of the opposition to give more emphasis to the practical problems of the people.

16.39 hrs.

[SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR *in the Chair*]

Because of the absence of such an approach, all the national parties in the country are becoming smaller and smaller. When they gloat over the defeat of the Congress, I was sorry for the retreat of the national parties all along the line. In Uttar Pradesh, for instance, when organised parties like SSP and Jan Sangh were pre-occupied with bigger international questions like Czechoslovakia, questions which have no relevance to the country immediately, Shri Charan Singh seized upon issues which the common people understand, the problems facing the people and he was able to swing their opinion in his favour.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : इतना प्रच्छन्न और सुन्दर भाषण हो रहा है और गलपूति नहीं है।

MR. CHAIRMAN: The bell is being rung. Now there is quorum. The hon. Member may resume his speech.

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA: It is sometimes the misfortune of some persons to be accused for the wrong reason. Shri Kachwai accused me of talking on international issues when I was trying to draw the attention of the House to the over-emphasis on international issues. What I want to say is that on international issues, if they are at all to be discussed, discussions cannot take place by arguments alone; sometimes there is such a thing as national interest. Unless we go into the basic question, all foreign policy appears to be one thing to the Opposition and quite another thing to the party that is in power.

Actually, in Britain when they try to draw up their foreign policy, they come to an agreement that this business of opposing every foreign policy of the Government should be given up. They have a bi-partisan foreign policy because British national interest cuts across ideologies. They have certain interest in India and whether one is a Conservative or a Radical one has to support that. Britain has got to import certain amount of food from the outside world and whether it is the Conservative Party or the Radical Party, it has to carry on its diplomacy in view of the prevailing needs of that country. In our Parliament we try to decide the foreign policy by an open exhibition of excitement. The result, of course, is a lot of misunderstanding. It is something that can be discussed only privately because the national interests are not always divulged in that way. Some of the national motives are under the water.

I think that so far as over-emphasis in foreign policy is concerned, we have a lot to amend. It should be possible for all of us, whether it is the Swatantra Party or the Communist Party or the CP(M) or any other party, to find out whether it is on the interest of the country as a whole to maintain certain relations with the Soviet Union and not to get excited over every move that takes place or is reported to take place in any newspaper.

I would say the same thing about China or Pakistan or, for that matter, England or USA because, so far as foreign policy is concerned, I am absolutely sure that if this party is replaced at some time by some other party, it will have to carry out the same foreign policy because the basic determinants of foreign policy are national interests which no party can get out of. At present, possibly we are having a sort of a difficult stance in our foreign policy because of our having opposition from both quarters, China and Pakistan. It creates certain difficulties and we have to get out of those difficulties and widen the area of friendship all round the world. It would not do for us to make the foreign policy the issue on which to base our opposition. I request the Members of the Opposition not to bring in these issues and over-emphasize them. I would like to repeat the example of Charan Singh who could point to more urgent problems of the people and take the place that the Opposition occupied in Uttar Pradesh.

As to the problem of disintegration that has been referred to, I am reminded of certain statements of the Malaysian politicians last year. They said that there were the Chinese, the Malays and the Indians and that there would be certain strains between these people unless they maintained a growth rate of 6 per cent. In our country also, much of the strain develops out of the stagnation in development efforts. When it takes place, just as when the recession took place, we had more strains than we had earlier. Possibly, there are certain other problems like the employment problem, the development problem and the regional emphasis on growth.

These problems cannot be possibly solved on the basis of our functioning. With the best of our intentions, with the best of the intentions of the Planning Commission, with the best of our Plans, we cannot possibly remove these imbalances unless we develop a progressive economy. The development of the economy of the country is not the only responsibility of the private sector. Wherever there is an imbalance, we must have a growing and a wider public sector to take its place. Where, for example, in undeveloped areas, like, Assam and other

undeveloped places, development of transport is not what it should have been and, due to lack of transport, industries could not develop, there must be some concessions, not merely pious and good intentions given in regard to other things to allow the people to develop industries there, either in the private sector or in the public sector, whatever it is.

Then, coming to the problem of violence, we certainly face this problem. Possibly, the entire educational policy, the type of temperament we are having, the type of things we are having, that are going on in the country, in Parliament or elsewhere, may not be conducive to develop an atmosphere where a democratic system can function. Possibly, we require all our heads to be put together to find out a solution to this problem and to uproot the tendency to violence. Violence exists not only when people react to regional imbalances but also when regional imbalance is created. I consider the creation of regional imbalance equally a violent process as the reaction to regional imbalance. When some people are thrown out from a particular area in trying to replace them when they have a just claim to employment, that is as good as violence. We have to root out the causes of violence and the only way in which violence can be rooted out is through a just order that is capable of ensuring justice to the vast majority of the people or to the vast majority of the politically conscious people. Violence does not come from those quarters who have been exploited but who are not politically conscious or who have not politically asserted themselves. All the problems have come because political consciousness came in before the economic development. In India and in Asia, the political consciousness came before the economic development. In the West, they had economic development before the awakening of the public opinion could take place in the democratic processes and institutions. Here, the political awareness came first before the economic development took place. In such a situation, drastic measures and surgical steps can be taken to correct the imbalances.

Then, my hon. friend, Shri S.M. Banerjee, referred to secularism. Possib-



[Shri Bedabrata Barua]

ly, the secularism has been challenged. But it is not the Congress that is at fault. The whole conception that was given to the country was as given by Gandhi, by the Congress, by the ruling Party, and it is another matter on which one can attack another and say that some minorities have been disregarded. But I would request the hon. Members not to make an issue on which we can find fault. What is the type of teaching of history? What are the forces at the root of attack on minorities? The entire teaching of history has been wrong. We have allowed that type of education, that type of teaching, in every State, in every administration of Government, which is absolutely misleading. The type of history which is taught says that India was put under foreign rule in the eleventh century. A very absurd statement. India might have been ruled by some dynasty which may be Hindu or Muslim. But we try to divide history in two or three periods, Hindu period and Muslim period, not Buddhist period because there are not enough Buddhists to say that there was the Buddhist period also. This type of education has been at the root of whole thing. The division of history of the country on the basis of dynasty that ruled India is quite off the mark. Possibly, that has also to be corrected. Unless we approach the problem basically, education will go in one direction, the younger generation will change in one direction, and we will be pretending to protect the minorities and getting some votes into the communist party and some into the Congress, but the minorities will remain where they are unless we are able to assure them a fair place in the system which we call Indian democracy.

Again, the problem of corruption has been raised. It is said that India is not a very corrupt country. People say that, by comparison with some of the countries to our East and to our West, India is possibly not that corrupt. This is no consolation. The lack of emphasis on corruption, I feel, is something that staggers a man who has anything to do with common people, who goes to the common people. Whatever the failure, whether it is in the public

sector or in the private sector, I think, it is due to corruption. We have got a set of laws, but nobody obeys the laws. Even the most minor modification that can be effected is not effected

The Hindustan Zinc Limited recently complained that they do not have buyers to purchase their fertilisers even when they offered a price 30 per cent less. This is staggering! Why are they not purchasing? It is because the private sector can give a commission which the organisation selling at 30 per cent less cannot give. Can we afford to have public sector in this fashion? We cannot solve the problem by simply saying that corruption should go. We should direct that, if the public sector is to purchase anything, it must first of all purchase from the public sector. Do you have the strength to say that? I think, we can get this done saying that this must be done. But, of course, there will be all sorts of pleas that the zinc is not of a particular quality; they will reject saying that the zinc is not of a particular quality; if it is with one per cent impurity, then they will say that they require one with two per cent impurity; if it is very pure, then they will say that they need something impure; if it is impure, then they would say that they need something pure; somehow or other they would avoid it and get their commissions. Therefore, unless we give due emphasis and eradicate corruption, we will not get anything started for development. I know, the right emphasis has never been laid on the practical working out of the problems. It is no use talking about western democratic system where the economy is managed by industrialists; there they can very well depend on the industrialists to give Rs. 60 or 70 as wages, but here we cannot depend on the industrialists. Here we have to go into the details not only of law but also of implementation. Are we actually working out the details? Are we making demands of specific issues? This is not a danger to the Congress Party as such; it may be that the Congress Party may suffer due to not-a-very-correct approach, but it may be that the Opposition parties also may suffer and they may have the same fate as they had in U.P. or Punjab or anywhere.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The hon. Member may conclude.

**SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA:** I will just conclude.

Coming back again to the question of unemployment, this can only be solved when the economy grows, when there are more investments, when the excess capacity is utilised, when generally we have achieved commanding heights in public sector. I hope that Government will take steps in this direction and secure commanding heights for the public sector. Where the public sector has to deal with public sector, there is no corruption. The entire problem comes only when the private sector comes in. Only when a man in the public sector has to deal with the private sector, he becomes corrupt; when a man in the private sector has to deal with the public sector, he becomes corrupt; this happens also when the private sector has to deal with the private sector; corruption sets in when an official has to deal with the private sector. The only solution to the problem of corruption is to assure public sector commanding heights.

It should also be ensured that the public sector, Government and the administration work in unison in the matter of financial dealings. Only at that level of functioning, can we remove a lot of corruption prevailing today.

**SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU** (Chittoor): I have heard many members speak before me. Even today when Shri Ramamurti was replying to the debate on the no-confidence motion, I heard him with rapt attention. Wherever there is dirt, wherever there is poverty, the communist flies flock there. They are like that. When there is trouble in Telengana or Bombay, these people wanted to get in there and fish in troubled waters. They forget that they will always get into trouble when they try to fish in troubled waters.

Today Shri Ramamurti was accusing our Chief Minister in a way which no one can tolerate. He does not know what happened in Telengana: Had he gone there and known what had happened

there, he would have felt sorry for saying what he said today.

In Telengana, the trouble is due to unemployment. Poverty and unemployment go together. Who is responsible for the trouble there? It is mainly the Planning Commission because of its partisan attitude towards development in Andhra Pradesh. They oblige some other States at the expense of Andhra Pradesh. It is due to this policy of the Planning Commission that our Chief Minister had trouble there, the people of Andhra Pradesh had trouble.

Telengana is a backward area. People there expected development in a big way of that area. But we have no funds. The Andhra Pradesh Government has no funds to spend more money there and develop that area.

**SHRI UMANATH** (Pudukkottai): A lot of funds, about Rs. 10 crores, was returned.

**SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU:** The trouble is that the Planning Commission is not sanctioning schemes. The Industry Ministry is sitting tight on the licences. These have not been sanctioned. They are responsible for all these things. The Planning Commission is not sanctioning our schemes. The Industry Ministry is withholding licences for which so many applications are pending.

I will cite only one instance. When Shri Sanjeevayya was Minister of Industry, he laid the foundation stone for a factory in Hyderabad. After that, a new Minister took over here. So many years have passed. The new Minister says that the Finance Minister has not cleared the application. Who is responsible for this state of affairs? One Industry Minister does something. Then another Minister comes on the scene. He says the Finance Minister is not clearing the application. This is a public sector project. The rumour is that the Finance Minister wanted to help a private sector project and that is why sanction for this public sector project has been withheld. Is it true that the Finance

[Shri Chengalraya Naidu]

Minister is withholding it? I want an answer to this question.

Injustice has been done to Andhra in so many ways. That is why all this trouble is there. For the sins of the Finance Ministry, the Industry Ministry and the Planning Commission, our Chief Minister and our people in Andhra Pradesh are suffering.

So without understanding the real position, Shri Ramamurti was accusing our Chief Minister. When trouble started, our Chief Minister took immediate steps. He called all parties to a conference where all agreed to take some action. The communists were also a party to that. But here they have the audacity to say something else. Is this not shameful on their part? It shows that they are not trustworthy. Otherwise, I cannot understand this sort of performance on their part.

In Telengana, they are all Telugu people, in Andhra they are all Telugu people, in Rayalaseema they are all Telugu people. Unfortunately, this trouble arose through some misunderstanding.

Here I would like to say one thing. Today when she was speaking, the Prime Minister said that everyone in the country must have freedom to go and settle anywhere else in the country and to do business anywhere. Very good. What about Kashmir? Are we doing it in Kashmir? Why have they put a ban on the people of India entering Kashmir? Why cannot the Government immediately pass an order or an amendment, if need be, that Indians can purchase property anywhere in this country. When we have not done that, what right have we to take a critical attitude about Telengana or Bombay? When we do not correct ourselves, what is the use of asking others to correct themselves?

17 hrs.

When the mid-term elections were going on, the Russian Radio which calls itself Peace and Progress it is not peace, it is the other way did much propaganda against our Government, our political leaders. It attacked the Congress President and the Jan Sangh leaders. I do

not when my countrymen, whatever party they belong to, to be attacked by a foreign radio. It has no business to interfere in the internal affairs of our country. They must be taught a lesson. What about the floods of pamphlets at the time of elections? They go so much finances that the Congress, Jan Sangh or the Swatantra could not compete with them.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Who financed?

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU: Due to Congress policies, no richman comes forward to contribute to the Congress Party. We were collecting one rupee after another for this election; I mean very small contributions from the common people of India. If you imply that Congress got money from big rich people, it is false. They want to cover their sins and they try to do it by throwing the blame on the Congress, Jan Sangh and the Swatantra. In West Bengal, Congress was routed. The United Front joined together. The communists deceived the Bangla Congress and the other parties and with the help of the Bangla Congress and the other parties they were able to get some seats. Let them fight the elections alone, as the Congress does; they cannot do it. Bangla Congress gave them the shield and the mask; without those masks, let them go to the people and see; they will never be successful. They need not boast of their victory. The Home Minister mentioned the period of two years; it is not necessary. Six months are enough for this front which could not come to an agreement on the portfolios and form the Government even after six days of talks. If the earlier Front Government had been allowed, it would have met a natural death and they would not have got so many seats now.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: You had an abortion.

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU: The Governor took some action perhaps too soon and this has happened. If allowed, they would have had a natural death. I feel that they would not stay even for six months this time.

Regarding agriculture, our Government has done very well. In the field of agriculture and in the field of improving

our economy, the economy of the country the Government has done much. But that is not enough; that is not at all enough. If the Government had done well really, if they had concentrated on the agricultural field, they would have done better, as Prof. Ranga said this morning. They would have produced 50 per cent more of produce today. We need not go with the begging bowl to Egypt for rice. If they had spent money and if they had agreed to give the necessary finances to complete the projects in our country, we need not go with the begging bowl to any other country.

I will give you some instances to show how the Planning Commission or the Government of India is showing a partisan attitude. They have prepared a plan for electricity extension or power extension in the fourth Plan. According to the fourth Plan, the country's average is about 300 megawatts. I do not remember it correctly now. The point is, the amount allotted for Andhra Pradesh for extension of electricity is very little. In Andhra Pradesh, we have already got some power projects. In Ramagundam, we have some power projects and in other places also we have some of these projects. Now, we have to spend money only to add some more additional power there. But instead of increasing the capacity of the existing stations what is happening? We need some money only for increasing the existing capacity. But the Central Government is not willing to give that money. Due to this, in Andhra Pradesh, the development will be stalled and we will suffer for another 10 years. If the Government is not willing to give funds for Andhra Pradesh to develop its electricity, the people will suffer and ultimately it will reflect on the Government of India.

If we compare what the Government is doing regarding electricity, we will know this. I will give you some instances. The Government have started the Neyveli project in Madras State. It is a Central project. Because the Central Government started a project there, the entire electricity was used by the Madras Government at a cheaper rate. In Gujarat, they have started a project like that. In Bombay also they have started,

project like that. In other States also they were able to increase the electricity capacity. But for Andhra Pradesh, the Central Government has not come forward to start such schemes. In Madras State, the Neyveli project is there. Again they have started the Kalpakkam project there. When they are giving one project after another in the same State, why cannot they think of starting one where there is no Central power scheme? This is the way the Central Government is behaving. This is the partisan attitude they have shown.

Not only in the matter of electricity extension but also in the case of other projects, much needs to be done. In Andhra Pradesh, sanctioned projects are pending execution. They have not been able to complete them for want of money. The Centre is not able to help the Andhra Government to complete these projects. If they had completed the projects, we would have produced more of foodgrains and we need not have gone to Egypt or some other countries with a begging bowl. I think that the Government will at least open their eyes and do justice by allotting sufficient funds to Andhra Pradesh to complete their projects.

In the Industries Department, I will tell you what is happening in Delhi itself. In the Industries Department, thousands of applications are pending. The day before yesterday, our Industries Minister was telling the House that there were no applications pending "on my table." I say that the applications are pending in the cupboards of his clerks. Unless one sees the clerks and the Under Secretaries or unless we see the Superintendents of the department, the files will not come out. They will not go to the minister. Even in the States, if an application is made, there is an acknowledgement within 15 days and the final result is known within 3 months. But in the case of Central Government, for years nothing is known. Something must be done to overhaul the Industries Department. New officers should be put and it should be made to function efficiently.

If there was crop insurance, people would not have been ruined when there

[Shri Chengalraya Naidu]

is famine or when pests destroy crops. In every field, there is insurance but not in agriculture. I request Government to introduce a crop insurance scheme.

Coming to stability production, last year, when there was severe shortage of sugar, Government encouraged everybody to grow more sugarcane. When more sugarcane came, price went down. It took a lot of time for Government to induce the factories to pay Rs. 100 per ton. In Madras State, they are paying only Rs 40. This is the way they treat their agriculturists. Last year, jaggery prices ranged between Rs. 160 to Rs. 180 per quintal. Before that, it was Rs. 150. Now this year, it has come down to Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 per quintal. Who is responsible for this fall? If Government had fixed a minimum price, Government would have purchased it when the price fell below the minimum. But Government is keeping quiet. Agriculturists have come to such a stage of ruin that they cannot be rehabilitated for another 5 or 10 years. How can there be stability of production if Government is silent? We had a discussion on groundnut in this House and the Minister said, he has asked his Secretary to look into it. I do not know what the Secretaries are doing for six months and when Government will purchase the groundnut because the prices have gone down so much. Due to the low price, the agriculturists are not releasing the groundnut and most of the oil mills in Maharashtra and in South India have either closed or are on the point of liquidation. Does not the Minister for Agriculture, Shri Shinde, know that? He comes from Maharashtra. He knows this. Can he not take a decision on this? I want to know whether the Secretaries and Under Secretaries in the Department of Agriculture rule this country or these Ministers rule this country. Are the Ministers responsible to this country or the Secretaries are responsible to this country? I want the Ministers to wake up at least now and help the ryots by seeing to it that the prices are kept at a level. In all other countries minimum prices for agricultural commodities have been fixed. Unfortunately, in this country the mini-

imum prices have not been fixed so far. They said they will appoint an Agriculture Prices Fixation Committee. It has not been done. They promised to appoint an Agriculture Production Advisory Committee. It has not been done. They are thinking on these lines for the last one year and I do not know when they will decide to have these things. I appeal to the Minister for Agriculture to come forward and prove that the Secretaries are not ruling this country and the Ministers are ruling this country. I want him to come forward and fix the minimum prices at least.

SHRI R. BARUA (Jorhat): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. While doing so I want to make a few observations. In this debate we cannot ignore the political picture that is emerging after the recent elections. One thing that strikes me today in that after the 1967 elections when the Congress lost their seats in many places and the United Front parties won them there was glee all round that the Congress had lost their seats. Today, after these elections, we do not find the same symptom. Why? I am posing this question not to one particular party but to the political scene that has emerged in India today. One thing that struck me most during the last election was that if any casualty was there it was the political ideology of all parties. I never know of any important speech or propagation of political ideologies of a particular party. We have socialism today and it is expected that during election time the people are educated about the particular philosophy or the political approach. This time I found that most of the parties neglected this very important aspect and they had to do it.

There was a struggle for just survival and therefore for this purpose, for survival, the regional sentiments of some divisive forces were taken advantage of by some important parties. I think almost all the parties did it in order to just survive. Otherwise, how is it that the entire picture during the last two months or so has changed when political education was more or less absent. This is a symptom of the disease that is facing the country.

We are all talking about the Bombay riots and the regional feelings. What are these things due to? Partly it is due to the economic situation in the country and partly it is because of the individual approach of the parties. Political life is fast losing ground in the country. That is why probably locally in some areas even people wedded to very high ideals had to succumb to the inhibitions of regional approaches.....

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : सभापति महोदय, इतना अच्छा भाषण हो रहा है और सदन में गणपूर्ति नहीं है।

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member, Shri Barua, may resume his seat. Quorum has been challenged. The Bell is being rung.

The hon. Member may resume his seat. The bell is being rung.....Now, there is quorum. He may continue his speech.

SHRI R. BARUA: After the elections we find that parties which were wedded to socialism and parties which were wedded to some other philosophy, they are trying to coalesce. Why? Somebody says that this coalition will fall like a pack of cards; some others say it will last. What I am concerned with is the picture that is emerging; not with its success or failure or survival. When parties are compromising on their policies, how long will it sustain. The coalition governments are falling out because there cannot be a basic adjustment. The result is a policy of drift.

17.21 hrs.

[SHRI R. D. BHANDARE *In the Chair*]

Somebody asked me about socialism, what about your socialistic ideas? But where is the climate for socialism? Can socialism survive in a climate of violence and regionalism, in a climate in which one is only eager to survive for the next 3, 4 or 5 years?

Secondly, it is not the Congress alone that has suffered, it is the political life of India that suffered in the last elections. I find that no party can say that it has

got a clear vision of the future. Only the Communist Party has come out successful in Bengal. At the same time, is it not also a fact that they are trying to compromise with people with whom they cannot see eye to eye in the matter of political ideology just because they want to be in power? Then, those parties which are now going to join hands with them also cannot be too sure of what will happen next time. It is because the entire Indian population is not being given the political education which was the original aim of the elections.

Then, this picture gives India's posture to outside world also. What will the rest of the world think about us? Is this a country which can give a stable government not only at the Centre but in the States also? Economic viability and economic improvement of a country depends largely on political stability. But are we on the way to give political stability in the States? If the States crumple, its impact will certainly be felt on the Centre and if everything collapses what will it lead to?

This period has also witnessed the emergence of the youth. We find that the younger generation of the country, whether in Government service, universities or other areas of activity, they seem to exhibit a sense of exuberance and sometimes it is manifested in different forms. It takes to violence or some other form. But the more significant thing is that there is no united or coordinated philosophy and there is no specific direction to these manifestations. Today you will find some students creating trouble because the bus conductor has not behaved properly. Tomorrow it will be against the professor. The day after the employees will quarrel with the head of the department or something like this. There is not a co-ordinated movement of the youthful exuberance. This is also a symptom which is not very happy for the future of India. It has to be checked. Who can check it? The only possible check against all these forces is the political parties.

We must not forget that once upon a time it was the Congress Party that had an all-pervasive influence and there was

[Shri R. Barua]

an attempt on the part of some parties, for instance the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, to come up as all India parties. Now that all India movement is replaced by parties with local and regional attachment. Regional and religious attachments are coming up. As a result of this, just as the Congress is losing its previous ground the Socialist Party and the Communist Party also are losing their ground. May be, in a particular area they are getting votes but the result is that these divisive forces and these new manifestations are not properly canalised towards the improvement of the people at large.

In his Address the President has rightly said:—

“Government are determined to make every effort to mobilise our own resources of savings, enterprise and managerial ability.”

We want to improve our economic condition and also meet the needs of the people of this country. In order to do that the mobilisation of resources is a must. But when the question of mobilisation comes, everybody shirks the responsibility. No State today is anxious to tax its own people; nobody likes to do that. Even if there is an increase in taxation tomorrow at the Centre, certainly there will be sufficient opposition from all the political parties. I do not think the State Governments are today co-operating with the Planning Commission so far as the question of mobilisation of resources is concerned. They are not anxious to go in for taxation because that may lead to some sort of an unpopularity with the masses.

We have heard that while extending their support some parties are saying, “Unless you agree not to put levies on such-and-such a thing, we are not going to coalesce with you” What does it indicate? It indicates that they are not conscious of the basic factor, namely, that economic resources must be mobilised in order to go in a big way for the economic improvement of the country. Not only do we not have any conception of a particular philosophy for economic improvement, we do not also think it

necessary to mobilise resources. The result is that today everybody is trying to depend upon the Central Government for resources and they will not do anything.

Why is it happening? It is happening because we are not in a position to go to the people and say that these things are necessary at times. We know that during the Second World War when there was rationing in England, people used to go to the shop or a particular institution for getting their rations and there was another queue in which people were standing to return what remained with them. For instance, I had the sugar quota for one week but I happened to be out of Delhi; therefore, my quota of sugar remained and I had to go there to deposit whatever remained with me. That was the national consciousness of the people of a country. But what is the consciousness of our country today? We are not anxious to go in for tapping our resources and no amount of words in the President's Address or elsewhere is going to do any good for us.

No doubt, we have improved our economic position to some extent but considering the pace at which the world is moving we are lagging far behind. When we consider the condition of the masses in our country, it is far less than what it should have been. In order to do that, it needs the combined effort of all the political parties. Today, fortunately or unfortunately, we have different political complexes in different States. Unless the States and the Centre combine for the purpose of having a bold move, it is not possible to ameliorate the condition of the poor.

The result will be constant friction and more friction. Then, there has been the talk of a second refinery in Assam. It is always said from this end that it is not feasible on certain economic grounds. But, at the same time, I fail to understand how it is that the Oil Ministry do not go to the deep question of the unemployment and the economic need of the area. When the people find that nothing is being done, naturally, they will catch hold of anything which is before them for attracting the

attention of the Government or, for that matter, of the country as such. Just to say that oil is not sufficient is not enough. We have got a small refinery of 0.75 million tonnes. It was to be expanded to refine oil to the tune of 1.25 million tonnes. The talk was going on for a long time. But nothing is being done as yet to this day. It shows that there has been some intellectual lethargy in some quarters, maybe in the Ministry, maybe, with the officers. If you say it can be done, why don't you do it? If you do not do it, the result is that you throw the people to certain positions which will be difficult to control. That is why we today hear of regional imbalances and the consequences thereof.

With regard to the foreign policy of the country, it is a good sign that the Government seem to take a pragmatic view of our relations with different countries. The world today has moved to a distance where it was not there ten years ago. Recently, it was very encouraging to find that our Ambassadors from different countries were called here to make a real appraisal and assessment of what we are doing and what we will be doing in future.

It is true that we talk of non-alignment. But sometimes non-alignment is also alignment. That is a thing which we must guard against. In the context of today, it is not possible for us to be friendly with one and go against another. It is, therefore, all the more necessary that we put a posture in which we are not likely to be misunderstood.

Lastly, I would like to say that we have in the country a new class of educated unemployed. We were talking about agriculture, no doubt, but with the spread of education, there are less people going in for agriculture. Therefore, educated class needs some employment and the employment avenues can be possible only if we advance industrially. Here, there seems to be a disparity between the production of the educated youth on the one hand and the pace of industrialisation on the other. It is not enough to say that we have done enough in agriculture. We have not done as much as we should have done in the field of agriculture. And

we are yet to go a long way in the field of industry. Unless we look to this aspect, the unemployed youth is bound to create more trouble for the country and the country's economy.

With these words, I support the Motion of Thanks for the President's Address.

**SHRI G. S. REDDI (Miryalguda):** I rise to support the motion of thanks to the President. The President, in his Address, has appealed that regionalism parochialism should be eschewed from the country. He has also appealed that secularism should be maintained and tolerance should be established. In this connection, I wish to say that, in regard to Andhra-Telengana dispute, some of the Members of Parliament have drawn comparison with Shiv Sena troubles. The Andhra-Telengana troubles are not the same troubles like the Shiv Sena troubles in Bombay because the Andhra-Telengana trouble is a trouble between the brothers of the same family.

If you remember the past history of the Hyderabad State, there was a time when Razakars ruled the country and the Telengana people had to flee from Telengana to other neighbouring States. Andhra region was one of the regions which gave shelter and refuge to the people fleeing from Telengana. They had enjoyed the hospitality of the Andhra region. After that, there was a struggle when Andhra Pradesh was to be formed. There was a dispute whether there should be a separate Telengana or whether there should be a merger with the Andhra region. This struggle continued for some time. Afterwards, the matter was referred to the Central Government and our leader, Shri Kond Venkata Ranga Reddi, led the movement for a separate Telengana. Then he was called by the Central leaders and there was an agreement saying that these two regions should merge, so that a greater Andhra could be formed. Those regions from Madras and from Hyderabad, Andhra and Telengana merged into what is now called Andhra Pradesh. It was the dream of the Telugu people that they should form themselves into one State. Those Telugu people who were in the Madras State were aspiring for an



[Shri G. S. Reddi]

Andhra State. In the same way, the people of Telengana also aspired to join their brethren in the Madras State. Therefore, the State of Andhra Pradesh was formed. It was the dream of the State of Andhra Pradesh that the separate and distinctive culture of the Andhra people should be supreme; it should also have its own history in the annals of the country. With this, there was an agreement saying that the backward parts of Andhra Pradesh, specially, Telengana, should be given certain safeguards, and an agreement was entered into by the leaders at the Centre and what is called 'the Telengana safeguards' entered into were guaranteed. For a certain number of years, all these backward parts of the Telengana had to be improved so as to be brought on par with the regions in Andhra Pradesh. This was the meaning of the Telengana safeguards: By and by it so happened that, due to lapses in the administration and due to lapses of some officers, the Telengana safeguards came to be neglected and some of the funds which ought to have been spent in the Telengana region alone were spent in the Andhra region. Therefore, the trouble arose. Specially, the youngsters, who ought to have got employment in the Telengana region, were disappointed. Economic depression was also another reason. The youngsters, who came out from the colleges—the number of colleges in the Telengana region was greater than that in Hyderabad region—were aspiring to get employment and since they could not get employment and since the Andhra region personnel were taking all the regional jobs, those jobs below Rs. 300, they were disappointed. The Telengana jobs were to be given to the Telengana people at the cost of Telengana funds and for the Andhra region, Andhra funds were to be spent for Andhra personnel. Instead of that, in the Telengana region, Andhra personnel came to be employed in greater numbers during the last five or six years. Therefore, the youngsters got annoyed and they agitated. Some of the leaders of Telengana area brought this to the notice of the Government, but the Government were slow in implementing and safeguarding the rights of the Telengana people. Therefore, the trouble

started with the youngsters. I do not say that there were political leaders behind it. Some suspect that the leaders are also interested in this. It cannot be proved. Anyway, a basis for the commotion is there among the minds of the youngsters. They began to say 'Andhras go back; safeguard Telengana rights.' It is with this kind of slogans that the commotion started. But what is reported in the press about the commotion is grossly exaggerated. I will only cite one instance. In Nalgonda, from where I come, a Deputy Surveyor had a row with his own other Deputy Surveyors. The other Deputy Surveyors who had a quarrel with him since a long time, took the opportunity, brought him out, poured kerosene oil over him and burnt him. This incident had no connection at all with the Telengana agitation. But it was reported on the other side in the newspapers that this was due to the Telengana students trouble. This kind of exaggeration also roused passions and aggravated the situation. I am sure many of the Telengana people have safeguard and protected their Andhra brethren during the agitation. There were, of course, minor incidents of slapping, abusing and writings on the walls and buses. These roused feelings on the other sides. They were also infuriated that about 4000 Andhra employees serving in Telengana were to go back by the 28th February. This wholesale deportation of 4000 people contemplated caused annoyance to the Andhra people.

First of all, it should have been so arranged that all these Andhra employees employed on Telengana funds should have been given the option to remain in the Telengana region or go to Andhra and if some of them persisted in continuing in the Telengana region, the same number of people from the Telengana area should have been employed at the cost of Andhra funds. This would have been a good measure instead of resort to wholesale deportation. But somehow it was not accepted. Perhaps the Telengana people felt that this deportation by a fixed day would satisfy the people of the Telengana region and hence this compromise was arrived at by all parties at a conference called at the instance of the Chief Minister.

After this order was passed, some employees took the matter to the court. Now a judgment has been delivered that this wholesale deportation is *ultra vires* the Constitution and against rules. Now a Bill giving the safeguards for a further five years is before Parliament.

This is the background. Therefore, this trouble should not be compared to the Shiv Sana movement in Bombay. It is not pleasing to the Andhras, whether in Telangana or in the Andhra region, who have been living as brothers and would continue to live as brothers and develop the State together, to be compared with the agitators in the Shiv Sana movement in Bombay.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That was over yesterday.

SHRI G. S. REDDI: I would make an appeal for the continuation of the Telangana safeguards. An assurance has been given on this score and it should be implemented. There are doubts as to whether the safeguards will be implemented. Some interested parties are creating a sense of no-confidence in the statement that the safeguards would be implemented, because cases have gone to court and a stay order has been issued by the Supreme Court. But time and again our Chief Minister has been impressing on the Telangana people that the safeguards will be guaranteed even if it means a constitutional amendment.

Besides this, there are other matters requiring the attention of Government. People in Andhra and Telangana ought to live together and some forces and links of integration have to be developed. Social relations between the Andhra and the Telangana people have also to develop. It is only in that background that the future lies and it is up to the leaders of both sides to develop this kind of an attitude. Already both the Telangana and Andhra people are coming together. After these disturbances I happened to travel along with some ministers going round assuring the Andhra people that their safety lies in the Telangana people. I appeal that others should go round the same way in the Andhra region assuring

them that their safety lies in Telangana and both sides ought to develop the culture which is unique in Andhra and it should develop to such an extent that we should take pride that Telangana and Andhra live together and develop the country.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bobbili): I whole-heartedly support the motion of thanks to the President. The President in his Address referred to certain aspects of our national life. He has particularly referred to the welcome signs in the growth of agricultural and industrial production and the improved position of India in the international arena and also stressed the necessity of upholding the secular ideals and discourage communal, caste and regional tendencies. For reasons best known to themselves, the Opposition speakers did not participate in the debate today in larger numbers and we did not have the benefit of their considered views and our speeches have become speeches in vacuum.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO JOSHI (Bhopal): Why should it be so? You can speak supporting the motion of thanks for the President's Address.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO: Probably you did not understand my English. Having said this, I have to offer a few comments about our agricultural growth. Last year agricultural production registered a tremendous growth but blind statistics should not lull the Government into complacency. If the Government could enlighten us as to how much of production was due to their policies and programmes and how much was the bounty of nature, it would help clear things. Today, agricultural production is looking up and the agriculturists are eager to use pesticides, fertilisers and the irrigation potential. Previously, they used to look up to the sky for rains; if there were no rains, they used to resign themselves to their fate. But today the irrigation potential had been created in large areas and he is asking from the Government what help they are going to give him. He wants fertilisers, better seeds, electric pumps, fair price for the produce and an assured supply of water. What

has been the Government's efforts? They may give statistics but I plead with them that what has been done is not enough. The Government's approach had been haphazard. Take, for instance, the question of irrigation which concerns what are called the dumb millions.

The people are not really concerned with what is happening in Parliament. They will not be so much concerned about what is happening in regard to foreign affairs. They want to have water. They perhaps do not know that we poor MPs cannot give them water. They will ask us, "My tank is not repaired; our village has not been electrified; we want to purchase tractors; nobody is giving us power" and so on. 30,000 people have been waiting in Andhra Pradesh for the supply of tractors. This is their demand. What has the Government done? I do not say that the Government has not done anything. What they have been able to do is not at all enough.

What is happening in the rural side? It has to be done in a bigger way. But the Government, at every stage, is halting. I come to the question of electricity. You know pretty well that electricity for industrial production is treated differently; electricity for agricultural purposes is treated very differently, and for domestic consumption, they treat it differently. We want electricity everywhere. What for? We want electricity for pump-sets. And the Government, on paper, agree that pump-sets should be given priority. But what is the policy? They want from the ryots a lot of funds to be given in the sense that the amounts would be reimbursed later on. What the ryots have to do is, they have to borrow money from the land mortgage banks which again has to be reimbursed later on, with interest. What sort of difficulties are there? In spite of all this, a couple of villages do get electricity in the end.

The second aspect is this. So far as pump-sets are concerned, in the very nature of our landholdings and the rural, village economy, no one can get a suitable connection because their lands lie in such a way that they are intermingled here and there. The ryots do not have enough money, and even if they have some money

to invest, they cannot invest on just one acre of land Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 7,000. These are all matters which call for a fresh thinking on the part of the Government. I do not blame the Minister of Food and Agriculture for this. It is a total thinking of the Government on these matters that is necessary and they should see how best to attend to these things. Therefore, I plead that there is an absolute necessity for making a larger grant for electricity. At times I feel so horrified when I am informed that there is sufficient power in my State but that the difficulty is about the funds to purchase what are called transformers, electric poles etc. Electricity is sometimes there, but unless you consume it in the proper manner, it will be a criminal waste. So, though there is electricity, for want of sufficient number of electric poles and transformers, they are not able to make use of the power which is already produced. This is a matter to which I would like the hon. Minister concerned and also the Government as a whole to give a greater thought.

I will take another opportunity to discuss the details about this aspect of the matter, about agriculture, and loans for agriculture. But I plead with the Government one thing. I honestly tell them, either you give the farmers the implements and other things that they want or give them the money required, to deal with it as they like. I can tell you that within 10 years, they can produce food sufficient for the country; not only that. They can produce enough foodgrains to be exported and to earn foreign exchange also. It is a pity that now we have to fall back upon foreigners to give us food. We have the capacity and the knowhow and the people are prepared to come forward. There are very intelligent agriculturists, prepared to put in all their efforts to increase agricultural production, but the Government is halting in giving them help.

I will now briefly touch upon the educational policy. We have conceded in our Constitution that we must give free education if possible to all our masses because there is necessity to give them education. That is very clear. Unless you give them education, they will become blind to many other things.

I can congratulate many States and the Government also on giving sufficient attention and energy and strength for improvement and increase in education. But what is the character of the education that is imparted? Well, whether it is improved or not, on that matter, I do not want to dwell. But the fact remains that there are graduates and graduates who are unemployed. I am sorry to make a reference to this particular aspect of the matter, in regard to technologists. It is not only the question of technologists. The problem of unemployment is not confined to educated people alone. The problem is everywhere. In the villages, they want employment. If a boy fails in the SSLC class, he wants employment. A graduate also seeks employment. We are not in a position, our system is not in a position, to cater to their requirements. What is happening, unfortunately, is this. You look at the sociological angle. Once a person gets a bit of education, he feels, rightly or wrongly, that he is entitled to a job in the Government or in the public service. He is not prepared to go to other jobs. The son of an agriculturist, who has passed B. A. or School Final feels he is entitled to a Government job, whereas his brother who is not educated works in the fields. It is a national waste. These unemployed people cannot go to the rural areas nor can they take up their traditional avocations. They sit idle and isolated from the rest of the society, and here is seething discontentment among them. Unless it is solved, this unemployment problem will be a great threat.

Take the productivity pattern. We have been concentrating so much on machinery. Gandhiji always pleaded for decentralisation and not for large-scale production. He wanted rural economy to be strengthened. In the rural sector, the mobility of labour is so limited. Therefore, it is necessary to take small and medium industries to the rural areas. Take the handloom industry. It is in a sorry plight. People have started wearing nylon and clothes made out of synthetic fibre. The textile industry is in doldrums and is facing a tremendous challenge from synthetic fibres. With a couple of dresses made out of synthetic fibre, he is able to wash them himself.

The employment of dhobis is curtailed. There is a chin reaction. It is, however, refreshing to note that in his Address, the President has made a reference to increase in agro-based industries.

Coming to secularism, the Prime Minister has appealed to the opposition parties for their cooperation. Prof. Ranga came out with an interesting theory and asked. You are in power and you want us to cooperate with you so that you may be in power. I may tell him, when the Prime Minister asks for the cooperation of various parties, it is not for the governance of the country, but for the social revolution and for the social consciousness. For this, all parties must necessarily cooperate. For achieving a small localised benefit, the opposition parties are prepared to damage higher causes and they say, Government machinery has failed. But, who is behind all these things? When the Prime Minister asks for cooperation, she means cooperation on wider national issues.

18 hrs.

Coming to foreign policy, we should remember that after we became independent, we had to evolve a fresh policy. We have no background or tradition in that. Even if there are traditions, they are too remote to connect them with present-day conditions. When we became independent, we had to formulate our own policy. Unfortunately, when the opposition members criticise our policy, they are under the impression that this is the foreign policy of an individual or of a particular party. It is not so. Let them read the speeches of Pandit Nehru and they will find that he always focussed the image of India, keeping the interest of India in mind. He was the spokesman of India. Nobody in the House is going to tell anywhere that this is the foreign policy of the Congress Party. This should be the foreign policy of this country. I will tell you the reasons. Conditioned as we are in a federal policy, conditioned as we are with so many political parties having particular bias towards western, eastern and so many other countries, this should be our foreign policy. Honest differences are there. Let the differ-

[Shri K. Narayana Rao]

ences be there. But let them not come up when it comes to the question of our foreign policy. There may be great differences under socio-political understanding. Unfortunately, it has become the fashion of many people. I am prepared to have differences from the sociological angle and from the political angle. But they should in no way come in the formulation of our foreign policy. Suppose I belong to X party that does not mean I should plead for the western countries. If I belong to the party of our hon. friends who are so obvious about their political influence, it does not mean that I should necessarily be biased towards China or Russia. You have a policy that is best suited for our country.

I would like to say something about Telengana affairs. It is really sad that such things have happened there.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is mere repetition. This has been discussed here yesterday. The hon. Member has taken already 15 minutes. He may conclude now.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO: Sir, I will conclude in another five minutes. I want to say a word about public undertakings. This is again an ideological matter and people of economic philosophy are bound to criticise it. The Congress as a party is committed to it, committed to democratic socialism. Naturally, in any scheme of things which it does for democratic socialism public undertakings are bound to play a prominent role and rightly too. Today we can boast of the inputs in our public undertakings. But it is also a fact, which we cannot ignore and we can only ignore it at our peril, that all of them are not performing in the way in which we expect them to perform. It has been stressed here many times that many public undertakings are running at a loss. I

would like to know the reason for it. Nobody can argue about the necessity or otherwise of public undertakings. Their necessity has already been established not only in this country but even in capitalist countries. There are certain areas where State regulation alone will be the answer. Therefore, about the necessity or otherwise of public undertakings there cannot be any two opinion. But the way they have been operating is a matter which we cannot ignore. One basic reason which I consider very important, from my own angle, for their poor performance is that the necessary amount of ideological commitment and attachment is not there on the part of the tools which are really operating, which is very essential for its success. It is very easy for the government to give crores of rupees, appoint a Chairman here and a General Manager there and create a super-structure. But unless the people who work there, whether at the official, managerial or worker level, do it in the spirit in which it has been formulated, it is bound to fail. Therefore, I plead with the government that unless the people who are employed to work there at all levels work with conviction in the socio-economic philosophy of public undertakings, I am sure the public undertakings are going to give you a dismal performance. With these words, I support the Motion of Thanks to the President.

श्री मन्मथप्रसाद (महाराजगंज) : मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिये उठा हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: He may continue his speech tomorrow.

18.07 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, February 21, 1969/Phalgun 2, 1890 (Saka).*